Viktor Rydberg's
Investigations into Germanic Mythology, Volume I

Newly translated and annotated with modern references
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III.
THE IVALDI FAMILY

[561]

96.
SVIPDAG AND GROA

Groa's son Svipdag is mentioned by this name in two Old Norse songs: *Gróugaldur* and *Fjölsvinnsmál,* which, as Bugge has already pointed out, are mutually connected and describe episodes from the same chain of events.[1]

Gróugaldur's contents are the following:

Groa is dead when the event that the song describes occurs. Svipdag is then still quite young. Before her death she has told him that he should go to her grave and call on her if he needs her help. The grave is a "cairn-cromlech,"[2] a grave-chamber built of great slabs over an "earth-fast stone," furnished with a door (str. 1, 15).

Svipdag's father has married again. The stepmother commands her young stepson to go away in order to seek *Menglöðum*, "those fond of ornaments." From *Fjölsvinnsmál* we learn that one of them called thus is a maiden who becomes Svipdag's wife. Her proper name is not given. She is continually designated only as *Menglöð*, Menglad**,** one of "those fond of ornaments," whom Svipdag receives as his task to find.

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[1] These poems, both written in *ljódaháttr*, an eddic meter, are preserved in seven paper manuscripts all dated from the 17th century. In three of these, the two poems appear together in sequence. In the remaining four, the two sections are reversed with the eddic poem *Hyndluljóð* standing between them. [Einar Ólafur Sveinsson, "Svipdag's Long Journey. Some Observations on *Grógaldr* and *Fjölsvinnsmál*." *Hereditas*, (1975) edited by Bo Almquist, Breandán Mac Aodha and Gearóid Mac Eoin, Folklore Society of Ireland, Dublin, p. 303]. As *Gróugaldur* does not name Groa's son, it was only gradually that the relationship between these poems was recognized, chiefly through comparisons with later Danish and Swedish folk-ballads, containing the tale of *Ungen Sveidal*. Svend Grundtvig first pointed out the relationship between these ballads and *Gróugaldur*, illuminating the first part of the tale. Thereafter, Bugge showed the correspondence between these ballads and *Fjölsvinnsmál*. [*Danmarks gamle folkeviser* II, pp. 238, 667 ff.] Both scholars developed this idea further in subsequent works, establishing that the Scandinavian ballads in question preserved the original unity of a narrative familiar in Iceland as two separate poems. Sophus Bugge first presented these poems under the rubric *Svipdagsmál* and thereafter was generally credited with being the first to discover their unity. [Gudbrand Vigfusson, *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, Vol. I, p. 92-3].

[2] Swedish: *kummeldös.* [Old Norse: *kumbldysjar*]**;** *Kummel* is a cairn, (a pile of stones intended as a memorial) and *dös* is a cromlech, a circle of monoliths enclosing a dolmen or the dolmen itself. A dolmen is a prehistoric monument made of two or more upright stones, supporting a horizontal slab, as in Stonehenge.

For Svipdag, this duty seems to exceed his powers. It must have been of an especially adventurous type and involve great dangers, because he now considers the time ripe to ask his deceased mother for help. He has become suspicious of his stepmother's intentions; he considers her *lævís*, cunning, and her proposal "an ugly game which she has put before him" (str. 3).[3]

He goes to Groa's grave-chamber, probably at night **(***verða öflgari allir á nóttum dauðir*, *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* II 51),[4] bids **[562]** her wake, and reminds her of the promise. That of Groa which had become dust (*er til moldar er komin*), and that of her which had left this human-world and went down to the underworld (*úr ljóðheimum liðin*), unites itself anew under the influence of the power of maternal love and her son's prayer, and, from the grave-chamber, Svipdag hears his mother's voice which asks why he has come. He relates the errand that his stepmother has imposed on him (str. 3, 4).

The voice from the grave confirms that long roads lay before Svipdag, if he is to reach the goal set out for him. It, however, does not advise him to disobey the command of his stepmother, but lets him know that if he awaits a happy ending to the matter, the norns will probably guide the events in their proper course (str. 4).

The son then requests his mother to sing protective *galdur* over him. She has been celebrated in mythology as powerful with good *galdur* songs. It was Groa that sang healing *galdur* over Thor when he returned with a wounded forehead from the fight with the giant Hrungnir (*Skáldskaparmál* 25 [*Gylfaginning*]).

Groa fulfils his prayer, and sings from the grave protective *galdur* against the dangers which her second sight has discovered on those paths that now lie before Svipdag: first, the *galdur* that can infuse the despondent youth, doubting himself, with courage and confidence in his own powers. It is, as Groa gives to understand, the same *galdur* that another mother previously sang over a son whose powers were yet unproven and likewise had a terrible task to fulfill. It is the *galdur*, says Groa, that *Rindr*, Vali's mother, sang over *Ránr*. This synonym of Vali is of saga-historical interest. Saxo calls Vali Bous, the Latinized form of Beowulf, and according to the Old English poem which bears his name, Beowulf's grave-mound is situated on *Hrones næss*, *Ránr's ness*. Here too a connection is revealed between Vali and the name *Ránr*

Groa's second *galdur* contains a prayer that when her son, joyless, travels his paths and sees scorn and evil before his **[563]** eyes, he may always be protected by Urd's *lokur* (a double entendre, which on one side can refer to the *dis* of fate’s bonds and locks, and on the other to Groa's own fate-foreknowing magic song: *lokur* means both songs of a certain kind and locks and fences).

In his wandering, Svipdag shall have to wade through rivers, which threaten his life with swelling floods; but Groa's third *galdur* bids these rivers flow down to Hel and lower themselves for her son. The rivers which have their course to Hel (*falla til Heljar*

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[3] The literal meaning of *skjóta ljótu leikborði fyrir* is "to place a difficult board game in front of." Gísli Sigurðsson has pointed out that the Celtic story of Art, the Son of Conn, exhibits many parallels to the Svipdag saga. There, the hero plays a game of *fidchell* (a chess-like board-game) with his stepmother, loses, and as a result has to undertake the quest of winning the hand of an unapproachable maiden. In the *Ballad of Young Svejda*l, the youngster inadvertently throws his ball into the ladies' chambers, where his stepmother, in anger, curses him. In *Hjálmtés saga*, the hero Hjalmter punches his stepmother in the face, making her nose bleed, when she tries to seduce him after telling him that his father is impotent. She lays a curse upon him: He will never rest, until he finds Hervor, daughter of Hunding.

[4] “they all become more powerful at night, the dead”

héðan, Grímnismál 28) are subterranean rivers rising on the Hvergelmir mountain (nos. 59, 93).

Groa's fourth and fifth *galdur* allows it to be foreseen that Svipdag is to encounter enemies and be slapped in chains. Her songs shall then work so that the enemy's disposition tunes to accord,[5] and that the chains fall from her son's limbs. For this purpose she gives him the power that is called "Leifnir's fires" (see no. 38), which loosens fetters from *galdur*-sung limbs (str. 9, 10).

Groa's sixth *galdur* is to rescue Svipdag from drowning in a storm at sea. In the great world-mill (*lúður*) which causes the maelstrom, ocean currents, ebb and flood (see nos. 79-82), calm weather and wave shall "go together"[6] in harmony, be at Svipdag's service and prepare him a safe journey.

The seventh *galdur* that comes from the grave-chamber speaks of a journey which Svipdag shall make over a mountain where terrible cold reigns. The song shall protect him from falling victim to the frost there.

The last two *galdur***,** the eighth and the ninth, show what the third has already suggested, that Svipdag's adventurous journeys shall be crowned with a visit in the underworld. He shall meet Night *á Niflvegi*, "on the *Nifl*-way," "in *Nifl*-land". The word *nifl* does not occur in the Old Norse literature except to designate the northern part of the Germanic Hades, the forecourt to the worlds of torture under there. *Niflhel* and *Niflheim* are, as we know, the names of this forecourt. As previously mentioned, *Niflfarinn* is called a death, whose soul **[564]** has descended to Niflhel;[7] *Niflgóður* is a nithing, worthy of being sentenced to the anguish of the underworld.[8] Groa's eighth *galdur* shall protect the son against the perilous consequences of encountering a "dead woman" (*dauð kona*) during his walk through Niflhel. The ninth *galdur* shows that Svipdag, once he has covered the paths through the northern part of the underworld, crosses over the Hvergelmir mountain and comes to Mimir's realm, because he shall meet and talk with the "the weapon-honored giant,"[9] Mimir himself, under circumstances which demand "tongue and human-wit"[10] on the part of Groa's son:

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[5] *Att fiendens sinnelag stämmes til förlikning*: that the enemy's disposition "tunes to accord" or "agrees to mediation." The word s*tämmes* means "to agree, to correspond, to tally"; also "to tune a piano." The word *förlikning* translates as "conciliation, mediation"; and "accord."

[6] "*gånga samman*": Here Rydberg is quoting the words of the poem itself, *gangi saman* [*Gróugaldur* 11]. Anderson takes this phrase, set off by Rydberg with quotation marks, as a foreign phrase, rendering it "gang thegither" [*TM*, p. 750] but it is simply Swedish for "to go together" and should be fully translated.

[7] N*ifl-farin*n [*Atlakviða* 33] means "gone towards the dark, i.e. the dead" [Vigfusson/Cleasby, *Dict*. s.v.] or "gone into the darkness or to the shades: gone to Hel, dead" [LaFarge/Tucker, *Glossary*, s.v.].

[8] See no. 75. The word *niflgóður* is only found in *Sonatorrek* 15, and its meaning is uncertain. The verse reads: *Mjök es torfyndr/ sás trúa knegum/of alþjóð/Elgjar galga,/ þvít niflgóður/ niðja steypir/ bróður hrør/ við baugum selr;* "It is very difficult to find one whom we can trust from people of gallows of Elgr (*probably* 'people of Yggdrasill') because a *niflgóður* (destroyer?, betrayer?) caster-off of kin sells corpse of brother for rings." [Translated by Edel Porter, "Skaldic Poetry: Making the World Fantastic" at www.dur.ac.uk/medieval.www/sagaconf/porter.htm].

[9] *Grougaldur* 14 speaks of *inn naddgöfga jötun*, a giant who is "magnificent with (his) spears," [LaFarge/Tucker *Glossary*, p. 190].

[10] "*mål och mannvett*" [lit. 'tongue and human wit']. Here Rydberg paraphrases the words of *Grougaldur* 14: *máls og manvits*, "eloquence and understanding (i.e. 'human-wit', common sense")" cp. *Sigurdrífumál* 4, *mál og manvit*, and *Hyndluljóð* 3: *mælsku og manvit.*

ef þú við inn naddgöfga
orðum skiptir jötun:
máls ok mannvits
sé þér á Mímis hjarta
gnóga of getið.

"If you exchange words
with a spear-magnificent giant:
may you be given sufficient
eloquence and understanding
from Mimir's heart."

The poem *Fjölsvinnsmál*, to which I now come, enlightens us further with reference to Svipdag's adventures in the underworld, that during his walking in Mimir's realm, he also gets the opportunity to see the *ásmegir*'s citadel and the **glories** within its surrounding walls (str. 33; cp. no. 53).

97.
SVIPDAG OUTSIDE ASGARD'S GATE. MENGLÖÐ'S IDENTITY WITH FREYJA.

As *Fjölsvinnsmál* opens, one sees Svipdag walking up to a stronghold which is furnished with *forgörðum*, that is to say, ramparts before the gate in the wall that surrounds the place. On one of these ramparts stands a watchman who calls himself Fjölsviður, which is an epithet of Odin (*Grímnismál* 47).

The first strophe of the poem gives Svipdag the designation *þursa þjóðar sjólr* (*sjóli*), "the Thurs people's leader."[11] The reason why he could be called this has already been mentioned (see nos. 24, 33): during the conflicts between the forces of winter and Ivaldi's family allied with them, on the one side, and the Germanic patriarch Halfdan,

[11] To read *þursa þjóðar sjól*, as "the ruler of the thurs-people" requires an otherwise unattested word *sjólr*, meaning 'ruler.' One possible emendation is *þursa þjóðar sjöt* to *þurs á þjóðar sjöt*, "a giant to the seat of his [Odin's] tribe," a reading previously suggested by Koch and Petersen, but discarded by Bugge on the grounds that *hann* would then refer to Fjölsviður whom Bugge saw as a *þurs*, and that *þurs* would refer to Svipdag, which Bugge rejected. Yet nothing in the poem indicates that Fjölsviður or Menglöð are giants, but rather Odin and Freyja. The usual reading, which assumes that Svipdag is approaching a giant's hall, is: *hann sá upp um koma þursa þjóðar sjöt*, "he saw, coming up, the home of the thurses' nation," although this use of *upp um koma* is not adequately explained. To support this reading, the first four helmings are typically rearranged [as in Bugge, Bray, Bellows and Hollander]. If we accept that Fjölsviður is Odin standing outside of Asgard's wall, then we gather that he sees a visitor "coming up" the Bifröst bridge and either assumes or pretends that it is a giant (*thurs*), and therefore an enemy of the gods, who has escaped Heimdall's vigilance and made his way up Bifröst to Asgard. In this case, "moist paths" must refer to Bifröst's path through the atmosphere, cp. *Grímnismál* 21 which likens the bridge to a fish, swimming in the air-river *þrund*, providing the Einherjar a firm footing in the atmospheric sea, which is otherwise too broad to wade. This unique paraphrase is based on Icelandic usage in which a bridgehead is referred to as a *sporður*, 'fish-tail.' [*Sigurdrífumál* 16: *brúar sporði*]. See no. 93.

favored by the Aesir, on the other side, **[565]** Svipdag has appeared against the latter and finally defeated him (see no. 93).

By the manner in which Fjölsviður receives the wanderer it is clear that a "Thurs people's leader" cannot count on a welcome greeting outside such a citadel as this. Fjölsviður calls him a *flagð*, a *vargur*, and advises him to go back by "moist ways," because within this wall that sort of thing never comes. However, the severe words spoken this time do not seem to be spoken in the strictest seriousness, for the watchman at the same time begins a conversation, in that he asks Svipdag about his errand. The latter rebukes the watchman for his harsh manner receiving him, and explains that he does not intend to turn back, because it is a beautiful sight he has before him, when he beholds this stronghold and there he would be able to live a happy life.

When the watchman now asks him about his parents and family he provides riddles in response. Himself "the leader of the Thurs people," the former ally of the powers of frost, he calls Windcold (*Vindkaldur*), his father he calls Springcold (*Várkaldur*), and his grandfather Verycold (*Fjölkaldur*). This answer sets the tone in the entire conversation that follows, in which Svipdag is the questioner, whose inquiries the watchman answers so that he gives persons and things names which seldom are their usual ones, but refer to their qualities.

What stronghold is this, then, before which Svipdag stopped, and within whose walls he shall soon find Menglöð, whom he seeks?

A conclusive investigation of this question is of the greatest importance to a correct understanding of the mythology's events and the connection between them. One has previously assumed —surprisingly enough!— that the stronghold is a giant's estate a haunt for thurses, and that Menglöð is a giantess.

Svipdag has an image before him that enchants his gaze and fills him with a longing to remain there forever. It is a pleasure to the eyes, he says, from which no one who once has seen a thing so lovely willingly abstains. Several "halls," i.e. large residences or palaces with adjoining "estates" **[566]** are located on these grounds. The halls glitter with gold, which casts a reflection over the plains before them (*garðar glóa mér þykja of gullna sali*, str. 5).[12]

One of the palaces, an extraordinarily splendid one (an *auðrann*),[13] is wound with "wise waverflame," and Fjölsviður says of it that from time immemorial there has been a rumor of this dwelling among the people. He calls it *Hýrr*, "the gladdening," "the smiling," "the soul-stirring."[14] Within the walls of the stronghold there rises a hill or rock, which the song's author depicts as decorated with floral splendor or in some other manner gentle to the eye, for he calls it the *ljúft berg*:[15] There the fair Menglöð is seen

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[12] "these gleaming walls surround golden halls, I think" [Björnsson tr.].

[13] "rich mansion," *Fjölsvinnsmál* 32.

[14] The name is usually read as *Hyrr*, i.e. "fire," but can also be read as *Hýr*, "sweet, smiling, mild", and , if indeed this is Asgard, understood as a reference to Valhall, which stands on Glaðsheimur, "world of gladness, world of joy" according to *Grímnismál* 8. Glaður and hýr are synonyms. The qualifying statements also apply to Valhall, it too "trembles on the point of the sword" as those who die in battle arrive there over Bifröst, "the trembling way" (cp. *Eiríksmál* 3, *Fagrskinna* ch. 8); and it is a place which no mortal man can know, except by hearsay.

[15] Old Icelandic: "'beloved' or 'gentle' rock", Anderson: "joyous rock"; the various mss. of 36/1 read *Hyfia/Hyfuija/Hyfwia berg, Hiunga horn, Hlyfvia ber, Hyfvia ber*, all of which are meaningless. Bugge

sitting like a statue (*þrum*a),[16] surrounded by charming dises. The world-tree, invisible on earth, is seen by Svipdag here spreading its branches loaded with fruits (*aldin*) over all lands. In the tree sits the cock Vidofnir, whose whole plumage glitters like gold (str.s 19, 22, 23, 31, 32, 35, 49).

All this is surrounded by a wall, "so solid that it shall stand as long as the world" (str. 12). It is built of Leirbrimir's (Ymir's) limbs, and is called *Gastrofnir*, "the one that rejects uninvited arrivals."[17] In the wall is inserted the ingenious gate manufactured by Solblindi's sons, which I have already mentioned (no. 36). Svipdag, who was in the underworld and had seen there gods' halls and the *ásmegir*'s well-fortified stronghold (see no. 53), admires the wall and the gate, and remarks that among gods, one has not seen more dangerous preparations (for unbidden guests) than these (str. 9-12).

The gate is guarded by two "garms," wolf-dogs. Fjölsviður informs us that they are named *Gífur* and *Geri,* that they are to live and perform their watch-duties until the ruin of the world (*unz rjúfast regin*), and that they are the watchers of watchers, who are eleven in number (*varðir ellefu, er þeir varða*, str. 14).[18]

Just as the mythic personality that Svipdag met outside of the stronghold is named by the Odin-epithet Fjölsviður, so we here find one of the stronghold's watchdogs called after one of Odin's two wolf-dogs, *Geri* (*Grímnismál* 19). Their watch duty, which does not cease before **[567]** Ragnarök, they perform in service of eleven mythic persons dwelling within the stronghold, who are themselves called *varðir*, an epithet for world-protecting divinities. Heimdall is *vörður goða*,[19] Baldur is *vörður Hálfdanar jarða*.[20] The number of Aesir is eleven after Balder descended to the underworld. *Hyndluljóð* 29 says: *Voru ellefu æsir taldir, Baldur er hné við banaþúfu*.[21]

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emends this to *Lyfjaberg* "hill of healing herbs," a reading supported by str. 38 where Eir, the physician of the gods, sits at Menglöð's feet.

[16] Cleasby/Vigfusson *Dictionary*, s.v. *þruma*: "2. of a place or thing, *to stand or sit fast*; þar Valhöll við of þrumir, *stands rooted*, *Grímnismál* 8 …þruma á bjargi, *to sit unmoved on the rock*, *Fsm*. 35."

[17] Like the wall itself, the meaning of its name is impregnable. Egilsson notes that the meaning of this name is uncertain, suggesting *gast-* could be placed in connection with *gasta, gasteleg* meaning "big, strong, or heavy" and that *-ropnir*, could be read as *ropnir, rópnir*, or *rofnir* or *rófnir* (*hrofnir* or *hrófnir*, cp. *hrófa, hrófla*) 'to build something high and shutterless?"

[18] *Fjölsvinnsmál* 14/4-6: *varðir ellifu æ þeir varða, unz rjúfast regin*, "the '*varðir ellifu*' they will ever keep safe until the gods perish."; Rydberg clearly interprets the word as: eleven *verðir* (pl. of *vörðr*) "wards, guardians" yet *varðir ellifu* the reading in all manuscripts can only mean "eleven women," *varðir* being the plural of the word *vörð*, "woman" [*Lokasenna* 33, *Guðrúnarkviða* III, 3] However, since the sentence does not make sense syntactically, most commentators have offered emendations. Among the most popular, Grundtvig suggested the emendation *varðir ellilyfs*, and conversely that the *epli ellefu*, the 'eleven apples' of *Skírnismál* 19-20 be emended to *epli ellilyf*. The word *ellilyf* occurs only in *Haustlöng* 9/3 in the phrase *ása ellilyf*, "the Aesir's remedy against old age," i.e. Idun's apples. Björn M. Ólsen expanded upon this, suggesting that this line in *Fjölsvinnsmál* be read *varða ellilyf*, "the guardians' remedy against old age."

[19] *Grímnismál* 13. The proper plural of *vörðr* is *verðir*, not *varðir*, as Rydberg states [LaFarge/Tucker *Glossary* sv. *vörðr*]

[20] "the warder of Halfdan's estate": This is the last line of a verse found in *Friðþjófs sögu frækna*, ch. 3. The final helming reads: *saman höfum brenda bauga/ í Baldrshaga lagða;/ var þá vilgi fjarri /vörðr Halfdanar jarða* (or *garða*); "At Baldershage we laid/ bright rings together;/ nor far away was then/ the warder of Halfdan's land." [Rasmus Anderson tr., in *Viking Tales of the North*, 1877]. "Red rings we laid together/ Alright in Baldur's Meadow,/ When far off was the warder/ Of the wide land of Halfdan." [Eiríkr Magnússon and William Morris tr. 1901].

[21] "There were eleven Æsir reckoned, when Baldr on the pile was laid," [Thorpe tr.] "Eleven were the Æsir all counted up, Baldr has slumped against a death-hummock." [Larrington tr.]

These wolf-dogs are foes of giants and trolls. If a *vættur* came to that place, nevertheless he would pass in front of them (str. 16: *og kemt þá vættur, ef þá kom*). The bewitching beings that are called *gífur*[22] and *kveldriður*[23] (*Völuspá* 52; *Helgakviða Hjörvarðssonar* 15), and that fly about in the air furnished with *lim,* bundles of switches, these dogs can cause to fall: "They have made *gífur-lim* into a land-wreck," (*er gjörðu gífurlim reka fyrir löndin*, str. 13).[24] As one of the dogs is himself called *Gífur,* his ability, like that of those hunted by him, to travel in the air seems to be indicated. The old tradition about Odin, who hunts with his hounds high above the earth, has its root in the myth concerning the calling, which in his capacity as the lord of heaven, is incumbent upon the Asa-father to keep space free from *gífur*, *kveldriður*, *túnriður*, who "*leika a lopti*," carry out their disturbances in the air (cp. *Hávamál* 155).[25]

The hall in which Menglöð lives, and that part of the wall-surrounded domain which belongs to her, seems to be situated directly in front of the gate, for Svipdag, standing before it, asks who rules the regions which he sees before him, and Fjölsviður answers that it is Menglöð who there possesses the power, lands, and treasure-chambers.

The poem lets us know in the most unmistakable manner that Menglöð is an a*synje*, and of all one of the foremost. "What are the names," asks Svipdag, "of the young women who sit so intimately together at Menglöð's knee?" Fjölsviður answers by naming nine, among whom are the *asynje* of healing, Eir (*Gylfaginning* 35), and the dises Hlíf "the protectress," Björt, "the shining," Blíð, "the blithe," and Fríð, "the beautiful."[26] Their place at Menglöð's knee indicates that they are subordinate to her and belong to her attendants. Notwithstanding, Fjölsviður assures us that **[568]** they are, powerful higher beings, who have sanctuaries with altars (str. 40), and possess both power and mind to quickly help men who sacrifice [*blot*] to them. Nay, "no evil so severe can happen to the

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[22] Cleasby/Vigfusson *Dict*. s.v. *gífur* "witches, fiends …frequently in poetry, *al-gífri*, pandemonium, Bragi; *gífrs grand*, "witch-bane" = the god Thor, Eb. (in a verse); wolves are *gífrs hestar* and *hræ-gífr*, carrion beasts, Gkv. 2, 29".

[23] *kveldriður*, 'evening riders', 'witches.'

[24] In the manuscripts, these lines are hopelessly garbled. They read: *er gifr* (*gifur*) *reka* (*roka, rata, rekar*) *giorþu* (*giorþa, gorþa*) *fyrir* (*fyri*) *londin lim* (*kuir, knyr, lini*). See Eysteinn Björnsson's commentary at http://web.archive.org/web/20010420014924/www.hi.is/~eybjorn/ugm/fsm/fsm13.html. Benjamin Thorpe reads this as "[those dogs] that chase away the giantesses, and safety to the fields restore," numerous other emendations and readings have been suggested. In his translation, Hollander notes that "these lines have been supplied conjecturally."

[25] Additional evidence that Fjösviður is in fact Odin lies in *Fjölsvinnsmál* 45, when Menglöð (Freyja) says to him: *Horskir hrafnar/ skulu þér á hám gálga/ slíta sjónir úr,/ ef þú það lýgur,/ að hér sé langt kominn/ mögur til minna sala*; "Wise ravens shall tear out your eyes on the high gallows, if you are lying, that from afar has arrived the youth to my halls." The poet could not have referred to Odin in a clearer manner for an audience already familiar with his myth. Odin is *Hrafnás, Hrafnagoð*, the Raven god, whose two ravens fly out every day gathering intelligence for him (*Grímnismál* 20). Their very names, *Huginn* (Mind) and *Muninn* (Memory), demonstrate that they represent his mental capacity, and thus naturally can be characterized as "wise." Odin is also the god of the gallows. He is *Hangagoð, Hangatýr*, the Hanged god, who hung for nine nights on the "windswept tree" (*Hávamál* 138). He is also the one-eyed god, who exchanged his other eye for wisdom from Mímir's well (*Gylfaginning* 15, *Völuspá* 28). The poet's clever use of these allusions, all point to the unmistakable identity of Fjölsviður and Odin, a fact already confirmed by *Grímnismál* 47.

[26] Here the text reads *fridsamma*, "the placid," but is corrected to *den sköna*, "the beautiful," on p. 756.

sons of men that these maids are not able to help them out of their distress."[27] It follows with certainty that their mistress Menglöð, "the one fond of ornaments," must be one of the mythology's highest and most worshipped goddesses. And to none of the *asynjes* is the epithet "fond of ornaments" better applied than to the owner of the finest of female ornaments, Brisingamen —to Freyja, whose daughters *Hnoss* and *Gersemi* are called by names that mean "ornaments," and of whose fondness for beautiful smithery even Christian saga authors speak. To no other goddess' royal household are such dises as Björt, Blíð, and Fríð so well suited as to hers. And all that *Fjölsvinnsmál* tells about Menglöð agrees with this.

Freyja was the goddess of love, matrimony, and fertility, and for this reason she was regarded as the heavenly ruler and helper, to whom loving maids, wives who will give birth, and sick women had to turn to with prayer and offerings. Figuratively this is expressed in *Fjölsvinnsmál* so that every sick woman who walks up the mountain on which Menglöð sits regains her health. "That mountain has long been the joy of the sick and wounded"[28] (str. 36). The great tree whose foliage spreads over Menglöð's palace bears the fruits that help *kelisjúkar konur,*[29] so that *utar hverfa það þær innar skýli* (str. 22).[30] In the midst of the beautiful dises who surround Menglöð, the poem also mentions Aurboða, the giantess, who afterwards becomes the mother-in-law of Freyja's brother, and whose appearance in Asgard as Freyja's handmaiden, and as one of those that bring fruits from the world-tree to *kelisjúkar konur*, has already been mentioned in no. 35.[31] If we now add that Menglöð, though a mighty goddess, is married to Svipdag, who does not belong to the number of the gods, and that Freyja, despite her high rank among the goddesses, does not have a god for her husband, but, as *Gylfaginning* 35 expresses it, *giftist þeim manni er Óður heitir,*[32] and, finally, that Menglöð's father is designated by a name which refers to Freyja's father, Njörd,[33] then already these circumstances, even without the additional and decisive evidence which are presented in the continuation of this investigation are sufficient to provide a solid basis for the identity of Menglöð and Freyja, and as a necessary consequence of that, for the identity of Svipdag and Óður, also called Óttar.

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[27] 40/4-6: *ei svo hátt forað kemur að hölda sonum, hvern þær úr nauðum nema.* The syntax here is problematic and a negative seems to be missing. A literal translation of these lines results in: "the sons of men will encounter no obstacle so high, that the maidens will rescue them from peril." The meaning, however, is apparent: "they will free the sons of men from any danger, however great the need," [Björnsson tr.].

[28] "det bärget har länge varit sjuka och såreades gamman", a paraphrase of the poem's words: *en það hefur lengi verið sjúkum [mss. svikum, svik, siuk, sink] og sári gaman.*

[29] *kelisjúkar konur*: Bugge reads the word *kelisjúkar* as *killisjúkar,* womb-sick, based on the Gothic word *kilþei*, womb. If correct, this could be a synonym of *jóðsjúkar* "child-sick", i.e. "in labor."

[30] "out then will come that which they carry inside" [Björnsson]

[31] There Rydberg identifies her with Hljöd, Hrimnir's daughter, in *Völsungasaga*, ch. 2, who, acting as Frigg's messenger, brings an apple to an infertile queen so that she may become pregnant.

[32] "married to the man named Óður."

[33] [Rydberg's footnote:] In strophe 8 Fjölsviður says of Menglöð: *Menglöð of heitir,/ en hana móðir of gat/ við Svafurþorins syni.* Svafur alone, or as a part of a compound, designates a Vana-god. According to a historicized narrative in *Fornaldarsögur, Hervarar Saga* 1, U-redaction, [I, 415] a daughter of Thjazi was married to "king" Svafurlami. In the myths, it is Freyja's father, the Vana-god Njörd, who gets Thjazi's daughter for his wife. *Sólarljóð* (str. 79, 80) mentions Njörd's daughters together with *Svafur* and *Svafurlogi*. The daughters are nine, like Menglöð and her dises.

The glorious stronghold to which Svipdag walked "up" is therefore Asgard, as already clearly indicated by the description of it with its gold-glittering palaces, its wall standing until Ragnarok, its artistic gate, its eleven watchmen, its Fjölsviður-Odin, its Asynje *Eir,* its comforting and lovable dises worshipped by men, its two wolf-hounds who shall keep watch so long as the world stands and which cleanse the air of *túnriður*, its overshadowing canopy of the world-tree's branches, and its gold-feathered cock *Viðófnir*, *Völuspá*'s *Gullinkambi.*

Svipdag comes as a stranger to the gate of Asgard, and what he beholds there he has never previously seen. His conversation with Fjölsviður is a series of inquisitive questions in regard to the wonderful things he now beholds for the first time. His designation as *þursa þjóðar sjólr*[34] indicates even more; he is not only a stranger in Asgard, but also that he has been the foe of the Aesir. That he, under such circumstances, could gain admittance to the only way that leads to Asgard, the bridge Bifröst; that he could walk unhindered up this bridge and approach its gate with impunity, **[570]** without encountering any other adversity than some words of rejection from Fjölsviður**,** who soon changes his tone and gives him information about what he asks —all this presupposes that the myths must have reported strong and satisfactory reasons for permitting something so unusual to happen. Several passages in *Gróugaldur* and in *Fjölsvinnsmál* suggest that the powers of fate had selected Svipdag to perform extraordinary things and reach a goal, whose attaining seemed to be impossible. That the norns have a special purpose with him and that Urd shall protect him and guide his course with unseen bonds, however erratic it may seem, his mother already lets us understand from the grave chamber. And when Svipdag finally sees Menglöð hasten to cast herself into his arms, he says himself that it is Urd's irresistible decree that has ordained it so: *Urðar orði kveður engi maður*.[35] But Urd's resolution alone cannot epically justify that Svipdag is adopted into Asgard, and although not of Asa-birth, wins the extraordinary honor and good luck of becoming the husband of the most beautiful of the *Asynjes* and of one of the highest goddesses. Urd must have arranged the chain of events so that Menglöð *wants* to possess him, that Svipdag made himself deserving of her love, and that the Aesir deem it best for themselves to secure this opponent of theirs with bonds of kinship.

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[34] Rydberg interprets this to mean "the ruler of the thurs-people." However, if we accept Fjölsviðr-Odin as the first speaker, *þurs* most likely refers to the approaching Svipdag and *þjóðar sjöt* to "the seat of his [Odin's] tribe." Thus: "He [Odin] saw come up, a *thurs* [Svipdag] to the seat of his [Odin's] tribe."

[35] This line is difficult to interpret and may be damaged. The word *kveður*, 3rd person, sing., pres. tense of either *kveða* or *kveðja* is ambiguous; neither occurs elsewhere with a dative (i.e. *Urðar orði*), to mean "oppose, resist, hinder," the apparent meaning here. Grundtvig first suggested an emendation to *viður*, i.e. *vinnur*, used with a dative in *Völundarkviða* 41 to mean "resist, oppose." Dronke [*PE II*, p. 326] notes that *vinna* in the sense 'hinder, prevent,' with dative, but without *við*, appears to be a poetic usage. The phrase *vinna sköpum* "resist, escape fate" occurs in *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* II 29, *Grípismál* 53, and *Atlamál* 48 lending weight to this. The word *löst* written as *laust*, can be read as the adjective *laus*, neuter, meaning "loosely, lightly." The common meaning of *löstur* is "(moral or physical) defect; vice, shame, blame." A similar usage occurs in *Grípismál* 23: *Er-a með löstum lögð ævi þér* "your life, as it is laid out for you, is blameless." Thus, the meaning of this line, ppears to be: "No one can oppose Urd's decree, even if it forces him to do something shameful."

98.
SVIPDAG BRINGS TO ASGARD THE SWORD OF REVENGE FORGED BY VÖLUND.

The most important question Svipdag puts to Fjölsviður is, of course, whether a stranger can enter. Fjölsviður's response assumes that this is impossible and will remain so, unless the stranger brings a certain **weapon.** The wall repels the uninvited arrival; the gate imprisons him, if he ventures to lay hands on it; of the two wolf-hounds one is always awake while the other sleeps, and no one can pass them without permission.

[571] To this assurance by Fjölsviður are tied a series of questions and answers, which the author of the poem has planned with **truly** uncommon acumen. Svipdag asks if it still is not possible to get past the watching dogs. There must be something in the world delicious enough to satisfy their appetite and divert their attention. Fjölsviður concedes that there are two dainty morsels that might work, but they are pieces of meat that lie in the limbs of the cock Vidofnir (str. 17, 18). He who can obtain them can slip past the dogs. But the cock Vidofnir sits high up in the world-tree and seems to be inaccessible. Is there then, asks Svipdag, some weapon that can bring him down dead? Yes, answers Fjölsviður, such a weapon exists. It was forged below the *nágrindur*; the smith was one *Loftur*.[36] He was robbed (*rúinn*) of this smithery, so dangerous to the gold-glittering cock, and now it finds itself with Sinmara, who has laid it in a chest of tough iron beneath nine *njarð*-locks (str. 25, 26).

It must have been extremely difficult and dangerous to proceed to the place where *Sinmara* lives and to seek to acquire the weapon so carefully stored. Svipdag asks if anyone who is willing to attempt it has any hope of returning. Fjölsviður responds that in Vidofnir's joint-bones (*völum*) lies a shiny scythe (a hook-shaped bone?). If one can procure it, bring it to *Lúður* (the place of the underworld mill), and surrender it to *Sinmara*, then she can be persuaded to give up the weapon in question (str. 27-30).

From this, it is clear that the condition upon which Svipdag can enter into the stronghold where Menglöð lives is that he shall be in possession of a weapon which was smithied by an enemy of the gods, here called *Loftur,* and thus to be compared with Loki, who actually bears this epithet. If he does not possess this weapon, undoubtedly dangerous to the gods, [as it is] the only one that can kill the world-tree’s gold-glittering cock, then the stronghold’s gate will not open for him, and the watching wolfhounds will not let him pass through it.

But Fjölsviður also indicates that under ordinary circumstances, and for one who is not specially chosen for this by Fate, **[572]** it is utterly impossible to get the sword in question into his possession. Before one can lend it from Sinmara, he must have brought Vidofnir dead down from the world-tree’s branches. But to kill him demands the very weapon that Sinmara will not surrender otherwise.

However, the continuation of the poem shows that what was impossible for everybody else has already been accomplished by Svipdag. When he stands before the stronghold’s gate conversing with Fjölsviður he has the sword by his side, and knows

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[36] Rydberg makes no distinction between the names *Loptu*r and *Loftur*. However, the mss. read *Loftur* (“the Airy”), which *Lexicon Poeticum* acknowledges may be a form of the Loki-epithet *Loptr.* Both Loki and Völund took bird-form on occasion, justifying the names. As *Loftur* here is most likely Völund, the poet no doubt intended to invoke Loki, as Rydberg suggests, by using a close variant of his name.

perfectly well that the gate shall open, as soon as it pleases him to put an end to the verbal exchange with Fjölsviður and say his name. The very moment he does this, the gate swings on its hinges, the mighty wolfhounds welcome (*fagna*) him, and Menglöð, informed by Fjölsviður of his arrival, hastens yearning to meet him (str. 42 ff.). *Fjölsvinnsmál,* as far as acumen in design and execution is concerned, is the finest ancient poem that has come down to our time, but it would be reduced to thorough nonsense if the sword were not in Svipdag's possession, as the gate shall never open for anyone other than him who brings the weapon in question to Menglöð's stronghold.

So far as the sword is concerned, we have learned from the above:

- that it was forged by an artist who must have been a foe of the gods, for Fjölsviður designates him by the Loki-epithet *Loptur*;
- that the place where the artist dwelt when he made the weapon was situated *fyr nágrindur neðan*;
- that while he dwelt there, and after he had finished the sword, he was robbed of it (*Loftur rúinn fyr nágrindur neðan*);
- that he or they who robbed him of it must have stood in close connection to Night and the night dises, because thereafter the sword is in the night-being Sinmara’s keeping;
- that she regarded it as exceedingly precious, and also dangerous if it came into the wrong hands, because she keeps it in a "tough iron chest" within nine magical locks;
- that the eleven guards that dwell in the same stronghold as **[573]** Menglöð regard it as of the utmost importance to get the sword within their stronghold wall;
- that it has qualities like no other weapon in the world. It and only it can kill the golden cock on the world-tree —a quality which seems to indicate that it threatens the existence of the world and the divine powers.

It is evident that the artist who forged this incomparable and terrible weapon was one of the myths’ most celebrated smiths. The question now is, whether the information *Fjölsvinnsmál* gives us concerning him places us in a position to determine with certainty who he is.

The poem does not name him by any of his names, but calls him by the Loki-epithet *Loptur,* "the Airy." Among the primeval smiths that our mythic fragments report, one is found who designates himself with the similar epithet *Byrr,* "Wind." This is Völund. After he had been captured in his sleep by Mimir-Niðaður and his Njars (see no. 87), he says upon waking:

Hverir eru jöfrar
þeir er á lögðu
besti Byr síma
og mig bundu?

"Who are the mighty, who with bast (*besti*, dative of *böstr*) laid bonds on the wind (*lögðu síma á Byr*) and bound me?"[37]

The expression implies that one could as easily believe himself able to hold the wind as to capture Völund, who of course, also understood how to free himself despite all precautionary measures.

According to the Norse variant of the Völund story, one of these precautionary measures is that his knee-sinews were cut (str. 17 and the prose). It is Niðaður's queen who causes him this cruel treatment. In *Fjölsvinnsmál* the unnamed mythic personality who robbed "the Airy" of his weapon has delivered it to be kept by a female being, *Sinmara*. The name is composed of *sin*, which means "sinew," and *mara*, which means "the maiming." (*Mara* is related **[574]** to the verb *merja*, "to maim"[38] —see Vigfusson's *Dictionary*).[39] Thus *Sinmara* means "she who maims by doing violence to the sinews." The one designated by this epithet in *Fjölsvinnsmál* has therefore played the same role as Mimir-Niðaður's queen in *Völundarkviða*.

Mimir-Niðaður, who imprisons Völund and takes the sword and the excellent arm-ring from him, is the father of Night and her sisters (see no. 85). He who robs "the Airy" of his smithery must also have stood in the closest connection to the dises of night, otherwise he would not have appointed as the weapon's watchwoman Sinmara, whose quality as a night-being is proven by the meaning *incubus nocturnes* which the name *Mara* acquired. In *Fjölsvinnsmál* 29, Sinmara is called *hin fölva gýgur*, "the ash-colored giantess" — a designation pointing in the same direction.

She is also called *Eir aurglasis* (str. 28), an expression which, as I believe, has been correctly interpreted as "the dis of the shining arm-ring" (compare Bugge *Edda*, p. 348).[40] In *Völundarkviða* the daughter of Mimir-Niðaður receives Völund's incomparable arm-ring to wear.

According to *Fjölsvinnsmál* "the Airy" forges his weapon *fyr nágrindur* neðan. The meaning of this expression has already been discussed in no. 60. The smith finds himself in the frost-cold and nebulous Niflheim, while he works on his weapon.

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[37] *Völundarkviða* 13: Dronke notes that 13/3 "remains unintelligible" and that "the problem here seems insoluble. Our first impression is that Völundr is asking who has placed rope (*síma*) on him and bound him, and that we must try to fit the incomprehensible *besti byr* into this framework." She questions whether "*besti* and *síma* (a) conceal a reference to the bast rope with its rings, or (b) [could] be a corruption of (a form of) **bezta gørsimi*, '(my) best treasure,' with reference to the theft of the jeweled ring." [*PE* II, p. 312].

[38] Swedish *lemlästa*: "mutilate, maim, cripple, disable"; *lemlästad*, "shattered in limb", *Svensk-Engelsk Ordbok Skolupplaga* by O. Edmund Wenström and Walter E. Harlock, 5th edition, 1943.

[39] "*merja*: —to bruise, crush", p. 424; "*mara*, u. f. [Engl. *night-mare*; akin to merja = to crush]", p. 412.

[40] Bugge, who bases this on the name of the golden ring *Glæsir* in *Þorsteins Saga Vikingssonar*, ch. 3 [Rafn's *Fornaldar Sögur Nordlanda* II, p. 390], writes: "6. *eiri, saa Hskrr*. (*dog anfører K. eyrv af* **S**) *og Udgg*. —örglasis, *saa Eg.; jvfr. Ringen* Glæsir (*rettere* Glasir) i Fas. II, 390; aurglasis *Udgg*.; a/rglasis *Hskrr. eller* a/rglassis (*saa* CL, *de stockh. Hskrr og Eddubrott Rasks*). Eysteinn Björnsson suggests that a more likely interpretation of the kenning *Eiri aurglasis* is "Eir of Aurglasir", where *Eir*, the name of the physician of the gods, is used as a generic term for woman and *Aurglasir* signifies the lower half of the world-tree, Yggdrassil, which is hidden by mud (*aur*-). Compare *Veðurglasir*, 'weather-Glasir' which signifies the upper half of the tree, exposed to the wind, where the golden cock Vidofnir (cp. *Vóluspá*'s Gullinkambi) is perched [*Fjölsvinnsmál* 24]. In *Skáldskaparmál* 34, Snorri says that *Glasir* is the name of the tree with golden leaves outside of Valhalla, and thus probably is another name for Yggdrassil. Source: http://web.archive.org/web/20010420012249/www.hi.is/~eybjorn/ugm/fsm/fsm28.html

Niflheim, the land *fyr nágrindur neðan*, as we already know, is the northern subterranean neighboring realm to Mimir's land. The two territories are separated by the Hvergelmir mountain, on which the *ná*-gates are built and where the great world-mill, called *Eylúður* and *Lúður* has its foundation (see nos. 59, 60, nos. 79, 80). In its vicinity, under the Hvergelmir mountain's southern slope, Night has her hall (nos. 84, 93). According to *Fjölsvinnsmál*, Sinmara also dwells here. Namely, Fjölsviður says that if Svipdag is to obtain the sword which she keeps, he must carry the above-mentioned scythe "to Lúður and give it to Sinmara" (*ljósan ljá skaltu í Lúður bera, Sinmöru að selja* - str. 30).[41] *Lúður*, the subterranean world-mill, **[575]** which stands on Nidi's mountains above Night's hall, has given its name to the region where she stays. In *Völundarkviða* Mimir-Niðaður suddenly turns up with his wife and daughter and armed Njars in the remotely situated frosty Wolfdales, where Völund thinks himself secure, without anyone knowing from where his enemies have come. This has its explanation therein that the "Wolfdales" of the heroic story were in the mythology situated in Niflheim, the border-land to Mimir's realm. Völund, like "the Airy", has forged his sword *fyr nágrindur neðan*; the latter, like the former, was robbed of his weapon, when it was finished, by a subterranean ruler, whose kinswomen are night dises; and in one story, as in the other, one of these night dises has caused a crippling by injuring sinews.

Hereby it becomes comprehensible why Svipdag must traverse Niflheim, "meet Night on Nifl-way," visit the world-mill, wade across Hel-rivers, and encounter "the weapon honored" Mimir himself. If Svipdag wants the sword forged by "the Airy," he must risk such adventures, because the sword is kept in the underworld by a kinswoman of Mimir.

The heroic saga about Völund is therefore basically identical with the myth of the manufacturer of the sword which opens Asgard for Svipdag. The former is merely a newer version of the latter produced in Christian times. Völund is a foe of the gods, an elf-prince who was deeply offended by beings more powerful than himself (see no. 87). "The Airy" must likewise be a foe of the gods, since the weapon he forged is dangerous to the world-tree's golden cock, and is purchased by "the eleven watchers" with the opening of Asgard's gate and the giving of Menglöð as wife to Svipdag. An indication of its danger to Asgard must also lie in Fjölsviður's statement that the splendid hall, called *Hýrr*, "the gladdener," "the soul-stirring," which is situated within the stronghold wall, encircled by waverflames, and which from time immemorial has been mentioned among men —that this hall has long trembled *á brodds oddi*, "on the point of the weapon" (str. 32). No other weapon can here be meant than one which meant the greatest danger to the safety of the gods, **[576]** and which filled them with anxiety; and unless one wishes to deny the poem's meaning and connection, this weapon can be none other than that which Svipdag now carries, and which, since it was brought to Asgard, relieves the gods of their anxiety. And to repeat the points of similarity: Völund, like "*Loftur*" forges his weapon in a northern borderland of Mimir's realm; and when the smithery is finished he is surprised by subterranean powers. *Loftur*'s story, like Völund's, speaks of a magnificent arm-ring, and in both a night-dis receives this arm-ring to wear. Loftur's story, like Völund's,

[41] "The bright sickle which lies in Vidofnir's *völum* (knuckle-bones) you must carry to *lúður* (the mill) and give to Sinmara." [Eysteinn Björnsson tr.]
Source: http://web.archive.org/web/20010420012616/www.hi.is/~eybjorn/ugm/fsm/fsm30.html.

speaks of a night-dis who damages sinews. And Völund calls himself *Byrr*, "the wind," which is a synonym of *Loftur*.

Svipdag has thus proceded to the underworld in order to come into possession of Völund's sword, and he has been successful.

99.
SVIPDAG'S FATHER ÖRVANDIL, THE STAR-HERO. EXPLANATION OF HIS EPITHET SÓLBJARTUR.

The conversation between Fjölsviður and Svipdag ends when the latter gives his name, and requests the former to ask Menglöð if she wishes to possess his love. Menglöð then rushes to him, but before she shows what she feels for him, he must confirm by stating his and his father's name that he is the one he appears to be: the one she has long been yearning for. The young hero then says: *Svipdagur eg heiti, Sólbjartur hét minn faðir* (str. 47).[42]

To Fjölsviður's question regarding his father's name, he previously answered: *Várkaldur* (str. 6); and I have already indicated the reason why he could be called so.[43] Now he provides another name of his father, *Sólbjartu*r, which also is merely an epithet, but nevertheless, as he must speak plainly here, must refer to his father in a recognizable and more definite manner.

Svipdag's mother, Groa, was married to *Örvandill hinn frækni* [577] (*Skáldskaparmál* 25 [*Pr. Edd*. 276-278]). The epithet *Sólbjartur*, "he who has a brilliance like the sun's," if it really refers to Örvandil, has its justification and its explanation in something that the myths reported about him. Of Örvandil, we know from the *Prose Edda* (*Skáldskaparmál* 17) that he and Groa, at least for a time, had been good friends of Thor; that the latter, on one of his expeditions in Jötunheim north of the Elivogar rivers, had met Örvandil and had carried him in his provision-basket across the water to his home; that while doing this Örvandil froze a toe; that Thor broke this off, and, to honor Örvandil, cast it up to the vault of heaven, where it became that star which is called *Aurvandilstá, Örvandil's toe*. Of ancient Germanic star-names very few have come down to our time, and it is natural that those that did must have been borne by constellations or individual stars, which drew attention to themselves through their appearance, or particularly through the strength of their light. One of them was "Örvandil's toe." Under the name Örvandil, *Earendel*, a star was also known among the Germanic tribes in Britain. After being converted to Christianity, they regarded the *Earendel* star as a symbol of Christ. The Church had already sanctified such a view by applying II Peter 1:19 to Christ: "We have also a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the *day-star* (φωσφόρος) arise in your hearts." The morning star became, as it says in a Latin hymn, "*typus Christi*."[44]

However, it would be premature to draw the conclusion that Örvandil's star and the morning star were one and the same in heathen times. All that can be said with

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[42] "*Svipdagur* [Sudden-day] am I called, *Sólbjartur* [Sun-bright] is my father."
[43] See no. 97.
[44] "a symbol of Christ".

certainty is that the former must have been one of the most spectacular, for the very name *Earendel* in Old English gradually became an abstract word meaning "splendor."

Codex Exoniensis[45] has preserved a hymn to Christ, whose introductory strophes appear to be borrowed from the memory of a heathen hymn to Örvandil, and with slight change to have been adapted to Christ: **[578]**

Eala Earendel	O Örvandil,
engla beorhtast,	clearest shining of angels,
ofer Middangeard	you who over Midgard
monnum sended,	are sent to men,
and sodfasta	you true
sunnan leoma,	beam of the sun,
tohrt ofer tunglas	shining above the
þu tida gehvane	heavenly bodies,
of sylfum þe	ever of thyself
symle inlihtes.	giving light.

From this Old English song it appears as if the Örvandil epithet *Sólbjartur* was also in use among the Saxon tribes in England. We rediscover there, so to speak, an apparent interpretation of it in the phrases applied to *Earendel*, "brightest (*beorhtast*) of angels" and "true beam of the sun." That Svipdag's name was well known in England, and that a Saxon royal dynasty counted him among their mythical forefathers, is evident from the genealogy of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. That Svipdag could with sufficient clarity characterize his father as *Sólbjartur*, thus has its explanation in that Örvandil is a star-hero, and that the star bearing his name was one of the "brightest" in the heavens, and in brilliancy was like "a beam from the sun."

100.
SVIPDAG RESCUED FREYJA FROM GIANTS' HANDS. SAXO ON OTHARUS AND SYRITHA. SVIPDAG IDENTICAL WITH OTHARUS.

When Menglöð requests Svipdag to name his family and his name, she does so because she wants *jartegn* (legal testimony; compare the expression *með vitnum og jartegnum*)[46] that he is the one whose wife she became by the norns' decree (*ef eg var þér kván of kveðin* - str. 46),[47] and that her eyes had not deceived her. She also wishes to know something about his past life that can confirm that he is **[579]** the same. When Svipdag had given as *jartegn* his own name and an epithet-name of his father, he makes only a brief statement in regard to his past, but to Menglöð it is an entirely sufficient

[45] *Exeter Book* 7, 20. Rydberg's source here is undoubtedly Jacob Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie* I, XV, 5. [Stalleybrass tr, p. 375]. Many of Rydberg's connections in the following chapters are clearly indebted to Grimm's work.

[46] *Gulaþingslög* 60: *með skilríkum vitnum ok jartegnum*, "with conclusive testimony and token," cited in Cleasby/Vigfusson *Dictionary s.v. jartegn*, 'a word's token,' which a messenger had to produce in proof that his word was true.

[47] *ef eg var þér kván of kveðin*, "if I was your wife by verdict", cp. *kviðr norna*, "the verdict of the norns," "fate."

proof of his identity with her chosen one. He says namely that the winds drove him on cold ways from his father's house to frosty regions of the world (str. 47). The word used by him, "drove" (*reka*), implies that he did not leave his home of his own volition, which we of course also learn in *Gróugaldur*: it is on his stepmother's orders, and against his will that he departs to find *Menglöðum*, "those fond of ornaments." His answer further demonstrates that after he had left his father's house he had made journeys in frost-cold regions of the world, such as Jötunheim and Niflheim, which was in fact regarded as a subterranean part of Jötunheim (see nos. 59, 63).

With languishing yearning, Menglöð has looked forward to the day when Svipdag would come. The mental state in which she finds herself when Svipdag sees her within the stronghold wall, sitting on "the delightful mound" surrounded by Asynjes and dises, is designated in the poem by the verb *þruma*, "to be sunk into a lethargic, dreamy condition."[48] When Fjölsviður comes and bids her "look at a stranger who may be Svipdag" (str. 43), she awakes in **heated passion**, and for a moment can scarcely contain herself. After she is persuaded that Fjölsviður's words and her own eyes have not deceived her, she at once seals the welcoming of the youth with a kiss. The words which the poem places on her lips testify, like her conduct, that it is not the first time she and Svipdag have seen one another, but that this meeting is a reunion, and that long before this, she knew that she had Svipdag's love. She speaks not only of her longing for him, but also of his longing and love for her (str. 48-50), and is happy that he has "*again* come to her halls" (*að þú ert aftur kominn, mögur, til minna sala* —str. 49). This "again" (*aftur*), which indicates a previous meeting between Menglöð and Svipdag, is found in all the manuscripts of *Fjölsvinnsmál*, [580] and that it has not been added by any meter-polishing text-"improver" is demonstrated in that the meter would be improved if the word was not found there.

Meanwhile, it is absolutely clear from *Fjölsvinnsmál* that Svipdag never before had seen the stronghold within whose walls Menglöð *ríki, eign og auðsölum* (str. 7, 8).[49] He stands before its gate as an admiring newcomer, and poses question after question to Fjölsviður about the remarkable sights before his eyes. It follows that Menglöð did not have her halls within this stronghold, but dwelt in some other place, when, on a previous occasion, she had met Svipdag and became assured that he loved her.

In this other place she must have resided when Svipdag's stepmother commanded him to find *Menglöðum*, that is to say, Menglöð, but also someone else to whom the epithet "ornament-glad" might apply.[50] This is confirmed by the fact that this other person to whom *Gróugaldur* 3 refers is not mentioned at all in *Fjölsvinnsmál.* It is obvious that many events occurred and that Svipdag had many adventures between the episode described in *Gróugaldur*, when he had just received his stepmother's order to find "those fond of ornaments," and the episode in *Fjölsvinnsmál*, when he again seeks Menglöð in Asgard itself.

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[48] In regard to a mental condition, Cleasby/Vigfusson defines *þruma* as "to mope, tarry, stay behind, loiter"; Egilsson as "become still and remain in one and the same place."

[49] "holds power over the lands and costly halls," [Björnsson tr.].

[50] The plural form *menglöðum* is found in all manuscripts of *Gróugaldur* 3, but is difficult to explain as it cannot be a plural form of the name Menglöð in the nominative [*Menglaðir* (masc.), *Menglaðar* (fem.), or *Menglöð* (neu.)], although *menglöðum* can be the dative of any of these. It could conceivably refer to Freyja and the *meyjar* who surround her (see *Fjölsvinnsmál* 37-38), or, as Rydberg thought, to Freyja and her brother Freyr.

Where could he have previously met her? Has there been a time when Freyja did not dwell in Asgard? *Völuspá* 25 answers this question, as we know, in the affirmative. **A**n event once occurred, threatening to the gods and the existence of the world: the goddess of fertility and love had came into the giants' power. Then all the high-holy powers assembled to discover "who had mixed the air with corruption and given Óður's maid to the giants' race."[51] Of our Icelandic mythic sources, however, none mention how and by whom Freyja was liberated from the captivity of the powers of frost. Under the name Svipdag, our hero is mentioned there only in *Gróugaldur* and *Fjölsvinnsmál*; under the names Óður and Óttar one does not learn more there than that he was Freyja's lover and husband (*Völuspá*, **[581]** *Hyndluljóð*); that he went far, far away; that Freyja then wept for him and that her tears became gold, and that she looked for him among unknown peoples and under many names: Mardöll, Hörn, Gefn, Sýr (*Gylfaginning* 35 [*Pros. Edd.* 114]). To get additional contributions to the myth about Svipdag we must turn to Saxo, where the name Svipdag should occur as Svipdagerus, *Óttar* as Otharus or Hotharus, and *Óður* as Otherus or Hotherus.[52]

There cannot be the least doubt that Saxo's *Otharus* is a figure borrowed from the divine myths and from the heroic sagas connected with them, since in the first eight books of his history not a single personality can be pointed to that does not have his origin there. But the mythic records that have come down to our time know only one Óttarr, and he is the same one who wins Freyja's heart. This alone makes it the duty of the mythologist to follow the pointer that is given here and see whether that which Saxo relates about his Otharus confirms his identity with Svipdag-Ottar.

The Danish king Syvaldus had, says Saxo, an extraordinarily beautiful daughter, Syritha,[53] who came into a giant's power. This proceeded so that a woman who had a secret understanding with the giant succeeded in nestling herself in Syritha's confidence, in being adopted as her maidservant, and in enticing her to a place where the giant laid in wait. The latter hurried away with Syritha and concealed her in a wild mountain district. When Otharus learned this he started out in search of the kidnapped young maiden, ransacked the mountains' recesses, found the one he sought and slew the giant. Syritha was in a strange condition when Otharus liberated her. The giant had twisted and pressed her locks together so that on the top of her head they formed, so to speak, one very hard substance which hardly could be disentangled **[582]** without the assistance of an iron tool. Her eyes were indifferently staring, and she never lifted her gaze up toward her liberator. It was Otharus' decision to bring her back pure and virginal to her kinsmen. But the coldness and indifference she seemed to harbor for him was so difficult for him to bear, that he abandoned her along the way. While she now wandered alone through the wilderness she came to the abode of a giantess. The latter set her to watch her goats. Yet, Otharus must have regretted that he left Syritha on her own, because he sought and liberated her a second time. The mythic poem from which Saxo borrowed his story must

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[51] *hverr hefði lopt allt / lævi blandit /eða ætt jötuns /Óðs mey gefna*.

[52] [Rydberg's footnote:] In Saxo, as in other sources of about the same time, aspirated names do not usually occur with aspiration. I have already referred to the examples Handuuanus Andvani, Helias Elias, Hersbernus Esbjörn, Hevindus Eyvindur, Horvendillus Örvandill, Hestia Estland, Holandia, Oland. (See no. 92)

[53] In the English translations, Oliver Elton renders her name as Sigrid, and Peter Fisher as Siritha. Saxo however spells the name Syritha. See *Saxonis Grammatici Gesta Danorvm* herausgegeben von Alfred Holder, 1886, p. 225 ff.

have contained a song (reproduced by him in Latin paraphrases) in which Otharus explained his love to Syritha and bid her, whom he “with such severe toils sought and found," to give him a glance from her eyes as a token that she was willing to be brought back to her father and mother under his protection. But her eyes continually stared toward the ground, and in appearance she remained as cold and indifferent as before. Otharus left her then for the second time. From the context of the narrative it is clear that they were then not far from that border which separates Jötunheim from the other realms of the world. Otharus crossed the water, in the document probably the Elivogar rivers, on whose other side his father’s residence was situated. Of Syritha, Saxo again says reservedly and obscurely that "she in a manner that happened in antiquity hurried far away down over the rocks" —*more pristino decursis late scopulis* (Book VII, 227 [*Hist*. 333])[54] —an expression which allows us to suppose that in the mythic account she had hurried away bird-shape. However, fate brought her to the home of Otharus' parents. Here she represented herself to be a poor wanderer, born of parents who owned nothing. But her refined manners contradicted her statement, and Otharus’ mother received her as a noble guest. Otharus himself had already come home. She thought she could remain unknown to him by never raising the veil with which she covered her face. But Otharus well knew who she was. To find out whether she actually was as feelingless for him **[583]** as it would seem on the surface, a pretend wedding was arranged between Otharus and a young maiden, whose name and position Saxo does not mention. When Otharus went to the bridal bed, Syritha, probably as the bridesmaid, was in his vicinity and lit him. The light or torch burned down, so that the flame came in contact with her hand, but she felt no pain, for there was in her heart a still more burning pain. When Otharus then told her that she should take care of her hand, she finally raised her gaze from the ground, and their eyes met. Thereby the enchantment resting on Syritha was broken: it was plain that they loved one another and the pretended wedding was changed into a real one between Syritha and Otharus. When her father learned this, he became taken with wrath; but after his daughter explained everything to him, his indignation was turned into favor and graciousness, and thereafter he himself married a sister of Otharus.

In regard to the person who enticed Syritha into the snare laid by the giant, Saxo is not entirely certain that it was a woman. Others think, he says, that it was a man in the shape of a woman.

It has long since attracted the attention of mythologists that in this narrative two names, Otharus and Syritha, occur which seem to refer to the myth of Freyja.[55] Otharus is undoubtedly a Latinization of Ottar, and, as is well known, the only one who had this name in the mythology is, as stated, Freyja's lover and husband. Syritha, on the other

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[54] “in her old fashion, ran far away over the rocks,” [Elton tr.]; “had ranged far and wide as before over the rocky landscape,” [Fisher tr.]

[55] For example, Wilhelm Müller in “Siegfried und Freyr,” *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum*, 3rd. bd. (1843), pp. 43-53: “Syritha läfst sich mit Syr, beinamen der Freyja zusammenstellen”; and more recently Britt-Mari Näsström, *Freyja—the Great Goddess of the North*. (1995), p. 157: “Victor Rydberg suggested that Siritha is Freyja herself and that Ottar is identical with [the] same as Svipdagr, who appears as Menglöd’s beloved in *Fjölsvinnsmál.* Rydberg’s intentions in his investigations of Germanic mythology were to co-ordinate the myths and mythical fragments into coherent short stories. Not for a moment did he hesitate to make subjective interpretations of the episodes, based more on his imagination and poetical skills than on facts. His explication of the Siritha-episode is an example of his approach, and yet he probably was right when he identified Siritha with Freyja.”

hand, may be a Latinization of Freyja's epithet *Sýr*, in which Saxo presumably believed he had found an abbreviated form of Syri (Siri, Sigrid). In Saxo's narrative Syritha is abducted by a giant (*gigas*), with the aid of an ally whom he had procured among Freyja's attendants. In the mythology Freyja is abducted by a giant, and, as is clear from *Völuspa*'s words, likewise with the assistance of someone in Freyja's vicinity acting as ally, for it is there said that the gods confer regarding whom it could have been who "gave," delivered, Freyja to the giant's race (*hver hefði ætt jötuns Óðs mey gefna*). In Saxo, Otharus is of lower birth than Syritha. **[584]** Saxo has not made him a son of a king, but compared to his bride a lowborn youth, whose courage to look up to Syritha, Saxo remarks, can only be explained by the great deeds he had performed or by his confidence in on his agreeable nature and his eloquence (*sive gestarum rerum magnitudine sive comitatis et facundiæ fiducia accensus*).[56] In the mythology Óður was of lower birth than Freyja: he did not by birth belong to the number of higher gods; and Svipdag had, as we know, never seen Asgard before he came there under the circumstances described in *Fjölsvinnsmál.* That the most beautiful and next to Frigg the foremost of goddesses, she who is the desire of all powers, the sister of the harvest god Frey, the daughter of the god of wealth, Njörd, she who with Odin shares the privilege of choosing heroes on the battlefield —that she does not become the wife of an Asa-god, but "is married to the man called Óður," would long since have been rated a fact both interesting and worthy of investigation by mythologists, if, in addition to speculations on the signification of the myths as symbols of nature or on their ethical meaning, one had cared to devote any research to their epic connection and causal relationships. Then one certainly would have come to the conclusion that this *Óður* in the mythic epic must have performed exploits which compensated for his lower birth, and thus one would have been exhorted to primarily direct the investigation to the question whether Freyja, who we know was in the power of the giants for some time, but was rescued from there, did not find her liberator in this very Óður, who afterwards became her husband, and whether Óður did not through this very act gain her love and become entitled to receive her hand. The adventure which Saxo relates incorporates itself into the actual work and fills a gap in that series of events which results from the analysis of *Gróugaldur* and *Fjölsvinnsmál*. It becomes comprehensible that the young Svipdag is alarmed, and regards the task imposed on him by the stepmother to find Menglöð far too great for his strength, if it is necessary to seek Menglöð in Jötunheim and convey her from there. [585] It becomes comprehensible that on his arrival to Asgard he is so kindly received after he has fulfilled the formality of saying his name, if he arrives there not as the feared possessor of the Völund sword alone, but also as the one who restored the most loved and most beautiful Asynja to Asgard. One can then understand why the gate, which imprisons every uninvited guest, opens for him on its own accord so to speak, and why the savage wolf-hounds lick him. That his words: *þaðan* (from his father's home) *rákumk vindar kalda vegu*,[57] are a sufficient answer for Menglöð to her question about his previous journeys becomes comprehensible, if Svipdag, like Ottar, has ransacked the frost-cold Jötunheim's eastern mountain districts in order to find Menglöð; and one can then understand why

[56] "kindled with confidence in the greatness either of his own achievements, or of his courtesy and eloquent address," [Elton tr.]; "fired perhaps by his great achievements, or perhaps sure of his charm and eloquence," [Fisher tr.]

[57] *Fjölsvinsmál* 47: "thence was I driven by winds on cold ways."

Menglöð in *Fjölsvinnsmál* can speak of her meeting with Svipdag at Asgard's gate as a reunion although he had never been in Asgard before. And that Menglöð receives him as her already wedded husband, who now gets "to live together forever" with her (*Fjölsvinnsmál* 50), likewise receives its explanation by the improvised wedding Otharus celebrated with Syrithia before she returns to her father.

Otharus' identity with the myths' Óttarr-Óður-Svipdagur further is clear from the fact that Saxo gives him as father an Ebbo, which a comparative investigation shows to be identical with Svipdag's father Örvandil. To the name Ebbo and the person who bears it, I shall come further down (see nos. 108 and 109). Here it may be observed that if Otharus is the same as Svipdag, then his father Ebbo, like Svipdag's father, should appear in the history of the mythic patriarch Halfdan as his enemy (see nos. 24, 33). This is also the case. Saxo places Ebbo on the scene as an enemy of Halfdan Berggram (Book VII, p. 207 [*Hist.* 329, 330]). A woman, Groa, is the cause of the enmity between Halfdan and Örvandil. A woman, Sygrutha, is the cause of the enmity between Halfdan and Ebbo. In the one passage Halfdan robs Örvandil of his betrothed Groa; in the other passage Halfdan robs Ebbo of his bride Sygrutha. Saxo has, in a third passage in his [586] History (Book III, p. 83 [p.138]), preserved the memory that Horvendillus (Örvandil) is slain by a rival, who takes his wife, there called Gerutha. Halfdan kills Ebbo. Thus it is clear that the same story is told about Svipdag's father Örvandil and about Otharus' father Ebbo, and that Groa, Sygrutha, and Gerutha are variant names of the same dis of vegetation.

According to Saxo, Syritha's father was afterwards married to a sister of Otharus. In the mythology Freyja's father Njörd marries Skadi, who is Ottar-Svipdag's foster-sister and *systrunga*[58] (see no. 108, nos. 113, 114, 115).

Freyja's byname Hörn (var. *Horn*) perhaps has its explanation in what Saxo tells of the giant's manner of treating her hair, which he pressed into one snarled, stiff, and hard mass. With the myth about Freyja's locks, we should compare the one about Sif's hair. The hair of both of these goddesses of fertility and fecundity is the object of violence by giant-hands, and it is likely that it is based on something symbolic of nature. Loki's injury to Sif's locks is made good through the skill and helpfulness of the primeval artists Sindri and Brokk (*Skáldskaparmál* 43 [*Pr. Edd*. I, 340]). In regard to Freyja's, the skill of a "dwarf" was probably required, since Saxo relates that an iron tool was necessary to separate and comb out the horn-hard braids. In *Völuspá*'s list of primeval artists appears a smith with the name Hornbori, which possibly stands in connection with this.[59]

Reasons have already been given above (no. 35) that it was Gullveig-Heid who betrayed and delivered Freyja to the giants. When Saxo says that it was a woman who committed this treachery, but also points out the possibility that it was a man in the guise of a woman, then this too has its explanation in the myth, where Gullveig-Heid, like her accomplice Loki, is of androgynous nature. Loki becomes "pregnant by the evil woman" (*kviðugur af konu illri*).[60] In *Fjölsvinnsmál* 38, we again find the reborn Gullveig-Heid, under her name Aurboda, in Freyja's company, where she has ingratiated herself for a second time.

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[58] Cleasby/Vigfusson *Dictionary*, *sv. .systrunga*: "one's mother's sister's daughter, a female cousin." i.e. first cousin on the mother's side.
[59] *Völuspá* 13: Codex Regius, *Hornbori;* Hauksbók, *Fornbogi.*
[60] *Hyndluljóð* 41.

101.
SVIPDAG IN SAXO'S ACCOUNT OF HOTHARUS.

From the parallel name Otharus, we may now turn to the parallel name Hotharus. It has already been pointed out that if the Svipdag synonym *Óður* occurs in Saxo, it must have been Latinized into Otharus or Hotharus. The latter name-form is also found there, but under circumstances that make a more detailed investigation necessary, for in what Saxo says concerning this Hotharus, he has, as best he could, united adventures from the life-stories of two different mythic persons, and so it is important to once again separate these elements, which were borrowed from different places, from one another. One of these mythic persons is *Höður* the Asa-god, and the other is *Óður*-Svipdag. For this reason, the investigation is simultaneously a contribution into the research of one of the documents concerning the Baldur myth.

Saxo's account of Hotharus (Book III, 63 ff. [*Hist.* 110 ff.]) contains the following:

Hotharus, son of Hothbrodus (*Höðbroddur*), was fostered by Nanna's father, King Gevarus (*Gevarr*; see nos. 90-92), and he grew up to be a stately youth, distinguished as a sportsman among his peers and contemporaries. He was a swimmer, archer, and boxer, and his skill on various musical instruments was such that he had the human passions in his hands, and at will could arouse gladness, sorrow, sympathy, or hate**.** Gevarus' daughter Nanna fell in love with the highly gifted youth and he with her.

Meanwhile, fate willed that the idol Odin's son Baldur also fell in love with Nanna. He had once seen her bathing, and had been dazzled by the splendor of her limbs'. In order to remove the most dangerous obstacle between himself and her, he resolved to kill Hotharus.

Hunting one foggy day in the woods, Hotharus got lost and came to a dwelling, where three wood-maidens sat. They greeted him by name, and in answer to his question they said they were the maids who administer the battlefield's events and more than others determine the fortunes of war. Invisible they come to the battlefield, and secretly help those whom they wish to favor. From them Hotharus learned that Baldur was in love with Nanna, but they advised him not to use weapons against him, for he was a demigod born of supernatural seed. When they had said this, they and the dwelling in which Hotharus had found them disappeared, and to his amazement found himself standing on a field under the open sky. **[588]**

When he arrived home, he told Gevarus what he had seen and heard, and immediately asked for the hand of his daughter. Gevarus answered that he would gladly see Hotharus and Nanna united; but Baldur had already made the same request, and he did not dare draw the wrath of the latter, since not even iron bit the demigod's blessed body.

But Gevarus said he knew a sword with which Baldur could be slain, but it lies locked up within the strongest enclosure, and the place where it is found is scarcely accessible to mortals. The way —if it can be spoken of as such, where no path is cleared —is filled with obstacles, and leads for the greater part through an exceedingly cold land. But behind a span of swift yoke-harts[61] one should be able to come alive across the icy mountain ridges. He who keeps the sword is the forest-being Mimingus, who also has a wonderful wealth-producing arm-ring. When Hotharus comes to this place, he should place his tent so that its shadow does not fall into the mountain cave where Mimingus dwells, for at the sight of this strange eclipse the latter would withdraw deeper into the mountain. But observing these measures of caution, the sword and arm-ring could perhaps be received**.** The sword is of such that with it victory is secured, and its value is quite inestimable.

Hotharus, who carefully followed Gevarus' advice, succeeded in securing the sword and the ring, which Mimingus, surprised and bound by Hotharus, surrendered as a ransom for his life.

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[61] Swedish: *okhjortar*: "yoke-harts", modeled on Saxo's Latin phrase *cervis iugalibus*, "yoked stags" which Rydberg defines as reindeer (*renar*) in *Fädernas Gudasaga*, p. 149.

When Gelder, the Saxons' king, learned that Mimingus' treasure had been plundered, he resolved to make war against Hotharus. The soothsaying Gevarus foresaw this, and advised Hotharus in battle to patiently receive the rain of spears from the enemy's side and not to dispatch their own ballistic weapons before the enemy's supply of such weapons was exhausted. Gelder was overcome and had to ask for peace. Hotharus received him in the friendliest manner and he now conquered him with his gentle spirit as he had previously with his stratagem.

Hotharus also had a friend in Helgo, the king of Halogaland. The chieftain of the Finns and of the Bjarmians, Cuso (Gusi), was father to Thora, whose hand Helgo sought through messengers. But Helgo had so ugly a blemish on his mouth that he was ashamed to talk, not only with strangers, but even to his own household. Cuso had already refused his offer of marriage, but when he now addressed himself to Hotharus with an appeal for help, the latter was able to secure an audience with the Finnish chieftain, so that Helgo secured the wife he desired.

While this happened in Halogaland, Baldur had closed in on the territory of Gevarus with an armed force, to demand Nanna's hand. Gevarus referred him to his daughter, who was permitted to determine her own fate. Nanna responded that she was of too humble birth to be the wife of one of divine descent. Gevarus let Hotharus know what had happened, and the latter consulted with Helgo as to what should now be done. After deliberating various ways out, they resolved on war. **[589]**

And it was a war in which one could believe that men fought with gods. For Odin, Thor, and the gods' hallowed troops fought on Baldur's side. Thor had a heavy club, with which he crushed shields and armaments and beat down all before him. Hotharus would have seen his retreating host beaten had he not succeeded in checking Thor's progress. Clad in an impenetrable coat-of-mail, he went against Thor, and with a stroke of his sword severed the shaft making the latter's club unusable. Then the gods fled**.** Thereafter Hotharus' comrades stormed in on Baldur's fleet and destroyed it entirely. In the same war Gelder fell. On a pyre set up on Gelder's ship his body was burnt on a stack of fallen warriors, and Hotharus solemnly interned his ashes in a large, magnificent grave-mound. Thereafter Hotharus returned to Gevarus, celebrated his wedding with Nanna, and richly gifted Helgo and Thora.

But Baldur knew no peace. War arose anew, and now it was Baldur who conquered. The defeated Hotharus took refuge with Gevarus. In this war, it happened that a water-shortage arose in Baldur's army; but the latter dug deep and opened new wells for his thirsty men.

However, Baldur was persecuted in the night by ghosts that assumed Nanna's shape. His love-longing consumed him so that finally he could not use his feet, but had to employ a team or a wagon on his journeys.

Hotharus had fled to Sweden, where he retained royal authority; but Baldur took possession of Zealand, and soon acquired the Danes' devotion, for he was regarded as having martial merits and was a man of great dignity. Hotharus afflicted him with a new war, but was beaten on Jutland, and had to return to Sweden alone and abandoned. Despondent over his defeats, suffering life and the light of day, he went into the wilderness and traversed the most desolate forest districts that a mortal's feet seldom tread. So he came to a cave wherein three unknown women sat. From such, he had once received the impenetrable coat-of-mail, and he recognized them as the same. They asked him why he had come to these regions, and he told them how unsuccessful the war had been for him. He reproached them, saying that they had deceived him, for they had promised him victory, but that it had gone entirely differently. The women responded that he nevertheless had done his enemies great harm, and assured him that the victory would yet go to him if he should succeed in finding the unusually delectable, wonderful nourishment which was invented for the strengthening of Baldur's powers. With this they succeeded to egg him into a new war, although among his friends were found some who advised him against it. On both sides, armies were gathered, and it came to a bloody battle, which was not decided when night fell. Hotharus' anxiety hindered him from sleeping, and he went out into the darkness to investigate the enemy position. When he had reached **[590]** their camp he perceived that three dises, who were accustomed to preparing Baldur's mysterious food had just left. He followed their footprints in the dewy grass and came to their abode. Asked by them who he was, he said he was a zither-player. One of them then handed him a zither,[62] and he played beautifully for them. They had three vipers with whose venom Baldur's food was mixed. With this, they were now engaged. One of them was friendly enough to offer Hotharus some of the preparation; but

[62] Saxo's Latin c*itharoedum*: a lyre or zither player. The term "citre" is also used more broadly, to describe the entire family of stringed instruments in which the strings do not extend beyond the sounding box.

the eldest said: "It would be treason to Baldur to increase his foe's strength." The stranger then said that he was one of Hotharus' men, not Hotharus himself. He was then permitted to taste the food.[63] The women also presented him with a magnificent victory-belt.[64]

On his return trip, Hotharus met his foe and stuck him in the side, so that he fell half-dead to the ground. There was jubilation over this in Hotharus' camp, but sorrow in the Danish camp. Baldur, who knew that he was going to die, but was unwilling to await death in his tent, renewed the conflict the following day, and let himself be carried on a stretcher into the thickest throng of battle. The following night Proserpina (the death goddess) came to him and announced that the next day he would be her guest. He died from his wound at the predicted time, and was buried in a mound with royal splendor. Hotharus took the monarchy in Denmark after Baldur.

Meanwhile it had happened that King Gevarus had been attacked and burned indoors by one of his jarls named Gunno. Hotharus avenged Gevarus'd death, and burned Gunno alive on a pyre as punishment for his crime.

With Rinda, Odin had a son by name Bous. The latter, in order to avenge the death of his brother Baldur, attacked Hotharus, who fell in the conflict. But Bous himself was severely wounded and died the following day from his wounds. Hotharus was followed on the Danish throne by his son Röricus.

In the critical examination of this story by Saxo, there is no hope of arriving at indisputably reliable results as long as the critic does not give up all the usual assumptions and, in fact, all presumptions concerning the origin and age of the Baldur-myth, concerning a special Danish myth in contrast to a special Norse-Icelandic myth, etc. If the latter conjecture based on Saxo is correct, this shall appear as a fruit of the investigation; but the conjecture is not to be used as a presupposition for it.

What immediately strikes the eye is that the story is not homogeneous. It is composed of elements that do not allow **[591]** themselves to be melded into a whole. It suffers from internal contradictions. The origin of these, first of all, requires explanation.

The most persistent contradiction is fixed on the sword of victory that Hotharus acquires.[65] It is assured to be of immense value (*ingens præmium*) and is attended with the success of victory (*belli fortuna comitaretur*). With the aid of this sword, Hotharus can, in fact, accomplish a great exploit: drive Thor and other gods to flight. But thereafter Hotharus is conquered time and again by Baldur, and ultimately also defeated by Bous and slain, despite Gevarus' statement that victory always accompanied this weapon. Admittedly, Hotharus succeeds after several defeats in giving Baldur his death-wound with it, but this does not happen in battle, and can hardly be counted as a victory; and Hotharus is not even in position for this secret murder by possession of the sword alone, but must own a belt of victory and have eaten of the wonderful food which gives Baldur his strength, in order to accomplish it.

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[63] [Rydberg's footnote:] According to Gheysmer's synopsis. Saxo himself says nothing of the kind. The present reading of the passage in Saxo is distinctly mutilated. [Thomas Gheysmer was a fifteenth century monk, who made an abridgment of Saxo's work.]

[64] *Ille se non Høtherum, sed Høtheri comitem dicebat,. <---> Eaedem namque nymphae accurati nitoris cingulum potentemque victoriae zonam clementi benignitate ei largitae sunt.* "He said, not that he was Hother, but that he was one of his company. Now the same nymphs, in their gracious kindliness, bestowed on him a belt of perfect sheen and a girdle which assured victory," [Elton tr.]; "Their caller claimed that he was not Høther, only one of his friends *Here there is a lacuna in the text*. With gracious liberality the same nymphs presented to him a carefully-wrought, glittering belt, which would guarantee victory," [Fisher tr.]

[65] [Rydberg's footnote:] Bugge has also observed this, and correctly believes that the episode concerning the sword has been interpolated from some other source.

There must be a reason why Saxo fell into this striking contradiction, which is maintained throughout the narrative. If in the mythology Hotharus-Höður possessed a sword which always grants victory and was in a position to subdue the gods themselves, then the myths *cannot* have said anything about defeats that he suffered after he had this sword in hand, nor can he then have fallen in conflict with Odin's and Rind's son. The only possibility in which this could happen would be that Hotharus-Höður, after he took possession of the sword of victory and used it once, was robbed of it in some manner. But Saxo has read nothing of this in his sources —otherwise he would have mentioned it, if for no other reason than as a motive for the defeat his hero suffers— and it is without doubt his intention that the sword with which Baldur is mortally wounded is the same as the one Hotharus took from Mimingus. Consequently: either Höður has never suffered the defeats mentioned by Saxo nor fallen before the brother-avenging son of Odin and Rind, or **[592]** he has never owned the sword of victory mentioned here. It is not necessary to point out on which side of these alternatives, the mythological facts lie. Höður has never owned the irresistible sword.

But Saxo himself has not invented the episode about the sword of victory, nor has he introduced this episode in his story about Hotharus without thinking he had reason to do so.

It follows with certainty that the episode belongs to another hero’s story, and that in the story were found circumstances which caused Saxo to confound him with Höður.

The question then arises who this hero was. The first guidance the investigation receives and has to follow is the name itself, Hotharus, whose Latin veneer can conceal Óður as well as Höður.

In the myths, Óður, like Höður, has been an inhabitant of Asgard, but nevertheless, like Höður, has stood in hostile relations to Asgard, and during that time fought with Thor (see no. 103). The similarity of names and the similarity of mythological situation are sufficient to explain the confusion on the part of Saxo. But in addition there are many reasons, of which I will give only one here. The weapon with which Höður, against his will, slew Baldur in the mythology was a young shoot, *mistilteinn*. The sword of victory made by Völund with hostile intentions against the gods could, just on the basis of its danger to Asgard, be compared by skalds with the mistletoe, and be so called in a poetic-rhetorical sense. The fact is, that already in *Skírnismál* and in *Fjölsvinnsmál* the Völund sword is designated as a *teinn*; that the mistletoe is included in the list of sword-names in the *Nafnaþulur* [*Pros. Edda*]; and that in the later Icelandic saga-literature Mistilteinn is a sword which is owned in succession by Seming, Thrainn, and Hrómund Gripsson (*Hrómundar saga Gripssonar* ch. 5); and finally, that all that is said there about this sword Mistilteinn, although admittedly confused, is a faithful echo of the myths’ story of the sword of victory made by Völund. Thus for example, one finds that it is *Máni karl* who informs Hrómund where the sword is to be sought, while in Saxo it is the moon-god **[593]** Gevar, Nanna's father, who informs Hotharus where it is kept. That the god *Máni* and *Gevar* are identical has already been demonstrated (see nos. 90, 91, 92). Before Saxo's time, *mistilteinn* and the myths’ sword of victory had already been confounded with one another; Höður's and Óður's weapons had received the same name. This was additionally a strong reason for Saxo to confound Höður and Óður and make them one in Hotharus. And when in some of his sources he found that a sword *Mistilteinn* was used by Óður, and in others that a shoot *mistilteinn* was used by Höður, it was

natural that he as a historian should prefer the sword to the fabulous mistletoe (see more below).

The circumstance that two mythical persons were made into one in Hotharus has given Saxo free choice of making his Hotharus the son of the father of the one or of the other. In the myth, Höður is the son of Odin; Óður-Svipdag is the son of Örvandil. Saxo has made him a son of Hödbrodd, who is identical with Örvandil. It has already been demonstrated (see no. 29) that Helgi Hundingsbani is a copy of the Teutonic patriarch Halfdan. The series of parallels by which this demonstration was illustrated at the same time establishes that Helgi's rival Hodbrodd is Halfdan's rival Örvandil. The same place that the latter occupies in the myth of Halfdan, Hödbrodd occupies in the songs about Helgi Hundingsbani. What one had reason to expect, namely, that Saxo, when he did not make Hotharus the son of Höður's father, should make him a son of Óður's, has actually occurred, thus there can be no doubt that Hödur and Óður were compounded into one in Saxo's Hotharus.

With this certainty established, it is possible to analyze Saxo's narrative point by point, resolve it into its constituent parts, and refer each of them to one of the two myths concerning Hödur and Óður.[66] It has already been emphasized that Saxo was unable to organically unite the episode about the sword of victory taken from Mimingus with his presentation of Hödur's adventure. **[594]** The introduction of this episode has turned the story of Hotharus into a chain of contradictions. However, the same episode naturally adapts itself to Svipdag-Óður's already known story. We have seen that Svipdag descends into the underworld and there comes into possession of the Völund sword. It is thus Svipdag-Óður, not Hödur, who receives instruction from the moon-god Gevar where the sword is to be found. It is he who crosses the frost-mountains, penetrates into the "specus"[67] guarded by Mimingus, and there takes possession of the Völund sword and the Völund ring. It is Svipdag, not Hödur, who, thanks to this sword, is able as *þursar þjóðar sjóli*[68] to conquer the otherwise indomitable Halfdan —nay, even more: compel Halfdan's co-father and protector, the Asa-god Thor, to yield.

Saxo's stories about Otharus and Hotharus thus fill two important gaps in the accounts that the Icelandic sources preserved into our time about the Svipdag-myth. In addition to this is added what Saxo tells us about Svipdag under this his very name (see nos. 24, 33): that he relentlessly fights Halfdan after the latter had first seized and then rejected Groa; that after shifting fortunes of war conquers him and becomes his bane; that he takes Halfdan's and Groa's son Gudhorm into his favor and gives him a kingdom, but that he pursues and wars against Halfdan's and Alveig-Signy's son Hadding, and finally falls before him.

Hotharus-Svipdag's life-threatening journey across the frosty mountains, told by Saxo, is predicted by Groa in her seventh song of protection over her son:

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[66] [Rydberg's footnote:] This analysis will be given in the second part of this work in the treatise on the Baldur-myth. [For an identification of the elements of the Hödur myth in Saxo's tale of Hotharus, see *Viktor Rydberg's Investigations into Germanic Mythology*, Vol. II, Part 2: "*The Story of Olaf Geirstadaalf and its Connection with the Poem about Helgi Hjörvardsson*."]

[67] Latin *specus*, "cave."

[68] *Fjölsvinnsmál* 1: "leader of the thurs people," see no. 97.

Þann gel eg þér inn
sjöunda,
ef þig sækja kemur
frost á fjalli háu,
hræva kuldi
megit þínu holdi fara,
ok haldist æ lík að liðum.

"Then I sing you the seventh,
If you should meet
frost on a high mountain:
then may corpse-cold not
harm your flesh,
and your body keep its limbs."

[595]

102.
SVIPDAG'S SYNONYM EIREKUR. ERICUS DISERTUS IN SAXO.

Saxo's contribution to the Svipdag myth is not yet exhausted. In two additional passages in his *Gesta Dancorum* [*Historia Danica*] Svipdag reappears, namely, in the stories of Frodi III's and of Halfdan Berggram's reigns, in both under the name Ericus, *Eirekur*, a name that Svipdag also bore in the myths (see no. 108).

The first reference showing that Svipdag and Erik are identical appears in the following analogies:

Halfdan (Gram), who kills a Swedish king, is warred on by Svipdag.
Halfdan (Berggram), who kills a Swedish king, is warred on by Erik.
Svipdag is the son of the slain Swedish king's daughter.
Erik is the son of the slain Swedish king's daughter.

Saxo's story about King Frodi is, in greater part, a historicizing of the myth of Frey. One can then expect to find that Svipdag, who becomes Frey's brother-in-law, should receive a role in Frodi's history under one name or another. The question then is whether a brother-in-law of Frodi plays some role therein. This is actually the case. Frodi's brother-in-law is a young hero who is his general and *factotum*,[69] and is called Ericus, with the surname *disertus*, the eloquent. The Ericus who appears as Halfdan's enemy accordingly resembles Svipdag, Halfdan's enemy, in that he is a son of the daughter of the Swedish king slain by Halfdan. The Ericus who is Frodi-Frey's general, again, also resembles Svipdag in that he marries Frodi-Frey's sister. This is another indication that Erik and Svipdag were identical in Saxo's mythic sources.

Let us now follow these indications and see if they win support in the adventures Saxo attaches to Halfdan's enemy Erik and Frodi-Frey's brother-in-law, Erik the eloquent.

Saxo first brings us to the paternal home of Erik the eloquent. Erik's mother is already dead, when the story begins, and his father has married a second time (Book V, 109 [*Hist.* 192]). Compare with this the beginning of Svipdag's history, where his mother, according to *Grógaldur*, is dead, and his father is married again.

[69] Latin: *factotum*, "a servant employed to do many jobs."

[596] The stepmother has a son, who is called Rollerus, whose position in this very myth I come to later. Erik and Roller leave their parent's home to find Frodi-Frey and his sister Gunvara, a maiden of the most extraordinary beauty. Before they proceed on this adventurous journey, Erik's stepmother, Roller's mother, has allows them to eat a wisdom-inspiring preparation, in which the fat of three serpents constituted an element. Of this preparation the cunning Erik knew how to secure the better part, actually intended for Roller. The half-brothers were otherwise faithful friends.

From Saxo's story it is clear that Erik had no desire at all to make this journey. It was Roller who first made the promise to seek Frodi and his sister, and then, without doubt, it was Erik's stepmother who insisted that Erik should be of assistance to his brother in performing this task. Erik himself regarded the resolve taken by Roller as surpassing his strength. (Book V, 109 [*Hist*. 193])

This corresponds with what *Grógaldur* tells us about Svipdag's aversion to perform the task that his stepmother imposed upon him. Moreover, here we receive the key to *Grógaldur*'s words, that Svipdag was commanded to *koma móti menglöðum*, to seek not only "the one fond of ornaments" but "*those* fond of ornaments." The plural indicates that there is more than one "fond of ornaments" to be sought. It is necessary to not only return Freyja to Asgard, but also Frey her brother, the lord of harvests, for whom the primeval artists made ornaments, and who as a symbol of nature is the one under whose supremacy the forces of vegetation working in nature decorate the meadows with grass and the fields with ears of corn. Along with his sister, he too was in the power of the giant-world in the great fimbul-winter (see below).

The preparation to which serpents contributed reappears in Saxo's account of Hotharus (Book III, 68 [*Hist*. 123], no. 101), and is there described with about the same words. In both passages three serpents are required for this purpose. That Baldur should be nourished with such food is highly improbable. **[597]** It is from the myth of Svipdag that the serpent preparation entered into the histories of Hotharus and Ericus.

The land in which Frodi and his beautiful sister live is hardly accessible and magic powers have previously thwarted attempts to come there. The attendants of the brother and sister there are described as the roughest, the most brazen, and the most atrocious that can be conceived. They are beings of the most disgusting kind, whose manners are as unrestrained as their words. To get to this country one must travel across a sea, where storms, conjured forth by witchcraft, threaten every sailor with ruin.

Groa has also predicted this journey, and has sung protective *galdur* over her son against the dangers which await him on the magic sea:

Þann gel eg þér inn sétta	Then I sing you the sixth,
ef þú á sjó kemur	if you come to a sea,
meira en menn viti:	greater than men have known:
logn ok lögur	may calm and wave
gangi þér í lúður saman	go together in the quern [*lúður*],
ok ljái þér æ friðdrjúgrar farar.	and grant you a peaceful journey

Once Erik and Roller, defying the storms, had crossed over this sea and conquered the magic power which hindered reaching the country, they entered into a harbor, in whose proximity Frodi and Gunvara are to be sought. On the strand they meet inhabitants who belong to the attendants of the brother and sister. Among them are three brothers, all named Grep, and of whom one is Gunvara's pressing and persistent suitor. This Grep, who is a poet and orator of the sort found in that land, at once enters into a battle of words with Erik. The battle of words ends such that Grepp, defeated and indignant, withdraws from the game. Thereafter, Erik and Roller proceed up to the abode where they shall find those they sought. Frodi and Gunvara are met amid attendants who treat them as princely persons, and look upon themselves as their court. But the royal household is of a very strange kind, and receives the visitors with hideous shrieks, barking, and shameless pranks. **[598]** Frodi occupies the high-seat in the hall, where a great fire burns as a protection against the bitter cold. It is clear from Saxo's description that Frodi and Gunvara, possibly through the giant's sorcery, are in a spiritual condition in which they are almost oblivious to their past, but, nevertheless, not enjoying their present. Frodi feels unhappy and degraded. Gunvara loathes her suitor Grep. The days Erik and Roller spend here, before they get an opportunity to escape with Gunvara, form a series of drinking-bouts, vulgar songs, assaults, fights, and murders. The jealous Grep tries to assassinate Erik, but in this attempt he is slain by Roller. Frodi cannot be persuaded to accompany Erik, Roller, and Gunvara on their flight. He feels that his life has an unremovable spot, with which he is unwilling to appear among others. The myths leave it to Njörd himself to liberate his son. In another passage (Book VI, 147, 148 [*Hist.* 266, 267]) Saxo says that King Fridlevus (Njörd) liberated a princely youth who had been kidnapped by a giant. In the myths, this youth can hardly be anyone other than the young Frey, the liberator's son. Afterwards, Erik takes Gunvara as his wife.

Among the paraphrases in poems from heathen times occur some that refer to Frey's and Freyja's stay among the giants. In a song by the skald Kormákur the mead of poetry is called *jast-rín fentanna Sýrar Greppa*, "sea-teeth's (skerries') Syr's (Freyja's) Greppar's rising flood."[70] This paraphrase obviously has an idea-association based on the same myth which Saxo has told in his way to thank for its existence. *Sýr*, as we know, is one of Freyja's bynames, and as to its meaning, one which she must have acquired during her stay in Jötunheim, for it is scarcely applicable to her except in giant-talk. Greppur, the poet in the place, as we have already seen, is Freyja's suitor. He has brothers also called *Greppur*, thus the plural expression *Sýrar Greppa* ("Syr's Greps"), in which Freyja's byname joined with more than one Grep, receives its mythological explanation. The giant estate where Frodi and Gunvara dwell, is according to Saxo, situated not far from the harbor where Erik and Roller entered **[599]** (*portum a quo Frotho non longe*

[70] The kenning is recorded in *Skáldskaparmál* 53. Anthony Faulkes, who also defines it as "mead of poetry," derives the meaning as: "fen-teeth [rock-] Syr's [giantess's] men's [giants'] yeast-Rhine." (*Edda* p. 131). In his *Skáldskaparmál* II, p.294, Faulkes defines *greppr* as a "poetical name for a poet", "the poet", or "man in general"; as "in a kenning for giants, *Sýrar fentanna greppa* v292/3 (gen. pl. with *jast-Rín*)." Snorri defines *greppar* in *Skáldskaparmál* 65: "Poets are called *greppar*, and it is normal in poetry to refer thus to any man if desired." This, however does not rule out Rydberg's interpretation as Snorri also says "It is normal to refer to a man using all of the names of Æsir. Names of giants are also used. [*Skáldskaparmál* 39]. As noted, Saxo states that Grep is known as a poet among the men of his country.

deversabatur,[71] Book V, 112 [*Hist.* 198]). The expression "skerries' Syr's Greps" thus corresponds with Saxo.

A northern land uninhabited by man is called *útröst Belja dólgs*, "the most remotely situated abode of Beli's enemy (Frey)" by Eyvind skáldaspillir.[72] This paraphrase also has its explanation in the myth about Frey's and Freyja's stay in Jötunheim. *Beli* is a giant-name, and means "the shrieker." According to Saxo, Erik and Roller are received by the giants who attend Frey with hideous shrieks: "They uttered terrifying sounds in the manner of howling creatures" (*ululantium more horrisonas dedere voces*).[73] To the myth of how Frey fell into the power of the giants I shall come later (see no. 109, no. 111, 112).

In Saxo, Erik bears the surname *Disertus*, the eloquent. Svipdag's epithet *Óðr* originally had a meaning quite close to this. The impersonal *óður* means partly the thinking element in man, partly the shaping of poems and poetry, the ability of expressing one's self skillfully and of joining the words in an agreeable and persuasive manner (cp. the Gothic *weit-wodan*, to convince). Erik demonstrates the reason for his name: Saxo allows him to speak in proverbs and sentences, certainly for the reason that his Northern source has laid such on the lips of the young hero. The same quality characterizes Svipdag. In *Grógaldur* his mother sings over him: "Eloquence and social graces be abundantly given you";[74] and the description of him in *Fjölsvinnsmál* puts before our eyes a quick and spirited youth who well understands the watchman's veiled words, and on whose lips speech forms proverbs which imprint themselves on the memory. Compare *augna gamans*, etc. (str. 5),[75] and the often quoted *Urðar orði kveður engi maður* (str. 47).[76]

Toward Gunvara Erik observes the same chaste and chivalrous conduct as Otharus toward Syritha (*intacta illi pudicitia manet*, [77] Saxo, Book V, 121: [p. 216]). As to birth, he occupies the same subordinate position to her as Óðr to Freyja, Otharus to Syritha, Svipdag to Menglad.

The adventures that the myths related concerning Svipdag's journey, when **[600]** he went in search of Freyja-Menglad, are divided by Saxo between Ericus Disertus and Otharus that of the former is told the most of what happened to Svipdag during his visit in the giant abode, of the latter the most of what happened to him on his way home from there.

Of Erik's family relations, Saxo gives facts which, from a mythological viewpoint, are of great value. It has already been mentioned that Erik's mother, like Svipdag's, is dead, and that his father, like Svipdag's, is remarried at the beginning of his story. With his second wife, the father begets a son, whom Saxo calls Rollerus. After Erik's father also dies, Roller's mother, according to Saxo, marries again, and this time a

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[71] "a harbor not far from where Frothi was staying," [Fisher tr.].

[72] This occurs in *Skáldskaparmál* 14 [Jónsson ed]. Faulkes translates the passage as "Beli's enemy's outlying land," [*Edda, Skáldskaparmál* 7, p. 75].

[73] "uttered gruesome sounds like things howling," [Elton tr.]; "emitted blood-curdling cries like howling wolves," [Fisher tr.].

[74] *Grougaldur* 14.

[75] *Augna gamans fýsir-a aftur fán hvars hann getur svást að sjá*, "Once the eye has beheld a delightful spectacle, it ever years to return,"[Eysteinn Björnsson tr.]

[76] "No one may oppose Urd's degree, even though it incurs blame." [Eysteinn Björnsson tr.]

[77] "for her chastity remains inviolate," [Elton tr.]; "she is still a virgin," [Fisher tr.].

powerful champion called Brak (Book V, 122 [*Hist.* 217]), who in the continuation of the story proves to be *Ása-bragur*, the god Thor (cp. no. 105), to whom she then brings her son Roller. From our mythological sources, we learn that Thor's wife was the vegetation goddess Sif; that Sif had been married and had a son by the name Ullur, before she had yet become the Asa-god's wife, and that she brought this son, who was adopted into the gods' circle, to Asgard. Thus the mythic sources and Saxo correspond in these points, and thereby it follows that Rollerus is the same as Ullur, whom Saxo in another passage (Book III, 72-73 [*Hist.* 130, 131]; cp. no. 36) speaks of as Ollerus. The name-forms Ollerus and Rollerus stand in relationship to one other as *Ólfur* to *Hrólfur*. *Hrólfur* is a contraction of *Hróð-úlfur*; Rollerus suggests a contraction of *Hróð-Ullur*, *Hríð-Ullur*. The latter name-form occurs in the paraphrase *Hríðullr hrotta*, "the sword's storm-Ull,"[78] a designation of a warrior (*Grettis saga* 18 [20, 1]).[79] It has already been pointed out that in the great war between Odin's clan and the Vanir, Ull, although he is Thor's stepson, takes the Vanir's side and made common cause with Frey and Svipdag. Saxo also describes the half-brothers as faithfully united, and, on account of Roller's dependable fraternity, allows Erik to utter a saying which closely corresponds to the Danish: "*End svige de Sorne og ikke de Baarne*"[80] (Book 5, 116 ([*Hist.* 207]: *optima est affinium opera opis indigo*).[81] Saxo's account **[601]** of Erik and Roller thus gives us the key to the otherwise unintelligible mythological statements that Ull, although in Thor he has a friendly stepfather (cp. the expression *gulli Ullar* - *Þórsdrápa* 17 [*Pros*. I, 302]),[82] and in Odin a clan-chief who distinguishes him (cp. *Ullar hylli*, etc**.** - *Grímnismál* 42),[83] nevertheless, he appears in this feud on the same side as Erik-Svipdag, with whom he once set out to rescue Frey from the giants' power. The myth has not wanted to sever the bonds of fidelity which common youthful adventures had knitted between Frey, Ull, and Svipdag. For this reason, the latter two join with the former when the conflict between the Aesir and Vans breaks out.

It follows that Sif was Örvandil the brave's second wife before she became Thor's, and that Ull is Örvandil's son. The close relation between Örvandil on the one side and Thor on the other has already been pointed out above. When Örvandil was out on adventures in Jötunheim, his first wife Groa lived as a guest in Thor's hall, where the vegetation-dis could have a safe place of refuge during her husband's absence. This feature preserved in the *Prose Edda* is of great mythological interest, and, as I shall show later on, of Proto-Indo-European origin. Örvandil, the great archer and star-hero, is found again in *Rigveda* and even in Greek mythology —in the latter under the name Orion, as

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[78] Although Rydberg's translation here is accurate, Ull is simply the referent, indicating a human warrior, i.e. "the god [Ull] of the sword-storm." More recent English translators simply render the kenning as "warriors," Fox and Pálsson, 1974; "makers of snow-blizzards," i.e. "warriors," Scudder, 1997.

[79] This reference likely originated in Egilsson's *Lexicon Poeticum*, 1860, which defines the term *hríðullr* as "*deus procellæ*" and the phrase "*h. hrotta*" from "*Grett.* 20,1" as "præliator." The 1931 edition defines the term *hríð-Ullr* as "storm-Ull" and the phrase "*hrotta h.*" from "*Grettis* 15" as "kriger" (warrior).

[80] "To betray the sworn ones (i.e. oath-based relationships) rather than the born ones (i.e. blood relationships)," [Tore Lund tr.].

[81] "The service of kin is best for the helpless,"[Elton tr.]; "Kinsmen's service is very valuable when you need help," [Fisher tr.].

[82] *gulli Ullar* "stepfather of Ullr," cp. *mágr Ullar*, "father-in-law of Ullr", in *Haustlöng* 15, and *Ulls mágr*, in a verse by Eysteinn Valdason (c. 1000 AD, Skj. B I, 131, 3), cited from Richard North's *Haustlöng*, p. 64.

[83] "May he have Ull's protection and that of all the gods," [C. Larrington tr.]

Vigfusson has already assumed.[84] The assumption's correctness is corroborated by reasons, which shall be presented later.

103.
THE SVIPDAG SYNONYM EIREKUR (continued).

We now pass to the Erik that Saxo mentions in his history of Halfdan-Berggram, who, like Svipdag, is the maternal grandson of a Swedish king, who had fallen before Halfdan. Just as Svipdag enters into an irreconcilable war of revenge with Halfdan-Gram, Erik does with Halfdan-Berggram**.** In one of their encounters Halfdan, despite his **[602]** superhuman strength, and habit of victory, fled. And more: he has by his side the "champion Thoro," and Saxo himself informs us that the latter is no one less than the Asa-god Thor, but he too must yield to Erik. Thor's Mjöllnir and Halfdan's club availed nothing against Erik. In conflict with him, their weapons seemed edgeless (Book VII, 184 [*Hist*. 323, 324]).

That not only Halfdan, but Thor himself, Odin's mighty son, he who alone in strength outweighs all the other descendants and clansmen of Odin, was obliged to retreat before a mythical hero; and that his otherwise irresistible lightning hammer, Sindri's wonderful smithery, is powerless in this conflict, must in the mythology have had quite specific reasons. It is unlikely that the mythology would have permitted its favorite, "Hlóðyn's celebrated son," to be subjected to such a humiliation more than once, and this must have been motivated so that the event could be regarded as an exceptional case, standing alone. It may then be remembered that in his tale of Hotharus, Saxo states, that after the latter had acquired the sword of victory guarded by Mimingus, he meets the Asa-god Thor in conflict and forces him to yield, after severing the hammer from its shaft with a sword stroke (Book III, 66 [*Hist.* 118]; see no. 101). It has already been shown that Óður-Svipdag, not Höður, is the Hotharus who obtained the sword of victory and accomplished this feat (see no. 101). Erik accordingly has, in common with Svipdag, not only those features that he is the maternal grandson of a Swedish king whom Halfdan had slain, and that he relentlessly makes war on the latter, but also that he accomplished the singular exploit of putting Thor to flight.

The hammer Mjöllnir has thus shown itself to have been a weapon which, in spite of its extraordinary qualities, is inferior to the sword of victory forged by Völund (see nos. 87, 98). Thus, the mythology has reported two famous judgments on the primeval artists' smithery. The first judgment is passed by the Aesir in solemn consultation, and precisely for the sake of the hammer Mjöllnir, declares that Sindri's smithery is superior to that of Ivaldi's sons. The other judgment is passed on the battlefield, and challenges the former judgment of the gods**.** Mjöllnir proves itself useless in battle against the sword of victory. Now, if **[603]** the Völund of the heroic sagas was one of the overruled Ivaldi sons in the godsaga, then an epic connection could be shown between the former judgment and the latter: the offended Ivaldi son has then avenged himself on the gods and re-established his reputation dishonored by them. I shall return later to the question whether Völund in the myth was a son of Ivaldi or not.

The conflicts between Erik and Halfdan, according to Saxo, were conducted with shifting fortunes. In one of these conflicts, which must have occurred before Erik

[84] *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* II, p. 13: "Orwandil's toe [Orion's toe, the star Rigel in Orion?]"

obtained the irresistible sword, Halfdan is victorious and captures Erik; but the victor's heart changes to reconciliation toward its implacable foe, and he offers Erik life and friendship if the latter will serve his cause. But when Erik refuses the offered conciliation, Halfdan binds him to a tree in order to become prey for the forest's wild animals and leaves him to his fate. Halfdan's desire to become reconciled with Erik, and also that he binds him, is predicted, in *Gróugaldur* (str. 9, 10), by Svipdag's mother among the fortunes that await her son:

Þann gel eg þér inn fjórða,
ef þig fjándur standa
görvir á gálgvegi:
hugur þeim hverfi
til handa þér mætti,
og snúist þeim til sátta sefi.

9. I sing you the fourth,
if foes stand ready
on the gallow-way,
may their minds change,
their might in your hands,
and turn to offer peace.

Þann gel eg þér inn fimmta,
ef þér fjötur verður
borinn að boglimum:
Leifnis elda
læt eg þér fyr legg of
kveðinn,
og stökkur þá lás af limum,
en af fótum fjötur.

10. I sing you the fifth
if fetters are
bound around your limbs :
Leifnir's flames[85]
Will I let be sung over your legs,
and the lock shall start from your limbs
and the fetter from your feet.

The Svipdag synonyms previously encountered are: Óður (Hotharus), Óttarr (Otharus), and Eirekr (Ericus).

It is remarkable, but, as we shall find later, easy to explain, **[604]** that this saga-hero, whom the myths made Freyja's husband, and whose career was adorned with such wonderful adventures, was not accorded the same rank as the Aesir and those Vanir adopted by Odin, before the ninth century and in Sweden, although he was taken up into Asgard, and although his half-brother Ull was clothed with the same dignity as the Aesir possessed**.** No trace indicates that he who is Freyja's husband and Frey's brother-in-law was commonly honored with a divine title, a temple, and sacrifices. He remained to the believers of myth what he was: a brilliant hero, but nothing more; and while the story of

[85] *Leifnis eldar* apparently is a spell to loosen bonds, cp. *Hávamál* 143: *ef mér fyrðar bera* / *bönd að boglimum* / *svo eg gel* / *að eg ganga má* / *sprettur mér af fótum fjötur* / *en af höndum haft*; "I know a fourth if bonds are bent around my limbs, so I sing that which enables me to walk, freeing fetters from my feet, and cuffs from my hands." Leifnir is the name of a sea-king in the *þulur*. It is tempting to read this as a name of Frey, cp. *Lokasenna* 37 which says that Frey can loosen any fetter, *og leysir úr höftum hvern.*

the Teutons' primeval era made him a ruler of North Germanic tribes, whose leader he is in the war against Halfdan and Hadding (see no. 33, no 38), he was honored as one of the oldest kings of the Scandinavian peoples, but was not worshipped as a god. As an primeval king he has received his place in the middle-age chronicles and royal genealogies now under the name Svipdag, now under the name Erik. But, at the same time, his position in the epic was such that, if ever the question arose to increase the Germanic Olympus with a divinity of Asa-rank, no one would have a greater right than he to be clothed with this dignity. From this point of view light falls on a passage in ch. 26 of *Vita Ansgarii*.[86] It is told there, that before Ansgar arrived in Birka, where his impending arrival was not unknown, there came a man (presumably a heathen priest or skald) who insisted that he had a mission from the gods to the king and the people. According to the man's statement, the gods had held a meeting, which he himself had witnessed, in which they unanimously resolved to adopt into their council that King Erik who in antiquity had ruled over the Swedes, so that hereafter he should be one of the gods (*Ericum, quondam regem vestrum, nos unanimes in collegiam nostrum ascisimus, ut sit unus de numero deorum*);[87] this because they had perceived that the Swedes wanted to increase the number of their present gods by adopting a stranger (Christ) whose doctrine could not be reconciled with theirs, and who therefore should not be worshipped. **[605]** If the Swedes wished to add another god to the old ones, under whose protection the country had so long enjoyed happiness, peace, and plenty, they ought to award Erik, and not the foreign god, that honor which belongs to the country's protective divinities. What the man who came to Birka with this revelation said was made public, and aroused much agitation in their minds. When Ansgar landed, a temple to Erik had already been built, in which they devoted vows and sacrifices to him. The event that took place here, happened during a time, that foreboded a crisis for the ancient Odinic religion. Its last bulwarks on the Germanic continent had fallen, not long before, through Charlemagne's victory over the Saxons. The report of the cruelties employed by the doctrine's advocates, penetrating from the south and the west, for the purpose of breaking the faith of the Saxon Odin worshippers towards their religion, had certainly spread across Scandinavia, and, to a degree, should have contributed to the mighty effort that the northern peoples in the ninth century made to invade and conquer the kindred Germanic people who had been converted to Christianity in their own territory. It is of no slight mythological interest to learn that zealous men among the Swedes could hope to infuse the old doctrine with new life by adopting among the gods Freyja's husband, the most brilliant of the mythic heroes and the one most celebrated by the skalds. I do not deem it impossible that this very attempt made Erik's name hated among a portion of the Christians, and caused "Old Erik" to become a name of the devil. *Vita Ansgarii* says that it was the devil's own work that Erik was adopted among the gods.

The Svipdag synonym Erik reappears in the Christian story about Erik *víðförli*[88] (the far-traveled), who succeeded in finding and entering *Ódáins-akur* (see no. 44). This is a reminiscence of Svipdag's stay in Mimir's realm. The nickname *víðförli* has become

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[86] *The Life of St. Ansgar* by Rimbert, Arch-Bishop of Hamburg-Bremen, c. 865-876 AD.

[87] ["In any case, if you want to have more gods, if we are not adequate to your purposes, we are ready to admit to our society,] Eric, once your king, so that he may take his place among the gods." Raymond Ian Page tr., *Chronicles of the Vikings*, 1995, University of Toronto Press, p. 228.

[88] *Eireks saga víðförla*.

connected with two of Svipdag's names: we have *Eírikur hinn víðförli* and *Óður* (*Oddur*) *hinn víðförli* in the later Icelandic sagas. **[606]**

104.
THE VÖLUND SWORD'S LATER FORTUNES

I have now given an overview of the ways in which I have found the fragments of the myth about Svipdag until the time when he obtains Freyja as his wife. The fragments suitably complete one other and form a coherent whole. Now, some words on the role that the Völund sword, obtained by Svipdag in the underworld, later played in the myths and sagas. The sword, as we have seen, is the prize for which Asgard opens its gate and receives Svipdag as Freyja's husband. Thereafter, we find it in Frey's possession. Once more the sword becomes a bride-price and passes into the hands of the giant Gymir and his wife. It has already been shown that Gymir's wife is the same Angurboda who, in historical times and until Ragnarok, dwells in the Ironwood (see no. 35). Her shepherd, who in the woods watches her monster herds, also guards the sword until the fire-giant Fjalar, in the guise of the red cock, shall appear to him and bring it to his own father Surt, in whose hand it shall be Frey's bane, and lead to the divine world's ruin.

A historian, Priscus, who was Attila's contemporary, tells that the Hunnish king came into possession of a divine sword that a shepherd had dug out of the ground and presented to him as a gift**.** The king of the Huns, it is added, rejoiced at the find; for, as the possessor of the sword that had belonged to the god "Mars," he considered himself as authorized to undertake and successfully carry on any war he pleased (see Jordanes, who quotes Priscus).[89]

The report of this alleged event must have made a mighty impression on the Germanic people and perhaps it was intended to; for their myths spoke of a sword of victory which was owned by that god who, since Baldur died and Tyr became one-handed, was considered, along with Thor, to be one of the bravest of the warlike gods, whose sword had been carried away from Asgard to the unknown wild districts of the East, and buried there, **[607]** in order to be brought anew into the light of day and delivered by a shepherd to a foe of mankind at the approach of the world's destruction. Prior to that, the Teutons had already placed the appearance of the Huns in connection with this myth. According to Jordanes, they believed that evil witches, whom the Gothic king Filimer had driven away from his people, had taken refuge in the eastern wastelands, and there with forest giants ("satyrs")[90] had given birth to children, who became the forefathers of the Huns.[91] This is to say, in other words, that they believed the Huns

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[89] Jordanes, *Getica* 35, 183: "His assurance was increased by finding the sword of Mars, always esteemed sacred among the kings of the Scythians. The historian Priscus says it was discovered under the following circumstances: 'When a certain shepherd beheld one heifer of his flock limping and could find no cause for this wound, he anxiously followed the trail of blood and at length came to a sword it had unwittingly trampled while nibbling the grass. He dug it up and took it straight to Attila. He rejoiced at this gift and, being ambitious, thought he had been appointed ruler of the whole world, and that through the sword of Mars supremacy in all wars was assured to him.'" [Mierow tr.]

[90] The beings who father the Huns are called *spiritus immundi*, "unclean spirits," by Jordanes.

[91] Jordanes, *Getica*, 24, 121-122: "We learn from old traditions that their origin was as follows: Filimer, king of the Goths, son of Gadaric 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

originated from Angurboda's brood in the Ironwood, which, in the fullness of time, would break into Midgard with the monster Hati in the lead. The sword which the god Frey had possessed, and which was concealed in the Ironwood, becomes in Jordanes a sword which the god "Mars" had owned, and which, thereafter, had been concealed in the earth. Angurboda's shepherd, who brings the sword anew into the light of day and delivers it to the world-hostile Fjalar, becomes a shepherd who digs up the sword and gives it to Attila, the foe of the Germanic people.

The memory of the sword survived Christianity's victory and was preserved in many variations through the centuries. That Surt would possess the sword at the destruction of the world naturally fell away, and instead one could designate now one and then another hero to find and take it; that it was guarded by a woman and a man (in the myth Angurboda and Eggther); and that the woman was an even more dreadful being than the man, were features that the story retained both on the continent and in England.

The Beowulf poem allows a monster with the name Grendel ("the destroyer"), to dwell with his mother below a marsh in a forest, which, although place in Denmark and in the vicinity of a Danish king's splendid stronghold, is described in a manner which makes it highly probable that the model that the Christian poet used was a heathen skald's description of the Ironwood. There, he says, is the mysterious land in which the wolf hides itself, with deep valleys, precipices, and chasms, with dreary forest depths, with fog-enveloped marshes, tree-shadowed waters, storm-tossed nesses, mountain torrents and bogs, which **[608]** in the night are lit as by fire, and house demoniac beings and dragons in their murky waves. Hunted game allows itself to be torn to pieces by hounds rather than seeking refuge on this unholy ground, from which raging storms rouse black clouds until the heavens darken and the torrential rains pour down.[92] The English poet in good faith may have localized the mythic Ironwood to Denmark. The same old border-land, which to this very day is called "Dänische wold,"[93] was still called Jarnwith, the Ironwood, by the Danes in the thirteenth century.[94] From his haunt in this wilderness Grendel makes nightly excursions to the Danish royal stronghold, breaks in there, slays sleeping champions with his iron fists, sucks out their blood, and bears their corpses to the enchanted marsh in order to eat them there. The hero, Beowulf, who has heard of this, proceeds to Denmark, penetrates into the horrible forest, dives, armed with Denmark's best sword, down into the enchanted marsh to Grendel's and his mother's hall, and kills them after a conflict in which the sword proves itself useless. But down there he finds another which Grendel and his mother concealed, seizes it, and triumphs with its aid.

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with his tribe,--found among his people certain witches, whom he called in his native tongue Haliurunnae. Suspecting these women, he expelled them from the midst of his race and compelled them to wander in solitary exile afar from his army. (122) 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,--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." [Mierow tr.]

[92] *Beowulf* 1355-1377.

[93] Located in the northern German state of Schleswig-Holstein bordering Denmark.

[94] *Waldemars Erdbuch*, p. 45, 105, 126; Nielsen, *Schleswig-Holstein urkundenbüch*. 1, 125 nr. 110, a. 1284 [Karl Müllenhoff, *Deutsches Altertumskunde*, 1908, p. 122]

Of this wonderful sword it is said that it was "rich in victory,"[95] that it dated from antiquity, that "it was the good and excellent smithery of giants,"[96] and that the golden hilt was the "wonder-smith's" work.[97] On the blade was engraved "that ancient conflict"[98] when "the raging sea's billows washed over the giant race,"[99] and on a plate made of the purest gold was written in runic letters "the name of him for whom this weapon was first made."[100] The Christian poet has found it most convenient not to name this name for his readers or hearers. But all that is said here, however, applies to the mythic sword of victory. The "wonder-smith" in the Old English hereditary tale is Völund (Weland). The coat of mail that Beowulf bears is "*Welandes geweorc*."[101] *Deor the Scald's Complaint*[102] sings of Weland, and King Alfred in his translation of Boethius speaks of "the wise Weland, the goldsmith, who, in ancient times, was the most celebrated."[103] That the Weland sword was "the smithery of a giant" corresponds with the Völund myth (see below) **[609]** and here, when one receives knowledge that the blade was engraved with images that depicted the primeval giants' ruin in the sea-waves (the original giant Ymir's blood), then this illuminates a passage in *Skírnismál*, where it is similarly stated that the sword was engraved with images and that "it fights of itself against the giant race" (*Skírnismál* 8, 23, 25; see no. 60). This expression is intentionally ambiguous. One meaning is emphasized by Frey's words in *Skírnismál* 9, that it fights of itself "if it is a wise man who possesses it" (*ef sá er horskur er hefir*). The expression's second meaning is clear from the Beowulf poem. The sword itself fights against the giant race in the sense that the "wonder-smith" (Weland) allows the sword itself to illustrate, via engravings on its blade, the battle that Odin and his brothers conducted against the original giants, when they drowned them in their progenitor Ymir's blood.

Grendel is the son of the witch living in the marsh, just as Hati is Angurboda's. The author identifies Grendel with Cain, banished from the Creator's sight, and makes giants, thurses, and "elves" originate from the banished one. Grendel's mother is a "she-wolf of the deep" and a mermaid (*merewif*).[104] Angurboda is the mother of the wolf-brood in the Ironwood and "drives the ships into Ægir's jaws."[105] What *Beowulf* says about Grendel in certain details so strongly resembles *Völuspá*'s statement about Hati that one can question whether the English author did not have in mind a strophe such as the one in *Völuspá* that deals with him. *Völuspá*'s Hati *fyllisk fjörvi feigra manna*, "satiates himself with the vital force of men selected for death"; *Beowulf*'s Grendel sucks his chosen victim's blood, until the life ebbs out of them. *Völuspá*'s Hati *rýður ragna sjöt rauðum dreyra*, "colors the ruler's abode with the red blood of wounds"; Grendel slips into the royal stronghold and stains it with blood. The expression reappears here as good

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[95] Beowulf 1557: sige-ēadig bil
[96] *Beowulf* 1562 *gōd ond geatolīc, gīganta geweorc*, cp. 1679: *enta ær-geweorc*.
[97] *Beowulf* 1681: *wundor-smiþa geweorc*.
[98] *Beowulf* 1689: *fyrn-gewinnes*
[99] *Beowulf* 1689-1690: *syðþan flōd ofslōh/gifen gēotende, gīganta cyn*.
[100] *Beowulf* 1694-1696.
[101] *Beowulf* 455.
[102] The English title provided by Rydberg is that of Benjamin Thorpe's translation, published in *Codex Exoniensis. A Collection of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 1842, pp. 377-379.
[103] King Alfred's 9th century Anglo-Saxon translation of Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae*, ch. 19.
[104] *Beowulf* 1506, *brimwylf*, and 1519.
[105] See no. 35.

as word-for-word. *Völuspá*'s *ragna sjöt* and *dreyri* correspond perfectly to *Beowulf*'s *driht-sele* and *dreor*.

Þiðreks Saga af Bern, ch. 16 [*Wilkinasaga*] says that Nagelring, the best sword in existence, was concealed in a forest, and watched there by a woman **[610]** and a man.[106] The man had the strength of twelve men, but the woman was even stronger. King Thidrek and his friend Hildebrand succeeded after a dreadful swordfight in slaying the monster. The woman had to be slain three times, so that she would not come to life again.[107] This feature is also borrowed from the myth about Angurboda, the thrice slain.

Historia Pontificum (from the middle of the twelfth century) informs us that Duke Wilhelm of Angoulême (second half of the tenth century) possessed an extraordinary sword made by Völund.[108] However, this was not the actual sword of victory. From Jordanes' history it was known in the middle ages that this sword had come into Attila's hands, and one naturally asked where it went afterwards. Sagas gave answer to the question.[109] The sword remained among the Huns' descendants, the Hungarians. The mother of the Hungarian king Salomon presented it to Otto of Bavaria. He loaned it out to the margrave of Lausitz, Dedi the younger. After Dedi was murdered, it came to Emperor Heinrich IV, who presented it to his favorite, Leopold of Merseburg. In a fall from his horse, Leopold was wounded by the point of the sword and died from the wound. Even in more recent times, some believed in the sword's existence, and there were those who wanted to believe that the Duke of Alba bore it at his side.

105.
THE SVIPDAG EPITHET SKIRNIR. THE VÖLUND SWORD'S NAME GAMBANTEINN.

After Svipdag's marriage with Freyja, the story of his life can be divided into two parts: the time of his stay in Asgard as Freyja's happy husband and Frey's closest friend, and the time of his absence from Asgard and his transformation and downfall.

To the former of these divisions belongs his celebrated journey to the estate of the giant Gymir, where he proceeds, on Frey's behalf, to propose to Gerd, Gymir's and Aurboda's beautiful daughter. It has already been pointed out that Erik-Svipdag, after his **[611]** marriage to Gunvara-Freyja, appears in Saxo as Frotho-Frey's right hand, ready to help and a trusted man in all things. Among other things, he also receives the assignment to propose on Frotho's behalf to a young maiden whose father in the mythology undoubtedly was a giant: he is described as a deceitful, treacherous, god-hostile being,

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[106] "Two people own this treasure. One of them is a woman named Hild and the other is her husband Grim." [Haymes tr.]

[107] Ch. 17: "He struck Hild in two pieces. But because she was skilled at magic and had much troll in her nature, the two parts jumped together as if she were whole. This seemed a great wonder to Thidrek, and he struck a second time at her torso. Everything happened as before. And then Hildebrand spoke: 'Put your feet between the head part and the foot part, and you will be able to destroy this troll.' And then Thidrek struck her a third time into two pieces and placed his feet between the two parts. The lower part was dead, but the head part spoke: 'If Grim had been able to defeat Thidrek as I was able to deal with Hildebrand, then we would have won.' Now each part fell its way." [Haymes tr.]

[108] Rydberg's source here is Wilhelm Grimm's *Die Deutsche Heldensage*, 1829, no. 28, pp.41-42, which quotes and interprets *Historia Pontificum et comitum Engolismensium*, c. 19, p. 253.

[109] All of the following references are from *Die Deutsche Heldensage*, 1829, no. 150, pp. 312, which cites its source as "Lambert von Aschaffenburg (p. 348. Pistor.)."

who had laid a plan with his daughter as bait to deceive Frotho and acquire Gunvara for himself. The plan is frustrated by Svipdag (Ericus), Ull (Rollerus), and Thor (Bracus), the last of whom here appears in his usual role as the conqueror of giants. Just when Frotho's intended father-in-law believes he has won the game, Thor storms into his halls, and the schemer is compelled to save himself by flight (Book V, 122 ff., etc. [*Hist.* 221 ff.]). In the excellent poem *Skírnismál*, the Icelandic mythic remains have preserved the memory of Frey's proposal to a giant-maid, daughter of the giant-chief Gymir Aurboda's terrible husband. Here, as in Saxo, the Vana-god does not himself go to propose, but sends a messenger, who in the poem is designated by the epithet Skirnir. All that is there told about this Skirnir finds its explanation in Svipdag's story. The epithet itself, Skirnir, "the shining," is justified by the fact that Sólbjart-Örvandil, the star-hero, is his father. Skirnir dwells in Asgard, but is not one of the ruling divine powers. Among the gods, the one with whom he is most intimately united is Frey. His position in Asgard, therefore, is the same as Svipdag's. Skirnir's influence on Freyja's brother is so great that when neither Njörd nor Skadi can persuade their son to reveal the cause of the sorrow which consumes him, they hope that Skirnir shall be able to do so. Who, if not Svipdag, who sought to rescue Frey from the power of the giants, and who is his brother-in-law, and in Saxo his all in all, would be able to possess such influence over him? Skirnir also refers to the fact that in days past he and Frey had adventures together of such a kind that they ought to be able to have faith in each other, and that Frey should not consider himself to have any secret which he may not safely confide to so faithful a friend (*Skírnismál* 5). Skirnir is wise and literary, and has proverbs on his lips like Svipdag-Erik **[612]** (cp. *Skírnismál* 13 with *Fjölsvinnsmál* 47). But what settles the matter of their identity is the fact that Skirnir, like Svipdag, had made a journey to the underworld, had been in Mimir's realm at the root of the world-tree, and there had fetched a sword called Gambantein, which is the same sword as the one Frey lays in his hand when he is to go on his errand of courtship - the same sword that Frey afterwards relinquishes as a bride-price to Gymir and Aurboda. When Gerd refuses to accept the courtship-presents that Skirnir conveys, he draws his sword, shows its blade to Gerd, and with its edge threatens to send her to Niflhel, the region below the *ná*-gates, the Hades-dwelling of Hrimnir, Hrimgrimnir, and other primeval giants, the haunt of the furies of physical sicknesses (see no. 60), and tells her how this terrible weapon originally came into his possession:

Til holts eg gekk	"I went to Holt
og til hrás viðar	And to the sappy tree
gambantein að geta,	*Gambantein* to get,
gambantein eg gat.	*Gambantein* I got."[110]

The word *teinn*, "branch," "twig," has the meaning sword in all compounds where it occurs: *benteinn, bifteinn, eggteinar, hævateinn (homateinn), hjörteinn, hræteinn, sárteinn, valteinn*. *Mistilteinn* has also become a sword-name (*Nafnaþulur* [Pr. Edd. I. 564]; *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks konungs*,[111] *Hrómundar saga Gripssonar* [*Fornald.* I, 416, 515, II, 371]; cp. no. 101), and in *Fjölsvinnsmál* 26, the same weapon that is called *gambanteinn* here is called *hævateinn, homateinn*[112] (see further no. 116).

In the mythology there is only one place that is called *Holt*.[113] It is *Mímis holt*, *Hoddmímis holt*, the subterranean grove, where the children who are to be the parents of

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[110] The most common reading of this verse interprets *holt* as a common wood, and *gambanteinn* as a branch, used as a magic wand, employed by Skirnir to threaten Gerd, as in Carolyne Larrington's translation: "I went to the forest to the living wood, to get a *potent branch* [*gambanteinn*]; a potent branch I got." This reading is dependent on the only other occurrence of the word in *Hárbardljóð* 20, where the ferryman Harbard says of the giant Hlebard: *gaf hann mér gambanteinn, en ek vélta hann ór viti*, "he gave me a *magic staff* [*gambanteinn*] and I bewitched him out of his wits," [Larrington tr.]. In this reading, Skirnir moves from cursing Gerd with the sword he obtained from Frey (v. 8) to cursing her with a green stick. Rydberg suggests instead that Skirnir continues to curse Gerd with the sword (v. 8, *sverð*; v. 23, 25: *mæki*; v. 25: *eggiom*), called both *Tamsvendi*, "taming stick" (v. 26), and *gambanteinn* (v. 32). Noting that the prefix *gamban-* only occurs in two other compounds, [*gambanreiði, Skirnismal* 33/6; *gambansumbl, Lokasenna* 8/6] Ursula Dronke notes: "The etymology of *gamban-* has not been determined; no doubt it relates to the concept of magnitude, which readily takes on associations of magic." [*Poetic Edda*, Vol. II, p. 411].

[111] The text of this saga varies considerably among the manuscripts. It is found in two vellum copies *Hauksbók* (A.M. 544), dating from c.1325, which ends with Gestumblindi's second riddle, and the 15th century MS. 28451 in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, which breaks off near the end of ch. 12. Beyond this point, we are entirely dependent on paper mss, dating from the 17th century. The text in question reads: "*Angantýr hafði Tyrfing, en Sæmingr Mistiltein* [*þann sótti Þráinn, síðan í haug hans*]... ". Although not found in modern editions, which rely solely on the vellum mss. until the end of ch. 12, the passage appears in Rydberg's source: C.C. Rafn's 1829 edition, *Fornaldarsögur* I, 416 and 515, as well as other 19th century editions such as *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks konungs* by Niels Matthias Petersen and Gísli Thorarensen (1847), based on a longer version of the saga in a paper manuscript of 1694, known as A.M. 345.

[112] The manuscripts variously read *Hævateinn, Homateinn, Heviateinn*, which Sophus Bugge emended to *Lævateinn*, for metrical and palaeographic reasons; H for L is a common mistake in old manuscripts. As it stands, *Hævateinn* is meaningless, while *Lævateinn* means "twig of destruction," curiously echoing *Völuspá* 52, where Surt proceeding from the south with the sword of a *váltivi*, a god of the slain, is accompanied by *sviga lævi* "the destruction of branches", a simple paraphrase for fire.

[113] According to the Cleasby/Vigfusson Dictionary, *holt* properly means "wood, copsewood, or coppice," although in this sense it is almost obsolete; in modern Icelandic, it means "any rough stony hill or ridge." In the mythological poems of the *Poetic Edda*, the word occurs only three times*: Skírnismál* 32, *Vafþrúðnismál* 45, and *Völundarkviða* 16, where it seems to refer exclusively to Mimir's realm. In a single occurrence in the heroic poem, *Hamðismál* 4, it may indicate a stony hill [LaFarge/ Tucker *Glossary to the Poetic Edda*].

the future race of man have their secure abode until the **[613]** time of the world's renewal (see nos. 52, 53), living off the morning-dew which falls from the world-tree, *hrár viður*, "the sap-rich tree" (see no. 89). Mimir-Nidhad also comes from Holt when he imprisons Völund (*Völundarkviða* 16). It has already been shown above that, on his journey in the underworld, Svipdag also came to *Mímis holt*, and saw the stronghold within which the *ásmegir* have their sanctuary.

Saxo has known either the above-cited strophe or another resembling it, and, allows his Erik-Svipdag, when speaks of his travels in ambiguous words (*obscura umbage*),[114] to say: *Ad trunca sylvarum robora penetravi . . . ibi cuspis a robore regis excussa est* (Book V, 116 [*Hist.* 206]).[115] With the expression *ad robora sylvarum penetravi* one must compare *til holts eg gekk.* The expression *robur regis* refers to the tree of the underworld king, Mimir, *Mímameiður*, the world-tree. Erik-Svipdag's aim with the journey to this tree is to obtain a weapon. Saxo calls this weapon *cuspis. Fjölsvinnsmál* calls it by a paraphrase, *broddur. Cuspis* is a translation of *broddur.*

Thus Skirnir's identity with Svipdag is undoubted.

106.
SVIPDAG'S LATER FATE. HIS TRANSFORMATION AND DEATH. FREYJA SEARCHES FOR HIM. THE FREYJA EPITHET MARDÖLL. "THE SEA-KIDNEY," BRÍSINGAMEN. THE SVIPDAG EPITHET HERMÓÐUR.

When the war between the Aesir and the Vans breaks out, Svipdag, as we have learned, takes the side of the Vans (see no. 33, no. 38), where he naturally has his place as the Vanadis Freyja's husband and Frey's most trusted friend. The successful outcome of the war for the Vans gives Svipdag free hands toward Halfdan's hated son Hadding, the son of the woman for whose sake Svipdag's mother Groa was rejected. Still, Svipdag offers Hadding reconciliation, peace, and a kingdom among the Teutons (see no. 38). When Hadding refuses to accept gifts of mercy from his father's slayer, Svipdag persecutes him with implacable hate. This hatred finally produces a turning-point in Svipdag's fortunes and darkens the brilliant hero's **[614]** career. After the Aesir and Vans had become reconciled again, one of their first thoughts must have been to put an end to the feud between the Germanic tribes, since a continuation of the latter was not in harmony with the peace restored among the gods (see no. 41). Nevertheless the war continues in Midgard (see no. 41), and it is Svipdag who is the cause of it. He has become a rebel against both Aesir and Vanir, and herein we must look for the reason why, as the Prose Edda reports, he disappears from Asgard (*Gylfaginning* 35 [*Pr. Edda* 114]). But he disappears not only from the world of the gods, but finally also from the terrestrial scene of war, and that god or those gods who caused this, conceal his unhappy and humiliating fate from Freyja. It is then that the faithful and devoted Vanadis goes forth to seek her lover in all worlds *með ókunnum þjóðum.*[116]

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[114] "very dark riddling," [Elton tr.]; "dark riddles," [Fisher tr.].

[115] "I made my way to the lopped timbers of the woods; …There a lance- head was shaken from the shaft of the king," [Elton tr.] "I was always getting to the trunks of the forest oaks; …there the tip of the king's spear was shaken off." [Fisher tr.] The lance-head is identified as Fridlief's grandson.

[116] "among unknown peoples," [Byock tr.]

Saxo gives us two accounts of Svipdag's death, the one duly historicized, the other faithfully corresponding with the myth. The former says that Hadding conquered and killed Svipdag in a naval battle (Book I, 24 [*Hist*. 42]). The latter tells the following (Book I, 29 [*Hist*. 48]):

While Hadding lived in exile in a northern wilderness, after his great defeat in battle with the Swedes, it happened on a sun-warm day that he went to the sea to bathe. While he washed himself in the cold water, he saw an animal there of a most peculiar kind (*bellua inauditi generis*),[117] and fell into combat with it. Hadding slew it with tight strokes and drug it up on land. But while he rejoiced in this feat a woman placed herself in his path and sang a song, in which she let him know that the deed he had just committed would draw fearful consequences over him until he reconciled the divine wrath which this murder had called down upon his head. All nature's forces, wind and wave, heaven and earth, shall be his enemies, if he did not appease the offended gods, for the being that he killed was a celestial being concealed in animal-guise, one of the super-terrestrial: **[615]**

Quippe unum e superis alieno corpore tectum
Sacrilegæ necuere manus: sic numinis almi
Interfector ades.[118]

It appears, however, from the narrative's continuation, that Hadding did not want to repent what he did, although he found out that the one he had slain was a supernatural being, and that he long refused to appease those gods whose sorrow and wrath were aroused by the murder. Not until the predictions of the woman were confirmed by severe inflictions does Hadding make up his mind to reconcile the powers in question. And this he does by instituting the sacrificial feast, which is called Fröblot, and ever after was celebrated in the god Frey's honor (*Fro deo rem divinam furvis hostiis fecit*).[119]

Hadding's refusal to make up for what he had done, and the defiance he showed for a time to the divine powers, whom he had insulted by the murder committed, has its only explanation in that these powers were the Vana-gods who long supported his enemies (see no. 39), and that the supernatural being itself, who, concealed in the shape of an animal, was slain by him, was some one whose vanquishing was a comfort to him pleasure, and whose death he considered himself justified and obliged to cause. This explanation is fully corroborated in that when he learns that Odin and the Aesir, whose favorite he was, no longer hold protecting hands over him, and that the atonement advised by the prophetess becomes a necessity to him, he then institutes the great annual offering to Frey, Svipdag's brother-in-law. That this god especially must be propitiated can, in the order of things, have no other reason than that Frey was a closer kinsman than any of the Aesir to the supernatural being, from whose slayer he (Frey) demanded ransom and reconciliation. And when Saxo has already informed us that Svipdag perished in a "naval battle" with Hadding, everything subsequently refers to the conclusion that in the

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[117] "a beast of unknown kind," [Elton tr.]; "a peculiar monster," [Fisher tr.].

[118] "thy sacrilegious hands have slain one of the dweller's above, disguised in a shape that was not his," [Elton tr.]; "For you have killed with sacrilegious hands, a sky-dweller wrapped in another body," [Fisher].

[119] "For, in order to appease the deities, he sacrificed dusky victims to the god Frey," [Elton tr.]; "In order to mollify the divinities, he did indeed make a holy sacrifice of dark-coloured victims to Frey," [Fisher].

inhabitant of heaven who was concealed in the animal-guise and slain in the water, we must recognize Svipdag, Freyja's husband.

Saxo does not tell us what animal guise it was. **[616]** Certainly, it must have been a purely fabulous guise, since Saxo designates it as *bellua inauditi generis*. An Anglo-Saxon source, which shall be cited below, designates it as *wyrm* and *draca*. That Svipdag, sentenced to wear this guise, kept himself in the water near the shore of a sea, follows from the fact that Hadding encounters and kills him during a bath in the sea. Freyja, who sought her lost lover everywhere, also searched for him *Ægir*'s and *Rán*'s kingdom. Evidence exists that she found him there again, and, in spite of his transformation and now repulsive exterior, she stayed with him and sought to soothe his misery with her faithful love. One of Freyja's bynames shows that at one time she dwelt in the lap of the sea. The byname is Mardöll. Another testament of this is the fragment preserved to our time of the myth concerning the conflict between Heimdall and Loki in regard to Brisingamen. Celebrated both among the Germanic tribes of England and those of Scandinavia, this neck- and breast-ornament, one of the most splendid works of the primeval artists, was Freyja's property (*Þrymskviða* 13, *Gylfaginning* 35, *Skáldskaparmál* 28 [*Prose Edda*]). She took it with her when she sought Svipdag and found him beneath the sea-waves; and the brilliance from the deep that her Brisingamen then diffused over the surface of the ocean is the epic interpretation of the name *Mardöll*, from *mar*, "sea," and *döll*, feminine of *dallur* (Old English *deall*)[120] "shimmering" (compare the names *Heimdallur* and *Dellingur*). Mardöll thus means "the one diffusing a shimmer in the sea." The Brisingamen, together with its possessor, actually was for a time in Ægir's realm is demonstrated by its epithet *fagurt hafnýra*, "the fair kidney of the sea," which occurs in a strophe of Ulf Uggason (*Skáldskaparmál* 23 [*Pr. Edd*. 268]). It was also on a skerry, *Vágasker*, *Singasteinn*, that Brisingamen lay and glittered, when Loki, clad in the form of a seal, tried to steal it. But before he managed to fulfill his purpose, another seal in whose eyes the evil and cunning descendant of Farbauti must have immediately recognized his old adversary Heimdall— persons in disguise cannot change their eyes—crept upon the skerry. A conflict arose in regard to the possession of the [617] ornament, and the brave son of the nine mothers became the victor and preserved the treasure for Asgard.

To the Svipdag synonyms Óður (Hotharus), Óttar (Otharus), Eirekur (Ericus), and Skírnir, we must finally add one more, which is, perhaps, of Anglo-Saxon origin: Hermóður, Heremod.

From the Norse mythic mementos one learns the following about Hermod:

(a) He dwelt in Asgard, but did not belong to the number of ruling gods. He is called Odin's *sveinn* (*Gylfaginning* 49, *Codex Regius* [*Pr. Edd*. 174]),[121] and he was a favorite of the Asa-father, who presented him with helmet and cuirass (*Hyndluljóð* 2).

(b) He is called *inn hvati* (*Gylfaginning* 49 [*Pr. Edd*. 174]), the rapid. When Frigg asks if anyone desires to earn her favor and gratitude by riding to the realm of death and offering Hel a ransom for Baldur, Hermod himself offers to perform this task. He receives Odin's horse Sleipnir to ride, proceeds on the Hel-way, comes safely to that stronghold in the underworld, where Baldur and Nanna await the world's regeneration, spurs Sleipnir over the stronghold wall, and returns to Asgard with Hel's answer, and

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[120] The Old English word *deall* is an adjective meaning "proud, exulting, eminent, bold, renowned."

[121] The W and U manuscripts have "*son*" instead. He is also listed among the sons of Odin in the *Nafnaþular*.

with the ring Draupnir, and with presents from Nanna to Frigg and Fulla (*Gylfaginning* 49 [*Pr. Edd.* 180]).

From this it appears that Hermod has a position in Asgard that resembles Skirnir's; that he, like the latter, is employed by the gods as a messenger when it pertains to onerous or adventurous errands, and that he, like Skirnir, then gets that steed to ride, which is able to leap over waver-flames and stronghold-defenses. One should also bear in mind that Skirnir-Svipdag had made famous journeys in the same world to which Hermod is now sent to find Baldur. Before his arrival in Asgard, Svipdag, of course, had roamed throughout the underworld, and there had fetched the sword of victory. After his adoption into Asgard, he is sent to the underworld by the gods to fetch the chain Gleipnir (*Gylfaginning* 34).[122]

(c) In historical times Hermod dwells in Valhall, and is one of the foremost einherjar.[123] When Hakon the Good was **[618]** on the way to the Asa-father's hall, the latter sent Bragi and Hermod to meet him (*Hákonarmál* 14):

Hermóður og Bragi,
kvað Hroptatýr,
gangið í gegn grami,
því að konungur fer
sá er kappi þykir
til hallar hinig.[124]

This is all there is in the Norse sources about Hermod.

One receives more detailed information of him in the *Beowulf* poem, which in two passages (ll. 871 ff.[125] [str. 1747 ff.],[126] etc., and ll. 1707 ff. [3419 ff.]) compares him with its own unselfish and blameless hero, Beowulf, in order to make it clear that the latter was in moral respects superior to the famous hero of antiquity.[127] Beowulf was related by marriage to the reigning royal dynasty in his land, and grew up in the king's halls as an older brother of his sons. The comparisons make these circumstances, common to Beowulf and Hermod, the starting-point, and show that while Beowulf became the most faithful guardian of his young foster-brothers, and in all upheld their rights, Hermod conducted himself in a wholly different manner. Of Hermod the poem lets us know:

(a) He grew up at the court of a Danish king (*ll*. 907 ff. [str. 1818, ff.], *ll*. 1709 ff. [3422, ff.]).

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[122] Gleipnir is used to bind the Fenris wolf.

[123] Anthony Faulkes observes that Hermod appears as a prominent inhabitant of Valhöll in *Hyndluljóð* 2, *Hákonarmal* 14, *Málsháttakvæði* 9, *Sögubrot af fornkongungun* 11. [*Edda: Prologue and Gylfaginning*, p. 168].

[124] "'Hermod and Bragi,' said Hropta-Tyr [Odin], 'go to meet the prince, for a king is coming who is to be considered a hero, here to this hall." [Faulkes tr.] The verse is preserved in *Skáldskaparmál.*

[125] *Heremod* is named at lines 901 and 1709.

[126] Rydberg refers to *Beowulf* in Benjamin Thorpe's *The Anglo-Saxon Poems of Beowulf, the Scôp or Gleeman's Tale, and the Fight at Finnesburg*, 1855.

[127] Anthony Faulkes remarks: "He is perhaps identifiable with the Heremod of *Beowulf*, 901, 1709, and Old English genealogies." [*Edda: Prologue and Gylfaginning*, p. 168]

(b) He set out on long journeys, and became the most celebrated traveler that mankind had ever heard of (*se wæs wreccena wide mærost ofer wer-þeóde*, ll. 898-899 [str. 1800-1802]).[128]

(c) He performed great exploits (*l.* 900 [str. 1804]).

(d) He was endowed with powers beyond all other men (*l.* 1717 [str. 3438-39]).

(e) God promoted him to a higher position of power than that accorded to mortals (*l.* 1716 [str. 3436, ff.]).

(f) But although he grew up at the court of the Danish king, this did not turn out to be a boon but was a detriment for the Skjöldungs **[619]** (*ll.* 1709 ff. [str. 3422, ff.]), because a bloodthirsty heart grew in his breast.

(g) When the Danish king died (the poem does not say how) he left young sons.

(h) Hermod, enticed by the evil passions that got the better of him, was the cause of the Skjoldungs' ruin, and of a deadly plague among the Danish people, whose fallen warriors for his sake covered the battlefields. His table-companions at the Danish court he consigned to death in a fit of anger (*ll.* 1711 ff. [str. 3426, ff.]).

(i) The war continues a very long time (ll. 905 ff. [str. 1815, ff.], *l.* 1721 [str. 3447]).

(k) At last there came a change, which was unfavorable to Hermod, whose superiority in martial power decreased (*ll.* 901 ff. [str. 1806 ff]).

(l) Then quite unexpectedly he vanished (*l.* 1714 [str. 3432]) from the sight of men.

(m) This happened against his will. He had suddenly been banished and delivered to the world of giants, where "waves of sorrow" long oppressed him (ll. 902 ff. [str. 1809, ff.]).[129]

(n) He had become transformed into a dragon (*wyrm, draca*).[130]

(o) He remained near an island in the sea *under harne stan* (beneath a grey rock).[131]

(p) There he killed a hero of the Volsung race (in the Beowulf poem Sigemund, 871 ff. [str. 1747, ff.]).[132]

All these points stand in complete agreement with Svipdag's saga, as we have discovered it in other sources. Svipdag is Halfdan the Skjoldung's stepson, and has grown up in his halls, and dwells there until his mother Groa is turned out and returns to Örvandil. He sets out like Hermod on long journeys, and is doubtless the most famous traveler that the mythology mentions; one is reminded of his journey over the Elivogar, and his expedition into Jötunheim while searching for Frey and Freyja; his journey over the frosty mountains, and descent into the underworld, where he traverses Niflheim, sees the Eyluður mill, comes into Mimir's realm**,** procures the sword of victory, and beholds the *ásmegir*'s glorious stronghold; one is reminded **[620]** of his journey up Bifröst to Asgard, and his expedition of war to the remote East (see also *Gylfaginning* 34 [*Pr. Edd.* I, 108], where Skirnir is sent to *Svartálfaheim* to fetch the chain Gleipnir). He is, like

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[128] "He of wanderers was by far the greatest throughout the human race," [Thorpe tr.].

[129] "him *sorrow's boilings* had too long afflicted," [Thorpe tr.]. The word here is *sorh-wylmas*, which is identical to *sorgwylm, "waves of sorrow*," [*A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, J.R. Clark Hall], noting "*sorh= sorg.*"

[130] The hero Sigemund slays a *dragon*, *draca, l.* 892, also called *worm*, "*wyrm*," in *ll.* 886, 891, 897.

[131] l. 887. "under a hoar stone," [Thorpe tr.]

[132] The name Sigemund occurs at lines 875 and 884.

Hermod, endowed with extraordinary strength, partly through his own character, partly through the *galdur* Groa sung over him, through the wisdom-food he received from his stepmother, and finally through the possession of the irresistible sword of victory. Due to his adoption in Asgard as Freyja's husband, he, like Hermod, is elevated to a position of power greater than that which mortals may expect. But all this does not turn out to be a blessing to the Skjöldungs,[133] but is a detriment to them. The hatred he harbored toward the Skjöldung Halfdan is transferred to the latter's son, Hadding, and he persecutes him and all those who are faithful to Hadding, makes war against him, and is unwilling to end the long war, although the gods demand it. Then he disappears suddenly, the divine wrath having clothed him with the guise of a strange animal, and relegated him to the world of water-giants, where he is slain by Hadding (who in the Norse heroic saga also becomes a Volsung, after Halfdan, under the name Helgi Hundingsbani, was made a son of the Volsung Sigmund).[134]

Hermod is killed on a rocky island *under harne stan*. Svipdag is killed in the water, probably in the vicinity of the *Vágasker* and the *Singasteinn*, where his faithful Mardöll's ornament Brisingamen is discovered by Loki and Heimdall.

In the myths, Freyja's love and sorrow may have caused the gods to look upon Svipdag's last sad fate and death as a tribute of atonement for his faults. The tears which the Vanadis wept over her lover were transformed, tell the myths, into gold, and this gold, the gold of a woman's faithfulness, may have been regarded as a sufficient compensation for the sins of her dear one, and doubtless opened to Svipdag the same Asgard-gate which he had seen opened to him during his life. This explains that Hermod is in Asgard in the historical time, and that the ancient King Erik, according to a revelation to the Swedes in the ninth century, was unanimously elevated by the gods as a member of their council. **[621]**

Finally, it should be pointed out that the Svipdag synonym *Óður* has the same meaning as *môd* in Heremôd, and as *ferhð* in *Svidferhð*, the epithet with which Hermod is designated in *Beowulf l.* 908, [str. 1820].[135] *Óður* means "the one endowed with spirit," *Heremôd* "the one endowed with martial spirit," *Svidferhd* "the one endowed with mighty spirit."

Heimdall's and Loki's conflict concerning Brisingamen has most probably formed an episode in the mythic account of Svipdag's final fortunes and Freyja's stay with him in the sea. There are many reasons to assume this. We should remember that Svipdag's final fate constituted a part in the great epic of the "first world war," and that both Heimdall and Loki take part in this war, the former on Hadding's, the latter on Guðhorm-Jörmunrek's and Svipdag's side (see nos. 38, 39, 40). One should further recall that, according to Saxo, Hadding is wandering about as an exile in the wildernesses at the time when he slays the monster, and that it is about this time that Odin gives him a companion and protector in Liserus-Heimdal (see no. 40). The unnamed woman, who after the murder had occurred, places herself in Hadding's way, informs him whom he has slain,

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[133] Rydberg uses the term Skilding (*skildungarne*) here and below, rather than Skjöldung (*sköldungarne*), as above.

[134] *Helgakviða Hundingsbani* I, 6 and 11; II, 12, 15 and 50.

[135] The word *swíðferhð* is not a proper name, but an adjective meaning "bold, brave, rash." It occurs throughout the poem, see ll. 173, 493, 826, and 908. The word *swið* means "strong, mighty, powerful, active," and *ferhð* means "mind, intellect, soul, spirit, life."

and calls down the wrath of the gods and the elements upon him, must be Freyja herself, since she witnessed the event and knew whom it was that was concealed in the dragon's form. So long as the latter lived, Brisingamen surely had a faithful guardian, for in the sagas it is the dragon's nature to brood over the treasures he finds. After being slain and dragged on shore by Hadding, his "bed," the gold, lies exposed to view on Vagasker, and the glimmer of Brisingamen reaches Loki's eyes. At the moment the woman, in despair over Svipdag's death, stands before Hadding and speaks to him, the ornament has no guardian, and Loki finds the occasion convenient to steal it. But Heimdall, Hadding's protector, who in the mythology always watches the actions of Loki and on his kinsmen hostile to the gods, is also present, and has also seen Brisingamen. Loki has clad himself in a seal's shape, while the ornament lies on a rock in the sea, *Vágasker,* where it can arouse no suspicion that a **[622]** seal seeks a place there. Heimdall clothes himself in the same guise, the seals fight on the skerry, and Loki must retreat with his errand unperformed. The rock is also called Singasteinn (*Skáldskaparmál* 15, 23 [*Pr. Edd*. I, 264, 268]), a name in which I see the Anglo-Saxon *Sincastân,* "the ornament rock."[136] An echo of the conflict concerning Brisingamen reappears in the *Beowulf* poem, where Heimdall (not Hamdir) appears under the name Hâma, and where it is said that "Hâma carried away to the weapon-glittering citadel (Asgard) *Brosinga mene*," which was "the best ornament under heaven"; after which it is said that Hâma fell "into Eormenric's snares,"[137] with which one should compare Saxo's account of the snares laid by Loki, Jörmenrek's adviser, for Liserus-Heimdal and Hadding.[138]

107.
MEMORIES OF THE SVIPDAG-MYTH.

The mythic story about Svipdag and Freyja has been handed down in folktales and songs, even to our time, naturally in a varying and distorted manner. To the folktales belongs one about Mærthöll, recorded by Konrad Maurer and published in "Modern Icelandic Popular Tales."[139]

The wondrously beautiful heroine in this tale bears Freyja's well-known byname, Mardöll, but little changed. And as she, like Freyja, weeps tears that turn into gold, it is plain that she is originally identical with the Vanadis, which Maurer also points out.[140]

Like Freyja, she is destined by the norns to be the wife of a princely youth. But when he proposed, difficulties arose which remind us of what Saxo relates about Otharus and Syritha.

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[136] Old English *sinc*, "treasure, riches, gold, valuables, jewel"; *stan,* "stone, rock."

[137] *Beowulf* ll. 1198-1201. For a fuller analysis see *Investigations into Germanic Mythology*, Vol. II, Part 2 "*The Brisingsamen Smiths*."

[138] [Rydberg's footnote:] As Jordanes confounded the mythological Guðhorm-Jörmunrek with the historical Ermanarek, and connected the latter's history with the heroic saga of Ammius-Hamdir, it lay close at hand to confound Hamðir with Heimdal, who, like Hamdir, is the foe of the mythical Jörmunrek.

[139] *Isländische Volkssagen der Gegenwart*, 1860, pp. 284-287.

[140] p.287 Es kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass der Name Mærþöll nur eine Corruption ist für Mardöll oder Marþöll, welches ein unzweifelhafter Beiname der Freyja ist [*Gylfaginning* c. 35]. Der Freyja wird das Weinen goldener Thränen beigelegt, … ["There can be no doubt that the name Mærþöll is only a corruption for Mardöll or Marþöll, which unquestionably is a byname of Freyja (*Gylfaginning* 35). Freyja is attributed with crying golden tears," etc.]

As Saxo represents her, Syritha is bound **[623]** as it were by an enchantment, not daring to look up at her lover or to answer his declarations of love. She flies over the mountains *more pristino*, "in a manner that happened in antiquity," thus most probability in bird-guise. In the Icelandic folktale Mærþöll fears the approaching wedding night, since she is doomed to be changed into a sparrow during it. She desires to forsake her lover's embrace, so that he may know nothing of the curse which is placed on her.

In Saxo, the enchantment resting on Syritha is released when the candle burns her hand during the wedding night. In the folktale Mærþöll shall wear the sparrow guise forever, if it is not burnt during the wedding night or on one of the two following nights.

In Saxo as well as the folktale, another maiden takes Mardöll's place in the bridal bed for a portion of the wedding night. But the enchantment is broken by fire, after which both the lovers actually get each other.

The original identity of the mythological Freyja-Mardöll, Saxo's Syritha, and the Icelandic folktale's *Mærthöll* is therefore evident.

In Danish and Swedish variants of a folk ballad (in Syv, Nyerup, Arwidsson, Geijer and Afzelius, Grundtvig, Dybeck, Hofberg;[141] compare Bugge's *Edda*, p. 352, ff.)[142] a young Sveidal (Svedal, Svendal, Svedendal, Silfverdal) is celebrated, who is none other than Svipdag of the mythology. Svend Grundtvig and Bugge have called attention to the conspicuous similarity between this ballad on the one hand, and *Gróugaldur* and *Fjölsvinnsmál* on the other.[143] From the various versions of the ballad, I

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[141] Peder Syv, *Et Hundrede Udvalde Danske Viser*, no. 24, 1787; R. Nyerup, *Anmeldelse af Svenske Viser fra Middelalderen*, 1815; *Unge Herr Svedendal*, in Adolf Iwar Arwidsson, *Svenske Fornsånger* 2:143; *Ungen Svendal*, in Svend Grundtvig, *Danmarks Gamle Folkeviser* II, 70, 1855; *Hertig Silfverdal* in Richard Dybeck, a concert program of 1861 and in *Runa*, 1865, p. 16 ff. as well as in Herman Hofberg, *Nerikes gamla minnen*, p. 249 ff., 1868 [Source: Arvid August Geijer and Erik Gustaf Afzelius, *Svenska Folkvisor* II, p. 54, 433 ff., 1880, which also cites *Ungen Svejdal* in Evald Tang Kristensen, *Jydske Folkviser og Toner*, 17, 1871]

[142] Bugge remarks: "The two poems *Gróugaldr* and *Fjölsvinnsmál* are parts of one and the same poem, whose protagonist is Svipdag, Groa's son. I have therefore combined these under the name of *Svipdagsmál*; Svend Grundtvig (*Danmarks gamle folkeviser* II, 668a) has suggested "*Svipdagsför*." The poem is available to us still undivided, in late form, as a Danish-Swedish folksong about young Sveidal (Svedal, Svendal, Svedendal, Silfverdal): many (old and new) Danish examples are printed by Svend Grundtvig, *Danmarks gamle folkeviser* No. 70 (II, pp.239-254. III, pp. 841-843); two Swedish versions: Geijer and Afzelius, *Svenska Folkvisor* No. 10 (I, pp. 57-59) and Arwidsson *Svenska Fornsånger* No. 143 (II, pp. 284-288) provide the ballad in a less-than-original form. Svend Grundtvig first pointed out (*Danmarks gamle folkeviser* II, 238) the traditional relationship between the ballad's first part and *Gróugaldr;* thereafter, I found thereafter (*Danmarks gamle folkeviser* II, 667 ff.), that the last part of the ballad corresponded to *Fjölsvinnsmál*, and established that the Danish-Swedish ballad preserved the original unity of the ballad, which is familiar in Iceland as two separate poems. This has been further developed by Svend Grundtvig (*Danmarks gamle folkeviser* II, pp.668-673) and by me in my treatise on the connection between *Gróugaldr* and *Fjölsvinnsmál* (*Forhandlinger i Videnskabs-Selskabet i Christiania*, 1860, p. 123-140)." In addition, Bugge provides abridged texts of two of the oldest known versions of the ballad from the 16th and 17th centuries.

[143] As noted in no. 96, the connection between the two poems was not immediately recognized. Einar Ól Sveinsson observes: "There is nothing to be found in the manuscripts indicating that the copyists were aware of any connection between the two poems. …What is more, investigators were long in discovering the fact. In the year 1854, Svend Grundtvig …points here to a relationship between Svejdal and Grógaldr, and also one of the *fornaldarsögur*, Hjälmþérs saga and the old Cymric story of the Culhwch and Olwen. Grógaldr and Ungen Svejdal have a great deal in common, while all these narratives tell of a spell or enchantment that is 'laid upon' a young man, compelling him to seek a maiden far away. Then Sophus Bugge noticed the last part of the Ungen Svejdal corresponded to Fjölsvinnsmál. This important

impart here those features which best preserve the resemblance to its mythic prototype. Sveidal is commanded by his stepmother to find a maiden "whose sorrowful heart had long been yearning." He then goes first to his deceased mother's grave to get advice from her. The mother speaks to him from the grave and promises to give him a horse, which can bear him over water and land, and a sword, resembling fire, hardened in dragonblood. The narrow frame of the ballad has forbidden telling in what manner Sveidal came into possession of the **[624]** treasures his mother promised him or giving an account of the exploits he performs with the sword. This plays no part in the ballad; it is only intimated that events not recorded took place before Sveidal finds the yearning maid. Riding through forests and over seas, he comes to the country where she has her stronghold. Outside of this he meets a shepherd, with whom he enters into conversation. The shepherd informs him that within is found a maiden who has long been yearning for a young man by name Sveidal, and that no one other than him can enter there, for the stronghold's planks are of iron, its gilt gate of steel, and within the gate a lion and a white bear keep watch. Sveidal approaches the gate; then the locks fall away by themselves; and when he enters the courtyard the wild beasts fall at his feet, a linden-tree with golden leaves bends to the ground before him, and the sought after maiden welcomes him as her husband.[144]

One of the variants lets him spur his horse over the stronghold wall. Another speaks of seven shepherd boys guarding the wall, who show him the way to the stronghold, and who actually are "god's angels under the heaven, the blue."

The horse who bears its rider "over the salt fjörd" is a reminiscence of Sleipnir**,** which Svipdag rode on more than one occasion; and when it says that Sveidal on this horse dashed over the stronghold wall, this reminds us of Skirnir-Svipdag when he leaps over the fence around Gymir's abode, and of Hermod-Svipdag when he spurs Sleipnir over the wall to Baldur's subterranean stronghold. The shepherds, who are "god's angels," refer to the watchmen mentioned in *Fjölsvinnsmál*, who are gods; the wild beasts in the stronghold's court to the two wolf-dogs who guard Asgard's gate; the shepherd whom Sveidal meets outside of the wall to *Fjölsviður* [*Fjölsvinn*]; the linden-tree with the golden leaves to *Mímameiður* and to the golden grove that grows in Asgard. One of the variants allows two years to pass while Sveidal seeks the chosen one.

In Germany, too, we have preserved remnants of the myth about Svipdag and Freyja. These remnants are, admittedly, parts of a structure built, so to speak, in the style of the monks, **[625]** but they nevertheless show in the most unequivocal manner that they are collected from the collapsed arches of heathen mythology. We rediscover them in the old medieval poem about "Christ's unsewn grey coat."[145]

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observation is discussed in the same volume (1856) with a number of additional comments by Svend Grundtvig," ["Svipdag's Long Journey," in *Hereditas*, The Folklore of Ireland Society, 1975].

[144] Several versions of the ballad can be found at:
http://home.netcom.com/~kyamazak/myth/edda/bugge/bugge-svipdags-excurs-e.htm

[145] *Orendel*, a Middle High German poem, known as a *Spielmannsdichtung*, dating to the end of the 12th century. The authority for the text is late: a manuscript of 1477, later burnt in Strassburg, and a printed book of 1512. For this edition, I have used the English translation of Heidi Graw, 2009 [forthcoming], who utilizes the German text *Spielmannsepen II: Sankt Oswald, Orendel, Salman und Morolf*, 1976, by Walter Johannes Schröder. Based on internal references, Rydberg likely used a German verse translation of the poem such as *Der ungenähte graue Rock Christi* ["The Unsewn Grey Coat of Christ"] by Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen (1844), which spells the names as he does in his text: Orendel, Breyde, Eigel, etc.

The hero in the poem is Svipdag, here called by his father's name Orendel, Orentel i.e. Örvandil. The father himself, who is said to be a king in Trier, has received another name, which already in the most ancient heathen times was a synonym of Örvandil, and to which I shall come below.[146] This in connection with the circumstance that the younger Orentel's (Svipdag's) patron saint is called "the holy Wieland,"[147] and thus bears the name of a person who, in the mythology, as shall be shown below, was Svipdag's paternal uncle and helper, and whose sword is Svipdag's protection and pledge of victory, demonstrates that at least in rare cases not only the events of the myth but also its names and family relations have been preserved in a surprisingly faithful manner through centuries in the German peoples' memory.

It lies in the very nature of things that in the monkish poem, it can no longer be the task of the young Svipdag-Orentel to go in search of the heathen goddess Freyja and rescue her from giants' hands. In her stead appears a *Lady Breyde*,[148] who is the most beautiful of all women, and the only one worthy to be the young Orentel's wife. In the heathen poem it is the dis of fate Urd, in the German medieval poem God himself, who resolves that Orentel is to have the most beautiful woman as his bride. In the heathen poem Freyja is in the power of giants, and concealed somewhere in Jötunheim at the time when Svipdag receives the order to find her, and it is of the greatest importance for the existence of the world that the goddess of love and fertility should be freed from the hands of the powers of frost. In the German poem, written during the press of the Christian world's efforts to reconquer the Holy Land, Lady Bride is a princess who dwells in Jerusalem, surrounded and guarded by giants, heathens, and knights templar, the last of whom, at the time when the poem received its present form, were looked upon as worshippers of the devil, and objects of the faithful's disgust. Svipdag's task **[626]** of liberating the goddess of love corresponds, in the monkish poem, to Orentel's task of liberating Lady Briede from her surrounding of giants, heathens, and knights templar, and restoring to Christendom the holy grave in Jerusalem. Orentel proceeds by sea there with a fleet. But although the journey accordingly is southward, the mythic saga, which makes Svipdag journey across the frost-cold Elivogar, asserts itself; and as his fleet could not well be hindered by pieces of ice on the coast of the Holy Land, it is made to stick fast in

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Several other German versions of the poem were published in the 19th century, most notably: *Der ungenähte Rock oder König Orendel, wie er den grauen Rock gen Trier brachte* ["The Unsewn Coat or King Orendel, How the Grey Coat was Brought to Trier"] by Karl J. Simrock.(1845).

[146] See no. 109. In *Orendel*, l. 163, his father is named *Ougel*. Hagen, Simrock and others render the name Eigel, along with Rydberg.

[147] *Untersuchungen über das Spielmannsgedicht Orendel* by Heinrich Harkensee (1879) quotes lines 481-482 as: *Den reiff er an zware/ Sandt Wieland Von Bare*, "Then in truth he called upon/ Saint Wieland von Bare," corresponding to a lacuna between lines 486-487 in Schröder's edition. They also appear in Hagen's edition (pg. 15). Simrock who notes these lines were written into the manuscript, does not include them within the text of his contemporary translation, where they would occur on page 22, between lines 17-18, but does discuss them in his remarks on page 166, remarking that Wieland was not one of the known saints. In the introduction, Simrock, following Wilhelm Grimm, associates Orendel and Eigil with the Eddic Örvandel, Saxo's Horwandil, Angl-Saxon Earendel, as well as Völund's brother Egil in *Völundarkviða*, Velent's brother Eigel in *Þiðreks Saga af Bern*, and the legend of Wilhelm Tell, even as Rydberg does, affirming the great age of the narrative elements of Orendel.

[148] The spelling of her name varies among editions. Rydberg renders her name "fru Breyde", perhaps after Hagen's "fraw Breyde" which is similar to Simrock's *Frau Breide* [*der leuchtenden*], "Lady Breide [the bright]." In Schröder's edition, she is *frauw Bride*.

"dense water," and remain there for three years, until, by the prayers of the Virgin Mary, it is liberated from there by a storm.[149] In the Christian poem, the Virgin Mary's prayers have taken the place of Groa's *galdur* in the heathen poem. The fleet, made free from the "dense water," sails to a land which is governed by one Belian, who is conquered by Orentel in a naval engagement.[150] This Belian is the mythological Beli, one of those "howlers" who surrounded Frey and Freyja during their stay in Jötunheim and threatened Svipdag's life. In the Christian poem Beli was made a king in Great Babylon, presumably because his name suggested the biblical "Bel in Babel." Saxo also speaks of a naval battle in which Svipdag-Ericus conquers the mythic figure, doubtless a storm-giant, who by means of witchcraft prepares the ruin of sailors approaching the land where Frotho and Gunvara are concealed. After various other adventures Orentel arrives in the Holy Land, and the angel Gabriel shows him the way to Lady Breyde, [151] just as "the seven angels of God" in one of the Scandinavian ballads guide Sveidal to the stronghold where his chosen bride awaits. Lady Breyde is found to be surrounded by nothing but foes of Christianity: knights templar, heathens, and giants, who, like Gunvara's giant surrounding in Saxo, spend their time in fighting, but still treat the beautiful damsel as their princess. The giants and knights templar strive to take Orentel's life, and, like Svipdag, he must constantly be prepared to defend it. One of the giants Orentel fells is a "banner-bearer." One of the giants, who in the mythology tries to take Svipdag's life, is Grepp, who, according to Saxo, meets him **[627]** in derision with a banner, on whose pole a horse head is fixed.

Meanwhile Lady Breyde is attentive to Orentel. As Menglad receives Svipdag, so Lady Breyde bids welcome to and kisses Orentel, whom she knows to be her destined husband.

When Orentel has conquered the giants he celebrates a sort of wedding with Lady Breyde, but between them lies a two-edged sword, and they sleep as brother and sister by each other's side.[152] A wedding of a similar kind was mentioned in the mythology in regard to Svipdag and Menglad before they met in Asgard and were finally united. The chaste chivalry with which Freyja is met in the mythology by her rescuer is emphasized by Saxo both in his account of Ericus-Svipdag and Gunvara and in his story about Otharus and Syritha. He allows Ericus to say of Gunvara to Frotho: *Intacta illi pudicitia manet* (Book V, 118 [*Hist.* 126]).[153] And of Otharus he declares: *Neque puellam stupro violare sustinuit, nec splendido loco natam obscuro concubitus genere macularet* (Book VII, 188 [*Hist*. 331]).[154] The first wedding between Orentel and Breyde is therefore as if it had not been, and the German narrative lets Orentel, after completing new warlike

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[149] *ll.* 367-372: “Then came a strong windstorm and threw the miserable ones, the very wonderful lords, up onto the wild Klebermere [Sticky Sea]. There they remained with all for three long years**”;** *ll.* 389-394: “Then our Lord gave a sign by His mother’s [Sainte] Marie’s honour, he sent a windstorm, he threw the miserable ones, those very wonderful lords off the Klebermere [Sticky Sea].” [Heidi Graw tr.]

[150] *ll.* 415-436.

[151] *ll.* 820-827.

[152] *Orendel ll.* 1845-1862.

[153] “with us freedom of maidens is ever held inviolate.” [Elton tr.]; “among us a maiden’s freedom is regarded as inviolable,” [Fisher tr.]

[154] “But he could not bring himself to violate the girl, loth to defile with ignoble intercourse one of illustrious birth.” [Elton tr.]; “He could not bring himself to use the girl lustfully, for he was unwilling to stain with disreputable intercourse a daughter of noble parentage,” [Fisher tr.]

adventures, propose to Breyde for the second time. In the myths, the second and real wedding between Svipdag and Freyja certainly took place, after he was reunited with her in Asgard.

The sword which plays such a conspicuous role in Svipdag's fortunes has not been forgotten in the German medieval poem. It is mentioned as being kept deep down in the earth, and as always attended by victory.[155]

On one occasion Lady Breyde appears, weapon in hand, and fights by the Orentel's side,[156] under circumstances which remind us of the above-cited story from Saxo (see no. 102), when Ericus-Svipdag, Gunvara-Freyja, and Rollerus-Ull find themselves with a treacherous giant, who tries to persuade Svipdag to deliver Gunvara to him, and when Bracus-Thor breaks into the giant estate, and strikes down the inhabitants or puts them to flight. Gunvara then fights by the side of Ericus-Svipdag, **[628]** *muliebri corpore virilem animum æquans* (Book V, 125 [Hist. 222]).[157]

In the German Orentel story a "fisherman" appears who is called master Yse.[158] Orentel has at one time *suffered a shipwreck,* and comes floating on a plank to his island, where Yse takes him in. Yse is not a common fisherman. He has a stronghold with seven towers, and eight hundred fishermen serve under him.[159] There is reason to assume that this mighty chieftain of fishermen originally was the Asa-god Thor, who up in the North Sea once had the Midgard-serpent on his hook, and that the episode of the shipwrecked Orentel's adoption by him has as its kernel the memory of the mythic adventure, when the real Örvandil, Svipdag's father, unconscious and frostbitten, was discovered by Thor and carried by him across the Elivogar. In the mythology, as shall be shown hereafter, Örvandil the brave was Thor's "oath-sworn" man, and fought with him against giants before the breech between Ivaldi's sons and the Aesir arose. In the Orentel story, Yse also regards Orentel as his "thrall." The latter ransoms himself from thralldom with gold. Perhaps this ransom is a reference to the gold which Freyja's tears serve as ransom for Svipdag.

Orentel's father is called Eigel, king in Trier. In *Þiðreks Saga af Bern*[160] [*Wilkinasaga*] the archer Egil, Völund's brother, is mentioned by the name-variant Eigill**.** The German Orentel's patron saint is Wieland, that is, Völund. Thus in the Orentel story as in the *Völundarkviða* and in *Þiðreks Saga af Bern* [*Wilkinasaga*] we find both these names Egil and Völund combined, and we have all the more reason to regard King Eigel in Trier as the mythological Egil, since the latter, like Örvandil, is a famous archer. Below, I shall demonstrate that the archer Örvandil and the archer Egil actually were identical in the mythology.

But first the following circumstances should probably be pointed out. Tacitus tells us in his Germania (3): "However, some people believe that Ulysses, too, on his long storied journeys was carried into this ocean (the North Sea), and visited the countries of Germany, and that he founded and gave name to Asciburgium, which is **[629]** situated on the banks of the Rhine, and is still an inhabited city; even an altar consecrated to Ulysses,

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[155] *ll.* 1650-1665.
[156] *ll* 3880-3889.
[157] "she had the body of a woman, but the spirit of a man.," [Elton tr.]; "matching a man's spirit though he body was a woman's," [Fisher tr.]
[158] Master Yse (Ise) first appears at l. 561.
[159] *ll.* 595-604.
[160] chs. 75-76.

with his father Laertes' name attached, is said to have been found in the same place." To precisely determine the location of this Asciburgium is not possible. Ptolemy[161] (II, 11, 28) and after him Marcianus Heracleota[162] (*Periplus* 2, 36) inform us that an Askibourgion was situated on the Rhine, south of and above the delta of the river.[163] *Tabula Peutingeriana*[164] locates Asciburgia between Gelduba (Gelb) and Vetera (Xanten). But from the history of Tacitus it appears (IV, 33, 1) that Asciburgium was situated between Neuss and Mainz. (See the passage: *aliis a Novæsio, aliis a Mogontiaco universas copias advenisse credentibus*.[165] The passage refers to the Roman troops sent to Asciburgium and attacked there, which expect to receive relief from the nearest Roman quarters in the north or south.) Its location should accordingly be looked for either on or not far from that part of the Rhine's course, which on the east bordered the old archbishopric Trier.

Thus the German Orentel story locates King Eigel's realm and Orentel's native country in the same regions, where, according to Tacitus' reporter, Ulysses was said to have settled for some time and to have founded a stronghold. As is well known, the Romans believed they found traces of the wandering Ulysses in almost all lands, and it only required one to hear a strange people mention a widely-travelled mythic hero, for one to identify him with Ulysses or Hercules. The Germanic mythology had a hero of Ulysses' type in the younger Orentel, Óður-Svipdag-Heremod, whom the Beowulf poem calls "incomparably the most celebrated traveler among mankind" (*wreccena wide mærost ofer wer-þeóde*).[166] Mannhardt[167] has already pointed out an episode (Orentel's shipwreck and arrival in Yse's land) which remind some of Odysseus' shipwreck and arrival in the kingdom of the Phæacians. Within the limits which the Svipdag-myth, according to my own investigations demonstrate itself to have had, other and more conspicuous features, common but certainly not borrowed, can be discovered, such as Svipdag's and Odysseus' descent to the lower world, and the **[630]** conflict fought in seal-

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[161] Claudius Ptolemy (c. 2nd century AD), Greek astronomer and geographer who produced some of the first maps of Europe. *Geographike Hyphegesis* Books 1-4 edited by Karl Müller (1883); last complete edition, *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy*, translated into English and edited by Edward Luther Stevenson (1932).

[162] Marcianus of Heraclea (c. A.D. 400), minor Greek geographer, author of *Periplus maris exteri*, "The Periplus of the Outer Sea."

[163] J.B. Rives identifies the Askibourgion mountains (*Geography* 2, 11 5 and 10) with the modern Jeseníky mountains in the north-eastern Czech Republic, suggesting that the ancient Germanic name, probably based on the Old High German words *asc*, 'ash,' and *berg*, 'mountain.," was translated with the Slavic *jesen*, 'ash.' [Clarendon Ancient History Series, Tacitus, *Germania*, 1999, p. 125].

[164] The Peutinger Table or Map (aka *Codex Vindobonensis* 324, now in the National Bibliothek, Vienna), a 12th or early 13th century cartogram copied from a late Roman road map, dating perhaps to the first century AD, covering southeast England to present day Sri-Lanka. Purportedly made in 1265 by a monk at Colmar, the copy was found by the German poet and scholar Konrad Celtes (1459-1508) and later given to Konrad Peutinger (1465-1547), hence its name. The map locates this town on the Rhine between Novaesium (Neuss) and Vetera (near Xanten), opposite the confluence of the Ruhr, the site of the present-day village of Asberg. [ibid, p. 125].

[165] In context, this passage reads: "On their march they plundered the winter camp of a body of horse stationed at Ascibergium, "...Some Vascon infantry, levied by Galba, which had by this time been sent for, heard the noise of the combatants as they approached the camp, attacked the rear of the preoccupied enemy, and spread a panic more than proportionate to their numbers, some believing *that all the troops from Novesium, others that all from Mogontiacum, had come up*." [Church and Brodribb tr.].

[166] l. 898, "He of wanderers was by far the greatest throughout the human race." Thorpe tr.

[167] Wilhelm Mannhardt, *Die Götterwelt der deutschen und nordischen Völker* (1860), p. 261.

guises between Heimdall and Loki, which remind us of the sealskin clad Menelaos' fight with the seal-guardian Proteus (*Odyssey*, Book 4, lines 404 ff.). Just as there are words in the Indo-European languages that in their very form point to a common origin, but not to a borrowing, so there are also stories within the Indo-European mythic cycles which in their very form reveal their origin from an ancient common root, but produce no suspicion of having been borrowed. Among them belong those features of the myths about Odysseus and Svipdag, which resemble one another.

It has already been demonstrated above, that *Germania*'s Mannus is identical with Halfdan of the Norse sources, and that Yngvi-Svipdag has his counterpart in Ingævo (see No. 24). That informant of Tacitus who was able to relate Germanic songs about Mannus and his sons, the Teutons' three original tribal heroes, must also have heard Örvandil's and Svipdag's exploits and adventures discussed in those very songs, since Örvandil and Svipdag intervene in the most decisive manner in the fate of Mannus-Halfdan. Had the myth about Svipdag been composed in a later time, then Mannus-Halfdan's saga must have undergone a change that was equivalent to a complete transformation after Tacitus' day, and not the slightest reason is found for such an assumption. Örvandil is not a mythic character fashioned in a later time. As already pointed out, and as shall be demonstrated further along, he has ancient Indo-European ancestry. The centuries between Tacitus and Paulus Diaconus are unfortunately almost wholly lacking in evidence concerning the condition of the Germanic myths and stories; but where, as in Jordanes, testimony still emerges from the surrounding silence, we find mention of *Arpantala, Amala, Fridigernus, Vidigoia* (Jordanes, Book V, 43)[168] who were celebrated by the fathers from ancient times and described by them as heroes who scarcely had their equals (*quales vix heroas fuisse miranda jactat antiquitas*).[169] In Arpantala, previous investigators have already recognized Örvandil, in Amala Hamal, in Vidigoia Wittiche, Wieland's son (Vidga Völundson), who in the mythology is the nephew of Svipdag (see No. 108). Fridigernus, *Fridgjarn*, means "he who **[631]** strives for the beautiful one," an epithet-name to which Svipdag has the first claim among ancient Germanic heroes, just as Freyja herself has the first claim to the name *Fríð*.[170] In *Fjölsvinnsmál* 38 it belongs to a dis, who sits at Freyja's feet, and belongs to her royal household. This is in analogy with the fact that the name *Hlín* belongs at the same time to Frigg herself (*Völuspá* 53), and to a goddess belonging to her royal household (*Gylfaginning* 35 [*Pros. Edda* I, 196]).

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[168] The source here is unclear. Wilhelm Grimm (1829) lists the names and their manuscript variants as: Ethespamaræ (Eterpamaræ Cod. Ambros. und Cod. Paris. 5766, Etherpamaræ Cod. Paris 5873, Erpantanæ Cod. Paris 1890); Hanalæ (Hanalæ Cod. P. 1890); Fridigerni; Vidiculæ (Vidicojæ C.A., Vuidigoiæ C.P. 1890), [*Deutsche Heldensage*, p. 1]; Theodor Mommsen (1882) lists the heroes' names as *Erpamarae, Analae, Frithigerni, Widigojae* and their manuscript variants as: *eterpamara hanale*] HPLA *eterbamara hanale V, et spamare* (om. *hanale*) O, *ethespamerae* (om. *hanale*) B, *et herpamara hanale* X, *et herpamara halane* Y; *uidigoiae*] HVX, *uidicotae* PA, *uidigogae* L, *uidigothae* Y, *uoidicule* {*-lae* B}, *uidigitus*, Z. [*Iordanis Romana et Getica*, p. 65].

[169] *Ante quos etiam cantu majorum facto modulationibus citharisque canebant, et Erpamarae, Analae, Frithigerni, Widigojae et aliorum, quorum in hac gente magna opinio est, quales vix heroas fuisse miranda jactat antiquitas* [Theodor Mommsen, 1882] ; "In earliest times they sang of the deeds of their ancestors in strains of song accompanied by the cithara; chanting of Eterpamara, Hanala, Fritigerni, Vidigoia and others whose fame among them is great; such heroes as admiring antiquity scarce proclaims its own to be., [Charles Mierow tr.]

[170] "beautiful, fair."

What Tacitus tells about the stone found at Asciburgium, with the names of Ulysses and Laertes inscribed thereon, can of course be nothing but a conjecture, based on the idea that the famous Germanic traveler was the same as Odysseus. Perhaps one supported this idea with the similarity between the names *Óður*, Goth. *Vods*, and Odysseus, and by the fact that the name Laertes (acc. *Laerten*) has sounds in common with the name of Svipdag's father. If Asciburgium, as Tacitus seems to indicate, was named after its founder, in *Asc*- one would have an epithet-name of Örvandil's son, common in the first century after Christ and previously prevalent. In that case it lies closet to think of *aiska* (Fick, III. 5),[171] the English "*ask*," the Anglo-Saxon *ascian*, the Swedish *äska*, "to seek," "search for," "to try to secure," which was well-suited for Svipdag, who seeks Freyja and the sword of victory during lengthy and perilous journeys. I point out these possibilities because they appear to suggest an ancient connection, but not for the purpose of building hypotheses on them. Under all circumstances it is of interest that the Christian medieval Orentel story locates the Germanic migration hero's home to the same district of Germany where one already in Tacitus' time assumed that he had founded a stronghold. The tradition, as heard by Tacitus, did not however make the regions about the Rhine the native land of the celebrated traveler. He came there, it is said in *Germania*, from the North after having navigated in the North Sea. And this corresponds with the myth, which makes Svipdag an *Inguæon*, and *Svion*, a member of the Skilfing-Yngling tribe; which, in the beginning, **[632]** makes him fight on the side of the powers of frost against Halfdan, and afterwards lead not only the North Germanic tribes (*Inguæonian*), but also the West Germanic tribes (the *Hermiones*) against Hadding's East Germanic war forces (see Nos. 38-40).

Further memories of the Svipdag-myth have also been preserved in the story about Hamlet,[172] Saxo's Amlethus (Snæbjorn's *Amlóði*),[173] son of Horvendillus (Örvandil). In the medieval story Hamlet's father, like Svipdag's father in the myth, was slain by the same man who marries the wife of the slain man, and, like Svipdag in the myth, Hamlet of the medieval saga becomes his father Horvendillus' avenger and his stepfather's slayer. On more than one occasion the idea occurs in the Norse sagas that a boy whose stepfather had slain his father broods over his duty to avenge the latter, and then plays the fool or half-idiot to avoid the suspicion that he may become dangerous to the murderer. Svipdag, Örvandil's son, is raised in his stepfather's house amid all the circumstances that can justify and explain such a hypocrisy; he has, on the basis thereof, received to bear as a boy the epithet *Amlóði*, whose meaning is "the fool," and when the myth has simultaneously described him as highly-gifted, quick, and astute, one has in the words which the mythology has laid on the boy's lips, the model for the double-sided expressions, which under a surface of imbecility, allow the veiled subtlety to gleam forth. These features from the mythic account of Svipdag were transferred to the medieval story about Hamlet, whose tale had already been developed into an independent narrative in

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[171] August Fick, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen: Dritter Teil: Wortschatz der Germanischen Spracheinheit* (Dictionary of the Indo-European Languages: Third Part: Vocabulary of the Germanic Language Unity) by August Fick with contributions by Hjalmar Falk. The work was revised by Alf Torp in 1909.

[172] William Shakespeare's play about the Danish prince *Hamlet*, whose father is murdered, is widely acknowledged to be based on Saxo's story of Amleth in Book 3, either directly or indirectly (typically via an earlier play script known as the ur-Hamlet).

[173] *Skáldskaparmál* 33 (Faulkes, 25).

Saxo's time. I shall return to this theme in a treatise on the heroic sagas.[174] —Other reminiscences of Svipdag's myth reappear in Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian folksongs. The Danish ballads, which, with surprising fidelity, have preserved certain fundamental traits and details of the Svipdag-myth into recent times, I have already discussed above. Of particular interest for research into mythological synonymies and the connection of the preserved mythic fragments are the Norwegian ballad about "*Hermod the Young*" (*Landstad, Norske Folkeviser,* p. 28),[175] and its Swedish version, "*Bergtrollet*," a variant still more faithful to the myth (Arvidson, I. 123),[176] **[633]** since Svipdag appears in the first, as in the *Beowulf* poem and in the *Prose Edda,* under the name Hermod, and both variants have for their theme an adventure, which Saxo tells about his Otharus when he describes the latter's flight through Jötunheim with the rediscovered Syritha. It has already been stated above (No. 100) that after Otharus had found Syritha and slain a giant in whose power she was, he was separated from her on the return trip, but found her again and freed her from the captivity into which she had fallen with a giantess. It is this episode which forms the theme of the ballad about "*Hermod the Young*," and its Swedish variant. Compared to one another, the two ballads give us the following picture of the course of events:

The young Hermod got as wife a beautiful maiden whom he liberated from a giantess' hands. She had fallen into giant-power when a "*gigjare*" (originally *gýgur*, a witch, Aurboda), in a great throng of people, had stolen her away from a church (the divine stronghold Asgard is transformed into a "house of God"). Hermod hastens on skis "through woods and caverns and narrow recesses," comes to "the wild sea-strand" (Elivogar) and to "the mountain the blue," where the giantess, who conceals the young maiden with her, has her abode. It is Yule Eve. Hermod requests shelter for the night in the giantess' mountain dwelling and receives it. With cunning he persuades the giantess to visit her neighbors the following morning, liberates the beautiful maiden during her absence, and flies on his skis with her "over the high mountains and down over the low ones." When the old giantess on her return home finds that they have run away she hastens (according to the Norwegian variant accompanied by eighteen giants) after those who have fled through dark forests with a speed which bends every tree to the ground. When Hermod with his young maiden had come to "the salt fjörd" (Elivogar) the giantess is very close to them, but in the decisive moment she is transformed to stone, according to the Norwegian variant, by the influence of the sun, which had just then risen; [634] according to the Swedish variant, by the influence of a cross which stood near the fjörd and its "long bridge."

The Swedish variant still knows that Hermod had a brother; in the mythology, Ull the skillful skier. In both ballads, Hermod himself is a skillful skier. The refrains in both of them say: "He could glide so well on skis." Below, I shall demonstrate that Örvandil, Svipdag's and Ull's father, is identical to Egil, the foremost skier of all in the mythology, and that Svipdag is a cousin of Skadi, "the dis of the skis."[177] Svipdag-Hermod belongs to

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[174] Rydberg touches on the Svipdag myth again in *UGM* 2 "*Additions to the Investigations of the Myths concerning Egil-Örvandil and Svipdag.*"

[175] *Norske Folkeviser*, samlede og udgivne af M.B.Landstad. (*Norwegian Popular Ballads*, collected and published by M. B. Landstad), Christiania 1853. [Available at www.Googlebooks.com]

[176] Adolf Iwar Arwidsson, *Svenske Fornsånger* I, p. 123. [http://runeberg.org/fornsang/1/0147.html]

[177] *öndurgoð eða öndurdís*, "ski-deity or ski-lady", *Gylfaginning* 23.

the myths' famous skier-family, and even on this point, these folksongs have preserved a genuine mythic trait.

In their fashion, these ballads, therefore, testify concerning Svipdag's identity with Hermod, and of the latter's identity with Saxo's Otharus.

In closing, a few words about Svipdag's synonyms: Of these, *Óður* and *Hermóður* (and in the *Beowulf* poem *Sviðferhð*)[178] form a group, which, as has already been pointed out above, refer to the qualities of his spirit. Svipdag ("the shimmering day") and Skirnir ("the shining") form another, which refers to his birth as the son of the star-hero Örvandil, who is "the brightest of stars," and "a true beam from the sun" (see above). Again, concerning the synonym *Eirekur,* one should be reminded that Svipdag's half-brother Gudhorm bears the epithet *Jörmunrekur,* and the latter's half-brother, Hadding, the epithet *Þjóðrekur*. They are the three half-brothers who, after the patriarch *Mannus*-Halfdan, assume power over the Teutons; and as they each hold large domains and rule over many Germanic tribes, they are great kings, in contrast to the princes of individual tribes. It is the dignity of a great king which is indicated, each in its own way, by all these parallel names — *Eirekur, Jörmunrekur,* and *Þjóðrekur*.

108.
SVIPDAG'S FATHER ÖRVANDIL. EVIDENCE THAT HE IS IDENTICAL TO VÖLUND'S BROTHER EGIL. THE ÖRVANDIL SYNONYM EBBO (EBUR, IBOR).

Svipdag's father, Örvandil, must have been a mortal enemy of Halfdan, who abducted his wife Groa. Previously, however, it is his son Svipdag whom we have seen carry out the feud of revenge against Halfdan. Still, it must seem incredible that the brave archer himself should remain inactive and leave it to his young, and in the beginning unproven, son to fight against Thor's favorite, the mighty son of Borgar. The epic connection demands that Örvandil should also take part in this war and it is necessary to investigate whether our mythic fragments have preserved traces that this demand was satisfied n the mythic epic.

As his name shows, Örvandil was a famous archer. That the *Ör-* in Örvandil was understood as the word *ör,* "arrow" in heathen times—although this meaning need not be the most original one — is made certain by Saxo, according to whom Örvandill's father was named Geirvandill (*Gerwendillus, Book* 3, 76 [*Hist* 135]). Thus the father is the one "busy with the spear," the son "the one busy with the arrow."

Proceeding from this point, we must at the very beginning of the investigation pose the question: Is there anyone among Halfdan's enemies mentioned by Saxo who bears a well-known archer-name?

There is, as a matter of fact. Halfdan Berggram has to contend with two mythic persons, Toko and Anundus, who with united forces appear against him (Book 7, 185 [*Hist.* 325]). Toko, *Tóki,* is the well-known archer-name. In another passage in Saxo

[178] As an epithet *Sviðferhð* was shown to be erroneous, see above.

(Book 6, 149 ff. [*Hist.* 265 ff.]) one Anundus, with the help of Avo (or Ano) *sagittarius*,[179] fights against one Halfdan. Thus, we have the parallels:

The archer Örvandil is an enemy of Halfdan.
The bearer of the archer's name Toko and Anundus are enemies of Halfdan.
The archer Avo [Ano] and Anundus [Amundus] are enemies of Halfdan.

[636] What immediately strikes the eye is the fact that the bearer of an archer-name, Toko, as well as the archer Avo have as comrade one Anundus in the war against Halfdan. From where did Saxo get this Anundus? We now move in the domain of historicized divine and heroic myths, and the name Anund must have been borrowed from there. Does any other source inform us about a mythic personality by this name?

There actually was an Anund who held a conspicuous place in mythology, and he is none other than Völund. *Völundarkviða* 2 informs us that Völund was also called Anund.[180] When the three swan-maids came to the Wolfdales, where the brothers, Völund, Egil, and Slagfin, dwelt, one of them presses Egil "in her white embrace," the other is Slagfin's beloved, and the third "lays her arms around Anund's white neck."

En in þriðja	while the third,
þeirra systir	their sister,
varði hvítan	embraced the white
háls Önundar.	neck of Önund

[179] The actual names are *Amundus* and *Ano Sagittarius*, in the original and in the version of the text Rydberg cites, Peter Erasmus Müller and Hans Mattias Velschow, *Saxonis Grammatici Historia Danica*, Volume 1, 1858 [p. 269].

[180] While the text in *Codex Regius* actually reads *onondar*, this is almost always emended to Völund without explanation. Ursula Dronke, PE II, p. 306: "In 2/10 the name *Völundar* is miswritten '*onondar*' in the MS."

Völund is the only person with the name Anund (*Önund*) that occurs in our mythic sources. If we now eliminate —naturally only for the present and with the expectation of additional evidence —the name Anund and substitute Völund, we get the following parallels:

Völund and the bearer of the archer-name Toko are enemies of Halfdan.
Völund and the archer Avo are enemies of Halfdan.
The archer Örvandil is an enemy of Halfdan.

From this it would seem that Völund in a very close relation to one of the mythology's archers, and that they both had some reason for enmity against Halfdan. Can this be confirmed from another direction?

Völund's brothers in *Völundarkviða* are called *Egill* and *Slagfiður* (*Slagfinnur*). The Icelandic-Norse poems from heathen times contain paraphrases that demonstrate that Egil in the myths was famous as an archer and skier. The bow is "Egil's weapon," the arrows are "Egil's weapon-hail"[181] (*Skáldskaparmál* 61 [*Pr. Edd*. 422]), **[637]** and "the swift herring of Egil's hands"[182] (*Heimskringla, Haralds Saga Gráfeldar*, ch. 16 [*Har. Gr*. s. 18]). A ship is called Egil's skis,[183] originally because he could use his skis also on the water. In *Völundarkviða* he makes hunting expeditions with his brothers on skis. *Þidreks Saga af Bern* ch. 75 [*Wilkinasaga* (29-30)] also knows Egil as Völund's brother, and speaks of him as a wonderfully skillful archer.[184]

The same Völund, who in Saxo under the name Anund has the bearer of the archer-name Toko or the archer Avo by his side in the conflict with Halfdan, also has the archer Egil as a brother in other sources.

Of an archer Toko, who is mentioned in Book 10 [*Hist.* 487-490], Saxo tells the same exploit as *Þidreks Saga af Bern* ch. 75 [*Wilkinasaga*] attributes to Völund's brother Egil. In Saxo it is Toko who performs the famous mastershot which was afterwards attributed to William Tell. In *Þidreks Saga af Bern* [*Wilkinasaga*] it is Egil. One like the other, amid similar secondary circumstances, shoots an apple from his son's head. Egil's skill as a skier and the serviceableness of his skis on the water have not been forgotten in Saxo's account of Toko. He races on skis down the mountain Kullen in Scania, sloping precipitously toward the sea, and is said to have saved himself on board a ship. Saxo's Toko was therefore without doubt identical to Völund's brother Egil, and Saxo's Anund is the same Völund of whom the *Völundarkviða* testifies that he also bore this name in the myths.

Thus it is now demonstrated that Völund and Egil appeared in the Germanic patriarch Halfdan's story as the enemies of the latter, and that the famous archer Egil consequently occupied the place where one would expect to find the famous archer Örvandil, Svipdag's father. Therefore Örvandil is either identical to Egil, and then it is easy to understand why the latter is an enemy of Halfdan, who we know had kidnapped

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[181] *hryngráp Egils vápna*, "the falling hail of Egill's weapons," [Dronke, *PE II*, p. 272].
[182] *hlaupsíldr Egils gaupna*, "leaping herrings of Egill's hand-hollows" [ibid].
[183] *Egils andrar*, *Krákumál* 5, emended by Finnur Jónsson and most modern editors to “ægis öndrum.”
[184] *Þiðreks Saga af Bern*, ch. 75, etc. The source for all of the examples in this paragraph appears to be *Lexicon Poeticum*, 1860, s.v. *Egils*.

his wife Groa; or he is not identical to Egil, and then we know no motive for the appearance of the latter on the same side as Svipdag, and we, moreover, are confronted by the improbability that Örvandil does nothing to avenge the insult inflicted upon him.

[638] Örvandil's identity with Egil is completely confirmed by the following circumstances.

Örvandil has the Elivogar and the coasts of Jötunheim as the scene of his exploits during the time in which he is the gods' friend and the giants' opponent. To this time we must refer Horvendillus' victories over Collerus (Kollur) and his sister Sela (cp. the name of a monster Selkolla - *Biskupa Sögur*, I. 605)[185] mentioned by Saxo (Book 3, 76-77 [*Hist*. 135-138]). His surname *inn frækni*, the brave, alone testifies that the myth mentioned remarkable feats carried out by him, and that these were performed against the powers of frost foremost, thus in the gods' service and for the good of Midgard, is plain from the narrative in *Skáldskaparmál* 25 [*Pros. Edd*. 276, 277]. This demonstrates —as the epic connection also demands —that the Asa-god Thor and the archer Örvandil were at least for a time faithful friends, and that they had met each other on their expeditions for similar purposes in Jötunheim. When Thor, wounded in the forehead from his combat with the giant Hrungnir, returns to his home, *Þrúðvangur* (*Þrúðvangar, Þrúðheimur*), Örvandil's wife Groa was there and tried to help him with healing *galdur*, in which she would also have succeeded if Thor could have persuaded himself to keep silent a moment with information he conveyed concerning her husband, and which he expected would please her. And, as a matter of fact, Groa did become so glad that she forgot the rest of the *galdur*-song and could not complete the healing. The information was, as we know, that, on the expedition to Jötunheim from which he had just now come home, Thor had met Örvandil, carried him in his basket across the Elivogar, and thrown a toe which the brave adventurer had frozen up to heaven and made a star thereof. Thor added that it would not be long before Örvandil would come "home"; that is without doubt to say "home to Thor," to fetch his wife Groa. Thus, it follows that after he had carried Örvandil across the Elivogar, Thor had parted with him somewhere on the way, in all probability in Örvandil's own home, and that Groa, the dis of growth, while Örvandil roamed in [639] Jötunheim, had a safe place of refuge in the Asa-god's own stronghold. A close relationship between Thor and Örvandil also appears in that Thor afterwards marries Örvandil's second wife Sif, and adopts his son Ull, Svipdag's half-brother (see No. 102), in Asgard.

Consequently Örvandil's abode was situated south of the Elivogar (Thor carried him *norðan úr Jötunheimum* -- *Skáldskaparmál* 25 [*Pros. Edd*. 276]),[186] in the direction Thor had to travel to and from the land of the giants, and presumably quite near or on the strand of that mythic waterway over which Thor carried him on this occasion. When Thor proceeds from Asgard to visit the giants he drives the first part of the way in his chariot drawn by the goats *Tanngnjóstur* and *Tanngrisnir*. In the poem *Haustlöng* there is a particularly vivid description of his journey in his thunder-wagon through the sky when

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[185] *Selkolla*, "a monster ('seal-head')," [*Lexicon Poeticum*, 1931]; Hinu Íslenzka bókmentafèlagi, *Biskupa sögur, Gudmundar Biskups Saga*, 1858, p. 605; The name appears several times in the text. See *Biskupa sögur* by Jón Sigurðsson, Guðbrandur Vigfússon, 1878, pp. 78-82, 85, 191. 215.

[186] "from the north, out of Jötunheim" cp. *norðan yfir Élivága*, "from the north over Elivogar," in the same passage. Anthony Faulkes translates this as "he had waded south across Elivagar carrying Aurvandil in a basket on his back south from Giantland."

he proceeded to the meeting agreed upon with the giant Hrungnir, on the return from which he met and helped Örvandil across Elivogar (*Skáldskaparmál* 25 [*Pros. Edd.* 276]).[187] But across this water and through Jötunheim itself Thor never travels in his car. Wading, he walks through the Elivogar, on foot he wanders in the wildernesses of the giants, and meets his foes face to face, breast to breast, instead of striking him from above with lightning. In this, all accounts of Thor's journeys to Jötunheim agree. Thus south of the Elivogar and somewhere near them there must have been a place where Thor left his chariot and his goats in safety before he proceeded farther on his journey. And as we already know that the archer Örvandil, Thor's friend and like him a foe of the giants, lived south of the Elivogar, and on the road traveled by the Asa-god, it lies nearest at hand to assume that Örvandil's stronghold, of course, was the stopping-place on his way.

Now in *Hymiskviða* (7, 37, 38), as a matter of fact, it is told that Thor, when he traveled to Jötunheim, had a stopping-place on the way, where his precious chariot and team were housed and watched over by the host of the place, who accordingly had a very important commission of trust, and must have been a friend of Thor and the Aesir in the myths. The host bears the archer name Egil. From **[639]** Asgard to Egil's abode, says *Hymiskviða*, it is nearly a day's journey for Thor when he rides behind his goats on his way to Jötunheim. After this day's journey he leaves the horn-adorned draught-animals with Egil, who watches over of them, after which the god proceeds farther on foot. Thor and Tyr, when they intend to visit the giant Hymir:

Fóru drjúgum
dag þann fram
Ásgarði frá,
unz til Egils komu;
hirði hann hafra
horngöfgasta,
hurfu að höllu,
er Hymir átti.

"For almost the entire day they proceeded on their way from Asgard until they came to Egil's. He gave the horn-strong goats care. They (Thor and Tyr) continued to the great hall which Hymir owned."

Reckoned from Egil's abode, both gods accordingly went farther on foot. From what is afterwards told about the adventures on their way home, it appears that there is a long distance between Egil's abode and Hymir's (cp. 35 *fóru lengi*, *áður* etc.).[188] First

[187] *Haustlöng* 14/ 3-4: "Earth's son drove to the play of iron and the Moon's path thundered beneath him. The wrath of Meili's kinsman [Thor] swelled."; 15: "All the sanctuaries of falcons did burn, because of Ull's step-father [Thor], and the ground below all beaten with hail. When the goats drew the temple-deity in the easy-chariot [Thor] forward to meet Hrungnir, Svolnir's widow [Odin's wife, Earth] split apart." *Haustlöng* 14-15 depicts Thor driving toward the battle with Hrungnir. Without transition, he meets Hrungnir on foot (v. 16). The goat-car is left behind, but where the poem does not say. In the same manner, without transition, Groa attempts to charm the whetstone out of Thor's head (20).

[188] "They had traveled far, when…"; In stanza 35, the manuscripts have *fóru*, "went," and in stanza 37 *fórut*, "went not." Thus stanza 35 is commonly emended accordingly: "They had not traveled far, when…"

one must travel across the Elivogar: *býr fyr austan Élivoga hundvís Hymir* (st. 5).[189] In the Elivogar Hymir has his fishing-hole and there he is wont to catch whales on hooks (cp. str. 17 - *á vog róa*);[190] but still he does not venture far out upon the water (see st. 20),[191] presumably because he has enemies on the southern strand where Egil dwells. Between the Elivogar and Hymir's abode there is a considerable distance through wooded mountain clefts (*holtriði* – str. 27)[192] and past rocks in whose caverns dwell monsters belonging to Hymir's giant-clan (str. 35).[193] Thor resorts to a stratagem for the safety of his retreat. After he was out and fished with the giant, instead of securing the boat in its place by the shore, as Hymir **[641]** requests of him, he carries the vessel and its belongings all the difficult way up to Hymir's hall. He is also attacked on his way home by Hymir and all his giant-clan, and, in order to be able to swing Mjöllnir freely, he must put down the precious kettle which he has captured from the frost-giant and bore on his broad shoulders (str. 35, 36).[194] But his uninterrupted retreat across the Elivogar he has guaranteed by the above-mentioned strategy.

Egil is called *hraunbúi* (str. 38), an epithet the ambiguous meaning of which should not be unobserved. It is usually translated with rock-dweller, but it here means "he who lives near or at Hraunn" (*Hrönn*).[195] *Hraunn* is one of the names of the Elivogar (see Nos. 59, 93; cp. *Skáldskaparmál* 33 [*Pros. Edd.* 258] with *Grímnismál* 28 [38]).

After their return to Egil's, Thor and Tyr again seat themselves in the thunder-chariot and proceed to Asgard with the captured kettle. But they had not driven far before the strength of one of the horn-adorned draught animals failed, and it was found that he was lame (str. 37). A misfortune had happened to him while in Egil's keeping, and this had been caused by the cunning Loki (str. 37).[196] The poem does not state the kind of misfortune —of this we receive information from the *Prose Edda* —but if Loki's purpose was to cause enmity between Thor and his friend Egil he did not succeed this time. Thor, to be sure, demanded fines for what had happened, and the fines were, as *Hymiskviða* informs us, two children who were reared in Egil's house.[197] But Thor became their excellent foster-father and protector, and the punishment was therefore of such a kind that it was calculated to strengthen the bond of friendship instead of severing it.

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[189] "There dwells, eastward of the Elivogar, the *hund*-wise Hymir."
[190] "row out on the waves"
[191] " …but the Jötun declared his slight desire to row further."
[192] *Hol-trið,* "wooded mountain ridge."
[193] "They had traveled far, when Odin's son took a look backward once. From the east with Hymir, he saw a troop of warriors faring, many-headed."
[194] 36: "He lifted the kettle down from his shoulders, he swung Mjöllnir, murder-loving, ahead and killed all of the rock-whales [i.e. the giants]"
[195] *Hraunbúi* means "rock-dweller" and is a common kenning for a giant. Egil is depicted as a giant here. *Hraun* (neuter) means "scree, expanse of rocks, lava-field". *Hrönn* (feminine) means "wave." The two words are not related, and decline differently (*hrönn - hrannar*; *hraun - hrauns*). Rydberg has confused the words, probably based on a misunderstanding. In the manuscripts "av" is regularly written for both "ö" and "au." However, for the word to mean "*Hrönn*-dweller" it would have to be "*hrannbúi*" or "*hrannarbúi*", to indicate that Egil lived in the river.
[196] "They had not traveled far when one of Hlórriði's goats lay half-dead before them; the 'horse of the trace' [i.e. the goat] was lame in the leg. Of this the mischief-wise Loki was responsible."
[197] *Hymiskviða* 38: "Now you have heard -- who of the god-wise knows more about this? -- what recompense he got from the rock-dweller, he paid for it with both of his children."

Gylfaginning 44 ff. [*Pros. Edd*. I. 142 ff.] has also preserved the tradition that when Thor shall proceed from Asgard to Jötunheim, he has to make more than a day's journey, and for this reason, that after the first day's travel, he is taken into a house, where he eats his evening meal and spends the night. There he leaves his goats and travels the next day eastward (north), "across the deep sea" (*hafið það hið djúp*a),[198] on whose other side his giant foes have their homeland. The **[642]** sea in question is the Elivogar, and the tradition correctly states that the lodging for the night is situated on its southern (western) side.

But *Gylfaginning* has forgotten the name of the host in this inn. Instead of giving his name it simply calls him a *búandi* (peasant); but it knows and states on the other hand the names of the two children there reared, Thjalfi and Röskva; and it relates how it happened that Thor's one goats became lame, but without Loki receiving the blame for the misfortune. According to *Gylfaginning* the event occurred when Thor was on his way to Utgarda-Loki. In *Gylfaginning*, too, Thor takes the two children in payment, and makes Thjalfi (*Þjálfi*) a hero, who with honor takes part in the god's exploits.

As shall be shown below, this stopping-place on the journey from Asgard to Jötunheim is presupposed as well known in Eilífr Guðrúnarson's *Þórsdrápa*, which describes the adventures Thor met with on his journey to the giant Geirröd. *Þórsdrápa* provides information of great mythological importance concerning the inhabitants of the place. They are the "sworn" helpers of the Aesir, and when it is necessary Thor can secure brave warriors there, who accompany him across Elivogar into Jötunheim. Among them *an archer* plays the chief role in connection with Thjalfi (see No. 114).[199]

On the north side of Elivogar dwell accordingly giants hostile to gods and men; on the south side, on the other hand, beings friendly to the gods and bound to the Aesir by oaths. The circumstance that they are bound by oaths to the gods (see *Þórsdrápa*) implies that they stand in a contractual and subservient relationship to them. The remotest northern outpost against the powers of frost is obviously entrusted to them.

Thus we also have an explanation of the position of the star-hero Örvandil, the great archer, in the mythic epic. We can understand why he is engaged to a dis of growth Groa, as it is his duty to defend Midgard against the devastation of frost; and why he fights on the Elivogar and in Jötunheim against the same enemies as Thor; and why the mythology has made him and the lord of thunder friends who visit each other. With the a father's tenderness, and a comrade's devotion, **[643]** the mighty son of Odin bears the exhausted and frost-bitten star-hero on his shoulders over the foggy Elivogar, filled with bewitching terrors, to place him safe by his own hearth south of these waters after he has honored him with a token which for all time shall shine in the heavens as a monument of Örvandil's exploits and Thor's friendship for him. In the meantime Groa, Örvandil's wife, stays in Thor's halls.

And we discover the same bond of hospitality between Thor and Egil. According to *Hymiskviða* it is in Egil's house, according to *Gylfaginning* in the house in which Thjalfi is fostered, where the accident involving one of Thor's goats occurs. In the one source, the youth whom Thor takes as a fine is called Egil's child; in the other he is called

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[198] *Gylfaginning* 45.

[199] In verse 8 of *Þórsdrápa*, the poet calls Thor and Thjalfi "the glorious, battle-wise warriors, oath-sworn vikings of Gauti's [Odin's] dwelling." Rydberg understood this to refer to the inhabitants of Thjalfi's native home. See no. 114 for a fuller account of Rydberg's treatment of this complex skaldic poem.

Thjalfi. Two different mythic sources indicate that in the myth Thjalfi was an orphan, adopted into Egil's house, and consequently not a brother by blood, but a foster-brother of Svipdag and Ull. One source is *Göngu-Hrólfs Saga* 2 [*Förnaldars*. III, 241], where it is stated that Groa found a baby boy in a *flæðarmál* and raised him with her own son.[200] *Flæðarmál* designates a waterpit, a place which is inundated with floodwaters, then lies dry.[201] The other source is the *Longobard Saga*, in which the mythological Egil reappears as Agelmund, the first king of the Longobardians who emigrated from Scandinavia (*Origo Gentis Longobardorum*; Paulus Diaconius ch. 14, 15; cp. No. 112). Agelmund, it is said, had a foster-son, *Lamicho*[202] (*Origo Gentis Longobardorum*) or *Lamissio* (Paulus Diaconius), whom he found in a dam and adopted out of pity.[203] Thus in the one place it is a woman who bears the name of the archer Örvandil's wife, in the other it is the archer Egil himself, who adopts as foster-son a child found in a dam or in a place filled with water. Paulus Diaconus says that the lad received the name *Lamissio* to commemorate this circumstance, "since he was fished up out of a dam or dyke," which in their (the Longobardian) language is called *lama* (cp. *lehm*, mud). The name Thjalfi (*Þjálfi*) refers to an entirely similar idea-association. As Vigfusson has already pointed out, it is connected with the English *delve*, a dyke, dam, **[644]** waterpit, mudpool; with the Anglo-Saxon *delfan*; the Dutch *delven*, to work the ground with a spade, to dig.[204] The circumstances under which the lad was found presaged his future. In the myths, he fells the clay-giant *Mökkukálfi* (*Skáldskaparmál* 24 [*Pros. Edd*. I. 272-274]). In the migration saga he is the discoverer of land and circumnavigates islands (*Kormák's Saga*, 19, 3;[205] *Skáldskaparmál* 76 [*Prose Edda*, I. 496])[206] and there, in order to make them inhabitable

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[200] "Grímr was his foster-brother, and he was called 'the terrible.' He was strong and evil-natured in all things. Nothing was known of his origin or clan, because the seeress Gróa (Þórðr's mother) had found him in a *flæðarmál* in Hlesey, and she raised him as a son, and taught him all the magic arts in such a manner that no one in the northern lands was his equal, because his nature was different to the nature of other men."

[201] *flæðarmál*, "a flood-mark, i.e. the space between high and low water," (Cleasby/Vigfusson, *Dict.* 162)

[202] Ch. 2: "They made for themselves a king, Agilmund by name, thge son of Agio, of the race of Gugingus. And after him reigned Laiamicho of the race of Gugingus." [William Dudly Foulke tr, p. 317]

[203] Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, ch. 15: "At this time a certain prostitute had brought forth seven little boys at a birth, and the mother, more cruel than all wild beasts, threw them into a fishpond to be drowned …It happened therefore that when King Agelmund stopped his horse and looked at the wretched infants, and had turned them hither and thither with the spear he carried in his hand, one of them put his hand on the royal spear and clutched it. The king moved by pity and marveling greatly at the act, pronounced that he would be a great man. And straightaway he ordered him to be lifted from the fishpond and commanded him to be brought to a nurse to be nourished with every care, and because he took him from a fishpond which in their language is called *lama*, he gave him the name Lamissio." [William Dudley Foulke tr.]

[204] "The word properly means a *delver, digger*; German *delber, delben*, = to delve, dig" (Vigfusson, *Dict.* 738.)

[205] Used here, the word *þjálfa* is probably not a personal name. Related to the verb *þjálfa*, "tame, subdue," it most likely means "band, girdle; something that surrounds." *Þjálfi eyja* "girdle of the islands", therefore, appears to be a kenning for ocean. The verse reads: *Brim gnýr, brattir hamrar / blálands Haka strandar / Allt gjálfr eyja þjálfa út líðr í stað víðis*; "The surf roars, steep cliffs rise/ from the edge of Haki's [the sea-king's] blue realm; to the water's domain glides the din/ of the sea that encircles islands." [Rory McTurk tr.]

[206] This verse by Einarr is obscure and the word in question is actually written as *þjalma* or *þjálma*, which Faulkes defines as "*þjálmi*, m. noose, encircler, in a kenning for sea, *Manar þjálma*." The stanza reads: *Kaldr þvær marr und mildum/ margt dægr viðu svarta, grefr élsnúin jöfri,/ almsorg Manar þjalma* ; "Cold mere washes over many a day the black timbers under the generous prince. Storm-twisted elm-trouble [wind] digs into Man's encircler [sea]," [A. Faulkes tr.]

for immigrants, he conquers giants (*Hárbarðsljóð* 39).[207] In the addition to the Gotland Law[208] he appears as Thjelvar, who lands in Gotland, liberates the island from magic forces by carrying fire, colonizes it and becomes the progenitor of a host of emigrants, who settle in southern countries. In Paulus Diaconus he grows up to be the finest hero; in the myths he develops into the Asa-god Thor's brave helper, who participates in his and the great archer's adventures on the Elivogar and in Jötunheim. Paulus (ch. 15) says that once when Agelmund with his Longobardians came to a river, "amazons" wanted to hinder him from crossing it. Then Lamissio fought, swimming in the river, with the bravest one of the amazons, and killed her.[209] In the myths Egil himself fights with the giantess Sela, mentioned in Saxo as an amazon: *piraticis exercita rebus ac bellici perita muneris* (Book 3, 77 [*Hist*. 138]),[210] while Thjalfi fights with giantesses on Hlesey (*Hárbarðsljóð* 39), and at the side of Thor and the archer he fights his way through the river waves, in which giantesses try to drown him (*Þórsdrápa*). It is evident that Paulus Diaconus' accounts of Agelmund and Lamissio are nothing more than historicized echoes of the myths about Egil and Thjalfi, of which the Old Norse records fortunately have preserved valuable fragments.

Thus Thjalfi is the archer Egil's and Groa's foster-son, as is apparent from a compilation of the sources cited. From other sources we have found that Groa is the archer Örvandil's wife. Örvandil dwells near the Elivogar and Thor is his friend, and receives Groa as his guest. Egil lives near the Elivogar and Thor is his friend and stays with him on his way to and from Jötunheim. These are the certifications of Örvandil's and Egil's identity which lie nearest at hand.

[645] It has already been pointed out that Svipdag's father Örvandil appears in Saxo by the name Ebbo (see no. 23, no. 100). It is Otharus-Svipdag's father whom he calls this (Book 7, p. 187-189 [*Hist.* 329-333]). Halfdan slays Örvandil-Ebbo, while the latter celebrates his wedding with a princess Sygrutha (see No. 23). In the mythology Egil had the same fate: an enemy and rival kills him for the sake of a woman. The *"Franks Casket,"* an old work of sculpture now preserved in England, and reproduced in George Stephens' great work on the runes,[211] represents Egil defending his house against a host

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[207] "*Vargynjur þat váru,/ en varla konur;/ skelldu skip mitt,/ er ek skorðat hafðak,/ ægðu mér járnlurki en eltu Þjalfa*"; "She-wolves they were like, and women but little; My ship, which well I had trimmed, did they shake; with clubs of iron they threatened, and Thjalfi they drove off." [H. Bellows tr.]

[208] *Gudasagan*, an early 13th century text containing an account of the history of the Baltic island Gotland, which survives in *Codex Holm*. B 64 (Royal Library at Stockholm) along with the Gotland legal code, or *Gutalag*. It is written in Old Gutnish, the Norse dialect of the island. It reads: "Gotland was first discovered by a man whose name was Thialvar (Thjelvar). In those days Gotland's nature was that it sank below in the daytime, but stayed above during the night. But this man was the first to carry fire onto the land, and henceforth it never sank again." [Peter Tunstall tr.] For the original see: http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/gutasaga/

[209] "When he had grown up he became such a vigorous youth that he was also very fond of fighting, and after the death of Agelmund he directed the government of the kingdom. They say that when the Longobards, pursuing their way with their king, came to a certian river and were forbidden by the Amazons to cross to the other side, this man fought with the strongest of them, swimming in the river, and killed her and won for himself the glory of great praise and a passage also for the Langobards." [Foulke tr.]

[210] "Then he pursued and slew Koller's sister Sela, who was a skilled warrior and experienced in roving." [Elton tr.]; "After this he hounded down and slew Koller's sister Sela a warrior Amazon and accomplished pirate herself." [Fisher]

[211] George Stephens, *The Old-Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England*. 3 vols. London 1866-1884.

of assailants who storm it. Inside the house, one sees a woman, the possession of whom causes the conflict. Like Saxo's Halfdan, one of the assailants carries a tree or a branched club as his weapon. Egil has hurried out, bow in hand, and his three famous arrows have been shot. Above him, his name is written in runes, so that there can be no doubt about his identity. The attack, according to Saxo, took place, in the night (*noctuque nuptiis superveniens* - Book 7, p. 187 [*Hist.* 330]).[212]

In a similar manner, Paulus Diaconus relates the story concerning Egil-Agelmund's death (ch. 16). He is attacked, so it is stated, in the night time by Bulgarians, who slew him and carried away his only daughter.[213] During a part of their history the Longobardians had the Bulgarians as neighbors, with whom they were at war. In the mythic saga, it was "*Borgarians*," i.e Borgar's son Halfdan and his men, who slew Örvandil. In historicized tale, the "Borgarians" have been changed into Bulgarians for the natural reason that accounts of wars fought with Bulgarians were preserved in the traditions of the Longobardians.

The very name Ebbo reappears also in the Longobardian saga. The brothers, under whose leadership the Longobardians are said to have emigrated from Scandinavia, are called Aggo and Ebbo in Saxo (Book 8, p. 237 [*Hist.* 418]); in *Origo Gentis Longobardorum*, Ajo and Ybor; in Paulus (ch. 7), Ajo and Ibor. Thus the name Ebbo is variant of the name *Ibor*, the German *Ebur*, the Norse *Jöfurr*, "a wild boar." The Ibor of the Longobard's saga, the emigration leader, and Agelmund, the emigrants' first king, in the myths and also in Saxo's sources, are one and the same person. The Longobards' **[646]** historicized emigration story, thus has its root in the pan-Germanic emigration myth, which was connected with the enmity caused by Loki between the gods and the primeval artists —an enmity in which the latter allied themselves with the powers of frost, and, at the head of the Skilfing-Yngling tribes, directed the migration southward, which resulted in the populating of the Germanic continent with tribes from South Scandia and Denmark (see no. 28, no. 32).

Nor is the mythic hero Ibor forgotten in the German sagas. He is mentioned in *Notker* (about the year 1000)[214] and in *Þidreks Saga af Bern* [*Wilkinasaga*]. *Notker* simply mentions him in passing as a saga-hero well known at that time. He distinguishes between the real wild boar (*Eber*) roaming in the woods, and the Eber (*Ebur*) who "bears the swan-ring." This is all he has to say of him.[215] But, according to *Völundarkviða*, the *Ebur*-Egil of the myths is married to a swanmaid, and, like his brother Völund, has worn a ring.[216] The swan-rings' significance was originally the same as the ring Draupnir's: they were fertility symbols, and were made and owned for this reason by the myths' primeval artists, who, as we have seen, were the personified crop-creating powers in

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[212] "coming by night on the wedding feast" [Elton tr.]; "coming upon the wedding at night," [Fisher tr.]

[213] "At night, in short, when all were resting, relaxed by negligence, suddenly the Bulgarians, rushing upon them, slew many, wounded many more, and so raged through the camp that they killed Agelmund, the king himself, and carried away his only daughter." [Foulke tr.]

[214] Notker Labeo ["the thick-lipped"] later Notker Teutonicus ["the German"] c.950–1022, German Benedictine monk and one of the founders of German vernacular literature, translating into Old High German Boethius' *Consolations of Philosophy*, Capella's *Marriage of Mercury and Philology*, Pope Gregory I's *Morals*, and Aristotle's *Categories*.

[215] The source of this is Grimm's *Deutsche Heldensage* (1829), no. 16, p. 30.

[216] In *Völundarkviða* Egil marries a swan-maid; in Notker, Eber wears a "swan-ring." Egil is not associated with a ring in *Völundarkviða*.

nature, and by their beloved or wives, the swan-maids, who were the saps of vegetation, the providers of the mythic "mead" or "ale." The swan-maid who loves Egil is, therefore, in *Völundarkviða* called *Ölrun*, a parallel name to *Ölgefjun*, as Groa, Örvandil's wife, is called in *Haustlöng* 20 (*Skáldskaparmál* 30 [*Pros. Edd*. I, 282]). Saxo, too, has heard of the swan-rings, and says that from three swans singing in the air a *cingulum*[217] inscribed with runes, fell down to King Fridlevus (Njörd), which informed him where he was to find a youth who had been stolen by a giant, and whose liberation weighed on Fridlevus' mind.[218] The context shows that the unnamed youth in the myth was Fridlevus-Njörd's own son Frey, the lord of harvests, stolen by the powers of frost. Accordingly, a swan-ring has co-operated in the mythology in restoring the fertility of the earth.

In *Þidreks Saga af Bern* [*Wilkinasaga*] appears Villifer.[219] The author of the saga **[647]** says himself that this name is identical with Wild-Ebur, wild boar.[220] Villifer, a remarkable and noble-minded youth, wears a gold ring around his arm and is Vidga Völundson's elder friend, protector, and savior from mortal danger. Of his family relations *Þidreks Saga af Bern* [*Wilkinasaga*] gives us no information, but the role it gives him has its explanation in the myth, where Ebur is Völund's brother Egil, and thus his ward Vidga's uncle.

If we now remind ourselves that in the German Orentel story, which is based on the Svipdag-myth, the father of the hero is called Eigel (Egil), and his patron saint Wieland (Völund), and that in the archer, who in Saxo fights by the side of Anund-Völund against Halfdan, we have re-discovered Egil where we expected Örvandil; then here we find a whole chain of evidence that Ebur, Egil, and Örvandil are identical, and at the same time the links in this chain of evidence, taken as they are from the Icelandic poetry, and from Saxo, from England, Germany, and Italy, demonstrated just how widely spread the myth about Örvandil-Egil, his famous brother Völund, and his no less celebrated son Svipdag, was among the Germanic peoples. The result gained by the investigation is of the greatest interest for the restoration of the myths' epic connection. Previously the *Völundarkviða* with its hero has stood in the gallery of myths as an isolated torso with no trace of connection with the other myths and mythic sagas. Now it appears again, and as the investigation progresses it shall become increasingly evident, that the Völund-myth belongs to the central parts of the Germanic mythology's great epic and sends its ramifications through it in all directions.

In regard to Svipdag's saga, what is most evident from this is that the myths were not inclined to allow Völund's sword, concealed in the underworld, to come into the hands of a hero who was a stranger to the great artist and his plans. If Völund forged it

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[217] "girdle, sword-belt."

[218] Saxo, Book 6, 147: "Here Fridleif left the camp at night to reconnoiter; and, hearing an unusual kind of sound close to him as of brass being beaten, he stood still and looked up, and heard the following song of three swans, who were crying above him, ...after the birds had sung, a belt (*cingulum*) fell from on high, which showed writing to interpret the song." [Elton tr.]; In the night Fridlef had left the camp to reconnoitre when he caught an unusual sound of the air being beaten; stopping in his tracks and looking up, he heard this song from three swans crying above him. ...as the birds' voices ceased, a belt fell from the sky inscribed with letters, which interpreted the song," [Fisher tr.]

[219] Vildifer first appears in chapter 132, where he befriends Vidga. He is described as "the handsomest and most courteous of men", who wears "a thick gold ring around the arm." [Haymes tr.] In the following chapters, he slays a bear, sews himself into its skin, and, acting like the bear, slays King Osantrix "along with two of his giants, whom he had trusted for his protection," in order to free Vidga [ch. 144].

[220] Ch. 115: "The sign of his armor was the wild boar. This is called Villifer in German."

with intent hostile to the gods, in order to avenge a wrong done him, or to elevate himself and his circle of kinsmen among the elves at the expense of the ruling gods, then he has not done so in vain. If Völund and his brothers are those Ivaldi sons who, after having given the gods **[648]** beautiful treasures, became offended by the judgment which placed Sindri's work, particularly Mjöllnir, higher than their own, then the myths have also given them redress for the inflicted insult. Mjöllnir is broken by the sword of victory wielded by Völund's nephew; Asgard trembles before the young elf, after he had received his uncle's incomparable weapon; its gate opens itself for him and other kinsmen of Völund, and the divine world's most beautiful woman becomes his wife.

109.
FREY FOSTERED BY ÖRVANDIL-EGIL AND VÖLUND. ÖRVANDIL'S EPITHET ISOLFUR. VÖLUND'S EPITHET AGGO.

The mythology has preserved for us several names of the coastal region by the Elivogar, where Örvandil-Egil and his kinsmen dwelt, while they still were the friends of the gods, and formed an outpost active in their service against the powers of frost. That this coast region constituted a part of Alfheim, and the most northern part of this mythic land, is already evident from the fact that Völund and his brothers are in *Völundarkviða* elf-princes, sons of a mythic "king." The empire of the elf-princes must be located to Alfheim for the same reason that we locate that of the Vanir powers to Vanaheim, and that of the Aesir to Asgard. The part of Alfheim here in question, where Örvandil-Egil's stronghold was situated, was in the mythology called *Ýdalir*, *Ýsetur* (*Grímnismál* 5; *Olaf Tryggvason's Saga*, ch. 21).[221] It has already been suggested that Ullur, elevated to the dignity of an Asa-god, who is the son of Örvandil-Egil, and Svipdag's brother (see no. 102), has his halls, according to *Grímnismál*, built in Ýdalir. Divine beings who did not originally belong to Asgard, but were adopted in Odin's clan, and thus received native-rights within the bulwarks of the Asa-stronghold, nonetheless retained possession of the land, realm, and halls, which are their *odal*[222] and where they were reared. After he became a citizen of Asgard, Njörd continued to own and to reside occasionally in the Van-stronghold Noatun beyond the western ocean (see no. 20, no. 93). Skadi, as an Asynje, continues to inhabit her father Thjazi's halls in Thrymheim (*Grímnismál* 11). Vidar's grass- and brush-grown **[649]** realm is not a part of Asgard, but consists of the large plain on which, in Ragnarök, Odin is shall succumb in combat with Fenrir (*Grímnismál* 17; see no. 39). When Ull is said to have his halls in Ýdalir, this must be

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[221] *Lexicon Poeticum* (1860), s.v. *ýsetr*, defines *ýsetrs eldr* as a kenning for "gold," ["*ignis manûs, aurum*,"] attributing it to a verse in *Olaf Tryggvason's Saga*, ch. 21. Carl Rikard Unger's 1868 edition of *Heimskringla eller Norges kongesagaer af Snorre Sturlassøn* places the verse after the second sentence in that chapter, prefacing it with the statement: "Svá segir Hallarsteinn" (p. 140). In LP (1931) the same kenning is attributed to Hallfreðr Óttarson vandræðaskáld. The verse in question, sometimes considered the opening verse of the poem *Oláfsdrápa in fyrri*, reads: *Tolf var elds at aldri/ ýsetrs hati vetra, / hraustr þá er herskip glæsti/ Hörða vinr ór Görðum;/ hlóðu Hamðis klæðum /hjörva gnýs ok skýjum /hilmis menn sem hjölmum/ hlýrvigg, en mól stýri*.

[222] A legal term, among early and medieval Germanic peoples, especially Scandinavians, designating the heritable land held by a family or kindred of freeborn tribesmen, restricting its transfer to members of the family or kindred. Survivals of the early *odal* estates exist in Orkney and Shetland, where it is called by the variant form *udal*.

based on a similar reason, and Ýdalir must be the land where he was raised and which he inherited after his father, the great archer. When *Grímnismál* enumerates the homes of the gods, the series of them begins with Thrudheim, Thor's realm, and closest thereafter, and in connection with Alfheim, is mentioned Ýdalir, presumably because Thor's land and Örvandil-Egil's stood, as we have seen, in the closest mythic connection to one another.

Land er heilagt,	The land is holy
er eg liggja sé	that I see lying
ásum og álfum nær;	near the Aesir and the elves;
en í Þrúðheimi	but in Thrudheim
skal Þórr vera,	shall Thor remain
unz um rjúfast regin.	until the regin are ruined.
Ýdalir heita,	Ýdalir hight
þar er Ullur hefir	where Ull has
sér um görva sali;	made himself a hall;
Álfheim Frey	Alfheim Frey
gáfu í árdaga	was given in early-days
tívar að tannfé.	by gods as a tooth-gift.

Ýdalir means the "dales of the bow" or "of the bows." *Ýsetr* is "the chalet of the bow" or "of the bows." That the first compound part in this name is *ýr*, "a bow," is demonstrated by the way in which the local name Ýsetur can be used in poetical paraphrases, where the bow-holding hand is called *ýsetur*. The names refer to the region's mythical rulers, the archer Ull and his father the archer Örvandil-Egil. The place has also been called *Geirvaðils setur, Geirvandils setur*, which is explained in that Örvandil's father bore the epithet Geirvandil (Saxo, Book 3, p. 76 [*Hist*. 135]). Hakon Jarl, the ruler of northern Norway, is called (*Fagurskinna*, 37, 4)[223] *Geirvaðils seturs Ullur*, "the Ull of Geirvandil's chalet,"[224] a paraphrase in which we rediscover **[650]** the mythological association of ideas between Ull and the chalet which was owned by his father Örvandil and his grandfather Geirvandil. The Ydales were described as rich in gold. *Ýseturs eldur* is a paraphrase for gold.[225] One may compare this with what Völund says (*Völundarkviða* 14) of the wealth of gold in his and his kinsmen's home. (See further, concerning the same passage, nos. 114 and 115.)

In connection with its mention of the Ydales, *Grímnismál* states that the gods gave Frey Alfheim as a tooth-gift. *Tannfé*, "tooth-gift," was the name of a gift which was given (and in Iceland is still given) to a child when it cuts its first tooth. The tender Frey is thus appointed by the gods as king over Alfheim, and chief of the elf-princes there, among whom Völund and Örvandil-Egil, judging from the mythic events themselves, must have been the foremost and most famous. It is also consistent, as symbols of nature, that the god of growth and harvests receives the government of elves and primeval artists, the personified crop-creating powers. Through this measure by the gods, Völund and Örvandil become vassals under Njörd and his son.

In two passages of his history Saxo relates historicized mythic facts, from which it is clear that Njörd appointed a foster-father for his son, or allowed him to grow up in a home under the care of two fosterers. In the one passage (Book 6, p. 150 [*Hist.* 272]) it is Fridlevus-Njörd who selects Avo the archer as his son's foster-father;[226] in the other

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[223] The actual kenning here is *geirvaðills Ullr* meaning "warrior." Rydberg's source may have been *Lexicon Poeticum* (1860) where the expression *Ullr geirvaðils setrs* is defined as "*deus clipei, ut ante*." The reference is to the 1847 edition *Fagrskinna, Kortfattet Norsk Konge-Saga*, by Peter Andreas Munch and Carl Rikard Unger, p. 37, verse 4, which appears as verse 73, page 87, of *Fagrskinna, A Catalogue of the Kings of Norway* by Alison Finlay (2004) where the phrase in question is translated "Best of all lords, the battle-bold *Ullr of spears' causeway* now in the *seat* is settled of the stalwart princes," noting that the kenning *geirvaðils Ullr* means "Ullr (god) of the spear-ford, god of the land of the spear (shield), warrior."

[224] Anderson translates the word as "chalet." Rydberg uses the word *säter*, which indicates an "outlying stock-farm," (also called a *fäbod*), no doubt for its similarity to the Old Norse *setur*, "seat, residence." *Lokasenna* 43 refers to Frey's realm as *sælikt setur*, the "blessed abode," which Ursula Dronke identifies with "Álfheim (*Grímnismál* 5)" [*Poetic Edda vol.* II, pp. 342, 367].

[225] According to Sveinbjörn Egilsson in *Lexicon Poeticum* (1860).

[226] The foster parents here are Bjorn and Ano, rather than Avo: "When the year had come to an end, he took great pains to reconcile Biorn and Ane, who had often challenged and fought one another, and made them exchange their hatred for friendship; and even entrusted to them his three-year-old son, Olaf, to rear" [Elton tr.];"After a year had tolled by he took utmost pains to reconcile Biorn and Ani, who had frequently met in combat, and made them exchange hatred for a mutual regard; to these two as well he entrusted his three-year-old son, Olaf, to be reared." [Fisher tr.]

passage (Book 5, p. 105) it is the tender Frotho, son of Fridlevus and future brother-in-law of Ericus-Svipdag, who receives Isulfus and Aggo as guardians.[227]

So far as the archer Avo is concerned, we have already met him above (see no. 108) in combat by the side of Anundus-Völund against one Halfdan. He is a parallel figure to the archer Toko, who likewise fights by the side of Anundus-Völund against Halfdan, and, as already shown, he is identical with the archer Örvandil-Egil.

In regard to the name Aggo, it is borne by one of the leaders of the Longobard migration, brother of Ebbo-Ibor, in whom we have already discovered Örvandil-Egil.

[651] Concerning the name Ísólfur, in the Old Norse poetic language, it designates the bear (*Nafnaþulur* 95, [*Pr. Edd.* I, 589, II, 484]). *Þidreks Saga af Bern* ch. 144 [*Wilkinasaga*] makes Ebbo (Wild-Ebur) appear in the guise of a bear when he is about to rescue Völund's son Vidga from the captivity into which he had fallen. In his shield Ebbo has images of a wild boar and of a bear.[228] As the wild boar refers to one of his names (Ebur), the image of the bear should refer to another (Ísólfur).

Under such circumstances I consider it beyond doubt that Örvandil-Egil and one of his brothers, the one designated by the name Aggo (Ajo), be this Völund or Slagfin, in the myths were entrusted with the duty of fostering the young Frey. Örvandil also assumes, as vassal under Njörd, the place which foster-fathers held in relation to the their proteges' fathers by blood.

Frey, accordingly, grows up in Alfheim, and in the Ydales is fostered by elf-princes belonging to a circle of brothers, among whom one, namely Völund, is the myths' most famous artist, whose wonderful work, the sword of victory, in time proves to be superior to Sindri's finest smithery, the hammer Mjöllnir. And because among Örvandil-Egil's brothers, it is always Völund whom Saxo mentions by his side (see no. 108), it is most probably Völund, not Slagfin, who also appears here under the name Aggo along with the great archer, and, like him, is entrusted with the care of Frey. It follows from this that Svipdag and Ull were Frey's foster-brothers. Thus it is the duty of a foster-brother they perform when they go to rescue Frey from the power of giants, and when they, later, in the war between the Aesir and Vanir, take Frey's side. This also throws additional light on Svipdag-Skirnir's words to Frey in *Skírnismál* 5:

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[227] "For one and all paid such respect to the name and memory of Fridleif, that the royalty was bestowed on his son despite his tender years. So a selection was made, and the brothers Westmar and Koll were summoned to the charge of bringing up the king. Isulf, also, and Agg and eight other men of mark were not only entrusted with the guardianship of the king, but also granted authority to administer the realm under him." [Elton tr.];"After holding an assembly they also decided that the king's minority should be supervised by guardians in case the monarchy should collapse owing to their ruler's tender age. A choice was made and the brothers Vestmar and Koll were summoned to take charge of the royal upbringing. Besides these, Isulf and Aggi together with eight other eminent men were entrusted with the protection of the king and given authority to govern the realm under him." [Fisher tr.]

[228] Ch. 181: "Vildifer the bold marked his armor in this way; on his shield was painted a boar and a bear in dark red. The shield was colored yellow and the outer border was dark red."

því að ungir saman
vorum á árdaga,
vel mættum tveir trúast.

"For young together
we were in early days,
we two might well trust one
another."

[652]

110.

SVIPDAG'S GRANDFATHER [FATHER'S FATHER] IS IVALDI. ÖRVANDIL, VÖLUND, AND SLAGFIN THUS IDENTICAL TO IVALDI'S SONS.

The myths tell that elves forged splendid treasures for Frey (*Grímnismál* 42; *Gylfaginning* 43, *Skáldskaparmál* 14, 43 [*Prose Edda* I, 140, 340]). To these treasures belonged the remarkable ship *Skiðblaðnir* and the gold-glittering boar Slíðrugtanni, also called *Gullinbursti* (*Gylfaginning* 49, *Skáldskaparmál* 14 [*Prose Edda* I, 176, 264, 340-344]), both most probably symbols of vegetation. The elves that forged these treasures are called Ivaldi's sons, and constitute the same group of brothers whose gifts to the gods, at the instigation of Loki, are subjected to a public examination by the Aesir and by them found wanting as compared with Sindri's smithery. It would be most surprising, even quite incredible, if, when other artists made useful presents to Frey, the elf-prince Völund and his brothers did not do likewise, inasmuch as he is the chief smith of them all, and inasmuch as he and his brother Örvandil-Egil have taken upon themselves the duties of foster-father of the young harvest-god, among which were certainly to care for his well-being and enable him to perform his calling, important to the world.

From this standpoint, it is already more than probable that the same artist who plays the role of the finest smith compared to Mimir known to antiquity in the heroic saga of the Germanic tribes under the name Völund, Wieland, Weland, is the same one who was the most excellent smith in the mythology: namely, the most skilful one of Ivaldi's sons. This view is absolutely confirmed as to its correctness by the evidence which I shall now present.

Of Ivaldi, *Hrafnagaldur Oðins* 6 [*Forspjallsljóð*] says that he had two sets of children, and that Idun, the dis of vegetation, belonged to one of these sets:

Álfa ættar
Iðunni hétu
Ívalds eldri
yngsta barna.

Of the elf clan
Idun is named
Ivald's older
youngest child

[653] Idun is, therefore, a sister of the famous artists, Ivaldi's sons. In *Völundarkviða,* Völund and Slagfin are brothers or half-brothers of the dises of vegetation, who are together with them in the Wolfdales (*Völundarkviða* 2).[229] According to *Hrafnagaldur Oðins* [*Forspjallsljóð*], Idun was for a time absent from Asgard, and stayed in a winter-cold land in the vicinity of Narfi-Mimir's daughter Nott, and in company with persons whose names and epithets indicate that they were smiths, primeval artists (*Rögnir* and *Reginn;* see nos. 113, 115, and the epithet *viggiar,* a synonym of *smiðir – Nafnaþulur* 89 [*Prose Edda*, I. 587]).[230] Thus we read precisely the same of Idun as of the swan-maids and vegetation-dises who dwelt for a time in the Wolfdales with Völund and his brothers. Further on it shall be demonstrated that the name of Völund's father in the introduction of *Völundarkviða* and the name given to the father of Völund's and Slagfin's swan-maids are synonyms, and designate the same person. But if for the moment, we leave this proof aside and confine ourselves to the evidence already presented, then the question concerning the identity of Ivaldi's sons with the group of brothers Völund, Egil, and Slagfin takes the following form:

1. (a) In the mythology exists a group of brothers, Ivaldi's sons, from which the most wonderful smithery proceeded, smithery which was presented to the gods, who compared them to those of the primeval artist Sindri.

(b) In the heroic saga exists a group of brothers, to which Völund belongs, the most famous of the heroic saga's smiths originating in mythology.

2. (a) Ivaldi is an elf and his sons elves.

(b) Völund, Egil, and Slagfin are elves (*Völundarkviða* 32).

3. (a) Ivaldi's sons are brothers or half-brothers of the goddess of vegetation, Idun.

(b) Völund, Egil, and Slagfin are brothers or half-brothers of swan-maids and dises of vegetation.

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[229] On this point, see also no. 118 and 123. It is directly stated in the prose introduction and in verse 15 of *Völundarkviða* that Hladgud and Hervör, two of the swan-maidens, are daughters of Hlöðver and that the third, Ölrun, is the daughter of Kiar. However, in verse 2, when speaking of Hervör, Völund's swan-maiden, the poet ambiguously states that she is "their sister" (*þeira systir*). Clearly, Rydberg believes that "their" refers to the three brothers, while modern scholars believe it refers back to the other two swan-maidens. Noting the apparent contradiction of the modern reading, Ursula Dronke writes: "according to 15/5-8 only two of the wives were born sisters. In 2/8 *systir* might refer to the 'sorority' of friendship of the three. …In *Völundarkviða,* however, I think it more probable that the three swan sisters were designed to be real sisters by the poet of this stanza, to match the three real brothers, and make the family net more tightly knit," [*PE* II, p. 306-307] Regarding this discrepancy, she explains "At the same time a reciter has made alterations to the text and has not coordinated the new details with the old. From this arises one serious discrepancy of fact in the poem. There are four names for the three wives: Egill has Ölrun (named in 5/2, 15/7), Völundr has a 'daughter of Hlöðvér' (11/16: i.e. either the Hlaðguðr or the Hervör of 15/5), and Slagfiðr has Svanhvít (5/4), whose name is not included with those of the other wives in 15/5-8. The author of the prose prologue has cleverly combined Hlaðguðr-Svanhvít and Hervör-Alvítr (taking *alvítr,* 11/7, as a proper noun), so that Slagfiðr can marry Svanhvít (5/4) and Völundr Alvítr (11/7), and still have a king as a father-in-law. But this must be ingenuity, not tradition." [PE II, pp. 290-291].

[230] The words *viggi* and *smiðr* occur as synonyms in *Nafnaþulur* 89 as names of oxen (bulls). It is unlikely these names would also been seen as interchangeable for smith.

4. (a) Of Idun, the sister of Ivaldi's sons, it is told that she once was absent from the gods and dwelt together **[654]** with the primeval artists in a winter-cold land, in proximity to Nott, *Narfi*-Mimir's daughter.

(b) Völund's and his brothers' swan-maids stay with them for a time in a winter-cold land, which, after what my investigations have already shown, is located *fyr nágrindur neðan*,[231] consequently in the underworld, in the vicinity of Nott's realm.

5. (a) Ivaldi's sons have stood in close connection with Frey and given him precious treasures.

(b) Völund and Egil have stood in close connection with Frey and were his fosterers and wards.

6. (a) Ivaldi's sons were most deeply insulted by the gods.

(b) Völund has been most deeply insulted by the Aesir. He and Egil have become their foes, and joined with the powers of frost.

7. (a) The insult inflicted upon Ivaldi's sons consisted of their smithery being rejected in comparison to the hammer Mjölnir manufactured by Sindri.

(b) The finest smithery manufactured by Völund is a sword with such qualities that it shall prove itself superior to Mjölnir in battle.

Already these circumstances compel us to accept the identity of Ivaldi's sons with Völund and his brothers. One must concede that they are identical, or also accept that the mythic epic contained two such sets of brothers and gave them the same family, the same functions, and the same fate and allowed one group to avenge not their own wrong, but an insult inflicted upon the other. I have avoided the latter assumption, because it is in conflict with the best of all rules for a logical investigation: *causæ non sunt præter necessitatem multiplicandæ*.[232] And, as the investigation progresses, the identity gains confirmation from all directions. **[655]**

111.
THE RESULTS OF THE JUDGEMENT ON THE IVALDI SONS' ARTWORK. PARALLEL MYTHS IN RIGVEDA.

In the *Prose Edda*, which reports the judgment passed by the gods on the Ivaldi sons' artwork (*Skáldskaparmál* 43 [p. 340 ff.]), nothing is mentioned about the consequences of the judgment; and the mythologists therefore seem to have accepted that no results followed, although it was prepared by the "father of misfortunes," the far-calculating and maliciously scheming Loki. According to this opinion, the judgment would be an isolated mythic event, without effect on the future, and without any connection with the other mythic events. On the other side, one finds no possible explanation of Völund's words (*Völundarkviða* 28), which he utters after he has taken his terrible vengeance on Nidad and is prepared to fly away in eagle guise from his prison: *Nú hefi eg hefnt harma minna allra nema einna íviðgjarnra*: "Now I have avenged all my injuries, with the exception of one, which demands a more terrible revenge." The injury that he means here is not inflicted upon him by Niðaður, and did not befall him while he

[231] "down beneath the corpse-gates."
[232] "Causes are not to be multiplied beyond what is necessary."

found himself in exile in the desolate Wolfdales, but belongs to an earlier time, when he and his brothers and their relations found themselves in the gold-rich home, where, according to *Völundarkviða* 14, they lived a happy life. This injury was not avenged when he and his brothers left their gold-rich home, so that he, far away from his enemies, could further his plan of revenge by forging the sword of victory. Völund's words point back to the judgment on the Ivaldi sons' artwork, and thus the mythic events link themselves into a connected chain.

This judgment was too important in its consequences not to be referred to in *Völuspá*, which makes all the misfortune-filled events of the mythology pass before our eyes in the order in which they happened, to show how this world from an innocent and happy beginning sank ever deeper down into the misery, which attains maturity before Ragnarök. That is the poem's **[656]** plan and purpose. As I shall show fully and in detail in another part of this work, its purpose is not to speak of "Valfather's artwork," but of the treacherous deeds of Loki, "the father of evil" (*Váföðrs vél - Hauksbók*)[233]; not to speak of "the legends of the primeval era," but of "the primeval era's harm-filled events" (*forn spjöll fira*). The sorrowless time during which the Aesir *tefldu í túni* ['play *tafl* in the courtyard'] and *teitir voru* ['were merry'] vanishes forever, and is followed by an era in which three dangerous thurs-maidens came from Jötunheim. These thurs-maidens are not the norns, as one generally assumes; of the norns' status to the gods I have previously given a detailed account. They are Heid-Gullveig-Angurboda, in their unity triple, thrice born of different parents, who, in association with Loki, constitutes the Germanic mythology's evil principle, like Angra Mainyu and Jahi in the Iranian mythology (*Bundehesh* 3). The consequences of the misfortune-filled event which occurs after the first hypostasis of "the three times born" came from Jötunheim is mentioned in *Völuspá* 8: the Aesir had previously not suffered want of golden smithery, but now came a time when such things that might be of use or pleasure to the gods could no longer be procured. Of the metal gold itself, however, the gods have never suffered want; their halls glitter with this metal, and this metal grows in the grove Glasir, outside of Valhall (*Skáldskaparmál* 42 [*Pr. Edd.* I, 340]).[234] The poem means, as the words also show, golden artworks, things made of gold, such as *Gungnir*, *Draupnir*, Sif's locks, Brisingamen, and *Slíðrugtanni*, things whose possession increased the gods' power and Midgard's prosperity. Such ceased coming into the gods' hands. The epoch that saw Sindri's and the Ivaldi sons' gifts increase Asgard's collection of world-protecting weapons and fertility-producing ornaments was at an end, when Loki, through Heid's arrival, found his alter ego and the evil principle, previously barren, could in the capacity

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[233] *Völuspá* 1/5 in *Hauksbók* reads: *villtu at ek vafodrs vel*. The expression "*Váföðrs vél*" can mean "the Woe-father's treachery." Sigurd Nordal erroneously rejects Rydberg's reading (*svekfulla gärningar*, 'treacherous deeds') on the grounds that *vél* cannot be a plural, (*Völuspá* p. 8) Although *vél* is more common in the plural, as *vélar* "treacherous acts," it also occurs in the singular, as in *Grípisspá* 33 *draga vél að einhverjum*, "to deceive or act treacherously towards someone," (literally, "to draw *vél* toward someone,") and in *Völundarkviða* 19/20: *vél gerði hann*, "he committed a treacherous deed." See also Ursula Dronke's note on this stanza, and the usage of *vél*. Thus, the variant reading suggested by Rydberg remains viable.

[234] Glasir is probably an alternate name of Yggdrassil itself, cp. the names *Veðurglasir* (*Fjölsvinnsmál* 24) and Aurglasir (str. 28), indicating the top and bottom of "Mimir's Tree" (str. 20), respectively.

of male and female beget evil deeds. The consequence of the first deceitful act was, as is hereby clear, that the artistic hands, which previously had shaped and presented such **[657]** treasures, refused to further serve the gods. *Völuspá* does not mention the arrangement through which Loki attained this end, but it can be none other than the judgment caused by him that insulted the Ivaldi's sons, and, at the same time, cheated the victorious Sindri out of the agreed on prize, Loki's head. Both the groups of artists must have left the court embittered toward the gods. When we remember that the primeval artists are the vegetation-creating powers personified, then the significance of the breach between them and the gods, whom they previously served, becomes clear.

The first portion of *Völuspá* is interpolated partly with strophes from an old creation-song of great mythological interest, partly with lists of names for young poets to use. If one removes these interpolations, so appears a connected chain of primeval mythological misfortunes, whose first link is the event which marks the end of the first epoch during which the primeval artists in friendly relations with the gods create splendid weapons, means of transportation, and ornaments for them. On this conflict followed the air's blending with harmful elements, in other words, the beginning of the great winter; Freyja's treacherous transfer into giant hands; the spread of black magic, sown by Heid, among mankind; the murder of the three times born, perpetrated against promise and oath; the breach between the Aesir and Vanir; the first great war in the world, when Asgard is stormed and Midgard is covered with battlefields on which brothers fight one another; Baldur's death by the Mistletoe; the engendering of the hosts of monsters who, in the Ironwood, await Ragnarök; the establishment of places of punishment in the underworld made necessary by the human evil. All of these world-ruining events, which occurred in the primeval time are the cunning work of the father of misfortunes and his female counterpart, and these deeds and events are those that *Völuspá's* seer tells, in order to show the necessity of the coming world-destruction and world-regeneration that she extols.

Above (see no. 54), it has already been shown that the splinters of Proto-Indo-European mythology, which *Avesta*, *Zend*, and *Bundehesh* have **[658]** preserved, speak of a terrible winter, which afflicted the world. To rescue the most noble and the best among plants, animals, and humans from the coming destruction, Yima established an enclosed area in the underworld, inside of which a selection of natural organisms live an uncontaminated life, uninterrupted by the events on earth's surface, so that they may populate a more beautiful and a happier earth in the world's regeneration. I have shown that the same myth in all important details reappears in the Germanic doctrine about Mimir's grove and the *ásmegir* living there. The Iranian records inform us that the great winter was the work of the evil spirit, but they do not tell us the particulars of it or the epic causes of the cold's devastation. But the Iranian mythology's Indian sister informs us of it in *Rigveda.*

Clothed with divine rank, there lives among *Rigveda*'s gods an extraordinary artist, Tvashtar (Tvashtri), often mentioned and addressed in *Rigveda'*s hymns. The word means "the foreman," "the craftsman" (Bergaigne, *Relig. Ved*., III, 45;[235] Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, 63, 2; 100).[236] He is the one who forms the organisms in their maternal wombs,

[235] Bergaigne defines the name as *taksh*, c*harpenter*, (carpenter), *ouvrer* (workman).

[236] Darmesteter defines the name as: *le Créateur*, (Creator), *l'Ordonnateur* (Ordainer), *le Formateur* (Trainer).

the one who prepares and first owns as his secret the strength- and inspiration-endowing soma-juice (*Rigv*., II. 53, and many other places);[237] it is he that nurtures the generations (*Rigv*., III. 55, 19).[238] Among the wonderful work he crafted is mentioned a double-bowl or goblet, which is the gods' drinking-vessel, and which fills itself with blessings (*Rigv*., III, 55, 20; X. 53, 9),[239] and Indra's, the Indic Thor's, lightning-wedge, the counterpart to Mjölnir.

But among mortals brothers have grown up, themselves mortal, and not of divine rank, but who have educated themselves into artists, whose skill fills the world with astonishment. They are three in number, usually called the Ribhus, but also the Anus and the Ayus, names which perhaps have some ancient fellowship with the Völund names Anund and Ajo. Most daring and enterprising in successful artistic experiments is the youngest of the three (*Rigv*., IV, 34). They are also soma-brewers, skalds, and heroes (*Rigv.*, IV. 36, 5, 7), and one of them, like **[659]** Völund's brother Örvandil-Egil, is an unsurpassed archer (*Rigv.*, IV. 36, 6). For their handiwork's sake, these mortal artists come in contact with the gods (*Rigv*., IV, 35), and as Völund and Örvandil-Egil become Thor's friends, allies, war-comrades, and servants, so the Ribhus become Indra's (*Rigv*., I 51, 2; VII. 37, 7): "with Indra, the helpful, allied themselves the helpers; with Indra, the nimble Ribhus."[240] They forge weapons, armor, and means of transportation, and make noteworthy treasures for the gods. On the earth, they create vegetation in the deserts, and carve out ways for the fertilizing streams (*Rigv*., V. 42, 12; IV. 33, 7). With Ivaldi's sons, they, therefore, share the qualities of being simultaneously creators of vegetation, and smiths at the hearth, and bestowers of precious gifts to the gods.

But some evil tongue persuaded the gods that the Ribhus had uttered something disdainful of the double-bowl or goblet made by Tvashtar. This provoked Tvashtar and he demanded their death. The gods then sent the fire-god Agni to the Ribhus. The Ribhus asked: "Why has the most excellent, the most youthful come to us? On what mission does he come?"[241] Agni let them know that they were supposed to have found fault with Tvashtar's goblet; but they assured him that they had not uttered anything derogatory, but only talked about the material of which it was made. Agni, however, presented the gods'

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[237] This reference is erroneous. *Rigveda* Book 2 has 43 verses. *Rigv*. II, 23, 17 may have been intended. It reads: "For Tvastar, he who knows each sacred song, brought thee to life, preeminent o'er all the things that be," [Griffith tr.] As Rydberg indicates, the statements are well-supported. For example: *Rigv*. I, 117, 22: "sweet Soma, Tvastar's secret"; I, 188, 9: "Tvastar the Lord hath made all forms and all the cattle of the field."; III, 48, 4: "E'en from his birth-time Indra conquered Tvastar, bore off the Soma and in beakers drank it."; IV, 18, 3: "In Tvastar's dwelling India drank the Soma."; X, 10, 5 "Even in the womb God Tvastar, Vivifier, shaping all forms, Creator, made us consorts."; X, 184, 1: "May Visnu form and mould the womb, may Tvastar duly shape the forms." [Griffith tr.]

[238] Bergaigne, III, p. 40: "III.55.19: 'The god Tvastr Savitr who assumes all forms, nourishes the created beings; he engenders them in a large number and all the worlds belong to him." [Paranjpe tr.]; "Tvaṣṭar the god, the omniform. Creator, begets and feeds mankind in various manner." [Griffith tr]:.

[239] *Rigv*. III, 55, 20: "The two great meeting Bowls hath he united: each of the Pair is laden with his treasure."; .X, 53, 9: "Tvastar, most deft of workmen, knew each magic art, bringing most blessed bowls that hold the drink of Gods," [Griffith tr.].

[240] This appears to be the first part of *Rigv*. I, 51, 2. Alfred Ludwig's German translation (1876) begins: "*es verbanden sich mit ihm dem hilfreichen die helfer*," [*Der Rigveda*, no. 966, p. 599]. Ralph Griffith's reads: "As aids the skilful Ṛbhus yearned to Indra strong to save."; VII, 37, 7 refers to "three close friends" of Indra's without naming the Ribhus.

[241] *Rigv*. I, 161, 1.

resolution, which enjoined them to make from Tvashtar's goblet four of the same kind. If they were not able to do this, then the gods would yield to Tvashtar's claim on their lives; but if they could, then they, with the gods, would share the right to receive offerings. Yet, moreover, they were to perform the following master test: they should smithy a living horse, a living vehicle, a living cow, and they should create a means of rejuvenation and demonstrate its efficacy on two beings, advanced in age and powerless. The Ribhus let the gods know that they would comply with the order. So they made the wonderful vehicle or the wagon-ship, which they gave to the Asvins, the beautiful twin-gods, on which they travel through the air and on the sea (Compare *Skiðbladnir*, Frey's ship, **[660]** and *Hringhorni*, Baldur's, and probably also Hödur's means of transportation through the air and on the sea). Of one horse they made two horses, and presented them to Indra. Out of an empty cowhide, they forged a cow (Compare Sindri's piece of art when, from an empty pigskin, he made the boar *Sliðrugtanni*). They made the requested means of rejuvenation, and tested it successfully on their aged parents. Finally, they even perform the great masterwork of producing from Tvashtar's goblet, four as good. Thereafter they appear before the gods who, "with insight," test their work.[242] Tvashtar himself could not help being astounded over the goblets. But the result of the gods' testing and judgment on the Ribhus' artwork was quite full of misfortune. Both Tvashtar and the Ribhus were dissatisfied. Tvashtar left the gods and proceeded to the mountains with his dises of vegetation, in whose society he is often mentioned. The Ribhus refused to receive the proffered share in the morning and noon sacrifices from the gods and, after laying curses on their adversaries, they went away on long wandering expeditions, and the gods knew not where to find them (*Rigv*., I. 161, 1-13; IV. 33, 1-11, and many other places).

The result of this breach between the primeval artists themselves, and with the gods, becomes clear from the significance which Tvashtar, he who nourishes the world, and the Ribhus, who adorn the wastes with vegetation and who water the valleys, have as symbols of nature. The beneficent forces of nature, who previously had worked in the gods' service, abandon their cause, and over the world spreads that winter of which the Iranian myths speak, that darkness and that reign of giant-monsters which, according to *Rigveda*, once prevailed, and during which Indra, at the head of the gods, fought valiantly to restore order and to recapture the sun.

Here we find remarkable points of contact, or rather contact surfaces, between the Asiatic Aryan and the Germanic mythic cycles. The concern is not similarities in individual details; such [similarities] can be pointed out in nearly all mythic cycles in the world, and, typically one builds altogether too dizzying **[661]** hypotheses on the weak foundations they offer. The concern here is commonality in great, central, connected complexes of myths: the myth about an original harmony between a divine clan and the subordinate and subservient artists, who forge fertility, ornaments and weapons for the gods, know how to brew the strength-endowing and inspiration-granting mead, and who are closely connected to vegetation-dises, who, as shall be shown later, appear as swan-maidens, not only in the Germanic godsaga but also in the Indic mythology; the myths of how this harmony was destroyed by the verdict of a trial, whose parties are, on the one side, he who forged Indra's thundering wedge in the Indic myths, and Thor's thundering hammer in the Germanic; and on the other side three brothers, of whom one is an excellent archer; the myth about the consequences of the judgment: nature's destruction

[242] IV, 33, 9.

by forces of frost or giant-monsters; the myth (in the earliest Iranian and the Germanic documents) of the subterranean pleasure-garden, in which a selection of creation's best beings are protected against annihilation, and survive uncorrupted through centuries; the myth (in the earliest Iranian and the Germanic documents) of these beings' destiny, which unites itself with the similarly common myth (in the Iranian and the Germanic mythic cycles) concerning the destruction and the renewal of the world. Common to the Indic and the Germanic mythologies too is that a cunning, spying being, in *Rigveda* Dadhyak (Dadhyank), in the Icelandic sources Loki, has forfeited his head to the artist who forged the wedge for Indra and the hammer for Thor, but saves it with cunning.

An important observation should be pointed out here. A comparison between different passages in *Rigveda* demonstrates that of all the wonderful artworks that were laid before the gods to examine, there was originally not one of metal. Tvashtar's double-bowl or goblet was not forged of gold, but of fire and water and a third element. Indra's wedge was made of the bones of Dadhyak's horse's head, and first became a weapon of bronze in a later tradition. Common to the Aryan-Asiatic and the Germanic mythologies is the primeval artists' ability **[662]** to forge animals from empty animal skins, and to make from *one* object of art several similar ones (the Ribhus' goblet, Sindri's Draupnir). Also, in the Germanic mythology, Thor's hammer was not originally of metal, but of stone, and the other artworks created by Sindri and the Ivaldi sons have probably undergone similar changes in the course of centuries, in regard to their raw materials. It should also be noted that not a trace of a myth comparable to that of Svipdag and the sword of victory is to be found in the Aryan-Asiatic mythic cycle. In the Germanic heroic saga, Geirvandil, the spear-fighter, is the father of Örvandil, the archer, and first born to him is Svipdag, the sword-fighter (compare no. 123). The myth about the sword of victory seems to be purely Germanic, and to have been established during the Bronze or Iron Ages, while the myth concerning the judgment on the primeval artists and of the fimbul-winter which follows must originate from a time when metals were not in use among the Indo-Europeans. Otherwise, it is most incredible to believe that the judgment would concern works of art of which not one originally suggested a metal product.

112.
THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE JUDGEMENT ON THE IVALDI SONS (continued). NJÖRD'S RECONCILIATION ATTEMPT.

It has already been reported that Fridlevus-Njörd liberates a princely youth from the giants' possession. According to Saxo, the event was an episode in the feud Fridlevus-Njörd conducted against Anundus (Völund) and Avo, the archer (Örvandil-Egil). This corroborates the theory that the liberated youth was Frey, Völund's and Egil's foster-son. Naturally, the first of the gods to be seized by apprehension on account of the judgment passed on Ivaldi's sons ought to be Njörd, whose son Frey was at that time in the care and custody of Völund and Egil (see no. 109). One also learns from Saxo that Fridlevus took measures to propitiate the two brothers. He first sends messengers, who propose to Anund-Völund's daughter on his behalf, but the messengers do **[663]** not return. Anund had slain them. Thereafter Fridlevus goes himself, accompanied among others by "a peacemaker." The peacemaker was named Björno, and is one of the warriors who constituted the garrison of the stronghold, which Fridlevus afterwards captured, and

in which we have recognized Asgard (see no. 36). Björno is thus one of the Aesir, and reasons, to which I shall come later, indicate that he is Baldur's brother Höðr. By the context, it is clear that Fridlevus' journey to Ivaldi's sons and his meeting with them takes place before all hope of mediation was lost, and before the latter arrived in the inaccessible Wolfdales, located below the Na-gates in the subterranean Jötunheim. It is probably on the way there that they were overtaken by Fridlevus, and the event occurred that Saxo relates, and of which a historical memory is preserved in the Longobardian migration story.[243]

The meeting did not lead to conciliation, but to war. Avo,[244] the archer (Örvandil-Egil; see nos. 108, 109) appeared on one side and challenged Fridlevus-Njörd to a duel. Björno was provoked that so lowborn a person as this Avo dared to challenge the highborn Fridlevus, and in rage drew his bow to fell "the plebeian" with an arrow. Thus Björno also was a bowman. But Avo anticipated him, and an arrow from him severed Björno's bow-string at one end. While Björno was tying the string again, there came from Avo a second arrow, which passed between Björno's wrist and crooked fingers without harm, and thereafter a third, which shot away Björno's arrow just as he laid it on the string. Thereafter the Ivaldi sons continued their departure. After them, Björno let loose a *molossus*[245] he brought, probably the same dog-giant or wolfhound-giant which Saxo describes immediately before (Book VI, 144 [*Hist*. 260])[246] as being in Björno's possession, and which previously had guarded the giant Offot's herds. But this *molossus* was not able to prevent those who fled from safely reaching their intended goal. In all probability, Frey had already been delivered by his wards to the giants when this occurred, which must have happened on the way between the gold-rich home, where Ivaldi's sons had previously lived happily, and the Wolfdales, **[664]** and thus within Jötunheim, where the gods were surrounded by foes.

The story of this adventure on the journey of the Ivaldi sons' migration reappears in an easily recognized form by Paul the Deacon [Paulus Diaconus] in his narrative of the Longobardians' migration under Ibor (Örvandil-Egil; see no. 108) and Ajo (Völund). In Saxo, Avo-Egil, who belongs to the genus of elves, becomes a lowborn fighter, while the Vanir god Njörd becomes King Fridlevus. In Paulus, the story is not satisfied with making the migrants' great archer a plebeian, but he is made a thrall who takes up the fight with a free-born warrior chosen from among the Longobardians' enemies. In the myth and in Saxo, the duel was fought with bows and arrows, and the plebeian was found to be far superior to his opponent. Paulus does not say with what weapons the battle was fought, but after it ended with the "thrall's" victory, an oath was sworn on an *arrow* that the Longobardians would loosen the thralls' chains.[247] The arrow, accordingly, must have been the thrall's weapon of victory. In the myth, the Ivaldi sons' progress to the Wolfdales went down to the subterranean Jötunheim and northward through Niflhel, populated by thurses and monsters. Both in Saxo and Paulus such beings play a role in the adventure. In Saxo, it is Fridlevus' war-comrade Björno, who releases a monster in

[243] Paulus Diaconus' (Paul the Deacon's) *History of the Lombards*, I, chs. 12-13
[244] This story is from Saxo, *Hist*. Book 6. There the archer is named Ani, rather than Avo.
[245] An ancient Greco-Roman breed of dog, ancestor to today's Mastiff-type breeds.
[246] Described as a *ferocitatis canis exstabat*, "dog of extraordinary fierceness," [Elton tr.]
[247] *History of the Lombards* I, 13.

dog-guise against the Ivaldi sons. In Paulus, it is the migrants, who had as their allies "men with dog-heads," according to the belief of their enemies.[248]

Björno is an Asa-god; and he is described as an archer who has confidence in his weapon, though he proved to be inferior to Avo in its use. Among Asgard's gods only two archers are mentioned: Höðr and Ullur. When this occurred, Ull had not yet been adopted in Asgard. As has been shown above (see no. 102), he is the son of Örvandil-Egil and Sif. He still lives in his parents' home when Svipdag, his half-brother, receives instructions from Sif to seek Frey and Freyja in Jötunheim (see no. 102), and he faithfully follows Svipdag through his adventures on this journey. Thus Ull is out of the question —the more so as he would otherwise **[665]** appear against his own father. Höðr is mentioned as an archer and hunter in the *Beowulf* poem, where he, under the name Hædcyn, accidentally shoots Baldur-Herebeald with a shot from his "horn-bow," as well as in Saxo (*arcus peritia pollebat*— Book III, 63 [*Hist*. 111]),[249] and in Christian tales based on myths, where he appears by the name Héðinn.[250] That Björno, mentioned by Saxo as a beautiful youth, is Hödur is confirmed by another circumstance. He is said to be *sequestris ordinis vir* (Book VI, 149 [*Hist*. 270]), an expression so puzzling to interpret that one chose to change it to *sequioris* or *equestris ordinis vir*.[251] The expression means that Björno in Saxo's mythological sources belonged to a group of persons whose functions were such that together they could be designated as *sequestris ordo. Sequester* means a mediator in general, and in Roman legal language meant an impartial middleman to whom a disputed matter might be referred. The Norse word which Saxo, accordingly, translated with *sequestris ordo,* "mediator status," "mediator group," can have been none other than the plural *ljónar*, a mythological word, and also an old legal term, of which it is said in *Skáldskaparmál* 82 [*Prose Edda*]: *Ljónar heita þeir menn, er ganga um sættir manna*, "*ljónar* are called those, whose business is to settle disputes." That this word *ljónar* originally was a mythological designation for a certain group of Aesir who have been entrusted to function as justices of the peace is clear with the definiteness of the expression *ljóna kindir*, "the peacemakers' children," inherited from heathendom and used of mankind long into Christian times; it is an expression to be compared with the phrase *megir Heimdallar*, "Heimdal's sons," which was likewise used of mankind. In Christian times the Biblical phrase "children of men" was reproduced with the heathen *ljóna kindir,* and when the memory of the original meaning of *ljónar* vanished, the word, on account of this usage, came to mean "men in general" (*viri, homines*), a signification which it never had in the days of heathendom.[252]

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[248] *History of the Lombards* I, 11: *Cynocephali*: "men with dogs' heads" [Wm. D. Foulke tr.]

[249] *Quippe natationis,* ***arcus*** *caestuumque* ***peritia*** *nec non, quantamcumque ea aetas capere poterat, agilitate* ***pollebat****, haud minus exercitio quam viribus potens,* "He was very skilled in swimming and archery, and also with the gloves; and further was as nimble as such a youth could be, his training being equal to his strength." [Elton tr.]; "He was as knowledgeable and deft in swimming, archery and boxing as any youth could be, for strength and training together made him a champion." [Fisher tr.]

[250] *Sörla þáttur eða Héðins saga ok Högna.*

[251] Oliver Elton translations this as "a man of meaner estate"; Peter Fisher translates this as "a man of inferior rank."

[252] The Cleasby/Vigfusson Dictionary supports this view, noting that the plural form of the word *ljónar* is "an obsolete law term, *daysmen* or *umpires*," citing the same passage in *Skáldskaparmál* as evidence. The Latin translations *viri, homines* are cited from Egilsson's *Lexicon Poeticum* (1860).

Three of the Aesir are mentioned in our mythic sources as justices of the peace: **[666]** Baldur, Hödur, and Baldur's son, Forseti. Baldur is mentioned as judge in *Gylfaginning* 22 [*Pr. Edd*. 90]; as such, he is *líknsamastur*: "the most reconciling." Of Forseti, who inherits his father's qualities as judge, it is said in *Grímnismál* 15 that he *svæfir allar sakir*, "settles all disputes." Hödur, who both in name and character appears to be violent and thoughtless, seems least qualified for this calling. Nevertheless, by the side of Baldur and probably under his influence, he performed an arbitrator's duties. Saxo (Book III, 71 [*Hist.* 122]) speaks of him as a judge to whom men referred their lawsuits—*consueverat consulenti populo plebiscita depromere*[253]—and describes him as gifted with great powers of persuasion. He had *eloquentiæ suavitatem*, and was able to subdue obstinate minds with *benignissimo sermone* (Book III, 69 [*Hist.* 116, 117]).[254] In *Völuspá* 60 the human species which populates the renewed earth is called *burir bræðra tveggja*, "the sons of the two brothers," and the two brothers mentioned in the preceding strophe are Baldur and Hödur.[255] One should compare this with *ljóna kindir* in *Völuspá* 14. In *Hárbarðsljóð* 42 the insolent mocker of the gods, Hárbarð, refers to the disappointing result of an attempt made by *jafnendur*, "the reconcilers of disputes," to reconcile gods with certain foes of the gods. I consider it both possible and probable that the passage refers to the mythic event described above, and moreover that it contains an allusion to the attempt at reconciliation concerning the recovery of Frey and Freyja, who were delivered as "brides" to depraved giants, and for which "brides" the peacemakers received arrows and blows as the bride-price. Compare the expression *bæta mundi baugi* and Thor's astonishment, expressed in the next strophe, at the insulting, provocative words, the worst of the kind he says he ever heard.[256] Saxo describes the giant in whose possession Frey is, when he is liberated by his father, as a cowardly and enervated monster whose enormous body is a *moles destituta rubore* (Book VI, 148 [*Hist.* 268]).[257] In this manner ended the gods' attempt at reconciliation. The three Ivaldi sons continue their journey to the Wolfdales, inaccessible to the gods, in order to send ruin upon the world from there. **[667]**

113.
EVIDENCE THAT IVALDI'S SONS ARE IDENTICAL WITH ÖLVALDI'S.

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[253] *Consueverat autem in editi montis vertice consulenti populo scita depromere*, "Now he had been wont to give out from the top of a hill decrees to the people when they came to consult him." [Elton tr.]; "It had been his custom to utter decrees from the top of a high hill when the people came to consult him." [Fisher tr.]

[254] *eloquentiæ suavitatem*: "the most dulcet eloquence" [Elton tr.], "a most persuasive piece of oratory" [Fisher tr.]; *benignissimo sermone* "the kindliest words" [Elton tr.], "cordial speech" [Fisher tr.].

[255] Ursula Dronke [PE II, p. 152] assumes the two brothers to be Baldur and Höðr. Sigurd Nordal interprets this to mean either "the sons of two brothers" (i.e. Baldur and Höðr) or "the sons of the brothers of *Tveggi* [Oðinn] i.e. the sons of Vili and Vé or of Hoenir and Lóðrr.

[256] *Hárbarðsljoð* 42: *Bæta skal þér þat þá munda baugi, sem jafnendr unno, þeir er okr vilia sætta*. "That shall be redressed with a hands-ring [i.e. a bow] such as arbitrators got, who wish to reconcile." For a full explanation of Rydberg's interpretation of this passage, .see the essay "*Hárbarðsljóð*" in *Investigations into Germanic Mythology*, Volume II.

[257] "lacking proper pith" (Elton), "lacking the proper strength" (Fisher)

Observations made during the course of my investigations regarding Ivaldi and his sons have time and again led me to the unexpected result that Ivaldi's sons, Slagfin, Egil, and Völund, are identical with Ölvaldi-Alvaldi's sons, who, in *Gróttasöngur* are called *Iði*, *Urnir* or *Aurnir* (*Örnir*), and *Þjazi*, and in *Skáldskaparmál* 4 [*Prose Edda*, p. 214], *Þjazi*, *Iði*, and *Gangur*. This result was unexpected and, as it seemed to me in the beginning, improbable, since where Thjazi is mentioned in the *Poetic Edda*, he is usually designated as a giant, while Völund is called an elf-prince or elf-chief in *Völundarkviða*.[258] In *Grímnismál* 11, Thjazi is designated as *inn ámátki jötunn*;[259] in *Hárbarðsljoð* 19 as *inn þrúðmóðgi jötunn*;[260] in *Hyndluljóð* 30 (*Völuspá in skamma* 2) as a kinsman of Gymir and Aurboda. *Gróttasöngur* 9 says that Thjazi, Idi, and Aurnir were brothers of the mountain giants who were the fathers of Menja and Fenja. In the *Prose Edda*, his epithet is likewise *jötunn*. In the beginning of my investigations, and yet before Völund's position in the mythology was clear to me, it seemed particularly unbelievable to me that a prince among the elves and one of the myth's greatest artists could be designated as a giant. Admittedly, I already knew then that the clan-names occurring in the mythology— *áss, vanur, álfur, dvergur*, and *jötunn*— did not exclusively designate the beings' birth, but could be applied to them on account of qualities they developed or the positions they acquired, absolutely independent of the clan they belonged to by birth. In *Þrymskviða* 15, Heimdall, so to speak in the same breath, is called both *áss* and *vanur*: "*þá kvað það Heimdallur, hvítastur ása, vissi hann vel fram sem vanir aðrir*." And Loki is designated both as *áss* and *jötunn*, although the distance between Aesir and giants is the greatest of all. Neither Heimdall nor Loki are of the Aesir-clan by birth; but they are adopted in Asgard, they are adopted Aesir, and this explains the designation. Without doubt, elves and dwarves are by descent different beings, **[668]** but the word dwarf, which first in Christian times became unconditionally synonymous with a diminutive being, an imp, also has, besides its birth-significance, the meaning of artist, smith, whence both Vanir and elves, yes, even Fjalar, could partake in the "dwarf"-list incorporated into *Völuspá*. When the continuation of the investigation showed that Völund and his brothers appeared in the mythic epic as the gods' most dangerous foes and stood at the head of the frost-powers' attempt to destroy the world, for this reason I could no longer harbor the smallest doubt that Völund, although an elf prince, could be designated as *inn ámátki jötunn, inn þrúðmóðgi jötunn*. But another misgiving remained**:** according to *Hyndluljóð* and the *Gróttasöngur*, Thjazi and his brothers were kinsmen of giants, and must therefore undoubtedly have giant-blood in their veins. But even among the Aesir are found kinsmen of giants, and when continued scrutiny showed that Thjazi's mother is a giantess, but his father a *hapt*, a being of lower divine rank, then his ancestry on his mother's side and his position as the giant's ally and chieftain, as well as the divine world's and Midgard's most powerful foe are sufficient to explain the apparent contradiction that he should be a giant and kinsmen of giants and nevertheless identical with the elf-prince Völund. It should also be observed that the tradition, as shall be shown

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[258] Verses 11: *álfa ljóði*, "prince of elves"; v. 14 and 32: *vísi álfa*, "master of elves," [Dronke tr.].

[259] "The terrible giant" [C. Larrington tr.]; *ámátki* weak form of *á-máttugr* meaning 'tremendously' or 'overwhelmingly powerful'; 'terrible'; 'fearsome' and perhaps 'loathsome.' [LaFarge/Tucker *Glossary to the Poetic Edda*]

[260] "The powerful minded giant" [C. Larrington tr.]; *Þrúðmóðgi*: "stout-hearted" or "full of great rage" [LaFarge/Tucker *Glossary to the Poetic Edda*]

below, has preserved the memory that Völund was also called a giant and had kinsmen among the giants.

The reasons which, taken together, form conclusive proof, at least for me, for the identity of Ivaldi's sons and Ölvaldi's are the following:

(1) Foremost, in regard to the names themselves, the father of Idi, Aurnir-Gang, and Thjazi bears the name variants *Allvaldi*, *Ölvaldi*, and *Auðvaldi*, as has already been pointed out. To persons speaking a language in which the prefixes *Í-*, *Ið-*, and *All-* are equivalent and substituted for one another who are accustomed with poetics to which one of the most common peculiarities of all was to exchange equivalent names and parts of names (for example, *Grjótbjörn* for *Arinbjörn*, *Fjallgyldir* for *Ásólfur*, **[669]** etc.), it was impossible to see in the names Ívaldi and Alvaldi anything other than forms designating the same person.

(2) Regarding the variant name Ölvaldi, we have already seen that its equivalents Ölmóðr and Sumbl (*Finnakonungur, phinnorum rex*)[261] refer to the father of Slagfin, Örvandil-Egil, and Völund while Ölvaldi himself is said to be that of Idi, Aurnir, and Thjazi.

(3) Ajo's and Ibor's mother is called Gambara in *Origo Longobardorum* and by Paul the Deacon [Paulus Diaconus]. Aggo's and Ebbo's mother is called *Gambaruc* in Saxo. In Ibor-Ebbo and Ajo-Aggo, we rediscover Egil and Völund. The Germanic word-stem of which the Latinised Gambara was formed is in all probability *gambur, gammur*, a synonym of *grípur* (*Nafnaþulur* [*Pros. Edd.* II, 572]), the German *Greif*. According to *Haustlöng* 13 (*Pros. Edd.* I, 314]), Thjazi's mother is the giantess Greip, daughter of Geirröðr. The forms *grip*, neuter, and *greip*, feminine, are synonymous in the Old Norse language, and they doubtlessly also have come out of the same root. While Gambara thus is Völund's mother, Thjazi's mother is designated with a name to which Gambara refers.

(4) The name variant *Auðvaldi* means "the one prevailing over riches," and the epithet finds its explanation in the *Prose Edda*'s account of the gold treasure left by Thjazi's father, and of its division among his sons (*Skáldskaparmál* 4 [p. 214])). It states there that Thjazi's father was *mjög gullauðugur*. Ivaldi's sons who presented the gods golden treasures, likewise have been rich in gold, and in *Völundarkviða* Völund speaks of his and his kinsmen's golden wealth in their common home.

(5) Of the manner in which Thjazi and his brothers divided their father's golden treasure the *Prose Edda*, in the passage above, says the following: "When Ölvaldi died and his sons wanted to divide the inheritance, in its distribution they agreed to measure the gold so that each one would take a mouthful of gold an equal number of times. For this reason, in poetry, we call gold the words or speech of these giants."[262]

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[261] From the prose preface to *Völundarkviða* and Saxo, Book 1, 19, respectively.

[262] This is a paraphrase of *Skáldskaparmál* 4: *En er hann* [Ölvaldi] *dó ok synir hans skyldu skipta arfi, þá höfðu þeir mæling á gullinu, er þeir skiptu, at hverr skyldi taka munnfylli sína ok allir jafnmargar. Einn þeira var Þjazi annarr Iði, þriði Gangr. En þat höfum vér orðtak nú með oss at kalla gullit munntal þessa jötna, en vér felum í rúnum eða í skáldskap svá, at vér köllum þat mál eða orð eða tal þessa jötna,* "And when he [Ölvaldi] died and his sons had to divide up their inheritance, they measured out the gold when they divided it by each in turn taking a mouthful, all of them the same number. One of them was Thjazi, the second Idi, the third Gang. And we now have this expression

It is both possible and plausible that the brothers, according to the myth, divided the gold in silence and in harmony. But that **[670]** it should have proceeded as told here ought to be subjected to doubt. There is reason to suspect that the tale of the gold's division in the aforementioned manner was invented in Christian times in order to explain the phrases *þingskil Þjaza* in *Bjarkamál*, *Iðja glysmál* in the same source, and *Iðja orð*, quoted in *Málskrúðsfræði*. More than one pseudo-mythic tale, arising on similar grounds and stamped by the same taste, is found in the *Prose Edda*. It should not be forgotten that what all these phrases have in common is that they refer to a public deliberation, a court proceeding. *Mál* and *orð*, in and of themselves, certainly do not need to be ascribed such an allusion, because besides their legal meaning, they have the more general meaning of speech and verbal statements in common; but in order to obtain their actual significance in the paraphrases cited, one ought to compare them to *þingskil*, because all of the expressions, *þingskil*, *glysmál*, and *orð*, in these paraphrases must have their basis in one and the same mythic event. With *þingskil* is meant that which can be presented or displayed before a court by the defendant in a case for the appraisal and resolution of his cause; and now when golden smithery is called Thjazi's *þingskil* in *Bjarkamál*, so it should follow that in the myths a court proceeding was reported in which golden ornaments, manufactured or owned by Thjazi, were presented for the purpose of analyzing a matter of dispute which, in one manner or other, touched him. From the same viewpoint, Idi's *glysmál* and Idi's *orð* are to be interpreted. Idi's *glysmál* are Idi's "glittering petitions"; his *orð* is the evidence or explanation yielded by his forging presented before the court in the case. Now from the mythology, we know a court proceeding in which precious smithery, "glittering petitions," was produced for the purpose of the settlement of a case. That case was the one instigated by Loki, and the question was whether he had forfeited his head to Sindri or not. As we know, the matter's conclusion depended on a comparison between Sindri's and Brokk's products on the one side, and those of Ivaldi's sons on the other. Brokk had appeared before the high court, and could speak for his **[671]** and his brother's cause. Ivaldi's sons, on the other hand, were not present, so their artworks had to speak for themselves. From this, we clearly have, it seems to me, a simple and apt explanation of the paraphrases *Þjaza þingskil*, *Iðja glysmál*, *Iðja orð*. Their artworks were the glittering but mute pleadings which were presented, on their behalf, for the resolution of the case. That gold carried in the mouth and never laid before the court should be called *þingskil*, I regard as highly unlikely. From heathen poems, one cannot produce a single reliable proof that a paraphrase of so **forced** and inadequate a character was used.

(6) Saxo relates that the same Fridlevus-Njörd who fought with Anund-Völund and Avo-Egil proposed to Anund's daughter and was refused, but was married to her after Anund's death. Njörd would thus have married a daughter of Völund. In the mythic narratives, he marries Thjazi's daughter Skadi. Thus Völund and Thjazi played the same role as father-in-law to Njörd.

(7) Saxo further relates that Freyja-Syritha's father was married to the *soror* of Svipdag-Otharus. *Soror* means sister, but also foster-sister and playmate. Should the

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among us, to call gold the mouth-tale of these giants and we conceal it in a secret language or in poetry by calling it speech or words or talk of these giants." [Faulkes tr.]

word be taken in its strictest sense, Njörd marries a niece (brother's daughter) of Völund; in the other case, a daughter of his.

(8) In a third passage (Saxo, Book I, 30 [*Hist* 50, 53]), Skadi's father appears under the name Haquinus. The same name is borne by a fighter (Book VII, 203 [*Hist.* 323]) who helps Svipdag-Ericus in his fight against the Asa-god Thor and his protégé Halfdan, and causes Thor's and Halfdan's weapons to prove useless in the meeting with Völund's sword wielded by Svipdag-Ericus. Thus there is every reason to assume that for Saxo Haquinus is an epithet of Völund. The name *Hákon*, of which Haquinus should be a Latinization, however, never occurs in the Norse mythic sources, but here Haquinus has its explanation in a Latinizing with the usual aspiration by Saxo of the Old German Aki, the Middle German Ecke, which occurs in the compositions Eckenbrecht, Eckehard, and Eckesachs. **[672]** In "Rosengarten," Eckenbrecht is a famous weapon-smith. In *Þidreks Saga af Bern* [*Wilkinasaga*], Eckehard is, like Völund, a smith who works for Mimir;[263] and Eckesachs is a sword forged by the three "dwarves," of which the same **adventure** is partially told as of Völund's sword of victory.[264] Thus while Haquinus and what is told of Haquinus refers to the smith Völund, a person who in Saxo receives the name Haquinus occupies the place which belongs to Thjazi in his capacity of Skadi's father.

(9) In *Lokasenna* 17, Loki imputes Idun that she laid her arms around her own brother's murderer:

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[263] *Þiðreks Saga af Bern*, ch.165-167.

[264] For a detailed treatment of these sources, see the essay "Brisingamen's Smiths" in *Investigations into Germanic Mythology*, Volume II, Part 2. In *Þiðreks Saga af Bern* ch. 98, the sword is forged by "the dwarf, Alfrek." Rydberg's source here is probably Wilhelm Grimm's *Deutsche Heldensage* (1829) no. 39, pp. 56-59, which states: *Eine merkenswerthe Abweichung scheint mir jedoch darin zu liegen, dass drei dwerge Eckesachs schmeideten Ist das der echten Sage gemäss, so dürfte man wohl die vermuthung wagen, in jenem verloren Gedicht sen Alberich ein bruder Wielands gewesen und auch der dritte Bruder*, (p. 56-57) "A noteworthy deviation seems to be appropriate for me, however, in the fact that if the three dwarves who forged Eckesachs are in accordance with the genuine legend, then one might probably dare to assume, that in a lost poem, the son Alberich was a brother of Wieland and also the third brother." As support, he further compares this to the Old French poem *Fierabras*, which mentions three smiths, among whom he identifies Galand (Völund) and Ainisiax (a 'bad distortion' of Alberich).

þig kveð eg allra kvenna	You I declare of all women
vergjarnasta vera,	to be the most man-crazy
sízt arma þína	since you laid your arms
lagðir íturþvegna	washed-well
um þinn bróðrbana.	around your brother's bane"

Idun is a daughter of Ivaldi (*Hrafnagaldur Óðins* [*Forspjallsljóð*]), and thus a sister or half-sister of the famous smiths, Ivaldi's sons. Therefore, from the passage it is clear that one of Ivaldi's sons was slain, and Loki states that Idun had given herself to the man who was the cause of his death.

There is not the slightest reason to doubt that here Loki, as in so many other passages in the poems**,** boasts of the evil deeds he has committed, and of the successes he has had among the Asynjes, according to his own assurances**.** With what he imputes Idun, one should compare what he assures of Freyja, of Tyr's wife, of Skadi and of Sif, that they were secretly his mistresses. Against Idun he could more easily and more truthfully direct this charge, since once she was completely in his power, namely, when he crept into Thjazi's halls and carried her away from there to Asgard (*Skáldskaparmál* 3 [*Pros. Edd*. I 210-214]). Under such circumstances, Idun's brother's murder, around whom she was supposed to have laid her arms, is none other than Loki himself. In order to further allude to this, the poem's author allows Loki to speak of a detail belonging to the adventure— **[673]** that namely Idun, in order to gladden the amorous encounter, washed her arms shining white— a detail of which no one other than herself and the secret lover could know. Loki is thus the cause that one of the famous artists, Ivaldi's sons was slain. Regarding the slayings about which Loki brags in the poem, they are limited to two: the slaying of Baldur and the slaying of Thjazi. He says that he was Baldur's *ráðbani*[265]and that he was the first and foremost (*fyrstur og efstur*)[266] in the killing of Thjazi. Baldur was not Idun's brother. As far as one can conclude from the preserved mythic mementos, the slain Ivaldi son must have been identical to Thjazi, the son of Allvaldi. There is no one else to choose from.

(10) It has already been shown above that Völund and the swan-maid who came to him in the Wolfdales were either siblings or half-siblings. From the above, it follows that Thjazi and Idun were siblings or half-siblings.

(11) Thjazi's house is called Brunn-akr (*Haustlöng* 9 [*Pr. Edd*. I. 312]). In *Völundarkviða* 9, Völund is called Brunni.[267]

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[265] *ráðbani Baldrs*, a kenning for Loki, found in *Skáldskaparmál* 23. Rydberg translates this word, meaning "contriver of (someone's) death," into Swedish.

[266] Literally "the first and last," a phrase found in *Lokasenna* 50, 51.

[267] The lines of the poem are divided differently by editors making these lines either 9/1-2 or 10/5-6. They read: *Gekk brúnni bero hold steikia*, and are usually understood to mean "Went to roast the flesh of a she-bear [*brúnni*]," although the meaning of the word *brúnni* is disputed. Ursula Dronke (1997) notes that the first line is 'clumsy' and 'barely makes sense.' (*PE* II, p. 310).The manuscript reads *b^{v}Ni* and is commonly read as *brúnni*. *Brúnn* literally means "brown," "the brown one," and also appears as the name of a dwarf in *Völuspá* 13 [H]. Rydberg's probable source for this statement, Sveinbjörn Egilsson (LP 1860), understands the word as a nominative singular of a noun with the meaning "runner" applied to the skier Völund. For a full discussion, see *Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda* (2000) 3: 165-166.

(12) Idun bears the epithet *Snót* (*Haustlöng* 2 [*Pr. Edd*. 306]), "the wise," "the insightful." Völund's swan-maid bears the epithet *Alvitur*, "the very wise," "the very insightful" (*Völundarkviða* 1). Völund bears the epithet *Ásólfur* (*Hyndluljóð* 21; cp. no. 109). Thjazi bears the epithet *Fjallgyldir* (*Haustlöng* 4 [*Pr. Edd.* 308]), which is a paraphrase for *Ásólfr* (*áss = fjall, úlfur = gyldir*).[268]

(13) One of Völund's brothers, namely Örvandil-Egil, has borne the epithet "Wild boar" (*Ibor, Ebur*). One of Thjazi's brothers is called *Urnir, Aurnir*. This name means "wild boar," "boar." Compare the Swedish and Norwegian provincial word *orne*, and the Icelandic word *runi*, "wildboar," "boar," occurring here in a metathetic[269] condition.

(14) At least one of Alvaldi's sons has been a star-hero, namely Thjazi, whose eyes Odin and Thor fastened on the heavens (*Hárbarðsljóð* 18; *Skáldskaparmál* 3 [*Pr. Edd*. I, 318, 214]). At least one of Ivaldi's sons was a star-hero, namely Örvandil-Egil (*Skáldskaparmál* 25 [*Pr. Edd*. I, 276 ff.]). No star-hero is mentioned who is not called a son of Alvaldi or is a son of Ivaldi, and with **[674]** certainty not a single star-name or constellation-designation can be shown which does not refer to Alvaldi's or Ivaldi's sons. From the Norse sources we have the names *Örvandilstá, Þjaza augu, Lokabrenna*, and *reið Rögnis*. *Lokabrenna,* the Icelandic name of Sirius, can only refer to the *brenna* (fire) Loki caused when Thjazi rushed into the waver-flames kindled around Asgard. Regarding *reið Rögnis*, Rögnir's car, Rögnir is, as shall be shown below, the epithet of a mythic personality, in whom one rediscovers both Völund and Thjazi. In Old English writings the Milky Way is called *Vætlingastræt, Watlingestræt*.[270] The Watlings or Vætlings cannot be explained otherwise than as a patronymic meaning Vati's sons. Vati (Vaði) is one of the names of Völund's and his brothers' father (see no. 110).[271] Another Old English designation for a constellation is *Eburþrung, Eburþring*.[272] Here Egil's surname Ebur, "wild boar," reappears. Even the name Idi, which is borne by a brother of Thjazi, seems to have designated a star-hero in England.

At least two of these figures and names are very old and of ancient Indo-European origin. I do not know the reasons why Vigfusson assumes that Örvandil originally is identical with Orion, but it is confirmed by mythological circumstances. Orion is the Greek myth's most famous archer and hunter of Greek mythology, like Örvandil is that of the Germanic myths. Like Örvandil-Egil, he has two brothers of whom one, Lykos (wolf), bears a Telchine name, and was originally identical with the Telchine Lykos,

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[268] *Fjallgyldir* means "wolf of the fells" according to Richard North, who understands it as a kenning for an eagle. *Haustlöng* (1997) p. 22.

[269] Metathesis: a phenomenon in which two phonemes that appear in a particular order in one form of a word occur in the reverse order in a related form of the word, as in the development of the word *crud* from c*urd.*

[270] See Jacob Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie,* ch. XV, pp. 356-7 [Stalleybrass tr.] There the Old English sources for an actual road by this name include the Saxon Chronicle (Ingr. 190, Thorpe's anal. p. 38), and the treaty of Ælfred and Guthrun (Thorpe, p. 66). Sources for a heavenly road by this name, equivalent to the Milky Way, include Chaucer's *House of Fame* 2, 247 and *The Complaint of Scotland* (probably by Robert Wedderburn, 1550), p. 90. Grimm identifies *Wætlinga* as a genitive plural, but remarks "who the Wætlings were, and how they came to give their name to an earthly and a heavenly street, we do not know."

[271] In Chapter 110, Völund is shown to be a son of Ivaldi. Ivaldi is not related to Vati (Vaði) until no. 115.

[272] See Jakob Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie,* pp. 359 fn., 727 [Stalleybrass tr.]. Grimm remarks that some Anglo-Saxon glosses translate Orion as *eburþring, eburþrung, ebirdring, ebirthiring* (*Gl. Jun.* 369, 371), which in pure Anglo-Saxon would have been *eoforðryng* "boar-throng."

who, like Völund, is a great artist and moreover is gifted with powers to influence the weather.[273] Orion could, it is said, walk on the sea as well as on the land. Örvandil-Egil has skis, with which he travels on the sea as well as on the snow-fields, whence small ships are called *Egils andrar,* Egil's skis (*Korm,* 5).[274] Orion proposes to a daughter of Oinopion.[275] The first compound part of the word is *oinos* (wine); and as Oinopion is the son of Bacchus, no doubt can exist that he originally had a place in the Indo-European myth about the mead. Örvandil-Egil proposes **[675]** to a daughter of Sumbl (Ölvaldi), the Finn king, who in the Germanic myths is Oinopion's counterpart. Orion is described as an exceedingly handsome man of giant-height, and is said to be a brother of the Titans. His first wife, the beautiful Sida, he soon lost through death; like Örvandil lost Groa. Sida, with its Dorian variation Rhoa, means fruit. The name Groa refers, like Sida, Rhoa, to vegetation, growth**.** After Sida's demise, Orion proposes to Oinopion's daughter, as Örvandil-Egil proposes to the Sumbl Finn-king's after Groa's death. He has a third romantic connection with Eos. According to one statement, he was supposed to have been killed because, in his desire to hunt, he had said that he would exterminate all wildlife on the earth. This statement probably has its origin in the myth preserved by the Teutons about Völund's and Örvandil-Egil's attempt to destroy life on the earth with the

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[273] The Telchines (Telkhines) are a group of artists in Greek mythology, native to the island of Rhodes and related to the Cyclopes, who invented metallurgy, raised the sea-god Poseidon, and forged weapons for him and his father Chronos. They eventually are punished by the gods for their malignant use of magic, which adversely effected the weather and blighted the earth. Carla O'Harris has shown that the myths of the Telchines are comparable to those of the Sons of Ivaldi and the Ribhus.

[274] Rydberg cites this as "Korm. 5", Anderson expands this to "Kormak, 5." However, the actual reference is *Krákumál* 5. The source for this is most likely *Lexicon Poeticum* 1860, s.v. *Egils*, which states: *Eundem Egilem, post rei maritimæ et piraticæ operam narantem, intelligi puto* Krm. 5, *ubi* Egils andrar, *xylosoleæ Egilsos, naves, hoc vero loco appositæ τφ lángskipum*. ["It is narrated that the very same Egil afterwards is said to have worked a sea-faring and piratical affair, as understood and supposed in Krm 5 where *Egils andrar,* Egil's snow-shoes [lit. cotton-sandals], a ship, are applied in the place of what is in fact a long-ship." Carla O'Harris tr.] Here, "Krm," is an abbreviation of *Krákumál*. *Lexicon Poeticum*, 1931, edited by Finnur Jónsson [s.v. *Egill*] adds: 'egils Krm 5 er uden tvivl feil for ægis' ["*egils* Krm 5 is without doubt a mistake for *ægis*"]'. Thus, *Egils öndrum* appears to be the original reading here, which is now emended to "ægis öndrum," after Jónsson, where *ægis* is regarded as the nominative genitive masculine form of *ægir*, sea, and *öndrum* is the dative plural form of *andrar*, snow-shoes. *Carmina Norræna* by Theodor Wisén, 1886, has "Egils öndrum"; *Fornaldarsögur nordrlanda* by Valdimar Ásmundarson, 1891, has "Egils öndrum," whereas *Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtning*, A I-II, B I-II, Kaupmannahöfn, 1912-15, (I B 649-656) by Finnur Jónsson, and most modern editions, have "ægis öndrum."

[275] Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1. 25: "Orion went to Khios where he courted Oinopion's daughter Merope. Oinopion, however, got him drunk, and, as he slept, blinded him and tossed him out on the beach. He made his way to the bronze workshop of Hephaistos, where he seized a boy, set him on his shoulders, and ordered him to guide him toward the east. Once there, he looked up and was completely healed by the rays of Helios (the Sun)." [tr. Aldrich]; Pseudo-Hyginus, *Astronomica* 2. 34: "[Orion] when his passions were excited by wine, he attacked Merope, the daughter of Oenopion. For this he was blinded by Oenopion and cast out of the island. But he came to Lemnos and Vulcanus, and received from him a guide named Cedalion. Carrying him on his shoulders, he came to Sol, and when Sol healed him returned to Chios to take vengeance on Oenopion." [tr. Grant]. (Carla O'Harris further notes the similarities to this story of Orion and the myth of Völund and Niðaður).

aid of the powers of frost. Hesiod says that the Pleiades (which set when Orion rises above the horizon) save themselves from Orion in the ocean's stream. The above-mentioned Old English constellation-name *Eburþrung* may refer to the Pleiades, since the compound part *þrung, drying*, refers to a dense cluster of stars**.** The first compound part of the word, Ebur, as already mentioned, is a byname of Örvandil-Egil. It should be added that the points of similarity between the Orion and Örvandil myths are such that they exclude the notion of a loan. The Orion myth, like most of the Greek myths in the form in which they have been handed down to us, is without any organic connection with the epic whole. The Örvandil myth, on the other hand, incorporates itself as an element in a mythological epic which, in grand and original outlines, reproduces the struggle between gods, patriarchs, ancient artists, and the powers of frost for the control of the world.

The name Thjazi, *Þjazi*, in an older and unbroken form *Þizi*, I regard likewise to be most ancient, like the personality that bears it. According to my opinion, Thjazi is originally identical with the star-hero mentioned in *Rigveda*, Tishya, the Iranians' Tistrya, who in *Rigveda* (X. 64, 8) is invoked together with an archer, who presumably was his brother. **[676]** The German middle-age poetry has preserved the name Thjazi in the form *Desen* (which is related to Þjazi as *delven* is to *Þjálfi*). In "*Dieterichs Flucht*" Desen is a king, whose daughter marries Dieterich-Hadding's father.[276] In the Norse sources, a sister of Thjazi (Alveig-Signy, daughter of Sumbl, the Finn king) marries Hadding's father, Halfdan. Common to the German and Norse traditions is, therefore, that Hadding's father marries a close kinswoman of Thjazi.

(15) In the poem *Haustlöng*, Thjazi's adventure is mentioned, when he captured Loki with the magic pole. Here one gets remarkable, previously misunderstood, information in regard to Thjazi's personality.

That they have been misunderstood is not due to insufficient attention or acumen on the interpreters' side. On the contrary, acumen has been lavished thereon.[277] In some

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[276] This is clearly based on Wilhelm Grimm's *Deutsche Heldensage* (1829), p. 189 which characterizes and cites the source in the manner described by Rydberg. The passage in question is a variant of *Dietrichs Flucht*, ll. 2473-2477 recorded in *Deutsches Heldenbuch* II, edited by Ernst Martin, 1866, p. 95: "*Dietmar…/und nam ein küniginne rich/ eine küneges tohter* (P: *des konig desen tohter*; A: *des künig desselben tohter*)"; "Dietmar... took (in marriage) a wealthy queen, a king's daughter" (A: "of a king's own daughter"; P: "a king's his own daughter."). [Heidi Graw tr.] Here, the word *desen* is not understood as a proper name, and Dietmar is Dietrich's brother, both sons of Amelunc, (see lines 2405 through 2415). Grimm, however, quotes the last line as "des künig *Desen* tohter," referring to "König Desens tochter" in the index of names on p. 407. He further identifies Dietrich as the son of Dietmar in the prose accompanying the verse: "Dietmar, der dritte Bruder, ist uns als Vater Dietrichs schon bekannt (oben s. 106). In der *Wilkinasaga* is er, ebenso wie der dritte Sohn, der Vater der Harlunge, ein unehliches kind und Ermenrek, allein in rechtmässiger Ehe erzeugt." According to p. 106, this is based on *Biterolf* 11123-24, and 11129-32, which read in part: "Dietrîch …des künic Dietmâres kint!"

[277] [Rydberg's footnote:] See for example Theodor Wisen's investigations and Finnur Jonsson's *Kritiske Studier* (Copenhagen, 1884). [Theodor Wisen (1835-1892), author of *Carmina Norroena*, 1886, as well as

cases textual changes must be resorted to in order to make them intelligible, which was necessary in the condition in which our mythology, for natural reasons, previously found itself, since important work of another type, not least of [creating] accurate critical editions of the documents of Germanic mythology, demanded the researchers' time and compelled them to refrain from the study of the myths' epic connection and their extraordinarily rich and abundant synonymics. It lies in the matter's nature that an examination of the synonymics and of the epic connection of myths over a number of passages in the old mythic poems and upon the paraphrases, which occur in the historical songs and which are based on mythic circumstances, must cast a whole other light than the one that can be obtained without them.

In *Haustlöng* 6, Thjazi is called *faðir mörna*, "the father of the swords." Without the least reason, one has doubted that a mythic personality who is called a giant so often, and whose connection with the giant world and whose giant nature, hostile to the deities, are so distinctly held forth in our sources, could be an artist and a swordsmith. For this reason, one has changed the text to *faðir mornar* **[677]** or *faðir morna*,[278] the father of consumption or of the strength-consuming diseases, or of the feminine thurs-beings representing them. But so far as our mythic documents leave us information, Thjazi has not had any other daughter than Skadi, described as a proud, courageous, powerful maid, devoted to athletics, who was elevated to Asynje, became the wife of the god of wealth, the tender stepmother of the lord of harvests (*Skírnismál*), Frigg's *elja*,[279] and in this capacity the ancestral mother of northern rulers, who prided themselves for their descent from her. That Thjazi had several daughters is indeed possible, but it is not mentioned, but must remain a conjecture on which nothing can be built; and even if were so, it is evident that since Skadi was the foremost and most well-known among them, she also would be the first to come to mind when a daughter or daughters of Thjazi are mentioned. But that Skadi should be spoken of as a *morn*, a consumption-giantess, and that Hákon Jarl should be regarded as descended from a demon of consumption, and be celebrated by his skalds as the descendant of such, I do not consider possible. The text, as it exists, tells us that Thjazi was the father of swords (*mörnir* = sword; see *Haustlöng* 6, *Nafnaþulur sverð-heiti* [*Prose Edda* I, 567, II, 560, 620]).[280] We must hold ourselves to this and remind ourselves that this is not the only passage that we have previously encountered, where his name is placed in connection with smithery. One such passage we have already encountered in *Þjaza þingskil*.

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a number of monographs in various philological journals. *Modern Language Notes* vii, 7, Nov. 1892, p. 446]

[278] The text is most frequently changed to *faðir mornar*. The reading *faðir morna* appears in W [Richard North, *Haustlöng*, p. 4].

[279] *elja*, "rival."

[280] The word *mörna* can also be read as a genitive plural, "giantesses." Faulkes notes: "*Mörn* f. a giantess, troll-wife v79/5-8 …*faðir Mörnar* v97/4 (MS *mörna* could be gen.pl if the name is being used as a common noun), v103/8"; "*mörnir* (*mørnir*?) m. sword-name, 'brusier'? v. 458/4" [*Snorri Sturluson Edda, Skáldskaparmál* II, 1998, pp. 491, 361] Eysteinn Björnsson notes: "*Mörn* may originally have been a name of Skaði, the daughter of Þjazi. It is, however, frequently used as a generic word, meaning "giantess"; also in the plural *mörnir* "giantesses", as in *Völsa þáttu*r: *þiggi mörnir* / *þetta blæti*. [http://www3.hi.is/~eybjorn/ugm/thorsd14.html last viewed 1-04-09]

(16) In the same poem, *Haustlöng* (3), Thjazi is called *hapta snytrir*, "the one who adorned the gods," provided them with treasures.[281] This epithet, too, must have appeared unintelligible, as long as one did not recognize one of the primeval artists in Thjazi; thus here too one resorted to textual changes to obtain an acceptable meaning.[282]

As described, the situation is as follows: Odin and *Hœnir,* accompanied by Loki are out on a journey. They have traversed mountains and wildernesses (*Skáldskaparmál* 2), and now found themselves in a region which, to judge from the context, is situated within Thjazi's domain, Thrymheim. He, who is *margspakur*[283] and *lómhugaðr*[284] (*Haustlöng* 3, 12), has planned an ambush for Loki in the very place which they have now reached: a valley (*Skáldskaparmál* 2 [*Bragarödur* 2]) overgrown **[678]** with oak (*Haustlöng* 6), and much more so inviting for refreshment and rest, as the Aesir are hungry after a difficult journey (*Skáldskaparmál* 2 [*Bragarödur* 21][285]). They see a herd of "yoke-bears" grazing in the vicinity. Thjazi has calculated this and allows one of the "yoke-bears" to play the role of "decoy-reindeer," "decoy-animal" (*tálhreinn*, *Haustlöng* 3; see Vigfusson's *Dict.,* 626),[286] which lets itself be caught by the travelers. That the animal belongs to Thjazi's herd follows from the fact that it (str. 6) is said to belong to "the bow-string's dis," Skadi, his daughter. The animal is slaughtered and a fire, over which it is to be cooked, is kindled. Beside the place that is chosen for the holding of the meal lies, as if by chance, a pole resembling a common one, but it is in fact a work laid there by Thjazi, forged with magic qualities. When the animal is to be cut into pieces, it appears that the "decoy-reindeer was quite hard between the bones for the gods to divide" (*tálhreinn var meðal beina tormiðlaðr tívum* – str. 3). Simultaneously, the Aesir had seen a great eagle fly to meet them (str. 2), and touch down in a tree beside the place where they prepared their meal (str. 3). From the context it follows that they took it for granted that the eagle guise concealed the region's ruler, Thjazi. When the animal was found to be so hard to prepare, the Aesir guess at once that Thjazi, experienced in magic arts, is

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[281] *hapta snytrir*: This kenning is commonly interpreted as "wisdom-teacher of the divine powers." This stanza is quoted separately in *Skáldskaparmál* 55 by Snorri to illustrate *höpt* as a synonym for goð ("gods"). [Richard North, *Haustlöng*, pp. 3, 19].

[282] "3/3 *kvað* emend.: *qvoþo* R^1; *q*^{7}*þu* R^2 ; *kvaðu* W; *kvað þv* U; *kveðv* 748 I; *kvat þv* 748 II; *kveðu* T^1, T^2. *hapta* R^1; *hapt* W (perh. with a final letter erased); *spacra* T. *snytrir* R^1, T; *snyrtir* W, R^2." [R. North, *Haustlöng* p. 3]. The emendation *kváðu* to *kvað* is justifiable because *kváðu* leaves a line with too many syllables. If we accept *kváðu,* then *snytrir* (nom.) must be emended to *snytri* (acc.). So an emendation is necessary either way. Occurring only here, this kenning is comparable to *snytrir þjóðar* "teacher of nation," *snytrir aldar* "teacher of men." The word derives from the adjective *snotr* which means "clever, wise." A *snytrir* is understood as someone who makes others wise, an instructor, a teacher. Rydberg seems to take his meaning from "*snotr*" = "pretty, handsome," although it is difficult to derive "adorner" from this. Incidentally, it too is the name of a sword meaning "polished one," [See Faulkes, *Skáldskaparmál* II, p. 398].

[283] "wise about many things, deeply wise," [A. Faulkes, *Skáldskaparmál* II, p. 352].

[284] "deceitfully-minded with treacherous intention," [ibid., p. 349].

[285] 21 is an error for 2 here.

[286] Cleasby/Vigfusson *Dict. s.v. tál-hreinn*: "a decoy-reindeer used as a *stale* or *lure to catch other deer*."; North *Haustlöng*, p. 20: "Without emendation, *tal-* in MSS *talhreinn* is usually taken to represent *tál* ('deceit', 'allurement'), in which case *tálhreinn* would mean 'deceiving deer,' that the Norwegian skipper Ohthere mentioned to King Alfred in the 880s [Aasen, *Norsk Ordbog*, p. 798].

the cause of this, and they immediately turn toward him with a question, which moreover lets them know that they realize who he is:

Hvað, kváðu, hapta snytrir
hjálmfaldinn, því valda?

"They (the gods) said (*kváðu*): Why cause this (*hvað því valda*) you, ornament-giver of the gods (*hjálmfaldinn hapta snytrir*), concealed in a guise (the form of an eagle)?"[287] He responds at once that he desires his share of the gods' sacred meal, which Odin also awards him. Nothing indicates that Odin sees a foe in Thjazi. Thereafter, the preparation encounters no difficulties and when it is ready and divided into four shares, Thjazi flies down, but, in order to irritate Loki, takes so much for himself that the latter, angry and doubtless also relying on Odin's protection if he should need it, grabs the pole lying near at hand [679] and with it gives the eagle a blow across the back. But Loki could not release the pole, whose one end he grasped while the other was stuck to the eagle, and Thjazi flew with him and did not let him go, before he had extracted an oath from him to place Idun in his power.

So long as one could not accept that Thjazi had been the gods' friend before this event happened, and in the capacity of primeval artist had presented them with valuable smithery, and thus was a *hapta snytrir*, it was also impossible to see in him, though he was concealed in the guise of the eagle, the *hjálmfaldinn* spoken of here, since *hjálmfaldinn* obviously is in apposition to *hapta snytrir*, "the adorner of the gods." (The common meaning of *hjálmur*, as is well known, is a covering, a garb, of which *hjálmur* in the sense of a helmet is a specification.) For this reason, from necessity, one had to assume that Odin was meant by *hjálmfaldinn* and *hapta snytrir*. This meant that one had to change the text's *kváðu* to *kvað* and insert into the manuscripts a *mun* not found there, and exclude a *því* found there. Additionally, the result was that one paid no attention to the use made of the expressions *hjálmfaldinn* and *snytrir* in a poem which stands in close contact with *Haustlöng*, and obviously refers to its description of Thjazi. This poem is Einar Skalaglam's "*Vellekla*,"[288] which celebrates the great Hákon Jarl. Hákon Jarl regarded himself as descended from *Thjazi* through the latter's daughter, Skadi

[287]As noted, Odin is typically understood as the speaker and the line is commonly rendered as: "something is the cause of this, said the wisdom teacher of the divine powers encased in his helmet" [North, ibid, p. 19]. Yet, as North notes, "all MSS have forms which represent *kvádu* ('they said')." North rejects this reading because it has two syllables and therefore, in his opinion, does not fit the metre, adding "'they said' makes no sense in the line; thus it is necessary to emend to *kvað* in agreement with *hapta snytrir*."

[288] "*Vellekla* is a complex poem and contains many compounded kennings, so that it presents a challenge even to a modern translator, not to speak of seventeenth and eighteenth century ones," [Margaret Clunies Ross, *The Old Norse Poetic Translations of Thomas Percy*, 2001, p. 239]. The poem *Vellekla*, by Einarr Skálaglamm is a panegyric on the Norwegian sovereign Hákon Jarl who restored the pagan cults abolished under Eiríkr's sons. One of the most popular poems of the 10th century, it has not been preserved as a whole. Many of its verses survive in *Heimskringla* and *Fagrskinna*, as well as Snorri's *Edda*. Its original structure is unclear, thus the numbering of its stanzas is not consistent in published versions of the text. [*Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia* (1993), *s.v. Einarr Helgason skálaglamm*, p. 158.] The numbering of the verses is that given in Rydberg's text. Modern numbering of the verses can be obtained from the online Skaldic Project at http://skaldic.arts.usyd.edu.au.

(*Háleygjatal*),[289] and on account of this *Vellekla* contains a number of allusions to the mythic progenitor. The task, in a poetic-rhetorical respect, which Einar has set forth for himself is in fact, that of collecting kernels in the paraphrases with which he celebrates Hákon Jarl, from the myth of Thjazi, so far as it is possible (see below) and the task is performed with inventiveness and acumen. In the course of this, Einar has had that part of Thjodolf's *Haustlöng* which concerned Thjazi before him. In str. 6 he calls Thjazi's descendant *þjóðar snytrir*, modeled on *Haustlöng*, which calls Thjazi *hapta snytrir*.[290] In str. 8 he gives Hákon the epithet *hjálmi faldinn*, with reference **[680]** to *Haustlöng*, which makes Thjazi appear *hjálmfaldinn*.[291] In str. 10 Hákon is a *garð-Rögnir*, just as Thjazi is a *ving-Rögnir* in *Haustlöng*.[292] In str. 11 Hákon is a *miðjungu*r, just as Thjazi is a *miðjungur* in *Haustlöng*.[293] In str. 16 the phrase *vildi Yggs niðr friðar biðja* alludes to *Haustlöng*'s *málunautur hvats mátti friðar biðja*.[294] In str. 21 Hákon is called *hlym-Narfi*, just as Thjazi in *Haustlöng* is called *grjót-Niðaðr*[295] (Narfi and Niðaðr are epithets of Mimir; see nos. 85, 87). In str. 22 Hákon is called *fangsæll*, and Thjazi in *Haustlöng* bears the same epithet.[296] To some of the paraphrases in *Vellekla*, to which the myth of Thjazi furnishes the kernel, I shall come below. There can, therefore, not be the smallest doubt that Einar himself in *Haustlöng*'s *hjálmfaldinn* and *hapta snytrir* saw epithets of Thjazi, and one will arrive at the same result if he interprets the text as it exists and allows no emendations to it.

Thus we have already encountered three paraphrases which let us know that Thjazi was a primeval artist, one of the myths' great smiths: (1) *Þjaza þingskil*, golden treasures presented before a court as evidence, owned or manufactured by Thjazi; (2) *hapta snytrir*, he who gave the gods ornaments; (3) *faðir mörna*, the father of the swords.

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[289] The verse in question is preserved in *Ynglingasaga* 8. The accompanying prose informs us that *Njörðr fékk konu þeirrar er Skaði hét. Hún vildi ekki við hann samfarar og giftist síðan Óðni. Áttu þau marga sonu. Einn þeirra hét Sæmingur. …Til Sæmings taldi Hákon jarl hinn ríki langfeðgakyn sitt*, "Njorth married a woman who was called Skathi. She would not have intercourse with him, and later married Othin. They had many sons. One of them was called Sæming. …Earl Hákon, the Mighty reckoned his pedigree from Sæming." [L. Hollander tr.].

[290] Cp. *Heimskringla*, *Haralds saga gráfeldar*, ch. 15 with *Haustlöng* 3.

[291] cp. *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar* ch. 21 with *Haustlöng* 3.

[292] cp. *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar* ch. 26 with *Haustlöng* 4.

[293] cp. *Fagrskinna* ch.17 with *Haustlöng* 8; *miðjung* is usually taken as the generic name of a giant. *Haustlöng* R reads *mildings* (the prince's) perhaps copied for *miðjungs* (WT *miðivngs*), "a case required by the *aðalhendin*g with *biðja* on 8/8, but which is not entirely understood. OIce *miðjungr* is found as a *heiti* for a giant in the *þular* (IV,b.6), yet it is also the basis of four surviving warrior kennings (see Meissner p. 348)." [North, p. 35]. "Miðjungr is listed as a giant name in one of the *þulur* attached to *Snorra Edda* (*Skáldsk* I, 111), but it is not known how it comes to be used as a base word in kennings for 'man.'" [A. Finlay, *Fagrskinna*, p. 90n]. Richard North notes that Snorri says "It is normal to refer to a man using all of the names of Æsir. Names of giants are also used, and this is mostly as satire or criticism. Using names of elves is thought complimentary." [*Skáldskaparmál* 39, Faulkes tr.]. Rydberg, of course, identifies Thjazi as the elf-prince Völund.

[294] cp. *Fagrskinna* ch. 16, *Vellekla* 19, with *Haustlöng* 8.

[295] cp. *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar* ch. 18 with *Haustlöng* 9. Ursula Dronke (1997) notes "Þjóðólfr of Hvin, in *Haustlöng* 9, calls Þjazi, the covetous enemy of the gods, a 'Níðuðr among Stone Giants'—*Grjót-Níðuðr*—evidently the last word in insults to Þjazi. The source for his kenning can only be the legend of Völundr," [PE II, p. 272].

[296] cp. *Fagrskinna* ch. 16 and *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar* ch. 18 with *Haustlöng* 8.

Thjazi's claim to become a table-companion of the gods and receive meat[297] with them, *af helgu skutli*,[298] points in all probability to an ancient mythological circumstance of which we find a counterpart in the Iranian documents, namely that Thjazi, as compensation for the services he had rendered the gods, had wanted to be promoted into their circle and receive sacrifices from their worshippers. This pretension of the Germanic star-hero Thjazi one rediscovers in the Iranian star-hero Tistrya, *Rigveda*'s Tishya. Tistrya complains in *Avesta* that he does not have sufficient strength to fight the foe of vegetation, Apaosha, since men do not invoke him, Tistrya, do not sacrifice to him. If they did so, it is said, he would be sufficiently strong to win.[299] Tishya-Tistrya does not seem to have ever obtained complete rank as a god; but still he is invoked **[681]** in *Rigveda*, though very seldom, and the Iranians, in cases of severe drought, were obligated to sacrifice to him.

(17) In *Haustlöng* (4), Thjazi is called *ving-Rögnir vagna*, "Rögnir of the wing-wagons,"[300] and (12) *fjaðrar blaðs leik-Reginn*, "Reginn of the feather-leaf's (wing's) motion."[301] In the myths Thjazi, like Völund, employs an eagle guise. Völund flies in an eagle guise manufactured by him away from his captivity by Mimir-Niðaðr. When Thjazi is robbed of Idun through Loki's deceit, he hastens after the robber in wild despair with the aid of his eagle guise, gets his wings burned in the waver-flames kindled around Asgard, is brought down pierced by the gods' missiles, and is slain by Thor. The original meaning of *Reginn* is molder, creator, arranger, foreman. The meaning has been preserved through the ages, so that the word *regin*, though applied to all the creative powers (*Völuspá*), still retained the special meaning of artist, smith, even in Christian times and reappears in the heroic traditions in the smith-name *Reginn.*[302] When, therefore, Thjazi is called "Regin of the motion of the feather-leaf," there is no reason to doubt that the phrase meant that he possessed an eagle guise, but also that he was its "smith"; the less so as we have already seen him characterized as a primeval artist in the expressions *Þjaza þingskil*, *hapta snytrir*, and *faðir mörna*. Thus we have here a fourth

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[297] *få spisa*: "receive meat," "receive nourishment" here Rydberg uses an archaic term meaning 'to eat,' which takes on a literal meaning in this context.

[298] *Haustlöng* 4: "from the holy trencher," [North tr.]

[299] *Khorda Avesta*, *Tishtar Yasht* 8, VI, 20-28.

[300] Although this phrase is typically interpreted as a kenning for giant, Rydberg's interpretation is valid. Richard North suggests "that the phrase *ving-rögnir –vagna* may be read with *ving-* as a prefix transferred from *–vagna*…thus as *ving-vagna rögnir*, 'prince of wind-dolphins,'" noting that "the word *vagna*, the other difficult part of this kenning, is *unlikely* to be the gen. pl. of *vagn* (m. waggon') as Marold points out (p. 158) but rather that of *vagna* or *vögn*, (f. 'whale,' 'dolphin')," rendering the meaning 'land-whales' i.e. giants. Anthony Faulkes interprets ving-Rögnir as "land-Óðinn" and the complete phrase as *Rögnir ving-vagna*, 'chief of the land-whales, of giants," [*Skáldskaparmál* II, p. 429].

[301] "the ruler-deity of the feather's swinging leafblade" [North tr.]; "god (or dwarf) i.e. the causer, of the play (motion) of the feather-blade, of the beating of wings (or god of the feather's playing (flapping) blade)" [Faulkes, *Skáldskaparmál* II, p. 344]. North notes: "OIce *regin* refers to Þórr in *Haustlöng* 15/5 (*hofreginn hógreiðar*, 'temple-deity of the easy-riding chariot') and also appears to be the singular of the n. pl. *regin* or *rögn*, which describes the gods probably as 'rulers.'" [p. 54]

[302] North notes: "OIce *regin* refers to Þórr in *Haustlöng* 15/5 (*hofreginn hógreiðar*, 'temple-deity of the easy-riding chariot') and also appears to be the singular of the n. pl. *regin* or *rögn*, which describes the gods probably as 'rulers.'" [p. 54]; Faulkes defines the word as "*Regin* m. base-word in a kenning for man; either a dwarf-name or the name of a god (cf. *regin*), or a word meaning wielder, one who has power over something. …in kenning for Þjazi, …"the one who sets in motion the beating of wings" [*Skáldskaparmál* II., p. 374] "*Reginn* m. (1) brother of Fáfnir …(2) a dwarf …(3) an ox." [ibid., p.500].

attestation of the same kind. The expression "Rögnir of the wing-wagons" places him in connection him not only with a single such vehicle, but with several. "Wing-wagon" is a poetic paraphrase for a guise furnished with wings that permits its owner[303] to travel through the air.[304] In addition, the expression "wing-car" may be applied to several of the wonderful means employed by the powers to transport themselves through the air and over the sea, such as, the Thor's and Frey's chariots, Baldur's ship Hringhorni, Frey's ship Skidbladnir, and the feather garbs of the swan-maids. The myths that knew from whose hands Skidbladnir proceeded certainly also knew reports of the masters who produced Hringhorni and the above-mentioned chariots and feather garbs. That they were

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[303] Rydberg uses the terms "*egare eller egarinna*," denoting a "male or female owner" here.

[304] In skaldic poetry, Odin is known as *runni vagna*, "mover of wagons"; *vinr vagna*, "friend of wagons"; *vári vagna* "protector of wagons"; and *valdr vagnbrautar*, "ruler of the wagon-road." The sky itself, home of the gods, is known as "the land of wagons (*land vagna*)," indicating that the constellations were imagined as the gods circling the heavens in their cars (*Skáldskaparmál* 31: *Hvernig skal kenna himin? Svá at kalla …land sólar ok tungls ok himintungla, vagna ok veðra, "How shall the heaven be named*? It shall be named …land of sun, of moon, of planets, of wagons, of winds." Anthony Faulkes translates the word *vagna* as "constellations", see Faulkes, *Edda Snorri Sturluson*, (Everyman, reprinted 1997), p. 88). In accordance with this, the Big Dipper (Ursa Major) was commonly known as the Wain, or wagon. A divinity in a wagon is well-known in Germanic lore. According to the *Prose Edda*, Thor drives a wagon drawn by goats, Frey arrives at Baldur's funeral in a cart led by a boar, and Freyja rides in a car pulled by cats. A skaldic verse in the *Codex Regius* mss. of *Snorra Edda* calls Njörd *vagna guð* ('god of the wagon'), where other manuscripts read *Vana guð* ('god of the Vanir'). Among other relevant examples: Tacitus, circa 98AD, describes the procession of the goddess Nerthus, held sacred by at least seven northern European tribes including the Angles and possibly the Lombards, in a wagon through the countryside. Sozomenos, in the latter half of the 4th century, speaks of the Goth Anthanaric conveying a statue in a "covered carriage" to the homes of suspected Christians. If they refused to sacrifice to it (evidently the deity represented by the statue), their homes were burned [*Hermiae Sozomeni Historia*, p. 1406; cited by Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, Stalleybrass tr. pp. 106-107 and North, ibid, p. 147]; Gregory of Tours, in the 6th century, describes the procession of a white-veiled statue of the goddess Berecynthia (probably a Roman interpretation of a local goddess) as she was drawn through fields and vineyards "according to the wretched custom of the pagans" while the people sang and danced before her at Augustodunum (near Lyon). [*Liber in Gloria Confessorum* 77 cited in H.R.E. Davidson's *The Lost Beliefs of Northern Europe* (Routledge, 1993), p. 133, translated in North, ibid. p. 22]. Einhard tells us how the Merovingian dynasty, once a year, used to run an 'old fashioned' cart pulled by bulls through the country. [Einhardi *Vita Caroli Magni*, 1. In MGH, *Scriptores rerum Sangallensium. Annales, chronica et historiae aevi Saxonici*, Hannover 1829]. The Oseberg tapestry, most likely, depicts such a procession. In addition, several ceremonial wagons, as well as wooden statues, have been recovered from graves and bogs. Later literary examples include the description of Thor's chariot at a temple in *Ólafs saga Tyrggvasonar*, the account in *Hauks þáttr hábrókar* of a god known as Lytir, who traveled to Uppsala in a wagon that awaited his arrival for three nights, and Frey's circuit in a wagon told in the 14th century *Gunnars þáttr helmings* from *Ogmundar þáttr dytts* in *Olafs saga Tryggvasonar in mesta*.

manufactured by the primeval artists and not by the highest gods **[682]** is an idea of ancient Indo-European birth. In *Rigveda* it is the Ribhus, the counterparts of the Ivaldi sons, who forged the Asvins' wonderful wagon-ship and Indra's horses.

The designations Rögnir and Reginn also occur outside of *Haustlöng* in connection with each other even as late as in the *Skíða-Ríma*, composed between 1400 and 1450, where Reginn is represented as a smith (*Rögnir kallar Regin til sín: rammlega skaltu smíða* - str. 102). In *Hrafnagaldur Óðins* [*Forspjallsljóð*] 10, it says: *Galdur gólu, göndum riðu Rögnir og Reginn að ranni heimis*, "Rögnir and Reginn sang *galdur* and constructed magic implements at the earth's edge."[305] They who do this are artists, smiths. In strophe 8 they are called *viggjar*, and *viggi* is a synonym of *smiðr* (*Nafnaþulur*: *Uxa heiti* [*Pr. Edd*. I, 587]).[306] While they do this Idun is absent from Asgard (*Hrafnagaldur Óðins* [*Forspjallsljóð*] 6), and a tremendous cold threatens to destroy the earth. The words in *Völuspá* 25, with which the terrible fimbul-winter of antiquity is designated, *loft lævi blandið*, are adopted by *Hrafnagaldur Óðins* 5 [*Forspjallsljóð* str. 6] - *lofti með lævi*), which signifies thereby that it is the same mythic event that is described

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[305] *Galdur gólu, göndum riðu Rögnir og Reginn að ranni heimis*, "Sorcery they sang, wolves they rode, Rögnir and Regin against the world's house." [Eysteinn Björnsson tr.] The beings in question are said to chant g*aldur*, which is a type of sorcery, and to ride *göndum* (singular *gandur*, which has the dual meanings of "monster" or "fiend" (cp. *Jormun-gandr*) and "any object enchanted by a sorcerer." The latter expression is applied only to witches. *Gand-reid* is the "witches' ride," (Cleasby/Vigfusson *Dict.* s.v. *gandr*). Most commentators have interpreted the subject of these lines as the three divine messengers referred to in the previous verse, interpreting "*rögnir og regin*" loosely as "the god and the gods." Others have understood them to be "Óðinn and the gods," even though Odin is clearly said to "listen from Hlidskjalf," his seat in Valhalla in the remainder of the verse. Gods, however, do not chant sorcery while riding on monsters, only enemies of the gods do. Since the kenning "wolf-rider" is a common paraphrase for a giantess, Rögnir and Reginn are best understood as wolf-riders, giants, who are enemies of the gods and who chant sorcery against their creation. In this capacity, they can also be referred to as "wights" (st. 2). Since Idunn is said to be wrapped in wolf-skin (8), a sexual innuendo may also be implied.

[306] *syrgja Naumu / viggjar að véum*. These are difficult lines to interpret. This name Nauma is treated in detail by Egilsson in the *Lexicon Poeticum*. He confirms the meaning "giantess," and observes that it is also used in skaldic kennings as an equivalent for "woman" noting that it is found in the *Nafnaþulur* not among the names of giantesses, but among "kvenna heiti ókennd." Egilsson interprets this to mean that Nauma, besides a giantess, must originally have also been the name of a "now unknown" goddess. Based on this, Eysteinn Björnsson suggests an emendation to "*vigg naumu*," ("the giantess' horse," an accepted kenning for "wolf", and reads the phrase *Vé viggjar naumu* as "home of the wolf," a paraphrase for the Wolf-dales, Völund's home in exile in *Völundarkviða* (cp. *Hrafnagaldur Óðins* 6.) In addition, he suggests that the word *Nauma* pulls double duty, reading the first half-stanza as "The divinities see Nauma (Idunn) grieving in the home of the giantess' (Nauma's) horses," further alluding to the fact that Idunn is given a wolf-skin (8) while her male companions (Rögnir and Regin) ride "*göndum*" (monsters, wolves).

there.[307] The existence of the world's order is threatened, the earth and the source of light are attacked by evil influences, the life of nature is dying, north (east) from the Elivagar comes piercing, rime-cold arrows of frost, which kill men and destroy the earth's crops. The underworld's southern well, whose task it is to furnish warming saps to the world-tree, was not in a position to prevent the frost's devastations. "It was so ordained," it says in *Hrafnagaldur Óðins* [*Forspjallsljóð*], str. 2, "that Urd's *Óðrærir* (Urd's well) did not have sufficient power to protect against the terrible cold."[308] The destruction is caused by Rögnir and Reginn. Their *galdur*-songs are audible in Asgard. Odin listens in *Hlidskjalf* and perceives that the song comes from the world's farthest end. The gods are gripped by the thought that the world's destruction is approaching, and send an envoy **[683]** to the underworld to a wise norn in order to get the world's mystery[309] solved and to proclaim the world's impending fate.[310]

In the dictionaries and in the mythological textbooks, Rögnir is said to be an Odin-epithet. In his excellent commentary on *Vellekla*, Freudenthal has expressed a doubt as to the correctness of this.[311] I have myself recorded all the passages in the Old Norse literature where the name occurs, and I have thereby reached the conclusion that the statement in the dictionaries has no other foundation than the *Nafnaþulur* in *Eddubrot* and the above-cited *Skíðaríma*, composed in the fifteenth century, whose grasp of the heathen mythology is such that it should never be engaged in earnest as an authority in this matter. In the Old Norse records there cannot be found a single passage where *Rögnir* is used as an epithet of Odin. It is used everywhere in reference to a mythic being who was a smith and a *galdur*-singer, and refers regularly and without exception to Thjazi. While Þjóðólf designates Thjazi as the Rögnir of the wing-cars, his descendant Hákon Jarl gets the same epithet in Einarr Skálaglamm's paraphrases. He is *hjörs brak-Rögnir*, "the Rögnir of the sword-crash,"[312] and *geirrásar garð-Rögnir*, "the Rögnir of the spear-

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[307] *Völuspá* 25/5-6: *hverr hefði opt allt lævi blandit,* "who had mixed the air with wickedness" [C. Larrington tr.], "who had laced all the air with ruin," [U. Dronke tr.]. *Hrafnagaldur Óðins* 5/2-3: *lofti með lævi linnir ei straumi,* "The stream of air with corruption laden," [B. Thorpe tr., 1866] "malignant winds do not cease," [E. Björnsson tr.].

[308] [Rydberg's footnote:] The editions have "emended" *Urðar* to *Urðr*, and thereby turned the above-cited passage into nonsense, which in turn was laid upon *Hrafnagaldur Óðins'* [*Forspjallsljóð*'s] author as blame and presented as an argument to prove that the poem is spurious. [While Rydberg's reading is syntactically impossible, his interpretation appears to be correct. If the manuscript reading *Óðhrærir Urðar* is accepted, the object of the sentence is missing. However, the meaning Urd's Óðhrærir (i.e. Urd's well) appears to be correct].

[309] *världsgåtan*: "mystery of the universe"

[310] cp. *Hrafanagaldur Óðins* 9/1-4: *Gjallar sunnu gátt að frétta, heims hvívetna hvert er vissi*; "to inquire of the 'bearer of Gjöll's sun' ['bearer of gold', i.e. woman, here Urð] whatever she knew of the world's affairs"; 11/1-2 and 5-8: *Frá enn vitri veiga selju …hlýrnis, heljar heims ef vissi ártíð, æfi, aldurtila*. "The wise one [Heimdall] asked the server of mead …if she knew the origin duration, and end of heaven, of hel, of the world."

[311] *Einar Skálaglams Vellekla*, öfversatt och förklarad af Axel Olaf Freudenthal, Helsingfors, 1865.

[312] *brak -Rögnir hjörs*, "Rögnir of sword-crash (i.e. of battle)," a kenning for warrior found in *Vellekla* 7, preserved in *Skáldskaparmál* 61, [A. Faulkes tr.].

flight's wall (the shield)."[313] In accordance with this, the Thjazi descendant, Sigurd Hladajarl, is called *fens furs Rögnir*.[314] *Þrym-Rögnir* [*Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar* 56] alludes to Thjazi as ruler in Thrymheim. A parallel phrase to *þrym-Rögnir* is *þrym-regin* (*Ragnarsdrápa*, *Skáldskaparmál* 61 [*Pr. Edd.* I, 436]).[315] Thus, while Thjazi is characterized as *Rögnir*, Saxo has preserved the fact that Völund's brother, Örvandil-Egil, bore the epithet *Reginn*. Saxo Latinizes Reginn as Regnerus, and gives this name to Ericus-Svipdag's father (Book V, 123 [*Hist.* 192]). The epithet *Rögnir* is confined exclusively within a prescribed circle — to Thjazi and his supposed descendants. Among them it comprises, so to speak, an inheritance.

The paraphrases in *Vellekla* are of significant mythological interest. While other mythic sources relate that Thjazi carried away the vegetation-dis Idun, who has the regenerating forces in nature at her disposal, and that he thus assisted in bringing about the great primeval winter, we learn from *Vellekla* [684] that it was he who directly, and by separate magic acts, produced this winter, and that he, accordingly, acted the same part in this respect as Rögnir and Reginn do in *Hrafnagaldur Óðins* [*Forspjallsljóð*].

Thus, for example, the poem on Hákon Jarl, when he fought against Gunnhild's sons, says: *Hjörs brak-Rögnir skók bogna hagl úr Hlakkar seglum*, "the sword-crash's Rögnir shook the bow's hail from the valkyrie's [i.e. Hlökk's] sails."[316] The mythic kernel in the paraphrase is: *Rögnir skók hagl úr seglum*, "Rögnir shook hails from the sails." The idea still survives in the sagas that men endowed with magic powers could cause a hailstorm by shaking cloths or sacks, or spreading ashes in the air or untying knots. And in Christian sources, it is specifically stated of Hákon Jarl that he held in honor two mythic beings, Thorgerd and Irpa, who, when one prayed to them to do so, could send tempests, storms, and hail.[317] This tradition is probably connected with Hákon's supposed descent from Thjazi, the author of hailstorms and the fimbul-winter. — Making Rögnir the "Rögnir of the sword-crash," and the hail sent by him "the hail of the

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[313] *garð-Rögnir geirrásar*, "Rögnir of the battle-fence (i.e. shield)," a kenning for warrior found in *Vellekla* 27, preserved in *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*.

[314] *fens furs Rögnir*, "Rögnir of the fens' fire (i.e. gold)."

[315] *Þrym-Rögnir*, in a kenning for warriors *Þrym-Rögnir þremja* "gods of the noise of the sword-edges (i.e. of battle)" [A. Faulkes tr.], preserved in *Skáldskaparmál* 62

[316] *Vellekla* 7, preserved in *Skáldskaparmál* 61: "Sword-crash Rögnir [warrior] shook bows' hail from Hlökk's sails [shield's] The one who does not spare wolves [criminals] saved his life bravely." [A. Faulkes tr. *Edda*, p. 122]

[317] Þorgerðr Hölgabrúðr [or some variant] and Irpa are mentioned together in *Njal's saga* 88, *Jómsvíkinga saga* 32-34 (as Þorgerðr Hörðatröll) and *Þorleifs þáttr jarlsskálds* 7 (as Þorgerðr Hörgabrúði), where they are described as sisters. Additionally, Þorgerðr appears in *Skáldskaparmál* 42, *Færeyinga Saga* 23, *Harðar saga ok Hólmverja* 19, *Ketils saga hængs* 5 (as Þorgerðr Hörgatröll), and *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar* in *Flateyjarbók*. Their images appear in temples and men sacrifice to them. Þorgerðr is almost always associated with Hákon. According to *Jómsvíkinga saga* 34, after he sacrifices his seven year old son Erlingur to her, she causes a hailstorm, appearing in the clouds firing arrows from her fingertips on his behalf during a battle. In this respect, Rudolf Simek observes that she reminds us "more of the valkyries," noting that "all our sources are, however, too fictional and far too interdependent to allow the details of the description to tempt us too far in our attempts to interpret Þorgerðr Hölgabrúðr," (*Dictionary of Northern Mythology*, p. 327).

bows," and the sails or cloths shook by him "the sails of the valkyrie" i.e. the shields, allows the skald to develop the indicated mythological kernel into figures applicable to the warrior and the battle.

In other paraphrases *Vellekla* says that Hákon, the descendant of Thjazi, made "the death-cold sword-tempest grow against udal man's life in Odin's storm," and that he was "an elf of the woodland's earth" coming from the north, who, received the south's warriors (Emperor Otto's army) at Dannevirke with "murder-frost." Upon the whole *Vellekla* gathers the figures used in describing the exploits of Hákon from the domain of cold and storm, no doubt on the basis of the Thjazi-myth.

In another poem to Hákon Jarl, of which only a fragment remains, the skald Einar speaks of Hákon's generosity, and says: *verk Rögnis mér hugna*, "Rögnir's works please me."[318] One knows that Hákon Jarl once gave Einarr two **[685]** gilt bowls[319] of silver, to which belonged two weights in the form of statuettes, the one of gold, the other of silver, that the bowls were thought to possess magic qualities,[320] and that on another occasion Hákon gave him an extraordinarily precious engraved shield, inlaid between the engraved fields with gold and set with precious stones. It was customary that skalds celebrated such gifts in song. For this reason, it follows that the "works of Rögnir," with which Einar says he was pleased, are the smithery which Hákon, Rögnir-Thjazi's supposed descendant, gave him; and I find this interpretation the more necessary since we have already met several congruous attestations of Thjazi's position in the mythology as a primeval artist.

Hrafnagaldur Óðins' [*Forspjallsljóð*'s] Rögnir "sings *galdur*" and "unites *gandur*" in order to encourage and strengthen by these magical means the attack of the powers of frost on the world protected by the gods. *Haustlöng* 7 calls Thjazi *ramman reimuð Jötunheima*, "Jötunheim's powerful *reimud*."[321] The word *reimuðr* occurs nowhere else than here. It is thought to be connected with *reimt* and *reimleikar*, words which in the writings of Christian times refer to ghostly disturbances, supernatural phenomena,[322] and for this reason one has interpreted *reimuðr Jötunheima* as "he who made Jötunheim the scene of his magic arts and ghostly disturbances." From what has been stated above, it is clear that this interpretation is correct.

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[318] The verse is preserved in *Skáldskaparmál* 10, where Rögnir is typically seen as Odin and the kenning is interpreted to mean "poetry" as in Faulkes': "Rögnir's [Odin's] deeds [poetry] benefit me." [*Edda*, p. 71]. The line appears to have been emended, likely to make sense of it. Today, the generally accepted reading is: *Eisar vágr fyr* (*vísa verk*) *rögnis mér* (*hagna*), *þýtr Óðrøris alda* (*aldr*) *hafs við fles galdra*.; "Wave of time's sea rushes before the prince. Rögnir's deeds benefit me. Swell of Odrerir [poetry] pounds against the song's skerry [my teeth]," [Faulkes tr.].

[319] In Swedish, the word here is *scalar*, ('bowls', 'basins') which corresponds to the Icelandic *skálir* in the text of the saga. Perhaps this is a typo for *skalor* (?), 'scales.' Anderson renders this 'goblet,' and *vigten* (vikten, 'weights') as 'scales', which gives an incorrect sense.

[320] As told in *Jómsvíkinga saga* 31; thus his name Einarr skálaglamm ('tinkling-scales').

[321] "the mighty spectre of the giants' world," [North, *Haustlöng*, p. 5].

[322] Ibid, pp. 32-33: "Faulkes (SSE, p. 87) connects this word with *reimleikr* ('haunting') and the expression *þar er reimt* ('the place is haunted') and translates *reimuðr* as 'ghost' ('*skrømt*', p. 26-27)."

A passage in *Þórsdrápa* (str. 3), to which I shall come below,[323] informs us that at the time when Thor made his famous journey to the fire-giant Geirröd, Rögnir still had not united himself with Loki in regard to the plan of the gods' ruin. Thus, during a certain period of his life, Rögnir was the gods' foe, but during a preceding period he was not. The same is true of Thjazi. For a time, he was *hapta snytrir*, "he who gave the gods treasures." During another time he carried away Idun, and appeared transformed into *dólgur ballastur vallar*, "the most powerful foe of the earth" (*Haustlöng* 6), an expression which designates him as the fimbul-winter's author.[324]

There still remains a pair of important passages in regard to the correct understanding **[686]** of the epithet Rögnir. In *Atlakviða* 33 it is said of Gudrun when she goes to meet her husband Atli, who has returned home, with a golden drinking-bowl, that she goes to *reifa gjöld Rögnis*, "to extend that compensation or that revenge which Rögnir gave."[325] In order to avenge her brother, Gudrun in Atli's absence killed the two young sons she had with him and made drinking-vessels of their skulls. It is one of these in which she presented the homecoming-drink to Atli. A similar revenge is told about Völund. He secretly kills *Niðað*r's two young sons and makes drinking-vessels out of their skulls for their father. The passage states that the revenge Gudrun took on Atli was of the same kind as the revenge which Rögnir took on some one whom he had to exact retribution. So far as our sources extend, Völund is the only one to whom the epithet Rögnir can be applied. Of no one else is it reported that he exacted a revenge of the kind with which Gudrun's could be compared.[326] In all other passages the epithet Rögnir refers

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[323] See UGM1 no. 114. Of this, Eysteinn Björnsson remarks: "This half-stanza is extremely obscure. No certain meaning can be established. … The subject of the sentence could be either *farmur* or Rögnir, and the allocation of the genitives (*meinsvárans, sóknar, hapts, sagna, galdurs*) is anybody's guess." He interprets the line to mean: "Rögnir of the battle [Þjálfi] was quicker to join the swift mover of armies [Þórr] on the expedition than the perjurious burden of the arms of the *hapt* of sorcery [Loki]." [Source: http://www3.hi.is/~eybjorn/ugm/thorsd05.html Last viewed 1/15/2009] Faulkes, *Edda*, p. 83, has: "Full of perjury, the cargo [Loki] of incantation-fetter's [Sigyn's] arms was on his way sooner with the company's leader than the battle-Rögnir [Thjalfi]."

[324] North, ibid, p. 30: 'the very bold foe of the fields', i.e. Þjazi. Marold renders this kenning as 'the strongest enemy in the world," ('*der stärkste Fiend der Welt'*, p. 160)."

[325] Ursula Dronke, *PE* I, (1969) p. 10 remarks: "Then Guðrún came out to meet Atli with gilded cup, to render a lord his due."; p. 68: 34/4 *at reifa giöld rögnis*: 'to present (with speech and action) the due tribute for a prince.' The phrase is deliberately ambiguous (cf. *gnadda niflfarna* below): *giöld* could mean either (1) reward or (2) compensation', 'blood-price' (cf. *manngiöld*); *rögnis* could refer to either Atli or to Gunnarr. …Rögnir 'powerful lord' is elsewhere a proper name of Óðinn, but common in poetic compounds signifying 'lord', 'warrior' (cf. *landrögnir* 12/1)."

[326] The longevity of this tradition, initially associated with Völund, is suggested by its appearance in several later sources. P. Maurus, in *Die Wielandsage in der Literatur*, 1902, concludes that Weland's gruesome acts became an archetypal revenge motif in European folklore. In *Mindesmarker i Skaane, Halland og Bleking*, 1598, the smith and magician Vallandi secretly begets a son with the king of Norway's daughter. When this disgrace is exposed, Vallandi takes vengence by murdering the king's son, fashioning a mixing bowl from his skull and a knife-handle from his shin-bone, which he presents to the king as gifts. After revealing the affair, the smith flies away in a feathery garment. Mauer catalogs several similar stories in German, French, and English sources, some without reference to Völund, such as "The Horrible Vengeance," in which a houseslave rapes his master's daughter, kills the master's sons, then flings himself out the window. Noting examples from contemporary English and German ballads of Titus Andronicus, Mauer concludes that Titus' feeding the queen and her husband their children in a pie in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, Act V, Scene 3, also ultimately stems from the Völund myth. [Carla O'Harris].

to "the sword's father," the primeval artist Thjazi, the son of Allvaldi. Here it refers to the utmost sword's father, to the primeval artist Völund, the son of Ivaldi.

The same strophe in *Vellekla*[327] that likens the Thjazi-descendant Hákon Jarl to the hail-dispatching Rögnir, refers to another element in the myth about him by means of a paraphrase, whose mythological kernel is: *varat svanglýjaði at frýja ofbyrjar né drífu*, "it was not possible to defy the swan's-pleaser in matters of storm and blizzard. The paraphrase is made applicable to Hákon by making the "swan's pleaser" into the "the sword's high-billowing fjörd's swan's pleaser," i.e. the pleaser of the bird of the battlefield— the raven's pleaser; the storm is changed into "the storm of arrows," and the blizzard into the "battle-dis' blizzard." The mythological kernel of this paraphrase and what is illustrative for our subject is that in the myths Rögnir is a "swan-pleaser." In the heroic poem three swan-maids are devoted in their love to Völund and his brothers. *Völundarkviða* 2 says that the third one of them lays her arms around Völund-Anund's white neck. **[687]**

We shall now summarize the results of this investigation concerning Rögnir, and in so doing will first consider what is said of him when the name occurs alone and independent of paraphrases, and thereafter what is said of him in paraphrases in which his name constitutes the kernel.

Hrafnagaldur Óðins [*Forspjallsljóð*] describes Rögnir as dwelling on the earth's northernmost outskirts at the time when Idun was absent from Asgard. There he sings *galdur* and "unites *gandur*" (magic implements), by means of which he releases a destructive winter over the world. He is a "smith" and in his company is found one or more than one mythic person who is called *Reginn*. (*Reginn* may be singular or plural.)[328]

Einarr Skálaglamm, who received precious products of a smith from Hákon Jarl, speaks in his panegyric to him of the "Rögnir's work" that pleases him, and which must be the treasures given by the Jarl.

Eilífr Guðrúnarson in *Þórsdrápa* 3 says that Rögnir had not yet "associated himself" with Loki when Thor made his expedition of war to Geirröd.

Atlakvida 33 states that on someone he exacted a revenge, to which the song compares Gudrun's when she hands the drinking-vessels to Atli made of his two young sons' skulls.

One rediscovers all the facts stated in these passages in the myths about Ivaldi's sons: Völund, Egil, and Slagfin. There was a time when they were the gods' friends and forged precious treasures for them, and another time when they embraced the same plans as Loki sought to achieve in underhanded ways: to overthrow the Aesir and destroy their creation. They deliver their foster son Frey, the young harvest god to the giants (see nos. 109, 112) —a measure which, like Idun's disappearance from Asgard, refers to the outbreak of the fimbul-winter —and they depart to the underworld's northernmost outskirts where they dwell together with swan-maids, dises of vegetation, who, like Idun

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[327] *Vellekla* 7. *Heimskringla, Haralds saga gráfeldar* 6 provides the first half of the stanza: *Vasat ofbyrjar Ǫrva /odda vífs í drífu/ sverða sverrifjarðar/ svangjýjaði at frýja*; Hollander interprets this as: "Nor was it needful to urge the Njorth-of-valkyries'-game ['Njörd of battle', i.e. warrior] to start the storm-of-flying-steel [the 'battle'] to gladden ravens."; Sv. Egilsson [LP] and Eysteinn Björnsson confirm that the kenning *sverða sverrifjarðar* indicates 'blood.' Thus *sverða sverrifjarðar svangjýjaði*, means "the swan-of-blood's [i.e. the raven's] gladdener," rather than the "bird of the battlefield's [the raven's] pleaser."]

[328] To be a proper name, the word *regin* would have to have end in double *n*, as provided here. Further instances of *Reginn* will be written as such, although Rydberg does not distinguish between them.

in *Hrafnagaldur Óðins* [*Forspjallsljóð*] str. 8, must have changed character and joined the world-hostile plot of their lovers. **[688]** (Of Idun it is said, in the strophe mentioned, that she clothed herself in a wolf-skin given her by the smiths,[329] and *lyndi breytti, lék að lævísi, litum skipti*.)[330] During his imprisonment by Niðað, the revenge Völund extracts against him explains why *Atlakviða* characterizes Gudrun's terrible deed as "Rögnir's revenge." In regard to the *gandur* joined by Rögnir and Reginn, it is to be said that the sword of victory made by Völund is a *gandur* in the word's original sense: an object endowed with magical powers that he created during his stay in the Wolfdales.

One passage in *Völundarkviða* str. 5,[331] which previously has defied attempts to explain it, shows that his skill was also occupied with other magic things while he dwelt there. The passage is: *lukti hann alla lindbauga vel*.[332] The "lind"-rings in question, forged of "red gold" (see the preceding lines in strophe 5), are, according to what the prefix states, *lind,- linnr,* serpent-formed rings,[333] which again are *gand*-rings on account of the secret qualities ascribed to the serpent. *Lindbaugur* is another form for *linnbaugur*, just as *lindból* is another form for *linnból*.[334] The role that the snake had in magic made it a *gand*, when under the influence of a sorcerer or in his possession, which is why *linnur*, a serpent, could serve as a paraphrase for *gandur*, and *gandur* in turn, could become an epithet for the Midgard-serpent in the compound *Jörmungandur*. The rings which Völund "closed up well" are *gand*-rings. The rope (*bast, böstur - Völundarkviða* 7, 12) on which he hangs the seven hundred *gand*-rings he has finished, itself seems to be a *gand*, a magic implement, with which Völund can bind and from which he can release the wind. When Niðaðr's men surprised Völund in his sleep and bound him with this rope, he asks ambiguously who "had bound the wind" with it (str. 12). In two passages in *Völundarkviða* (4, 8) he is called *veðreygur*, "the storm-watching," or "the storm-

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[329] *vargsbelg seldu lét í færast.*

[330] "given a wolf-skin, she clad herself therein changed disposition, delighted in guile, shifted her shape." [Björnsson tr.]

[331] Although some editors divide the verses differently for metrical reasons, if the manuscript's initial capitals are followed these lines form 5/5-6. In the other case, these lines commonly form 6/3-4 as in the Ursula Dronke translation.

[332] *Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda*, bd. 3 [p. 153] notes: "*Wenn von der Form lind abgesehen wird, deren Bedeutung umstritten ist* (*s.u. 1*), *kann die Wortfolge übersetzt werden als 'er schloss all …Ringe gut*.", "If one omits the word *lind* whose meaning is disputed (see below 1), the sequence of words can be translated 'he closed the …rings well.'"

[333] What *lind*-rings are exactly remains unclear. As translations of the word *lind-*, the *Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda* lists: 1) a linden tree of which rope is made, thus the rope itself [*Linde, Lindenholz*] 2) a shield [*Schild*] made of linden, 3) a snake [*Schlange*], cp. MHG. *lintwurm* and OI *linnormr* 4) a spring [*Quelle*]; all of which are problematic [ibid, pp.155-6]; Ursula Dronke states: "For *lindbauga* hap. leg. I choose an interpretation that again relates to the smith's procedure: he now closes the ring's metal circle to hang on the cord. So *lindbauga* would mean 'linden-rings', 'rings for the linden-(bast) cord' (cf. 8/5-6). *Lind* for 'linden-bast', however, is not elsewhere recorded in ON, though *lindi*, 'belt, is thought to be so called from the plaited linden-bast of which it was made (*AEW* s.v. *lindi* I; note also English dialect *linder*, 'to tie up', *linderins*, 'ropes,' *EDD*, svv.) Emendation to *linnbauga*, 'snake-rings', (otherwise unattested) is no improvement on retaining *lindbauga*: *linnr* is not elsewhere used descriptively in a ring kenning (e.g. 'ring with a snake depicted on it' or 'ring like a snake'), but only as a substitute for *baugr* itself (so *armlinnr* is 'snake of the arm' i.e. 'bracelet')." [*PE* II, p. 309].

[334] See *Lexicon Poeticum*, 1860, s.v. *lindból.*

terrible."[335] The word can have both meanings. That Völund for his purposes, like Rögnir, availed himself of *galdur* songs is clear from Saxo (Book VII, 183 [*Hist.* 323, 324]). **[689]** According to Saxo it was by means of Völund-Haquinus' *galdur* song that the Völund-sword, wielded by Svipdag-Ericus, was in a position to vanquish Thor's hammer and Halfdan's club.[336]

Passing now to the passages where the name Rögnir occurs in paraphrases, I have shown first and foremost that *Haustlöng* designates Thjazi with this epithet-name; that poems younger than *Haustlöng*, and connected with this famous song, apply it to the supposed descendants of Thjazi, Hákon Jarl and his kinsmen; that all of these paraphrases describe Rögnir as a producer of storm, driving snow, and hail; and that Rögnir manufactured "wind-cars," was a "Regin of the motion of the feather-leaf (the wing)," and a "swan-pleaser." Therefore (a) Rögnir is an epithet-name of Thjazi, and at the same time designates Völund; (b) all that is told of Rögnir, when the name in paraphrases is a Thjazi-epithet, applies to Völund; (c) all that is told of Rögnir, when the name occurs independently of paraphrases, applies to Völund.

(18) A usage in the existing Old Norse poetry is to designate a person with one of his opponent's names, when one can indicate that he means the former and not the latter by means of a secondary designation. Thus, a giant can be called *berg-Þórr* or *grjót-Móði*,[337] because he had Thor or Thor's son Modi as an opponent, and these designations would particularly apply to giants who actually fought with Thor or Modi in the myths. In contrast with their successors in Christian times, the heathen skalds would have striven to give such paraphrases special justification and support in some mythic event. For the same reason that a giant who had fought with Modi could be called *grjót-Móði*, Völund as Niðaðr's foe could be called *grjót-Niðuðr*. This epithet also occurs only once in Old Norse poetry, namely in *Haustlöng* 9, and there is used of Thjazi. The paraphrase shows that the skald had in mind a mythological state of opposition between Thjazi and Niðaðr (*Niðuðr*). What we are able to gather from our sources is that Völund and Niðaðr stood in such [a state of opposition], **[690]** and it was of such an inveterate kind that the epithet *grjót-Niðuðr* in and of itself would lead the listeners thoughts to Völund**.**

(19) When Loki with the magic pole struck Thjazi in eagle guise, he flew up; and since Loki's hand was stuck to the pole's one end and the other to the eagle, Loki had to accompany the eagle on its flight. *Haustlöng* 8 says that Thjazi, pleased with his catch, bore him a long distance (*of veg langan*) through the air. He directed his course so that Loki's body became badly worn, probably by tree branches and rocks (*svo að slitna sundur úlfs föðr mundi*).[338] Thereafter in the poem follows the lines given below, which I

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[335] Egilsson interprets this to mean "*vejr-öiet, som har öje for vind og vejr*," "weather-eyed, that has an eye for wind and weather."[*LP*, 1931, p. 599]; Cleasby/Vigfusson suggests this may be a "participle of *veðr-glöggr*, (?)" an adjective meaning "'*weather-glegg*,' sharp in predicting weather." [*Dict.* p. 688]. Ursula Dronke cites Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon ['*Um ögurstund*' in *Stjötíu ritrgerðir* I, pp. 28-9] as noting three senses of the word in Modern Icelandic "(a) 'with a discerning eye for weather or wind'" (b) 'with eyes wind-bitten, smarting from the weather,' (c) 'with eyes glancing from side to side' (as in nervous horses' *veðr* here being figurative)." [*PE* II, p. 307].

[336] "Erik's champion, Hakon was skilful in blunting swords with his spells." [Elton tr, p. 264]; "Erik's champion Hakon had the knack of blunting swords by witchcraft. [Fisher, p. 203]

[337] *Lexicon Poeticum* s.v.. "*berg-Þórr*, m. '*klippe-Tor*', jætte, ['rock-Thor', giant], *Skraut-Oddr* 2"; "*grjót-Móði*, m. '*klippe-Mode* (gud)', jætte, ['rock-Modi (god), giant] *Anon* (XII) D. 4."

[338] [so] "that the wolf's father [Loki] was ready to tear asunder," [North tr.]

quote from *Codex Regius*, with the exception of a single word (*miðjungs*, instead of *mildings*) from *Codex Wormianus*. I will engage in textual changes here as little as in other places, because even well-motivated ones do not offer a sufficiently reliable basis for mythological investigations when no manuscript supports them and they are not stipulated by pure necessity.

Haustlöng 8/5-8:

þá varð Þórs of runni,[339]
þungr var Loptur, of sprunginn;
málunautur hvats mátti
miðjungs friðar biðja.

In comparison with the foregoing, what these lines tell us is the following:

Thjazi's pleasure in dragging Loki with him and letting his limbs come into disagreeable contact with objects they meet on their way was so great that he did not refrain from it before he felt that he had overexerted his strength. As strong as he was, this occurred nevertheless, because he had flown with his burden very far away from the place where he captured Loki in the ambush he had laid; and, moreover, Loki was heavy. During the entire time, the badly worn Loki had wanted to beg for mercy, but while the flight proceeded, he could not do it. When Thjazi finally descended to the ground, Loki got a breathing space, so that he could beg for favor.

Four paraphrases occur in the four lines. Thjazi **[691]** is called *Þórs of runni* or *Þórs of rúni*, "he who caused Thor to run," or "he who was Thor's friend,"[340] and *miðjungur*, whose meaning is of no interest to the matter now under investigation. Loki is called *Loptur*, a byname that he often bears, and *málunautur hvats miðjungs*, "he who has journeyed with the powerful Midjung's(Thjazi's) female companion)." With Thjazi's female companion (*mála*) Idun is meant, and the paraphrase refers to the myth telling how Loki carried her away from Thjazi's halls, and flew with her to Asgard.

After these preparatory remarks I present a literal translation of the passage:

(Thjazi flew a long way with Loki, so that the latter came near to being torn asunder), "... thereupon (*þá = deinde*[341]) became he who caused Thor to run (*varð Þórs ofrunn*i) — or who was Thor's friend (*Þórs ofrúni*) —tired out (*ofsprunginn*), [since] Lopt was heavy (*þungur var Loptur*). He (Loki) who had made a journey with the powerful Midjung's (Thjazi's) female companion (*málunautur hvats miðjungs*) could (now finally) beg for peace (*mátti friðar biðja*)."

In the lines:

þá var Þórs ofrunni,

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[339] Rydberg follows the *Codex Regius* manuscript here. North [*Haustlöng* p. 4] notes: 8/5 *þor*s R; *þor* T; *rvnni* R; *rvni*, W, T.
[340] "Þórr's confidant" [North tr., *Haustlöng* p. 5].
[341] Latin: "afterwards."

þungr var Loptr, ofsprunginn,—

þungur var Loptur obviously stands as an intermediate sentence, which, in connection with what is stated above, namely, that Thjazi flew a long way with his burden, will justify and explain why Thjazi, although exceedingly strong, stronger than Hrungnir (*Grottasöngur* 9), was still close to collapsing from exhaustion. The skald has thus given the reason why Thjazi, "happy with the catch," descended to the ground with his victim before Loki became more severely battered than he was. For elucidation of the connection, the word *mátti* in the third line is of importance. Previously, the words *málunautur hvats mátti miðjungs friðar biðja* have been interpreted as if they meant that Loki “was forced” to beg Thjazi for peace. *Mátti* has been understood to mean *coactus est*.[342] **[692]** Finnur Jónsson (*Krit. Stud*., p. 48)[343] has pointed out that not a single passage can be shown with certainty or probability where the verb *mega, mátti,* means "to be compelled to." Everywhere it can be translated “can,” “to be able,” “to be in a position to.” Thus the words *mátti friðar biðja* mean that Loki *could*, —was now in a position to —beg Thjazi for peace. The reason why he could is stated above, where it is said that Thjazi got tired of flying with his heavy burden. Before that, while the air flight and the disagreeable collisions between Loki's body and objects with which he came into contact lasted, he was not in a position to negotiate with his capturer; but when the latter had settled down on the ground, Loki got breathing space and could beg for mercy. The half strophe in this illustration provides the most logical connection, in that it contains three motivations: (1) Loki was in a position to use his eloquent tongue face to face with Thjazi, since he stopped flying before Loki was torn asunder; (2) Thor's *ofrunni* or *ofrúni* completed his air flight, because he, for all his strength, felt overexerted; (3) he felt overexerted because Loki, with whom he had been flying a great distance, was heavy. But from this it follows with the greatest certainty that the skald, with Thor's *ofrunni* or *ofrúni,* meant Thjazi and not Loki as one has previously assumed. The epithet *Þórs ofrunni,* "he who caused Thor to run," must then have its explanation in a mythic event, which says that Thor once had to flee the battlefield because of Thjazi. A single circumstance has come to our attention where Thor yields before an opponent and it is hardly likely that the godsaga would allow its favorite to retreat from an encounter in battle conquered more than once. On that occasion it is Völund's sword, wielded by Svipdag, which cleaves Thor's hammer and compels him to flinch.[344] Thus Völund has been Thor's *ofrunni.* In *Haustlöng* 8, it is Thjazi. Here, too, we therefore meet the fact which has so frequently emerged in the course of these investigations, namely, that what is told of Völund is told of Thjazi.

[693] By the side of *ofrunni*, however, stands another reading which ought to be considered. *Codex Wormianus* has *ofrúni* instead of *ofrunni,* and, as [Theodor] Wisén has pointed out, this *runi,* for the sake of the meter, should be read *rúni.* According to this reading Thjazi once had been Thor's *ofrúni,* Thor's greatly trusted friend. This reading also finds its support in the myths, as shall be demonstrated further on.[345] Here, I should

[342] Latin: “was compelled.”
[343] *Kritiske studier over en del af de aeldste norske og islandske skjaldekvad*, Gyldendal, 1884.
[344] Saxo *Hist*. 3, p. 72. See no. 101.
[345] See no. 114.

again reiterate a previously made observation that even though only one of the two readings can be the original, both can be mythologically justified.

(20) In the myths exist characters that form a group by themselves, and whose characteristic trait is skiing in connection with archery. This group consists of the brothers Völund, Egil, Slagfin, Egil's son Ull, and Thjazi's daughter Skadi. In the introduction to *Völundarkviða* it is said of the three brothers that they went on skis in the Wolfdales and hunted. Of Egil's wonderful skis, which could be used on the water as well as on the snow, we have already spoken above. Of Ull, *Gylfaginning* 31 [*Pr. Edd*. I, 102] says: "He is so excellent an archer and skier that no one can compete with him"; and Saxo knows of his Ollerus that he could enchant [*galdra*] a bone (the ice-skate formed of a bone, the ski's pendant), so that it transforms into a vessel. Ull's skis accordingly have the same qualities as those of his father Egil, namely, that they can also be used on the sea. Ull's skis seem furthermore to have had a quality of a remarkable kind, namely that they could be combined into a shield to be used in battle when their owner did not need them for transportation on land or water. This explains why the skalds could use *skip Ullar, Ullar far, knörr örva áss*, as paraphrases for shields, and that, according to one statement in the *Edda Lovasina, Ullur átti skip það, er Skjöldur hét*.[346] In his works, Ull is a copy of his father Egil, as far as athletics are concerned. The same may be said of Skadi. While UII is called "the god of the skis," Skadi is called "the goddess of the skis," "the dis of skis,"[347] and "the dis of the sea-bone," *sævar beins dís*, a paraphrase which evidently has the same origin as **[694]** Saxo's account of the bone enchanted[348] by Ull. Thus Thjazi's daughter bears attributes belonging to the circle of Völund's kinsmen.

The names also unite those that we find to be kinsmen of Völund with Thjazi's. Allvaldi is Thjazi's father; Ivaldi is Völund's. *Ívaldi* is another form for *Iðvaldi.* The long prefixed *Í* in *Ívaldi* has its explanation in the disappearance of ð from *Iðvaldi*. *Ið* reappears in the name of Ivaldi's daughter *Iðunn* and Thjazi's brother *Iði*, and in the mythology these names are the only one in which *Ið* is discovered. Furthermore, it has already been pointed out, that of Allvaldi's (Ölvaldi's) three sons there is one who bears the epithet Wildboar (*Aurnir, Urnir*); and that among Ivaldi's three sons is found one, namely Örvandil-Egil, who bears the same epithet (*Ibor, Ebur, Ebbo*); and that among Alvaldi's sons one, namely Thjazi, bears the epithet *Fjallgyldir*, "mountain-wolf" (*Haustlöng* 4); while among Ivaldi-Ölmod's sons one, namely, Völund, bears the epithet *Ásólfur*, which also has the meaning "mountain-wolf."

In connection with this, it should not be left out that the tradition has attached qualities of giant-nature, not only to Thjazi, but also to Völund. That this is not evident in the *Poetic Edda* depends simply on the fact that Völund is not mentioned by this name in the genuine mythic songs, but only in the heroic fragment which we possess in *Völundarkviða*. The memory that Völund, though an elf-prince in the myths and certainly not a full-blooded giant on his father's side, was regarded and celebrated in song as a *jötunn* not only survives in *Þidreks Saga af Bern* [*Wilkinasaga*], but appears there in an exaggeration produced by the traditions, that his father Vadi (see no. 110) is there called a giant, while his father's mother is said to have been a mermaid. In another respect too,

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[346] "Ull owned a ship that was called Shield."

[347] Ull: *öndurr-Áss* [*Skáldskaparmál* 21]; Skaði: *öndur-guð, öndur-dís*, [*Gylfaginning* 23, *Haustlöng* 7, *Skáldskaparmál* 31].

[348] Here Rydberg uses the word *galdrade*, evidently the past particle of a verb *galdra*, to sing *galdur* songs.

the memory survives in *Þidreks Saga af Bern* of a relationship between Völund and the myths' most famous giant-beings. Namely, that he and the giants Etgeir (*Eggþér*) and Vidolf should have been cousins, according to chapter 194 [ch. 175].[349] If we examine the Norse sources, we find Vidolf mentioned in *Hyndluljóð* 33[350] as progenitor of all the myth's völvas, and, in strophe 30, Aurboda, the most notorious of the myths' völvas, mentioned **[695]** as a kinswoman of Thjazi**.** Thus while *Hyndluljóð* makes Thjazi, *Þidreks Saga af Bern* makes Völund, a kinsman of the giant Vidolf.

Though in a form greatly changed by the times, *Þidreks Saga af Bern* [*Wilkinasaga*] likewise has preserved the memory of the manner in which Völund's father closed his career. With some smiths ("dwarves") who lived in a remote mountain, Vadi had made an agreement, in accordance with which, his son Völund would learn their wonderful art as smiths for certain compensation. When, near the close of the agreed upon apprenticeship, Vadi appeared outside of the mountain, he was killed by an avalanche before entering, through a treacherous arrangement of these smiths.[351]

Thjazi's father is the myths' great drinking-champion who, among his many names and epithets, as we have seen, also bears some that refer to his position in the myths of the fermented drink: *Svigðir* (the great drinker),[352] *Ölvaldi, Ölmóðr, Sumbl Finnakonungur*. Concerning *Svigðir's* death, it has already been shown (see no. 89) that, upon his complete disappearance from the myths, he finds himself outside of a mountain in which Suttung and Suttung's sons, descendants of Surt-Durinn, the oldest primeval smith at the side of Mimir (see no. 89), have their halls; that on his arrival there a treacherous dwarf, the doorguard of Suttung's sons, goes to meet him, and that he is "betrayed" by the dwarf, never enters the rocky halls, and consequently must have died outside there.

Þidreks Saga af Bern's [*Wilkinasaga*'s] statements which are very late and probably collected from German traditions about the death of Völund's father, thus also

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[349] "Velint was the son of the giant Vadi, and Vadi was the son of King Vilkinus and the mermaid, as has already been told. King Vilkinus had another son by his own wife, and he was named Nordian. He was a king, but less distinguished than his father had been before him. Nordian had four sons. They were great and strong giants. One was named Aventrod, the second Vidolf mittumstrangi, and the third one lived in the forest there. He was named Edgeir and it is he we are talking about. The fourth son of King Nordian was Aspilian." [Edward R. Haymes tr, p. 121]

[350] The original reference "53" here is an apparent typographical error.

[351] *Þidreks Saga af Bern*, ch. 60: "The giant Vadi wished to set out sooner rather than later to fetch his son, because the way was long and he did not wish to come after the appointed day. He set out from home and traveled both day and night and arrived three days before the day agreed upon. The mountain was closed before him and he could not get in. He lay down next to the mountain and planned to wait until the mountain was opened. He became very tired from the furious journey he had made, and for all his reason he fell asleep, and he slept fast and long. …Then came so much rain it was amazing. At this moment there came a great earthquake, and a landslide came down the mountain with water, rocks, gravel, sod, and much earth, and it poured over the giant, and so Vadi lost his life." [Haymes tr., p. 41]. Although the text doesn't specifically say the dwarves murdered Vadi, the surrounding text makes it clear that, besides telling Vati if he did not arrive on the appointed day they would cut his son's head off, that the dwarves were treacherous and planned to kill Velint regardless.

[352] See no. 89. This definition was obtained from *Lexicon Poeticum* (1860), which identifies Svigðir as Odin: "Au test id. qu. Sigðir, inserto v, aul potator (Angl. swig, magnis haustibus bibere). LP, 1931, identifies Svigðir as an ox, meaning "the curved horned" and Sveigðir as a name of Odin or that of a Yngling king.

agree in the main features with what the Norse sources say of how Thjazi's father disappeared from the myths' scene.

In regard to the birth and rank of Thjazi's father among the mythic powers, the following statements in poems from the heathen time are to be observed. When *Haustlöng* tells how Thjazi falls into the waverflames kindled around Asgard, it makes use of the words *Greipar biðils son sviðnar,* "the son of Greip's suitor is singed." Thus Thjazi's mother is the giantess Greip, who, according to a verse cited in *Skáldskaparmál* 26 [*Pr. Edd*. I, 288], is a daughter of the giant Geirröðr **[696]** and a sister to Gjálp. One of these sisters, and most probably, Greip, is, in *Þórsdrápa,* called *meinsvarans hapts arma farmur,* "the perjurous *hapt*'s armful." *Höpt,* sing. *hapt,* is, like the synonymous *bönd,* an appellation of lower and higher powers, *numina* of various ranks**.** If by the perjurous *hapt*'s mistress Greip is meant, and not the sister Gjalp, then Thjazi's father is a being who belonged to the number of the mythology's *numina* and who, with a giantess whose *biðill* he was, begot the son Thjazi, and probably also his brothers *Iði* and *Gangur* (*Aurnir*). What rank this perjurous *hapt* held among the powers is indicated in *Vellekla*, strophe 9, which, like the foregoing strophe 8, and the succeeding strophes 10 and 11, speaks of Hákon Jarl's conflicts at Dannnevirke, where he was summoned, in the capacity of a vassal under the Danish king Harald Blue-tooth, to defend the heathen North against Emperor Otto II's effort to convert Denmark by force. The strophe, whose paraphrases here too draw parallels between Hákon Jarl and his mythic progenitor Thjazi, says that the Danish king (*fémildur konungur*) wished that the elf of the dark-forest's Hlóðyn, (the murk-forest's earth i.e. wooded Norway's), he who came from the North (*myrkmarkar Hlöðynjar álfs, þess er kom norðan*),[353] shall be tested in "murder-frost," i.e. in war (*við morð-frost freista*), when he (Denmark's king) angrily asked the cold-hard storm-watcher (*stirðan veðrhirði,* Hákon Jarl) of Hordaland's dwellers (of the Norsemen) to defend Dannevirke (*Virki varða*) against the southland Njörds of the armor-rumbling (*fyr serkja-hlym-val-Njörðum*, "the southland warriors' princes").[354]

Here, too, the myth about Thjazi and of the fimbul-winter forms the kernel from which the paraphrases applied to Hákon Jarl have grown. Hákon wears the mask of "the cold-hard storm-watcher" who comes from the North and can let loose the winter-winds. Emperor Otto and the chiefs who led the southern troops under him are likened to Njörd and his kinsmen, who, in the myths, fought with Völund and the powers of frost, and the

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[353] John McKinnell says: "The context is Hákon Jarl's desire to *freista* 'tempt' Denmark (i.e. conquer it) and the phrase *myrk-Hlöðynjar marker* 'the dark woods of Hlöðyn' or 'dark Hlöðyn's woods' again likens the forest to the dark hair of a woman or giantess." *Meeting the Other in Norse Myth and Legend*, p. 154] The lines generally considered to be part of *Velleka* 26 or 27 are preserved in *Ólafs saga Tryggvasson* 26. The Skaldic Project site quotes them as "*myrk- Hlöðvinjar -markar /morðalfs, þess's kom norðan*", while the *Netúgáfan* website has them as: "*myrk- Hlóðynjar -markar /morðálfs þess er kom norðan.*" [http://www.snerpa.is/net/snorri/ol-tr.htm].

[354] I cannot independently verify this. The two main English translations are: "And in the wintertide/would the generous king/ of the murky woodlands try/ this warrior who came from the south/ when this hardy fighter/ had bidding from/ the great king, to guard/ Dane-work against the foe." [Erling Monsen tr, 1932]; "And toward winter would the/wealth-dispensing Danish/folk-king test the troth of/tough-minded Earl Hákon, when the breastwork's builder [the king of Denmark] bade the doughty fighter/guard the goodly ramparts/ 'gainst the Saxon's onrush."[Lee Hollander tr, 1964].

clash between the warriors of the South and the North **[697]** is likened to a "murder-frost," in which Hákon coming from the North meets the Christian continental Teutons at Dannevirke.

Thus the mythical kernel of the strophe is: “The murk-wood’s Hlóðyn’s elf, the cold-hard storm-watcher, tested his power with frost-weather when he fought Njörd and his kinsmen.”

“The murk-wood’s Hlóðyn” i.e. “the goddess of the Jötunheim woods” is, in this connection, Thjazi's daughter Skadi, who, in *Háleygjatal*, is called *járnviðja* of *Járnviðr*, the Ironwood, which is identical with the Murkwood. Thjazi himself, whose father is called "a perjurous *hapt*" in *Þórsdrapa*, is here called an elf. Alone, this passage would not be sufficient to decide the question as to which class of mythic beings Thjazi and his father belonged, the less so as *álfur*, used in a paraphrase, can refer to any sort of being according to the kind of characterization attached. But "perjurous *hapt*" cannot possibly be a paraphrase for a giant. Every divinity that has let himself be guilty of a broken oath is "a perjurous *hapt*," and the myths are known to speak of such oath-breaking. If a god has committed perjury, he cannot for this reason be called a giant; if a giant has committed perjury, he cannot for this reason be called a *hapt*, for it is not specifically characteristic of the giant nature to commit perjury or break an oath. In fact, it seems to me that strong doubts should be raised about whether Thjazi was a giant in the strictest and most complete sense of the word already from the circumstances that he is a star-hero; that distinguished persons considered it an honor to be descended from him; that Hákon Jarl's praise-singers never tired of clothing him in his supposed progenitor’s guise and of comparing the one’s historical achievements with the other’s mythical achievements; and that he, Thjazi, not only kidnapped Idun, which indeed a genuine giant might do, but that he also lived with her many long years, and, most probably, begat with her the daughter Skadi. One is reminded by the foregoing [chapters] with what care the myths provided Freyja, the other Asynje who had fallen into the hands of giants, that she should return to Asgard pure and undefiled, thus it is difficult **[698]** to believe that Idun should be humiliated and made to live for many years in intimacy with a real giant. It follows from all this that when Thjazi is called an *álfur* in the mythological kernel of the *Vellekla* strophe cited above, and when his father in *Þórsdrapa* is called a *hapt*, a being of higher or lower divine rank, then *álfar* is a closer definition of the idea *hapt*, and informs us to which class of *numina* Thjazi belonged, namely, the lower class of gods called elves. Thus Thjazi, on his father's side, is an elf. Völund is as well. He is called an elf-prince in *Völundarkviða*. —Furthermore, it should be observed that, in the mythic strophe-kernel presented above, Thjazi is represented as one who has clashed with Njörd and his allies. In Saxo it is Anund-Völund and his brother the archer who fight with Njörd-Fridlevus and his companions; and when Njörd in Saxo marries the same Anund-Völund's daughter, while in the mythology he marries Thjazi's daughter, then here we meet afresh, the fact which continually emerges in every closer examination into this material, that what is told of Völund is also told of Thjazi.

114.
EVIDENCE THAT IVALDI'S SONS ARE ÖLVALDI'S (continued).
AN OVERVIEW OF *ÞÓRSDRÁPA*.[355]

(21) We now come to a mythic record in which Thjazi's brothers *Iði* and *Gángur*, and he too, in a paraphrase, are mentioned under circumstances well suited to throw light on the subject before us, which is very important in regard to the myths' epic connection.

Concerning Thor's expedition to the giant Geirröd, two very different accounts exist. One is recorded by the author of *Skáldskaparmál*; the other is found in Eilífr Guðrúnarson's *Þórsdrápa*.

Skáldskaparmál 26 [*Pr. Edd.* I 284] reads:

Only for enjoyment Loki made a trip in Freyja's feather guise, and was driven by his curiosity to seat himself in an aperture **[699]** of Geirröd's house and peep in. There he was captured by one of Geirröd's servants, and the giant, who could tell by its eyes that it was not a real falcon, did not release him before he had obligated himself with an oath to arrange matters so that Thor should come to Geirröd's hall without bringing his hammer and belt of strength. This Loki was able to do. Thor went to Geirröd without taking any of these implements, not even his iron gloves. Loki followed him. On the way Thor visited the giantess who was named *Gríður*, and who was Vidar the Silent's mother. From her Thor received the truth about Geirröd, that he was a cunning giant and difficult to get on with. She lent Thor her own belt of strength, her own iron gloves, and her staff, *Gríðarvölur*. Thereafter, Thor proceeded to the river which is called Vimur, and which is the greatest of all rivers. There he wrapped the belt of strength around himself, and steadied himself in the direction of the current on the *Gríðarvölur*. Loki held fast to the belt of strength. When Thor reached the middle of the stream, the water rose up as far as his shoulders. Thor then noticed that up in a mountain chasm below which the river had its course stood Gjalp, Geirröd's daughter, with one foot on each side of the river, and it was she who caused the water's rising. Then Thor picked up a large stone from out of the river and threw it at the giantess, saying: "At its mouth, the river shall be stemmed." He did not miss his mark. Having reached the other bank of the river, he took hold of a rowan, and thus came up onto land. Hence the proverb: "The rowan is Thor's salvation." And when Thor came to Geirröd, a goat-house was first allotted to him and Loki (according to *Codex Regius*; a guest-house, according to the Uppsala Codex) as their lodgings. Thereafter are related the adventures Thor had with Geirröd's daughters Gjalp and Greip, and how he, invited to "play" in Geirröd's hall, was met by a glowing iron which Geirröd threw at him with a pair of tongs, but which he caught with the iron gloves and slung back with such force that the iron penetrated the post, behind which Geirröd hid himself, and through Geirröd himself and the house wall behind him, and then penetrated into the earth outside.

This narrative, freely composed from mythical and pseudo-mythical elements, stands in relationship to **[700]** *Þórsdrápa*, which was composed in heathen times, in about the same manner as *Skáldskaparmál's* [*Bragarœdur*'s] account of Odin and Suttung is related to that of *Hávamál*. Just as in *Skáldskaparmál* [*Bragarœdur*], the narrative's

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[355] Also see no. 59. This poem is composed in *dróttkvætt* meter, known for its convoluted syntax and complexities of form, which result in ambiguous verses. Thus I will present the interpretations of modern translators beside those of Rydberg, where it can be determined what he based his readings on.

punctum saliens[356] lies in the coarse jest about how bad poetry originated, here a crude anecdote built on the proverb, "At its mouth, a river shall be stemmed," seems to be motive that occasioned the composition. In Christian times, the mythology had to furnish the theme not only for ancient history, heroic poems, and folktales, but also for comic songs.

I turn now to *Þórsdrápa*.[357] This song, excellent from the standpoint of poetry and important from a mythological point of view, has, in my opinion, previously been entirely misunderstood, not so much on account of difficulties the text contains, since these disappear, when one examines them without preconceived opinions regarding the contents, but on account of the undeserved faith one attributes to *Skáldskaparmál's* account of Thor's visit to Geirröd, and on the basis of the efforts one has made under the influence of this misleading authority to rediscover the statements of the latter in the heathen poem.[358] With these attempts, one has applied the poetics of the Christian period in Iceland to the poem, in which all mythological terms, whose actual meaning was forgotten in later times, have received a faded general signification, which on a more careful examination usually proves to be incorrect. With a collection of lists of names as an armory, in which the names of real or supposed "dwarfs," "giants," "sea-kings," etc., are brought together and arranged as synonyms, this system of poetics teaches that we may take from such lists whatever dwarf name, giant name, etc., we please to designate which ever "dwarf," "giant," etc., we choose. If, therefore, *Þórsdrápa* speaks of "*Iði*'s chalet" and "*Gángur*'s war-vans," then, according to this system of poetics, *Iði* and *Gángur* —although in heathen times they designated particular mythic persons who had their own history, their own purely personal careers— have no other meaning than the general one of "giant," because *Iði* and *Gángur* are incorporated in the **[701]** above-named lists of giant synonyms. Such a system of poetics could not arise before nearly all of the mythological names had become empty sounds, because the personalities that bore them were forgotten. That one applied and still continues to apply it to the poems of the heathen skalds, is one of the reasons why the important contributions which names and paraphrases in the heathen poetry can provide in mythological investigations have remained an unopened and unused treasure.[359]

While *Skáldskaparmál* makes Loki and no one else accompany Thor to Geirröd, and represents the whole matter as a visit to the giant by Thor, one learns from *Þórsdrápa* that this journey to Jötunheim is an expedition of war, which Thor makes at the head of a band of warriors against the dreaded giant-chief, and that on the way there he had to deliver Geirröd's giants a real defeat before he is able to penetrate to the destination of his expedition, Geirröd's hall, where the giants that were put to flight in the encounter just

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[356] "salient point."

[357] Anthony Faulkes includes a complete translation in his *Edda, Snorri Sturluson* 1987. A critical edition by Eysteinn Björnsson can be found at: www3.hi.is/~eybjorn/ugm/thorsd00.html

[358] While both previous and modern scholars have relied on Snorri's account of Thor's journey to Geirröd to find meaning in this poem, the fact remains that *Þórsdrápa* is a difficult poem to translate, whose interpretation is debated.

[359] Here and elsewhere in the text, Rydberg advocates interpreting the referents of complex kennings as apt comparative allusions between the subject at hand and the mythic characters invoked; Although we cannot rule out speicfic skaldic verse intentionally employing apt allusions in their kennings at times, clearly this need not be the case, and thus cannot be applied as a general rule. Still modern commentators do sometimes find apt allusions and conceits within the poetic material they treat.

mentioned have gathered, and where a new battle arises. As far as Loki is concerned, *Þórsdrápa* does not state with a single word, that he accompanied Thor on this warlike expedition. Instead of this, one learns that he had a secret understanding with one of Geirröd's daughters, that he encouraged Thor to venture off, and gave him untruthful accounts of the condition of the road, so that, if not Thor himself, then at least the allies that accompanied him, might succumb to the ambush laid in wait on the way. That Loki, under such circumstances, should accompany Thor is highly incredible, since his misrepresentations in regard to the condition of the road would be discovered on the journey, and reveal him as a traitor. But since *Skáldskaparmál* states that Loki was Thor's companion, the interpreters of *Þórsdrápa* have allowed him to remain so, and have attributed to him —the traitor and secret ally of the giants —and to Thjalfi (who is not mentioned in the *Skáldskaparmál* account, but certainly in *Þórsdrápa*) the exploits which Thor's companions perform against the giants. That the poem emphasizes in the most distinct manner, that a whole host of warriors had Thor as their leader on this expedition, for instance, in the expression *Þjálfi með ýta sinni*, "Thjalfi with his **[702]** companions,"[360] one left aside as belonging to the obscure passages with which the poem was considered to teem, and whose obscurity, however, simply consists of their contradicting the story in *Skáldskaparmál*. That Thor, on his journey to Geirröd, was taken in by the giantess Grid, and got on loan a staff, a belt of strength, and iron gloves, *Þórsdrápa* does not say with a single word ; and I regard it as probable that this whole episode in *Skáldskaparmál* has no other foundation than that the staff which Thor uses for support when wading across the swift river in *Þórsdrápa* is once called *griðarvölur*, "the safety staff," and again *brautar liðs tollur*, "the way-helping tree." The name *griðarvölur*, and such proverbs as *að ósi skal á stemma and reynir er björg Þórs*,[361] appear to be the staple wares from which the story in *Skáldskaparmál* came to exist. The explanation that *Skáldskaparmál* gives of the proverb *reynir er björg Þórs*, that, by seizing hold of a rowan growing on the river bank, Thor succeeded in getting out of the river, is, in all probability, an invention of the author of the story. The statement cannot possibly have had any support in the mythology, where Thor is endowed with the ability to grow in height in proportion to the flood swell he has to wade through.[362] The rowan mentioned in the proverb is probably none other than the "way-helping tree," the "safety staff," on which he supports himself while wading, and which, according to *Þórsdrápa* 19, is a *brotningur skógar*, a tree broken or pulled up in the woods.

I now pass to a summary of the contents of *Þórsdrápa*:

The 1st strophe: The deceitful Loki encourages Thor to proceed from home and visit Geirröd, "the steep altars' temple-master."[363] The great liar assures him that to

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[360] The phrase *sinnir ýta* is commonly interpreted as a kenning for Thor meaning "the helper of men" cp. the similar *vinr verliða*.

[361] "At its mouth, the river shall be stemmed," and "The rowan is Thor's salvation."

[362] *Þórsdrápa* 7/5-8.

[363] The phrase here is probably a kenning for Thor: *felli fjörnets goða flugstalla* : "feller of the life-net of the gods of the flight-ledges" = "slayer of giants" = Thor; In full, the first half-strophe reads: "The sea-thread's [Midgard Serpent's] father [Loki] set out to urge the feller [Thor] of the flight-ledges' god' [giants'] life-net from home," [A. Faulkes tr.]

Geirröd's walls lay green paths, i.e., accessible to travelers on foot and unobstructed by rivers.[364]

Remark: For Thor himself the condition of the roads were of less importance. He who wades over the Elivogar rivers and subterranean rivers need not be particularly worried about finding waterways crossing his path. But from the continuation of the poem one learns that the expedition to Jötunheim this **[703]** time, neither as a guest or a meeting to duel, such as when Thor went to find *Hrungnir*, but here is a matter to press into Jötunheim with a whole band of warriors, and thus the condition of the way he was march forth was of some importance. The ambush that is set on the way does not concern Thor himself so much as the giant-foes who constitute his battle-escort. If they die in the ambush, then Geirröd and his giants will have to deal with Thor alone and may then have some chance of conquering him.

2nd strophe: Thor did not let Loki encourage him long to undertake the campaign. He leaves Asgard in order to visit Jötunheim. Of what happened on the way between Asgard and the Elivogar, before Thor intruded into Jötunheim, the strophe[365] says:

[364] Rydberg is clearly attempting to follow the text of the verse, which reads: *Vilgi tryggr geðreynir Gauts herþrumu kvað grænar brautir liggja til viggs veggjar Geirröðar*, i.e. "the deceitful mind-tester of the war-thunder's Gautr [Loki] declared that green paths led towards Geirröðr's wall-horse [house]." [Eysteinn Björnsson tr.]

[365] Faulkes 2/5-8 reads: "The mind-tough Thor let the vulture-way [air =*lopt*, Lopt is a name for Loki] urge him only a little time to go—they were eager to crush Thorn's kinsmen [giants]— when Idi's yard-visitor [Thor], mightier than the White Sea Scots [giants], set out from Third's [Odin's, Asgard] to the seat of Ymsi's kind [Giantland]; E. Björnsson suggests: "The brave Þórr did not need to be asked often by the vulture-path [Loki] to make the journey; they were eager to oppress Þorn's descendants [giants], when the tamer of Gandvík's girdle [Þórr], mightier than the Scots of Iði's dwelling [giants], again set forth from Þriði's [Odin's] towards Ymsi's kindred [giants]," remarking that. "He [Rydberg] was convinced that Iði is not a giant in the oldest sources, but one of three elven brothers, the sons of Ívaldi/Ölvaldi. Their fortress, Thor's waystation on the road to Jötunheim, was (according to Rydberg) situated on the southern shore of Gandvík (the Arctic Ocean), where they kept watch with an army of Elves, *skotar Iðja setrs*. Rydberg interpreted *skotar* as "shooters" (i.e. archers), and the construction *ríkri* + dative (*skotum*) as "made more powerful by an army of elven warriors (archers)". Such a construction is quite possible, grammatically."

Þá er garðvenjuður	When the belt-wearer (Thor, the owner of the belt of strength)
endur (= *iterum, rursus*)	now, as on former occasions,
ríkri Iðja Gandvíkur-seturs skotum	strengthened by the men of Idi's chalet situated near Gandvik,
görðist frá Þriðja til Ymsa, kindar	was on his way from Odin to Ymsi's (Ymir's) family,
fýstust þeir (Cod. Worm.) *fyrstust þeir (Cod. Reg)*	it was to them (to Thor and to the men of Idi's chalet) a joy (or they rushed thither.)
að þrýsta Þorns niðjum	to conquer Thorn's (Bölthorn-Ymir's) kinsmen**.**

Remark. The common understanding of this passage is (1) that *endur* has nothing to do with the contents, but is a supplementary word which may be translated with "in days of yore," a part which *endur* has to play only too often in the interpretation of the old poems;[366] (2) that Idi is merely a general giant name, applicable, like every other giant name, in a paraphrase *Iðja setur*, which is supposed to mean Jötunheim; (3) that *ríkri Iðja seturs skotum or ríkri Gandvíkur skotum* was to give the hearers or readers of *Þórsdrápa* the (utterly unnecessary) information that Thor was stronger than the giants; and (4) that they who longed to subdue Ymir's kinsmen were Thor and Loki - the same Loki who, in secret understanding with the giant-chief and with one of his daughters (see below), has the purpose of enticing Thor and his brothers-in-arms into a trap!

[704] *Ríkri ... skotum* is to be considered an elliptical sentence in which the instrumental preposition, as is often the case, is to be understood. When Thor came from Asgard to "Idi's chalet," situated near Gandvik, he there gets comrades-in -arms, and through them he becomes *ríkri*, through them he gets an addition to his own powers in the impending conflicts. That Thor, when he invades Jötunheim, is at the head of a band of warriors, is perfectly clear from certain expressions in the poem, and from its contents as a whole. From where could all these warriors have come at once? They are not inhabitants of Asgard, and he has not brought them with him in his lightning chariot. They live near Gandvik, which means "the magic bay," the Elivogar.[367] Gandvik was a purely mytho-geographical name before it became the name of the White Sea in a late Christian time, when the sea between Greenland and America got the mythic name Ginnungagap. Their being the inhabitants on the coast of a bay gives the author of *Þórsdrápa* an occasion further on to designate them as *vikings*, bay-dwellers. We have

[366] *endr*, commonly rendered "forth"; see 2/5-8 above.

[367] *Gandvík* ("Magic Bay") designates the White Sea, and more generally, the Arctic Ocean, which was seen as the great river separating the world of men (Midgard) from the world of Giants (Jötunheim), that Thor had to wade to reach Jötunheim.

already seen that it is a day's journey between Asgard and the Elivogar (see no. 108), and that on the southern coast Thor has a lodging, where he is taken in, and where his precious chariot and team are taken care of while he goes on excursions into Jötunheim. The continuation of the poem shows that this time, too, he stopped at the same lodge, and that he got his warriors there. Now, as always before, he proceeds on foot, after entering into Jötunheim.

Strophe 3 first makes a mythic chronological statement, namely, that the daughter of Geirröd, "*galdur*-ready," had come to an understanding with Loki, before Rögnir became the latter's ally.[368] This mytho-chronological statement means (1) that there was a time when Rögnir did not share Loki's plans, hostile to the gods; (2) that the events that *Þórsdrápa* mentions took place before Rögnir became a foe of the gods. Why *Þórsdrápa* thinks it necessary to give this information already becomes clear by what strophe 4 says.

Thereafter is mentioned the departure from Idi's chalet. The army, hostile to giants, proceeds to Jötunheim, but before **[705]** it gets there it must traverse an intermediate region which is called Endil's moor.

One might expect that instead of speaking of a moor as the boundary area which had to be covered before one entered into Jötunheim, the poem would have spoken of the waters behind which Jötunheim lies, and named it by one of its many names —Elivogar**,** Gandvik, or Hrönn. But upon closer inspection, it appears that Endil's moor is nothing other than a paraphrase for a body of water. The evidence of this lies in that "Endil's skis," *Endils andrar, Endils íturskíð,* is a common paraphrase for boat. So is *Endils eykur*, "Endil's horse." The moor which Endil crosses on such skis and on such a horse must therefore be a body of water.[369] And here no other water can be meant than that which lies between Endil's chalet and Jötunheim, that is, Elivogar, Gandvik.[370]

The name Endill may be the same as Vendill, Vandill (*Nafnaþulur* [*Pr. Edd.* I, 548]), an abbreviation of Örvandill**.** The initial V was originally a semi-vowel, and as such it alliterated with other semi-vowels and with vowels (compare the rhymes on an Oland runic stone, *Vandils jörmungrundar úrgrandari*).[371] This easily disappearing semi-vowel may have been thrown out in later times where it was thought to obscure the alliteration, and thus the form Endill may have arisen from Vendill, Vandill. "Örvandil's moor" is accordingly in poetic language synonymous with Elivogar, and the paraphrase is

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[368] Along with Finnur Jónsson, Faulkes and Björnson identify Thjalfi as the "Rögnir of the battle," interpreting the line to mean that Thjalfi was quicker to join the battle than Loki.

[369] These examples are found in *Lexicon Poeticum*: "for ship : *Endils öndurr,* Einar skálaglamm lausavísa 2, *Endils eykr* Njálas øvrige vers 9, *Endils ítrskíð, Ólafs drápa Tryggvasonar* 23; More exact parallels are *Endils fold,* "Endil's field" *Plácítúsdrápa* 51; *Endils* (eld)*grund,* "Endil's (fire)ground," Hallfreðr vandræðaskáld lausavísa 3; and [*Æ*]*ndils iarmungrundar* meaning sea on the Karlevi Runestone.

[370] This interpretation is sound. In context, it reads: *mantælir gallópnis halla spendi gaupnum ilja á Endils mó;* "The maiden-betrayer of the halls of the shrill-crier [Thor] stretched the palms of his soles onto Endill's moor [ocean]." [E. Björnsson tr.] Alternately, Faulkes has: "Endil's [giant's] girls [troll-wives] made his sole palms span [walk] the heath."

[371] In part, the Karlevi runestone of Öland, reads: *Munat reið-Viðurr ráða/ rógstarkr í Danmörku/ Endils jörmungrundar/ ørgrandari landi*; "a more upright chariot-Vidur [warrior] of wondrous-wide ground of Endil [the sea] will not rule, strife-strong, land in Denmark," [Foote and Wilson tr.]; "Never again shall such a battle-hardened sea-warrior, *Viðurr-of-the-Carriage of* [the sea-king] *Endill's mighty dominion* (=God of sea-vessels) rule unsurpassed over land in Denmark." [Rundata tr.]; John McKinnell translates the same kenning as: *Endils jôrmungrundar reið-Viðurr,* "the wagon-Odin (*reið-Viðurr*) of the huge ground of (the sea king)."

a fitting one, since Orvandil-Egil had skis which bore him over land and sea, and since Elivogar was the scene of his adventures.

Strophe 4 tells that after crossing "Endil's moor," the band of warriors invaded Jötunheim on foot, and that news of their invasion into Jötunheim came to the witches there.

Two important facts are here given in regard to these warriors: they are called *Gangs gunn-vanir* and *Vargs friðar,* "Gang's warrior-vans," and "Varg's defenders of the land."[372] Thus, in the first strophes of *Þórsdrápa*, we meet with the names of Ölvaldi's three sons: *Rögnir* (Thjazi), *Iði*, and *Gángur*.[373] The poem mentions Rögnir's name, when it states that the expedition to Geirröd occurred **[706]** before Rögnir became the foe of the gods; it names Idi's name when it tells that it was at his (Idi's) chalet near Gandvik that Thor gathered these warriors around him; and it names *Gángur*'s, and in connection with *Vargur*'s name, when it is to state who the leaders were of those champions who accompanied Thor against Geirröd. Under such circumstances, it is manifest that *Þórsdrápa* relates an episode in which Idi, Gang, and Thjazi appear as Thor's friends and the giants' foes, and that the poem locates their tribal country to the regions on the south coast of Elivogar, and lets *Iðja setur* be located by the same strand, and play the same role in Thor's expeditions as Örvandil-Egil's abode near the Elivogar, which is also called a chalet, *Geirvadil's setur*, and *Ýsetur*. Therefore the *Varg*ur (Wolf) who is mentioned, in all probability, is Rögnir-Thjazi himself, who in *Haustlöng*, as we know, is called *fjallgyldir*, i.e. *varg*, wolf.

All the warriors accompanying Thor were eager to fight Ymir's descendants, as strophe 2 already said. But the last lines of strophe 4 represent one in particular as longing to contend with one of giant-land's warlike and terrible giantesses. This champion is not mentioned by name, but he is designated as *bragðmildur*, "quick to conceive and quick to move"; as *bræðivændur*, "he who is wont to offer food to eat"; and as *bölkveitir* or *bölkvetir Loka*, "he who gave compensation for Loki's misdeed."[374] The designations are well suited to Örvandil-Egil, the quick archer and skier, who, at his chalet, receives Thor as his guest when he is on his way to Jötunheim, and who gave Thjalfi and Röskva to Thor as a compensation, when Loki had tricked Thjalfi into breaking the shaft of a bone belonging to one of Thor's slaughtered goats for the sake of

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[372] Faulkes renders the first half-strophe as: "And the ones accustomed to the course [battle] of the battle-wolf [sword] travelled; the heaven-targe [sun]-dwelling's [sky's] blood [water] of the women 'Gialp and Greip] of Frid's first defiler [giant] was reached. Acknowledging two emendations, Björnsson renders this: *Og gunn-Vanir gengu, unz frumseyrir fljóða vargs Fríðar himintörgu kom til dreyra Gangs*; "and the battle-Vanir [warriors] walked, until the prime diminisher of the maidens of the enemy of the Fríðr of the heaven-shield [Þórr] reached Gangr's blood [ocean]."

[373] This fact cannot be denied, even though modern scholars, do not recognize the association in the same manner Rydberg does. Even so, these names may well have been chosen for their associative allusions, considering the site of the poem's action**.** See no. 113.

[374] Thor is commonly seen as the subject of the sentence. Björnsson reads: *þá er bragðmildr, bræði vændr, bölkveitir Loka vildi brjóta bág á brúði mága sefgrímnis*, "when the agile, quick-tempered averter of Loki's mischief [Þórr] wished to oppose the bride of the sedge-buck's kinsmen [giantess]," interpreting *bragðmildr* as a reference to Thor's agility from *bragð* meaning "sudden movement," and *mildr*, "generous, lavish." With reference to Thor, he reads *bræði vændr* as "accused of anger" i.e. "known for his quick temper," and *bölkveitir Loka* as "the averter (*kveitir*) of Loki's evil deeds." Similarly, Faulkes renders the same line as "when Loki's bale-averter [Thor], guilty of hastiness, wished, deed-unsparing, to open hostilities with the bride [Gialp] of rush-Grimnir's [giant's] kinsmen."

the marrow. If *Þórsdrápa* had added that the champion thus designated also was the best archer of mythology, there could be no doubt that Egil was meant. This addition comes further on in the poem,[375] and confirms in and of itself the fact that Egil took part in the expedition.

Strophe 5, compared with strophes 6 and 7, informs us that Thor, with his troop of champions, in the course of his march came into **[707]** one of Jötunheim's wild mountain tracts. The weather is appalling and hail-showers rush down. And here Thor realizes that Loki has deceived him in the most brazen manner. By his directions Thor has led his troops to the place where they now find themselves, and here rushes forth from between the mountains a river into which great streams, swelling with hail-showers, roll down from the mountains with hissing ice-water. To find in such a river a ford which his companions could use was a difficult matter for Thor.

Strophe 6. Meanwhile the men from Idi's chalet had confidently descended into the river. A comparison with strophes 7 and 8 shows that they cautiously kept near Thor, and waded somewhat higher up the river than him. They used their spears as staffs, which they drove down into the stony bottom of the river. The clang of the spears, when their metal-tipped ends knocked against the stones of the bottom, blended with the din of the eddies whirling around the rocks of the river (*Knátti hreggi höggvin hlymþél við möl glymja, en fjalla fellihryn þaut með Feðju steðja*).[376]

Strophe 7. In the meantime, the river constantly rises and increases in violence, and its ocean-like torrents are already breaking against Thor's powerful shoulders. If this continues, Thor will have to resort to the power inherent in him of rising equally with the increase of the waves.[377]

Remark: But the warriors from Idi's chalet, who do not possess this power, how shall it go for them? The plan laid between Loki and the giantesses of Jötunheim apparently is to drown them. And the succeeding strophes show that they hang in the greatest danger.

Strophes 8 and 9. With firm steps, these bold warriors waded, but the pace of the billowing masses of water increased constantly. While Thor's staff of safety was managed by his powerful hands, the current became altogether too strong for the spears, with which Gandvik's champions had to brace themselves. Upon the mountains stood giantesses who made it ever faster. Then it happened that "the god of the bow, wind-driven by the flood-plain's drifts' (the billows') storm, was thrown upon Thor's shoulder (*kykva nauðar áss, blásinn hraunjardar skafls hretviðri, þurði hauðurs runn of herði*),[378]

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[375] See strophe 8.

[376] "The banging files [spears] jangled against the pebbles, while the mountains' falling-roar [cascade] rushed, beaten by an ice-storm, along Feðja's anvil,"

[377] "The promoter of the whetstone-land [warrior] let the mightily-swollen ones [waves] fall over him. The man, who benefited from the girdle of might [Þjálfi], knew no better course of action. The diminisher of Mörn's children [Þórr] threatened that his power would grow unto the hall's roof [heaven], unless the gushing-blood of Þorn's neck [ocean] would diminish," [Björnsson tr.]

[378] Rydberg, along with other 19th century commentators such as Jónsson, based his reading "god of the bow," (presumably *áss kykva nauðar*) in st. 8/5-8 on *nauð kykva* as "effort of the muscle" i.e. "bow." This cannot be, as *kykvi*, "muscle" is unattested. In *Fádernas Gudasaga*, (Our Fathers' Godsaga), ch. 17, Rydberg interpreted the remainder of the verse as "Egil, 'driven by the wind of the storm of the drifts of the flood-land' (i.e. the white-capped waves), was thrown against the Asa-god's shoulders and flung his arms around Thor's neck." A modern reading is "the wave of the earth's snow-dune [ocean], blown by the

[708] while Thjalfi and his team of comrades came up, as if they had been lifted, and grabbed hold of the celestial prince's (Thor's) safety-belt, (*unz Þjálfi með ýta sinni kom sjálflopta á himinsjóla skaunar-seil*).[379]

Remark: The plan laid by Loki and the giantesses to drown the giant-fighting men, who lived on the south coast of the Elivogar, thus came near succeeding**.** They were saved by their sensibility in wading higher up the stream than Thor, so that, if they lost their foothold, they would be driven by the eddies down against him. One of Gandvik's champions, and, as the continuation of the poems shows, the foremost one among them, here designated as "the god of the bow," is tossed by a storm-billow against Thor's shoulders, and saves himself on them. Thjalfi and the whole remaining host of the warriors of Idi's chalet have at the same time been driven by the floodwaters down against Hlödyn's powerful son, and save themselves by grabbing hold of his belt of strength. With "the god of the bow" on his shoulders, and with a whole host of warriors hanging around his waist,[380] Thor continues to wade across the river.

In strophe 8, Gandvik's champions are designated by two paraphrases. We have already seen them described as "Gang's warrior-Vans" and as "Varg's land-defenders." Here they are called "the viking-chalet's clever warriors" (*víkinga seturs snotrir gunnar runnar*) and "Odin's oath-sworn land-defenders" (*Gauta eiðsvara friðar*).[381] That Idi's chalet is called the "*vikings' setur*" is explained in that it is situated near Gandvik, and that these bay-dwellers have the Elivogar as the scene of their conflicts with the powers of frost. That they are land-defenders, bound by oaths to Odin, means that they are mythical beings, who in rank are lower than the Aesir, and are pledged by oaths to serve Odin and defend his territory against the giants. Their "chalet" near Gandvik thus forms an outpost against the powers of frost**.** It follows that Idi, Gang, and Thjazi originally are *numina*, though of a lower and serving order; that their relation to the higher world of gods was such that they could not by their own inherent nature be regarded as foes of the giants, but are bound to the gods' cause through a pledging of oaths; but on the other hand they could not be full-blooded giants of the tribe which was begotten from Ymir's feet (see no. 86). Their tribal land is not Jötunheim itself, but a border kingdom to **[709]** the giant-world and this mytho-geographical locality must correspond with their mytho-genealogical position. The last strophe in *Þórsdrápa* calls the giants slain by Gandvik's champions "Alfheim's calves," Alfheim's cattle to be slaughtered, and this seems to indicate that these champions belong to the third and lowest of those clans into which the divinities of Germanic mythology are divided, namely the elves.[382]

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tempest, rushed forcefully at the increaser of the distress [Thor] of the room-dwellers of the land of the ridge [giants]," [Björnsson tr.]

[379] 9/ 1-4: "until Þjálfi, accompanying the friend of men [Þórr], flew into the air of his own accord onto the sky-lord's shield-strap," [Björnsson tr.] ; "Until Thjalfi came flying on the shield-strap with the helper of men [Thor]," [Faulkes tr.]

[380] Where Rydberg saw a troop of warriors accompanying Thor, most commentators see only one, Thor's boy, Thjalfi.

[381] The subject of 8/1-4 is Thor and his companion(s): *eiðsvara víkingar Gauta setrs, snotrir runnar gunnar*, "the glorious, battle-wise warriors, oath-sworn vikings of Gauti's [Odin's] dwelling," [Björnsson tr.]; "The fine oath-bound Gaut's [Odin's] residence vikings [*Æsir*], battle-wise," [Faulkes tr.]

[382] 19/1-4 is extremely difficult, and emendations are frequently used to make sense of it. Björnsson reads *skógar-kálfa undirfjálfrs álfheims bliku*, "the wood-calves of the under-hideaway from the gleam of the Elf-world" as a kenning for giants. He views *Álfheims blika* "the gleam of the Elf-world" as a kenning for the sun, cp. *álfröðull* "radiance of elves" (*Vafþrúðnismál* 47, *Skírnismál* 4). Interpreting *undirfjálfr* to mean "subterranean hideaway (refuge, sanctuary)," he understands *undirfjálfr álfheims bliku* to mean a place below, where you can hide away from the sun, i.e. a cave or the underworld itself. The forest-calves (i.e.

The Gandvik champion who rescues himself on Thor's shoulders, while the rest of them hold fast to his girdle, is a famous archer, and so well known to the audience of *Þórsdrápa*, that it was not necessary to mention him by name in order to make it clear who he was. In fact, the epithet applied to him, "the god of the bow" (*áss kykva nauðar*, and in strophe 18, *tvíviðar Týr*),[383] is quite sufficient to designate him as the foremost archer of mythology, Örvandil-Egil, who is here carried on Thor's shoulders through the rampaging rapids, just as on another and later occasion he was carried by Thor in his basket across the Elivogar. Already in strophe 4 he is referred to as the hero agile in mind and body, who is known for his hospitality, and who gave compensation for Loki's misdeed. The foremost one next to him among Gandvik's champions is Thjalfi, Egil's foster-son. The others are designated as Thjalfi's *ýta sinni*, his troop of men.[384]

Thus we find that the two foremost among "Gang's warrior-vans," who with Thor marched forth from "Idi's chalet," before Rögnir (Thjazi) became Loki's ally, are Völund's and Slagfinn's brother Egil and Egil's foster-son Thjalfi. We find that Egil and Thjalfi belong to the inhabitants of Idi's chalet, where Thor on this occasion was taken in, and also where he had left his chariot and team, because now as on other occasions, he walks on foot to Jötunheim. And when in other sources Egil is mentioned as the one who on such occasions gives lodgings to Thor and his team, and when *Þórsdrápa* also indicates that he is the hospitable host who had received Thor into his house, and had gave him compensation for the damage that Loki caused his team, then this must be a most satisfactory **[710]** evidence that Idi's chalet is the same place as *Geirvaðils setur* inhabited by Egil and his brothers, and that Örvandil-Egil is the same as either Idi or Gang, from which it follows, again, that Alvaldi's (Ölvaldi's) sons, Idi, Gang, and Thjazi, are identical to Ivaldi's sons, Slagfinn, Egil, and Völund.

That Egil is identical to Gang and not to Idi is apparent from a comparison with the Grotti-song. There Ölvaldi's sons are called *Iði, Aurnir*, and *Þjazi*, while in the Prose Edda they are called *Iði, Gangur*, and *Þjazi*. Thus Aurnir is identical to *Gangur*, and as *Aurnir* means "wild boar," and as "wild boar" (*Ebur, Ibor, Ebbo*) is an epithet of Egil, Örvandil-Egil must be identical with Gang.

In regard to the remaining parts of *Þórsdrápa* I can cut myself short, because it is of less interest to the subject under discussion.

Strophe 10. In spite of the perilous adventure described above, the hearts of Thjalfi and Gandvik's champions were no more terrified than Thor's. Here they are designated as *eiðs fjarðar*, "the oath-pledged men with which is to be compared *eiðsvara friðar* in strophe 8.[385]

Strophes 11, 12, show that Thor came to land successfully with his large load. Scarcely had he and his companions gotten firm footing on the other strand before

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wolves), who live in the place below, then are Geirröðr's giants, already referred to as wolves in 11/1-4. Similarly, Faulkes reads: "the calves [giants] of the secret cave of elf-world's shine [in the darkness of the mountains]."

[383] The first is now considered a kenning for Thor and the second is now considered to be parts of two more kennings for Thor in the poem: *tvíviðar tollur*, "pole of the bow" [warrior] and *karms tývi* , "the god of the chariot" [Thor]," *Tollurr* (here dative) is taken to mean "pole, stave". The "pole of the bow" is a kenning for "archer", thus "warrior". Thor is the "archer (warrior)" then designated as "god of the chariot."

[384] A modern reading takes this as a kenning for Thor, "helper of men."

[385] Sveinbjörn Egilsson reads: *eiðs firðar hlaut ógndjarfan hug, meira arfi*. "the men of oath had a battle-bold mind, greater than inheritance (riches)".

Geirröd's giant-clan, "the world-tree-destroying folk of the sea-belt," came to the spot, and a conflict arose, in which "the shooter's (Egil's) kinsmen-Brits " firmly repulsed the giants' attacks, and finally forced them to yield.[386]

Strophe 13. After having won victory Thor's "terrifying warriors, born inclined toward the sport-of-lords"[387] pressed deeper into Jötunheim to reach Geirröd's hall, and they arrived there amid the grumbles from the "mountain-caves' giant-building *Kymrer*."[388]

The following strophes mention that Thor broke the backs of Geirröd's daughters, and at the head of his troop of warriors penetrated into Geirröd's hall, where he was received with a piece of red-hot iron hurled by the latter, which, hurled back by Thor, became the giant-chief's bane. Thor had given the red-hot missile **[711]** such a force that some one who stood in Thor's proximity, probably Egil**,** "drank so that he reeled in the air-current of the piece of iron the air-drink of Hrimnir's daughter" (*svalg hrapmunnum á síu lopti Hrímnis drósar lyptisylg*). Hrimnir's daughter is Gullveig-Heid (*Hyndluljóð* 32), and her "air-drink" is the fire, over which the gods held her lifted on spears (*Völuspá* 21).

As one finds from the context, Geirröd's halls were filled with the men who had fled from the battle near the river, and inside the mountain there arose another conflict, which is described in the last three strophes of the poem. Geirröd's hall shook with the din of battle. Thor swung his bloody hammer. "The staff of safety," "the help-tree of the way," the staff on which Thor supported himself in crossing the river, fell into Egil's hands (*kom að tvíviðar Tývi brautar liðs tollur*), who did not here have room to use his bow, but who, with this "convenient tree ripped up (or broken) from the forest," gave "Alfheim's calves" death-blows. His "battle-rye's barn's flames" i.e. "his arrows' quiver's flames" could not be used in this crowded place against the mountain-chief's men.[389]

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[386] Anderson omits the kenning "*skyttens* (Egils) *frändebrite*r." The "kin-Brits" are now seen as part of a kenning for Geirröd, the *skyld-Breta skytju*, "the kin-Briton (inhabitant) of the cave." The kenning *skyld-Breti* "kin-Briton, a relative of the Britons" was probably chosen to form the necessary alliteration with *skytju*, from *skúti* "cave", and *skot* "dark, narrow passage; nook, corner".

[387] Rydberg writes: *"Med herse-idrott-sinne borna skräckskaror*" = "terrifying hosts born with minds for the sport of *hersir* [lords]"; From *herse*, Old Norse-Icelandic *hersir*, from the root *herr*, "people, host, army," designating a certain kind of prehistoric patriarchal chief in ancient Norway with hereditary rights, who seems to have held religious as well as secular power, but whose exact authority and territorial jurisdiction are unknown. *Hers-boren*, derived from Icelandic *hersborinn*, means "born of *herse*-family." The *idrott* of the *hersar*, the "sport of the lords," is of course war, and "*med herse-idrott-sinne borna*" is approximately "born war-minded." Anderson omits the kenning altogether and renders the phrase as "Thor's terrible hosts." In *Fädernas Gudasaga*, ch. 17, Rydberg calls the same men Egil's *med idrottssinne borna skräckskara*, "naturally athletic shock-troop."

[388] *Kymrer* [Cymry] are a tribe of Celts in Wales. A modern reading of the verse is: *Þars hersar, þróttar hugum bornir, gingu fram í þornrann, varð hlymr hellis hringbálkar Kumra*, "when the warriors, endowed with minds of valour, entered the house of Þorn [cave], there was a great din among the Cymry of the cave of the circular wall [giants]" [Björnsson tr.].Avoiding the kenning, Anderson renders this "amid the noise and din of the cave-dwellers."

[389] Modeled on *Þórdräpa* 19, Rydberg here uses the phrase "*strids-rågs ladas eldar*." In *Fädernas Gudasaga*, ch. 17, the same kenning is rendered "stridsladans rågs stränglar," ["the battle-barn's rye-stalks"] and defined there as "*kogrets pilar*" ['the quiver's arrows']. Difficult and obscure, a modern readings of the strophe has: "Worshipped by multitudes, he who overcomes the calves [giants] of the secret cave of the elf-world's shine, wielded the forest handy fragment [Grid's pole] mightily; Nor could the Rugians of falcon-lair-Lister [mountain-giants] stand up the trusty stone-Ella [giant-]people's life-curtailer." [Faulkes tr.]

Of interest to the question concerning the position of the various weapons of mythology is that the giants in *Þórsdrápa* avail themselves of the sling. Geirröd is called *vegtaugar þrjótur*, "the industrious applier of the sling"[390] (str. 17), and *álmtaugar Ægir*, "the Ægir of the sling-band **(not bow-string)** made of elm-bast."[391]

In the last strophe Egil is said to be *helblótinn* and *hneitir undirfjálfs bliku*, expressions to which I shall return further on.

The relation between Völund and his swan-maids in *Völundarkviða,* like the relation between Rögnir-Thjazi and Idun in *Hrafnagaldur* Óðins [*Forspjallsljóð*] is not that of the robber's to his unwilling victim, but one of mutual harmony. This is confirmed by a poem which I shall analyze when the investigation reaches a point that demands it, and according to which Idun from childhood was tied by bonds of love and by oath to the highly-gifted but unhappy son of Ivaldi, to the great artist who by his irreconcilable thirst for revenge, became the Lucifer of Germanic mythology, while Loki is its Mephisto[392] I presume that the means of rejuvenation, the "gods' **[712]** remedy against old age (*ellilyf ása – Haustlöng* 9), which Idun alone in Asgard knows and possesses, was a product of Thjazi-Völund's art. The middle ages also remembered Völund (*Wieland*) as a healer, and this trait seems to be ancient, since in *Rigveda* as well the counterparts of Ivaldi's sons, the Ribhus, at the request of the gods, invent means of rejuvenation. It may be presumed that the mythology clearly described his outward personality. From his mother he must have inherited his giant strength, which, according to the Grotti-song, surpassed Hrungnir's and the latter's father (*harður var Hrungnir og hans faðir, þó var Þjazi þeim öflgari - Gróttasöngur* 9).[393] With his strength he probably had beauty united. Otherwise, *Völundarkviða*'s author would hardly have said that his swan-maid laid her arms around *Önund*'s (Völund's) "white" neck. That one portrayed his eyes as glittering may be concluded in that they distinguish him on the vault of heaven as a star-hero, and that in Völundarkviða Nidhad's queen speaks of the hateful glow in the bond artists's gaze (*ámun eru augu ormi þeim inum frána, Völundarkviða* 17).[394]

Ivaldi's sons, Thjazi-Völund, Aurnir-Egil, and Idi-Slagfinn, are, as we have seen, bastards of an elf and a giantess (*Greip, Gambara*). Ivaldi's daughters, on the other hand (see No. 113), have as mother a sun-dis, daughter of the ruler of the atmosphere, Nökkvir. In other sources the statement in *Hrafnagaldur Óðins* 6 [*Forspjallsljóð 6*] is confirmed, that Ivaldi had two sets of children, and that she, "who among the family of elves was called Idun" belonged to one of them. Thus, while Idun and her sisters are half-sisters to Ivaldi's sons, they are in turn half-brothers to pure giants, sons of Greip, and these giants are, according to the Grotti-song (9), the fathers of Fenja and Menja. The familial

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[390] *þrjóti jótrs vegtaugar*, "villain of the tooth of the way of the fishing-line," seems to be a kenning for "giant."

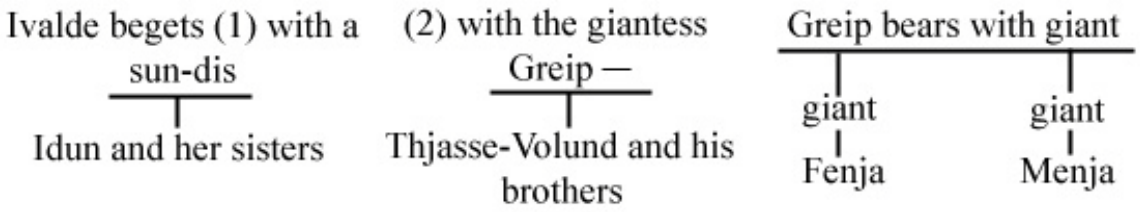
[391] The kenning *ægir álmtaugar* indeed refers to Geirröðr. *Álmtaug* "elm-cord" is a poetic name for a bowstring. *Álmr* "elm" is a *heiti* for bow as bows were commonly made of flexible elm. *Ægir álmtaugar* "he who terrifies the bowstring" is "the one who makes it tremble (as with fear)" i.e. an archer or simply a warrior.[*Lexicon Poeticum*].

[392] *Mefistofeles* (*Mefisto*) or *Mephistopheles* is the devil to whom Dr. Faust sold his soul. Rydberg translated Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's Faust into Swedish in 1876. Rydberg also made a thorough study of the Judeo-Christian religion in *Bibelns lära om Kristus*, "The Bible's Doctrine concerning Christ," 1862.

[393] "Hard was Hrungnir and his father, although Thjazi was more powerful than them."

[394] "Reminiscent are his eyes, of a serpent's as they glitter."

relationship of the Ivaldi sons to the gods on the one hand and to the giants on the other thus takes shape in the following manner:



[713]

115.
OVERVIEW OF THE REMAINING EVIDENCE FOR VÖLUND'S IDENTITY WITH THJAZI.

The circumstances which first drew my attention to the necessity of investigating whether Thjazi and Völund were not different names of the same mythological personality, which the myths especially called Thjazi, and which the heroic saga arising from the mythology in Christian times especially called Völund, were the following circumstances: 1) In the study of Saxo I found in no less than three passages that Njörd, under different historical masks, marries a daughter of Völund, while in the mythology he marries a daughter of Thjazi. 2) In reviewing the statements about Völund's father in *Völundarkviða*'s text and prose addition I found that these led to the result that Völund was a son of Sumbli, the Finn king, i.e. Ölvaldi, Thjazi's father. (3) My investigations of the myth about the mead produced the result that Svigdir-Ölvaldi died due to a dwarf's treachery outside of a mountain, where one of the smith-families of the mythology, Suttung's sons, had their abode. In *Þidreks Saga af Bern*'s [*Wilkinasaga*'s] account of the death of Völund's father I discovered the main outlines of the same mythic episode.

The correspondence of so different sources in so unexpected a matter was altogether too remarkable to permit it to be set aside in the continuation of my mythological studies. That the name-variant itself, Alvaldi (for Ölvaldi), as Thjazi's father is called in *Hárbarðsljóð*, in form and meaning, had the complete character of a synonym of Ivaldi I had already observed, but without attaching any importance to it.

The next step was to examine whether a similar reference to the identity of Thjazi's and Völund's mother exists. In one Norse mythological source Thjazi's mother is called Greip. Völund's and Egil's (Ajo's and Ibor's, Aggo's and Ebbo's) mother is in Paulus Diaconus and in *Origo Gentis Longobardorum* called *Gambara*, in Saxo *Gambaruc*. The Norse stem in the Latinized name **[714]** Gambara is *Gammur*, which is a synonym of Greip, the name of Thjazi's mother. Thus I found a reference to the identity of Thjazi's mother and Völund's mother.

From the parents I went to the brothers. Thjazi belonged to a trio of brothers, like Völund.[395] One of Völund's brothers bore the epithet *Aurnir*, "wild boar." Aurnir's wife is remembered in the Christian traditions as a future-foreboder. Ebur's wife in the myths is a seer. One of Thjazi's brothers, Idi, is the only one in the mythology whose name points to an original connection with Ivaldi (*Idvaldi)*, Völund's father, and with Idun, Völund's half-sister. Völund himself bears the epithet *Brunni*, and Thjazi's home is *Brunns-acre*. One of Thjazi's sons is slain at Loki's instigation and Loki, who in *Lokasenna* takes pleasure in stating this, boasts in the same poem that he has caused the slaying of Thjazi.

In regard to bonds of relationship in general, I found that on the one side Völund, like Thjazi, was regarded as a giant, and had relations among the giants, among whom Vidolf is mentioned both as Völund's and Thjazi's relative, and that on the other hand Völund is called an elf-prince, and that Thjazi's father belonged to the clan of elves, and that Thjazi's daughter is characterized, like Völund and his nearest relatives, as a skier and hunter, and in this respect has the same epithet as Völund's nephew Ull. I found, furthermore, that so far as tradition has preserved the memory of star-heroes, every mythic person who belonged to their number was called a son of Ivaldi or a son of Ölvaldi. Örvandil-Egil is a star-hero and a son of Ivaldi. The Watlings, after whom the Milky Way is named, are descendants of Vati-Vadi, Völund's father. Thjazi is a star-hero and the son of Ölvaldi. Idi, too, Thjazi's brother, "the torch-bearer," may have been a star-hero, and, as we shall show later, the memory of Völund's brother Slagfinn was partly connected with the Milky Way and partly with the spots on the moon; while, according to another tradition, it is Völund's father whose image is seen in these spots (see no. 121, no. 123).

I found that Rögnir is a Thjazi-epithet, and that all **[715]** that is stated of Rögnir is also told of Völund. Rögnir was, like the latter, first the friend of the gods and then their foe. He was a "swan-gladdener," and Völund a swan-maid's lover. He has, like Völund, fought against Njörd. He has, like Völund, proceeded to the northernmost edge of the world, and there worked with *gand*-implements for the gods' and the world's destruction through the powers of frost. And on someone he has exacted the same revenge as Völund did, when the latter killed Nidad's young sons and made drinking vessels of their skulls.

I found that while Ölvaldi's sons, Idi, Aurnir (Gang), and Thjazi, still were friends of the gods, they had their abode on the south coast of the Elivogar, where Ivaldi had his home, called after him *Geirvaðils setur*, and where his son Örvandil-Egil lived after him; that Thor on his way to Jötunheim visits Idi's chalet and that he is a guest in Egil's dwelling; that the myths' warriors who dwell around Idi's chalet are called "Gang's warrior-Vanir," and that these "Gang's warrior-Vanir" have these very persons, Egil and his foster-son Thjalfi, as their leaders when they accompany Thor to fight the giants, wherefore the chalet of Ölvaldi's sons, Idi and Gang, must be identical with that of Ivaldi's sons, and Idi, Gang, and Thjazi identical with Slagfinn, Egil, and Völund.

On these foundations the circumstance of identity between Ölvaldi's sons and Ivaldi's rests and gets sufficient support, even though our mythic fragments have not preserved any evidence that Thjazi, like Völund, was the myths' most famous artist. But such evidence is not wanting. As the real meaning of *Reginn* is shaper, workman, and as this has been retained as a "smith"-name in Christian times, there is every reason to assume that Thjazi, who is called *fjaðrar-blaðs leik-Reginn* and *vingvagna Rögnir,* like

[395] Anderson omits this sentence.

Völund himself, manufactured the eagle guise of which he, like Völund, avails himself. The son of Ivaldi, Völund, made the most precious treasures for the gods while he still was their friend, and the Ölvaldi son Thjazi is called *hapta snytrir*, "the gods' adorner," doubtless for the reason that he had smithied treasures for the gods during a time when he was their friend and Thor's [716] *ofrúni*, Thor's confidant. Völund is the most famous and, in all probability, also the first sword-smith, which seems to be evident in that his father Ivaldi, though a powerful fighter, does not use the sword but the spear as a weapon, and is therefore called *Geirvandill*. Thjazi was the first sword-smith, otherwise he would not have been called *faðir mörna*, "the father of the swords." Splendid smitheries are called *verk Rögnis* and *Þjaza þingskil*, *Iðja glysmál*, *Iðja orð*, expressions which do not find their adequate explanation in the *Prose Edda*'s account of the division of Ölvaldi's estate**,** but in the myth about the judgment which the gods once proclaimed in the contest concerning the Sindri's and the sons' of Ivaldi skill as smiths, when the latter's artworks laid forth had to plead their own case.

116.
A LOOK AT THE MYTH OF THJAZI-VÖLUND. HIS EPITHET HLÉBARÞUR. HIS WORST DEED OF REVENGE.

What our mythic fragments tell us about the sons of Ölvaldi and the sons of Ivaldi is under such circumstances to be regarded as splinters which come to us from one and the same original myth. When combined, the splinters are found to fit into one another and form a whole. *Völundarkviða* 28 indicates that something terrible, something that in the highest degree aroused his indignation and awakened his deep hatred and satanic thirst for revenge, had happened to Völund before he, accompanied by his brothers, proceeded to the wintry wilderness, where he smithied the sword of revenge and the *gand* rings; and the poem allows Völund to add that this injustice remained to be avenged when he left the Wolfdales. It lies in the nature of such things that the story about Völund did not end where the fragment of the *Völundarkviða* which we still possess is interrupted. The remainder of the story must have related what Völund did to accomplish the revenge which he still had to take, and what outcome the attempt at vengeance had. The continuation probably also had something to say about that swan-maid, that dis of vegetation, **[717]** who by the name Hervör Alvitur spends nine years with Völund in the Wolfdales, and then, seized by longing, departs with the other swan-maids, but of whose faithful love Völund is perfectly convinced (*Völundarkviða* 11). While Völund is Nidad's prisoner, the hope he has placed on the sword of revenge- and victory smithied by him seems to be thwarted. The sword is in the power of the friend of the gods, Mimir-Nidhad. But the hope of execution of the revenge-plot must have been reawakened when Svipdag, Völund's nephew, succeeded in coming up out of the underworld with the weapon in his possession. The conflict between the powers of frost and the kinsmen of Ivaldi, estranged from the gods, on the one side, and the gods and their favorite Halfdan, the Germanic patriarch, on the other side, flared up anew (see No. 33). Halfdan is repulsed, and finally falls in the war during which Völund got satisfaction in that his sword conquered Thor's Mjöllnir and caused Thor to flinch. But once more the hope based on the sword of revenge is foiled, this time by the sword's own possessor, Völund's young kinsman, who —victory-winner in the war, but conquered by his love for the one he rescued Freyja—

becomes the beautiful Asynje's mate and surrenders the sword of Völund to the god of the harvests, Frey. That, in spite of this crossing of his revenge-plan, that Völund still did not abandon it may be taken for granted. He is described not only as the most revengeful, but also as the most persistent and patient person (see "Deor the Scald's Complaint"), when patience could promote his plans. When the sword of victory had fallen into the hands of the gods, making war on them with the aid of the giants, could no longer have the slightest forecast of success. After the myths have given Völund satisfaction for the detestable judgment over his smithery, it unites the chain of events in such a manner that the same weapon which refuted the judgment and was to cause the ruin of the gods became their *palladium*[396] against its own craftsman. What was Völund able to do afterwards, and what had he done? The answer to this question is provided to us in the myth about Thjazi. With Idun — the heroic poem's Hervör Alvitur —he confined himself in a mountain, whose halls he presumably decorated with all the wonders **[718]** which the medieval stories of splendid mountain-halls and pleasure-gardens inside the mountains' womb, inherited from the myths. The mountain must have been situated in a region, difficult for the gods to access, according to *Skáldskaparmál* [*Bragarœdur*] in Jötunheim. In any case, Thjazi is secure therein against any attempt to disturb him, by force, in his retreat. The means against the ravishes of years, which Idun owns, possesses its power only in her care. Without this means, even Asgard's gods are subject to time's influence and shall grow old and die. And in the sense of mythic nature-symbolism, the same means had its share in the rejuvenation of creation through the rising of saps every year in trees and herbs. The world's devastation, the approach of which Völund wants to accelerate with his sword of revenge – shall slow down, but surely approaches, if Idun remains estranged from Asgard. This plan is thwarted by the gods through Loki, as a tool forced by need— forced by need (*Haustlöng* 11),[397] although he derives perverse pleasure also in deceiving his allies. Alongside Thjazi's mountain-halls is a body of water, on which he occasionally rows out to fish (*Skáldskaparmál* [*Bragarœdur*]). While he is away on such an occasion, perhaps accompanied by Skadi, Idun is home alone. Loki, who seems to have studied his habits, flies into the mountain on a borrowed feather guise steals Idun, who, transformed into a fruit,[398] carries in his claws through space to Asgard. But the theft of Idun was not enough for Loki. He enticed Thjazi to pursue. In his thoughtless zeal, the latter dons his eagle guise and hastens after the robber into Asgard's waverflames, where he falls by the gods' missiles and by Thor's hammer. Sindri's work, the one surpassed by Völund, causes his death, and gets *its* revenge. I have already pointed out that this event explains Loki's words to Idun in *Lokasenna*, where he speaks of the murder of one of the Ivaldi sons, and states that she, Idun, embraced him who was his bane.

The great artist's fate and his tragic death cast light to a degree on the character of Loki and the role that he played in the myths. Ivaldi's sons are, in the beginning, the gods zealous friends, and their creation's adorners and protectors. They forge ornaments, which are symbols of vegetation; and they defend, **[719]** at their outpost by the Elivogar

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[396] "safeguard."

[397] what this is based on is unclear.

[398] Idun is transformed into *hnotarlíki*, the likeness of a nut, according to *Skáldskaparmál* 3: *Brá Loki henni í hnotarlíki ok hafði í klóm sér ok flýgr sem mest*. In *Fädernas Gudasaga* ch. 28, Rydberg also uses the word *frukt*: "bearing a fruit in his claw."

they defend the domain of vegetation against Jötunheim's powers of frost. As I have previously mentioned, they are, like the Ribhus, simultaneously heroes, promoters of vegetation, and primeval artists. The myths had obviously also endowed the sons of Ivaldi with appealing qualities: profound knowledge into the mysteries of nature, intelligence, strength, beauty, and faithfulness toward those they loved. One finds that the brothers, in times of adversity, stuck together and that their swan-maids love them in pleasure and in need. For the powers of evil it was, therefore, of the greatest importance to cause a rift between the gods and their "oath-sworn men." Loki, who is a *geðreynir* (*Þórsdrápa*), "a searcher of the qualities of the soul," a "tempter of character,"[399] has discovered in the great primeval artist the perverse, but previously unawakened, qualities of his character: his ambition and irreconcilable thirst for revenge. These qualities, particularly the latter, come to full development in an instant after the wrong which the gods at Loki's instigation, cause the sons of Ivaldi. The thirst for revenge breaks out in Thjazi-Völund in a despicable misdeed. There is reason for assuming that the terrible vengeance which, according to the heroic saga, he took against Nidhad, and which had its counterpart in the godsaga itself, was not the worst crime which the Germanic myths' epic laid blame for on him. *Hárbarðsljóð* 20 alludes to another and worse one. Speaking of Thjazi (str. 19), *Hárbarður*-Loki[400] boasts there that:

[399] The kenning for Loki may be *geðreynir Gauts herþrumu*. *Geðreynir* can mean either "friend" or "trier of the mind." *Gautur* is Odin. *Herþruma* means "battle din." The kenning *Gautr herþrumu* can be rendered *her-Gautr þrumu* or "warrior of thunder" for Thor. Loki is then "the friend of the Thunder-warrior [Thor]" or "the tester of the thunder-warrior's [Thor's] temper." Then again, since *Her-Gautur* is a known epithet for Odin, the kenning *geðreynir Gauts* might also indicate "Odin's friend," Loki.

[400] [Rydberg's footnote]: Adolf Holtzmann [*Die aeltere Edda übersetzt und erklärt*, 1875, p. 230] and Frederich Wilhelm Bergmann [*Das Graubartslied: Loki's Spottreden auf Thor*, 1872] have long since pointed out that Harbard is identical with Loki. That Harbard, who feature for feature is Loki in *Lokasenna*, and, like him, appears as the gods' mocker and boasts of his misdeeds and of his success with the fair sex, should be Odin, is one of the proofs showing how a methodless symbolic interpretation can be led astray. In the second part of this work I shall fully discuss *Hárbarðsljóð*. Evidence from the last days of heathendom in Iceland exists that it was well known then that the Harbard this poem mentions was a foe of the gods. [See *Investigations into Germanic Mythology*, Volume 2, part 2, pp. 103-130].

harðan jötun	"a hearty giant
eg hugða Hlébarð vera,	I think Hlébarð was,
gaf hann mér gambantein,	he gave me *gambanteinn,*
en eg vélta hann úr viti.	and I bewitched him out of his wits."

[720] Harbard-Loki speaks here of a giant who, in his mind, was a valiant one, but whose "senses he stole," that is, whom he "cunningly deprived of thought and self-control." Two circumstances are reported to which these words might apply. The one concerns the giant-builder who built the Asgard-wall, and, indignant about the trick by means of which Loki cheated him out of the agreed on wages, rushed toward the gods and was killed by Thor. The other concerns Thjazi, who, seeing his beloved stolen away by Loki and his plan on the way to failure, recklessly stormed to meet certain ruin. The intended giant's real name is not given, he is designated by the epithet *Hlébarður*, which, according to *Nafnaþulur* (*Prose Edda* II, 484), is a synonym of *Vargur* and *Gyldir*. It has already been shown above that *Vargur* in *Þórsdrápa* and *Fjallgyldir* in *Haustlöng* are epithets of Thjazi. Loki says that this same giant, who he cunningly robbed of his senses, had previously given him a *gambanteinn*. This word designates a weapon manufactured by Völund. His sword of revenge and victory is called *gambanteinn* in *Skírnismál*. But *gambanteinn* is, at the same time, a synonym of *mistilteinn*, which is why in an Icelandic saga from the Christian time, Völund's sword of victory also turns up again under the name *mistilteinn* (see No. 60). Thus the giant Hlebard gave Loki a weapon, which, according to its designation, is either Völund's sword of victory or the mistletoe. It cannot be the sword of victory. We know the hands to which this sword has gone and shall go: Völund's, Mimir-Nidhad's, the night-dis Sinmara's, Svipdag's, Frey's, Aurboda's and Eggther's, and finally Fjalar's and Surt's. The weapon which Thjazi's namesake Hlebard gives Loki must, accordingly, have been the mistletoe. With this, we must remind ourselves what is said of the mistletoe. Unfortunately, the few words that *Völuspá* says of it are the only fully reliable source we possess on this subject; but certain features of *Gylfaginning*'s account (Chapter 49 [*Pr. Edd*. I, 172-174]) may be mythically correct. "Slender and fair"— harmless and beautiful to behold —grew, according to *Völuspá*, the mistletoe, "higher than the fields" (as a parasite on a tree); but from the sapling which seemed innocent came "a **[721]** dangerous arrow of pain," which Höður shot. According to a fragment of a song joined with *Vegtamskviða* ("*Baldur's draumar*"), and according to *Gylfaginning*, the gods had taken an oath of all things not to harm Baldur; but, in doing so, according to *Gylfaginning*, they had left out one thing: the mistletoe. By cunning Loki got intelligence concerning this. He went and ripped up the mistletoe, which he afterwards knew to place in Hödur's hand, while, according to *Gylfaginning*, the gods were entertaining themselves by seeing how every weapon directed at Baldur hit him without effect. But that Loki should hand Hödur this sapling in the form in which it had grown on the tree, and that Hödur should use it in this form to shoot Baldur, is as improbable as that Hödur was blind.[401] One must take *Völuspá*'s words literally, that the

[401] [Rydberg's footnote]: When I come to consider the Baldur-myth in the second part of this work [*Investigations into Germanic Mythology*, Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 90-102], I shall show what the source is from which *Gylfaginning*'s author, on the basis of a misunderstanding, has drawn the conclusion that the sportsman, the warrior, the archer, and the hunter Hödur should be blind. The misunderstanding brought

sapling became an arrow, and one must recognize that this arrow looked like every other, and just for this reason did not awaken suspicion. Otherwise suspicion would at once have arisen, for those who had taken the oaths of things, and Frigg who had sent the oath-takers, knew that the mistletoe was the only thing in the whole world that had not been oath-sworn. The heathen songs nowhere exhibit such inconsistencies and such thoughtlessness as abound in the narratives of the *Prose Edda*. On the contrary, the former prove to be well-motivated, at times incisive, and always with a keen sense of everything that may give the appearance of reality and logic even to the miraculous. The mistletoe was turned into an arrow by someone who knew how to turn it into a "dangerous arrow of pain" in an infallible manner. The unhappy shot depended on the magic qualities that were instilled in the mistletoe by the hands that changed it into an arrow. The event becomes comprehensible, and the critically-defensible statements found in the various sources gain context, if Loki, taking advantage of the only thing that was not bound by oath to do Baldur no harm, itself **[722]** a harmless sapling hardly fit to be an arrow, proceeds with it to the god-hating artist, who had forged the sword of revenge, and if the latter, with his magic smith-art, turns the *mistilteinn* into a new *gambanteinn*, dangerous to the gods, and gives the weapon to Loki in order that he might complete his evil aim with it. Then Hlebard is a Thjazi-synonym, as this Thjazi-synonym is connected with the weapon-name *gambanteinn*, which indicates a smithwork of Thjazi, and as Loki has treated Thjazi as he says he has treated Hlebard, namely by a cunning act he robbed him of his wits; then all available arguments plead that by Hlebard is meant the famous primeval artist deceived by Loki. And when the latter gave him a smithwork, which is designated by the sword of revenge's name, but which is not the sword of revenge, while the latter, on the other side and for corresponding reasons, also gets the name *mistilteinn*, then of course all arguments plead that the weapon which Hlebard gave Loki was the woe-fraught mistletoe transformed into an arrow. If *Gylfaginning*'s unreliable account, based on fragmentary and partly misunderstood memories of myths presented in a disjointed manner, had not been found, and if we had been referred exclusively to the few but reliable statements which exist in the poetic songs, then a correct picture of this episode— if not as complete in the details— was the result of a compilation of these statements. The result was then: 1) Baldur was slain by an arrow shot by Hödur (*Völuspá*, *Vegtamskviða*); 2) Hödur was not the real killer, but Loki (*Lokasenna* 28); 3) the material of which the arrow was made was tender or slender (*mjór*) *mistletoe* (*Völuspá*); 4) previously, oaths were taken from all things not to harm Baldur (*Baldrs draumar*),[402] but the mistletoe must, for some reason or other, have been passed over by this oath-binding, because Baldur was mortally wounded by it; 5) whereas it was Loki who arranged (*réð*) matters so that this happened, it must have been he who found the mistletoe in order to carry out his evil intentions; 6) the mistletoe came into the hands of a giant-smith hostile to the gods, and mentioned under circumstances that refer to Thjazi (*Hárbarðsljóð*); 7) he gave **[723]** such qualities to mistletoe with his art of smithery as to change it into "a

about the symbolic interpretation, in which the blind Hödur, is seen among other things as a symbol of night (which, however, "has many eyes").

[402] This verse account of the oath-taking to spare Baldur appears in *Vegtamskvida*, the longer version of *Baldrs draumar*, found only in late paper manuscripts. Benjamin Thorpe's translation, 1865, contains the complete poem; *Vegtamskvida*, 4: "That they would send/ every wight,/ to solicit assurance / not to harm Baldr./All species swore/ oaths to spare him;/ Frigg received all/ the vows and compacts."

dangerous arrow of pain," and then gave the arrow to Loki (*Hárbarðsljóð*); (8) from Loki's hands it comes to Hödur, and was shot by the latter (*Lokasenna, Völuspá*).

It is dangerous thing to employ nature-symbolism as a tool for mythological research. It is unserviceable for that purpose, so long as it cannot be subjected to the rules of severe method. On the other hand, it is admissible and justifiable from the standpoint of nature-symbolism to consider the other result won in a methodic way by mythological investigation. If, as already indicated, Hlebard is the same as Thjazi-Völund, then he who was the author of the fimbul-winter and let loose the powers of frost over the earth, also had his share in the sun-god Baldur's death and descent to the underworld. Herein, of course, also lies logic, And also therein that the weapon with which the sun-god is slain is made from the mistletoe, which blossoms and bears fruit in the winter, and is a plant which rather shuns than seeks the sunlight. When one reminds himself how folktales have explained the appearance and qualities of various animals and herbs by placing them in some connection with the figures of divine myth or legend, then it is entirely possible that the popular imagination saw in the mistletoe's timidity toward light the effect of grief or shame at having been an instrument in evil hands for evil purposes. Many things indicate that the mistletoe originally was a sacred plant, not only among the Celts, but also among the Teutons. The Indic Aryans also knew sacred parasitical herbs.

The word *gamban* which forms a component of *gambanteinn* means "compensation," "recompense," when used as a noun, and otherwise "retaliating." In the Anglo-Saxon poetry occurs (see Grein's Dictionary)[403] the expression *gamban gyldan*, "to compensate," "to pay dues."[404] In the Norse sources *gamban* occurs only in the compounds *gambanteinn* (*Skírnismál* 32; *Hárbarðsljóð* 20), *gambanreiði* (*Skírnismál* 33), and *gambansumbl* (*Lokasenna* 8).[405] In the song of Skirnir, the latter threatens Gerd, who refused Frey's offer of marriage, that she shall be struck by *gambanreiði goða*, the gods' **[724]** avenging wrath. In *Lokasenna*, Loki comes unbidden into the gods' feast in Ægir's hall to mix bitterness with their happiness, and he demands either to receive a place at the drinking-table or to be shown the doors. Bragi answers that the gods will never suffer him a place to sit at their drinking-banquet, "since they well know whom among beings it is for which they shall prepare *gambansumbl*, "a feast of revenge or a drink of revenge."[406] He obviously utters this as a threat, alluding to the fate which shortly thereafter befalls Loki, when he is captured and bound, and when a venom-spraying serpent is fastened above his mouth. For the common assumption that *gamban* means something "stately," "magnificent," "divine," there is not a single shadow of

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[403] C. W. M. Grien's *Sprachschatz der Angelsächsichen Dichter* ('Vocabulary of the Anglo-Saxon Poems'), Cassel, 1861.

[404] Cleasby-Vigfusson, s.v. *gamban*, define the word as "a dubious word, perhaps *costly*; in A.S. poetry *gamban* occurs twice or thrice in the alliterative phrase *gamban gyldan* = 'to pay a fee' (Grein)."

[405] The meaning of these terms is disputed. Cleasby-Vigfusson, s.v. *gamban*, defines them as "*gamban-reiði*, f. splendid gear (?), *Skírnismál* 33; *gamban-sumbl*, n. a sumptuous banquet, *Lokasenna*. 8; *gamban-teinn*, m. a staff, *Skírnismál* 32," adding "These poems seem to be by one hand, and the word occurs nowhere else in the northern languages." The LaFarge-Tucker *Glossary to the Poetic Edda* defines them as "‡*gaman-sumbl* ['a conjectured word/form attested in other texts', cp. p. xvi] n. merry-feast"; "*gamban-reiði*, violent (?) wrath"; and " *gamban-teinn* n. great or sumptuous feast (or magic potion?)."

[406] Ursula Dronke, *Poetic Edda*, Vol. II, p. 357: "*Sumbl* may be used of the drink itself as well as of the feast in general (*Alvismál* 34, *Hávamál* 110, *Háleygjatal* 15), its potency being sacral as well as realistic."; p. 412 "Bragi might well, in his oratorical fashion, call it *gambansumbl*, 'the feast of divine power', from which the disgraced Loki should be excluded."

reason.[407] *Gambanteinn* is consequently "the twig of revenge," and thus we have the mythological explanation why Thjazi-Völund's sword of revenge and the mistletoe arrow were so called. It is with them that he desires to avenge the insult to which he refers in *Völundarkviða* 28: *Nú hefi eg hefnt harma minna allra nema einna íviðgjarnra*.[408]

117.
THE DEFENSIVE WATCH AT HVERGELMIR AND THE ELIVOGAR.

It has already been shown (see no. 59, no. 93) that the Elivogar have their origin in the subterranean well Hvergelmir, situated on a mountain, which separates the underworld's realm of bliss (Hel) from Niflhel. Here, near the Elivogar's origin, stands the great world-mill, which rotates the starry heavens, causes the oceans' currents, regulates its ebb and flood and breaks up the primeval giants' bodies into layers of earth on the firm stone-ground (see no. 79, no. 80). From Hvergelmir, the mother of all waters, the world-tree's northern root sucks juices, which rise into its crown, evaporate into *Eikþyrnir* above Asgard, and flow out from there as *waver*-laden clouds (see no. 36), which emit fructifying showers upon Midgard, and return through the earth to their origin, the well Hvergelmir. The Hvergelmir mountain (the Nida-mountains, *Niðafjöll*) cannot have been left without **[725]** watch and protection, as it is of so extreme importance for the world's economy, and this the less so, since at the same time it forms the boundary between the underworld's realm of bliss and Niflhel, the subterranean Jötunheim, whose rime-thurses stand in the same relation to the inhabitants on the evergreen fields of bliss as the powers of frost in the upper Jötunheim to Asgard's gods and Midgard's inhabitants. There is no reason to assume that the watch of brave warriors, sworn by oath to Asgard's gods, those warriors whom we have already seen organized near the Elivogar, should have had only a part of this body of water to watch over. The elf-clan under their chiefs, the three sons of Ivaldi, even if direct evidence is wanting, are regarded as having watched over the Elivogar along their whole extent, even to their source, and as having had the same important calling in reference to the giant-beings of the underworld as toward those of the earth above. As its name indicates, Niflheim is shrouded in mist and fog, against which the peaks of the heights of the Hvergelmir mountains form the natural wall of defense for the smiling[409] fields of bliss. But gales and storms might lift themselves above them and also cloud Mimir's and Urd's realms. The elves are equipped with power to hinder this. The last strophe in *Þórsdrápa*, so interesting from a mythological standpoint, confirms this view.[410] Egil is there called

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[407] Although the etymology of the word remains disputed, there is general agreement that the meaning of the word is "[magic] powerful" ["Die Etymologie des Elements *gamban*- bleibt umstritten, wenn auch allgemein eine Ausgangsbedeutung '(zauber-)kräftig' angesetzt wird," *Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda*, Bd. 2, (1997), p. 402.]

[408] "Now I have avenged all my injuries, with the exception of one, which demands a more terrible revenge," see no. 111.

[409] *leende*: "smiling" or "sunny."

[410] *Þórsdrápa* 19/1-4: This half-stanza is obscure. Björnsson suggests the reading: *blótinn Hel-hneitir, at álfi, vá skógar-kálfa undirfjálfrs álfheims bliku hógbrotningi*, "the worshipped Hel-striker [Þórr], with the Elf [Þjálfi], slew the wood-calves of the subterranean refuge from Elf-World's gleam [giants] with the easy-crusher [Mjölnir]."

hneitir undir-fjálfs bliku,[411] and is said to be *helblótinn*.[412] *Blika* are clouds while they are still near the horizon and appear as pale-white clouds, which for those knowledgeable of weather forbode an approaching storm (compare Vigfusson's *Dict.*, 69).[413] *Undir-fjálfr* is considered by Egilsson to mean the underworld mountain,[414] by Vigfusson "the deep," *the abyss*.[415] *Hneitir undir-fjálfs bliku* is "he who conquers (or disperses, scatters) the storm-foreboding clouds rising from the abyss (or over the underworld mountain)." When Egil can be designated as such, it also understandable why he is called *hel-blótinn*, "he who receives sacrifices in the subterranean world of bliss." He protects the Germanic Elysium against Niflheim's powers of frost and fog, and therefore receives its pious inhabitants' tokens of gratitude.

[726] The vocation that Ivaldi's sons, in their capacity as the guardians of the Hvergelmir well and the Elivogar, has its counterpart in the vocation which, in the Iranian mythology, is incumbent upon Thjazi's prototype, the star-hero Tistrya (Tishya). The well Hvergelmir, the origin of the ocean and of all waters, has its counterpart in the Iranian mythology in the enormous gathering of water *Vourukasha*.[416] Just as the Germanic world-tree grows from its northern root up out of Hvergelmir, the Iranian world-tree *Gaokerena* grows out of *Vourukasha* (*Bundehesh*, 18, 1).[417] Vourukasha is guarded by Tistrya, assisted by two other heroes belonging to the class of mythological beings that are called *Yazatas* (*Izads*; in the Veda literature *yájati*), "they who deserve sacrifices," and in the Iranian mythology they form the third rank class of divine beings, and thus correspond to the elves of Germanic mythology. Supported by these two heroes and by

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[411] Today, *hneiti*r, "one who strikes" is thought to designate Thor, while *skógar-kálfa undirfjálfrs álfheims bliku*, "the wood-calves of the refuge from the gleam of the Elf-world" is taken as Geirröðr's giants. The *skógar-kálfa*, "calves of the forest" are wolves. *Álfheims blika*, "gleam of the Elf-world" is the sun (cp. *álfröðull* "elf-wheel," *Vafþrúðnismál* 47, *Skírnismál* 4); *undirfjálfr álfheims bliku*, the "subterranean refuge from the sun" or perhaps "of the sun" refers to either a cave or the underworld in general. The kenning "wolves of the caves [or 'the underworld']" are thus Geirröd's giants.

[412] The *dróttkvætt* meter is known for its convoluted syntax and fragmented sentences. .In the first line: *Hel- blótinn vá -hneitir*, the phrase *blótinn vá*, "sacrificed to," "worshipped", is generally understood to intersect the subject, *Hel-hneitir*, "one who strikes to Hel" [Thor], or "one who sends his enemies to Hel with a deathblow," cp. the expressions: *drepa í Hel* "strike to Hel", *lemja til Heljar* "beat to Hel"; and *Lokasenna* 58: *Hrungnis ban mun þér í hel koma* "Hrungnir's bane will send you to Hel." A parallel formation occurs in *Haustlöng* 10/3: *þá vas Ið- með jötnum –unnr nýkomin sunnan*, "this was when Idunn had newly come from the south among the giants," where the name Iðunn [*Ið-unnr*] is intersected by the phrase *með jötnum*, "among the giants." [Richard North's *Haustlöng*, p. 42]

[413] The Cleasby/Vigfusson Dictionary provides two definitions: "*blika*, u. f. light clouds foreboding storms, such as the English call 'mare's tails,' (*regn-blika, vind-blika*); "*blika*, að and *blikja, bleik, bliku*, an old obsolete poetic form [German *blicken*, cp. *blitzen*; English *to blink*]...—to gleam to twinkle, Latin *micare*, the stars *blika*, the sun *skin*."

[414] *Lexicon Poeticum* (1860) s.v. *fjálfr*, "*Ceterum l.c. jungenda ridentur* undir-fjálfr, *mons subjectus, monticulus inferior, alliori monti subjectus*."

[415] Cleasby-Vigfusson s.v . *fjálbr* or *fjálfr*, n. a dubious word, [akin to fela (?)], the deep, an abyss, *Haustlöng* 18; *undir-fjálfr*, the lower deep, the abyss, *Þórsdrápa* 19."

[416] See *Investigations into Germanic Mythology*, Vol. II, no.6.

[417] "On the nature of the tree they call Gaokerena it says in revelation, that it was the first day when the tree they call Gaokerena grew in the deep mud within the wide-formed ocean," In his translation of *Bundahis,Bahman Yast*, Sacred Books of the East, Volume XI (1891), E. W. West notes "the term *farâkhû-kard*, 'wide-formed,' is a free Pahlavi translation of Avestan *vouru-kasha*, 'wide-shored,' or 'having wide-abysses,' applied to the boundless ocean," (note to ch. VII, 6). [Pahlavi texts: part I and II edited by E. W. West]

the "fevers of the just," Tistrya defends Vourukasha, and occasionally fights against the demon Apaosha, who desires to destroy the world (*Bundehesh* 7). Tistrya, as such, appears in three forms: as a youth with light complexion and glistening eyes, as a wild boar, and as a horse.[418] Can it be an accident that these forms have their counterparts in the Germanic mythology in that one of Thjazi's brothers (Egil-Örvandil-Ebur) has the epithet "wild boar," and that his other brother (Slagfinn), as shall be shown below, bears the epithet Hengest, and that Thjazi-Völund himself, who for many years was possessor of, and presumably invented, the "remedy against aging," which Idun, his beloved, possessed— that Thjazi-Völund himself was regarded as a youth with a "white neck" (*Völundarkviða* 2) and with glittering eyes (*Völundarkviða* 17), which after his death were placed on the vault of heaven as stars?

118.
SLAGFINN. HIS IDENTITY WITH GJUKI. SLAGFINN, EGIL, AND VÖLUND ARE NIFLUNGS.

I now come to the third Ivaldi son, Slagfinn. The name Slagfinn (Slagfiður, Slagfinnur) occurs nowhere else than in *Völundarkviða*, and in the prose introduction to the same. All that one learns of him there is that, like Egil, he accompanied his brother Völund to the Wolfdales; that, like them, he travels on skis and hunts; and that, when the swan-maids, in the ninth year of their abode in the Wolfdales, are seized by longing and return to the south, he goes away to find his beloved, just as Egil fares to find his. One learns further that Slagfinn's swan-maid is a sister of Völund's and a kinswoman of Egil's, and that she thus, as a matter of fact, is Slagfinn's sister (half-sister).[419] She is called *Hlaðguður Svanhvít*, likewise a name which occurs nowhere else. Her mother (and accordingly also that of Völund's swan-maid) is called Swan-feather, Svanfjöður (Slagfinn's beloved is *Svanfjaðrar drós* - strophe 2).[420] The name Swan-feather is reminiscent of the Svanhild Gold-feather mentioned in *Hversu Noregur byggðist* [*Fornaldarsögur* II, 7], wife of one Finnalf. If Swan-feather is identical with Svanhild Gold-feather, then Finnalf originally is identical with Ivaldi, who also is an elf and bears

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[418] See also *Investigations into Germanic Mythology*, Vol. II, Part 1, no. 32. Rydberg's source is James Darmesteter's *Ormazd et Ahriman* (1877), p. 142, which reads: "*Tistrya vient trois fois sous trois formes: jeune homme de quinze ans, lumineux, aux blancs regards; sanglier aux sabots d'or; cheval aux oreilles jaunes, a schabaraque d'or; il lutte avec Apoasha*" ["Tistrya comes three times in three forms: a fifteen year old youth, luminous, with clear eyes; a wild boar with golden hooves; a horse with yellow ears, and a caparison of gold; it fights with Apoasha"]. His source is *Khorda Avesta*, *Yasht* 8, verses 13, 16, 18. Yet, in his English translation of the same passages, Darmesteter (1882) renders the *sanglier aux sabots d'or*, "wild boar with golden hooves" as "golden-horned bull" (v. 16), citing West's translation of *Bundehesh* 7, 4: "Tishtar converted into three forms, the form of a man and the form of a horse and the form of a bull." A similar passage is recorded in the *Greater Bundehesh*, VI, B, 4.

[419] cp. *Völundarkviða* 2 and 15, with the prose introduction. For a more detailed explanation, see no. 113 [See footnote p. 653,**]**

[420] *drós* appears to be a misreading or emendation of the actual mss. *dró* a 3rd person singular pret. ind. of *draga*, "to draw" or "to wear." The word *drós* means "girl," as in *Völundarkviða* 1 where the swan-maidens are called *drósir suðrœnar*, "southern maidens." Thus Rydberg reads "Swan-feather's girl," i.e. her daughter, whereas the common reading of the lines *Önnur var Svanhvít svanfjaðrar dró*, is "the second was Swan-white, she wore swan-feathers." Some scholars, such as Lee Hollander (after Sven Grundtvig) and Ursula Dronke doubt the original reading and suggest emendations.

the name *Finnakonungur*, *Sumblus phinnorum rex.* But this then simply confirms what we already know: that the Ivaldi sons and two of the swan-maids are siblings. But it gives us no thread by means of which we can find Slagfinn in other sources and under other names, and restore the seemingly lost myth concerning him. That he, however, played a prominent role in the mythology may be assumed already from the fact that his brothers hold places so central in the godsaga's great epic. Therefore, it is in and of itself probable that he is mentioned in our mythic fragments, though concealed under another name. One of these names, namely Idi, we have already found (see No. 114); and through it we have learned that he, with his brother Egil, had a **[728]** stronghold near the Elivogar, and guarded their coasts against the powers of frost. But of his fate in general we are still ignorant. However, it requires no lengthy investigations, however, before one finds circumstances which, compared with one another, give us the result that Slagfinn is Gjuki, and thus the way is open for a closer acquaintance with his position in the heroic saga, and before that in the myths. His identity with Gjuki is clear from the following circumstances:

The Gjukungs, famous in the heroic saga, are, according to the saga itself, the first ones who bear this pedigree-name**.** Their father is Gjuki, from whom this patronymic comes. Through their father they belong to a family that is called Hniflungs, Niflungs, Nebelungs. The Gjukungs form a branch of the Niflung family, hence all Gjukungs are Niflungs, but not all Niflungs Gjukungs. The *Prose Edda* says correctly: *af Niflunga ætt var Gjúki* (*Skáldskaparmál* 80 [*Pr. Edd.* I, 522]), and *Atlakviða* 17 shows that the Gjukungs constitute only a part of the Niflungs.[421] The identity of the Gjukungs in this relative sense with the Niflungs is known and pointed out in *Atlamál in grænlenzku* 47, 52, 88; in *Brot af Sigurðarkviðu* 16; in *Atlakviða* 11, 17, 27; and in "*Dráp Niflunga.*"

Who the Niflung family in the widest sense are, and which known heroes the family comprised, besides Gjuki and his sons, these question the saga of Helgi Hundingsbani I, 48 makes an important contribution, inasmuch as the passage informs us that the hostile tribe which Helgi Hundingsbani, i.e. Halfdan Borgarson (see no. 29) fights are Niflungs. Hödbrodd, whose betrothed Helgi (Halfdan Borgarson) seizes, is mentioned as foremost among the Niflungs in this poem. It has already been shown that Hödbrodd is this heroic poem's cast of the mythological Örvandil-Egil (see nos. 29, 32, 101). From this, it follows that Völund, Örvandil-Egil, and Slagfinn are Niflungs, and that Gjuki either is identical with one of them or that in any case, he is descended from the same progenitor as they.

The great treasure of works smithied from gold and other precious things which the Gjukungs owned, according to the heroic traditions, are designated in the different sources in a concordant manner as inherited. **[729]** In *Atlakvida* 11 the Gjukung treasure is called *arf Niflunga*; likewise in *Atlakviða* 27. In *Guðrúnarkviða* II, 25 the deceased Gjuki's queen promises her and Gjuki's daughter, Gudrun, that she shall hold sway over all the treasures "after" (*at*) her dead father (*fjölð alls féar at þinn föður dauðan*), and it is said that the same treasures along with the halls in which they are kept and the precious tapestries, are an inheritance after (*at*) Hlödver, "the fallen prince" (*hringa rauða Hlöðvés sali, ársal allan at jöfur fallinn*). From *Völundarkviða* we gather that Völund's and Slagfinn's swan-maids are daughters of Hlödver and sisters of their lovers. Thus Hlödver

[421] Gunnar, speaking to Gudrun, says: *Seinat er nú, systir, at samna Niflungum*, "It's too late now, sister, to gather the Niflungs."

is the same as Ivaldi, Völund's, Egil's, and Slagfinn's father (see No. 123). Ivaldi's splendidly decorated halls, together with at least one son's share of his golden smithery, have thus passed as an inheritance to Gjuki, and from Gjuki to his sons, the Gjukungs. While the first song about Helgi Hundingsbani lets us know that Völund, Egil, and Slagfinn were, like Gjuki, Niflungs,[422] we learn here that Gjuki got an inheritance from Völund's, Egil's, and Slagfinn's father. And while *Þórsdrápa*, compared with other sources, has already informed us that Idi-Slagfinn and Gang-Egil inhabited that stringhold near the Elivogar which is called "Idi's chalet" and Geirvadil's (Geirvandil's) chalet, and while Geirvandil is demonstrably an epithet of Ivaldi,[423] and as Ivaldi's stronghold according to these sources passed onto Slagfinn and Egil, we find here that Ivaldi's stronghold went in inheritance to Gjuki. To this, one may finally compare *Skáldskaparmál* 4 [*Bragarœdur*, ch. 2], where it is said that Ivaldi (there called Ölvaldi) was survived by his sons, who harmoniously divided his great gold treasures. Thus Gjuki is one of the sons of Ivaldi, and has inherited halls and treasures from Ivaldi; and as he can be neither Völund nor Egil, whose fates we already know, he must be Slagfinn — a result confirmed by the evidence which we shall gradually present below. **[730]**

119.
THE NIFLUNG TREASURE IS THE ONE LEFT BY VÖLUND AND HIS BROTHERS.

When Völund and Egil, indignant with the gods, surrendered Frey to the giants' power and departed for the Wolfdales, they could not bring their immense treasures inherited from their father and augmented by themselves. Nor did they need them for their purposes. Völund carried with him a source of gold in his wealth-producing arm-ring (see nos. 87, 98, 101) from which the seven hundred rings, that Nidhad to his surprise discovered in his smithy, must have come. But the riches left by the brothers, of course, ought not fall into the hands of the gods, who were their enemies either. For this reason, they were hidden away. Saxo (Book V, 128 [*Hist.* 193]) says of Svipdag-Ericus' father, therefore of Örvandil-Egil, that he long had had great treasures concealed in earth caves (*gazæ, quas diu clausæ telluris antra condiderant*).[424] The same applies to Gjuki-Slagfinn, who accompanied his brothers to the Wolfdales. *Þidreks Saga af Bern* [*Wilkinasaga*] (see below) has preserved the memory of a treasure which he owned that was stored in the interior of a mountain. The same applies more so and foremost to Völund, as he was the myths' and the heroic sagas' most famous smith. The popular fancy conceived these treasures left and concealed by Völund as being kept in earth caves or in mountain halls, guarded and brooded over by dragons, or imagined them at the bottom of the sea or in deep riverbeds, guarded by some dwarf inhabiting a rocky island located nearby. Many of the songs and sagas of heathendom and of the older days of Germanic Christianity were connected with the refinding and acquisition of Völund's

[422] See previous paragraph for the logic behind this conclusion, as well as nos. 21, 24, and 108.

[423] [Rydberg's footnote:] In Saxo, Gervandillus (Geirvandill) is the father of Horvandillus (Örvandill). Örvandil is shown to be identical to Egil. And as Egil is the son of Ivaldi, Geirvandil is thus identical to Ivaldi.

[424] "he revealed to them treasures which had long lain hid in caverns of the earth," [Elton tr.] "His treasure, which had long lain concealed within caverns of the earth, was opened," [Fisher tr.]

treasures by one or another hero as the Völsung Sigmund, the Borgar descendant Hadding-Dieterich, and Siegfried-Sigurd Fafnisbani. The Niflung treasure, *hodd Niflunga* (*Atlakviða* 26), *Nibelunge Hort*, is in its more limited meaning these Völund treasures, and in its most general sense the three brothers' abandoned golden wealth, which the story represents as gathered again largely in the Gjukungs' possession, after Sigurd, upon Fafnir's **[731]** conquering, has reunited the foremost of Völund's concealed treasures with that of the Gjukungs, and has married the Gjukung sister Gudrun. The inherited legends preserved in medieval German poems, shows that the continental Teutons long remembered that the *Nibelunge Hort* originally was owned by Völund, Egil, and Slagfinn-Gjuki. In "*Lied von Siegfried*" the treasure is owned by three brothers who are "Niblungs." Only one of them is named, and he is called King Euglin,[425] a name which, with its variation Eugel, obviously is a variation of Eigel, as he is called in the *Orentel* story and in *Þidreks Saga af Bern* [*Wilkinasaga*], and of Egil as he is called in the Norse sources. King Euglin is, according to "*Lied von Siegfried*," an interpreter of stars. Siegfried bids him: *Lasz mich deyner kunst geniessen, Astronomey genannt*.[426] This peculiar statement has its explanation in the myth where Örvandil-Egil is a star-hero. Egil becomes, like Atlas of classical mythology, a king versed in astronomy in the historical interpretation of myths. In *Nibelunge Noth* the treasure is owned by "the brave" Niblungs, Schilbunc and Niblunc.[427] Schilbunc is the Norse *Skilfingur*, and I have already pointed out above that Ivaldi-Svigdir is the progenitor of the Skilfings. The poem *Biterolf* knows that the treasure originally belonged to *Nibelót, der machet himele guldin; selber wolt er got sin*.[428] These remarkable words have their only explanation in the myths of the Niflung Völund, who first ornamented heaven's stronghold Asgard with golden artwork and thereafter wanted to destroy Asgard's inhabitants in order to become god himself. The Norse heroic saga lets the treasures brooded over by Fafnir to previously have been guarded by the dwarf Andvari, and lets the latter (*Reginsmál* 5 [*Sigurðarkviða Fáfnisbana* II, 3]) refer to the original owner in that it characterizes the treasure guarded by him as *það gull, er Gustur átti*.[429] It lies in the thing's nature that the first maker and possessor of these smitheries must have been one of the myths' most celebrated artists; and when *Gustur* means "wind," "gust of wind"; when again, Völund in the myths is the only artist who is designated by a name synonymous with *Gustr*, namely *Byrr*, "wind"

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[425] Rydberg's source for this is Grimm's *Deutsche Heldensage*, (1829) p. 80, which says: 'der Nyblinger hort' liegt in einem Felsen, wo ihn der Zwerg Nibling verschlossen hat. Nibling war vor Lied gestorben (156, 4); näheres ist nicht gesagt. Nach seinem Tode hüten ihn seine drei Söhne, wovon hernach nur einer, könig Eugelin (42, 3. 159, 3) genannt wird, "'the Nybling hoard' lies in a rock, where the dwarf Nibling locked it. Nibling died before the song (156, 4); the details are not told. After his death it is guarded by his three sons, of which only one, king Eugelin (42, 3. 159, 3) is named."

[426] Grimm's *Deutsche Heldensage* (1829), p. 258: "Siegfried fragt den Zwerg Eugel nach der Zukunft und dieser verkündigt ihm sein trauriges Ende: 160. Lasz mich deyner kunst geniessen, Astronomey genannt / Dort auf dem Trachenstayne Heut frü du halt erkant / Die stern und jr anzeygen Wie es mir sol ergan / Mir und meym schönen weybe Wie lang sol jch sie han, "Siegfried asked the dwarf Eugel about the future and he proclaimed to him its tragic end: 160. Let me of your art enjoy, [she who is] named Astronomey/ There upon the Trachenstayne [Dragonstone]/ early today you have recognized /the star and her symbol as it should happen for me /to me and my beautiful wife, for how long I should have her. [Heidi Graw tr.]

[427] Grimm's *Deutsche Heldensage* (1829), p. 76.

[428] *Biterolf* 297: "Nibelót, who made heaven golden; who himself would be god," cited in *Deutsche Heldensage* (1829) p. 149.

[429] "that gold that Gustur owned."

(*Völundarkviða* 13), and *Loftur*, "the airy" (*Fjölsvinnsmál* 26); **[731]** when, furthermore, the song cycle concerning Sigurd Fafnisbani unites itself with the children of Völund's brother Gjuki, and in many respects shoots root-threads into the myth concerning Ivaldi's sons; and finally, when the inherited German legends show an original connection between the *Nibelunge Hort* and the treasures of the Ivaldi sons, then every reason pleads that in *Gustur* we have an epithet of Völund, and that the Niflung hoard, in the Norse as well as in the German Sigurd-Siegfried story was the inheritance and the work of Völund and his brothers. Vigfusson assumes that the first compound part in the name Slagfinn is *slagur*, "a tone," "a melody," played on a stringed instrument. The correctness of this opinion is corroborated in that Slagfinn-Gjuki's son, Gunnar, is the heroic saga's finest string-player. In the snakepit, he still strikes his harp, so that the crawling venomous creatures are enchanted by the tones. This his wonderful art has its explanation, in that he has "the string-player's Finn," Slagfinn, as his father. The horse Grani, who carries Sigurd and the hoard robbed from Fafnir, previously probably had borne Völund himself, when he proceeded to the Wolfdales. Under all circumstances, Grani had his place in the Völund-myth. The path that Völund covered from his own gold-rich country to the Wolfdales, and which partly went through the underworld's northern regions (*fyr nágrindur neðan*, *Fjölsvinnsmál* 26) is in *Völundarkviða* 14 called Grani´s way.[430] Finally, it must here be noted that Sigurdrifa, to whom Sigurd proceeds after he has gotten possession of Fafnir's treasure (*Grípisspá* 13-15), is a mythic personality transferred to the heroic saga, who, as shall be shown in the second part of this work, held a conspicuous position in the myths concerning the Ivaldi sons and their swan-maids.[431] She is, in fact, the heroic saga's copy of Idun, and originally she had nothing to do with Budli's daughter Brynhild. The cycle of the Sigurd songs thus attaches itself to the myth of the Ivaldi sons as the last ring in a powerful epic.[432] The Sigurd songs revolve around the fateful treasures which were forged and abandoned by the Germanic mythology's fallen Lucifer, and which, like his sword of revenge and his [733] arrow of revenge, are loaded with curses and looming woe. In the heroic poems, Ivaldi's grandsons are their owners**.** The grandson Svipdag wields the sword of revenge. The grandsons Gunnar and Högni go to meet their ruin as the owners of the Niblung treasure. The myth of their fathers, the Ivaldi sons, revolves around the enmity caused by Loki between the gods and the great artists, the elf-princes, the defenders of vegetation, the personified forces in living nature. In connection with this the myth about Ivaldi himself revolves mainly around "the mead," the *soma*, the strength-giving saps in nature. He too, like his sons afterwards, falls into conflict with the gods and goes renegade against them, seeks to deprive them of the soma-juice which he had discovered, makes a compact with Suttung's sons, in whose keeping the precious juice is rediscovered, and falls outside their door, while Odin is within and carries out the plan by which the mead becomes accessible to gods and to men (see No. 89). This chain of events thus continues through three generations of Niflungs. And interlaced with it is an opposite chain of events, which

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[430] *Gull var þar eigi á Grana leiðo*, "there was no gold on Grani's way."

[431] Rydberg establishes points of contact between *Sigurdrífumál* and the song of Loddfafnir in *Hávamál* in *Investigations into Germanic Mythology*, Vol. II, Part 2: "Hödur-Loddfafnir. The Relationship of the Myth about Hödur to the story of Sigurd Fafnisbane's Youth," [UGM2 pp. 272-275]. No mention is made there of Sigurdriva's identity with Idun, and it is possible that Rydberg had changed his mind on this point by that time.

[432] In effect, the songs regarding the Nibelung Hoard advance the story of the elves another generation.

passes through the generations of the other great mythic family of heroes: that of Heimdall's son Borgar, Borgar's son Halfdan, and of Halfdan's sons Hadding and Guthorm (Dieterich and Ermenrich). Borgar fights and must yield to the attack of Ivaldi, and thereafter his sons from the North in alliance with the powers of frost (see nos. 22, no. 28). Halfdan fights with Ivaldi's sons, recaptures the Germanic country for vegetation as far as to "Svarin's mound," but falls before Ivaldi's grandson Svipdag, armed with the Völund sword (see nos. 32, 33, 102, 103). In the conflict between Svipdag and Guthorm-Ermenrich on one side, and Hadding on the other, we see the champions divided into different camps after their families' mythological antecedents: Amalians and Hildings on Hadding's side, the descendants of Ivaldi on the other (see nos. 42, 43). Therefore the Gjukungs, "the kings on the Rhine" in the German tradition, stand on Ermenrich's side. Therefore Vidga Völund's son, despite his bond of friendship with Hadding-Dieterich, likewise fights under Ermenrich's banner. Therefore, **[734]** Vildebur-Egil is risen again by the heroic saga, and there appears as the protector and helper of Völund's son, his own nephew, and therefore Vati-Walther, too (see No. 123), the same as Ivaldi, Völund's father, is reawakened by the heroic saga in order to bear Ermenrich's banner in the battles (cp. no. 43).

120.
SLAGFINN-GJUKI'S SYNONYMS DANKRAT (ÞAKKRÁÐUR), IRUNG, ALDRIAN. SLAGFINN A STAR-HERO LIKE HIS BROTHERS. ALDRIAN'S IDENTITY WITH CHELDRICUS-GELDERUS.

Slagfinn-Gjuki has many names in the German traditions, as in the Norse. Besides the name Gibich, Gibche (Gjuki), occur the synonyms Dankrat, Irung, and Aldrian.[433] In the latter part of *Nibelunge Noth*, Gibich is called Dankrat (cp. "*Klage*"; *Biterolf* also has the name Dankrat, and speaks of it in a manner which shows that in some of the sources the author used Dankrat was a synonym of Gibich).[434] In *Þidreks Saga af Bern* [*Wilkinasaga*] Gjuki appears now as Irung, now as Aldrian. Aldrian is (*Þidreks Saga af*

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[433] Gillespie, George T. *A Catalogue of Persons Named in Named in German Heroic Literature* (700-1600), (1973) *s.v.* Gibeche: In *Waltharius*, Gibicho, the ruler of Francia, has his capital is Worms; …In *Rosengarten* (AD) Gibeche, the father of Kriemhilt, rules at Worms. …In *Das Lied vom Hürnen Seyfrid*, *Das Volksbuch vom gehörnten Siegfried* (1726) and *Anhang des Heldenbuches*, he is the father of the Burgundians and rules at Worms. ..*Rosengarte* (F), v. 20.3 (MS, gebiche); *Rosengarte* (P) 2 (MS. Geybich); … *Das Volksbuch vom gehörnten Siegfried*, p. 66, 7 (Gibaldus); …In the 8th century Old English poem *Widsith*, Gifica is the ruler of the Burgundians. In ON Eddic tradition Gjúki is the father of Gunnarr, Högni, and Guðrún. …Gjúkungar, as an alternate term for Niflungar, is often used of Gunnar and his brothers (*Sigurðarkviða in Skamma* 35,3; *Dráp Niflunga* prose, p. 233; *Skáldskaparmál* chs. 48 and 50; *Völssunga saga* ch. 25); it is also used in the Faroese ballad *Högna táttur*. (CCF I, 22-31) and occurs once in a chapter heading of *Þiðreks Saga af Bern* (II. 302.19), in which Aldrian is in fact the father of the Niflungar. …Gibica appears at the head of the list of ancestors of the Burgundian King Gunobad in the *Lex Burgundionum* of 516.

[434] Grimm identifies Dankrat as Gibiche [*Deutsche Heldensage* (1829) p. 129]; Gillispie, ibid: In *Nibelungenlied*, the father of Gunther is Dancrât, whereas the name Gibeche is borne by a subject king at Etzel's court. …This confusion is maintained in *Biterolf und Dietlieb*, in which Gunther and his brothers are Gunther and his brothers are referred to as 'Dancrâtes kint' (B2617), but Gibeche is known to have formerly kept a company of warriors at Worms (2616 ff.). The 15th century modernization of *Nibelungenlied*, N(k) has Gibich, quite correctly, as Gunther's father (7,2; 123, 1).

Bern ch. 169 [*Wilkinasaga* 150]) king of Niflungaland, and has the sons Högni, Gunnar, Gernoz, and Gilzer. Irung (*Þidreks Saga af Bern* ch. 170 [*Wilkinasaga* 151]) is also king of Niflungaland, and has the sons Högni, Gunnar, Guthorm, Gernoz, and Gisler.[435] As Gjuki is also a Niflung, and has the sons Högni, Gunnar, and Guthorm, there can be no doubt that Gjuki, Gibche, Dankrat, Irung, and Aldrian are synonyms, designating one and the same person, namely, *Völundarkviða*'s Slagfinn, the myths' Idi. *Nibelunge Noth* also speaks of Aldrian as the father of Hagen (Högni).[436] Aldrian's consort is called Oda, Gibich's "Frau Uote," Dankrat's "Frau Ute."[437]

The Norse form for Dankrat (Tankred) is *Þakkráður*, Thakkrad. This name turns up a single time in the Norse sources, and then in connection with Völund and Nidhad. In *Völundarkvida* 39, Thakkrad is mentioned as Nidhad's chief servant, who still is left in his service when Völund, **[735]** his revenge accomplished, takes flight in an eagle's guise away from his prison.[438] That this servant bears a name that belongs to Slagfinn-Gjuki, Völund's brother, cannot be an accident. One must compare an account in *Þidreks Saga af Bern*, according to which Völund's other brother Egil was in Nidhad's service when Völund flew away. It is evident from this that the heroic saga allowed not only Völund, but also Slagfinn and Egil, to fall into Nidhad's hands. Both *Völundarkviða* itself and its prose introduction tell that when the home-sick swan-maids had left the Wolfdales, Egil and Slagfinn also proceeded from there, Egil eastward to search for his swan-maid Ölrun, Slagfinn southward to seek his Svanhvit (*Völundarkvida* 5), and that Nidhad thereafter learned —the song does not say how —that Völund sat alone in the Wolfdales (*Völundarkvida* 7). The assumption here lies near at hand, that Nidhad got word of it from the fact that both Slagfinn and Egil, though walking in different directions,

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[435] *Þiðreks Saga af Bern* 169: "There was a king named Aldrian who ruled over Niflungaland. He was a powerful man and his wife was the daughter of a powerful king. It happened one time, when she was drunk with wine and when the king was not at home in his kingdom, that she fell asleep in a garden outdoors and there came a man and he lay with her. …When some time had passed the queen was pregnant. Before she gave birth, it happened that she was standing a lone and the same man came to her and told her what had happened the first time they had met. He told her that she was pregnant and that the child was his with her. He said that he was an elf. …When the time had passed, the queen bore a son and she named the boy Högni and he was called the son of King Aldrian. …King Aldrian had three sons and one daughter with his wife. The eldest was named Gunnar, the second Gernoz, and the third Gisler"; *Þiðreks Saga af Bern* 170: "[King Thidrek] had heard of a man who was a good warrior and a valiant man. His name was Irung. He ruled over Niflungaland. His wife's name was Oda. …When she was least aware, a man came to the queen and remained a while beside her and she got a son from this. His name was Högni. Even though he seemed to have been a man, he was an elf. …The king himself had four sons and one daughter with his queen. The daughter was named Grimhild. The king's sons were named Gunnar, the second Guthorm, the third Gernoz, and the fourth Gisler," [Haymes tr.]

[436] *Niblunge Noth* refers to Aldrian's son Hagen at lines 1144, 1359, 1597, according to Grimm's *Deutsche Heldensage* (1829), p. 85, also see the Index.

[437] Rydberg's source for these names appears to be Grimm's *Deutsche Heldensage* (1829): Oda p. 307; "Frau Uote," p. 129; Frau Ute (also Ytte), p. 294; the connection to Dankrat is made on p. 129; Gillespie, ibid, *s.v.* Uote: Mother of the Burgundian kings. Mother of Gunther, Gèrnôt, Giselhèr and Kriemhilt; in *Nibelungenlied*, she is the wife of Dancrât. …In ON Eddic tradition, the wife of Gjúki, and mother of the Niflungar i.e. of Gunnar, Högni, Guðrún is named Grímhildr [Kriemhilt]; …also in the Faroese ballad *Brynhildur táttur* (CCF I. 8-22). …In *Þiðreks Saga af Bern*, Oda (I.282,6) is the mother of Gunnar, Gernoz, Gisler, and Grimhildr by her husband Aldrian (Mb2 Irungr), but Högni is her son by a demon, who has ravished her while she was sleeping in a garden. Outside *Nibelungenlied* and *Klage*, the mother of the Burgundians is unnamed.

[438] Gillespie, ibid, p. 23, confirms the identity of the name Dancrât and þakkráðr.

happened into his power while they searched for their beloved. Whether this feature belonged to the myth cannot be determined. In any case, it is remarkable that in *Völundarkviða* we rediscover the Gjuki-name Thakkrad, as in *Þidreks Saga af Bern* [*Wilkinasaga*] we find Völund's brother Egil in Nidhad's environment.

The name Irung, Iring, as a synonym of Gjuki, is of more importance from a mythological point of view. Widukind of Corvei (about the year 950) tells us in ch. 13 of his Saxon Chronicle that "the Milky Way is designated by Iring's name even to this day." Just previously he has mentioned a Saxon warrior by this name, whom he believes to have been the cause of this appellation (... *Iringi nomine, quem ita vocitant, lacteus coeli circulus sit vocatus*; and in the Auersberg Chronicle, according to J. Grimm, ... *lacteus coeli circulus Iringis, nomine Iringesstraza sit vocatus*).[439] According to Anglo-Saxon glosses, the Milky Way bears the name *Iringes uueg*.[440] One should compile this with the statement made above that among England's Germanic tribes the Milky Way was called the way of the Vatlings (Vati's descendants i.e., Ivaldi's descendants). Both of the statements agree with one another. In the one it is the descendants of Ivaldi in general, in the [736] other it is Slagfinn-Iring whose name is fastened to the Milky Way. Thus Slagfinn, like Völund and Örvandil-Egil, was a star-hero. In "*Klage*" it is said of Iring and two other heroes, in whose company he appears in two other poems, that they committed serious errors and were declared banished, and that they, in spite of reconciliation attempts, remained under the penalty to the end of their lives. *Biterolf* says that they were "fugitives under their enemies' threat." We have here a reverberation of the myth concerning the breach between the gods and the Ivaldi sons, of Njörd's[441] unsuccessful reconciliation attempt, and of their flight to earth northern outskirts. In the German poems they take flight to Attila.

The Gjuki synonym Aldrian is a name formed in analogy with Albrian, which is a variation of Elberich. In analogy with this, Aldrian should be a variation of Elderich, Helderich. In Geoffrey of Monmouth's British history[442] there is a Saxon saga-hero Cheldricus, who, in alliance with a Saxon chief Baldulf, fights with King Arthur's general Cador, and is slain by him. How far the name-forms Aldrian-Elderich have anything to do with the Latinized Cheldricus I think best to leave undecided; objective reasons exist which, alone by itself and without the assistance of a real or apparent name-identity, indicate that this Cheldricus is the same person as Aldrian-Gjuki. Bugge has already pointed out that Baldrian corresponds to Baldur, Cador to *Höður*; that Geoffrey's account has points of contact with Saxo's about the war between Baldur and *Höður*, and that

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[439] These sources are cited by Grimm as: "Mirari tamen non possumus, in tantum saman praevaluisse, ut *Hiringi* [*Iringi*] nomine, quem ita vocitant, lacteus coeli circulus usque in praesens sit notatus" and "faman in tantum praevaluisse, ut lacteus coeli circulus Iringis nomine *Iringesstrâza* usque in praesens sit vocatus (sit notatus in Pertz, 8, 178). [DH (1829), p. 395; DM, Stalleybrass tr., p. 358]

[440] "In confirmation, AS. Glosses collected by Junius (Symb. 372) give '*via secta: Iringes uuec*,' from which Somner and Lye borrow their '*Iringes weg, via secta*.'" [Grimm, Stalleybrass tr., ibid]

[441] Anderson misread this as "Frey's."

[442] In ch. 9.1 of Galfridus Monemutensis' *Historia Regum Britanniae*, a legendary history chronicling the lives of the kings of the Britons, spanning two thousand years, beginning with the Trojan founding of the British nation and continuing down to the Anglo-Saxons era. It has little value as history, but is a valuable piece of medieval literature, containing the earliest known version of the story of King Lear and an early account of the legend of King Arthur.

Geoffrey's Cheldricus corresponds to Saxo's King Gelderus, *Geldr*, who fights with *Höður* and falls in conflict with him.[443]

What immediately meets the eye in Saxo's account of Gelderus (see No. 101) is that he takes arms against Hotherus, when he learns that the latter has got possession of the sword of victory and the wealth-producing ring —treasures that were forged by Völund, and in that sense belonged to the Niflung treasure. That Saxo motivates Gelderus' appearance in this manner cannot be explained in another manner, except that Gelderus had something to do with the Niflung treasure and considered himself more entitled **[737]** to it than Hotherus. This right could hardly be based on anything other than that Gelderus was a Niflung, a kinsman of the maker and owner of the treasures. In *Þidreks Saga af Bern* [*Wilkinasaga*], the keeper and guardian of Niflung treasure, the one who has the key to the rocky chambers, bears the name Aldrian, consequently the very byname in question of Slagfin-Gjuki, Völund's and Egil's brother. This already indicates that Gelderus is Slagfinn-Aldrian.

121.
SLAGFINN'S IDENTITY WITH HJUKI. HIS APPEARANCE IN THE MOON-MYTH AND BALDUR'S MYTH. BIL'S IDENTITY WITH IDUN.

From Slagfinn-Gelderus' intervention in the war between the two divine brothers Baldur and *Höður*, as described both by Saxo and by Geoffrey, one must draw the conclusion that he is a historified mythic personality, who had occupied an important place in the Baldur-myth as Baldur's friend, and also as *Höður*'s, though he bore weapons against the latter. According to Saxo, *Höður* shows his fallen opponent Gelderus' remains an honor which indicates a previous friendly relation between them. He first gives Gelderus a most splendid pyre (*pulcherrimum funeris obsequium*), then he builds a magnificent grave-mound for him, and decorates it with tokens of his respect (*veneratio*) for the dead one.[444]

The position of Slagfinn-Gelderus to the two contending divine brothers, his comradeship with Baldur, the respect and devotion he receives from his opponent *Höðr*, cannot be explained otherwise than that had very close relations to both brothers and with the mythic personalities who play a part in the Baldur-myth. According to Saxo, Hödur was fostered by *Gevarr*, the moon-god, Nanna's father. It is as foster-brother to Nanna that he falls in love with her, who becomes his brother Baldur's wife. Now the mythic saga mentions a person who was adopted by the moon-god, and thus was a foster-brother to Höður but who does not belong to the actual gods' number. This foster-son inherits in the Norse records **[738]** one of the names with which the moon-god is designated in the

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[443]Bugge, Sophus. *Studier over de nordiske gude- og heltesagns oprindelse* I, 185.

[444]Book 3, 66: "Gelder, the King of Saxony, who met his end in the same war, was set by Hother upon the corpses of his oarsmen, and then laid on a pyre built of vessels, and magnificently honoured in his funeral by Hother, who not only put his ashes in a noble barrow, treating them as the remains of a king, but also graced them with most reverent obsequies." [Elton tr.]; "Gelder, king of the Saxons, who had been killed in the same conflict, was set by Høther upon the corpse of his oarsmen, placed on a pyre built from his vessels, and attended with handsome funeral rites. Not only did Høther consign his ashes to a fine burial mound as befitted deceased royalty, but, beyond this, respectfully honored him with abundant ritual." [Fisher tr.]

Anglo-Saxon poems, namely *Hoce*, a name identical with the Norse *Hjúki*. Hnæf (*Hnæfur, Næfr*, Nanna's father) is, as already pointed out, also called Hoce in the Beowulf poem (see nos. 90, 91). From the story about Bil and Hjuki, belonging to the myth about the mead and preserved in the the *Prose Edda*,[445] one knows that the moon-god took these children to himself, when they were to take home to their father, *Viðfinnur*, the precious burden which they had poured out of the mead-well, Byrgir (see nos. 90, 91).

That this uptaking was equivalent to the moon-god making them his adoptive children is clear already from the position that Bil occupied afterwards in the circle of gods. She becomes an asynje (*Gylfaginning* 35 [*Prose Edda* I, 118, 556]) and distributes the Germanic mythological *soma*, the creative juice of nature and inspiration —the same juice that she carried when she was taken up by the moon-god.[446] Earth's skalds call on her (*ef unna ítur vildi Bil skáldi!*), and Asgard's skald-god, Bragi, refreshes himself with her in Gevarr-Nökkver's silver-ship (see *Sonatorrek*; cp. nos. 90, 91). Odin came to her daily and was served the mead of the moon-ship, when it was sunk down toward the horizon in the west. In *Grímnismál* 7, the ship is called *Sökkvabekkur*, "the sinking ship," in which Odin and *Sága* "daily drink joyful from golden goblets," while "cool billows with soughing sound flow hence, over" their seats.[447] The cool billows that sough over Sökkvabekk are the waves of the atmospheric sea, in which Nökkver's ship has its path, and the waves of the ocean when the silver-ship sinks into the sea. The epithet *Sága* is used in paraphrases in the same manner as *Bil*, and presumably has to thank for its origin the same reason that led the skalds to call the bucket which Bil and Hjuki carried *Sægur*. *Bil*, as it should be, is none other than a synonym of Idun.[448] In *Haustlaung* 2, Idun is called *Byrgis ár-Gefn*, "Byrgir's harvest-giving dis"; Thjazi is called *Byrgis ár-Gefnar bjarga-Týr*, "the mountain-Tyr of Byrgir's harvest-giving dis."[449] Idun is thus named partly after the well from which Bil and Hjuki fetched the mead, partly after the pail into which it was poured.

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[445]*Gylfaginning* 11.

[446] Hjúki and Bil are widely believed to be the basis of the nursery rhyme: "Jack and Jill went up the hill/ to fetch a pail of water, etc.

[447]*Sökkvabekkr heitir inn fjóði*/en *þar svalar knegu*/ u*nnir yfir glymja*/ *þar þau Óðinn ok Sága*/ *drekka um alla daga*/ *glöð ór gullnum kerum*, "Sunken-bench, the fourth is called/ and there cool waves/ resound over/ There Odin and Saga/ drink through all the days/ happy, out of a golden vessel."

[448] "The similarity of Sökkvabekk to Fensalir, Frigg's dwelling; Odin's open drinking with Sága; and the usual etymology of the name, which relates it to the verb *sjá*, "to see" and understands her as a seeress, have led most scholars to understand Sága as another name for Frigg." [John Lindow, *Handbook of Norse Mythology*, (2001), p. 265].

[449]The mss. contain significant variants and there is no consensus on the meaning. *Haustlöng* 2/5-8 reads: *settisk örn, þars æsir*/ *ár-Gefnar mar böru*/ *vasa byrgi-Týr bjarga*/ *bleyði vændr ár seyði* [2/5 *æs*.. R; *æsir* W,T. 2/6 *gnæfar* R; *gefnar* W, T. *mat* R, *ma* W (with a final letter erased); *mar* T. 2/7 *vara* R,W; *naca* T. 2/8 *vöndr* R; *vendr* W,T. *seðe* R; *seiði* W; *seydi* T.] Anthony Faulkes reads: "Long ago the eagle alighted where the Æsir put their meat in the earth-oven. The rock-Gefn- [giantess-] refuge- [cave-] god [giant] was not found guilty of cowardice." Richard North reads the same passage as: "the eagle settled down where the Æsir were bearing harvest-Gefn's horse [an ox] (the Týr who would imprison harvest-Gefn within rocks was not accused of cowardice!) to the cooking fire." He comments: *ár-Gefnar mar*, 'harvest-Gefn's horse', i.e. 'ox'. Finnur (*Skj* B, I, 14), Mágnus (p. 364, n. 92) and Faulkes (*SSE*, p. 86) all keep *R* [*Codex Regius'*] *mat* here, (i.e. 'were bearing food to the cooking fire), put *Gefnar* exclusively with *birgi-Týr* on the next line and treat *ár* separately as a word for 'ere' or 'long ago.' As a prefix to a name, *ár* is rare (cf. *LP*, p. 30) only occurring with a female name elsewhere in *ár-Ilmr* (*Líðsmannaflokk*r 7, c. 1015)."

That Hjuki, like Bil-Idunn, was regarded by the moon-god as a foster-child, should not be doubted, the less so as we have already seen that he, in the Norse sources, bears his foster-father's name. As an adopted son of the moon-god, he is a foster-brother of *Höður* and Nanna. Hjuki must therefore have occupied a position in the mythology similar to that in which we find Gelderus as a brother-in-arms of Nanna's husband, and as one who was held in friendship even by his opponent, Höður. As a brother of the Ivaldi daughter, Bil-Idun, he too must be an Ivaldi son, and consequently one of the three brothers, either Slagfinn, Örvandil-Egil, or Völund. The mythic context forbids identifying Hjuki with either of the latter two. Thus he must be Slagfinn. That Gelderus is Slagfinn has already been shown above.

Thereby one also receives an explanation why, in Christian times when the historicizing of the myths was accepted, the Niflungs-Gjukungs descended from *Nœfr, Nefir* (*Nefir er Niflungar eru frá komnir, Skáldskaparmál* 80 [*Prose Edda* I, 529]).[450] It is connected with the fact that Slagfinn, like his brothers, is a Niflung (see no. 118) and an adopted son of the moon-god, whose name he bore.

Bil's and Hjuki's father is called *Viðfinnur*. We have already seen that Slagfinn's and his brothers' father, Ivaldi, is called *Finnur, Finnakonungr* (Introduction to *Völundarkviða*), and that he is identical with *Sumbli Finnakonungur*, and *Finnálfur*. In fact the name *Finnur* never occurs in the mythic records, either alone or in compounds or in paraphrases, except where it alludes to Ivaldi or his son, Slagfinn. Thus, for instance, the byrnie, *Finnsleif* in *Ynglingsaga*,[451] is borne by a historified mythic person, by whose name Saxo called a foster-son of Gevarr, the moon-god.[452] The reason why Ivaldi got the name *Finnur* shall be given below (see No. 123). And because Ivaldi (*Sumbli Finnakonungr, Ölvaldi*) plays an important role in the mead-myth, and Vidfinn, who is robbed of Byrgir's liquid, does as well, then all evidence indicates that Vidfinn, Hjuki's and Bil-Idunn's father, is identical with Finnakonungur, the father of Slagfinn and of his sister Idun.

Gjuki and Hjuki are therefore names borne by one **[740]** and the same person: Slagfinn, the Niflung, who is the Gjukungs' progenitor. They also look like analogous formations from different roots.

Thus we also have an explanation of the Asgard bridge's name, *Bilröst*, "Bil's way."[453] The Milky Way is Bil-Idun's way, just as it is her brother Hjuki's; for we have already seen that the Milky Way is called Irung's way, and that Irung is a synonym of Slagfinn-Gjuki. Bil travelled the shining way when she was taken up to Asgard as an asynje. Slagfinn travelled it as Baldur's and Hödur's foster-brother. If we now add that the same way was travelled by Svipdag when he again sought Freyja in Asgard, and by

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[450]"Nefir, from whom the Niflungs are descended."

[451]*Finnsleif*, 'Finn's legacy.' The source of this is *Skáldskaparmál* 54, where three treasures are mentioned "the helmet Hiligolt", "the mail-coat Finnsleif, which weapons could not penetrate" and "a gold-ring named Svíagrís, which belonged to Aðil's ancestors."

[452] The name is Aðils [Athisl in Saxo]. Saxo, Book 2, 52 says: "Fain to extend his empire, he [Hoddbrodd] warred upon the East, and after a huge massacre of many peoples begat two sons, Athisl and Hother, and appointed as their tutor a certain Gewar, who was bound to him by great services," [Elton tr.] "He, zealous to extend his empire, launched a campaign in the east and wrecked extensive slaughter among those peoples. His sons were Athisl and Høther, for whom he engaged a tutor, Gevar" [Fisher tr.] In *Skáldskaparmál* 54, Aðils owns Finnsleif.

[453]*Grímnismál* 44; *Fafnismál* 15.

Thjazi-Völund's daughter, Skadi, when she demanded from the gods redress for the slaying of her father, then here we find no less than four descendants of Ivaldi who have travelled on the Milky Way to Asgard; and as Völund's father among his numerous names also bore the name Vati, Vadi (see *Þidreks Saga af Bern* [*Wilkinasaga*]),[454] then this explains how the Milky Way came to be called Watling Street in the Old English sources.[455]

In the myths there was a circle, limited to a few individuals, who were celebrated string-players. They are Baldur, Höður, Slagfinn, and Bragi. In the heroic poems the group is increased with Slagfinn-Gjuki's son, Gunnar, and with Hjarrandi, the Horund of the German poem "*Gudrun*," to whom I shall recur in my treatise on the heroic sagas.[456] Baldur's playing is remembered by Geoffrey of Monmouth.[457] Hödur's is mentioned in Saxo,[458] and perhaps also in the Edda's *Haðarlag*, a special kind of metre or manner of singing.[459] Slagfinn's quality as a musician is apparent from his name, and is inherited by his son, Gunnar. Hjarrandi-Horund appears in the Gudrun epic by the side of Vati

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[454] As the name of an ancient Germanic hero, the name Wade (Vati, Vadi) occurs first in the poem *Sir Bevis of Hamtoun*, which mentions his fight with a dragon (Auchinleck MS., v. 2605). In Huchown's *Morte Arthure* (mid-14th century), a widow whom Arthur encounters warns him that even "*were he wyghtere* (quicker) *thane Wade*," (v. 964) he would have no chance of overpowering the giant he seeks. In Malory's *Morte D'Arthur* (I. 225; c. 1470) a scornful damsel taunts Sir Beaumayns saying "*were he as wyghte as Wade*," he would not be able to succeed. Geoffrey Chaucer, in *Troilus and Crisidye* iii, 614, writes: "*He song, she plyde, he tolde a tale of Wade*," and in the *Canterbury Tales*, *Merchantes Tale*, ll. 1423-26, he speaks cryptically of 'Wade's boat,' Guingelot of which *"olde wydwes, Got it woot, They konne so muchel craft on Wades boot.'"* suggesting that with *Wades boot* old widows could can fly from place to place," [W. W. Skeat. *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer,* Oxford Clarendon Press, 1894, Vol. IV. p. 432]. In this regard, it should be remembered that the Sons of Ivaldi forged the magic ship Skiðblaðnir for Frey. Jacob Grimm identifies him with the Danish hero Wate in the poem *Gudrun* and supplies the OHG form Wato. In *Þidreks Saga*, he is the son of king Vilkinus and a mermaid, who in turn becomes the father of Velient (Völund). In *Widsith* (*Codex Exoniensis* 320,1), Wada rules the Helsings [*Hælsingum*]. In the prologue to a translation of Guido delle Colonne's *Historic Trojana* (MS. Laud. K. 76 in the Bodleian Library), Wade's name appears alongside Havelok and Horn, in a list of heroes of romance. His tale lived on at least to the end of the sixteenth century, where Speght, who produced editions of Chaucer's works in 1598 and 1602, notes that he knows the story, but refrains from telling it because it is long and fabulous. [Source: *The Nibelungenlied and Gudrun in England and America* by Francis Edward Sandbach, 1903; Sumner J. Ferris, "Wades Boot," American Notes & Queries, Vol. 9, 1971.]

[455] [Rydberg's footnote:] Vigfusson's opinion that the Asgard bridge is identical with the Milky Way is thus correct. That the rainbow should be regarded as the *Bilröst,* furnished with **fixed** bridge-heads, is an invention of *Gylfaginning'*s author.

[456] Neither Hjarrandi or Horand are mentioned again in this work.

[457] IX.1 "Once Baldulf had come to the conclusion that no other means of access was open to him, he cut short his hair and his beard and dressed himself up as a minstrel with a harp. He strode up and down in the camp, pretending to be a harpist by playing melodies on his instrument."[Lewis Thorpe tr.]

[458] Book 3: "When they asked him who he was, he answered, a lutanist, nor did the trial belie his profession. For when the lyre was offered him, he tuned its strings, ordered and governed the chords with his quill, and with ready modulation poured forth a melody pleasant to the ear.," [Elton tr.]; "When they demanded to know who he was he replied that he was a minstrel, and was able to substantiate his claim. Be handed a lyre he tuned its strings, set his plectrum to it, and played with the most fluent expressiveness to a ravishing cascade of song." [Fisher tr.]

[459] *Háttatal* 78*:* "In this verse-form there are four syllables in a line and two full rhymes and they both end with the same sound and all rhymes are curtailed [monosyllabic]. This is "Höd's metre"[*Haðarlag*]. [Faulkes tr.] Faulkes speculates that this is an otherwise unknown skald.

(Ivaldi), and there is reason for identifying him with Gevarr himself.[460] All these names and personalities are connected with the myth concerning the soma preserved in the moon. While the first drink of the juice of inspiration and of creative force is passed to Odin by Mimir, thereafter we see **[741]** a supply of the juice preserved by the moon-god; and it is just the mythic persons, who stand in the closest connection with him, that also appear as the great harp-players: Baldur is the son-in-law of the moon-god, *Hödur* and Slagfinn-Hjuki are his foster-sons, Gunnar is Slagfinn's son, Bragi becomes the husband of Bil-Idun, and Hjarrandi[461] is most probably the moon-god himself who sings so that the birds in the forest, the beasts on the ground, and the fishes in the sea listen and are charmed ("Gudrun," 1415-1418, 1523-1525, 1555-1558).

Both in Saxo and in Geoffrey, Hödur meets Slagfinn with the bow in his conflict with him (Cheldricus in Geoffrey; Gelderus in Saxo). The bow plays a leading role in the relationship between the gods and the sons of Ivaldi. Hödur has also met Egil in conflict with the bow (see no. 112), and was then defeated, but Egil's noble disposition forbade his harming Slagfinn's foster-brother. *Hödur*, as an archer, receives redress for the defeat in Saxo, when with his favorite weapon he conquers Egil's brother, Slagfinn (Gelderus), who also is an archer. And finally, it is with an arrow, treacherously laid on Hödur's bow, that Völund, in demoniac thirst for revenge and at Loki's instigation, takes the life of Baldur, Hödur's brother.

122.
SUMMARY OF THE SYNONYMS OF THE SONS OF IVALDI.

The names under which Slagfinn is found in our records are accordingly *Iði*, *Gjúki*, Dankrat (*Þakkráður*), Irung, Aldrian, Cheldricus, Gelderus, *Hjúki*. One more remains to be mentioned: Hengest (Hengist), to which I shall return below. Of these names, Gelderus (*Geldr*), Cheldricus, and Aldrian form a group by themselves, and they are possibly simply variants. The meaning of the name Hengest, "a gelding," is connected with the same group, and particularly to the variation *Geldr*. From a mythological standpoint, the most important Slagfinn epithets are Iði, Gjúki, Hjúki, and Irung.

The names under which Völund (Wieland, Veland) occurs **[742]** in the various records are, as we have seen, are: *Þjazi*, Ajo (Aggo), Anund (*Önundur*), *Rögnir*, *Brunni*, *Ásólfur*, *Vargur*, *Fjallgyldir*, *Hlébarður*, *Byr*, *Gustur*, *Loptur*, Haquinus (Aki, Ecke). Of these names and epithets *Ásólfur*, *Vargur*, *Fjallgyldir*, *Hlébarður* form a group by themselves, and refer to his animal-symbol, the wolf. The other brothers also have animal-symbols. Egil is symbolized as a wild boar and a bear by the names *Aurnir*, *Ebur*, *Ísólfur*. Slagfinn is symbolized as a horse in Hengest, and also in the paraphrase *öndr-Jálkur*, "the gelding of the skis." Like his brothers, he is a skier. The Völund epithet,

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[460] Horant first appears in German literature in the Spielmannsepos *Salman und Morolf* (late 12th cent.). There Salman's messenger states that even if he sang as well as Horant, he could not win back Salme, Salman's wife. In *Kudrun* and *Dukus Horant*, he is sent by his lord to win the hand of Hilde, who keeps her in strict seclusion and hangs all suitors who approach her. Horant sails with a splendid retinue, including the giant Wate, and wins Hilde with his singing. In the OE poem *Doe*r (ll. 39-40), the narrator complains about being supplanted as court poet of the Heodeningas, by Hoerrend, a man skilled in song. Herrant, 9th century German, corresponds to ON Hjarrandi, and OE Heorrenda. [Gillespie, George. *A Catalogue of Persons Named in German Heroic Lieterature* (700-1600), *s.v.* Hôrant.]

[461] In *Gudrun*, his name is Horant. In *Skáldskaparmál*, it is Hjarrandi.

Brunni, also alludes to skiers.[462] Völund and his brothers in their capacity of artists are called *Rögnir* and *Reginn.* The names Ajo, Anund, and Thjazi (the sparkling) may have their origin in ancient Indo-European times.

The names under which the third brother, Egil, appears are *Gangur, Örvandill, Egill,* Agelmund, Eigel, Euglin, *Höðbroddur,* Toko, and Avo the archer; Ebur (Ibor, Wild-Ebur, Villefer, Ebbo), *Aurnir, Ísólfur*. Of these names *Egill,* Agelmund, Eigel, Euglin form a separate group; *Örvandill, Höðbroddur,* Toko, and Avo sagittarius form another group, referring to his fame as an archer; Ebur, Aurnir, and Ísólfur a third, referring to his animal-symbols.

123.
IVALDI.

In the course taken by our investigation we have already met with and pointed out several names and epithets by which this mythic personality occurs in the mythology and in the heroic poems. Such are *Geirvandill,* with the variation *Geirvaðill; Vaði* (Vati), *Allvaldi, Auðvaldi, Ölvaldi, Svigðir*[463] (*Svegðir*), *Ölmóður, Sumbli Finnakonungr* (*Sumblus Phinnorum rex*), *Finnakonungur, Viðfinnur, Finnálfur, Fin Folcvalding, Hlöðvér.*

Of these names *Ivaldi, Allvaldi, Auðvaldi, Ölvaldi* form a group by themselves, insofar as they all have the **[743]** established component part, *valdi, valdur,* "mighty," an epithet preserved from the godsaga into the heroic sagas which have handled individual moments of the Ivaldi-myth, where its possessor reappears under the names Walther, Valthari, Valdere, Waltarius manu fortis.

Ölvaldi with *Ölmóður*; *Sveigðir, Sumbli Finnakonungur* form another group. *Svigðir* means, as already shown, "the great drinker,"[464] and *Sumbl* is a synonym of "ale," "mead." All the names in this group refer to their bearer's quality as a personality appearing in the myth about the mead.

The name *Sumbl Finnakonungur* is at the same time connected with a third group of names: *Finnakonungur, Finnur, Viðfinnur, Finnálfur, Fin Folcvalding*. With this group the epithets *Vaði* and *Vaðill* (in *Geirvaðill*) have a real mythological connection, which shall be pointed out below.

Finally, *Geirvaðill* is connected with the epithet *Geirvandill* in the respect that both belong to Ivaldi on account of his place in the weapon-myth.

As already pointed out above, Geirvandill means "the one occupied with the spear," or, more accurately, "the one who exhibits great care and skill in regard to the spear" (from *geir,* spear, and *vanda,* to apply care to something in order that it may serve its purpose). In Saxo, Gervandillus-Geirvandil is the father of Horvendillus-Örvandil; the spear-champion is the father of the archer. It is evident that the epithets of the son and father are parallel formations, and that as the one designates the foremost archer in mythology, the other must refer to a prominent spear-champion. It is of no slight importance to our knowledge of the Germanic weapon-myth that the foremost

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[462] See no. 113, #11 p. 673.
[463] Properly Sveigðir. See footnotes to No. 89.
[464] This definition is in err. See footnotes to No. 89.

representatives of the spear, the bow, and the sword among the heroes are grandfather, father, and son. Svipdag, Ivaldi's grandson, the son of Örvandil-Egil, is above all others the sword-champion, "the sword-elf" (*sverðálfur,* see *Heimskringla*, *Olaf Tryggvason's saga*, 40,[465] where Svipdag-Erik's namesake and supposed descendant, Erik jarl Hakonsson, receives this epithet). It is he who from the lower world fetches the best and [744] most frightful sword, which was probably also considered to the first of its kind up until then, because his uncle, who had forged it, was called "the father of swords" (see nos. 113, 114, 115). Svipdag's father is the best archer whose memory still survives in the story of William Tell. The grandfather, Ivaldi, was the finest spear-thrower. The memory of this survives not only in the epithets, *Geirvandill* and *Geirvadill*, but also in the heroic poem, "*Waltharius manu fortis*," written before the year 950 by Ekkehard in St. Gallen,[466] and in *Þidreks Saga af Bern* [*Wilkinasaga*], which has preserved certain features from the myth of Ivaldi.

Clad in armor forged by Völund (*Wielandia fabrica*),[467] Waltarius appears as the great spear-champion, who despises all other weapons of attack:

> [*namque*] *Vualtarius erat vir maximus undique telis*
> *suspectamque habuit cuncto sibi tempori pugnam* (v. 366-7).[468]

With the spear, he meets a sword-champion:

> *Hic gladio fidens hic acer et arduus hasta* (v. 822),[469]

and he has developed the use of the spear into an art, all of whose secrets were originally known to him alone, then also by Hagano, who learned them from the former (v. 336, 367). *Þidreks Saga af Bern* [*Wilkinasaga*] speaks of Valthari as an excellent spear-

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[465] The paraphrase is usually understood as "warrior [i.e. 'elf of the sword']. *LP* (1860): *sverðálfr*, m, "god of the sword, fighter, warrior" *Ólafur Tryggvason* 43, 2; *Sturla Þórðarson LP* (1932): *Sverðálfr*, m, 'sword-elf', arrior, *Háleygjatal*. 14, Ingjaldr Geirmundarson 1, 3.

[466] "Scholars have placed the writing of the Waltharius at various points in the ninth and tenth centuries. Several authors have been suggested, most often Ekkehard I of St. Gall and a certain Gerald, who composed a 22-verse preface to the epic which appears in several manuscripts. The identification of Ekkehard I as the poet was first proposed by Jacob Grimm (1838, pp. 57-64), who based his argument on a statement by Ekkehard IV of St. Gall, in the eleventh century chronicle *Casus Sancti Galli* that he had reshaped and polished a work about "Waltharius manu fortis" (strong in hand) which the earlier Ekkehard had composed as a school exercise." *Waltharius and Ruodlieb*. Edited and translated by Dennis M. Kratz. New York: Garland Publishing, 1984.

[467] Cited as lines 961-962 by Wilhelm Grimm in *Deutsche Heldensage*,(1829), p. 29, lines 965-966 of the poem read: "Had Wayland's work not stopped its flight with tempered rings, It would have punctured Walter's bowels with its thick wood," [Kratz tr.]

[468] Cited as lines 342-343 by Grimm , ibid, p. 181, of which he comments "Er liebte kampf mit dem Spieß, nicht aber mit dem Schwert, Er liebte kampf mit dem Spiess, nicht aber mit dem Schwert; so verstehe ich wenigstens die (metrisch verderbte) Stelle," ["He loved to fight with the spear, however, not with the sword; at least as I understand the (metrically corrupt) passage"]. Kratz, as lines 345-346, reads: *Namque gravatus erat vir maximus undique telis/ suspectamque habuit cuncto sibi tempori pugnam*: "That awesome man was burdened everywhere by weapons; He was in constant expectation of attack." [Kratz tr.]

[469] 825:"One trusts his sword, the other fierce and hard, his sword" [Kratz tr.]; Grimm cites this line as 822, ibid, p. 181.

champion. Sure of success, he wagers his head in a competitive contest with this weapon.[470]

It has already been shown above (see No. 89) that Sveigðir-Ivaldi in the mythic saga concerning the tribal-heroes was the Swedes' first ruler, like his sons, Völund and Egil, became the Longobardians' and Slagfinn the Burgundians', and, as shall be shown below, also the Saxons'. Even in the *Ynglingasaga*, compiled in the twelfth century, he remains, under the name Svegðir, among the first kings of the Yngling family, and really as the first hero; for his forerunners, Fjölnir, Freyr, and Óðinn, are pre-human gods (in regard to Fjölnir, see *Völuspá*).[471] That Sveigðir was made the Swedes' tribe-hero has its explanation in that Ivaldi, before his sons, before he had yet become the gods' foe and a "perjured *hapt*," was the northern Germanic world's **[745]** guardian against the powers of frost, and that the Sviones were the Germanic region's northernmost tribe of people. The elf-stronghold on the southern coast of the Elivogar was *Geirvaðill*-Ivaldi's "chalet," before it became his sons' (see no. 109; nos. 113-115; and no. 117, 118). The continental Teutons, like those on the Scandian peninsula, knew that north of the Swedes and in the uttermost north lived a non-Germanic people who traveled on skis and lived by hunting —the Finns. And as the realm that was subject to the tribe-hero of the Swedes extended in the myths to the Elivogar, where his "chalet" was situated, even the Finns must have been under his scepter. This explains his bynames, *Finnakonungur*, *Finnur*, *Viðfinnur*, *Fin Folcvalding*, as well as that his descendants form the myths' group of skiers. To the "chalet's" location by the Elivogar, at the point where Thor has his wading spot across this body of water (see nos. 109, 114), refer the Ivaldi epithets, *Vaðill* and Vaði. They indicate his occupation as the guardian of the wading spot. *Þidreks Saga af Bern* [*Wilkinasaga*] makes him a wader of the same kind as Thor, and makes him bear his son, Völund, across a sound while the latter was still a lad.[472] Reasons which I may have occasion in the future to present indicate that Ivaldi's mother was the Germanic mythology's mightiest amazon, whose memory survives in Saxo's account of Queen Rusila, Rusla (Book IV, 110; Book VII, 227; Book VIII, 246 [*Hist*. 178, 365, 394-396]),[473] and in the German heroic-saga's Rütze.[474] This queen of the elves, dwelling south of the Elivogar, is also remembered by Tacitus' informant. It says in *Germania* 45: *Svionibus Sitonum gentes continuantur. Cetera similes uno differunt quod femina*

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[470] In chapters 128-129, Valtari of Vaskastein, the nephew of Erminrek, and the greatest fighter among the king's retainers, challenges Thetlief, the son of Biterulf, to a contest throwing stones and staffs. Thetleif bests him on both accounts.

[471] The reference here is unclear. Fjölnir is a name of Odin in *Grímnismál* 47.

[472] Ch. 58: "Vadi left home with his son and came to Grænasound, and there was no ship available to cross the sound. They waited there for a while. He then took the boy and put him on his shoulders and waded across the sound. The water was nine ells deep." [Haymes tr.]

[473] Book IV, 118: "He fought and overthrew the maid Rusila, who in her military ardour had aspired to arms"; Book VII, 227: "Stikla and Rusila; utterly engaged in such female brashness…these amazons"; Book VIII, 222-223: "The maiden Rusila, surpassing a woman's temperament in her strenuous military activities, had had frequent clashes with her brother Throndfor the throne of Norway." [Fisher tr.] In the same text, H. Davidson comments that her name means "red," ibid, p. 71, fn. 48.

[474] Gillespie, ibid, p. 112 s.v. Runze (Rütze, Rachin), in *Ortnit* and *Wolfdietrich* (B) a giantess, the wife of Velle (Helle); in *Wolfdietrich* (B), Ortnit kills them both. In *Ecken Ausfahrt* (d) and *Anhang des Heldenbuches*, she is the mother of Zere (Zorre) and the aunt of Ecke. …in *Der hürnen Seufrid* (Sachs), Dietrich is said to have killed her. …the form Rütze is probably related to MHG *rütschen, rützen*, 'slide' (cf. *Ritzsch*) while *Runze* can be related to MHG *runse*, 'river, flowing water' (Kluge, EWb, 615)."

dominatur. ... *Hic Suebiæ fines*: "The Swedes are bounded by the Sitones. While they are like each other in other things they differ in the one respect, that a woman rules over the Sitones. Here ends the Suebi border." The name Sitones does not occur elsewhere, and it would be vain to seek it in the domain of reality. Beyond the domain of the Sviones extended the mythic geography of the time. The Sitones, who were governed by a queen, belonged to the Germanic stories, like the Hellusians and Oxionians, mentioned elsewhere in *Germania*.[475] It is not impossible that **[746]** the name *Sitones,* of which the stem is *sit,* is connected with the Norse myths' name of the chief stronghold in their country: *setur* (*Geirvaðils setur, Iðja setur*). Compare *setur-verjendur* as a designation in *Ynglingasaga* 17 of the descendants of Sveigðir-Ivaldi).[476] The word *setur* comes from *setja,* a causative form of *sitja,* the Gothic *sitan*.[477]

I now pass to the name *Hlöðvér,* in *Völundarkviða*. This poem does not state directly who Völund's, Egil's, and Slagfinn's father was, but it does so indirectly by mentioning the name of the father of Völund's and Slagfinn's swan-maids, and by stating that these swan-maids were sisters of the brothers. Völund's swan-maid is called *þeirra systir* in str. 2. Among the many uncalled-for "emendations" made in the text of the *Poetic Edda* belongs also the change of *þeirra* to *þeirrar,* made for the reason that the student, forgetting that *Völundarkviða* was a poem rising out of the myths, regarded it as impossible for a brother and sister to be man and wife, and as one saw in the prose introduction to *Völundarkviða* that the father of the three brothers was one *Finnakonungur*. Hlöðvér is also found in a German source, "*Biterolf*" as King Liutwar.[478] There he appears in the war between Hadding-Dieterich and Gudhorm-Ermenrich, and the poem places him as a champion on the side where all who were foes of the Aesir in the mythology as a rule got their place, namely on Ermenrich's. There he occupied the most conspicuous place as Ermenrich's standard-bearer, and, with Sabene, leads his throng of warriors. The same position that Ermenrich's standard-bearer occupies is held in "*Dieterich's Flucht*" by Vati, that is to say, *Vaði*-Ivaldi, and in *Þidreks Saga af Bern* [*Wilkinasaga*] by Valthari, that is again to say, Ivaldi. Liutwar, Vati, and Valthari are originally one and the same person in these German sources, just as Hlödver (corresponding to Liutwar), Vadi (corresponding to Vati), and Ivaldi (corresponding to Valthari) are identical in the Scandinavian. *Völundarkviða*'s statement, that Völund's and Slagfinn's swan-maids are their sisters (half-sisters, as we shall find), and, like them, daughters of Ivaldi, is thus found to be correct by the comparison of widely-separated sources.

[747] While the father of these two swan-maids is called *Hlöðvérr* in *Völundarkviða,* the father of the third swan-maid, Egil's beloved, is called King *Kíarr* in Valland. As Egil was first married to the dis of vegetation, Groa, whose father in the

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[475] On the nature of these remote tribes, see *Investigations into Germanic Mythology,* Vol. II, Part 2 "The Germanic Discouri in Tacitus", pp. 35-44.

[476] *Ynglingasaga* 17, *Ynglingatál* 4 reads: *Ok Vísburs / vilja byrgi/ sævar niðr / svelga knátti/ þás meinþjóf/ markar öttu/ setrs verjendr/ á sinn föður*; Erling Monsen translates *setrs verjendr* as "seat wardens." Lee M. Hollander as "the throne's avengers."

[477] cp. Jan de Vries' *Altnordisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, s.v. setr, sitja.*

[478] Gillespie, ibid, p. 91 *s.v.* Ludewic: "In *Biterolf,* Herbort boasts that he has defeated Ludewic and his son Hartmuot and abducted Ludewic's daughter, Hildeburc. ref.:*Biterolf* 6463; …In ON, *Hlöðvér,* the name of the father of Völundr's swan-maiden wife (*Vkv* 10,6) and the ruler of a kingdom promised to *Guðrún* (*Gðr* I, 25, 6), refers to the Frankish king."

heroic saga is Sigtrygg, and then to Sif, his swan-maid must be one of these two. In *Völundarkviða*, where none of the swan-maids bear their common mythological names, she is named Ölrun, and is said to be not a sister, but a kinswoman (*kunn* - str. 15) of both the others. *Hlöðvér* (Ivaldi) and *Kíarr* are therefore kinsmen. Who *Kíarr* was in the mythology I must leave aside for the moment.[479] Both these kings of mythological descent reappear in the cycle of the Sigurd songs. It has already been pointed out above (no. 118) that the Gjukungs appear in the Sigurd saga as heirs and owners of *Hlöðvér*'s halls and treasures; it is added that "they own the whitest shield from *Kíarr*'s hall (*Guðrúnarkviða* II. 25; *Atlakviða* 7). Consequently, the previously pointed out connection between the persons appearing in *Völundarkviða* and those in the Gjukung-saga appears here. The fathers of the swan-maids who love Völund and his brothers reappear in the Sigurd songs as heroes who had already left the scene of action, and who had owned immense treasures, which after their death are in the possession of the Gjukungs via inheritance. This also follows in that the Gjukungs are descendants of Gjuki-Slagfinn, and that Slagfinn and his brothers are Niflungs, heirs of *Hlöðvér*-Ivaldi, who was *gullauðigr mjök* (*Skáldskaparmál* 4).[480]

Like his sons, Ivaldi originally stood in a friendly relation to the higher reigning gods; he was their oath-sworn man, and from his stronghold near the Elivogar, *Geirvaðils setur*, he protected the creation of the gods from the powers of frost. But, like his sons, and before them, he fell into enmity with the gods and became "a perjurous *hapt.*" The features from the myth of Ivaldi which were preserved in the heroic poems and shed light on the relation between the moon-god and him, are told partially in the account of Gevarus, Nanna's father, in Saxo, and partially in the poems about Walther (Valtarius, Walthari) and Fin Folcvalding. From these accounts it appears that Ivaldi abducted [748] a daughter of the moon-god; that enmity arose between them; that, after the defeat of Ivaldi, Sunna's and Nanna's father offered him reconciliation, and that the reconciliation was sealed by oath; that Ivaldi broke the oath, attacked Gevar-Nokkver and burnt him; that, during the hostilities between them, Slagfinn-Gjuki, though a son of Ivaldi, did not take the side of his natural father, but on his foster-father's side; and that Ivaldi had to pay for his own deeds with ruin and death.

Concerning the point that Ivaldi abducted a daughter of Gevar-Nökkver and married her, the Latin poem *Waltarius manu fortis*, *Nibelunge Noth*, *Biterolf*, *Þidreks Saga af Bern*, and Boguphalus (*Chronicon Poloniæ*)[481] relate that Walther fled with a princess named Hildigund. On the flight he was attacked by Gjukungs, according to *Waltarius manu fortis*. The chief one of these (in the poem Gunthari, Gjuki's son) received in the battle a wound that pushes "to the thigh-bone."[482] The statement

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[479] Rydberg does not mention *Kíarr* again in this work. *Kíarr* is said to rule the *Völum* (*Valir*) in *Hlöðskviða* 1: *en Völum* [réð] *Kíarr*. Egilsson, *LP*, (1931), *s.v. Valir*, defines them as 1) *Galler, Vælskmænd, om indbyggerne især i Frankrig*, *Völum* (*réð*) *Kíarr, Hervararsaga* V, 1 "1) Gauls, Welshmen, of the residents especially in France"; *om Cornwalls indbyggere, en V. skjalfa*, "used of Cornwall's inhabitants in *Merlínúspá* I, 23. 2) *træl*, (thrall) *egl. 'hærtagen vælsk mand', v-a mengi*, *Sigurðarkviða skamma* 66. In *Hárbarðsljóð* 24, and elsewhere their home is called Valland, the meaning of which Rydberg discusses in *Investigations into Germanic Mythology*, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 121-122.

[480] "very rich in gold."

[481] As translated by Grimm, *Deutsche Heldensage*, pp. 158-159.

[482] *Waltharius* ll. 933-937: *Iam magis atque magis irarum mole gravatus /Waltharius clipeum Gerwiti sustulit imum,/ Transmissoque femur penetraverat inguine ferrum;* "Now Walter more and more oppressed

concerning the wound, which Walther inflicted upon the chief Gjuking has its roots in the godsaga where the chief Gjukung, i.e. Gjuki himself, appears with the bynames (Hengest, Geldr, *öndur-Jálkur*) alluding to the wound inflicted. In the Anglo-Saxon heroic poem Fin Folcvalding is married to Hildeburh, a daughter of Hnæf-Hoce, and in *Hyndluljóð* (cp. str. 17 with str. 15) *Hildigunnur* is the mother of Halfdan's consort Almveig, and consequently the wife of *Sumbl Finnakonungur*, i.e. Ivaldi. *Hildigunn*'s father is called *Sækonungur* in *Hyndluljóð*, a synonym of *Nökkver* ("the ship-captain," the moon-god), and Hildigunn's mother is called *Sváfa*, the same name as that by which Nanna is introduced in the poem about Helgi Hjörvardsson. Hildeburh, Hnæf-Hoce's daughter, is identical to Hildigunn, *Sækonungur*'s daughter. Compare further str. 20 in *Hyndluljóð*, which speaks of Nanna as Nökkvi's daughter, and thus refers back to str. 17, where Hildigunn is mentioned as the daughter of *Sækonungur*. The phrase Nanna *var næst þar Nökkva dóttir* lets it be known that Nökkver and another elder daughter of his were named in one of the immediately preceding strophes. But in these no man's name or epithet occurs except *Sæ-* **[749]** *konungur*, "the sea-king," [483] which can refer to *Nökkver*, "the ship-owner" or "ship-captain," and the "daughter" that the poem just mentioned is *Hildigunnur*.

Of the names of Ivaldi's wife the various sources contain the following statements:

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by the weight of/ His wrath, cut through the lower part of Gerwit's shield;/ The weapon, piercing Gerwit's groin, lodged in his thigh." [Kratz tr.]

[483] Translator's Observation: the name Sækonungur does not appear in the index in Volume II. A reference to this page for *Hyndluljod* also does not appear there. This might suggest that this chapter was a late addition.

Hlödver-Ivaldi	is married to	Svanfeather (*Svanfjöður*, *Völundarkviða*).
Finnalf-Ivaldi	is married to	Svanhild Gold-feather, daughter of Sól (*Hversu Noregur byggðist* [*Fornaldarsögur*]).
Fin Folcvalding-Ivaldi	is married to	Hildeburh, daughter of Hnæf-Hoce (Beowulf poem).
Walther-Ivaldi	is married to	Hildigunt (German poems).
Sumbl-Finnakonungur	is married to	

Hildigunn, daughter of Sækonungur Nökkver, the same as *Hnæfur*, *Hnefur*, Nanna's father (*Hyndluljóð*, compared with Saxo and other sources).

She who is called Swan-feather, the sun-daughter Svanhild Gold-feather, Hildeburh, Hildigunt, and Hildigunn is accordingly a sister of the moon-dis Nanna, and a daughter of the ruler of the atmosphere and of the moon. She is herself a sun-dis. In regard to the composition of the name, we must compare *Hildigunn*, *Hiltigunt*, with Nanna's byname *Sinhtgunt.* The Germanic, or in any case the Norse, mythology knew two divinities of the sun, mother and daughter. *Vafþrúðnismál* 47 tells us that the elder one, *Álfröðull*, has a daughter, who, not at the present era, but in the coming one, is to drive the sun-wagon (*eina dóttur berr Álfröðull*...).[484] The elder is the moon-god's wife.[485] The younger one is the Sunna mentioned in the *Second Merseburg Charm* (see no. 92), Sinhtgunt-Nanna's sister. As a personal name, Sunna also occurs in the Norse literature (*Alvíssmál* 16; *Nafnaþulur* [*Prose Edda* I, 172], and elsewhere).[486]

In the Beowulf poem and in "Battle of Finnesburg," Fin Folcvalding, Hildeburh's husband, appears as the foe of his father-in-law Hnæf, **[750]** and is conquered by him and Hengest.[487] After a war ending unluckily for him, he makes peace with his victors, breaks the peace, attacks the stronghold in the night, and cremates the slain and wounded in an immense funeral pyre. Hnæf is among those fallen, and Hildeburh weeps at his funeral pyre; Hengest escapes and afterwards avenges Hnæf's death.

Saxo confirms that the historicized person who in the myths is the moon-god is attacked and burnt by one of his "satraps," and afterwards avenged. This he tells of his Gevarus, Nanna's father (Book III, 82).[488] The correspondence on this point indicates that the episode has its root in the myths, though it would probably serve very little to seek out the natural symbolic significance of the moon-god being attacked and burnt by the husband of his daughter, the sun-dis.[489]

Nevertheless, from these mythic features preserved in various heroic poems compared with the direct mythic statements, we find the following consistencies in the scattered features of the myth about the mead:

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[484] *Eina dóttur /berr Álfröðull, /áðr hana Fenrir fari;/ sú skal ríða,/ þá er regin deyia,/ móður brautir, mær*. "A daughter Álfröðull will bear, before Fenrir asasils her; she shall ride, when the powers perish, the maiden on her mother's paths "

[485] It seems more likely that the current Sun and Moon are children of Lodur-Mundilföri, and therefore siblings, who together become the parents of the daughters Nanna-Sihntgunt and Sunna-Hildigunt.

[486] See *Lexicon Poeticum, s.v.* sunna for other instances.

[487] The so-called "Finnsburg Fragment" is an approximately 50 line transcript of a lost Anglo-Saxon poem, made by George Hickes and published in an anthology of antiquities in 1705. It describes a battle in which Hnæf, defended by 60 retainers including Hengst, is attacked at *Finnsburuh*, "Finn's stronghold." The same episode appears in *Beowulf* (lines 1068-1159) in the form of a lay sung by Hrothgar's scop, which describes the mourning of Hnæf's sister Hildeburh; Hnæf's funeral pyre, on which Finn's son is also cremated; and a pact between Finn and Hengest, the leader of Hnæf's surviving warriors. The episode is allusive and therefore intended for an audience already familiar with the story.

[488] "News came meantime that Gewar had been slain by the guile of his own satrap (jarl), Gunne. Hother determined to visit his murder with the strongest and sharpest revenge. So he surprised Gunne, cast him on a blazing pyre, and burnt him; for Gunne had himself treacherously waylaid Gewar, and burnt him alive in the night." [Elton tr.] "Meanwhile, a report came that Gevar had been overwhelmed by his treacherous jarl Gunni. Høther put his fiercest energies into avenging the murder. He waylaid Gunni and threw him on a blazing pyre, for the villain had seized Gevar in his ambush and burnt him alive at night." [Fisher tr.]

[489] If a natural phenomenon is the root of this myth, the most likely would be the full moon closest to the Autumnal Equinox, known as the "Harvest moon" or "Hunter's moon," which hangs low in the sky, appears unusually large, and often has an orange or red glow upon rising.

Originally, the mead, the soma, belongs to Mimir alone. From an unknown depth it rises in the lower world directly under the world-tree, whose middle root is watered by the well of precious juices. Only by self-sacrifice, after prayers and tears, does Odin get to enjoy a drink from this spring. The drink improves him in strength and wisdom, and places him in a position to give order to the world lying above the underworld. From its middlemost root the world-tree draws juices from the mead-well which benefits Asgard's Einherjar as a beverage, and benefits the people of Midgard as a crop-giving nectar. Still this mead is not pure, but mixed with the juices from Urd's and Hvergelmir's springs. But somewhere in the Jötunheims, the authentic mead was discovered in the spring Byrgir. This discovery was kept secret. The secret's possessor was Ivaldi, the sworn watchman by the Elivogar. At night he sent his son Slagfinn (afterwards called Hjuki after his adopted father) and his daughter Bil (Idun) to empty the spring Byrgir and carry home the find. But the children **[751]** never returned. The moon-god had taken them and Byrgir's juices unto himself, and by that means Asgard's gods came into possession of the drink., On his side, Ivaldi, without the moon-god's consent, has acquired his daughter, the sun-dis, and it is without doubt that with her he fathered Idun, Almveig, and other dises of natural rejuvenation and vegetation, after he had begotten Slagfinn, Egil, and Völund with the giantess Greip. On both sides, the moon-god and Ivaldi have thus taken children from each other. The circumstance that the mead, which gives the gods their creating power and wisdom, was robbed from Ivaldi —this find which he kept secret and wished to keep for himself alone —makes him the moon-god's irreconcilable foe, causes the conflict between them, and leads him to break the oath which he had sworn to him. He attacks Gevar at night, kills and burns him, and recaptures the mead-treasure preserved in the ship of the moon. He has thereby forever broken with the gods and now enters into an alliance with their world's enemies, the evil forces of fire and frost. Long has there dwelt, deep under Hades, another foe of the gods, Surt-Durinn, the clan-chief of Suttung's sons, the father of Fjalar. In the oldest primeval age he too was the gods' friend, and collaborated with Mimir in the oldest creation (see no. 89). But this bond of friendship was now long since been broken. Into the deep and dark dales in which this god-hostile clan dwells, Ivaldi brings his mead-treasure in safety. He gives it, so it would seem, as the price of Fjalar's daughter Gunnlöd, and as a confirmation of his alliance with the giant-world. When the arranged wedding was to take place, Odin appears before him, and clad in his shape in Surt's halls, marries Gunnlöd, steals Byrgir's juices, and flies in eagle guise with them to Asgard. On the wedding day, Ivaldi arrives outside of Surt's mountain-abode, but never enters it. A dwarf, the halls' watchman, entices him to ruin. The reason has already been stated above that he was buried, by cunning, beneath an avalanche.[490]

The myth of the mead's conveyance to the moon and its fate there has left a variety of traces in the Germanic people's **[752]** traditions. In the North, it was Hjuki and Bil with their mead-burden that one saw in the moonspots. In southern Sweden, according to Ling, it was still known in the beginning of this century, that the bucket that the moon-figures bore was a "brewing kettle," consequently containing or having contained a brew.[491] According to English traditions, it is not the two children of Vidfinn,

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[490] *Þidreks Saga af Bern*, ch. 60; see no. 113, p. 694.

[491] Ling, Pehr Henrik. *Eddornas Sinnebildslära* ("The Emblems of the Eddas," 1819–1820), 1, 78 cited in Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie*, ch. XXII, p. 717 fn. 1 "ännu säger allmänheten i Södraswerge, att månens

but a drunken criminal (*Ritson's Ancient Songs*; cp. J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythology*, p. 681),[492] that hangs in the full moon, and what burdens him in a widely spread legend is that he collected fuel for criminal purposes or at an improper time (on the Sabbath). Both statements —that he is drunk and that his crime consists in the gathering of fuel —lead us to suppose that this "man in the moon" originally was Ivaldi, the drink-champion and the mead-thief, who attacked and burnt the moon-god. His punishment is that he will never get to the heavens, but shall remain in the moon, and there forever bear a bundle of thorny sticks (thus according to a German tradition, and an English tradition mentioned by Chaucer).[493] Most probably, it is the thorn-scourge of the moon-god burnt by him that he has to bear. The moon-god (see no. 75, no. 91) ruled over the Germanic Erynies armed with scourges (*limar*), and in this capacity bore the epithet *Eylimi*. A Dutch poem from the 1300s says that the culprit "*in duitsche heet Ludergheer*."[494] A name-variant which J. Grimm (*Deutsche Mythology*, p. 683) cites is *Lodeger*.[495] The name refers, as Grimm has pointed out, to the Old High German *Liutker*, the *Lüdiger* of the German medieval poems. In "*Nibelunge Noth*," *Lüdiger* fights with the Gjukungs; in "*Dieterichs Flucht*," he abandons Dieterich's cause and allies himself with the evil Ermenrich. Like *Liutwar*, *Ludiger* is a pendant to the Norse *Hlödver*, in whom we have already rediscovered Ivaldi. While, according to the *Prose Edda*, both the Ivaldi children Hjuki and Bil appear in the moon, according to the English and German traditions it is their criminal father who appears on the scene of the pyre he kindled, drunk with the mead he robbed, and punished with the scourge which his victim had at his disposal. **[753]**

Hrafnagaldur Óðins' [Förspjallsljóð's] statement that Ivaldi had two groups of children, corresponds with the result to which we have come. By the giantess Greip he fathered Slagfinn, Egil, and Völund; by the sun-dis, Gevar-Nökkver's daughter and Nanna's sister, he fathered vegetation-dises, among which is Idun, who first is Völund's beloved or wife, and thereafter is married to Bragi. Another daughter of Ivaldi is the

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fläckar äro tvenne varelser, som bära en bryggså (bridge-bucket, slung pail)," [Stalleybrass tr.]; Translated literally te Swedish passage means "in southern Sweden, the public still says that the moon's spots are two beings that carry a brewing-pail."

[492] "In *Ritson's Anc. Songs* (Lond. 1790), p. 35 is a 'song upon the man in the moon,' beginning thus: *Mon in the mone stond and strit* (standeth and strideth),/ *on his bot forke is burthen he bereth*; /*hit is muche wonder that he na doun slyt* (slideth),/ *for doubtlesse he valle, he strodreth and shereth*,/ *when the forst freseth much chele he byd* (chill he bideth);/ *the thornes beth kene, is hattren to-tereth*; Shivering with cold he lugs on his fork a load of thorns, which tear his coat, he had cut them down and been impounded by the forester; the difficult and often unintelligible song represents him as a lazy old man, who walks a bit and stands a bit, and is drunk as well; not a word about desecration or the Sabbath." [Stalleybrass tr., p. 718-719].

[493] Grimm, ibid, p. 718: "The earliest authority I know of is Fischart's Garg. 130b: 'sah im mo nein mánnlin, das holz gestohlen hett;' Praetorius says more definitely, Weltbeschr. 1, 447: the superstitious folk declared the dark spots on the moon to be the man that gathered sticks on the Sabbath and was stoned therefore. …Chaucer in is *Testament of Creseide* 206-4 [Geoffrey Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*] describes the moon as lady Cynthia: *Her gite* (gown) *was gray and ful of spottis blake*,/ *and on her breast a chorl painted ful even*/ *bering a bush of thornis on his bake*,/ *which for his theft might clime no ner the heven*. [Stalleybrass tr.]

[494] "In Dutch is named Ludergheer.," cited by Grimm DM, ibid, p. 720 [Stalleybrass tr.]; The word *duitsche* is misspelled *duitshe* in Rydberg's text. Grimm adds: "Perhaps the proper name *Ludgêr, Leodegarius*, OHG *Luitkêr*, has to do with it and some forgotten legend of the Middle Ages."

[495] The name variant Grimm cites is "lodegeer" quoting a passage by "Willems in *Messager de Gand*, 1, 195, following a MS. of 1351."

Slagfinn-Gjuki's beloved, Auda, the German heroic saga's "frau Ute." A third is Signy-Alveig, in Saxo the daughter of *Sumblus phinnorum* (Ivaldi). It is on his wedding with her that Egil is attacked and slain by Halfdan. Hadding is Halfdan's and her son.

Several signs indicate that, when their father became a foe of the gods, Ivaldi's sons were still their friends, and that Slagfinn specifically supported the side of his foster-father in the conflict with Ivaldi. With this also corresponds the Gjukungs appearing against Waltarius, when he flees with Hildigunn. In the Anglo-Saxon heroic poetry, the name Hengest is borne by the person who there takes Slagfinn's place as Hnæf-Gevar's closest man. From its English sources, the introduction to the *Prose Edda* has the statement that *Heingestur* (Hengest) was a son of Vitta and a close kinsman of Svipdag. If, as previous investigators have assumed, Vitta is Vadi, then Hengest is a son of Ivaldi, and this harmonizes with the statement of his kinship with Svipdag, who is a grandson of Ivaldi. The meaning of the word *Hengest* already refers to Slagfinn-*Geldr*. The name *Geldr* is a participle of *gelda*, and means *castratus*.[496] The original meaning of Hengest is "gelding," *equus castratus* (for the first time, the word got its present meaning in the modern German). That the adjective idea *castratus* was transferred to the substantive fixed *equus castratus* has its explanation in that *Gils, Gisl*, a mythic horse-name (*Gylfaginning* 15, *Nafnaþulur*), was also a Gjukung name. One of Hengest's forefathers in his genealogy in Bede and in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is called Vict-gils; one of Slagfinn-Gjuki's sons is named *Gilser*. A neither mythic nor historic brother of Hengest created in later times is named Horsa. The Ravenna geography says **[754]** that when the Saxons left their old abodes on the continent, they marched *cum principe suo Anschis* and "with their chief *Ans-gisl*," who thus stands in Hengest's place here.[497] Synonymous with Hengest is the Norse *Jálkur, equus castratus*, and that a member of the myths skier-group, that is, one of the Ivaldi family's male members, and in the Norse version of the Germanic mythology, bore this epithet is demonstrated by the paraphrase *öndur-Jálkur*, "the neutered horse of the skis." The cause of the designation is found in the event described above, of which the poem "*Waltarius manu fortis*" has preserved a memory. The foremost of the Gjukungs, originally Gjuki himself, there fights with Waltarius, who in the myth was his father, and receives a wound in the conflict that penetrates "to the thigh-bone," and it was probably not without symbolic significance in the regard that the conflict occurred between father and son. According to the English chronicler Nennius, Hengest had two brothers, Ochta and Ebissa.[498] In spite of their corruption these names are reminiscent of Slagfinn's brothers, Aggo-Ajo (Völund) and Ibor-Ebbo (Egil).

According to the historicized saga, Hengest was the leader of the first Saxon army which landed in Britain. All scholars have long since agreed that this Hengest is a purely legendary figure. The Germanic myths' migration saga was transmitted by the heathen Saxons to England, and survived there until Christian times. Once the name of the actual leader of the Saxon immigration was forgotten, Hengest got to take their place, because

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[496] "eunuch"

[497] The Ravenna Cosmology says: "*Saxonia cum principe suo nomine Ansehis modo habitare videtur*." This is also cited in no. 19.

[498] Nennius, *Historia Brittonum*, "Hengist, after .this, said to Vortigern, "if you approve, I will send for my son and his brother, both valiant men, who, at my invitation will fight against the Scots, and the people who dwell in the North, near the wall called Guaul. The incautious sovereign having assented to this; and Ochta and Ebissa arrived with forty ships," [William Gunn tr.] Most commentators take Ochta as a son of Hengest, and Ebissa as Hengest's son or brother.

in the myths he had been a leader of the Saxon emigrants from their original country, the Scandian peninsula (see no. 16), and because this immigration was blended in Christian times with the memory of the emigration from Germany to Britain. Thus, while the Longobardians made Völund and Egil (Ajo and Ibor) the chiefs of their emigration, the Saxons made their brother Slagfinn (Hengest-Gjuki) theirs. The Burgundians also regarded Slagfinn (Gjuki) as their emigration chief and royal tribal father. Of this there is evidence partly in *Lex Burgundionum*, the preface of which enumerates **[755]** Burgundian kings that bear Gjukung names; partially in Middle High German poem, which make the Gjukungs Burgundian kings. The Saxon migration saga and the Burgundian are therefore, like those of the other Germanic peoples, united with the Ivaldi family and with the fimbul-winter.

Continued in

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