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ON THE CONSTELLATION ORIGIN OF THE PLACE NAME HINDELOOPEN

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ABSTRACT

Hindeloopen is a small city in the province Friesland, The Netherlands, and was mentioned in 822-825 AD in the monastery of Fulda. Hindlip is a place in Worcestershire, England, and the oldest record of the village is from 966 and it is also indicated in the Domesday book. Etymologically, the first part of both names "Hinde" is linked to "hind"; a female deer and the second part, "loopen/lip", is linked to running or leaping. In this paper it is proposed that this combination of words was used to designate the constellation Capricornus that is usually regarded as a leaping goat or running hind. The main indication for this is obtained from the many German names for the plant chicory, which are: zonnevende (solstice), krebskraut (cancer-herbe), kankerkraut (cancer-herbe), hemelslötel (heaven's key) and hintlope/hindelope. The chicory is mentioned as a plant with superstitious powers that had to be harvested by a special ritual that involves a stags antler or a piece of gold like the mistletoe. The original coat of arms of Hindeloopen and the one that is used nowadays, which is a canting arms, are both consistent with the iconography for the constellation in Germanic/Norse mythology. The widespread of the plant name hintlope in Germany, the locations of the places with a variant of the name Hindeloopen and nearby places with Anglo-Saxon suffixes indicate that the name Hindeloopen was introduced by the Anglo-Saxons during the Migration Period. Place name- and church founding legends, local holidays and current place name meanings in Friesland are consistent with this theory.

KEYWORDS: place name, Friesland, Anglo-Saxon, Capricornus, solstice, tree of life, Valhalla, Norse mythology

1. INTRODUCTION

Hindeloopen is a small city in the province Friesland (Frisia), The Netherlands. The city received its city rights in 1225, but was already mentioned in 822-825 AD in the monastery of Fulda as Hintinkufe, Hindahlop and Hintinluofe (Buijtenen, 1946; Gildemacher, 2007). Etymologically, the first part of the name "Hinde" is linked to "hind"; a female deer. The second part, "loopen", is linked to running or leaping (Gildemacher, 2007). Conventionally, the name of the city is explained as a place frequented by hinds or deer. The connection with the female deer is present since at least 1355 where a hind is visible on the city seal (Buijtenen, 1946). Buijtenen also gives another possibility; that the city was named after a plant that supposedly grew there; the hintlope. Buijtenen indicated that in England there was also a place name called Hindehlep. This place is now called Hindlip and the name is usually explained as a combination of "hind" and "leap" (Dui-gnan, 1905).

From England it is known that there are place names, hills and forests named after the gods (Cameron, 1996). A part of these names originate from Anglo-Saxons who arrived in England at the beginning of the 5th century AD. The Anglo-Saxons came from Denmark and the north of Germany and also inhabited Friesland during the Migration Period (Nicolay, 2014). As a result there are close connections between Friesland and England in terms of language, runes, law, archeology and gold objects (Nicolay, 2014). For Scandinavia it is also known that the most prominent gods of the Norse mythology are used for place names (Abram, 2011). In the Netherlands, however there are not many place names that are considered sacred (Quak, 2002).

Early cultures identified celestial objects with gods and spirits (Krupp, 2003). In many cases it has been shown that myths or legends are used to describe astronomical phenomena (Krupp, 2003). This probably also counts for the Norse mythology (Krupp, 2003; Sigurdsson, 2014; Jonsson, 1994). Sigurdsson indicates that within the Prosa Edda numerous references are made to celestial objects (Sigurdsson, 2014). In the Germanic languages the wandering planets are used for the names of days of the week, just as the Latin and Romance languages. For the Greek and Roman mythology the connection between the gods, the wandering planets and the constellations are well known. For the North Sea area it is known that there are place names, hills and forests named after the gods and therefore after the planets. However, it is unknown whether constellations were also used specifically for place names, like the Arctic region that is named after the great bear

constellation (Allen, 1899). It is the objective of this paper to investigate the possible constellation origin of the name Hindeloopen. A possible connection between Hindeloopen and the Frisian place name Stavoren is investigated, because a similar English place name is located close to the Hindlip.

2. RESULTS

2.1. History and place name information of Hindeloopen and Stavoren

Hindeloopen is first mentioned in registers of 822-825 in the monastery of Fulda as Hintinkufe, Hindahlop and Hintinluofe. In 1132 it is mentioned as Hindelepum and in 1245 as Hindelope. In 1272 it is mentioned as Hindelopp. In the 14th century Hindelop and Hindeloep can be found. In 1436 the name Hindelopen is used, which is almost identical to the current notation (Postma and Blom, 1975; Gildemacher, 2007; Gildemacher, 2012; Berkel and Samplonius, 2006).

The oldest known record of the city seal is from 1355 and is located in Lübeck (Buijtenen, 1946). The seal shows a lying hind facing the right. Newer versions of the city seals show either a lying deer facing right or a jumping deer facing left. The oldest record of the coat of arms originates from a 1584 manuscript with coat of arms and shows a hind jumping to the left (*Conscriptio exulum Frisiae*, 1584). The oldest known record located in Hindeloopen is a gable stone from 1619 showing a tree and a deer on the left and a hind on right standing with their front legs against the tree (see Fig. 1). From numerous records it is obvious that this coat of arms was used in Hindeloopen and from 1664 also in records outside Hindeloopen. However, in 1818 the oldest known record with a hind jumping to the left was made the official coat of arms.

About 7.0 kilometres located to the southwest lies the city Stavoren. Generally considered one of the oldest settlements of Friesland. According to legends, the city name originates from the god Stavo. A temple for Stavo was present in the city, which was founded by the legendary Friso, the first king of Friesland and to who the land was named after. At the Roode Klif (translated: Red Cliff) close to Stavoren, the god Stavo gave oracles for several times and at Stavoren he had a holy tree. According to legends he was the highest god of the Frisians. After Christianization of Friesland the Stavo temple was changed to a St. Nicholas church (Hilarides, 1677; Bergh, 1836; Buddingh, 1844).



Fig. 1 a) Oldest known record of the original coat of arms of Hindeloopen. b) Coat of arms on the tower bell of 1683

The name of Stavoren is already mentioned around 1000 as Stavron and Stauron. On a coin of 1038-1057 it is written as Staverun and on a coin of 1068-1090 it is written as Staveron. In 1082 it is mentioned as Staveren, which can be found up to the 19th century. The current variant Stavoren was mentioned first in 1245 and was often used from the 19th century. In the Frisian language it is written as Starum and mentioned for the first time in 1477. Etymologically, the first part of the name "Staver" is linked to staff and the second part is linked to "um" (this is discussed in more detail later on) (Berkel and Samplonius, 2006; Gildemacher, 2007; Förstemann, 1913).

The present coat of arms of Stavoren consists of a horizontal division with a golden section at the top and a red section at the bottom. Two crook-staffs crossing each other are shown in front of the gold and red sections. The oldest record of the coat of arms shows a horizontal division with a red section at the top and a blue section at the bottom (*Conscriptio Exulum*, 1584). The coat of arms of the abbot of Stavoren shows two pastoral staffs with veils in front of a red and blue section, while it is known that the abbot had a different coat of arms. The *Tractatus de nobilitate* from 1597 shows the coat of arms as gold and red sections, but without crook staffs (Burmania, 1597). From 1620's the coat of arms is depicted with crook staffs with gold and red sections.

2.2. History and place name information of Hindlip and Staverton

The oldest record of the village Hindlip in Worcestershire is from 966, where it is indicated as Hindehlep. The village is also indicated in the Domesday book of 1086 as Hindelep. The village name consists of the elements "hind" and "leap" (Duignan, 1905).

35 kilometers to the South of Hindlip lies the village Staverton (Glouchestershire). The oldest record of the village is from the Domesday book, where it is written as Staruenton. In the early 13th century till 1560 it is mentioned as Stauerton or Staverton(a).

The name consists of the Old English elements "stæfer" and "tün" (Baddeley and Bellows, 1913).

2.3. *Cichorium intybus*

Buijtenen also suggests the possibility that Hindeloopen was named after a plant that supposedly grew there; the hintlope. According to Buijtenen this name was usually used to designate the chicory (Latin name: *Cichorium intybus*), but sometimes also the sunflower (Latin name: *Helianthus annuus*) (Buijtenen, 1946). Also the marigold (Latin name: *Calendula officinalis*; Dutch: *goudsbloem*) was sometimes called hintlope (Fischer-Benzon, 1894). There are several variations of hintlope that are used for the chicory from the Middle Dutch and Middle Low German: *hindelope*, *hintlope*, *hindlauf*, *hindlaup*, *hindleftte*, *hindleufte*, *hindlichte*, *hindlock*, *hindloff*, *hindlope*, *hindluft*, *hinlaup*, *hintlauf*, *hintlefft*, *hintloft*, *hindtlauf*, *hintloifte*, *hintloiphe*, *hintloph*, *hintloufte* (Pritzel and Jessen, 1882).

Folklore indicates that the blue flowers of the chicory brings good fortune and if a chicory plant is dug up on St. Peter's Day - June 29 - using a stag's horn, then a chosen one coming into contact with the plant will fall in love with the one who did the digging (Marzell, 1963). The rare white variety is mentioned in Frazer's *The Golden Bough* as a flower which possesses the remarkable power of opening all doors and locks, provided that the flower is silently cut with a piece of gold at noon or midnight on St. James's Day, July 25 (Meier, 1852; Frazer, 1913).

Several legends tell that the plant transformed from a young female that waited along the road for her loved one which disappeared in the east. She withered away and changed into the plant with blue eyed flowers looking towards the morning sun. This story gave the chicory the German names *wegwarte*, *sonnenwende* (solsequium, solstice) and *sonnenbraut* (sponsa solis, bride of the sun). The name *solsequium* and *sonnenwendeblyme* was also used for the marigold (Fischer-Benzon, 1894).

Another Dutch and German name for the chicory was *hemelsleutel*/*hemelslötel* (translated: heaven's key) (Heukels, 1907; *Hortus Sanitatis*, 1485; Pritzel and Jessen, 1882). Other German names for the chicory are *kankerkrout* and *kerbskrout*. These names are equal to the French *herbe au cancer* and the Dutch *kreeftkruid* and *kankerkruid* that are used for the heliotroop (Latin name: *Heliotropium europaeum*). The German names for the heliotroop are *krebsblyme*, *sonnenwende*, *wodanskrout* and *godeskrout* (Heukels, 1907; Pritzel and Jessen, 1882).

2.4. *The constellation Capricornus*

The general figure of the constellation has the head of a goat and the tail of a fish. The name for this creature is sea-goat or goat-fish. The first depictions are from Sumeria and represents Enki, the Sumerian primordial god of wisdom and water. The goat-fish is thought to represent the two aspects of the god, wisdom and magic (the goat) and the aquatic element (the fish) (Verderame, 2008). In the grove of his "Sea house" at Eridu a sacred kiskana-tree grew alleged to have had its roots in the omphalos, or navel of the earth, there it derived its vitalizing power from the water of life. It was, therefore, a kind of cosmic tree rooted in the nether regions with branches spreading far and wide over the earth (James, 1966). Enki had many names and one of them was Daramah "the great stag" (Bobula, 1953).

In the Netherlands and Germany the constellation Capricornus is known as Steenbok and Steinbock, respectively. Both names indicate the ibex or wild goat. Earlier Hindu names were Mriga, the Cingalese Makra and the Tamil Makaram, meaning an antelope, but occasionally it was shown with a goat's head upon the body of a hippopotamus, signifying some amphibious creature (Allen, 1899).

The Latin capricorn literally means "having horns similar to those of a goat" and comes from "caper" (goat) and "cornu" (horn) (Klein, 1966). The common Latin name was varied by the "Caper" of Ausonius, "flexus Caper" of Manilius, "Hircus corniger" of Vergil, "hircinus Sidus" of Prudens, "Capra" and "aequoris Hircus", the Sea Goat; while Minsheu's "Capra illa Amalthea" indicates that it was identified by some with the goat usually assigned to Auriga (identified with the star Capella (capra; she-goat) in the constellation Auriga) (Allen, 1899).

According to some traditions the infant Zeus was hidden from Kronos in a cave, where he ate honey and was suckled by the goat Amalthea. Amalthea was afterwards rewarded for this service by being placed among the stars. According to another set of traditions Amalthea was a nymph that nurtured Zeus on a mixture of honey and milk and gave him upbringing at the udder of her goat. When this goat once broke off one of her horns, the nymph Amalthea filled it with fresh herbs and fruit and gave it to Zeus, who transplanted it together with the goat among the stars. According to other accounts Zeus himself broke off one of the horns of the goat Amalthea, gave it to the daughters of Melisseus, and endowed it with such powers that whenever the possessor wished, it would instantaneously become filled with whatever might be desired. The horn of Amalthea is commonly called the horn of plenty or

cornucopia, which was used in later times as the symbol of plenty in general (Smith, 1867).

Both the goat-fish and the horn of plenty are shown on silver coins of emperor Augustus (Allen, 1899). Astrology was a key instrument of Augustus propaganda and Capricorn was a "logo", an emblem chosen to legitimate and iconize his new order (Barton, 1995; Bertarione and Magli, 2015; Magli, 2016).

Eratosthenes knew it as Pan, and Aigi-Pan; the Goat-Footed Pan, half fishified (Allen, 1899). Aratos and Ptolemy called the constellation Aigokeros, the Horned Goat, but Ionic writers had Aigokereus and this word, Latinized as Aegoceros, was in frequent use with all classical authors who wrote on astronomy. The Arabo-Latin *Almagest* of 1515 turned this into Alcaucus, explained by "horn that bucks have" (Allen, 1899). The English (Anglo-Saxon) names in the middle ages are Bucca or Buccan Horn, which means a buck or a buck's horn (Wright, 1841).

Allen indicates that according to Jewish Rabbis the constellation Capricornus is related to Naphtali, one of the 12 sons of Jacob and 12 tribes of Israel (Allen, 1899). In the Bible Naphtali is rendered as "a free running doe" or as "a hind let loose". According to Drummond a tree was the standard of Naphtali (Drummond, 1866).

In Scandinavia the goat Heidrun can be associated with Auriga or Capricornus just as Amalthea in the Greek mythology (Jonsson, 1994). The goat Heidrun is only mentioned once in the Prosa Edda and twice in the Poetic Edda. In the Prosa Edda the following is mentioned on Heidrun: "A goat called *Heiðrún* stands up (on its hind-legs) in Valhalla biting the buds off the branches of that very famous tree which is called *Lærað*. From her teats runs the mead with which every day she fills a cauldron, which is so big that all the *Einherjar* can drink their fill from it." (Young, 1964). In the Poetic Edda (*Grimnismal* 25) almost the same text is given and it is clearly mentioned that Heidrun stands on top of Valhalla and that the cauldron can never be drained. In *Hyndlujod* 47/48 Heidrun is mentioned again: "My noble one, out in the night thou leapest. As Heidrun goes the goats among." (Bellows, 1923).

3. DISCUSSION

3.1. *The name Hindeloopen*

According to Pritzel & Jessen, Buijtenen and Fischer-Benzon the various variants of the name hintlope were used as a name for three plants; the sunflower, the marigold, but most of all the chicory. The chicory is a symbol of the sun (Cooper, 1978). In this case all three plants are related to the sun by their name elements; sun, gold (the element of the sun) or *sonnenwende* (solstice). That the name

hintlope is used for multiple plants might indicate that the name is symbolic and has a deeper meaning. Also the plant that is most frequently designated with the name hintlope, the chicory, has a symbolic meaning. The chicory is mentioned as a plant with superstitious powers that had to be harvested by a special ritual that involves a stags' antler or a piece of gold. This ritual is similar to that of the mistletoe, which also has to be cut with a piece of gold during the summer solstice and is used during winter solstice celebrations. Nowadays, the mistletoe is still used during Christmas celebrations, which evolved from the pagan midwinter festivals (Hijmans, 2003).

The various German names for the chicory could indicate the meaning of the name hintlope. Obviously, the variants of Sonnenwende indicate the solstice. The German names krebskraut and Kankerkraut can be related to lobster and crab, respectively. These names designate two different animals. However, when the names designate a constellation they refer to one constellation; the summer solstice constellation Cancer (the crab). This constellation is named Kreeft in Dutch and Krebs in German, both meaning lobster. In this case it is likely that the name hintlope, which appearance reassembles that of a ibex, was used to designate the winter solstice constellation Ibex/Capricornus. That the solstices are associated with these constellations is indicated by the names of the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn. Macrobius wrote that Capricornus was the gate of the gods, where men ascended to heaven, and Cancer was the gate of men, where men descended to earth (Allen, 1899). The Dutch and German name hemelsleutel and Hemelslötel that are also used for the chicory can be literally translated as heaven's key. This can refer to the gate of the gods (Capricornus) and indicates that the names of the chicory can refer to both solstice constellations. This confirms the idea that hintlope was used as a name for the constellation Ibex/Capricornus.

The goat Amalthea is related to Capricornus, because the constellation represents either Amalthea as a goat-figure or as her horn; the horn of plenty (as indicated by the coin of Augustus). The English also knew the constellation in the middle ages as the buck or the buck's horn. In myths the wild goat, deer, and stag are the same; the same word, mrigas, serves in India to express the constellation of the gazelle and that of the capricorn or wild goat (Gubernatis, 1872). For example, the goat Amalthea suckles the supreme god Zeus, while it is a hind that suckles the descendants Sigurd and Telephus of the supreme gods Odin and Zeus, respectively (Haymes, 1988; Jones, 1918).

The counterpart of Amalthea in the Scandinavian mythology is Heidrun. Amalthea provide the supreme sky god Zeus with milk and honey and her

horn became the Horn of Plenty. On top of Valhalla Heidrun provides the supreme sky god Odin with mead from her tits. Therefore, the mead was a mixture of milk and honey. The cauldron that she filled with mead can be regarded as a cauldron of plenty, as it can never be drained.

The second time of the two different mentioning's of Heidrun in the Edda's, it says: "*out in the night thou leapest. As Heidrun goes the goats among.*". This could confirm that Heidrun was associated with the constellation as a leaping goat.

The meaning of the name Hindeloopen, which reflects a running hind, can be related to the mythology of the constellation. In the 3rd labour, Hercules is instructed to capture the Ceryneian Hind. This swift, dappled creature had bronze hooves and golden antlers like a stag, so that some call her a stag (Graves, 1960). The Ceryneian Hind runs freely with Hercules in pursued until he captures it after 12 months (Smith, 1867). On a Greek vase of amphora type B in the British Museum (Accession number: GR 1843.11 – 3.80), it is shown that Hercules breaks off one of the golden antlers of the Ceryneian Hind. Like the goat and the hind that suckle the supreme god or a descendant of the supreme god, also a comparison can be made with a horn being broken off the goat (Amalthea) and a hind. The 12 labours of Hercules could be related to the 12 constellations of the zodiac and the gold, the broken antler and the 12 months (one year cycle) could indicate that this labour is related to winter solstice constellation Capricornus. It is also an antler that has to be used to dig up the chicory to give it its power.

The 12 children of Jacob could represent the 12 zodiac constellations. Between the 12 children also a hind is present; Jacob's son Naphtali is rendered as a free running doe or a hind let loose.

Therefore, a hind can easily substitute the wild goat in the iconography of the constellation.

3.2. Anglo-Saxon origin

It is clear from the German names of the plant chicory that the name Hindeloopen can be regarded as a name for the constellation Capricornus. It is also shown that the meaning of the name Hindeloopen (which means running hind), can be related to the mythology of this constellation, which is regarded as either a leaping goat or a running hind. The mythology of the constellation in the Anglo-Saxon belief system is similar to that observed in mythology across Europe.

Hindeloopen was first mentioned in 822-825 and Hindlip in 966. Therefore, both names should be introduced before that time. Close to Hindeloopen lies Stavoren. The first part of the name consists of "Staver", which is linked to staff or pole, and the

second part is linked to “-um” as many Frisian place names. The suffix “um” indicates that the place is located on a mound, just as the suffixes “ens” and “terp” (Halbertsma, 1963). Halbertsma and Gildemacher indicate that places with the suffix “um” are among the oldest of Friesland. The suffix “um” comes from “hiem”, which in turn comes from the Scandinavian “heim” (Halbertsma, 1963; Gildemacher, 2008).

The suffix of the similar place name Staverton in England, is “ton”, which originates from the Danish “tün”. The suffixes “heim” and “tün” indicate that these place names are introduced by the Anglo-Saxons that moved from Jutland, Anglia and the Saxony to England and Friesland during the Migration Period. The widespread and the different variants of the plant hintlope in Germany also indicates that the name Hindeloopen likely originates from those areas.

In the present Denmark there are several nature names, houses and a place name that are called Hjortespring, which literally translates to “deer-leap”. However, it is not clear when those names were introduced. In Kent (England) the place Hartlip originates from the Old English elements “heord” (hart; mature stag) and “hlype” (leap) (Wallenberg, 1934). The first recorded versions of the name are Heordlyp in the 11th century, Hertlepe in 1207 and Hartlep in 1219. In the Dutch city Houten, province Utrecht, there was a county seat called Hindelopen or Hinlopen (Bachiene, 1791; Buijtenen, 1946). About two kilometres to the East there was a farmstead called Hindensprunc, that was sold to the Teutonic Order in 1247 (Brom, 1908). It is unknown if these closely located places have a common origin. In the Dutch province Gelderland there is also a place called Staverden, the name of this place related to “stave” (Berkel and Samplonius, 2006). In fact there are a lot of place names that can also be related to stave or staff: Stavenisse (NL), Stavanger (NO), Stavern (NO), Stavelot (BE), Stavern (DE), Staverton (four times in England) and possibly Staven (DE). Most of these places are located on coastal areas or river deltas around the North Sea. Staverden in the Dutch province Gelderland and Hindelopen in Utrecht are not located in the same river delta, but in Friesland and in the delta of the river Severn in England these place names are located in one delta. In the subsequent section the possible connections between these place names will be discussed.

3.3. *The connection between Hindeloopen and Stavoren*

According to legends, the name of Stavoren originates from the god Stavo. At Stavoren he had a holy tree and he was the highest god of the Frisians. After

Christinization of Friesland the Stavo temple was changed to a St. Nicholas church (Hilarides, 1677). Etymologically, the first part of the name is linked to staff, stave or pole. Etymology describes from which word the name originates from, but it does not indicate why. The coat of arms of Stavoren shows two crook-staffs and is therefore a canting arms. The crook-staff (krummstab, kalmus) is one of the symbols of the sun god in various religions and this was also the case in Germanic/Norse religion (Kristiansen, 2014; Haas, 1994). The sky or sun god is generally considered as the highest god in the pantheon of various religions.

In the Germanic/Norse religion Odin is the highest god. He has one eye that is all-seeing and has a spear as attribute (Abram, 2011). The spear has the same symbolism as the staff, which are both symbols of the axis mundi. The tree of life and tree of wisdom are representations of the cosmic tree, which also represents the axis mundi (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1994). The cosmic tree (world tree) is related to Odin, the god of wisdom and runes/writing. He obtained the wisdom of runes after hanging in a tree for nine nights. The Frisian word “stavering” means “spelling” and the German word “buchstabe” means “letter”. Therefore, both meanings of the word “stave” can be related to Odin. A similar conclusion was already drawn in 1844, but up to now not generally accepted due to lack of additional evidence (Buddingh, 1844). It is therefore possible that the name Stavoren is indeed related to the highest god of the Frisians and that his holy tree was related to the World tree. After Christianisation of Friesland the Stavo temple was changed to a St. Nicholas church. St. Nicholas can be regarded as a representation of Odin during the wild hunt (Farwerck, 1978). However, it is not known if Stavo was one of the many names of Odin, who in this case was related to writing, wisdom or for giving oracles, nor that Stavo was the common name for the highest god. The widespread of the place names with “stave” in the North Sea area would, in this case, indicate that it is not a local name. The name Stavo has been related to a god called Stuffo, that originates from Bonifatius legends of Thüringen (Buddingh, 1844). However, whether this relationship is valid is unknown.

The highest god is, as the sun god, closely related to the winter solstice. In the case of Odin, this is reflected in the name Yule father and his presence as the god of the wild hunt. The connection of the sun god with winter solstice originates from the belief in the rebirth of the sun during the winter solstice (Hijmans, 2003; James, 1993; Farwerck, 1978). The four spoke wheel symbol represents the four seasons and the cycle of the sun in the course of a year. The vertical axis in the wheel represents the world axis

and the solstices (Nozedar, 2008). According to Stellarium (version 0.14.0) the sun rises in the constellation Capricornus at the winter solstice from about 3500 BC to 250 BC. This links Capricornus to the winter solstice and makes it a sign of renewal (Magli, 2016). The stag is known as a symbol of the sun and of renewal, just like Capricornus (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1994). The relationship between both the stag and the goat to the winter solstice can also be shown from the fact that not only the goat Heidrun is present on the roof of the Yule father's hall, but also a hart (mature stag). In the Prosa Edda the following is mentioned: "*Still more remarkable is the hart Eikthyrnir, which stands on Valhalla devouring the branches of this tree. Such a huge stream comes from its horns that it falls down into Hvergelmir and thence flow the rivers called ...*" (Young, 1964). The tree Laerad is often identified with Yggdrasil, the world tree in Scandinavian mythology. Therefore, on top of Valhalla, the hall of Odin, the goat and the stag both eat from the world tree. Valhalla in Gadsheim is one of the 12 lodgings in Asgard (Bellows, 1923; Jonsson, 1994). It could be that Valhalla represents Capricornus; one of the twelve "houses" of the zodiac. From Grimnismal we know that an eagle hovers above Valhalla and a wolf hangs in front of its western gate (Bellows, 1923). When the constellation Capricornus rises above the horizon, the constellation Aquila (the eagle) is right above it and the constellation Lupus (the wolf) literally hangs on the horizon to the west (see Fig. 2). In Beowulf the mead-hall is called Heorot, which means "hall of the hart" (Lee, 1972; Klein, 1966). There is a close relationship between the words hart (male deer), heart (central organ in the body) and the hearth (central fireplace in the house) in the English and Germanic languages (Klein, 1966). The Roman goddess Vesta (Greek Hestia) is the goddess of the hearth, or rather the fire burning on the hearth, and was regarded as one of the twelve great gods (Smith, 1867). Capricornus was regarded as under the care of Vesta (Allen, 1899; Manilius, 1st cent AD).

The link between the constellation Capricornus and the world tree can already be seen on a ritual basin decorated with goat-fish figures from Susa dated 13th-12th century BC that is kept at the Louvre. The goat-fish is shown on both sides of the sacred palm tree. The sacred palm tree also represents the tree of life and therefore the axis mundi (James, 1966). The goat-fish represents Enki, the Sumerian primordial god of water and wisdom. His cosmic tree rooted in the nether regions with branches spreading far and wide over the earth and one of Enki's name was Daramah "the great stag" (Bobula, 1953). Therefore, Enki has many similarities with Odin.

Minoan and Scythian art show numerous examples of wild goats standing against a tree and Bushnell (2008) shows examples for ancient Cyprus. Another example is a relief at Karatepe (Turkey) from the Neo-Hittite Period, 8th century BC. The relief clearly shows a male and female wild goat standing against a tree. In general, the tree of life is shown with goats or bulls and lions are associated with pillars (Evans, 1901).

Therefore, it is thought that the iconography of the male goat/stag and female goat/hind eating from the world tree represents the constellation Capricornus at the winter solstice. Exactly the same iconography is shown on the original coat of arms of Hindeloopen. The coat of arms of the casted tower bell from 1683 clearly shows that both the stag and the hind eat from the leaves of the tree (see Fig. 1). Since there is a clear link between the staff (axis mundi) and the constellation Capricornus, there is a clear relationship between the names Hindeloopen and Stavoren.

3.4. *Hindeloopen and other places in Friesland*

There are several indications that other place names in Friesland are named after constellations and that nearby places are connected to the constellation.

Leeuwarden, the capital of Friesland, literally means "mounds of the lion". The etymological theory for the name Leeuwarden indicates that it originates from the word "lee" (sheltered from the wind). However, etymology does not explain the change to the Dutch word for lion (leeuw) in the current name, which is also reflected in the coat of arms that shows a lion.

The name Bolsward can literally be translated as "mound of the bull", although the etymological theory for the name is that it originates from a personal name Bodil or Bodele. It is written on a coin of 1038-1057 as Bodliswert, but in 1398 and 1404 it is written as Boelswaer and Boelswert, respectively (where "Boel" is pronounced as the English "bull"). The last time that the <d> is present in the name was in 1469 (Gildemacher, 2007). However, it is unknown how or why the letter <d> disappeared from the place name. An important local holiday in Bolsward is called Bolletongersdei, which can be literally translated as bull-Thursday. Originally, it was celebrated on the first Thursday after November the 12th. At that time, the constellation Taurus (the bull) can be seen on the horizon one hour after sunset. The day Thursday originates from Thor and Thor is related to the Taurus constellation (Cirlot, 1971). Therefore "bull-Thursday" could be a celebration of the return of the celestial bull on the horizon. The largest church in Bolsward is the Martini-church, which is related to St. Martin and celebrated on November the 11th.



Fig. 2 Screen shot of Stellarium with the constellations wolf to the West and eagle right above Capricornus (on the horizon)

The church is oriented towards the constellation on the horizon.

Nijland is a village located 4 km from Bolsward and the name means “new-land”. There is a legend that tells about the founding of the town’s local church in 1275. The story indicates that when the people wanted to build the church it was destroyed several times. The people decided to let God pick the place and they yoked two oxen (castrated bulls) before a wagon with building material. Where they would find the oxen the next day, they would build the church. The next day they found the oxen in a marsh land with a candle between their horns. At that location they first build a mount and subsequently the church. The story clearly indicates that the candle on the bulls head determined the location of the village. The candle could represent a star and the bulls head could represent the constellation Taurus. There are several founding legends in Friesland and Schoo showed that these church founding sagas are similar to those of Schleswig-Holstein in Germany and Berner Oberland in Switzerland (Schoo, 1934).

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This again indicates a Anglo-Saxon origin of the place names and the possible tradition of renaming places after constellations.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The many German names for the plant chicory indicate that the name Hindelope was used to designate the constellation Capricornus that is usually regarded as a leaping goat, but also as a running hind. The chicory is mentioned as a plant with superstitious powers that had to be harvested by a special ritual, that involves a stags’ antler or a piece of gold, like the mistletoe. The original and current coat of arms of Hindelopen are both consistent with the iconography for the constellation in Norse mythology. The Norse mythology and iconography is similar to that observed across Europe and the Middle East and indicates that the constellation Capricornus was both related to a he-/she-goat and a male/female deer. The widespread of the plant name hintlope in Germany, the locations of places with variants of the names Stavoren and Hindelopen in coastal areas, and nearby places with Anglo-Saxon suffixes “um” and “ton” indicate that the name Hindelopen was introduced by the Anglo-Saxons during the Migration Period. The founding legend of Stavoren, church founding legends, local holidays and current place name meanings in Friesland are consistent with this theory. This is in line with the Anglo-Saxon belief system and the tradition of renaming places in relation to gods (planets). This indicates that the etymology of Frisian place names should be reconsidered to include possible constellation origins of place names.

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