

Undersökningar i Germanisk Mytologi, första delen.
Investigations into Germanic Mythology, Volume 1
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III.
THE MYTH CONCERNING THE GERMANIC
PREHISTORY AND THE EMIGRATIONS
FROM THE NORTH.

20.

THE CREATION OF MAN. THE PRIMEVAL COUNTRY.
SCEF, THE BRINGER OF CULTURE.

The human race, or at least the Germanic race, springs, according to the myth, from a single pair, and *has accordingly had a center from which their descendants have spread over that world which was embraced by the Germanic horizon*. The story of the creation of this pair has its root in a myth of ancient Indo-European origin, according to which the first parents were plants before they became human beings. The Iranian version of the story is preserved in *Bundahishn*, chap. 15.¹ There it is stated that the first human pair grew at the time of the autumnal equinox in the form of a *rheum ribes*² with a single stalk. After the lapse of fifteen years, the bush had put forth fifteen leaves. The man and woman who developed in and with it were closely united, forming one body, so that it could not be seen which one was the man and which one the woman, and they held their hands close to their ears. Nothing revealed whether the splendor of Ahura Mazda - that is to say, the soul - was yet in them or not. Then said Ahura Mazda to Mashia (the man) and to Mashiana (the woman): "Be human beings; become the parents of the world!" And from being plants, they got the form of human beings, and Ahura Mazda urged them to think good thoughts, speak good words, and do good deeds. Still, they soon thought an evil thought and became sinners. The *rheum ribes* from which they sprang had its own origin in seed from a primeval being in human form, Gaya Maretan (Gayomert), which was created from perspiration (cp. *Vafþrúðnismál* 33:1-4), but was slain by the evil Angra Mainyu. *Bundahishn* then gives an account of the first generations following Mashia and Mashiana, and explains how they spread over the earth and became the first parents of the human race.

The Hellenic Indo-Europeans have known the myth concerning the origin of man from plants. According to Hesiod,³ the men of the third age of the world grew from the ash-tree (*ek meleon*); compare the *Odyssey*, 19, 163.

¹ The *Bundahishn* ("Creation"), or Knowledge from the Zand. Translated by E. W. West, from *Sacred Books of the East*, volume 5, Oxford University Press, 1897.

² Rydberg calls this a "*reivac*" bush. There seems to be no adequate translation of this word. It is a member of the rhubarb family native to the Middle East.

³ *Works and Days*, 133-4

From this same tree came the first man according to the Germanic myth. Three Aesir, mighty and worthy of worship, came to Midgard (*at húsi*, *Völuspá* 17; compare *Völuspá* 4, where Midgard is referred to by the word *salr*) and found *á landi* Ask and Embla. These beings were then "of little might" (*lítt megandi*) and "without destiny" (*örlögslausir*); they lacked *önd*, they lacked *óðr*, they had no *lá* or *læti* or *litr goða*, but Odin gave them *önd*, Hoenir gave them *óðr*, Lodur gave them *lá* and *litr goða*. In reference to the meaning of these words, I refer my readers to No. 95, simply noting here that *litr goða*, previously defined as "good color" (*góðr litr*), signifies "the appearance (image) of gods." From looking like trees, Ask and Embla got the appearance which before them none but the gods had assumed. The Teutons, like the Greeks and Romans, conceived the gods in the image of men.

Odin's words in *Hávamál* 49 refer to the same myth. The passage explains that when the Asa-god saw the modesty of the new-made human pair he gave them his own divine garments to cover them. When they found themselves so beautifully adorned it seems to indicate the awakening sense of pride in the first human pair. The words are: "In the field (*velli at*), I gave my clothes to the two wooden men (*tveim trémönnum*). Heroes they seemed to themselves when they got clothes. The naked man is embarrassed."

Both the expressions *á landi* and *velli at* should be observed. That the trees grew on the ground, and that the acts of creating and clothing took place there is so self-evident that these words would be meaningless if they were not called for by the fact that the authors of these passages in *Hávamál* and *Völuspá* had in their minds the ground along the sea, that is, a sea-beach. This is also clear from a tradition given in *Gylfaginning* 9, according to which the three Aesir were walking along the sea-beach (*með sævarströndu*) when they found Ask and Embla, and created of them the first human pair.

Thus the first human pair were created on the beach of an ocean. To which sea can the myth refer? The question does not concern the ancient Indo-European time, but the Germanic antiquity, not Asia, but Europe; and if we furthermore limit it to the Christian era there can be but one answer. Germany was bounded in the days of Tacitus, and long before his time, by Gaul, Rhoetia, and Pannonia on the west and south, by the extensive territories of the Sarmatians and Dacians on the east, and by the ocean on the north. The so-called German Ocean, the North Sea and the Baltic, was then the only body of water within the horizon of the Teutons, the only one which in the days of Jordanes, after the Goths long had ruled north of the Black Sea, was thought to wash the primeval Germanic strands. The myth must therefore refer to the German Ocean. It is certain that the borders of this ocean where the myth has located the creation of the first human pair, or the first Germanic pair, was regarded as the center from which their descendants spread over more and more territory. Where near the North Sea or the Baltic was this center located?

Even this question can be answered, thanks to the mythic fragments preserved. A feature common to all well-developed mythological systems is the view that the human race in its infancy was under the special protection of friendly divinities, and received from them the doctrines, arts, and trades without which all culture is impossible. The same view is strongly developed among the Teutons. Anglo-Saxon documents have rescued the story telling how Ask and Embla's descendants received the first blessings of culture from the benign gods. The story has come to us through Christian hands, which, however, have allowed enough of the original to remain to show that its main purpose

was to tell us how the great gifts of culture came to the human race. The saga names the land where this took place. The country was the most southern part of the Scandinavian peninsula, and especially the part of it bordering on the western sea.⁴ Had these statements come to us only from northern sources, there would be good reason for doubting their originality and general application to the Germanic tribes. The Icelandic-Norwegian middle-age literature abounds in evidence of a disposition to locate the events of a myth and the exploits of mythic persons in the author's own land and town. But in this instance, there is no room for the suspicion that patriotism has given to the southernmost part of the Scandinavian peninsula a so conspicuous prominence in the earliest history of the myth. The chief evidence is found in the traditions of the Saxons in England, and this gives us the best clue to the unanimity with which the sagas of the Germanic continent, from a time prior to the birth of Christ far down in the Middle Ages, point out the great peninsula in the northern sea as the land of the oldest ancestors, in conflict with the scholastic opinion in regard to an emigration from Troy. The region where the myth located the first dawn of human culture was certainly also the place which was regarded as the cradle and center of the race.

The non-Scandinavian sources in question are: the Beowulf poem, Ethelwerd, Willielmus Malmesburiensis (William of Malmesbury), Simeon Dunelmensis (Simeon of Durham), and Matthæus Westmonasteriensis⁵ (Matthew of Westminster). A closer examination of them reveals the fact that they have their information from three different sources, which again have a common origin in a heathen myth. If we bring together what they have preserved of the story we get the following result⁶:

One day it came to pass that a ship was seen sailing near the coast of Scedeland or Scani,⁷ and it approached the land without being propelled either by oars or sails. The ship came to the sea-beach, and there was seen lying in it a little boy, who was sleeping with his head on a sheaf of grain, surrounded by treasures and tools, by glaives⁸ and coats of mail. The boat itself was stately and beautifully decorated. Who he was and from where he came nobody had any idea, but the little boy was received as if he had been a kinsman, and he received the most constant and tender care. Since he came with a sheaf of grain to their country, the people called him Sceaf, Sceaef.⁹ (The Beowulf poem calls him Scyld, son of Sceaef, and gives Scyld the son Beowulf, which originally was another name of Scyld.). Sceaf grew up among this people, became their benefactor and king, and ruled most honorably for many years. He died far advanced in age. In accordance with his own directions, his body was borne down to the beach where he had landed as a child. There in a little harbor lay the same boat in which he had come. Glittering from hoar-

⁴ In the second volume of this work, page 340, Rydberg states "Aurvangaland, which the Danes regard as included in the present Denmark, was the land, where the ancestors of the human race, Ask and Embla, had grown out of the earth, and where the cradle of the Germanic race was located."

⁵ The supposed author of a well-known English chronicle, properly called "*Flores Historiarum*."

⁶ Erik Gustaf Geijer has partly indicated its significance in *Svea Rikes Häfder*, where he says: "The tradition concerning Sceaf is remarkable, as it evidently has reference to the introduction of agriculture, and shows that it was first introduced in the most southern part of Scandinavia."

⁷ The Beowulf poem has the name Scedeland (Scandia): compare the name Skådan in *De origine Longobardorum*. Ethelwerd writes: "*Ipse Skef cum uno dromone advectus est in insulam Oceani, quae dicitur Scani, armis circumdatus,*" etc.

⁸ Sw. *glafvar*, glaives, ME *swords*, especially the broadsword. From the MF, javelin, sword.

⁹ Matthæus Westmonasteriensis translates this name with *frumenti manipulus*, a sheaf.

frost and ice, and eager to return to the sea, the boat was waiting to receive the dead king, and around him the grateful and sorrowing people laid no fewer treasures than those with which Scef had come. And when all was finished the boat went out upon the sea, and no one knows where it landed. He left a son Scyld (according to the Beowulf poem, Beowulf son of Scyld), who ruled after him. The grandson of the boy who came with the sheaf was Healfdene-Halfdan, king of the Danes (that is, according to the Beowulf poem).

The myth gives the oldest Germanic patriarchs a very long life, in the same manner as the Bible in the case of Adam and his descendants. They lived for centuries (see below). The story could therefore make the culture introduced by Scef spread far and wide during his own reign, and it could make his realm increase with the culture. According to scattered statements traceable to the Scef-saga, Denmark, Angeln, and at least the northern part of Saxland, have been populated by people who obeyed his scepter. In the North, Götaland and Svealand were subject to him.

The proof of this, so far as Denmark is concerned, is that, according to the Beowulf poem, its first royal family was descended from Scef through his son Scyld (Skjold). In accordance with this, Danish and Icelandic genealogies make Skjold the progenitor of the first dynasty in Denmark, and also make him the ruler of the land to which his father came, that is, Skani. His origin as a divinely-born patriarch, as a hero receiving divine worship, and as the ruler of the original Germanic country, appears also in *Fornmannasögur*, v. 239, where he is styled *Skáninga goð*, the god of the Scanians.¹⁰

Matthæus Westmonasteriensis (Matthew of Westminster) informs us that Scef ruled in Angeln.

According to the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, the dynasty of Wessex came from Saxland, and its progenitor was Scef.¹¹

If we examine the northern sources, we discover that the Scef myth still may be found in passages which have been unnoticed, and that the tribes of the far North saw in the boy who came with the sheaf and the tools the divine progenitor of their celebrated dynasty in Uppsala. This can be found in spite of the younger saga-geological layer which the hypothesis of Odin's and his Trojan Aesir's immigration has spread over it since the introduction of Christianity. Scef's personality comes to the surface, we shall see, as Skefill and Skelfir.¹²

In the *Fornaldarsagas*, *Hversu Noregr Byggðist 2*, and in *Flateyjarbók*, I. 24, Skelfir is mentioned as family patriarch and as Skjold's father, the progenitor of the Skjoldungs. There can, therefore, be no doubt that Scef, Scyld's father, and through him

¹⁰ From "Additions to the Saga of Saint Olaf" in *Fornmannasögur V*: Ólafr konúgr kristnaði þetta ríki allt: öll blót braut hann níðr ok öll goð sem Þór Engilsmannagoð, ok Óðin Saxagoð, ok Skjöld Skánúngagoð ok Frey Svíagoð and Goðorm Danagoð, ok mörg önnur blótskapar skrímsl, bæði hamra ok hörga, skóga, vötn ok tré ok öll önnur blót, bæði meiri ok minni; "King Olaf christianized all of these kingdoms: he brought down all sacrifices and all gods, like Thor, the god of the Angles, and Odin, god of the Saxons, and Skjöld, god of the Scanians, and Frey, god of the Swedes, and Goðorm, god of the Danes...etc."

¹¹ According to year 449 AD of the Chronicle, the Kings of Wessex came from Saxland. The Chronicle however makes no mention of Scef. Five paragraphs later, Rydberg makes mention of a Wessex Royal geneology with Scef as the patriarch. Scef (Scef) is the head of a geneology according to Jakob Grimm, see *Deutsche Mythologi*, Volume I, Chap. 7, Wodan. The last paragraph there contains a geneology in ascending order, with Scef as the original patriarch.

¹² From this section alone, it is apparent that Rydberg was familiar with Grimm's work; see *DM*, Volume 1, chapter XV, 4. Many of the references are identical.

the progenitor of the Skjoldungs, originally is the same as Skelfir, Skjold's father, and progenitor of the Skjoldungs in these Icelandic works.

But he is not only the progenitor of the Skjoldungs, but also of the Ynglings. The genealogy beginning with him is called in the *Flateyjarbók*, *Skilfinga ætt eðr skjöldunga ætt*. The *Prose Edda* also knows Skelfir (*Skáldskaparmál* 80), and says he was a famous king whose genealogy *er köllut skilvinga ætt*. Now the Skilfing race in the oldest sources is precisely the same as the Yngling race both from an Anglo-Saxon and from a heathen Norse standpoint. The *Beowulf* poem calls the Swedish kings *scilfingas*, and according to Thjodulf, a kinsman of the Ynglings and a kinsman of the Skilfing, *Skilfinga niðr*, are identical (*Ynglingatal* 18). Even the *Prose Edda* seems to be aware of this. It says in the passage quoted above that the Skilfing race *er í Austrvegum*. In the Thjodulf strophes, *Austrvegar* means simply Svealand, and *Austrkonungur* means Swedish king.

Thus it follows that the Scef who is identical with Skelfir¹³ was the common progenitor of the *Ynglinga* and of the *Skjöldunga* race, in the heathen saga of the North. From his dignity as original patriarch of the royal families of Sweden, Denmark, Angeln, Saxland, and England, he was displaced by the scholastic fiction of the Middle Ages concerning the immigration of Trojan Asiatics under the leadership of Odin, who as the leader of the immigration also had to be the progenitor of the most distinguished families of the immigrants. This view seems first to have been established in England after this country had been converted to Christianity and conquered by the Trojan immigration hypothesis. Wodan is there placed at the head of the royal genealogies of the chronicles, excepting in Wessex, where Scef is allowed to retain his old position, and where Odin must content himself with a secondary place in the genealogy. But in the *Beowulf* poem, Scef still retains his dignity as ancient patriarch of the kings of Denmark.

From England, this same distortion of the myth comes to the North in connection with the hypothesis concerning the immigration of the "Asiamen," and is finally accepted there in the most unconcerned manner, without the least regard to the mythic records which were still well known. Without any hesitation, Skjold, Scef's son, is changed into a son of Odin (*Ynglingasaga* 5 ; Foreword to *Gylfaginning*, 5). Yngvi, who as the progenitor of the Ynglings is identical with Scef, and whose very name, perhaps, is or has been conceived as an epithet indicating Scef's tender age when he came to the coast of Scandia - Yngvi-Scef is confounded with Freyr, is styled Yngvi-Freyr after the appellation of the Vana-god Ingunar Freyr, and he, too, is called a son of Odin (Foreword to *Gylfaginning* 5), although Freyr in the myth is a son of Njörd and belongs to another race of gods than Odin. The epithet with which Ari Fróði in his *Schedæ* characterizes Yngvi, namely *Tyrkiakonungr*, Trojan king, proves that the lad who came with the sheaf of grain to Skani is already in Ari changed into a Trojan.

21.

SCEF THE AUTHOR OF CULTURE IDENTICAL WITH HEIMDALL-RIG, THE ORIGINAL PATRIARCH.

¹³ The name Scef is not preserved in Old Norse; but if it did, it would be *Skefr* (Skefur).

But in one respect, Ari Fróði or his authority has paid attention to the genuine mythic tradition, namely in that he made the Vanir the kinsmen of the descendants of Yngvi. This is correct in the sense that Scef-Yngvi, the son of a deity transformed into a man, was in the myth a Vana-god. Accordingly, every member of the Yngling race and every descendant of Scef may be styled a son of Freyr (*Freys áttungr*), epithets applied by Thjodulf in *Ynglingatal* in regard to the Uppsala kings. They are gifts from the Vanir - - the implements which point to the opulent Njörd, and the grain sheaf which is Frey's symbol -- which Scef-Yngvi brings with him to the ancient people of Scandia, and his rule is peaceful and rich in blessings.

Scef-Yngvi comes across the ocean. Vanaheim was thought to be situated on the other side of it, in the same direction as Aegir's palace in the great western ocean and in the outermost domain of Jörmungrund (see 93). This is indicated in Lokasenna 34, where Loki in Aegir's hall says to the Van Njörd: "You were sent from here to the East as a hostage to the gods" (*Þú vart austr héðan gísl um sendr at goðum*). Thus Njörd's castle Noatun is situated in the West, on a strand outside of which the swans sing (*Gylfaginning* 23). In the faded memory of Scef, preserved in the stories of the Lower Rhine and of the Netherlands, there comes to a poverty-stricken people a boat in which there lies a sleeping youth. The boat is, like Scef's, without sails or oars, but is drawn over the billows by a swan.¹⁴ From *Gylfaginning* 16, we learn that there are myths telling of the origin of the swans. They are all descended from that pair of swans which swim in the sacred waters of Urd's fountain. Thus the descendants of these swans that sing outside of the Vanir palace *Nóatún* and their arrival to the shores of Midgard seem to have some connection with the coming of the Van Scef and of culture.

The Vanir most prominent in the myths are Njörd, Freyr, and Heimdall. Though an Asa-god by adoption, Heimdall is, like Njörd and Freyr, a Vana-god by birth and birthplace, and is accordingly called both *áss* and *vanr* (*Þrymskviða* 15). Meanwhile these three divinities, definitely named Vanir, are only a few out of many. The Vanir have constituted a numerous clan, strong enough to wage a victorious war against the Aesir (*Völuspá*).¹⁵ Who among them was Scef-Yngvi? The question can be answered as follows:

(1) Of Heimdall, and of him alone among the gods, it is related that he lived for a time among men as a man, and that he performed that which is attributed to Scef -- that is, organized and elevated human society and became the progenitor of sacred families in Midgard.

(2) *Rígsþula* relates that the god Heimdall, having assumed the name Rig, begot with an earthly woman the son Jarl-Rig, who in turn became the father of Konr-Rig. Konr-Rig is, as the very name indicates and as Vigfusson already has pointed out, the first who bore the kingly name. In *Rígsþula*, the Jarl begets the king, as in *Ynglingasaga* the judge (*Dómarr*) begets the first king. Rig is, according to *Ynglingasaga* 17,

¹⁴ See Grimm, *DM I*, 15, 4. This is Rydberg's source of this story.

¹⁵ Rather than consisting of large numbers, a more plausible explanation may be the power wielded by the Vanir themselves. Among their number seem to be the deities who represent the Earth and the Sea, Sun and the Moon, Daylight, as well as the one who controls the rotation of the heavens and the flow of the tides (Jord, Njörd, Sol, Mani, Heimdall-Dag, and Mundilfori-Lodur respectively).

grandfather to Dan, who is a Skjoldung. Heimdall-Rig is thus the father of the progenitor of the Skjoldungs, and it is the story of the divine origin of the Skjoldungs Rígsþula gives us when it sings of Heimdall as Jarl's father and the first king's grandfather. But the progenitor of the Skjoldungs is, according to both Anglo-Saxon and the northern sources above quoted, Scef. Thus Heimdall and Scef are identical.

These proofs are sufficient. More can be presented, and the identity will be established by the whole investigation.

As a tender boy, Heimdall was sent by the Vanir to the southern shores of Scandinavia with the gifts of culture. *Hyndluljóð* tells how these friendly powers prepared the child for its important mission, after it was born in the outermost borders of the earth (*við jarðar þröm*), in a wonderful manner, by nine sisters (*Hyndluljóð* 35 = *Völuspá* in *Skamma* 7; *Heimdallar Galdr* in *Gylfaginning* 27; compare No. 82, where the ancient Indo-European root of the myth concerning Heimdall's nine mothers is pointed out).

For its mission, the child had to be equipped with strength, endurance, and wisdom. It was given to drink *jarðar magn*, *svalkaldr sær* and *Sónar dreyri* (*Völuspá* in *Skamma* 10). It is necessary to compare these expressions with *Urðar magn*, *svalkaldr sær* and *Sónar dreyri* in *Guðrúnarkviða in forna* 21, a song written in Christian times, where this reminiscence of a triple heathen-mythic drink reappears as a potion of forgetfulness allaying sorrow. The expression *Sónar dreyri* shows that the child had tasted liquids from the subterranean fountains which water Yggdrasil and sustain the spiritual and physical life of the universe (cp. Nos. 63 and 93). *Són* contains the mead of inspiration and wisdom. In *Skáldskaparmál*, which quotes a satire of late origin, this name is given to a jar in which Suttung preserves this valuable liquor, but to the heathen skalds, *Són* is the name of Mimir's fountain, which contains the highest spiritual gifts, and around whose rush-bordered edge the reeds of poetry grow (Eilífr Guðrúnarson, *Skáldskaparmál* 10).¹⁶ The child Heimdall has, therefore, drunk from Mimir's fountain. *Jarðar magn* (the earth's strength) is in reality the same as *Urðar magn*, the strength of the water in Urd's fountain, which keeps the world-tree ever green and sustains the physical life of creation (*Völuspá*). The third subterranean fountain is Hvergelmir, with hardening liquids. From Hvergelmir comes the river Svöl, and the venom-cold Elivagar (*Grímnismál* 27, *Gylfaginning* 4). *Svalkaldr sær*, cool sea, is an appropriate designation of this fountain.

When the child has been strengthened in this manner for its great mission, it is laid sleeping in the decorated ship, gets the grain-sheaf for its pillow, and numerous treasures are placed around it. It is certain that there were not only weapons and ornaments, but also workmen's tools among the treasures. It should be borne in mind that, on the Ida-plains, the gods not only made ornaments, but also tools (*tangir skópu ok tól görðu*, *Völuspá* 8). Evidence is presented in No. 82 that Scef-Heimdall brought the fire-auger to primeval man who until that time had lived without the blessings produced by the sacred fire.

The boy grows up among the inhabitants on the Scandian coast, and, when he has developed into manhood, human culture has germinated under his influence and the

¹⁶ Although *Són* is a designation of the liquid in Mimir's fountain, Rydberg has misunderstood this strophe, which reads: *Verðið ér, alls orða/ oss grær of kon mæran/ á sefreinu Sónar/ sáð, vingjöfum ráða*. "...Son's seed [the mead of poetry] grows on our word-meadow [tongue]." Faulkes translation.

beginnings of classes in society with distinct callings appear. In *Rígsþula*, we find him journeying along "green paths, from house to house, in that land which his presence has blessed." Here he is called Rígr - it is true of him as of nearly all mythological persons, that he has several names - but the introduction to the poem informs us that the person so called is the god Heimdall (*einhverr af ásum sá er Heimdallr hét*). The country is here also described as situated near the sea. Heimdall journeys *fram með sjóvarströndu*. Culture is in complete operation. The people are settled, they spin and weave, perform handiwork, and are smiths, they plough and bake, and Heimdall has instructed them in runes. Different homes show different customs and various degrees of wealth, but happiness prevails everywhere. Heimdall visits Ai's and Edda's unpretentious home, is hospitably received, and remains three days. Nine months later the son Thrall is born to this family. Heimdall then visits Afi's and Amma's well-kept and cleanly house, and nine months afterwards the son Karl (Churl) is born in this household. From there, Rig travels to Fadir's and Modir's elegant home. Nine months later, the son Jarl is born there. Thus the three Germanic classes - the thralls, the freemen, and the nobility - have received their divine sanction from Heimdall-Rig, and all three have been honored with divine birth.

In the account of Rig's visit to the three different homes lies the mythic idea of a common fatherhood, an idea which must not be left out of sight when human heroes are described as sons of gods in the mythological and heroic sagas. They are sons of the gods and, at the same time, from a genealogical standpoint, men. Their pedigree, starting with Ask and Embla, is not interrupted by the intervention of the visiting god, nor is there developed by this intervention a half-divine, half-human middle class or bastard clan. According to Tacitus, the Germanic patriarch Mannus is the son of a god and the grandson of the goddess Jord (Earth). Nevertheless he is, as his name indicates, in the full physical sense of the word, a man, and besides his divine father, he has had a human father. They are the descendants of Ask and Embla, men of all classes and conditions, whom *Völuspá's* skald gathered around the seeress when she was to present to them a view of the world's development and commanded silence with the formula: "I ask for a hearing from all divine races, great and small, sons of Heimdall." We find the idea of a common fatherhood again in the question of Fadir's grandson, as we shall show below. Through him, the families of chiefs get the right of precedence before both the other classes. Thor becomes their progenitor. While all classes trace their descent from Heimdall, the nobility trace theirs also from Thor, and through him from Odin.

In *Rígsþula*, Heimdall-Rig's and Fadir's son, begotten with Modir, inherits the name of the divine co-father, and is called *Rígr Jarl*. Jarl's son, *Konr*, gets the same name after he has given proof of his knowledge in the runes introduced among the children of men by Heimdall, and has even shown himself superior to his father in this respect. This view that the younger generation surpasses the older points to the idea of a progress in culture among men, during a time when they live in peace and happiness protected by Heimdall's fostering care and scepter, but must not be construed into the theory of a continued progress based on the law and nature of things, a theory strange to both the Teutons and to the other peoples of antiquity. Heimdall-Rig's reign must be regarded as the happy ancient age, of which nearly all mythologies have dreamed. Already in the next age following, that is, that of the second patriarch, we read of men of violence who visit the peaceful, and under the third patriarch begins the "knife-age, and axe-age with cloven

shields," (*Völuspá* 45) which continues through history and receives its most terrible development before Ragnarok.

The more common mythical names of the persons appearing in *Rígsþula* are not mentioned in the song, not even Heimdall's. For the first time, in strophe 48, the last of the fragment, we find words which have the character of names - *Danr* and *Danpr*. A crow sings from the tree to Jarl's son, the grandson of Heimdall, Kon, saying that peaceful amusement (*kyrra fugla*) does not become him longer, but that he should rather mount his steed and fight against men; and the crow seeks to awaken his ambition or jealousy by saying that "Dan and Danp, skilled in navigating ships and wielding swords, have more precious halls and a better freehold than you." The circumstance that these names are mentioned makes it possible, as shall be shown below, to establish in a more satisfactory manner the connection between *Rígsþula* and other accounts which are found in fragments concerning the Germanic patriarch period.

The oldest history of man among the Teutons did not begin with a paradisiac condition. Some time has elapsed between the creation of Ask and Embla, and Heimdall's coming among men. As culture begins with Heimdall, a condition of barbarism must have preceded his arrival. At any rate, the first generations after Ask and Embla have been looked upon as lacking fire; consequently they have been without the art of the smith, without metal implements, and without knowledge of agriculture. Therefore, it is that the Vana-child comes across the western sea with fire, with implements, and with the sheaf of grain. But the barbarous condition may have been attended with innocence and goodness of heart. The manner in which the strange child was received by the inhabitants of Scandia's coast, and the tenderness with which he was cared for (*diligenti animo*, says Ethelwerd) seem to indicate this.

When Scef-Heimdall had performed his mission, and when the beautiful boat in which he came had disappeared beyond the western horizon, then the second mythic patriarch-age begins.

22.

HEIMDALL'S SON BORGAR-SKJOLD, THE SECOND PATRIARCH.

Ynglingasaga 17 contains a passage which is clearly connected with *Rígsþula* or with some kindred source. The passage mentions three persons who appear in *Rígsþula*, namely Rig, Danp, and Dan, and it is stated there that the ruler who first possessed the kingly title in Svithiod was the son of a chief, whose name was Judge (*Dómarr*), and Judge was married to Drott (*Drótt*), the daughter of Danp.

That Domar and his royal son, the latter with the epithet *Dyggvi*, "the worthy," "the noble," were afterwards woven into the royal pedigree in *Ynglingasaga*, is a matter which we cannot at present consider. Vigfusson (*Corpus Poeticum Boreale*) has already shown the mythic symbolism and unhistorical character of this royal pedigree's *Vísburrr*, the priest, son of a god; of *Dómaldr-Dómvaldr*, the legislator; of *Dómarr*, the judge; and of *Dyggvi*, the first king. These are not historical Uppsala kings, but personified myths, symbolizing the development of human society on a religious basis into a political

condition of law culminating in royal power. It is in short the same chain of ideas as we find in *Rígsþula*, where Heimdall, the son of a god and the founder of culture, becomes the father of the Jarl-judge, whose son is the first king. *Dómarr*, in the one version of the chain of ideas, corresponds to Rig-Jarl in the other, and *Dyggvi* corresponds to *Konr*. Heimdall is the first patriarch, the Jarl-judge is the second, and the oldest of kings is the third.

Some person, through whose hands *Ynglingasaga* has passed before it got its present form in *Heimskringla*, has understood this correspondence between *Dómarr* and Rig-Jarl, and has given to the former the wife which originally belonged to the latter. *Rígsþula* has been rescued in a single manuscript. This manuscript was owned by Arngrim Jonsson, the author of *Supplementum Historiæ Norvegiæ*, and was perhaps in his time, as Bugge (in *Norræn Fornkæði*.) conjectures, less fragmentary than it now is. Arngrim relates that Rig Jarl was married to a daughter of Danp, lord of Danpsted. Thus the representative of the Jarl's dignity, like the representative of the Judge's dignity in *Ynglingasaga*, is here married to Danp's daughter.

In Saxo, a man by name Borgar (Borcarus - Hist. Dan., Book 7) occupies an important position. He is a South Scandinavian chief, leader of Skani's warriors (*Borcarus cum Scanico equitatu*; Borgar with his Scandian calvary, pg. 200)¹⁷, but instead of a king's title, he holds a position answering to that of the Jarl. Meanwhile he, like Skjold, becomes the founder of a Danish royal dynasty. Like Skjold he fights beasts and robbers, and like him he wins his bride, sword in hand. Borgar's wife is Drott (*Drotta, Drota*), the same name as Danp's daughter. Skjold's son Gram and Borgar's son Halfdan are found on close examination (see below) to be identical with each other, and with king Halfdan Berggram in whom the names of both are united. Thus we find:

(1) That Borgar appears as a chief in Skani, which in the myth is the cradle of the human race, or of the Germanic race. As such he is also mentioned in *Scriptores rerum danicarum*, (pp. 16-19, 154), where he is called Bugarus and Borgardus.

(2) That he has performed similar exploits to those of Skjold, the son of Scef-Heimdall.

(3) That he is not clothed with kingly dignity, but has a son who founds a royal dynasty in Denmark. This corresponds to Heimdall's son Rig-Jarl, who is not himself styled king, but whose son becomes a Danish king and the progenitor of the Skjoldungs.

(4) That he is married to Drott, who, according to *Ynglingasaga*, is Danp's daughter. This corresponds to Heimdall's son Rig-Jarl, who takes a daughter of Danp as his wife.

(5) That his son is identical with the son of Skjold, the progenitor of the Skjoldungs.

(6) That this son of his is called Halfdan, while in the Anglo-Saxon sources Scef, through his son Scyld (Skjold), is the progenitor of Denmark's king Healfdene.

These testimonies contain incontestable evidence that Skjold, Borgar, and Rig-Jarl are names of the same mythic person, the son of the ancient patriarch Heimdall, and himself the second patriarch, who, after Heimdall, determines the destiny of his race. The

¹⁷ Saxo Grammaticus, *The History of the Danes* Books I-IX, Peter Fisher Translation, page 219.

name *Borgarr* is a synonym of *Skjöldr*. From the beginning, the word *Skjöldr* has had, or has acquired in the lapse of past ages, the meaning "the protecting one," "the shielding one," and as such it was applied to the common defensive armor, the shield. *Borgarr* is derived from *bjarga* (past. part. *borginn*; cp. *borg*), and thus has the same meaning, that is, "the defending or protecting one." From Norse poetry, a multitude of examples can be given of the paraphrasing of one name with another, or even several others, of similar meaning.

The second patriarch, Heimdall's son, thus has the names Skjold, Borgar, and Rig-Jarl in the heathen and the heathen-derived traditions.

In German poems of the Middle Ages ("*Wolfdieterich*," "*König Ruther*," and others), Borgar is remembered by the name *Berchtung*, *Berker*, and *Berther*. His mythic character as ancient patriarch is well preserved there. He is *der grise mann* (*the old man*), a Germanic Nestor. He wears a beard reaching to the belt, and attains the age of 250 years. He was fostered by a king Anzius, the progenitor of the Amelungs (the Amalians). The name Anzius points to the Gothic *ansi* (Asa-god). Borgar's fostering by "the white Asa-god" has accordingly not been forgotten. Among the exercises taught him by Anzius are *daz werfen mit dem messer und schissen zu dem zil* (compare Rig-Jarl's exercises, *Rígsþula* 35)¹⁸. Like Borgar, Berchtung is not a king, but a very noble and greatly-trusted chief, wise and kind, the foster-father and counselor of heroes and kings. The Norse saga places Borgar, and the German saga places Berchtung, in close relation to heroes who belong to the race of Hildings. Borgar is, according to Saxo, the stepfather of Hildeger; Berchtung is, according to "*Wolfdieterich*," Hildebrand's ancestor. Of Hildeger, Saxo relates in part the same as the German poem tells of Hildebrand. Berchtung becomes the foster-father of an Amalian prince; with Borgar's son grows up as foster-brother Hamal (*Helgakviða Hundingsbana II* 2; see Nos. 29, 42), whose name points to the Amalian race. The very name Borgarr, which, as indicated, in this form refers to *bjarga*, may in an older form have been related to the name *Berchter*, *Berchtung*.

23.

BORGAR-SKJOLD'S SON HALFDAN, THE THIRD PATRIARCH.

The Identity of Gram, Halfdan Berggram, and Halfdan Borgarson.

In the time of Borgar and his son, the third patriarch, many of the most important events of the myth take place. Before I present these, the chain of evidence requires that I establish clearly the names applied to Borgar in our literary sources. Danish scholars have already discovered what I pointed out above, that the kings Gram Skjoldson, Halfdan Berggram, and Halfdan Borgarson mentioned by Saxo, and referred to different generations, are identical with each other and with Halfdan the Skjoldung and Halfdan the Old of the Icelandic documents.¹⁹

¹⁸ To handle a knife, and to shoot an arrow; cp. *Rígsþula* 35, "brandish a shield, fit bowstrings, bend the elbow, shape arrows, hurl spears, shake lances, ride horses, to set hounds, swing swords, practice swimming." Also compare strophe 42, where Jarl teaches these arts to his children.

¹⁹ The first nine books of Saxo form a labyrinth constructed out of myths related as history, but the thread of Ariadne seems to be wanting. On this account, it might be supposed that Saxo had treated the rich mythical materials at his command in an arbitrary and unmethodical manner; and we must bear in mind that these mythic materials were far more abundant in his time than they were in the following centuries, when

The correctness of this view will appear from the following parallels:

they came to be recorded by the Icelandic authors. This supposition is however, wrong. Saxo has examined his sources methodically and with scrutiny, and has handled them with all due reverence, when he assumed the desperate task of constructing, by the aid of the mythic traditions and heroic poems at hand, a chronicle spanning several centuries - a chronicle in which fifty to sixty successive rulers were to be brought upon the stage and off again, while myths and heroic traditions embrace but few generations, and most mythic persons continue to exist through all ages. In the very nature of the case, Saxo was obliged, in order to solve this problem, to put his material on the rack; but a thorough study of the above-mentioned books of his history shows that he treated the delinquent with consistency. The simplest of the rules he followed was to avail himself of the polyonymy with which the myths and heroic poems are overloaded, and to do so in the following manner:

Assume that a person in the mythic or heroic poems had three or four names or epithets (he may have had a score). We will call this person A, and the different forms of his name A', A'', A'''. Saxo's task of producing a chain of events running through many centuries forced him to consider the three names A', A'', and A''' as originally three persons, who had performed certain similar exploits, and therefore had, in course of time, been confounded with each other, and blended by the authors of myths and stories into one person A. As best he can, Saxo tries to resolve this mythical product, composed, in his opinion, of historical elements, and to distribute the exploits attributed to A between A', A'', and A'''. It may also be that one or more of the stories applied to A were found more or less varied in different sources. In such cases, he would report the same stories with slight variations about A', A'', and A'''. The similarities remaining form one important group of indications which he has furnished to guide us, but which can assure us that our investigation is in the right course only when corroborated by indications belonging to other groups, or corroborated by statements preserved in other sources.

But in the events which Saxo in this manner relates about A', A'', and A''', other persons are also mentioned. We will assume that in the myths and heroic poems these have been named B and C. These, too, have in the songs of the skalds had several names and epithets. B has also been called B', B'', B'''. C has also been styled C', C'', C'''. Out of this one subordinate person B, Saxo, by the aid of the abundance of names, makes as many subordinate persons - B', B'', and B''' - as he made out of the original chief person A - that is, the chief persons A', A'', and A'''. Thus also with C, and in this way we get the following analogies:

A' is to B' and C' as

A'' is to B'' and C'' and as

A''' is to B''' and C'''.

By comparing all that is related concerning these nine names, we are enabled gradually to form a more or less correct idea of what the original myth has contained in regard to A, B, and C. If it then happens - as is often the case - that two or more of the names A', B', C', etc., are found in Icelandic or other documents, and there belong to persons whose adventures are in some respects the same, and in other respects are made clearer and more complete, by what Saxo tells about A', A'', and A''', etc., then it is proper to continue the investigation in the direction thus started. If, then, every new step brings forth new confirmations from various sources, and if a myth thus restored easily dovetails itself into an epic cycle of myths, and there forms a necessary link in the chain of events, then the investigation has produced the desired result.

An aid in the investigation is not infrequently the circumstance that the names at Saxo's disposal were not sufficient for all points in the above scheme. We then find analogies which open for us, so to speak, short cuts - for instance, as follows:

A' is to B' and C' as

A'' is to B'' and C'' and as

A''' is to B''' and C'''.

The parallels given in the text above are a concrete example of the above scheme. For we have seen -

A = Halfdan, tripled in A' = Gram, A'' = Halfdan Berggram, A''' = Halfdan Borgarson.

B = Ebbo (*Ebur, Ibor, Jöfurr*), tripled in B' = Henricus, B'' = Ebbo, B''' = Sivarus.

C doubled in C' = Svipdag, and C'' = Ericus.

1 **Saxo**: Gram slays king Sictrugus, and marries Signi, daughter of Sumblus, king of the Finns.

Hyndluljóð: Halfdan Skjoldung slays king Sigtrygg, and marries Almveig with the consent of Eymund.

Prose Edda: Halfdan the Old slays king Sigtrygg, and marries Alveig, daughter of Eyvind.

Fornaldarsögur: Halfdan the Old slays king Sigtrygg, and marries Alfny, daughter of Eymund.²⁰

2 **Saxo**: Gram, son of Skjold, is the progenitor of the Skjoldungs.

Hyndluljóð: Halfdan Skjoldung, son or descendant of Skjold, is the progenitor of the Skjoldungs,

Ynglings, Odlungs, etc.

Prose Edda: Halfdan the Old is the progenitor of the Hildings, Ynglings, Odlungs, etc.

Saxo: Halfdan Borgarson is the progenitor of a royal family of Denmark.

3 **Saxo**: Gram uses a club as a weapon. He kills seven brothers and nine of their half-brothers.

Saxo: Halfdan Berggram uses an oak as a weapon. He kills seven brothers.

Saxo: Halfdan Borgarson uses an oak as a weapon. He kills twelve brothers.

4 **Saxo**: Gram secures Groa and slays Henricus on his wedding-day.

Saxo: Halfdan Berggram marries Sigrutha, after having slain Ebbo on his wedding-day.

Saxo: Halfdan Borgarson marries Guritha, after having killed Sivarus on his wedding-day.

5 **Saxo**: Gram, who slew a Swedish king, is attacked in war by Svipdag.

Saxo: Halfdan Berggram, who slew a Swedish king, is attacked by Ericus.

Combined sources: Svipdag is the slain Swedish king's grandson (daughter's son).

Saxo: Ericus is the son of the daughter of the slain Swedish king.

These parallels are sufficient to show the identity of Gram Skjoldson, Halfdan Berggram, and Halfdan Borgarson. A closer analysis of these sagas, the synthesis possible on the basis of such an analysis, and the position the saga (restored in this manner) concerning the third patriarch, the son of Skjold-Borgar, and the grandson of Heimdall, assumes in the chain of mythic events, gives complete proof of this identity.

²⁰ As told in *Hversu Noregr Byggðist* 2.

Saxo relates in regard to Gram that he carried away the royal daughter Groa, though she was already bound to another man, and that he slew her father, whereupon he got into a feud with Svipdag, an irreconcilably bitter foe, who fought against him with varying success of arms, and gave himself no rest until he had taken Gram's life and realm. Gram left two sons, whom Svipdag treated in a very different manner. The one named Guthormus (*Gudhormr*) who was a son of Groa, he received into his good graces. To the other, named Hadingus, Hading, or Hadding, and who was a son of Signi, he transferred the deadly hate he had cherished towards the father. The cause of the hatred of Svipdag against Gram, and which could not be extinguished in his blood, Saxo does not mention but this point is cleared up by a comparison with other sources. Nor does Saxo mention who the person was from whom Gram robbed Groa, but this, too, we learn in another place.

The Groa of the myth is mentioned in two other places: in *Gróugaldur* and in *Gylfaginning*. Both sources agree in representing her as skilled in good, healing, harm-averting songs; both also in describing her as a tender person devoted to the members of her family. In *Gylfaginning*, she is the loving wife who forgets everything in her joy that her husband, the brave archer Orvandil, has been saved by Thor from a dangerous adventure. In *Gróugaldur*, she is the mother whose love to her son conquers death and speaks consoling and protecting words from the grave. Her husband is, as stated, Orvandil; her son is Svipdag.

If we compare the statements in Saxo with those in *Gróugaldur* and *Gylfaginning* we get the following result:

Saxo: King Sigtrygg has a daughter Groa.

***Gylfaginning*:** Groa is married to the brave Orvandil.

***Gróugaldur*:** Groa has a son Svipdag.

Saxo: Groa is robbed by Gram-Halfdan.

Saxo: Hostilities on account of the robbing of

***Hyndluljóð*:** the woman. Gram-Halfdan kills

***Skáldskaparmál*:** Groa's father Sigtrygg.

Saxo: With Gram-Halfdan Groa has the son Gudhorm.

Gram-Halfdan is separated from a Groa. He courts Signi (Almveig in *Hyndluljóð*; Alveig in *Skáldskaparmál*), daughter of Sumbli, king of the Finns.

***Gróugaldur*:** Groa with her son Svipdag is once more with her first husband. Groa dies. Svipdag's father Orvandil marries a second time. Before her death, Groa has told Svipdag that he, if need requires her help, must go to her grave and wake her out of the sleep of death.

The stepmother gives Svipdag a task which he thinks surpasses his strength. He then goes to his mother's grave. From the grave, Groa sings protecting incantations over her son.

Saxo: Svipdag attacks Gram-Halfdan. After several conflicts he succeeds in conquering him and gives him a deadly wound.
Svipdag pardons the son Gram-Halfdan has had with Groa, but persecutes his son with Signi (Alveig).

In this connection, we find the key to Svipdag's irreconcilable conflict with Gram-Halfdan. He must revenge himself on him on his father's and mother's account. He must avenge his mother's disgrace, his grandfather Sigtrygg's death, and, as a further investigation shows, the murder also of his father Orvandil. We also find why he pardons Gudhorm: he is his own half-brother and Groa's son.

In the myth, Sigtrygg, Groa, Orvandil, and Svipdag have belonged to the pedigree of the Ynglings, and thus Saxo calls Sigtrygg king in Svithiod. Concerning the Ynglings, *Ynglingasaga* remarks that Yngvi was the name of everyone in that time who was the head of the family (*Ynglingasaga* 10). Svipdag, the favorite hero of the Germanic mythology, is accordingly celebrated in song under the name Yngvi, and also under other names to which I shall refer later, when I am to give a full account of the myth concerning him.

25.

HALFDAN'S IDENTITY WITH MANNUS IN *GERMANIA*.

With Gram-Halfdan, the Germanic patriarch period ends. The human race had its golden age under Heimdall, its copper age under Skjold-Borgar, and the beginning of its iron age under Halfdan. The Skilfinga-Ynglinga race has been named after Heimdall-Skelfir himself, and he has been regarded as its progenitor. His son Skjold-Borgar has been considered the founder of the Skjoldungs. With Halfdan, the pedigree is divided into three through his stepson Yngvi-Svipdag, the latter's half-brother Gudhorm, and Gudhorm's half-brother Hading or Hadding. The war between these three - a continuation of the feud between Halfdan and Svipdag - was the subject of a cycle of songs sung throughout Germania, songs which continued to live, though greatly changed with the lapse of time, on the lips of Germans, descendants of the Teutons, throughout the Middle Ages (see Nos. 36-43).

Like his father, Halfdan was the fruit of a double fatherhood, a divine and a human. Saxo was aware of this double fatherhood, and relates of his Halfdan Berggram that he, although the son of a human prince, was respected as a son of Thor, and honored as a god among that people who longest remained heathen; that is to say, the Swedes (*Igitur apud Sveones tantus haberi coepit, ut magni Thor filius existimatus, divinis a populo honoribus donaretur ac publico dignus libamine censeretur*).²¹ In his saga, as told by Saxo, Thor holds his protecting hand over Halfdan like a father over his son.

²¹ Saxo, Book 7: "He soon gained so much esteem for this among the Swedes, that he was thought to be the son of the great Thor, and the people bestowed divine honours upon him, and judged him to be worthy of public libation," Oliver Elton Translation.

It is possible that both the older patriarchs originally were regarded as the founders and chiefs of the whole human race rather than of the Teutons alone. Certainly, the appellation Germanic patriarch belonged more particularly to the third of the series. We have a reminiscence of this in *Hyndluljóð* 14-16. To the question, "Whence came the Skjoldungs, Skilfings, Andlungs, and Ylfings, and all the free-born and gentle-born?" the song answers by pointing to "the foremost among the Skjoldungs" - Sigtrygg's slayer Halfdan - a statement which, after the memory of the myths had faded and become confused, was magnified in the *Prose Edda* into the report that he was the father of eighteen sons, nine of which were the founders of the heroic families whose names were rediscovered at that time in the heathen-heroic songs then extant.

According to what we have now stated in regard to Halfdan's genealogical position, there can no longer be any doubt that he is the same patriarch as the Mannus mentioned by Tacitus in *Germania*, ch. 2, where it is said of the Teutons: "In old songs they celebrate *Tuisco*, a god born of Earth (*Terra*; compare the goddess *Terra Mater*, ch. 40), and his son Mannus as the source and founder of the race. Mannus is said to have had three sons, after whose names those who dwell nearest the ocean are called Ingævonians (*Ingævones*), those who dwell in the center Hermionians (*Hermiones*, *Herminones*), and the rest Istævonians (*Istævones*)." Tacitus adds that there were other Germanic tribes, such as the Marsians, the Gambrivians, the Svevians, and the Vandals, whose names were derived from other heroes of divine birth.

Thus Mannus, though human, and the source and founder of the Germanic race, is also the son of a god. The mother of his divine father is the goddess Earth, mother Earth. In our native myths, we rediscover this goddess - polyonymous like nearly all mythic beings - in Odin's wife Frigg, also called *Fjörgyn* and *Hlöðyn*. As sons of her and Odin, only Thor (*Völuspá*) and Baldur (*Lokasenna*) are definitely mentioned.

In regard to the goddess Earth (Jord), Tacitus states (ch. 40), as a characteristic trait that she is believed to take a lively interest and active part in the affairs of men and nations (*eam intervenire rebus hominum, invehī populis arbitrantur*)²², and he informs us that she is especially worshipped by the Longobardians and some of their neighbors near the sea. This statement, compared with the emigration saga of the Longobardians (No. 15),²³ confirms the theory that the goddess Jord, who, in the days of Tacitus, was celebrated in song as the mother of Mannus' divine father, is identical with Frigg. In their emigration saga, the Longobardians have great faith in Frigg, and trust in her desire and ability to intervene when the fate of a nation is to be decided by arms. Nor are they deceived in their trust in her; she is able to bring about that Odin, without considering the consequences, gives the Longobardians a new name; and as a christening present was in order, and as the Longobardians stood arrayed against the Vandals at the moment when they received their new name, the gift could be no other than victory over their foes. Tacitus' statement, that the Longobardians were one of the races who particularly paid worship to the goddess Jord, is found to be intimately connected with, and to be explained by, this tradition, which continued to be remembered among the

²² "They believe she intervenes in human affairs, riding in a chariot among her people."

²³ This refers to the history of the Longobards by Paulus Diaconus, Paul the Deacon. In regard to this text, Jakob Grimm notes: "The passage quoted from Paul Diac. is one of the clearest and most convincing testimonies to the harmony between the German and the Norse mythologies." *Deutsche Mythology* Vol. I, Ch. 13, section 8. (Translated by James Steven Stallybrass)

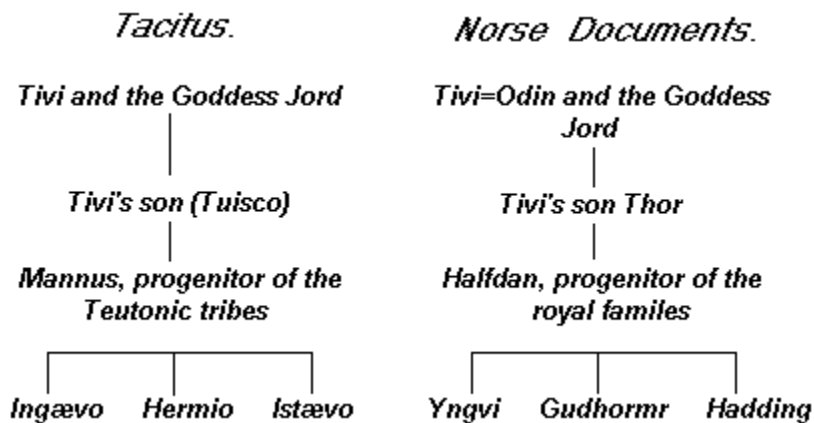
Longobardians long after they became converted to Christianity, down to the time when *Origo Longobardorum* was written.

Tacitus calls the goddess Jord, *Nerthus*. Vigfusson (and before him J. Grimm) and others have seen in this name a feminine version of *Njörðr*. Nor does any other explanation seem possible. The existence of such a form is not surprising since we have in Freyja a feminine form of Frey, and in *Fjörgyn-Frigg* a feminine form of *Fjörgynr*. In our mythic documents, neither Frigg nor Njörd are of Aesir race. Njörd is, as we know, a Van. Frigg's father is *Fjörgynr* (perhaps the same as *Parganya* in the Vedic songs), also called *Annarr*, *Ánarr*, and *Ónarr*, and her mother is Narfi's daughter Night. Frigg's high position as Odin's real and lawful wife, as the queen of the divine world, and as mother of the chief gods Thor and Baldur, presupposes her to be of the noblest birth which the myth could bestow on a being born outside of the Aesir clan, and as the Vanir come next after the Aesir in the mythology, and were united with them from the beginning of time, as hostages, by treaty, by marriage, and by adoption, probability, if no other proof could be found, would favor the theory that Frigg is a goddess of the race of Vanir, and that her father Fjörgyn is a clan-chief among the Vanir. This view is corroborated in two ways. The cosmogony makes Earth and Sea sister and brother. The same divine mother Night (*Nótt*), who bears the goddess Jord, also bears a son *Uðr*, *Unnr*, the ruler of the sea, also called *Auðr* (Rich), the personification of wealth. Both these names are applied among the gods to Njörd alone as the god of navigation, commerce, and wealth. (In reference to wealth compare the phrase *auðigr sem Njörðr* - rich as Njörd.) Thus Frigg is Njörd's sister. This explains the attitude given to Frigg in the war between the Aesir and Vanir by *Völuspá*, Saxo, and the author of *Ynglingasaga*, where the tradition is related as history. In the form given to this tradition in Christian times and in Saxo's hands, it is disparaging to Frigg as Odin's wife; but the pith of Saxo's narrative is, that Frigg in the feud between the Aesir and Vanir did not side with Odin but with the Vanir, and contributed towards making the latter lords of Asgard. When the purely heathen documents (*Völuspá*, *Vafþrúðnismál*, *Lokasenna*) describe her as a tender wife and mother, Frigg's taking part with the Vanir against her own husband can scarcely be explained otherwise than by the Germanic principle, that the duties of the daughter and sister are above the wife's, a view plainly presented in Saxo (Book 7), and illustrated by Gudrun's conduct toward Atli.

Thus it is proved that the god who is the father of the Germanic patriarch Mannus is himself the son of Frigg, the goddess of earth, and must, according to the mythic records at hand, be either Thor or Baldur. The name given him by Tacitus, *Tuisco*, does not determine which of the two. *Tuisco* has the form of a patronymic adjective, and reappears in the Norse *Tívi*, an old name of Odin, related to *Dios*, *divus*, and *devas*, from which all the sons of Odin and gods of Asgard received the epithet *tívar*. But in the songs learned by Saxo in regard to the northern race-patriarch and his divine father, his place is occupied by Thor, not by Baldur, and "Jord's son" is in Norse poetry an epithet particularly applied to Thor.

Mannus has three sons. So has Halfdan. While Mannus has a son *Ingævo*, Halfdan has a stepson Yngvi, Ingi (Svipdag). The second son of Mannus is named *Hermio*. Halfdan's son with Groa is called Guðhormr. The second part of this name has, as Jessen has already pointed out, nothing to do with *ormr* (worm, serpent). It may be that the name should be divided *Guð-hormr*, and that *hormr* should be referred to *Hermio*. Mannus'

third son is *Istævo*. The Celtic scholar Johann Kaspar Zeuss²⁴ has connected this name with that of the Gothic (more properly Vandal) heroic race *Azdingi*, and Grimm has again connected *Azdingi* with *Hazdiggo* (*Haddingr*). Halfdan's third son is in Saxo called Hadingus. Whether the comparisons made by Zeuss and Grimm are to the point or not (see further, No. 43) makes but little difference here. It nevertheless remains as a result of the investigation that all that is related by Tacitus about the Germanic patriarch Mannus has its counterpart in the question concerning Halfdan, and that both in the myths occupy precisely the same place as sons of a god and as founders of Germanic tribes and royal families. The pedigrees are:



26.

THE SACRED RUNES LEARNED FROM HEIMDALL.

The mythic ancient history of the human race and of the Teutons may, in accordance with the analysis above given, be divided into the following epochs: - (1) From Ask and Embla's creation until Heimdall's arrival; (2) from Heimdall's arrival until his departure; (3) the age of Skjold-Borgar; (4) Halfdan's time; (5) The time of Halfdan's sons.

And now we will discuss the events of the last three epochs.

In the days of Borgar, the moral condition of men grows worse, and an event in nature takes place threatening at least the northern part of the Germanic world with destruction. The myth gives the causes of both these phenomena.

The moral degradation has its cause, if not wholly, nevertheless essentially, in the activity of a female being from the giant world among human beings. Through her, men become acquainted with the black art, the evil art of sorcery, which is the opposite of the wisdom drawn from Mimir's holy fountain, the knowledge of runes, and acquaintance with the application of nature's secret forces for good ends (see Nos. 34, 35).

²⁴ *Grammatica Celtica*, 1853

The sacred knowledge of runes, the "fimbul-songs," the white art, was originally in Mimir's possession according to the myth. Still he did not have it of himself, but got it from the subterranean fountain, which he guarded beneath the middle root of the world-tree (see No. 63) - a fountain whose veins, together with the world-tree's deepest root, extend to a depth which not even Odin's thought can penetrate (*Hávamál* 138). By self-sacrifice in his youth, Odin received from Bestla's brother (Mimir; see No. 88) a drink from the precious liquor of this fountain and nine fimbul-songs (*Hávamál* 140; cp. *Sigurdrífumál* 14), which were the basis of the divine magic of the application of the power of the word and of the rune over spiritual and natural forces, in prayer, in sacrifices and in other religious acts of atonement, in investigations, in the practical affairs of life, in peace and in war (*Hávamál* 144 ff.; *Sigurdrífumál* 6 ff.). The character and purpose of these songs are clear from the fact that at the head is placed "help's fimbul-song," which is able to allay sorrow and cure diseases (*Hávamál* 146).

In the hands of Odin, they are a means for the protection of the power of the Aesir, and enable them to assist their worshippers in danger and distress. To these belong the fimbul-song of the runes of victory; and it is of no small interest that we, in *Hávamál* 156, find what Tacitus tells about the *barditus*²⁵ of the Germans, the shield-song with which they went to meet their foes - a song which Ammianus Marcellinus²⁶ himself has heard, and of which he gives a vivid description. When the Germanic forces advanced to battle, the warriors raised their shields up to a level with the upper lip, so that the round of the shield formed a sort of sounding-board for their song. This began in a low voice and preserved its subdued color, but the sound gradually increased, and at a distance it resembled the roar of the breakers of the sea. Tacitus says that the Teutons predicted the result of the battle from the impression the song as a whole made upon themselves; it can sound in their ears so, that they thereby became more terrible to their enemies, or in such a manner that they were overcome by doubt. The above-mentioned *Hávamál* strophe gives us an explanation of this: the warriors were inclined to confidence if they, in the harmony of the subdued song increasing in volume, seemed to perceive Valfather's voice blended with their own. The strophe makes Odin say: *Ef ek skal til orrostu leiða langvini, undir randir ek gel, en þeir með ríki fara heilir hildar til, heilir hildi frá* - "If I am to lead those to battle whom I have long held in friendship, then I sing under their shields. With success, they go to the conflict and successfully they go out of it." *Völuspá* 50 also refers to the shield-song, where it makes the storm-giant, *Hrymr*, advancing against the gods, "lift his shield before him" (*hefiz lind fyrir*), an expression which certainly has another significance than that of unnecessarily pointing out that he has a shield for protection. The runes of victory were able to arrest weapons in their flight and to make those whom Odin loved proof against sword-edge and safe against ambush (*Hávamál* 148, 150). Certain kinds of runes were regarded as producing victory and were carved on the hilt and on the blade of the sword, and, while they were carved, Tyr's name was twice named (*Sigurdrífumál* 6).

Another class of runes (*brimrúnar*, *Sigurdrífumál* 6; *Hávamál* 154) controlled the elements, purified the air from malicious beings (*Hávamál* 155), gave power over wind

²⁵ *Germania* 3.

²⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus, b. circa 330 AD, d. 395, the last major Roman historian, whose work, *Rerum gestarum libri*, continued the history of the Roman Empire up to the year 378. Anderson mistakenly calls him Ammianus Paulus.

and waves for good purposes - as, for instance, when sailors in distress were to be rescued - or power over the flames when they threatened to destroy human dwellings (*Hávamál* 152). A third kind of runes (*málrúnar*) gave speech to the mute and speechless, even to those whose lips were sealed in death (see No. 70). A fourth kind of runes could free the limbs from bonds (*Hávamál* 149). A fifth kind of runes protected against black magic (*Hávamál* 151). A sixth kind of runes (*ölrúnar*) takes the strength from the love-potion prepared by another man's wife, and from every treachery mingled therein (*Sigurdrífumál* 7, 8). A seventh kind (*bjargrúnar* and *limrúnar*) helps in childbirth and heals wounds. An eighth kind gives wisdom and knowledge (*hugrúnar*, *Sigurdrífumál* 13; cp. *Hávamál* 159). A ninth kind extinguishes enmity and hate, and produces friendship and love (*Hávamál* 153, 161). Of great value, and a great honor to kings and chiefs, was the possession of healing runes and healing hands; and that certain noble-born families inherited the power of these runes was a belief which has been handed down even to our time. There is a distinct consciousness that the runes of this kind were a gift of the blithe gods. In a strophe, which sounds as if it were taken from an ancient hymn, the gods are invoked for runes of wisdom and healing: "Hail to the gods! Hail to the goddesses! Hail to the bounteous Earth (the goddess Jord). Give us words and spiritual growth and healing hands while we live!" (*Sigurdrífumál* 4).

In ancient times, arrangements were made for spreading the knowledge of the good runes among all kinds of beings. Odin taught them to his own clan; *Dáinn* taught them to the Elves; *Dvalinn* among the dwarfs; *Ásvinr* (see No. 88) among the giants (*Hávamál* 143). Even the latter became participants in the good gift, which, mixed with sacred mead, was sent far and wide, and it has since been among the Aesir, among the Elves, among the wise Vanir, and among the children of men (*Sigrdrífumál* 18). The same *Dvalinn*, who spread the runes to his clan of ancient artists, is the father of daughters, who are in possession of *bjargrúnar* (helping-runes) and who, together with dises of Asa- and Vana-birth, employ them in the service of man (*Fáfnismál* 12-13).

To men, the beneficent runes came through the same god who as a child came with the sheaf of grain and the tools to Scandia. Hence the belief current among the Franks and Saxons that the alphabet of the Teutons, like the Teutons themselves, was of northern origin. *Rígsþula* expressly presents Heimdall as teaching runes to the people whom he blessed by his arrival in Midgard. The noble-born are particularly his pupils in runic lore. Of Heimdall's grandson, the son of Jarl-Borgar, named Kon-Halfdan, it is said (*Rígsþula* 43-44):

*En Konr ungr
kunni rúnar
ævinrúnar
ok aldrúnar;
meir kunni hann
mönnum bjarga,
eggjar deyfa,
ægi lægja.*

*Klök nam fugla,
kyrra elda,
sæfa ok svefja,
sorgir lægja.
But Kon the young
had knowledge of runes,
runes of eternity,*

runes of earthly life.
Well he knew also,
how to deliver men,
blunt sword-edges,
and subdue the ocean.

Bird-song he learned,
and how to quench fire,
to sooth and comfort,
and drive away sorrow.

The fundamental character of this rune-lore bears distinctly the stamp of nobility. The runes of eternity united with those of the earthly life can scarcely have any other reference than to the heathen doctrines concerning religion and morality. These were looked upon as being for all time, and of equal importance to the life hereafter. Together with physical runes with magic power - that is, runes that gave their possessors power over the hostile forces of nature - we find runes intended to serve the cause of sympathy and mercy.

27.

SORCERY THE REVERSE OF THE SACRED RUNES. GULLVEIG-HEID, THE SOURCE OF SORCERY. THE MORAL DETERIORATION OF THE ORIGINAL MAN.

But already in the beginning of time, evil powers appear for the purpose of opposing and ruining the good influences from the world of gods upon mankind. Just as Heimdall, "the fast traveler," proceeds from house to house, forming new ties in society and giving instruction in what is good and useful, thus we soon find a messenger of evil wandering about between the houses in Midgard, practicing the black art and stimulating the worst passions of the human soul. The messenger comes from the powers of frost, the enemies of creation. It is a giantess, the daughter of the giant *Hrímnir* (*Hyndluljóð* 32 = *Völuspá in Skamma* 4), known among the gods as Gullveig and by other names (see Nos. 34, 35), but on her wanderings on earth called *Heiðr*. "Heid they called her (Gullveig) when she came to the children of men, the crafty, prophesying vala, who practiced sorcery (*vitti ganda*), practiced the evil art, by witchcraft caused misfortunes, sickness, and death (*leikin*, see No. 67), and was always sought by bad women." Thus *Völuspá* 22 describes her. The important position Heid occupies in regard to the corruption of ancient man, and the consequences of her appearance for the gods for man, and for nature (see below), have led *Völuspá's* author, in spite of his general poverty of words, to describe her with a certain fullness, pointing out among other things that she was the cause of the first war in the world. That the time of her appearance was during the life of Borgar and his son shall be demonstrated below.

In connection with this moral corruption, and caused by the same powers hostile to the world, there occur in this epoch such disturbances in nature that the original home of man and culture - nay, all Midgard - is threatened with destruction on account of long, terrible winters. A series of connected myths tell of this. Ancient artists - forces at work in the growth of nature - personifications of the same kind as Rigveda's Ribhus, that before had worked in harmony with the gods, become foes of Asgard, through the influence of Loki, their work becoming as harmful as it once was beneficent, and seek to destroy what Odin had created (see Nos. 111 and 112). Idunn, with her life-renewing apples, is carried away from Asgard to the northernmost wilderness of the world by Thjazi, and is concealed there. Freyja, the goddess of fertility, is

stolen and falls into the power of giants. Frey, the god of harvests, falls sick¹. The giant king Snow and his kinsmen *Porri* (Black Frost), *Jökull* (the Glacier), etc., extend their scepters over Scandia.

Already during Heimdall's reign, after his protégé Borgar had grown up, something happens which forebodes these terrible times, but still has a happy issue.

28 A.

HEIMDALL AND THE SUN-DIS.

In Saxo's time, there was still extant a myth telling how Heimdall, as the ruler of the earliest generation, got himself a wife. The myth is found related as history in *Historia Danica*, Book 7. Changed into a song of chivalry in Middle Age style, we find it on German soil in the poem concerning King Ruther.

Saxo relates that a certain king Alf undertook a perilous journey of courtship, and was accompanied by Borgar. Alf is the more noble of the two; Borgar attends him. This already points to the fact that the mythic figure which Saxo has changed into a historical king must be Heimdall, Borgar's co-father, his ruler and fosterer, otherwise Borgar himself would be the chief person in his country, and could not be regarded as subject to anyone else. Alf's identity with Heimdall is corroborated by "King Ruther," and to a degree also by the description Saxo makes of his appearance, a description based on a definite mythic prototype. Alf, says Saxo, had a fine exterior, and over his hair, though he was young, a so remarkably white splendor was diffused that rays of light seemed to issue from his silvery locks (*cujus etiam insignem candore caesariem tantus comæ decor asperierat, ut argenteo crine nitere putaretur*).² The Heimdall of the myth is a god of light, and is described by the color applied to pure silver in the old Norse literature to distinguish it from that which is alloyed; he is *hvíti áss* (*Gylfaginning* 27) and *hvítastr ása* (*Brymskviða* 15); his teeth glitter like gold, and so does his horse. We should expect that the maid whom Alf, if he is Heimdall, desires to possess belongs like himself to the divinities of light. Saxo also says that her beauty could make one blind if she was seen without her veil, and her name Alhild, like Alfsol, Hild, Alhild Solglands, Svanhild Goldfeather, belongs to that class of names by which the sun-dises, mother and daughter, were transferred from mythology to history. She is watched by two dragons. Suitors who approach her in vain get their heads chopped off and set up on poles (thus also in "*King Ruther*"). Alf conquers the guarding dragons; but at the advice of her mother Alhild takes flight, puts on a man's clothes and armor, and becomes a female warrior, fighting at the head of other Amazons. Alf and Borgar search for and find the troop of Amazons amid ice and snow. It is conquered and flies to "Finnia." Alf and Borgar pursue them there. There is a new conflict. Borgar strikes the helmet from Alhild's head. She has to confess herself conquered, and becomes Alf's wife.

In interpreting the mythic contents of this story, we must remember that the lad who came with the sheaf of grain to Scandia needed the help of the sun for the seed which he brought with him to sprout, before it could give harvests to the inhabitants. But the saga also indicates

¹ Like Freyja, Frey also falls under the control of the giants. Rydberg may be confusing this episode with the time Frey fell sick with love for Gerd, which chronologically occurs later.

² "Such a grace was shed on his hair, which had a wonderful dazzling glow, that his locks seemed to shine silvery." Saxo, Book 7, Elton Translation.

that the sun-dis had veiled herself, and made herself as far as possible unapproachable, and that when Heimdall had forced himself into her presence she fled to northern ice-enveloped regions, where the god and his foster-son, sword in hand, had to fetch her, whereupon a happy marriage between him and the sun-dis secures good weather and rich harvests to the land over which he rules. At first glance, it might seem as if this myth had left no trace in our Icelandic records. This is, however, not the case. Its fundamental idea, that the sun at one time in the earliest ages went astray from southern regions to the farthest north and desired to remain there, but that it was brought back by the might of the gods who created the world, and through them received, in the same manner as Day and Night, its course defined and regularly established, we find in the *Völuspá* strophe, examined with so great acumen by Julius Hoffory,³ which speaks of a bewilderment of this kind on the part of the sun, occurring before it yet "knew its proper sphere," and in the following strophe, which tells how the all-holy gods thereupon held solemn council and so ordained the activity of these beings, that time can be divided and years be recorded by their course. Nor is the marriage into which the sun-dis entered forgotten. *Skáldskaparmál* quotes a strophe from Skuli Thorsteinson where Sol is called *Glenr's* wife.⁴ That he whom the skald characterizes by this epithet is a god is a matter of course. *Glenr* signifies "the shining one," and this epithet was badly chosen if it did not refer to "the most shining of the Aesir," - that is, Heimdall.

The fundamental traits of "King Ruther" resemble Saxo's story. There, too, it is a king who undertakes a perilous journey of courtship and must fight several battles to win the wondrous fair maiden whose previous suitors had had to pay for their eagerness by having their heads chopped off and fastened on poles. The king is accompanied by Berter, identical with Berchtung-Borgar, but here, as always in the German story, described as the patriarch and adviser. A giant, Vidolt - Saxo's Vitolphus, *Hyndluljóð's* Vidolfr (*Völuspá in Skamma* 5) - accompanies Ruther and Berter on the journey; and when Vitolphus in Saxo is mentioned under circumstances which show that he accompanied Borgar on a warlike expedition, and thereupon saved his son Halfdan's life, there is no room for doubt that Saxo's saga and "King Ruther" originally flowed from the same mythic source. It can also be demonstrated that the very name Ruther is one of those epithets which belong to Heimdall. The Norse *Hrútr* is, according to the *Prose Edda* (*Nafnapular* 93), a synonym of *Heimdali*, and *Heimdali* is another form of Heimdall (*Isl.*, i. 231).⁵ As *Hrútr* means a ram, and as *Heimdali* is an epithet of a ram, light is thrown upon the bold metaphors, according to which "head," "Heimdall's head," and "Heimdall's sword" are synonyms (*Prose Edda: Gylfaginning* 27, *Skáldskaparmál* 85; *Hattatal* 7).⁶ The ram's head carries and is the ram's sword. Of the age of this animal symbol, we give an account in No. 82. There is reason for believing that Heimdall's helmet has been conceived as decorated with ram's horns.⁷ A strophe quoted in the *Prose Edda* (*Hattatal* 7) mentions Heimdall's helmet, and calls

³ Dr. Julius Hoffory (1855-1897) The first Scandinavian professor at the University of Berlin. Author of *Eddastudien*, 1889.

⁴ *Skáldskaparmál* 34; See also *Gylfaginning* 10.

⁵ This reference is unclear, however Vigfusson agrees on this (*Dictionary*, pg. 250)

⁶ *Gylfaginning* 27 "The head is referred to as Heimdall's sword"; *Skáldskaparmál* 85 (Faulkes tr. *Skáldska*. 69) Head: "Heimdall's sword, it is normal to use any term for sword you like and qualify it with one of Heimdall's names"; *Hattatal* 7 "The bold king quietens men with Vindhler's helmet-filler [Heimdall's head, i.e. a sword]" (Faulkes translation).

⁷ That some one of the gods has worn a helmet with such a crown can be seen on one of the golden horns found near *Gallehuus*. There twice occurs a being wearing a helmet furnished with long, curved, sharp pointed horns. Near him a ram is drawn, and in his hand he has something resembling a staff which ends in a circle, and possibly is intended to represent Heimdall's horn.

the sword the *fyllir* of Heimdall's helmet, an ambiguous expression, which may be interpreted as that which fills Heimdall's helmet; that is to say, Heimdall's head, but also as that which has its place on the helmet. Compare the expression *fyllir hilmis stóls* as a metaphor for the power of the ruler.

28 B.

LOKI CAUSES ENMITY BETWEEN THE GODS AND THE ORIGINAL ARTISTS (THE CREATORS OF ALL GROWING THINGS). THE CONSEQUENCE IS THE *FIMBUL-* WINTER AND EMIGRATIONS.

The danger averted by Heimdall when he secured the sun-dis with bonds of love begins in the time of Borgar. The corruption of nature and of man go hand in hand. Borgar has to contend with robbers (*pugiles and piratæ*), and among them the prototype of pirates - that terrible character, remembered also in Icelandic poetry, called Rodi (Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 1; Book 7). The moderate laws given by Heimdall had to be made more severe by Borgar (*Hist.*, Book 1).

While the moral condition in Midgard grows worse, in Asgard, Loki carries out a cunningly-conceived plan, which seems to be to the advantage of the gods, but is intended to bring about the ruin of both the gods and man. His purpose is to cause enmity between the original artists themselves and between them and the gods.

Among these artists, the sons of Ivaldi constitute a separate group. Originally they enjoyed the best relations to the gods, and gave them the best products of their wonderful art, for ornament and for use. Odin's spear Gungnir, the golden locks on Sif's head, and Frey's celebrated ship Skidbladnir, which could hold all the warriors of Asgard and always had favorable wind, but which also could be folded as a napkin and be carried in one's pocket (*Gylfaginning* 43), had all come from the workshop of these artists. *Grímnismál* 43:

*Ívalda synir
gengu í árdaga
Skíðblaðni at skapa,
skipa best,
skírum Frey,
nýtum Njarðar bur.*

The sons of Ivaldi,
in days of yore, went
to create Skidbladnir,
best of ships,
for shining Frey,
Njörd's useful son.

Another group of original artists were Sindri and his kinsmen, who dwelt on the Nida-plains in the happy domain of the lower world (*Völuspá* 37; Nos. 93, 94). According to the account given in *Skáldskaparmál* 43, Loki meets Sindri's brother Brokk, and wagers his head that Sindri cannot make treasures as good as the above-named gifts from Ivaldi's sons to the Aesir. Sindri then made in his smithy the golden boar for Frey, the ring Draupnir for Odin, from which eight gold rings of equal weight drop every ninth night, and the incomparable hammer Mjólnir for Thor. When the treasures were finished, Loki cunningly gets the gods to assemble for the purpose of deciding whether or not he has forfeited his head. The gods cannot, of course,

decide this without at the same time passing judgement on the gifts of Sindri and those of Ivaldi's sons, and showing that one group of artists is inferior to the other. And this is done. Sindri's treasures are preferred, and thus the sons of Ivaldi are declared to be inferior in comparison. But at the same time, Sindri fails, through the decision of the gods, to get the prize agreed on. Both groups of artists are offended by the decision.

The *Skáldskaparmál* does not inform us whether the sons of Ivaldi accepted the decision with satisfaction or anger, or whether any noteworthy consequences followed or not. An entirely similar judgment is mentioned in *Rigveda* (see No. 111). The judgment there has the most important consequences: hatred toward the artists who were victorious, and toward the gods who were the judges, takes possession of the ancient artist who was defeated, and nature is afflicted with great suffering. That the Germanic mythology has described similar results of the decision shall be demonstrated in this work.

Just as in the names *Alveig* and *Almveig*, *Bil-röstr* and *Bif-röstr*, *Arinbjörn* and *Grjótbjörn*, so also in the name *Ívaldi* or *Ívaldr*, the latter part of the word forms the permanent part, corresponding to the Old English *Valdere*, the German *Walther*, the Latinized *Waltharius*.¹ The former part of the word may change without any change as to the person indicated: *Ívaldi*, *Allvaldi*, *Ölvaldi*, *Auðvaldi*, may be names of one and the same person. Of these variations *Ívaldi* and *Allvaldi* are in their sense most closely related, for the prefixed *Í* (*Ið*) and *All* may interchange in the language without the least change in meaning. Compare *all-líkr*, *ílíkr*, and *iðlíkr*; *all-lítill* and *ílitill*; *all-nóg*, *ígnóg*, and *iðgnóg*. On the other hand, the prefixes in *Ölvaldi* and *Auðvaldi* produce different meanings of *the* compound word. But the records give most satisfactory evidence that *Ölvaldi* and *Auðvaldi* nevertheless are the same person as *Allvaldi* (*Ívaldi*). Thjazi's father is called Allvaldi in *Hárbarðsljóð* 19; in the *Prose Edda* (*Skáldska*. 4) *Ölvaldi* and *Auðvaldi*. He has three sons, Idi, Gang, also called Aurnir (*Gróttasöngur* 9), and the just-named Thjazi, who are the famous ancient artists, "the sons of Ivaldi" (*Ívalda synir*). We here point this out in passing. Complete statement and proof of this fact, so important from a mythological standpoint, will be given in Nos. 113, 114, 115.

Nor is it long before it becomes apparent what the consequences are of the decision pronounced by the Aesir on Loki's advice upon the treasures presented to the gods. The sons of Ivaldi regarded it as a mortal offence, born of the ingratitude of the gods. Loki, the originator of the scheme, is caught in the snares laid by Thjazi in a manner fully described in Thjodolf's poem *Haustlöng*, and to regain his liberty he is obliged to assist him (Thjazi) in carrying Idunn away from Asgard. Idunn, who possesses "the Aesir's remedy against old age," and keeps the apples which symbolize the ever-renewing and rejuvenating force of nature, is carried away by Thjazi to a part of the world inaccessible to the gods. The gods grow old, and winter extends its power more and more beyond the limits prescribed for it in creation. Thjazi, who before was the friend of the gods, is now their irreconcilable foe. He who was the promoter of growth and the benefactor of nature - for Sif's golden locks, and Skidbladnir, belonging to the god of fertility, doubtless are symbols thereof - is changed into "the mightiest foe of earth," *dólg ballastan vallar* (*Haustlöng* 6), and has wholly assumed the nature of a giant.

At the same time, with the approach of the great winter, a terrible earthquake takes place, the effects of which are felt even in heaven. The myth in regard to this is explained in No. 81. In this explanation, the reader will find that the great earthquake in primeval time is caused by

¹ Elsewhere it shall be shown that the heroes mentioned in the Middle Age poetry under the names Valdere, Walther, Waltharius manu fortis, and Valthere of Vaskasten are all variations of the name of the same mythic type changed into a human hero, and the same, too, as Ivaldi of the Norse documents (see No. 123).

Thjazi's kinswomen on his mother's side (*Gróttasöngur*) - that is, by the giantesses Fenja and Menja, who turned the enormous world-mill, built on the foundations of the lower world, and working in the depths of the sea, the prototype of the mill of the Gróttá-song composed in Christian times; that the world-mill has a *möndull*, the mill-handle, which sweeps the uttermost rim of the earth, with which handle not only the mill-stone but also the starry heavens are made to whirl round; and that when the mill was put in so violent a motion by the angry giantesses that it got out of order, then the starry constellations were also disturbed. The ancient terrible winter and the inclination of the axis of heaven have in the myth been connected, and these again with the close of the golden age. The mill had up to this time ground gold, happiness, peace, and good-will among men; henceforth it grinds salt and dust.

The winter must of course first of all affect those people who inhabited the extensive Svithiod north of the original country and over which another kinsman of Heimdall, the first of the race of Skilfings or Ynglings, ruled. This kinsman of Heimdall has an important part in the mythology, and of him, we shall give an account in Nos. 89, 91, 110, 113-115, and 123. There, it is found that he is the same as Ivaldi, who, with a giantess, begot the illegitimate children Idi, Aurnir, and Thjazi. Already before his sons, he became the foe of the gods, and from Svithiod now proceeds, in connection with the spreading of the fimbul-winter, a migration southward, the work at the same time of the Skilfings and the primeval artists. The list of dwarfs in *Völuspá* has preserved the record of this in the strophe about the artist migration from the rocks of the hall (*salar steinar*) and from Svarin's mound situated in the north (the *Völuspá* strophe quoted in the Prose Edda; cp. Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 1, and *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* I, 31; II, prose before strophe 14). The attack is directed against *aurvanga sjöt*, the land of the clayey plains, and the assailants do not stop before they reach *Jöruvalla*, the Jara-plains, which name is still applied to the south coast of Scandinavia (see No. 32). In the pedigree of these emigrants (*Völuspá* 14)-

<i>þeir er sóttu</i>	Those who sought
<i>frá Salar steini (or Svarins</i>	From the rocks of the hall (or
<i>haugi)</i>	Svarin's mound)
<i>aurvanga sjöt</i>	the land of the clayey plains
<i>til Jöruvalla -</i>	to the Jöru-plains.

occur the names *Álfr* and *Yngvi*, who have Skilfing names; *Fjalarr*, who is Ivaldi's ally and Odin's enemy (see No. 89); *Finnr*, which is one of the several names of Ivaldi himself (see No. 123); *Frosti*, who symbolizes cold; *Skirfir*, a name which points to the Skilfings; and *Virfir*, whom Saxo (*Hist. Dan.*, Book 4) speaks of as *Huyrvillus*, and the Icelandic records as *Virvill* and *Vifill* (*Fornaldarsögur*, *Þorsteins Saga Víkingassonar*; *Prose Edda*, *Nafnabular*). In *Fornaldarsögur*, Vifill is an emigration leader who married to Logi's daughter Eymyrja (a metaphor for fire - *Prose Edda*, *Nafnabular*) travels from the far North and takes possession of an island on the Swedish coast. That this island is Oland is clear from Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 4, where *Huyrvillus* is called *Holandia princeps*¹. At the same time a brother-in-law of Virfir takes possession of Bornholm, and Gotland is colonized by Thjelvar (Thjalfi of the myth), who is the son of Thjazi's brother (see Nos. 113, 114, 115). Virfir is allied with the sons of Finn (Fyn - Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 4). The saga concerning the emigration of the Longobardians is also connected with the myth about Thjazi and his kinsmen (see Nos. 112-115).

¹ "The lord of Oland," Elton translation.

From all this, it appears that a series of emigration and colonization tales have their origin in the myth concerning the fimbul-winter caused by Thjazi and connected with an attack by the Skilfings and Thjazi's kinsmen on South Scandinavia, that is, on the clayey plains near *Jöruvellir*, where the second son of Heimdall, Skjold-Borgar, rules. It is the remembrance of this migration from north to south which forms the basis of all the Germanic Middle-Age migration sagas. The migration saga of the Goths, as Jordanes heard it, makes them emigrate from Scandinavia under the leadership of Berig. (*Ex hac igitur Scandza insula quasi officina gentium aut certe velut vagina nationum cum rege suo Berig Gothi quondam memorantur egressi - De Goth. Orig., c. 4. Meminisse debes, me de Scandzæ insulæ gremio Gothos dixisse egressos cum Berich suo rege - c. 17.*)² The name Berig, also written Berich and Berigo, is the same as the German *Berker*, *Berchtung*, and indicates the same person as the Norse *Borgarr*. With Berig, the race of the Amalians is connected; with Borgar, the memory of Hamal (*Amala*), who is the foster-brother of Borgar's son (cp. No. 28 with *Helgakviða Hund., II.*). Thus the emigration of the Goths is in the myth a result of the fate experienced by Borgar and his people in their original country. And as the Swedes constituted the northernmost Germanic branch, they were the ones who, on the approach of the fimbul-winter, were the first that were compelled to surrender their abodes and secure more southern habitations. This also appears from saga fragments which have been preserved; and here, but not in the circumstances themselves, lies the explanation of the statements, according to which the Swedes forced Scandinavian tribes dwelling farther south to emigrate. Jordanes (chapter 3) claims that the Herulians were driven from their abode in Scandza by the Svithidians, and that the Danes are of Svithidian origin -- in other words, that an older Germanic population in Denmark was driven south, and that Denmark was re-peopled by emigrants from Sweden. And in the Norse sagas themselves, the center of gravity, as we have seen, is continually being moved farther to the south. Heimdall, under the name Scef-Skelfir, comes to the original inhabitants in Scania. Borgar, his son, becomes a ruler there, but founds, under the name Skjold, the royal dynasty of the Skjoldungs in Denmark. With Scef and Skjold, the Wessex royal family of Saxon origin is in turn connected, and thus the royal dynasty of the Goths is again connected with the Skjold who emigrated from Scandza, and who is identical with Borgar. And finally there existed in Saxo's time mythic traditions or songs which related that all the present Germany came under the power of the Teutons who emigrated with Borgar; that, in other words, the emigration from the North carried with it the hegemony of Germanic tribes over other tribes which before them inhabited Germany. Saxo says of Skjold-Borgar that *omnem Alamannorum gentem tributaria ditone perdomuit*; that is, "he made the whole race of Alamanni tributary." The name Alamanni is in this case not to be taken in an ethnographical but in a geographical sense. It means the people who were rulers in Germany before the immigration of Teutons from the North.

From this, we see that migration traditions remembered by Teutons beneath Italian and Icelandic skies, on the islands of Great Britain and on the German continent, in spite of their wide diffusion and their separation in time, point to a single root: to the myth concerning the primeval artists and their conflict with the gods; to the theft of Idunn and the fimbul-winter which was the result.

² Chap. 4 "Now from this island of Scandza, as from a hive of races or a womb of nations, the Goths are said to have come forth long ago under their king, Berig by name"; Chap. 17. "You surely remember that in the beginning I said the Goths went forth from the bosom of the island of Scandza with Berig, their king." From *The Origin and Deeds of the Goths*, translated by Charles C. Mierow

The myth makes the gods themselves be seized by terror at the fate of the world, and Mimir makes arrangements to save all that is best and purest on earth for an expected regeneration of the world. At the very beginning of the fimbul-winter, Mimir opens an asylum in his subterranean grove of immortality, closed against all physical and spiritual evil, for the two children of men, *Líf* and *Lífþrasir* (*Vafþrúðnismál* 45), who are to be the parents of a new race of men (see Nos. 52, 53).

The war begun in Borgar's time for the possession of the ancient country, continues under his son Halfdan, who reconquers it for a time, invades Svithiod, and repels Thjazi and his kinsmen (see Nos. 32, 33).

29.

EVIDENCE THAT HALFDAN IS IDENTICAL WITH HELGI HUNDINGSBANE.

The main outlines of Halfdan's saga reappear related as history, and more or less blended with foreign elements, in Saxo's accounts of the kings Gram, Halfdan Berggram, and Halfdan Borgarson (see No. 23). Contributions to the saga are found in *Hyndluljóð* (14, 15, 16) and in *Skáldskaparmál* 80, in what they tell about Halfdan Skjoldung and Halfdan the Old. The juvenile adventures of the hero have, with some modifications, furnished the materials for both the songs about Helgi Hundingsbane, with which Saxo's story of Helgo Hundingicida (*Hist.*, Book 2) and *Völsungasaga's* about Helgi Sigmundsson are to be compared. The *Gróttu-song* 22 also identifies Helgi Hundingsbane with Halfdan.

For the history of the origin of the existing heroic poems from mythic sources, of their relation to these and to each other, it is important to get the original identity of the hero-myth, concerning Halfdan and the heroic poems concerning Helgi Hundingsbane, fixed on a firm foundation. The following parallels suffice to show that this Helgi is a later time's reproduction of the mythic Halfdan:

Halfdan-Gram, sent on a warlike expedition, meets Groa, who is mounted on horseback and accompanied by other women on horseback (Saxo, Book 1).	Helgi Hundingsbane, sent on a warlike expedition, meets Sigrun, who is mounted on horseback and is accompanied by other women on horseback (<i>Helg. Hund.</i> I. 16; <i>Völs.</i> ch. 9).
The meeting takes place in a forest (Saxo, Book 1).	The meeting takes place in a forest (<i>Völs.</i> ch. 9).
Halfdan-Gram is on the occasion completely wrapped in the skin of a wild beast, so that even his face is concealed (Saxo, Book 1).	Helgi is on the occasion disguised. He speaks frá úlfíðif, "from a wolf guise" (<i>Helg. Hund.</i> I. 16), which expression finds its interpretation in Saxo, where Halfdan appears wrapped in the skin of a wild beast
Conversation is begun between Halfdan-Gram and Groa. Halfdan pretends to be a person who is his brother-at-arms (Saxo, Book 1).	Conversation is begun between Helgi and Sigrun. Helgi pretends to be a person who is his foster-brother (<i>Helg. Hund.</i> II. 6).

<p>Groa asks Halfdan-Gram:</p> <p>Quis, rogo, vestrum dirigit agmen, quo duce signa bellica fertis? (Saxo, Book 1)</p> <p>"Disclose to us, thou also, who thou art or whence sprung." (Elton Translation)</p>	<p>Sigrun asks Helgi:</p> <p>Hverir láta fljóta fley við bakka? Hvar, hermegir heima eiguð? (Helg. Hund. II. 5)</p> <p>"Who has brought these ships to float along the coasts? Where do you warriors possess a home?"</p>
<p>Halfdan-Gram invites Groa to accompany him. At first invitation is refused (Saxo, 1).</p>	<p>Helgi invites Sigrun to accompany him. At first the invitation is rebuked (<i>Helg. Hund.</i> I. 16-17).</p>
<p>Groa's father had already given her hand to another (Saxo, Book 1).</p>	<p>Sigrun's father had already promised her to another (<i>Helg. Hund.</i> I. 18).</p>
<p>Halfdan-Gram explains that this rival ought not to cause them to fear (Saxo, Book 1).</p>	<p>Helgi explains that this rival should not cause them to fear (<i>Helg. Hund.</i> I, II).</p>

<p>Halfdan-Gram makes war on Groa's father, on his rival, and on the kinsmen of the latter (Saxo, Book 1).</p>	<p>Helgi makes war on Sigrun's father, on his rival, and on the kinsmen of the latter (<i>Helg. Hund.</i> I, II).</p>
<p>Halfdan-Gram slays Groa's father and betrothed, and many heroes who belonged to his circle of kinsmen or were subject to him (Saxo, Book 1).</p>	<p>Helgi kills Sigrun's father and suitors, and many heroes who were the brothers or allies of his rival (<i>Helg, Hund.</i> II).</p>
<p>Halfdan-Gram marries Groa (Saxo, Book 1).</p>	<p>Helgi marries Sigrun (<i>Helg. Hund.</i> I. 56).</p>
<p>Halfdan-Gram conquers a king Ring (Saxo, Book 1).</p>	<p>Helgi conquers Ring's sons (<i>Helg.</i> <i>Hund.</i> I. 52).</p>
<p>Borgar's son has defeated and slain king Hunding (Saxo, Book 7).</p>	<p>Helgi has slain king Hunding, and thus gotten the name Hundingsbane (<i>Helg.</i> <i>Hund.</i> I. 10).</p>
<p>Halfdan-Gram has felled Svarin and many of his brothers. Svarin was viceroy under</p>	<p>Helgi's rival and the many brothers of the latter dwell around Svarin's grave-mound.</p>

Groa's father (Saxo, Book 1)	They are allies or subjects of Sigrun's father
Halfdan-Gram is slain by Svipdag, who is armed with an Asgard weapon (Saxo, Book 1; to be compared with other sources. See Nos. 33, 98, 101, 103).	Helgi is slain by Dag, who is armed with an Asgard weapon (<i>Helg. Hund. II.</i>).
Halfdan-Berggram's father is slain by his brother Frode, who took his kingdom (Saxo, Book 9).	Helgi's father was slain by his brother <i>Fróði</i> , who took his kingdom (<i>Hrólfs Saga Kraka</i>).

Halfdan Berggram and his brother were in their childhood protected by Regno (Saxo, Book 9).	Helgi and his brother were in their childhood protected by Reginn (<i>Hrólfs Saga Kraka</i>).
Halfdan Berggram and his brother burnt Frodi to death in his house (Saxo, Book 9).	Helgi and his brothers burnt Fróði to death in his house (<i>Hrólfs Saga Kraka</i>).
Halfdan Berggram as a youth left the kingdom to his brother and went warfaring (Saxo, Book 9).	Helgi Hundingsbane as a youth left the kingdom to his brother and went warfaring (Saxo, Book 2).
During Halfdan's absence Denmark is attacked by an enemy, who conquers his brother in three battles and slays him in a fourth (Saxo, Book 9).	During Helgi Hundingsbane's absence Denmark is attacked by an enemy, who conquers his brother in three battles and slays him in a fourth (Saxo, Book 2).
Halfdan, the descendant of Scef and Scyld, becomes the father of Rolf (the <i>Beowulf</i> poem).	Helgi Hundingsbane became the father of Rolf (Saxo 83; compare <i>Hrólfs Saga Kraka</i>).
Halfdan had a son with his own daughter Yrsa (<i>Gróttasöngur 22; mun Yrsu sonr við Halfdana efna Fróða; sá mun hennar heitinn verða bur ok bróðir</i>).	Helgi Hundingsbane had a son with his own sister Ursa (Saxo, Book 2). The son was Rolf (compare <i>Hrólfs Saga Kraka</i>).

A glance at these parallels is sufficient to remove every doubt that the hero in the songs concerning Helgi Hundingsbane is originally the same mythic person as is celebrated in the song or songs from which Saxo gathered his materials concerning the kings, Gram Skjoldson, Halfdan Berggram, and Halfdan Borgarson. It is the ancient myth in regard to Halfdan, the son of Skjold-Borgar, which myth, after the introduction of Christianity in Scandinavia, is divided into two branches, of which the one continues to be the saga of this patriarch, while the other utilizes the history of his youth and transforms it into a new saga, that of Helgi Hundingsbane. In Saxo's time, and long before him, this division into two branches had already taken place. How this younger branch, Helgi Hundingsbane's saga, was afterwards partly appropriated by the all-absorbing Sigurd saga and became connected with it in an external and purely genealogical manner, and partly did itself appropriate (as in Saxo) the old Danish local tradition about Rolf, the illegitimate son of Halfdan Skjoldung, and, in fact, foreign to his pedigree; how it got mixed with the saga about an evil Frodi and his stepsons, a saga with which it formerly had no connection; - all these are questions which I shall discuss fully in a second part of this work, and in a separate treatise on the heroic sagas.¹ For the present, my task is to show what influence this knowledge of Halfdan and Helgi Hundingsbane's identity has upon the interpretation of the myth concerning the antiquity of the Teutons.

30.

HALFDAN'S BIRTH AND THE END OF THE AGE OF PEACE.
THE FAMILY NAMES YLFING, HILDING, BUDLUNG.

The first strophes of the first song of Helgi Hundingsbane distinguish themselves in tone and character and broad treatment from the continuation of the song, and have clearly belonged to a genuine old mythic poem about Halfdan. Without much change, the compiler of the Helgi Hundingsbane song has incorporated them into his poem. They describe Halfdan's ("Helgi Hundingsbane's") birth. The real mythic names of his parents, Borgar and Drott have been retained side by side with the names given by the compiler, Sigmund and Borghild.²

<p>1. <i>Ár var alda það er arar gullu, hnigu heilög vötn af Himinfjöllum; þá hafði Helga inn hugumstóra Borghildur borið í Brálundi.</i></p>	<p>It was time's morning, eagles screeched, holy waters fell from the heavenly mountains; Then was the mighty Helgi born by Borghild in Bralund.</p>
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¹ This reference is unclear. There is no separate treatise in the second volume devoted to the heroic sagas, nor any specific segments devoted to the questions asked here. Rydberg may have intended to write such a treatise, but never completed it.

² The names Drott and Borgar do not occur in the poem. Apparently, Rydberg has misread the text. The word *drott* in verse 7 clearly refers to "the people" and is not a personal name. The word *borgir*, castles, is not the same as the name Borgar. Stanza 3 reads: With all their might they span the fatal threads, when he should overthrow castles in Braland... and stanza 7 reads "The people thought they saw a 'dayling' (a hero)...."

<p>2. Nótt varð í bæ, nornir kómu, þær er öðlingi aldur um skópu; þann báðu fylki frægstan verða og buðlunga beztan þykja.</p>	<p>It was night, norns came, they who did shape the fate of the nobleman; they proclaimed him best among the Budlungs, and most famed among princes.</p>
<p>3. Sneru þær af afli örlögþáttu, þá er borgir braut í Brálundi; þær um greiddu gullin símu og und mána sal miðjan festu.</p>	<p>With might the strands of fate they twisted, when Borgar settled in Bralund; they arranged the golden thread, and fastened it directly beneath the moon's hall</p>
<p>4. Þær austur og vestur enda fálu, þar átti lofðungur land á milli; brá nið Nera á norðurvega einni festi, ey bað hún halda.</p>	<p>In the east and west they hid the ends, there between the chief should rule; Neri's kinswoman [one of the norns] northward sent one thread and bade it hold forever.</p>
<p>5. Eitt var að angri Ylfinga nið og þeirri meyju er munúð fæddi: hrafni kvað að hrafni, sat á háum meiði, andvanur átu, "Eg veit nokkuð!"</p>	<p>There was one cause Of alarm to the Ylfing [Sigmund=Borgar] and also for her who bore the loved one; hungry cawed one raven to another in the high tree: "Hear what I know!"</p>
<p>6. Stendur í brynju bur Sigmundar dægurs eins gamall, nú er dagur kominn; hvessir augu sem hildingar, sá er varga vinur,</p>	<p>In a coat of mail stands Sigmund's son, one day old, now the day is come; his eyes are sharp like those of the Hildings, he is a friend of wolves:</p>

<i>við skulum teitir.</i>	We shall thrive!"
<p><i>7. Drótt þótti sá döglingur vera, kváðu með gumnum góð ár komin; sjáfur gekk vísi úr vígþrimu ungum færa íturlauk grami.</i></p>	<p>Drott thought she saw in him a "dayling", [bright son of day or light] the people expected plentiful harvests; the chief himself left the battle to give the noble "leek" to the young lord.</p>

Halfdan's ("Helgi Hundingsbane's") birth occurs, according to the contents of these strophes, when two epochs meet. His arrival announces the close of the peaceful epoch and the beginning of an age of strife, which ever since has reigned in the world. His significance in this respect is distinctly manifest in the poem. The raven, to whom the battle-field will soon be as a well-spread table, is yet suffering from hunger (*andvanur átu*) but from the high tree in which it sits, it has on the day after the birth of the child, presumably through the window, seen the newcomer, and discovered that he possessed "the sharp eyes of the Hildings," and with prophetic vision it has already seen him clad in coat of mail. It proclaims its discovery to another raven in the same tree, and foretells that theirs and the age of the wolves has come: "We shall thrive!"

The parents of the child heard and understood what the raven said. Among the runes which Heimdall, Borgar's father, taught him, and which the son of the latter in time learned, are the knowledge of bird-speech (*Konr ungr ... klök nam fugla - Rígsþula* 43-44). The raven's appearance in the song of Helgi Hundingsbane is to be compared with its relative the crow in *Rígsþula*; the one foretells that the new-born one's path of life lies over battlefields, the other urges the grown man to turn away from his peaceful amusements. Important in regard to a correct understanding of the song and characteristic of the original relation of the strophes quoted to the myth concerning primeval time, is the circumstance that Halfdan's ("Helgi Hundingsbane's") parents are not pleased with the prophecies of the raven; on the contrary they are filled with alarm. Former interpreters have been surprised at this. It has seemed to them that the prophecy of the lad's future heroic and blood-stained career ought, in harmony with the general spirit pervading the old Norse literature, to have awakened the parents' joy and pride. But the matter is explained by the mythic connection which makes Borgar's life constitute the transition period from a happy and peaceful golden age to an age of warfare. With all their love of strife and admiration for warlike deeds, the Teutons still were human, and shared with all other people the opinion that peace and harmony is something better and more desirable than war and bloodshed. Like their Indo-European kinsmen, they dreamed of primeval *Saturnia regna*,¹ and looked forward to a regeneration which is to restore the reign of peace. Borgar, in the myth, established the community, was the legislator and judge. He was the hero of peaceful deeds, who did not care to employ weapons except against wild beasts and robbers. But the myth had also equipped him with courage and strength, the necessary qualities for inspiring respect and interest, and had given him abundant opportunity for exhibiting these qualities in the promotion of culture and the maintenance of the sacredness of the law. Borgar was the Hercules of the northern myth, who fought with the gigantic beasts and robbers of the olden time. Saxo (*Hist.* Book 1) has preserved the traditions which tell how he at one time fought breast to breast with a giant bear, conquering him and bringing him fettered into his own camp.

As is well known, the family names Ylfings, Hildings, Budlungs, etc., have in the poems of the Christian skalds lost their specific application to certain families, and are applied to royal and princely warriors in general. This is in perfect analogy with the Christian Icelandic poetry, according to which it is proper to take the name of any viking,

¹ A Golden Age.

giant, or dwarf, and apply it to any special viking, giant, or dwarf, a poetic principle which scholars even of our time claim can also be applied in the interpretation of the heathen poems.² In regard to the Old Norse poets this method is, however, as impossible as it would be in Greek poetry to call Odysseus a Peleid, or Achilles a Laertiatid, or Prometheus Hephaestus, or Hephaestus Daedalus. The poems concerning Helgi Hundingsbane are compiled in Christian times from old songs about Borgar's son Halfdan, and we find that the patronymic appellations Ylfing, Hilding, Budlung, and Lofdung are copiously strewn on "Helgi Hundingsbane." But, so far as the above-quoted strophes are concerned, it can be shown that the appellations Ylfing, Hilding, and Budlung are in fact old usage and have a mythic foundation. The German poem "*Wolfdieterich und Sabin*" calls Berchtung (Borgar) Potelung -- that is, Budlung; the poem "*Wolfdieterich*" makes Berchtung the progenitor of the Hildings, and adds: "From the same race the Ylfings have come to us" -- *von dem selbe geslehte sint uns die wilfinge kumen* (v. 223).

Saxo mentions the Hilding Hildeger as Halfdan's half-brother, and the tradition on which the *Saga of Ásmundr Kappabani* is based has done the same (compare No. 43). The agreement in this point between German, Danish, and Icelandic statements points to an older source common to them all, and furnishes an additional proof that the German Berchtung occupied in the mythic genealogies precisely the same place as the Norse Borgar.

That Thor is one of Halfdan's fathers, just as Heimdall is one of Borgar's, has already been pointed out above (see No. 25). To a divine common fatherhood point the words: "Drott³ saw in him (the lad just born) a dayling (son of a god of light, a son divine)." Who the divine partner-father is, is indicated by the fact that a storm has broken out the night when Drott's son is born. There is a thunder-strife, *vígþrima*, the eagles screech, and holy waters fall from the heavenly mountains (from the clouds). The god of thunder is present, and casts his shadow over the house where the child is born.

31.

HALFDAN'S CHARACTER. THE WEAPON-MYTH.

The myths and heroic poems are not wanting in ideal heroes, who are models of goodness of heart, justice, and the most sensitive nobleness. Such are, for example, the Asa-god Baldur, his counterpart among heroes, *Helgi Hjörvarðsson*, Beowulf, and, to a certain degree also, *Sigurður Fáfnisbane*. Halfdan did not belong to this group. His part in the myth is to be the personal representative of the strife-age that came with him, of an

² Although Rydberg does not recognize it, this rule does apply to the interpretation of kennings found in heathen poetry. Thus where he bases his conclusions on evidence derived from Skaldic kennings, he is often wrong. The identification of Loki's daughter with the giantess name Leikn in no. 67 is a prime example of this. Thankfully, the Eddaic poems do not contain kennings to the degree that the latter Dróttkvætt poetry does, and thus many of Rydberg's conclusions are valid.

³ Literally, "The people," not a proper name as indicated here.

age when the inhabitants of the earth are visited by the great winter and by dire misfortunes, when the demoralization of the world has begun along with disturbances in nature, and when the words already are applicable, "*hart er í heimi*" (hard is the world). Halfdan is guilty of the abduction of a woman - the old custom of taking a maid from her father by violence or cunning is illustrated in his saga. It follows, however, that the myth at the same time embellished him with qualities which made him a worthy Germanic patriarch, and attractive to the hearers of the songs concerning him. These qualities are, besides the necessary strength and courage, the above-mentioned knowledge of runes, wherein he even surpasses his father (*Rígsþula*), great skaldic gifts (Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 7), a liberality which makes him love to strew gold about him (*Helg. Hund.* I. 9), and an extraordinary, fascinating physical beauty - which is emphasized by Saxo (*Hist.*, Book 1), and which is also evident from the fact that the Germanic myth makes him, as the Greek myth makes Achilles, on one occasion don a woman's attire, and resemble a valkyrie in this guise (*Helg. Hund.* II.). No doubt the myth also described him as the model of a faithful foster-brother in his relations to the silent Hamal, who externally was so like him that the one could easily be taken for the other (cp. *Helg. Hund.* II. 1, 6). In all cases, it is certain that the myth made the foster-brotherhood between Halfdan and Hamal the basis of the unfailing fidelity with which Hamal's descendants, the Amalians, cling to the son of Halfdan's favorite Hadding, and support his cause even amid the most difficult circumstances (see Nos. 42, 43). The abduction of a woman by Halfdan is founded in the physical interpretation of the myth, and can thus be justified. The wife he takes by force is the goddess of vegetation, Groa, and he does it because her husband Orvandil has made a compact with the powers of frost (see Nos. 33, 38, 108, 109).

There are indications that our ancestors believed the sword to be a later invention than the other kinds of weapons, and that it was from the beginning under a curse. The first and most important of all sword-smiths was, according to the myth, Thjazi⁴, who accordingly is called *faðir morna*, the father of swords (*Haustlög* 6, *Prose Edda Nafnapulur* 47). The best sword made by him is intended to make way for the destruction of the gods (see Nos. 33, 98, 101, 103). After various fortunes, it comes into the possession of Frey, but is of no service to Asgard. It is given to the parents of the giantess Gerd, and in Ragnarok it causes the death of Frey.

Halfdan had two swords, which his mother's father, for whom they were made, had buried in the earth, and his mother long kept the place of concealment secret from him. The first time he uses one of them he slays in a duel his noble half-brother Hildeger, fighting on the side of the Skilfings, without knowing who he is (cp. Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 7, with *Ásmund Kapp.*). Cursed swords are mentioned several times in the sagas.

Halfdan's weapon, which he wields successfully in advantageous exploits, is, in fact, the club (Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 1, Book 7). That the Germanic patriarch's favorite weapon is the club, not the sword; that the latter, later, in his hand, sheds the blood of a kinsman; and that he himself finally is slain by the sword forged by Thjazi, and that, too, in conflict with a son (the step-son Svipdag - see below), I regard as worthy of notice from the standpoint of the views cherished during some of the centuries of the Germanic

⁴ Proofs of Thjazi's original identity with Völund are given in Nos. 113-115.

heathendom in regard to the various age and sacredness of the different kinds of weapons. That the sword also at length was looked upon as sacred is plain from the fact that it was adopted and used by the Aesir. In Ragnarök, Vidar is to avenge his father with a *hjörr* and pierce Fenrir's heart (*Völuspá* 54). *Hjörr* may, it is true, also mean a missile, but still it is probable that it, in Vidar's hand, means a sword. The oldest and most sacred weapons were the spear, the hammer, the club, and the axe. The spear which, in the days of Tacitus, and much later, was the chief weapon both for foot-soldiers and cavalry in the Germanic armies, is wielded by the Asa-father himself, whose Gungnir was forged for him by Ivaldi's sons before the dreadful enmity between the gods and them had begun.

The hammer is Thor's most sacred weapon. Before Sindri forged one for him of iron (*Gylfaginning*), he wielded a hammer of stone. This is evident from the very name *hamarr*, a rock, a stone. The club is, as we have seen, the weapon of the Germanic patriarch, and is wielded side by side with Thor's hammer in the conflict with the powers of frost. The battle-axe belonged to Njörd. This is evident from the metaphors found in the *Prose Edda* and in *Íslendingadrápa* 11.⁵ The mythological kernel in one metaphor is *Njörðr klauf Herjan's hurðir*, i.e., "Njörd cleaved Odin's gates" (when the Vanir conquered Asgard); in the other the battle-axe is called *Gaut's meginhurðar galli*, i.e., "the destroyer of Odin's great gate." The bow is a weapon employed by the Aesir Hödr and Ullr, but Baldur is slain by a shot from the bow, and the chief archer of the myth is, as we shall see, not an Aesir, but a brother of Thjazi. (Further discussion of the weapon-myth will be found in No. 39).

32.

HALFDAN'S CONFLICTS INTERPRETED AS MYTHS OF NATURE. THE WAR WITH THE HEROES FROM SVARIN'S MOUND. HALFDAN'S MARRIAGE WITH DISES OF VEGETATION.

In regard to the significance of the conflicts awaiting Halfdan, and occupying his whole life, when interpreted as myths of nature, we must remember that he inherits from his father the duty of stopping the progress southward of the giant-world's wintry agents, the kinsmen of Thjazi, and of the Skilfing (Yngling) tribes dwelling in the north. The

⁵ The phrase "*Gauts meginhurðar galli*" occurs in a stanza by Einar Skúlason, quoted in *Skáldskaparmál* 36, Faulkes edition; *Skáldska.* 44 in the Guðni Jónsson edition.

Since the meaning of kennings was not systematically studied until the 1920's with Rudolf Meissner's *Die Kenningjar der Skalden*, Rydberg makes many false assumptions in regard to the translation of skaldic verse. His main err is in assuming that a "mythological kernel" underlies the complex poetic descriptions known as kennings. The words "*Njörðr klauf Herjans hurðir*" occur in stanza 11 of the *Íslendingadrápa*, a poem by Haukur Valdísarson. There a shield is referred to as *Herjans hurðir* "Odin's door", but Rydberg's conclusion is unfounded. A shield could also be called the wall/roof/door of any famous legendary hero, such as Högni, for example. In the stanza in question "Njörður" is simply a meaningless stem in a warrior-kennig, and no reference to the god of that name. Njörður could be replaced with any Odin-name, Baldur, Freyr, the name of any hero or any tree of the masculine gender, without effecting the meaning of the kenning.

migration sagas have, as we have seen, shown that Borgar and his people had to leave the original country and move south to Denmark, Saxland, and to those regions on the other side of the Baltic in which the Goths settled. For a time, the original country is possessed by the conquerors, who, according to *Völuspá*: "from Svarin's Mound attacked and took (*sótti*) the clayey plains as far as Jaravall." But Halfdan represses them. That the words quoted from *Völuspá* really refer to the same mythic persons with whom Halfdan afterwards fights is proved by the fact that Svarin and Svarin's Mound are never named in our documents except in connection with Halfdan's saga. In Saxo, it is Halfdan-Gram who slays Svarin and his numerous brothers; in the saga of "Helgi Hundingsbane" it is again Halfdan, under the name Helgi, who attacks tribes dwelling around Svarin's Mound, and conquers them. To this may be added, that the compiler of the first song about Helgi Hundingsbane borrowed from the saga-original, on which the song is based, names which point to the *Völuspá* strophe concerning the attack on the south Scandinavian plains. In the category of names, or the genealogy of the aggressors, occur, as has been shown already, the Skilfing names Alf and Yngvi. Thus also in the Helgi-song's list of persons with whom the conflict is waged in the vicinity of Svarin's Mound. In the *Völuspá*'s list *Moinn* is mentioned among the aggressors (in the variation in the *Prose Edda*); in the first Helgi-song (str. 46), it is said that Helgi-Halfdan fought *á Móinsheimum* against his brave foes, whom he afterwards slew in the battle around Svarin's Mound. In the *Völuspá*'s list is named among the aggressors one *Haugspori*, "the one spying from the mound"; in the Helgi-song is mentioned *Sporvitnir*, who from Svarin's Mound watches the forces of Helgi-Halfdan advancing. I have already (No. 28B) pointed out several other names which occur in the *Völuspá* list, and whose connection with the myth concerning the artists, frost-giants, and Skilfings of antiquity, and their attack on the original country, can be shown.

The physical significance of Halfdan's conflicts and adventures is apparent also from the names of the women, whom the saga makes him marry. Groa (growth), whom he robs and keeps for some time, is, as her very name indicates, a goddess of vegetation. Signi-Alveig, whom he afterwards marries, is the same. Her name signifies "the nourishing drink." According to Saxo, she is the daughter of *Sumblus*, Latin for *Sumbl*, which means feast, ale, mead, and is a synonym for *Ölvaldi*, *Ölmóðr*, names which belonged to the father of the Ivaldi sons (see No. 123).

According to a well-supported statement in *Forspjallsljóð* (see No. 123), Ivaldi was the father of two groups of children. The mother of one of these groups is a giantess (see Nos. 113, 114, 115). With her he has three sons, viz., the three famous artists of antiquity - *Iði*, *Gangr-Aurnir*, and *Pjazi*. The mother of the other group is a goddess of light (see No. 123). With her he has daughters, who are goddesses of growth, among them Idunn and Signi-Alveig. That Idunn is the daughter of Ivaldi is clear from *Forspjallsljóð* (6), *álfa ættar Iðunni hétu Ívalds eldri yngsta barna*.⁶

Of the names of their father *Sumbli*, *Ölvaldi*, *Ölmóðr*, it may be said that, as nature-symbols, *öl* (ale) and *mjöðr* (mead), are in the Germanic mythology identical with *soma* and *soma madhu* in *Rigveda* and *haoma* in *Avesta*, that is, they are the strength-developing, nourishing saps in nature. Mimir's subterranean well, from which the world-tree draws its nourishment, is a mead-fountain. In the poem *Haustlög*, Idunn is called

⁶ "The kin of elves, named Idunn, Ivaldi's eldest younger child."

Ölgefn; in the same poem Groa is called *Ölgeffjun*. Both appellations refer to goddesses who give the drink of growth and regeneration to nature and to the gods. Thus we here have a family, the names and epithets of whose members characterize them as forces, active in the service of nature and of the god of harvests. Their names and epithets also point to the family bond which unites them. We have the group of names, *Iðvaldi*, *Iði*, *Iðunn*, and the group, *Ölvaldi* (*Ölmóðr*), *Ölgefn*, and *Ölgeffjun*, both indicating members of the same family. Further on (see Nos. 113, 114, 115) proof shall be presented that Groa's first husband, Orvandil the brave, is one of Thjazi's brothers, and thus that Groa, too, was closely connected with this family.

As we know, it is the enmity caused by Loki between the Aesir and the lower serving, yet powerful, divinities of nature belonging to the Ivaldi group, which produces the terrible winter with its awful consequences for man, and particularly for the Germanic tribes. These previously beneficent agents of growth have ceased to serve the gods, and have allied themselves with the frost-giants. The war waged by Halfdan must be regarded from this standpoint. Midgard's chief hero, the real Germanic patriarch, tries to reconquer for the Teutons the country of which winter has robbed them. To be able to do this, he is the son of Thor, the divine foe of the frost-giants, and performs on the border of Midgard a work corresponding to that which Thor has to do in space and in Jotunheim. And in the same manner as Heimdall before secured favorable conditions of nature to the original country, by uniting the sun-goddess with himself through bonds of love, his grandson Halfdan now seeks to do the same for the Germanic country, by robbing a hostile son of Ivaldi, Orvandil, of his wife Groa, the growth-giver, and thereupon also of Alveig, the giver of the nourishing sap. A symbol of nature may also be found in Saxo's statement, that the king of Svithiod, Sigtrygg, Groa's father, could not be conquered unless Halfdan fastened a golden ball to his club (*Hist.*, Book 1). The purpose of Halfdan's conflicts, the object which the norns particularly gave to his life, that of reconquering from the powers of frost the northernmost regions of the Germanic territory and of permanently securing them for culture, and the difficulty of this task is indicated, it seems to me, in the strophes above quoted, which tell us that the norns fastened the woof of his power in the east and west, and that he from the beginning, and undisputed, extended the scepter of his rule over these latitudes, while in regard to the northern latitudes, it is said that "Neri's kinswoman," the chief of the norns (see Nos. 57-64, 85), cast a single thread in this direction and prayed that it might hold for ever:

<p>4. <i>Þær austur og vestur enda fálu, þar átti lofðungur land á milli; brá niðt Nera á norðurvega einni festi, ey það hún halda.</i></p>	<p>In the east and west they hid the ends, there between the chief should rule; Neri's kinswoman [one of the norns] northward sent one thread and bade it hold forever.</p>
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The norms' prayer was heard. That the myth made Halfdan proceed victoriously to the north, even to the very starting-point of the emigration to the south caused by the fimbul-winter, that is to say, to Svarin's Mound, is proved by the statements that he slays Svarin and his brothers, and wins in the vicinity of Svarin's Mound the victory over his opponents, which was for a time decisive. His penetration into the north, when regarded as a nature-myth, means the restoration of the proper change of seasons, and the rendering of the original country and of Svithiod inhabitable. As far as the hero, who secured the "giver of growth" and the "giver of nourishing sap," succeeds with the aid of his father Thor to carry his weapons into the Germanic lands destroyed by frost, so far spring and summer again extend the scepter of their reign. The songs about Helgi Hundingsbane have also preserved from the myth the idea that Halfdan and his forces penetrating northward by land and by sea are accompanied in the air by valkyries, "goddesses from the south," armed with helmets, coats of mail, and shining spears, who fight the forces of nature that are hostile to Halfdan, and these valkyries are in their very nature goddesses of growth, from the manes of whose horses falls the dew which gives the power of growth back to the earth and harvests to men. (Cp. *Helg. Hund.* I. 15, 30; II., the prose to v. 5, 12, 13, with *Helg. Hjörv.* 28.) On this account the Swedes, too, have celebrated Halfdan in their songs as their patriarch and benefactor, and according to Saxo they have worshipped him as a divinity, although it was his task to check the advance of the Skilfings to the south.

Doubtless it is after this successful war that Halfdan performs the great sacrifice mentioned in *Skáldskaparmál* 80, in order that he may retain his royal power for three hundred years. The statement should be compared with what the German poems of the Middle Ages tell about the longevity of Berchtung-Borgar and other heroes of antiquity. They live for several centuries. But the response Halfdan gets from the powers to whom he sacrificed is that he shall live simply to the age of an old man, and that in his family there shall not for three hundred years be born a woman or a fameless man.

33.

REVIEW OF THE SVIPDAG MYTH AND ITS POINTS OF CONNECTION WITH THE MYTH OF HALFDAN (cp. No. 24).

When Halfdan secured Groa, she was already the bride of Orvandil the brave, and the first son she bore in Halfdan's house was not his, but Orvandil's. The son's name is Svipdag. He develops into a hero who, like Halfdan himself, is the most brilliant and most beloved of those celebrated in Germanic songs. We have devoted a special part of this work to him (see Nos. 96-107). There we have given proofs of various mythological facts, which I now already must incorporate with the following series of events in order that the epic thread may not be wanting:

- (a) Groa bears with Halfdan the son Guthorm (Saxo, *Hist. Dan.*, Book 1).
- (b) Groa is rejected by Halfdan (Saxo, *Hist. Dan.*, Book 1). She returns to Orvandil, and brings with her her own and his son Svipdag.

(c) Halfdan marries Signi-Alveig (*Hyndluljóð* 15; *Prose Edda, Skáldskaparmál* 80; Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 1), and with her becomes the father of the son Hadding (Saxo, *Hist. Dan.*, Book 1).

(d) Groa dies, and Orvandil marries again (*Gróugaldr* 3). Before her death Groa has told her son that if he needs her help he must go to her grave and invoke her (*Gróugaldr* 1).

(e) It is Svipdag's duty to revenge on Halfdan the disgrace done to his mother and the murder of his mother's father Sigtrygg. But his stepmother bids Svipdag seek Menglad, "the one loving ornaments" (*Gróugaldr* 3).

(f) Under the weight of these tasks Svipdag goes to his mother's grave, bids her awake from her sleep of death, and from her he receives protecting incantations (*Gróugaldr*).

(g) Before Svipdag enters upon the adventurous expedition to find Menglad, he undertakes, at the head of the giants, the allies of the Ívaldi sons (see *Fjölsvinnsmál* 1, where Svipdag is called *þursa þjóðar sjólr*,⁷ a war of revenge against Halfdan (Saxo, Book 1, Book 7; cp. Nos. 102, 103). The host of giants is defeated, and Svipdag, who has entered into a duel with his stepfather, is overcome by the latter. Halfdan offers to spare his life and adopt him as his son. But Svipdag refuses to accept life as a gift from him, and answers a defiant no to the proffered father-hand. Then Halfdan binds him to a tree and leaves him to his fate (Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 7 ; cp. No. 103).

(h) Svipdag is freed from his bonds through one of the incantations sung over him by his mother (*Gróugaldr* 10).

(i) Svipdag wanders about sorrowing in the land of the giants. *Gevarr-Nökkvi*, god of the moon (see Nos. 90, 91), tells him how he is to find an irresistible sword, which is always attended by victory (see No. 101). The sword is forged by Thjazi, who intended to destroy the world of the gods with it; but just at the moment when the smith had finished his weapon he was surprised in his sleep by Mimir, who put him in chains and took the sword. The latter is now concealed in the lower world (see Nos. 98, 101, 103).

(j)⁸ Following *Gevarr-Nökkvi's* directions, Svipdag goes to the northernmost edge of the world, and finds a descent to the lower world there; he conquers the guard of the gates of Hel, sees the wonderful regions down there, and succeeds in securing the sword of victory (see Nos. 53, 97, 98, 101, 103, 112).

(k) Svipdag begins a new war with Halfdan. Thor fights on his son's side, but the irresistible sword cleaves the hammer *Mjöltnir*; the Asa-god himself must yield. The war ends with Halfdan's defeat. He dies of the wounds he has received in the battle (see Nos. 101, 103; cp. Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 1).

(l) Svipdag seeks and finds Menglad, who is Freyja who was robbed by the giants. He liberates her and sends her pure and undefiled to Asgard (see Nos. 96, 98, 100, 102).

⁷ If *þursa þjóðar sjól*, "the ruler of the giants" was the correct reading here, as Rydberg assumes, then we would then have to postulate a word *sjólr*, instead of *sjóli*. The usual reading is: *hann sá upp um koma þursa þjóðar sjöt*, "he saw, coming up, the home of the thurses' nation." Although the phrase *upp koma* is not adequately explained. A better reading may be obtained by emending *þursa þjóðar sjöt* to *þurs á þjóðar sjöt*, and reading "Outside the walls, he saw a giant come up towards the citadel." See Eysteinn Björnsson's site on *Svipdagsmál* <http://www.hi.is/~eybjorn/ugm/svipdag2.html>

⁸ The original lettering omits "j" and thus the list ends on "o." Other lists of this type elsewhere in the text also omit the letter "j."

(m) Idunn is brought back to Asgard by Loki. Thjazi, who is freed from his prison at Mimir's, pursues, in the guise of an eagle, Loki to the walls of Asgard, where he is slain by the gods (see the Eddas).

(n) Svipdag, armed with the sword of victory, goes to Asgard, is received joyfully by Freyja, becomes her husband, and presents his sword of victory to Frey. Reconciliation between the gods and the Ivaldi race. Njörd marries Thjazi's daughter Skadi. Orvandil's second son Ullr, Svipdag's half-brother (see No. 102), is adopted in Valhall. A sister of Svipdag is married to Forseti (*Hyndluljóð* 20). The gods honor the memory of Thjazi by connecting his name with certain stars (*Hárbarðsljóð* 19). A similar honor had already been paid to his brother Orvandil (*Prose Edda*).

From this series of events we find that, although the Germanic patriarch finally succumbs in the war which he waged against the Thjazi-race and the frost-powers led by Thjazi's kinsmen, still the results of his work are permanent. When the crisis had reached its culminating point; when the giant hosts of the fimbul-winter had received as their leader the son of Orvandil, armed with the irresistible sword; when Halfdan's fate is settled; when Thor himself, *Miðgarðs véurr* (*Völuspá* 56), the mighty protector of earth and the human race, must retreat with his lightning hammer broken into pieces, then the power of love suddenly prevails and saves the world. Svipdag, who, under the spell of his deceased mother's incantations from the grave, obeyed the command of his stepmother to find and rescue Freyja from the power of the giants, thereby wins her heart and earns the gratitude of the gods. He has himself learned to love her, and is at last compelled by his longing to seek her in Asgard. The end of the power of the fimbul-winter is marked by Freyja's and Idunn's return to the gods by Thjazi's death, by the presentation of the invincible sword to the god of harvests (Frey), by the adoption of Thjazi's kinsmen, Svipdag, Ull, and Skadi in Asgard, and by several marriage ties celebrated in commemoration of the reconciliation between Asgard's gods and the kinsmen of the great artist of antiquity.

34.

THE WORLD WAR. ITS CAUSE. THE MURDER OF GULLVEIG-HEIDR. THE VOICE OF COUNSEL BETWEEN THE AESIR AND THE VANIR.

Thus the peace of the world and the order of nature might seem secured. But it is not long before a new war breaks out, to which the former may be regarded as simply the prelude. The feud, which had its origin in the judgment passed by the gods on Thjazi's gifts, and which ended in the marriage of Svipdag and Freyja, was waged for the purpose of securing again for settlement and culture the ancient domain and Svithiod, where Heimdall had founded the first community. It was confined within the limits of the North Germanic peninsula, and in it the united powers of Asgard supported the other Germanic tribes fighting under Halfdan. But the new conflict rages at the same time in heaven and in earth, between the divine clans of the Aesir and the Vanir, and between all the Germanic tribes led into war with each other by Halfdan's sons. From the standpoint of Germanic mythology it is a world war; and *Völuspá* calls it the first great war in the world - *fólkvið fyrst í heimi* (strs. 21, 24).

Loki was the cause of the former prelusive war. His feminine counterpart and ally Gullveig-Heidr, who gradually is blended, so to speak, into one with him, causes the other. This is apparent from the following *Völuspá* strophes:

21. *Það man hún*
fólkvíg
fyrst í heimi,
er Gullveigu
geirum studdu
og í höll Hárs
hana brenndu;
þrisvar brenndu
þrisvar borna,
oft, ósjaldan;
þó hún enn lifir.

She remembers
the great war

The first in the
world,
When Gullveig
They studded with
spears
And in Har's
(Odin's) hall
They burnt her;
Thrice burnt
Thrice born
Often, not seldom
Yet she still lives

22. *Heiði hana*
héttu,
hvars til húsa
kom,
völu velsþá,
vitti hún ganda;
seið hún kunni,
seið hún Leikin,
æ var hún angan
illrar brúðar.

Heidr, they called
her

when she came to
houses
a vala of pleasing
prophecies
She used *gands*;
She knew *seið*,
Through *seið* she
leikin,
Ever was she the
delight of
evil women.

23. *Þá gengu*
regin öll
á rökstóla,
ginnheilög goð
og um það
gættust,
hvort skyldu æsir
afráð gjalda,

eða skyldu goðin
öll
gildi eiga.
Then all the rulers
went
to their
judgement-seats

The most holy
gods,
and considered
this,
whether the Aesir
should

afráð gjalda
or should all the
gods
gildi eiga.

24. *Fleygði*
Óðinn
og í fólk um skaut,
það var enn
fólkvíg
fyrst í heimi;
brotinn var
borðveggur
borgar ása,
knáttu vanir
vígspá
völlu sporna.

Odin threw
And shot into the
folk,
That was a great
war
the first in the
world;
Broken was the
bulwark
of the Aesir's
burgh,
Through *vígspá*
the Vanir
Tread its fields.

The first thing to be established in the interpretation of these strophes is the fact that they, in the order in which they are found in *Codex Regius*, and in which I have given them, all belong together and refer to the same mythic event - that is, to the origin of the great world war. This is evident from a comparison of strophe 21 with 24, the first and last of those quoted. Both speak of the war, which is called *fólkvíg fyrst í heimi*. The former strophe informs us that it occurred as a result of, and in connection with, the murder of Gullveig, a murder committed in Valhall itself, in the hall of the Asa-father, beneath the roof where the gods of the Asa-clan are gathered around their father. The latter strophe tells that the first great war in the world produced a separation between the two god-clans, the Aesir and Vanir, a division caused by the fact that Odin, hurling his spear, interrupted a discussion between them; and the strophe also explains the result of the war: the bulwark around Asgard was broken, and the Vanir got possession of the power of the Aesir. The discussion or council is explained in strophe 23. It is there expressly emphasized that all the gods, the Aesir and Vanir, *regin öll, goðin öll*, solemnly assemble and seat themselves on their *rökstólar* to counsel together concerning the murder of *Gullveig-Heiðr*. Strophe 22 has already described who Gullveig is, and thus given at least one reason for the hatred of the Aesir towards her, and for the treatment she receives in Odin's hall. It is evident that she was in Asgard under the name Gullveig, since Gullveig was killed and burnt in Valhall; but Midgard, the abode of man, has also

been the scene of her activity. There she has roamed about under the name *Heiðr*, practicing the evil arts of black sorcery (see No. 27) and encouraging the evil passions of mankind: *æ var hún angan illrar brúðar*. Hence Gullveig suffers the punishment which from time immemorial was established among the Indo-Europeans for the practice of the black art; she was burnt. And her mysteriously terrible and magic nature is revealed by the fact that the flames, though kindled by divine hands, do not have the power over her that they have over other agents of sorcery. The gods burn her three times; they pierce the body of the witch with their spears, and hold her over the flames of the fire. All is in vain. They cannot prevent her return and regeneration. Thrice burned and thrice born, she still lives.

After *Völuspá* has given an account of the vala who in Asgard was called Gullveig and on earth *Heiðr*, the poem speaks, in strophe 23, of the dispute which arose among the gods on account of her murder. The gods assembled on and around the judgement seats are divided into two parties, of which the Aesir constitute the one. The fact that the treatment received by Gullveig can become a question of dispute which ends in enmity between the gods is a proof that only one of the god-clans has committed the murder; and since this took place, not in Njörd's, or Frey's, or Freyja's halls, but in Valhall, where Odin rules and is surrounded by his sons, it follows that the Aesir must have committed the murder. Of course, Vans who were guests in Odin's hall might have been the perpetrators of the murder; but, on the one hand, the poem would scarcely have indicated Odin's hall as the place where Gullveig was to be punished, unless it wished thereby to point out the Aesir as the doers of the deed; and, on the other hand, we cannot conceive the murder as possible, as described in *Völuspá*, if the Vanir were the ones who committed it, and the Aesir were Gullveig's protectors; for then the latter, who were the lords in Valhall, would certainly not have permitted the Vanir quietly and peaceably to subject Gullveig to the long torture there described, in which she is spitted on spears and held over the flames to be burnt to ashes.

That the Aesir committed the murder is also corroborated by *Völuspá's* account of the question in dispute. One of the views prevailing in the consultation and discussion in regard to the matter is that the Aesir ought to *afráð gjalda* in reference to the murder committed. In this *afráð gjalda*, we meet with a phrase which is echoed in the laws of Iceland, and in the old codes of Norway and Sweden. There can be no doubt that the phrase has found its way into the language of the law from the popular vernacular, and that its legal significance was simply more definite and precise than its use in the vernacular. The common popular meaning of the phrase is to pay compensation. The compensation may be of any kind whatsoever. It may be rent for the use of another's field, or it may be taxes for the enjoyment of social rights, or it may be death and wounds for having waged war. In the present instance, it must mean compensation to be paid by the Aesir for the slaying of *Gullveig-Heiðr*. As such a demand could not be made by the Aesir themselves, it must have been made by the Vanir and their supporters in the discussion. Against this demand, we have the proposition from the Aesir that all the gods should *gildi eiga*. In regard to this disputed phrase at least so much is clear, that it must contain either an absolute or a partial counter-proposition to the demand of the Vanir, and its purpose must be that the Aesir ought not - at least, not alone - pay compensation for

the murder, but that the crime should be regarded as one in reference to which all the gods, the Aesir and the Vanir alike were guilty, and as one for which they all together should assume the responsibility.

The discussion does not lead to a friendly settlement. Something must have been said at which Odin has become deeply offended, for the Asa-father, distinguished for his wisdom and calmness, hurls his spear into the midst of those deliberating -- a token that the contest of reason against reason is at an end, and that it is to be followed by a contest of weapons.

The myth concerning this deliberation between Aesir and Vanir was well known to Saxo, and what he has to say about it (*Hist.*, Book 3), turning myth as usual into history, should be compared with *Völuspá's* account, for both these sources complement each other.

As in *Völuspá*, the first thing that strikes us in Saxo's narrative is that sorcery, the black art, plays a chief part in the chain of events. His account is taken from a mythic circumstance, mentioned by the heathen skald Kormak (*seið Yggr til Rindar - Skáldskaparmál* 2), according to which Odin, forced by extreme need, sought the favor of Rind, and gained his point by sorcery and witchcraft, as he could not gain it otherwise. According to Saxo, Odin touched Rind with a piece of bark on which he had inscribed magic songs, and the result was that she became insane (*Rinda ... quam Othinus cortice carminibus adnotato contingens lymphanti similem reddidit*)¹. In immediate connection with this, it is related that the gods held a council, in which it was claimed that Odin had stained his divine honor, and ought to be deposed from his royal dignity (*dii ... Othinum variis majestatis detrimentis divinitatis gloriam maculasse cernentes, collegio suo submovendum duxerunt - Hist.*, Book 3)². Among the deeds of which his opponents in this council accused him was, as it appears from Saxo, at least one of which he ought to take the consequences, but for which all the gods ought not to be held responsible (*... ne vel ipsi, alieno crimine implicati, insontes nocentis crimine punirentur - Hist.*, Book 3; *in omnium caput unius culpam recidere putares, Hist.*, Book 3)³. The result of the deliberation of the gods is, in Saxo as in *Völuspá*, that Odin is banished, and that another clan of gods than his holds the power for some time. Thereupon he is, with the consent of the reigning gods, recalled to the throne, which he henceforth occupies in a brilliant manner. But one of his first acts after his return is to banish the black art and its agents from heaven and from earth (*Hist.*, Book 1).

Thus the chain of events in Saxo both begins and ends with sorcery. It is the background on which those events, both in Saxo and in *Völuspá*, occur which are connected with the dispute between the Aesir and Vanir. In both the documents, the gods meet in council before the breaking out of the enmity. In both, the question turns on a

¹ "Straightaway he touched her with a piece of bark whereon spells were written, and made her like unto one in frenzy" Oliver Elton Translation and hereafter.

² "Odin had tarnished the fair name of the godhead by diverse injuries to its majesty."

³ "And fearing that they themselves be involved in the sin of another, and though guiltless, be punished for the crime of the guilty."

deed done by Odin, for which certain gods do not wish to take the responsibility. Saxo indicates this by the words: *Ne vel ipsi, alieno crimine implicati innocentes nocentis crimine punirentur. Völuspá* indicates it by letting the Vanir present, against the proposition that *goðin öll skyldu gildi eiga*, the claim that Odin's own clan, and it alone, should *afráð gjalda*. And while *Völuspá* makes Odin suddenly interrupt the deliberations and hurl his spear among the deliberators, Saxo gives us the explanation of his sudden wrath. He and his clan had slain and burnt Gullveig-Heid because she practiced sorcery and other evil arts of witchcraft. And as he refuses to make compensation for the murder and demands that all the gods take the consequences and share the blame, the Vanir have replied in council, that he too once practiced sorcery on the occasion when he visited Rind, and that, if Gullveig was justly burnt for this crime, then he ought justly to be deposed from his dignity, stained by the same crime as the ruler of all the gods. Thus *Völuspá's* and Saxo's accounts supplement and illustrate each other.

One dark point remains, however. Why have the Vanir objected to the killing of Gullveig-Heid? Should this clan of gods, celebrated in song as benevolent, useful, and pure, be kindly disposed toward the evil and corrupting arts of witchcraft? This cannot have been the meaning of the myth. As shall be shown, the evil plans of Gullveig-Heid have particularly been directed against those very Vanir who in the council demand compensation for her death. In this regard, Saxo, in perfect faithfulness toward his mythic source, has represented Odin on the one hand, and his opponents among the gods on the other, as alike hostile to the black art. Odin, who on one occasion and under peculiar circumstances, which I shall discuss in connection with the Baldur myth, was guilty of the practice of sorcery, is nevertheless the declared enemy of witchcraft, and Saxo makes him take pains to forbid and persecute it. The Vanir likewise look upon it with horror, and it is this horror which adds strength to their words when they attack and depose Odin, because he has himself practiced that for which he has punished Gullveig.

The explanation of the fact is, as shall be shown below, that Frey, on account of a passion of which he is the victim (probably through sorcery), was driven to marry the giant maid Gerd, whose kin in that way became friends of the Vanir. Frey is obliged to demand satisfaction for a murder perpetrated on a kinswoman of his wife. The kinship of blood demands its sacred right, and according to Germanic ideas of law, the Vanir must act as they do regardless of the moral character of Gullveig.

35.

GULLVEIG-HEIDR. HER IDENTITY WITH AURBODA, ANGURBODA, HYRROKIN.

THE MYTH CONCERNING THE SWORD GUARDIAN AND FJALAR.

The duty of the Vanir becomes even more plain, if it can be shown that Gullveig-Heid is Gerd's mother; for Frey, supported by the Vanir, then demands satisfaction for the murder of his own mother-in-law. Gerd's mother is, in *Hyndluljóð* 30 (*Völuspá in Skamma* 2), called Aurboda, and is the wife of the giant Gymir:

*Freyr átti Gerði,
hún var Gymis dóttir,
jötna ættar
og Aurboðu.*

Freyr married Gerd
She was Gymir's daughter,
Of Jotun stock,
And Aurboda

It can, in fact, be demonstrated that Aurboda is identical with Gullveig-Heid. The evidence is given below in two divisions:

(a) Evidence that Gullveig-Heid is identical with Angurboda, "the ancient one in the Ironwood";

(b) evidence that Gullveig-Heid-Angurboda is identical with Aurboda, Gerd's mother.

(a) Gullveig-Heid identical with Angurboda.

Hyndluljóð 40-41 (*Völuspá in skamma* 12-13), says:

*Ól úlf Loki
við Angurboðu,
(en Sleipni gat
við Svaðilfara);
eitt þótti skass
allra feiknast,
það var bróður
frá
Byleists komið.
Loki [át] af hjarta
lindi brenndu,
fann hann
hálfsviðinn
tfg v hugstein
konu;*

Loki got the wolf
With Angurboda
(but Sleipnir he
got
with Svadilfari)
One monster was
thought
the most deadly,
that descended
from
Byleist's brother
varð Loftur
kviðugr
af konu illri;
þaðan er á foldu
flagð hvert komið.
Loki ate the heart

Roasted on linden (?), He found it half- burnt The woman's heart;	Loftur (Loki) became impregnated By the woman's evil; Thence, on earth, every <i>flagð</i> has come.
--	--

From the account, we see that an evil female being (*ill kona*) had been burnt, but that the flames were not able to destroy the seed of life in her nature. Her heart had not been burnt through or changed to ashes. It was only half-burnt (*hálfsviðinn hugsteinn*), and in this condition it had been thrown away together with the other remains of the cremated woman, for Loki finds and swallows the heart.

Our ancestors looked upon the heart as the seat of the life principle, of the soul of living beings. A number of linguistic phrases are founded on the idea that goodness and evil, kindness and severity, courage and cowardice, joy and sorrow, are connected with the character of the heart; sometimes we find *hjarta* used entirely in the sense of soul, as in the expression *hold og hjarta*, body and soul¹. So long as the heart in a dead body had not gone into decay, it was believed that the principle of life dwelling therein still was able, under peculiar circumstances, to operate on the limbs and exercise an influence on its environment, particularly if the dead person in life had been endowed with a will at once evil and powerful. In such cases, it was regarded as important to pierce the heart of the dead with a pointed spear (cp. Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 1, and No. 95).

The half-burnt heart, accordingly, contains the evil woman's soul, and its influence upon Loki, after he has swallowed it, is most remarkable. Once before when he bore Sleipnir with the giant horse *Svaðilfari*, Loki had revealed his androgynous nature. So he does now. The swallowed heart redeveloped the feminine in him (*Loki lindi af brendu hjarta*). It fertilized him with the evil purposes which the heart contained. Loki became the possessor of the evil woman (*kviðugr af konu illri*), and became the father of the children from which the trolls (*flagð*) are come which are found in the world. First among the children is mentioned the wolf, which is named Fenrir, and which shall cause the death of the Asa-father in Ragnarok. Njörd's words about Loki, in *Lokasenna* 33 point to this event: *áss ragr er hefir börn of borið*.² The woman possessing the half-burnt heart, who is the mother or rather the father of the wolf, is called *Angurboða* (*ól úlf Loki við Angurboðu*). N. M. Petersen³ and other mythologists have rightly seen that she is the same as "the old one," who in historical times and until Ragnarok dwells in the Ironwood, and "there fosters Fenrir's kinsmen" (*Völuspá* 40), her own offspring, which at the

¹ Literally, "flesh and heart."

² "A wretched Ás who has borne children."

³ N. M. (Niels Matthias) Petersen, Danish Scholar, 1791-1862.

close of this period are to issue from the Ironwood, and break into Midgard and dye its citadels with blood (*Völuspá* 41).⁴

The fact that Angurboda now dwells in the Ironwood, although on a former occasion there remained no more of her than a half-burnt heart, proves that the attempt to destroy her with fire was unsuccessful, and that she rose again in bodily form after this cremation, and became the mother and nourisher of were-wolves. Thus the myth about Angurboda is identical with the myth about Gullveig-Heid in the two characteristic points:

1. Unsuccessful burning of an evil woman.
2. Her regeneration after the cremation.

These points apply equally to Gullveig-Heid and to Angurboda, "the old one in the Ironwood."

The myth about Gullveig-Heid-Angurboda, as it was remembered in the first period after the introduction of Christianity, we find in part recapitulated in *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* I. 37-40, where Sinfjotli compares his opponent Gudmund with the evil female principle in the heathen mythology, the vala in question, and where Gudmund in return compares Sinfjotli with its evil masculine principle, Loki.

Sinfjotli says:

⁴ In support of this, the *Hauksbók* manuscript places the *Völuspá* strophes commonly numbered 40 and 41, which speak of "the old one in the Ironwood" and her monstrous offspring, before the strophe which speaks of Gullveig (21), possibly indicating that the poet considered "the old hag in the Ironwood" as identical with Gullveig.

<p>37. Þú vart völvu í Varinseyju, skollvís kona, bartu skrök saman; </p>	<p>You were a vala On Varin's isle, A cunning woman You made up lies; </p>
--	--

<p>38. Þú vart, in skæða, skass valkyrja, ötul, ámátleg að Alföður; mundu einherjar allir berjast, svévís kona, um sakar þínar. Níu áttum við á nesi Ságu úlfa alna, eg var einn faðir þeirra.</p>	<p>a destructive valkyrie, terrible, loathesome at All-father's; All the Einherjar fought one another, headstrong woman, for your sake. Nine wolves we begat at Sago-ness, I was their father.</p>
---	--

38. You were a
witch,

Gudmund's answer begins:

<p>39. Faðir varattu fenrisúlfa...</p>	<p>39. You were not the father of Fenris wolves...</p>
---	---

The evil woman with whom one of the two heroes compares the other is said to be a vala, who has practiced her art partly on Varin's Isle, partly in Asgard at All-father's, and there she was the cause of a war in which all the warriors of Asgard took part. This refers to the war between the Aesir and Vanir. It is the second feud among the powers of Asgard.

The vala must therefore be Gullveig-Heid of the myth, on whose account the war between the Aesir and Vanir broke out, according to *Völuspá*. Now it is said of her in the lines above quoted, that she gave birth to wolves, and that these wolves were *fenrisúlfa*. Of Angurboda, we already know that she is the mother of the real Fenris-wolf, and that she, in the Ironwood, produces other wolves which are called by Fenrir's name (*Fenris kindir - Völuspá*). Thus the identity of Gullveig-Heid and Angurboda is still further established by the fact that both the one and the other is called the mother of the Fenris family.

The passage quoted is not the only one which has preserved the memory of Gullveig-Heid as mother of the were-wolves. *Völsungasaga* (ch. 2) relates that a giantess, *Hrímnir's* daughter, first dwelt in Asgard as the maid-servant of Frigg, then on earth, and that she, during her sojourn on earth, became the wife of a king, and with him became the mother and grandmother of were-wolves, who infested the woods and murdered men. The fantastic and horrible saga about these were-wolves has, in Christian times and by Christian authors, been connected with the poems about Helgi Hundingsbane and Sigurd Fafnisbane. The circumstance that the giantess in question first dwelt in Asgard and thereupon in Midgard, indicates that she is identical with Gullveig-Heid, and this identity is confirmed by the statement that she is a daughter of the giant *Hrímnir*.

The myth, as it has come down to our days, knows only one daughter of this giant, and she is the same as Gullveig-Heid. *Hyndluljóð* states that *Heiðr* is *Hrímnir's* daughter, and mentions no sister of hers, but, on the other hand, a brother *Hrossþjófr* (*Heiðr og Hrossþjófr Hrímnis kindar - Hyndl. 30 = Völuspá in skamma 4*). In allusion to the cremation of Gullveig-Heid, in *Þórsdrápa* 16, fire is called *Hrímnis drósar lyftisylgr*, "the lifting drink of *Hrímnir's* daughter," the drink which Heid lifted up on spears had to drink.¹ Nowhere is any other daughter of *Hrímnir* mentioned. And while it is stated in the above-cited strophe that the giantess who caused the war in Asgard and became the mother of Fenris-wolves was a vala on Varin's *Isle* (*völva í Varinseyju*), a comparison of *Helg. Hund. I. 26*, with *Völsungasaga*, ch. 2, shows that Varin's Isle and Varin's Fjord were located in that very country, where *Hrímnir's* daughter was supposed to have been for some time the wife of a king and to have given birth to were-wolves.

Thus we have found that the three characteristic points -

unsuccessful cremation of an evil giantess,
her regeneration after the cremation,
the same woman as mother of the Fenrir race -

are common to Gullveig-Heid and Angurboda.

Their identity is apparent from various other circumstances, but may be regarded as completely demonstrated by the proofs given. Gullveig's activity in antiquity as the founder of the diabolical magic art, as one who awakens man's evil passions and produces strife in Asgard itself, has its complement in Angurboda's activity as the mother and nourisher of that class of beings in whose members witchcraft, thirst for blood, and hatred of the gods are personified. The

¹ This refers to the time the giant Geirroð threw a red hot iron nugget at Thor, who caught it and threw it back killing the giant. The actual kenning here is *örþrasis Hrímnis drósar* meaning "ardent lover of *Hrímnir's* maiden" or more plainly "lover of the giantess," simply a giant; here Geirroð. *Lyftisylgr síu* means "the raised drink of molten iron." Previously the poet referred to the molten iron-nugget as a "morsel cooked in the forge", and a "bite of the red seaweed of the tongs" aimed at Thor's mouth, so here it is "a raised drink of molten iron" which is drunk by the "swift mouths of hands." In complex poetic language the skald simply says Thor's hands caught the red-hot nugget in the air. The poetic conceit is carried to its extreme, until the language is noticeably artificial. These kennings cannot be used as the basis of mythological research.

activity of the evil principle has, in the great epic of the myth, formed a continuity spanning all ages, and this continuous thread of evil is twisted from the treacherous deeds of Gullveig and Loki, the feminine and the masculine representatives of the evil principle. Both appear at the dawn of mankind: Loki has already secured access to Allfather at the beginning of time (*Lokasenna* 9), and Gullveig deceives the sons of men already in the time of Heimdall's son, Borgar. Loki entices Idunn from the secure grounds of Asgard, and treacherously delivers her to the powers of frost; Gullveig, as we shall see, plays Freyja into the hands of the giants. Loki plans enmity between the gods and the forces of nature, which previously had been friendly, and which have their personal representatives in Ivaldi's sons; Gullveig causes the war between the Aesir and Vanir. The interference of both is interrupted at the close of the mythic age, when Loki is chained, and Gullveig, in the guise of Angurboda, is an exile in the Ironwood. Before this, they have for a time been blended, so to speak, into a single being, in which the feminine assuming masculineness, and the masculine effeminated, bear to the world an offspring of foes to the gods and to creation. Both finally act their parts in the destruction of the world. Before that crisis comes, Angurboda has fostered that host of "sons of world-ruin" which Loki is to lead to battle, and a magic sword which she has kept in the Ironwood is given to Surt, in whose hand it is to be the death of Frey, the lord of harvests (see Nos. 89, 98, 101, 103).

That the woman who in antiquity, in various guises, visited Asgard and Midgard was believed to have had her home in the eastern Ironwood² during the historical age down to Ragnarok is explained by what Saxo relates, that Odin, after his return and reconciliation with the Vanir, banished the agents of the black art both from heaven and from earth. Here, too, the connection between Gullveig-Heid and Angurboda is manifest. The war between the Aesir and Vanir was caused by the burning of Gullveig by the former. After the reconciliation with the Aesir, this punishment cannot again be inflicted on the regenerated witch. The Aesir must allow her to live to the end of time; but both the clans of gods agree that she must not show her face again in Asgard or Midgard. The myth concerning the banishment of the famous vala to the Ironwood, and of the Loki progeny which she fosters there, has been turned into history by Jordanes in his *De Goth. Origine*, ch. 24, where it is stated that a Gothic king compelled the suspected valas (*haliorunas*) found among his people to take their refuge to the deserts in the East beyond the Moeotian Marsh, where they mixed with the wood-sprites, and thus became the progenitors of the Huns.³ In this manner the Christian Goths got from their mythic traditions an

² In *Völuspá* the wood is called both *Jarnviðr*, *Gaglviðr* (*Cod. Reg.*), and *Galgiðr* (*Hauksbók*). It may be that we here have a fossil word preserved in *Völuspá* meaning metal. Perhaps the wood was a copper or bronze forest before it became an iron wood. Compare *ghalgha*, *ghalghi* (*Fick.*, ii. 578) = metal, which, again, is to be compared with *khalkos* = copper, bronze.

August Fick 1833-1916, *Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Grundsprache in ihrem Bestande vor der Völkertrennung* 3, 232, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1868; *Vergleichendes wörterbuch der indogermanischen sprachen* (*Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Germanic Speech*), Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1890-91.

³ Jordanes, *De Goth. Origine*, ch. 24 (*De Origine Actibusque Getarum* 24): "But after a short space of time, as Orosius relates, the race of the Huns, fiercer than ferocity itself, flamed forth against the Goths. We learn from old traditions that their origin was as follows: Filimer, king of the Goths, son of Gandaric the Great, who was the fifth in succession to hold the rule of the Getae after their departure from the island of Scandza,--and who, as we have said, entered the land of Scythia with his tribe,--found among his people certain witches, whom he called in his native tongue *haliorunæ*. Suspecting these women, he expelled them from the midst of his race and compelled them to wander in solitary exile afar from his army. There the unclean spirits, who beheld them as they wandered through the wilderness, bestowed their embraces upon them and begat this savage race, which dwelt at first in the swamps,--

explanation of the source of the eastern hosts of horsemen, whose ugly faces and barbarous manners seemed to them to prove an other than purely human origin. The vala Gullveig-Heid and her like become in Jordanes these *haliorunæ*; Loki and the giants of the Ironwood become these wood-sprites; the Asa-god who caused the banishment becomes a king, son of Gandaricus Magnus (the great ruler of the Gandians, Odin), and Loki's and Angurboda's wonderful progeny become the Huns.

Stress should be laid on the fact that Jordanes and Saxo have in the same manner preserved the tradition that Odin and the Aesir, after making peace and becoming reconciled with the Vanir, do not apply the death-penalty and burning to Gullveig-Heid-Angurboda and her kith and kin, but, instead, sentence them to banishment from the domains of gods and men. That the tradition preserved in Saxo and Jordanes corresponded with the myth is proved by the fact that we there rediscover Gullveig-Heid-Angurboda with her offspring in the Ironwood, which was thought to be situated in the utmost East, far away from the human world, and that she remains there undisturbed until the destruction of the world. The reconciliation between the Aesir and Vanir, as this conclusively shows, has been based on an admission on the part of the Aesir that the Vanir had a right to find fault with and demand satisfaction for the murder of Gullveig-Heid. Thus the dispute which caused the war between the Aesir and Vanir was at last decided to the advantage of the latter, while they on their part, after being satisfied, reinstate Odin in his dignity as the universal ruler and father of the gods.

(b) *Gullveig-Heid-Angurboða* identical with *Aurboða*.

In the Ironwood *Angurboða* dwells together with a giant, who is *gýgjar hirðir*, the giantess' guardian and watcher. He has charge of her remarkable herds, and also guards a sword brought to the Ironwood. This vocation has given him the epithet *Egther* (*Eggþér - Völuspá*), which means sword-guardian. Saxo speaks of him as Egtherus, an ally of Finns, skilled in magic, and a chief of Bjarmians, equally skilful in magic (cp. *Hist.*, Book 5, with Nos. 52, 53). Bjarmians and Finns in Saxo made the heirs of the wicked inhabitants of Jotunheim. *Pidreks Saga af Bern*⁴ knows him by the name Etgeir, who watches over precious implements in *Isung's wood*. *Etgeir* is a corruption of *Egther*, and *Isung's wood* is a reminiscence of *Isarnvidr*, *Isarnho*, the Ironwood. In the *Pidreks Saga af Bern*, he is the brother of Vidolf. According to *Hyndluljóð*, all the valas of the myth come from Vidolf. As Gullveig-Heid-Angurboda is the chief of all valas, and the teacher of the arts practiced by the valas, this statement in *Hyndluljóð* makes us think of her particularly; and as *Hrímnir's daughter* has been born and burnt several times, she may also have had several fathers. Among them, then, is Vidolf, whose character, as described by Saxo, fits well for such a daughter. He is a master in sorcery, and also skilful in the art of medicine. But he practices the medical art in such a manner that those who seek his help receive remedies from him which do harm instead of good. Only by threats can he be made to do good

a stunted, foul and puny tribe, scarcely human, and having no language save one which bore but slight resemblance to human speech. Such was the descent of the Huns who came to the country of the Goths. This cruel tribe, as Priscus the historian relates, settled on the farther bank of the Moeotian swamp." Translated by Charles C. Mierow.

⁴ *Pidreks Saga af Bern* must be a version of the work known as *Piðreks Saga af Bern*, *The Saga of Dietrich of Bern*. There Vilkini is the grandfather of Velent the smith. The most likely editions Rydberg may have used are *Wilkinasaga*, Perinskiold, Stockholm, 1715; and *Nordische Heldenromane* (Volumes 1-3 *Wilkina- und Niflunga-saga*, oder *Dietrich von Bern*, und *die Nibelungen*), translated by Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, 1780-1856, Published by Breslau, J. Max, 1814-28.

with his art (*Hist.*, Book 7). The statement in *Pidreks Saga af Bern* compared with that in *Hyndluljóð* seems therefore to point to a near kinship between Angurboda and her sword-guardian. She appears to be the daughter of his brother.

In *Völuspá's* description of the approach of Ragnarok, Egther, Angurboda's shepherd, is represented as sitting on a mound - like Aurboda's shepherd in *Skírnismál* - and playing a harp, happy over that which is to happen. That the giant who is hostile to the gods, and who is the guardian of the strange herds, does not play an idyl on the strings of his harp does not need to be stated. He is visited by a being in the guise of the red cock. The cock, says *Völuspá* 44, is Fjalar.

What the heathen records tell us about Fjalar is the following: ⁵

(a) He is the same giant as the *Prose Edda* (*Gylfaginning* 44 ff.) calls Utgard-Loki. The latter is a fire-giant, Logi's, the fire's ruler (*Gylfaginning* 47), the cause of earthquakes (*Gylfaginning* 44), and skilled in producing optical delusions. Fjalar's identity with Utgard-Loki is proved by *Hárbarðsljóð* 26, where Thor, on his way to Fjalar, meets with the same adventures as, according to the *Prose Edda*, he met with on his way to Utgard-Loki.

(b) He is the same giant as the one called Suttung. The giant from whom Odin robs the skaldic mead, and whose devoted daughter Gunnlod he causes bitter sorrow; in *Hávamál*, he is referred to sometimes as Fjalar and as sometimes Suttung (cp. *Hávamál* 13-14, 104-105).

(c) Fjalar is the son of the chief of the fire-giants, Surtr, and dwells in the subterranean dales of the latter. A full account of this in No. 89. Here it will suffice to point out that when Odin flies out of Fjalar's dwelling with the skaldic mead, it is "from Surt's deep dales" that he "flying bears" the precious drink (*hinn er Surts úr sökkdölum farmögnuðr fljúgandi bar*, a strophe by Eyvind, quoted in *Skáldskaparmál* 2), and that this drink while it remained with Fjalar was "the drink of Surt's race" (*sylgr Surts ættar*, *Fornmannasögur*, III. 3)⁶.

(d) Fjalar, with Frosti, takes part in the attack of Thjazi's kinsmen and the Skilfings from Svarin's Mound against "the land of the clayey plains, to Jaravall" (*Völuspá* 14, 15; see Nos. 28, 32). Thus he is allied with the powers of frost, who are foes of the gods, and who seek to conquer the Germanic domain. The approach of the fimbul-winter was also attended by an earthquake (see Nos. 28, 81).

When, therefore, *Völuspá* makes Fjalar on his visit to the sword-guardian in the Ironwood appear in the guise of the red cock, then this is in harmony with Fjalar's nature as a fire-giant and as a son of Surt.

⁵ In *Skáldskaparmál's* pseudo-mythic account of the Skaldic mead (57 ff.), the name Fjalar also appears. In regard to the value of this account, see the investigation in No. 89.

⁶ This half-stanza by Hallfródr Óttarsson "the troublesome poet" occurs in *Ólafs konúngs Tryggvasonar*, ch. 256. The best preserved version occurs in manuscript known as "AM 61 fol", which reads: *hvern rakkligast rekka/ randláðs viðir kváðu/ Surts ættar vinnk sléttan/ sylg Áleifi fylgja*. The pertinent line reads: "I work the easily-flowing drink of the race of Surtr" i.e. "I compose a good poem". Thus *Surts ættar sylg* is nothing more than a normal kenning for poetry.

Sat þar á haugi
og sló hörpu
gýgjar hirðir,
gláður Eggþér;
Gól um honum
í galgviði
fagurrauður hani
sá er Fjalar heitir
(Völuspá 42).
 The giantess'
 herdsman,

the joyous Eggthir
 sat there on a
 grave-mound
 and struck his
 harp;
 In the *galg*-wood,
 The bright red
 cock
 Which is named
 Fjalar
 Crowed by him.

The red cock has from time immemorial been the symbol of fire as a destructive power.

That what Odin perpetrates against Fjalar -- when he robs him of the mead, which in the myth is the most precious of all drinks, and when he deceived his daughter -- is calculated to awaken Fjalar's thirst for revenge and to bring about a satisfaction sooner or later, lies in the very spirit of Germanic poetry and ethics, especially since Odin's act, though done with a good motive, was morally reprehensible. What Fjalar's errand to Angurboda's sword-guard was made clear from the fact that when the last war between the gods and their enemies is fought a short time afterwards, Fjalar's father, the chief of the fire-giants, Surt, is armed with the best of the mythical weapons, the sword which had belonged to a *valtívi*, one of the gods of Asgard (*Völuspá* 52), and which casts the splendor of the sun upon the world. The famous sword of the myth, that which Thjazi finished with a purpose hostile to the gods (see No. 87 and elsewhere), the sword concealed by Mimir (see Nos. 87, 98, 101), the sword found by Svipdag (see Nos. 89, 101, 103), the sword secured through him by Frey, the one given by Frey to Gymir and Aurboda in exchange for Gerd, -- this sword is found again in the Ragnarok conflict, wielded by Surt, and causes Frey's death (*Völuspá* 53), it having been secured by Surt's son, Fjalar, in the Ironwood from Angurboda's sword-guard.

Gulli keypta
léztu Gymis dóttur
og seldir þitt svo sverð;
en er Múspells synir
ríða myrkvið yfir
veizt-a þú þá, vesall, hve
þú vegur

With gold you purchased
 Gymir's daughter
 And so sold your sword;
 But when Muspell's sons
 ride across Mirkwood
 you will not know,
 unhappy one,
 how you will fight.

(*Lokasenna* 42).

This passage not only tells us that Frey gave his sword in exchange for Gerd to the parents of the giantess, Gymir and Aurboda, but also gives us to understand that this bargain

shall cause his death in Ragnarok. This bride-purchase is fully described in *Skírnismál*, in which poem we learn that the gods most unwillingly part with the safety, which the incomparable sword secured for Asgard. They yield in order to save the life of the harvest-god, who was wasting away with longing and anxiety, but not until the giants had refused to accept other Asgard treasures, among them the precious ring Draupnir, which the Asa-father once laid on the pulseless breast of his favorite son Baldur. At the approach of Ragnarok, Surt's son, Fjalar, goes to the Ironwood to fetch for his father the sword by which Frey, its former possessor, is to fall. The sword is then guarded by Angurboda's shepherd, and consequently belongs to her. In other words, the sword which Aurboda enticed Frey to give her is now found in the possession of Angurboda. This circumstance of itself is a very strong reason for their identity. If there were no other evidence of their identity than this, a sound application of methodology would still bid us accept this identity rather than explain the matter by inventing a new, nowhere-supported myth, and thus making the sword pass from Aurboda to another giantess.

When we now add the important fact in the disposition of this matter, that Aurboda's son-in-law, Frey, demands, on behalf of a near kinsman, satisfaction from the Aesir when they had killed and burnt Gullveig-Heid-Angurboda, then it seems to me that there can be no doubt in regard to the identity of Aurboda and Angurboda, the less so, since all that our mythic fragments have to tell us about Gymir's wife confirms the theory that she is the same person. Aurboda has, like Gullveig-Heid-Angurboda, practiced the arts of sorcery: she is one of the valas of the evil giant world. This is told to us in a strophe by the skald Refr, who calls her "Gymir's primeval cold vala" (*úrsvöl Gymis völvu - Skáldskaparmál* 25 and 61). She might be called "primeval cold" (*úrsvöl*) from the fact that the fire was not able to pierce her heart and change it to ashes, in spite of a threefold burning. Under all circumstances, the passage quoted informs us that she is a vala.

But have our mythic fragments preserved any allusion to show that Aurboda, like Gullveig-Heid-Angurboda, ever dwelt among the gods in Asgard? Asgard is a place where giants are refused admittance. Exceptions from this prohibition must have been very few, and the myths must have given good reasons for them. We know in regard to Loki's appearance in Asgard, that it is based on a promise given to him by the Asa-father in time's morning; and the promise was sealed with blood (*Lokasenna* 9). If, now, this Aurboda, who, like Angurboda, is a vala of giant race, and, like Angurboda, is the owner of Frey's sword, and, like Angurboda, is a kinswoman of the Vanir -- if now this same Aurboda, in further likeness with Angurboda, was one of the certainly very few of the giant class who was permitted to enter within the gates of Asgard, then it must be admitted that this fact absolutely confirms their identity.

Angurboda did actually dwell in Asgard. Of this we are assured by the poem *Fjölsvinnsmál*. There, it is related that when Svipdag came to the gates of Asgard to seek and find Menglad-Freyja, who was destined to be his wife (see Nos. 96, 97), he sees Menglad sitting on a hill surrounded by goddesses, whose very names, *Eir*, *Björt*, *Blíðr*, and *Fríð*, tell us that they are goddesses of lower or higher rank. Eir is an asynja of the healing art (*Prose Edda*, i. 114). Björt, Blid, and Frid are the dises of splendor, benevolence, and beauty. They are mighty beings, and can give aid in distress to all who worship them (*Fjölsvinnsmál* 40). But in the midst of this circle of dises, who surround Menglad, Svipdag also sees *Aurboða* (*Fjölsvinnsmál* 38).

Above them, Svipdag sees Mimir's tree - the world-tree (see No. 97), spreading its all-embracing branches, on which grow fruits which soothe *kelisjukar konur*¹ and lighten the entrance into terrestrial life for the children of men (*Fjölsvinnsmál* 22). Menglad-Freyja is, as we know, the goddess of love and fertility, and it is Frigg's and her vocation to dispose of these fruits for the purposes for which they are intended.

The *Völsungasaga* has preserved a record concerning these fruits, and concerning the giant-daughter who was admitted to Asgard as a maid-servant of the goddesses. A king and queen had long been married without having any children. They beseeched the gods for an heir. Frigg heard their prayers and sent to them, in the guise of a crow, the daughter of the giant *Hrímhir*, a giantess who had been adopted in Asgard as Odin's "wish-maid." *Hrímhir*'s daughter took an apple with her, and when the queen had eaten it, it was not long before she perceived that her wish would come to pass (*Völsungasaga*, ch. 2). *Hrímhir*'s daughter is, as we know, Gullveig-Heid.

Thus the question whether Aurboda ever dwelt in Asgard is answered in the affirmative. We have discovered her, though she is the daughter of a giant, in the circle around Menglad-Freyja, where she has occupied a subordinate position as maid-servant. At the same time, we have found that Gullveig-Heid has for some time had an occupation in Asgard of precisely the same kind as that which belongs to a dis serving under the goddess of fertility. Thus the similarity between Aurboda and Gullveig-Heid is not confined to the fact that they, although giantesses, dwelt in Asgard, but they were employed there in the same manner.

The demonstration that Gullveig-Heid-Angurboda is identical with Aurboda may now be regarded as completed. Of the one as of the other, it is related that she was a vala of giant-race, that she nevertheless dwelt for some time in Asgard, and was there employed by Frigg or Freyja in the service of fertility, and that she possessed the sword, which had formerly belonged to Frey, and by which Frey is to fall. Aurboda is Frey's mother-in-law, consequently his close relation; and it must have been on behalf of a near relation that Frey and Njörd demanded satisfaction from the Aesir when the latter slew Gullveig-Heid. Under such circumstances, it is utterly impossible from a methodological standpoint to regard them otherwise than identical. We must consider that nearly all mythic characters are polyonymous, and that the Germanic mythology particularly, on account of its poetics, is burdened with a highly-developed polyonymy.

But of Gullveig-Heid's and Aurboda's identity there are also other proofs which, for the sake of completeness, we will not omit.

So far as the very names *Gullveig* and *Aurboða* are concerned, one can serve as a paraphrase of the other. The first part of the name *Aurboða*, the *Aur-* of many significations, can refer to *eyrir*, pl. *aurar*, which means precious metal, and is thought to be borrowed from the Latin *aurum* (gold). Thus *Gull* and *Aur* correspond. In the same manner, *-veig* in *Gullveig* can correspond to *-boða* in *Aurboða*. *Veig* means a fermenting liquid; *boða* has two significations. It can be the feminine form of *boði*, meaning fermenting water, froth, foam. No other names compounded with *boða* occur in Norse literature than *Aurboða* and *Angurboða*.

¹ *kelisjukar konur*, women suffering from uterine problems.

Ynglingasaga (ch. 4) relates a tradition that *Freyja kendi fyrst med Ásum seið*, that Freyja was the first to practice sorcery in Asgard. There is no doubt that the statement is correct. For we have seen that Gullveig-Heid, the sorceress and spreader of sorcery in antiquity, succeeded in getting admission to Asgard, and that Aurboda is particularly mentioned as belonging to the circle of serving dises who attend Freyja. As this giantess was so zealous in spreading her evil arts among the inhabitants of Midgard, it would be strange if the myth did not make her, after she had gained Freyja's confidence, try to betray her into practicing the same arts. Doubtless *Völuspá* and Saxo have reference to Gullveig-Heid-Aurboda when they say that Freyja, through some treacherous person among her attendants, was delivered into the hands of the giants.

In his historical account relating how Freyja (Syritha) was robbed from Asgard and came to the giants but was afterwards saved from their power, Saxo (*Hist.*, Book 7; cp. No. 100) says that a woman, who was secretly allied with a giant, had succeeded in ingratiating herself in her favor, and for some time performed the duties of a maid-servant at her home; but this she did in order to cunningly entice her away from her safe home to a place where the giant lay in ambush and carried her away to the recesses of his mountain country. (*Gigas fæminam subornat, quæ cum obtenta virginis familiaritate, ejus aliquamdiu pedissequam egisset, hanc tandem a paternis procul penatibus, quæsita callidius digressione, reduxit; quam ipse mox irruens in arctiora montanæ crepidinis septa devexit.*)² Thus Saxo informs us that it was a woman among Freyja's attendants who betrayed her, and that this woman was allied with the giant world, which is hostile to the gods, while she held a trusted servant's place with the goddess. Aurboda is the only woman connected with the giants in regard to whom our mythic records inform us that she occupied such a position with Freyja; and as Aurboda's character and part, played in the epic of the myth, correspond with such an act of treason, there is no reason for assuming the mere possibility that the betrayer of Freyja may have been some one else who is neither mentioned nor known.

With this, it is important to compare *Völuspá* 25-26, which not only mention the fact that Freyja came into the power of the giants through treachery, but also informs us how the treason was punished:

² "A giant desired the same thing, but finding himself equally foiled, he suborned a woman; and she, pretending friendship with the girl, served her for a while as her handmaid, and at last enticed her far from her father's house, by cunningly going out of the way; then the giant rushed upon her and bore her off into the closest fastnesses of a mountain ledge." Oliver Elton translation.

*Þá gengu regin öll
á rökstóla,
ginnheilög goð,
og um það gættust,
hverir hefði loft allt
lævi blandið
eða ætt jötuns
Óðs mey gefna.*

Then all the powers went
to their judgement seats,
the sacrosanct gods,
and thereon deliberated,
who had blended
all the air with evil
or had given Od's maid
to the giant race.

*Þórr einn þar vá
þrunginn móði,
hann sjaldan situr
er hann slíkt um fregn.*

Thor alone struck,
swollen with anger.
He seldom sits
when he hears such a thing.

In *Codex Regius*, these *Völuspá* lines stand in immediate connection with the above-quoted strophes which speak of Gullveig-Heid and of the war caused by her between the Aesir and Vanir. They inform us that the gods assembled to hold a solemn counsel to find out "who had blended all the air with evil," or "who had given Freyja to the giant race," and that the person found guilty was at once slain by Thor, who grew most angry.

Now if this person is Gullveig-Aurboda, then it follows that she received her death-blow from Thor's hammer, before the Aesir in common made the unsuccessful attempt to transform her body into ash. We also find elsewhere in our mythic records that an exceedingly dangerous woman met with precisely this fate. There she is called *Hyrrokin*. A strophe by Thorbjorn Disarskald, preserved in the *Prose Edda*, states that *Hyrrokin* was one of the giantesses slain by Thor. But the very appellation *Hyrrokin*, which must be an epithet of a giantess known by some other more common name, indicates that some effort worthy of being remembered in the myth had been made to burn her, but that the effort resulted in her being smoked rather than burnt; for the epithet *Hyrrokin* means the "fire-smoked." For those familiar with the contents of the myth, this epithet was regarded as plain enough to indicate who was meant. If it is not, therefore, to be looked upon as an unhappy and misleading epithet, it must refer to Gullveig, thrice burnt in vain. All that we learn about *Hyrrokin* confirms her identity with Aurboda. In the symbolic-allegorical work of art, which decorated a hall at Hjardarholt toward the close of the tenth century, and of which I shall give a fuller account elsewhere¹, the storm which from the land side carried Baldur's ship out on the sea is represented by the giantess *Hyrrokin*. Gymir's wife, *Aurboða*, appears in the same capacity of storm-giantess carrying sailors out upon the ocean, in a poem by Refr (*Skáldskaparmál* 25, 61):

¹ See *UGM*, Volume 2, Part III, *Till Baldermythen* (Towards the Baldur Myth), page 264 ff. "*Hads förmenta blindhet*" (Höd's supposed blindness).

*Færir björn, þar er bára
brestr, undinna festa,
opt í Ægis kjapta
úrsvöl Gymis vólva.*

There, when the waves break,

In the physical interpretation of the myth, Aurboda's husband Gymir represents the east wind coming from the Ironwood. From the other side of *Eystrasalt* (the Baltic), Gymir sings his song (Ynglingatal 25)¹; and the same gale belongs to Aurboda, for Aegir, into whose jaws she drives the ships, is the great open western ocean. That Aurboda represents the gale from the east finds its natural explanation in her identity with Angurboda "the old," who dwells in the Ironwood in the uttermost east, *Austr býr in aldna í Járnviði (Völuspá 40)*.

Gymir's primeval-cold vala often carries "the bear with twisted bonds" (a ship) into Ægir's jaws.

The result of the investigation is that *Gullveig-Heiðr*, *Aurboða*, and *Angrboða* are different names for the different hypostases of the thrice-born and thrice-burnt one, and that *Hyrrokin*, "the fire-smoked," is an epithet common to all these hypostases.

36.

THE WORLD WAR (continued). THE BREACH OF PEACE BETWEEN THE AESIR AND VANIR.

THE SIEGE OF ASGARD. THE VICTORY OF THE VANIR.

When the Aesir had refused to give satisfaction for the murder of Gullveig, and when Odin, by hurling his spear, had indicated that the treaty of peace between him and the Vanir was broken, the latter leave the assembly hall and Asgard. This is evident from the fact that they afterwards return to Asgard and attack the citadel of the Aesir clan. The gods are now divided into two hostile camps: on the one side Odin and his allies, among whom are Heimdall (see Nos. 38, 39, 40) and Skadi; on the other Njörd, Frigg (Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 1), Frey, Ull (Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 3), and Freyja and her husband Svipdag, besides all that clan of divinities who were not adopted in Asgard, but belong to the race of Vanir and dwell in Vanaheim.

So far as Skadi is concerned, the breach between the gods seems to have furnished her an opportunity of getting a divorce from Njörd, with whom she did not live on good terms. According to statements found in the myths, Thjazi's daughter and he were altogether too different in disposition to dwell in peace together. Saxo (*Hist.*, Book 1.) and the *Prose Edda (Gylfaginning 23)* both have preserved the record of a song which describes their different tastes as to home and surroundings. Skadi loved Thrymheim, the rocky home of her father Thjazi, on whose snow-clad plains she was fond of running on skis and of felling wild beasts with her arrows; but when Njörd had remained nine nights among the mountains, he was weary of the

¹ *Ok austmarr jöfri sænskum gymis ljóð at gamni kveðr.* And the eastern sea sings Gymir's song for the amusement of the Swedish king."

rocks and of the howling of wolves, and longed for the song of swans on the sea-strand. But when Skadi accompanied him there, she could not long endure to be awakened every morning by the shrieking of sea-fowls.² In *Grímnismál* 11, it is said that Skadi "now" occupies her father's "ancient home" in Thrymheim, but Njörd is not there named. In a strophe by Thord Sjareksson, we read that Skadi never became devoted to the Vana-god (*nam-a snotr una goðbrúðr Vani*),³ and Eyvind Skaldaspillir relates in *Háleygjatal* that there was a time when Odin dwelt *í Manheimum* together with Skadi, and begat with her many sons. With Manheimar is meant that part of the world which is inhabited by man; that is to say, Midgard and the lower world, where are also found a race of *mennskir menn*⁴ (see Nos. 52, 53, 59, 63), and the topographical counterpart of the word is Asgard. Thus it must have been after his banishment from Asgard, while he was separated from Frigg and found refuge somewhere in Manheimar, that Odin had Skadi for his wife. Her epithet in *Grímnismál* 11, *skír brúðr goða*,⁵ also seems to indicate that she had conjugal relations with more than one of the gods.

While Odin was absent and deposed as ruler of the world, Ull has occupied so important a position among the ruling Vanir that, according to the tradition preserved in Saxo, they bestowed upon him the task and honor which until that time had belonged to Odin (*Dii . . . Ollerum quendam non solum in regni, sed etiam in divinitatis infulas subrogavere - Hist., Book 3*)⁶. This is explained by the fact that Njörd and Frey, though *valtívar* and brave warriors when they are invoked, are in their very nature gods of peace and promoters of wealth and agriculture, while Ull is by nature a warrior. He is a skilful archer, excellent in a duel, and *hefir hermanna atgervi*⁷ (*Prose Edda, Gylfaginning* 31). Also, after the reconciliation between the Aesir and Vanir, Thor's stepson Ull has held a high position in Asgard, as is apparently corroborated by Odin's words in *Grímnismál* 42 (*Ullar hylli og allra goða...*)⁸.

From the mythic accounts in regard to the situation and environment of Asgard, we may conclude that the siege by the Vanir was no easy task. The home of the Aesir is surrounded by the atmospheric ocean, whose strong currents make it difficult for the mythic horses to swim to it (see Nos. 65, 93). The bridge Bifrost is not therefore superfluous, but it is that connection between the lower worlds and Asgard which the gods use daily, and which must be captured by

² In a lecture titled "*Textual Criticism and Mythology: The Need for a Better Edition of Snorra-Edda*" delivered at the "*Snorrastefna*" symposium at the University of Iceland in July 1990, Francois-Xavier Dillmann points out that all of the manuscripts of *Gylfaginning* 23, except one, agree that Njörd spent 9 nights in the mountains with Skadi, but that she spent only 3 nights by the sea with him. (*Codex Regius* alone says that Njörd spent nine "winters" with Skadi, and she spent nine "winters" with him). In the northern latitudes, only 3 months --June, July, and August-- can properly be considered summer months. Thus the three nights at Njörd's seaside home may indicate the three summer months, while the nine nights in Skadi's snowy mountain home may be equivalent the remaining nine colder months. A similar reference occurs in *Skírnismál* 41, 42. There the giantess Gerd agrees to met with Njörd's son Frey in nine nights time, while in the following verse he laments that he must wait 3 nights. These nights, he says, seem longer than months to him. It is likely that both stories contain elements of a seasonal myth.

³ "The wise bride of the gods could not love the Van"; *Skáldskaparmál* 13, Guðni Jónsson edition; *Skáldska*. 5-8, Anthony Faulkes edition.

⁴ *mennskir menn*, human men, living men; Lif and Lifthrasir in Mimir's grove.

⁵ *skír brúðr goða*, the bright bride of gods. The word *brúðr*, bride, is a simple *heiti* for woman, therefore *brúðr goða*, divine bride, is a simple paraphrase for goddess. It does not necessarily indicate that Skadi has been the "bride" of more than one god.

⁶ "Oller (Ull) . . . bore the symbols not only of royalty, but also of the godhead."

⁷ *hefir hermanna atgervi*, possesses every quality of a warrior.

⁸ *Ullar hylli og allra goða*, Ullr's and all the gods favor.

the enemy before the great cordon which encloses the shining halls of the gods can be attacked. The wall is built of "the limbs of Leirbrimir" (*Fjölsvinnsmál* 12), and constructed by its architect in such a manner that it is a safe protection against mountain-giants and frost-giants (*Prose Edda, Gylfaginning* 42). In the wall is a gate wondrously made by the artist-brothers who are sons of "Sólblindi" (*Valgrind - Grímnismál* 22; *Þrymgjöll - Fjölsvinnsmál* 10). Few there are who understand the lock of that gate, and if anybody brings it out of its proper place in the wall-opening where it blocks the way for those who have no right to enter, then the gate itself becomes a fetter for him who has attempted such a thing (*Forn er sú grind en það fáir vitu, hve hún er í lás lokin - Grímnismál* 22; *Fjöturr fastur verður við faranda hvern er hana hefur frá hliði - Fjölsvinnsmál* 10).

Outside of the very high Asgard cordon and around it, there flows a rapid river (see below), the moat of the citadel. Over the eddies of the stream floats a dark, shining, ignitable mist. If it is kindled it explodes in flames, whose bickering tongues strike their victims with unerring certainty. It is the *vafurlogi*, "the wavering flame," "the quick fire," celebrated in ancient songs - *vafurlogi, vafreyði, skjótbrinni*. It was this fire which the gods kindled around Asgard when they saw Thjazi approaching in eagle guise. In it, their irreconcilable foe burnt his pinions, and fell to the ground. *Haustlög*, Thjodolf's poem, says that when Thjazi approached the citadel of the gods "the gods raised the quick fire and sharpened their javelins" - *Hófu skjót--en skófu sköpt -- ginnregin brinna*. The "quick fire," *skjót-brinni*, is the *vafurlogi*.⁹ The material of which the ignitable mist consists is called "black terror-gleam." It is *úr ódökkum*; that is to say, *ofdökkum ógnar ljóma*¹⁰ (*Fáfnismál* 42) (cp. *myrkvan vafurloga - Skírnismál* 8-9; *vísun vafurloga - Fjölsvinnsmál* 31).¹¹ It is said to be "wise," which implies that it consciously aims at him for whose destruction it is kindled.

How a water could be conceived that evaporates a dark ignitable mist we find explained in *Þórsdrápa* 14. The thunder-storm is the "storm of the waverfire," and Thor is the "ruler of the chariot of the waverfire-storm" (*váfr-eyða hreggs húfstjóri*).¹² Thus the thundercloud contains the water that evaporates a dark material for lightning. The dark metallic color which is peculiar to the thunder-cloud was regarded as coming from that very material which is the "black terror-gleam" of which lightning is formed. When Thor splits the cloud he separates the two component parts, the water and the wavermist; the former falls down as rain, the latter is ignited and rushes away in quick, bickering, zigzag flames - the waverfire. That these are "wise" was a common Indo-European belief. They do not proceed blindly, but know their mark and never miss it.¹³

⁹ The author of *Skáldskaparmál* in the *Prose Edda* has understood this passage to mean that the Aesir, when they saw Thjazi approaching, carried out a lot of shavings, which were kindled.

¹⁰ Rydberg understood the phrase *úr ódökkum ógnar ljóma* to mean "black terror gleam." This is an erroneous translation. Clearly *ódökkum ógnar ljóma* means "the shining radiance of the river," and *ógnar ljóma* is a kenning signifying gold (cp. *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* I, 21). The first half of *Fáfnismál* 42 speaks of a hall surrounded by waverfires, while the second half speaks of the material (i.e. gold) of which the hall was built.

¹¹ *myrkvan vafurloga*, dark waverfire; *vísun vafurloga*, wise waverfire.

¹² The phrase *húfstjóri hreggs váfreiðar* does indeed refer to Thor. *Húfr* is a poetic term for the hull of a ship. The *stjóri* "steerer" of a ship is, of course, its captain. *Hregg* is a generic term for stormy weather, but instead of referring to the *vafurloga*, the word *váfreið* means "hovering chariot," in other words a flying chariot. Thus the phrase properly means "The captain of the hovering chariot of the thunderstorm."

¹³ With two of his main proofs removed, Rydberg's argument here is less than convincing. Rather than lightning, the waverfires may simply have been the mythological expression of the Northern Lights, the Aurora Borealis. They

The river that foams around Asgard thus has its source in the thunder-clouds; not as we find them after they have been split by Thor, but such as they are originally, swollen with a celestial water that evaporates wavermist. All waters - subterranean, terrestrial, and celestial - have their source in that great subterranean fountain Hvergelmir. From there they come and to there they return (*Grímnismál* 26; see Nos. 59, 63, 33). Hvergelmir's waters are sucked up by the northern root of the world-tree; they rise through its trunk, spread into its branches and leaves, and evaporate from its crown into a water-tank situated on the top of Asgard, *Eikþyrnir*, in *Grímnismál* 26, symbolized as a "stag" who stands on the roof of Odin's hall and out of whose horns the waters stream down into Hvergelmir.¹⁴ *Eikþyrnir* is the great celestial water-tank which gathers and lets out the thunder-cloud. In this tank, the Asgard river has its source, and thus it consists not only of foaming water, but also of ignitable wavermists. In its capacity of discharger of the thunder-cloud, the tank is called *Eikþyrnir*, the oak-stinger.¹⁵ Oaks struck by lightning is no unusual occurrence. The oak is, according to popular belief based on observation, that tree which the lightning most frequently strikes.

But Asgard is not the only citadel which is surrounded by wavermists. These are also found enveloping the home of the storm-giant Gymir and the storm-giantess Aurboda, the sorceress who knows all of Asgard's secrets, at the time when Frey sent Skirnir to ask for the hand of their daughter Gerd. Epics, which in their present form date from Christian times, make waverfire burn around castles, where goddesses, pricked by sleep-thorns, are slumbering. This is a belief of a later age.

To get over or through the waverfire is, according to the myth, impossible for anyone who has not got a certain mythical horse to ride - probably Sleipnir, the eight-footed steed of the Asa-father, which is the best of all horses (*Grímnismál* 44). The quality of this steed, which enables it to bear its rider unscathed through the waverfire, makes it indispensable when this obstacle is to be overcome. When Skirnir is to go on Frey's journey of courtship to Gerd, he asks for that purpose *mar þann er mig um myrkvan beri vísan vafurloga*¹⁶, and is allowed to ride it on and for the journey (*Skírnismál* 8-9). This horse must accordingly have been in the possession of the Vanir when they conquered Asgard, an assumption confirmed by what is to be stated below. (In the great epic, Sigurd's horse Grani is made to inherit the qualities of this divine horse.)

On the outer side of the Asgard river, and directly opposite the Asgard gate, lie projecting ramparts (*forgarðar*) to protect the drawbridge, which from the opening in the wall can be dropped down across the river (see below). When Svipdag proceeded toward Menglad's abode in Asgard, he first came to this *forgarðar* (*Fjölsvinnsmál* 1, 3). There he is hailed by the watch of

may be said to be wise, as in *Fjölsvinnsmál* 31, since they can distinguish between friend and foe. For example, in *Fjölsvinnsmál* 2, Fjölsviður (Odin) can move unharmed through the flames, while Svipdag cannot.

¹⁴ In the same poem, the elf-artist, *Dáinn*, and the dwarf-artist, *Dvalinn*, are symbolized as stags, the wanderer Rati (see below) as a squirrel, the wolf-giant Grafvitnir's sons as serpents, the bridge Bifrost as a fish (see No. 93), etc. Fortunately for the comprehension of our mythic records, such symbolizing is confined to a few strophes in the poem named, and these strophes appear to have belonged originally to an independent song which made a speciality of that sort of symbolism, and to have been incorporated in *Grímnismál* in later times.

¹⁵ *Eikþyrnir*, generally translated as "the one with the oak-like antlers."

¹⁶ "that horse which will carry me through the dark, wise wavering-flame."

the citadel, and from there he gets a glimpse over the gate of all the glorious things which are hid behind the high walls of the citadel.

Outside the river, Asgard has fields with groves and woods (*Prose Edda, Gylfaginning* 42; *Skáldskaparmál* 34, Faulkes edition).

Of the events of the wars waged around Asgard, the mythic fragments, which the Icelandic records have preserved, give us but very little information, though they must have been favorite themes for the heathen skaldic art, which here had an opportunity of describing in a characteristic manner all the gods involved, and of picturing not only their various characters, but also their various weapons, equipment, and horses. In regard to the weapons of attack, we must remember that Thor, at the outbreak of the conflict, is deprived of the assistance of his splendid hammer: it has been broken by Svipdag's sword of victory (see Nos. 101, 103) - a point which it was necessary for the myth to assume, otherwise the Vanir could hardly be represented as conquerors. Nor do the Vanir have the above-mentioned sword at their disposal: it is already in the power of Gymir and Aurboda. The irresistible weapons, which in a purely mechanical manner would have decided the issue of the war, were disposed of in advance in order that the persons themselves, with their varied warlike qualities, might get to the foreground and decide the fate of the conflict by heroism or prudence, by prescient wisdom or by blind daring. In this war, the Vanir have particularly distinguished themselves by wise and well calculated undertakings. This we learn from *Völuspá*, where it makes the final victors conquer Asgard through *vígspá*, that is, foreknowledge applied to warlike ends (str. 24). The Aesir, as we might expect from Odin's brave sons, have especially distinguished themselves by their strength and courage. A record of this is found in the words of *Þorbjörn díarskáld* (*Prose Edda, Skáldskaparmál* 4, Faulkes edition; *Skáldskaparmál* 11 Jónsson edition):

*Þórr hefir Yggs með árum
Ásgarð of þrek varðan.*

"Thor with Odin's clan-men defended Asgard with indomitable courage."

But in number they must have been far inferior to their foes.¹⁷ Simply the circumstance that Odin and his men had to confine themselves to the defence of Asgard shows that nearly all other divinities of various ranks had allied themselves with his enemies. The ruler of the lower world (Mimir) and Hoenir are the only ones of whom it can be said that they remained faithful to Odin; and if we can trust the *Heimskringla* tradition, which is related as history and greatly corrupted, then Mimir lost his life in an effort at mediation between the contending gods, while he and Hoenir were held as hostages among the Vanir (*Ynglingasaga*, ch. 4).

Asgard was at length conquered. *Völuspá* 24, relates the final catastrophe:

¹⁷ When we consider the forces that the Vanir represent, this statement need not necessarily be true. Among the Vanir, we find Jord-Frigg (the Earth), Njörd (the sea), Frey and Freyja (the fertility of the field and the folk), as well as Dag (Day), Sol (the Sun), and Mani (the Moon). No matter their might, the Aesir could not be successful if these powers stood against them.

*brotinn var borðveggur
borgar ása,
knáttu vanir vígspá
völlu sporna.*

Broken was the bulwark
of the Aesir's burgh,
Through *vígspá* the Vanir
tread its fields.

Völuspá's words seem to indicate that the Vanir took Asgard by strategy; and this is confirmed by a source which shall be quoted below. But to carry out the plan which chiefly involved the finding of means for crossing the waverfire kindled around the citadel and for opening the gates of Asgard, not only cunning but also courage was required. The myth has given the honor of this undertaking to Njörd, the clan-chief of the Vanir and the commander of their forces. This is clear from the above-quoted passage¹: *Njörðr klauf Herjans hurðir* - "Njörd broke Odin's doors open," which should be compared with the poetical paraphrase for battle-axe: *Gauts megin-hurðar galli* - "the destroyer of Odin's great gate," - a paraphrase that indicates that Njörd burst the Asgard gate open with the battle-axe. The conclusion which must be drawn from these utterances is confirmed by an account with which the sixth book of Saxo begins, and which doubtless is a fragment of the myth concerning the conquest of Asgard by the Vanir corrupted and told as history.

The event is transferred by Saxo to the reign of King Fridlevus II. It should here be remarked that every important statement made by Saxo about this Fridlevus, on a closer examination, is found to be taken from the myth concerning Njörd.

There were at that time twelve brothers, says Saxo, distinguished for courage, strength, and fine physical appearance. They were "widely celebrated for gigantic triumphs." To their trophies and riches many peoples had paid tribute. But the source from which Saxo received information in regard to Fridlevus' conflict with them did not mention more than seven of these twelve, and, of these seven, Saxo gives the names. They are called Bjorn, Asbjorn, Gunbjorn, etc. In all the names is found the epithet of the Asa-god Bjorn.

The brothers had had allies, says Saxo further, but at the point when the story begins they had been abandoned by them, and on this account they had been obliged to confine themselves on an island surrounded by a most violent stream which fell from the brow of a very high rock, and the whole surface of which glittered with raging foam. The island was fortified by a very high wall (*præaltum vallum*), in which was built a remarkable gate. It was so built that the hinges were placed near the ground between the sides of the opening in the wall, so that the gate turning thereon could, by a movement regulated by chains, be lowered and form a bridge across the stream.

Thus the gate is, at the same time, a drawbridge of that kind with which the Germans became acquainted during the war with the Romans already before the time of Tacitus; compare *Annals*, Book IV, 51, with IV, 47. Within the fortification, there was a most strange horse and also a remarkably strong dog, which formerly had watched the herds of the giant Offotes. The

¹ At the end of chap. 31. Kennings cannot be interpreted in this fashion, thus the detail of Njörd personally breaking Asgard's gate is unsupported.

horse was celebrated for his size and speed, and it was the only steed with which it was possible for a rider to cross the raging stream around the island fortress.

King Fridlevus now surrounds this citadel with his forces. These are arrayed at some distance from the citadel, and in the beginning nothing else is gained by the siege than that the besieged are hindered from making sallies into the surrounding territory. The citadel cannot be taken unless the above-mentioned horse gets into the power of Fridlevus. Bjorn, the owner of the horse, makes sorties from the citadel, and in so doing he did not always take sufficient care, for on one occasion when he was on the outer side of the stream, and had gone some distance away from his horse, he fell into an ambush laid by Fridlevus. He saved himself by rushing headlong over the bridge, which was drawn up behind him, but the precious horse became Fridlevus' booty. This was of course a severe loss to the besieged, and must have diminished considerably their sense of security. Meanwhile, Fridlevus was able to manage the matter in such a way that the accident served rather to lull them into increased safety. During the following night, the brothers found their horse, safe and sound, back on the island. Therefore it must have swum back across the stream. And when it was afterwards found that the corpse of a man, clad in the shining robes of Fridlevus, floated on the eddies of the stream, they took it for granted that Fridlevus himself had perished in the stream.

But the real facts were as follows: Fridlevus, attended by a single companion, had ridden in the night, from his camp to the river. There his companion's life had to be sacrificed, in order that the king's plan might be carried out. Fridlevus exchanged clothes with the dead man, who, in the king's splendid robes, was cast into the stream. Then Fridlevus gave spur to the steed which he had captured, and rode through the eddies of the stream. Having passed this obstacle safely, he set the horse free, climbed on a ladder over the wall, stole into the hall where the brothers were wont to assemble, hid himself under a projection over the hall door, listened to their conversation, saw them go out to reconnoiter the island, and saw them return, secure in the conviction that there was no danger at hand. Then he went to the gate and let it fall across the stream. During the night, his forces had advanced toward the citadel, and when they saw the drawbridge down and the way open, they stormed the fortress and captured it.

The fact that here we have a transformation of the mythic account telling how Njörd, at the head of the Vanir, conquered Asgard is evident from the following circumstances:

(a) The conqueror is Fridlevus. Most of what Saxo relates about this Fridlevus is, as stated, taken from the myth about Njörd, and told as history.

(b) The brothers were, according to Saxo, originally twelve, which is the well-established number of Odin's clansmen: his sons, and the adopted Aesir. But when the siege in question takes place, Saxo finds in his source only seven of the twelve mentioned as enclosed in the citadel besieged by Fridlevus. The reason for the diminishing of the number is to be found in the fact that the adopted gods - Njörd, Frey, and Ull - had left Asgard, and are in fact identical with the leaders of the besiegers. If we also deduct Baldur and Höd, who, at the time of the event, are dead and removed to the lower world, then we have left the number seven given. The name Bjorn, which they all bear, is an Asa epithet (*Prose Edda, Skáldskaparmál* 75, Faulkes edition;

Nafnapulur 17, Jónsson edition).² The brothers have formerly had allies, but these have abandoned them (*deficientibus a se sociis*),³ and it is on this account that they must confine themselves within their citadel. The Aesir have had the Vanir and other divine powers as allies, but these abandon them, and the Aesir must defend themselves on their own fortified ground.

(c) Before this the brothers have made themselves celebrated for extraordinary exploits, and have enjoyed a no less extraordinary power. They shone on account of their *giganteis triumphis* -- an ambiguous expression which alludes to the mythic sagas concerning the victories of the Aesir over Jotunheim's giants (*gigantes*), and nations have submitted to them as victors, and enriched them with treasures (*trophæis gentium celebres, spoliis locupletes*).⁴

(d) The island on which they are confined is fortified, like the Asa citadel, by an immensely high wall (*præaltum vallum*),⁵ and is surrounded by a stream which is impassable unless one possesses a horse which is found among the brothers. Asgard is surrounded by a river belt covered with waverfire, which cannot be crossed unless one has that single steed which *um myrkvan beri vísan vafroga* (can bear one through the waverfire), and this belongs to the Aesir.

(e) The stream which roars around the fortress of the brothers comes *ex summis montium cacuminibus*.⁶ The Asgard stream comes from the collector of the thunder-cloud, *Eikþyrnir*, who stands on the summit of the world of the gods. The kindled waverfire, which did not suit a historical narration, are explained by Saxo to be a *spumeus candor*, a foaming whiteness, a shining froth, which in uniform, eddying billows everywhere whirl on the surface of the stream (*iota alvei tractu undis uniformiter turbidatis spumeus ubique candor exuberat*).⁷

(f) The only horse which is able to run through the shining and eddying foam is clearly one of the mythic horses. It is named along with another prodigy from the animal kingdom of mythology, viz., the terrible dog of the giant Offotes. Whether this is a reminiscence of Fenrir which was kept for some time in Asgard, or of Odin's wolf-dog Freki, or of some other saga-animal of that sort, we will not now decide.⁸

(g) Just as Asgard has an artfully contrived gate, so has also the citadel of the brothers. Saxo's description of the gate implies that any person who does not know its character as a drawbridge, but lays violent hands on the mechanism which holds it in an upright position, falls,

² "Thor is called *Atli* and *Ásabragr*. He is *Ennilangr* and *Eindriði*, *Björn*, *Hlórriði* and *Harðvéorr*, *Vingþórr*, *Sönnungr*, *Véoðr* and *Rymr*."

³ "their allies forsaking them," Oliver Elton translation and hereafter.

⁴ "renowned for victories over giants, full of trophies of conquered nations, and wealthy with spoil."

⁵ "a very high rampart."

⁶ "trickling from the topmost crests of the hills."

⁷ "And so, along the whole length of the channel, the waves are one turbid mass, and the white foam brims over everywhere."

⁸ To my knowledge, Rydberg never discusses this question, although from the synopsis of the mythic epic which appears in the second volume of *UGM*, it is apparent that this dog is Fenrir. Of him, Saxo says "Bjorn had also a dog of extraordinary fierceness, a terribly vicious brute, dangerous for people to live with, which had often singly destroyed twelve men. But, since the tale is hearsay rather than certainty, let good judges weigh its credit. This dog, as I have heard, was the favorite of the giant Offot (Un-foot), and used to watch his herd amid the pastures." It should be remembered that Aurboda spawns "*Fenris kindir*," Fenrir's children, in the Ironwood, in company with Eggthir, who is called *gýgjar hirðir*, the giantess' herdsman (*Völuspá* 40, 42).

and is crushed under it. This explains the words of *Fjölsvinnsmál* 10 about the gate to that citadel, within which Freyja-Menglad dwells: *Fjöturr fastr verðr við faranda hvern, er hana hefr frá hliði.*⁹

(h) In the myth, it is Njörd himself who removes the obstacle, "Odin's great gate," placed in his way. In Saxo's account, it is Fridlevus himself who accomplishes the same exploit.

(i) In Saxo's narration occurs an improbability, which is explained by the fact that he has transformed a myth into history. When Fridlevus is safe across the stream, he raises a ladder against the wall and climbs up on to it. From where did he get this ladder, which must have been colossal, since the wall he got over in this manner is said to be *præaltum*? Could he have taken it with him on the horse's back? Or did the besieged themselves place it against the wall as a friendly aid to the foe, who was already in possession of the only means for crossing the stream? Both assumptions are alike improbable. Saxo had to take recourse to a ladder, for he could not, without damaging the "historical" character of his story, repeat the myth's probable description of the event. The horse which can gallop through the wavering flame can also leap over the highest wall. Sleipnir's ability in this direction is demonstrated in the account of how it, with Hermod in the saddle, leaps over the wall to Baldur's high hall in the lower world (*Prose Edda, Gylfaginning* 49). The impassibility of the Asgard wall is limited to mountain-giants and frost-giants; for a god riding Odin's horse the wall was no obstacle. No doubt the myth has also stated that the Aesir, after Njörd had leaped over the wall and sought out the above-mentioned place of concealment, found within the wall their precious horse again, which lately had become the booty of the enemy. And where else should they have found it, if we regard the stream with the wavering flames as breaking against the very foot of the wall?

Finally, it should be added, that our myths tell of no other siege than the one Asgard was subjected to by the Vanir. If other sieges have been mentioned, they cannot have been of the same importance as this one, and consequently they could not so easily have left traces in the mythic traditions adapted to history or heroic poetry; nor could a historicized account of a mythic siege which did not concern Asgard have preserved the points here pointed out, which are in harmony with the story of the Asgard siege.

When the citadel of the gods is captured, the gods are, as we have seen, once more in possession of the steed, which, judging from its qualities, must be Sleipnir. Thus, Odin has the means of escaping from the enemy after all resistance has proved impossible. Thor has his thundering car, which, according to the *Prose Edda*, has room for several besides the owner, and the other Aesir have splendid horses (*Grímnismál* 29, 30; *Prose Edda*)¹⁰ even though they are not equal to that of their father. The Aesir give up their throne of power, and the Vanir now assume the rule of the world.

37.

THE WORLD WAR (continued). THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CONFLICT FROM

⁹ "A fetter will hold fast any traveller who attempts to open it."

¹⁰ The only occurrence I can find of a rider in Thor's chariot in the *Prose Edda* is his companion Thjalfi in *Skáldskaparmál* 17, Faulkes edition.

A RELIGIOUS-RITUAL STANDPOINT.

In regard to the significance of the change of administration in the world of gods, Saxo has preserved a tradition which is of no small interest. The circumstance that Odin and his sons had to surrender the reign of the world did not imply that mankind should abandon their faith in the old gods and accept a new religion. Previously the Aesir and Vanir had been worshipped in common. Now, when Odin was deposed, his name, honored by the nations, was not to be obliterated. The name was given to Ull, and, as if he really were Odin, he was to receive the sacrifices and prayers that formerly had been addressed to the banished one (*Hist.*, Book 3). The ancient faith was to be maintained, and the shift involved nothing but the person; there was no change of religion. But in connection with this information, we also learn, from another statement in Saxo, that the myth concerning the war between Aesir and Vanir was connected with traditions concerning a conflict between various views among the believers in the Germanic religion concerning offerings and prayers. The one view was more ritual, and demanded more attention paid to sacrifices. This view seems to have gotten the upper hand after the banishment of Odin. It was claimed that sacrifices and hymns addressed at the same time to several or all of the gods, did not have the efficacy of pacifying and reconciling angry deities, but that a separate sacrificial service should be given to each one of the gods (Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 1). The result of this was, of course, an increase of sacrifices and a more highly-developed ritual, which from its very nature might have produced the same hierarchy among the Teutons as resulted from an excess of sacrifices among their Indo-European-Asiatic kinsmen. The correctness of Saxo's statement is fully confirmed by strophe 145 in *Hávamál*, which advocates the opposite and incomparably more moderate view in regard to sacrifices. This view came, according to the strophe, from Odin's own lips. He is made to proclaim it to the people after his return to his ancient power.¹¹

¹¹ Rydberg places the phrase "after his return to his ancient power" in quotation marks. However since this is a figurative rather than a literal translation, the quotation marks are misleading, and best removed. The phrase "where he rose up, when he came back" is of uncertain meaning, and perhaps could refer back to *Hávamál* 139 where he says "then I fell down."

*Betra er óbeðið
en sé ofblótið,
ey sér til gildis gjöf;
betra er ósent
en sé ofsóið.
Svo Þundur um reist
fyr þjóða rök,
þar hann upp um reis,
er hann aftur um kom.*

Not to pray is better
than to over sacrifice,
A gift always seeks recompense;
Not to sacrifice is better
than to over immolate.
So grave *Þundur*
before the history of man,
where he rose up,
when he came back.

The expression, *þar hann upp um reis, er hann aftur um kom*, refers to the fact that Odin¹ had for some time been deposed from the administration of the world, but had returned, and that he then proclaimed to the people the view in regard to the real value of prayers and sacrifices which is laid down in the strophe. Therefore it follows that before Odin returned to his throne, another more exacting doctrine in regard to sacrifices had, according to the myth, secured prevalence. This is precisely what Saxo tells us. It is difficult to repress the question whether a historical reminiscence is not concealed in these statements. May it not be the record of conflicting views within the Germanic religion - views represented in the myth by the Vanir on the one side and the Aesir on the other? The Vana views, I take it, represented tendencies which, had they been victorious, would have resulted in hierarchy, while the Asa doctrine represented the tendencies of the believers in the time-honored Indo-European custom of those who maintained the priestly authority of the father of the family, and who defended the efficacy of the simple hymns and sacrifices which from time out of mind had been addressed to several or all of the gods in common. That the question really has existed among the Germanic peoples, at least as a subject for reflection, spontaneously suggests itself in the myth alluded to above. This myth has discussed the question, and decided it in precisely the same manner as history has decided it among the Germanic races, among whom priestcraft and ritualism have held a far less important position than among their western kinsmen, the Celts, and their eastern kinsmen, the Iranians and Indians. That prayers on account of their length, or sacrifices on account of their abundance, should give evidence of greater piety and fear of God, and should be able to secure a more ready hearing, is a doctrine which Odin himself rejects in the strophe cited above. He understands human nature, and knows that when a man brings abundant sacrifices he has the selfish purpose in view of prevailing on the gods to give a more abundant reward - a purpose prompted by selfishness, not by piety.

38.

THE WORLD WAR (continued). THE WAR IN MIDGARD BETWEEN HALFDAN'S SONS. GROA'S SONS AGAINST ALVEIG'S. LOKI'S APPEARANCE ON THE STAGE. HADDING'S YOUTHFUL ADVENTURES.

The conflict between the gods has its counterpart in, and is connected with, a war between all the Germanic races, and the latter is again a continuation of the feud between Halfdan and Svipdag. The Germanic race comes to the front fighting under three race-representatives - (1) Yngvi-Svipdag, the son of Orvandel and Groa; (2) Gudhorm, the son of

¹ *Þundur*, a name of Odin in *Grímnismál* 54; the name of a river in *Grímnismál* 21.

Halfdan and Groa, consequently Svipdag's half-brother; (3) Hadding, the son of Halfdan and Alveig (in Saxo called Signi, daughter of Sumble), consequently Gudhorm's half-brother.

The ruling Vanir favor Svipdag, who is Freyja's husband and Frey's brother-in-law. The banished Aesir support Hadding from their place of refuge. The conflict between the gods and the war between Halfdan's successor and heir are woven together. It is like the Trojan war, where the gods, divided into parties, assist the Trojans or assist the *Danai* (the Greeks). Odin, Thor, and Heimdall interfere, as we shall see, to protect Hadding. This is their duty as kinsmen; for, having assumed human nature, Heimdall was the lad with the sheaf of grain who came to the primeval country and became the father of Borgar, who begat the son Halfdan. Thor was Halfdan's associate father; thus he too had duties of kinship toward Hadding and Gudhorm, Halfdan's sons. The gods, on the other hand, that favor Svipdag are, in Hadding's eyes, foes, and Hadding long refuses to propitiate Frey by a demanded sacrifice (Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 1).

This war, simultaneously waged between the clans of the gods on the one hand, and between the Germanic tribes on the other, is what the seeress in *Völuspá* calls "the first great war in the world." She not only gives an account of its outbreak and events among the gods, but also indicates that it was waged on the earth. Then -

*Sá hún valkyrjur,
vítta um komnar,
görvar að ríða
til Goðbjóðar.*

She saw valkyries,
far travelled,
equipped to ride
to *Goðbjóð*.

Goðbjóð is the Germanic people and the Germanic country.

When Svipdag had slain Halfdan, and when the Aesir were expelled, the sons of the Germanic patriarch were in danger of falling into the power of Svipdag. Thor interested himself in their behalf; and brought Gudhorm and Hadding to Jotunheim, where he concealed them with the giants Hafli and Vagnhofdi - Gudhorm in Hafli's rocky gard and Hadding in Vagnhofdi's. In Saxo, who relates this story, the Asa-god Thor appears partly as *Thor deus* and *Thoro pugil*,¹ Halfdan's protector, whom Saxo himself identifies as the god Thor (*Hist.*, Book 7), and partly as Brac and Brachi, which name Saxo formed from Thor's epithet, *Ása-Bragr*. It is by the name Brachi that Thor appears as the protector of Halfdan's sons. The giants Hafli and Vagnhofdi dwell, according to Saxo, in "Svetia" probably, since Jotunheim, the northernmost Sweden, and the most distant east were called *Svíþjóð in kalda*.²

¹ Thor the god, and Thoro the champion, respectively.

² "Gudhorm and Hadding, the son of Gram --Groa being the mother of the first and Signi of the second-- were sent over to Sweden (Svetia) in a ship by their foster-father, Bragi --Svipdag being now master of Denmark-- and put in charge of the giants Vagnhofdi and Hafli, for guard as well as rearing." (Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 1).

Svipdag waged war against Halfdan, since it was his duty to avenge the disgrace of his mother Groa, and also that of his mother's father, and, as shall be shown later, the death of his father Orvandil (see Nos. 108, 109). The revenge for bloodshed was sacred in the Germanic world, and this duty he performed when, with his irresistible sword, he felled his stepfather. But thereby the duty of revenge for bloodshed was transferred to Halfdan's sons -- less to Gudhorm, who is himself a son of Groa, but with all its weight to Hadding, the son of Alveig, and it is his bounden duty to bring about Svipdag's death, since Svipdag had slain Halfdan. Connecting itself with Halfdan's robbery of Groa, the goddess of growth, the red thread of revenge for bloodshed extends throughout the great hero-saga of Germanic mythology.

Svipdag makes an effort to cut the thread. He offers Gudhorm and Hadding peace and friendship, and promises them kingship among the tribes subject to him. Groa's son, Gudhorm, accepts the offer, and Svipdag makes him ruler of the Danes; but Hadding sends answer that he prefers to avenge his father's death to accepting favors from an enemy (Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 1).

Svipdag's offer of peace and reconciliation is in harmony, if not with his own nature, at least with that of his kinsmen, the reigning Vanir. If the offer to Hadding had been accepted, we might have looked for peace in the world. Now the future is threatened with the devastations of war, and the bloody thread of revenge shall continue to be spun if Svipdag does not prevent it by overpowering Hadding. The myth may have contained much information about the efforts of the one camp to capture him and about contrivances of the other to frustrate these efforts. Saxo has preserved a partial record of this. Among those who plot against Hadding is also Loki (Lokerus - Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 1),³ the banished ally of Aurboda. His purpose is doubtless to get into the favor of the reigning Vanir. Hadding is no longer safe in Vagnhofdi's mountain home. The lad is exposed to Loki's snares. From one of these, he is saved by the Asa-father himself. There came, says Saxo, on this occasion a rider to Hadding. He resembled a very aged man, one of whose eyes was lost (*grandævus quidam altero orbus oculo*). He placed Hadding in front of himself on the horse, wrapped his mantle about him, and rode away. The lad became curious and wanted to see where they were going. Through a hole in the mantle, he got an opportunity of looking down, and found to his astonishment and fright that land and sea were far below the hoofs of the steed. The rider must have noticed his fright, for he forbade him to look out any more.

The rider, the one-eyed old man, is Odin, and the horse is Sleipnir, rescued from the captured Asgard. The place to which the lad is carried by Odin is the place of refuge secured by the Aesir during their exile *í Manheimum*. In perfect harmony with the myths, Saxo refers Odin's exile to the time preceding Hadding's juvenile adventures, and makes Odin's return to power simultaneous with Hadding's great victory over his enemies (*Hist.*, Book 1). Saxo has also found in his sources that sword-slain men, whom Odin chooses during "the first great war in the world," cannot come to Valhall. The reason for this is that, at that time, Odin is not the ruler there. They have dwelling-places and plains for their warlike amusements appointed in the lower world (*Hist.*, Book 1).

The regions which, according to Saxo, are the scenes of Hadding's juvenile adventures lie on the other side of the Baltic down toward the Black Sea. He is associated with "Curetians" and

³ The form Loki is also duplicated by the form Lokr. The latter is preserved in the sense of "effeminated man," found in myths concerning Loki. Compare the phrase "*veikr lókr*" with "*hinn veiki Loki*." (This is Rydberg's footnote).

The words "*veikr lókr*" occur in *Heimskringla* 118, as part of the phrase "Too weak, too weak is the king's bow." The long vowel of *lókr* and the short vowel of *Loki* makes it unlikely that the two forms are related. The phrase "*hinn veiki Loki*" is unknown to me.

"Hellespontians," doubtless for the reason that the myth has referred those adventures to the far east.

The one-eyed old man is endowed with wonderful powers. When he landed with the lad at his home, he sang over him prophetic incantations to protect him (*Hist.*, Book 1), and gave him a drink of the "most splendid sort," which produced in Hadding enormous physical strength, and particularly made him able to free himself from bonds and chains. (Compare *Hávamál* 149, concerning Odin's freeing incantations by which "fetters spring from the feet and chains from the hands.") A comparison with other passages, which I shall discuss later, shows that the potion of which the old man is lord contains something which is called "Leifnir's flames," and that he who has been permitted to drink it, and over whom freeing incantations have simultaneously been sung, is able with his warm breath to free himself from every fetter which has been put on his enchanted limbs (see Nos. 43, 96, 103).

The old man predicts that Hadding will soon have an opportunity of testing the strength with which the drink and the magic songs have endowed him. And the prophecy is fulfilled. Hadding falls into the power of Loki. He chains him and threatens to expose him as food for a wild beast - in Saxo a lion, in the myth presumably some one of the wolf or serpent prodigies that are Loki's offspring. But when his guards are put to sleep by Odin's magic song, though Odin is far away, Hadding bursts his bonds, slays the beast, and eats its heart, in obedience to Odin's instructions. (The saga of Sigurd Fafnisbane has copied this feature. Sigurd eats the heart of the dragon Fafnir and gets wisdom thereby.)

Thus Hadding has become a powerful hero, and his task to make war on Svipdag, to revenge on him his father's death, and to recover the share in the rulership of the Teutons which Halfdan had possessed, now lies before him as the goal he is to reach.

Hadding leaves Vagnhofdi's home. The latter's daughter, Hardgrip, who had fallen in love with the youth, accompanies him. When we next find Hadding he is at the head of an army. That this consisted of the tribes of Eastern Germania is confirmed by documents which I shall hereafter quote; but it also follows from Saxo's narrative, although he has referred the war to narrower limits than were given to it in the myth, since he, constructing a Danish history from mythic traditions, has his eyes fixed chiefly on Denmark. Over the Scandian tribes and the Danes rule, according to Saxo's own statement, Svipdag, and as his tributary king in Denmark his half-brother Gudhorm. Saxo also is aware that the Saxons, the Germanic tribes of the German lowlands, on one occasion were the allies of Svipdag (*Hist.*, Book 1). From these parts of Germania did not come Hadding's friends, but his enemies; and when we add that the first battle which Saxo mentions in this war was fought among the Curetians east of the Baltic, then it is clear that Saxo, too, like the other records to which I am coming later, has conceived the forces under Hadding's banner as having been gathered in the East. From this, it is evident that the war is one between the tribes of North Germania, led by Svipdag and supported by the Vanir on the one side, and the tribes of East Germania, led by Hadding and supported by the Aesir on the other. But the tribes of the western Germanic continent have also taken part in the first great war of mankind. Gudhorm, whom Saxo makes a tributary king in Yngvi-Svipdag's most southern domain, Denmark, has in the mythic traditions had a much greater empire, and has ruled over the tribes of Western and Southern Germania, as shall be shown hereafter.

39.

THE WORLD WAR (continued). THE POSITION OF THE DIVINE CLANS TO THE WARRIORS.

The circumstance that the different divine clans had their favorites in the different camps gives the war a peculiar character. Before a battle, the armies see supernatural forms contending with each other in the starlight, and in them recognize their divine friends and opponents (*Hist.*, Book 1). The elements are conjured on one side and the other for the good or harm of the contending brother-tribes. When fog and pouring rain suddenly darken the sky and fall upon Hadding's forces from that side where the fylkings of the North are arrayed, then the one-eyed old man comes to their rescue and calls forth dark masses of clouds from the other side, which force back the rain-clouds and the fog (*Hist.*, Book 1). In these cloud-masses, we must recognize the presence of the thundering Thor, the son of the one-eyed old man.

Giants also take part in the conflict. Vagnhofdi and Hardgrip, the latter in a man's attire, contend on the side of the foster-son and the beloved Hadding (*Hist.*, Book 1). From Icelandic records, we learn that Hafli and the giantesses Fenja and Menja fight under Gudhorm's banners. In the *Gróttasong* (13-14) these maids sing:

*En við síðan
á Svíþjóðu
framvísar tvær
í fólk stigum;
beiddum björnu,
en brutum skjöldu,
gengum í gegnum
gráserkjað lið.*

And soon after
in Sweden, we,
the fore-knowing pair,
marched into battle;
We overpowered bears,
and broke shields,
We strode through
the gray-shirted host.

*Steyptum stilli,
studdum annan,
veittum góðum
Gothormi lið.*

We overthrew a ruler,
supported another,
gave support to
the good Gudhorm.

That the giant Hafli fought on the side of Gudhorm is probable from the fact that he is his foster-father, and it is confirmed by the fact that Thor paraphrased (*Grettis Saga*, 48)¹ is called *fangvinr Hafli*, "he who wrestled with Hafli." Since Thor and Hafli formerly were friends -- or else the former would not have trusted Gudhorm to the care of the latter - their appearance afterwards as foes can hardly be explained otherwise than by the war between Thor's protégé Hadding and Hafli's foster-son Gudhorm. And as Hadding's foster-father, the giant Vagnhofdi, faithfully supports the young chief whose childhood he protected, then the myth could scarcely avoid giving a similar part to the giant Hafli, and thus make the foster-fathers, like the foster-sons, contend with each other. The heroic poems are fond of parallels of this kind.

¹ "Varð í Veðrafirði/ vopnsóttir í byr Þróttar, / æst fór arfs og gneista / afl, fangvinr Hafli."

When Svipdag learns that Hadding has suddenly made his appearance in the East, and gathered its tribes around him for a war with Gudhorm, he descends from Asgard and reveals himself in the primeval Germanic country on the Scandian peninsula, and requests its tribes to join the Danes and raise the banner of war against Halfdan's and Alveig's son, who, at the head of the eastern Teutons, is marching against their half-brother Gudhorm. The friends of both parties among the gods, men and giants, hasten to attach themselves to the cause which they have espoused as their own, and Vagnhofdi among the rest abandons his rocky home to fight by the side of his foster-son and daughter.

This mythic situation is described in a previously unexplained strophe in the Old English song concerning the names of the letters in the runic alphabet. In regard to the rune which answers to *I*, the following lines are added:

*Ing vās ærest mid Eástdenum
geseven secgum oð he siððan
eást
ofer væg gevât. Væn æfter ran;
þus Hearingas þone hāle
nemdon.*

Yngvi (Ingi) was first seen
among the East-Danes.
Then he took himself eastward
over the sea.
Vagn hastened to follow:
Thus the Hearings called this
hero.

The Hearings are the Haddings - that is to say, Hadding himself, the kinsmen and friends who embraced his cause, and the Germanic tribes who recognized him as their chief. The Norse *Haddingr* is to the Anglo-Saxon *Hearding* as the Norse *haddr* to the Anglo-Saxon *heard*. Vigfusson, and before him J. Grimm, have already identified these forms.¹

Ing is Yngvi-Svipdag, who, when he left Asgard, "was first seen among the East-Danes." He calls Swedes and Danes to arms against Hadding's tribes. The Anglo-Saxon strophe confirms the fact that they dwell in the East, separated by a sea from the Scandian tribes. Ing, with his warriors, "takes himself eastward over the sea" to attack them. Thus the armies of the Swedes and Danes go by sea to the seat of war. What the authorities of Tacitus heard among the continental Teutons about the mighty fleets of the Swedes² may be founded on the heroic songs about the first great war not less than on fact. As the army which was to cross the Baltic must be regarded as immensely large, so the myth, too, has represented the ships of the Swedes as numerous, and in part as of immense size. A confused record from the songs about the expedition of Svipdag and his friends against the East Teutons, found in Icelandic tradition, occurs in *Fornaldarsögur, Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar berserkjabana*, where a ship called Gnoð, capable of carrying 3000 men, is mentioned as belonging to a King Asmund. Odin did not want this monstrous ship to reach its destination, but sank it, so it is said, in the Lessö seaway, with all its men and contents. The Asmund who is known in the heroic sagas of heathen times is a son of Svipdag and a king among the Sviones (Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 1). According to Saxo, he has

¹ Richard Cleasby and Gudbrand Vigfusson, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, page 227, see "*Haddr*"; Jakob Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, Vol. 1, Chap. 15.

² *Germania* 44.

given brilliant proofs of his bravery in the war against Hadding, and fallen by the weapons of Vagnhofdi and Hadding. That Odin in the Icelandic tradition appears as his enemy thus corresponds with the myth. The same Asmund may, as Gísli Brynjúlfsson³ has assumed, be meant in *Grímnismál* 49, where we learn that Odin, concealing himself under the name *Jálkr*, once visited Asmund.

The hero Vagn, whom "the Haddings so called," is Hadding's foster-father, Vagnhofdi. As the word *höfði* constitutes the second part of a mythic name, the compound form is a synonym of that name which forms the first part of the composition. Thus *Svarthöfði* is identical with *Svartr*, *Surtr*. In *Hyndluljóð* 33 (*Völuspá in skamma* 5), all the mythical sorcerers (*seiðberendur*) are said to be sprung from *Svarthöfði*. In this connection, we must first of all think of Fjalar, who is the greatest sorcerer in mythology. The story about Thor's, Thjalfi's, and Loki's visit to him is a chain of delusions of sight and hearing called forth by Fjalar, so that the Asa-god and his companions always mistake things for something other than they are. Fjalar is a son of Surt (see No. 89). Thus the greatest agent of sorcery is descended from *Surtr*, *Svartr*, and, as *Hyndluljóð* states that all magicians of mythology have come of some *Svarthöfði*, *Svartr* and *Svarthöfði* must be identical. And so it is with *Vagn* and *Vagnhöfði*; they are different names for the same person.

When the Anglo-Saxon rune-strophe says that Vagn "made haste to follow" after Ing had gone across the sea, then this is to be compared with Saxo's statement (*Hist.*, Book 1), where it is said that Hadding in a battle was in greatest peril of losing his life, but was saved by the sudden and miraculous landing of Vagnhofdi, who came to the battle-field and placed himself at his side. The Scandian fylkings advanced against Hadding's; and Svipdag's son Asmund, who fought at the head of his men, forced his way forward against Hadding himself, with his shield thrown on his back, and with both his hands on the hilt of a sword which felled all before it. Then Hadding invoked the gods who were the friends of himself and his race (*Hadingo familiarium sibi numinum praesidia postulante subito Vagnophus partibus ejus propugnaturus advehitur*),⁴ and then Vagnhofdi is brought (*advehitur*) by one of these gods to the battle-field and suddenly stands by Hadding's side, swinging a crooked sword⁵ against Asmund, while Hadding hurls his spear against him. This statement in Saxo corresponds with and explains the Old English strophe's reference to a quick journey which Vagn made to help *Heardingas* against Ing, and it is also illustrated by a passage in *Grímnismál* 49, which, in connection with Odin's appearance at Asmund's, tells that he once by the name *Kjalar* "drew *Kjalki*" (*mig hétu Jálk að Ásmundar, en þá Kjalar, er eg Kjálka dró*). The word and name *Kjalki*, as also *Sleði*, is used as a paraphrase of the word and name *Vagn*.⁶ Thus Odin has once "drawn *Vagn*" (wagon). The meaning of this is

³ Gísli Brynjúlfsson, 1827-1888.

⁴ "Hadding therefore called on the powers with which he was allied to protect him, and on a sudden Vagnhofdi rode up to fight on his side."

⁵ The crooked sword, as it appears from several passages in the sagas, has long been regarded by our heathen ancestors as a foreign form of weapon, used by the giants, but not by the gods or by the heroes of Midgard.

⁶ Compare *Fornaldarsögur*, *Saga Ketils Hængs*, where the hero of the saga cries to Gusi, who comes running after him with "two hreina ok vagn" ("two reindeer and a sledge").

<i>Skríð þú af kjálka,</i>	Slide of your sled,
<i>kyrr þú hreina,</i>	stop your reindeer
<i>seggr síðförull,</i>	late-travelling one,
<i>seg hvattú heitir!</i>	and tell me your name!

clear from what is stated above. Hadding calls on Odin, who is the friend of him and of his cause, and Odin, who on a former occasion has carried Hadding on Sleipnir's back through the air, now brings, in the same or a similar manner, Vagnhofdi to the battle-field, and places him near his foster-son. This episode is also interesting from the fact that we can draw from it the conclusion that the skalds who celebrated the first great war in their songs made the gods influence the fate of the battle, not directly but indirectly. Odin might himself have saved his favorite, and he might have slain Svipdag's son Asmund with his spear Gungnir; but he does not do so; instead, he brings Vagnhofdi to protect him. This is well calculated from an epic standpoint, while *dii ex machina*, when they appear in person on the battle-field with their superhuman strength, diminish the effect of the deeds of mortal heroes, and deprive every distress in which they have taken part of its more earnest significance. Homer never violated this rule without injury to the honor either of his gods or of his heroes.

40.

THE WORLD WAR (continued). HADDING'S DEFEAT. LOKI IN THE COUNCIL AND ON THE BATTLE-FIELD. HEIMDALL, THE PROTECTOR OF HIS DESCENDANT HADDING.

The first great conflict in which the warriors of North and West Germania fight with the East Teutons ends with the complete victory of Groa's sons. Hadding's fylkings are so thoroughly beaten and defeated that he, after the end of the conflict, is nothing but a defenseless fugitive, wandering in deep forests with no other companion than Vagnhofdi's daughter, who survived the battle and accompanies her beloved in his wanderings in the wildernesses. Saxo ascribes the victory won over Hadding to Loki. It follows of itself that, in a war whose deepest root must be sought in Loki's and Aurboda's intrigues, and in which the clans of gods on both sides take part, Loki should not be excluded by the skalds from influence upon the course of events. We have already seen that he sought to ruin Hadding while the latter was still a boy. He afterwards appears in various guises as evil counsellor, as an evil intriguer, and as a skilful arranger of the fylkings on the field of battle. His purpose is to frustrate every effort to bring about reconciliation, and by means of persuasion and falsehoods to increase the chances of enmity between Halfdan's descendants, in order that they may mutually destroy each other (see below). His activity among the heroes is the counterpart of his activity among the gods. The merry, sly, cynical, blameworthy, and profoundly evil Mephisto of the Germanic mythology is bound to bring about the ruin of the Germanic people as well as of the Germanic gods.

In the later Icelandic traditions, he reveals himself as the evil counsellor of princes in the forms of *Blind illi*, *Blind bölvísi* (in Saxo *Bolvisus*); Bikki; in the German and Old English traditions as Sibich, Sifeca, Sifka. Bikki is a name-form borrowed from Germany. The original Norse Loki-epithet is *Bekki*, which means "the foe," "the opponent." A closer examination shows that everywhere where this counsellor appears his enterprises have originally been connected with persons who belong to Borgar's race. He has wormed himself into the favor of both the contending parties -- as *Blind illi* with King Hadding -- of which

*Hromund Greipson's Saga*⁷ has preserved a distorted record - as Bikki, Sibeche, with King Gudhorm (whose identity with Jormunrek shall be established below). As *Blind bölvísi* he lies in waiting for and seeks to capture the young "Helgi Hundingsbane," that is to say, Halfdan, Hadding's father (*Helg. Hund. II.*). Under his own name, Loki, he lies in waiting for and seeks to capture the young Hadding, Halfdan's son. As a cunning general and cowardly warrior, he appears in the German saga-traditions, and there is every reason to assume that it is his activity in the first great war as the planner of Gudhorm's battleline that in the Norse heathen records secured Loki the epithets *sagna hrærir* and *sagna sviptir*, the leader of the warriors forward and the leader of the warriors back - epithets which otherwise would be both unfounded and incomprehensible, but they are found both in Thjodolf's poem *Haustlög*, and in Eilífr Goðrúnarson's *Þórsdrápa*.⁸ It is also a noticeable fact that while Loki in the first great battle which ends with Hadding's defeat determines the array of the victorious army -- for only on this basis can the victory be attributed to him by Saxo - it is in the other great battle in which Hadding is victorious that Odin himself determines how the forces of his protégé are to be arranged, namely, in that wedge-form which after that time and for many centuries following was the sacred and strictly preserved rule for the battle-array of Germanic forces. Thus the ancient Germanic saga has mentioned and compared with one another two different kinds of battle-arrays - the one invented by Loki and the other invented by Odin.

During his wanderings in the forests of the East, Hadding has had wonderful adventures and passed through great trials. Saxo tells one of these adventures. He and Hardgrip, Vagnhofdi's daughter, came late one evening to a dwelling where they got lodgings for the night. The husband was dead, but not yet buried. For the purpose of learning Hadding's destiny, Hardgrip engraved speech-runes (see No. 70) on a piece of wood, and asked Hadding to place it under the tongue of the dead one. In this manner, the latter would recover the power of speech and prophecy. So it came to pass. But what the dead one sang in an awe-inspiring voice was a curse on Hardgrip, who had compelled him to return from life in the lower world to life on earth, and a prediction that an avenging Niflheim demon would inflict punishment on her for what she had done. A following night, when Hadding and Hardgrip had sought shelter in a bower of twigs and branches which they had gathered, there appeared a gigantic hand groping under the ceiling of the bower. The frightened Hadding waked Hardgrip. She then rose in all her giant strength, seized the mysterious hand, and bade Hadding cut it off with his sword. He attempted to do this, but, from the wounds he inflicted on the spectral hand, there issued more matter or venom than blood, and the hand seized Hardgrip with its iron claws and tore her into pieces (Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 1).

When Hadding in this manner had lost his companion, he considered himself abandoned by everybody; but the one-eyed old man had not forgotten his favorite. He sent him a faithful helper, by name *Liserus* (Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 1). Who was *Liserus* in our mythology?

First, as to the name itself: in the very nature of the case it must be the Latinizing of some one of the mythological names or epithets that Saxo found in the Norse records. But as no such

⁷*Hrómundar saga Gripssonar* in the *Förmaldarsögur*.

⁸ *Sagna hrærir* appears in *Haustlög* 9, and *sagna sviptir* in *Þórsdrápa* 3. *Sagna hrærir* refers to Loki, and may mean either "the rouser of tales" or "the rouser of armies." *Sagna sviptir* means "the swift mover of hosts," but who it refers to cannot be established with certainty but probably refers to Thor.

root as *lis* or *lís* is to be found in the Old Norse language and as Saxo interchanges the vowels *i* and *y*,⁹ we must regard *Liserus* as a Latinizing of *Lýsir*, "the shining one," "the one giving light," "the bright one." When Odin sent a helper thus described to Hadding, it must have been a person belonging to Odin's circle and subject to him. Such a person and one described by a similar epithet is *inn hvíti áss, hvítastr ása* (Heimdall)¹⁰. In Saxo's account, this shining messenger is particularly to oppose Loki (*Hist.*, 40). And in the myth, it is the keen-sighted and faithful Heimdall who always appears as the opposite of the cunning and faithless Loki. Loki has to contend with Heimdall when the former tries to get possession of Brisingamen, and in Ragnarok the two opponents kill each other. Hadding's shining protector thus has the same part to act in the heroic saga as the whitest of the Aesir in the mythology. If we now add that Heimdall is Hadding's progenitor, and on account of blood kinship owes him special protection in a war in which all the gods have taken part either for or against Halfdan's and Alveig's son, then we are forced by every consideration to regard *Liserus* and Heimdall as identical (see further, No. 82).

41.

THE WORLD WAR (continued). HADDING'S JOURNEY TO THE EAST. RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE AESIR AND VANIR. "THE HUN WAR." HADDING RETURNS AND CONQUERS. RECONCILIATION BETWEEN GROA'S DESCENDANTS AND ALVEIG'S. LOKI'S PUNISHMENT.

Some time later, there has been a change in Hadding's affairs. He is no longer the exile wandering about in the forests, but appears once more at the head of warlike hosts. But although he accomplishes various exploits, it still appears from Saxo's narrative that it takes a long time before he becomes strong enough to meet his enemies in a decisive battle with hope of success. In the meantime, he has succeeded in accomplishing the revenge of his father and slaying Svipdag (Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 1) -- this under circumstances which I shall explain below (No. 106). The proof that the hero-saga has left a long space of time between the great battle lost by Hadding and that in which he wins a decided victory is that he, before this conflict is fought out, has slain a young grandson (son's son) of Svipdag, that is, a son of Asmund, who was Svipdag's son (Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 1). Hadding was a mere boy when Svipdag first tried to capture him. He is a man of years when he, through decided successes on the battle-field, acquires and secures control of a great part of the domain over which his father, the Germanic patriarch, reigned. Therefore, he must have spent considerable time in the place of refuge which Odin opened for him, and under the protection of that subject of Odin, called *Liserus* by Saxo.

In the intervening time, important events have taken place in the world of the gods. The two clans of gods, the Aesir and Vanir, have become reconciled. Odin's exile lasted, according to Saxo, only ten years, and there is no reason for doubting the mythical correctness of this statement. The reconciliation must have been demanded by the dangers which their enmity caused to the administration of the world. The giants, whose purpose it is to destroy the world of

⁹ Compare the double forms Trigo, Thrygir; Ivarus, Yvarus; Sibbo, Sybbo; Siritha, Syritha; Sivardus, Syvardus; Hiberniu, Hybernia; Isora, Ysora.

¹⁰ *inn hvíti áss*, the white god; *hvítastr ása*, the whitest of the Aesir.

man, became dangerous to the earth once more on account of the war among the gods. During this time, they made a desperate effort to conquer Asgard occupied by the Vanir. The memory of this expedition was preserved during the Christian centuries in the traditions concerning the great Hun war. Saxo (*Hist.*, Book 5) refers this to Frotho III's reign. What he relates about this Frotho, son of Fridlevus (Njörd), is for the greatest part a historicized version of the myth about the Vana-god Frey (see No. 102); and every doubt that his account of the war of the "Huns" against Frotho has its foundation in mythology and belongs to the chain of events here discussed, vanishes when we learn that the attack of the Huns against Frotho-Frey's power happened at a time when an old prophet, by name Uggerus, "whose age was unknown, but exceeded every measure of human life," lived in exile, and belonged to the number of Frotho's enemies. *Uggerus* is a Latinized form of Odin's name *Yggr*, and is the same mythic character as Saxo introduced on the scene previously as "the old one-eyed man," Hadding's protector. Although he had been Frotho's enemy, the aged *Yggr* comes to him and informs him what the "Huns" are plotting, and thus Frotho is enabled to resist their assault.¹¹

When Odin, out of consideration for the common welfare of mankind and the gods, renders the Vanir, who had banished him, this service, and as the latter are in the greatest need of the assistance of the mighty Asa-father and his powerful sons in the conflict with the giant world, then these facts explain sufficiently the reconciliation between the Aesir and the Vanir. This reconciliation was also in order on account of the bonds of kinship between them. The chief hero of the Aesir, Thor, was the stepfather of Ull, the chief warrior of the Vanir (*Prose Edda*, *Gylfaginning* 31). The record of a friendly settlement between Thor and Ull is preserved in a paraphrase, by which Thor is described in *Þórsdrápa* 17 as "gulli Ullar,"¹² he who with persuasive words makes Ull friendly. Odin was invited to occupy again the high-seat in Asgard, with all the prerogatives of a *paterfamilias* and ruler (Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 1). But the dispute which caused the conflict between him and the Vanir was at the same time manifestly settled to the advantage of the Vanir. They do not assume in common the responsibility for the murder of Gullveig-Angurboda. She is banished to the Ironwood, but remains there unharmed until Ragnarok, and when the destruction of the world approaches, then Njörd shall leave the Aesir threatened with the ruin they have themselves caused and return to the "wise Vanir" (*í aldar rök hann mun aftur koma heim með vísium vönum - Vafþrúðnismál* 39).

The "Hun war" has supplied the answer to a question, which those believing in the myths naturally would ask themselves. That question was: How did it happen that Midgard was not exposed to such attacks from the dwellers in Jotunheim in historical times as had occurred in antiquity, and at that time threatened Asgard itself with destruction? In the myth, the "Hun war" was characterized by the countless lives lost by the enemy. This we learn from Saxo. The sea, he says, was so filled with the bodies of the slain that boats could hardly be rowed through the waves. In the rivers, their bodies formed bridges, and on land, a person could make a three days' journey on horseback without seeing anything but dead bodies of the slain (*Hist.*, Book 5). And so the answer to the question was, that the "Hun war" of antiquity had so weakened the giants in number and strength that they could not become so dangerous as they had been to Asgard and

¹¹ "This man went as a deserter (of the Huns) to Frotho and told him of the preparations of the Huns."

¹² *gulli Ullar*, this phrase is usually translated as "Ull's stepfather." Sveinbjörn Egilsson defines the term as "stefader," stepfather and cites this verse. The word does not appear in the Cleasby-Vigfusson, Zoega, or Neckel-Kuhn dictionaries of Old Norse terms. The word *gulli* usually refers to gold, and its actual meaning here is unclear. Egilsson presumably bases his definition on similar kennings that describe Ull as the stepson of Thor. The basis of Rydberg's definition remains unknown.

Midgard formerly, that is, before the time immediately preceding Ragnarok, when a new fimbul-winter is to set in, and when the giant world shall rise again in all its ancient might. From the time of the "Hun war" and until then, Thor's hammer is able to keep the growth of the giants' race within certain limits, therefore Thor in *Hárbarðsljóð* 23 explains his attack on giants and giantesses with *mikil mundi ætt jötna, ef allir lifði, vætr mundi manna undir Miðgarði*.¹³

Hadding's rising star of success must be put in connection with the reconciliation between the Aesir and Vanir. The reconciled gods must lay aside that seed of new feuds between them which is contained in the war between Hadding, the favorite of the Aesir, and Gudhorm, the favorite of the Vanir. The great defeat once suffered by Hadding must be balanced by a corresponding victory, and then the contending kinsmen must be reconciled. And this happens. Hadding wins a great battle and enters upon a secure reign in his part of Germania. Then new bonds of kinship and friendship are tied between the hostile races, so that the Germanic dynasties of chiefs may trace their descent both from Yngvi (Svipdag) and from Borgar's son Halfdan. Hadding and a surviving grandson of Svipdag are united in so tender a devotion to one another that the latter, upon an unfounded report of the former's death, is unable to survive him and takes his own life. And when Hadding learns this, he does not care to live any longer either, but meets death voluntarily (Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 1).

After the reconciliation between the Aesir and Vanir, they succeed in capturing Loki. Saxo relates this in connection with Odin's return from Asgard, and here calls Loki *Mitothin*. In regard to this name, we may, without entering upon difficult conjectures concerning the first part of the word, be sure that it, too, is taken by Saxo from the heathen records in which he has found his account of the first great war, and that it, in accordance with the rule for forming such epithets, must refer to a mythic person who has had a certain relation with Odin, and at the same time had been his antithesis. According to Saxo, Mitothin is a thoroughly evil being, who, like Aurboda, strove to disseminate the practice of witchcraft in the world and to displace Odin. He was compelled to take flight and to conceal himself from the gods. He is captured and slain, but from his dead body arises a pest, so that he does no less harm after than before his death. It therefore became necessary to open his grave, cut his head off, and pierce his breast with a sharp stick (*Hist.*, Book 1).

These statements in regard to Mitothin's death seem at first glance not to correspond very well with the mythic accounts of Loki's exit, and thus give room for doubt as to his identity with the latter. It is also clear that Saxo's narrative has been influenced by the medieval stories about vampires and evil ghosts, and about the manner of preventing these from doing harm to the living. Nevertheless, all that he tells here, the beheading included, is founded on the mythic accounts of Loki. The place where Loki is fettered is situated in the extreme part of the penal-world of the wicked dead (see No. 78). The fact that he is relegated to the realm of the dead, and is there chained in a subterranean cavern until Ragnarok, when all the dead in the lower world shall return, has been a sufficient reason for Saxo to represent him as dead and buried. That he causes a pestilence after death corresponds with Saxo's account of *Ugarthilocus*,¹⁴ who has his prison in a cave under a rock situated in a sea, over which darkness broods for ever (the island Lyngvi in Amsvartnir's sea, where Loki's prison is - see No. 78). The hardy sea-captain, Thorkil,

¹³ "Great would be the race of giants, if they all lived, there would no man on Midgard."

¹⁴ A Latinization of ON *Útgarda-Loka*, Utgard-Loki, properly the giant Fjalar in *Gylfaginning* 47.

seeks and finds him in his cave of torture, pulls a hair from the beard on his chin and brings it with him to Denmark. Afterwards, when this hair is exposed and exhibited, the awful exhalation from it causes the death of several persons standing near (*Hist.*, Book 8). When a hair from the beard of the tortured Loki ("a hair from the evil one") could produce this effect, then his whole body removed to the kingdom of death must work even greater mischief, until measures were taken to prevent it. In this connection, it is to be remembered that Loki, according to the Icelandic records, is the father of the feminine demon of epidemics and diseases, of her who rules in Niflheim, the home of the spirits of disease (see No. 60), and that it is Loki's daughter who rides the three-footed steed, which appears when an epidemic breaks out (see No. 67). Thus Loki is, according to the Icelandic mythic fragments, the cause of epidemics. Lokasenna also states that he lies with a pierced body, although the weapon there is a sword, or possibly a spear (*þig á hjörvi skulu binda goð* - Lokasenna 49).¹⁵ That Mitothin takes flight and conceals himself from the gods corresponds with the myth about Loki. But that which finally and conclusively confirms the identity of Loki and Mitothin is that the latter, though a thoroughly evil being and hostile to the gods, is said to have risen through the enjoyment of divine favor (*cælesti beneficio vegetatus*). Among male beings of his character, this applies to Loki alone.

In regard to the statement that Loki after his removal to the kingdom of death had his head separated from his body, Saxo here relates, though in his own peculiar manner, what the myth contained about Loki's ruin, which was a logical consequence of his acts and happened long after his removal to the realm of death. Loki is slain in Ragnarok, to which he, freed from his cave of torture in the kingdom of death, proceeds at the head of the hosts of "the sons of destruction." In the midst of the conflict, he seeks or is sought by his constant foe, Heimdall. The shining god, the protector of Asgard, the original patriarch and benefactor of man, contends here for the last time with the Satan of the Germanic mythology, and Heimdall and Loki mutually slay each other (*Loki á orustu við Heimdall, og verðr hvárr annars bani* - *Prose Edda, Gylfaginning* 51). In this duel, we learn that Heimdall, who fells his foe, was himself pierced or "struck through" to death by a head (*svá er sagt, að hann var lostinn manns höfði í gögnum* - *Prose Edda, Skáldskaparmál* 15, Jónsson edition, *Skáldskaparmál* 8, Faulkes ed.) ; *hann var lostinn í hel með manns höfði* - *Prose Edda*, 100, ed. Res).¹⁶ When Heimdall and Loki mutually cause each other's death, this must mean that Loki's head is that with which Heimdall is pierced after the latter has cut it off with his sword and become the bane (death) of his foe. Light is thrown on this episode by what Saxo tells about Loki's head. While the demon in chains awaits Ragnarok, his hair and beard grow in such a manner that they resemble horn-spears in size and stiffness (*Hist.*, Book 8).¹⁷ And thus it is explained how the myth could make his head act the part of a weapon. That amputated limbs continue to live and fight is a peculiarity mentioned in other mythic sagas, and should not surprise us in regard to Loki, the dragon-demon, the father of the Midgard-serpent (see further, No. 82).

¹⁵ *þig á hjörvi skulu binda goð*, "on a *hjörvi* ... the gods shall bind you." *Hjörvi* can mean either "sword" or "the edge of a cliff." (LaFarge-Tucker, *Glossary to the Poetic Edda*)

¹⁶ "*Prose Edda*, 100, ed. Res" refers to the edition of Resen (1665), *Edda Islandorum*, which was based on the *Laufás-Edda*, which was based on the *Codex Wormianus*. The phrase *hann var lostinn í hel með manns höfði*, literally means "he was struck to Hel with a man's head."

¹⁷ "Utgarda-Loki laden hand and foot with enormous chains. Each of his reeking hairs was as large and as stiff as a spear of cornel." Elton translation.

42.

HALFDAN AND HAMAL, FOSTER-BROTHERS. THE AMALIANS FIGHT IN BEHALF OF HALFDAN'S SON HADDING. HAMAL AND THE WEDGE-FORMED BATTLE-ARRAY. THE ORIGINAL MODEL OF THE BRAVALLA BATTLE.

The mythic progenitor of the Amalians, Hamall, has already been mentioned above as the foster-brother of the Germanic patriarch, Halfdan (Helgi Hundingsbane). According to Norse tradition, Hamal's father, Hagall, had been Halfdan's foster-father (*Helg. Hund.* II.), and thus the devoted friend of Borgar. There being so close a relation between the progenitors of these great hero-families of Germanic mythology, it is highly improbable that the Amalians did not also act an important part in the first great world war, since all the Germanic tribes, and consequently surely their first families of mythic origin, took part in it. In the ancient records of the North, we discover a trace which indicates that the Amalians actually did fight on that side where we should expect to find them, that is, on Hadding's, and that Hamal himself was the field-commander of his foster-brother. The trace is found in the phrase *fylkja Hamalt*,¹⁸ occurring several places (*Reginismál* 23¹⁹; *Heimskringla, Harald Hardradi's Saga*, ch. 2; *Fornaldarsögur, Hálf's saga ok Hálf'srekka* 11, *Örvar-Odds saga* 23, 12 & 63; *Fornmanna Sögur*, XI. 304.)²⁰ The phrase can only be explained in one way, "arranged the battle-array as Hamall first did it." To Hamal has also been ascribed the origin of the custom of fastening the shields close together along the ship's railing, which appears from the following lines in *Heimskringla, Harald Hardradi's Saga*, 63:

¹⁸ Deriving the word "hamalt" from a man's name as Rydberg argues below is extremely dubious, although not impossible. The etymology and the various cognates suggest that "hamalt" and "Hamall" are simply related words, deriving from the same parent stem. This however does not preclude an association arising between the name and the word through later folk-etymology.

¹⁹ Rydberg knows this source as *Sigurðarkviða Fáfnisbana* II, an alternate name for the poem.

²⁰ *Fornmannasögur* XI, 304 refers to *Knytlingasaga*, chapter 76.

*Hamalt syndiz mér hömlur
hildings vinir skilda.*

"I saw the warriors arrange
shields in tight formation (hamalt) along
the ship's sides."

We also learn in our Norse records that *fylkja Hamalt*, "to draw up in line of battle as Hamal did," means the same as *svínfylkja*, that is, to arrange the battalions in the form of a wedge.¹¹⁶ Now Saxo relates (*Hist.*, Book 1) that Hadding's army was the first to draw the forces up in this manner, and that an old man (Odin) whom he has taken on board on a sea-journey had taught and advised him to do this.¹¹⁷ According to Saxo, Odin taught this art to Harald Hilditönn several centuries later. But the mythology has not made Odin teach it twice. The repetition has its reason in the fact that Harald Hilditönn, in one of the records accessible to Saxo, was a son of Halfdan Borgarson (*Hist.*, Book 7; according to other records a son of Borgar himself - also *Hist.*, Book 7),¹¹⁸ and consequently a son of Hadding's father, the consequence of which is that features of Hadding's saga have been incorporated into the saga produced in a later time concerning the saga-hero Harald Hilditönn. By that means, the Bravalla battle has obtained so universal and gigantic a character. It has been turned into an arbitrarily written version of the battle which ended in Hadding's defeat. Swedes, Goths, Norsemen, Curians, and Esthionians here fight on that side which, in the original model of the battle, was represented by the hosts of Svipdag and Gudhorm; Danes (few in number, according to Saxo), Saxons (according to Saxo, the main part of the army), Livonians, and Slavs fight on the other side. The fleets and armies are immense on both sides. Shield-maidens (amazons) occupy the position which in the original was held by the giantesses Hardgrep, Fenja, and Menja. In the saga description produced in Christian times, the Bravalla battle is a ghost of the myth concerning the first great war. Therefore, the names of several of the heroes who take part in the battle are an echo from the myth concerning the Germanic patriarchs and the great war. There appear Borgar and Behrgar the wise (Borgar), Haddir (Hadding), Ruthar (*Hrútr*-Heimdall, see No. 28a), Od (*Óður*, a surname of Freyja's husband, Svipdag, see Nos. 96-98, 100, 101), Brahi (*Brachi*, *Ása-Bragr*, see No. 102), Gram (Halfdan), and Ingi (Yngvi), all of which names we recognize from the patriarch saga, but which, in the manner in which they are presented in the new saga, show how arbitrarily the mythic records were treated at that time.

The myth has rightly described the wedge-shaped arrangement of the troops as an ancient custom among the Teutons. Tacitus (*Germ.*, 6) says that the Teutons arranged their forces in the form of a wedge (*acies per cuneos componitur*), and Caesar suggests the same (*De Bello Gallico*, I. 52: *Germani celeriter ex consuetudine sua phalange*

¹¹⁶ Compare the passage, *Eiríkr konungr fylkti svá liði sínu, að rani* (the swine-snout) *var á framan á fylkingunni, ok lukt allt utan með skjaldbjorg*, (*Fornm.*, XI. 304), with the passage quoted in this connection: *hildingr fylkti Hamalt liði miklu*.

¹¹⁷ The saga of Sigurd Fafnisbane, which absorbed materials from all older sagas, has also incorporated this episode. On a sea-journey, Sigurd takes on board a man who calls himself Hnikarr (a name of Odin). He advises him to "*fylkja Hamalt*" (*Reginsmál* 16-23).

¹¹⁸ "He (Halfdan) had a son by Gurid, to whom he gave the name of Harald. ...But Veseti, without inflicting a wound beat his mouth with a cudgel so that he took out two teeth, but two grinders unexpectedly broke out afterwards and replaced their loss; an event which earned him the name Hilditönn," Elton, page 297. "Borgar wedded the attendant of Alfhild, and had by her a son, Harald, to whom the following age gave the surname Hilditönn." Elton, page 277. Elton explains that Saxo's explanation of the name Hilditönn (Hyldetand) is based on a Danish folk-etymology meaning "cover-tooth," but that the actual name means "war-tooth" which is universally accepted today.

facta...).¹¹⁹ Thus our knowledge of this custom as Germanic extends back to the time before the birth of Christ. Possibly it was then already centuries old. The Indo-European-Asiatic kinsmen of the Teutons had knowledge of it, and the Hindu law-book, called *Manus'*, ascribes to it divine sanctity and divine origin. On the geographical line which unites Germania with Asia, it was also in vogue. According to Ælianus (*De instruendis aciebus*, 18), the wedge-shaped array of battle was known to the Scythians and Thracians.

The statement that Harald Hilditönn, son of Halfdan Borgarson, learned this arrangement of the forces from Odin many centuries after he had taught the art to Hadding, does not disprove, but on the contrary confirms, the theory that Hadding, son of Halfdan Borgarson, was not only the first but also the only one who received this instruction from the Asa-father. And as we now have side by side the two statements, that Odin gave Hadding this means of victory, and that Hamal was the first one who arranged his forces in the shape of a wedge, then it is all the more necessary to assume that these statements belong together, and that Hamal was Hadding's general, especially as we have already seen that Hadding's and Hamal's families were united by the sacred ties which connect foster-father with foster-son and foster-brother with foster-brother.

43.

EVIDENCE THAT DIETERICH "OF BERN" IS HADDING. THE DIETERICH SAGA THUS HAS ITS ORIGIN IN THE MYTH CONCERNING THE WAR BETWEEN MANNUS-HALFDAN'S SONS.

The appearance of Hamal and the Amalians on Hadding's side in the great world war becomes a certainty from the fact that we discover among the descendants of the continental Teutons a great cycle of sagas, all of whose events are more or less intimately connected with the mythic kernel: that Amalian heroes with unflinching fidelity supported a prince who, already in the tender years of his youth, had been deprived of his share of his father's kingdom, and was obliged to take flight from the persecution of a kinsman and his assistants to the far East, where he remained a long time, until after various fortunes of war he was able to return, conquer, and take possession of his paternal inheritance. And for this, he was indebted to the assistance of the brave Amalians. These are the chief points in the saga cycle about Dieterich of Bern (*Þjóðrekr*, *Thidrek*, *Theodericus*), and the fortunes of the young prince are, as we have thus seen, substantially the same as Hadding's.

When we compare sagas preserved by the descendants of the Teutons of the Continent with sagas handed down to us from Scandinavian sources, we must constantly bear in mind that the great revolution which the victory of Christianity over Odinism¹²⁰ produced in the Germanic world of thought, inasmuch as it tore down the ancient mythical structure and applied the fragments that were fit for use as material for a new

¹¹⁹ "But the Germans, according to their custom, rapidly forming a phalanx, sustained the attack of our swords." Translated by W. A. McDevitte and W. S. Bohn, 1869.

¹²⁰ Rydberg uses the word *Odensläran*, literally Odin's doctrine.

saga structure - that this revolution required a period of more than eight hundred years before it had conquered the last fastnesses of the Odinic doctrine. On the one side of the slowly advancing borders between the two religions, there developed and continued a changing and transformation of the old sagas, the main purpose of which was to obliterate all that contained too much flavor of heathenism and was incompatible with Christianity; while, on the other side of the borders of faith, the old mythic songs, but little affected by the tooth of time, still continued to live in their original form. Thus, to choose the nearest example at hand, one might sing on the northern side of this faith-border, where heathenism still prevailed, about how Hadding, when the persecutions of Svipdag and his half-brother Gudhorm compelled him to fly to the far East, there was protected by Odin, and how he through him received the assistance of *Hrútr*-Heimdall; while the Christians, on the south side of this border, sang of how Dieterich, persecuted by a brother and the protectors of the latter, was forced to take flight to the far East, and how he was received there by a mighty king, who, as he could no longer be Odin, must be the mightiest king in the East ever heard of -- that is, Attila -- and how Attila gave him as protector a certain Rüdiger, whose very name contains an echo of Ruther (Heimdall), who could not, however, be the white Asa-god, Odin's faithful servant, but must be changed into a faithful vassal and "*markgrave*" under Attila. The Saxons were converted to Christianity by fire and sword in the latter part of the eighth century. In the deep forests of Sweden, heathenism did not yield completely to Christianity before the twelfth century. In the time of Saxo's father, there were still heathen communities in Småland on the Danish border. It follows that Saxo must have received the songs concerning the ancient Germanic heroes in a far more original form than that in which the same songs could be found in Germany.

Hadding means "the hairy one," "the fair-haired"; Dieterich (*Þjóðrekr*) means "the ruler of the people," "the great ruler." Both epithets belong to one and the same saga character. Hadding is the epithet which belongs to him as a youth, before he possessed a kingdom; Dieterich is the epithet which represents him as the king of many Germanic tribes. The *Þidreks Saga af Bern* says of him that he had an abundant and beautiful growth of hair, but that he never got a beard. This is sufficient to explain the name Hadding, by which he was presumably celebrated in song among all Germanic tribes; for we have already seen that Hadding is known in Anglo-Saxon poetry as *Harding*, and, as we shall see, the continental Teutons knew him not only as Dieterich, but also as *Hartung*. It is also possible that the name "the hairy" has in the myth had the same purport as the epithet "the fair-haired" has in the Norse account of Harald, Norway's first ruler, and that Hadding of the myth was the prototype of Harald, when the latter made the vow to let his hair grow until he was king of all Norway (*Heimskringla, Harald Harfagri's Saga*, 4). The custom of not cutting hair or beard before an exploit resolved upon was carried out was an ancient one among the Teutons, and so common and so sacred that it must have had foothold and prototype in the hero-saga. Tacitus mentions it (*Germania*, 31); so does Paulus Diaconus (*Hist.*, III. 7) and Gregorius of Tours (V. 15).¹²¹

¹²¹ Tacitus, *Germania*, 31 "As soon as they arrive to maturity of years, they let their hair and beards continue to grow, nor till they have slain an enemy do they ever lay aside this form of countenance by vow sacred to valour. Over the blood and spoil of a foe, they make their face bare." (A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb, 1877.)

Although it had nearly ceased to be heard in the German saga cycle, still the name Hartung has there left traces of its existence. *Anhang des Heldenbuch*¹²² mentions King Hartung "*aus Reüssenlant*"; that is to say, a King Hartung who came from some land in the East. The poem "*Rosengarten*" (variant D; cp. W. Grimm, *D. Heldensage*, 139, 253)¹²³ also mentions *Hartunc, king von Riuzen*. A comparison of the different versions of "*Rosengarten*" with the poem "*Dieterichs Flucht*" shows that the name *Hartung von Riuzen* in the course of time becomes *Hartnit von Riuzen* and *Hertnit von Riuzen*, by which form of the name the hero reappears in *Pidreks Saga af Bern* as a king in Russia. If we unite the scattered features contained in these sources about Hartung we get the following main outlines of his saga:

- (a) Hartung is a king and dwells in an eastern country (all the records).
- (b) He is not, however, an independent ruler there, at least not in the beginning, but is subject to Attila (who in the Dieterich's saga has supplanted Odin as chief ruler in the East). He is Attila's man ("*Dieterichs Flucht*").
- (c) A Swedish king has robbed him of his land and driven him into exile.
- (d) The Swedish king is of the race of elves, and the chief of the same race that the celebrated smith Velint -- that is to say, Völund-- belonged (*Pidreks Saga af Bern*). As shall be shown later (see Nos. 105, 109), Svipdag, the banisher of Hadding, belongs to the same race. He is Völund's nephew (brother's son).
- (e) Hartung recovers, after the death of the Swedish conqueror, his own kingdom, and also conquers that of the Swedish king (*Pidreks Saga af Bern*).

All these features are found in the saga of Hadding. Thus the original identity of Hadding and Hartung is beyond doubt. We also find that Hartung, like Dieterich, is banished from his country; that like him, he fled to the East; that like him, he got Attila the king of the East as his protector; that afterwards he returned, conquered his enemies, and recovered his kingdom. Therefore, Hadding's, Hartung's and Dieterich's sagas are one and the same in root and in general outline. Below it shall also be shown that the most remarkable details are common to them all.

I have above (No. 42) given reasons why Hamal (Amala), the foster-brother of Halfdan Borgarson, was Hadding's assistant and general in the war against his foes. The hero, who in the German saga has the same place under Dieterich, is the aged "master" Hildebrand, Dieterich's faithful companion, teacher, and commander of his troops. Can it be demonstrated that what the German saga tells about Hildebrand reveals threads that connect him with the saga of the original patriarchs, and that not only his position as Dieterich's aged friend and general, but also his genealogy, refer to this saga? And can a satisfactory explanation be given of the reason why Hildebrand in the German Dieterich saga obtained the same place as Hamal had in the old myth?

Gregorius of Tours V. 15 "The Saxons who were left swore oaths that they would cut neither beard nor hair until they had taken vengeance on their adversaries." (Earnest Brehaut, 1916).

¹²² **SEE GOOGLE BOOKS Die Deutsche Heldensage p. 325** *Anhang des Heldenbuch*, a prose text included in and containing summaries of the epic contents of the German *Stafburger Heldenbuch* (c. 1480-1590), and containing material not found elsewhere.

¹²³ Wilhelm Karl Grimm, 1786-1859; *Die Deutsche Heldensage*, 1829.

Hildebrand is, as his very name shows, a Hilding,¹²⁴ like Hildeger who appears in the patriarch saga (Saxo, *Hist.*, Book 7). Hildeger was, according to the tradition in Saxo, the half-brother of Halfdan Borgarson. They had the same mother Drott, but not the same father; Hildeger counted himself a Swede on his father's side; Halfdan, Borgar's son, considered himself as belonging to the South Scandinavians and Danes, and hence the dying Hildeger sings to Halfdan (*Hist.*, Book 7):

*Danica te tellus, me Sveticus edidit orbis.
Drot tibi maternum, quondam distenderat uber;
Hac genitrici tibi pariter collacteus exto.*¹²⁵

"Thou art a son of the Danish land, I of the country of Sweden.
Once, Drott thy mother had her breast swell for thee;
she bore me, and by her I am thy foster-brother." (Oliver Elton translation)¹²⁶

In the German tradition, Hildebrand is the son of Herbrand. The Old High German fragment of the song, about Hildebrand's meeting with his son Hadubrand, calls him *Heribrantes sunu*. Herbrand again is, Berchtung's son according to the poem "*Wolfdieterich*" (concerning Berchtung, see No. 6). In a Norse tradition preserved by Saxo, we find a Hilding (Hildeger) who is Borgar's stepson; in the German tradition we find a Hilding (Herbrand) who is Borgar-Berchtung's son. This already shows that the German saga about Hildebrand was originally connected with the patriarch saga about Borgar, Halfdan, and Halfdan's sons, and that the Hildings from the beginning were akin to the Germanic patriarchs. Borgar's transformation from stepfather to the father of a Hilding shall be explained below.

Hildeger's saga and Hildebrand's are also related in subject matter. The fortunes of both the kinsmen are at the same time like each other and the antithesis of each other. Hildeger's character is profoundly tragic; Hildebrand is happy and secure. In his death-

¹²⁴ In nearly all the names of members of this family, *Hild-* or *-brand*, appears as a part of the compound word. All that the names appear to signify is that their owners belong to the Hilding race. Examples:

Old High German fragment: Herbrand - Hildebrand - Hadubrand.

Wolfdieterich: Berchtung - Herbrand - Hildebrand.

Bidreks Saga af Bern: Hildebrand - Alebrand.

A Popular Song about Hildebrand: Hildebrand - The younger Hildebrand.

Fundinn Noregur: Hildir - Hildebrand - Hildir & Herbrand.

Flateyjarbok, I. 25: Hildir - Hildebrand - Vigbrand - Hildir & Herbrand.

Asmund Kappabane's Saga: Hildebrand - Helgi - Hildebrand.

¹²⁵ Compare the words of the dying hero in *Asmund Kappabane's Saga* 9 (*Fornaldarsögur, Ásmundar saga kappinbana*): "*þig Drótt of bar/ af Danmörku,/ en mig sjálfan/ á Svíþjóðu*" which literally mean "Drótt bore you from Denmark, but me in Sweden." Since *bera* means both "carry" and "give birth," the poet makes the word serve double duty here, i.e. "Drótt carried you away from Denmark, but gave birth to me in Sweden."

¹²⁶ The word Elton translates correctly as foster-brother, *collacteus*, literally means "co-milk-drinker." Thus Saxo is extending the breast imagery of the previous line. The Fisher/Davidson translation (1980) renders this line as "I too sucked milk from her teat."

song in Saxo (cp. *Asmund Kappabane's saga*), Hildeger complains that he has fought within and slain his own beloved son. In the Old High German song-fragment, after his return from the East, Hildebrand seeks his son Hadubrand, who believed that his father was dead and calls Hildebrand a deceiver, who has taken the dead man's name, and forces him to fight a duel. The fragment ends before we learn the issue of the duel; but *Pidreks Saga af Bern* and a ballad about Hildebrand have preserved the tradition in regard to it. When the old "master" has demonstrated that his Hadubrand is not yet equal to him in arms, father and son ride side by side in peace and happiness to their home. Both the conflicts between father and son, within the Hilding family, are counterparts and each other's antithesis. In his eagerness for strife, Hildeger, who passionately loves war and combat, inflicts a deep wound in his own heart when he kills his own son. Hildebrand acts wisely, prudently, and seeks to ward off and allay the son's love of combat before the duel begins, and he is able to end it by pressing his young opponent to his paternal bosom. On the other hand, Hildeger's conduct toward his half-brother Halfdan, the ideal of a noble and generous enemy, and his last words to his brother, who, ignorant of the kinship, has given him the fatal wound, and whose mantle the dying one wishes to wrap himself in (*Asmund Kappabane's saga*), is one of the touching scenes in the grand poems about our earliest ancestors. It seems to have proclaimed that blood revenge was inadmissible, when a kinsman, without being aware of the kinship, slays a kinsman, and when the latter declared his devotion to his slayer before he died. In every case, we rediscover the aged Hildebrand as the teacher and protector of the son of the same Halfdan who slew Hildeger, and not a word is said about blood revenge between Halfdan's and Hildeger's descendants.

However, the kinship pointed out between the Germanic patriarchs and the Hildings has not excluded a relation of subordination of the latter to the former. In "*Wolfdieterich*," Hildebrand's father receives land and fief from Dieterich's grandfather and carries his banner in war. Toward Dieterich, Hildebrand himself performs those duties which are due from a foster-father, which, as a rule, show a relation of subordination to the real father of the foster-son. Among the kindred families to which Dieterich and Hildebrand belong, there was the same difference of rank as between those to which Hadding and Hamal belong. Hamal's father Hagal was Halfdan's foster-father, and, to judge from this, occupied the position of a subordinate friend toward Halfdan's father Borgar. Thus Halfdan and Hamal were foster-brothers, and from this it follows that Hamal, if he survived Halfdan, was bound to assume a foster-father's duties towards the latter's son Hadding, who was not yet of age. Hamal's relation to Hadding is therefore entirely analogous to Hildebrand's relation to Dieterich.

The core of that army which attached itself to Dieterich are Amelungs, Amalians (see "*Biterolf*"); that is to say, members of Hamal's race. The oldest and most important hero, the center of the core, is old master Hildebrand himself, Dieterich's foster-father and general. Persons who in the German poems have names which refer to their Amalian birth are treated by Hildebrand as members of a clan are treated by a clan-chief. Thus Hildebrand brings a princess, Amalgart, from Sweden and gives her as wife to a son of Amelolt serving among Dieterich's Amelungs, and to Amelolt, Hildebrand has already given his sister for a wife.

The question as to whether we find threads which connect the Hildebrand of the German poem with the saga of the mythic patriarchs, and especially with the Hamal (Amala) who appears in this saga, has now been answered. In the German saga-cycle, Master Hildebrand has received the position and the tasks which originally belonged to Hamal, the progenitor of the Amalians.

The relation between the kindred families -- the patriarch family, the Hilding family, and the Amal family --has certainly been just as distinctly pointed out in the German saga-cycle as in the Norse before the German met with a crisis, which to some extent confused the old connection. This crisis came when Hadding-*Pjóðrekr* of the ancient myth was confounded with the historical king of the East Goths, Theoderich. The East Goth Theoderich counted himself as belonging to the Amal family, which had grown out of the soil of the myth. He was, according to Jordanes (*De Origine Actibusque Getarum* 14), a son of Thiudemer, who traced his ancestry to Amal (Hamal), son of Augis (Hagal).¹²⁷ The result of the confusion was:

(a) That Hadding-*Pjóðrekr* became the son of Thiudemer, and that his descent from the Teutonic patriarchs was cut off.

(b) That Hadding-*Pjóðrekr* himself became a descendant of Hamal, whereby the distinction between this race of rulers -- the line of Germanic patriarchs begun with Ruther-Heimdall -- together with the Amal family, friendly but subject to the Hadding family, and the Hilding family was partly obscured and partly abolished. Dieterich himself became an "Amelung" like several of his heroes.

(c) That when Hamal thus was changed from an elder contemporary of Hadding-*Pjóðrekr* into his earliest progenitor, separated from him by several generations of time, he could no longer serve as Dieterich's foster-father and general; but this vocation had to be transferred to master Hildebrand, who also in the myth must have been closely connected with Hadding, and, together with Hamal, one of his chief and constant helpers.

(d) That Borgar-Berchtung, who in the myth is the grandfather of Hadding-*Pjóðrekr*, must resign this dignity and confine himself to being the progenitor of the Hildings, since he was not an Amal. As we have seen in Saxo, he is the progenitor of the Hilding Hildeger.

Another result of Hadding-*Pjóðrekr*'s confusion with the historical Theoderich was that Dieterich's kingdom, and the scene of various of his exploits, was transferred to Italy: to Verona (Bern), Ravenna (Raben), etc. Still the strong stream of the ancient

¹²⁷ "Now the first of these heroes, as they themselves relate in their legends, was Gapt, who begat Hulmul. And Hulmul begat Augis; and Augis begat him who was called Amal, from whom the name of the Amali comes. This Amal begat Hisarnis. Hisarnis moreover begat Ostrogotha, and Ostrogotha begat Hunuil, and Hunuil likewise begat Athal. Athal begat Achiulf and Oduulf. Now Achiulf begat Ansila and Ediulf, Vultuulf and Hermanaric. And Vultuulf begat Valaravans and Valaravans begat Vinitharius. Vinitharius moreover begat Vandalarius; Vandalarius begat Thiudimer and Valamir and Vidimer; and Thiudimer begat Theodoric." , *The Origin and Deeds of the Goths* 14, Charles C. Mierow, Translator.

The texts of Jordanes often omit the aspirate and write Eruli for Heruli, etc. In regard to the name-form *Amal*, Closs remarks, in his edition of 1886: *AMAL, sic. Ambr. cum Epit. et Pall, nisi quod hi Hamal aspirate.*

myths became master of the confused historical increments, so that the Dieterich of the saga has but little in common with the historical Theoderich.

After the dissemination of Christianity, the hero saga of the Germanic myths was cut off from its roots in the mythology, and therefore this confusion was natural and necessary. Popular tradition, in which traces were found of the historical Theoderich-Dieterich, was no longer able to distinguish the one Dieterich from the other. A writer acquainted with the chronicle of Jordanes took the last step and made Theoderich's father Thiudemer the father of the mythic Hadding-*Pjóðrekr*.

Nor did the similarity of names alone encourage this blending of the persons. There was also another reason. The historical Theoderich had fought against Odoacer. The mythic Hadding-*Pjóðrekr* had warred with Svipdag, the husband of Freyja, who also bore the names *Óðr* and *Óttar* (see Nos. 96-100). The latter name-form corresponds to the English and German *Otter*, the Old High German *Otar*, a name which suggested the historical *Otacher* (*Odoacer*). The Dieterich and Otacher of historical traditions became identified with *Pjóðrekr* and *Óttar* of mythical traditions.

Since the Hadding-*Pjóðrekr* of mythology in his tender youth was exposed to the persecutions of Ottar, and had to take flight from them to the far East, so the Dieterich of the historical saga also had to suffer persecutions in his tender youth from Otacher, and take flight, accompanied by his faithful Amalians, to a kingdom in the East. Accordingly, Hadubrand says of his father Hildebrand, that, when he betook himself to the East with Dieterich, *floh her Otachres nîd*, "he fled from Otacher's hate." Therefore, Otacher soon disappears from the German saga-cycle, for Svipdag-Ottar perishes and disappears in the myth, long before Hadding's victory and restoration to his father's power (see No. 106.)

Odin and Heimdall, who then, according to the myth, dwelt in the East and there became the protectors of Hadding, must, as heathen deities, be removed from the Christian saga, and be replaced as best they could by others. The famous ruler in the East, Attila, was better suited than anyone else to take Odin's place, though Attila was dead before Theoderich was born. Ruther-Heimdall was, as we have already seen, changed into Rüdiger.

The myth made Hadding dwell in the East for many years (see above). The ten-year rule of the Vanir in Asgard must end, and many other events must occur before the epic connection of the myths permitted Hadding to return as a victor. As a result of this, the saga of "*Dieterich of Bern*" also lets him remain a long time with Attila. An Old English song preserved in the Exeter manuscript, makes Theodric remain *þrittig wintra*¹²⁸ in exile at *Mæringaburg*. The song about Hildebrand and Hadubrand make him remain in exile, *sumarô enti wintrô sehstic*,¹²⁹ and *Þidreks Saga af Bern* makes him sojourn in the East thirty-two years.

¹²⁸ The poem is *Doer's Lament*, and is referred to again below as an "Anglo-Saxon poem"; *þrittig wintra*, thirty winters.

¹²⁹ *sumarô enti wintrô sehstic*, sixty summers and winters. *Hildebrand*, line 50.

Mæringaburg of the Anglo-Saxon poem is the refuge which Odin opened for his favorite, and where the former dwelt during his exile in the East. *Mæringaburg* means a citadel inhabited by noble, honored, and splendid persons: compare the Old Norse *mæringr*.¹³⁰ But the original meaning of *mærr*, Old German *mâra*, is "glittering" "shining" "pure," and it is possible that, before *mæringr* received its general signification of a famous, honored, noble man, it was used in the more special sense of a man descended from "the shining one," that is to say, from Heimdall through Borgar. However this may be, in the Anglo-Saxon version of the Hadding saga, these "*mæringar*" have had their antitheses in the "*baningar*," that is, the men of Loki-Bicke (*Bekki*). This appears from the expression *Bekka veóld Baningum*, in *Codex Exoniensis*.¹³¹ The Banings are no more a historical name than the Mærings. The interpretation of the word is to be sought in the Anglo-Saxon *bana*, the English *bane*. The Banings means "the destroyers," "the corrupters," a suitable appellation of those who follow the source of pestilence, the all-corrupting Loki. In the German poems, *Mæringaburg* is changed to Meran, and Borgar-Berchtung (Hadding's grandfather in the myth) is Duke of Meran. It is his fathers who have gone to the gods that Hadding finds again with Odin and Heimdall in the East.

Despite the confusion of the historical Theoderich with the mythic Hadding-*Pjóðrekr*, a tradition has been handed down within the German saga-cycle to the effect that "*Dieterich of Bern*" belonged to a genealogy which Christianity had anathematized. Two of the German Dieterich poems, "*Nibelunge Nôt*"¹³² and "*Klage*,"¹³³ refrain from mentioning the ancestors of their hero. Wilhelm Grimm suspects that the reason for this is that the authors of these poems knew something about Dieterich's descent, which they could not relate without wounding Christian ears; and he reminds us that, when Thidrek (Dieterich) teases Högni (Hagen), in the *Pidreks Saga af Bern*, by calling him the son of an elf, Högni answers that Thidrek has a still worse descent, as he is the son of the devil himself. The matter, which in Grimm's eyes is mystical, is explained by the fact that Hadding-*Pjóðrekr*'s father in the myth, Halfdan Borgarson, was supposed to be descended from Thor, and in his capacity of a Germanic patriarch he had received divine worship (see Nos. 23 and 30). *Anhang des Heldenbuchs* says that Dieterich was the son of a "*böser geyst*."¹³⁴

It has already been stated (No. 38) that Hadding received a drink from Odin which exercised a wonderful influence upon his physical nature. It made him *recreatum vegetiori corporis firmitate*,¹³⁵ and, thanks to it and to the incantation sung over him by Odin, he was able to free himself from the chains afterwards put on him by Loki. It has

¹³⁰ "*Mæringr*, famous, glorious, noble." *Snorri Sturluson, Edda. Skáldskaparmál 2: Glossary and Index of names*. Edited by Anthony Faulkes, Short Run Press Ltd., Exeter. 1998

¹³¹ The Exeter Book, an Anglo-Saxon manuscript dating from the 10th century; The phrase *Bekka veóld Baningum*, "*Bekki* ruled the Banings," is found in lines 18 & 19 of the poem *Widsith*. [The Anglo-Saxon Poems of Beowulf, the Scopor Gleeman's Tale and the Fight at Finnesburg, translated by Benjamin Thorpe, 1855, reprinted as Beowulf together with Widsith and the Fight at Finnesburg, 1962]

¹³² A 15th century version of *Das Nibelungleid*.

¹³³ A commentary on the events of *Das Nibelungleid*, written in rhyming couplets, preserved in the Austrian Danube region c. 1230.

¹³⁴ *böser geyst*, an evil spirit.

¹³⁵ "quite brisk and sound in body," Saxo, *Hist.* Book 1, Elton translation

also been pointed out that this drink contained something called Leifnir's or Leifin's flames. There is every reason for assuming that these "flames" had the effect of enabling the person who had partaken of the potion of Leifnir's flames to free himself from his chains with his own breath. Groa (*Gróugaldur* 10) gives her son Svipdag "Leifnir's fires" in order that if he is chained, his enchanted limbs may be liberated (*leifnis elda læt eg þér fyr legg um kveðinn*).¹³⁶ The record of the giving of this gift to Hadding meets us in the German saga, in the form that Dieterich was able with his breath to burn the fetters laid upon him (see "*Laurin*"), nay, when he became angry, he could breathe fire and make the cuirass of his opponent red-hot. The tradition that Hadding by eating, on the advice of Odin, the heart of a wild beast (Saxo says of a lion) gained extraordinary strength, is also preserved in the form, that when Dieterich was in distress, God sent him *eines löwen krafft von herczenlichen zoren* ("*Ecken Ausfarth*").¹³⁷

Saxo relates that on one occasion Hadding was invited to descend into the lower world and see its strange things (see No. 47). The heathen lower world, with its fields of bliss and places of torture, became synonymous with hell in the Christian mind. Hadding's descent to the lower world, together with the mythic account of his journey through the air on Odin's horse Sleipnir, were remembered in Christian times in the form that he once rode to hell on a black diabolical horse. This explains the remarkable dénouement of the Dieterich saga; namely, that he, the magnanimous and celebrated hero, was captured by the devil. Otto of Friesingen (first half of the twelfth century) states that Theodoricus *vivus equo sedens ad inferos descendit*.¹³⁸ *The Kaiser chronicle*¹³⁹ says that "many saw that the devils took Dieterich and carried him into the mountain to Vulcan."

In Saxo, we read that once, while bathing, Hadding had an adventure which threatened him with the most direful revenge from the gods (see No. 106). Manuscripts of the *Pidreks Saga af Bern* speak of a fateful bath which Thidrek took, and connects it with his journey to hell. While the hero was bathing, there came a black horse, the largest and stateliest ever seen. The king wrapped himself in his bath towel and mounted the horse. He found, too late, that the steed was the devil, and he disappeared forever.

Saxo tells that Hadding made war on a King Handuanus (Handvan), who had concealed his treasures in the bottom of a lake, and who was obliged to ransom his life with a golden treasure of the same weight as his body (*Hist.*, Book 1). *Handuanus* is a Latinized form of the dwarf name *Andvanr*, *Andvani*. The Sigurd saga has a record of this event, and calls the dwarf Andvari (in *Reginsmál*.) The German saga also tells of a war which Dieterich waged against a dwarf king. The war has furnished the materials for the saga of "*Laurin*."¹⁴⁰ Here, too, the conquered dwarf-king's life is spared, and Dieterich gets possession of many of his treasures.

¹³⁶ "then shall Leifnir's flames be sung over your leg, and your limbs be liberated, your feet unfettered." Eysteinn Björnsson's translation found at <http://www.hi.is/~eybjorn/ugm/svipdag2.html>.

¹³⁷ "a lion's strength from an enveloping wrath."

¹³⁸ "descended to hell on a horse."

¹³⁹ *Kaiserchronik*, mid-12th century.

¹⁴⁰ A German poem whose earliest version may date to the Tyrol c. 1250 A.D.

In the German as in the Norse saga, Hadding-*Pjóðrekr*'s rival to secure the crown was his brother, supported by Otacher-Ottar (Svipdag). The tradition in regard to this, which agrees with the myth, was known to the author of *Anhang des Heldenbuchs*. But already in an early day, the brother was changed into an uncle on account of the intermixing of historical reminiscences.

The brother's name in the Norse tradition is *Gudhormr*, in the German *Ermenrich* (Ermanaricus). Like *Pjóðrekr*, Ermenrich-*Jörmunrekr* means a ruler over many people, a great king. Jordanes already has confounded the mythic *Jörmunrekr*-Gudhormr with the historical Gothic King Hermanaricus, whose kingdom was destroyed by the Huns, and has applied to him the saga of Svanhild and her brothers Sarus (*Sörli*) and Ammius (*Hamðir*), a saga which originally was connected with that of the mythic *Jörmunrek*. The Sigurd epic, which expanded with plunder from all sources, has added to the confusion by annexing this saga.

In the Roman authors, the form *Herminones* is found by the side of *Hermiones* as the name of one of the three Germanic tribes which descended from Mannus. It is possible, as already indicated, that

-*horm* in Gudhorm is connected with the form *Hermio*, and it is probable, as already pointed out by several linguists, that the Germanic *irmin* (*jörmun*, Goth. *airmana*) is linguistically connected with the word *Hermino*. In that case, the very names *Gudhormr* and *Jörmunrekr* as such already point to the mythic progenitor of the Hermiones, Herminones, just as Yngvi-Svipdag's name points to the progenitor of the Ingvaëones (*Ingævones*), and possibly also Hadding's to that of the Istæones (see No. 25). As already shown, the Anglo-Saxon *Harding*, the old German *Hartung* correspond to the name Hadding. The Hasdingi (*Asdingi*) mentioned by Jordanes were the chief warriors of the Vandals (*Goth. Orig.*, 22), and there may be a mythic reason for rediscovering this family name among an East Germanic tribe (the Vandals), since Hadding, according to the myth, had his support among the East Germanic tribes. To the form Hasdingi (Goth. *Hazdiggós*) the words *istævones*, *istvæones*, might readily enough correspond, provided the vowel *i* in the Latin form can be harmonized with *a* in the Germanic. That the vowel *i* was an uncertain element may be seen from the genealogy in *Codex La Cava*, which calls *Istævo Ostius*, *Hostius*.¹⁴¹

As to geography, both the Roman and Germanic records agree that the northern Germanic tribes were *Ingævones*. In the myths, they are Scandinavians and neighbors to the Ingaevones. In the Beowulf poem, the king of the Danes is called *eodor Inguina*, the protection of the Ingaevones, and *freâ Inguina*, the lord of the Ingaevones. Tacitus says that they live nearest to the ocean (*Germania*, 2); Pliny the Elder says that Cimbrians, Teutons, and Chaucians were Ingaevones (*Historia Naturalis* IV. 96, 99, 100).¹⁴² Pomponius Mela¹⁴³ says that the land of the Cimbrians and Teutons was washed by the Codan bay (III. 3). As to the *Hermiones* and *Istævones*, the former dwelt along the middle

¹⁴¹ *Codex La Cava*, a Spanish manuscript containing *Origio Gentis Langobardrum*.

¹⁴² *The Natural History*, published in 77 AD.

¹⁴³ His *De Chorographia*, also called *De Situ Orbis*, surveys the entire known world, and consists of 3 short books.

Rhine, and of the latter, who are the East Teutons of mythology, several tribes had already before the time of Pliny pressed forward south of the Hermiones to this river.

The German saga-cycle has preserved the tradition that in the first great battle in which Hadding-*Þjóðrekr* measured his strength with the North and West Teutons he suffered a great defeat. This is openly avowed in the Dieterich poem "*Die Klage*." Those poems, on the other hand, which out of sympathy for their hero give him victory in this battle ("*Die Rabenschlacht*")¹⁴⁴ nevertheless in fact acknowledge that such was not the case, for they make him return to the East after the battle and remain there many years, robbed of his crown, before he makes his second and successful attempt to regain his kingdom. Thus the "*Rabenschlacht*" corresponds to the mythic battle in which Hadding is defeated by Ingaevones and Hermiones. Besides, from a Germanic standpoint, the "*Rabenschlacht*" has a trait of universality, and the German tradition has upon the whole faithfully, and in harmony with the myth, grouped the allies and heroes of the hostile brothers. Dieterich is supported by East Germanic warriors, and by non-Germanic people from the East - from Poland, Wallachia, Russia, Greece, etc.; Ermenrich, on the other hand, by chiefs from Thuringia, Swabia, Hessen, Saxony, the Netherlands, England, and the North, and, above all, by the Burgundians, who in the genealogy in the *St. Gaelen Codex* are counted among the Hermiones, and in the genealogy in the *La Cava Codex*¹⁴⁵ are counted with the Ingaevones. For the mythic descent of the Burgundian dynasty from an uncle of Svipdag, I shall present evidence in my chapters on the Ivaldi race.

The original identity of Hadding's and Dieterich's sagas, and their descent from the myth concerning the earliest antiquity and the patriarchs, I now regard as demonstrated and established. The war between Hadding-Dieterich and Gudhorm-Ermenrich is identical with the conflict begun by Yngvi-Svipdag between the tribes of the *Ingaevones*, *Hermiones*, and *Istævones*. It has also been demonstrated that Halfdan, Gudhorm's and Hadding's father, and Yngvi-Svipdag's stepfather, is identical with Mannus. One of the results of this investigation is, therefore, that the songs about Mannus and his sons, ancient already in the days of Tacitus, have, more or less influenced by the centuries, continued to live far down in the Middle Ages, and that, not the songs themselves, but the main features of their contents, have been preserved to our time, and should again be incorporated in our mythology together with the myth in regard to the primeval time, the main outline of which has been restored, and the final episode of which is the first great war in the world.

The Norse-Icelandic school, which accepted and developed the learned hypothesis of the Middle Age in regard to the immigration of Odin and his Asiamen, is to blame that the myth, in many respects important, in regard to the olden time and its events in the world of gods and men -- among Indo-European myths one of the most important, either from a scientific or poetic point of view, that could be handed down to our time -- was thrust aside and forgotten. The learned hypothesis and the ancient myth could not be

¹⁴⁴ A German poem probably composed in Austria c. 1230.

¹⁴⁵ I cannot trace either of these sources: *St. Gaelen Codex* nor *La Cava Codex*. The *St. Gaelen Codex* may refer to the Celtic illuminated manuscript known as *The St. Gall Gospels* probably written in Ireland in the later half of the 8th century, and now kept at St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 51.

harmonized. For that reason, the latter had to yield. Nor was there anything in this myth that particularly appealed to the Norse national feeling, and so could claim mercy. Norway is not at all named in it. Scania, Denmark, Svithiod (Sweden), and continental Germania are the scene of the mythic events. Among the many causes co-operating in Christian times, in giving what is now called "Norse mythology" its present character, there is not one which has contributed so much as the rejection of this myth toward giving "Norse mythology" the stamp which it previously has borne of a narrow, illiberal town mythology, which, built chiefly on the foundation of the *Prose Edda*, is, as shall be shown in the present work, in many respects a caricature of the real Norse, and at the same time in its main outlines Germanic, mythology.

In regard to the ancient Indo-European elements in the myth here presented, see Nos. 82 and 111.