

EVIDENCE THAT IVALDI'S SONS ARE ÖLVALDI'S (continued).
AN OVERVIEW OF *ÞÓRSDRÁPA*.¹

(21) We now come to a mythic record in which Thjazi's brothers *Iði* and *Gálgur*, 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 [*Bragarædur*'s] account of Odin and Suttung is related to that of *Hávamál*. Just as in *Skáldskaparmál* [*Bragarædur*], the narrative's

¹ 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*² 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 *Pórsdrápa*.³ 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.⁴ 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, *Pórsdrápa* 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.⁵

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 *Pórsdrápa* 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

² "salient point."

³ 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

⁴ 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 *Pórsdrápa* is a difficult poem to translate, whose interpretation is debated.

⁵ 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 specific 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, *Pórsdrápa* 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 *Pórsdrápa* 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 *Pórsdrápa*) 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,"⁶ 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, *Pórsdrápa* 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 *Pórsdrápa* 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*,⁷ 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.⁸ 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 *Pórsdrápa* 19, is a *brotningur skógar*, a tree broken or pulled up in the woods.

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

The 1st strophe: The deceitful Loki encourages Thor to proceed from home and visit Geirröd, "the steep altars' temple-master."⁹ The great liar assures him that to

⁶ The phrase *sinnir ýta* is commonly interpreted as a kenning for Thor meaning "the helper of men" cp. the similar *vinr verliða*.

⁷ "At its mouth, the river shall be stemmed," and "The rowan is Thor's salvation."

⁸ *Pórsdrápa* 7/5-8.

⁹ 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.¹⁰

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 strophe¹¹ says:

¹⁰ Rydberg is clearly attempting to follow the text of the verse, which reads: *Vilgi tryggð geðreynir Gauts herþrumu kvað grænar brautir liggja til viggs veggjar Geirröðar*, i.e. "the deceitful mind-tester of the war-thunder's Gaur [Loki] declared that green paths led towards Geirröðr's wall-horse [house]." [Eysteinn Björnsson tr.]

¹¹ 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 Thor'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."

<i>Pá er garðvenjuður</i>	When the belt-wearer (Thor, the owner of the belt of strength)
<i>endur</i> (= <i>iterum, rursus</i>)	now, as on former occasions,
<i>ríkri Iðja Gandvíkur-seturs skotum</i>	strengthened by the men of Idi's chalet situated near Gandvik,
<i>görðist frá Þriðja til Ymsa, kindar</i>	was on his way from Odin to Ymsi's (Ymir's) family,
<i>fýstust þeir</i> (<i>Cod. Worm.</i>) <i>fyrstust þeir</i> (<i>Cod. Reg</i>)	it was to them (to Thor and to the men of Idi's chalet) a joy (or they rushed thither.)
<i>að þrýsta Þorns niðjum</i>	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;¹² (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 *Þórdrápa* 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.¹³ 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 *Þórdrápa* an occasion further on to designate them as *vikings*, bay-dwellers. We have

¹² *endr*, commonly rendered "forth"; see 2/5-8 above.

¹³ *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.¹⁴ 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 íturskið*, 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.¹⁵ And here no other water can be meant than that which lies between Endil's chalet and Jötunheim, that is, Elivogar, Gandvik.¹⁶

The name Endill may be the same as Vendill, Vandill (*Nafnapulur* [*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*).¹⁷ 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

¹⁴ 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.

¹⁵ These examples are found in *Lexicon Poeticum*: "for ship : *Endils öndurr*, Einar skálaglamm lausavísa 2, *Endils eykr* Njálas övriga vers 9, *Endils íturskið*, *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.

¹⁶ This interpretation is sound. In context, it reads: *mantæliir 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 Endil's moor [ocean]." [E. Björnsson tr.] Alternately, Faulkes has: "Endil's [giant's] girls [troll-wives] made his sole palms span [walk] the heath."

¹⁷ In part, the Karlevi runestone of Öland, reads: *Munat reið-Viðurr ráða/ rógstarkr í Danmörku/ Endils jörmungrundar/ örgrandari 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 jörmungrundar 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."¹⁸ Thus, in the first strophes of *Þórsdrápa*, we meet with the names of Ölvaldi's three sons: *Rögnir* (Thjazi), *Iði*, and *Gángur*.¹⁹ 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 *Vargur* (Wolf) who is mentioned, in all probability, is Rögnir-Thjazi himself, who in *Haustlög*, 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."²⁰ 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

¹⁸ 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]."

¹⁹ 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.

²⁰ 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 sefgrímmis*, "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 (*veitir*) of Loki's evil deeds." Similarly, Faulkes renders the same line as "when Loki's bale-avertter [Thor], guilty of hastiness, wished, deed-unsparing, to open hostilities with the bride [Gialp] of rush-Grimnir's [giant's] kinsmen."

the marrow. If *Pórsdrápa* 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,²¹ 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 hlympél við möl glymjá, en fjalla fellihryn þaut með Feðju steðja*).²²

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.²³

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*),²⁴

²¹ See strophe 8.

²² "The banging files [spears] jangled against the pebbles, while the mountains' falling-roar [cascade] rushed, beaten by an ice-storm, along Feðja's anvil,"

²³ "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 [Þjálfí], 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.]

²⁴ 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*).²⁵

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,²⁶ 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*).²⁷ 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.²⁸

tempest, rushed forcefully at the increaser of the distress [Thor] of the room-dwellers of the land of the ridge [giants]," [Björnsson tr.]

²⁵ 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.]

²⁶ Where Rydberg saw a troop of warriors accompanying Thor, most commentators see only one, Thor's boy, Thjalfi.

²⁷ 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.]

²⁸ 19/1-4 is extremely difficult, and emendations are frequently used to make sense of it. Björnsson reads *skógar-kálfa undirfjalfrs 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 *undirfjalfr* to mean "subterranean hideaway (refuge, sanctuary)," he understands *undirfjalfr 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*),²⁹ 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.³⁰

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 8.³¹

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

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]."

²⁹ 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."

³⁰ A modern reading takes this as a kenning for Thor, "helper of men."

³¹ 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.³²

Strophe 13. After having won victory Thor's "terrifying warriors, born inclined toward the sport-of-lords"³³ pressed deeper into Jötunheim to reach Geirröd's hall, and they arrived there amid the grumbles from the "mountain-caves' giant-building *Kymrer*."³⁴

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.³⁵

³² Anderson omits the kenning "*skyttens* (Egils) *fründebriter*." 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".

³³ 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."

³⁴ *Kymrer* [Cymry] are a tribe of Celts in Wales. A modern reading of the verse is: *Pars 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."

³⁵ Modeled on *Pórdräpa* 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 *Pórsdrápa* avail themselves of the sling. Geirröd is called *vegtaugar þrjótur*, "the industrious applier of the sling"³⁶ (str. 17), and *álmtaugar Ægir*, "the Ægir of the sling-band (**not bow-string**) made of elm-bast."³⁷

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 Mephisto³⁸ I presume that the means of rejuvenation, the "gods' [712] remedy against old age (*ellilyf ása* – *Haustlög* 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 Hrungrnir's and the latter's father (*harður var Hrungrnir og hans faðir, þó var Þjazi þeim öflugari* - *Gróttasöngur* 9).³⁹ With his strength he probably had beauty united. Otherwise, *Völundarkviða*'s author would hardly have said that his swan-maid laid her arms around Öfund'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).⁴⁰

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

³⁶ *þrjóti jótrs vegtaugar*, "villain of the tooth of the way of the fishing-line," seems to be a kenning for "giant."

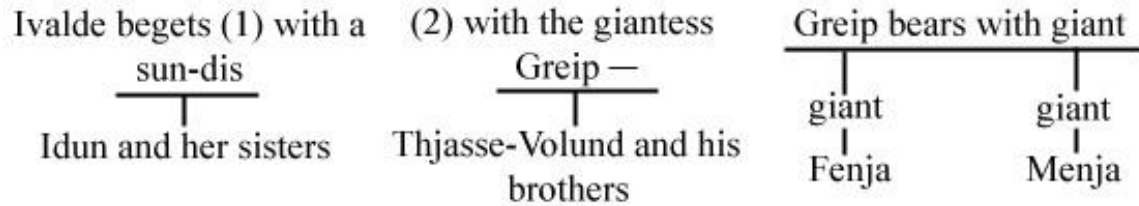
³⁷ The kenning *ægir álmtaugar* indeed refers to Geirröðr. *Álmtaug* "elm-cord" is a poetic name for a bowstring. *Álmr* "elm" is a *heiti* for bow as bows were commonly made of flexible elm. *Ægir álmtaugar* "he who terrifies the bowstring" is "the one who makes it tremble (as with fear)" i.e. an archer or simply a warrior. [*Lexicon Poeticum*].

³⁸ *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.

³⁹ "Hard was Hrungrnir and his father, although Thjazi was more powerful than them."

⁴⁰ "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 *Bidreks 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.⁴¹ 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

⁴¹ 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' adorer," 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
HLÉBARÐUR. 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 Mjölnir 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*⁴² 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* [*Bragarædur*] 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 (*Haustlög* 11),⁴³ 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* [*Bragarædur*]). 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,⁴⁴ 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

⁴² "safeguard."

⁴³ what this is based on is unclear.

⁴⁴ 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,"⁴⁵ 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*⁴⁶ boasts there that:

⁴⁵ 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.

⁴⁶ [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
eg hugða Hlébarð vera,
gaf hann mér gambantein,
en eg vélta hann úr viti.

"a hearty giant
I think Hlébarð was,
he gave me *gambanteinn*,
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 Hödur 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.⁴⁷ One must take *Völuspá's* words literally, that the

⁴⁷ [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 (*Baldur's draumar*),⁴⁸ 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").

⁴⁸ This verse account of the oath-taking to spare Baldur appears in *Vegtamskviða*, the longer version of *Baldur's draumar*, found only in late paper manuscripts. Benjamin Thorpe's translation, 1865, contains the complete poem; *Vegtamskviða*, 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)⁴⁹ the expression *gamban gyldan*, "to compensate," "to pay dues."⁵⁰ In the Norse sources *gamban* occurs only in the compounds *gambanteinn* (*Skírnismál* 32; *Hárbarðsljóð* 20), *gambanreiði* (*Skírnismál* 33), and *gambansumbl* (*Lokasenna* 8).⁵¹ 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."⁵² 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

⁴⁹ C. W. M. Grien's *Sprachschatz der Angelsächsischen Dichter* ('Vocabulary of the Anglo-Saxon Poems'), Cassel, 1861.

⁵⁰ 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)."

⁵¹ 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 "‡*gambansumbl* [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?)."

⁵² 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."

something "stately," "magnificent," "divine," there is not a single shadow of reason.⁵³ *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.*⁵⁴

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 smiling⁵⁵ 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 *Pórsdrápa*, so interesting from a mythological standpoint, confirms this view.⁵⁶ Egil is there called

⁵³ 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.]

⁵⁴ "Now I have avenged all my injuries, with the exception of one, which demands a more terrible revenge," see no. 111.

⁵⁵ *leende*: "smiling" or "sunny."

⁵⁶ *Pórsdrápa* 19/1-4: This half-stanza is obscure. Björnsson suggests the reading: *blótinn Hel-hneitir, at álfi, vá skógar-kálfa undirfjálfers álfheims bliku hógbrotningi*, "the worshipped Hel-striker [Pórr], with the Elf [Þjálfi], slew the wood-calves of the subterranean refuge from Elf-World's gleam [giants] with the easy-crusher [Mjólnir]."

hneitir undir-fjálfs bliku,⁵⁷ and is said to be *helblótinn*.⁵⁸ *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).⁵⁹ *Undir-fjálfr* is considered by Egilsson to mean the underworld mountain,⁶⁰ by Vigfusson "the deep," *the abyss*.⁶¹ *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*.⁶² 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).⁶³ *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 *yājati*), "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

⁵⁷ Today, *hneitir*, "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. *álf-röðull* "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 Geirröðr's giants.

⁵⁸ 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 *Hauströng* 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 *Hauströng*, p. 42]

⁵⁹ 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*."

⁶⁰ *Lexicon Poeticum* (1860) s.v. *fjálfr*, "*Ceterum l.c. jungenda ridentur undir-fjálfr, mons subjectus, monticulus inferior, alliori monti subjectus.*"

⁶¹ Cleasby-Vigfusson s.v. *fjálbr* or *fjálfr*, n. a dubious word, [akin to *fela* (?)], the deep, an abyss, *Hauströng* 18; *undir-fjálfr*, the lower deep, the abyss, *Þórdrápa* 19."

⁶² See *Investigations into Germanic Mythology*, Vol. II, no.6.

⁶³ "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.⁶⁴ 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).⁶⁵ 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, *Svanfjödur* (Slagfinn's beloved is *Svanfjaðrar drós* - strophe 2).⁶⁶ 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

⁶⁴ 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.

⁶⁵ cp. *Völundarkviða* 2 and 15, with the prose introduction. For a more detailed explanation, see no. 113 [See footnote p. 653,]

⁶⁶ *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 suðrænar*, "southern maidens." Thus Rydberg reads "Swan-feather's girl," i.e. her daughter, whereas the common reading of the lines *Önnur var Svanhvít svanfjæðrar 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.⁶⁷ 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 *Atlakviða* 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 (*fjöld 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 Hlödvés 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

⁶⁷ 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,⁶⁸ we learn here that Gjuki got an inheritance from Völund's, Egil's, and Slagfinn's father. And while *Pórsdrápa*, compared with other sources, has already informed us that Idi-Slagfinn and Gang-Egil inhabited that stronghold near the Elivogar which is called "Idi's chalet" and Geirvartil's (Geirvandil's) chalet, and while Geirvandil is demonstrably an epithet of Ivaldi,⁶⁹ 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 [*Bragarædur*, ch. 2], where it is said that Ivaldi (there called Övaldi) 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*).⁷⁰ The same applies to Gjuki-Slagfinn, who accompanied his brothers to the Wolfdales. *Pidreks 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

⁶⁸ See previous paragraph for the logic behind this conclusion, as well as nos. 21, 24, and 108.

⁶⁹ [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.

⁷⁰ "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,⁷¹ a name which, with its variation Eugel, obviously is a variation of Eigel, as he is called in the *Orentel* story and in *Pidreks 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.*⁷² 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.⁷³ 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.*⁷⁴ 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 (*Reginismál* 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.*⁷⁵ 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"

⁷¹ 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."

⁷² 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 Astronomy/ 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.]

⁷³ Grimm's *Deutsche Heldensage* (1829), p. 76.

⁷⁴ *Biterolf* 297: "Nibelót, who made heaven golden; who himself would be god," cited in *Deutsche Heldensage* (1829) p. 149.

⁷⁵ "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.⁷⁶ 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.⁷⁷ 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.⁷⁸ 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 Niflung 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

⁷⁶ *Gull var þar eigi á Grana leiðo*, "there was no gold on Grani's way."

⁷⁷ Rydberg establishes points of contact between *Sigurdrifumál* and the song of Loddafafnir in *Hávamál* in *Investigations into Germanic Mythology*, Vol. II, Part 2: "Hödur-Loddafafnir. 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 Sigurdrifa's identity with Idun, and it is possible that Rydberg had changed his mind on this point by that time.

⁷⁸ 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.⁷⁹ 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).⁸⁰ In *Pidreks Saga af Bern* [*Wilkinasaga*] Gjuki appears now as Irung, now as Aldrian. Aldrian is (*Pidreks Saga af Bern* ch. 169 [*Wilkinasaga* 150]) king of Niflungaland, and has the sons Högni, Gunnar,

⁷⁹ 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*, Gifca 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 *Pidreks 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.

⁸⁰ Grimm identifies Dankrat as Gibiche [*Deutsche Heldensage* (1829) p. 129]; Gillespie, *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).

Gernoz, and Gilzer. Irung (*Piðreks Saga af Bern* ch. 170 [*Wilkinasaga* 151]) is also king of Niflungaland, and has the sons Högni, Gunnar, Guthorm, Gernoz, and Gisler.⁸¹ 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).⁸² Aldrian's consort is called Oda, Gibich's "Frau Uote," Dankrat's "Frau Ute."⁸³

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 *Völundarkviða* 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.⁸⁴ That this servant bears a name that belongs to Slagfinn-Gjuki, Völund's brother, cannot be an accident. One must compare an account in *Piðreks 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 Ölrún, Slagfinn southward to seek his Svanhvit (*Völundarkviða* 5), and that Nidhad thereafter learned —the song does not say how —that Völund sat alone in the Wolfdales (*Völundarkviða* 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, happened into his power while they searched for their beloved. Whether this feature

⁸¹ *Piðreks 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 alone 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"; *Piðreks 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.]

⁸² *Nibelunge 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.

⁸³ 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, Gernôt, 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 Grimhildr [Kriemhilt]; ...also in the Faroese ballad *Brynhildur táttur* (CCF I. 8-22). ...In *Piðreks 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.

⁸⁴ Gillespie, *ibid.*, p. 23, confirms the identity of the name Dancrât and Þakkráður.

belonged to the myth cannot be determined. In any case, it is remarkable that in *Völundarkviða* we rediscover the Gjuki-name Thakkrad, as in *Pidreks 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*).⁸⁵ According to Anglo-Saxon glosses, the Milky Way bears the name *Iringes uueg*.⁸⁶ 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's⁸⁷ 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 history⁸⁸ there is a Saxon saga-hero Cheldricus, who, in alliance with a Saxon chief Baldulf, fights with King Arthur's general Cadur, 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, Cadur to *Höður*; that Geoffrey's account has points of contact with Saxo's about the war between Baldur and *Höður*, and that Geoffrey's Cheldricus corresponds to Saxo's King Gelderus, *Geldr*, who fights with *Höður* and falls in conflict with him.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ 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]

⁸⁶ "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*]

⁸⁷ Anderson misread this as "Frey's."

⁸⁸In 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.

⁸⁹Bugge, Sophus. *Studier over de nordiske gude- og heltesagns oprindelse* I, 185.

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 *Pidreks 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.⁹⁰

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, *Höður* 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 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 *Hjúki*, belonging to the

⁹⁰Book 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.]

myth about the mead and preserved in the the *Prose Edda*,⁹¹ 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.⁹² Earth's skalds call on her (*ef unna útur 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.⁹³ 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.⁹⁴ In *Haustlaug* 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."⁹⁵ 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.

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

⁹¹*Gylfaginning* 11.

⁹² 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.

⁹³*Sökkvabekkr heitir inn fjóðven þar svalar knegu/ unnir yfir glymja/ þar þau Óðinn ok Sága/ drekka um alla daga/ glöð ör 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."

⁹⁴ "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].

⁹⁵The mss. contain significant variants and there is no consensus on the meaning. *Haustlög* 2/5-8 reads: *settisk örn, þars æsir/ ár-Gefnar mar börul vasa byrgi-Týr bjarga/ bleyði vandr 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; *seyði* 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* (*Líðsmannaflökkur* 7, c. 1015)."

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 *Næfr*, *Nefir* (*Nefir er Niflungar eru frá komnir, Skáldskaparmál* 80 [*Prose Edda* I, 529]).⁹⁶ 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 *Viðfínnur*. We have already seen that Slagfinn's and his brothers' father, Ivaldi, is called *Fínnur*, *Fínnakonungur* (Introduction to *Völundarkviða*), and that he is identical with *Sumbli Fínnakonungur*, and *Fínnálfur*. In fact the name *Fínnur* 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, *Fínnisleif* in *Ynglingsaga*,⁹⁷ is borne by a historified mythic person, by whose name Saxo called a foster-son of Gevarr, the moon-god.⁹⁸ The reason why Ivaldi got the name *Fínnur* shall be given below (see No. 123). And because Ivaldi (*Sumbli Fínnakonungur*, *Ölvaldi*) plays an important role in the mead-myth, and Vidfínn, who is robbed of Byrgir's liquid, does as well, then all evidence indicates that Vidfínn, Hjuki's and Bil-Idunn's father, is identical with *Fínnakonungur*, 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."⁹⁹ 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 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

⁹⁶"Nefir, from whom the Niflungs are descended."

⁹⁷*Fínnisleif*, 'Finn's legacy.' The source of this is *Skáldskaparmál* 54, where three treasures are mentioned "the helmet Hiligolt", "the mail-coat Fínnisleif, which weapons could not penetrate" and "a gold-ring named Sviagrís, which belonged to Aðil's ancestors."

⁹⁸ 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 Gevar, 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 Hother, for whom he engaged a tutor, Gevar" [Fisher tr.] In *Skáldskaparmál* 54, Aðils owns Fínnisleif.

⁹⁹*Grímnismál* 44; *Fafnismál* 15.

names also bore the name Vati, Vadi (see *Pidreks Saga af Bern* [*Wilkinasaga*]),¹⁰⁰ then this explains how the Milky Way came to be called Watling Street in the Old English sources.¹⁰¹

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.¹⁰² Baldur's playing is remembered by Geoffrey of Monmouth.¹⁰³ Hödur's is mentioned in Saxo,¹⁰⁴ and perhaps also in the Edda's *Haðarlag*, a special kind of metre or manner of singing.¹⁰⁵ 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 (Ivaldi), and there is reason for identifying him with Gevarr himself.¹⁰⁶ All these names

¹⁰⁰ 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, Merchant's 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 *Skiöblaðnir* for Frey. Jacob Grimm identifies him with the Danish hero Wate in the poem *Gudrun* and supplies the OHG form Wato. In *Pidreks 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.]

¹⁰¹ [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.

¹⁰² Neither Hjarrandi or Horand are mentioned again in this work.

¹⁰³ 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.]

¹⁰⁴ 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.]

¹⁰⁵ *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.

¹⁰⁶ 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

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-Hjúki are his foster-sons, Gunnar is Slagfinn's son, Bragi becomes the husband of Bil-Idun, and Hjarrandi¹⁰⁷ 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 (*Pakkráður*), 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: *Pjazi*, 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, *Brunni*, also alludes to skiers.¹⁰⁸ 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 giant Wate, and wins Hilde with his singing. In the OE poem *Doer* (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 Literature* (700-1600), s.v. Hôrant.]

¹⁰⁷ In *Gudrun*, his name is Horant. In *Skáldskaparmál*, it is Hjarrandi.

¹⁰⁸ See no. 113, #11 p. 673.

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*, *Sveigðir*¹⁰⁹ (*Svegðir*), *Ölmóður*, *Sumbl Finnakonungur* (*Sumblus Phinnorum rex*), *Finnakonungur*, *Viðfínnur*, *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*, *Sumbl Finnakonungur* form another group. *Sveigðir* means, as already shown, "the great drinker,"¹¹⁰ 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*, *Fínnur*, *Viðfínnur*, *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 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*

¹⁰⁹ Properly *Sveigðir*. See footnotes to No. 89.

¹¹⁰ This definition is in err. See footnotes to No. 89.

saga, 40,¹¹¹ 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 be 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,¹¹² and in *Pidreks Saga af Bern* [*Wilkinasaga*], which has preserved certain features from the myth of Ivaldi.

Clad in armor forged by Völund (*Wielandia fabrica*),¹¹³ Waltharius 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).¹¹⁴

With the spear, he meets a sword-champion:

Hic gladio fidens hic acer et arduus hasta (v. 822),¹¹⁵

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). *Pidreks Saga af Bern* [*Wilkinasaga*] speaks of Valthari as an excellent spear-champion. Sure of success, he wagers his head in a competitive contest with this weapon.¹¹⁶

¹¹¹ 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.

¹¹² "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.

¹¹³ 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.]

¹¹⁴ 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.]

¹¹⁵ 825: "One trusts his sword, the other fierce and hard, his sword" [Kratz tr.]; Grimm cites this line as 822, *ibid*, p. 181.

¹¹⁶ 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.

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, Fjölfnir, Freyr, and Óðinn, are pre-human gods (in regard to Fjölfnir, see *Völuspá*).¹¹⁷ 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*, *Viðfynnur*, *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. *Pidreks 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.¹¹⁸ 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]),¹¹⁹ and in the German heroic-saga's Rütze.¹²⁰ 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 dominatur. ... Hic Suebiae 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,

¹¹⁷ The reference here is unclear. Fjölfnir is a name of Odin in *Grímnismál* 47.

¹¹⁸ 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.]

¹¹⁹ 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 Thron for the throne of Norway." [Fisher tr.] In the same text, H. Davidson comments that her name means "red," *ibid*, p. 71, fn. 48.

¹²⁰ Gillespie, *ibid*, p. 112 s.v. Runze (Rütze, Rachin), in *Ornit* and *Wolfdietrich* (B) a giantess, the wife of Velle (Helle); in *Wolfdietrich* (B), Ornit 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)."

belonged to the Germanic stories, like the Hellusians and Oxionians, mentioned elsewhere in *Germania*.¹²¹ 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).¹²² The word *setur* comes from *setja*, a causative form of *sitja*, the Gothic *sitan*.¹²³

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.¹²⁴ 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 *Hlöðver* (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 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 Ölrún, 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

¹²¹ On the nature of these remote tribes, see *Investigations into Germanic Mythology*, Vol. II, Part 2 "The Germanic Discoursi in Tacitus", pp. 35-44.

¹²² *Ynglingasaga* 17, *Ynglingatál* 4 reads: *Ok Vísburis / vilja byrgi/ sævar niðr / svelga knáttil/ þás meinþjófl markar öttu/ setrs verjendr/ á sinn föður*; Erling Monsen translates *setrs verjendr* as "seat wardens." Lee M. Hollander as "the throne's avengers."

¹²³ cp. Jan de Vries' *Altnordisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. *setr*, *sitja*.

¹²⁴ 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 Völund'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."

mythology I must leave aside for the moment.¹²⁵ 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).¹²⁶

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-Nökkver 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*, *Pidreks Saga af Bern*, and Boguphalus (*Chronicon Poloniæ*)¹²⁷ 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."¹²⁸ The statement concerning the wound, which Walther inflicted upon the chief Gjukung 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

¹²⁵ 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, Vælskmaend, 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.

¹²⁶ "very rich in gold."

¹²⁷ As translated by Grimm, *Deutsche Heldensage*, pp. 158-159.

¹²⁸ *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 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.]

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,"¹²⁹ 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:

¹²⁹ Translator's Observation: the name *Sækonungur* does not appear in the index in Volume II. A reference to this page for *Hyndluljóð* also does not appear there. This might suggest that this chapter was a late addition.

Hlödver-Ivaldi	is married to	Svanfeather (<i>Svanfjöður</i> , <i>Völundarkviða</i>).
Finnalf-Ivaldi	is married to	Svanhild Gold-feather, daughter of Sól (<i>Hversu Noregur byggðist [Fornaldarsögur]</i>).
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 <i>Hnæfur</i> , <i>Hnefur</i> , Nanna's father (<i>Hyndluljóð</i> , 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...*).¹³⁰ The elder is the moon-god's wife.¹³¹ 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; *Nafnapulur [Prose Edda I, 172]*, and elsewhere).¹³²

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.¹³³ 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).¹³⁴ The correspondence on this point indicates that

¹³⁰ *Eina dóttur /berr Álfröðull, /áðr hana Fenrir fari;/ sú skal ríða,/ þá er regin deyia,/ móður brautir, mæ.* "A daughter Álfröðull will bear, before Fenrir asails her; she shall ride, when the powers perish, the maiden on her mother's paths"

¹³¹ 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-Sinhtgunt and Sunna-Hildigunt.

¹³² See *Lexicon Poeticum*, s.v. sunna for other instances.

¹³³ 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.

¹³⁴ "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

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.¹³⁵

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:

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 Hjúki 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

a blazing pyre, and burnt him; for Gunne had himself treacherously waylaid Gevar, 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.]

¹³⁵ 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.

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.¹³⁶

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 Hjúki 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.¹³⁷ According to English traditions, it is not the two children of Vidfinn, but a drunken criminal (*Ritson's Ancient Songs*; cp. J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 681),¹³⁸ 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).¹³⁹ 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 *Eylimí*. A Dutch poem from the 1300s says that the culprit "in duitsche heet Ludergher."¹⁴⁰ A name-variant which J. Grimm (*Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 683) cites is *Lodeger*.¹⁴¹ 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 Gjukung; in "*Dieterichs Flucht*," he

¹³⁶ *Pidreks Saga af Bern*, ch. 60; see no. 113, p. 694.

¹³⁷ 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 fläckar äro tvenne varelser, som bära en bryggstå (bridge-bucket, slung pail)," [Stalleybrass tr.]; Translated literally the Swedish passage means "in southern Sweden, the public still says that the moon's spots are two beings that carry a brewing-pail."

¹³⁸ "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].

¹³⁹ 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 his *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 chorn painted ful even/ bering a bush of thornis on his bake*,/ *which for his theft might clime no ner the heven*. [Stalleybrass tr.]

¹⁴⁰ "In Dutch is named Ludergher.," 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 *Liutkêr*, has to do with it and some forgotten legend of the Middle Ages."

¹⁴¹ The name variant Grimm cites is "lodegeer" quoting a passage by "Willems in *Messenger de Gand*, 1, 195, following a MS. of 1351."

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 Hjúki 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 Slagfinn-Gjúki'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 Gjúkungs 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*.¹⁴² 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, *Nafnapulur*), was also a Gjúkung name. One of Hengest's forefathers in his genealogy in Bede and in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is called Vict-gils; one of Slagfinn-Gjúki'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.¹⁴³ 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 Gjúkungs, originally Gjúki 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,

¹⁴² "eunuch"

¹⁴³ The Ravenna Cosmology says: "*Saxonia cum principe suo nomine Ansehis modo habitare videtur.*" This is also cited in no. 19.

Hengest had two brothers, Ochta and Ebissa.¹⁴⁴ 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 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

Viktor Rydberg's Investigations into Germanic Mythology, Vol. II.

Part I: Indo-European Mythology (2006)

Part II: Germanic Mythology (2004).

Translated and Annotated by William P. Reaves

Available at www.amazon.com and wherever books are sold.

¹⁴⁴ 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.