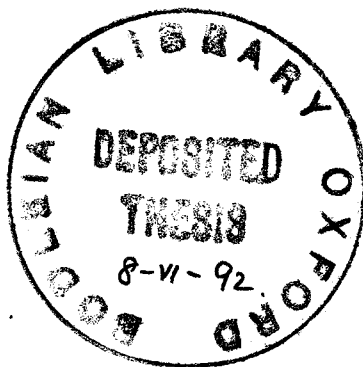

AN EDITION OF SVIPDAGSMAL

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY, JANUARY 1991✓

P. M. W. ROBINSON

WADHAM COLLEGE



THIS THESIS CONTAINS 124,400 WORDS, EXCLUSIVE OF EDITED TEXT

Permission given July 1989 for this thesis to contain 116,000 words. See p. 504 for word-counts.

Stanzas 5-7 of *Gróugaldr*
from Stockholm Papp. 15 octavo

Galdra þú mæ
þat þa er göfir ero. biarg þu Snofir megi,
A vegum allur hylst ef at ef verða munu
þittinu ef til ungur Apui.

Þann get ef þer þessan þau þessa.
þiottuþan þu got þindur þau at þu opogst
þiottir, þu er þer. Allat þer. Hialp lestu þu

Þann get ef þer annan, ef (þau þer.
þu Anna þess vilu í þá vegom, urdarlof
þalldi þ' allu meguin, er þu a þinan þer

Stanzas 5-7 of *Gróugaldr*
from Rask 21 a

Galdra þu mæ gál. þa er göfir ero. biarg
þu mæti megi. a vegum allur. þu er at er.
verða munu. þittinu ef til ungur Apui.

Þann get ef þer þessan. þann þessa þi.
at niðan. þann got þindur þam at þu op
ogst. þiottir þu er þer. Hialp. þu er.
ux lestu. þu er þer.

Þann get ef þer annan er þu er. þu er
vilu þu a vegom. ux þu er. þu er þer.
allom megom er þu a þinan, er.

Stanzas 2 and 3 of *Sólarljóð*
from Stockholm Papp. 15 octavo

Þinn þau af, of
hardla, allbrei þau þau
maue til matar, audur
en möður og meigin þitt/gestur gangan,
de af gótu þu.

Dryckis of þurpe þu dæste madur
og lefst vanmettur vera, þu er þu
þu lefst trúa þu er af þu Volendur verid.

ABSTRACT

P.M.W. Robinson

Wadham College

D. Phil Thesis

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Section I of this thesis establishes a text of the two Old Norse poems *Gróugaldr* and *Fjölsvinnsmál*, known collectively as *Svipdagsmál* (*Sv*). Previous editions are surveyed, discussing their use of the two MSS upon which the emended text offered by this edition is based, Stockholm Papp. 15 8vo and Rask 21 a (I.1). Reasons are given for the choice of these two MSS (out of the forty six MSS known to the editor) and the two MSS are described (I.2). The emended and normalised text is accompanied by a translation and summary apparatus (I.3), followed by a Commentary (I.4). A reconstruction is attempted of the history of the MS tradition (I.5). This reconstruction is based on computer collation of the MSS and database analysis of the collation, together with external evidence where available. The reconstruction confirms the choice of Stockholm Papp. 15 8vo and Rask 21 a: most of the other MSS appear descended from one of these two.

Section II gathers together analogues to the poems in Celtic, Icelandic and Scandinavian ballad tradition. The story was earlier an Irish mythical tale, itself an adaptation of an international popular tale of the "giant's daughter" type (II.2). Traces of this original tale are to be found in Icelandic popular tradition (II.3). The Scandinavian *Ungen Svendal* ballads seem derived from *Sv* itself (II.4).

Section III analyses the poet's use of Old Norse poetic and mythological materials. The poems are skilful studies in Eddic style (III.2) and the poet shows a deliberate creativity in the adaptation and invention of mythological material (III.3-5).

Evidence is presented for a date of composition in the early thirteenth century (IV.1). A study of the art of the poems shows a poet of rare skill (IV.2).

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17 December 1990

Abbreviations; Manuscripts

All Eddic poems are abbreviated as in *Lexicon Poeticum*: e.g. *Gróg* for *Gróugaldr*, *Fj* for *Fjölsvinnsmál*. Also:

Sv *Svipdagsmál*.

Bhl "Sigdrífumál eða Brynhildarljóð", as preserved in paper MSS. See pp. 37-41.

Abbreviations used frequently for works of reference, collections, etc:

SE 'Sæmundar Edda': all the poems commonly grouped in the paper MSS under this title. That is, all the poems of **CR** and the mythological poems not found in **CR** (usually *Bdr*, *Grott*, *Gróg*, *Fj*, *Hyndl*).

LP *Lexicon Poeticum Antiquae Linguae Septentrionalis*. Finnur Jónsson. Copenhagen, 1931 (2nd ed.)

NF *Norrøn Fornkvæði*. S. Bugge. Christiania 1867.

ONP *A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose / Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog*. Copenhagen (in progress; no fascicles yet published).

SGT *Die Lieder der Edda*. B. Sijmons and H. Gering. Halle, 1888-1906. (Text 1888. 'Einleitung' B. Sijmons pp. i-ccclxxv 1906.)

SGK *Kommentar*. B. Sijmons and H. Gering. Vols I-II. Halle, 1927-31.

SGW *Vollständiges Wörterbuch*. H. Gering. Halle, 1903.

Skj. *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning*. Ed. Finnur Jónsson. Vols IA-IIA (tekst efter håndskrifterne), IB-IIB (rettet tekst). Copenhagen 1908-15.

Other abbreviations are explained in the Bibliography. All citations from the poems of *SE* follow the verse numbering of *NF*.

ABBREVIATIONS; MANUSCRIPTS

MSS frequently cited are referred to by letter. MSS containing all or part of *Sv* are summarily described. Page numbers refer to the full description of the MS in the thesis (**St Ra Bt**) or the non-examinable Appendix (other MSS). MSS not containing *Sv* are marked *:

- A** AM 748 I 4to.*
- Bt** p. 193 of T. Bartholin *Antiquitatum Danicarum de causis contemptae a Danis adhuc gentilibus mortis libri tres* Copenhagen, 1689. (*Gróg* 13 only. Pp. 49-50).
- CR** 'Codex Regius', GkS 2365 4to.*
- E** Advocates Library 21.4.7. [c. 1760 by Eggert Ólafsson; descended from **St**. Pp. 434-5]
- Gu** Stockholm Papp. 46 4to. [c. 1682; a copy of **St** by Guðmundur Ólafsson. Pp. 432-3]
- Ha** Lbs 214 4to. [*Sv* before 1776 by Vigfús Jónsson; descended from **O**, related to **Ra**. P. 457-8]
- Hb** 'Hauksbók'*, AM 544 4to and AM 371 4to portions; also AM 105 fol.
- He** Lbs 1562 4to. [written c. 1686 by Helgi Ólafsson in Sweden and brought to Iceland 1687; descended from **St** via **Gu**. Pp. 428-31]
- J** Lbs 966 4to. [c. 1792 by Ólafur Jónsson of Purkey. Pp. 449-52]
- L** NkS 1866 4to. [c. 1770; descended from **St** via **He**. Pp. 438-9]
- M** Melsteð's Edda. [1765 by Ólafur Brynjólfsson. Pp 454-5]
- O** AM 738 4to. ['Codex Oblongus', c. 1680; closely related to, perhaps descended from, **Ra**. P. 456]
- P** Lbs 1441 4to. [1760 in Miðfjarðardalur. Pp. 448-9]
- Ra** Rask 21 a. [c. 1675. Pp. 56-8]

ABBREVIATIONS; MANUSCRIPTS

- S** JS 429 4to. [*Gróg* only; c. 1810; a copy of **L** by Hallgrímur Scheving. Pp. 440-2]
 Sa: first text of *Vsp* and *Sigrdr* in **S**.
 Sb: Second text of *Vsp* and *Sigrdr* in **S**.
- St** Stockholm Papp. 15 8vo. [c. 1675. Pp. 50-6]
- MSS of *Sv* less frequently cited are referred to by number:
- 4** Trinity College Dublin L. 4. 1. [c. 1770. P. 447]
5 Advocates Library 21.5.2. [1755-6, by Oddur Jónsson; descended from **O**, related to **Ra**. Pp. 459-60]
6 Advocates Library 21.6.7. [c. 1761, by Jón Egilsson of Stóra-Vatnshorn; descended from **St** via **He**. Pp. 436-7]
11 Stockholm Papp. 11 4to. [after 1687; a copy of **Gu**. Pp. 427-8]
34 Stockholm Papp. 34 fol. [c. 1684; a copy of **St** by Helgi Ólafsson. P. 431]
47 Houghton Library (Harvard) MS Icel. 47. [c. 1775; a copy of **L** by Jón Eíriksson. Pp. 439-40]
165 British Library Additional 11,165. [c. 1770. P. 447]
215 Lbs 215 4to. [c. 1770; a copy of **Ha**; descended from **O**, related to **Ra**. P. 458]
223 JS 223 4to. [*Gróg* only; 1809-10; a copy of **L** by Bjarni Þórarinnsson. P. 440]
289 Lbs 289 4to. [*Gróg* only; c. 1800; descended from **St** via **E**. P. 436]
329 Ms. germ. qu. 329. [c. 1755, by Oddur Jónsson; descended from **O**, related to **Ra**. P. 459]
497 JS 497 8vo. [*Fj* only; c. 1830. Pp. 455-6]
636 Lbs 636 4to. [c. 1755; descended from **O**, related to **Ra**. Pp. 460-1]

ABBREVIATIONS; MANUSCRIPTS

- 643** Egerton 643. [c. 1770; descended from **O**, related to **Ra**. Pp. 464-5]
- 682** University Library Uppsala R 682 a. [c. 1685; a copy of **Gu** by Helgi Ólafsson. P. 434]
- 773** Thott 773 a fol. [c. 1775 by the same scribe as **1109**; descended from **Ra**. Pp. 444-5]
- 818** Lbs 818 8vo. [c. 1775 descended from **O**, related to **Ra**. Pp. 461-2]
- 818b** Lbs 818 8vo. [*Gróg* only; c. 1775; descended from **St** via **He**. Pp. 461-2]
- 934** Nordiska Museet (Stockholm) 64. 934. [c. 1750; descended from **O**, related to **Ra**. Pp. 462-4]
- 1108** NkS 1108 fol. [c. 1775, by Arni Böðvarsson. P. 446]
- 1109** NkS 1109 fol. [c. 1765; by the same scribe as **773**; descended from **Ra**. P. 444]
- 1111** NkS 1111 fol. [c. 1775. Pp. 446-7]
- 1491** Thott 1491 4to. [c. 1765, by Páll Sveinsson. Pp. 452-3]
- 1492** Thott 1492 4to. [c. 1765; descended from **Ra**. Pp. 442-4]
- 1609** Lbs 1609 8vo. [c. 1810, by Benedikt Gabriel Jónsson. P. 453]
- 1689** Lbs 1689 4to. [c. 1755, by Oddur Jónsson; descended from **O**, related to **Ra**. P. 458]
- 1867** NkS 1867 4to. [c. 1760, by Ólafur Brynjólfsson. Pp. 431-2]
- 1868** NkS 1868 4to. [c. 1760; descended from **Ra**. P. 445]
- 1869** NkS 1869 4to. [c. 1770, by Markús Jónsson. Pp. 447-8]
- 1870** NkS 1870 4to. [after 1689; a copy of **34**. P. 432]
- 1872** NkS 1872 4to. [c. 1775; a copy of **O**. Pp. 456-7]
- 2797** Lbs 2797 4to. [1820, by Gísli Konráðsson. Pp. 455]

ABBREVIATIONS; MANUSCRIPTS

- 3633** Lbs 3633 8vo. [*Gróg* only; after 1751; derived from **St** via
6. P. 438]
- 4877** British Library Additional 4877. [c. 1770; derived from **St**,
probably via E. P. 435]

I. 1 Previous Editions and this Edition¹

1. MSS Used by Previous Editors

Previous editors who have edited *Sv* from the MSS, and the MSS they have used, are:²

1. Arnamagnaeon 1787 (*Fj* only):

1491 ('Sveinsonii liber'); **1108** ('L'); **47** ('E'), 'Anonym in E' (= marginalia from **L** copied into **47**); 'Suec' (= marginalia from **1870**, as copied into **47**); also 'G' which I have been unable to trace, see p. 465.

The text is based on **47**, itself a copy of **L**.

2. Arnamagnaeon 1818 (*Gróg* only):

1869 ('S' in apparatus; note that 'S' in Preface = **L**); **L** ('L' in apparatus; apparently so in Preface also); **O**.

The text is based on **L**.

3. Rask 1818:

34 ('St'); **Gu** ('G'); **Ra** ('Eddubr. '); **1869** ('Suhms edda'); **St** ('F').

The text is based on the Arnamagnaeon editions, themselves based ultimately on **L**.

¹ The review of previous editions in this chapter expands on the brief comments, mostly concerning *NF*, of Jónas Kristjánsson 1987.

² Notes in brackets relate the sigils to those used in this edition.

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4. *NF* (Bugge 1867):

1108 1109 L O 1869 St (*St* in *Tillæg* only). Bugge also discusses **1111** in his introduction (lxi) but does not use it in the edition.

The text is a synthesis of the MSS with Bugge's own extensive emendations.

5. SGT, Hildebrand 1922 and Boer 1922. For all these editions:

1108 1109 L 1867 1869 O: all references to these six MSS are based on a collation of them by Boer (SGT 'Einleitung' xiv).

Ra St: all references to these are drawn either from Rask (**Ra St**), or from Bugge's *Tillæg* (**St**), or from a transcript of **St** by R. F. Cederschiöld.

These editions all offer synthetic and heavily emended texts.

All other editions of *Sv* (e.g. those of Lüning, Grundtvig, Dettner and Heinzel, Finnur Jónsson, Neckel and Briem) appear to be based on one or more of the texts and apparatus of the above. No editor appears to have consulted any of the MSS for over a century, since Boer's collation of the six MSS **1108 1109 L 1867 1869 O** some time before the publication in 1888 of SGT.

2. MSS not Used by Editors

Of the forty six MSS containing *Sv* known to this editor previous editions have used a total of twelve.

Of the thirty four MSS not used by previous editors at least one was known to previous editors: **1111**, discussed by Bugge *NF* lxi but not used

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by him.¹ Three other MSS in the Royal Library Copenhagen were available to previous editors: **1492 1872 773**. Use of these could have given editors access to information important in the classification of MSS. See, for example, the evidence drawn from **1492** on pp. 209-10 below supporting the descent of the MSS of the Egilsson group from **Ra**.

Since the last collation of any MSS of Sv, by Boer sometime before 1888, catalogues have been compiled covering the major MS collections which concern this edition: see Bibliography. Most important among the additional MSS listed in these and other sources are:

1. Nine MSS which preserve a version of Sv distinct from that hitherto printed. I call this distinct version the B text; that previously printed the A text. Traces of this version are present, apparently by contamination, in many more MSS and are important to their classification: e.g. pp. 212-4. Analysis of this B text aided assessment of the problematic O, see pp. 200-7.
2. The copy descended from St brought by Helgi Ólafsson from Sweden to Iceland c. 1687, now in He. This MS provides evidence of the descent of many later MSS written in Iceland (e.g. L E) from St: see pp. 8-9, 179.
3. The copies of various CR poems in S, removed from AM 166 b 8vo some time before 1840 and found by the editor in S in July 1988 (see pp. 440-2). These provide valuable information concerning the *usus scribendi* of C17 Icelandic scribes of poetic texts (e.g. pp. 25-6).

¹ Bugge refers to this MS in the apparatus to the title of *Gróg* but makes no other reference to it in his apparatus.

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4. Two MSS, **P** and **J**, which this edition suggests have independent authority, though not the primary importance of **St** and **Ra**. This edition uses them on occasion to support readings in **St** and **Ra**: see pp. 222, 402-3.

Another important source not used by earlier editors is the printing of *Gróg* 13 by Bartholin 1689. It appears certain that Bartholin was using a now-lost MS of primary authority; see pp. 49-50 below. This printing is denoted as **Bt**.

3. Previous Editors and MS Relations

Previous editors did not attempt to disentangle the MS history of the two poems. All MSS used were treated as of potentially equal value. Thus Bugge's opinion (*NF* xlv):

'Ingen Afskrift, som jeg har sét, var afgjort bedre end de øvrige eller kunde antages for at stamme umiddelbart fra den gamle tabte Original, som maa ligge til Grund for alle Afskrifter ...'¹

In their quest for a readable text editors therefore freely selected readings from the MSS. They did not examine the provenance either of the MSS or of the readings within them. Accordingly, they did not attempt to discriminate the MSS most likely to retain original readings from those marked by late corruption and scribal emendation.

Bugge's statement of his method is revealing (*NF* xlv):

'Ved disse Digte (i.e. *Gróg*, *Fj*) ... der ere udgivne efter Papirhaandskrifter, vilde det have været unyttigt og altfor vidløftigt at medtage alle Læsemaader i de benyttede Hskrr.; jeg

¹ 'No copy which I have seen was markedly better than the rest or could be taken as deriving directly from the old lost original which must lie behind all copies...'

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har efter bedste Skjøn gjort et Udvalg ok ikke nævnt mange
aabenbare Forvanskninger ...¹

However, the 'aabenbare Forvanskninger' may be an important resource for the reconstruction of the MS tradition, and for the evaluation of the MSS themselves: e.g. the discussion of the B Text and O, pp. 200-7.

Accordingly, and on the basis of a survey of all forty six known MSS, this edition presents evidence that the MSS of Sv are not of equal value (or lack of value). This edition agrees with Bugge that no surviving MS derives directly from 'den gamle tabte Original'. However, two MSS, St and Ra, appear 'afgjort bedre end de øvrige' and preserve a text significantly closer to the presumed original than do the MSS upon which Bugge and other editors based their editions.

4. Reliance on Late and Unreliable MSS

The editions cited on pp. 1-2 above relied particularly upon four MSS written about 1770 in Iceland: **1108 1109 L 1869**. Thus, they reflect the late state of the text as found in these MSS. All four MSS contain many readings which this edition suggests result from modern revision or error. This edition concludes that none of these four MSS have primary authority as witnesses to the original text; see I. 5.

All four MSS appear to have been written especially for sale to the powerful and wealthy Danish bibliophiles — e.g. B. W. Luxdorph, P. F. Suhm, P. Hersleb and J. Langebek — whose interest in Eddic poetry lies

¹ 'Concerning these poems...which are edited from paper MSS, it would have been futile and far too cumbersome to include all the readings in the MSS used; I have made a choice by the best judgement and not mentioned many obvious corruptions.'

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behind the *editio princeps* of *SE*, Arnamagnæan 1787-1828.¹ Exactly the qualities which recommended these MSS to the Danish collectors appear to have recommended them to the early editors of *Sv*. These MSS — and others preserved with them in the Royal Library, Copenhagen — are unambiguously legible, handsomely presented, and so rich in marginal variants as to appear editions of *SE* in their own right.

Exactly these qualities might arouse the suspicions of a modern editor. The forests of marginal variants suggest systematic and large-scale conflation. This and the elaborate care of the whole imply dedicated scribal intervention. The reconstruction of the history of the *Sv* tradition proposed in I.5 suggests that many readings apparently accepted as likely to be original by earlier editors, and thus admitted into their apparatus and even their texts, are the result of deliberate scribal recension or of scribal error.

A reading accepted into the text by all editors but probably the result of scribal recension is *ek vilja vita*, the third line of *Svipdagr*'s eighteen times repeated question formula, *Fj* 7-41. Both **St** and **Ra**, and all other MSS dating from before 1760, have the perfectly acceptable *ek vilda vita*. The reading *vilja* first appears in the five MSS I call the Langebek group, including two of the MSS (1108 and 1869) heavily used by previous editors. The text of these five MSS, all written about 1770, is sufficiently distinct as to be a separate recension of the text. Many of the readings in the Langebek recension appear the result of a late reviser, well versed in the older poetry: see pp. 215-7. It appears that *vilja* is one of these learned revisions, drawn from *Skí* 3. My edition reads *ek vilda vita* as most likely,

¹ Luxdorph (1716-88) was first deputy in the Danish Chancellry and left the Royal Library 15,000 books on his death; Suhm (1728-98) a historian and author; Hersleb (1689-1757) a bishop; Langebek (1710-75) a historian (*Dansk biografisk leksikon*).

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from its appearance in all extant early MSS, to have stood in the lost archetype.

Many other readings given in the apparatus of earlier editors and drawn from the four late MSS **1108 1109 L 1869** are the result of scribal recension or error. The study of the development of the MS tradition of *Sv* given in I.5 permits identification of where such recensions or errors arose and warrants their unoriginality. Examples of such readings are the following, all cited by Bugge (some incorrectly) in his apparatus:

a Readings originating in the **B** recension

lifendum lífs Fj 3/3 (correctly, *liðendum lǫð St*). The reading first appears in B text MSS, themselves based on **O** (see pp. 205-7), which here has *liðendum lof*. The reading *lifendum lífs* is typical of the B revisions in making sense in itself and no sense in the context. The reading spread far by contamination, including into the margins of the two Langebek MSS **1108 1869** whence Bugge had it.¹

flötr Fj 10/4. This reading also first appears in the B MSS, spreading by contamination thence into the margins and text of the Langebek MSS, including **1108** and **1869**. A clear scribal misreading of correct *fjǫtr*, as in **St Ra. O**, from which the B MSS ultimately derive, has *fjǫtr*, and uses a form of *j* in this word easily mistaken for *l*. The B MSS contain many other such misreadings (see pp. 205-6).

¹ *Lifendum lífs* is found as a marginalia even in MSS which otherwise show little sign of influence from the B Text (e.g. **J**, see p. 221-2)

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b. Readings originating in the Langebek recension

skiðgarði Fj 3/2 (correctly, *forgarði St*). This occurs in all five Langebek MSS, including **1108** and **1869**, and in the margins of two others apparently by contamination. The failure to alliterate indicates its unoriginality (cf. pp. 29-30). The learned but pointless allusion to *Skí* and *Hrólfs saga kraka* is typical of the Langebek reviser (cf. pp. 216-7).

c. Readings originating in the Luxdorph recension

kynni Gróg 12/2 (correctly, *kømr St O*). Bugge wrongly ascribes *kynni* in his apparatus to **O** and the 'stockh. Hskrr.' (cf. pp. 12-13 below). This would place the reading in the earliest extant MSS, written c. 1680. In fact none of these early MSS have the reading, and the chief Luxdorph recension MS **L** (written c. 1760) is the first to read *kynni*. The reading is found elsewhere only in the copies of **L** in **47 223 S** and by contamination in the margins of **773** and **2797**.

knir L Fj 13/6. Scribal misreading of *lim*, probably prompted by the similarity of *k/l* and *ui/in/m* in the hand of Helgi Ólafsson (cf. next three entries). The word appears thus in Helgi's **He**: *knir*. It is likely that Helgi wrote the ancestor of **L**, in which this reading first appears: see pp. 182-4 below. The reading descends by contamination to the margins of two MSS of the Egilsson group; the copy of **L** in **47** has *kiur*.

keint L Fj 16/6. Scribal misreading of *kemt*, as in **He**, again probably prompted by misreading of the distinctive hand of Helgi Ólafsson. The word appears thus in Helgi's **He**: *keint*. The reading descends to the copy of **L** in **47** and by contamination to

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the margins of the three MSS of the Egilsson group, including 1109.

kaupa vin L Fj 17/6. Absurd revision of *hlaupa inn*, again deriving from the similarity of Helgi's k/l and ui/in. Thus in Helgi's He: *o f laupa inn*. The copy of L in 47 and the margins of the three MSS of the Egilsson group also have *kaupa vin*.

minum erfмага (sic) Fj 33/6. Absurd revision of *innan ásmaga*, following exactly the same route from L into the same MSS as the last two readings. Once more, misreading of Helgi's hand may lie behind this. The two words appear thus in his He: *minum erfмага*.

Atvarðr Fj 34/5. A mistaken scribal attempt at solution to the incorrect *at var þar* of many MSS (cf. pp. 24-5). An identical textual history to the last three readings.

5. Scholarly Opinion of the Sv Tradition

The manifest inferiority of the readings discussed in the last three pages, readings especially widespread in MSS written after 1700, appears to have provoked scholarly suspicion of the MS tradition of Sv. Thus the impression of uniform corruption in Bugge's opinion (*NF* xlv) cited on p. 4 above.

The rest of Bugge's sentence compounds this, as he implies that O is nonetheless the best of a poor choice and has 'paa flere Steder alene bevaret det rette' (in various places alone preserved the correct). It is argued later (pp. 193-9) that O is irreparably damaged by scribal revision and is probably an inferior copy of the same exemplar as that used by Ra. Any

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later scholar encouraged by Bugge's words to base an edition on **O** alone would soon find himself wondering just how bad the other MSS must be if they are worse than this.¹

Similarly, Sijmons in SGT xiv:

'Manchmal ist der Text durch fortschreitende Verschlechterung und willkürliche Besserungsversuche der Abschreiber so hoffnungslos verderbt, dass jeder Versuch, durch Conjectur einen erträglichen Sinn herzustellen, abgelehnt werden muss.'²

Yet, not one of the dubious readings discussed in the last section occurs in either **St** or **Ra**. The relative freedom of these two MSS from 'fortschreitende Verschlechterung und willkürliche Besserungsversuche' suggests that the MS tradition of **Sv** may not be as insecure as the opinions cited above suggest.

6. Use of **St** and **Ra** by Previous Editors

This thesis presents evidence that these two MSS provide the best base for the emended text given in I.3. Previous editors' citation of these two MSS is infrequent and occasionally inaccurate.

6.1 Infrequent citation of **St** and **Ra**

1. Neither Arnamagnaeon 1787 (*Fj*) nor 1818 (*Gróg*) uses **St** or **Ra**. A few arbitrarily chosen readings from 1870, itself a copy

¹ Jónas Kristjánsson comments on **O**: '.. þótt það hafi í sumum stöðum góðan texta er það í öðrum svo herfilega afbakað að það verður með öngu móti lagt til grundvallar nýrri útgáfu kvæðanna' 1987, 14 (Although it has a good text at some points, at others it is so horribly corrupted that it can in no way be used as the base for a new edition of the poems). Both he and this editor first thought to use **O** as the basis for an edition (verbal discussion, July 1988).

² 'The text is sometimes so hopelessly damaged through successive corruption and the copyists' arbitrary emendations that every attempt to establish a passable sense by conjecture must be abandoned'.

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of a copy of **St** (see below pp. 431-2), are written in the margin of **47** and are thence cited in Arnamagnæan 1787.

2. Rask 1818 used both MSS, but did not recognize their value. His text is based on the Arnamagnæan editions, themselves descending from L. Rask:

- i. cites **St** and **Ra** rarely;
- ii. fails to see that both **34** and **Gu** are copies of **St**;
- iii. incorrectly numbers **St** as 5: it is Papp. 15 8vo.

3. Bugge *NF* : All citations in the apparatus of **St** and **Ra** are taken from Rask. Bugge *NF* liii-v, lxi-lxii so demolished the authority of **St** and **Ra** as sources for the **CR** poems that he (and later editors) did not make a systematic collation of either MS for *Sv*. Bugge did gain access to **St** apparently after completing his text and apparatus, and cites several readings in the *Tillæg*. His discussion of **St** and **Ra** in his Introduction deals only with the text of the **CR** poems.

4. SGT and Hildebrand 1922 did not use **St** itself but a transcript made by R. F. Cederschiöld.¹ They also rely on Bugge's readings from **St** in his *Tillæg*. All citations of **Ra** in these editions are based on Rask.

5. Boer 1922: All citations of **St** and **Ra** are drawn from the earlier editions of Rask, SGT and Bugge.

6. No other editor appears to have consulted these MSS.

As **Ra** was in the Copenhagen University Library throughout the last century — as was **O**, used by many editors — failure to use it is

¹ I have not been able to trace this transcript. Neither SGT nor Hildebrand specify any readings for **St** taken from it.

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surprising. Boer collated six other MSS in Copenhagen, but not **Ra**.

Failure to use **St** is surprising in that it is old — at least as old as **O**, and up to a century older than such MSS as **L** — and its age was well known to Bugge and other editors. However, it was in Stockholm and therefore less accessible.

6.2 Inaccurate citation of **St** and **Ra**

There are inaccuracies in the citation of **St** and **Ra** by previous editors.

Reliance of one editor upon another has led to perpetuation and multiplication of error.

1. Rask 1818 misreports **St** as reading *standi* in *Gróg* 15/3; the MS actually has the correct *standit*.¹ Later editors repeat the error or fail to correct Rask:

- i. The error is imported by Bugge *NF* into his apparatus. Nor did he correct it in his *Tillæg* after examining the MS itself.
- ii. Boer 1922 repeats Bugge's error.
- iii. Neither SGT nor Hildebrand 1922 follow Bugge in the citation of **St**, as they usually do (possibly Cederschiöld's transcript of **St**, to which these had access, had the correct *standit*) but neither do they explicitly correct Bugge's error.

2. At *Gróg* 12/2 Rask reads *kynni* in the text, here following as usual Arnamagnæan 1818, itself following **L**. In his apparatus, Rask correctly reports **Ra** as reading *kømr*. Rask reports no readings for any of the Stockholm MSS, though **St** also reads the correct *kømr*.

¹ Note that Rask cites **St** as 'F' and **34** as 'St'.

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But Bugge apparently thought that Rask was basing his text on the Stockholm MSS, and hence in his own apparatus wrongly records 'de stockh. Hskrr.' as reading *kynni*. Again Bugge fails to correct the error in his *Tillæg* (though he does there correct the identical misreading of O). Again Boer repeats the error — and so too does Hildebrand. SGT here does not follow Bugge (Cederschiöld's transcript presumably had the correct *kømr*) but neither does it explicitly correct Bugge.

3. Hildebrand appears to have assumed wrongly that readings in Rask's text derive from **Ra**. At several points Hildebrand ascribes to **Ra** (= 'E') readings not in that MS, but actually in L, Rask's ultimate exemplar. So Hildebrand records **Ra** as reading *logn* at *Gróg* 11/3, where **Ra** has the incorrect *gogn*. The misreading is important as this error in **Ra** is found also in O, the B text MSS (slightly adapted) and the MSS contaminated by the B MSS — especially **1108** and **1869**. This error is therefore one of several pieces of evidence of the descent of all these from **Ra**, or from a MS close to **Ra** (see pp. 190-207).

Thus, two of the fourteen citations of St's text of *Gróg* in the apparatus and *Tillæg* of Bugge — the most influential of modern editions — are incorrect: *kynni Gróg* 12/2 (correct *kømr*) and *standi Gróg* 15/3 (correct *standit*). The inferiority of both readings casts unmerited doubt on the value of St.

Bugge and the other early editors did not have the advantages a modern editor takes for granted, and had often to rely on others' eyes.

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Their labours were heroic, and Bugge's brilliant emendations have done much for the elucidation of *Sv*.¹

7. The Importance of *St* and *Ra*

It is not because *St* and *Ra* furnish remarkable new readings that they are important. Indeed, they provide no readings not already known from other MSS or presumed by earlier editors. The text given in I.3, based on *St* and *Ra*, does not differ markedly from that of Bugge, based on the later MSS.

St and *Ra* are important because one may trust these two MSS in a way that previous editors (rightly) felt they could not trust the later MSS.

Firstly, they are free of the corruptions which characterise later MSS.

Secondly, though yet imperfect, almost all the errors in *St* and *Ra* can be attributed to seventeenth century scribal error and plausibly emended: thus the eight metrical errors discussed on pp. 30-3, or Bugge's emendations (supported by the analogues) of *Gróg* 3.² With perhaps just two exceptions, the obscurities which remain in *Sv* after these emendations seem the product of the poet's manner and not of textual corruption.³

This edition therefore accepts readings in *St* and *Ra* in preference to readings of equal merit in later MSS (e.g.: preserving *eg vilda vita Fj* 7-41 rather than reading *eg vilja vita*, as in the Langebek MSS and accepted by

¹ No less than twenty-one emendations in the text presented in this edition originate from Bugge — some of these vital to the sense of the whole poem (e.g. those in *Gróg* 3).

² Compare the errors resulting from scribal mishandling of abbreviations listed in the Commentary, under *Gróg* 2/4 and 3/5.

³ The two exceptions are *Fj* 13/5-6 (where the cluster of textual difficulties, together with those in *Fj* 14, suggests a damaged exemplar, see p. 113) and the proper sequence of lines in the first two verses of *Fj* (see pp. 102-3). On the obscurity of the poet's manner see pp. 386, 395.

I. 1. PREVIOUS EDITIONS.

all editors). Even passages that seem irredeemably corrupt may not be so at all: e.g. the explanation offered of *Fj* 34/5-6, pp. 24-5, 133-4.

Scholarly interest in *Sv* appears to have been discouraged by the perceived insecurity of the text. E. O. G. Turville-Petre 1978, 140 describes the poems as 'mysterious' and 'preserved only in later manuscripts in which the texts are very corrupt'. On the contrary: the text of *Sv* in *St* and *Ra* is less corrupt than this suggests, most of the corruptions are rather easily removed, and the conservatism of both MSS makes them an excellent base for an edition.

I. 2 The MSS **St** and **Ra**

This edition is based on the two MSS **St** (Stockholm Papp. 15 octavo) and **Ra** (Rask 21 a). The text of *Sv* in both MSS was written in the second half of the seventeenth century, placing them among the oldest surviving MSS of *Sv*.

The first section of this chapter presents evidence of the reliability of the text of **St** and **Ra**. The second section examines evidence that the text of *Sv* passed through at least two stages of C17 copying before reaching **St** and **Ra**. The third section discusses the relationship between **St** and **Ra** and gives reasons for the choice of **St** over **Ra** as the base for the text given in I.3. The relationship of **St** and **Ra** with a third source, the printed version of *Gróg* 13 in Bartholin 1689 (**Bt**) is also discussed. The fourth section gives a detailed account of the two MSS. The fifth section introduces the emended text based on these two MSS given in I.3 and outlines the normalisation adopted in that text.

1. The Reliability of **St** and **Ra**

Comparison of the errors in **St** and **Ra** with those in other MSS and examination of the distribution of errors across the whole MS tradition yields evidence for the priority of **St** and **Ra**.

1.1 All other MSS are descended from the same exemplar as that of **St** and **Ra**

At thirty seven points all MSS of *Sv* share the same errors as **St** and **Ra** or have errors demonstrably related to those in **St** and **Ra**.¹ This agreement in error of all forty six extant MSS suggests that all extant MSS are

¹ For example, the readings given in other MSS at *Fj* 5/2; see p. 27 fn. 3.

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descended from the same corrupt archetype as that of **St** and **Ra**. In the following list the emended reading is given in brackets after the reading of **St** and **Ra**.

Gróg 3: St Ra skauts þú (emended to skaut); kveðki (kvæmtki);

St Menglǫðum, Ra Menglǫðum (Menglǫðu);

Gróg 6/4: St Ra of (af);

Gróg 7/6: St Ra smán (sinnum);

Gróg 10/2: St Ra verða (verðr);

Gróg 10/4: St Leifnis eldu, Ra leifins elda (leysigaldr);

Gróg 12/6: St Ra or (þér); lík (líki);

Gróg 14/5: St minnis St, Ra mimis (mun ok);

Gróg 16/4: St Ra þi noga (iðgnóga);

Fj 1/4-2/6: St Ra 2/4-6 appear before 2/1-3 (lines reordered, so that 2/4-6 appear after 2/1-3);

Fj 5/2: St Ra fýsir aptr (fýsirat eptir);

Fj 13/5: St Ra gifur rekar (gífrir rekask);

Fj 14: St varðr ellefu, Ra varðr ellifu Ra (varðat er at eilífu); St Ra æ omitted (supplied);

Fj 16/6: St Ra þá (þar);

Fj 17/5: St Ra þeim omitted (supplied); St Ra hafí (gefi);

Fj 20/2: St Ra fáir vita (mangi veit);

Fj 22: St Ra kelisjúkar (kvellisjúkar); St þoss, Ra þess (þat er);

Fj 24/6: St Ra surtar sinn mautu (mantu Ra) (sút Sinmǫru);

Fj 26, 32 and 36: St Ra the initial letter of each stanza is H (altered to L);

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Fj 26/2: St Ra ruinn (rifinn);

Fj 33/5: St Ra sok (sék);

Fj 34/2: St Ra Bari ok Ori (Jari ok Bari);

Fj 36/3: St Ra sjúk (sjúkri);

*Fj 38: St Ra ein omitted (supplied); Hlífprasa (Hlífþursa);
þjóðvarta (þjóðvara);*

Fj 40/1: St Ra Sumur (Bjarga svinnar);

Fj 47: St Ra vindar kalda (vindkalda); kveðr (viðr);

Fj 49/6: St Ra aptr (omitted).

This agreement in error suggests that all these errors were present in the common archetype of all extant MSS. Thus:

X (lost archetype of all extant MSS)

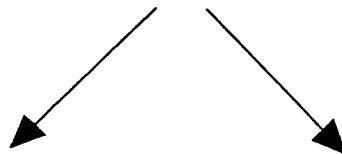


All surviving MSS of Sv (**St Ra**, all other MSS)

1.2 Possible readings in other MSS descended from the corrupt archetype independent of St and Ra

It is possible that while all MSS are descended ultimately from the same corrupt archetype as that of **St** and **Ra**, yet some of the other MSS could derive from an alternative line of descent to that of **St** and **Ra**. Thus:

X (lost archetype of all extant MSS)



St Ra

Other MSS

If this were so, other MSS might contain correct readings descended from this archetype but corrupted in **St** and **Ra**. Indeed, the emended text

accepts from other manuscripts twenty four readings not found in **St** and **Ra**. However, examination of these twenty four readings does not suggest that they have descended to these MSS by direct copying from the lost archetype. The readings do not have the *difficilior lectio* character necessary to explain their loss in some MSS beside their preservation in others, had they actually stood in the archetype. Also, many of these readings appear in MSS known to be copies of extant exemplars, but are not in their exemplars, and so are most likely late — if fortunate — innovations.

Thus:

From B text MSS: *Gróg 8 fjǫrlátum* for **St Ra** *fjǫrlotum*; *Gróg 11/6 ljái* for **St Ra** *ljá* (also **M 1867 47**); *Fj 4/6 af* for **St Ra** *at*.

The B text MSS introduced approximately 250 readings into the tradition: see pp. 200-4. Of so many, three might be valuable by chance alone. All three are slight: the correct *fjǫrlátum* and *af* may have arisen by no more than the common error of miscopying a for o and f for t. See pp. 205-7 for evidence of the descent of the B MSS from **O**, which reads *fjǫrlotum*, *ljao* and *at*. These correct readings cannot therefore have come to the B MSS by copying.

47 is similarly known to be a copy of **L**, which has *ljá*. If *ljái* is a successful scribal innovation in both **47** and the B MSS, then it is very likely one in **M 1867** also.

From **Gu**: *Gróg 2/4 móður* for *móðir* **St Ra**; *Gróg 8/2 þjóðár* for *þjóðir* **St Ra**.

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The changes are orthographically easy, though significant. **Gu** is a direct copy of **St** and these must be the scribe Guðmundur Ólafsson's own innovations. It is possible that Guðmundur had seen these readings in another, now lost, MS. See pp. 53-4 for evidence that some of Guðmundur's marginalia in **St** are drawn from such a MS. Hence these readings might have come to **Gu** by contamination, not direct copying.

From the Langebek MSS: *Gróg 9 til* supplied (omitted **St Ra**); *Gróg 15 þar* (**St Ra þér**); *Fj 16 of* supplied (omitted **St Ra**), *kemsk* for *kemt St komt Ra*, *ef* for *of St Ra*; *Fj 37/6 sitja* for *syngja St Ra*; *Fj 50/6 ok* supplied (omitted **St Ra**).

The Langebek MSS cannot be shown to descend from any other extant MS (see p. 217). However, it appears that the version of *Sv* found in these five MSS results from a knowledgeable late reviser (especially the reading *skiðgarði Fj 3/2*, see pp. 216-7). This reviser may have altered archetypal *syngja St Ra* in *Fj 37/6* correctly to *sitja* after *Vafþr 41/6*, just as he apparently altered — needlessly — the formula *ek vilda vita* after *Skí 3* (cf. p. 6). The other corrections are very minor: e.g. original middle voice *kemf* could readily have been mistakenly written *kemt*, and as readily corrected back again.

The supplying of a missing definite article: *Gróg 14/1 inn* supplied from **34 47 1491 2797** (omitted **St Ra**); *Fj 9/4 sú* supplied from **O Gu** (omitted **St Ra**).

The exemplar of both **34** and **Gu** was **St** itself; the exemplar of **47** was **L**. The definite article did not stand

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in either **St** or **L**, and must have been introduced by the scribes of **34 Gu 47**. The correction is obvious enough to have occurred independently to three separate scribes, and the scribes of **1491 2797 O** could have made the same correction.

Egilsson MSS *Fj* 8/6 (hence also 7/6): *auðsolum* for *auðsaulun St*, *auðaulun Ra*.

These MSS are descended from **Ra** (pp. 209-10) and so this is a successful scribal correction.

O He *fjoturr* for *fjotrar St Ra* at *Fj* 10/4.

This is certainly a scribal correction in **He** as the reading does not occur in **St**, its ultimate exemplar. It is probably a scribal correction also in **O**.

2797 *sáat* for *sjáat St Ra* at *Fj* 11/5; *mun* (*man St Ra*) at *Fj* 12/5.

Both are slight, and the first could have arisen by analogy with *Fj* 9/5.

O *hlaupi* for *laufa St*, *laupa Ra* at *Fj* 18/6; *eldr* for *eld St Ra* at *Fj* 21/6.

The emendations are slight, easily scribal corrections.

1868 *Blik* for *Blið St Ra* at *Fj* 38/4.

An attractive (but far from certain) reading, easily the result of successful scribal emendation.

1689 *Blíð ok* for *Blíðr St Ra* at *Fj* 38/5.

1689 is one of three copies of *Sv* written by Oddur Jónsson (see pp. 458-60), all three so close as to be based on a single exemplar. Neither of Oddur's other

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two copies have this reading and it is therefore most unlikely it stood in the exemplar. In any case, all three copies are B text and so probably descended from O, which also has *Blíðr*.

This leaves two readings accepted in *Gróg* 9 from O: *hverfi* for *hryggva* and omission of *mætti*. The improvement in sense is considerable, and the alterations are not self-evident. It is possible that these two readings were present in a now-lost MS which represented an alternative line of descent from that of St and Ra. For evidence that such a MS did exist around 1680 — the time of writing of O — see pp. 466-9. These two readings might result from the scribe of O recording readings seen in such a now-lost MS. The scribe introduced a few readings from outside CR and apparently from outside his exemplar into his copy of *Hávni*: see pp. 194-5. He may have similarly introduced these two readings from outside his exemplar for Sv into his text.

The text of Sv in O is otherwise inferior. Pp. 195-7 suggest that its exemplar was closely related to Ra, and indeed may have been Ra. The occurrence of two good readings in the same stanza amid so much that is dross or derivative suggests fortunate contamination.

That the emended text accepts only twenty four readings from the forty four MSS beside St Ra (compare the twenty one emendations of Bugge alone) demonstrates the lack of value of these MSS. Even MSS which contain several of these readings (e.g. O and the Langebek MSS) are otherwise dubious as sources, because of late revision (O, see pp. 197-9) or heavy contamination (the Langebek MSS, see pp. 212-3).

If any MS, or group of MSS, did represent a reliable independent line of descent one would expect to see a concentration of good readings in that MS. No such concentration occurs. The two early MSS which do have

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several good readings, **Gu** and **O**, appear to have them by occasional contamination, not by direct copying. This is certainly true of **Gu**, known to be a copy of **St**, and most probable for **O**, which is otherwise closely related to **Ra**.

In summary: the evidence that any other MSS contain significant readings descended by direct copying independently of **St** and **Ra** is scanty. The simplest test of the value of **St** and **Ra** relative to the other MSS is this: what difference would it have made to the text of this edition if every other MS of *Sv* had perished? The answer is, very little.

1.3 Evidence of the closeness of **St** and **Ra** to the lost archetype

One cannot demonstrate the excellence of **St** and **Ra** by identifying good readings found in these two MSS but not elsewhere. The reason for this is simple: many of the later MSS are descended from either **St** or **Ra**. Thus, good readings passed from **St** and **Ra** into other MSS.¹ However, there is evidence of the closeness of these two MSS to the lost archetype.

a. Lack of corruptions and revisions found in other MSS

The closeness of **St** and **Ra** to this lost archetype can be seen in their freedom from the scribal corruptions and late revisions which characterise many other MSS of *Sv*. Not one of the manifestly unoriginal readings discussed on pp. 7-9 above occurs in **St**; **Ra** has only one.

MSS which do not contain the pointless reference to Óðinn in the title of *Gróg* (found in eleven MSS; see p. 200), or do not have the reading

¹ External evidence shows that four MSS now in Sweden (**Gu** 34 11 682), one in Denmark (1870) and one in Iceland (**He**) are descended from **St**; see p. 168. The account of the MS tradition given in I.5 suggests that 31 of the 46 extant MSS are descended from either **St** (16 MSS) or **Ra** (or a MS very close to **Ra**; 15 MSS). The remaining 13 are all either heavily contaminated by MSS descended from **St** or **Ra**, or contain no significant readings not known from **St** or **Ra**.

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dætra dura 'doors of the daughters' for *dauðra dura* 'doors of the dead' in *Gróg* 1 (nine MSS), or *skiðgarði* for *for forgarði* (see p. 8) in *Fj* 3 (five MSS) or *flötr* (15 MSS) for *fjoturr* in *Fj* 10, or do not omit all of stanzas 39 and 40 of *Fj* (10 MSS), must be superior to those which do. **St** and **Ra** are free from all these disfigurements.

It is argued in chapter I.5 that these and many similar errors derive from late scribal error and revision. The freedom of **St** and **Ra** from these errors suggests that they reflect an earlier state of the text, before it acquired the accretion of revisions and errors found in many other MSS.

b. *Fj* 34/5-6

At this point, **St** and **Ra** preserve a *difficilior lectio* which appears correct. The two MSS read *Dellingr ok (Ra; at St) var þar liðski Alfur loki*. This is interpreted (with redivision of words and emendation of inflection of *Alfur*, see pp. 133-4) in the emended text as:

Dellingr ok var þar,

Dellingr also was there,

liðskjálfr loki.

the finisher of the palace.

Other MSS have difficulty with the unusual adverbial *ok* (as does **St**) and the rare *liðskjálfr*. Like many modern editors, they compound matters by apparently interpreting *loki* as the name of the god. These MSS accordingly yield a rich harvest of successive error:

— the phrase *at var þar* (deriving from the mistaken substitution of *at* for *ok*) becomes *atvarðr* or *atvarðar* in eight MSS, apparently to be taken as a name;

— *var þar* becomes *varðar* in nine MSS;

— *liðski Alfur* becomes *læðski Alfur* in five MSS, *læski Alfur* in two MSS, *liðko Alfur* in one MS, *lqðski Alfur* in five MSS, *lqski Alfur* in one MS, *Liðskjalfr* (apparently understood as a name) in seven more.

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Good sense can here be made of **Ra** (and **St**, substituting only **Ra**'s *ok* for *at*) without undue difficulty. The authority of these two MSS, preserving a good but difficult reading where many other MSS do not, is underlined.

c. Treatment of negative particles

St and **Ra** also show their superiority in their relative freedom from a characteristic error of Icelandic C17 copies of older poetry, the mishandling of older negative forms. A famous instance is *Krákumál* 14/9-10, *Skj.* B I 652, where Magnús Ólafsson's failure to understand *varat* as 'was not' led ultimately to Percy rendering the comparison of a day of battle *varat sem unga ekkju í ǫndvegi kyssa* as "the pleasure of that day was like kissing a young widow at the highest seat of the table".¹ Another instance is the copy of *Hávǫm* in **S**, which shows graphically that the scribe (writing in the second half of C17) did not understand older negative forms. Of forty instances of the older negative suffixes *-a*, *-at*, *-t* in *Hávǫm* identified in Faulkes' glossary (1987, 1-2, 32) **S** preserves only nine.² The confusion extends to other negative forms: *mangi* is read as *magni* in 50/5, *mannzcis* as *mannsins* in 146/3. Verses 75 and 150 are rendered incomprehensible by this and many others obscured. Overall, wherever an older negative form stood in **CR** it is likely to have been lost, unrecognizably mangled or otherwise damaged in **S**.³

¹ Percy 1763, 34; Gordon 1957 lxxii.

² The forty instances are distributed as follows: seventeen instances of the negative *-a*, of which eleven are discarded or shown as misunderstood by contextual errors; fifteen instances of the negative *-at*, of which only two survive in **S** (69/1, 158/4); eight instances of the negative *-t*, of which the scribe drops the *-t* in six and converts to *ei* in a seventh, only *sét* 61/3 surviving.

³ Similar errors appear in the copies of *Vaffbr* and *Sigrdr* in **S**.

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In contrast, both **St** and **Ra** preserve older negative forms in *megit* Gróg 12/5, *megiat* Gróg 13/5, *standit* Gróg 15/3, *býðrat* Fj 3/3, *sáat* (**St**; *suat* **Ra**) Fj 9/5, *sjáat* Fj 11/5 (emended text *sáat*), *flærat* (**St** *flær at*; **Ra** *flær*) Fj 20/6. In itself, this superior preservation of the negative suffix, so consistently lost in the **S** copy of *Hávǫm*, illustrates the soundness of the scribal tradition behind **St** and **Ra**.

The treatment of these same words in other MSS of *Sv* is also instructive. Other scribes of *Sv* show the same lack of understanding as the **S** scribe of *Hávǫm* in their handling of negative enclitics:

Gróg 12/5: 10 MSS have *megi* for *megit*;

Gróg 13/5: 4 MSS have *megi* for *megiat*;

Gróg 15/3: 19 MSS have *standi* for *standit*;

Fj 3/3: 15 MSS have *býðr at* (*at* apparently taken as a preposition, governing a following dative plural, either *liðǫndum* or *lifendum*) for *býðrat*;

Fj 9/5: 10 MSS (including **Ra**) have *suat* (sic) or *su at*, 3 MSS have *hvat*, for **St** *sáat*. Another three MSS omit the word entirely;

Fj 20/6: 15 MSS (including **Ra**) have *flær* for *flærat*.

Once more, **St** and **Ra** show their superiority.

It would be surprising, given this evidence of contemporary scribal misunderstanding, if **St** and **Ra** preserved perfectly every occurrence of a negative enclitic. It seems they did not:

1. **Ra** omits the negative enclitic in Fj 20/6, reading *flær* for **St**'s correct *flær at*.

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2. The *flærat* of *Fj* 20/6 is paralleled in the next verse, and this time *St* and *Ra* read *flær ei*. It is as certain as such things can be that the original had *flærat* both here and in 20/6.¹

Emendations accepted into the emended text at two other points presume C17 mishandling of older negative forms:

1. *Mangi veit* is read in *Fj* 20 for *St Ra* (and all other MSS) *fáir vitu*. The analogy with *Hávm* 138/8 (pp. 303-4) and the failure of alliteration (pp. 31-2) make the restoration most probable. Compare *Hávm* 50/5 *magni* in *S* for *CR mangi*.²
2. *Augna gamans fýsirat ... fán* is read in *Fj* 5/1-2 for *St Ra Augna gamans fýsir ... fán*. The reading of *St Ra*, without the negating *-at*, gives exactly the opposite sense to that demanded by the context. For *Svipdagr*, with his heart's desire tantalisingly close, to assert that "few people desire their eyes' delight", makes nonsense of his long journey. Simple addition of *-at* to the verb (similarly *Ólsen* 1917, 9-10) gives just the right sense, "few do not long for their eyes' delight".³

¹ In *Fj* 9/5 *Ra*'s *suat* (possibly intended as *svá [a]t*) may have arisen from uncertainty over the meaning of the final *-at*.

² In contrast, some paper MSS correctly read *mangi* in *Sigrdr* 12/2 where *CR* has *magni*.

³ Other MSS provide object instances here of 'successive error'. *O* reads *aptr at fán*, with the redundant *at* an instance of that MS's fiddling with cruces. The B MSS go a stage further, and turn *fán* into an infinitive, thus *aptr at fá*. The change is pointless, as *fýsir augna gamans* carries the sense of longing adequately. This finds its way into the marginalia of the Langebek MSS, altered nonsensically to *apti atfa*. Bergmann 1874, 50 accepts the B MSS *at fá* into his text.

The reading *frján* 'beloved', hence 'the beloved desires his eye's delight' (accepted by SGT 202), is also to be rejected. Two MSS, 6 and 3633 (MSS not known to SGT) actually have *frjá* here, but 3633 is very likely a (poor) copy of 6, itself the most eccentric of all the MSS of *Sv* and

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It appears that the scribes of **St** and **Ra**, though preserving older negative suffixes very much better than other contemporary scribes, did not fully understand them.¹ Hence the errors noted above. It is reassuring, then, that most older forms have been so well preserved in these MSS. The scribe who records faithfully what he sees, even when he cannot understand it, is much to be trusted.

d. Preservation of metre

The preservation of the *ljóðaháttir* metre in **St** and **Ra** is also superior to that found in numerous other MSS.²

The text of *Sv* in **St** and **Ra** obeys throughout the rule that the last word of a full line can not be a trochee if it takes the primary alliteration.³

probably ultimately based on **He** (see pp. 181-2 below). There is no evidence for the supposed proverb cited by SGT *aptur fýsir elskuga síns augnagaman* "a lover desires his eyes' delight again". SGT cite Scheving 1847, 4 as authority for this 'proverb'. But Scheving actually gives this line of *Fj* (with the emendation *frján*) as his support. This proverb is not in Jónsson 1830 or Scheving 1843 and Vilhjálmsen 1966, 70 quotes Scheving (again) as his authority.

¹ Lack of comprehension may also be evidenced by the treatment of *átta-at-pú*, *Fj* 2/6, in **St**. The scribe first wrote *atattu*, and was provoked into one of only two marginalia written by him in *Sv* as he corrected it to *áttatu*. The B text compounds error, reading *atta to* (see pp. 203-4).

² This discussion of *ljóðaháttir* is based on Heusler's studies in *Der Ljóðaháttir*, *Acta Germanica* I (1890) 89-172, and in *Deutsche Versgeschichte* 1925, I 230-44. Von See *Germanische Verskunst* (1967) provides both an excellent summary of Heusler and a useful corrective to him. The terms 'full line' (*Vollzeil*), 'long line' (*Langzeil*) and 'independent adverb' (*gehaltvolles Adverb*) are drawn from these studies.

³ Heusler 1890, 135-9 notes just four exceptions to this rule in the 1400 full lines analysed by him: *Hávm* 146/6 (*sorgum*; but this is probably not a full line), 164/8 (*hlýddu*; in *galdralag*), *Sól* 76/6 (*fyrðum*), 83/3 (*sanna*; this stanza may be a C17 addition); perhaps also *Hávm* 107/6, where CR may be corrupt. The *Hávm* instances are all dubious, and *Sól* may have been composed after 1400, when lengthening in open syllables obscured the rule. See pp. 400-1.

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Words such as *meira* and *brúði* are not here permissible. Nine MSS of *Sv* break this rule at *Gróg* 10/6, reading *fjǫturr af fótum*, where **St** and **Ra** have the correct *af fótum fjǫturr*.¹ The same nine MSS, and four more besides, break this rule at *Gróg* 5/6, reading the nonsensical *apni* or *afni* where **St** and **Ra** have the correct *afi*. The lengthening of vowels in open syllables in Icelandic, complete by 1400, meant that C17 scribes could not have been aware of this rule. For the significance of this in dating *Sv* see pp. 400-1. That the text of *Sv* in **St** and **Ra** obeys a rule the scribes could not have known speaks well for the reliability of these MSS and the tradition behind them.²

Similarly, five MSS — but not **St** or **Ra** — read *skíðgarði* in *Fj* 3/2. This is metrically unacceptable as it forces the alliteration to fall on the

¹ The nine MSS are those containing the B text, see p. 200. A tenth MS (2797), which incorporates many B text readings, has *af fjǫturr fótum*.

² Comparison with the preservation of metre in MSS of *Sól* (similarly extant only in post-1650 copies descended from a lost medieval original) confirms the relative excellence of the text of *Sv* in **St** and **Ra**. In the text of *Sól* in **St** (possibly the best of the MSS of *Sól*, as it is of *Sv*) alliteration fails completely at five points, compared to just two in that MS's text of *Sv* (see pp. 31-3): in 1/4-5 (*yfir þá gǫtu er hann varðaði*), 27/6 (*er seint þjóna fǫður*), 70/4-6 (*lásu englar helgar bækr yfir hǫfði þeim*), 75/4-6 (*þik biðr leysa sem skapat hefir oss alla syndum frá*), and 76/1-2 (*Bjugvor ok Listvor sitja í Herdis dyrum*). Some of these may result from a scribe who did not understand that the *ljóðahátt* full line alliterates with itself and altered the preceding or following half-line to alliterate with it: e.g. an original *veg* in 1/4 may have been altered to *gǫtu* to alliterate with the *grimmi greppr* of 1/3, thereby losing the alliteration with *varðaði*. In addition, there is one instance of the full line ending with a trochaic foot in **St**, 76/6 (see p. 28 fn. 3 above; **St** does not have the dubious stanza 83). The metre of *Sól* certainly permits many liberties not found in *Sv* (e.g. alliteration on pronouns and particles) but many of these defects appear to be scribal. Compare these errors with those discussed in *Sv* on pp. 30-3 below.

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preposition *fyr*. It appears the work of a learned scribe who thought he saw an analogy with *Hrólfs saga kraka*.¹

At only two points in **St** and **Ra** does alliteration fail altogether; see pp. 31-3 below. This excellent preservation of the alliteration in **St** and **Ra** contrasts with **O** and the nine B MSS. At three points, scribal revision in these MSS removes alliteration: the omissions of *Öri Fj* 34/4 and *langt* 45/5 and the alteration of *volum* to *rótum* 30/3.

The reliability of **St** and **Ra** is shown by the absence from them of these metrical solecisms. However, the text of *Sv* in **St** and **Ra** is not metrically perfect. On eight occasions, the emended text accepts emendations of **St** and **Ra** supported, to a lesser or greater degree, by metrical considerations:

1. *Gróg* 16/4: *iðgnóga* for **St Ra þi** (=því) *gnóga heill skaltu of aldr hafa*:

As the MSS have it, the primary alliteration must fall on *heill* and *hafa* in the a- and b-lines. Hence, in both lines an adjective (*gnóga*) or a noun (*aldr*) must stand before the primary alliteration. In addition, the primary alliteration falls on the second lift of the b-line (*hafa*). The *Sv* poet elsewhere avoids both practices, as do his apparent models *Hávm*, *Grí*, *Vafþr*, *Skí* and *Sigrdr*.² The possible instances elsewhere in *Sv* all occur in the instances discussed below, where emendation seems likely.³

¹ The five MSS are all from the Langebek group; another two MSS (1872 and 2797) which include many Langebek readings have this in the margin. On the version of *Sv* found in the Langebek MSS and on this reading see pp. 216-7.

² For the distribution of alliteration between different classes of words see Heusler 1925, I 108-9; Von See 1967, 19-20. The rule that the primary alliteration must fall on the first lift of the b-line (the *hǫfuðstaðr*) is stated

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Bugge's brilliant emendation *iðgnóga* has the primary alliteration fall regularly on *iðgnóga* and *aldr*. It provides richer sense and is also *difficilior lectio*.

2. *Fj 14/5: æ* supplied, hence *varðat er at eilífu er þeir æ varða*.¹

Without the addition, the primary alliteration in this b-line must fall on the second lift, *varða*, a practice avoided by the poet and his models (see above). Supplying *æ* before *varða*, as suggested to me by Mrs Dronke, makes excellent sense, places the primary alliteration on the first lift and provides an apposite alliteration with *eilífu* (emended from *ellifu*) in the preceding line. Compare *Fj 12 æ meðan ǫld lifir*.²

3. *Fj 20/2: mangi veit for fáir vita*:

One of only two places in **St** and **Ra** where the alliteration fails completely (the other is at *Fj 40/1-2*, see below).

Unfamiliarity with the negative form may have prompted the

by Snorri in *Hátt* ch. 1 (but cf. Heusler 1925 I 102 for apparent exceptions).

³ At four other points — *Gróg 4/3*, *Fj 23/6*, *Fj 40/2* and *42/6* — a noun or adjective stands before the primary alliteration in *Sv*. See the commentary on *Fj 40/2* and *42/6* for explanation of these.

¹ The a-line so emended following Boer, for *varðir ellifu St Ra*. See p. 114.

² Alternatively, the line might be explained as metrically light, with *er þeir* going in the *vorsenkung*. I have noticed many such lines elsewhere in ON: e.g. *hvat við mæltum Ghv 19/2*; also *Vǫl 12/4*, *38/4*, *Ghv 3/2*, and ten other instances (including three in five lines in *Hhund II 32-3*). But I have not found one such in any of the poems upon which *Sv* seems to be modelled — *Hávm*, *Grí*, *Vafþr*, *Skí* and *Sigrdr* — and it is therefore unlikely here. These lines are among the most corrupt in the MSS; see p. 113.

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error (see p. 27), and the parallel with *Hávǫm* 138/8 warrants the emendation (see pp. 303-4).

4, 5, 6. *Fj* 26, 32 and 36: the initial letter of each stanza is altered to L from H:

Fj 26/1 *Hevateinn heitir hann en hann gørdi Loptr* (Lopr St)
rifinn (ruinn St Ra)

Fj 32/1 *Hyr hann heitir en hann lengi mun*

Without the emendation the primary alliteration in both b-lines must fall on the pronoun *hann*. Elsewhere, the poet is most careful to avoid alliteration on pronouns.¹ In both cases, emendation of the first letter of each a-line to *L* is as certain as these things can be (see below). The primary alliteration in each b-line will then shift to the following proper name *Loptr* and independent adverb *lengi*.

Fj 36/1 *Hyfjaberg* (*Hyfja ber St*) *þat heitir en þat hefir*
lengi verit

Hyfjaberg is to be identified with the *Lyfjaberg* of *Fj* 49/2. The substitution of verse initial H- for L- here supports the presumption above of the same error in *Fj* 26/1 and 32/1. For other occurrences of this error in C17 MSS, and its significance, see pp. 34-41 below. While alliteration on *hefir* in the b-line might

¹ In every case of the repeated question formula *Hvat / Hverr* the poet scrupulously avoids alliterating on the *Hvat / Hverr*, even in lines where the first lift must fall on the pronoun (e.g. *Hvat er nú ant Gróg* 2/1). The one case of apparent alliteration on pronouns in *Sv* is *Fj* 50/1-3: *þráar hafðar er ek hefí til þíns gamans en þú til míns munar*. Here, the context and the possessive sense combine to give the pronouns more than usual force. The possessives are treated as adjectives and may take the primary alliteration. In this avoidance of alliteration on pronouns the poet agrees with his apparent models *Hávǫm*, *Grí*, *Vafpr*, *Skí* and *Sigrdr*.

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be paralleled elsewhere (e.g. *Sól* 17/1-2), alliteration on *lengi* is more attractive.

7. *Fj* 34/2: *Uni ok Iri Jari ok Bari* for *Uni ok Iri Bari ok Ori*:

The b-line breaks two rules elsewhere kept by the poet and his models: *Bari* stands before the alliteration, and the alliteration falls on the second lift (cf. on *Gróg* 16/4 and *Fj* 14/5 above). Further, *Ori*, repeated in 34/4, is suspect in itself. Like most editors, I follow Bugge's suggestion and read *Jari ok Bari*. See the Commentary on *Fj* stanzas 1 and 2 for similar instances of scribal error compounding anticipation and omission.

8. *Fj* 40/1-2: *Sumur* in *Sumur hvar er menn blóta þær* replaced by *Bjarga svinnar*:

The second of the two instances in *Sv* where alliteration fails; cf. on *Fj* 20/2 above. See the Commentary for discussion of the source of the scribal error.

All these metrical errors in **St** and **Ra** appear the result of simple scribal error. They do not appear to have arisen from deliberate sophistication, as do the B text reading *fjǫturr af fótum* at *Gróg* 10/6 and the Langebek reading *skíðgarði* in *Fj* 3/2. They are therefore relatively easy to correct. Even when they are in error, **St** and **Ra** prove a sound base for reconstruction.

2. The History of the Text of *Sv* before **St** and **Ra**

There is evidence that the text of *Sv* passed through at least two stages of C17 copying before the oldest extant MSS. I call these two C17 copies **X1** and **X2**.

The shared errors in all the extant MSS (including **St** and **Ra**) reported on pp. 17-8 above are such that their exemplar can not be **X**, the

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presumed medieval MS which carried the text into modern times. Rather, **X** was first copied into **X1**; **X1** was then copied into **X2**, the exclusive common ancestor of all extant MSS. Thus:

X (lost medieval archetype of all extant MSS)



X1 (first lost C17 copy)



X2 (second lost C17 copy)



All surviving MSS of *Sv* (**St Ra**, all other MSS)

2.1 The confusion of H and L

The evidence for two stages of C17 copying (**X1** and **X2**) is the extraordinary error whereby the initial L of the names beginning each of stanzas *Fj* 26, 32 and 36 is read as H. The error occurs in all 39 MSS which have these stanzas.

This misreading of L as H is very rare. I have collated seven points in CR where the initial L of a verse might be potentially misread as H (e.g. a name) across some fifty MSS. Apart from the two occurrences of initial L in *Sigrdr*, discussed below, in not one case does any MS read H for L. While medial l is mistaken for t in various MSS (e.g. *slunginn* / *stunginn* *Fj* 31/5), and initial b is occasionally misread as h, there is no other case in any MS of *Sv* where any form of l or L is confused with any form of h or H.

Yet, here initial H and L are so confused, three times in three names in a few verses, and in each case as a verse capital. This error is unlikely to have arisen in the medieval period. I have looked at many photographs of medieval MSS and several MSS themselves, as well as the handbooks of

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Benediktsson and Seip. I have not seen a single initial L or H among these which could possibly be read as anything but itself.¹

But the mistake could have arisen in the 17th century. In several hands of that time the right hand horizontal stroke of capital L is written with a downward flourish, so that the letter could be mistaken for the *h* form of H (or h). Thus :

1. In Stefán Ólafsson's autograph MS of letters dated c. 1640-50, Bodley MS Bor. 67, his capital L is very similar to his lower case h (e.g. fol. 53r, 56v).
2. In Stockholm Papp. 64 fol., written about 1690, capitals L and H are very similar, as described above.
3. In S, c. 1670: here the lower right hand stroke of the *h* is opened to the right so that it more nearly resembles such an L as those of the above MSS.

Such flourishes are much more common in paper MSS than in the older vellums: the smoother surface of the paper allowed easier execution of these. Nonetheless, the error remains rare: confusion appears probable in only these three of the MSS I have seen.² For example: both Jón lærði and Björn of Skarðsá have clearly distinct forms of h/l, H/L.³

¹ I stress 'initial l'. There is an unusual form of l in mediaeval MSS which could be mistaken for h. This is the 'zig-zag' l ; see Benediktsson 1965, 47. However this form of l is exceedingly rare, usually represents medial geminates when it does appear, and is rare in initial position in a word, let alone a verse (Benediktsson 1965, 47).

² Also: in AM 165 8vo (according to Arni's note, probably written by Guðmundur Andrússon) the h might be mistaken for l — but not, in this MS, vice versa. Bugge's assertion *NF* 233 that the paper MSS often mistake H for L is wrong.

³ Thus Jón's hand in Bodley MS Marshall 114 (his copy of the Uppsala Edda); Björn's in AM 742 4to.

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This error is likely to have arisen by the later C17 scribe of **X2** misreading as **Hs** a series of ambiguous **Ls** written by the earlier C17 scribe of **X1**, when that scribe was copying the ultimate original, **X**.

2.2 Disappearance of the original MS (=X)

It appears that all MSS are descended from **X2**. There is no evidence of any scribe going back to **X**, the ultimate original, and incorporating readings deriving from an independent attempt to decipher the MS.¹

In this, **Sv** differs from some other contemporary texts. There are many instances of the scribes of C17 paper MSS returning to the vellum originals and thence introducing new readings. Thus:

1. Most of the earliest copies of the **CR** text of *Hávnm* mistakenly read verses 62 and 63 in the wrong order and *hundr vanr* in 71; thus **He 166 S St Ra**.
2. But AM 161 8vo, contemporary with all these sometime around 1660-90, reads 62 and 63 in the right order — but still reads *hundr*.
3. Finally Arni's own autograph copy correctly read 62 and 63 in the right order, and *handar vanr* in 71 (see pp. 469-71).

At least three independent readings of **CR** underlie these readings: that of **He** and others, that of AM 161 8vo, and that of Arni.

Similarly, one may discern various attempts to decipher **Hb** in the variety of texts of *Vsp* on offer in MSS dating from 1660-90. Particularly notable is AM 281 4to (c. end C17), which is the only MS I have seen which tries to read anything at all of verse 55 (in Bugge's numbering) in **Hb**. The scribe of this (or his exemplar) gets as far as *Gin lopt yfir* before

¹ Possible exceptions are the readings *hverfi* and omission of *mætti* in O's text of *Gróg* 9 (p. 22) and *moður, þjóðár* in *Gróg* 2, 8 in **Gu** (pp. 19-20).

giving up. Again, the variety of texts of *Hávǫm* in C17 MSS suggests various scribal attempts to read a now-lost medieval MS, independent of CR.¹ Nor is this confined to the poems of CR. The textual history of *Merlínusspá* is similarly complicated by the separate attempts of various scribes to read the single medieval text of that poem surviving in Hb (Helgason 1960, xxxv).

The lack of any such evidence of scribes returning to the original of Sv suggests that the original, X, was not available to the scribes of the extant MSS. This supports the hypothesis of at least one intermediate stage between the medieval original X and the extant MSS.

2.3 Sv and *Sigrdr*

There is a remarkable link between the X1 copy of Sv and the MS history of the last verses of *Sigrdr*, preserved outside the lacuna in CR. These verses are preserved in a piece usually titled "Sigrdrífumál eða Brynhildarljóð"—hereafter, *Bhl*—in the earliest paper MSS which contain it. These MSS date from around 1670–80, approximately contemporary with X2; the earliest definitely datable MS is O. As far as I know, *Bhl* has never been edited in full, for editors have only been interested in it as a

¹ That such a MS survived into C17 is supported by Björn of Skarðsá's quotation of *Hávǫm* 119 in his commentary on the law codes in AM 61 a 8vo, sv *vettögi*, dated 1626 (Halldórsson 1978, 226-7), 17 years before CR came into the possession of Brynjólfur Sveinsson. The wording of Björn's quotation corresponds to the text printed in Resen 1665 rather than that of CR (Pétursson 1984, 272). The case for the existence of such an independent text of *Hávǫm* as suggested by Faulkes 1979, II 87-8, underlying Björn's quotation, the Resen text and the apparently baffling blends of CR and Resen found in many MSS (e.g.: AM 166 8vo, 934, 1867, 818, Bodley MS Bor. 100 and Stockholm Papp. 3 8vo) is strong. Cf. NF xlix–l.

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source for the final verses of *Sigrdr*.¹ Briefly, it begins at *Sigrdr* 5, gives a somewhat different text from CR of that poem up to the beginning of the lacuna, follows this with the verses 29-37 missing in the lacuna, and finishes with verses from *Guðr* I after a short prose link.²

The connection with Sv is that in the earliest MSS two verses in *Bhl* begin with capital H. Editors since Bugge agree that both Hs ought to be Ls:³

1. In the verse corresponding to *Sigrdr* 11 CR reads *Limrunar* and AM 161 8vo, Sa, O and Stockholm Papp. 64 fol. all read *Hymruner* or similar.⁴
2. In the verse corresponding to *Sigrdr* 34, all MSS of *Bhl* read *Haug*, as do all of the 18 MSS of *Sigrdr* I have seen which include verses 29-37 — apparently deriving these ultimately from *Bhl*. Modern editors agree that the correct reading is *Laug*.

The confusion of L/H cannot result from misreading of CR, as the Ls and Hs of that MS are perfectly distinct, and especially so at *Sigrdr* 11.

¹ *Bhl* has been discussed by NF I-iii, SGT 'Einleitung' xxxiv-v, and Helgason III, 87-8. All agree on its ultimate derivation from CR, with admixtures from *Völsunga saga*; Helgason dates it early C17.

² A fuller account of the exact contents of *Bhl* is given in Helgason III, 87-8.

³ NF 347 noted that both Sv and *Bhl* share this error; cf. p. 35 fn. 2.

⁴ In both Stockholm Papp. 64 fol. and O the scribe alters this to *Linrunar*; the *Lin-* shows that the correction derives from Björn of Skarðsá's "Nockut litit samtak um runer" (*Lítið samtak*), which reads *Linrunr*, explaining it as 'run(a)r, sem Lina sku(lu) verkin oc sarindin' (Runes which will alleviate wounds or injuries). Other MSS of *Bhl* which follow this correction, reading *Linrunar*, are Sb, 636 and 934. I follow here the text of *Lítið samtak* in Stockholm Papp. 38 fol., 138r. An edition of *Lítið samtak* is much needed; it appears never to have been printed in full. Einar Pétursson is presently engaged on this task (Pétursson 1984).

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Hence all 27 MSS I have seen which manifestly derive the text of *Sigrdr* up to the lacuna from CR read *Limrunar*.¹

The remarkable coincidence of this rare confusion of L/H in both *Bhl* and *Sv* suggests that the scribe who copied *Bhl* may have been the scribe of the X1 text of *Sv*.

Therefore, whatever can be deduced about the early MS history of *Bhl* may also be true of that of *Sv*. The genesis of *Bhl* is discussed by Helgason III, 88-9 and Einar Pétursson 1984, 281-3. Their views may be summarised as follows: *Bhl* developed in two stages —

1. *Sigrdr* 5-37 was copied from CR, omitting (among others) verses 13-17: this is the version preserved in AM 161 8vo and Sa.²

Whoever carried out this first stage must have had access to CR before the final verses of *Sigrdr* were lost in the lacuna. CR was incomplete when Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson acquired it in 1643, so this must have happened before that date.

2. Verses 13-17 were written in from *Vǫlsunga saga* ch. 20. Other readings from *Vǫlsunga saga* (notably *valdr* in 5/2) were also introduced elsewhere into *Bhl* at this time.

This is most likely to have happened some time after 1641, when Bishop Brynjólfur acquired what is now NkS 1824 b 4to, from which all later copies of *Vǫlsunga saga* appear to descend

¹ The derivation of *Sigrdr* from CR in these MSS is warranted by: (1) the poem appearing between *Reg* and *Brot*, rather than isolated; (2) the inclusion of the first four verses, and prose, all omitted in *Bhl*; (3) the verses up to the lacuna being all included, and all in the same order, as CR, rather than with many omissions and transpositions, as in *Bhl*.

² The verses from *Guðr* I were probably also copied at the same time and added after the verses from *Sigrdr*.

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(Pétursson 1984, 266-7). It appears that the same MS, NkS 1824 b 4to, which underlies verses 13-17 here in *Bhl* also underlies the treatises on runes of Björn of Skarðsá and Jón lærði, both written in or around 1642.¹ However, neither of these treatises shows any knowledge of *Bhl*, or of the last verses of *Sigrdr*, and so this second stage is likely to have occurred after 1642.

Hence, the early C17 history of *Bhl* is very like that of *Sv*. For both:

1. There existed a single medieval exemplar in the first half of C17: CR for *Bhl*, X for *Sv*.
2. A copy was then made of each exemplar: thus stage 1 of *Bhl*, X1 for *Sv*. It is likely that the same scribe is responsible for both these first copies, a scribe whose capital L could be mistaken for H.²
3. For each, this first copy was copied again, and the second copy is the exemplar of all surviving MSS: this corresponds to stage 2 of *Bhl*, X2 for *Sv*. At this point the critical misreadings of H for L in *Bhl* 11 and 34, *Fj* 26, 32 and 36 occurred, and the stanzas from *Vǫlsunga saga* were inserted into *Bhl*.³

¹ Björn's *Lítið samtak* and Jón's *Aðfornu*. For these, and the attribution of *Aðfornu* to Jón, see Pétursson 1984.

² It is possibly significant that the H in Sa, one of the two MSS closest to stage 1 of *Bhl*, is very like an L.

³ According to this argument, the oldest extant copies of *Bhl* might be expected to read *Himrunar* in 11, as they follow the misreading of an ambiguous *Limrunar* suggested above. Later copies might correct *Himrunar* back to *Limrunar*, under the influence of *Vǫlsunga saga* or (more probably) *Lítið samtak*, as explained on p. 38 fn. 4. That is exactly what happens. The texts reading *Himrunar* are otherwise the two MSS of *Bhl* giving the text nearest to CR, Sa and AM 161 8vo. Both Stockholm Papp. 64 fol. and O first read *Himrunar* in the text, then correct it to L-; Sb and 934 both have L-.

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Hence, Bugge's emendations of MSS initial H to L in each of *Fj* 26, 32 and 36 (*Hævateinn* > *Lævateinn* ; *Hyr* > *Lýr* ; *Hyfja ber(g)* > *Lyfjaberg*) all find support in C17 scribal practice. Metrical considerations also affirm these emendations, see pp. 32-3 above.

It is suggested above that the same scribe who made the first copy of the verses of *Sigrdr* now lost in the lacuna of **CR** also made the **X1** copy of *Sv*, and was responsible for the H/L confusion in the two texts. As the copying of the verses from the lacuna must have occurred before 1643, the **X1** copy of *Sv* may have been written about the same time.

3. The relationship of St and Ra

3.1 Closeness of relationship

That **St** and **Ra** are related in descent from the common exemplar **X2** is shown by the thirty seven errors listed on pp. 16-8 which the two MSS share. That they are very closely related is shown by their exact agreement in spelling and word division at two of the principal cruces in the text:

Fj 13/5-6: *er gifur rekar giorþa fyrir londin lim*

Fj 34/6: *var þar liðski Alfur Loki.*

Both MSS also share distinctive points of orthography: both have the unusual forms *afui Gróg* 5/6, *ǧva Gróg* 15/1 (in margin in **St**; text *ǧva*), *eðir* 2x in *Fj* 2/6, *aðir* *Fj* 30/5.¹

¹ The -fv- spellings may have been present in the lost medieval original, **X**. Though such -fv- spellings seem uncommon in C17-18 sources (I have not seen any elsewhere apart from Resen's 1665 edition of *Hávsm*, where these appear C17 archaization rather than genuine survivals: e.g. *thørff*, *eff* 4, *løff* 9) Hægstad 1899, 36 remarks that intervocalic -fv- spellings are common ('elles skikk') in C14 sources, citing instances from *Heilagra manna sögur* and *Postola sögur* (*Heilag*: *lifui* 271/12, *Postola*: *hæfuir* 825/1.2, *lofuaðe* 824/32.36). Other medieval instances I have found are: *afui* (from *DI* III 255/1, dated 1369); *bifuask* (*Völsunga saga*, ed. M.

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For example, part of *Fj* 2 from *St*:

leitar efir hvers þu a leiom eir efir hvar villu

and from *Ra*:

leitar efir hvers þu a leiom eir, efir hvar villu

It is unlikely that such close correspondence in fine detail could survive many stages of copying.

3.2 *St* and *Ra* independently descended from a common exemplar

St and *Ra* are clearly closely related. But neither is a copy of the other, nor is either descended from a copy of the other.

St contains twenty four errors not found in *Ra*, or distinct from those in *Ra*:

leiks borði Gróg 3/1 (*Ra leik borði*);

gaglvegi Gróg 9/3 (*Ra gálvegi*);

fjotar Gróg 10/6 (*Ra fjoturr*);

Leifnis eldu Gróg 10/4 (*Ra leifins elda*; emended *leysigaldr*);

kristni Gróg 13/6 (*Ra kristin*);

Olsen 1906-8, 7/13); three -fv-spellings of *hafa* from AM 655 IX 4to and two from AM 315 fol cited by Holtsmark 1955, 229, 23.

The -ir spellings in *eðir*, *aðir* appear exceptional: neither Holtsmark 1955 nor Larsson 1891 give any instances of these. They may derive from occasional use of -ir to represent the nominative masculine following the development of the svarabhakti vowel between final r and a preceding consonant from c. 1300 in Iceland, a little earlier in Norway (Noreen 1903, 118): cf. the spellings *eðr* (once) in *Möðruvallabók* (van Arkel, I 31) and *Fjölsviðir* *Fj* 13 (both *St* and *Ra*). Hægstad 1899, 91-2 cites nine spellings of the masculine nominative singular spelt -ir from medieval sources, the eldest from a *Barlaams saga* MS, c. 1250 (p. 8/14; see also p. 18 of Rindal's introduction).

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minnis Gróg 14/5 (**Ra** *mimis*; emended *mun*n ok);
siaa Fj 12/4 (**Ra** *svá*);
sefr omitted *Fj* 16/4 (included in **Ra**);
kemt Fj 16/6 (**Ra** *kom*t; emended *kem*sk);
laufi Fj 17/6 (**Ra** *hlaupi*);
Vegnbráðir Fj 18/1 (**Ra** *Vængbráðir*);
viðum Fj 18/2 (**Ra** *liðum*);
laufa Fj 18/6 (**Ra** *laupa*; emended *hlaupi*);
mǫði Fj 21/4 (**Ra** *móði*);
þoss Fj 22/5 (**Ra** *þess*; emended *þat er*);
sinn mautu Fj 24/6 (**Ra** *sinn mantu*; emended *Sinmǫru*);
Lopr Fj 26/2 (**Ra** *Loptr*);
Siu mǫru Fj 26/5 (**Ra** *Sinmoro*; read as *Sinmǫru*);
stunginn Fj 31/5 (**Ra** *slunginn*);
Uri Fj 34/4 (**Ra** *ori*);
at Fj 34/5 (**Ra** ok);
ber Fj 36/1 (**Ra** *berg*);
ór omitted *Fj* 40/6 (included in **Ra**).
dagur Fj 49/3 (**Ra** *dægr*).

The presence of these errors in **St** but not in **Ra** means that **Ra** can not be descended from **St**.

Ra contains twenty eight errors not found in **St**, or distinct from those in **St**:

er Gróg 2/6 (**St** *ór*);
á added before *ǰllum megum Gróg* 7/5 (not in **St**);
inn omitted *Gróg* 9/1 (included in **St**);

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leifins elda Gróg 10/4 (**St** *Leifnis eldu*; emended *leysigaldr*);
gogn Gróg 11/4 (**St** *logn*);
þinn Gróg 14/2 (**St** *inn*);
so Gróg 14/5 (**St** *sé*);
mimis Gróg 14/5 (**St** *minnis*; emended *munn ok*);
*Sjol urg*ar, possibly *Sjolurgar*, *Fj* 1-2 (**St** *Sjot úrgar*);
arnastu Fj 2/5 (**St** *árna þú*);
þik omitted *Fj* 7/2 (included in **St**);
auðalun Fj 8/6 (**St** *auðsaulun*; emended *auðsölum*);
suat Fj 9/5 (**St** *sáat*);
meðan Fj 16/3 (**St** *síðan*); *komt Fj* 16/6 (**St** *kemt*; emended *kemsk*);
þeir eta omitted *Fj* 18/6 (included in **St**);
flær Fj 20/6 (**St** *flær at*);
þess Fj 22/5 (*þoss*; emended *þat er*);
á Fj 23/5 (*i*);
er Fj 24/2 (**St** *enn*); *Sinn mantu* 24/6 (**St** *Sinn mautu*; emended *Sinnmøru*);
fylva Fj 29/6 (**St** *folva* = *fólva*);
sonitelisk Fj 30/5 (**St** *somtelisk* = *søm telisk*);
halr Fj 31/4 (**St** *salr*);
þér Fj 39/4 (**St** *þær*);
þess Fj 46/6 (**St** *þér*);
nú Fj 50/3 (**St** *þú*); *at Fj* 50/5 (**St** *er*).

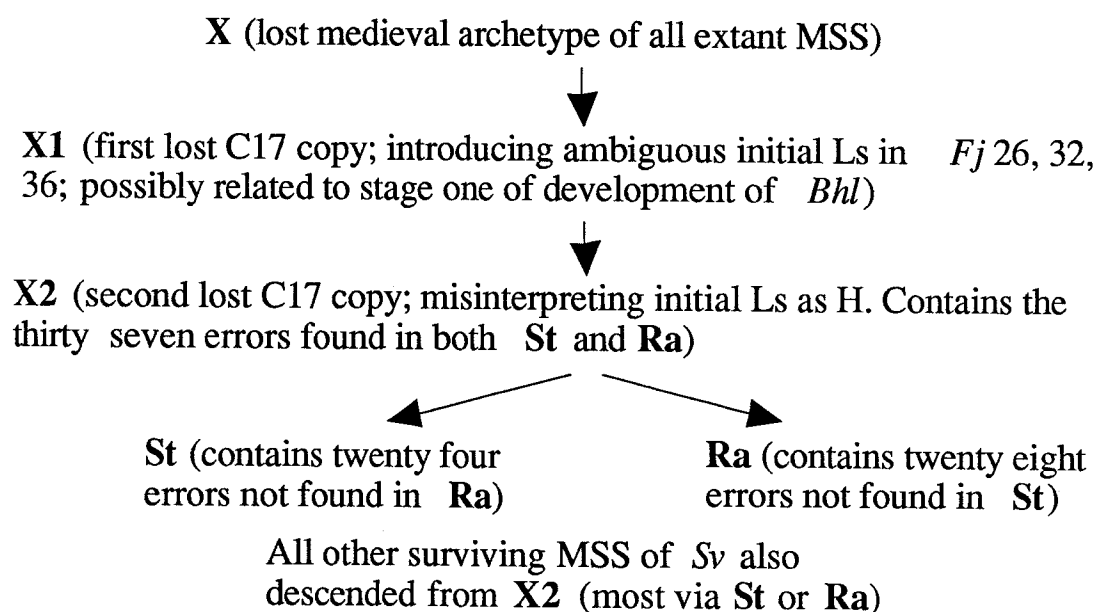
The presence of these errors in **Ra** but not in **St** means that **St** can not be descended from **Ra**.

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Therefore, the two MSS are independently descended from the single archetype I call **X2**. This archetype contained the thirty seven errors listed on pp. 16-8, shared by **St** and **Ra** and also found in all other MSS.

Among these errors are the three instances of initial H/L confusion, suggesting that at least one further stage of copying (**X1**) lay between **X2** and the lost medieval exemplar **X**.

Thus:



3.3 The choice of **St** as base for the reconstructed text

There is evidence that the scribe of **St** was more conservative than that of **Ra**. **St** is therefore chosen as the base for the emended text given in the next chapter.

The greater conservatism of the scribe of **St** can be seen both in the substantive readings of that MS and in the orthography of the scribe.

a. The conservatism of **St**: substantive readings

Comparison of the errors found in **St** and not in **Ra** with those found in **Ra** but not in **St** suggests that **St** is more conservative, and hence closer to the original, than is **Ra**.

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Two of the errors in **Ra** result from the mishandling of older negatives and of metre shown above (pp. 25-33) as characteristic of C17 scribes:

flær (**St** *flær at*) in *Fj* 20/6:

loss of older negative *-at*;

halr (**St** *salr*) in *Fj* 31/4:

the alliteration fails.

That **Ra** has just these two errors affirms it is superior to those which have many more; that **St** does not have these two affirms it is superior to **Ra**.

Another six of the errors found in **Ra** but not in **St** have the character of deliberate revisions rather than scribal errors:

á qllum megom (**St** *qllum megom*) in *Gróg* 7/5;

þinn (**St** *inn*) in *Gróg* 14/2;

meðan (**St** *síðan*) in *Fj* 16/3;

þeir eta omitted from *Fj* 18/6 (included in **St**);

á (**St** *í*) in *Fj* 23/5;

nú (**St** *þú*) in *Fj* 50/3.

In contrast, none of the errors found in **St** but not in **Ra** appear so like revision. Typical of the errors in **St** is the misreading of *kristin* as *kristni* in **St**'s text of *Gróg* 13. Again: that **Ra** shows so little evidence of revision demonstrates its superiority to the MSS which show so much; that **St** does not have this evidence of revision demonstrates its superiority to **Ra**.

b. The conservatism of **St**: orthography

Even from the brief extracts of the text of *Gróg* stanzas 5-7 from **St** and **Ra** given in the frontispiece it can be seen that the orthography and spelling of **Ra** are more regular than they are in **St**. Thus:

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1. The representation of *r* in **St** varies between *z* (*vezḏa*), *r* (*gopir*), frequently — but not always — superscripted in abbreviations (*m^r*, *sialf^z* beside *per*, *sez*). In **Ra** *r* is written throughout. The pattern of these lines is repeated throughout the two MSS of *Sv*: in **St** *z* appears 173 times beside *r* 406 times, with superscript forms occurring 23 times. In **Ra** *r* is written throughout (585 times) and no superscript forms occur.
2. Within a few words in *Gróg* 7 **St** represents final *-um* by *-om* (*vegom*), *-ō* (*ollō*) and *-um* (*megum*). **Ra** has *-om* in all three places. Again the pattern is repeated throughout the two MSS of *Sv*. **St** varies between *-ō* (3x), *ū* (1x), *-om* (24x) and *-um* (14x) in **St**, while **Ra** varies only between *-om* (31x) and *-um* (11x), and has neither *-ū* nor *-ō*.
3. **St** uses abbreviation of common words frequently, but not invariably (*b^z* beside *per*, *pⁿ* beside *pañ*). **Ra** writes all these out in full. Once more, the pattern is repeated through the whole MS. **St** abbreviates common words such as *pat* and *hann* 55 times and writes them out in full 39 times. **Ra** nowhere abbreviates these or any other words.¹

It is most likely that the irregularity of **St** reflects the influence of the orthography of its exemplar, and that the consistency of **Ra** results from a reasoned and intelligent regularisation by the scribe. Evidence for this is a comparison of the orthography and spelling of the text of *Sól* in **St** with that of *Sv* — written by the same scribe — in the same MS. The brief extract of stanzas 2 and 3 of the text of *Sól* in **St** given in the frontispiece

¹ The one apparent abbreviation in **Ra**, *Sgbu* in *Fj* 9, is a scribal slip. In every other case of the formula it is *Segbu*.

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shows that the scribe's practice in *Sól* is rather different from his practice in *Sv*:

1. The scribe represents unstressed final -i as -e in *Sól*; it is invariably -i in *Sv*;
2. The scribe uses considerably less abbreviation in *Sól* than in *Sv*;
3. The spellings -lld (*alldrei*), -eirn for -einn (*eirn*) and -eig for -eg (*meigin*) are common in *Sól*. In contrast, -lld occurs only twice in *Sv* (including *halldi* in the frontispiece, *Gróg* 7) against 24 instances of -ld. There are no -eirn and -eig spellings in *Sv*.

The most plausible explanation of the difference between the scribe's practice when writing *Sv* and when writing *Sól* is that the scribe is using two different MSS as his exemplars. He faithfully reproduced much of the different spelling and orthographic systems of the two MSS and that is why his texts of *Sv* and *Sól* appear so unlike.

Therefore, his text of *Sv* is more likely to be closer to the original in details of orthography and spelling than is that of *Ra*. The differences between the two MSS result from the relative conservatism of *St*.

c. The relative value of *St* and *Ra*

The evidence above of the greater conservatism of *St* makes it the safer choice as the base for the emended text. This is important in cases of "indifferent variants", where the two MSS differ but there is no particular reason to prefer one over the other. In every such case, the reading of *St* is silently accepted into the emended text: thus *St*'s *vilt ... vita* is taken in preference to *Ra*'s *vita ... vilt* in *Fj* 18/3.

However, *Ra* certainly represents a line of descent from the lost original independent of *St*. Original readings lost in *St* may have been preserved in *Ra*. This appears to have been the case with the readings *sefr*

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Fj 16/4 (omitted in **St**), *hlaupi Fj 17/6* (**St** *laufi*), *Vængbráðir Fj 18/1* (**St** *Vegnbráðir*), *liðum Fj 18/2* (**St** *viðum*), *Loptr Fj 26/2* (**St** *Lopr*), *Sinmøru Fj 26/5* (**St** *Siu møro*); *slunginn Fj 31/5* (**St** *stunginn*), *ok Fj 34/5* (**St** *at*), *berg Fj 36/1* (**St** *ber*), *ór Fj 40/6* (omitted in **St**).

The superiority of these few readings in **Ra** does not disturb the choice of **St** as the base text.

3.4 **Bt**: *Gróg* 13 as printed in Bartholin 1689

In the course of his discussion of the attribution of the whole of *SE* to Sæmundr inn Fróði, Bartholin comments that the collection contains such a variety of poetry, of such diverse poets and times ('quae variis constat odis, diversis temporibus ab diversis scriptis authoribus') that while Sæmundr might be the compiler he can hardly be the author.¹ As evidence, he compares *Hávm* 'ipsi Othino adscribitur' and 'Grougalldur', which 'post Christi nomen in his terris prædicatum fuisse compositum'. He then quotes the whole of *Gróg* 13, printed as verse, to justify his assertion that *Gróg* must have been composed after the coming of Christianity to the north. He follows the ON text with a sound Latin translation: 'At þui fyrr' is rendered 'eó minus'.²

The ON text is so close to that of **St** and **Ra** that there is no reason to doubt its soundness. In turn, the authority of **St** and **Ra** is confirmed. **Bt** agrees with these two MSS against many other MSS in reading:

inn in 13/1 where the B MSS and others have *enn* (**Ha** and 13 other MSS);

¹ Bartholin's citation of this one stanza of *Gróg* has not been noted by previous editors.

² The translation is copied into **1870** in the margin next to *Gróg* 13. The references to 'Bartholin' in that MS alerted me to the possibility that an early printed version of part of *Sv* might exist. See notes on **1870**, pp. 431-2.

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Niflvegi in 13/3 where the Stockholm MSS have *Niflvefi* (**Gu**, **He** and three other mss);

megi at in 13/5 where four B MSS have *megi*.

Bt agrees with both **St** and **Ra** in all but one word in this stanza. This is in 13/6 where both **Bt** and **Ra** have the correct *kristin*; **St** has *kristni* in the text, corrected in the margin by Guðmundur Ólafsson to *kristin* (see p. 53).

The only MS of *SE* containing *Sv* certainly known to have been in Copenhagen in 1689 is the lost Resen MS; see pp. 466-7 below. This was burnt in 1728, together with all but one of the paper MSS of *SE* collected by Arni. The one survivor was **O**. As this was apparently written in 1680 and passed through several hands before coming to Arni, this MS is unlikely to have been the source of **Bt**. Further, there is no trace of the eccentric orthography of **O** in **Bt** (cf. p. 196 below).

The rest of Bartholin's book provides no help. In the Appendix 'Index manuscriptorum' Bartholin lists 'Grougalldr', but not *Fj*. As he also fails to list many other Eddic poems (e.g. *Hamð*, *Þry*) no conclusion can be drawn from this.

4. Description of the Two Principal MSS

4.1 **St** (Stockholm Papp. 15 Octavo; Royal Library Stockholm)

a. The MS and its contents.

The main text of **St** is written throughout in a single very neat hand, dated by Gödel 1897, 376 to the second half of the seventeenth century. All verse is written as prose, with separate verses commonly (but not always) forming separate paragraphs. A half-uncial hand is used for the verse, but prose passages (e.g. the introduction to *Grott*) may be cursive. Two

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specimens from the MS — one from *Sól*, early in the MS, the other from *Gróg* late in the MS — are given in the frontispiece.

There is at least one marginal annotation on virtually every page of the MS. Most of the marginalia, throughout the MS, are in the distinctive hand of Guðmundur Ólafsson but some are in the same hand and ink as that of the main text. In *Vsp* 9 the text reads *drotta*, while the scribe and Guðmundur have respectively written *dróttū* and *drottir* in the margin. Of the fifteen marginalia in the seven and a half pages of *Sv*, two only — *attatu* and *nockut* in *Fj* 1 (=2) and 25 — are written by the scribe, the rest by Guðmundur.

Three aspects of *St* are peculiar to *St* and those MSS derived from or influenced by it. These help define the Stockholm group of MSS, all derived ultimately from *St* and discussed in chapter I.5:

1. The order in *St* of the **CR** mythological poems differs from **CR**, with *Alv* being placed after *Grí* and followed by *Lok*, *Þry*, *Hárb*, *Skí*, *Hym*, *Bdr*, *Vǫl* and *Hhund* I.

All the other poems of **CR** appear in *St* in exactly the order of that MS. *Vsp* is preceded by *Sól* and *Hrafnagaldur* — these two are the first poems in the MS — and *Hamð* is followed by *Fj*, *Hyndl*, *Gróg* and *Grott*, in that order. *Grott* is the last poem in the MS.

2. The order of the verses of *Vsp* differs radically from that in **CR**. For example, stanza 20 in Bugge's numbering is followed by 28, then 29, 22, 21, 30, 23, 24/5-8, 24/1-4, 25, 26, 27, 40, 41, 42, 43, then 31. This variation of the **CR** order may be inspired by the different order of the **Hb** text, well-known to C17 Icelandic scribes (see pp. 36-7). However *St* differs from **Hb** little less than it does from **CR**: see further below.

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3. The treatment of the lacuna in **CR**: *Sigrdr* 28/6 is followed by the five spurious verses (actually a verse adaptation of part of *Vǫlsunga saga* ch. 21) attributed by Helgi Ólafsson in the margin of 34 to Jón lærði (see p. 431 below). These lead into *Vǫlsunga saga* chs. 28 to 30, followed by *Brot*.

b. The Sources of the MS

St is an eclectic collection, not only joining together the poems of **CR** with others from outside that MS but also varying the order and text of the **CR** poems. The MS also shows signs of influence in *Vsp* and *Hávǫm* of texts outside **CR**.

The text of *Vsp* in **St** appears based on both **Hb** and **CR**, but differs markedly from both. As well as the very different order of stanzas described above, **St** has *þau ek* in 1 (**CR** *þau er*, **Hb** *þau er ek*) and *i við* in 2 (**CR** *ivið*, **Hb** *iviðjur*). At some points **St** follows **Hb** (the inclusion of 47/5-8) and at others **CR** (the inversion of 47/1-4).

The text of *Hávǫm* appears based on **CR** and has the characteristic errors found in copies of the **CR** *Hávǫm* written before Arni's copy: thus the inversion of stanzas 62 and 63 and *hundr* in 71. However, the scribe seems to have known at least one MS of *Hávǫm* differing from **CR**: he has written the line *heiðríkum himni eða hlæjanda herra* and a verse beginning *lesti oc kosti* in the margins against verses 87 and 133; the first of these is in Resen 1665, the second is not. Interestingly, **St**'s text of *Hávǫm* is radically different from that of Stockholm Papp. 3 8vo, written by the same scribe, which is very much more like that of Resen 1665 than that of **CR**.

From a selective collation (see p. 168), it appears that the text of *Vafþr* and the other **CR** poems are based on **CR**, but with the prose addition in *Sigrdr* to supply the lacuna described above. *Bdr* is derived from A, but

with the additions usual in paper MSS (*NF* 130); likewise **St** contains the extra verse in *Alv* found in many paper MSS (*NF* 138-9).

There is striking evidence that — like several other MSS (e.g. **1491 He 5**) — **St** used two different exemplars, one for the poems of **CR** and a second for the other poems of *SE*, including *Sv*. It appears from Guðmundur's marginalia that he was actually collating **St** against its own exemplar for the **CR** poems, or at least a MS very similar to it. There is no indication in Guðmundur's extensive marginalia that the text of the **CR** poems against which he was collating **St** did not have the stanzas of *Vsp* in the same unusual order as **St**, or that it did not have the poems of **CR** in the same unusual order as they are in **St**.¹ Apart from **St** and the MSS descended from it, I have seen not one other MS which has the unusual orders for the verses of *Vsp* and for the poems of **CR** found in **St**. The simplest explanation for Guðmundur's failure to remark this (he comments on much else) is that the MS with which he was comparing the **CR** poems of **St** was actually its exemplar, or a MS very close to it.

However, Guðmundur's marginalia in *Sv* show that the MS against which he was collating **St**'s text of *Sv* cannot have been **St** or even a MS close to it, but must have been a MS much more like **Ra** — if not **Ra** itself. His marginalia *kristin*, *ǥþva* (*Gróg* 13, 15), *sva*, *lipom*, *Loptur* and *tegn* (*Fj* 12, 18, 26, 46) all agree with **Ra**. *ǥþva* is particularly telling. The exact correspondence of Guðmundur's spelling of this with that of **Ra**, against the text of **St**'s *ǥva* (which unambiguously stands for the same

¹ To this negative evidence may be added one piece of positive evidence. The last line of stanza 20 of *Vsp* falls on the bottom of 12r and the scribe begins 12v repeating *alda bornom orlog seggia* in place of the first line of 28. Guðmundur later supplied the missing first words from 28 in the margin above *alda bornom*. **St**'s original mistake is hardly possible if 28 did not follow 20 in the scribe's exemplar and Guðmundur's correction does not note anything odd about the verse-order here.

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word) suggests that Guðmundur is not simply noting readings he remembers, or is inventing, but is physically collating *St* against another MS.

Where Guðmundur may have been collating *St*'s text of *Vsp* against its own exemplar, or an MS very similar to itself, the marginalia in *Sv* appear to belong to a different MS tradition, closer to *Ra* than to *St*.

c. Manuscript History

St was among the group of '50 Manuskripta'¹ brought by Guðmundur Ólafsson to Sweden when he took up his appointment as translator at the Antikvitetskollegiet in Uppsala in 1681. After lengthy negotiations, the whole collection was sold by him to the Antikvitetskollegiet on 1 May 1684. Guðmundur's regard for *St* is shown in that it was 'no 1' in his collection (Gödel 1897b, 179-81).

St is written in the same hand throughout as two other octavo paper MSS probably also brought to Sweden in the same collection: Stockholm Papp. 3 8vo and Stockholm Papp. 18 8vo. Notes in both these suggest that some parts, at least, of these were written in 1673: April 1673 for Papp. 18 8vo, December 1673 for *Landnámabók* in Papp. 3 8vo (Gödel 1897, 359, 380). The note in Papp. 3 8vo states that it was written at Esjuberg in Kjósarsýsla, north-east across the bay from Reykjavík.

Kept in the same slipcase with the MS is a vellum leaf from a Latin antiphony dated c.1300 by Gödel. In one of the margins of this are some annotations in a much later hand, possibly that of Guðmundur. These are mostly illegible, but the name 'Guðmundur' can be made out at least once. At the back of *St* are bound various scraps of paper presumably once possessed by Guðmundur, in various hands. One has the name 'Carolus

¹ Letter of Hadorph to De La Gardie 1 December 1682 (quoted Gödel 1897b, 177).

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Alexander de Chastillon', others jottings, and four pages titled 'Floa Umboð' appear to be some type of valuation of residents of a particular area — apparently Flói in Arnesþing, some forty kilometres west of Esjuberg. Presumably these and the vellum leaf are among the '150 stycken, mindre och smärre' collected by Guðmundur with Hadorph's approval.¹

On the flyleaf preceding *Sól* in *St* is written:

Johannes Dietrichus Gröner.
(Theodericus)

This may not be the hand of the scribe of the MS. The name Gröner would be unusual for an Iclander, and I have been unable to trace any person of this name in the standard Icelandic and Scandinavian biographical reference books.

In 1692 the Antikvitetskollegiet was renamed the Antikvitätsarkivet and moved to Stockholm (Hermansson 1929, 54). *St* would then have come to Stockholm in that year, and is probably identical with the 'Sæmunder Edda Ms. in 8:vo på Papper' named in the inventory of the Antikvitätsarkivet's collection dated 20 September 1693 (Gödel 1897b, 292). *St* is probably also identical with the *Edda Sæmundi* whose contents

¹ Letter of Hadorph to De La Gardie 1 December 1682 (quoted Gödel 1897a, 177).

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are given in Johan Peringskiöld's list of "Manuscripta Scandica ad Antiquitates et Historiam Septentrionalium aliorumque Regnorum illustrandam, in Regio Antiquitatum Archivo Holmiae selecta". This is dated 1701 in the letter which accompanies it on p. 310 of the second volume of Hickes' *Thesaurus*. The contents of this MS and their order are identical with **St**. In 1780 the books and MSS of the Antikvitätsarkivet were transferred to the Royal Library in Stockholm, where **St** now is (Hermansson 1929, 54).

4.2 **Ra** (Rask 21 a , Arnamagnaeen Institute Copenhagen)

a. The MS and its contents

As Kålund's 1888, II 514-5 account of the contents of **Ra** makes clear, this is a miscellaneous collection of various pieces, mostly poetic in nature: e.g. *lausavísur*, verses from *Hervarar saga* and an essay concerning the origin of the name *Edda* (discussed Faulkes 1979, I 31). There are almost as many separate hands as there are items in the MS, most of which begin on new gatherings and are distinct in layout from the other items in the MS. Therefore, **Ra** appears to have been formed by collecting together originally separate pamphlets.

Of interest to this edition are items 2 and 6 in Kålund's numbering. These are the list of *þættir af Sæmundar Eddu* on 8v and the Eddic poems on 29r to 76r. Both these are written in the same hand, dated by Kålund to C17. The sections interposed between them form separate gatherings (9-19, 20-26, 28), their hands and subjects distinct from each other and from what follows and precedes. It is therefore likely that the two items, now 20 leaves apart, originally belonged together.

The Eddic poems are all the mythological poems of **CR**, in the same order as **CR** but with *Bdr* taking the place of *Völ*. Following *Alv* are *Grott*, *Gróg*, *Fj* (mistitled *Fiolsvis mál*) and *Hyndl*, in that order. The list of

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þættir gives all these in the same order, but also has between *Alv* and *Grott* most of the poems of **CR** not found in **Ra**. The list of *þættir* excludes *Akv* and *Ghv* but lists the rest in the same order as **CR**, though with *Vql* following *Alv* and preceding *Hhund* I. However *Grott* follows *Alv* directly on the same sheet, so **Ra** probably never contained the **CR** poems missing from it and listed in the *þættir* list. The line written in the margin of the *þættir* list — apparently by the original scribe — against the titles of all the heroic poems of **CR**, from *Hhund* I to *Hamð*, may indicate their conscious omission.

These two parts of **Ra** are written in an exceptionally clear hand, consistent throughout in its choice of letter forms and avoidance of abbreviations (see the frontispiece and pp. 46-8 above). The superbly clean lay-out of the MS, with every verse identically indented and forming a separate paragraph, together with the regularity of letter-forms, evidence the scribe's mastery of his craft.

The scribe has written very few marginalia in the MS, giving the impression that **Ra** (like the text of *Sv* in **St**) is based on a single exemplar. Two of the rare marginalia are in *Sv*: *atalt* is written beside the text *atlat* in *Gróg* 6 (see the frontispiece), and an *s* is supplied beside the title of *Fj*, given in the text as *Fiolvis mál*; a caret between the *l* and the *v* indicates where this should go. Unlike Guðmundur's marginalia in **St** (see p. 53), these may not imply any knowledge of another MS.

b. The Sources of the MS

The poems from **CR** in **Ra** are closer to **CR** than are those poems in **St**.

The text of *Vsp* in **Ra** is a mixed text like that of **St**, mingling readings from **CR** and **Hb**: hence probably the epithet *tuafollo* ('two-fold') applied to the title of *Vsp* in the *þættir* list: cf pp. 468-9. But this *Vsp* is very much closer to **CR** than is that of **St**, keeping the **CR** order of verses

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and with rather fewer readings from **Hb**. Similarly, *Hávm* appears derived from **CR**, with none of the readings characteristic of the alternative texts of *Hávm* current in C17. As the discussion of **St** shows, there is nothing unusual in a *Vsp* of mixed parentage and other poems based purely on **CR** being together in the one MS.

The choice of just the mythological poems of **CR**, when the scribe knew and presumably had access to a fuller text of **CR**, and the linking of these with five mythological poems from outside **CR** suggest deliberate policy. That the scribe accompanies the poems with the more complete list of **CR** poems in the *þættir* list makes it likely that the scribe himself made this selection. I can deduce no distinction between the MS sources for the **CR** poems and *Sv*.

c. MS History

Nothing is known of **Ra** before its acquisition by the philologist and linguist E. C. Rask (1787-1832), presumably during his stay in Iceland 1813-5. There is no indication in the MS of who wrote the parts of **Ra** which concern this edition. I have not recognised the scribe's hand in any other of the paper MSS I have consulted.

5. The Emended Text

The emended text given in the next chapter is normalised according to the principles outlined below. Apart from normalisation, every divergence from the copy-text **St** is signalled by italic script. The apparatus forms are also normalised, except in cases where the MS orthography is ambiguous (e.g. *Gróg* 3/6 *menglǫðum* **Ra**, where the vowel might be either *au* or *ø*). All punctuation is editorial, as are verse-numbering, line division and indication of speakers. The division of words in **St** has been silently adjusted to conform to modern scholarly practice, and only indicated in the

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apparatus where there is a possibility of scribal misunderstanding (e.g. *megi at* in *Gróg* 13/4, where a C17 reader might have taken the *at* as a preposition governing the following *pér* and not as a negative enclitic; cf. pp. 25-8 above).

Emendations not original to this edition are attributed briefly in the apparatus. For emendations which first appear in MSS of *Sv* itself the sigil for the MS, or the name of the MS group as established in I. 5, in which the reading first appears is given.

5.1 The choice of normalisation used in this edition

This edition adopts the normalisation of the Dictionary of Old Norse Prose (ONP), presently in progress within the Arnamagnæan Institute in Copenhagen. This normalisation has the following advantages:

1. There exists a series of written statements, codifying the scheme and clarifying doubtful points. I am grateful to Christopher Sanders of ONP for providing me with copies of these documents. Naturally ONP is not responsible for my interpretation of these, and their normalisation is itself subject to continual revision.
2. The ONP scheme aims at a representation of ON as it was c. 1200-1250 (Docs. 3.1.3., 6/11/84-4/6/87). It is exactly in this period that *Sv* is most likely to have been composed: see IV.1.
3. Although publication of ONP is not imminent, the central position of ONP in ON scholarship gives its normalisation the authority of a *de facto* standard.

5.2 The normalisation

The ONP normalisation is broadly similar to that seen, for instance, in the *Íslensk Fornrit* editions edited by Einar Ólafur Sveinsson. Thus:

1. The etymological distinctions between *o*, *ø* (short) and *œ*, *æ* (long) are maintained: *som* and *þróf* *Fj* 30/5, 24/5; *dægr* and *flærat* *Fj* 49/3, 21/6.
2. Unstressed front vowels are *i*, back vowels *u*: *megi* and *vegum* *Gróg* 5/3-4.
3. *i/j*, *u/v*, *f/v* and *ð/p* are distributed as usually in editions of ON texts: *viljalauss*, *afi* and *þjóðar* *Gróg* 7/3, 5/6 and *Fj* 1/3.
4. The middle voice is written -sk: *snúisk* *Gróg* 9/6.
5. Vowels are lengthened before consonant groups -*lf*, *lg*: *sjálfr*, *gálgvegi* *Gróg* 6/6, 9/3.
6. The original consonant group -ðsl- is represented -zl: *varzla* *Fj* 16/3.
7. In the case of variation between -nnr- and -ðr-, ONP will choose the form most frequently instanced in their materials as the normalised form: e.g. *maðr* beside *brennr* (Docs. 3.1.5, 22/10/84). Following this lead, I print *Ruðr* in *Gróg* 8/4, as in 45 of the 46 MSS (the 46th, 6, has *luðr*), *Fjölsviðr* as in all MSS and *viðr* in 47/5, the emendation for *kveðr* as in all MSS.
8. Consonant doubling follows the customs usual in editions of ON texts: *studdan*, *forkunnar* *Fj* 12/4, 48/4.

The only addition to the ONP rules is the treatment of *fyr*, *fyrir*, *for*. I level these to *fyr* or *fyrir* and then distribute them according to Helgason's practice (I, xiv), *fyr* as preposition, *fyrir* as adverb: e.g. *fyr forgröðum* and *fyrir hníga* *Fj* 1/5, 25/5-6.

1.3 Emended Text and Translation

Gróugaldr

Gróugaldr er hon gól syni sínum dauð.

The Chant of Gróa, which she —
being dead — sang to her son.

1. Svipdagr

Vaki þú, Gróa!

1. Svipdagr

Wake, Gróa!

vaki þú góð kona!

wake, excellent lady!

vek ek þik dauðra dura —

I wake you at the doors of the

ef þú þat mant,

if you remember

at þú þinn mög bæðir

that you bade your son

til kumblðysjar koma.

visit the gravemound.

dead —

2 Gróa

Hvat er nú annt

2. Gróa

What now occupies

mínum einga syni,

my only son?

hverju ertu nú þolvi borinn,

with what trouble are you now

er þú þá móður kallar,

burdened,

that you summon your mother

er til moldar er komin

who is come to dust

ok ór ljóðheimum liðin?

and passed from the homes of men?

Svipdagr, Gróa, Fjölsviðr: speakers not named in St Ra.

2. móður] Gu; möðir St Ra.

3. Svipdagr

Ljótu leikborði
skaut fyr mik in lævísa kona,
sú er faðmaði minn fður;
þar bað hon mik koma,
er kvæmtki veit,
móti Mengloðu.

4. Gróa

Löng er fjar,
langir ro farvegar,
langir ro manna munir —
ef þat verðr,
at þú þinn vilja bíðr,
ok skeikar þá Skuld at sköpum.

5. Svipdagr

Galdra þú mér gal,
þá er góðir eru —
bjarg þú, móðir, meg!
á vegum allr,

3. Svipdagr

An ugly game
she has thrust before me — that
crafty woman —
she who has clasped my father
in her arms;
there she bade me go
where she knows there is no going
to Mengloǎ.

4. Gróa

Far is the journey,
far are the ways,
far-sought are men's desires —
if it is to happen
that you will gain your wish,
and Destiny then go
according to the fates.

5. Svipdagr

Chant me chants
that will avail —
mother, save your son!
on my journey totally

3. leikborði] **Ra**; leiks borði **St**.
 skaut] *Bugge*; skauts þú **St Ra**.
 kvæmtki] *Bugge*; kveðki **St Ra**.
 Menglōðu] *Bugge*; menglōðum **St**, menglōðum **Ra**.

hygg ek, at ek verða muna,
þykkjumk ek til ungr afi.

destroyed I think I will be —
I feel I am too young a youth!

6. Gróa

þann gel ek þér fyrstan:
þann kveða fjölnýtan,
þann gól Rindr Rani:
at þú af ǫxl skjótir
því er þér atalt þykkir —
sjálfr leiðtu sjálfan þik.

6. Gróa

This first one I will chant you:
this one is very useful, they say,
this one Rindr chanted to Rani:
so may you shrug from your
shoulder
anything you find fearful —
let yourself be your only guide.

7. þann gel ek þér annan:
ef þú árna skalt
viljalauss á vegum;
Urðar lokur
haldi þér ǫllum megum,
er þú á *sinnum* sér!

7. This second one I will chant you:
if you must go
— like it or not — on your way;
may charms of Fate
sustain you on every side
when you are on your journey!

8. þann gel ek þér inn þriðja:
ef þér þjóðáar
falla at fjörlátum —
Horn ok Ruðr

8. This third one I will chant you:
if mighty rivers
rush to menace your life —
may Horn and Ruðr

6. af] *Rosenberg I 248*; of St Ra.
atalt] Ra(margin), atlat St Ra.

7. sinnum] *Bugge*; sman St Ra.

8. þjóðáar] *Gu*; þiöpir St Ra.
fjörlátum] *B MSS*; fjörlotum St Ra.

I.3 GRÓUGALDR: EMENDED TEXT AND TRANSLATION

- | | |
|---|---|
| snúisk til heljar meðan,
en þverri æ fyr þér. | course back to Hell while you pass,
and dwindle always before you. |
| 9. þann gel ek þér inn fjórða:
ef þik fjándr standa
görvir á gálgvegi;
hugr þeim hverfi
til handa þér
ok snúisk þeim til sátta sefi. | 9. This fourth one I will chant you:
if enemies overtake you
ready to attack, on the gallows way;
may their hearts sway
into your power
and their minds be turned to peace. |
| 10. þann gel ek þér inn fimta:
ef þér fjöturr verðr
borinn at boglimum —
leysigaldr læt ek þér
fyr legg of kveðinn;
ok stökkkr þá láss af limum,
en af fótum fjöturr. | 10. This fifth one I will chant you:
if a chain
is set about your limbs —
I will have a loosening-charm
uttered over your limbs;
and the manacle will then spring
from your joints,
and the fetter from your feet. |
| 11. þann gel ek þér inn sétta:
ef þú á sjó kómr | 11. This sixth one I will chant you:
if you come upon a sea |

9. galgvegi] Ra, gaglvegi St.
hverfi] O; hryggvi St Ra.
til] *Langebek group*; omitted St Ra.
þér] O; þér mætti St Ra.

10. verðr] *Möbius*; verða St Ra.
leysigaldr] *Bugge*; Leifnis eldu St, leifins elda Ra.
fjöturr] Ra, fiqtar St.

I.3 GRÓUGALDR: EMENDED TEXT AND TRANSLATION

meira en menn viti;	running higher than men may know;
logn ok lōgr	may calm and ocean
gangi þér í lúðr saman	sift together in the mill for you
ok ljái þér æ friðrjúgrar farar.	and afford you always a journey potent in peace.
12. þann gel ek þér inn sjaunda:	12. This seventh one I will chant you:
ef þik sækja kømr	if there comes creeping up on you
frost á fjalli há;	frost on a mountain height;
hrævakulði	may no carrion-cold
megit þínu holdi fara	have power to ravage your flesh
ok haldit þér líki at liðum.	and may it not bind your body by the joints.
13. þann gel ek þér inn átta:	13. This eighth one I will chant you:
ef þik úti nemr	if night catches you in the open,
nótt, á niflvegi;	on the dark way;
at því firr megiat	so that by no means may she
þér til meins göra —	do you any malignity —
kristin dauð kona.	a dead Christian woman.

11. ljái] *B MSS 1867 M 47*; ljá *St Ra*.

12. þér] *Vigfússon*; or *St Ra*.
líki] *lik St Ra*.

13. megiat] *Möbius*; megi at *St Ra Bt*; see p. 59.
kristin] *St margin* (Guðmundur Ólafsson's hand) *Ra Bt*, kristni *St*.

I.3 GRÓUGALDR: EMENDED TEXT AND TRANSLATION

14. þann gel ek þér *inn* níunda
ef þú við inn naddgofga
orðum skiptir jötun;
máls ok manvits
sé þér á munn ok hjarta
gnóga of gefit.

15. Far þú nú æva
þar er forað þykkir;
ok standit þér mein fyr munum!
á jarðföstum steini
stóð ek innan dura,
meðan ek þér galdra gól.

16. Móður orð
ber þú, mögr, heðan,
ok lát þér í brjósti búa;
iðgnóga heill
skaltu of aldr hafa,
meðan þú mín orð of mant.

14. This ninth one I will chant you:
in case you must
bandy words with the spike-splendid
giant;
may words and wit
into your mouth and heart
be bountifully bestowed.

15. Never now go
where danger appears;
and may no evil bar you from bliss!
on a stone firm in the earth
within doors I stood,
while I chanted you spells.

16. A mother's words
take with you, son, away from here,
and keep them stored in your heart;
ever abounding good fortune
shall you have throughout life,
as long as you mind my words.

14. inn] **34 47 1491 2797**; omitted **St Ra.**
mun ok] *Bugge*; minniss **St**, mimis **Ra.**

15. [par er] par *Langebek group*; par er *Rask*; pér *St Ra.*

16. iðgnóga] *Bugge*; þi noga *St Ra.*

Fjolsvinnsmál.

1. Útan garða

hann sá upp um koma

þursa þjóðar sjöt.

Svipdagr

Hvat er þat flagða,

er stendr fyr forgrðum,

ok hvarflar um hættan loga?

2. Fjolsviðr

Hvers þú leita,

eða hvers þú á leitum ert?

eða hvat viltu vinlauss vita?

úrgar brautir

árna þú aptr heðan,

átta-at-þú hér, verndarvanr, veru.

3. Svipdagr

Hvat er þat flagða,

er stendr fyr forgarði,

ok býðrat líðendum lǫð?

scemðarorðalauss

1. From beyond the walls

he saw rise up

the palace of the giant-folk.

Svipdagr

What demon is this

that looms before the forecourt,

and loiters about the perilous flame?

2. Fjolsviðr

What do you seek

what are you in quest of?

friendless man, what would you
find?

wet ways

pass back over —

you're defenceless, and you'll get no
dwelling here.

3. Svipdagr

What demon is this

that looms before the forecourt

and offers no welcome to travellers?

quite bereft of courteous speech

1-2. Order of verses 1 and 2 as first suggested by Möbius. The order in all MSS is:
1/1-3, 2/4-6, 1/4-6, 2/1-3 .

3. lǫð? scemðar-] lǫþ-/scemðar St, lǫpscemðar Ra.

I. 3. FJOLSVINNSMÁL: EMENDED TEXT AND TRANSLATION

hefir þú, seggr, of lifat,
ok haltu heim heðan!

have you lived, creature,
and get on home from here!

4. Fjolsviðr

Fjolsviðr ek heiti,
en ek á fróðan sefa,
þeygi emk míns mildr matar;
innan garða
þú kœmr hér aldregi —
ok drífpú nú, vargr, at vegi!

4. Fjolsviðr

Much-wise I am called,
indeed I have a wise mind,
though I am hardly generous with
my food;
within these walls
never will you come —
and now wander off, wolf, on your
way!

5. Svipdagr

Augna gamans
fýsirat eptir fán,
hvars hann getr svást at sjá;
garðar glóa
mér þykkja of gollna sali —
hér munda ek eðli una.

5. Svipdagr

For his eyes' delight
there's hardly a man who is not
eager,
wheresoever he can see what is sweet;
I think the courts are glittering
around the golden halls —
here would I be content to have my
home.

6. Fjolsviðr

Segþú mér hverjum
ertu, sveinn, borinn,
eða hverra ertu manna mögr?

6. Fjolsviðr

Tell me, boy,
who fathered you,
and of what clan are you kin?

4. at] *B text*; af St Ra.

5. fýsirat] *cf Olsen* (fýsira); fýsir St Ra.
eptir] *aptr* St Ra.

I. 3. FJOLSVINNSMÁL: EMENDED TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Svipdagr

Vindkaldr ek heiti,
Várkaldr hét minn faðir,
þess var Fjolkaldr faðir.

7. Svipdagr

Segðu mér þat, Fjolsviðr,
er ek þik fregna mun,
ok ek vilda vita;
hverr hér ræðr
— ok ríki hefir —
eign ok auðsolum?

8. Fjolsviðr

Menglǫð of heitir,
en hana móðir of gat
við Svafþorins syni;
hon hér ræðr
— ok ríki hefir —
eign ok auðsolum.

Svipdagr

My name is Wind-cold,
my father's name was Spring-cold,
Much-cold was his father.

7. Svipdagr

Tell me this, Much-wise,
for I will question you,
and I would know;
who rules here
— and has authority —
over this domain and its treasures?

8. Fjolsviðr

Menglǫð she is called ,
her mother conceived her
by Svafþorinn's son;
she rules here
— and has authority —
over this domain and its treasures.

7. auðsolum] cf 8/6; auþsolum St Ra.

8. Svafþorins] Svafur þorins St Ra.
auðsolum] Egilsson group; auþsolum St, auþolum Ra.

I. 3. FJQLSVINNSMÁL: EMENDED TEXT AND TRANSLATION

9. Svipdagr

Segþú mér þat, Fjølsviðr,
er ek þik fregna mun ,
ok ek vilda vita;
hvat *sú* grind heitir,
er með goðum sáat
menn it meira forað?

10. Fjølsviðr

Þrymgjöll hon heitir,
en hana þrír gerðu,
Sólblinda synir;
fjöturr fastr
verðr við faranda hvern,
er hana hefr frá hliði.

11. Svipdagr

Segþú mér þat, Fjølsviðr,
er ek þik fregna mun,
ok ek vilda vita;
hvat *sá* garðr heitir,

9. Svipdagr

Tell me this, Much-wise,
for I will question you,
and I would know;
what is the gate called,
than which no men ever saw among
the gods
a more treacherous peril?

10. Fjølsviðr

Þrymgjöll it is called,
and three made it,
the sons of Sólblindi;
a strong fetter
binds every passerby,
who lifts it from its place.

11. Svipdagr

Tell me this, Much-wise,
for I will question you,
and I would know;
what is this wall called,

9. Stanzas 9-41: question formula abbreviated **St Ra**.
sú] **O**, *Stockholm group*; omitted **St Ra**.

10. fjöturr] **O He**, fjöttrar **St Ra**.

I. 3. FJOLSVINNSMÁL: EMENDED TEXT AND TRANSLATION

er með goðum sáat

than which no men ever saw among
the gods

menn it meira forað?

a more treacherous peril?

12. Fjolsviðr

Gastropnir heitir,
en ek hann gørvan hefð
ór Leirbrimis limum;
svá hef ek studdan
at hann standa mun,
æ meðan öld lifir.

12. Fjolsviðr

Gastropnir it is called,
which I have made
from Leirbrimir's limbs;
so have I buttressed it
that it will stand forever,
while generations last.

13. Svipdagr

Segþú mér þat, Fjolsviðr,
er ek þik fregna mun,
ok ek vilda vita;
hvat þeir garmar heita,
er gífrir rekask
† giorpa fyrir londin lim. †

13. Svipdagr

Tell me this, Much-wise,
for I will question you,
and I would know;
what are the hounds called
that roam ravenous ...

14. Fjolsviðr

Gífr heitir annarr,
en Geri annarr,

14. Fjolsviðr

One is named Gífr,
and the other Geri,

11. sáat] 2797; sjáat St Ra.

12. svá] St margin (Guðmundur Ólafsson's hand) Ra, siaa St.
mun] 2797; man St Ra.

13. gífrir] SGT; gifur St Ra.
rekask] rekar St Ra.

I. 3. FJOLSVINNSMÁL: EMENDED TEXT AND TRANSLATION

ef þú vilt þat vita;

varðat er at eilífu

er þeir æ varða,

unz rjúfask regin.

if you will know it;

guarded for eternity

is that they ever guard,

till the powers are torn apart.

15. Svipdagr

Segþú mér þat, Fjolsviðr,

er ek þik fregna mun,

ok ek vilda vita;

hvárt sé manna nokkut,

þat er megi inn koma,

meðan sókndjarfir sofa?

15. Svipdagr

Tell me this, Much-wise,

for I will question you,

and I would know;

is there any man

who can enter,

while the strife-bold sleep?

16. Fjolsviðr

Missvefni mikit

var þeim mjök of lagit,

síðan þeim var varzla vituð;

annarr of nætr sefr,

en annarr of daga,

ok kemsk þá vætr, ef þar kom.

16. Fjolsviðr

Much varied sleep

was strictly imposed on them,

after the guard was assigned them;

one sleeps by night,

the other by day,

nothing then enters though it is come
there.

-
14. varðat er] *Boer*; varðir **St Ra**.
at eilífu] *Boer*; ellefu **St**, ellifu **Ra**.
æ] *Dronke*; omitted **St Ra**.

16. of] *Langebek group*; omitted **St Ra**.
sefr] **Ra**; omitted **St**.
kems] *Langebek group*; kemt **St**, komt **Ra**.
ef] *Langebek group*; of **St Ra**.

I. 3. FJOLSVINNSMÁL: EMENDED TEXT AND TRANSLATION

17. Svipdagr

Segþú mér þat, Fjolsviðr,
er ek þik fregna mun,
ok ek vilda vita;
hvárt sé matar nokkut,
þat er þeim menn gefi,
ok hlaupi inn meðan þeir eta?

17. Svipdagr

Tell me this, Much-wise,
for I will question you,
and I would know;
is there any food
which men may give them,
and they may dash in, while they
eat?

18. Fjolsviðr

Vængbráðir tvær
liggja í Viðófnis liðum,
ef þú vilt þat vita;
þat eitt er svá matar
at þeim menn of gefi,
ok hlaupi inn meðan þeir eta.

18. Fjolsviðr

Two morsels of wingflesh
lie in Viðófnir's limbs,
if you would know it;
this is the only food
that men may give them,
and they may dash in, while they
eat!

19. Svipdagr

Segþú mér þat, Fjolsviðr,
er ek þik fregna mun,

19. Svipdagr

Tell me this, Much-wise,
for I will question you,

þar] *Bugge*; þá St Ra.

17. þeim] *Bugge*; omitted St Ra.

gefi] *Bugge*; hafi St Ra.

hlaupi] Ra, laufi St, laupa St margin (Guðmundur Ólafsson's hand).

18. Vængbráðir] Ra, Vegnbraðir St.

liðum] St margin (Guðmundur Ólafsson's hand) Ra, viðum St.

hlaupi] O (laupi); laufa St, laupa Ra St margin (Guðmundur Ólafsson's hand).

I. 3. FJOLSVINNSMÁL: EMENDED TEXT AND TRANSLATION

ok ek vilda vita;

hvat þat barr heitir,

er breiðask

um lönd öll limar?

20. Fjolsviðr

Mimameiðr hann heitir,

en þat *mangi* veit

af hverjum rótum renn;

við þat hann fellr,

er fæstan varir —

flærat hann eldr né járn.

21. Svipdagr

Segþú mér þat, Fjolsviðr,

er ek þik fregna mun,

ok ek vilda vita;

hvat af móði verðr

þess ins mæra viðar,

er hann flærat eldr né járn?

and I would know;

what is that tree called

which stretches its branches

over every land?

20. Fjolsviðr

The wood of Mimi it is called,

and none know

from what roots it comes ;

it will topple by that

which none anticipate —

neither flame nor steel flay it.

21. Svipdagr

Tell me this, Much-wise,

for I will question you,

and I would know;

what flows from the power

of this famous tree,

since neither flame nor steel flay it?

20. *mangi* veit] *Edd.*; fáir vita St Ra.
flærat] P J, flær at St, flær Ra.

21. móði] Ra, mōði St.
flærat] *Rask*; flær ei St Ra.
eldr] O, eld St Ra.

I. 3. FJOLSVINNSMÁL: EMENDED TEXT AND TRANSLATION

22. Fjolsviðr

Út af hans aldni
skal á eld bera
fyr kvellisjúkar konur;
útar hverfa,
þat er þær innar skýli —
sá er hann með mönnum mjötuðr.

23. Svipdagr

Segþú mér þat, Fjolsviðr,
er ek þik fregna mun,
ok ek vilda vita;
hvat sá hani heitir,
er sitr í inum háva viði —
allr hann við gull glóir.

24. Fjolsviðr

Viðófnir hann heitir
en hann stendr Veðrglasi á,
meiðs kvistum Mima;
einum ekka

22. Fjolsviðr

Cast of its fruit
into a fire
in the presence of hysterical women;
outwards will come,
what inwards they may hide —
this is destiny among men.

23. Svipdagr

Tell me this, Much-wise,
for I will question you,
and I would know;
what is the cock called,
which perches in the lofty tree —
he is all a-glitter with gold.

24. Fjolsviðr

He is called Viðófnir
and he perches on Veðrglasir,
the boughs of Mimi's tree;
through a single sorrow

22. kvellisjúkar] *Munch*; keli sjuk^r St, kelisjúkar Ra.
þat er] *Bugge* (þaz); þoss St, þess Ra.

24. Veðrglasi] Ra (veðir-/glasi); veðir glasi St.

I. 3. FJOLSVINNSMÁL: EMENDED TEXT AND TRANSLATION

þrøngr hann ørófsaman

he oppresses beyond measure

sút Sinmøru.

Sinmara with anguish.

25. Svipdagr

Segþú mér þat, Fjølsviðr,

Tell me this, Much-wise,

er ek þik fregna mun,

for I will question you,

ok ek vilda vita;

and I would know;

hvárt sé vápna nokkut,

is there some weapon

þat er knegi Viðófnir fyrir

by which Viðófnir might fall

hníga á Heljar sjöt?

to the homes of Hell?

26. Fjølsviðr

Lævateinn heitir,

Evils'-twig it is called,

en hann gørði Loptr rifinn

and Loki plucked it

fyr nágrindr neðan;

below the gates of the dead;

í Segjárns ker

in Segjárn's vat

liggr hann hjá Sinmøru,

it lies by Sinmara,

ok halda njarðlásar níu.

and nine potent locks secure it.

sút] surtar St Ra.

Sinmøru] sinn mautu St, sinn mantu Ra.

26. Lævateinn] Bugge; Hevatein St Ra.

heitir] O; heitir hann St Ra.

Loptr] St margin (Guðmundur Ólafsson's hand) Ra, lopur St.

rifinn] Dronke; ruinn St Ra.

Sinmøru] Ra, Siu (Sin margin, Guðmundur Ólafsson's hand) møru St.

I. 3. FJOLSVINNSMÁL: EMENDED TEXT AND TRANSLATION

27. Svipdagr

Segbú mér þat, Fjolsviðr,
er ek þik fregna mun,
ok ek vilda vita;
hvárt aptr kemr,
sá er eptir ferr,
ok vill þann tein taka?

28. Fjolsviðr

Aptr mun koma,
sá er eptir ferr,
ok vill þann tein taka;
ef þat færir,
sem fáir eigu,
Eiri Aurglasir.

29. Svipdagr

Segbú mér þat, Fjolsviðr,
er ek þik fregna mun,
ok ek vilda vita;
hvárt sé mæta nokkut,
þat er menn hafi,
ok verðr því in fólva gýgr fegin?

30. Fjolsviðr

Ljósan ljá
skaltu í lúðr bera,

27. Svipdagr

Tell me this, Much-wise,
for I will question you,
and I would know;
will he return,
who goes in quest,
and would take that twig?

28. Fjolsviðr

He will return,
who goes in quest,
and would take that twig;
if he brings that
which none possess,
to the goddess of Aurglasir.

29. Svipdagr

Tell me this, Much-wise,
for I will question you,
and I would know;
is there some treasure
which men may have
and in which the pale troll woman
will delight?

30. Fjolsviðr

A gleaming scythe
must you carry into the case,

I. 3. FJOLSVINNSMÁL: EMENDED TEXT AND TRANSLATION

þann er liggr í Viðófnis vølum,
Sinmøru at selja,
áðr hon sòm telisk
vápni til vígs at ljá.

which lies among Viðófnir's
joint-bones,
to give to Sinmara,
before she may reckon herself ready
to grant you a weapon for the killing.

31. Svipdagr

Segþú mér þat, Fjølsviðr,
er ek þik fregna mun,
ok ek vilda vita;
hvat sá salr heitir,
er slunginn er
vísun vafrrøga?

31. Svipdagr

Tell me this, Much-wise,
for I will question you,
and I would know;
what is the hall called
which is coiled
with cunning flicker-fire?

32. Fjølsviðr

Lýr hann heitir,
en hann lengi mun
á brodds oddi bifask;
auðranns þess
munu um aldr hafa
frétt eina firar.

32. Fjølsviðr

Lýr it's called,
and long will it tremble
on the spike's point;
this treasure house
right through the ages
men will know by fable alone.

30. Sinmøru] Ra, Sin møru St.

31. slunginn] Ra, stunginn St.

32. Lýr] Bugge; Hyr St Ra.

I. 3. FJOLSVINNSMÁL: EMENDED TEXT AND TRANSLATION

33. Svipdagr

Segþú mér þat, Fjolsviðr,
er ek þik fregna mun,
ok ek vilda vita;
hverr þat gørði
er ek fyr garð sék
innan, ásmaga?

34. Fjolsviðr

Uni ok Iri,
Jari ok Bari,
Varr ok Vegdrasill,
Dóri ok Óri —
Dellingr ok var þar,
liðskjálfar loki.

35. Svipdagr

Segþú mér þat, Fjolsviðr,
er ek þik fregna mun,
ok ek vilda vita;
hvat þat bjarg heitir,

33. Svipdagr

Tell me this, Much-wise,
for I will question you,
and I would know;
who of the sons of the gods
made that which I see
within the wall?

34. Fjolsviðr

Uni and Iri,
Jari and Bari,
Varr and Vegdrasill,
Dóri and Óri —
Dellingr also was there,
the finisher of the palace.

35. Svipdagr

Tell me this, Much-wise,
for I will question you,
and I would know;
what is that rock called,

33. sék] sok St Ra.

34. Jari ok Bari] Bugge; Bari ok Ori St Ra.
Óri] Ra, Uri St.
ok] Ra, at St.
liðskjálfar] liðski Alfur St Ra.

I. 3. FJOLSVINNSMÁL: EMENDED TEXT AND TRANSLATION

er ek sé brúði á,
þjóðmæra þruma?

on which I see that woman stand,
most glorious, motionless?

36. Fjolsviðr

Lyfjaberg þat heitir,
en þat hefir lengi verit
sjúkri ok sárri gaman;
heil verðr hver,
þótt hafi ársótt,
ef þat klífr, kona.

36. Fjolsviðr

Healing mountain it is named,
long has it been the comfort
of a sick and sore woman;
every woman is cured,
though she be barren,
if she climbs it.

37. Svipdagr

Segþú mér þat, Fjolsviðr,
er ek þik fregna mun,
ok ek vilda vita;
hvat þær meyjar heita,
er fyr Menglaðar knjám
sitja sáttar saman?

37. Svipdagr

Tell me this, Much-wise,
for I will question you,
and I would know;
what are those maidens called,
who sit in peace together
at Menglǫð's feet?

38. Fjolsviðr

Hlíf heitir ein,
önnur Hlífþrasa,

38. Fjolsviðr

The first is named Hlíf,
the second Hlífþrasa,

36. Lyfjaberg] *Bugge*; Hyfuia ber St, Hyfvia berg **Ra**.
sjúkri] sjúk **St Ra**.

37. sitja] *Langebek group*; syngja **St Ra**.

38. ein] *Bugge* (1869); omitted **St Ra**.
Hlífþrasa] *Bugge*; Hlífþrasa **St Ra**.

I. 3. FJOLSVINNSMÁL: EMENDED TEXT AND TRANSLATION

þriðja þjóðvara,

Björt ok Blik,

Blíð ok Fríð,

Eir ok Aurboða.

the third þjóðvara,

Björt and Blik,

Blíð and Fríð,

Eir and Aurboða.

39. Svipdagr

Segðu mér þat, Fjolsviðr,

er ek þik fregna mun,

ok ek vilda vita;

hvárt þær bjarga

þeim, er blóta þær,

ef gørask þarfar þess?

39. Svipdagr

Tell me this, Much-wise,

for I will question you,

and I would know;

do they give shelter to those

who sacrifice to them,

should there be need of it?

40. Fjolsviðr

Bjarga svinnar,

hvar er menn blóta þær

á stallhelgum stað;

ei svá hátt forað

kømr at hólða sonum,

hvern þær ór nauðum nema.

40. Fjolsviðr

The wise ones give shelter,

wherever men sacrifice to them

within the precincts hallowed by an altar;

no matter how deep the danger

that comes upon the sons of men,

they rescue each one from his straits.

þjóðvara] *Bugge*; þiopvarta St Ra.

Blik] 1868; Blíð St Ra.

Blíð ok] 1689; Blíðr St Ra.

40. Bjarga] *Bugge*; omitted St Ra.

svinnar] *Bugge*; Sumur St Ra.

ór] Ra, omitted St.

I. 3. FJOLSVINNSMÁL: EMENDED TEXT AND TRANSLATION

41. Svipdagr

Segþú mér þat, Fjolsviðr,
er ek þik fregna mun,
ok ek vilda vita;
hvárt sé manna nokkut,
þat er knegi á Menglaðar
svásum armi sofa?

42. Fjolsviðr

Vætr er þat manna,
er knegi á Menglaðar
svásum armi sofa,
nema Svipdagr einn,
honum var sú in sólbjarta
brúðr at kván of kveðin.

43. Svipdagr

Hrittu á hurðir!
láttu hlið rúm!
hér máttu Svipdag sjá!
en þó vita far,
ef vilja muni
Menglǫð mitt gaman.

44. Fjolsviðr

Heyrþú, Menglǫð!
hér er maðr kominn,
gakk þú á gest sjá!

41. Svipdagr

Tell me this, Much-wise,
for I will question you,
and I would know;
is there any man
who may sleep
in Menglǫð's delicious embrace?

42. Fjolsviðr

There is no man at all,
who may sleep
in Menglǫð's delicious embrace,
except Svipdagr alone,
for him was the sun-bright lady
his bride destined.

43. Svipdagr

Fling open the doors!
swing wide the gates!
behold! here is Svipdagr!
but go and see,
whether Menglǫð
will wish my bliss.

44. Fjolsviðr

O hear, Menglǫð!
a man has arrived,
come see the guest!

I. 3. FJOLSVINNSMÁL: EMENDED TEXT AND TRANSLATION

hundar fagna,
hús hefir upp lokizk;
hygg ek, at Svipdagr sé!

the hounds welcome him,
the house has opened wide;
I think it is Svipdagr!

45. Mengloð

Horskir hrafnar
skulu þér á hám galga
slíta sjónir ór,
ef þú þat lýgr,
at hér sé langt kominn
mogr til minna sala.

45. Mengloð

Wise ravens
on the lofty gallows
shall rip out your eyes,
if this be a lie of yours,
that here is come from afar
a young man to my halls.

46. Hvaðan þú fórt,
hvaðan þú fœr gœrðir,
hvé þik hétu hjú?
at ætt ok nafni
skal ek jartegn vita,
ef ek var þér kván of kveðin!

46. From where have you come,
from where did you make your journey,
what do your family call you?
of your race and name
must I have true token,
if I was destined your bride!

47. Svipdagr

Svipdagr ek heiti,
Sólbjartr hét minn faðir,
þaðan rákumk vindkalda vegu;
Urðar orði

47. Svipdagr

Svipdagr is my name,
Sólbjartr is my father,
thence I wandered cold windy ways;
Fate's decree

47. vindkalda] *Grundtvig*; vindar kalda St Ra.

I. 3. FJQLSVINNSMÁL: EMENDED TEXT AND TRANSLATION

viðr engi maðr —

þótt þat sé við lóst lagit.

48. *Mengloð*

Vel þú nú kominn!

hefi ek minn vilja beðit —

fylgja skal kveðju koss;

forkunnar sýn

mun flestan glaða,

hverrs hefir við annan ást.

49. Lengi ek sat

Lyfjabergi á,

beið ek þín dægr ok daga;

nú þat varð,

er ek vætt hefi,

at þú ert kominn, mögr, til minna
sala.

50. Þráar hafðar

er ek hefi til þíns gamans,

en þú til míns munar;

no man fights off —

though it be unjustly imposed.

48. *Mengloð*

Welcome are you now!

I have won my desire —

a kiss must go with the greeting;

a sight surpassingly beautiful

will cheer everyone,

whoever feels love for another.

49. Long I waited

on Lyfjaberg,

day on day I waited for you;

now it has happened,

what I anticipated,

my lover, you have come to my
halls.

50. The pains I have had

for your love-play,

as you for my love —

viðr] *Grundtvig*; kveðr **St Ra**.

49. Lyfjabergi] *Bugge*; Liufu bergi **St Ra**.

dægr] **Ra St** margin (*Guðmundur Ólafsson's* hand), dagur **St**
ert kominn] ert aptr kominn **St Ra**.

I. 3. FJQLSVINNSMÁL: EMENDED TEXT AND TRANSLATION

nú er þat satt,

er vit slíta skulum

ævi *ok* aldri saman.

now truly,

we will together devour

life and time.

50. *ok*] *Langebek* group; omitted **St Ra**.

I.4 Commentary

Gróugaldr

1/1. *vaki ... vaki* : For the conventional waking formula see p. 317. For the links between this passage and Hervor's waking of her father Angantýr in *Hervarar saga* ch. 4 see pp. 318-9; for the very different poetic effect of the two passages see pp. 407-8.

Gróa : See pp. 346-8 for discussion of this name.

1/3. *dauðra dura* : For the genitive of place see Nygaard 1865, I 37; Heusler 1921, 116-7. The extension of the -y- of the nominative plural *dyrr* 'door, doors' throughout the paradigm is already evident in medieval MSS: ONP records nine spellings of the genitive plural as *dyra* to eleven as *dura*. Hence the *dyra* of *St Ra* is normalized to *dura* here and in *Gróg* 15/5. The statement of Arnamagnæan 1818, 537 that *dúra* occurs 'in aliis quibusdam codicibus', followed by Möbius, Bugge, Boer and Hildebrand, is mistaken: of the forty-five MSS which have this line, forty-three read *dyra* and two read *dira*.

1/4. *ef þú þat mant* : The sudden shift from the imperative *vaki þú* to the hesitant conditional *ef þú ...* is typical of the poet's use of a dramatic broken syntax. Compare the unusual phrasing of *Fj* 7/4-6, *hverr hér ræðr — ok ríki hefir — eign ok auðsölum*, where the phrase *ok ríki hefir* is emphasized by its interposition between *ræðr* and its double object *eign ok auðsölum* (similarly, the division of *hverr* from *ásmaga* in *Fj* 33/4-6).

1/6. *kumbl dysjar* : Only here. The pleonastic expression (both *kumbl* and *dys* can mean grave-mound) is characteristic of the poet's taste for the picturesque: cf. the compounds *niflvegi* and *gálgvegi* (or *gaglvegi*) discussed pp. 315 and 94-5, 308 below.

2/1. **annt** : Only here in poetry. Both Fritzner I 62 and ONP cite many instances from prose. From these it appears used consistently of pressing desire or preoccupation rather than of external obligation; e.g. *byskup kunni illa þarvist sinni ok var honum annt heim* 'the bishop did not enjoy his stay and was anxious to go home', *Orkneyinga saga* ch. 57. Svipdagr is oppressed by the terrible obligation of the stepmother's curse, the *ljótt leikborð* of 3/1; the travail this causes (*annt*) brings him to his mother.

2/4. **móður**: So emended for St's *mopʹ*, = *mopir* Ra; the nominative would make no sense. In St, the tittle regularly stands for -ir, -er; -ir and -ur endings in nouns of relationship are clearly distinguished in *Gróg* 16, *Fj* 6, 8 and 47. For similar errors in St involving the abbreviations ^z (= -r, -ur), ^r (= -ar, -ár) and ^ʹ (= -er, -ér, -ir) compare the emendations *þjóðáar* *Gróg* 8, *ffjoturr* *Gróg* 10 and *Fj* 10, *þar er* *Gróg* 15, *gífrir* *Fj* 13, *varðat er* *Fj* 14, *þar* *Fj* 16/6, *eldr* *Fj* 21, *sút* *Fj* 24, *liðskjálfar* *Fj* 34, *sjúkri* *Fj* 36, *Blíð* *Fj* 38, *svinnar* *Fj* 40, *vindkalda* *Fj* 47.

2/5. **til moldar er komin** : The idiom appears unique; cf. *Hamð* 15 *til moldar hníga*, and *Fóstbræðra saga* lv. 29, ch. 24 *felldr var frægr til moldar* 'the famous one was struck to the earth'. The phrase may owe something to Christian idiom. Thus *Stjórn* ch. 12 *í þá sǫmu mold skaltu aptr hverfa* 'you shall return to the same dust' and *Hom.* (AM 619 4to) 73/30 *hann er mold ok skal i mold fara*, both glossing *Genesis* 3/17-19 *et in pulverem reverteris* (further examples in Kirby 1976, I 7). Cf. *Sól* 60 *menn ... moldar gengna* 'men ... passed to dust'.

2/6. **ljóðheimum** : Only here; compare *ljóðmegir* 'sons of men' *Hákonarmál* 4 *Skj. B* I 57. Note the emphatic sequence of alliterations *móður ... moldar / ljóðheimum liðin*: the first word in each alliterating pair connotes life, the second death.

3/1. **leikborði** : Elsewhere only in a verse from *Grettis saga* ch. 72 (which may derive the word from here, see pp. 319-20): the usual term for a gaming-board is *taflborð*. The *leik-* hints at the magic compulsion laid on Svipdagr by his stepmother: *leikinn* is used of someone bewitched, as in *sýndisk mǫnnum þann veg helzt sem hann myndi leikinn* 'it looked to people very much as if he had been bewitched', *Eyrbyggja saga* ch. 53. For this as an instance of the originally Irish '*geasa* -game' motif see pp. 244-5. For the appearance of the motif elsewhere in ON see pp. 274-5. The epithet *ljótt* may hint at trickery, cf. p. 319.

3/2. **skaut**: Bugge's emendation *NF* 338 from the 2nd person middle voice *skausk þú* to the 3rd person active *skaut* harmonizes with the analogues, in which it is the stepmother who imposes the wooing journey and not the mother. The error may have arisen in confusion of final -t with the middle voice written -[. In the orthography of several C17 scribes the two letters differ only by a light bar stroke crossing the t: thus the B text reading in *Fj* 1/6 *hæstan*, found in 13 MSS, for **St Ra** *hættan*. Compare the reverse error in *Fj* 16, where **St** has *kemt* for the presumed original *kemsk*.

3/5. **kvæmtki ... Menglǫðu** : Thus Bugge 1861, 9-10 for the meaningless MSS *kveþki*, *menglopom*, again harmonizing with the analogues. Both errors may derive from mishandling of abbreviated syllables involving -m, expressed by the superscript bar. The multiple possible meanings of this sign in C17 MSS may have led to these errors. The scribe of S denotes all of -m, -n, -inn by this sign; the scribe of St usually intends -n by it (46^x) but also uses it 4^x for -m (*lioðheimō Gróg* 2, *qlō Gróg* 7, *rótū Fj* 20 and *honō Fj* 42). Often, the sign seems meaningless (as *fram̄* S for CR *fram* in *Hávm* 1/2; *Útan̄* St *Fj* 1; a further 17 similar instances in St). Other errors in Sv deriving from the same cause are the misexpansion of presumed original *Fj* 7-8 *auðsoplū* (=

auðsǫlum) to *auðsǫlun* **St Ra** and the misreading of presumed original *Gróg 7/6 sinnum* as *sman* in **St Ra**.

Fritzner II 377 gives only one other instance of *kvæmt* uncompounded, from the *Flateyjarbók Óláfs saga helga* ch. 55: *er engum yðrum manni kvæmt í Noreg* 'there is no passage to Norway for any of your men'. *Kvæmt* is found compounded with *út* and *aptr* in *eiga aptrkvæmt / útkvæmt* 'have the right to return / leave'. I take *kvæmt* as the impersonal neuter form of the adjective *kvæmr* (so SGW 590).

The expected form 'Menglǫð' for the dative would give an unacceptable trochaic ending to the full line (see pp. 28-9). The metrically convenient *Menglǫðu* might arise by analogy with the common -u dative in feminine names: e.g. *Ingibjörgu*, *Arnbjörgu* Hægstad 1899, 61; Heusler 1921, 67. For the name elsewhere in ON see pp. 351-2.

4. For discussion of the modelling of this stanza on *Skí* 42 see pp. 306-

7. The poetic effect of the stanza is discussed on pp. 425-6.

4/3. See the note on *Fj* 42/6 for the apparently irregular metre of this line.

4/6. *skeikar þá Skuld at sköpum* : The closest parallel is the unpublished Stockholm Perg. 8 fol. text of Sverrir's speech to his men before battle (21r, l. 29-30; Gödel 1897, 24 dates the MS '1300-1400'):

sá kostur ... (er at) veita þeim árás ok láta skeika Skuld at sköpuðu.

'The choice is to attack them, and let Skuld go as has been fated'. Both AM 327 4to and AM 81 fol. here have *láta skipta odd ok egg* (Indrebø 1920, 153/14; Kjær 1985, 193/22-3).

I. 4 COMMENTARY: GRÓUGALDR

Only in these two instances does Skuld — or any analogous figure — appear as a subject for *skeika* in the eight similar idioms cited by ONP. Elsewhere *skeika* is used of the drifting of a ship, and thus generally of something out of control. Of the anarchy in Norway after Magnús' death it is said *þar skeikaði mjök stjórnin* 'government there went any way it might' (*Arna byskups saga* ch. 34). Skuld, as destiny herself, is beyond the control of men. See pp. 381-3, 409, 424 for the emphasis on fate in *Sv*.

Skuld and Urðr (*Gróg* 7, *Fj* 47) are named together with Verðandi in *Vsp* 20, in a context which makes clear their association with fate; cf. Snorri's description of them as the three Norns who *skapa mǫnnum aldr*, *Gylf* ch. 15. De Vries 1956, I 272 fn. 6 suggests (following other scholars) that the names Skuld and Verðandi are 'wohl ung' (probably young). If this is correct, then the poet of *Sv* may have derived the name Skuld direct from *Vsp* or Snorri rather than from long-standing tradition. In the *pulur* (h 4, *Skj.* B I 661, aaa 1, *Skj.* B I 678) Skuld is twice listed among the valkyries and that may be her proper role.

Skeika ... *at skǫpum* appears only here and seems modelled on *skeika at skǫpuðu* 'to go as it is fated, as fate will have it'. Thus Þórólfr's reply to the king when he is surrounded in *Egils saga* ch. 22: *bið þú konung gefa oss útgöngu; látum þá skeika at skǫpuðu* 'ask the king to let us out: then we will let matters take their course'. The alteration of *skǫpuðu* to *skǫpum* lightens the line and is typical of this poet's taste for verbal adaptation.

5/5. *allr ... ek verða muna* : 'I will be quite destroyed'. No exact parallel for the phrase *allr ... verða* is recorded and it seems modelled on the common idiom *vera allr* 'be at an end; dead'. ONP has more than thirty instances of this phrase, used of feasts, friendship and people, as in *Landnámabók* ch. 87 (Hb) *þá er Geirmundr var allr* 'when Geirmundr was dead'. An intransitive sense 'perish' for *verða* occurs in *verða úti* 'die of

exposure' *Sigurðar saga Jórsalafara* ch. 56, and possibly in Arnórr Þórðarson's *Erfidrápa* 17 *harðr er ór heimi orðinn hrafngrennir* (*Skj.* B I 325) "the bold sater of ravens is lost/died from the world". There also appears to be a transitive use "destroy, lose by death", found in the proverbial *eigi skal einn eiðr alla verða* 'one oath must not destroy all (oaths)'¹ and in the idiom *verða e-n* 'lose a person through death': e.g. Hallfreðr Óláfsdrápa v. 28 *hefk ... goðföður orðinn* (*Skj.* B I 156) "I have lost my godfather"; on this expression see Dronke 1969, 121. All these associations of *verða* with dying reinforce Svipdagr's words.

5/6. **afi** : The poet may have derived the unusual sense 'man, youth' (usually, 'grandfather, ancestor', as in *Vafþr* 29/6 and the cognate Latin *avus*) from the description of Freyr in *Skí* 1 ff as *afi*. While this is an apt epithet for Freyr in *Skí* as both inheritor and progenitor it appears to mean little more than 'youth' here.² A similar weakened sense for *afi* appears in *Hsv* 121 *aldræðr afi* 'aged man'; like *Sv*, *Hsv* is usually reckoned as younger than the poems contained in **CR** (e.g., by De Vries 1967, II 66-7; cf. von See 1972b and p. 322 below).

6/3. **Rindr Rani** : See pp. 366-8 for the apparent allusion.

6/4. **af oxl skjótir** : "Cast from one's shoulder, push from oneself" (*LP* 665); cf. *Hervarar saga* ch. 9 *hann steypir henni af oxl sér* 'he throws her from his shoulder' (cited Bugge, in Falk 1893, 346) and the instances of *skjóta af* in Fritzner III 357.

¹ E.g. *Njáls saga* ch. 13; discussed Sveinsson 1954, 43 and Nordal 1938, 139. Compare *vildi hann eigi verða heit sinn* 'he would not break his oath' *Hom.* (AM 619 4to) 107/32.

² Compare the use of *afi* in legal expressions in the context of unbroken succession from one inheritor (= ancestor) to another: e.g. *Gulapingslög* 270 *sú er ein* (i.e. ancestral property) *er afi hefir afa leift*.

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CV 769 argues for retention of MSS *of*, comparing the idioms *sjá um þxl*, *líta um þxl* (*Fóstbræðra saga* chs. 11, 20) and *skjóta augum* (Egill lv. 28, *Skj. B I* 29) all meaning "look askance at", but none is an exact parallel and the sense is feeble. Confusion of o/a lies behind the errors *fjǫrlotum* (*Gróg* 8 St Ra, emended to *fjǫrlátum* and *þoss* (*Fj* 22 St, emended to *þat er*); compare *lofo* in *Sigrdr* 9 S for CR *lófa* and the note on *sinnunum* 7/6 below.

6/5. **atalt** : Taken from the margin of Ra (one of the very few marginalia in that MS) in preference to the less vivid *atlat* (= *atlað* 'intended, destined'). Other readings presuming either metathesis or scribal inversion of letters are *Gróg* 9 *gálgvegi* (so Ra) for *gaglavegi* St and *Gróg* 16 *iðgnóga* for *þi noga* St Ra. Compare CR's *magni* *Sigrdr* 12/2, where editors agree the reading should be *mangi* (as in the paper MSS); the same error of *magni* for *mangi* occurs in *Hávm* 50/5 in S.

7/2. **árna** : retaining something of the sense of *Skí* 40 "to go as a messenger; achieve by going on such an errand". The derivation from *árr* 'messenger, envoy' (cf. Gothic *airinón* 'be an envoy', De Vries 1962, 14) suggests this is the original sense. The weakened sense 'go' predominates in the surviving texts: thus *Sighvatr Austrfararvísur* 18: *hvern, es hingat árnar* 'he who comes here' (*Skj. B I* 224).

7/3. **viljalauss** : Like *Vǫl* 11/4 *ok hann vaknaði vilja lauss* a play on the senses 'joy' and 'will' in *vilja*. Hence not just 'joyless' but also "without power over one's own will; under compulsion" (thus *LP* 616). The context of fetters in *Vǫl* 11 is echoed in *Gróg* 10, and the connotation "deprived of free will" vividly describes Svipdagr's plight as he is sent forth by his stepmother's curse. For the deprivation of free-will as a consequence of the positive *geis* see pp. 244-5, 272.

7/4. **Urðar lokur** : "Incantations of Urðr"; see pp. 381-3.

7/6. *sinnum* : Bugge's emendation of MSS *sman* is based on *Vafþr 4 heill þú á sinnum sér* 'safe be you on your ways'. This presumes original *siñō*, with (1) misreading of o for a, (2) minim error and misreading of abbreviation (cf. on 3/5 above). Both can be paralleled:

1. Misreading of o as a: S has *hala* for CR *halō* in *Hávǫm* 90/4; cf. on 6/4 above.
2. Minim error and misreading of abbreviation: S has what looks very like *smā* for CR *sinna* in *Hávǫm* 155/6, with only a faint dot confirming this as *siñā*. Thus: *siñā*.

8/2. *þjóðáar* : Metre demands the uncontracted form here (cf. *þráar* Fj 50), and in *þórsdrápa* 5, where the MSS have the spelling *þioðar* (*Skj.* A I 149). St's *þiopʹ* must stand for *þjóðir* (as in *Ra*): see the note on 2/4 above for this error.

8/3. *fjǫrlátum* : for MSS *fjǫrlotum*; hap. leg. The similar compounds *fjǫrlag*, *fjǫrløstr*, *líflát*, *andlát*, meaning 'loss of life, death' are well instanced. The idiom *ráða fjǫrráðum* 'seek ways to kill' may lie behind the plural here; cf. the plural form of *ævilok* and *aldrlok*.

LP reads MSS *fjǫrlotum* 'livets hældning', figuratively "inclination against, menace to life". This requires an assumption of an unexampled noun related to *lotr* 'bent', itself known only from *Rp* 8 *lotr hryggr*. Bugge *NF* 339 suggests *fjǫrlokum*; the analogous *ævilok* and *aldrlok* are well established and c and t could have been easily confused in the original MS. However, there appear to be no other instances in *Sv* of confusion of t/c, while there is evidence elsewhere of confusion of a/o; see on 6/4 above.

8/4. *Horn ok Ruðr* : See p. 358.

8/5. *meðan* : I retain the MS reading. The absolute adverbial use 'in the meantime' is rare, but can be paralleled: so *þegi herr meðan* 'Lord, be quiet for now', *Máhlíðingavísur* 4 (*Skj.* B I 106); similarly in *Leiðarvísan* 5 (*Skj.* B I 623). The complete absence of double alliteration in the b-line in Sv makes Bugge's emendation to *heðan* (favoured by many editors) unlikely. In the parallel *Grí* 28/12 *til heljar heðan* occurs as the last words of a full line (though the metre there is irregular) and so is not metrically equivalent.

9/2 *þik ... standa* : for the meaning 'overtake, capture' compare *Haralds saga ins hárfagra* ch. 14 *Haraldr ... drap menn Eiríks konungs, hvar sem hann stóð þá* 'Harald ... slew King Eirík's men wherever he captured them'.

9/3 *gálgvegi* : I accept this, the reading of **Ra**, over the *gaglvegi* of **St**. For the inversion of letters cf. on 6/5 above. "Gallows way" appears a loose but colourful metaphor for the dangerous way trodden by Svipdagr; thus *LP*, and compare **Hb**'s *gálgviðr* in *Vsp* 42 ("sacrificial grove", Nordal 1978, 83).

Nonetheless, there are arguments in favour of **St**'s *gaglvegi*. The alternation between *gagl-* / *gálg-* recalls the problematic *gaglviðr* **CR** / *gálgviðr* **Hb** of *Vsp* 42:

1. **CR** *gaglviðr* has been variously defended: for instance, as "bird-forest" (Müllenhoff 1891, 133) or as "magic-plant forest" (Kock 1911, 110-14, following CV 187); see further Nordal 1978, 83-4 and *LP* 168.

2. Falk 1893, 346, 355 takes *gaglvegi* here as parallel to *niflvegi* in 13/3, and glosses it as the "furthest edge of the world (where the wild geese gather in the north)".

Also, *gagl* is frequent in kennings for raven: see *LP* 167, and the entries in *LP* for *bengagl*, *blóðgagl*, *sárgagl* etc. Ravens would be at home in both contexts: in *Vsp* as presaging the great slaughter of *ragnarøk*; here as "the way of the raven, the way of death". Hence *gaglvegr* could be the *Sv* poet's own calque on *gaglviðr* from *Vsp*; see p. 308.

9/4-5. ***hverfi til handa þér*** : I can make no sense of the *hryggvi handa þér mætti* of *St Ra*. The reading *hryggva* (= OE *hreowan*) together with *mætti* — "might have power to depress, sadden" — cannot be made to fit the context. From the parallel 9/6 we expect something like "their hearts turn to peace". That is exactly the sense provided by *O*, reading *hverfi* for *hryggvi* (= *snúisk* 9/6) and dropping the redundant *mætti*. This leaves 9/5 very short, and the insertion of *til* before *handa*, as in the Langebek MSS, corrects this. See the note on *Gróg* 14/1 for other instances of omission of single words in *Sv* and p. 197 for discussion of this scribal tendency.

For the possibility that *O* is here reporting a reading from a now-lost MS, representing an MS tradition otherwise unknown, see p. 22 above.

10/2. ***verðr*** : so altered by Möbius 209 for the MSS plural form *verða*, where the *borinn* of the next line clearly indicates the singular.

Similar scribal slips in *St Ra* are *lík Gróg* 12, *eld Fj* 21 and *Blíðr Fj* 38, emended to *líki*, *eldr* and *Blíð*.

10/3. ***boglimum*** : I take the vowel of *bog-* as short both here and in *Hávm* 149, the only other place where this word occurs and on which this stanza appears to be based, see pp. 300-2. The context in both requires

the sense "limbs" in general: *bog-* might derive from *boginn*, the past participle of *bjúga*, hence "bent limbs", as crushed within fetters. Olsen 1917, 3-4 and Evans 1986, 138 object that *bjúg-* usually conveys this sense but this does not mean that forms with *bog-* might not have existed, especially in the archaic *Hávǫm*: compare Blöndal 93 *bogleið* 'winding way' and *boglykkja* 'hook'. For the existence of doublet forms, one from the past tense and one from the present, cf. *lotinn*, *lotligr*, *lotning* beside *lútning*, *lútr*, all from *lúta*.

The alternative is to relate to *bógr* 'shoulder', arguing that this might also mean 'hip', hence 'limbs' (so Olsen, Evans). Such an extension of sense for *bógr* seems unexampled in ON.

10/4. *leysigaldr* : Bugge's brilliant emendation (NF 340). St and Ra have the meaningless *Leifnis eldu* and *leifins elda* respectively, with other MSS having yet more corrupt readings (e.g. *leifnis eldir* L). The compound is only here in ON, and Bugge compares the *litteras solutionas, de qualibus fabulae ferunt* 'the loosing letters such as are described in stories' of Bede HE iv 22, translated in OE as *alysendlecan rúne ... be swylcum men leas spel secgað*.

The MSS error might have begun with misreading of original *leys-* as *leyf-*. In many MSS (e.g. S St) continental f is distinguished from long [by only a light stroke across the ascender; thus the misreading *fé* in three later MSS of Sv (E L 47) for *sé* Fj 15/4.

11/5. *gangi ... í lúðr saman* : I here take *lúðr* as "mill" (cf. Fj 30).

The notion of a mill grinding calm upon the waves appears unique, though the concept of magic having power to soothe stormy seas appears in *Hávǫm* 154 and *Rp* 44. See pp. 368-9 for the development of this motif.

11/6. *friðdrjúgrar farar* : The compound occurs only here, but ONP gives five instances of *friðlegr* (all from C13 sources) used to denote a safe journey, with the negative suggesting a difficult or hard passage: e.g.

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honum sýnist eigi friðlegt at leita út til Íslands 'it does not seem safe to him to set out for Iceland' *Guðmundar saga Arason* ch. 50. The collocation of power and peace in the compound *friðdrjúgrar* is typical of the firm pacifism of Sv.

12/2. *sækja kómur* : I have been able to find only one other instance of *koma* used with the simple infinitive, virtually as an auxiliary, in *Akv* 14 *vitja kvæmi*. The hostile environment in both poems suggests that our poet may have the phrase from the older poem in mind.

12/4. *hrævakulði* : This expressive and imaginative compound occurs only here. Compare modern *nákaldur* Blöndal 568.

12/6. *haldit þér líki at liðum* : I take *halda* in the straightforward sense "grip, hold fast". This necessitates emending MSS *lík* to *líki* as *halda* in this sense regularly takes a direct object in the dative: e.g. *ef slík stórsmíði mætti eigi halda honum* 'if such great works could not hold him' *Gylf* ch. 34. This interpretation has the advantage of giving point to the phrase *at liðum*: cold first attacks the exposed limbs.¹

Other suggestions seem less plausible:

1. *haldi þér lík at liðum* 'may your body remain unharmed in its limbs' SGT 199, adapting Grundtvig 1868, 179. But there is no evidence for an intransitive use of *halda* 'remain unharmed'; the supporting instances cited by SGW 387 are of ropes or bonds remaining firm. A figurative development to the sense of a life remaining uninjured is possible (compare *halda* 'hold one's course') but such a use appears unexampled. Bugge *NF* 341

¹ SGK 406 suggests *lík ok liðir* 'body and limbs' or alternatively *líf í liðum* 'life in limbs'. But the MSS *at liðum* is exactly paralleled by 10/3 *at boglimum*.

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recognized this and proposed *haldisk*, well instanced in the sense "keep sound, remain unharmed".

2. *kaldit þér lík at liðum* "may your body not grow cold in the limbs", Kock 1922, 291. Palaeographically, confusion of h- and k- is possible. But the sense is inelegant and the reading requires no less emendation than that adopted.

The erroneous MSS *haldit ór lík* may have arisen from an original *haldit þr*, thence word misdivision (cf. on 14/5 below) and simplification *halditr* (cf. the B MSS reading *haldiður*), thence misexpansion and redivision out to MSS *haldit ór*. The confusion may have influenced loss of final -i from the following *líki*.

13. For the adaptation of *Sigrdr* 26 in this stanza see p. 310.

13/3. *niflvegi* : See p. 315.

13/4. *at því firr* : The dictionaries give no other examples of this idiom. Fritzner I 427 compares *fjarri fara, vera at fjarri* 'to be quite unbecoming; be inconceivable'; thus *Egils saga* ch. 14 *er at firr, at ek munda vilja gøra honum mein* 'it is inconceivable that I should wish to do him any harm'. The shift of sense to "impossibility", implied in this context and stressed by the second negative *megiat*, is slight.

14/1. *inn* : It is unlikely that the poet would have omitted the article in the formulas here and at *Fj* 9/4 (*sú*) when these formulas include the articles on their every other occurrence. Some C17 scribes are inclined to omit single words which they thought inessential to the sense: see pp. 197, 202 below. It is a sign of the relative excellence of the scribal tradition behind **St Ra** that only six such single words need to be supplied in the

emended text: *til Gróg* 9/5, *inn* here, *sú Fj* 9/4, *æ Fj* 14/5, *of Fj* 16/2, *ok Fj* 50/6; see also the note on *Fj* 11/5.

14/2. **naddgöfga**: See pp. 308-9 for this as modelled on *Hynd* 35.

14/5. **munn ok**: Bugge's emendation *NF* 341 of *minni/s St*, *mimis Ra* gives excellent sense and is palaeographically probable. It presumes an original *mun̄ ȝ*, with the frequent Tyronian note for *ok*. This *ȝ* is very like the *ȝ* commonly used in all these MSS for (among other things) inflectional final *s*. Hence *mun̄ȝ* by word misdivision; thence *minnis* or *mimis* by minim error — compare *Sa*'s *munis* for *CR mimis Vsp* 28/10.

Misdivision of words is among the most frequent causes of error in the MSS of *Sv*: e.g. *haldit þér Gróg* 12, *leysigaldr Gróg* 10, *iðgnóga Gróg* 16, ... *lǫð? Sæmdarorða lauss Fj* 3, *Svafrþorins Fj* 8, *Veðrglasi Fj* 24, *Sinmǫru Fj* 24, 30, *sǫm telisk Fj* 30, *liðskjálfar Fj* 34, and *vindkalda Fj* 47. There are many similar instances of error resulting from word misdivision in the copies of *Vsp* and *Hávm* in *Sa* and *S* respectively: e.g. *Vsp* 22/4 *hungⁿda* for *CR hon ganda*, 23/6 *af ráð* for *CR afráð*, 27/2 *hlíoðū* for *CR hlíoð ū*, 28/3 *I giogr* (!) for *CR Yggiungr*, 35/4 *á þekkian* for *CR áþekkjan*; *Hávm* 65/3 *giöldū* for *CR giöld ū*, 100/6 *ó vitaðr* for *CR of vitaðr*, 152/5 *beargi gak* (!) for *CR biargigak*.

15/2. **þar er**: This emendation gives a more positive sense than the MSS *þér*. The error may have arisen from an original *þ ʔ*, as commonly abbreviated (e.g. in *S*). *þ* is ambiguous as it is also used as an abbreviation for *þér*, and *ʔ* after *þ* is liable to loss. Compare the sequence *varþ ʔ* > *varþir* suggested in *Fj* 14.

15/2. **forað**: "A dangerous place", hence "peril, menace"; so *Fáfn* 11 *alt er feigs forað* 'everything is a peril for the doomed man'. Elsewhere, it appears that *forað* may be personified as some kind of supernatural being: in a verse from *Ketils saga hængs* ch. 5 Ketil encounters a *flagð* who names herself *Forað*, and *Forað* appears among *tröllkvenna heiti* in

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pula IV c. 2, *Skj B I* 659. "Menace, danger" is appropriate both here and in *Fj* 9 and 11, rather than "giant" (= *Fjolsviðr*?).¹

16/3. *þér í brjósti búa* : For *Hsv* 129 as perhaps borrowing from here see p. 322.

16/4. *iðgnóga* : Compare *iðgnógan Ógnar ljóma* 'unceasing light of Ógn' (=gold) *Hhund* I 21. For Bugge's emendation of the metrically unsound MSS *þi noga* see p. 30-1. For the inversion *þi / iþ* see on 6/5 above; for the word misdivision see on 14/5 above.

¹ For the etymology of *forað* see Kock 1898, 262-4 (*for*- "evil" and **aið* > *eið* 'isthmus, neck of land', referring especially to a spit of land over which ships must be dragged; hence "impassable place"); Jóhannesson 1956, 553 (*for* 'marsh') and De Vries 1962, 138 (*eið* < I-E. **ei* 'go').

Fjölsvinnsmál

Stanzas 1 and 2: There are two problems associated with these stanzas:

1. In what order should these lines come?
2. Which of the two characters, Svipdagr and Fjölsviðr, speaks which of these lines?

1. The order of lines within stanzas 1 and 2

All MSS have these lines thus: 1/1-3, 2/4-6, 1/4-6, 2/1-3. Most editors and commentators since Möbius 1860, 210 have accepted that the MS order is defective.¹ Thus:

1. 2/4-6, *úrgar brautir ... verndarvanr veru*, is an extraordinarily abrupt opening to the dialogue.
2. Elsewhere, phrases of the *hvat er þat* formula occur usually as the opening speech of a dialogue sequence. They may recur later, in which case they are always spoken by that same first speaker. See p. 315 for further instances.
3. The echoing of *vinlauss* in *verndarvanr* suggests that the three line sequence containing *verndarvanr* should follow directly on the sequence containing *vinlauss*. The MS placing of the *Hvat er þat flagða* sequence between these is an awkward interruption to the natural flow of thought.

¹ Retaining the MS order are Neckel 1936, 301 and Ólsen 1917, 6-9. Neckel retains the MS order because scholars disagree on the alternative. Ólsen's complicated argument involves presuming that a stanza has dropped out between stanzas 3 and 4.

Moving 2/4-6 from after 1/1-3 to after 2/1-3, as first suggested by Möbius, opens the dialogue smoothly and brings the lines containing *verndar vanr* and *vinlauss* together.

2. Which character speaks which lines in stanzas 1 and 2?

All scholars agree that st. 2 must be spoken by Fjølsviðr. However, some scholars assign 1/4-6 to Fjølsviðr, others to Svipdagr.¹

1/4-6 can not be spoken by Fjølsviðr, addressing the human Svipdagr as a *flagð*. From the examples in ONP it appears that *flagð* is never used of anything but a supernatural being. Therefore Svipdagr is addressing Fjølsviðr both here and in 3/1-3.

It seems improbable that the specific sense "female supernatural being; troll woman" is intended; this would be gratuitously insulting. It appears that Svipdagr is using the term in an imprecise collective sense; cf. Sighvatr's imprecation in *Austrfararvísur* 4 *flögð baðk ... við þau deila* 'I asked the fiends to look to them' *Skj. B I 221*. Hence, Svipdagr is asking what strange demon this is, not what troll woman this is. This is supported by the parallel verse in *Ketils saga hængs* ch. 4 (see p. 320), where *hvat er þat býsna* 'what wonder is that' stands for the *hvat er þat flagða* of *Fj 1*.

The arrangement here adopted gives the poem a passable opening but is not completely satisfactory. Something still appears missing from the first verse of Sv. One might expect the 'scene-setting' introduction to carry on for a full stanza, as does the analogous narrative link in *Vafþr 5*. It is also surprising to find the intruder Svipdagr beginning the dialogue. The scribal mistake which caused the reordering may also have caused the omission of several lines: exactly this has happened in *Hávam 163* in S,

¹ Fjølsviðr: *NF* 343; Falk 1893, 29; Jónsson 1926, 201; Jónsson 1949, II 521; Briem 1968, 526. Svipdagr: Hildebrand 1922, 197; Boer 1922, I 291; SGT 200.

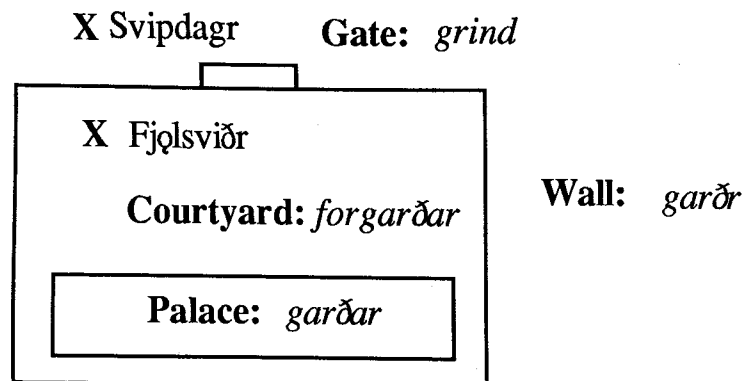
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where the scribe jumps to 163/8 after line 1, realizes his mistake and then goes back to carry on from line 3 — but loses 163/2 in the process.

However, one need not presume (as do *NF* 343 and Möller 1875, 359) that any more than a few lines have been lost. A prose link, or verse passage, linking the two poems is not necessary. Svipdagr's journey is told in prospect by Gróa in the form of spells (see p. 411) and that is link enough.

1/2. **upp um koma** : For the sense "rise up; become manifest, appear" compare *því næst leit hann ofan í dalinn ok sá þar upp koma einn hávan turn* 'then he looked down into the valley and there saw a lofty castle rise up' *Parcevals saga* ch. 11, glossing Chrétien lines 2999-3000 *lors vit devant lui an un val le chief d'une tor qui parut* (cited Kölbing 1869, 157). I follow Falk 1893, 29 and take *hann* as Svipdagr himself, who looks *útan garða* and sees the palace towering over the walls.

1/3. **þursa þjóðar sjöt** : In these opening stanzas the general geography of the area is straightforward. There is a palace (a *sjöt*; also the *garðar* of st. 5). There are *forgarðar* between it and a surrounding wall, *garðr* st. 11, 33. A gate is set in this wall st. 10 and Svipdagr looking in from outside sees the palace appear above the walls. Thus:



The detail is less clear. It is not apparent just where the *Lyfjaberg* of *Fj* 36 is, or where the tree of *Fj* 20-23 stands in relationship with the palace and its surrounds, or whether the fire surrounds just the palace itself

(as *slunginn ... vísum vafrlöga* 31/5-6 may imply) or the whole complex. I doubt if we should press the poem for too exact a description. Olsen's suggestion 1917, 8 (followed by Motz 1975, 144) that the whole phrase *pursa þjóðar sjöt* should be taken as a kenning for "mountain", thereby placing Menglǫð's palace within the mountain, is over-elaborate. For the association of Menglǫð with giants implied by *pursa þjóða sjöt* see p. 249.

1/5. ***forgǫrðum*** : I understand *forgarðr* as "enclosed space before the hall", hence "courtyard". This word is known only from here, from the singular *forgarði* in st. 3 and from *Gautreks saga* ch. 11 *mér þykkir mitt ríki fyrst á forgǫrðum* 'I think my kingdom will be first out-of-doors'; hence "exposed to ruin" (longer version, AM 590 b, c 4to). It is not clear from 1/6 *hvarflar um hættan löga* whether Fjolsviðr is walking around outside the fire, surrounding the palace as *Fj* 31 appears to state, or inside the fire, surrounding the wall about the whole complex. In any case, he appears to be inside the wall, speaking over the *garðr* to Svipdagr. Verbal antagonists in ON are commonly separated by a physical barrier: water divides Sinfjötli and Guðmundr in *Hhund* I, Þórr and Óðinn in *Hárb*, Ketill and the *flagð* in *Ketils saga hængs* ch. 5. Thus the wall here.

2/2. ***leitum***: This appears to be the only instance of the plural in this phrase. The singular *vera, fara á leit* is usual: thus the instances in Fritzner sv. *leit*. As SGK 408 observe, the tautologous *leitar ... leitum* is typical of the poet: compare 6/2-3, 7/4-5 (= 8/4-5), 46/1-2, and the pleonasm *kumblðys* of *Gróg* 1.

2/6. ***verndarvanr***: While *verndarvanr* occurs only here, the synonymous *verndarlauss* "defenceless" is known from *Heilagra meylla drápa* 25, *Skj.* B II 588, and is also instanced in prose. *Verndarvanr* echoes *vinlauss* 2/3, and ironically presages Svipdagr's success in finding a

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protector within the hall's very heart. Alteration of the MSS (e.g. SGT 201 *verndarveru* 'place of refuge') is unnecessary.

Verse 3: There is no difficulty in assigning the whole of this stanza to Svipdagr:

1. The discussion of *flagð* p. 102 shows that Svipdagr must be the speaker of 3/1-3.
2. 3/4-5 are very appropriate to Svipdagr: the rebuke that Fjølsviðr is *sæmðarorða lauss* follows naturally from the statement that he offers no welcome to travellers.
3. Some commentators have thought 3/6 more appropriate to Fjølsviðr than to Svipdagr. The line recalls *árnaðú aptr heðan* 2/5. Fjølsviðr speaks that line, so might be expected to speak this one too. However, Svipdagr is here trying to turn Fjølsviðr's words *árnaðú aptr heðan* back on him, much as Guðmundr attempts to turn Sinfjötli's farm-animal taunts back on him in *Hhund* I 44, and as Fjølsviðr repeats Svipdagr's own words back at him mockingly in *Fj* 18.

It is somewhat incongruous that the intruder Svipdagr should tell the guard to "get on home from here", *haltu heim heðan*. But the slight incongruity of the words in Svipdagr's mouth is a measure of Svipdagr's nervous brashness, not of textual difficulty as SGK 408-9, Olsen 1917, 9 and Jónsson 1926, 202 assume.

- 4/1. **Fjølsviðr:** See pp. 348-51 for discussion of this name.
- 4/6. **at vegi:** I here follow the B MSS reading *at* for the *af* of the principal MSS. In many MSS (e.g. S St) *f* differs from *t* only by a longer descender: S reads *Suftungs* for CR *Suttungs* in *Hávm* 104/6; cf. also the

alternation *at* / *af* in *Skí* 35/9-10. The sense is prosaic but adequate. Bugge's suggestion *at viði NF* 344 is accepted by many editors but the parallels he and others cite are not exact: thus *á viðum Hhund* I 41 and *Hhund* II 33, *til viðar Sól* 9, and *af viði Iv. II.2 Ketils saga hængs Skj. B* II 301. The context of all these also includes wolves but they otherwise differ.

5/2. **fýsirat ... fán:** For the MS error as an instance (rare in *St Ra*) of the mishandling of older enclitic negative forms widespread in certain other C17 MSS see p. 27 above. A parallel instance of *fár* in the accusative case acting as the subject of an impersonal verb is *Fj* 20/5, *fæstan varir*. For the construction with the genitive of the thing desired cf. *hon fýsti Haraldsson sinn ferðarinnar* 'she encouraged [Gorm] Haraldsson on his errand' *Jómsvíkinga saga* ch. 4 (AM 291 4to).

5/2. **eptir:** For the disagreement between MSS *aptr* and the closest analogues of *Sv* here and in *Fj* 49/6 see p. 231-2, 290. Emendation to *eptir* gives an adverbial construction instanced elsewhere with verbs of seeking or requesting: e.g. *Fj* 27 and 28 *sá er eptir ferr*; other instances are *Spyrið lítt eptir* 'Ask for little' *Am* 78 ; *frétti eptir hvar væri herbergi* 'He asked where there was lodging' *Heilagra manna sögur* II 561/18 (compare the common use of *eptir* as a preposition in similar contexts, Fritzner I 340-1). The *eptir* is strictly otiose here, but see the note to *Fj* 2/2 for this poet's fondness of tautology.

5/4 **garðar:** The whole of the palace and its immediate surrounds. This use of the plural *garðar* to signify all of a monarch's court — the palace, its attendant outbuildings and courtyards — appears peculiar to poetry: thus *garðar Gjúka Akv* 1. *LP* 173 cites a further eleven instances of the plural *garðar* so used in poetry; in prose Fritzner I 558 cites only the name *Garðar*, as applied to the mediaeval Scandinavian-Russian kingdom.

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SGK 409 interpret *garðar* as the wall about the palace, which appears to glow with the *vafnrlogi*. This sits awkwardly with the next lines, which stress the palace's beauty and not its menace.

5/5. *garðar glóa mér þykkja* : This construction, with the nominative *garðar* acting as the subject of *þykkja* and the infinitive *glóa* as predicate, is paralleled by *Grí* pr. 19-20 *hann kveir gesti sína ef honum þykkja ofmargir koma* 'he kills his guests if he thinks too many come'. Many editors follow *NF* 344 and read *þykkjumk* for *mér þykkja*. But *SGW* 201 cite many instances in *ON* poetry where such dative first person singular pronouns are not assimilated to the reflexive verb form.

6/1-3. *Segþú mér ... ertu manna mögr* : cf *Fáfn* 1. For this and other echoes of the *Sigurðr* poems in *Sv* see pp. 310-3.

I have not been able to find any parallels for the division in this stanza of a single *ljóðaháttir* stanza between two speakers. However, speeches in *ljóðaháttir* vary in length between a half-stanza and several stanzas (e.g. *Ski* 15-17) and there is nothing improbable about the arrangement here adopted.

6/4-6. *Vindkaldr ... Várkaldr ... Fjolkaldr*: See pp. 356-7 for these names. *Svipdagr*'s giving of a false name is discussed pp. 378-81.

7/1-3. *Segþú ... vilda víta* : For the formula see p. 314.

vilda : For the rejection of the *Langebek MSS* reading *vilja*, accepted by all other editors, see p. 6-7. For the optative "I would" compare *Hhund* I 44 *fyrir vilda ek ... hrafna seðja* 'I would rather sate ravens'.

7/5. *ok ríki hefir* : cf. the note on *Gróg* 1/4 for the unusual interposition of this phrase between the verb *ræðr* and its objects.

7/6. ***auðsophum***: "Treasure halls". The word occurs only here and in *Háttatal* 102, *Skj.* B II 88. The synonym *auðrann* occurs only in *Fj* 32.

8/3. ***Svafrþorins*** : As SGK 410 observe, it is odd that we should be told the name of Menglǫð's grandfather but not of either of her parents. The expression appears modelled on such phrases as *Óðins sonr* (þórr) and *Njarðar sonr* (Freyr).

The name *Svafrþorinn* occurs only here. The name is explained by SGK 410 as one of the poet's coinages: "Strife-darer" (*svafr* as a by-form of *svarf* "tumult, broil"; *þorinn* related to *þora* "dare"), similar to *Vigfús*, *Sigfús*. Both *Svafr* and *þorinn* are found as elements of personal names (e.g. *Svafr*, *Svafrlogi* in *Sól* 80); *þorinn* occurs as a dwarfname in *Vsp* 12. For Grundtvig's attempt to relate the name to the sleepthorn with which *Brynhildr* was stung (*svafr* echoing *svefn*, *þorinn* echoing *þorn*) see pp. 336-7.

9/4. ***sú grind*** : See p. 369-70 for discussion of this gate. See the note on *Gróg* 14/1 for the insertion of *sú* on the model of the other verses of *Svipdagr*'s question formula, and the discussion of such omission as characteristic of C17 scribal error on p. 197.

10/1. ***þrymgjöll*** : Only here. It is apparently compounded from *þrymr* 'noise, din' (used in poetic compounds especially of the noise of battle *LP* 649) and *gjöll*, related to *gjalla* 'scream, shriek; resound, echo': hence "shrieking noise". Compare *Gjallarbrú*, *Gjallarhorn*; the gate of *Hel* is given the name *Gjallandi* in the A fragment of *Snorri* (*SnE* II 494). In these instances *gjöll* / *gjalla* seems to endow the object — the bridge, the horn, the gate — with a life of its own, just as the wall of st. 12 appears to have animate origins. Compare the note on *Fj* 21/4 below.

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The reading *þrymgǫll* accepted by Bugge (Falk 1893, 37) and found in a C12 verse where it denotes a large church-bell, *Skj. B I 635*, occurs only in the inferior B MSS and so has little authority. Also, it obscures the connection with such compounds as *Gjallarhorn* (compare the division of opinion over *galla / gjalla* in *Vsp 44*, *LP 185*, *SGW 316*, Nordal 1978, 91).

10/3. ***Sólblinda synir***: The name occurs only here. The nearest parallel is *Sólkatla synir* in *Sól 78*, possibly based on *Fj* (see p. 322), the mysterious context of which provides no clue as to their identity. As SGK 411 observe, the phrase here seems no more than a poetic way of saying that the gate was built by the dwarves. From the widespread belief that the sun would turn dwarves to stone (e.g. *Alv 35*; cf. Ólason 1982, 383 for the suggestion that this belief is peculiarly Icelandic) might derive the epithet *Sólblindi* 'Sun-blind'. For dwarves as craftsmen compare the *ívalda synir* of *Skáldsk ch. 35* and *Sqrla þáttr ch. 1*.

10/6. ***hefr frá hliði***: The literal sense is "lift from its space". It appears that doors and gates might shut up and down; thus *hurð var hnigin á klofa ... Þorsteinn fór at hurðinni ok hratt upp ok gengu inn* 'the door had dropped into its groove ... Þorsteinn went to the door, thrust it up and they entered' *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar ch. 15*; more instances in Fritzner II 27 § 5. Cf. p. 370 below for the possible echo of the *fallanda forað* of *SnE*.

11/4. ***garðr***: In its regular sense "fence, wall", denoting the wall enclosing the palace and its immediate surrounds. Ólsen's 1917, 10 attempt to identify the *forgarðr* (st. 1, 3) and the *garðar* (st. 5) with the *garðr* of this verse makes the geography of the poem difficult. The *garðr* here is perhaps modelled on the *Miðgarðr* of the Eddas, the rampart

surrounding the world of men and protecting it from the giants (*Gylf* chs. 9, 42; *Vsp* 4, *Hárb* 23); see p. 370-1.

11/5. *sáat*: The *sjáat* of *St* is here altered to the past tense *sáat* on the model of 9/5. Typical of the poet is his repetition of key words and phrases from verse to verse, providing another level of linkage in the web of the poems' structure; see further on this p. 423-4. Here and at other points (*Gróg* 14/1, *Fj* 9/4, 17/5, 18/6, 40/1) this verbal patterning guides emendation.

12/1. *Gastropnir*: This may not be the correct form. The B text reading *Gastrofnir* is palaeographically likely (p and insular f, þ, being very alike). Neither name occurs elsewhere and their interpretation is uncertain.

Explanations include:

1. Reading *Gastrofnir*: "Stranger-destroyer", with *Gast-* related to *gestr* 'guest' and *rofnir* from *rjúfa* 'destroy' (cf. *Hoddrofnir*, *Sigrdr* 13). However, there is no parallel for the unmutated vowel in *gestr* (Boer 1922, II 383).
2. Reading *Gastrofnir*: "Spirit-destroyer", with *Gast-* related to Norwegian *gast* 'spirit' and *rofnir* as in (1) above (Bugge, reported in Falk 1893, 10).
3. Reading *Gatstropnir*: "Gap-squeezer", from *gat* 'hole, opening' and **stropnir* related to Norwegian *strupa*, *strjupa* 'pinch, squeeze, catch' (Aasen 1873, 762). As a stranger enters, the wall will close up about him (*NF* 345, 446).
4. Reading *Gastropnir*: "Stranger-catcher"; *Gast-* from *gestr* as in (1) above, **stropnir* as in (3) above. The wall is made of mud (*Leirbrimis limum*) and anyone who tries to climb it will sink into it and be caught fast (SGK 411).

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5. Reading *Gastrófnir*: "Mighty builder", with *Gast-* from Norwegian *gasta*, *gasteleg* 'immensely large' and *rófnir* from Modern Icelandic *hrófa*, *hrófla* 'build, pile up' (LP 173).

None of these give a convincing account of the first element of the compound. Emendation to *Gestrofnir* would accord with the poet's taste for transparent compounds.

12/3. *Leirbrimis limum*: See pp. 369-71 for discussion of this concept and its development.

12/6. *æ meðan öld lifir* : Compare *Vsp* 16/6 and *Gríp* 23/6, 41/6.

Verses 13-24 : I follow the MSS order of these stanzas. Several scholars have found this order unacceptable:

1. It seems odd that *Viðófnir* should be mentioned incidentally in st. 18, then formally introduced in st. 24.
2. The transition between st. 18 and st. 19 is abrupt: the dialogue diverts suddenly from the dogs' food to the tree.
3. In contrast to (2) above, st. 18 would run very smoothly on into st. 25.

Thus, SGT 203 and SGK 411 follow a suggestion of Möller 1875, 356-60 and place sts. 19-24 (concerning the tree) immediately after 12, with sts. 13-18 (concerning the dogs) then following, and st. 25 coming after 18.

While this solves the problems outlined above it introduces new difficulties:

1. In the MS order there is a natural progression from discussion of the gate (st. 9-10) to the wall (st. 11-12) and thence to the dogs (st. 13-18). All these are means of defence, while the

tree (st. 19-24) is not. Placing sts. 19-24 between 12 and 13 breaks the flow of the dialogue.

2. Placing sts. 13-18 between 24 and 25 means that eight verses, rather than two, come between the two references to the mysterious Sinmara. Again, the flow of thought — concerning the impossible quest for the marvellous object associated with Sinmara — is broken.

3. Verse 13 appears inconsequent following verse 18.

Therefore, I retain the MSS order.

13/5. **gífrir:** So emended by SGT 205 for MSS *gifur*; cf. the note on *Gróg* 2/4 and p. 361 fn. 1. The adjective *gífr* is otherwise unrecorded in ON but would be cognate with OE *gífre* 'ravenous'; hence "avid; zealous" (De Vries 1962, 166). Or, it may be the poet's own coinage, loosely "fiercely, ferociously", based on *gífr* which consistently denotes a trollwoman or giantess in ON poetry: thus the wolf-kenning *gífrs hestr*, *Jómsvíkingadrápa* 35, *Skj.* B II 8.

rekask: So emended for **St Ra** *rekar*. The middle voice of *reka* is used in the sense "wander, roam" in *Fj* 47; cf. *ek hefir rekizt úti í allan vetr á mörkum ok skógum* 'I have roamed the whole winter out in the forests and woods' in *Flateyjarbók* I 330/19. There are several instances of scribes mistaking -r (MSS ʀ) and the middle voice -sk (commonly ʒ) in C17 MSS: S has *viñʀ* (= *vinnr*) for **CR** *vinnaʒ* (= *vinnask*) in *Háv* 60/5, and Arni Magnússon, according to the copies of his transcript of **CR** surviving in **Ha** and Edinburgh 21.4.4, misread *píkkiʒ* in *Háv* 26/2 as *píkkir* in his transcript, though later correcting the error in the margin.

The B text reading *rata*, preferred by many editors (SGT 205, Olsen 1917, 10-13), is probably a scribal emendation only, modelled on the *gífr*

rata 'trolls roam' of *Vsp* 52 (cf. p. 201 below). Palaeographically, *rekask* is the more likely reading.

13/6. No sense can be made of this line as it stands, and the corruption is so deep-seated as to make any reconstruction tendentious.

Thus:

1. The *giorpa* of the principal MSS is meaningless (perhaps =*gørða* 'I made'; but there seems to be no object and no reason for the first person). Ólsen's suggestion 1917, 13 *varða* after 14/4 is appealing (cf. the note on *Fj* 11/5 above), with the dogs (= *gífrir* 13/5) as subject. But again there appears to be no object for the verb.
2. The application of *fyr londin* (presumably *lōndin*) "before the lands" is obscure. What is "before the lands"?
3. One might naturally take *lim* as pertaining to the tree *Mimameiðr*, but this is not mentioned until *Fj* 20. It might refer to *Leirbrimis limum* and hence denote the wall. Emending to *varða* and *limu* this yields straightforward sense: the dogs guard the wall. But *fyr londin* remains unexplained, and *ok* would be needed before *varða*.

Like SGT 205, Boer 1922, II 383 and Neckel 1936, 303 I regard the passage as beyond hope. Bugge made at least five different attempts at these lines, one in the text of *NF* 345 (*er gífrari hefik ønga fyrr í lōndum litit* 'I have seen none fiercer on earth'), three more in the notes and another in Falk 1893, 40.

The cluster of errors in *Fj* 13 and 14 suggests a damaged exemplar.

14/1-2. **Gífr ... Geri** : For these as dubious names for dogs (*garmar* 13/4; also *hundar* 44/4) see p. 360-1.

14/4-5. *varðat er at eilifu*: St's *varðir ellifu* (Ra *ellefu*, and similar in all other MSS) makes no sense in the context. There are two dogs, not eleven, and it gets us nowhere to equate the *varðir ellifu* with the maidens of Fj 38, as do Detter and Heinzel II 642: there are nine maidens, not eleven.

I accept Boer's emendation *varðat er at eilifu* (1922, II 383; based on a suggestion in NF 345). This gives excellent sense and is, as Boer remarks, palaeographically very plausible, with *varpir* deriving from an original *varp* ⁴. Common abbreviations (e.g. in S) for *pat* and *er* are respectively *p̄* and ⁴; S writes CR *varðat* in *Vafþr* 38/8 as *v^rp̄*; thus: . Also, a form of -i- with an extended descender (| ; usually with no dot over) is specially frequent in *ei*, and easily mistaken for l: accordingly, 1109 reads *heltir* for *heitir* in Fj 19/4.

Alternative readings include:

1. *verðir'o oflgir en þeir varða* 'mighty guards are they, and they guard..': thus SGT 205.
2. *varða ellilyf es þeir varða* 'they guard 'Age-Healer', which they guard', Ólsen 1917, 13, with *ellilyf* as a name for Mimameiðr Fj 20, referring to the healing powers of this tree apparently described in Fj 22.

14/5. *æ*: See p. 31 for the metrical reasons for supplying *æ* here. See the note on *Gróg* 14/1 for other instances of omission of single words in Sv and p. 197 for this as characteristic of certain C17 scribes.

14/6. *unz rjúfask regin*: Compare *Vafþr* 52, *Grí* 4, *Lok* 41 and *Sigrdr* 19.

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15/6. *sókindjarfir*: This compound occurs only in poetry. Its use here to describe animals appears unique: all the other instances in *LP* 526 are of warriors.

16/1. *Missvefni*: The prefix *mis-* denotes "unequal apportionment"; hence "varying; different": *menn mæltu allmisjafnt til Rognvalds jarls* 'men expressed quite different opinions to Rognvald', *Óláfs saga helga* (*Heimskringla*) ch. 91. For a partial parallel to the dogs rostering their sleep see p. 383.

16/3. *varzla*: This word occurs only here in ON poetry, and in prose only in the sense "ban; guarantee, surety" (Fritzner III 876). The sense "guard, watch" is well instanced for the related *varða*. The use of *varða* twice in v. 14 to describe the guardianship of the dogs may have influenced the poet to stretch the sense of *varzla* here.

16/6. *kemsk ... ef*: See the note on *Gróg* 3/2 for the development of the erroneous *St kemt Ra komt* by confusion of *ʃ* and *t*. The letters *e* and *o* — hence erroneous *of* in both *St* and *Ra*, *kemt* in *Ra* — are readily mistaken in certain C17 MSS, such as 934 and Bodley MS Bor. 100, in which the openings in these letters are so contracted as to make the two characters often indistinguishable. Accordingly, *o* occurs sporadically for *e* across the MSS of *Sv*, e.g. *hoitir* and *hofr* 4877 *Fj* 11/4, 10/6; probably also *Roka O Fj* 13/5. The same error lies behind *St Ra sok*, emended to *sék*, *Fj* 33/5.

par : Thus *NF* 346, for *St Ra pá*. The error might arise from misreading a contracted form (cf the note on *Gróg* 2/4) or from repetition of preceding *pá*.

17/5. *gefi* : Bugge's emendation *NF* 346 of *St Ra hafi* is made certain by the parallel 18/5, where both MSS read *of gefi*. See the note on

Fj 11/5 for other instances of emendations guided by the poet's tendency to repeat words and phrases from verse to verse.

18/1. **Vængbráðir:** Only here. However, compounds of both *vængr* 'wing' and *bráð* 'fresh meat' are instanced (*vængknúi* 'wing-joint', *villibráð* 'venison').

18/2. **Viðófnir** See pp. 373-4 for the occurrence of this name elsewhere, and the notes on *Fj* 13 for SGT's reordering of the text to lessen the abruptness of the introduction of this creature.

The following etymologies have been proposed:

1. The first part of the name may be *við* "wood, bough, tree" or *víð* "wide" (respectively, Olsen 1917, 14 and *LP* 623; cf. Kahle 1903, 145 for the assertion that the vowel of *við* here cannot be long on metrical grounds).
2. The second part of the name has been explained thus:
 - i. as modelled on the cock *Salgofnir* of *Hhund* II 49: SGK 414.
 - ii. as *-ópnir*, from *óp* 'screech': "far-heard screecher" *LP*; "tree-screacher" SGK 414. Compare *Gastrofnir* / *Gastropnir* for the alternation of p/f.
 - iii. as a *heiti* for Óðinn (cf. *Grí* 54/7). The "god of the tree" is the cock: Bugge 1881, 497. But among the instances of animal kennings in Meissner 1921, 109-14 there are none where the base-word of an animal kenning is a word for a god.
 - iv. as "snake (=ófnir) of the tree": Meissner 1921, 11, 33-5, comparing instances where the meaning of the baseword is reversed by the determinant (a snake might

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be "fish of the dale"; a fish "snake of the sea"). But in these instances the shift of meaning is transparent, while to call a cock the "snake of a tree" is just incongruous.

v. as related to *þóf* 'pressing, crowding', thus "tree-presser; bough-treader": Olsen 1917, 14. This *þóf* appears to derive from cloth-fulling, hence *þófi* 'felt' (De Vries 1962, 615). Just as cloth could be fullled by treading it with the feet (*KLNM* sv. *filt*; there is a charming illustration of this in Jónasson 1945, 109), just so the cock treads his branch.

Of these, Olsen's suggestion "bough-presser" seems most likely, though one might then expect *Viðþófnir*. For discussion of the poet's use of this bird see pp. 386-95.

19/4. **barr:** Apparently the only instance in ON where *barr* denotes a whole tree, not part of the tree. From later stanzas, it appears that this tree is the world-tree: see p. 384. It is not clear what type of tree is intended by this:

1. If it is the world-tree it is an ash. (But cf. Löffler 1911, 684-93 and Pipping 1925, I 40, II 56-60, who argue that it is a yew; and Reichborn-Kjennerud 1923, 50-55, 1924, 127-9 and 1926 for it as a juniper.)
2. But the original meaning of *barr* in ON appears to have been "pine-needle", as in *Hávam* 50 and modern Norwegian, Swedish and Danish. SGK 411 takes *barr* here as a conifer, comparing Swedish *barr* = *barrträd*.
3. In later Icelandic, *barr* came to be used less precisely. Snorri speaks of the *barr* of the ash, apparently "foliage", *Gylf* chs. 16,

39. In modern Icelandic *barr* can also mean "bud" (Faulkes 1982, 83) or "leaves, foliage", especially in figurative senses (Blöndal 63).

The use of *barr* in this poem to denote an ash-tree recalls Snorri's usage. I take *barr* in its later, vaguer Icelandic sense; hence by synecdoche "tree" in general. There is no need to read *barmr* (= *baðmr*) for *barr* as does *LP* 36, following Bugge 1881, 438, 495-7 and Falk 1893, 45. There is a vivid instance of imperfect Icelandic notions concerning trees in a drawing of Yggdrasill in *O*. In this, the world-ash resembles a giant rubberplant (plate facing p. 76 in Helgason 1958).

19/5. *breiðask*: SGK 412 compare the description of Yggdrasill in *Gylf* ch. 15: *limar hans dreifask yfir heim allan ok standa yfir himni* 'its branches spread across the whole world and extend over heaven'. Cf. pp. 303-4.

20/1. *Mimameiðr*: Only here is the world-tree so named. On the possibility that this name might be the poet's own coinage see p. 360. For this tree as the world-tree see p. 384.

20/2. *mangi veit*: The emendation is warranted by the failure of alliteration in MSS *en þat fáir vita* (one of only two places in *St Ra* where the alliteration fails completely, see p. 31-3), by the parallel with *Hávm* 138 (see p. 303-4), and by the common mishandling of older negative forms in C17 MSS (see pp. 25-8).

20/5. *fæstan*: "Fewest"; here in litotes "none". For instances of the common use of *fár* in litotes to stand for "none, no-one" see *LP* 126. The accusative of *fár* acting as the subject of the impersonal verb *varir* is paralleled by *Fj* 5/2 *fýsirat ... fán*.

20/6. **eldr ne járn:** SGK 412 cites three other instances of this alliterative formula, two from poetry (Stúfr inn blindi 8/5, *Skj.* B I 374 and *Nóregs konungatal* 73, *Skj.* B I 588) and one from prose (*Magnúss saga* ch. 53); ONP has a further three. In all of these, the formula denotes the "fire and iron" of battle, and hence its use here of the dangers facing a tree is rather inappropriate — unless this is a veiled reference to *ragnarøk*.

21/4. **af móði:** The usual senses of *móðr* 'passion, rage' make no sense when applied to a tree, even such a remarkable tree as this. Several usages suggest more general senses:

1. As a compound element in personal names *móðr* seems to have connotations of strength and resolution: e.g. *Bjarnmóðr*, *Hermóðr* (Lind 1905, 775). Compare *The Battle of Maldon* 313 *mod sceal þe mare þe ure mægen lytlað* 'resolution must be the more as strength diminishes'.
2. The phrases *farask/snúask/vera í jötunmóði* implies not just rage, but an access of overwhelming strength, similar to a *berserksgangr* (CV 328). Thus its use of the giant smith of *Gylf* ch. 42, of the *Midgarðsormr* at *ragnarøk* *Vsp* 50, and of the enraged giant-maidens of *Grott* 23/4.

Bugge *NF* 346 therefore suggests (tentatively) that *móðr* could take the sense "force; power". The poet is elsewhere disposed to endow inanimate objects with living force; compare the creation of the wall of st. 12 from *Leirbrimis limum* and the note to *Fj* 10/1. He might speak of the great potency of the tree as one might speak of the awesome *móðr* of a giant.

Other readings offered include:

1. SGK 412-3 read *at morði*, taking the verse as continuing the question "what can kill this tree". This presumes that two verses have been lost: one answering this question, and a second asking about the *aldinn* of this tree. *LP* 412 also suggests corruption.
2. Falk 1893, 46 takes it as from *moð* which usually means "refuse; dust" (esp. of hay), and derives the sense "seed, fruit" from this: "what is cast down; what falls". This is apparently accepted by De Vries 1962, 391, who gives "same, frucht" as senses. "Seed, fruit" would be very appropriate, but there appears to be no evidence that *moð* actually had this meaning. None of the Scandinavian cognates cited by De Vries, or that I have checked, actually mean "seed, fruit".¹ In the one instance that Falk cites from *Jóns saga Postola* IV ch. 22 the sense appears to be "dust", not "fruit".

21/6. *ins mæra viðar*: Compare the description of the world-tree in *Vsp* 2/7 as *mjötviðr mærr*.

22. A stanza of famous difficulty. It appears that the fruit (*aldinn*) of this tree, when cast into fire, has power to cure sick women, *-sjúkar konur*. The magic power ascribed to certain burnt woods is well exemplified:

1. The belief that fumigations prepared from various burnt woods have power to intervene in women's diseases can be traced to Hippocrates, and the folk-belief that fire can drive out illness is

¹ Thus in addition to those cited by De Vries: Modern Icelandic *moð* 'hay remnants, waste' Blöndal 554; Swedish *modd* 'slush' Harlock 577; Norn *mod* 'very small things — objects or living creatures' Jakobsen 1985, II 561.

also widely instanced (Reichborn-Kjennerud 1923, 53; 1924, 128).

2. *Acarn brunninn* 'burnt acorn' is among the ingredients in the magic draught of forgetfulness given by Grímildr to Guðrún in *Guðr* II 23.

It does not seem possible to specify exactly what disease is meant, or how it will be cured. The exact nature of the disease hinges on the interpretation of MSS *kelisjúkar* and *útar ... skyli*.

Kelisjúkar, the reading of all the MSS, occurs nowhere else:

1. CV 335 retains this reading, citing *Félagsrit* for the sense "hysterics". However, Löffler 1913, 51 (following a suggestion of Finnur Jónsson's) notes that *Félagsrit* 10 (1790) p. 6 explicitly cites "Sæmundar Edda" as its source — probably *Fj* in the Arnamagnæan edition of 1787 — and therefore this is valueless. There is no trace of the word elsewhere in either Old or Modern Icelandic.
2. NF 347 suggests *killisjúkar*, comparing Gothic *kilþei* 'womb'; this is accepted by Cederschiöld 1910, 295 fn. 2. LP 336 suggests *kæli-* from *kól-* "cold", hence "cold fever, feverish". But neither word occurs elsewhere in ON.
3. Munch 1847, 72 reads *kvellisjúkar*. Fritzner cites two saga instances: Kveld-Úlfr in *Egils saga* ch. 27 and Hrappr in *Laxdæla saga* ch. 17. Both are men of legendary strength who, when suffering fatal illness, say that they have not previously been *kvellisjúkr*: that is, "sickly; infirm". This would be consistent with *kvellisjúkar* being used especially of female illnesses. Such men do not suffer such illnesses.

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Emendation appears necessary, and Munch's *kvellisjúkar* is the most plausible of those proposed. The apparent etymological relationship to *kvelja* (De Vries 1962, 337) suggests connotations of 'torment, agony'. Hence, the translation 'hysterical'.

Concerning MSS *útar ... skyli* : I adopt a suggestion of Mrs Dronke and read as *skýli* from the verb *skýla* 'shield, protect', related to *skjól* 'shelter, cover'. This provides the concrete sense lacking if MSS *skyli* is interpreted as from the auxiliary *skulu*.

So interpreted, the lines confirm Löffler's suggestion 1911, 680-3 that some sort of menstrual complication is being described: the menstrual blood ordinarily hidden within the woman (*innar skýli*) is released (*útar hverfa*) when the *aldinn* is burnt before the woman.

Other suggestions include:

1. Brate 1913, 373 sees the lines as referring to a prolapsed uterus, which *útar hverfa* when it should be within. He thus manages to make the lines mean the exact opposite of Löffler.
2. Reichborn-Kjennerud 1923, 50; 1926, 127 refines Brate's view. He takes **kvelli-* as denoting a condition of hysteria induced when the uterus changes position (*útar hverfa*). This is accepted by SGK 413, De Vries 1962, 305 and Steffensen 1960, 36. This interpretation of *útar hverfa* is dubious and the argument rests on a selective use of Hippocrates, who is far from being as specific as Reichborn-Kjennerud suggests (VII 370-431).
3. Falk 1893, 46 *kvillusjúkar*, modern Icelandic *kvilli* 'sickness': interpreting it as "labour pains". *Kvilli* does not occur in ON.
4. Egilsson 1860, 458 relates *keli-* to Norwegian *brystkjöl* 'emotional torment'.

22/5. *þat er*: The erroneous *þoss* of **St** could arise from an original *þaz* (= *þat er*, e.g. in **CR** *Hávm* 40/5) by (a) confusion of a/o, cf. the note on *Gróg* 6/4 and (b) interpretation of the symbol ʒ as inflectional -s, which ʒ often represents in C17 MSS, and hence as -[s, as both **St** and **Ra** have here. It is notable that **St** here represents an earlier stage of error than **Ra**'s *þess*.

22/6. *mjǫtuðr*: See pp. 385-6 for discussion of the use of this epithet of the world-tree.

23/6. *við gull glóir*: For a supposed parallel with the Phoenix see p. 374 fn. 1. See the note on *Fj* 42/6 for the apparently irregular metre of this line.

24/2. *Veðrglasi*: This refers to the tree, and not the cock as SGK 414 and *LP* 599 have it:

1. For the second half of the compound compare the remarkable golden-leaved grove or tree *Glasi* of *Skáldsk* chs. 32, 34. Snorri designates this as a *lundr*, which can mean either tree or grove in poetry (*LP* 384).
2. The -*glasir* appears to link with the *Aurglasir* of 28/6, which can also be connected with the tree: see note there, and the discussion of *Veðr*- below.
3. *Veðrglasi* can be taken in apposition to *meiðs kvistum Mima*, which is certainly the tree.
4. There may be some connection between the names *Veðrglasir* and *Mimameiðr* of these verses with the possible reading **Veðrmimir* as a *himna heiti* in *þulur* IV ff and nn (MSS forms *vetmimir*, *vetrmimir*, *vætrimni*, *Skj. A* I 678, 683). If

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Mimameiðr is the world-tree, such a **Veðrmimir* would be the part of the world-tree in the air, hence "heaven".

The first half of the compound, *Veðr*-, is best explained by Ólsen 1917, 15, who takes *Veðr*- as denoting "air". This sense is well-instanced in prose, but appears otherwise unknown in poetry: thus Fritzner sv. § 4, beside *LP* 599 and *SGW* 1138. Ólsen suggests plausibly that *Veðrglasir* 'air-tree' denotes that part of the tree which is above ground while *Aurglasir* 'loam-tree' 28/6 denotes the part of the tree which is below ground.

For the postposed preposition compare *Fj* 49/2 *Lyfjabergi á*.

24/4-30/6. For analysis of these lines, and the suggestion that they establish the complete impossibility of forced entry to the palace through the killing of the cock Viðófnir by implying that this will only occur at *ragnarøk*, see pp. 386-95.

24/4-6. *einum ... Sinmǫru* : Scholars have argued over every word of this crux. Finnur Jónsson 1926, 206 even denies the identity of *hann* with Viðófnir, accepted by every other scholar, omitting this word and taking Surtr as the subject of *þrøngr*.

The difficulties focus on 24/6, where *St* has *surtar sinn mautu*, *Ra* *surtar sinn mantu*; other MSS have variations on these (*surtr sem mantu*, etc). I follow all editors since *NF* 347 in reading *Sinmǫru* in place of the last two words (cf. 26/5, 30/4; based on a suggestion in Arnamagnæan 1787, 294). No sense can be made of *surtar* (or *surtr*), and no place can be found for Surtr in the narrative of the following stanzas. The emendation to *sút* here proposed gives excellent sense:

1. *Einum ekka* is taken as an instrumental dative, 'through a single sorrow' (thus *SGK* 414), causing Sinmara to be oppressed

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with anguish (*sút*). The contrast between this single sorrow and the overwhelming pain it causes (*þrófsaman*) is finely pointed.

2. For the verse-type, with the two alliterations falling on the first two syllables of the long-line, compare *Hávm* 12/3 *ǫl alda sonum* (also *Hávm* 118/3); for the error of confusion over *r* in *sút* (a scribe might have interpreted a mark over the *u*, frequent in these MSS, as an abbreviation) see the note on *Gróg* 2/4.

Thus: through a single sorrow (*einum ekka*) Viðófnir oppresses beyond measure (*þrøngr ... þrófsaman*) Sinmara with anguish (*sút*). For the explanation of the *einum ekka* as the terrible obligation laid on Sinmara to guard the *Lævateinn* till ragnarøk (cf. Sigyn's tending of Loki) see p. 358. The compound *þrófsaman* occurs only here; compounds of *-samr* are frequent and this reading follows *LP* 667 in taking it as the accusative used adverbially.

Other interpretations include:

1. Olsen 1917, 14-16 relates *einum* to *einir* 'juniper', perhaps standing for the world-tree as *barr* may in 19/4. The plural might indicate "switches; scourges of juniper". He reads *Surtar Sinmøru*, and interprets this "Sinmara of Surtr", so that Sinmara is somehow possessed by Surtr (wife? daughter? mistress?). This is grammatically strained.
3. The reading chiefly favoured by modern editors (*NF* 446, *SGK* 414, Neckel 1936, 306) takes *Surt ok Sinmøru* as the double object of *þrøngr*: "He oppresses terribly Surtr and Sinmara with a single sorrow". The insertion of *ok* is not a difficulty, but the lack of any further reference to Surtr anywhere else in the poem is.

26/1. **Lævateinn:** Bugge's emendation *NF* 347 of *St Ra Hevateinn* is warranted by metre (see p. 32 above), by the occurrence of the identical confusion of H/L in *Fj* 32/1 and 36/1 and in the related MSS of *Bhl* (see pp. 34-41), and the relative difficulty of *Hævateinn* ("twig which aims"? cf. *hæfa* "aim, hit"), beside the transparent sense of *Lævateinn* 'twig of harms'.

From the name and the statement that Loki picked it (*gørði rifinn*) it appears that this *Lævateinn* is a variant of the *mistilteinn* which Loki tears up, *Gylf* ch. 49, and with which Baldr is killed, *Vsp* 31. This does not mean that Viðófnir is Baldr — and hence Jesus — as Falk 1893, 57-61 argues.

See further pp. 386-95 on the *Lævateinn* and the anticipation of *ragnarøk* in these stanzas.

26/2. **rifinn:** Mrs Dronke's suggested emendation: the MSS *ruinn* results from original *riuinn* by minim error. *Rífa* commonly means 'pull apart, rip', and is used of plucking up grass in a legal phrase from *Grágás* (*Staðarhólsbók*) 452/10: *þat eru (h)ríshrif er menn rífa upp*. See p. 317 on the possible verbal echo of *Guðr* II 40.

The following alternatives have been proposed:

1. Grundtvig *DgF* II 671 takes *ruinn* as the past participle of *rýja* 'pluck' (usually of plucking wool off sheep). This is accepted by CV 505 and Detter and Heinzel 1903, I 189, but as *NF* 347 observes *rýja* is never used of twigs or branches.
2. *rúnu*, from *rúna* 'close friend, confidant': that is, "Loki made *Lævateinn* for his companion (=Sinmara)", Bergmann 1874, 59, accepted by Falk 1893, 51. As we know nothing of Sinmara, this advances us little.

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3. *rúnum*, Loki made it "with runes" (Bugge 1869, 274; accepted by Neckel 1936, 306, Hildebrand 1922, 205 and SGK 416). This is patently *facilior lectio* and nowhere else is Loki associated with runes.

4. *rýninn* 'knowledgeable in runes; wise'; thus NF 347. The word occurs nowhere else in ON; cf. *fullrýninn* Am 11 and the note in Dronke 1969, 119.

gørði: Here, no more than an auxiliary "did pluck";

"plucked": cf. *gerðu gyrðan* 'they surrounded' *Ragnarsdrápa* 5, *Skj. B I* 2.

26/3. *fyr nágrindr neðan*: Exactly the same phrase in *Skí* 35 and *Lok* 63. Elsewhere, Loki is associated with the underworld through his daughter Hel and the enigmatic lines of *Lok* 23, saying that he was eight winters *fyr jörð neðan*. For discussion of the association of Loki with the underworld see De Vries 1933, 210-4.

26/4. *Segjárns*: *Segjárnkeri* (compare *járnketill* Fritzner) is possible, but both **St** and **Ra** have *Segjárns* and thus it is here taken as a name (as first Rask 1818, 109). The second element suggests some kind of iron, appropriate for a figure associated with a cauldron. The first element is obscure:

1. Egilsson 1860, 689 reads *seig-*, from *seigr* 'tough'. This gives good sense and is accepted by NF 347 and SGK 416. Support is given this by the frequent interchange in some MSS (notably **O**) between *seig-* and *seg-* in the formula *Segþú Fjolsviðr* (cf. p. 358 below).

2. In Eilífr's *þórsdrápa* st. 15, *Skj. B I* 143 *seg-* is also associated with iron: the red-hot lump of iron hurled by Geirrðör at þórr is described as *segi tangar* 'the bit of the tongs', glossed by Snorri as *járnsía* 'iron glede' *Skáldsk* ch. 18. Olsen 1917, 17

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suggests that this *segi* could be equivalent to *teinn* in the technical sense "rod, bar": the GkS 1157 fol. of *Grágás* ch. 246, and AM 347 fol. chs. 65, 66 (Finsen 1852, II 194, 250, 251) distinguish *teint járn* 'iron in rods or bars; hence sword-iron' as the best iron. Therefore, *segjárn* = *teint járn* 'finest iron'. This equation of *segjárn* with *teint járn* may be supported by Clunies Ross's suggestion (1981, 388) that the *tangar segi* of *þórsdrápa* is þórr's hammer Mjöllnir. One might expect the finest of weapons to be made from the finest of iron.

Thus: "Tough-iron" or "Finest-iron".

26/5. ***Sinmǫru***: for the interpretation of this name as "sinew-destroyer" see p. 358 below.

26/6. ***njarðlásar***: This compound appears to be modelled on Eilífr's description of þórr's magic girdle in *þórsdrápa* 7, *Skj. B* I 141, as *njarð - gjørð* (with tmesis); see pp. 315-6.

28/5. ***fáir***: For the litotes "few" = "none" compare 5/2, 20/5.

28/6. ***Eiri Aurglasis***: From stanza 30 it appears that this being, to whom something must be given so that Viðófnir can be slain, is Sinmara. *Eir* is named as a goddess, *læknir beztr*, in *Gylf* ch. 35 and is frequent as the base-word in kennings for "woman" (*LP* 104). This appears to be the use here with *Aurglasis* as its determinant.

The compound *Aurglasir* occurs nowhere else. The best explanation of the word is that of Ólsen 1917, 17-18. He contrasts *Aurglasir* with *Veðrglasir* 24/2, basing both compounds on Snorri's *Glasir*, and argues that *Aurglasir* 'loam-tree' denotes that part of the tree which is below ground; see further the note on 24/2. This agrees with the statement of 26/3 that *Lævateinn* was made *fyr nágrindr neðan*, and also with the hints of

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daemonic malevolence about Sinmara and the description of Sinmara as *in fǫlva gýgr* in 29/6. Hence, the epithet directly contrasts Sinmara with Viðófnir: she is "the woman of the loam-tree", imagined as living underground by the tree, while he perches in the tree's branches above ground. For the inappropriate use of *Eir* with Sinmara see p. 359.

Other explanations include:

1. *Glasir* as "gleam or glow" of *aurr* 'wet mud; water', hence "gold"; the *Eir* of gold is a woman (SGK 417, Sturtevant 1952, 1158-9, De Vries 1962, 20). This would be the only instance of such scaldic vocabulary in the poem.
2. *Aur-* as deriving from a supposed **aur* 'gold', related to *eyrir*, *aurar* and Latin *aurum*: thus NF 446. De Vries 1962, 20 queries the supposed link with *aurum*. It seems that Gísli's kenning *Eir ... aura* 'goddess of wealth' (*aura* = gen. pl. of *eyrir*), Iv. 13 *Skj. B* I 98, is unrelated to *Eir Aurglasis* here, despite Sturtevant 1952, 1158-9.
3. LP 24 supposes that *Aurglasir* might be the name of a hall.

30. See pp. 386-95 for the explanation of this stanza as rendering forcible entry to the palace doubly impossible: it will only happen on completion of a circle of impossibilities; it will only happen at *ragnarøk*.

30/1. *ljósan ljá*: I follow Detter and Heinzel II 646, who explain this as the scythe (or sickle) shaped tail feather of the cock, endowed with the magic power of opening locks. They cite a passage from Lucian of Samasota's dialogue "The Dream, or the Cock" in which the cock tells Micyllus that any man who plucks out, with his permission, his "longest tail feather, the one that is so pliant that it curls" may with the aid of that feather "open every door" (II, pp. 228-9). The parallel with this passage is

striking: this tail feather will open up *Segjárns kerí* and release the *Lævateinn*.

However, worlds lie between the sophisticated philosophical *jeux* of the 2nd century Syrian and Sv. I have not been able to find any instances of this notion from folk-belief or anywhere else (e.g. Bächthold-Stäubli sv. *hahn*; ST), which might provide a bridge between Lucian and this passage. Nonetheless, this makes sense of the lines and no other explanation yet proposed does.

30/3. *í Viðófnis vǫlum*: LP 587 takes *vǫlum* as from *vala* 'bone, knuckle-bone' (so its modern meaning), a word only otherwise known in ON from compounds such as *hnitvala* 'eye', *hvélvala* 'wheelshape'. Of these compounds, the meaning "round-bone; knuckle" is clearest in *hvélvǫlur hálar* 'slippery wheelshaped-knuckles' = 'round stones' (on the bottom of a stream) *Þórsdrápa* 6, *Skj.* B I 140. Hence SGK 417 interpret the phrase as referring to the lowest vertebrae of Viðófnir's spinal column, which is about where one would expect to find the scythe-shaped feather. The meaning seems strained but possible. Alternatively, NF 446 and Olsen 1917, 18 think *í Viðófnis vǫlum* might be equivalent to 18/2, *í Viðófnis liðum*.

30/2. *lúðr*: I take this as 'case' (thus LP 384, SGK 417). The range of meaning suggested by various scholars for *lúðr* is exceptionally wide: so all of chest, sheath, mill-frame (hence mill), drum and horn in Holtsmark 1946; coffin by Faulkes 1982, 121; cradle by LP 384-5 (disputed by Holtsmark 1946, 65); boat by SGK 405. For the development of these senses from original "hollow stalk" from a root **leu* 'trim' see De Vries 1962, 367.

There is no special reason for preferring any one of these senses. The whole effect of these lines is exotic and riddling, and probably meant to be so (cf. p. 395).

30/4. **Sinmara:** For her role in this stanza see p. 387-8.

30/5. **sqm:** For the sense "ready, willing" cf. *Am* 75/3-4: *Samr lézk ... Atli ... gørva* 'Atli said he was willing to do this'; further instances in *LP* 480 sv. *samr* 2.

31/5-6. **slunginn ... vísum vafrloga:** The phrase *vísum vafrloga* appears directly modelled on *vísan vafrloga*, *Skí* 8 and 9. This *víss vafrlogi* seems identical with the *hættir logi* of the first verse. *St*'s *stunginn* might arise from confusion of l/t; the letters often differ by only a light stroke across the ascender. Thus the Stockholm group error, found in 11 MSS, of *vælt* for *vætt* in *Fj* 49/5.

32/1. **Lýr:** As at *Fj* 26/1 and 36/1, metrical arguments (see p. 32) and the identical confusion of initial H/L in the related MSS of *Bhl* (see pp. 34-41) support Bugge's emendation of *St Ra Hyr*. Concerning its meaning:

1. *NF* 446 equates it with *Hlýr* 'who gives shelter'; however, as Boer II 386 notes, elsewhere in *Sv* *h* and *l* are kept apart in the alliteration.
2. Ólsen 1917,19 compares *ljóri* 'roof-opening'; *SGK* 418 observe that Jutish *lyre* can mean "gap in the clouds" and explain as "the bright, the shining"; cf. p. 373 below.

32/3. **á brodds oddi bifask:** See pp. 371-3 for this phrase.

32/4. **auðrann:** Only here. Compare *auðsalr*, 7/6 and 8/6.

32/5-6. **munu ... hafa frétt eina firar:** Compare *Gamli kanóki*, *Jóansdrápa* 2, *Skj. B* I 547: the apostle will see the whole glory of God *pás hefðu flestir ... fréttir einar* 'which most men know only by stories'.

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33/5. **sék:** For the confusion of o/e see the note on *Fj* 16/6.

33/6. **ásmaga:** For this as an inappropriate designation of the names collected in st. 34 see p. 362.

34/1. **Uni:** This name occurs nowhere else as a mythological name. It is known as a personal name in the sagas and elsewhere in the north: see *Nafnaskrá* 170 and Lind 1905, 1059. SGK 419 suggests (tentatively) "the comforted" as its meaning.

lri: This name occurs elsewhere only in ch. 83 of *Egils saga* as that of a *lausingi*, a freed slave, who is described as *útlendr* — possibly Irish.

34/2. **Jari ok Bari:** The MSS *Bari ok Ori* is metrically impossible, see p. 33 above. *Jari* was proposed by NF 349, and is supported by:

1. The occurrence of *Jari* in the *dvergatal* in *Vsp* 13/7;
2. The assonance with *Bari*: compare *Fíli*, *Kíli*; *Skirvir*, *Virvir*; *Bívorrr*, *Bávorr* all from the *dvergatal*.

SGK 17 relates *Jari* to the *Jöruvøllr* 'sandy plain' (?) of *Vsp* 14; cf. De Vries 1962, 295 (relating to *jörfi* 'sand, sandbank') and *LP* 331 ('battle-field'). The order here given corrects the alliteration.

Bari: Only here; perhaps "Naked" (SGK 419). Alternatively, one might read *Barri*, given as the name of one of Óttar's descendants in *Hyndl* 23 (also as one of Arngrímr's sons in *Qrvar-Odds saga* ch. 14 and in the catalogue of legendary heroes in *Sögubrot af fornkonungum* ch. 8).

34/3. **Varr:** "Provident". The name occurs among the dwarf-*heiti* in *pula* IV ii 4, *Skj.* B I 672, and Fróði's two smiths (again, probably dwarves) are both named *Varr* in ch. 4 of *Hrólfs saga kraka*.

Vegdrasill: Only here. *Drasill* 'horse' does occur as a simplex (thus *Akv* 4/8, 32/6), but is best known as an element in compounds and ship-kennings: e.g. *Yggdrasill* the World-tree and *drasill sunða* 'horse of the seas', Hallfreðr's *Óláfsdrápa* 5, *Skj.* B I 151.

34/4. **Dóri ok Óri:** Elsewhere, the two names are found together in the list of dwarves who *búa í steinum* in *Gylf* ch. 14. The names also occur separately in *pula* IV ii 3, 4, *Skj.* B I 672, while *Óri* is given among *orma heiti* in *pula* IV qq 1, *Skj.* B I 675. SGK 18 suggest "damager" (cf. OE *derian*) and "bewitcher" (cf. *ærr*) as senses.

34/5. **Dellingr:** *Vafþr* 25/1 states that *Dellingr* is the father of *Dagr*. The phrase *fyr Dellings durom* (perhaps, "at daybreak", see SGK 159) appears in *Hávǫm* 160/3 and five times in verses in *Hervarar saga*. The notion that *Dellingr* is a dwarf — as apparently here, and in the inclusion of the name among *dverga heiti* in *pula* IV ii 3, *Skj.* B I 672 — could have resulted from a misunderstanding of *Hávǫm* 160/3, as SGK 159, 169 suggest. The name may relate to OE *deall* 'proud, famous' or early Irish *dellrad* 'sheen, brilliance' (De Vries 1962, 72; Evans 1986, 143).

34/5-6 **ok var þar liðskjálfar loki:** Following Falk 1893, 66:

1. I adopt *ok var þar*, the reading of **Ra**. For the placement of the adverbial *ok* 'also' compare *Þórgrímspula* 3 *þar var ok Gyllis of getit* 'there also was Gyllir mentioned' *Skj.* B I 656. St's *at var þar* is unparalleled and clumsy.

2. I follow *NF* 446 and read *liðskjálfar* for **St Ra** *liðski Alfur*, and relate this to the description of Atli's castle (apparently) as *liðskjálfar djúpar* in *Akv* 14/2. See further p. 313. For the mistaking of final -ar/-ur cf. the note on *Gróg* 2/4; for the misdivision of words cf. the note on *Gróg* 14/5.

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3. I read *loki* as a noun, based on *loka* 'finish' with the -i ending denoting agent as in *-fari*, *-byggj*. The noun is otherwise unexampled as a simplex, but cf. *dritloki* 'dirt-ender', 'one who causes an unpleasant end' *Þorgils saga ok Hafliða* ch. 17, and Dronke's note ad loc.

Thus the end of the stanza coincides neatly with the finishing of the palace.

Alternatively, most editors read three names after Delligr, consecutively *Atvarðr*, *Liðskjalf(i)r*, *Loki* (thus: Neckel 1936, 307, Detter and Heinzel 1903, I 190, Boer 1922, I 295, Jónsson 1926, 208, Jónsson 1949, 530, Briem 1968, 534.) This is unacceptable:

1. Everything else comes in nines in these poems: see p. 423 below. Delligr is the ninth builder named, and should then be the last.
2. This does not just give three too many names, but three very dubious names at that:
 - i. *Atvarðr* is both unexampled and improbable as a name.
 - ii. *Liðskelfir* appears once in scaldic verse as an epithet for a warrior (in Gísl Illugason's *Erfikvæði um Magnús berfætt* 17, *Skj.* B I 412; presumably "terrifier of hosts"), but neither that as a name nor *Loki* — who is nowhere else a builder — seems at home in this company.

Also, the reading here proposed is very close to **St Ra**. See pp. 24-5 for discussion of the significance of the preservation of this *difficilior lectio* in those two MSS.

35/6. **þjóðmæra**: Only here. In several other adjectival compounds the prefix *þjóð*- has intensive force: e.g. *þjóðglaðr*, *þjóðgóðr*, *þjóðleiðr* LP 641.

þruma: "remain still and silent in the one spot" (LP 648); thus *Hávm* 17 *afglapi* ... *þylsk hann um eða þrumir* 'the fool ... either mumbles or stays quiet.'

36/1. **Lyfjaberg**: For analogues to this "mountain of healing" (*lyf* "healing", *lyfja* "to heal") see pp. 374-5. Bugge's emendation of *St Hyfvia ber*, *Ra Hyfvia berg* is made certain by *St Ra Liufu bergi* at *Fj* 49/2, supported by the same arguments from metre (pp. 32-3) and the confusion of initial H/L in the related MSS of *Bhl* (pp. 34-41) as the similar emendations at *Fj* 26/1 and 32/1.

36/3. **sjúkri**: So emended for *St Ra sjúk*, following a suggestion in SGT 209; cf. on *Gróg* 2/4 for errors involving final abbreviations. In the second half of the stanza the poet stresses that this mountain has particular power to heal a sick woman: hence *heil* ... *hver* ... *kona*. The feminine singular forms *sjúkri* ... *sárri* (*St Ra sari*) prepare for this neatly. The collocation *sjúkr*, *sárr* is also instanced in prose: *sárr né sjúkr*, *Haraldssona saga* ch. 25 and *sjúkr eða sárr*, *Rémundar saga* chs. 25, 26.

All editors since NF 349 have read *sjúkum ok sárum*. This greater alteration of the MSS is unwarranted, and loses the specific and careful emphasis on the healing of women's diseases: for this cf. *Fj* 22 and p. 419.

36/5. **ársótt**: There is no difficulty about *hafi* taking the primary alliteration when it stands — as here — under the first stress. The various suggestions (*helsótt*, *heljarsótt*) of NF 349, Boer 1922, II 387 and SGT 209 are unnecessary.

The compound appears only here. For the sense "infertility; barrenness" cf. *árgalli* 'dearth, famine, plague', used synonymously with

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óáran (also *ávextir* ... *árgallalausir* 'fruits free from spot') *Kónungs skuggsjá* ch. 35.

37/6. *sitja sáttar saman*: The emendation from the Langebek MSS is confirmed by *Vafþr* 41/6 *sitja meirr um sáttir saman* "(the *einherjar*) then sit peacefully together". Cf. p. 305.

38/1-3. *ein* ... *ǫnnur* ... *þriðja*: Bugge 1869, 274 supplies the *ein* on the model of *Grí* 28/1-3, *Vína heitir enn* (paper MSS *ein*), *ǫnnur Vegsvinn*, *þriðia þjóðnuma*.

38/1-6. The nine maidens of this stanza accord with the nine charms of *Gróg* and the nine locks of 26/6; see too p. 423. On the number nine elsewhere in ON see p. 365. The nine maidens are discussed further pp. 375-8.

Hlíf: "Protection". There are four women with this name in the sagas (*Nafnaskrá*, 90-1) and the name is not uncommon elsewhere in Scandinavia (Lind 1905, 551-3).

Hlífþrasa: This is Bugge's suggestion NF 350, in place of the MSS *Hlífþursa*. Codex Regius of *SnE* I 300 (= st. 17/5 of *Þórsdrápa*, *Skj.* A I 151) similarly reads *Aurþursis* beside *Aurþrasir* in W and T.

The pair *Hlíf Hlífþrasa* appear to be counterparts of *Líf ok Lífþrasir*, the two who survive *fimbulvetr* in *Vafþr* 45. *þrasir* is well exemplified as an element in kennings, occurs on its own as a dwarf *heiti* in *Þula* IV ii 4, *Skj.* B I 672 and as a giant *heiti* in *Þórsdrápa* 18, *Skj.* B I 143, while *Þula* IV jj 4 gives *þrasarr* as an Óðinn *heiti*, *Skj.* B I 673. However, this would appear to be the only instance of the feminine *-þrasa*.

Þjóðvara: All MSS read *þjóðvarta*. There seems no evidence for a name element *-varta* ('wart'), and editors have proposed variously *þjóðvakra* (NF 350), *þjóðvaka* (Grundtvig 1874, 184) or *þjóðvara* (SGT

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210, followed by Jónsson 1926, 209, Boer 1922, I 296). However, Lind 1905, 1064 gives no instances of names compounded of any of *-vakra*, *-vaka*, or *-vara*; *-vagr* occurs only once, in *Oddvagr*. It seems easiest to read *-vara* here as a unique instance of a by-form of the widely exemplified female name element *-vgr* (e.g. *Hervgr*, *Steinvgr*; Lind 1905, 1115).

Bjgrt: Only here as a name; "the shining one". Compare *Dagbjgrt*, *Sólbjgrt*, from *Gongu-Hrólf's saga* ch. 38 and *Þorsteinn saga Víkingssonar* ch. 5 respectively.

Blik: Thus 1868, as a scribal emendation (p. 21): 'gleam' is appropriate, though the word occurs nowhere else as a name. St Ra read *Blíð* which duplicates the MSS *Blíðr* of the next line.

Blíð: Only here as a name. The rhyme with *Fríð* confirms the placement of *Blíð* here rather than in the preceding half-line.

Fríð: Again, only here as a name on its own, but cf. *Arnfríðr*, *Jófríðr* etc (De Vries 1962, 143); also the related *Fríðr*, *Fríða* (Lind 1905, 285, 287).

Eir: Snorri names an *Eir* as one of the goddesses, commenting that she is *læknir beztr*, *Gylf* ch. 35. *Þula* IV h 4 names *Eir* among the Valkyries (*Skj.* B I 661) and the name is frequent as the base word in kennings for women, *LP* 104. It would only be surprising if this name were not among this group.

Aurboða: The mother of *Gerðr* is so named in *Hyndl* 30. See p. 359 for the suggestion that the poet's liking for the *Eir*, *Aur-* cadence (also present in 28/6) prompted the inclusion of the improbable *Aurboða* — probably a giantess — here.

39/6. **ef gðrask þarfar þess:** The same phrase in *Skí* 36 and *Hsv* 23, 62 (cf. 73).

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40/1. *Bjarga svinnar*: Bugge's emendation NF 350 for the meaningless MSS *Sumur*. The error might have arisen as follows:

1. *Sum-* from *svinn-* by minim error. In the copy of *Vaffr* in S only the stroke over the n distinguishes the first syllable of *svinnan* *Sum̃ⁿ* in 24/2 from that of *sumar* *Sum^r* in 26/5.
2. *Bjarga*, repeated from the preceding verse, might have been abbreviated to *b* then lost. For this emendation guided by the poet's liking for repetition compare the note on Fj 11/5.

40/2. *er menn blóta þær*: This appears to break the rule usually adhered to in the long line in Sv, as in its models, that a non-alliterating noun or adjective (*menn*) may not stand before the primary alliteration (*blóta*); cf. on 42/6 below. In the three other apparent instances of this in Sv, in *Gróg* 16/4, 16/5 and *Fj* 34/2, the text seems corrupt (pp. 30-1, 33).

But one need not here suspect textual corruption too deep for the emendation of the a-line to repair. Several instances in other poems suggest that *menn* might be understood exceptionally as indefinite and pronominal ("any men") and so stand before the primary alliteration. In *Hávǫm*, the noun *maðr* used gnominically as "any man, one" commonly stands before the primary alliteration: thus *ef maðr hafa náir* 68; also 6/8, 8/5, 9/5, 30/2, 38/2, 42/2, 43/2, 65/5, 75/4. There are no parallels in *Hávǫm* for the plural *menn* so standing before the primary alliteration. But *margr þá fróðr þikkisk Hávǫm* 30 suggests that this licence might extend to other indefinite expressions beside *maðr*; thus also *Hávǫm* 66/5 (*sumt*), *Fáfn* 6/4 (*fár*), 24/5 (*margr*), 37/1 (*mjök*).¹

This explanation demands that the second lift fall on the pronoun *þær* — exactly as it does in the parallel 39/5 *þeim, er blóta þær*.

¹ Heusler 1925, I 108-9 cites some twenty other examples, from every branch of Germanic verse.

40/3. **stallhelgum:** Only here.

40/4-6. **ei ... nema:** The anacoluthon is parallel to that of *Am* 61/7-8: *lifira svá lengi, lqskr mun hann æ heitinn* 'He will not live so long — he will always be called worthless'; hence "However long he lives he will always be called worthless". As Dronke 1969, 128 says of the *Am* lines the idiom "achieves an emphatic certainty by retaining the first negative and omitting the second". Compare too *Sigrdr* 10/7-9 *era svá brattr breki ... þó kemztu heill af hafi* 'there is no wave so steep ... but that you will come unharmed from the sea' and the Danish instances given in SGK 422; also Nygaard 1865, II 67.

The stress here laid by the poet on the benevolent omnipotence of the *meyjar* prepares us for the dramatic reversal of st. 42, when Menglǫð is granted to the despairing Svipdagr.

41/5-6. **á ... armi sofa:** The same expression in *HHj* 4, *Hhund* II 48, *Helr* 13.

42/4. **Svipdagr:** For discussion of this name, see pp. 343-6.

42/6. **brúðr:** SGK 423 would omit this, noting that *in sólbjarta* can stand on its own: cf. *Hárb* 30 *gladdak ina gullbjörtu*. But the word is entirely appropriate here: Svipdagr has not just won a *kván* but a *brúðr*.

Brúðr is here placed at the beginning of line 6. Heusler 1890, 138 places it at the end of line 5, arguing that a non-alliterating noun or adjective may not stand before the primary alliteration. In two other full lines in *Sv* a non-alliterating noun or adjective is so placed: *langir ro manna munir Gróg* 4/3; *allr hann við gull glóir Fj* 23/6. It appears that this is a liberty permitted in the full line, as in all three of these instances in *Sv*. Examples from other poems are *Hávm* 5 (*dælt er heima hvat*), 23/6, 40/6, 159/6, *Reg* 19/6, *Fáfn* 11/6, *Sigrdr* 3/3, 4/3, 23/6, 29/6. These poems

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avoid this practice outside the full line, as does Sv. Of the four apparent instances outside the full line in Sv three are to be emended (*Gróg* 16/4, 16/5, *Fj* 34/2) and the other may be otherwise explained (*Fj* 40/2).

43/2. ***láttu hlið rúm:*** Apparently the only instance of this expression. I follow SGK 423 in reading "let the gates (be) open wide", with the infinitive understood after *láta* as frequently elsewhere in the poetry: see the examples collected in SGW 603. Compare *Egils saga* ch. 68 *er konungsgarðr rúmr inngangs, en þröngr brottfarar* 'a king's palace is wide of entry but narrow of exit'.

43/3. ***hér máttu Svipdag sjá:*** The echo of *Grí* 53 *nú knáttu Óðin sjá* is probably deliberate. Like Óðinn in that poem, Svipdagr gives a false name, engages in didactic conversation with an adversary, and climaxes the narrative with the revelation of his real identity with these words; see p. 306.

45. For *horskar* as an appropriate epithet for ravens and *Sól* 67 as borrowing from this stanza see pp. 321-2. The contrast between the reactions of the hero and the heroine is shrewdly observed: the young hero gives way instantly to unthinking, assertive bliss (*Hrittu á hurðir!*) while the heroine's first thought is of the terror of disappointment *ef þú þat lýgr*.

45/2. ***á hámm galga:*** Similarly, the heroine Hervör's words in a verse in *Hjálmþés saga* ch. 14: *Fyrr skyldir þú hanga / á hávum gálga / en í glauminn ganga* 'you would sooner hang on the high gallows than merrily enter'.

47/2. ***Sólbjartr:*** Only here as a name, and only here associated with a man. The adjective occurs three times in the poetry, in each case describing a woman: thus *Hhund* II 45, *Málsháttakvæði* 11 and 14 (*Skj.* B

II 141), and *Fj* 42/5-6. A giantess assumes the name *Sólbjört* in *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* ch. 5, and there is a queen with this name in *Ala flekks saga* ch. 1. See pp. 356-7 for explanation of this and the other names given for Svipdagr's relatives as an extension of poetic imagery, rather than as reflecting a mythological structure underlying the poems.

hét: SGK 424 is probably correct in suggesting that the past tense indicates that his father is dead. SGW 422 gives four instances of the formula *hét minn* ... in direct speech from the poetic Edda. In three of these (*HHj* 17/2, *Reg* pr. 10, *Fáfn* 4/5) the relative spoken of is certainly dead and in the fourth (*Reg* 2/2) the relative is probably dead. Svipdagr has no father, but he has a bride; now he may become a father himself.

47/3. **rákumk:** So interpreting *St*'s *rakums*: *St* has *pikiuns* for *þykkjumk* at *Gróg* 5/6. SGW 1174 takes this as the past indicative of the middle voice: "I wandered". This requires reading *vindkalda vegu* (*St Ra vindar kalda vegu*) as an adverbial phrase; cf. *rekast úti*, *rekast landa í milli* Fritzner III 72 § 11.

vindkalda vegu: Both *St* and *Ra* read *vindar kalda*; the B and Langebek MSS take the error further and read respectively *vindr ... rak mik* and *vindar ... raku*. I follow Grundtvig 1868, 183 and most editors (Neckel 1936, 310; SGT 212; Jónsson 1926, 211; Hildebrand 1922, 210), in emending to *vindkalda* on the model of *Hamð* 17 and *Fj* 6/4. Elsewhere, *vind-* regularly combines as *vind-*, occasionally as *vinds*, never apparently as *vindar* (Fritzner III 950-1, *LP* 617-8). For the error *-ar* in the MSS see the note on *Gróg* 2/4.

47/4. **Urðar:** Here, as probably also in *Gróg* 7/4, the context (*Urðar orði*) suggests that we are not dealing with abstract destiny, but with fate as personified by *Urðr*. In later Norse, *urðr* lost this personal sense and became a masculine noun, "destiny; the last judgement; death" (Gíslason 1881, 242-3). As SGK 25 observe *Urðr* appears rarely in ON

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poetry. Her occurrence twice in these poems, firstly before Svipdagr sets out on his quest in *Gróg* 7, and now as he contemplates his triumph, emphasizes the role of fate in his success. See further pp. 383, 409.

47/5. **viðr:** The MSS *kveðr* is unacceptable. *Kveða* always takes the accusative of the thing spoken and there is no evidence for *kveðja* having the meaning "stop, hinder" which *LP* 351 § 6 suggests. I accept *viðr* (=vinnr), the suggestion of Grundtvig *DgF* II 670. For ON parallels to the resulting idiom "no man resists fate" see p. 316 (more examples in Jónsson 1914, 186 nr. 373).

This phrase neatly balances Gróa's words to Svipdagr in *Gróg* 4/6 *ok skeikar þá Skuld at sköpum*: Skuld will allot his destiny. Indeed she has; he did not struggle against it and has won his bride.

47/6. **við lǫst lagit:** There appears to be no exact parallel to *við lǫst lagit* here. I take *við lǫst* as adverbial in effect: "imposed improperly; undeservedly"; compare *Hávms* 68 *án við lǫst at vera* 'without living with a flaw'. *Lagit* is used of fate in *Skí* 13 *mér var aldr um skapaðr ok alt líf um lagið* 'my life was determined and all my existence ordained'.

In a self-deprecating way Svipdagr wryly hints at the blind caprice of destiny. None can fight destiny's harsh decrees; how much more pleasant then when fate bestows an unexpected triumph.

48/1. **vel þú nú kominn:** The ellipsis of the verb is common in expressions of greeting: e.g. *Hávms* 2 *gefendr heilir*, and *Hervarar saga* ch. 11 *vel þú kominn, Hlǫðr bróðir*. See further SGK 81.

48/2. **beðit:** The poet of *Sv* alternates between the older construction of the agreement of the past participle (with *hafa*) in number and case with its transitive object and the modern construction of the neuter past participle with *hafa*. The past participle with *hafa* agrees in number and case with its transitive object three times (*gørvan*, *studdan* and *hafðar Fj*

12/2, 12/4, 50/1) while the neuter past participle with *hafa*, as in Modern Icelandic, occurs certainly twice (*lifat* and *beðit* Fj 3/5 48/2). *Verit* 36/2 and *vætt* 49/5 are ambiguous. Exactly the same variation of construction occurs within the *ljóðaháttir* verses of *Fáfn* (between *nú hefir þú sigr vegit* 23 and *bróður minn hefir þú benjaðan* 25) and elsewhere in the poetry (e.g. *Hhund* I 1/5-7 beside 35/5-6 etc, *HHj* 15/4-5 beside 29/2-3, 30/2-3. See Nygaard 1905, 76 § 75 n 1).

48/4. ***forkunnar***: Only here in the poetry, though common enough in the prose. *Forkunnar sýn* can not be taken as "the sight of one's beloved", as SGK 424 and LP 147 suggest. Among the examples in Fritzner and ONP there is no instance where *forkunnar* stands for what is desired. Most frequently, *forkunnar* acts as an intensive, before an adverb or an adjective: *forkunnar fagr, illr*. Thus, with ellipsis of the adjective, *forkunnar orð* 'eloquent speech' (not 'the speech of one's beloved') in a homily, *Hom.* (Stockholm Perg. 15 4to) 4/17, and *forkunnar efni í verð* 'excellent valuable material' *Hungrvaka* ch. 1. Hence, "surpassingly beautiful sight" here.

This reading keys with the poet's sophisticated lyricism. To Menglǫð, Svipdagr is rendered beautiful by the long anxiety of her wait for him. Note too that these lines, so explained, echo Svipdagr's statement in 5/1-3: all yearn for their eyes' delight.

48/5. ***flestan***: "Most people"; hence "everyone". For the litotes, cf. 20/5, 5/2. The idiom of the singular with the superlative is well-instanced: so *flestan dag* 'most days' *Grí* 15, *fæstr gramr* 'very few warriors', *Skj.* A I 461 (= *Bergbúaþáttir*). See also SGK 193.

49/2. ***Lyfjabergi***: Thus NF 351 and all later editors for **St Ra** *Liufu*-.

49/3. **dægr ok daga:** The same phrase in *Merlínusspá* 67, *Skj. B II* 24. Both here and in *Merlínusspá* *dægr* may denote "night" (*LP* 95); hence, "night and day; ever".

49/6. The wording of this line is strongly reminiscent of *Hym* 11: *nú er sonr kominn til sala þinna*. For the excision of the MSS *aptr* from this line see the note on 5/2 *eptir* and pp. 231-2, 290.

møgr: On this as an echo of the *Sigurðr* poems, see p. 312; on the changing sense of *møgr* through *Sv* see p. 424.

50/1. **þráar hafðar:** In *Ungen Svendal* both the hero and the heroine are said to lie in *thraa* 'passion's pangs' for love of each other (*DgF II* 239-41, verses 4, 22, 31; also pp. 289-90 below). See on 48/2 for the agreement of the past participle *hafðar* with its direct object *þráar*.

50/2. **er:** For this superfluous particle compare *Grí* 50 *Sviðurr ok Sviðrir er ek hét* 'Sviðurr and Sviðrir I am called', *HHj* 16 *níu røstum er þú skyldir neðarr vera* 'nine leagues down you should be'. In these, as in several other instances cited by *LP* 113 sv. *es* § 9 and *SGW* 220-1, the *er* appears to be used emphatically: a phrase or clause takes up the first half-line, the superfluous *er* begins the second half-line. The construction does not appear to have been satisfactorily explained (cf. Nygaard 1896, and the comments in *LP* and *SGW*).

50/3. **munar:** In *Gróg* 4/3 *Svipdagr*'s mother speaks of *manna munir* while here *Mengloð* speaks of her own *munr*. In this resolution of love, even the vocabulary of affection is shared between the sexes; see p. 409 below.

50/5-6 **slíta skulum ... aldri saman:** The phrase *slíta aldri* occurs twice elsewhere in ON: in *Hallfreðr* lv. 28, *valdi goð hvar aldri ... (ek) skal slíta* (*Skj. B I* 163); and in *Helr* 14, *við skulum okkrom aldri slíta ... saman*. The sense "finish one's life" (*LP* 520 § 7; Edzardi 1878, 26-7;

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Müllenhoff 1891, 90) is inadequate in these three places. Menglǫð here is looking to enjoy a long life with Svipdagr, not a sudden death; Hallfreðr is contemplating where God shall determine that he live after death; Brynhildr intends to have the life with Sigurðr after death that she was denied before it. In all three *slíta aldri* may be interpreted as follows:

1. Taking *aldri* not as "life" but as "an age; eternity". This sense is best known from the phrase *um aldr* 'ever; forever', but appears too in substantive use: so *yður nafn ... megi aldr boða* 'eternity may proclaim your names' *Jóns saga postola* IV ch. 29; further instances in Fritzner I 30 § 4.
2. Taking *slíta* as a development of the sense "wear out by use", known from such idioms as *slíta skyrtunum*, *slitnir skór*, Fritzner III 432 § 4. Several expressions associate the passage of life with the image of wearing out clothes: thus Ingjaldr's words in *Gísla saga* ch. 26 *ek hefi vánd klæði ok hryggir mik ekki þó at ek slíta þeim eigi gørr* 'I have poor clothes and it doesn't bother me if I don't wear them out completely' (i.e.: I do not care if I die); also the modern *hafa slitit barnskóm* 'worn out one's child-shoes; be past one's youth' (CV s.v. *skór*; Blöndal 63. Cf. *hann slítur ekki mörpum skónum*, Arnason 1862, I 132; *hann mun eigi mörpum skyrtunum slíta, þátr af þorsteini stangarhogg* ch. 5, both expressions meaning "he will not live long".)

Hence the sense "use fully" might develop to "live out completely".

Taken together thus, *slíta aldri* means "live out eternity to the full". This sense is more appropriate to all three instances than the colourless "live one's life" suggested by SGK II 286 (also Hollander 1950, 166-71

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and *LP* 520 § 6 "leve sammen"), a sense which does not clearly relate to the other uses of *slíta*.

The echo of the Sigurðr story here — cf. *møgr* above — is probably deliberate. Just as Brynhildr looks forward to an eternity of bliss with her lover, so too does Menglǫð.

50/6. *ævi ok aldri*: The same phrase in *Lilja* 1, *Skj.* B II 390, *lof sé þér um aldr ok æfi* 'praise to you for ever and ever' and in *Máriugrátr* 45, *Skj.* B II 517, *lofaðr sitr um aldr ok æfi* 'he sits praised for ever and ever'. These instances and the occurrence of this formula twice in an ecclesiastical letter dated to 1293, *DN* III 39/15 and 40/38, suggest a Christian background to the phrase. Compare the use of *at eilífu*, *Fj* 14/4.

I.5 A Reconstruction of the History of the MS Tradition of Sv

Although the text given in I.3, pp. 61-85 above, is based on the two MSS **St** and **Ra**, another forty four MSS known to this editor preserve all or part of **Sv**. This chapter explores the relations between forty five of these forty six MSS and attempts a reconstruction of the history of the MS tradition.¹

The reconstruction in this chapter is based on techniques which are somewhat novel and therefore unproven. However, the choice in I.2, pp. 16-60 above, of **St** and **Ra** from all these MSS was based on the traditional and well-known method of analysis by common error.² It is for this reason that this chapter has been separated from the earlier justification in I.2 of the choice of **St** and **Ra**. Should the reconstruction attempted in this chapter prove unsatisfactory this need not vitiate the conclusions reached in I.2 concerning the value of **St** and **Ra**.

1. The Method used in this Reconstruction

1.1 The limits of analysis by common error

The analysis by common error carried out in I.2 showed that **St** and **Ra** are independently descended from a common exemplar (pp. 41-5), and

¹ The exception is **497**. On this manuscript, and the reasons for not collating it, see pp. 455-6.

² The method of analysis by common error (the "Lachmann method") is succinctly stated in P. Maas *Textual Criticism*, translated by B. Flower, Oxford 1958. This method, and the whole question of textual criticism, has become controversial in recent years: cf. Kane's discussion in *Piers Plowman: The A Version* (1960) pp. 53-114 and the bibliography entries for M.L. West, A. Pasquali, E. Vinaver and J. McGann.

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showed that all the MSS of *Sv* are descended from the same common exemplar as that of *St* and *Ra*. But analysis by common error does not appear capable of showing how all the MSS of this tradition are related, one to another.¹

Of the forty five MSS of *Sv* here analysed only nineteen are sufficiently closely linked by consistent common error as to be capable of placement in a stemma by the method of Maas. These are:

1. Descended from *St*: the six MSS **Gu He 34 11 682 1870**. External evidence confirms this;
2. Descended from *Ra* (or from the lost exemplar of *Ra*, see pp. 195-7): **O**, a copy of **O** in **1872**, and the nine B MSS **Ha 215 1689 5 329 636 818 934 643**.

For each of these two groups, the MSS within it share errors against the other group:

1. *St* and the six MSS **Gu He 34 11 682 1870** descended from *St* agree in error against *Ra O 1872* and the nine B MSS in the following eleven readings from the list given on pp. 42-3:

Gróg 3/1 leiks-; *Gróg 9/3 gaglvegi*; *Gróg 10/4 Leifnis, eldu*; *Fj 16/4 sefr* omitted; *Fj 16/6 kemt*; *Fj 24/6 mautu*; *Fj 31/5 stunginn*; *Fj 34/4 Uri*; *Fj 36/1 ber*²; *Fj 40/6 ór* omitted.

2. The three MSS **Ra O 1872** and the nine B MSS agree in error against *St* and the six MSS descended from it in the following ten readings from the list given on pp. 43-4:

¹ The failure of analysis by common error to explain the relationships of a larger number of MSS is illustrated most fully in Kane 1960 pp. 53-114.

² **11** reads *sér*, derived from its exemplar *Gu's ber*.

Gróg 7/5 á added before *llum megum*; *Gróg* 11/4 *gogn*
Ra O 1872, *gegn* (successive error) B MSS; *Gróg* 14/5
so Ra O 1872, *svo* or *svá* (successive error) B MSS; *Fj*
 2/5 *arnastu*; *Fj* 16/3 *meðan*; *Fj* 16/6 *komt*, *Fj* 20/6 *flær*;
Fj 23/5 á; *Fj* 29/6 *fylva*; *Fj* 46/6 *þess*.

It is equally important, if the common error method is to be valid, that there should be no or very few errors shared by MSS which cannot be descended one from another or from a common exemplar which contained those errors. MSS descended from **St** should share no or very few errors with **Ra**, or with MSS descended from **Ra**, against **St**.

Thus, there should be no or very few errors shared by any of the six MSS **Gu He 34 11 682 1870** descended from **St** with **Ra** against **St**. Indeed, there is just one such error. At *Fj* 22/5 five of these six MSS, **Gu He 34 11 682**, agree with **Ra** in reading *þess*, against **St** which has the distinct error *þoss*.¹

Similarly, MSS descended from **Ra** should share no or very few errors with **St**, or with MSS descended from **St**, against **Ra**. Indeed, there are just two such errors. At *Gróg* 14/5 the nine B MSS have *minnis*, agreeing with **St** against **Ra** *mimis*. At *Fj* 18/1 eight of the nine B MSS have *Vegn-*, agreeing with **St** against **Ra** *Veng-*.

One can reasonably discard these three readings as anomalous, the product of random scribal activity. These discarded, the common error method yields a sound stemma for these nineteen MSS.

Even here, one can see two problems with the common error method. The first problem is that of anomalous shared errors such as the three errors given in the paragraphs above, shared errors which cannot be fitted into the pattern established by other errors. These three can be explained

¹ **1870**, the sixth MS, reads *þoss* as does **St**.

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away, but if there were many more such anomalies it would become increasingly difficult to establish which shared errors resulted from direct copying (like the two lists given on pp. 148-9), which from random scribal activity (like the three above).

The larger the number of MSS, the more such anomalies one might expect: the addition of the nine B MSS to the discussion increases the anomalous readings from one to three. The problem of anomalous error magnifies if one has to reckon with contamination. Not only might separate scribes quite independently happen upon the same error (as seems to have happened in these three cases) but scribes may deliberately import readings from outside their exemplar into a copy. Even a few such imports could seriously obscure the genetic relations of a MS. Scribal eagerness to "improve" the text means one might have to reckon with many such imports.

The second problem is this: as the number of MSS in a group becomes larger, the number of errors shared by all the MSS in that group will become smaller. This can be seen among the six MSS **Gu He 34 11 682 1870** known to be descended from **St**:

1. Pp. 42-3 lists twenty four errors found in **St** but not in **Ra**;
2. Of these twenty four, only sixteen are shared by **St** and its two known direct copies **Gu** and **34** (*Gróg 13/6 kristni, Fj 18/2 viðum, Fj 18/6 laufa, Fj 21/4 mœði, Fj 34/5 at*, plus the eleven errors given on p. 148 above) against **Ra**.
3. Of these sixteen, only eleven are shared by **St Gu 34** and the four other MSS **He 11 682 1870** known to be descended from **St**: these are the eleven given on p. 148 above.

The problem is exacerbated because the method concerns itself only with common errors. The evidence of other readings which might indicate

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genetic descent — particular spellings, or readings determined by the editor as "correct", see p. 154-5 — is excluded. The pool of significant readings with which one begins analysis may therefore be smaller than it could be, and it shrinks yet further as analysis continues.

Therefore, as the numbers of MSS in a group grows the number of common errors shared by those MSS decreases, while the number of anomalous errors shared between those MSS and genetically unrelated MSS rises. The point will be reached at which it becomes impossible to determine which common error is evidence of genetic relationship, which is anomalous.

In the Sv tradition, this point is reached when one tries to extend the stemma beyond the nineteen MSS discussed above. For example, the influential MS written by Eggert Ólafsson, E:

1. E agrees four times in error with St against Ra: *Gróg* 3/1 *Leiks-* against Ra *leik*; *Gróg* 10/4 *Leifnis* against Ra *leifins*; *Fj* 16/4 *sefr* omitted against Ra, which includes it; *Fj* 34/4 *Uri* against Ra *ori*;
2. E agrees in error eight times with Ra against St: *Gróg* 7/5 *á* added, against St which omits it; *Gróg* 10/4 *elda* against St *eldu*; *Gróg* 14/5 *mimis* against St *minnis*; *Fj* 16/3 *meðan* against St *síðan*; *Fj* 16/6 *komt* against St *kemt*; *Fj* 22/5 *þess* against St *þoss*; *Fj* 24/6 *mantu* against St *mautu*; *Fj* 50/3 *nú* against St *þú*.

Analysis by common error is powerless to explain how the one MS E could have these significant agreements in error both with St against Ra and with Ra against St. E cannot be descended from both St and Ra. Then how can it share — as it does — significant agreements in error with both? Neither the agreements with St nor those with Ra can be easily explained away as anomalous, as could those discussed above, p. 149.

Similar baffling blends of agreements in error with both **St** against **Ra** and with **Ra** against **St** occur in the twenty six MSS apart from the nineteen discussed pp. 148-9 above. Matters become even more complicated when one attempts to relate MSS not just to the errors of **St** and **Ra** but also to the errors which mark out the nine B MSS. In the single MS 2797 (see p. 219) one finds agreements in error with **St** against the B text, agreements in error with the B text against **St**, agreements in error with both **Ra** and the B text against **St**, agreements in error with both **Ra** and **St** against the B text, and so on.

Central to these difficulties is the widespread evidence of contamination in these twenty six MSS. Many scribes state that their MS conflates readings from more than one MS; there are many marginal readings, some of them referring explicitly to other MSS. It appears that this is the explanation of the mixture of errors found in **E**. It has one of these groups of errors by descent from one of **St** and **Ra**, the other group by contamination from a MS descended from the other one of **St** and **Ra**. But which by descent, which by contamination?¹

The common error method is therefore unable to place the other twenty six MSS in a stemma headed by **St** and **Ra**. The attempt to reconstruct the history of the MS tradition using the common error method fails.

¹ Indeed, one might conclude that the greater number of agreements of **E** with **Ra** against **St** indicated that **E** was descended from **Ra**, with the agreements of **E** with **St** against **Ra** resulting from contamination. It is suggested on pp. 182-3 that this is the exact reverse of the truth: **E** is actually descended from **St**, and contaminated by readings from a MS descended from **Ra**.

1.2 The Method used in this Reconstruction: the Theory

The basic principle of analysis by common error — that MSS may be grouped by readings they share, and distinguished by readings they do not share — appears sound. However, the common error method as formulated by Maas is restrictive, for it considers only errors as potential evidence. It is rigid, for it requires every common error distinctive of a particular group to be present in every MS of that group. It is fragile, for it fails to cope with more than slight anomalies. It is incomplete, for it offers no strategy to deal with contamination.

The method used in this chapter attempts to meet these deficiencies. In two important respects, the method here used agrees with that of Manly and Rickert in their account of the MSS of the *Canterbury Tales*:

1. All readings are regarded as potential evidence of MS relations, not just erroneous readings;
2. MS groups are distinguished not by exactly the same sigils appearing together always, with no MSS joining or leaving the group, but by the same sigils appearing together "persistently and consistently". Other MSS may join the group, or MSS may leave it, though "assignable reason" is required if this happens "often".¹

¹ "The test of a genetic group, as distinguished from a mere accidental grouping, is that the same sigils should appear together persistently and consistently — that is no sigil usually present should be often absent without an assignable reason and no extra sigil should often appear without assignable reason" (Manly 1940, II 20).

Manly and Rickert's method has been vigorously attacked by Kane in *Editing Chaucer* (Kane 1982). Kane's strictures centre on what he sees as Manly and Rickert's failure to use the common error method rather than on the failure of the method they actually did use. That later editors have not questioned Manly and Rickert's classification of the *Canterbury Tales* MSS into "constant groups" (it is accepted, for example, by all the editors

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a. All readings are potential evidence of MS relations

The insistence of the common error method that only errors may indicate genetic relationship derives from the premise that all correct readings are likely to have stood in the author's original. A correct reading, so the argument goes, might have descended to distinct MSS from the author's original, and therefore is only evidence that these MSS are based ultimately on the one original. As this is not in doubt, correct readings tell us nothing.

This argument confuses the archetype — the exclusive common ancestor of all the extant MSS — with the author's original. Even granted that there were no errors in the author's original, there were very likely errors in the archetype. Indeed, pp. 16-8 suggests that the archetype of Sv (removed by two or more stages of copying from any authorial original, see pp. 33-41) contained at least thirty seven errors.

Once one admits that the archetype might have contained errors the argument, that only errors are significant, leads to absurdity. Not only must correct readings be rejected as evidence because they might have stood in the archetype: incorrect readings must also be rejected as evidence because they too might have stood in the archetype.

The correct principle is that archetypal readings — whether they are correct or incorrect — can tell us nothing of relations among the MSS descended from the archetype. The thirty seven archetypal errors listed on pp. 16-8, useful as they are for establishing that all the MSS descend from a single corrupt archetype, have no power to separate the MSS within the tradition since all MSS have them. Similarly, archetypal correct readings will have no power to separate the MSS within the tradition.

of the *Variorum Chaucer*) suggests there is at least some merit in their method.

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The converse is also true. Readings which are not archetypal — whether they are correct or incorrect — may have power to separate the MSS within the tradition. In the nature of things, most correct readings will indeed be archetypal. But there will be cases where the archetype is in error, and a later copyist (or copyists) introduces a "correct" reading by successful emendation. Later MSS may copy this correct reading, and the presence of this reading in those later MSS will be evidence of their descent from their exemplar.

Exactly this appears to have happened with *sú* at *Fj* 9/4. Both **St** and **Ra** omit *sú*, so the archetype will also have omitted it. However, Guðmundur Ólafsson, in his copy of **St** in **Gu**, inserts the correct *sú*, absent from his exemplar. The known copies of **Gu** in **He 682 11** all follow **Gu** and read *sú*. The presence of *sú* in the three MSS **He 682 11** descended from **Gu** is good evidence of that descent.

The two other MSS **34** and its copy **1870** known to be separately descended from **St** both agree with **St** in the archetypal error of the omission of *sú*. Here, it is the error (the omission of *sú*) which cannot be used as evidence of MS relationship, as it is the error which is archetypal. It is the correct reading *sú* which is evidence of relationship, for it was introduced into a particular MS at a defined point in the tradition and its presence in MSS copied from that MS is evidence of genetic relationship.

If one cannot simply define all correct readings as archetypal and valueless for determining relationships, and all errors as non-archetypal and possibly valuable, how then do we discriminate which readings are potentially significant, which are not? The discussion of *sú* above gives the clue: the presence of this error in the two MSS **St Ra** separately descended from the archetype suggests that the archetype too omitted *sú*. It is the distribution of this reading *sú* — and in particular, the agreement of its distribution in the MSS with that of other readings also apparently

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introduced into the tradition by Guðmundur Ólafsson (see next section) — which makes it of value.

This leads to the first general principle underlying the reconstruction attempted in this chapter:

The only test of the value of any reading for determining MS relations is the actual distribution of that reading in the MSS.

It is not the reading itself — whether correct or incorrect, whether this type of error or that — but just what MSS it appears in, what MSS it does not.¹ A reading has no evidential value if it appears in all the MSS, for then it must be archetypal and tells us nothing of relations within the MSS. It has no evidential value if it appears in only one MS, for then it tells us nothing of the relation of that MSS to others. It has no evidential value if it occurs scattered at random across the MSS, for then it might only be the result of coincidence — or it might be archetypal, descended variously into otherwise unrelated groups. It is the pattern of distributions, and especially the tendency of particular patterns of distribution to recur "persistently and consistently" (Manly and Rickert), which matters.

All readings are potentially significant. That includes spelling variants, which (it appears) are disregarded by the common error method.² While the great majority of spelling variants will occur at random across the tradition, it is likely that certain spellings will be copied from MS to MS. Spellings so copied will then be evidence of the genetic relation of those MSS.

¹ Cf. Kane 1960, 59-61 for a forceful dismissal of the argument that certain types of errors (especially omissions) are not liable to convergent variation and so are specially trustworthy as indicators of genetic descent.

² Maas, for instance, has nothing to say about spelling variants. Kane 1960, 68 observes that while spelling or formal variants might have been

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A remarkable instance of a spelling copied from MS to MS is the spelling *sea* in *Fj* 5, for the verb more usually spelt *sia* (thus *Fj* 9, 11 and 43 in most MSS; 118 spellings with *i* against 27 with *e* in the 45 MSS analysed). The spelling *sea* appears in **St**; in **Gu**, Guðmundur Ólafsson's copy of **St**; in **He**, Helgi Ólafsson's copy of **Gu**; in two further MSS **E** and **L** also ultimately descended (either via **He** or another now lost MS written by Helgi, see p. 179) from **Gu**; and finally in the copy of **L** made by Jón Eiríksson in 47. Hence this form, unusual in C17 and C18 MSS, actually survived through at least five copyings.¹

b. MS groups are distinguished by significant numbers of agreements

All readings, then, are of potential value in determining MS relations. But not all readings are in fact of equal value: some will be archetypal; some will have spread by contamination; some (and especially spelling variants) will appear in MSS quite unrelated and evidence nothing but common scribal habits. How do we determine just which readings actually are of evidential value?

Of itself, the distribution in the MSS of any one reading proves nothing. Any one reading could have arrived in any MS by any of the routes discussed in the last paragraph: that we find *sú* in *Fj* 9 in **Gu He** 682 but not in **St Ra** cannot, in isolation, be evidence of anything. What makes this reading of value is that it is one of a group of fifty three readings (see pp. 180-1), all of which have much the same pattern of distribution in the MSS. That is: none of them occur in **St**; all occur in at least one of **Gu He** 682 and many in all three; very few occur in **Ra** and

"traditional" — copied from one MS to another — he normalised all such variants out before collation.

¹ It is possible that this spelling stood in the medieval original. Hægstad 1899, 33 notes that the spelling *séa* is frequent in Diplomatic texts, citing an instance from 1265 (other examples Hægstad 1942, 6).

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the B MSS; the same sigils (especially **L E 6 4877**) appear over and over among the MSS which have these readings.

Nor can these fifty three readings be archetypal. Firstly, none of them appear in **St**, the known exemplar of **Gu**. Secondly — setting aside the external evidence — the great majority are errors, some forty five out of fifty three. A few such errors might indeed be archetypal, and have descended to these MSS alone where others have substituted the correct reading. But this cannot be true of all these errors. It is far more likely that the archetype had the correct reading in all these cases, whence the correct reading has descended everywhere else. These forty five errors were not in the archetype but were introduced at a distinct point into the tradition by a particular scribe or scribes (in this case, the scribes of **Gu He 682**, the two brothers Guðmundur and Helgi Ólafsson, see p. 168), together with another eight readings (the "correct" reading *sú Fj 9* and seven distinctive spelling variants) also introduced along with those errors.

MSS descended from **Gu He 682** will then show their descent by containing a significant number of these fifty three readings; see the next section for a definition of a "significant number". Similarly, MSS not descended from **Gu He 682** will contain significantly fewer of these fifty three readings. This leads to the second general principle underlying this reconstruction:

A distinct group of MSS will be characterised by a set of readings unlikely to be archetypal and found together in significant numbers only in the MSS of that group.

One need not expect that every MS of the group will have all these readings; it may be that not even one MS has all these. It would be completely unnatural — given the prevalence of contamination and convergent variation — not to find any of these readings in MSS outside

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the group. It is sufficient that MSS of a group will all declare themselves by containing significant numbers of a set of readings characteristically found together only in the MSS of that group. Conversely, the MSS which do not belong to that group will declare themselves also: they will not have a significant number of the variants characteristic of that group. Thus, there is a group of sixteen MSS — what I call the Stockholm group — defined by possession of a significant number of the fifty three readings including *sú* (see pp. 179-88).

A material advantage of this approach is that, for any group of MSS, there will be more such characteristic readings than there are errors shared by each and every MS in that group. Firstly, correct readings and spelling errors are admitted as possible evidence. Secondly, one does not require that every one of the readings characteristic of a particular group appear in every MS of that group, only that a significant number appears in each of the MSS of that group.

Thus, the common error method is able to produce only eleven errors shared by **St** and the six MSS **Gu He 34 11 682 1870** known to be descended from **St** against **Ra**; the method here used produces twenty eight characteristic readings. The larger numbers are important in that they permit more certain assessment of what is a significant number: one may more confidently assign **1870** to this group because it has twenty one of these twenty eight characteristic readings than if it had (say) six of ten. The groups of characteristic readings might indeed be quite large: there are 248 readings characteristically found together in significant numbers only in the nine B MSS.¹

¹ By comparison, there are only seventeen errors found in every one of the nine B MSS and only in those nine MSS.

c. What is a significant number? contamination and coincident variation

This method provides a means of establishing which readings may be useful evidence for determining MS relations. But how do we determine just what the readings are evidence of?

In order to use these groups of characteristic readings to classify the MSS one must determine just what is a significant number. How many of a set of readings characteristic of a group of MSS might appear in any one MS by coincident variation, signifying nothing more than chance? How many of these characteristic readings might we find in a MS not a member of this group, but contaminated by it? How many of a set of characteristic readings do we need to find in a MS to affirm that the MS is indeed a member of that group?

It appeared to me that one should be able to predict from the MSS known be related just what the likely level of coincident variation in any given MS might be. External evidence suggests that eleven of the forty five MSS are copies of other MSS (see pp. 168-9). These eleven were reduced to nine by eliminating **34** and **Gu**, both of which had themselves been copied.

One can calculate exactly how many readings in each of these nine MSS are the result of coincident variation. Thus: **11** is a copy of **Gu**, but differs from it in 93 readings, or around 6% of the 1631 readings in **Gu**. Now, **11** has only 23 readings which are unique to it. Where are the other 70 readings? The scribe has hit, by simple chance, on readings not found in the known exemplar but found in other MSS. The 70 readings — about 5% of the total in **11** — are all instances of coincident variation. Indeed **11** shared these 70 readings with unrelated MSS, the MSS varying in random fashion from reading to reading, exactly as one would expect of coincident variation.

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The other eight MSS so analysed also showed evidence of coincident variation of between 3% and 7%. In any one MS, one might therefore expect that up to 7% of the readings might be the result of coincident variation.¹ Applying this to the sets of characteristic variants: up to 7% of any set might appear by simple accident in any one text. Up to 20 of the 248 B variants might appear in a MS by chance and signify nothing. For example: *sú* in *Fj* 9 actually appears in O and the B MSS; in many of the B MSS this is the only one of these fifty three readings present. This reading (obvious correction as it is, cf. p. 98 above) has then arisen independently in the B MSS, by coincident variation.

If more than 7% of any set of readings characteristic of a MS group appear in a MS, something more than chance is at work. Either a scribe has deliberately imported these readings into the text — contamination — or the MS is actually a member of that group, descended by direct copying from the same exemplar as all the MSS of that group.

One would expect a MS which belongs to a particular group to have more of the readings characteristic of that group than a MS which is contaminated by that group. Examination of the six MSS **Gu He 34 11 682 1870** known to be descended from **St** shows that they each have between 16 and 25 of the 28 readings characteristic of this group. This suggests that if over half the readings characteristic of a group appear in a MS, then it will be a member of that group. A MS contaminated by an

¹ I have derived these figures from study of copying over a single generation. One might expect a higher percentage of coincident variation over two or more generations: thus, in *c* where *c* is copied from *b* and *b* from *a*, but we have lost *b*. I checked this in the few cases where the *Sv* MSS preserve three consecutive generations of copying. It was indeed higher, but not markedly so as such variation appeared specially likely to cancel itself out.

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alien group will have fewer readings characteristic of that group: up to, let us say, a third of the readings of that group.

This leads to the third general principle underlying this reconstruction. Classification of the MSS into groups may be guided by the relative percentages of characteristic readings found in each MS:

1. *If less than 7% of the readings characteristic of a given group appear in a MS, then this is likely to be the result of coincident variation and of no significance;*
2. *If more than 7% but less than a third of the readings characteristic of a given group appear in a MS, then that MS is likely to have been contaminated by readings from that group;*
3. *If over half the readings characteristic of a given group appear in a MS, then that MS is likely to belong to that group.*

The imprecision of these numbers reflects that this method is a set of working hypotheses, not of ironclad rules. For every individual MS, and for all the MSS taken together, the classification this method offers must be tested by every available means: see pp. 168-73.

1.3 The method used in this reconstruction: the practice

a. Collation of every reading in every MS

From the first general principle of this method — that all readings are potential evidence of MS relations — it follows that every reading in every MS must be collated. Because of the bulk of material and the requirement for accuracy, this collation was done by computer.

Forty five of the forty six MSS were therefore transcribed into a computer.¹ Because of the potential importance of spelling variants, the transcription did not normalise the texts but attempted to preserve as much

¹ All excepting 497: see pp. 455-6.

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orthographic information (unusual letter forms, use of diacritics and differing abbreviations) as possible. Compare the transcription of *Gróg* 6 in *St* with the reproduction of the same passage in the frontispiece:

pañ gel ek þer þyzftañ, þañ kveþa
þiolnyftan, þ/a7ñ gol Rindūr Ráni, at þú oþ ogf
rkiótiz, þvi er þer Atlat þikir, fialþizl leiptú fial - +
þañ þik.

The transcriptions were then all collated by a set of computer programs written by the editor. These programs are described in two articles published elsewhere (Robinson 1989).

Although certain individual spelling variants might be important, it was clear that the great majority of spelling variants were not. For example, the distribution of the nine spellings of *er* (as verb, pronoun and conjunction) in the MSS reveals scribal preference only, and nothing of genetic relationship.¹ A degree of regularisation was necessary to prevent genuinely significant agreements and disagreements between the MSS being buried by trivial orthographic agreements and disagreements. The collation programs therefore included a system of regularisation by which particular words in the transcripts could be replaced before collation by a nominated regularised form. Thus *er* was substituted for all its different spellings.

This regularisation was readjusted over and over again, and the MSS recollated each time, as more was learnt of the MSS and their relations. For example: early runs of the collation regularised all the spellings of *it* at *Fj* 11/6 to *it*. But the spelling *it* is actually only found in **O**, in the nine B MSS descended from **O**, in the five Langebek MSS contaminated by the B MSS, in **He** and in five MSS **E L 6 4877 47** closely related to **He** (see

¹ Thus: 'er' 1,426 times, 'ez' 278x, 'ex' 137x, 'Er' 136x, and five other spellings occurring a total of eighteen times.

pp. 179-88), and in the margins of three MSS contaminated by **He**, or by MSS related to **He**. In other MSS it is spelt *ið*. The possible significance of these variant spellings was only realised quite late in the collation process, and the regularisation adjusted accordingly.

Finally, the collation programs collated all 56,261 words in the forty five MSS. Before the final collation, the 10,298 distinctly spelt words in the transcriptions were reduced to 1,679 by regularisation.

b. Building the sets of readings characteristic of the MS groups

From the second general principle of this method — a distinct group of MSS will be characterised by a set of readings found together in significant numbers only in the MSS of that group — it follows that the sets of readings characteristic of the MS groups must be identified.

To facilitate this, the output of the final collation was imported into a computer database. This permitted easy extraction of (for example) all the readings found in any three of a possible group of five MSS, but in no more than five MSS outside that group.¹ Some groups were clearly marked (the nine B MSS, the six MSS known to be descended from St) and recovery of the readings characteristic of these groups was straightforward. Other groups only emerged after a lengthy process of experiment.

There is an apparent danger of circular argument here. One might (it appears) conjure up a group that did not exist simply by manipulation of regularisation and judicious selection of the evidence. In practice, with the MSS of this tradition at least, the danger did not arise. Attempts to group MSS that were not in fact related (e.g. attempting to bring some of the B MSS and some of the MSS descended from St into a single group)

¹ The use of a database for this work is described more fully in the second of my articles, Robinson 1989.

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produced so few readings, and those so trifling, that the hypothetical group could not be sustained.

Further, one would be suspicious of a group of readings, purporting to characterise a MS group, if these readings were all "correct" readings or all spelling variants. A few such readings are to be expected, representing respectively successful scribal emendations and distinctive spellings copied from MS to MS. But if these were indeed the result of scribal intervention and introduced at a defined point into the tradition, one would expect them to be accompanied by many more demonstrable errors, introduced at that same point in the tradition. For example, of the 53 Stockholm group variants discussed above *sú Fj* 9 is the one correct reading (see pp. 155-6), there are some seven spelling variants (e.g. *Gaglvegi*, with initial capital, *Gróg* 9) and the remainder are errors. The other groups mix correct readings, spelling variants and errors in similar proportions.

From the 3679 distinct variants found in the MSS, this method extracted 549 as characteristic of MS groups. These 549 divide into seven sets of variants, each set being characteristic of a particular group of MSS, as follows:

B readings: 248 readings characteristic of the nine B MSS;

St readings: 28 readings characteristic of St and MSS known to be related to it;

Stockholm readings: 53 readings characteristic of MSS descended from St but not present in St itself;

Ra readings: 34 readings characteristic of Ra and closely related MSS;

Luxdorph readings: 60 readings characteristic of L ("Codex Luxdorphianus") and MSS known to be related to it;

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Langebek readings: 97 readings characteristic of five MSS grouped about **1869** ("Codex Langebekianus");

Egilsson readings: 29 readings characteristic of three MSS descended from a lost MS owned by Jón Egilsson of Laufás.

Another group of 248 readings, the A readings, was also identified, characteristic of what I call the A text. As these A readings all appear to be archetypal (appearing in both **St** and **Ra**) they are not used in analysis except to distinguish A text MSS from B text MSS; see pp. 176-8.

c. Classifying the MSS

Once these sets of readings had been identified, the database was used to count, for each MS, how many variants the MS contained characteristic of the various groups. For each MS, this gave what I called a "group profile": a snap-shot of the relations of that MS to the seven groups. Consider the group profile for **1109**:

	Totals	Text	Margin
Totals in MS		1041	87
B text	248	15	4
St	28	0	3
Stockholm	53	4	13
Ra	34	24	1
Luxdorph	60	2	15
Langebek	97	5	0
Egilsson	29	20	7

The top line of the table gives the total number of readings in the MS of potential significance (ie., not found in all the MSS) in the text and the number in the margin. The two left-hand columns list the seven groups of characteristic readings, and the total number of readings in each group. The two right-hand columns give the numbers of readings from each group which this MS has in the text or as marginalia.

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Applying the guidelines given on p. 162, one may interpret this table as follows:

1. **1109** is not a B MS (19 of 248 readings);
2. It is not descended from **St**, containing only 3 of the 28 St readings;
3. There is some evidence of contamination from the Stockholm group in the 13 of 53 Stockholm readings found in the marginalia;
4. It appears to be descended from **Ra**: hence the presence of 25 of the 34 Ra variants in it (thus also the other Egilsson MSS, see pp. 208-10);
5. There is evidence of contamination from the Luxdorph group in the marginalia, with 15 of the 97 Luxdorph readings appearing there;
6. The 5 Langebek variants are consistent with coincident variation;
7. It is a member of the Egilsson group of MSS (20 of 29 variants; a further 7 in the margin).

On this evidence, the method appears capable of making fine distinctions about MS affiliation. It can show what group a MS might belong to (here, the Egilsson group); what group it might be descended from (here, the Ra group and hence, perhaps, from **Ra** itself); what group its text has been contaminated by (here by the B text, rather lightly) and even what groups its marginalia have been contaminated by (here by the Luxdorph and Stockholm groups).

For individual MSS, then, the method seems to give a clear picture of how that MS relates to other MSS. Is that picture correct, for each MS? Is it correct, for all the MSS taken together?

d. Validation of the method: external evidence concerning individual MSS

So far as was possible, the classification suggested by the group profiles was checked against other evidence of the relationship of the MSS. All but four of the forty five MSS were examined for evidence of relationship to other MSS.¹ This was supplemented by collation in these MSS (and also in another seventeen MSS) of fifty one readings chosen from the poems of CR. Because of the lateness of the tradition, there is considerable documentary evidence about the MSS: in some cases, we know not only who wrote the MS, and where and when, but who wrote the exemplar, and where and when.

Most important here is the full evidence concerning the MSS written by the two brothers Guðmundur and Helgi Ólafsson in Stockholm between 1681 (when Guðmundur brought St to Stockholm) and 1686 (when Helgi left Sweden).² From this we know that:

1. **Gu** and **34** are copies of **St** by Guðmundur and Helgi respectively;
2. **682** and **He** are copies of **Gu** by Helgi;

Other external evidence showed that:

3. **11** is a copy of **Gu**;
4. **1870** is a copy of **34**;

¹ The MSS not so examined were **M 4 47 329**; see the Appendix.

² Guðmundur (1652-95) was employed as translator by the Antikvitätsarkivet 1682-95. Helgi (1646-1707) was employed as an assistant to his brother 1682-86 and was priest at Staður in Hrútafjörður 1689-1707 (Gödel 1897a, 177-90; Ævi II, 177-90, 342-3). BL Add. 11,245 fol. 245r-254r contains an account dated 1687 by Helgi of the MSS he copied for the Antikvitätsarkivet: this account dates his copies as being made between November 1682 and May 1686.

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5. 47 and the text of *Gróg* in **S** are copies of **L**;
6. 215 and 5 are copies of **Ha**;
7. 1872 is a copy of **O**.¹

One would expect the group profiles of a exemplar and its copy (or copies) to be very similar, and indeed in all but one of these cases they were.

The exception was 1872. The scribe declares on the frontispiece that this is a copy of "Cod.Chart./fol Obl"; this is **O**. As we expect, it therefore contains a similar mix of **Ra** and **B** readings to that found in **O**: 58 of the same 79 **B** readings that occur in **O** also occur in **B**. But the text also contains 13 Langebek group readings, and the margin has a further 16.

These could not have come from **O**; where did they come from? The clue comes from another note on the frontispiece: P.F. Suhm adds "og conferet cum / et mSs i 4to hos mig" (he [the scribe] collated a quarto MS in my possession). It appears that this is the Langebek group MS 1869, a quarto MS known to have been owned by Suhm. Further, all 29 of the Langebek readings which appear in 1872 also appear in 1869. It seems that the scribe of 1872, while using **O** as his base text, also had 1869 in front of him as he copied **O** and freely included readings from 1869 in the text as well as the margin.

A further link between 1872 and the Langebek MSS is the order of poems in the MS. 1872 has *Þry*, *Bdr*, *Fj*, *Hyndl*, *Gróg*, *Sól*, *Grott* and *Getspeki* in that order. These poems occur in exactly the same order in the

¹ Evidence for these eleven MSS as copies is given in the description of each MS in the Appendix. Bugge *NF* liii first recognized that 34 is a copy of **St**; Kålund 1900, 254 that 1872 is a copy of **O**; Gödel 1897, 318 that **Gu** is a copy of **St**; PEÓ that 215 is a copy of **Ha**; Halldórsson *Scotland* 51d that 5 is a copy of **Ha**. The other relationships are all original to this edition.

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Langebek MSS; the only MSS to have these poems in this order are the Langebek MSS and **1872**.

There are other instances where external evidence of contamination in individual MSS is confirmed by the group profiles of those MSS. A note inserted in **1109** states that the exemplar of this MS was collated with various other MSS. As we saw above, the group profile of **1109** indeed shows evidence of contamination in the text and marginalia from the B MSS and from the Luxdorph and Stockholm group MSS. Jón Eiríksson, in his preface to **47**, states that he used the chief Luxdorph MS **L** as his base text but also included variants from "Suec" (**1870**) and "Langebek" (**1869**): sure enough, the group profile for **47** showed that it contained 47 of the 60 Luxdorph variants, with variants from the Stockholm and Langebek groups (drawn from **1870** and **1869** respectively) sprinkled between text and margin.

In one instance, the conclusions drawn from the group profiles even anticipated external evidence. This is **He**. From the photographs, from PEÖ's dating '1660', and from its widespread use of abbreviation **He** looked at first as if it might be the oldest extant MS of Sv. Manual collation of a few readings suggested it might be closer to the lost archetype than either **St** or **Ra**. I was therefore surprised when the group profiles showed it was much closer to **Gu** and **682** — respectively Guðmundur Ólafsson's copy of **St**, and his brother Helgi's copy of **Gu** itself — than any other MS. But when I examined the MS itself the group profile proved exactly right. A note in the MS states that it was written by Helgi while he was in Stockholm and hence the text derives from **Gu**. Close comparison of the MS with other MSS written by Helgi confirms what was not apparent from the photographs, that Helgi was the scribe.

External evidence also supports the fundamental division of the MSS into two groups suggested by this method, one group centring on **St**, the

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other on **Ra**. This evidence is the order of the poems *Gróg Fj Hyndl Grott* in the MSS. The MSS shown by this method as closest to **St** have *Fj Hyndl Gróg Grott* (as in **St**), while MSS shown as closest to **Ra** have *Grott Gróg Fj Hyndl* (as in **Ra**).¹

There was not a single case where external evidence contradicted the conclusions drawn from the group profiles. So far as the reconstruction could be tested against external evidence (and there is considerable external evidence) the reconstruction seemed valid.

e. Validation of the method: congruency of the reconstruction

If the reconstruction is valid for all the MSS, it must be congruent. What it tells us about one MS, or group of MSS, must not conflict with what it tells us of another MS, or group of MSS. Thus:

1. Where individual MSS within a group show contamination from another group, the other MSS within the group should also show contamination from that group. Exactly this happens for all five MSS of the Langebek and all three MSS of the Egilsson group. For example, the other two MSS of the Egilsson group **1492** and **773** have very similar evidence of contamination from the B MSS, Stockholm and Luxdorph groups to that shown for **1109** above. Indeed, in most cases the three MSS share exactly the same readings imported from these three groups, identically distributed between text and margins.

¹ The division holds for the MSS closest to both **St** and **Ra** — respectively, the MSS copied from **St** in Sweden, and the Egilsson group — but not for those further from each, e.g. the Luxdorph and B text MSS. By the time of these later MSS, contamination and scribal innovation had disturbed the original order of each tradition: see p. 450 (the establishment of the **Ra** order as a standard).

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2. Where the MSS within a group show different levels of contamination, one should be able to explain this. The six later MSS of the Stockholm group **E 6 4877 3633 289 818b** (all written after 1750 in Iceland) show evidence of contamination from the Ra group; the six earlier members of this group **Gu 34 11 1870 He 682** (all written in Sweden, all except **1870** before spring 1686) show no evidence of contamination from the Ra group. The explanation is easy: the scribes of the six late MSS written in Iceland knew Ra group readings which the scribes of the MSS written in Sweden did not, and imported these readings.¹

3. The spread of the "oilslick" of contamination must be definable. That is, one should be able to distinguish clearly certain MSS, and certain groups of MSS, which are contaminated from those which are not. This holds for this reconstruction: the Stockholm and Luxdorph groups contaminate the Egilsson group MSS, but do not contaminate the B MSS. The B MSS contaminate the Langebek MSS, which in turn contaminate some ungrouped MSS, but do not contaminate the Egilsson group MSS. And so on.

4. No MS can be a member of two mutually exclusive groups. The fundamental division of the MSS into those aligned with **St** and those aligned with **Ra** holds true throughout the reconstruction. No MSS appears descended from both. Thus: the Stockholm and Luxdorph groups are descended from **St**, the B MSS and Egilsson group are descended from or closely related to

¹ The six MSS **E 6 4877 3633 289** divide into two groups: **6** and its probable descendants **3633 818b**, **E** and its descendants **4877** and **289**. Accordingly, the two groups, though agreeing in the fact of contamination, differ in the choice of readings they import.

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Ra. While there is evidence of considerable contamination, there is no case of joint descent.

5. It is to be expected that the proportion of **St** and **Ra** variants in MSS descended from **St** and **Ra** will diminish as copies become more distantly related to their ultimate exemplar. Exactly this happens:

- i. **O**, a copy of **Ra** or of its exemplar, has 26 of the 34 **Ra** variants; the copy of **O** preserved in **1872** has 22.
- ii. The immediate copy of **St** in **Gu** has 25 of the 28 **St** variants; the probable copy of **Gu** in **He** has 16 **St** variants; the three probable descendants of **He** in **L**, **E** and **6** have 14, 8 and 16 respectively.

So far as this editor could determine, the reconstruction offered by this method contains no internal contradictions.

f. What this method cannot do

It appears this method is a potent tool for separating the MSS into groups. It is also capable of showing something of the flow of readings from group to group, both by descent and by contamination.

What the method cannot do is provide fine detail. It can show that MSS are closely related, as it does for **St** and the six MSS **Gu He 34 11 682 1870**, and as it does for **Ra** and **O**, the **B** MSS and the Egilsson groups. But it cannot determine whether related MSS are indeed descended by direct copying one from another, or by copying from a single exemplar. For this, we need the traditional skills of an editor: close examination of the MSS for external evidence of relationship; close examination of individual readings for evidence of successive error or direct influence.

Thus external evidence shows what the method could not, that the six MSS **Gu He 34 11 682 1870** are indeed descended by direct copying

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from **St** (p. 168). Analysis of individual successive errors suggests that the B MSS are descended by direct copying from **O** (pp. 205-7). It is not possible to find similar evidence of the direct descent of **O** from **Ra** (though this remains possible) and these two MSS may therefore be descendants of a single exemplar (pp. 195-7).

However, the method can be of real service in pointing to possible relationships which traditional analysis can refine — and conversely can save much editorial time by showing that some relationships are not possible. I did not suspect any link between **1868**, the three Egilsson MSS and **Ra** until I saw that the group profiles of **1868** and the Egilsson MSS all showed strong evidence of descent from **Ra**. This prompted a much closer examination of the individual readings of these MSS, and finally the conclusion that **1868** and the Egilsson MSS were all descended by direct copying from **Ra** itself (see pp. 209-10).

g. Conclusion

The method used in this reconstruction appears to break Housman's dictum, that "manuscripts must be weighed, not counted".¹ However, the only true test of the method is this: is the reconstruction this method provides correct or not? There is no means of knowing, for certain, that it is correct. All that can be asserted is that the editor has applied every test he could imagine to the reconstruction, and it has passed every test.

¹ Preface to Juvenal (1905), reprinted in *Selected Prose*, ed. J. Carter, Cambridge 1961 p. 58.

2. The Reconstruction

Table One on the previous page presents a schematised view of the relationships between the MSS as reconstructed using the method outlined earlier in this chapter. This table is not a "stemma" in the conventional sense and it does not pretend to the rigour of a stemma. For example, the hypothetical **X4** is probably several MSS, not one; the relationship between **X5** and **He** is left open; it might be that **O** is descended directly from **Ra** rather than from the supposed **X3**. Rather, it is what M.L. West 1973 calls a "serviceable hypothesis", a convenient summary expressing broadly how the MSS appear to relate to one another.

2.1 A MSS

The MSS which contain what I call the A text constitute the largest group of MSS and include the two MSS **St** and **Ra** upon which this edition is based. Classification therefore begins with this group.

From even a cursory collation it was clear that nine MSS **Ha 215 1689 5 329 636 818 934 643** — which I call the B MSS — contained a rather different text to that found in all the other MSS, including **St** and **Ra**. Compare these readings of **St** and **Ra** with those of **Ha**, the most influential of the nine MSS which contain what I call the B text:

Gróg: Title. 'short form' **St Ra**; **Ha** inserts phrase *..áðr en þat Óðinn í helju hvarf ok hon var..* before *dauð*, 1. *dauðra* **St Ra**, *dætra* **Ha** 2. *nú ant* **St Ra**, *mant* **Ha**. 5. *afi* **St Ra**, *apni* **Ha**.

Fj: 1. *þjóðar*, *brautir* **St Ra**, *bjóðir*, *braut er* **Ha**; *áttatu* **St Ra**, *atta to* **Ha**. 3. *líðondum lœð* **St Ra**, *lifendum lífs* **Ha**. Verses 39 and 40 included **St Ra**, all omitted **Ha**.

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These readings found in both **St** and **Ra** are obviously superior to those from **Ha**:

1. Several of **Ha**'s readings are pure nonsense arising from misreading (*mant* < *nu ant*, *apni* < *aþui*¹, *þjóðir* ... *braut er* < *þjóðar* ... *brautir*, *atta to* < *áttatu*);
2. Others look like scribal speculation (the 'long title', *dætra*, *lifendum lífs*) or deliberate suppression (the omission of *Fj* 39 and 40).

Here and elsewhere the readings shared by **St** and **Ra** are more likely to have stood in the original than their inferior B counterparts. Therefore I called the readings shared by **St** and **Ra** and typically not found in the B MSS the A readings, and the MSS which typically contain them the A MSS. The database generated a list of 248 such readings: that is, readings found in both **St** and **Ra** but not in either **Ha** or **636**, another influential B MS.

The readings given above for **St** and **Ra** are among this 248, and representative of the whole in offering a text more likely to be original. Because these 248 A readings are all likely to have stood in the archetype (**X2**) the presence of between 160 and 248 of these readings in 34 of the 45 MSS analysed indicates only that those 34 MSS descend from the archetype (cf. p. 154).

However, the relative absence of these readings from the remaining 11 MSS is significant. It is to be expected that the nine B MSS will have very low numbers of A readings — what was not expected was that **O** and its copy **1872** should have less than 110 of the 248 A variants. This was the first indication of the possible relationship between **O** and the B text MSS, a relationship of the first importance to this reconstruction.

¹ For the spelling 'þu' for intervocalic f see pp. 41 fn.

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The first division in Table One, therefore, is between the A MSS (34 MSS extending from the left of the table) and the B MSS (nine MSS on the right), with **O** and its copy **1872** lying between. Analysis now turns to distinguishing the major divisions among the A MSS, and first to the MSS related to **St**.

2.2 The **St** readings and **St**

From external evidence, the editor knew at the beginning of analysis that the five MSS **Gu 11 1870 34 682** were all descended from **St**. Analysis by common error (see pp. 41-5) suggested too that **St** and these five MSS formed a line of descent from the common archetype independent of **Ra**.

According to the theory outlined earlier, there should be a set of readings all present in **St**, unlikely to be archetypal, commonly found together in these five MSS descended from **St**, and absent from **Ra**. There was indeed just such a set of readings, twenty eight in all, and the database was used to extract them. This list consists of the eleven errors shared by all these five MSS with **St** against **Ra** (see p. 148) plus the following (readings in brackets are those of **Ra**):

Nótt Gróg 13 (nótt); kristni Gróg 13 (kristin); atattu Fj 1 (attatu); hættann Fj 2 (hættan); hvenum Fj 6 margin (hverjum); laufi Fj 17 (hlaupi); viðum Fj 18 (liðum); laufa Fj 18 (hlaupa); barr Fj 19 (Barr); mœði Fj 21 (moði); aldin Fj 22 (aldni); þrungusk Fj 24 margin (þrungr); Segjarns Fj 26 (Sægjarns); Njarðlásar Fj 26 (njarðlásar); fœrir Fj 28 (færir); som- Fj 30 (soni-); Hoskir Fj 45 (Horskir).

These twenty eight readings are the **St** readings. By definition, a significant number of these twenty eight readings must be present in each of **Gu 11 1870 34 682**. Indeed there are: respectively 25, 16, 21, 18, 25. What was not expected was that several MSS which I had no reason, at

that point, to think related to **St** also had high levels of **St** readings: thus **He** and **6** with 16 readings, **L** with 14 and its known copy **47** with 12. Could these MSS be related to **St**? and how?

2.3 The Stockholm group

a. The significance of **He**

The discovery from external evidence (see pp. 168, 170) that **He** was actually descended from **St**, was written in Sweden and had been brought to Iceland by Helgi Ólafsson in 1687 was vital to the reconstruction, for two reasons:

1. It confirmed that this method might give valid results. The group profile of **He** suggested it was closely related to **St** and indeed it was.
2. It opened the possibility that MSS written in Iceland after 1687 might actually be descended from **St** via a copy or copies brought back to Iceland from Sweden in that year by Helgi Ólafsson. **He** is certainly one such copy. A scribal note in **He** refers to a second MS, apparently also written by Helgi 'þa hñ var / i stock holm' (see pp. 430-1) and also brought back to Iceland by him. This second MS is denoted as **X5** in Table One.

Comparison of the readings of **He** with those of **St** and those of Guðmundur's copy of **St** in **Gu** suggested that **He** was actually descended from **St** via **Gu**. A MS known to have been written by Helgi and copied from **Gu**, rather than direct from **St**, exists in **682**. Comparison of **He** with Helgi's **682** showed that many readings copied by Helgi out of **Gu** into **682** were also present in **He**. Thus, the three MSS **Gu He 682** share the following readings against **St**: *niflvefi Gróg* 13 (**St** *niflvegi*), *orðlaus Fj*

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3 (*St orðalaus*), *fæstann Fj 20* (*St færstan*), *surtr* (*St Surtar*) *Fj 24*, *sem* (*St Siñ*) *Fj 24*.

Hence, one finds in **He** — as in **682** — a mixture of readings derived ultimately from **St** via **Gu** with readings introduced into the tradition by the Ólafsson brothers.

b. The Stockholm readings

If later MSS were indeed descended from **St** via the copies made by Helgi and Guðmundur Ólafsson then one would expect to find in these MSS a mixture of readings derived ultimately from **St** with readings introduced into the tradition by the brothers, a mixture similar to that found in **He** and **682**. The readings likely to characterise MSS descended from **St** had already been defined in the **St** readings. It remained to define the readings introduced into the tradition by Helgi and Guðmundur.

The 121 readings present in **Gu**, **He** and **682** and not present in **St** or **Ra** were extracted from the database. Slightly over half these readings were discarded, as having no power to separate the MSS: that is, they did not occur outside the three MSS **Gu He 682**, or occurred so widely outside these three MSS as to be peculiarly subject to coincident variation.

This left a total of 53 readings, introduced into the tradition by the brothers and likely to characterise MSS descended from their copies. The following are typical (the MS in which the reading first appears is given; the reading of **St** appears within brackets):

From *Gróg*: *kumbl dysjar* **Gu** (*kumbl dysjar*) 1; *skaustu* **He** (*skauts þú*), *kiveðke* **He**, possible misreading in **Gu**, cf. p. 184 (*kveðki*) 3; *megin* marginal in **He** (*megum*) 7; *fara* **He** (*falla*) 8; *Gaglvegi* **Gu** (*gaglvegi*) 9, *leifnis* **Gu** (*Leifnis*) 10; *Niflvefi* **Gu** (*niflvegi*) 13.

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From *Fj*: *orðlaus Gu* (*orðalaus*) 3; *sá at He* (*sáat*), *mera He* (*meira*) 9; *keint* possible misreading in *He*, cf. pp. 8-9 (*kemt*) 16; *vildi He* (absent from *St*) 17, *tivær* possible misreading in *Gu*, cf. p. 184 (*tvær*) 18; *fæstan Gu* (*færstan*) 20; *surtr Gu* (*Surtar*) 24, *sem Gu* (*Sin*) 24; *erfmaga* possible reading in *He* (*ásmaga*) 33; *uri He* (*Uri*), *varðar 682* (*var þar*) 34; *fáir He* (*far*) 43.

The list also includes *sú Gu* in *Fj* 9, and *meyar He* in *Fj* 37. As both these are also B readings, their presence will only be significant when influence from the B text is unlikely.

These readings are called the Stockholm readings, from the place of writing of the MSS in which these readings first appear. The group of MSS characterised by containing significant numbers of both the Stockholm and the *St* readings together is the Stockholm group, appearing at the left of Table One.

The database was then used to count, for every MS, how many *St* and Stockholm readings each contained. The principal members of the group **Gu 682 He** had respectively 57, 56 and 51 of the 81 total variants in the two lists; 32, 31 and 35 of these, respectively, were Stockholm readings. That no more than 35 of the 53 Stockholm readings occurs in any one of these three MSS is a result of the group being made up of a mix of readings introduced by the two brothers across three MSS, rather than being readings found in a single MS (as are the *St* readings).

c. Stockholm group MSS: 6, 3633, 818b

The database showed that 37 of the 81 readings in the two groups appear together in 6, written by Jón Egilsson of Stóra-Vatnshorn between 1750 and 1755. Included among the 37 were the *St* readings *leiks- Gróg* 3, *eldu Gróg* 10, *sefr* omitted *Fj* 16, *hvenum Fj* 6, *stunginn Fj* 31, *ór* omitted *Fj* 40 and the Stockholm readings *fara Gróg* 7, *Niflvefi Gróg* 13, *orðlaus Fj*

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3, *sá at* and *mera Fj* 9, *tivær Fj* 18, *surtr Fj* 24, *uri Fj* 34. In addition, **6** and **He** are the only two MSS to read *atvarþar* in *Fj* 34, and **6**'s *Hlyfjaber* at *Fj* 36 may derive ultimately from **St**'s *Hlyfja ber*.

It appeared likely that **6** was actually descended ultimately from **St**. External evidence affirmed this possibility: **6** has exactly the same unusual order for the poems of **CR** as that of **St** and its copies (see p. 51). Further, Jón declares that his exemplar belonged to Magnús Jónsson of Vigur in Ísafjörður and was written in 1699: Helgi was then priest at Staður, accessible to Ísafjörður. Table One therefore places **6** in the Stockholm group, as descended from either **He** or **X5**. Two other MSS, **3633** and **818b**, appear to copy *Gróg* from **6** (*Fj* is missing from these two MSS): all three MSS have the extraordinary readings *Randi Gróg* 6, *om* added *Gróg* 7/6, *fria Gróg* 12/5, readings found only in these three MSS. These two MSS are therefore also Stockholm group MSS, descended ultimately from **St**.

d. Stockholm group MSS: **X6**, **E**, **L** and their descendants

The two influential MSS **E** and **L** contain respectively 27 and 37 of the 81 **St** and Stockholm readings. Among these are:

leiks- Gróg 3 **L**, *skaustu Gróg* 3 **E L**, *megin Gróg* 7 **L**, *fara Gróg* 8 **L**, *hvenum Fj* 6 **L**, *sá at* **E L**, *mera Fj* 9 **E L**, *sefr* omitted *Fj* 16 **E L**; *keint Fj* 16 **L**, *vildi Fj* 17 **E**, *tivær Fj* 18 **E**, *sem Fj* 24 **L**, *stunginn Fj* 31 **L**, *erfmaga Fj* 33 **L**, *varðar Fj* 34 **E**, *ber Fj* 36 **L**, *ór* omitted *Fj* 40 **L**, *fáir Fj* 43 **E L**.

Further, there is evidence that **E** and **L** shared a common exemplar which contained rather more **St** and Stockholm variants than survived in either MS. The common exemplar is suggested by twelve readings found only in both **E** and **L** and in MSS either descended from them (**4877** **289**

47 S 223; see below) or contaminated by them (the Egilsson MSS).¹

These readings are:

meir Fj 11 (St menn); reka Fj 13 (St rekar); fé Fj 15 (St sé);
*Muna Fj 20 (St Mima); gulli Fj 23 (St gull)*²; Svipdag's three
 line question formula is identically abbreviated to just *Seg mér* in
Fj 27, 29, 31, 37 and 39; Fjǫlsviðr is identically abbreviated to
Fjolsv in *Fj 27; Liðskjálfr Fj 34 (St liðski Alfur)*.

Some of these readings are so striking — e.g. the nonsensical *meir Fj 11* and *fé Fj 15* — that coincident variation is unlikely. Their presence in both E and L, beside their complete absence from MSS except those descended from E and L, suggests that they can only have come to E and L by their descent from a common now-lost exemplar. This exemplar is represented as X6 in Table One.

It appears that X6 had rather more St and Stockholm readings than survive in either E or L. Thus: E contains 10 St and Stockholm readings not present in L. Hence X6 would have contained at least the 37 St and Stockholm readings present in L plus the 10 in E but not in L; a total of 47 readings. Another three readings in the two MSS appear to derive from Stockholm readings: *kumbl-dysjar* E L < *kumbl dysjar* Stockholm Gróg 1, *kiveðki* L < *kiveðke* Stockholm Gróg 3, *orð-lauss* E L < *orðlaus* Stockholm Fj 3. This gives a total of at least 50 St and Stockholm readings likely to have been present in X6. This is very close to the 57, 56 and 51 St and

¹ Thus: *menn Fj 11* occurs only in E L 4877 47; *reka Fj 13* only in E L 4877 47 and the margins of the three Egilsson MSS; *fé Fj 15* only in E L 47 and the margins of the three Egilsson MSS, etc.

² Also present in the three B MSS 1689 5 329, all written by Oddur Jónsson (see p. 458-60). Oddur could have seen one of the MSS descended from X6 during his association with Eggert Ólafsson, who wrote E.

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Stockholm readings contained respectively in the three MSS **Gu 682 He** written by the Ólafsson brothers and known to be descended from **St**.

Therefore, it seems reasonable to presume that **E** and **L** are both ultimately descended from **St** via the copies of the Ólafsson brothers.

Further evidence for this descent is:

1. The four unusual readings in **L** *keint*, *knir*, *kaupa vin* and *minum erfмага* discussed on pp. 8-9: these all appear prompted by the similarity of Helgi's k/l and ni/in/m.
2. The readings *kiveðki Gróg 3 L* and *tivær Fj 18 E* could derive ultimately from misreading of Guðmundur Ólafsson's *v* (very like an *iv*). Thus from *Fj 18* in Guðmundur's **Gu**: *†ivær*.

Yet, **E** and **L** both also contain 9 of the 34 **Ra** readings, readings found characteristically only in **Ra** or in MSS either descended or influenced by **Ra** (see pp. 190-3). If **E** and **L** are indeed descended from **St**, how can they have these readings? The 9 readings are:

á supplied *Gróg 7*, *elda Gróg 10*, *mimis Gróg 14*, *sjol Fj 1*,
meðan Fj 16, *komt Fj 16*, *mantu Fj 24*, *soni Fj 30*, *nú Fj 50*.

This list includes seven of the eight errors shared with **Ra** by **E** against **St** and which made assessment of **E** by the common error method impossible (see p. 151).¹ The explanation for the occurrence of these **Ra** readings in **E L** appears to be that their common exemplar **X6** was collated against a MS which had these **Ra** readings. Eight of these nine **Ra** readings — all but *á Gróg 7* — actually appear in the margin of **L**. It seems these readings were copied into the margins of **X6**; the scribe of **L** faithfully copied them into the margins of his own text; the scribe of **E** incorporated

¹ The eighth error discussed on p. 151, *þess Fj 22*, also appears in both **E** and **L**. All of **Gu He 34 11 682** read *þess* (cf. p. 149) and **E** and **L** are likely to have had this reading by their descent from **Gu He**.

them in his text.¹ The presence of these readings in **E L** is therefore evidence of contamination ultimately from **Ra**, and does not contradict the conclusion reached above that **E L** are descended by direct copying from **St**.

Both **4877** and **289** (*Gróg* only) appear copies of **E**: all three are Sauðlauksdalur MSS (see p. 459) and **E** was possibly written by Eggert Ólafsson himself. Two further MSS **47 S** are known to be copies of **L** and **223** also appears a copy of **L**. A total of seven MSS **E L 4877 289 47 S 223** then descend by direct copying from **X6**, and ultimately from **St**, via copies made by the Ólafsson brothers.

Sixteen MSS altogether are shown on Table One as descending by direct copying from **St**. A further aside on the common error method: there is not a single reading (let alone error) which appears in all these sixteen MSS and only in these sixteen MSS, so far have coincident variation and contamination done their work.

A few readings are accepted from the Stockholm MSS **Gu He** into the emended text. On the likely status of these as scribal emendations and the probable absence of these readings from the archetype see pp. 19-21.

e. MSS contaminated by the Stockholm group.

Examination of the distribution of the **St** and Stockholm readings in other MSS showed that a further seventeen MSS include sufficient of these readings to make contamination probable:

1. All seven ungrouped MSS: **P** (8 variants); **1491** (13); **1609** (4, *Gróg* only); **1867** (18); **M** (17); **2797** (16); **J** (10).

¹ There are many other instances of scribes copying marginalia from MS to MS: see pp. 208, 213, 470. The only marginal reading in the text of **Sv** in **E** is one of these **Ra** readings: *sjól Fj* 1.

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2. All five MSS of the Langebek group, containing typically between ten and fifteen of the Stockholm and St variants; **1872**, apparently inheriting 11 readings by contamination in turn from the Langebek group (see pp. 169-70);
3. All three MSS of the Egilsson group, again containing between ten and fifteen such variants, mostly as marginalia, and the related **1868**, with fourteen.

The lower numbers of such variants in these MSS suggests that these are not based on the Stockholm MSS (as the MSS discussed above appear to be), but are rather occasionally contaminated by readings from them. If this is the result of contamination rather than coincident variation it should be definable: a few popular readings will appear across the tradition; related MSS should be contaminated by the same readings; several should appear as marginalia. Thus:

kumbl dysjar in *Gróg* 1: Langebek MSS;

leiks, *leiksbörði* in *Gróg* 3: **1867**, **M**, margins of **2797** and Egilsson MSS;

skaustu in *Gróg* 3: Langebek MSS; margins of Egilsson MSS;

eldu in *Gróg* 10: **P**, **1867**, **M**;

sá at in *Fj* 9: **1867**, **M**, Langebek MSS;

sefr omitted in *Fj* 16: **1491**, **1867**, **M**;

kemt in *Fj* 16: **1491**, **1867**, **M**, **2797**, **J**;

stunginn in *Fj* 31: **P**, margins of Egilsson MSS.

f. The Influence of St and the Stockholm MSS.

Through the Stockholm MSS, St exercises a dominant influence over the whole MS tradition of Sv. Leaving aside Ra and the ten MSS associated with it and the B text (the nine B MSS and O), St itself and **497** there are

thirty three MSS of Sv known to this editor. Every one of these MSS is either

- based ultimately on **St** itself: the twelve Stockholm MSS, and the four Luxdorph MSS;
- or contaminated by readings derived from **St** or its closest copies: all seven ungrouped MSS, the five MSS of the Langebek group with **1872**, the three MSS of the Egilsson group with **1868**.

Influence so persistent and widespread demands explanation.

Decisive here are the two descendants of **St** via **Gu** brought back to Iceland by Helgi Ólafsson in 1687, denoted as **X5**, **He**: every later A text MS of Sv derives by copying or contamination from these two MSS. Yet, other and better MSS were available: especially **Ra** and the ancestors of **J** and **P** (see p. 223). Why then were these two MSS so influential?

This extraordinary influence is paralleled by the dominance of two copies of the poems of **CR** among C18 Icelandic MSS containing these poems seen by this editor. The two copies are Arni Magnússon's own autograph copy and that of Þórður Jónsson: for Arni's copy, and the relationship between the two copies see pp. 469-70. Descended from Þórður's copy are all the copies of **CR** in:

1. the three Egilsson MSS with **1868**;
2. the three MSS associated with Eggert Ólafsson (**E 4877 289**);
3. the further three written by one of Eggert's scribes, Oddur Jónsson (**1689 5 329**);
4. two of the Luxdorph MSS (**L and 47**);
5. the ungrouped MS **1491**.

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In two of these MSS, **1491** and **5**, the scribes (respectively Páll Sveinsson and Oddur Jónsson) explicitly declare that their source is Þórður's copy, thereby warranting the authority of their text.

Descended from Arni's copy are:

1. **Ha** and Edinburgh 21.4.4;
2. The five Langebek MSS (excepting possibly **1869**);
3. **223**, the lost copy of Jón Ólafsson yngri (see pp. 465-6, both via Edinburgh 21.4.4), **P** and **J**.

The two descendants of **St** brought back to Iceland by Helgi Ólafsson appear to stand in the same relation to later copies of *Sv* as Þórður's and Arni's MSS do to later copies of the **CR** poems. All four MSS are authoritative just because they are declared copies of MSS no longer in Iceland. Thus the note in the table of contents of **He**. This note, probably written before 1750, describes Helgi and his MS: 'Sa Helge .. sem var a stað skrifað þa hñ var / i stock holm'. It has the imprimatur: it was written in Stockholm, just as Arni and Þórður's were written in Copenhagen. Hence the combination found in many MSS (e.g. **E 4877 L 47**): the poems of **CR** descending from Arni or Þórður's copy written in Copenhagen; the other poems of *SE* (*Sv* at least) from one of Helgi's copies written in Stockholm.

This obeisance to the authority of MSS no longer in Iceland casts an interesting light on Icelandic cultural conditions at the time. It is a version of the cultural cringe common to many a colonised country: the best is foreign.

2.4 The Luxdorph group

a Name and origin

This group is named for the title "Codex Luxdorphianus" commonly given its principal MS, **L**.¹ This MS has the autograph of B. W. Luxdorph on page 2v, after laudatory remarks written by Bishop Hersleb which declare that this is one of the best exemplars of **CR** to be found in the whole of Iceland.

Nonetheless, the **L** text of *Sv* is without textual value. Firstly, the discussion above suggests that it is descended from **St** via the Stockholm MSS. Secondly, it contains so many variants not found in the Stockholm MSS as to make **L** a distinct version in its own right. As with the **B** MSS and the Langebek MSS, a speculative reviser appears to have been at work. Thus **L** and the MSS derived from it — the Luxdorph group — constitute a separate MS group.

The readings characteristic of this group were extracted from the database. These were all those readings found in **L** and in at least one other MS, but not in the chief MSS of the Stockholm group, **St**, **Gu** and **He**. There are sixty such readings. They are the Luxdorph readings, and most distinctive among these are (the Stockholm and/or *St* reading in brackets):

From *Gróg*: *kiveðki* (*kiveðke*) 3; *þinn* (*þeim*) 9/4; *eldir* (*eldu*) 10; *kynni* (*kǫmr*) 12.

From *Fj*: *Sumur* (*Svafr*) 8; *knir* (*lim*), *reka* (*rekar*) 13; *keint* (*kemt*) 16; *kaupa vin* (*hlaupa inn*) 17; *gulli* (*gull*) 23; *minni*

¹ So named by Scheving at various points in his notes to *SE* preserved in S. Arnamagnæan 1818 usually intends **L** by "Codex Luxdorphianus", but appears to confuse it with **1869**; see p. 1 above.

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(*Mima*) 24; *Soni* (*som*) 30; *mínum* (*innan*) 33; *atvarðr* (*at var þar*) 34; *Svik* (*sjúk*) 36; *ei* (*er*) 40; *hundar fagna* omitted 44.

Some of these are simply nonsensical misreadings: *keint*, and less obviously *knir*: cf. p. 8-9. But others appear to be the scribe's own highly imaginative emendations.

b. MSS derived from, or contaminated by, L

Two MSS containing *Gróg* alone appear to be direct copies of **L**. These are **223** and **S**. Both share an extremely high proportion of readings with **L**; both are associated with Hallgrímur Scheving (see pp. 440-2); both contain most of the distinctive Luxdorph variants of *Gróg*.

Only one MS is a complete copy of the whole text of *Sv* from **L**. This is the important **47**, whose text of *Fj* was the basis of the Arnamagnaeian 1787 edition of that poem, see p. 1. That MS (and through it **L**) therefore had an influence far beyond its intrinsic merit. Similarly, **L** is the basis of the Arnamagnaeian 1818 edition of *Gróg*. See pp. 8-10 for the damage done to *Sv* scholarship by early editors' reliance on **L**.

The three MSS of the Egilsson group all contain a significant number of the Luxdorph variants, either in the text or in the margin. Thus **1109** has 17, **1492** has 21, and **773** 23. As the base text of all these is derived from **Ra**, the occurrence of the Luxdorph readings in those MSS is evidence of contamination.

No reading original to any MS of the Luxdorph group is accepted into the emended text.

2.5 **Ra** and the **Ra** readings

Analysis now turns to the second of the two principal MSS upon which this edition is based, **Ra**. Comparison of the errors in **Ra** with those in the other principal MS **St** suggested that **Ra** represents a line of descent from

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the common archetype independent of that of **St** and of MSS known to be descended from it: see pp. 43-4.

There is no external evidence linking **Ra** to known copies, as there is linking **St** with **Gu 11 He 1870 34 682**. However, preliminary analysis found ten errors in which **Ra** agrees with eleven other MSS (**O**, its copy **1872**, and the nine B MSS) against **St** (see pp. 148-9). It seemed that **Ra** and these eleven MSS might then represent a line of descent distinct from **St**, and that they might be somehow related. But how distinct, and how related?

Ra and these eleven MSS seem indeed very distinct from **St** and the MSS descended from it. The preceding pages have shown that **St**'s descendants are characterised by the occurrence in them of significant numbers of **St** and Stockholm readings: the 51 in **He**, the 37 and 36 in **L** and **6**, for example. By definition (see pp. 178-80) none of these readings appear in **Ra**. If the other eleven MSS are independent of **St** and possibly closely related to **Ra** one will expect that very few, or none, of these readings will appear in them.

This was exactly the case. No more than four of these readings appeared in any one of the other eleven MSS. Six of these eleven had only one or none at all (**818 934 643** one; **Ha 215 636** none). Three of the other five were the MSS written by Oddur Jónsson **5 1689 329**: Oddur could have known a MS descended from **St** through his association with Eggert Ólafsson and the few **St** and Stockholm readings in the three MSS written by him might derive thence by contamination (see pp. 458-9).

Distinct then, but how related? According to the theory underlying this analysis, if **Ra** and the other eleven MSS formed an independent group of MSS then there should be a set of readings typically found together in those MSS and not in others. The database was then used to extract all the readings shared by **Ra** with any three of the other eleven

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MSS and not found in *St*. A few readings whose distribution showed them specially prone to coincident variation (e.g. *þess Fj 22*, see p. 149) were edited out from this list, as were correct readings likely to be archetypal. This left thirty four such readings, the Ra readings, made up of the ten errors common to all these MSS and the following (the reading of *St* is given in brackets):

enka (einka) Gróg 2; mengloðum (mengloðum) Gróg 3; leifins (Leifnis) Gróg 10; viti menn (menn viti), farir (farar) Gróg 11; því (þi), firr (fyrir) Gróg 13; þinn (inn), mimis (minnis), getit (gefit) Gróg 14; Sjol úrgar, possibly Sjolurgar (Sjot urgar) Fj 1-2; vita ... vilt (vilt ...vita), þeir eta omitted (included) Fj 18; Segþú (Seg mér) Fj 21, 23; Hevateinn (Hevatein) Fj 26; færir (föfir) Fj 28; iri (Iri) Fj 34; mengloð (Mengloð) Fj 43, 44; horskir (hoskir) Fj 45; forkunnar (forkunar) Fj 48; Frar (possible, see pp. 195-6, for þrár), nú til (þú til) Fj 50.

The database was then used to count the number of these Ra readings in each of the forty five MSS. The results were rather surprising. Ten of the eleven MSS had between 24 and 29 of these 34 variants; the other, the copy of *O* in 1872, had 21. Not only this: another four MSS, the three Egilsson group MSS and 1868, all had between 22 and 26 of these readings.

The results were surprising in that they indicated that *Ra* and all fifteen of these MSS — *O*, its copy 1872, the nine B text MSS, the three Egilsson MSS and 1868 — might be very closely related indeed. The six MSS *Gu 11 He 1870 34 682* known to be descended from *St* have between 16 and 25 of the 28 parallel *St* readings. The occurrence of similar — or even higher — proportions of Ra readings in these fifteen MSS

opened up an unsuspected possibility: all these MSS could be descended from **Ra**.

Conversely, there were very few of the **Ra** readings in the MSS **Gu 11 He 1870 34 682** closest to **St**: none in **11** and **Gu**, one in **He** and **682**, three in **1870** and five in **He**. The independence of the two groups of MSS, one centred on **Ra** and the other on **St**, was confirmed.

2.6 **Ra** and **O**

O is certainly the best known of all the MSS of *Sv*.¹ It is one of the oldest extant (the date 1680 appears on the title-page, and it is at least contemporary with **St** and **Ra**) and contains many readings not found in **St** or **Ra**. Exact assessment of its relationship to **Ra** is therefore important.

a. Closeness of relationship

O contains of 27 of the 34 distinctive **Ra** readings, for example:

From *Gróg*: *á þllum vegum* 7; *viti menn, gogn, farir* 11; *þinn, mimis* 14.

From *Fj*: *sjolurgar* 1; *meðan, komt* 16; *vita ... vilt, þeir eta* omitted 18; *flær* 20; *Segþú* 21, 23; *á* 23; *fylva* 29; *þess* 46; *nú til* 50.

Further, where **O** does not preserve the **Ra** variant, it is yet very close to **Ra**: e.g. *Gróg* 10 *Leifins* (**Ra** *leifins*).

There is considerable other evidence of the closeness of **O** and **Ra**. Beside this high proportion of **Ra** readings, there are four other distinctive errors shared by **O** and **Ra** and found in few other MSS:

1. *Gróg* 14: **O** and **Ra** read *So* for **St** *sé*. This nonsensical reading is found elsewhere only in **1868**, itself derived from **Ra**, and **1872**, itself a copy of **O**.

¹ See pp. 9-10 for Bugge's high opinion of its worth.

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2. *Fj 9*: **O** and **Ra** read *Suat* for **St Saat**. This peculiar reading is elsewhere found only in the margin of **1108**, while *su at* is found only in **1872** and in the margin of the Langebek MSS. All these MSS are heavily influenced by **O**, either directly (**1872**) or indirectly, via the B text (the Langebek MSS, including **1108**). See further p. 213 below.
3. *Fj 31*: **O** and **Ra** read *halr* for **St salr**. Elsewhere, this reading is found only in the three Egilsson MSS and **1868** (descended from **Ra**; see pp. 209-12) and the copy of **O** in **1872**.
4. *Fj 47*: **O** and **Ra** read *rak unz* for **St rakums**. Only **1872** elsewhere has this reading; the three Egilsson MSS and **1868** have *rak umz*.

In addition, what external evidence there is supports the close relationship of **Ra** and **O**:

1. **O** and **Ra** both have exactly the same selection of mythological poems from *SE* in exactly the same highly unusual order: thus, all the poems of **CR** up to *Alv*, with *Bdr* placed before *Alv*, then *Grott*, *Gróg*, *Fj* and *Hyndl* following *Alv*. Beside **O** and **Ra** I have found this order in only one other MS, **1868**, and a similar order only in the three MSS of the Egilsson group, related to **Ra**. The three Egilsson MSS and **1868** appear descended from **Ra**; see pp. 209-12.
2. **O**'s text of the **CR** poems — so far as I have collated it — seems close to identical with that of **Ra**. Of the 51 readings collated in **O** and **Ra**, the only difference between them is that **Ra** includes *Vsp 58*, but **O** omits it — as do several other MSS (e.g. the Stockholm MSS, two B MSS **818** and **934**, **1867** and both texts in **S**). **O** does contain some marginalia giving variants to the

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Ra text: in *Hávǫm* 81 *kiend* for *brend*; and the additional verse *heiðríkum himni ok hlæjanda herra* in 87. Both these are found widely in other MSS, and especially in those of the Stockholm group.

It may be that **O** is using the same exemplar as **Ra**, or a closely related MS, but knew other MSS and introduced other readings from these. See p. 22 for the possibility that the scribe of **O** introduced a few readings into his text of *Sv* from outside his exemplar.

b. **O** descended from the same exemplar as **Ra**, if not from **Ra** itself

Ra and **O** are so close that **O** could be based on **Ra** itself. The reverse, that **Ra** is based on **O**, is impossible because of the evidence of late revision in **O** given in the next section.

In the absence of firm external evidence, one can demonstrate direct descent of one MS from another by highly distinctive successive error, or by showing that the later MS preserves numerous orthographic peculiarities of the earlier MS, and preserves them in just the same irregular distribution as the earlier MS. See the demonstration of the descent of the B MSS from **O** pp. 205-6 and of the Egilsson MSS (and 1868) from **Ra** pp. 209-10.

I can find only two such fragments of evidence suggesting direct descent of **O** from **Ra**. The first is **O**'s peculiar *sjolurgar* in *Fj* 2. In **Ra**, this is written as two words *sjol urgar* but the words are so close together that they could have been read as one, and this is what the scribe of **O** has done. The second is the first word of *Fj* 50. The first letter of *þrár* in **Ra** might be misread as the insular form of f, *ƿ*. Thus the likely copies of **Ra** in the three Egilsson MSS and 1868 all read the nonsensical *Frár* in the

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text, giving the correct *brár* in the margin — and so too **O** has *brar* in the text.

However, other evidence for the descent of **O** from **Ra** itself is lacking.¹ Any possible links between the orthography of **O** and **Ra** are obscured by substantial orthographic differences. While the orthography of **Ra** is consistent throughout (see pp. 46-8), **O** is variable and individual to the point of eccentricity:

1. The scribe uses *p* most liberally, not only in medial positions but even for initial *d*, as in *paup* for *dauð* in the title of *Gróg*. **Ra** is conventional in its use of *d/p*.
2. The scribe makes frequent use of *ø* spellings, unusual in these MSS, for *q*. There are just 52 *ø* spellings found in all the 45 MSS, and 18 of them are in **O** alone. **Ra** has not one *ø* spelling.
3. The scribe uses both *r* and *z* spellings for *r*: *r* 386x, *z* 152x. The scribe of **Ra** uses only *r*, 585x.

Comparison with **St** is instructive here. **St** also has 9 *ø* spellings, and it is notable that it distributes them rather differently. For example: despite the number of *ø* spellings in both MSS, there is actually only one word which is spelt with *ø* in both **St** and **O**: *møgur* in *Fj* 45. Similarly, although the scribe of **St** also alternates between *r* and *z* spellings for *r* (*r* 406x, *z* 173x) again they are so differently distributed that one could not safely assert that **O** derives its orthography from a MS closer to **St** than to **Ra**.² Given the evidence of scribal innovation in **O** discussed in the next section, many of these spellings might result from an attempt to make the

¹ Compare the weight of evidence for descent of the **B** text from **O** to the lack of evidence for descent of **O** from **Ra**.

² **O** has *ez* throughout while **St** varies between *er* and *ez*; elsewhere **St** prefers final *-r* while **O** varies between final *-r* and *-z*.

text look older. The scribe of **O** took great care with the appearance of his MS, thus the many charming illustrations in it. Part of his care might have been a deliberate archaism of orthography.

It remains possible that **O** is descended by direct copying of **Ra**. But the orthographies of the two MSS are so different and there is so much evidence of vigorous late revision in **O** (see next section), with so little evidence of distinctive successive error, that evidence lacks for direct descent. However, the two MSS are otherwise so closely linked, and so distinct from **St** and its copies, that they must at least be descended from a single exemplar.

They are therefore represented in Table One as both descending from the hypothetical **X3**.

c. **O** an inferior and late revision.

It is theoretically possible, if **O** is indeed descended independent of **Ra** from the hypothetical **X3** and hence from **X2**, that **O** might reproduce readings originally present in **X2** but lost from **Ra** and **St**.

The possibility that **O** might preserve original readings independent of **Ra** and **St** is outweighed by the massive evidence of late revision in **O**. On average, between one and two readings in every stanza of **O**, or one word in ten, are significantly different from the readings in **Ra** and **St**. Many of these are relatively innocuous:

1. On ten occasions, **O** omits single words found in both **Ra** and **St**. The principle appears to be that if the sense can survive the omission of such a 'small word' — usually a particle — then the word is likely to be omitted (cf. pp. 98-9, 202): thus *inn Gróg* 8, *nú Gróg* 15, *um Fj* 1, *of Fj* 8, *þú Fj* 11, *annar Fj* 14, *hann Fj* 26, *er Fj* 27 and 28, *þat Fj* 41; also *þat eitt* omitted in *Fj* 18.

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In the reverse error, *á* is added before *meðan* in both *Fj* 17 and 18.

2. Similarly, single words or short phrases are likely to be altered in ways that little alter the sense. Twenty-six single words and phrases are so altered (the **St Ra** reading is given in brackets):

From *Gróg*: *þar* (*þá*), *ur* (*er Ra; or St*) 2; *farvegir* (*farvegar*) 4; *ro* (*eru*), *muni* (*muna*) 5; *er* (*ef*) 7; *legg* (*læt*), *en* (*ok*) 10; *friðdrjúgar* (*friðdrjúgrar*) 11.

From *Fj*: *hann sá* (*sá hann*) 1; *hæstan* (*hættan*) 2; *Gastrofnir* (*Gastropnir*), *hefik* (*hef ek*) 12; *hvert* (*hvárt*) 17; *matr* (*matar*) 18; *bar* (*Barr*) 19; *sá* (*hann*), *vitu* (*vita*), *renn* (*rennr*) 20; *hníga for* (*fyr hníga*) 25; *eigi* (*eigu*) 28; *hvé* (*hvat*) 35; *Hlyf* (*Hlif*) 38; *ur* (*ór*) 45; *jartekn* (*jartegn*) 46.

None of these on their own would be of much importance. Taken together, they give a picture of widespread scribal innovation. But many of the readings peculiar to **O** — that is, absent from **St** and **Ra** — go far beyond the harmless alteration noted above. The fundamental character of **O** should not be mistaken. It represents a manifestly inferior revision, a revision which often tramples sense.

Thus, the following omissions seriously damage sense or verse:

legg from *Gróg* 10; *á eld* from *Fj* 22; *Ori* from *Fj* 34; the whole of verses 39 and 40 of *Fj*; *langt* from *Fj* 45.

The following alterations seriously damage the sense (the **St Ra** reading is given in brackets):

From *Gróg*: *apni* (*afi*) 5; *hvera kulði* (*hræva kulði*) 12; *ofgetit*, possibly *ofgelit* (*of gefit*) 14; *standi* (*standit*) 15.

From *Fj*: *braut er* (*brautir*), *vera* (*veru*) 1; *biðr at* (*býðrat*) 3; *gaman* (*gamans*), *elði* (*eðli*) 5; *skulu* (*skýli*) 22; *rótum* (*volum*) 30.

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Not only is the revision inferior, it is late:

1. Older negative forms are mishandled in *standi* for *standit* in *Gróg* 15, *biðr at* for *býðrat* in *Fj* 3. Compare pp. 25-8 for mishandling of negative forms as characteristic of late (C17) copies.
2. The reading *rótum* in *Fj* 30 and the omissions of *Ori* from *Fj* 34 and of *langt* from *Fj* 45 leave these lines without alliteration. Compare pp. 28-30 for metrical errors as characteristic of late (C17) copies.
3. The omission of the whole of *Fj* 39 and 40 appears deferential to Christian sensibilities.
4. *apni* (whatever it means) in *Gróg* 5 is unmetrical. The full line cannot end with a trochee, a rule scrupulously observed in the **St** and **Ra** texts of *Sv*, but lost in later Icelandic (see pp. 28-9).

Worst is *Gróg* 12, where *hræva kulði* becomes *hverá kulði* 'cold of kettles'!

In summary: in almost every case where **O** deviates from **St** and **Ra**, it is likely that the deviation results from a late and inferior revision. The few readings from **O** accepted into the emended text are likely to have come to **O** either by successful scribal emendation or contamination from another, better, MS: see p. 22.

2.7 O and the B text

a. The B MSS and the B readings

Nine MSS (none of them used by previous editors) contain a version of *Sv* significantly different from that hitherto printed in all editions and found in most of the extant MSS. This alternative version I call the B text.

The most influential of the nine MSS is **Ha**. This MS is the source of at least five other B MSS (**215 643 1689 5 329**) and is the best — at any rate, the least absurd — of the nine. The three other B MSS — **636 818 934** — present a version of the B text differing essentially from that in **Ha** only in being more corrupt. The set of readings typically found together in these nine MSS, less commonly elsewhere, and not in either **St** or **Ra** was extracted from the database. There are 248 such readings: these are the B readings.¹

The B readings for the first six stanzas of *Gróg*, given below, are typical in their mixture of plain misreading (*mant* < *nú annt*), casual omission (*in*), modernisation (*eð*) and deliberate alteration (the long title, *dætra*). These may be compared with the readings from **St** and **Ra** given in brackets; I also note which B readings are found in **O**.

Title: *ljóð* (*galdr St Ra*);

'long form': includes the phrase *..áðr en þat Óðinn í helju hvarf ok hon var...* before *dauð* (these words omitted **St Ra**).

1. *dætra* (*dauðra St Ra*).

at omitted (included **St Ra**).

¹ As the A and B variants should more or less mirror each other, then their numbers should be approximately equal. That they are exactly equal is happy coincidence.

kumldysjar, also **O**, or *kumldysar* (*kumbl dysjar* **St Ra**).

2. *mant* (*nú annt* **St Ra**).

hvorju (*hverju* **St Ra**).

þar, also **O** (*þá* **St Ra**).

kom (*kominn* = *komin* **St Ra**).

ur, also **O** (*ór* **St**, *er* **Ra**).

leikborði, also **O** (*leiks borði* **St**, *leik borði* **Ra**).

3. *fyrir menn mik* (*for mik* **St Ra**).

in omitted (*included* **St Ra**).

eð (*er* **St Ra**).

4. *farvegir* (*farvegar* **St Ra**).

5. *ro*, also **O** (*eru* **St Ra**).

muni, also **O** (*muna* **St**, *munu* **Ra**).

apni, also **O** (*afi* **St Ra**).

Other notable **B** variants include:

- stanzas 39 and 40 of *Fj* are omitted (also **O**);
- *rata* is read for *rekar* in *Fj* 13 (cf. *Vsp* 52);
- *rótum* is read for *volum* in *Fj* 30 (also **O**); *Ori* and *langt* are omitted from *Fj* 45 (also **O**), all leaving the alliteration defective;

Even these few examples show that the differences between the **A** and **B** texts are so great and so widespread that they could not result from the gradual erosion of copying, supplemented by occasional scribal adventure. We are dealing here not with a minor variant of the **A** text, but a deliberate revision of *Sv*: one that gives a different title to *Gróg*, omits verses 39 and 40 of *Fj*, and alters some three words in every verse.

b. The B revision of Sv and O

In the last section I give a specimen of 24 of the 248 B variants. Of these, eleven are also found in O. This suggests a close relationship between O and the B text.

Indeed, every one of the more than fifty distinctive alterations found in O and discussed on pp. 197-9 are also found characteristically in the B MSS, but not in the A MSS. Not only do the B MSS adopt these same alterations, but the many more alterations in the B MSS follow the same pattern as those in O. Precisely the same mixture of omission, innocuous alteration and pernicious revision — manifestly modern and often absurd — is found in both. There are just more of these changes in the B MSS than in O.

Similar omission of single words in the B text and O

It is noted above that the reviser of O appeared to proceed on the assumption that a word — usually a particle — might be omitted if it appeared that the sense might not be damaged. The B text follows exactly the same principle, but applies it more often.

Thus, as well as omitting all the ten words omitted from A by O (see p. 197) the B MSS characteristically omit a further eleven words, all found in St Ra O:

in Gróg 3, á Gróg 7, inn Gróg 11, há Gróg 12, fyr and first ok Fj 3, mér Fj 7, en Fj 16, second er Fj 42, in Fj 42, ek Fj 44.

The B text also follows O in adding *á* in both *Fj 17* and *18*, but makes no further additions. The B text also follows O in omitting *þat eitt* from *Fj 18*.

Similar minor alterations in the B text and O

It is noted on p. 198 that the reviser of **O** apparently felt free to alter single words and phrases, in ways that did not much affect the sense, just as he apparently felt free to omit words which seemed dispensable.

Thus, as well as adopting all twenty-six such minor alterations in **O** noted above, the B MSS characteristically make the following further thirty-two minor alterations (the reading in brackets is that of **St Ra O**):

From *Gróg*: *ljóð* (*galdr*) Title; *hvorju* (*hverju*) 2; *fyrir* (*fyr*), *eð* (*er*) 3; *þat* (*þann*) 8; *enn* (*inn*) 9; *sæ* (*sjó*) 11; *enn* (*inn*) 12; *enn* (*inn*) 13.

From *Fj*: *uppkoma* (*upp koma*) 1; *mundak* (*munda ek*) 5; *ek ok* (*ok ek*) 7; *vit* (*við*) 8; *þrimgaull* (*þrymgjöll*) 10; *ur* (*ór*), *svo* (*svá*) 12; *sá* (*sé*) 15; *sá* (*þá*) 16; *sá* (*sé*) 17; *meiðir* (*-meiðr*) 20; *þeim* (*inum*) 23; *hvort* (*hvert*), *vopna* (*vapna*) 25; *luðir* (*lúðr*) 30; *aldir* (*aldr*) 32; *ok* (*ek*) 33; *Barri* (*Bari*) 34; *horn* (*-berg*) 36; *fyrir* (*for*) 37; *ofkveðin* (*of kveðin*) 42; *hefir* (*hefi*) 48; *ok* (*ek*) 49.

Alterations which damage sense in both the B MSS and O.

It is noted on pp. 198-9 that many of the changes in **O** damage the sense. Not only do the B MSS characteristically adopt every one of the revisions in **O** described on pp. 197-9, but they introduce many more such pernicious changes.

Of some of these changes in the B MSS, I am moved to comment that the reviser who created the B text fits Gary Taylor's definition of an editor as a cultural hooligan (1987, 1). Thus the first verse of *Fj* as it is in **Ha**:

Utan gaida þá þat uppkoma, þurfa biðir, siðir,
garðrætt er ákasta aptur þegar alla to þer
væðir innur vera.

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*Utan garða sá hann uppkoma, þursa bjoðir, siolurgar braut er
arnasto aptur heðan atta to her venðir vanur vera.*

One wonders what the scribe thought he was writing.

Other absurd B text readings, beside this first stanza of *Fj* and those given on pp. 198-9, are (the second readings given are those of *St Ra O*, or of the emended text where these disagree):

From *Gróg* : *hellar* (*heljar*) 8; *Sævi* (*sefi*) 9; *haldiður* (*haldit ór*) 12; *ganga of gelit* (*gnóga of gefit*) 14; *þvi naga* for *St þi gnóga* 16 (emended to *iðgnóga*).

From *Fj* : *lifendum lífs* (*líðondum lōð*), *heindar* (*sæmdar*) 3; *sæva* (*sefa*) 4; *hvast* (*svást*) 5; *eldi* (*eðli*) 5; *Vindkalfr* (*Vindkaldr*) 6; *man* (*mun*) 7, 32, 48; *viðla* (*vilda*) 7; *hvat* (*sáat*) 9; *flotr* (*fjoturr*), *hvim* (*hvern*) 10; *var þila* (*varzla*), *veltr* (*vættr*) 16; *vaðofnis* (*Viðofnis*) 18; *geði* (*gefi*) 18; *itar* (*útar*) 22; *gugr* (*gýgr*) 29; *firrar* (*firar*) 32; *sagði garð* (*garð*) 33; *knegia* (*knegi á*) 42; *rak mik vindr* (*rákumk vindar-*) 47; *flestum* (*flestan*) 48; *vælt* (*vætt*) 49.

Such changes as these do not alter the text, they destroy it.

Errors characteristic of late scribes in B

As well as retaining *O*'s errors in negatives in *standi* (*St Ra standit*) and *biðr at* (*St Ra býðrat*) B mishandles negatives on three other occasions:

megi (*megit*) *Gróg* 12;

haldiður (*haldit ór, ur*) *Gróg* 12 ;

huat (*sáat*) *Fj* 9.

As well as retaining the metrical errors of *O* in *apni*, *rótum* and omission of *óri* and *langt*, B reads *fjoturr af fótum* in *Gróg* 10/6 for A *af fótum fjoturr*. The word order is more natural, but everywhere else the *Sv* poet avoids a trochaic ending for the full line; see pp. 28-9.

c. The B MSS descended from O

The explanation for this closeness of the B MSS and O appears to be that the B MSS are descended from O itself. O made the alterations in the A text listed on pp. 197-9; the B reviser inherited all these alterations from O and then made many more. The striking correspondence in kind of the innovations in O and B, differing only in degree, suggests that the same person may even be responsible for both revisions, though this is not essential to the argument that the B text descends from O.

In contrast to the lack of evidence that O might be directly descended by copying from Ra (see pp. 195-7), there is considerable evidence that the B text is directly descended by copying from O. The following fourteen B readings can be traced back to physical features (word- and line-division) or orthographic peculiarities in O itself, or appear developments by successive error of the reading in O:

Gróg 2 mant < nu ant O. Minim error; *nu ant* in O might be misread as one word.

Gróg 8 hellar < heliar O. The i in O looks very like an l.

Gróg 14 gelit (some B MSS including Ha) < *getit* (O and other B MSS). The first t in O is perfectly ambiguous, and could be an l.

Fj 1 atta to < attato O. This could be read in O as two words *atta to*; cf. *mant / nu ant* above.

Fj 1 braut er < braut / er O (*brautir Ra*). A line ending between *braut* and *er* in O leads to interpretation as two words. Cf. *Fj 30 Sin moru*.

Fj 5 aptr at fá < aptr at fán O (*aptr fán Ra*). Successive error.

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Fj 5 eldi < elþi O. In **O**, medial d is commonly represented as þ (see p. 196), and so B's misinterpretation of **O**'s mistaken *elþi*, itself arising by scribal inversion of **Ra**'s *eðli*.

Fj 16 var þila < varþfla O (=varzla Ra) The nonsense results from ambiguous word division again, and the close similarity of the *þ* with *i* in **O**.

Fj 18 geðǫ (geþi) < gefi (geþi) O. The forms of *þ* / *þ* are difficult to distinguish in **O**.

Fj 22 itar < utar O. **O** here uses the archaic form of *v*, which resembles the form of *y* also used by **O**.

Fj 26 Sminero < Sinmoro O. Minim error again; for the confusion of *e/o* cf. *gegn B < gogn O Gróg 11*. The letters *e/o* are distinct in **O**, but not in many contemporary MSS (e.g. 934), and these errors suggest a further stage of copying between **O** and **B**, with the **B** MSS descending from **O** via a copy in which *e* and *o* were very similar. See p. 213 for evidence suggesting that the Langebek MSS were contaminated by a **B** MS closer to **O** than the existing **B** MSS.

Fj 30 Sin moro < Sin / moro O, with a line ending between the two words. Cf. *braut er Fj 1*.

Fj 32 frettena < frelt ena O. Ambiguous word division again, complicated by the scribal error in **O** for **Ra**'s *frétt eina*.

Fj 33 fyrir sagðǫ garð sák < fyrir s garð sák O (fyrir garð sok Ra). **B** expands the nonsensical *s* of **O** (probably a scribal slip, anticipating *sák / sok*) to the absurd *sagðǫ*.

These fourteen instances are individually sufficiently striking, and collectively sufficiently numerous, to make it very likely that the **B** MSS

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are not just descended from a MS closely related to **O**, or from the same exemplar as that of **O**, but actually from **O** itself.

As confirmation of this: the selection of Ra variants presumably descended from **X3** into **O** (or from **Ra** itself) and preserved in the B MSS is near identical with that in **O**. Of the twenty seven Ra variants in **O**, no less than twenty six appear in **Ha**. The simplest explanation of this correspondence is that the Ra variants came to the B MSS — together with much else — via **O**.

Hence, the B MSS are represented as directly descended from **O** in Table One. One can explain the influence of **O** in the same way as one could that of **St** (see pp. 186-8). Sometime after 1685, Arni Magnússon incorporated **O** into his collection in Copenhagen: it might then have benefited from the prestige of being held in a great foreign collection (as apparently did **St** and its copies). Certainly, someone thought well enough of **O** to make it the only paper copy of Eddic poems including *Sv* saved from the 1728 conflagration.¹

d. The textual authority of the B text

Thus the B text results from two late, haphazard and unintelligent revisions: first of A (possibly via **Ra**) into **O**, then of **O** into B. The revisions are further complicated by frequent scribal error, and are without literary merit or textual authority. B's value can be measured simply: of the 248 B variants, only three are accepted into the emended text. For these, and their likely status as successful scribal emendations see p. 19.

¹ See p. 467-9 for discussion of the copies of *SE* known to have perished in this fire.

2.8 The Egilsson group

This group of three MSS is named for Jón Egilsson (1714-84) 'Con-
rector' at Hólar and later priest at Laufás (*Ævi* III, 91). Jón's MS is named
as the source of the text (though not the marginalia) in at least one of the
three MSS (**1109**; probably also **773**), and his MS appears to be the source
of the text of the three MSS of this group. Jón's MS itself appears to be
lost.

a. The three MSS

The three MSS of this group **1492 1109 773** are so alike that they
effectively constitute a single manuscript. Indeed, **1109** and **773** are
actually written by the same scribe. All three MSS have not just an
extraordinarily high proportion of identical readings, but almost invariably
distribute these readings identically between the text and the margins. For
example:

1. All three read *leikborði skauts þu* in the text of *Gróg* 3, and
all three note in the margin *al: leiks — skaustu*.
2. All three read *atalt* in the text of *Gróg* 6, and note *al: atlað* in
the margin.
3. All three read *falla* in the text of *Gróg* 8, and note *al: fara* in
the margin; and so on.

According to a note on a sheet inserted before the title page in **1109**,
that MS (and hence all three) was based on the exemplar of Jón Egilsson,
which was collated with various other MSS, especially that of Eyjólfur
Jónsson: see further the description of **1492** pp. 442-4. All three MSS
have the same poems, in the same unusual order: all the poems of **CR**, in
the same order as **CR**, but with *Bdr*, *Grott*, *Gróg*, *Fj* and *Hyndl* inserted
between *Þry* and *Völ*.

As no two of these appear any closer to each other than the third, and all contain massive evidence of identical collation, it seems most likely that all three are particularly close copies of a single exemplar, which I denote as **X8**.

The best of these copies, by an almost arbitrarily small margin, is **1492**:

Gróg 5: **1109** has *asru*, **773** *afru*; **1492** agrees with **Ra** and has *afui*. *Fj* 18: **1109** and **773** add *við* before *Viðófnis*; **1492** does not. *Fj* 25: both **1109** and **773** read *Vifofnir*; **1492** reads *Viðofnir*. *Fj* 38: **1109** omits the last line, **1492** (and **773**) include it.

b. Derivation of these MSS from **Ra**

The text of all three MSS — and hence **X8** — appears related to that of **Ra**. The texts of the three MSS contain between 22 and 26 of the 34 **Ra** readings. The following **Ra** readings are found in all three:

From *Gróg*: *á þllum megu* 7; *gogn* 11.

From *Fj*: *sjol* 1-2; *meðan* 16; *vita .. vilt* 18; *flær* 20; *fylva* 29; *þess* 46; *Frár, nú til* 50.

So high a proportion of **Ra** variants indicates close association — if not derivation — from **Ra** itself, just as in the analogous cases of **O** and the **B** MSS discussed pp. 193-207 above.

The unusual order of the poems in these three MSS also indicates close association with **Ra**. These MSS have the non-CR mythological poems in the same order as they are in **Ra**, and placed immediately after *Þry* as they are in **Ra**. The only difference is that **Ra** places *Alv* between *Bdr* and *Grott*, while these three place it after *Völ* (missing in **Ra**), itself following *Hyndl*.

Close comparison of the text of **1492** with **Ra** suggests that this MS — and so too the others — is actually descended from **Ra** itself:

1. Some unusual orthography in **1492** appears directly based on that of **Ra**. At various points, both MSS have the identical spellings of intervocalic *f*, identically distributed: *sevi*, *seva*, *biþaʃs* in *Gróg* 9, *Fj* 4 and 32 beside *gþva* and *Hyþvia* in *Gróg* 15 and *Fj* 36.
2. Particularly telling is *heþver*, *Fj* 44. Of the 277 occurrences of *hefir* in the 45 MSS, *-fv-* spellings appear only 5 times: here in **Ra**, **1492** and the other two MSS of the Egilsson group and in **1868** (cf. p. 41 fn).
3. Other unusual spellings and readings found in both **Ra** and **1492** are *gorþann*, *halur* and *ðogur* in *Fj* 12, 31 and 49.

Ultimate derivation of these MSS from **Ra** itself appears certain.

c. Contamination from Stockholm and Luxdorph MSS

In addition, the group profiles of each MS (see p. 166) show that all three MSS contain a significant number of variants from the Luxdorph, Stockholm and St groups. Typical is the group profile for **1109** given on p. 166 above. This shows that the variants of the Luxdorph, Stockholm and St groups are overwhelmingly concentrated in the margins of **1109**; the same is true of **1492** and **773**. If we ignore the marginalia, then all three MSS appear virtually free of any of the characteristic readings of the Luxdorph, Stockholm and St groups, descending relatively cleanly from **Ra**.

d. The Egilsson variants

A group of twenty-nine readings, the Egilsson readings, characteristically found only in these MSS was identified. Typical are the following (readings of **Ra** in brackets):

fjandar (*fjandur*), *sátta Gróg* 9 (*til sátta*); *vanir Fj* 1-2 (*vanr*);
auðsþlum Fj 8 (*auðalun*); *sjáat Fj* 9 (*suat*); *svá Sum Fj* 41
(*svásum*); *rak ums Fj* 47 (*rak uns*).

These readings could result from the usual erosion of copying and do not suggest deliberate creative scribal activity as their Luxdorph and B text counterparts do.

e. 1868

The text of a fourth manuscript, **1868**, is very close to the base text of these three MSS, and appears also to be descended from **Ra**. **1868** contains a selection of Ra variants almost identical with that found in the three Egilsson MSS, and distinct (for example) from the selection of Ra readings found in **O** and the B MSS. Every one of the ten Ra variants listed on p.209 as found in all three Egilsson MSS also appears in **1868**.

1868 is closer to **Ra** than the three Egilsson MSS:

1. It contains only two of the characteristic Egilsson variants, and those two are not sufficiently distinctive to prove descent from those MSS;¹
2. The order of poems in **1868** is closer to **Ra** than the other three, being identical with **Ra** up to the end of *Hyndl* where **Ra** ceases;

¹ These are: *auðsþlum* in *Fj* 8; *rak ums* in *Fj* 47. The first of these is found only as a marginalia in the other three MSS, and the second is a possible misreading of **Ra** *rak uns*.

3. The selective collation of the **CR** poems showed **1868** as closer to **Ra** than are the other three;
4. **1868** has no marginalia, and contains no significant evidence of the contamination from the Luxdorph and Stockholm groups which so strongly marks the other three MSS.

Thus, **1868** appears to represent an earlier stage of descent from **Ra** than the three Egilsson MSS. I represent this in the table by having **1868** descend from **X7**, itself descended from **Ra**. The three Egilsson MSS I have descend from **X8**, which itself derives from **X7**. The characteristic Egilsson variants, then, were introduced at the **X8** stage: thus their absence from **1868** and their presence in the three Egilsson MSS.

For the acceptance of a few readings from these MSS into the emended text, and the likely status of these readings as scribal innovations, see p. 21.

2.9 The Langebek group

a. Characteristics of this group: contamination from B

This group consists of five MSS: **1869 1108 1111 165 4**. I call this group the Langebek group, for the name commonly given the most influential of these MSS, **1869**.¹ While all five are 'A' text MSS, all five are very heavily contaminated by B readings. Each contains between 65 and 81 B readings, distributed between the text and margin of each in the ratio of around two to one.

¹ So designated by Jón Eiríksson in his prefatory remarks to 47: see p. 439-40.

Typical of the five MSS is the group profile for **1869**:

	<i>Totals</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Margin</i>
Totals in MS		970	39
B text	248	44	21
Ra	37	9	2
Stockholm	53	7	0
St	30	3	0
Egilsson	29	0	0
Luxdorph	60	2	0
Langebek	97	78	3

Further, the sets of B readings found in each of the five are very similar. All five MSS contain the following:

From *Gróg*: *at allt* 6; *hverfi* 9.

From *Fj*: *lifendum lífs* 3; *Vindkalfr* 6; *þrimgaull* 10; *þila* 16; *geði* 18; *Sminero* 26; *rótum* 30.

In addition, all five note the omission of *Fj* 39 and 40 in the margin with the words 'Desunt hæ duæ strophæ alibi'. All five MSS appear therefore to be copies, perhaps at different removes, of a single original, itself significantly contaminated by collation with a B text MS. I call this single original **X9**.

Interestingly, this B text MS may have been closer to **O** than any B MS now extant:

1. Three of the Langebek MSS (**1108**, **1111** and **165**) read *gogn* in the margin of *Gróg* 11 (**St** *logn*, **Ra** *gogn*). All nine B MSS read *gegn*, but **O** has *gogn*. See p. 206 for the suggestion that the B MSS descend from **O** via a MS in which e and o were very similar — they are quite distinct in **O**.
2. All the Langebek MSS read the nonsensical *su at* or *suat* in the margin of *Fj* 9, where all the B MSS have *huat*. Elsewhere, only **O**, **Ra** and the copy of **O** in **1872** have *su at* or *suat*.

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Therefore, the B MS which was the source of the Langebek contamination did not have the readings *gegn* and *huat* and so was closer to O than any B MS now extant.

b. The Langebek readings.

These five MSS are also marked by a large group of distinctive readings, characteristically found together only in these five MSS. A full list of these was extracted from the database by identifying all those readings found in at least two of these MSS but in no more than five MSS outside this group: these are the Langebek readings. There are 97 such readings. Taken together, their effect is to make the text of the Langebek MSS almost as distinct a version of the poem as that of the B MSS. Typical of these are (St readings in brackets):

From *Gróg*: *þat þú* (*þú þat*) 1; *ant* (*nú ant*) 2; *bjarga* (*bjarg þú*) 5; *en* (*enn*) 8; *hogr* (*hugr*), *til handa* (*handa*) 9; *meir* (*meira*) 11; *megit* (*megi at*) 13; *þar* (*þér*) 15/2.

From *Fj*: *skiðgarði* (*forgarði*) 3; *hér* and *nú* omitted, *em* (*er*) 4; *Valkaldr* (*Várkaldr*) 6; *vilja* (*vilda*), *ríki stýrir* (*ríki hefir*) 7; *of lagit* (*lagit*), *kemsk* (*kemt*), *ef* (*of*) 16; *ok* added 19/6; *konr* (*konur*) 22; *Dorri* (*Dori*) 34; *svikum* (*sjúk*) 36; *sitja* (*syngja*) 37; *ok* (*ef*), *þarfar* (*þarfir*) 39; *raku Fj* 47 (*rakums* = *rákumk*, see p. 141); *hefik* (*hefi ek*) 48; *þú* (*nú*) 49; *ævi ok aldri* (*ævi aldri*) 50.

c. Authority of the Langebek Variants.

Several of the Langebek readings are extremely plausible. Like most modern editors, I accept the following seven into the reconstructed text:

til handa Gróg 9 (**St Ra handa**); *þar Gróg* 15/2 (**St Ra þér**); *of lagit Fj* 16 (**St Ra lagit**); *kemsk Fj* 16 (**St kemt, Ra komt**); *ef Fj* 16 (**St Ra of**); *sitja Fj* 37 (**St Ra syngja**); *ævi ok aldri Fj* 50 (**St Ra ævi aldri**).

In addition, many editors (Bugge, Sijmons) accept *vilja* for *vilda* in *Fj* 7 and in each repetition of the question formula to *Fj* 41. See pp. 6-7 for my rejection of this.

The superiority of the seven readings I accept into the emended text is such that it is likely that they stood in the lost medieval exemplar, **X**. It would therefore be pleasing indeed to see their presence in the Langebek group as evidence that this group represents an authentic line of descent from this lost original — presumably one independent of **X2**. But there are four arguments against this:

1. If these seven readings had come to the Langebek group by descent from **X**, it is very difficult to explain their absence from other MSS. Especially, one would expect them to appear in the ungrouped MSS dealt with in the next section. Yet the only occurrences of any of these seven readings outside this group are:

til in *Gróg* 9: in the margin of **1872**;

þar in *Gróg* 15: in the margin of **1872**;

of lagit in *Fj* 16: **2797 1872** (margin);

kemsk in *Fj* 16: in the margin of **1872**;

ef in *Fj* 16: **2797 1872** (margin);

sitja in *Fj* 37: **2797 1872** (margin);

ok in *Fj* 50: **2797 1867 M**.

The confinement of these readings to **2797** and **1872**, almost alone of all the MSS outside the Langebek group, and the high frequency of other Langebek readings in these two MSS (and **M 1867**) suggests that they appear in those MSS by contamination rather than descent.

2. Many of the other Langebek variants are of the type all too familiar from the B text: particularly, the scribe drops words he thinks dispensable

(cf. p. 197). As in the B text, this abbreviation hints at a late (seventeenth or eighteenth century) reviser.

3. Several of the variants damage the sense, in a manner that suggests (as very often in the B text) a reviser who does not fully understand what is in front of him:

— *bjarga* in *Gróg* 5 loses Svipdagr's despairing imperative;

— *Valkaldr* in *Fj* 6 is clever, but dissipates the wintry associations of the series of assumed names in this stanza (cf. p. 356-7);

— *konr* in *Fj* 22 is just nonsense, as is *hogr* in *Gróg* 9;

— *pú þat varð* in *Fj* 49 looks plausible on its own, but makes no sense in its context.

Such innovations put one in mind of the textual vandalism of the B text and imply a late reviser.

4. Most telling is *skíðgarði* in *Fj* 3. This is a consciously learned adaptation. In both the prose before verse 11 of *Skí* and in ch. 14 of *Hrólfs saga kraka* the protagonist's way is barred by a *skíðgarðr*. In each case, there is some analogy with the situation of *Fj*: in *Skí* the protagonist is similarly on a wooing mission; in *Hrólfs saga* the hero is actually named Svipdagr.

But the analogy does not hold in either case. Skírnir is not wooing for himself and there seems no connection between the Svipdagr of *Hrólfs saga* and that of *Sv*; see pp. 343-4. The situations of *Hrólfs saga* and *Sv* are quite different. The *skíðgarðr* there bars Svipdagr's entry to King Aðils, and so he simply breaks it down. What is more: in *Fj* 3 *skíðgarði* is metrically a very awkward reading, for it forces the alliteration to fall on the preposition *fyr*.

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A reviser who knew his older literature well enough to import *skíðgarðr* into *Fj* 3 was certainly capable of modelling *ok ek vilja vita* of *Fj* 7 on the identical line in *Skí* 3, and *sitja sáttar* of *Fj* 37 on *sitja ... sáttir* in *Vafþr* 41. The other variants might be simply thoughtful emendation.

Therefore, the Langebek variants result from deliberate and late revision, probably in the eighteenth century. It is an intelligent and well-informed revision, but it is a revision nonetheless.

d. Source of the base text of the Langebek group

If we remove the contamination of the B readings and the numerous revisions from the text of these MSS, what are we left with? Interestingly, the base-text of the Langebek group does not seem close to either **St** or **Ra**. Very few of either of the two distinctive groups of variants — the St and Ra readings — which typify MSS descended from either of these, or from MSS closely associated with them, are found in these five MSS: thus the group profile for **1869**, p. 213. The Ra variants in these MSS may arrive by contamination from the B tradition rather than by direct descent.

It therefore appears that the base-text of the Langebek group descends from **X2** by a MS distinct from both **St** and **Ra**. I call this MS **X4**.

However, the Langebek MSS are so polluted by B readings and by late revision that it would be impossible to disentangle what is there by direct descent, what by scribal innovation. The seven readings introduced from them into the emended text (p. 214) are all taken as scribal emendations.

2.10 Ungrouped A text MS.

Seven MSS remain which can not be assigned with confidence to any of the groups earlier discussed. These are, with their approximate dates in brackets: **P** (1760), **1491** (c. 1760), **1867** and **M** (c. 1760), **J** (1792), **1609** (1810), **2797** (c. 1830). **1867** and **M** were written by the same scribe; apart

from that none of these MSS is sufficiently like any other to be a copy of any other.

At least some of these appear to derive from **X2** by a MS distinct from either **St** or **Ra**. As with the Langebek group, I denote this MS by **X4**. I do not assert that the **X4** behind the Langebek MSS and the **X4** behind some (at least) of the ungrouped MSS must be a single MS: rather, I use the symbol **X4** as a convenient representation of a MS tradition distinct from that of **St** or **Ra**. It denotes a collection of similar MSS, much as the symbols **X8** and **X9** probably do, rather than just one MS.¹

a. 1491; 1609; 1867 and M; 2797.

The scarcity of **St** and **Ra** variants in these five MSS suggests that the base text of all five may not derive from **St** or **Ra**. However, all five show significant evidence of contamination. For example, **1491**:

	<i>Totals</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Margin</i>
Totals in MS		963	0
B text	248	20	0
Ra	37	4	0
Stockholm	53	7	0
St	30	6	0
Egilsson	29	6	0
Luxdorph	60	0	0
Langebek	97	7	0

Many of the variants from the characteristic groups in these MSS are specially distinctive and more likely to have arrived in these MSS by contamination rather than coincident variation. Thus:

In **1491** —

B variants: *Gróg*: *muni* 5; *at allt* 6; *Fj*: *eldi* 5, *þrimgaull* 10,
geð 18;

¹ It is certain, for instance, that the **X4** MS used as an exemplar by Páll Sveinsson for **1491** must be distinct from that used by any of the other MSS descended from **X4**. See p. 220 below.

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Ra variants: *fylva* Fj 29;

Stockholm variants: *sem* Fj 24;

St variants: *sefr* omitted in Fj 16;

Egilsson variants: *svá* Sum Fj 41.

In 1609 (*Gróg* only):

B variants: *enn* 3x for *inn*: 9, 12, 13; *megi* 12, *standi* 15,
manst 16.

Stockholm variants: *skaustu*, *Gaglvegi* 3, 9.

St variants: *eldu* 10.

In 1867 and M:

B variants: *inn*, *nú*, *er* omitted *Gróg* 8, 15, Fj 28.

Stockholm variants: *Gróg*: *kumbldysjar* 1, *leifnis* 10; *sá at* Fj 9.

St variants: *Gróg*: *leiks* 1, *eldu* 10; Fj: *sefr* omitted 16.

Langebek variants: *megit* *Gróg* 13; Fj: *nú* omitted 4, *svikum* 36,
hefik 48; *ok* added Fj 19/6, 50/6.

In 2797:

B variants: *Gróg*: *farvegir* 4, *muni* 5; Fj: *hæstan* 2, *bíðr at* 3,
apti at fá 5, *mundak* 5, *man* 7, *vaðofnis* 18, *vitu* 20,
Barri 34, *flestum* 48, *vælt* 49.

Ra variants: *Gróg*: *á* 7, *mimis* 14; Fj: *á* 23, *fylva* 29.

Stockholm variants. *Gróg*: *fara* 8, *leifnis* 10; Fj: *uri* 34.

St variants: *Gróg*: *leiks* 1; Fj: *kemt* 16.

Luxdorph variants: *Gróg*: *pinn* 9, *eldir* 10, *kynni* 12; Fj: *gulli* 23,
atvarðr 34.

Langebek variants; *Gróg*: *en* 8; Fj: *skíðgarði* 3, *em* 4, *vilja* 7,
konr 22, *Dorri* 34, *sitja* 37, *hefik* 48, *ok* added 50/6.

In four of these five MSS —**1609 1867 M 2797** — contamination is so extensive as to make discrimination of the base text of each MS uncertain. These contain significant numbers of distinctive readings from at least two different groups of A text MSS, with the Langebek MSS especially influential. Although I assign all four to **X4** in the stemma, I do so without conviction.

Furthermore, all four are very eclectic MSS. The scribes of **1867** (who also wrote **M**) and **2797** especially had access to many MSS and freely drew readings from where they might; see the entries in the Appendix. Even if the base-text of these MSS is derived from **X4**, all four are too contaminated to be reliable witnesses to that text.

On the face of it, **1491** is a much better prospect. It contains rather fewer contaminated readings than the others (50, compared to 66 for **1867** and 95 for **2797**). Its scribe, Páll Sveinsson, was exceptionally well-placed to have access to the very best text (see p. 450), and — from his note on the first page of the *MŠ*, see p. 452 below — he appears to have sought out just this for his exemplar of *SE*. Unfortunately, while Páll's exemplar for the **CR** poems was based on Þórður Jónsson's excellent copy of **CR** (or may itself have been Þórður's MS), his exemplar for the other poems of *SE* was very poor. Páll himself complains in a note on p. 457 of the MS of the *viðvaningur* — the incompetent — who wrote this exemplar, and so **1491** contains a rich harvest of unique but quite absurd readings. Thus from *Gróg*:

humbl dysjar 1; *afo* 5; *rendr* 6; *sefir* 9; *hræra kulði*, *haldið urleik*
12.

and so on. There is no question of *difficilior lectio* here: these are just misreadings of a poorly written MS. From the paucity of *St* and *Ra* readings in **1491**, it is likely that it is indeed based on **X4**. But there are so

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many misreadings that it would be impossible to separate the genuine from the false.

Two readings are accepted from these five ungrouped MSS into the emended text, both from **2797**. See p. 21 for these and their likely status as scribal emendations.

b. P; J

Like the other five ungrouped MSS, **P** and **J** contain few of either the **St** or **Ra** readings:

P	<i>Totals</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Margin</i>
Totals in MS		951	3
B text	248	8	2
Ra	37	5	0
Stockholm	53	2	0
St	30	6	0
Egilsson	29	1	0
Luxdorph	60	0	0
Langebek	97	4	0

J			
Totals in MS		1134	2
B text	248	11	0
Ra	37	4	0
Stockholm	53	4	0
St	30	6	0
Egilsson	29	3	0
Luxdorph	60	0	0
Langebek	97	2	0

Independent descent of **P** and **J** from **X2** and their closeness to **X2**

The proportion of **St** and **Ra** variants in these two MSS is slightly greater than one might expect from coincident variation, but too low to suggest derivation of the base text of either MS from either **St** and **Ra**. The few **St** and **Ra** variants in the two MSS are likely to have arrived via sporadic contamination. Contamination from the **B** MSS is clearly present in **P**'s

marginal reading *lifendum lífs* in *Fj* 3. This is one of the very few marginalia in that MS and declares itself a conscious import.

Neither MS appears descended from either **St** or **Ra**. However, from certain striking readings and spellings shared by **P J** with **St Ra** it appears that both MSS are very closely related to the same exemplar as that of **St** and **Ra**, the hypothetical **X2**:

1. All four of **St Ra P J** have identical, or near-identical, readings at the cruces in *Fj* 13, 24 and 34:

Fj 13/5-6: *er gifur rekar giorþa fyrir (for P) londin
lim;*

Fj 24/6: *Surtar Siñ mautu (mantu Ra);*

Fj 34/5-6: *var þar liðski Alfur Loki.*

2. **P** and **J** have the same unusual -fv- (or -fu-) spellings for intervocalic f as **St** and **Ra**, similarly distributed: *afui St Ra P J Gróg* 5, *ǧfva St* (margin) **Ra P** (*ǧva St J*) *Gróg* 15; cf *sefva P J* (*sefa St Ra*) *Fj* 4 (cf. p. 41 fn).

3. **P** and **J** have the same unusual *eðir* and *aðir* spellings as **St** and **Ra**, similarly distributed: *eðir* 2x **St Ra P**, 1x **J** *Fj* 2; *aðir* **St Ra P J** *Fj* 30 (cf. p. 41 fn). Thus part of *Fj* 2 in **P**:

*eþir þvers þu a
leitom ert
eþir þvat viltu*

and in **J**:

*eðr þvers þu a leitom ert
eþir þvat viltu vínlaus vita*

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Compare the same words in **St Ra**, pp. 41-2. Considering the distance between these four MSS in time and space — between c. 1675 for **St**, in Sweden since 1681, up to c. 1792 for **J**, written in Iceland — the closeness of the four MSS, even down to fine points of orthography, is remarkable.

The value of **P** and **J**

The purity of the text in **P** and **J** — despite their late date (**P**: 1760; **J**: 1792) — is extraordinary. There is no sign of the contamination from the influential Langebek and Luxdorph groups which marks the other ungrouped MSS.

Insofar as **P** and **J** are free of the characteristic errors included in the **St** and **Ra** readings, the two MSS actually appear superior to the older **St** and **Ra**. The editor long considered giving **P** and **J** equal status with **St** and **Ra**. In fact, **P** and **J** have errors of their own: e.g. **P** *lefnis Gróg* 10/4, *laupla Fj* 18/6; **J** *hverju* omitted *Gróg* 2/3. Also, there is only one reading possibly absent from **St Ra**, present in **P J**, and accepted into the emended text. This is *flærat Fj* 20 **P J**: **Ra** has simply *flær* while **St** divides this as *flær at* (perhaps interpreting *at* as adverbial). The preservation of the negative enclitic here by both **P** and **J**, *difficilior lectio* for late scribes who characteristically mishandle negative enclitics (see pp. 25-8), is impressive. But *flærat* could be inferred from **St**'s *flær at*.

The affirmation of the value of **J** is especially interesting. In his brief survey of the MSS of Sv Jónas Kristjánsson selected this as the best choice for the base of an edition ('til grundvallar útgáfunni'; 1987, 15). However the closeness of **P** and **J** to **St** and **Ra**, while confirmation of their excellence, also means that they do not add to the text derived from those two MSS.

2.11 Conclusion

The reconstruction given in this chapter confirms the choice of **St** and **Ra** as the base for the emended text. Among the other forty three MSS here analysed, three groups of MSS — the B text, Luxdorph and Langebek groups — contain many distinct and late revisions. The freedom of **St** and **Ra** from these revisions affirms their value.

Further, thirty one of the other forty three MSS appear descended from either **St** or **Ra**. Ten of the twelve that do not appear descended from either **St** or **Ra** exhibit extensive signs of revision (the five Langebek MSS) or of contamination (the ungrouped MSS **1491 1609 1867 M 2797**). Only **P** and **J** appear independent and reliable. But these two MSS add nothing to the store of readings available from **St** and **Ra**.

The choice of **St** and **Ra** as closest to **X2** and most likely to represent its readings accurately remains undisturbed.

TABLE TWO. Comparison of the narrative framework and constituent motifs of *Svipdagsmál*, *Culhwch* and *Art*.

Notes :- indicates motif not found in text ; [] indicates motif exclusive to text ; (?) indicates assumption ; * indicates motif widespread.

<i>Svipdagsmál</i>	<i>Art</i>	<i>Culhwch</i>	<i>Norse Analogues</i>	<i>Celtic Analogues</i>
1. The young hero, Svipdagr.	The young hero, Art.	The young hero, Culhwch.	* : Sigurðr, Helgi, etc	* : Cúchulainn, etc.
2. Mother's death, father's remarriage-	Mother's death, father's remarriage [Stepmother assumes name of future bride; infertility follows remarriage; "son of sinless couple" episode.]	Mother's death, father's remarriage [Hero's birth and naming; episode of "two headed briar" leads to father's remarriage.]	* : stjúpmeðrasgur	* : Rónan, Lfr, etc.
3. Loss of a board game - > malevolent stepmother's curse > dangerous wooing journey	Loss of a board game - > lustful stepmother's curse > dangerous wooing journey.	[Refusal to marry his stepsister -] > stepmother's curse > dangerous wooing. [Culhwch's admission to Arthur's court; Arthur's offer of help and the naming of his knights.]	Icel, Scand. folk tales. * : stjúpmeðrasgur <i>Hjálmpés</i> (folk tales?)	{ * folk tales; <i>Étráin</i> { <i>Fróech Rónan Inconnu</i> * : Rónan, Lfr, etc. cf <i>Rónan</i> , <i>Diarmaid</i> .
4. Svipdagr calls his dead mother from the grave to help him	Art visits a fairy on an otherworld island.	Culhwch, after a briefly described journey (see 6) meets his mother's amazingly strong sister.	cf: <i>Hervarar saga</i> .	- (<i>Finding of the Táin</i> ?) fairy relative helpers: <i>Emer</i> , <i>Fróech</i> .
5. The mother helps Svipdagr with charms and describes his journey, acting as guide.	The fairy guides Art to the heroine and describe his journey.	Culhwch's aunt points out to him where he can see Olwen, and enables them to meet.	cf: <i>Egils ok Asmund</i> , <i>Valdimars</i> , <i>Sturlaugs</i> .	<i>Immrana</i> , <i>Acallam</i> , <i>Emer</i> , folk tales.
6. Svipdagr must pass various dangers on his journey: i. floodwaters and seas ii. enemies (unspecified) iii. a deathly-cold mountain iv. an ogress v. a giant, with whom he must do verbal battle.	Art must pass various dangers on his journey, including: i. seas and an icy river ii. enemies (monsters, giants) iii. a cold mountain iv. an ogress v. a giant, whom he fights with words and blows.	Journey described earlier 4), briefly: three days difficult journey over a wide plain. [Red book only] [Motif of journey supplanted as a central motif of the wooing by the wonderful tasks, derived from AT 513A; see 13.]	cf: <i>Stí</i> ; journeys in Saxo.	<i>Acallam</i> , <i>Emer</i> . <i>Immrana</i> . <i>Acallam</i> , <i>Emer</i> <i>Emer</i> <i>Acallam</i> , <i>Emer</i> , <i>Tundali</i> <i>Emer</i> <i>Emer</i>
7. Svipdagr meets Fjolsviðr, a giant guardian of the heroine	Art meets the giant doorkeeper of the heroine's palace	Nine gatemen and the giant shepherd Custennin defend the palace.	cf: <i>Stí</i> ; <i>Hjálmpés</i> , <i>Kjalnesinga</i> .	cf: <i>Diarmaid</i> ; hostile giants of <i>Immrana</i> .

8. Fjolsviðr also acts as guide to the otherworld palace, and announces Svipdagr's coming.

Art forces a giant's wife to guide him to the heroine.

Custennin, his wife (Culch's aunt) and son help him win Olwen.

cf: *Egils ok Asmund*, *Valdimarsetc.*

Cellach, Ivain, Lady of the Fountain, Emer, Inconnu.

9. The heroine's palace:

i. the encircling vafrlogi

ii. the magic gate

iii. the magic wall

iv. guarded by dogs

v. the tree

vi. the invulnerable cock and his magic teinn

vii. palace poised on a spear's point; its beauty; its builders.

The heroine's palace:

i. -

ii. - (cf: narrow bridge)

iii. -

iv. lions; dog-headed giant

v. - (cf: forest)

vi. -

- (cf. Cúroí's rod)

vii. palace set on a single pillar; its beauty;

The heroine's palace:

i. - (note: virtually no

ii. - description of the

iii. - palace in *Culhwch*)

iv. nine masstiffs guard it

v. -

vi. -

vii. -

Sigrdr etc.

valgrind, etc.

Málgarð ?

Ragnars (snake)

cf *Yggdrasill*

cf *Vsp*

mistletoe?

palaces of Gods;

Yngvars; rimur

Imramma, Nera etc.

Emer, etc.

-?

Fróech (snake)

cf *Phantom's Frenzy*

various magic wands?
immramma magic islands;
síð dwellings, grianán,
folktales; *Fled Bricrend*.

10. The heroine, Menglǫð:

i. an otherworld maiden;

a giant's daughter (?)

ii. her complete sovereignty over her palace

iii. associations with healing

iv. her company of maidens; their protective powers.

The heroine, Delbchaem:

i. an otherworld maiden;

a giant's daughter (?)

ii. the prisoner of her kin;

no independent authority

iii. no healing associations

iv. other maidens mentioned; little said of them.

The heroine, Olwen:

i. an otherworld maiden and a giant's daughter

ii. the prisoner of her kin;

no independent authority

iii. no healing associations

iv. no other maidens mentioned.

* : *Gerðr* in *Stk*;

Egils ok Asmund, etc.

* folktales; cf *Fróech*, *Emer*.

"Sovereignty of Erin":

Phantom's Frenzy, etc.

* fairy healers, *Fróech*

* fairies of immramma etc.

11. Menglǫð is closely guarded so none but her destined lover may come to her.

Delbchaem is closely guarded as her mother will die if Delbchaem is wooed.

Olwen is closely guarded as her father will die upon his daughter's marriage.

* *Ragnars, Snurlaugs*, etc.
* *Dinn Ríg, Emer*, etc.

12. Svipdagr and Menglǫð feel love-in-absence for each other.

The step-mother and the heroine feel love-in-absence for Art.

Culhwch feels love-in-absence for Olwen.

HHund I;
* in *lygisgur*

* *Oenghus, Táin, Dinn Ríg* etc.

13. Svipdagr wins his bride because his name indicates he is her destined husband.

Art wins Delbchaem after killing her mother, father, brother (?), and various other opponents.

Culhwch wins Olwen after the doing of many tasks (see 6), and the killing of her father.

cf: *Le Bel Inconnu*,
Coll. of Two Sages.

14. Svipdagr (probably) lives in Menglǫð's palace.

Art returns to his homeland with Delbchaem.

It is not stated where Culhwch and Olwen live after marriage.

cf: story of *Njörð* and *Skadi*.

Le Bel Inconnu;
Connla etc.

II.1. Sources and Analogues for the Narrative of *Svipdagsmál*: Introduction

This section attempts to reconstruct the background of stories and models known to the author of Sv, the better to appreciate the nuances of his handling of his material.

There have been only three studies of the analogues of Sv. The first was that of Falk 1893, who gives a still-useful resumé of the analogues. Since then, the scholarship of this century has made available a wealth of new material. Much Celtic material, particularly important to this study, has been edited, translated and discussed.¹ Collections of folklore, some of them massive, have been accumulated in the countries which concern this study.² The great indices of story and motif associated with the Folklore Fellows have made these and much else readily accessible.³

¹ Thus Rudolf Thurneysen's *Die Irische Helden- und Königsage* 1921; the publications of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies; the work of Dillon, the O'Rahillys, the Rees brothers, Meyer, Stokes, Murphy, Jackson, Mac Cana and many others (see Bibliography). When one considers that the *Táin* was not translated until 1904 (W. Faraday) and not printed till 1905 (E. Windisch) one comprehends how handicapped earlier scholars were.

² E.g. the mass of manuscript material (over 1,250,000 pages in 1963) preserved in the archives of the Irish Folklore Commission, *Ó Súilleabháin* 1963, 7-8, almost all collected this century. A convenient survey is Appendix B "Principal Collections of Folktales" in Thompson 1946, 467-79.

³ Thus the seminal classification of popular tales in A. Aarne *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen*, FFC 3, 1910; latest translated and enlarged edition Thompson 1961 (see Bibliography, AT 1961). Classifications of the popular tales of Ireland and Iceland following the AT principles have been published by *Ó Súilleabháin* 1963 and Sveinsson 1929; Christiansen 1959 surveys the relationship between Irish and Scandinavian versions of particular popular tales. Thompson's *Motif Index* (see Bibliography, ST 1955) is a landmark in the study of individual motifs; p. 67-466 of his *The*

The two modern studies of Sveinsson 1975 and Talbot 1976 both draw variously on this new reservoir of material. Talbot points out several analogues not observed by earlier scholars, though her monograph is marred (like that of Falk) by excessive speculation; see pp. 334-5 below. The only fault with Einar Sveinsson's lucid discussion is that one would wish it longer. Here as everywhere else in this edition I build on his perceptions.

Analogues for the narrative of *Sv* are found in three separate traditions: in Celtic, in Icelandic, and in Scandinavian ballads. Each is discussed in separate chapters. Chapter two deals with the Celtic material, chapter three with the Icelandic and chapter four with the ballads.

Considerable difficulties attend the use of this material. Many of the Celtic sources especially have been radically altered in the interval between original composition and final preservation; the date and location of composition of all these are usually approximate at best; relations between different parts of these traditions remain obscure.¹ Autograph MSS do not exist in this field and it is all too easy to find oneself comparing quicksand with quicksand. Against such difficulties there is no specific except caution.

Folktale 1946 gives a readable account of popular tale scholarship and a selected bibliography.

¹ The introduction to Cecile O'Rahilly's 1967 edition of the Book of Leinster version of the *Táin* illustrates the complexities of the relationships between the various redactions of Old Irish texts (especially pp. xiv-xvi).

II.2 The Celtic Background to Sv

Grundtvig *DgF* II 238-9 was the first critic to see the roots of Sv in Celtic tradition, observing the essential identity of the plot of Sv with that of the Welsh prose narrative *Culhwch ac Olwen* (*Culhwch*).¹ Falk 1893, 334 elaborated on this, observing that *Culhwch* could not itself be the source of Sv and supposing that both Sv and *Culhwch* were descended from an apparently lost Celtic, probably Irish, source. Sveinsson 1957, 20 agreed, remarking of Sv and related folktales that "there is hardly any doubt that the Icelandic tales are derived from a Gaelic parallel of *Culhwch*."

When Sveinsson published this study in 1957 the existence of something like such a "Gaelic parallel" had already been pointed out by H. R. Ellis in her *Road to Hel*, published in 1943 (p. 177). This is the tale *Eachtra Airt meic Cuind ocus tochmarc Delbchaime ingine Morgain* 'The Adventures of Art Son of Conn, and the Courtship of Delbchaem Daughter of Morgan' (*Art*).² Sveinsson later noted the parallel with *Art* —

¹ First edited, with English translation, by Guest 1849, II 197-248. Grundtvig and Falk used this translation as the basis of their discussion of the Celtic background to Sv. It has now been edited by R. Bromwich and D. S. Evans, Cardiff 1988. I refer throughout to the translation of Jones 1974, 95-136; full details of other editions and translations are given by Edel 1980, 267-9. The introduction of the Bromwich and Evans edition and Edel 1980 are the most recent full studies of *Culhwch*; discussion of particular aspects may be found in Bromwich 1954, Jackson 1961 and Owen 1968, with useful surveys in Parry 1955, Foster 1959 and Mac Cana 1977. A lively and readable account of the narrative is given by Jones 1972, 65-122. The date of *Culhwch* is discussed on p. 255.

² Preserved in one manuscript, the fifteenth century Book of Fermoy (RIA 23 E 29); there is only one edition, Best 1907. Best's edition includes a translation, reissued with slight revisions in Cross 1935, 490-503. I know of only one study which concentrates on *Art*, that by O'Hehir 1983. Incidental mention of *Art* may be found in Ellis Davidson 1943, 177, Mac

apparently independent of Ellis — in articles in *Skírnir* in 1960 and *Béaloideas* 1975, and himself dealt at length with the links between the two works in his *Löng er för*, published in 1975.

The question of the precise nature of the relationship between Sv, *Culhwch* and *Art* has not been thoroughly examined. The following discussion will attempt a comparison of the narrative frameworks of Sv, *Culhwch* and *Art*, and seek to explain the exact relationship between the three works.

A note about terminology. Throughout this study I use the word "Irish" in the same sense as Christiansen 1959: that is, to include Scottish-Gaelic tradition. The word "Celtic" is used for all the peoples of Celtic descent, including the Welsh and the Bretons. I use the term "early Celtic literature" to include all the surviving literature tracable to these peoples and extant before about 1450 (see further on these terms Christiansen 1959, 6-7). I follow Thurneysen 1946, 1, 673 in my use of the terms "Old Irish", "Middle Irish" and "Modern Irish", with the divisions set around 900 AD and 1450 AD respectively.

Canan 1955, 390-2, Bruford 1966 (see index to that book), Dumville 1976, 73, 92, Talbot 1976, 104-6, Mac Mathúna 1985, 258-60. There are no entries for *Art* in Baumgarten 1986. The date of *Art* is discussed on pp. 255-8.

1. The Identity of the Narrative of *Sv*, *Culhwch* and *Art*

Table Two, pp. 225-6, compares the narrative sequence of *Sv*, *Culhwch* and *Art*. The fourth and fifth columns summarize the currency of each motif in *Sv* elsewhere in the traditions here discussed.

The synopsis of *Sv* given in Table Two accepts the reconstruction of the narrative of *Sv* first outlined by Bugge (p. 285 below). *Gróg* and *Fj* are a single narrative and Bugge's crucial emendations are accepted: those of *Gróg* 3/2 (*skaut*), 3/6 (*Menglōðu*) and *Fj* 49/6 (omission of MSS *aptr*; as also the emendation of *Fj* 5/2 proposed in this edition). Because this reconstruction is based on the parallels with *Ungen Svendal* (see further p. 286-91) and not on the Celtic material one may use it with less fear of circularity.

Table Two shows that in all three of *Sv*, *Culhwch* and *Art* the following eight motifs together constitute the narrative structure of the story:

1. The youth of the hero is emphasized (Point 1 of Table 2).
2. After his mother's death and subsequent remarriage the hero is sent on a dangerous wooing by his malevolent stepmother's curse (Points 2 and 3).
3. The hero is helped by a woman with supernatural associations (Points 4 and 5).
4. The hero encounters a giant who opposes his progress; this giant, or another monstrous creature, then proves a help to him (Points 7 and 8).
5. The heroine is an otherworld maiden and has many of the characteristics of a giant's daughter, if she is not in fact one (Point 10).

6. The heroine is closely guarded (Point 11), and all three have her guarded by animals (Point 9.iv).
7. Love-in-absence figures in the story (Point 12).
8. The story ends with the hero winning the otherworld bride; there is no sequel of the "lost bride" (Point 14; see pp. 238-40).¹

2. Possible Explanations of the Identity of Narrative

For all three stories we have the identical narrative sequence: a hero is cursed by his stepmother to go on a dangerous wooing of an otherworld maiden, probably a giant's daughter. He has not seen her before; he is helped by a woman with supernatural associations and by an ogre; he overcomes all dangers and the wooing is successful.

This section discusses five possible explanations of the essential identity of the narrative of these stories.²

2.1 Coincidence

According to this explanation, the identity of the three stories is simple coincidence. They are the result of separate authors independently arriving at exactly the same combination of motifs into exactly the same narrative structure. This is not plausible.

To find two or three of motifs (1) to (8) listed above together in three separate stories might be fortunate; to find all eight together can hardly be

¹ Neither of the only two scholars who have dealt in any detail with the links between *Sv*, *Culhwch* and *Art* — Sveinsson 1975 and Talbot 1976 — remark all these parallels. Neither, for instance, note the ambiguous role of "the Porter to the Otherworld", points 7 and 8 of Table 2.

² The five alternatives here given comprehend the suggestions made concerning the individual and collective origins of *Sv*, *Culhwch* and *Art* by Falk 1893, Jackson 1961, Sveinsson 1975, Talbot 1976 and Sims-Williams 1982a, b.

coincidence. It is not as if these motifs are commonly found together. Thus the formation of the basic framework of the plot of all three by what Rachel Bromwich, writing of *Culhwch*, called "a skilful dovetailing of two folklore motifs: the 'jealous stepmother' and the 'giant's daughter'".¹ While these two motifs were separately widespread in both early Celtic and Icelandic tradition — as Table Two shows — they appear linked together in surviving texts only in these three works and in later works demonstrably related to them, such as *Hjálmþés saga* and the *Ungen Svendal* ballads.²

Three different authors might have independently joined the "jealous stepmother" and elements of the "giant's daughter" motifs. It appears inconceivable that the same three authors who alone linked together these two motifs also chose — quite independently — exactly the same six other motifs to expand the tale.

2.2 One tale as a source for the other two

The second of these hypotheses, that one of the tales was itself a source for the other two, is also not tenable. Beyond the shared core of story the tales vary so widely that none of the three can be a direct source for any other. Thus the exact manner of the hero's winning of the bride (Point 13 of Table Two): Svipdagr wins her by declaring his name; Art must slaughter her family and other giants; in *Culhwch* an amazing series of tasks must be performed.

Further, as the square-bracketed sections of Table Two show, the narrative of each story is elaborated in a quite distinct manner:

¹ 1954, 106. For the giant associations of Menglǫð see *Fj 1 þursa þjóðar sjǫr*; cf. p. 249.

² For discussion of *Hjálmþés saga* and the Scandinavian ballads see pp. 269-72, 285-98.

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1. *Art* interpolates exotic material concerning Druids, human sacrifice and the children of sinless couples (Point 2 of Table Two).
2. *Culhwch* links the narrative to the international popular tale motif of "Six go through the whole world", AT 513A, including a series of impossible tasks performed by the hero's remarkable helpers (Points 6 and 13), and adds a vast catalogue glorifying Arthur's knights (Point 3).
3. Over half of the narrative of *Sv* is taken up with an account of the heroine's palace and its surrounds.

No trace of any of these individual traits in each work is found in any of the others.

The different names of the characters found in *Sv*, *Culhwch* and *Art* also argue against any one being the direct source of the other two. The names of the major characters in the three stories are unrelated to each other phonologically or etymologically and related only vaguely semantically, if at all. The names of the heroines are quite dissimilar: Menglōð "gracious of necklace", Delbchaem "beautiful shape" while Olwen "fair" is glossed in *Culhwch* as "white-track". The heroes' names are even more varied: Svipdagr "day-visage" and Culhwch "pig-run" while Art is a legendary king of Ireland.¹ This lack of correspondence extends to the minor and incidental characters: there does not seem to be any relationship between any of the hundreds of names in *Culhwch* and any of the forty-seven in *Art* or the fifty in *Sv*.

¹ The names Culhwch and Olwen are thus glossed in *Culhwch*, Jones 1974, 95, 111. For the etymology of Svipdagr and Menglōð see pp. 345, 354-5 below. The RIA Dictionary 1913-76, 416 gives four words corresponding to "Art", signifying respectively "bear", "stone", "god" and "power".

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The divergences between the plots and the names found in Sv, *Culhwch* and *Art* forbid derivation of any of these three from any other, as we have them.

2.3 The three stories are based on a myth

I use "myth" here in the broad sense of ST I, 20: a motif or tale having to do with gods, creation or the nature of the world.¹ Many authors have seen mythical elements in each of these stories: see pp. 253-4, 326-35.

As the fundamental narrative structures of Sv, *Culhwch* and *Art* are so closely related one cannot sensibly discuss the possibility of a mythological source for any one of these three without referring to the other two. Whatever else it might have been the story immediately underlying all three was not a myth. Essential to all three narratives, and therefore to the original of all three, is the figure of the cruel stepmother whose curse sends the hero on his dangerous wooing. One may ask what sort of myth it is in which the hero has a cruel stepmother.

One can evade this by arguing that the cruel stepmother is a late and unintelligent addition to an original myth, as does Talbot 1976, 174-5; see further p. 334-5 below. It is not credible that in all three stories exactly the same addition should have been made. If one wishes to retain the notion of an origin in myth for the three, one would have to accept that the original myth has been modified by addition of the stepmother motif to create the story on which all three works are based. This amounts to abandonment of the hypothesis that all three are based directly on a myth.

¹ For a full discussion of the nature of myth, particularly stressing modern scholars who see myth as exploratory or explicatory of the nature of the world (e.g. Lévi-Strauss and his followers; Jung and Cassirer) see G.S. Kirk *Myth: its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures* Cambridge, 1970.

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This does not deny that there is material of very great mythological interest in the three works, and in *Culhwch* in particular.¹ But it is one thing to identify genuinely old mythological matter among the detail and motifs of a story, another to show that the immediate source for the story was a myth. On the evidence of (for example) Talbot and Motz's studies discussed pp. 332-5 below, the narrative framework common to *Sv*, *Culhwch* and *Art* can only be made to correspond to any known myth by radical excision of parts of that narrative framework and speculative interpretation or alteration of other parts. The hypothesis that the narrative structure common to *Sv*, *Culhwch* and *Art* is based directly on the one myth cannot be sustained.

2.4 The three stories are based on an international popular tale

This explanation sees the three stories as based on an international popular tale, independently current in each of Ireland, Iceland and Wales. This choice is important in that it would provide a convenient solution for those who while acknowledging the essential identity of the three stories wish to deny that a tale might have travelled from one of these three countries into the literature of the other two.² Furthermore, many of the eight motifs I list above as common to these three tales are independently widespread —

¹ Even so severe a critic of the "mythological school" of critical exegesis as K. H. Jackson admits that *Culhwch* contains mythological material of great age (1959, 15).

² E.g. the two articles by Sims-Williams 1982a and 1982b, which lean heavily on the origins of *Culhwch* in popular tale in support of his denial of direct Irish literary influence on *Culhwch*. De Vries 1941, II 214-17 also argues that "Märchenmotive" lie behind *Sv*, though he thinks these have come to *Sv* through ballad poetry; see pp. 337-9 and Jackson 1961, 111-2.

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sometimes staggeringly so — in international popular tales.¹ It would seem possible that there was a popular tale combining these eight motifs, and that this popular tale was separately current in each of the three countries which here concern us.

Just such a popular tale seems to lie conveniently to hand in AT 313, "the Tasks and the Magic Flight". The central narrative strand of AT 313 concerns a hero who succeeds in the dangerous wooing of a closely-guarded heroine: exactly the same basic frame as that of our story. Some of those variants of AT 313 which occur virtually everywhere the story is found increase the likeness. The hero is very often aided on his way to the heroine by a supernatural helper²; the heroine is very often a giant's daughter.³ Thus, a popular tale exists which is likely to have been current

¹ See, for instance, the entries in ST VI under the headwords "helper" p. 378, "journey" p. 433, "stepmother" p. 748.

² The motif of the "supernatural helper" might appear in AT 313 by combination with AT 513A, "Six go through the whole world" (as in *Culhwch* and the story of Jason and Medea), in which case the helpers aid the hero in the performance of the tasks. Or, the helper might help the hero on his way to the heroine, as in all of *Sv*, *Culhwch* and *Art*. This latter form of the motif, where the help is given before the hero meets the heroine, is very frequent in modern Irish versions of AT 313 (Christiansen 1959, 102). To judge from the analysis given of the five-hundred plus versions of AT 313 in Ó Súilleabháin 1963, 68-71 there are no modern Irish versions which combine AT 313 with AT 513A.

³ According to AT pp. 106-8, the motif of the heroine of AT 313 as the "ogre's daughter" is essential to the tale: hence the common alternative title "the giant's daughter" (Bromwich 1954, 106; Foster 1959, 32). See too p. 240, fn. 1 for evidence suggesting that particular types of heroines are characteristic of particular tales, and that the heroine as "giant's daughter" is specially characteristic of AT 313. In fact, in many of the instances of AT 313 discussed by Christiansen 1959 she is not a giant's daughter: in ten of the thirty Danish versions she is his captive, in about the same number his daughter, in another five a swan-maiden (1959, 88). This variation from what appears the original pattern is probably due to contamination by other popular tales.

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separately in all three countries as an international variant of AT 313 and which included the following motifs in its narrative:

1. The hero goes on a dangerous wooing;
2. The hero is aided on his way to the heroine by a supernatural helper;
3. The heroine is closely guarded;
4. The heroine is a giant's daughter;
5. The hero is successful in his wooing.

We need only add the motif of the cruel stepmother who sends the hero on his way and the motif of the porter to the otherworld and we have a story virtually identical with the narrative structure of *Sv*, *Culhwch* and *Art*. One might argue that individual adaptors in each of the three countries could have separately added these two motifs to the popular tale here outlined, together with such obvious embroideries as the motifs of the hero's youth and love-in-absence also found in all three of the stories.

However, there are major difficulties in the way of accepting that each of *Sv*, *Culhwch* and *Art* derives independently from such an international variant of AT 313 as I have outlined above. As its title "the Tasks and the Magic Flight" suggests the popular tale AT 313 is characterized by two motifs in particular:

1. The hero (not his helpers) performs a series of tasks in order to win the heroine;
2. The hero and the heroine flee magically from the dwelling of the heroine's giant father.

In addition, a third motif is found as a sequel to the hero's winning of the heroine in an immense number of variants:

3. After the flight, the hero forgets the heroine and must be reminded of her (the "forgotten bride" episode).¹

No trace of any of these three motifs is to be found in any of *Sv*, *Culhwch* and *Art*: the tasks episode in *Culhwch* is quite distinct from the motif of the tasks usual to AT 313.² Thus it must be argued that the creators of these stories were using an international variant of AT 313 which omitted all three. Variants of AT 313 which omit one or two of motifs (1), (2) and (3) above are not uncommon, but there appears to be no evidence that there was an "international variant" of AT 313 which omitted all three of these motifs.³ It seems unlikely that a variant of AT 313 was separately current in all three countries which omitted all three

¹ It is possible, as Christiansen 1959, 90 suggests, that the "forgotten bride" episode was not originally part of AT 313. Whether this is so or not, the "forgotten bride" variant appears in most of the countries where AT 313 is known (Christiansen 1959, 86): it is present, for instance, in over half the Irish versions, about half the Norwegian versions, all but five of the thirty Danish versions and eleven of the twelve Scots Gaelic ones (Christiansen 1959, 105, 85, 90, 108).

² The tasks in *Culhwch* are performed by the hero's helpers, not by the hero himself: from this as well as from their remarkable accomplishments it appears that the motif of the tasks in *Culhwch* derives from AT 513A, "Six go through the Whole World", rather than from a version of AT 313: (thus Jackson 1961, 74). As I noted p. 237 fn. 2 above, the helpers native to AT 313 help the hero by guiding him to the heroine, rather than by helping him in the performance of the tasks.

³ For evidence of versions of AT 313 which omit the motifs of the "forgotten bride" see fn. 1 above. Christiansen 1959, 104 notes that several Irish versions omit "the magic flight"; according to his study no version of AT 313 collected in Scandinavia or Ireland omits the "tasks" motif.

motifs of the tasks, magic flight and the forgotten bride, and which could have been the source of Sv, *Culhwch* and *Art*.

Of all the tale types outlined in AT, 313 comes nearest in narrative framework to Sv, *Culhwch* and *Art*. If we rule that out, no others even come close.¹ If no such tale exists now, the remarkable conservatism of the international popular tale makes it most unlikely any such tale ever existed.² Essentially, the argument that the three stories are separate versions of a popular tale returns us to the explanation of the identity of the stories from sheer coincidence: three separate authors independently arriving at exactly the same modification of a popular tale into identical narrative frames. Indeed, we must presume not just that the creators of Sv, *Culhwch* and *Art* (or their predecessors) chose quite separately to add the same motifs to such a tale as AT 313 but that they also all chose quite separately to omit exactly the same motifs from the popular tale.

Some caution is needed here, for the task of analysis of the immense mass of popular tale materials — especially that in Ireland — has barely

¹ AT 313 is the only tale among the outlines of popular tales involving wooing in AT in which the heroine is a giant's daughter. Thus, in AT 302 "The Ogre's Heart in the Egg" and AT 311 "Rescue by their Sister" the heroine (or heroines) has been abducted by the giant. In AT 400 "The Man on a Quest for his Lost Wife" the heroine is the hero's wife, or other relative, who has been lost because he broke a prohibition. In AT 530 "Princess on Glass Mountain" the heroine is simply there on the mountain, without explanation. This should not be stressed: the tale outlines given in AT are abstractions and in practice there is more variation in the types of heroines found in each tale than this suggests (see p. 237 fn. 3 above for instances of different types of heroines in Danish versions of AT 313).

² Cf. Jackson 1961, 9-22 on the "ubiquity and indestructibility" of the popular tale; Thompson 1946, 428-448 ("The Life History of a Folk-Tale" and especially p. 437, "The Law of Self-correction"); Christiansen 1959, 21 (the conservatism of Irish folk-tradition).

begun.¹ Ó Súilleabháin 1963, 68-71 lists over five hundred instances of AT 313 collected in Ireland in the last century. Christiansen 1928 surveys some twenty of these, and another thirty in his 1959 book. I have not been able to find any other study of them. It is quite possible that further inquiry might reveal evidence that a variant form of AT 313, not dissimilar to our story, was current in Ireland in living memory. To use Von Sydow's term, this would be an Irish "ecotype" of AT 313, a special type formed "through isolation inside and suitability for certain culture districts" (Von Sydow 1934, 349 fn. 7).

Even were the existence of such an ecotype to be established for Ireland, this would still fall far short of proving its currency outside and independent of Ireland. The comprehensive surveys of Sveinsson 1929 and Christiansen 1959 of Icelandic and Scandinavian popular tales show no trace of such an ecotype in those areas. Without accepting Von Sydow's more extreme assertion that "Folk tales *do not migrate*" (1934, 354; his emphasis), one can agree with him that an ecotype is likely to be specially characteristic of a particular and well-defined area. Its appearance outside that area is likely to be a result of borrowing or the migration of people from that area rather than of independent origin.

2.5 The three stories have a common source

This argues that the three stories are based on an original current in one of the three countries and carried from there to the other two countries. The

¹ An index of the Middle Welsh and later materials, corresponding to that of Cross 1952 for Ireland, is also needed. The materials so far accessible are sufficient to allow a general conclusion about the existence of a tale type in Ireland and Scandinavia. More research on the Irish material is necessary before one could assert conclusions about particular combinations of individual motifs in other than exceptional circumstances. One such exceptional circumstance is that of the "geasa -game", which has been studied unusually thoroughly by Christiansen 1959; see pp. 250-2.

hypothesis is relatively straightforward: the story was either created, adapted or adopted in one of the three countries and travelled from there to the other two. The historical relations between the three countries over the period of (say) 800 to 1100 make such a migration perfectly possible whereas all the alternative explanations appear improbable.

Therefore, I adopt as a working hypothesis the explanation that *Sv*, *Culhwch* and *Art* are all based on an original current in one of the three countries.

3. The First Currency of the Original Story in Ireland

It is assumed by Sveinsson 1957, 20 and other scholars (e.g. Falk 1893, 334) that the original version of the story found in *Sv*, *Culhwch* and *Art* was first current in Ireland when the Vikings were active in Ireland between around 800 and 1020 AD, and that the story was carried from there to Iceland and Wales respectively. This hypothesis of the original Irish currency of the story by these scholars appears based on the considerable historical evidence of the contact between the three countries at that time. The close relations in the ninth and tenth centuries between Iceland and Ireland, and between Wales and Ireland, are well-known and well-documented, as are those between Norse and Celt which persisted in the islands of Orkney and the Hebrides long after the ending of the Viking kingdom in Ireland.¹ In addition, there is little evidence of direct contact

¹ For the relations between Ireland and Iceland see Chadwick 1970, 100-09; Jóhannesson 1956b, I 30-34. Sigurðsson 1988, 35-40 reviews the evidence of physiological affinities between Celtic and Icelandic; Chesnutt 1970, 1971, 1972 gives bibliographic material. The relations between Ireland and Wales are examined by Chadwick 1970, 78-9, and most fully in O'Rahilly 1924. Almqvist 1978 recounts the historical evidence for a mixed Norse-Gaelic community in the islands of Orkney, noting the currency of certain unmistakably Celtic motifs in Orkney tradition. His

between Wales and Iceland.¹ The hypothesis that the original story was first current in Ireland is clearly consistent with these considerations.

However, the evidence of historical contact between the three countries only proves that the original story could have travelled from Ireland to the other two; it does not show that the story in fact did so. The issue of the migration of stories and cultural influences between Ireland, Iceland and Wales is one of the most debated topics in the medieval scholarship of the three countries.² While no one doubts the possibility of mutual influence between these countries, the extent and even the fact of such mutual influence are much contested. The argument concerning the

conclusion p. 103 is worth quoting in full: "There can be little doubt ... that the Norse and Gaelic speaking communities influenced one another, and that certain types and subtypes spread in either direction. A not inconsiderable part of this exchange is likely to have taken place in the Viking age within and via the kingdom of Orkney." A lucid review of Viking activity through the whole area is given by Chadwick 1962.

¹ Sveinsson 1957, 4. So too Loyn 1976, 22: "of the major political communities within these islands the Welsh on the whole suffered least and received least from the Men of the North"; this conclusion is supported by Richards' 1962 study of possible Norse place-names in Wales. Compare Charles 1934 for a different view.

² E.g. the two articles by P. Sims-Williams 1982a, 1982b which call into question the whole matter of the long-supposed Irish influence on middle Welsh literature. Christiansen 1959 is also inclined to be sceptical about Celtic influence on Norse (a factor that gives his arguments concerning the Irish provenance of the "*geasa*-game" motif in Icelandic particular authority), and notes p. 224 that "no Irish story — not even the name of an Irish hero — has been found in northern tradition." Against this Sveinsson 1957, 15 offers the opinion that *Kjalnesinga saga* contains echoes of tales of the youthful exploits of Cúchulainn and his son, with a certain "Konogofor" (= Conchobar?) appearing as king of the Irish. A summary of the history of scholarly debate on the Irish influence in the development of Icelandic saga-literature is given by Andersson 1964, 56-61.

first currency of the story in Ireland and its migration thence to Iceland and Wales cannot rely on the historical evidence alone.

Therefore, the following discussion will test the hypothesis that the story was first current in Ireland by comparison of the narrative framework and constituent motifs of *Sv*, *Culhwch* and *Art*. It will concentrate on those points on which two of the three works agree against the third in their treatment of a motif. From this, it may be possible to deduce which version is the more 'original', which represents a development away from that original.

3.1 The agreement of *Sv* and *Art* against *Culhwch* in the first part of the narrative

It is apparent from Table Two that *Art* and *Sv* agree against *Culhwch* on four points in the first part of the narrative.¹

a. The game and curse

In *Art* ch. 17, the curse — *geis* — is laid on the hero by the jealous stepmother following a game of fidchell (a board game bearing some similarity to chess). The stepmother wins, and imposes a curse on Art as her prize: "Thou shalt not eat food in Ireland until thou bring with thee Delbchaem, the daughter of Morgan". As Sveinsson 1975, 75 observes, it appears that Svipdagr is similarly cursed by his stepmother after losing a board-game, and that this is the explanation of the phrase *skjóta* ...

¹ The correspondences between *Art* and *Sv* have been worked out in great detail by Sveinsson 1975, 64-107, and I follow his discussion closely. He says nothing, however, about the correspondences between *Culhwch* and *Art* and appears to regard the *álög* "curse" motif as the only significant point of contact between *Sv* and *Culhwch* (1975, 63).

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leikborði which Svipdagr uses of the curse his stepmother places upon him.¹

This explanation is supported by the epithet *viljalauss*, used of Svipdagr in *Gróg* 7. This may be read "devoid of, deprived of will", and recalls the effect of a *geis* such as that laid on Art by his stepmother. A "positive *geis*" of this type, as Sveinsson 1957, 19 remarks, works by depriving the person cursed of any will to do anything except what is laid on him by his curser: *viljalauss* is exactly the right term to describe Svipdagr at this point.

There is no trace of the game-motif in *Culhwch*, where the reason for the stepmother's curse has been rationalized as a consequence of the apparent refusal by Culhwch to marry the stepmother's daughter (Edel 1980, 73). This rationalization suggests that here *Art* and *Sv* agree in preserving a more original form of the story.

b. The woman who helps the hero in his wooing

The function of this figure in *Art* is closer to that of Gróa in *Sv* than is the figure of Custennin's wife in *Culhwch*. Immediately after the stepmother's curse, Art sails off to one of the many magic islands of Irish story and there meets a woman called Creide Fírlainn who tells him exactly where he can find the object of his quest, Delbchaem, and maps out for him precisely the voyage ahead of him, just as does Gróa for Svipdagr (chs. 18-20). While Custennin's wife in *Culhwch* is recognizably the "woman who helps", sending for Olwen and enabling the two lovers to meet, she does not play the role of guide to the hero's otherworld journey performed by Creide and Gróa. As the hero's journey is not described at all in the

¹ This interpretation is consistent with the Danish ballad versions of *Ungen Svendal*, in which it appears the board-game has been transformed into a ball-game of some sort. See further p. 291 below.

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White Book version of *Culhwch*, and described only very briefly in the Red Book, this change of role follows naturally. Here again, *Art* and *Sv* may preserve the more original version.

On the other hand, *Culhwch* and *Sv* agree against *Art* in that they both make this woman a relative of the hero whereas *Art* does not. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to presume that in an earlier form of *Art* the female helper was a relative of the hero, just as are the corresponding persons in both *Sv* and *Culhwch*, and as are such figures elsewhere in early Irish literature (e.g. the hero's aunt in *Táin bo Fróech*; see Rees 1961, 264). It seems that the eclectic author of the surviving version of *Art* wished to turn his tale into something of a "voyage-tale", an *Immram*, and thus has his hero sail to the female helper whom he assimilates to one of the benevolent fairies of the islands so common in the *Immrama*. Thus Creide, like those extraordinary ladies, inhabits an island "full of wild apples and lovely birds, with little bees ever beautiful on the tops of the flowers" and can while away the hours with her companions, "a company of blooming women".

c. The dangerous wooing journey

The correspondences between the details of *Art*'s journey to Delbchaem's land chs. 20-22 and that of *Svipdagr* as foretold for him by *Gróa* are remarkable. Both heroes have to:

1. brave terrible rivers and seas;
2. pass unscathed by various opponents — some of them monstrous — in dark and fearful places;
3. endure a mountain's deadly cold;
4. face an ogress;
5. engage a giant in verbal battle.

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The third item, the "venomous icy mountain" of *Art* ch. 22 which corresponds precisely to the *frost á fjalli há ... hrævakulði* of *Gróg* 12, is most unusual in early Irish, if not unique. I have not been able to find any parallel for this in any of the Irish I have read, and the only parallel given in Cross's Motif Index 1952, 25, A. 671.3.2, is from an ecclesiastical text.¹ There is certainly no instance of such a mountain in the *Immrama* at least, which is where one might be expected. This suggests that we are dealing here with something more than a conventional series of voyage motifs, coincidentally similar in two quite distinct texts.

A description of this journey, so prominent in both *Gróg* and *Art*, appears only in the Red Book version of *Culhwch*. It is very brief and is placed before the hero meets the female helper rather than after. This accords with the concentration of *Culhwch* on Arthur's court rather than on the hero and his adventures.

¹ Cross gives two references, both to different translations of *The Vision of Adomnán*. In Boswell's translation 1908, 43 the relevant passage, describing Hell, reads: "For this is the nature of it: mountains, caves, and thorny brakes; plains, bare and parched, with stagnant, serpent-haunted lochs. The soil is rough and sandy, very rugged, icebound." The closest to a parallel anywhere else in early Irish sources I have been able to find is in the *Visio Tundali*, where a vast mountain is described, over which runs "a narrow road, on the one side of which was fire and on the other ice and snow" (Patch 1980, 112). The most familiar such icy mountain in medieval literature is the *roche of yse* in Chaucer's *House of Fame* ll. 1129-47, which commentators have traced variously to folk-tale, Dante and Nicole de Margival (see Robinson 1957, 784). An ultimate source for all these mountains of ice in medieval vision literature seems possible.

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d. The heroine's palace and its surrounds

This is very fully described in *Sv*, rather less fully described in *Art* and hardly described at all in *Culhwch*. Remarkable is the coincidence of detail between the descriptions in *Sv* and in *Art*, thus:

1. Menglōð's palace glitters with light while Delbchaem lives in a *grianan*, a sun-bower;
2. Menglōð's palace will long *á brodds oddi bifask* 'tremble on a spike's point' while Delbchaem's sun-bower rests on a single pillar: see further pp. 371-3.

Art and *Sv* echo each other more distantly on three other points:

1. The dangerous narrow bridge Art must cross is analogous to the magic gate that bars Svipdagr's way;
2. The forest in *Art* suggests the tree *Mimameiðr* by Menglōð's palace;
3. There may be a recollection of Cúroí's rod, fetched by Becuma for Art, in the mysterious *Lævateinn* of *Fj* 26.

By themselves these last resemblances would be too vague to be decisive; taken in consort with all the other correspondences they may not be without significance.¹

e. Conclusion

The close resemblances between the first parts of the narratives of *Art* and *Sv* here outlined suggest that both works retain the outline and even much of the detail of the original story. In addition, the divergences of the first part of the narrative of *Culhwch* from the original story as preserved in *Sv* and *Art* can be plausibly explained. The creator of *Culhwch* wished to

¹ For further discussion of the possible origins of the *lævateinn* see p. 126; of the tree see pp. 360, 383-6; of the magic gate see pp. 369-71.

highlight the stepmother's dynastic ambitions, and thus motivates her curse by anger at Culhwch's rejection of her daughter. Also, he was so intent on the fantastic glorification of Arthur's court and on the elaboration of the tasks that there was little space left for the depiction of the wooing journey or of the heroine's palace. Even so, it may be no coincidence that Olwen's dwelling is guarded by animals, as are the heroines' palaces in *Sv* and *Art*.

It appears likely that the narrative framework common to the first parts of *Sv* and *Art* closely represents the narrative framework of the first part of the original story.

3.2 The agreement of *Art* and *Culhwch* against *Sv* in the latter part of the narrative

In the latter part of the narrative *Sv* diverges from *Art* significantly on four points and *Art* and *Culhwch* agree in their treatment of these same four points:

1. Both *Culhwch* and *Art* stress the giant associations of the heroine. *Culhwch* emphasizes that the heroine is a giant's daughter. In *Art*, we are not told explicitly that Morgan, Delbchaem's father, is a giant but her mother Coinchenn Cennfada 'Doghead Longhead' clearly is, as is her brother Ailill Dubdedach (ch. 24; for Ailill as Delbchaem's brother see p. 350 fn. 1). In *Sv*, the only suggestion that Menglōð might be a giantess is the description of her surroundings as *þursa þjóðar sjöt Fj 1*.
2. Both *Culhwch* and *Art* depict the heroine as the prisoner of her kin, quite devoid of any authority. But *Sv* places immense stress on Menglōð's absolute and independent sovereignty as she is both queen of the palace and of troops of maidens about it and is also associated with powers of protection and healing (see pp. 352-4 below).

3. Both *Culhwch* and *Art* have the heroine closely guarded because her wooing may lead to the death of a parent. In *Sv* Menglǫð is guarded so that her destined lover alone may come to her.

4. Both *Art* and *Culhwch* triumph after the violent and dramatic killing of the heroine's kin. All *Svipdagr* has to do is announce his name.

In these four points, *Art* and *Culhwch* agree with the 'giant's daughter' tale type, AT 313. I suggest below, pp. 260-2, that a version of AT 313 is the ultimate ancestor of all three works. If so, *Culhwch* and *Art* here represent a more original form of the story.

3.3 The "*geasa* -game"

There is one motif found in both *Art* and *Sv* which appears to be distinctively Irish, and thus evidence of the Irish provenance of the story. This is the critical role played in both *Art* and *Sv* of what we may call the "*geasa* -game", a motif especially widespread in Irish folktale.¹ In its simplest form, this is a game played between two opponents, with the winner gaining the right to impose a "positive *geis*" upon the loser. Commonly, this is elaborated into three rounds of the game: the hero wins the first two and imposes various marvellous tasks on his opponent, who is generally a malevolent creature — a giant, a stepmother — of some sort. The tasks are performed, but the hero loses the third game and his opponent in turn puts him under *geis* to perform some act of great danger

¹ Ó Súilleabháin 1963, 119-120; Christiansen 1959, 101. Christiansen calls this motif variously "game and *geasa*" and "*geasa* -game". I use the latter more compact expression, derived from a Mayo version of AT 313 (1959, 101).

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and difficulty, typically a wooing journey or a quest for an "object-hard-to-obtain".

Usually, this motif is employed to set the action of the story underway. Thus, Art plays two games of fidchell with his jealous stepmother. He wins the first, and sets her to obtain the "warrior's wand" of Cú Roí. She succeeds, and they play again. This time she wins, with the help of her friends from the *síd* who steal Art's pieces, and lays him under *geis* to win Delbchaem. A similar motif appears to underlie Svipdagr's otherwise inexplicable description of the task laid on him to seek Menglǫð as a *ljótt leikborð*.

This motif of the "*geasa* -game" seems peculiarly Irish. As Christiansen 1959, 101 puts it, "this motif, which is extremely popular in Irish, seems to be an Irish characteristic, and its occurrence elsewhere, may, with some reason, indicate Irish influence." The index of the great mass of Irish folklore material, Ó Súilleabháin 1963, does not indicate exactly how common this motif is among the 43,000 folk-tale versions analysed in that work. But the frequent occurrence of a refinement of the "*geasa* -game" in Ó Súilleabháin 1963 Type 556B and, especially, the assertion of Christiansen 1959, 101 that half the Irish versions of AT 313 known to him commence with this motif suggest that occurrences of the "*geasa*-game" in Irish folklore run into the hundreds, if not thousands (thus also Christiansen 1928, 108).

As far as I have been able to discover, this motif seems quite unknown outside Irish sources or sources where Irish influence can be presumed. It is found in Iceland in a group of popular tales which have close affinities with the *Sv* story and also in the late *Vilhjálms saga sjóðs* (see pp. 279 and 274-5 below). Christiansen 1959, 82, 91, 96 notes its appearance in four of the 109 Scandinavian versions of AT 313 studied by him: two from Telemark, one from the west of Norway, and another from

Sweden. In all four the "*geasa* -game" is used to initiate the action in a tale of the "Tasks and Magic Flight" type, AT 313; this corresponds exactly with one of the most frequent uses of the "*geasa* -game" in Irish popular tale.

Furthermore, three of the four Scandinavian versions also include a second motif which Christiansen identifies as characteristically Irish, but which is rare in Scandinavian popular tales: the hero must scale a tall tree to fetch a clutch of eggs without breaking a single egg (Christiansen 1959, 83, 91, 103-4). It seems hardly possible to doubt Christiansen's conclusion 1959, 226-9 that these four Scandinavian versions ultimately descend from "an Irish (or Scottish-Gaelic) original".¹

This combination of circumstances: a motif widespread in Ireland, rare in countries where borrowing from Ireland was possible, and unknown elsewhere seems conclusive. The "*geasa*-game" is a specifically Irish motif and its vital role in the stories of *Art* and *Sv* is strong evidence that the original of these stories was current in Ireland.

3.4 Conclusion

In summary:

1. The narrative framework common to the first parts of *Sv* and *Art* is very close to that of the original story;
2. The narrative framework common to the latter parts of *Art* and *Culhwch* is close to that of the original story.
3. The motif of the "*geasa* -game", vital to both *Art* and *Sv*, indicates that the original of these two stories was Irish.

¹ Christiansen 1959, 228-9 considers and dismisses the alternatives to this view, and suggests tentatively that "this tale — strange as it may seem — has been preserved within a certain line of tradition, from the telling of an Irishman or woman, perhaps a captive, at a time long since past".

Hence, the narrative of the Irish *Art* more closely represents a likely form of the original story than either the Icelandic *Sv* or the Welsh *Culhwch*. This finding supports the hypothesis that all three stories are based on an original first current in Ireland. If the story is native to Ireland and perhaps well-known there, one might expect an Irish version to be more faithful to the original than a foreign recension.¹

4. The Date of Currency in Ireland of the Original Story

4.1 The ages of the MSS and material of the three sources

Any attempt at fixing the date of the currency of this original story is complicated by the survival of all three works in late MSS only. The oldest MSS of *Culhwch* date to the fourteenth century, *Art* is extant only in the Book of Fermoy written about 1457,² while the earliest appearance of the *Sv* story in the northern world is in the Danish ballad version preserved in Karen Brahe's folio MS of 1583. Some elements of each work are clearly much older than these dates, however; a few examples drawn from each will suffice to demonstrate this.

¹ For the marked conservatism of Irish story-telling see Delargy *The Gaelic Story-Teller* 1945, 36 ("the strongly conservative character of Irish story-telling of both the old and the new order"), and Bruford's careful 1966 study which establishes that many modern Irish popular tales were current in medieval Ireland.

² The date 1457 is based on the date "22 [Nov]ember 1457" written on p. 55 (new numbering) of the Book of Fermoy in the same distinctive type of hand which wrote *Art* on pp. 139-46. For further discussion and other evidence which supports the mid-fifteenth century dating of the Book of Fermoy see Flower 1926, II 505-6; RIA 1940, 3091-3, 3096 and RIA 1984, 8.

In *Art* ch. 23, Ailill Dubdedach is described as "a fierce champion was he; no weapon could harm, or fire burn him, or water drown him". Here is an echo of the remarkable motif of "threefold death" well-known in early Irish literature, and which is at least as old as the Berne Scholiast commentary on Lucan.¹ The accounts of human sacrifice and of the land's fertility during Conn's reign also seem to draw on traditions of great antiquity: Robinson 1913, 191-2 cites *Art* as one of the few Celtic sources which gives clear evidence of the practice of human sacrifice.²

Culhwch has long been recognized as a treasure-trove of traditions of great antiquity, and I cite only a few of the better-attested examples.³ We know from the *Mirabilia* appended by Nennius to Gildas' *Historia Britonum* that the pursuit by Arthur's men of the magic boar described in *Culhwch* was known in South Wales in the ninth century (Bromwich 1954, 107). Custennin here and in the Triads descends from the tyrant Constantine, emperor in Britain in 407 (Bromwich 1954, 135 n. 4). The reference to "Mabon son of Modron" in *Culhwch* leads into the prehistory of Celtic religion, to the Roman inscriptions at Hexham and elsewhere identifying Mâponus with Apollo while his mother Modron is the Gaulish Mâtrona, the goddess of the river Marne.⁴

For *Sv*, it is enough here to point to the magical powers attributed to Mimameiðr, reflecting age-old traditions of treeworship: see pp. 383-4.

¹ For further discussion of the "three-fold death" see Jackson 1941, Duval 1958, Rees 1964, 332-40.

² For the archaeological evidence for human sacrifice among the Celts see Green 1986, 27-32.

³ See, for instance, the conspectus provided by Foster 1959, 34.

⁴ Bromwich 1954, 107; compare the cult of the "matres", widespread through Western Europe around the beginning of the Christian era, Olmsted 1979, 140. Green 1986, 72-102 gives a lucid and well-documented account of the "matres".

4.2 The dates of the surviving redactions of the three sources

Details such as these suggest the age of the traditions known to the final redactors of these tales, but cannot of themselves fix the date of the formation of the narrative framework common to all these tales. For this, we need to arrive at some estimate of the date of the composition of each of these tales as we have them. For *Sv*, I present arguments in IV.1 for a date some time in the thirteenth century.

There has been no detailed study of *Art*, but what scholarly opinion I have been able to find identifies the surviving redaction in the Book of Fermoy as "early modern Irish": thus Best 1907, 149 and Mac Mathúna 1985, 251 n. 27. Further, Bruford 1966, 45 remarks that *Art* "in its surviving form is a condensed but fairly typical Romantic tale", a description echoed by Mac Mathúna 1985, 257, 268, Dillon 1948, 112 and Dumville 1976, 73 fn. 8. A date before 1300 seems unlikely and it might have been composed at any date from then up to the writing of the Book of Fermoy itself.

The most detailed study of the date of *Culhwch* is in the introduction of the Bromwich and Evans edition (1988). The earliest MSS are in the Welsh collections of the White Book of Rhydderch and the Red Book of Hergest. The Red Book is dated towards the end of C14, and after 1382; the White Book about the middle of the same century (1988, ix). From close study of the linguistic forms in the MSS the editors ascribe the writing of the tale, in its surviving form, to around 1100 (xxvii). Their survey of the tradition surrounding *Culhwch* confirms this date (lxxxviii): similarly Bromwich 1954, 106, Jones 1974, ix and Mac Cana 1977, 62, 69. This dating is consistent with the freedom of *Culhwch* from what its translators call the "alien influences" (Jones 1974, xxii) of the fashionable new romances of twelfth century France.

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Even if we accept a date a century or more later than that given above for *Culhwch*, the extant redaction of *Culhwch* is older by quite a margin than the extant redactions of *Sv* and *Art*. This appears to contradict the conclusion arrived at above that *Art* is closest to the original form of the story once allowance is made for obvious interpolation and expansion by the redactor of *Art*.

4.3 Evidence for an older version of *Art*

There is evidence of the existence of a story about *Art* which is somewhat older than the surviving redaction. There are two lists of titles, partly overlapping, in MSS containing early Irish materials, and in the so-called "List B" the title *Echthro Airt maic Cuind* 'Adventures of Art son of Conn' occurs. Thurneysen 1921, 21-4 studied these lists, occurring separately in five MSS, and concluded that both lists derived from a common ancestor dating from the tenth century; the careful recent study by Mac Cana 1980, 66-84 supports this conclusion.¹ All we have concluded so far would lead us to expect to find the common original of *Sv*, *Culhwch* and *Art* current in Ireland around the tenth century, exactly when these scholars believe that this list was drawn up.

The matter is however not quite so simple. Whatever form *Echthro Airt maic Cuind* took, it could not have been identical with the version of *Art* preserved in the Book of Fermoy, which it seems must date after 1300. Further, as Bruford 1969, 45 suggests, *Art* might have been

¹ This tenth-century date is based on the dating of the story *Airec Menman Uaird maic Coisse*, in which List B occurs, to the eleventh century: thus Mac Cana 1980, 33-8 and Dumville 1976, 87, following Flower 1926, II 318. Carney 1969, 304-12 argues for a date before 980, and notes that the tale list is an integral part of the composition. According to the usual reckoning, the list is somewhat older than the story in which it occurs: hence the tenth century date.

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composed just before the earliest MS containing List B and thus be a late addition to the otherwise genuinely old List B. As all three MSS containing List B are dated by Thurneysen 1921, 21 as fifteenth or sixteenth century, this again means that the title *Echthro Airt maic Cuind*, and hence *Art* itself, need be no older than the Book of Fermoy itself.

Its appearance in all three versions of List B does shift the balance of probability towards the title *Echthro Airt maic Cuind*, at least, being rather older than all three MSS containing List B and therefore rather older than the Book of Fermoy itself.¹ Yet, we have no assurance that the tale is old even if the title is old. Oskamp 1970, 37 cites a suggestion of Proinsias Mac Cana that some of the titles in these tale-lists might actually be "blanks"; that is, titles left open for a later story-teller to use as he might see fit. *Echthro Airt maic Cuind* may be just such a blank, and *Art* a tale manufactured for the title.

The occurrence of this title in the tale-lists does not therefore constitute absolute proof of the antiquity of *Art*. But if *Echthro Airt maic Cuind* were anything it might have been the original of the *Art* story, without all the accretions — the child of the sinless couple, and the like — of the Book of Fermoy. Such a lean narrative would accord with what we can deduce of the form of some of the Irish literature current in the tenth century — with, for example, the oldest versions of the Deirdre story.² This agrees with Dumville's suggestion 1976, 91 that the titles of the *Echtraí*, including *Echthro Airt maic Cuind*, "are most probably of *echtraí* of the older type":

¹ This is also the view of Dumville 1976, 92: "the list provides welcome confirmation of its existence at an earlier date, though one is not at liberty to conclude that the extant text represents in any particular the story as it may have been in the eleventh century".

² Cf. the comments of Thomas Kinsella on the different versions of the Deirdre story, 1969 vii.

that is, stories in which "the central theme is the entry of the human hero into the supernatural world" (Dumville 1976, 82) rather than simply adventure stories like *Art* in which this central theme is almost buried beneath exotic fantasies.

There is a parallel of this situation, where an Irish analogue for a story preserved in a medieval Welsh redaction survives only in a much later Irish MS than its Welsh derivative, in *Culhwch* itself. Parts of *Culhwch* appear modelled on the remarkable Irish mythological narrative "The Second Battle of Mag Tuired" (henceforth, *Mag Tuired*). *Culhwch*'s confrontation with Yspaddaden is so like that of Lug with Balor that direct influence of some sort can hardly be doubted (thus, O'Rahilly 1924, 118), and both Bromwich 1954, 107 and Mac Cana 1977, 72 note that the admission of *Culhwch* by Arthur's doorkeeper is patterned after Lug's admission to Tara.¹ Yet, *Mag Tuired* survives, like *Art*, in late MSS only. The earliest is the sixteenth century Harleian 5280, some two hundred years younger than the first MS of *Culhwch* and four hundred years or more after the composition of that tale.

4.4 Conclusion

It appears that the original version of the story now preserved in the Irish *Art*, the Welsh *Culhwch* and the Icelandic *Sv* was current in Ireland in the period about the tenth century. Further, it is likely that the title *Echthro Airt maic Cuind* in List B refers to this original narrative, which provided the model in Iceland for *Sv* and in Wales for *Culhwch*. This original narrative was itself later expanded in Ireland in the early modern period into the form of *Art* now preserved in the Book of Fermoy.

¹ But see the Bromwich/Evans edition xciii-iv for a more cautious view, following Sims-Williams 1982a, 1982b.

5. The Form of the Original Story in Ireland

There is evidence that the original story current in Ireland was at one time a popular tale. This popular tale may itself have been formed by adaptation of an international popular tale of the "giant's daughter" type.

5.1 The original story a popular tale

The evidence for this is the paradox referred to on p. 234 above: the remarkable lack of any correspondence between the names in the three versions despite the identity of their stories. This can be explained if we presume the Irish original of the story was in popular form. It is a common characteristic of popular tales throughout the world, and especially in Ireland, for the characters to have no names.¹ The hero might be introduced as "the King's son in Erin", the ogre as "the giant of Loch Léin"; other characters might be "the small gray man", and so on.²

Such generalized formulae are suited to the never-never land of popular tale, but not to the more aristocratic worlds of myth and heroic romance which demand that everything must be exactly labelled. Thus, when the composers of *Sv*, *Culhwch* and *Art* separately happened upon the original popular versions of the story it is likely that they found no names in it, or only such vague epithets as "the giant of X", "the King's son of Y" etc. Therefore, each composer was able to people the story with whatever names took his fancy.

¹ Kirk 1970, 39. Conversely, Bruford 1966, 127 remarks that "native gaelic folk tales with named heroes are either of literary origin or only current in a limited district."

² These examples from the versions of AT 313 in Curtin 1891, 32-49; 1941, 27-37.

It is striking that outside *Sv*, *Culhwch* and *Art* the names of their heroes are either those of minor figures or are otherwise unknown in their respective literatures. Various *Svipdagrs* occur in *Ynglinga saga*, *Hrólfs saga* and Saxo, all of them doing little more than swell a progress: see pp. 343-6. In Irish story, Art is quite overshadowed by his more famous father Conn of the Hundred Battles and, especially, by his son Cormac, "the most famous of the early kings of Ireland" (Dillon 1946, 15).¹ *Culhwch* appears nowhere else, and even in *Culhwch* is reduced to a minor actor as Arthur's knights dominate the narrative. Thus, none of these heroes appears to have a traditional story specifically associated with them.

On the one hand, we have names — *Svipdagr*, *Culhwch* and *Art* — without a story. On the other, we have a story — the presumed Irish popular tale — without names. Marriage of the names and the story variously produced *Sv*, *Culhwch* and *Art*.

5.2 The original story an adaptation of a 'giant's daughter' tale

It was noted on pp. 237-8 that several of the motifs common to *Sv*, *Culhwch* and *Art* are also found in international popular tales of the "giant's daughter" type, though the combination of these motifs found in these three tales appears unique to them and to tales related to them.

It is therefore possible that the original of the story of *Sv*, *Culhwch* and *Art* was an Irish adaptation of an international popular tale of the "giant's daughter" type. This hypothesis suggests that the story was current in oral tradition as a popular tale in Ireland in the tenth century.

This is consonant with the views of the many scholars who argue that the oral transmission of tales continued in Ireland after the introduction of

¹ Dillon 1946, 11-29 gives other instances of stories concerning Conn, Art and Cormac: Art's usual role is as little more than a necessary link between grandfather and grandson.

Christianity and the beginnings of a written literature.¹ One such tale is *Táin bo Fraích* (*Fróech*), which Table Two shows contains many motifs in common with Sv. Its latest editor, W. Meid, considers all the variants of the story — from Old Irish prose-tale to modern Scottish folk-tale — and concludes that *Fróech* "in the form in which it has come down is not a novel literary creation, but only one of several variants of an already pre-existing story." Further, this Old Irish text "represents the fixation in writing of one oral version" of the story, and it appears from Meid's stemma that the modern folk-tale and ballad versions of *Fróech* may descend not from the written text but through oral tradition (Meid 1974, x, xv, xvi).²

It may be similarly argued that *Emer*, which Table Two also shows sharing several motifs with Sv, was also current in oral tradition through the Old Irish period. All this suggests that oral versions of *Fróech*, *Emer* and the original of the Sv story, among others, were all circulating in Ireland in the tenth century. Such a situation would lead to exactly the sort of sharing and interchange of motifs which seems to characterise the

¹ Thus, for example, Mac Cana 1958, 125: "there are several Irish tales, including *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, whose textual composition can best be explained by the theory that they were written down at a very early date, then developed for a long time independently in oral tradition, giving rise to more than one version". Further arguments concerning the essentially oral character of early Irish literature are given by Murphy 1953, 189-92, 1966, 97-102.

² This view of the oral origin of *Fróech* is vigorously denied by James Carney 1955, 1-65 in which he argues that *Fróech* is based on written, including ecclesiastical, materials. However, as Meid 1974, vii comments, "Carney's thesis has not met with general approval." See Meid's discussion 1974, vii-xvi, and the articles by K. H. Jackson and G. Murphy to which he refers 1974, vii-viii. Carney's arguments are also criticized by O'Rahilly 1967, xxx-xxxii.

relationship between these and other stories presumably current in oral tradition in Old Irish.

5.3 The transmission of the story to Iceland

The ample evidence of contact between Norse and Irish during the period of the Viking kingdom in Dublin makes transmission of the story from Ireland to Iceland in the tenth century easy and natural.

However, contact between Norse and Celt continued long after the battle of Clontarf, and particularly in the Western Islands of Scotland: see pp. 242-3 above. Possible evidence that the Sv story passed through the Western Isles is a custom relating to the veneration of Brigit current last century in the Hebrides and described by Alexander Carmichael; on the links between Brigit and Menglǫð see pp. 352-4 below.¹ On Brigit's feast-day a doll of "Bride", usually made of a sheaf of corn, is placed in a basket, and a straight wand of wood, which might only be made from specified kinds of wood, is placed next to her. Then, the ashes on the hearth would be levelled. The next morning the ashes would be examined for some sign in them which could be interpreted as an indication that Bride had visited the family, which was regarded as a good omen for the following year. If no such sign could be found, Carmichael notes that the family would "at times bury a live cockerel near the junction of three streams in order to propitiate her". (Carmichael 1928, 167-8)

¹ Cited by Talbot 1976, 148-9. It is not clear from Carmichael's account just where this custom was current. He states elsewhere (p. xix) that his material was collected "mostly" in the Western Isles, and the drift of the passage pp. 167-8 seems to indicate that this custom was current there. It is possible that he is speaking of mainland Scotland or even Ireland. On balance we may accept with Talbot that he is here writing of the Hebrides.

Here we find in the one custom reminiscences of perhaps the most obscure aspects of the portrayal of Menglǫð:

1. Her connection with *Lævateinn* (*Fj* 26) is analogous to the straight wand of wood;
2. The *lúðr* (*Fj* 30) is analogous to the basket;
3. The ashes of *Mimameiður* (*Fj* 22) correspond to the ashes in the hearth;
4. The cock *Viðófnir* is comparable to the cockerel.

I am not at all sure what significance to attach to these distant and distorted echoes. But echoes they certainly appear to be, and it may be that these correspondences are evidence that the *Sv* story passed through the Scottish Islands on its way to Iceland.

II.3 The Matter of Sv and other Icelandic Sources

The study of the Celtic analogues in the last chapter suggests that the story of Sv may originally have been a popular tale current in the Celtic area. Hence, it may have come to Iceland as a popular tale. If this is correct, distinctive traces of the story and motifs of Sv might be found in popular Icelandic tradition.

No other Icelandic source preserves the story of Sv in its entirety. Indeed, none preserves a version even as close as that in the *Ungen Svendal* ballads discussed in the next chapter, pp. 285-98. However, strong traces of some of the most striking motifs of Sv are found elsewhere in Icelandic tradition — and especially in popular tradition, just as the above hypothesis suggests.

2. Sv and Older Literature

2.1 Sv and Eddic poetry and family sagas

As has been long observed, Sv takes its metre, its manner and its verbal coloring from the poetry of CR. It is especially influenced by the mythological poems of CR and by the poems of the Sigurðr cycle; see pp. 300-25. Yet, not one of the most distinctive motifs of the Sv story appears in any Eddic poem:

1. No stepmother appears in any Eddic poem, though one might have expected them in the Sigurðr poems at least;
2. There is no instance of a positive *geis* in any Eddic poem, let alone of the "geasa -game" and the obligation to woo an unknown maiden;

3. Fjolsviðr is unique in his combination of guard and sage — and even helper;
4. Gróa's charms are functionally distinct from those sung by Sigrdrífa or Óðinn: hers are help for a particular need, theirs provision for a lifetime;
5. The authoritarian benevolence of Menglǫð, and her troop of helpful maidens, have no counterpart.

The motifs Sv does share with Eddic poetry are either incidental or appear to be direct borrowing of detail. This applies especially to the parallels with *Skí*, with which Sv is often compared. *Skí* has clearly influenced the language of Sv, even to such ornament as the *víss vafrlogi* (Fj 31, *Skí* 8) which stands in the way of each wooing; see pp. 306-8. But as Motz 1975 has pointed out the stories are far apart in details. To name a few:

1. Svipdagr himself woos;
2. Menglǫð is not reluctant and is not cursed into acquiescence;
3. there is an emphasis on feminine power in Sv quite absent from *Skí*;
4. there is no long questioning sequence in *Skí*.

There are even fewer links between Sv and the family sagas. Stepmothers are notably absent from these, and this testifies to a strong sense of genre among their anonymous authors. There were certainly many stepmother stories current in C13 Iceland; see pp. 267-8. But their place appears to have been among the *lygisögur* of the famous passage describing the feast at Reykhólar (*Þorgils saga ok Hafliða* ch. 11) rather than the more realistic family sagas. The only traces of the story of Sv of which I am aware in the family sagas are:

1. The idiom *skjóta leikborði* in a verse in *Grettis saga* ch 72. This may be based on Sv itself; see pp. 319-20.
2. The sequence of suitor-tasks demanded of the berserks in *Eyrbyggja saga*; see pp. 390-1. *Eyrbyggja saga* differs from other major family sagas in its freer use of supernatural and fantastic material (Sveinsson 1935, xxiii-xxvii).

Similarly, no links between Sv and the historical sagas have been proposed. The only such link of which I am aware are Sverrir's words before battle as preserved in a single MS: *láta ... skeika Skuld at sköpuðu*; see Commentary on *Gróg* 4/6.

2.2 Sv and *fornaldarsögur*; *lygisögur*

In contrast, echoes of the matter of Sv in the *fornaldarsögur* are relatively abundant. These are generally preserved in younger MSS than the literature discussed above and are usually reckoned as having been written down from the late thirteenth century on (e.g. *KLNM*).

They differ from the family and historical sagas in their free use of legendary and mythical material, often crossing the border into the fantastic. Motifs known elsewhere from popular tale and — especially — Celtic sources appear in these (Sveinsson 1955, 15-16; Sigurðsson 1988, 53-72). Their use of such material can make them difficult to distinguish from the *lygisögur*. In this section I use the terms *lygisögur* and *fornaldarsögur* interchangeably, and treat the two together. The great antiquity of some of the material of the *fornaldarsögur*, and the comment on the *lygisögur* cited above drawn from a description of a feast datable to 1119, suggest that they were current in oral tradition long before being written down (Sigurðsson 1988, 49-53).

a. Stjúpmæðrasögur

The narrative of *Sv* hinges on a stepmother's curse. Two of the oldest references we have to *lygisögur* concern tales of wicked stepmothers, suggesting that tales involving these were popular in C12 Iceland.¹ In the ON translation of Oddr Snorrason's preface to his *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar*, written in Latin in c. 1190, Oddr recommends his royal praise thus:

'Ok betra er slíkt með gamni at heyra en stjúpmæðrasögur, er hjarðarsveinar segja, er engi veit, hvárt satt er, er jafnan láta konununginn minnstan í sínum frásögnum.'²

In ch. 4 (7) of *Sverris saga*, written c. 1184 by Karl Jónsson, a difficult winter journey made by Sverrir is so described:

'Í þessi ferð fekk hann mikit vás ok erfiði, þvílíkt sem segir í fornum sögum, er sagt er, at konungabörn yrði fyrir stjúpmæðr(a) álogum ('stjúpmæðra sköpum' AM 327 4to), þvíat þat var sagt, at sex daga eða sjau ísamt at hann fór villr um stórar eyðimerkr ok þolði bæði hungur ok kulða.' (AM 81 a fol. text)³

Together, these two quotations show:

1. The popular nature of such stories, retailed by *hjarðarsveinar*;

¹ The relevance of these two quotations to *Sv* appears to have been first noted by Sveinsson 1975, 37-8. He does not remark on the precision of the echoes of *Gróg* in the *Sverris saga* passage.

² 'And it is better for such to be heard with pleasure than the tales about stepmothers the shepherd boys tell, of which nobody knows the truth, and which usually treat the king disrespectfully in their narratives'.

³ 'In this journey he suffered great fatigue and discomfort, just as it says in the old stories which told what kings' sons suffered for stepmothers' curses, for it was related there were six or seven days together when he wandered lost in vast uninhabited forests and experienced both hunger and cold'.

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2. Such tales might concern a stepmother's curse (*álögum*; *sköpum*) upon a king's son;
3. A well-known form of the curse was that the step-son must undertake a difficult journey.

Not only must Svipdagr undertake such a journey (*úrgar brautir Fj* 2) because of his stepmother's curse, but particular points of the journey, as anticipated in Gróa's charms, correspond to Sverrir's journey:

1. Svipdagr is described as *viljalauss* on his journey: see p. 245 for this as 'deprived of will', an exact description of his state under his stepmother's *álög*. The phrase *fór villr* of Sverrir's journey echoes this loss of purpose.
2. The *kulði* answers to the *hrævakulði* of Gróg 12.

Hence, the difficult journey following a stepmother's curse appears to have been a well-known motif in popular Icelandic tradition in the twelfth century. As point 3 on Table Two shows (p. 225; cf. p. 353) above, it is also well-known in Celtic materials, and especially in *Art* where the context and detail are very close to that of *Gróg*. The roots of *Sv* here in both popular story and Celtic tradition are clearly visible.

These general references to *stjúpmæðrasögur* contain material specific to *Sv*. Particular *fornaldarsögur* contain yet more such material.

b. Stepmother motifs

Cruel stepmothers are so frequent in these stories that Einar Sveinsson is able to distinguish five common forms which (variously combined) the motif takes in Icelandic tradition:¹

¹ Sveinsson 1975, 38-9; less completely formulated 1929, xxviii-xxxiii; Boberg 1966, 235. For an entertaining outline of cruel stepmothers in *fornaldarsögur* and *lygisögur*, see Schlauch 1934, 99-102.

'A' - the stepmother is brought from a far country;

'B' - the stepmother comes of her own free will;

'X' - the stepmother lays a shape-changing spell on the stepchild, which will not be released until some apparently impossible condition is met;

'Y' - the stepmother lays a 'positive *geis*' (*álög*) on the stepson, to undergo a dangerous journey;

'Z' - the stepmother lays a 'positive *geis*' (*álög*) on the stepson, to woo a woman he has never seen before.

Of these, *Sv* is a combination of Y and Z, as are *Culhwch* (in the Red Book) and *Art*. *Culhwch* is A, *Art* B; it is not clear whether *Sv* is A or B. Einar comments that A, the most frequent Icelandic form, may even be peculiar to Iceland in its most elaborate guise.¹

We are most interested in Einarr's X, Y and Z motifs. X is much the most common in Iceland as the world over. But Y and Z, with their peculiarly Celtic stamp of the 'positive *geis*', are also known from other older Icelandic sources beside *Sv*.

c. *Hjálmþés saga ok Ölvis*

This *fornaldarsaga* is the closest medieval Icelandic analogue to *Sv*.² The saga survives only in paper MSS, and Finnur Jónsson, *Rímnasafn* II 1,

¹ Sveinsson 1929, xxviii. The characteristically Icelandic form he outlines involves the king weeping at his dead wife's grave (cf. *Culhwch*), the seeking of a new bride by his counsellor, and extraordinary conditions on the locale she may come from. The version of the motif in *Culhwch* lacks this elaboration.

² The links between *Hjálmþés saga* and *Sv* appear to have been first recognized by Falk 1893, 313-14. They are further discussed by Sveinsson 1975, 39-44 and Talbot 1976, 90-92.

dates the original of the extant version to c. 1300. Also extant are *Hjálmþérsrímur*, manifestly based on the same story, and dated about 1400 (Sveinsson 1976, 40) with the oldest MS, AM 604 c 4to, dated by Kålund 1888, II 7 c. 1500-50. The *rímur* abbreviate the events of the saga while the wording of the saga at the critical point of the stepmother's curse, at least, appears more original than the *rímur*.¹ Henceforth, I refer only to the saga in this analysis.

The events of *Hjálmþés saga ok Ólvis* relevant to *Sv* are:

1. The stepmother, Lúða, makes an explicit sexual advance on the hero Hjálmpér (ch. 8);
2. Angered at his contemptuous and violent refusal, she later lays a curse on him (ch. 11):

þat legg ek á þik, at þú skalt hvergi kyrr þola, hvorki nótt né dag, fyrr en þú sér Hervöru Hundingsdóttur, nema á skipum þínum ok í tjaldi²

¹ Finnur Jónsson *Rímnasafn* II 1 asserts that 'Der er ingen tvívl om, at rimerne beror på en ældre og bedre saga end den, vi nu kender'. Finnur gives no evidence for this statement. In fact, the *rímur* omit (among other things) the critical chapter 8 of the saga, in which Hjálmpér antagonizes his stepmother by refusing her crude advances and striking her. Instead, she gives as reason for her curse the killing of her brother by the two heroes — an event missing from the saga, and which appears to belong to a quite different type of story. Further, Sveinsson 1975, 75-83 gives some remarkable instances of formulaic wording of the curse/countercurse, very similar to the dialogue of Hjálmpér and Lúða in ch. 11: no trace of this apparently archaic wording is preserved in the *rímur*. Though Falk 1893, 314 states that the saga 'lader sig i nogen grad supplere of berigtige ved hjælp af *Hjálmþérs rímur*' neither he nor any other scholar known to me actually appears to use the *rímur* for this purpose.

² 'I so curse you that you shall never have peace, neither day nor night, before you see Hervör daughter of Hunding, except on your ships and in your tent'.

3. After many adventures, *Hjálmþér*, his fosterbrother *Qlvir* and their helper *Hqrðr* come to Hunding's land, where his daughter is closely guarded in a tower. After still more adventures, they carry her off.

Hence, *Hjálmþés saga ok Qlvis* has exactly the same basic, and unusual, sequence as *Sv* and its Celtic analogues *Culhwch* and *Art*. A stepmother lays a positive *geis* on the stepson to go on a dangerous quest for a closely guarded heroine; the quest is successful.

But there is much else in *Hjálmþés saga ok Qlvis* which has no counterpart in the other stories. It is not the hero under the curse, *Hjálmþér*, who marries the heroine but his fosterbrother *Qlvir*. It appears that this is a direct result of the author complicating the story by introducing four extra characters, *Qlvir*, *Hqrðr* and the latter's two sisters; all these last three have been bewitched by the same *Lúða* who laid the curse on *Hjálmþér*. The author wants a happy triple marriage at the end, but if he has *Hjálmþér* marry *Hervqr* then *Hqrðr* must marry his own sister. So *Hqrðr* must marry *Hervqr*, *Hjálmþér* one of *Hqrðr*'s sisters and *Qlvir* the other.¹

Indeed, *Hjálmþés saga ok Qlvis* is such a potpourri that the basic narrative almost disappears under the detail. Giant adversaries, fantastic tasks, names and locales, wonderful transformations, multiple wicked stepmothers — it has them all, and in rare confusion. In these excesses, and in the violent tasks set the heroes by the heroine's father, it more closely resembles both *Culhwch* and *Art* than the comparatively restrained and pacific *Sv*.

¹ That the ending of the story has been altered was suggested by E. Kölbing 1876, 200-7; also Talbot 1976, 92. My explanation follows that of Sveinsson 1976, 43, somewhat adapted.

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Certain details in *Hjálmþés saga ok Ölvis* suggest that Celtic sources lie behind the tale, supporting the closeness to *Culhwch* and *Art*. Sveinsson 1975, 78-80 and Lagerholm 1927, lxii-iii give Celtic parallels for the curse/countercurse formula found in *Hjálmþés saga ok Ölvis*. In the heroes' flight they are pursued by Hervor's father in the shape of a whale and their future wives (already enchanted to giantesses by the stepmother) assume the shape of eagles and kill the whale: the shape changing recalls numberless Celtic stories (e.g. *Étaín*).

Once more, the roots of Sv in both popular story and Celtic tradition are visible.

d. The 'Positive Geis' (álög) in fornaldarsögur and lygisögur

Lagerholm 1927, lx-lxii and Schlauch 1934, 132-3 cite many further instances, beside the shape-changing curse, of terrible positive obligations laid on heroes. These are distinguished from the common motif of *forsending* by the sense of deprivation of will, amounting almost to hypnotic suggestion, inherent in the *álög* (Sveinsson 1929, xxxii). Hence, the line between such an obligation and a conventional curse is blurred.

Cruel stepmothers seem especially gifted with this power:

1. In *Úlfhams saga* ch. 4: the stepson is bound 'at þú gangir i haug Varnar, ok verðir þar fastr með ógleði' (Lagerholm 1927, lx).¹
2. In *Hreiðmars saga ok Farbata* a stepmother compels her stepson to 'wander about the earth, never finding peace or a pleasant spot, and to betray every lord [he serves] until someone is gracious enough to forgive him thrice' (Schlauch 1934, 132; she also cites a very similar passage from *Játmundar saga ljúfa*

¹ "You will go into Vorn's tomb, and be miserably stuck there".

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fn. 33). Later in the same saga another stepmother lays a whole series of compulsions on a stepson: he must journey about by land and sea, similarly finding no rest and doing various evil actions.

It is not just stepmothers who have such power:

1. In *Ála Flekks saga* ch. 4 a serving woman compels the hero to go on a difficult quest:

þú skalt þegar í stað verða [at] fara á skóg, ok eigi fyrr léttu, en þú kemr til Nóttar, systur minnar'.¹

In ch. 16 of the same saga a troll Jötunoxi declares to Ali Flekkur just before Ali Flekkur kills him:

þá er þú ferr heðan, þolir þú hvergi kyrr, fyrr en þú finnr Hlaðgerð'.²

so sending him on yet another quest, which ends in him saving Hlaðgerðr from being burnt as a 'tröllkona'.

2. In *Hálfðanar saga Eysteinnssonar* ch. 8 the hero examines Grímr's glove while asleep. On his awakening, the angered Grímr imposes this obligation on him:

'Eftir þessari hendi, gulli ok glófa skaltu leita ok þreyja ok aldri náðir fá, fyrr en sá leggr jafnviljugr aftr í þinn lófa, sem nú tók á burtu'.³

3. In *Úlfs saga Uggason* the hero is obliged to kill a giant's brothers before he can marry (Schlauch 1934, 129).

¹ "You must immediately go into the forest and not stop until you come to Nótt, my sister".

² "When you leave here you will get no peace until you find Hlaðgerðr".

³ "You must search and yearn for this hand, gold and glove and never win them until he lays them as willingly back in your grasp as he now takes them away".

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4. In *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* ch. 17 a rejected suitor obliges the woman to live in a cave.

The imposition of such an obligation by a stepmother in both *Hjálmþés saga ok Ölvis* and *Sv* would not have been strange to an Icelandic audience. The occurrence of other possibly Celtic materials in several of these instances reinforces the supposition of Celtic origin for the motif. So in *Ala Flekks saga* where we have the 'counter-curse', transformation into a were-wolf and the appearance of a witch to the hero in a dream in circumstances very similar to those in *Segrlice Con Chulain* (Lagerholm 1927, lxii-lxvii).

e. *Leikborð* and *álog*: the "geasa -game" in *Vilhjálms saga sjóðs*

I suggest p. 251 (following Sveinsson) that the phrase *skjóta leikborði* of *Gróg* 3 stems from the highly distinctive Irish motif of the "geasa -game". Here, the winner of a board-game gains the right to impose a positive obligation on his defeated opponent.

The clearest ON instance of this "geasa -game" is in chapters 6 to 10 of *Vilhjálms saga sjóðs*:

1. Vilhjálmr meets a grotesquely ugly giant in a forest, and offers to play him a board-game — *tafl* — for a ring which Vilhjálmr's father won in an earlier board-game. If Vilhjálmr wins, he may impose whatever forfeit he will on the giant, at the pledge of his head.
2. Vilhjálmr wins, and demands the giant bring him a complete set of invulnerable armour — or lose his head.
3. The giant brings the armour. They play again, on the same conditions. Again Vilhjálmr wins, and this time demands the giant bring him a fully-equipped war horse.

4. The giant brings the horse. Later, they play a third time: but this time on the giant's own board. Further, the giant distracts Vilhjálmr by having his beautiful daughter sit opposite.
5. Vilhjálmr loses. The beautiful daughter is turned into an ogre. The giant imposes an obligation on Vilhjálmr: he must learn the names of the ninety trolls who live in his cave, and come there in three years and name them — or lose his head. Naturally, Vilhjálmr succeeds.

In many ways, this is remarkably close to the Irish instances discussed pp. 250-1, and especially to that in *Art*:

1. The two play at a board-game.
2. There are three rounds to the "*geasa*-game". The hero wins two, but loses the third.
3. As in *Art*, the supernatural opponent wins the last round by cheating.
4. The description of the giant recalls the excesses of (for example) the ogres described in *Da Derga*.
5. The presence of the giant's daughter may reflect a form of the story as in *Culhwch*, *Art* and possibly *Sv*: the hero must go to woo a giant's daughter.

The rationalisation of the *álog* motif is revealing. The condition that the forfeits be performed on pain of death is superfluous. As the numberless Irish instances show, the *geis* carries its own compulsion and needs no reinforcement. The rationalisation recalls the similar change introduced in the *Ungen Svendal* ballads, where the "*geasa*-game" is replaced by the throwing of a ball (p. 291).

2.3 Conclusion

Thus, none of the distinctive motifs of the story of Sv appear in other Eddic poetry, or in the family sagas. Yet such motifs are widely found in the *fornaldarsögur* (*lygisögur*). The presence of the Sv motifs in the *fornaldarsögur* alongside material of popular origin, beside their absence from Eddic poetry where popular material is also absent, supports the hypothesis that the Sv story was part of popular tradition. Oddr's reference to *stjúpmæðrasögur, er hjarðarsveinar segja* confirms that stepmother tales (of which Sv is one) were fit matter for rude mechanicals, but not for the learned.

3. Sv and Later Popular Tradition

If the Sv story were indeed current in popular oral tradition in Iceland in the thirteenth century one would expect — because of the conservatism of popular tradition (see p. 240, fn. 2 above) — that traces of the story would survive into later centuries, and even into modern times. That is exactly what happens. Parallels, some of them most striking, can be found for some of the distinctive motifs of Sv in later popular tradition.

I concentrate on two aspects of later popular tradition: the popular tales and the traditional ballads. I deal first with the popular tales. Here, I rely most on Einar Sveinsson's careful analysis of the collections of Jón Arnason and others, following the categories of AT, in his *Verzeichnis Isländischer Märchenvarianten*, 1929. This covers material collected between the seventeenth and early twentieth centuries (lxxi-lxxxvii).

3.1 Popular tales: stepmother stories

These are immensely popular in later times, just as in the earlier *fornaldarsögur* and *lygisögur*. All five of the variant forms defined by

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Einar Sveinsson appear once again, distributed much as in the earlier literature. Most common, then, are the A type (the stepmother is brought to the father, as in *Culhwch*) and X type (the stepmother casts a shape-changing spell on the stepchildren).¹

So widespread was the motif of the cruel stepmother that it appears to have provoked a reaction. Thus we have tales of good stepmothers, grouped together by Sveinsson 1929 under AT 556 (pp. 70-78). Extraordinarily, it is in just this group that we find the closest parallels to Sv.

a. *Himinbjargar saga*

Sveinsson classifies this story as AT 556 I, p. 70. It was written down, apparently directly from oral tradition, about 1700 and preserved in Arni Magnússon's collection in 'Gráskinna', AM 602 b 4to (1929, lxxii, 70; 1975, 47):²

1. A king and queen have a son, Sigurður. The queen dies, and the stepmother Himinbjörg appears from a clear sky.
2. Sigurður is deeply upset at his mother's death, and lies night and day on her grave.

¹ A type: Sveinsson 1929, 3, 5, 12, 23-4, 25, 33-4, 39, 53, 63, 71, 99, 121. I have noticed only five instances of the B type (as in *Art*): 5, 23-4, 38, 63, 70; in three of these B occurs as a variant beside an A type. X type: 3, 12, 25, 33-4, 38, 39, 45, 53, 63. I have not carried out an exhaustive search, but these appear typical.

² Printed by Bjarni Einarsson *Íslensk rit síðari alda* (Copenhagen, 1955) VI p. 72 ff. I have not had access to this book, and I rely on the summaries of Sveinsson 1975, 47-9 and Falk 1893, 314-5, who first noted its relationship with Sv.

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3. The mother appears to him in a dream as he lies on her grave. She is extremely angry at his disturbing her, and states this *álög*:

‘Legg ég á þig, að þú skalt enga ró hafa, fyrr en þú hefur komið úr álögum einni kóngsdóttur, sem er hið mesta tröll.’¹

4. He goes to his stepmother for help, and she gives him various items to help him on his way, and directs him to her sister Blákápa.²

5. Blákápa gives Sigurður further magic aids and directs him to a hall where a princess Ingibjörg and her eighteen maidens have been turned into trolls by a wicked stepmother.

6. With all this help, and that of some grateful birds he met on the way, he performs three tasks and releases Ingibjörg and her eighteen maidens from the spell.

7. Sigurður returns home, just in time to save Himinbjörg from being burnt as a witch — exactly the fate from which Ali Flekkur saves Hlaðgerður. He marries Ingibjörg.

In many respects, this is the closest of all Icelandic parallels to *Sv*:

1. It has the same combination of dead mother — son at mother's grave — stepmother as *Gróg*, but here the functions of stepmother and mother have been exchanged;

2. The hero marries the woman he has been sent after, where he does not in *Hjálmþés saga ok Ölvis* and *Ala Flekks saga*;

¹ "I so curse you that you shall have no peace, before you have brought a princess out of the curse of being a very great troll".

² So Sveinsson 1929, 70, Falk 1893, 315; but fostermother Sveinsson 1975, 48.

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3. The eighteen maidens recall the nine maidens of Menglǫð, *Fj* 38;
4. The role of Blákápa, as supernatural female helper related (albeit loosely here) to the hero, recalls Celtic instances of this motif; see pp. 245-6.

There is, of course, much in the story not present in *Sv* — notably the tasks and grateful animals, both part of the common stock of popular tradition. It is not possible therefore to determine just how close an earlier version of this story might have been to *Sv*.

b. Other stories classified under AT 556

Various motifs present in *Sv* are also found in the other tales so classified by Sveinsson, though none is as close as *Himinbjargar saga*:

1. 556 II, collected by Páll Pálsson c. 1863, begins with the hero playing chess three days in succession with a woman. He wins, and the enraged woman pronounces an *álǫg* on him: he must go to a wood where there are hostile animals, and then to her twelve sisters. A good stepmother gives him advice and other help, and he eventually kills a giant and wins a princess.

Here is the "*geasa* -game", but decayed and rationalized. Again, there is a helpful female, as in *Sv* and all its analogues, and the hero marries the princess after killing a giant, as in *Culhwch* and *Art*.

2. A similar sequence is found, with individual variation, in the other forms of AT 556 distinguished by Sveinsson:
 - i. an *álǫg* is placed on the hero by a giantess, or similar;

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- ii. this sets him various tasks he performs with the help of a good stepmother;
- iii. the tale ends with the hero's successful wooing.

In all these — as in those discussed above — there is so high a proportion of other popular material that it is difficult to be sure of the original shape of the tale. The closeness of *Himinbjargar saga* to Sv and its other analogues and the presence in 556 II of a descendant of the "geasa-game" motif suggest that these tales and Sv grew from the same complex of motifs and stories.

3.2 The traditional ballads

I rely on the analysis by Vésteinn Ólason in *The Traditional Ballads of Iceland* 1982 of the editions of Jón Helgason, *Íslensk fornkvæði* I-VIII, 1962-82. These were collected between the sixteenth and late twentieth centuries (Ólason, pp. 16-21). Many of these ballads were imported into Iceland from C14 on and so can not directly reflect traditions current at the time of composition of Sv, probably well before this (pp. 83-109; esp. 109). I concentrate then on the comparatively few such ballads which Ólason argues were composed in Iceland.

a. *Eyvindar ríma* (ff 81; IV, p. 110; Ólason pp. 376-8)

This ballad is the closest to Sv in its story. Ólason summarizes it as a 'hodge-podge of miscellaneous motifs', and argues that material, style, metre and diction all suggest Icelandic composition. It is known in only one version, written down 'from an old woman' by Arni Magnússon.

Relevant to Sv are:

1. A queen bears a son clad in full armour with a colt, a sword and a tower 'with a wand'.

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2. *Flakinmunna* (hare-lip?) casts a spell on the son: he will kill his father and three other kings unless he proposes to a girl named Mundía.¹
3. Later, he goes with an army to the city where that lady rules.
4. Citizens tell Mundía that a handsome man has entered her lands. She asks his name, and he gives it as Eyvindur.
5. She says he need not propose unless he first kills two vikings. Eyvindur does this, and wins her and the land.

Here too we have the *álög*, with exactly the same command — to woo a woman — as in *Gróg*. Otherwise, the first part of the story differs radically from *Sv*. Yet, the second part of the ballad is closer to *Sv* than perhaps any other Icelandic source:

1. Mundía is no captive princess, but has all the power and authority of a queen — as has Menglǫð.
2. Eyvindur's naming of himself recalls Svipdagr's self-revelation in *Fj* 41.

One would not press this too hard. Eyvindur does not win her by his name alone, but must pass other tests, as is usual in these stories. Also, the shape of the story is obscured by extraneous motifs — e.g. the astonishing birth. But the combination of exactly the same rare motifs to those in *Sv* is certainly suggestive.

b. Other traditional ballads

While no other ballad gives so tantalizing a combination of motifs as *Eyvindar ríma*, similar motifs to *Sv* are found as follows in ballads of likely Icelandic composition:

¹ This reading transposes 7 and 8, following Ólason.

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1. *Gunnbjarnar kvæði lf 41*; Ólason pp. 276-8 (five versions). Gunnbjörn dresses as a woman and sits at the castle gate as his beloved rides by. So disguised, he falls into conversation with her, and she reveals her love of Gunnbjörn. He reveals her identity, and it appears they marry.¹ The disguise motif recalls the story of Hagbard and Signy, current in many ballads. However, the happy ending following revelation of identity brings it closer to Sv.
2. *Vilhjálm's kvæði lf 42*; Ólason pp. 278-9 (4 versions). A small boy comes to the heroine to tell her that he has seen ships belonging to her lover Vilhjálmur. She says she will reward him if he is telling the truth, but hang him if he is lying.

Compare Menglǫð's reaction to Fjǫlsviðr's statement that Svipdagr has come in *Fj 45*. This may be a commonplace of ballad tradition: cf. Lord Barnard's reaction to the page's news of his wife's infidelity in *Little Musgrave*:

'But if it be a lie, thou little tinny page,
This thing thou tellest to me,
On the hyest tree in Bucklesfordbery
Then hanged shalt thou be' (Child 1965, II 244).

3. *Ríka álfs kvæði lf 4* (Ólason 131-3). The text appears corrupt, but it seems to contain the common Celtic motif of kidnapping by the fairies. A woman who refuses to give her love to any man is taken to a powerful fairy, apparently to be married and to bear his child.

¹ Two texts have the lovers go away, with no obstacle mentioned. The other three end before this point.

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These motifs are — with one exception — the only ones I have found from the whole range of traditional ballads discussed by Ólason which seem relevant to Sv.¹ It is striking that these are found in just those few ballads for which Ólason argues Icelandic origin. Once more, the Icelandic stock of the stories behind Sv is indicated.

4. Conclusion

Though Sv has no exact parallel elsewhere in Icelandic tradition, there are distinctive traces of the matter of Sv in older legendary material (*fornaldarsögur*, *lygisögur*) and in modern popular tradition. Fewer such traces appear in older Eddic poetry and in the family and historical sagas.

Further, the apparently Celtic elements in the story — e.g. the "geasa-game" — persist in popular tale into C19. Narratives containing elements from Sv often contain independent motifs plausibly related to Celtic tradition (e.g. *Ala Flekks saga*).

This agrees with the hypothesis that the Sv material arrived in Iceland from the Celtic area, and that it first existed in Iceland as a popular tale — possibly, as one of the *stjúpmæðrasögur* which Oddr Snorrason scorns.

However, the evidence is not adequate to determine the exact shape of the story as it came to the Sv poet. There is excellent evidence that a story very like *Art* and *Culhwch* was current in medieval Iceland: that is, the stepson under *álög* wins the giant's daughter by performance of violent feats, probably including the killing of the heroine's giant father, as in

¹ The one exception is in *Stjúpmóður kvæði* IF 11 (Ólason 160-2). The younger Danish, Norwegian and Swedish versions have the children going to the mother's grave and waking her by their weeping: this detail is specifically absent from the Icelandic versions. Naturally, other motifs found in Sv do occur in the ballads, but these are of such general currency (e.g. suitor tests, cruel stepmothers) as to be valueless.

Hjálmþés saga ok Ölvis. Hence, one might suggest that Svipdagr's non-violent triumph was the poet's own happy innovation. There is support for this in the gentler tendencies of the whole narrative; see p. 424.

But there is evidence of a Celtic version in which the hero likewise wins by announcing his name. Thus especially *Le Bel Inconnu*; see pp. 379-80. *Eyvindar ríma* may be an echo of such a story. These last instances are inconclusive, and I am inclined to think that the poet knew a tale like that preserved in *Art* and modified it to his own ends.

II.4 Sv and Scandinavian Ballads

The single most important event in Sv scholarship is the recognition by Grundtvig and Bugge that the story of Sv is fundamentally identical with that of the narrative of a group of Scandinavian popular ballads.¹ These ballads are usually referred to as *Ungen Svendal*, from the name given by the editors of *DgF* to the Danish examples, and I use that name in this study.

No scholar before Bugge and Grundtvig had seen that *Gróg* and *Fj* actually form two halves of the one story, or indeed that there was any link between them.² Their discovery is the foundation of all modern discussion of the poems, and no scholar since has seriously doubted that *Gróg* and *Fj* together tell a single story.³

¹ Bugge first observed the link between *Gróg*, *Fj* and the ballads in a letter to Grundtvig of 19th March 1855 printed by Aubert 1909, 53. Grundtvig then noted the identity of the first part of *Ungen Svendal* with *Gróg* in *DgF* II 238-9, and Bugge the identity of the second part with *Fj* in *DgF* II 667-8. Grundtvig and Bugge elaborated this in *DgF* II 668-73 and Bugge 1861 respectively. The only detailed account of Sv and the *Ungen Svendal* ballads since is Sveinsson 1975, 51-60.

² Twice before Bugge and Grundtvig scholars came close to recognizing the link. Arnamagnæan 1818, 540 observed that *menglǫðum* in the MSS at *Gróg* 3/6 might be the same word as the *Menglǫð* of *Fj*, but took *menglǫðum* as a noun 'jewels'. Hallgrímur Scheving may have anticipated Bugge's crucial emendation of MSS *skauts þú* to *skaut* in the same verse (p. 440).

³ Motz 1975 and Talbot 1976 both speculate that part or all of *Gróg* may be an unoriginal addition, but neither press the argument. See pp. 332-6 below.

1. The Preservation of *Ungen Svendal*

Ungen Svendal is best known from the sixteen different Danish versions printed in *DgF*.¹ The oldest of these is drawn from the great collection contained in Karen Brahe's folio MS, dated 1583, on which Grundtvig bases his version A; the most recent is *DgF*'s I, collected direct from a reciter in Hjøllund in 1877.

The ballad also exists in two Swedish versions, printed as 18A and B in *SMB* I 204-6. The first, *Unge Svedendal*, was collected by Petter Rudebeck around 1690; the second, *Hertig Silfverdal*, was collected about 1810 by A. A. Afzelius.²

According to the concordances given in *DgF* XII no versions of the ballad have been collected in any other Scandinavian countries, or indeed in any other European country. As Sveinsson 1975, 51 implies, the absence of *Ungen Svendal* from Norwegian and other Scandinavian collections is probably an accident of preservation.³ But its absence from elsewhere in Europe suggests the ballad may have been the particular property of the north.

2. The Narrative of *Ungen Svendal*

These eighteen different ballads differ in various details, as is to be expected of popular oral literature collected over a period of three centuries. However, the core of the story remains remarkably stable. Thus, the five

¹ Versions A to E *DgF* II 239-53; F and G III 841-3; Fb and H to P (there is no J) in X 82-91.

² First printed by *SF* 143 and *GA* I 57-9.

³ '.. en ekki eru mér heldur kunn rök í þá átt, að hann hafi ekki þekkt þar.' (I do not know any reason why it should not have been known there [sc. Norway]).

oldest versions — the four versions from C16 and C17 collected in *DgF* II 239-47 as A to D and the c. 1690 Swedish version printed as 18A in *SMB* I 204-5 — all have the same narrative sequence:

1. Svendal (A; the name varies), a youth, is playing with a ball which flies into a lady's bower.
2. The lady directs him to seek out another lady, who is suffering for love of Svendal.
3. Svendal goes to his hall and tells the courtiers to carry on drinking while he visits his mother's tomb.
4. Svendal arrives at the tomb; his mother wakes and asks who it is who calls her from the peace of the grave.
5. Svendal identifies himself as her son, explains the task he has been given and says that he wants help from her.
6. The mother describes various objects, mostly with wonderful magical qualities, which she will give him to aid him on his quest.
7. Svendal journeys to the land of the lady of his quest. He meets one of this lady's retainers and questions him concerning her and her establishment.
8. This man tells Svendal that the lady's palace is strongly fortified and guarded by fierce animals.
9. Svendal promises to ennoble this man if he becomes king of this land.
10. Svendal rides into the palace. His welcome within is signalled by the animals prostrating themselves at his feet and by a lime-tree bowing its leaves to the ground (this last detail absent from the Swedish version).

11. The lady welcomes the hero Svendal with warm affection, and we are told in all four Danish versions that he has released her from long woe.

12. Svendal succeeds simply because he is Svendal: he has to pass no tests, perform no feats, to win the maid.

The later versions of *Ungen Svendal* elaborate or alter this basic narrative in ways of no interest to this study: the name of the hero varies (cf. pp. 296-7 below); in the second Swedish version (*SMB* 18B, I 205-6) the hero goes to the father's tomb, not the mother's; *DgF* versions H I K L M N O P place the heroine in Iceland. These later versions are therefore usually ignored in the following.

3. Comparison of the Narratives of *Sv* and *Ungen Svendal*

The recognition that the two poems *Gróg* and *Fj* form a single narrative rests on the apparent identity of the story they tell with that of these ballads.

3.1 Similarities of major points of narrative

In its essential points, the narrative of the oldest five versions of *Ungen Svendal* outlined above agrees with that of *Sv* in both substance and sequence. Thus:

1. The lady who sends Svendal on his quest for the lady (1 and 2 above) can be identified with *in lævísá kona* of *Gróg* 3/2, who sends Svipdagr on a dangerous quest after a second lady, *móti Menglǫðu*.
2. Svipdagr's trip to his mother's tomb for help agrees in motive and deed with that of the hero of *Ungen Svendal* (4 and 5).

3. The mother gives the hero aid for his dangerous journey in both *Sv* and *Ungen Svendal* (6).
4. Both *Svipdagr* and the hero of *Ungen Svendal* meet a retainer of the lady he seeks (7). The dialogue between the hero and the lady's retainer in both details the palace's defences (8).
5. In both *Sv* and *Ungen Svendal* the defences of the palace give way to the hero (10).
6. The hero releases the heroine from suffering and is welcomed by her in both narratives (11).

3.2. Similarities of detail

In addition, many lesser points show remarkable similarity and several of the oldest versions preserve details identical with those in *Sv* and its analogues. Thus:

1. In both narratives the youth of the hero is emphasized. In the ballads he is always 'ungen Svendal' or similar; in *Gróg* he describes himself as *til ungr afi*.
2. In three of the four oldest Danish versions (A, B and C) the woman who lays the quest on the hero is his stepmother, just as in *Art* and *Culhwch* and as appears to be the case (given Bugge's emendation of 3/2) in *Gróg*.¹
3. In two of the four oldest Danish versions (A and C) the words used to describe the charge laid on the hero to enforce his obligation to seek out the distant lady recall strongly the *álög* of Icelandic stories and the positive *geis* of Irish (see pp. 244-5, 272-

¹ So too in the later Danish versions *DgF* E (collected 1844) and P (1868).

4 above) which apparently underlies the *ljótt leikborð* of *Gróg* 3/1.¹ So v. 4 of A:

Þthu skalt aldrið ruo bide
och aldrið ruo faa:
förið du faar löst dett sorig-fuld hiartte,
saa lenge haffuer lieett y thraa'.

Compare especially the words of the stepmother in *Hjálmþés saga ok Ölvis* quoted above, p. 270.

4. In three of the oldest Danish versions (A, B and D) it is clearly stated that the hero and heroine have never met before. This agrees exactly with *Art* and *Culhwch* and with *Sv*, if *Fj* 5/2 and 49/6 are emended.²

5. The animals — lions and bears in the four oldest Danish versions, '12 Snöhwita Biörna' in the Swedish — which guard the heroine's palace recall Gífr and Geri of *Fj* 14.

7. The wild animals fall at the hero's feet in the four oldest Danish versions just as the watch-dogs welcome Svipdagr in *Fj*

¹ Also in the later Danish version *DgF* E (collected 1844); no others have this detail.

² Also *DgF* version P, collected 1868. All other versions are silent on this point, except C which alone implies they have met. C differs in various other ways from the other older versions: it is the only one which openly imputes a jealous motive to the stepmother, the only one which has the heroine imprisoned by her stepmother and freed by the hero, and the only one which involves the step-sister in the *álög*. Interestingly, this last brings it close to *Culhwch*, where the hero's refusal to marry the stepsister provokes the stepmother's curse. However, all the other peculiarities make dubious Grundtvig's argument that C is closest to the original form of the ballad (*DgF* II 668-73). Erik Dal's account of the role of the early scribes of the *folkeviser* is relevant here: they "lived their material, took a hand in its composition, invented part of the story and edited the result" (1967, 12).

44. In the oldest Swedish version the bears lie so still at his entry 'dhe rörde sig icke ett hår'.

8. The lime tree of the four oldest Danish versions corresponds to *Mimameiðr*, so prominent in *Fj*.

9. Similar words are used to describe the heroine's pain while awaiting her lover: she experiences *þrár* in *Fj* 50 and *thraa* in three of the five oldest ballads (*DgF* A, B and D). Thus in *DgF* A v. 31 'hun lieger y sterkenn thraa'.

3.3 The differences between the narratives

The major differences between the two narratives can be explained by reference to the different traditions of Eddic poetry and Scandinavian ballad:

1. It is a typical convention of the courtly ballads for the hero's converse with a lady to be occasioned by his ball dropping in her bower: see for example Feilberg IV 55-6, *bold*; III, 113-35, *æble*; Sveinsson 1975, 53; also *DgF* nos. 73, 76, cited Rossel 1982, 65. Thus the replacement of the *ljótt leikborð* of *Gróg* 3/1 with this in all the older ballad versions.
2. The hero's reproach of his knightly comrades for staying drinking in the hall while he must risk himself (3 above) and his promise to ennoble the lady's retainer (9) are additions we might expect of balladmakers steeped in courtly romance. No trace of either appears in *Sv*.
3. The heavily didactic dialogue between *Svipdagr* and *Fjölsviðr* — so close in phrasing to Eddic dialogues such as in *Vafþr*, see p. 314 — disappears from the ballads.

4. In a Christian context we might expect the heathen charms offered her son by Gróa to be transmuted in ballads into lists of useful magic objects, and that is what happens. Indeed, in all four of the oldest Danish versions of *Ungen Svendal* Svendal says that he is seeking 'gode rad' from his mother. Such 'rad' could well originally have been something like the *galdrar* Gróa chants her son.

5. In none of the ballads does the heroine have the same supreme authority as that enjoyed by Menglǫð, hedged as she is with hints of supernatural protective and healing powers. The heroine of the ballad versions is an altogether more ordinary princess. As the characteristics given Menglǫð make her seem unique in ON it is likely that the ON poet is the innovator here; see pp. 351-5 below.

Thus none of these differences are inconsistent with derivation of the *Ungen Svendal* ballads from the same story as *Sv*.

4. The Links between *Sv* and *Ungen Svendal*

Ultimate derivation of the *Ungen Svendal* ballads from the same basic stock as the *Sv* story appears certain. Decisive are the following, where *Sv* and the ballads agree on significant motifs rarely found elsewhere:

1. In both narratives the hero wins out just because of his name. As I observe below p. 378, the only instances of this extraordinary reason for success which I have been able to find anywhere are in *Sv* and in these ballads.
2. In all the five oldest versions except *DgF*'s C (see p. 290, fn. 2), the formidable defences about the heroine are to keep unwelcome suitors out, not to keep her in, and her suffering is

caused by her long wait for the right man and not by imprisonment. So exactly in *Sv*. Here, *Sv* and the ballads agree against *Art*, *Culhwch* and countless popular tales of the 'giants daughter' type (p. 237 above), all of which emphasize the heroine's violent imprisonment.

Exactly as the closeness of *Sv* to the Celtic analogues could not be chance (see pp. 232-3 above), the agreement in major narrative substance and sequence, in minor detail, and in motifs found rarely or not at all outside these stories, all suggest an organic relationship between them. *Sv* differs rather less from the oldest surviving version of *Ungen Svendal*, *DgF*'s A, than A does from the late and wretched second Swedish version (*SMB* I 205-6, 18B; see p. 288 above).

4.1 The transmission of the story into the ballads

Sv may be evidence that the story passed through Iceland on its way from the Celtic area to continental Scandinavia. Thus:

1. *Sv* agrees with *Art* against *Ungen Svendal* in the motif of the 'geasa-game';
2. *Sv* agrees with *Ungen Svendal* against the Celtic analogues in the motive for the heroine's sequestration and in the manner of the hero's success.

Therefore, the narrative of *Sv* appears to provide a bridge between the oldest Celtic forms of the tale and the most modern ballad forms. It preserves something of the Celtic lost in the ballads; it adds something to the Celtic which is preserved in the ballads.

Hence, *Sv* seems to reflect a more original form of the story than that preserved in the ballads. Was Iceland and *Sv* the link between the story in Ireland and the story in the *Ungen Svendal* ballads?

4.2 The analogy with other heroic ballads

This suggested passage of the story from an Icelandic poem to continental Scandinavia does not agree with modern views concerning the origins of some of the Scandinavian ballads. Scandinavian ballad scholars commonly accept that at least some of the *kæmpeviser* — the category of ballads of saga and myth to which *Ungen Svendal* may be assigned (thus Dal 1967) — originated in western Norway on the basis of written prose sources.¹

Argument by analogy with these other *kæmpeviser* would then support derivation of the ballads from a written West Norse prose source more like the prose *Hjálmþés saga ok Ölvis* than the verse *Sv*. However, the *kæmpeviser* upon which von der Recke and others base their arguments are very different from the *Ungen Svendal* ballads, and the application of these arguments to *Ungen Svendal* itself is far from certain. Sverker Ek in his 1921 study, for example, concentrates his arguments on three groups of ballads: those descended from the story of Hagbard and Signy, especially *DgF* 20; those descended from the complex of stories related to Dietrich of Bern (= *Þiðreks saga*; *DgF* 7) and those relating to Holger the Dane (*DgF* 30). Of these, Ek remarks (p. 1-9; summarized Dal 1956, 237):

1. The hero's particular virtue in these West Norse derived *kæmpeviser* is his strength, with no attention paid to his ancestry. The East Norse derived *ridderviser* stress the hero's resourcefulness, and concern themselves with his dynasty and with aristocratic ideals.

¹ Arguments for this were first advanced by Ernst von der Recke 1907, expanded by Knut Liestøl in his 1915 dissertation *Norske trollvisor og norrøne sogor* and by Sverker Ek 1921. There is a convenient summary of the scholarship in Dal 1956, 235-40 and both Dal himself 1967, 17-18 and Rossel 1982, 10 accept these conclusions.

2. There is less dialogue in the *kæmpeviser*, which make greater use of narrative and of episodic variety of scenes; the *ridderviser* place more weight on dialogue and generally limit themselves to a few principle scenes only.

Ek argues that in these points the *kæmpeviser* are very much closer to saga-style than are the *ridderviser*: 'kämpavisans stil egentigen är en sagostil överförd i balladvers, och till grund för dessa visor ligger också nästan undantagslöst en muntlig eller skriftlig saga'.¹ He is also able to produce enough correspondences between surviving medieval written sources — *fornaldarsögur*, etc. — and the three groups of ballads of his study to make probable his assertion that written sagas underlie these ballads.

Whatever the force of these arguments in these cases, they cannot be used to prove anything of the *Ungen Svendal* ballads. Thus:

1. The elements of 'sagostil' Ek (following von der Recke and Liestøl) sees in the heroic ballads he analyses are quite absent from *Ungen Svendal*. These ballads use dialogue richly, they are not characterised by episodic narrative, and they tell the story in some four scenes only.
2. While Icelandic or West Norse prose sources exist for the three groups of ballads studied by Ek, no Icelandic or West Norse prose source exists which could itself have been, or have been close to, a source for the *Ungen Svendal* ballads.

Of course, it might be argued that a written version of *Sv* itself, much as we have it, was itself the source of the ballads. This would explain the

¹ '... the style of the heroic ballads is really a saga-style translated into ballad verse, and an oral or written saga is almost without exception the basis of these ballads' (p. 3).

lack of elements of 'sagostil' from the ballads: the ballads get their rich dialogue, their few scenes, direct from *Sv* itself. But it also removes the analogy with the heroic ballads descended from prose sources, and would require an analysis of all the other Scandinavian ballads possibly descended from Eddic poetry — e.g. those relating to *þry* in *DgF* no. 1 — to support it. Such an analysis might prove highly productive, but lies beyond the resources of this edition.¹

4.3 Was *Sv* itself the source of the ballads?

In the absence of any such argument by analogy with other ballads, we must look for clues in the *Ungen Svendal* ballads themselves.

The closeness of detail observed above may indicate no more than that the ballads are based on the same common stock as *Sv*. However, there is evidence that they derive direct from *Sv* itself. This is the names of the two main characters in the ballads:

1. The various versions of the hero's name in the ballads — Svendal, Sueidal, Svedal, Svenndal, Svedendal in the five oldest versions and variant spellings of these — could have developed from an original Svipdagr by substitution of the elements of each syllable, but with retention of the initial consonants of each. Compare the apparent identity of the Ordláf of l. 16 of the Finnsburg Fragment and the Osláf of *Beowulf* 1148².
2. In the oldest Swedish version (*SMB* 18A, 204-5) the heroine is called *Spegelklar* 'glass-bright'. As von der Recke 1927, I 7

¹ There appears to have been no discussion of the relationship between Eddic poems and the ballads this century. See Dal 1956, 227-40.

observes, the name might derive by substitution for an original suggesting brilliancy and precious value — as does the name Menglǫð. In none of the other four oldest versions is the heroine given any name.

But in other ways the use of names in the *Ungen Svendal* ballads suggests derivation from popular tradition. Apart from the hero and heroine, no other character in any of the eighteen surviving versions has a name. They are all simply designated *iomfru*, *hiorde*, *gammel manndt*, *kongenn* and the like. In this, they resemble the namelessness of characters in popular tales: e.g. p. 259 above. However, it is typical too of *folkeviser* that they are sparing in their use of names, and so this may be without significance.¹

5. Conclusion

The choice does not lie simply between derivation of the ballads from *Sv* itself and derivation of both independently from popular tradition. Jesch 1982 suggests that written and oral traditions can interact in complex ways no longer recoverable from the scanty evidence left us.² The simple hypothesis that all the ballads derive from the written text of *Sv* itself can be made to agree with all the evidence — but it may do so just because there is so little evidence. Certainly Jesch, after a careful study of the links between *Asmundar saga flagðagæfu*, *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* and the

² Dobbie 1942, xv. This explanation is preferable to Bugge's conjecture that the names might have developed phonologically from an earlier *Svipdagr*, *DgF* II 667-8; also Falk 1893, 334-7.

¹ Thus the ballads of *Svend Vonved* *DgF* I 235-249 and *Hr. Tønne af Alsø* *DgF* II 13-20.

² Thus she approves Liestøl's 'imprecise and indefinable "munnleg attforteljing millom den skrivne saga og visa"' 1982, 131.

II.4 SV AND SCANDINAVIAN BALLADS

related ballads, does not feel that the relatively copious material she examines admits of any such straightforward conclusion.

Therefore, I do not feel able to go beyond the cautious summary of Einar Sveinsson 1975, 60:

'þær skoðanir, sem nú var greint frá, koma heim við þat, að Grógaldur og Fjölsvinns mál séu vesturnorræn, og séu þau eldri og upprunalegri en Svejdalsdansinn og önnur skyld kvæði'.¹

One cannot determine exactly how much older *Gróg* and *Fj* might be than the ballad versions we now have. There is little more essential difference between the Old Norse poems and *DgF*'s version A, recorded no later than 1583, than there is between that version and *DgF* I recorded in 1877. Nearly three hundred years lie between A and I. There is no reason why a similar interval should not lie between the Old Norse poems and the first recorded occurrence of the ballad in the sixteenth century.

¹ 'The opinions I have outlined are consistent with *Gróg* and *Fj* being West Norse, and with them being older and more original than the *Ungen Svendal* ballad and other related poems'.

III. 1 The Use of Old Norse Tradition in *Svipdagsmál*: Introduction

The most immediately striking characteristic of *Sv* is the extraordinary density of echoes of other Eddic poetry, both as verbal reminiscence and as mythological reference. Falk therefore describes *Sv* as "et konglomerat af mytiske elementer og versfragmenter" (an agglomeration of mythical elements and verse fragments; 1893, 331); according to Heusler the two poems are "Studien im eddischen Stile" (studies in Eddic style; 1906, 268).

There is an apparent paradox here. From the evidence presented in the last section, the story is not original to ON; yet the weight of echoes of other Eddic poems in *Sv* places it firmly in ON tradition. Heusler remarks of this apparent cleavage between the manner and the matter of *Sv* that it is "die alter Form mit neuem Inhalt" (the old form with new contents): thus the odd mixture of "eddischen Stile" and stepmother tale (1906, 268).

The aim of this section is to illuminate this paradox further by study of the use the poet of *Sv* makes of verbal echo and of mythological reference. Chapter two of this section (III.2) discusses *Sv*'s use of verbal echoes of other Eddic poems.

The other chapters in this section discuss the use *Sv* makes of mythological reference. Chapter three (III.3) gives an outline of previous scholarly discussion of this aspect of *Sv*, and discusses the approach to mythological reference in *Sv* taken in this study. Chapter four (III.4) examines the names in the poems, relating — where possible — all occurrences of names to their appearance elsewhere in ON. Chapter five (III.5) examines the use of mythological motifs in *Sv*, again comparing their occurrence in *Sv* with that elsewhere.

III.2 Verbal Echoes of Eddic Poems in Sv

1. Direct use in Sv of Older Poems

In the following cases similarity of phrase is so matched by similarity of context as to make the direct use of one source by the other very likely. It is argued in IV.1 that Sv is younger than the poems of CR discussed in this section: it is therefore Sv which is the borrower.

1.1 Passages from *Hávǫm*

a. *Hávǫm* 149 and *Gróg* 10

Hávǫm 149:

þat kann ek it fjórða,
ef mér fyrðar bera
bǫnd at boglimum —
svá ek gel
at ek ganga má;
sprettr mér af fótum fjǫturr,
en af hǫndum hapt.

Gróg 10:

þann gel ek þér inn fimta,
ef þér fjǫturr verðr
borinn at boglimum —
leysigaldr læt ek þér
fyr legg of kveðinn;
ok stökk þá láss af limum,
en af fótum fjǫturr.

Both stanzas treat of the power of charms for releasing from bonds.

Direct influence of *Hávǫm* upon *Gróg* appears certain because of:

1. The word *boglimum*, which appears only in these two places in ON. For the vowel and sense see Commentary.
2. The identical sequence of particle, indirect object, noun and verb in the second line of each.
3. The last two lines of each: in both the sense is identical (fetters leaping from limbs); in both, the verse is extended in the final line into *galdralag*, the only instance of *galdralag* in Sv; in both the phrasing is extraordinarily similar:

III.2 VERBAL ECHOES OF EDDIC POEMS IN SV

- i. In each poem one of the last two lines contains a phrase consisting of two nouns and *af* (*láss af limum*; *af hǫndum hapt*), with *af fótum fjǫturr* appearing in the other line;
- ii. In each poem the two phrases pivot about *en* beginning the last line;
- iii. In each poem the nominative noun of each of the two phrases governs a single verb, placed at the beginning of the second last line: *støkkkr ... láss ... fjǫturr* in *Gróg*, *sprettr ... fjǫturr ... hapt* in *Hávm*.

It appears the poet of *Gróg* has tried to differ from the wording of his model without quite being able to match its perfection. In *Hávm*, the sequence of thought is logical, and the verse beautifully balanced. He will go free; fetters will drop from hands and feet. The single general statement is followed by two specific statements, with the phrasing of the two specific statements being exactly parallel: *af fótum fjǫturr* and *af hǫndum hapt*.

In *Gróg*, this elegant sequence is obscured. A charm will be sung before his limbs, the manacle will spring from his limbs and the fetter from his feet. The sense repetition *legg ... limum* retards the progress of the verse; the nice balance of hands and feet in *Hávm* is lost; the placing of the nominative in *láss af limum* dissipates the parallel with *af fótum fjǫturr*; *fjǫturr* is repeated in the second and last lines. The *Gróg* verse would be much improved without the fumbled parallels of this last line. This is the only instance of *galdralag* in *Sv* and the unaccustomed form might have caused the poet's failure to equal the crisp balance of his model.

This last line apart, the adaptation of the *Hávm* passage to the different context of *Gróg* shows poetic skill. Óðinn is speaking the charms for

himself, Gróa for her son: the insertion of the second person into the first, second and fourth lines, and the removal of the first person from the fifth and sixth lines of *Gróg* 10 is skilfully done. Note especially the replacement of *mér* in line six not by the obvious *þér* but by the more forceful *þá*.

Similarly, the second and third lines of the *Hávm* passage are skilfully recast in *Gróg*: *ef mér fyrðar bera bænd at boglimum* becomes *ef þér fjǫturr verðr borinn at boglimum*. Turning the passage into the impersonal both avoids the rather empty *fyrðar* of *Hávm* and harmonizes the menace — in its impersonality — with the more metaphysical terrors of rivers, sea and cold expressed in most of the other charms.

The passage shows that the poet knows the *Hávm* passage, and knows it well enough — and has sufficient poetic skill — to adapt it easily to his own poem.

b. *Hávm* 146-63 and the nine charms of Gróa

The wording beginning each of the nine charms in *Gróg* 6-14 appears modelled on that in the *ljóðatal* of *Hávm* 146-63:

Hávm:
Þat kann ek it fjórða,
ef mér ...

Gróg:
Þann gel ek þér inn fjórða,
ef þér ...

A major structural motif of *Sv*, the organisation of the poems into patterns of nines (see pp. 423-4), may itself be influenced by the eighteen charms of the *ljóðatal* and the nine nights Óðinn hangs on the world-tree. In turn, the stress on nines in *Sv* makes a further link between it and its pagan models: it, too, appears to spring from a pagan world where nines carry mysterious potency.

c. Hávm 138 and Fj 20

Hávm 138:

*á þeim meiði,
er mangi veit*

hvers hann af rótum renn

Fj 20:

*Mimameiðr hann heitir,
en þat mangi veit (MSS fáir
vita)*

af hverjum rótum renn

Even without the emendation of MSS *fáir vita* (affirmed by the parallels) the passages are close enough for the one to be based on the other. In both remarkable trees (probably the world-tree) are being described; the word *meiðr* is used of both trees; in both passages the sense appears identical, that none know whence the tree's roots run; in both the helming finishes with the words *af (...) rótum renn*.

The last line of each affirms that *Sv* is the borrower: the obscure *hvers hann af rótum* of *Hávm* is certainly *difficilior lectio*, if not actually corrupt.¹ *Af hverjum rótum* reads as a clever correction of this and it would be difficult to explain the *Hávm* reading as developing from the *Fj* one.²

Most interestingly: why does the poet choose to echo this particular passage of *Hávm*, just here? It appears that *Mimameiðr* is intended as the world-tree itself: see further p. 384. The reference to the passage of *Hávm* 138 describing the world-tree underlines the association. Other echoes in this part of *Fj* of other passages in ON describing the world-tree support and extend the association:

1. *Grí 34 meiðs kvistum* is echoed in *Fj 24 meiðs kvistum*;

¹ Compare SGK 149, following Müllenhoff 1891, 270, for the suggestion that *Fj 20/2-3* is a borrowing from *Fj* into *Hávm* 138.

² SGT 49 reads *Fj 20/2-3* into *Hávm* 138; Evans 1986, 134 suggests emendation to *hverjum*, as in *Fj*.

III.2 VERBAL ECHOES OF EDDIC POEMS IN SV

2. Snorri's description *Gylf* ch. 15 of the world-tree *limar hans dreifask yfir heim allan* is echoed in *Fj* 19/5-6: the tree's limbs *breiðask um lǫnd ǫll*.

From the identification of the tree by Menglǫð's palace with the world-tree both Menglǫð and her palace gain grandeur and importance.

d. Other passages from *Hávǫm*

Other echoes of *Hávǫm* may be unconscious reminiscence — perhaps of common tradition, rather than *Hávǫm* specifically — showing the extent of the poet's absorption in the older poetry:

Hávǫm:

138 *sjálfr sjálfum mér*

152 *galdur at gala*

104-5 *nú em ek aptr um*

kominn ... lét ek hana eptir

hafa.

Gróg:

6 *sjálfr leiðtu sjálfan þik*

5 *galdra þú mér gal;*

15 *galdra gól*

Fj:

28 *aptr mun koma ... sá er*

eptir ferr

1.2 Passages from *Vafþr*

a. *Vafþr* 4 and *Gróg* 7, 14

Vafþr 4 *heill þú á sinnum sér*

Vafþr 4 *orðum mæla jǫtun*

Gróg 7 *er þú á sinnum sér*

(MSS *sman*)

Gróg 14 ... *orðum skiptir*

jǫtun

The close echoes of the two phrases from the one stanza of *Vafþr* within a few stanzas in *Gróg* make it likely that the Sv poet had this verse of *Vafþr* in mind as he composed *Gróg*. The similarity of context in the two poems reinforces this:

1. Frigg's *heill þú á sinnum sér* comes from her wifely concern for Óðinn as he goes to be questioned by a giant and to question him in turn, *orðum mæla jǫtun*.

2. Gróa's benediction *er þú á sinnum sér* comes from her motherly concern for Svipdagr as he too goes to be questioned by a giant and to question him in turn, *við inn naddgǫfga orðum skiptir jǫtun*.

3. In both poems, the dialogue with the giant ends with the hero's triumphant self-revelation.

The parallels with *Vafþr* link Svipdagr's journey and his encounter with Fjǫlsviðr to Óðinn's encounter with Vafþrúðnir, and so magnify his stature.

b. Other passages from *Vafþr*

Vafþr 49 þrjár þjóðáar
falla þorp yfir

Gróg 8 þjóðáar falla.

The different contexts of the two — there are three such rivers in *Vafþr*, two in *Gróg* — make this appear a verbal reminiscence rather than a direct borrowing.

Vafþr 11-17 hvé sá ... sú
heitir

Fj 9ff hvat sá ... sú ... þat
heitir.

Again, verbal reminiscence shading into use of common idiom.

Vafþr 18 sá er þeim vǫllr
vitaðr

Fj 16 síðan þeim var varzla
vituð.

The insistence in *Fj* that the guardianship of the dogs will last till *ragnarǫk* (æ *meðan ǫld lifir*; unz *rjúfask regin* 12, 14; see too pp. 392-5) may give point to the half-echo *þeim ... vituð* of the account of the plain of the last battle in *Vafþr*, *þeim ... vitaðr*.

Vafþr 41 (*einherjar*) sitja
... sáttir saman

Fj 37 sitja (MSS *singja*)
sáttar saman.

The borrowing in Sv is betrayed by *sáttar*: *sáttir* is meaningful in the context of battle 'done and won' of *Vafþr* 41, but *sáttar* lacks point in *Fj* 37: these are not war-maidens (see pp. 375-8).

1.3 Passages from *Grí*

a. *Grí* 53 and *Fj* 43

Grí 53:
nú knáttu Óðin sjá

Fj 43:
hér máttu Svipdag sjá

The circumstances in both poems are very similar: in each, the climax comes with this speech of the hero; in each the revelation of identity leads to a dramatic reversal of circumstances. The close similarity of the wording underlines the parallel circumstances. As with the echoes of *Vafþr*, the link between Óðinn and Svipdagr lifts the latter towards the world of myth.

b. Other passages from *Grí*

Grí:
35 (*erfiði*) *meira en menn*
vita
28 ... *heitir ein* (CR *enn*)

... *ønnur* ... *þriðja*
34 *meiðs kvistum*

Gróg:
11 (*sjó*) *meira en menn viti*
Fj:
38 ... *heitir ein* (*ein* omitted
MSS)
... *ønnur* ... *þriðja*
24 *meiðs kvistum*

Apart from the parallel *meiðs kvistum* describing the world-tree in each poem — see p. 303 — these appear as unconscious reminiscence, shading into use of common tradition.

1.4. Passages from *Skí*

a. *Skí* 42 and *Gróg* 4

Skí 42:

Gróg 4:

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*Lǫng er nótt,
Langar ro tvær,
hvé um þreyjak þrjár?
opt mér mánaðr
minni þótti
en sjá hálf hýnótt.*

*Lǫng er fǫr,
Langir ro farvegar,
Langir ro manna munir —
ef þat verðr,
at þú þinn vilja bíðr,
ok skeikar þá Skuld at
skopum.*

Within the shared context of a wooing story the first two lines in each are so close that direct influence of the older *Skí* on the younger *Gróg* seems certain:

1. The first line of each begins *Lǫng er*; the second line of each modulates this to the plural *Langir / Langar ro*.
2. The first line of each is a three syllable line, a metric form rare elsewhere in *ljóðahátt* (see pp. 425-6).

Most interesting is the different way the poet of *Gróg* develops his stanza in the last four lines. The third line of *Gróg* 4 catches up the yearning expressed by Freyr — *hvé um þreyjak þrjár* — but what is particular in *Skí* is made universal in *Gróg*: *Langir ro manna munir*. Note also the stress laid on *munir* here, recalling the importance of that term in *Skí*. The poet, perhaps recalling the threefold repetitions of *Vaffr* 44 (*fjǫlð ... fjǫlð ... fjǫlð*) and *Sigrdr* 2 (*lengi ... lengi ... lǫng*), carries on the emphatic pattern in the third line, and so gives weight to Gróa's meditation.

In the second helming of the *Skí* stanza, Freyr remains self-bound, touchingly childlike in his impatience. However, the second half of *Gróg* 4 departs yet further from *Skí* 42 as Gróa's words introduce the concept of destiny — *Skuld* — into the poem, a concept expanded in *Sv* beyond its role in *Skí* (see pp. 383, 409).

b. Other passages from *Skí*

In the following three instances the obstacles in the way of both quests are described in very similar words:

Skí 10: þursa þjóð yfir (A)

Skí 10: úrig fjöll yfir

(also: *Hamð* 11 úrig fjöll;

Rþ 39 úrgar brautir)

Skí 8, 9: vísan vafrloga

Fj 1: þursa þjóðar sjöt

Fj 2: úrgar brautir

Fj 31: vísum vafrloga

Also from *Skí*:

Skí 36: ef gǫrask þarfar þess

The same phrase in *Fj* 39,
in a similar context of supernatural help.

See pp. 323-4 for discussion of the effect of these reminiscences of *Skí*.

1.5 Passages from *Vsp*

a. *Vsp* 42 and *Gróg* 9

Vsp 42 í gáglvið (Hb gálgvið)

Gróg 9 gálgvegi; some
MSS gáglvegi.

See Commentary for a discussion of the alternative MS readings. The *Gróg* compound seems a calque on the *Vsp* one — but where the *Vsp* compound may have a special, perhaps archaic, significance in the context of *ragnarøk*, the compound in *Gróg* seems simply picturesque.

b. *Vsp* 2 and *Fj* 21

Vsp 2 mjǫtvið mæran

mjǫtviðr = *mjǫtuðr*?

(*Vsp* 44? see pp. 385-6)

Fj 21 ins mæra viðar

Fj 22 með mǫnnum mjǫtuðr

These references seem designed to reinforce the connection between the *Mimameiðr* of *Fj* and the world-tree. See pp. 303 above for further such references in *Hávm* and *Grí*, and p. 384 for discussion of the link between *Mimameiðr* and the world-tree.

1.6 *Hyndl* 35 and *Gróg* 14: *naddgøfgan*

Hyndl 35 níu báru þann

nadbaufgan (F) mann

Gróg 14 gel ek þér inn

níunda,

ef þú við inn *naddgøfgan*

*jǫtna meyjjar ...**jǫtun ...*

The compounds *naddgǫfgan* and *nadbauþgan* are strikingly similar. The probability of one poem here being based directly on the other is increased by the alliteration of the compound on *níu* / *níunda* in the two poems, and the compound's use in the context of giants in both:

1. In *Gróg* Fjǫlsviðr is a giant;
2. In *Hyndl* Heimdallr is the son of nine giantesses (the only place in ON where his mothers are described as giantesses).

The roots of the *Gróg* compound in the *Hyndl* passage are revealing. In itself, *naddgǫfgan* — though occurring only here in ON — is a perfectly regular compound. *Nadd* is common in skaldic compounds as 'spike; point; spear' (*LP* 421 *naddregn* 'spear-rain; battle', *naddveitir* 'spear-giver; man'). *Gǫfugr* is likewise common in poetic compounds — e.g. the description of Óðinn as *vápn-gǫfugr* in *Grí* 19. The problem is not the compound but its use to describe Fjǫlsviðr, whose behaviour in *Fj* is without the warrior qualities one might expect from the compound. While *nadbǫfgan*, as variously emended¹, might be an apposite adjective for Heimdallr in *Hyndl*, it is difficult to see how any such term could be appropriate to the somewhat innocuous Fjǫlsviðr. He is a watchman like Heimdallr, but *nadd-* implies some other resemblance where no other such resemblance appears to exist.

The poet may have taken *nadbǫfgan* from *Hyndl* (for which the paper MSS read *naðgǫfgan*) as a rather picturesque epithet for giants in general —

¹ For example: *niðgǫfgan* 'glorious in descendants' (*LP* 421; for Heimdallr as the ancestor of mankind see *Rþ* and *Vsp* 1) or *naddhǫfgan* (Pipping 1925, I 16-17, relating Heimdallr as world-tree to the north star, the 'nail of the sky' in Siberian and Finno-Ugric tradition, see *ST* I 107, motif A 774). Alternatively, *NF* 160 suggests *naddgǫfgan* 'splendid with his spear', but Heimdallr does not have a spear.

prompted perhaps by the *jǫtna meyjar* of *Hyndl* — and adapted it, magpie-fashion, to his own giant.

1.7 Passages from the *Sigrðr* poems

a. *Sigrðr* 26 and *Gróg* 13

Sigrðr 26:
... ef býr fordæða
vammafull á vegi;
ganga er betra
en gista sé,
þótt þik nótt um nemi.

Gróg 13:
... ef þik úti nemr
nótt, a niðvegi;
at því firr megiat
þér til meins gøra —
kristin dauð kona.

The context of the two passages — the man meeting a malevolent female as he travels at night — is identical, and both passages occur in a *ljóðaháttir* charm sequence. The similarity of wording in the third line of each verse (*vammafull á vegi* / *nótt a niðvegi*) makes direct use by *Gróg* of *Sigrðr* likely.

The effect of this reminiscence of *Sigrðr*, therefore, is to equate exactly the *kristin dauð kona* with the *fordæða*. It is not the witch one must fear, but the dead Christian woman! It appears that the poet has deliberately, and somewhat playfully, remodelled the pagan topos of the deadly night-witch for his own *níð* against Christianity. One may observe again the poet's skill in the adaptation of his model: *Sigrðr* has the *fordæða vammafull* in the first helming; by placing the corresponding *kristin dauð kona* in the last line the poet gives his stanza a startling climax and his *níð* the maximum impact.

b. *Sigrðr* 4 and *Gróg* 14

Sigrðr 4:
mál ok manvit
gefit okkr mærum tveim ...

Gróg 14:
máls ok manvits ...
... gnóga of gefit.

In *Sigrdr*, *Sigrdrífa* is asking the divine powers to give them both eloquence and wit; the rest of the poem consists of the admonitory and esoteric instruction she gives *Sigurðr*. *Gróa's* plea too wishes *mál ok manvit* for the hero: *Sigurðr* and *Svipdagr* are similarly gifted for the life to follow.

c. *Fáfn* 1 and *Fj* 6

Fáfn 1:
hverjum ertu sveinn um
borinn,
*hverra ertu manna mōgr?*¹

Fj 6:
hverjum ertu, sveinn, borinn,
eða hverra ertu manna mōgr?

In both poems:

1. The circumstances are identical, as the human hero faces the superhuman opponent;
2. The contemptuous tones of the opponent as he calls the hero *sveinn*, adopting the singular *þú*, are identical;
3. The scornful question, implying that the hero's name is of no account, though that of his relatives might be, is identical;
4. The hero replies immediately by giving a false name for himself (although he is not asked his name!);
5. The words themselves are near identical.

Direct influence of one upon the other seems certain. If — as is likely — *Sv* is the borrower, the words are so perfectly fitted to the situation that alteration was unnecessary. See p. 378 for the suggestion that the *Sv* poet relies on the convention by which a hero in danger may give a false name, a convention it appears he knew from this passage at least.

¹ Accepting here Bugge's reading *NF* 219 of CR *sveinniṽ* = *sveinni um* (first written perhaps *sveinnṽ*).

d. Formulas in *Sigrdr* and *Gróg*; *Fáfn* and *Fj*

Sigrdr 31:

*þat ræð ek þér it sjaunda:
ef þú sakar deilir
við hugfulla hali ...*

Gróg 11:

*þann gel ek þér inn sétta:
ef þú á sjó kœmr
meira en menn viti ...*

Comparison with the similar formula from *Hávǫm* discussed on p. 302 shows that the formula in *Gróg* is rather closer to that of *Sigrdr* than to that of *Hávǫm*. The 'I' in both *Sigrdr* and *Gróg* is a woman, singing for a 'you'. The similar wording of the formulas emphasizes the similarity of context: the words of Gróa shadow those of Sigrdrífa, as Svipdagr's actions shadow those of Sigurðr.

Fáfn 14:

*Segðu mér þat, Fáfnir,
alls þik fróðan kveða,
ok vel mart vita;
hvé sá hólmr heitir ...*

Fj 9:

*Segðu mér þat, Fjǫlsviðr,
er ek þik fregna mun,
ok ek vilda vita;
hvat sú grind heitir ...*

Beside the similarity of the wording (see p. 314 for other question formulas here echoed) the context of the two passages is again similar. In both, the young human hero is asking questions of the superhuman opponent; in both the answers are laden with mythological esoterica. Here again Svipdagr's words and actions follow those of Sigurðr.

e. *Guðr* I 5/4 (also 11) and *Sigsk* 6/7: *mogr*

In these passages both Guðrún and Brynhildr use the term of Sigurðr, the man they love, while in *Fj* 45/6 and 49/6 Menglǫð uses the same word of her intended husband Svipdagr. These appear to be the only instances in ON of *mogr* used for 'lover; husband'. In the context of the other references to the Sigurðr poems and especially Menglǫð's last words in *Fj* 50 (see next entry) it appears that the echo may be intended. Svipdagr is the *mogr* of Menglǫð, just as Sigurðr is the *mogr* of Guðrún and Brynhildr.

f. Helr 14 and Fj 50

Helr 14:
við skulum okkrom
aldri slíta
Sigurðr saman

Fj 50:
við slíta skulum
ævi (ok) aldri saman

The unusual idiom of *aldri slíta* 'live out eternity; live forever' is found only in these two places and in a *lausavísa* of Hallfreðr; see Commentary for explanation of this as the meaning in all three places. Thus, Menglǫð's last words, looking forward to an eternity of bliss with her lover, are very close to those of Brynhildr similarly anticipating bliss at the end of *Helr*.

1.8 *Akv 14 and Fj 34: liðskjálf*

The only occurrence of this word elsewhere in ON is *Akv 14*. It is likely that the poet of *Sv* took it as an epithet for a castle from the *liðskjálfar djúpar* 'deep-garrisoned turrets' (Dronke 1969, 6) of that passage.

In addition, the divinity of Menglǫð is asserted by the echo of the divine domains *Hliðskjálf* (Óðinn's seat in *SnE* and the prose introductions to *Grí*, *Skí*) and *Válaskjálf* (the palace the gods made for themselves in *Grí* 6). Bugge thought that the poet might have associated the motion of the palace (*bifask Fj 32*) with the element *skjálf*, as in *skjálf* 'shake' (Falk 1893, 66). See pp. 371-3 below.

2. Instances where Direct Borrowing from a Single Source can not be Established

A number of the phrases and words in *Sv* occur so widely elsewhere in ON, or in contexts so differing from *Sv*, that it appears *Sv* is either drawing upon an established common idiom or unconsciously echoing an idiom used elsewhere. Typically, there is a measure of free adaptation which

makes it difficult to identify a single source, as was possible in the cases discussed in the last section.

2.1 Formulas

a. Fj 7-41: Segþú mér þat ...

*Segþú mér þat, Fjölsviðr,
er ek þik fregna mun,
ok ek vilda vita*

This formula repeated
every odd-numbered stanza
up to st. 41.

also: *Fáfn* 12ff; see p. 311.

Vafþr 20ff: Segþú þat ...

*ef þitt æði dugir
/ ok þú Vafþrúðnir vitir
/ allz þik svinnan kveða
/ allz þik fróðan kveða*

Reg 19:

*Segþú mér þat, Hnikarr,
allz þú hvárttveggja veizt
goða heill ok guma*

Skí 3:

*Segþú mér þat Freyr,
fólkvaldi goða
ok ek vilja vita*

(mér: omitted in CR)

*Bdr 8: ... þik vil ek fregna
... vil ek enn vita.*

These formulas all share an overall similarity of pattern, and frequent identity of detail. Each formula occupies the whole first helming; two formulas beside *Fj* have the same formula for the first line (*Segþú mér þat* + name); the second and third lines of all either assert the power of the one questioned to answer or (as in *Fj*) the desire of questioner to know.

However, no two poems have the same formula through the whole helming. The poets appear to have the freedom to vary their wording within the limits of the first helming of the *ljóðaháttr* stanza. The poet of *Sv* appears to have created his own formula, with similar wording to these, but not identical with any one of them. In the same way, the roots of the formula introducing each of Gróa's chants can be seen in *Hávnm* 147-63 *þat*

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kann ek annat and *Sigrðr* 22-37 *þat ræð ek þér it fyrsta* (see pp. 302, 311-2); again Gróa's formula is distinct from both.

b. Fj 1: *Hvat er þat ...*

The formula is conventional, and occurs twelve times elsewhere, usually as the opening speech of a dialogue sequence. So *Vafþr* 7, *Skí* 14, 17, *Hárb* 1, *Alv* 2, 5, *Reg* 1, *Eiríksmál* 1 (*Skj.* B I 144), *Hervarar saga* ch. 10 (2x), *Ketils saga hængs* chs. 4-5 (see p. 320).

2.2 Other phrases or words adapted from common tradition

The poet appears fond of expressive coinages, adapting ideas and idioms for his own specific effect.

a. Gróg 13 *niflvegi*.

Compare:

Bdr 2 and *Vafþr* 43: *niflhel*;

SnE: *niflheim*.

Niflvegr occurs only here in ON. In all three of the above, *niflhel* or *niflheim* denotes the Norse underworld. *Svipdagr*'s journey is not just at night (*nótt á niflvegi*) but beset with the horrors of the underworld — such as the *kristin dauð kona*. Compare the similar *hapax* of *gálgvegi* (or *gaglvegi*), pp. 94-5, 308 above.

b. Fj 26: *njarðásar níu*

Compare:

Skí 39/4-5 (repeated 41/4-5): *enn ept nætr níu þar mun Njarða(r) syni*;

Sól 79: *Njarðar dætr níu*;

Þórsdrápa 7: *njarð ... gjarðar*.

The association of *njarð-* with nine in both the *Fj* and *Sól* passages may derive from *Skí*. If the *njarð-* of *Fj* and *Sól* is identical with *Njörðr*, the god of the sea, then these are the only places which associate that god with the number nine or with locks. The description of Þórr's magic girdle in *Þórdrápa* as *njarð - gjørð* (with tmesis) may have prompted the nominal use of *njarð-* to denote something of overwhelming supernatural force. One may here see the poet combining elements of different sources into something new.¹

c. *Fj* 47: *Urðar orði við (MSS *kveðr*) engi maðr*

Compare:

Gríp 53: *munat skǫpum vinna;*

Am 48: *skǫpum vinnr mangi;*

Hhund II 29: *vinnat skjǫdungar skǫpum.*

The broad sense of all these phrases is the same: no man can resist fate. But the phrasing and context here in *Fj* differ from these three rather more than they do from each other:

1. The personification of fate as *Urðar orði* makes the phrase more concrete, elaborating the theme of destiny introduced by the earlier mention of *Skuld* and *Urðr* in *Gróg* 4 and 7.
2. The context is reversed: in all three of the above the protagonists must accept tragedy; in *Fj* *Svipdagr* accepts his triumph.

Thus, the poet's adaptation is both skilful and free.

¹ Olsen 1915, 54-5 derives *njörð* from Irish *nert* 'strength, might'. SGK 416 observe that the word can be inferred as native Germanic from the god name *Njörðr*, Tacitus' *Nerthus*.

d. Fj 4: vargr at vegi

The same collocation of ideas is found in *ylfskr er vegr okkar* Akv 8. The OE parallel cited by Dronke 1969, 14 suggests an ancient association (way of danger; way of the wolf) behind the idiom.

e. Fj 26: Lævateinn ... rifinn (MSS ruinn)

Compare Atli's dream, seeing his sons as *teina fallna ... rifnir með rótum* in *Guðr* II 40. The probable connection of Lævateinn with *ragnarøk* in *Fj* agrees with the portents of disaster in Atli's dream, but the contexts are otherwise far apart. Behind both passages may lie a reminiscence of Loki's picking of the mistletoe — see Commentary.

2.3 Phrases taken from common tradition

The following all occur sufficiently widely elsewhere in ON for the phrase to be part of the common language of poetry:

Gróg 1: *vaki þú ...*

Compare *Hyndl* 1 *vaki mærl meyja*; *Grott* 18 *vaki þú Fróði*; cf. *Hervarar saga* ch. 4, discussed pp. 318-9. The phrase appears conventional.

Fj 3: *haltu heim heðan*

Similar phrases in *Skí* 38 *áðr ek ríða heim heðan*, *Fáfn* 20 *ríð heim heðan*, *Reg* 9 *haldit heim heðan*.

Fj 12: *meðan öld lifir*: *Vsp* 16, *Gríp* 23, 41.

Fj 14: *unz rjúfask regin*: *Vafþr* 52, *Grí* 4, *Lok* 41, *Sigdr* 19.

Fj 20: *eldr né járn* 6x, see Commentary.

Fj 26: *fyr nágrindr neðan*: *Skí* 35, *Lok* 63.

Fj 36: *sjúkri ok sári* 3x, see Commentary.

Fj 40: *hǫlða sonum*: *Hávm* 94, *Fáfn* 19.

Fj 41: *á ... armi sofa*: *HHj* 4, *Hhund* II 48, *Helr* 13.

Such phrases as these might occur in any ON poem and their occurrence in Sv reinforces the poems' claim to be considered part of this tradition.

3. Possible Borrowing from Sv

a. Gróg 1, 2 and stanzas from *Hervarar saga* ch. 4

Herv. ch. 4:
Vaki þú Angantýr,
vekr þik Hervor
einga dóttir ...

Gróg 1/1-2, 2/1-2:
Vaki þú, Gróa!
vaki þú góð kona ...
... hvat er nú ann
mínum einga syni ...

In both passages the child goes to the parent's grave to seek help. While visits to graves occur elsewhere in ON (e.g. *Grettis saga* ch. 18) these appear to be the only instances of a child visiting a parent's grave for help. In both similarity of phrasing suggests direct influence: the emphatic *einga* applied to the child; the name of the sword Sváfrlami named later in this verse of *Hervarar saga* calls to mind the mysterious Svaförinn (Sváfrörinn?) of *Fj* 8; both verses draw on the same traditional waking formula (see p. 317).

The great antiquity of at least some parts of *Hervarar saga* might suggest that Sv is here the borrower.¹ Also, the difference between Sv here and *Art* (in which the female who guides Art on his journey is not dead but living on an otherworld island, see pp. 245-6) may result from conscious remodelling of the motif after the pattern of that in *Hervarar saga*. Certainly, Svipdagr's visit to his mother's grave gains weight from the reminiscences of Hervor's words to her dead father. However, *Hervarar saga* as we have it clearly contains material of various ages, presumably

¹ On the antiquity of "The Battle of the Goths and Huns", at least, see Tolkien 1956, xi-xiv.

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reworked at various points of the story's history, so no certainty is possible.

In any case, the passage in Sv is very different in its effect. The occasion is domesticated and the horror muted: see further pp. 407-8. If this is modelled on *Hervarar saga* then it is adapted freely.

b. Gróg 3 and lv. 62 from ch. 72 of *Grettis saga*

*Gróg 3: Ljótu leikborði
skaut fyr mik*

*Grett.: skotit mun heldr fyr
hǫlða hvassorða leikborði.*

"A *leikborð* will indeed have been cast before the keen-worded men".

The context of *skjóta leikborði* in *Gróg 3* appears to correspond exactly with the 'geasa-game' motif found in *Art*, the closest of the Celtic analogues for Sv. As explained pp. 244-5 above, in both it appears that a stepmother wins the right, by beating the hero in a board-game, to impose a curse sending him on a dangerous quest for a bride. Indeed, the epithet *ljótt* suggests that the stepmother in *Gróg* may have cheated to win the game, exactly as she does in *Art* and as the giant does in *Vilhjálms saga sjóðs* (see p. 275).

By comparison, the idiom in *Grettis saga* is a relatively colourless metaphor. Grettir's enemies will be faced with an awkward game which they have brought upon themselves — *skotit leikborði* — by swearing a truce with Grettir at the wrestling before they realized who he was. The context of the game clings to the idiom, but all else — the stepmother, the curse, the quest — is gone. It appears then that the *Gróg* use is closer to the original force of the idiom. If there is direct borrowing between the two, then it will be *Grettla* which is borrowing from Sv, and not the other way about. However, the evidence that the 'geasa-game' motif might have been more widespread in medieval Iceland than the few remaining instances suggest (pp. 274-5, 279) makes it possible that the phrase had

passed into common metaphor and it may be this, rather than Sv itself, which *Grettla* is using.

c. *Fj 1* and *Ketils saga hængs* ch. 4

<i>Fj 1:</i>	<i>Ketils saga hængs:</i>
<i>Hvat er þat flagða,</i>	<i>hvat er þat býsna,</i>
<i>er stendr fyr forgørðum,</i>	<i>er við berg stendr,</i>
<i>ok hvarflar um hættan loga?</i>	<i>ok gapir eldi yfir?</i>

"What wonder is that which stands on the cliff and gawps over the flame?"; the verse is addressed by Ketill to a *tröll* who has denied his son water. The phrasing of each of these three lines in each source corresponds so closely that direct borrowing appears certain. The more likely borrower is the saga:

1. The incident in the saga containing this verse is introduced abruptly and apparently pointlessly. It appears that the *tröll* is in fact Ketill's giantess foster-mother, Brúna, but this is far from clear.
2. There is no mention of fire in the prose, and the reference to *eldr* in the verse appears pointless. In contrast, the *logi* of *Fj 1* is warranted by the *víss vafrlogi* of *Fj 31*.
3. In general, *Ketils saga hængs* is a patchwork of borrowings — e.g. of *Hávm 47 ungr var ek forðum, fór ek einn saman* in one of Ketill's verses to another *tröll* (who, again, appears to be Brúna) in ch. 5.

This is helpful in fixing the date of Sv before that of the earliest MSS of *Ketils saga hængs*: AM 343 a 4to and 471 4to, both C15 (Kålund 1888, I 578, 654).

d. *Fj* 45 and *Sól* 67

Fj 45:
Horskir hrafnar
skulu þér á hám galga
slíta sjónir ór.

Sól 67:
Heljar hrafnar
ór hǫfði þeim
harðliga sjónir slitu.

"Ravens of Hell viciously tore the eyes from their heads". The close correspondence of wording and context in the two poems — both describing punishment for liars — makes direct borrowing by one from the other likely. Einar Sveinsson 1975, 33, Noreen 1915, 17 and Ólsen 1915, 71 all consider that the *Sól* poet is here borrowing from *Fj*. As Sveinsson comments, the prescription by a Christian poet of blinding by ravens as punishment for lying is curious: blinding is not the obvious punishment for lying. The association of ravens, gallows and deceit in *Fj* is rich in Odinic echo and hence more natural to the avowedly pagan *Fj*.¹ *Sól* is therefore the borrower. Also:

1. The second line of the *Fj* helming is fuller in meaning than the rather weak *ór hǫfði þeim* of *Sól*;
2. The emphatic placing of *ór* at the end of the full-line in *Fj* is more effective than that of *Sól*, where it loses force in the pretonic position.
3. The description of the ravens as *horskar* in *Fj* cleverly echoes the association of ravens with Óðinn, the god of esoteric wisdom, and the names Huginn and Muninn given his ravens in *Gylf* ch. 38. In contrast, *Sól* is the only source to associate ravens with Hel either as goddess or underworld.

¹ For Óðinn and ravens see *Gylf* ch. 38; and hanging (e.g.) *Gylf* ch. 19, *Hávm* 138; and deceit especially *Hávm* 110.

Just as the slight awkwardness in the adaptation of *Hávnm* 149 in *Gróg* 10 affirmed that *Gróg* was borrowing from the older poem (p. 301), the slight awkwardness here in *Sól* suggests that it is *Sól* which is the borrower. See p. 401 fn. 1 for evidence that *Sól* was composed later than *Sv*.

The phrases *Sólkatla synir* and *Njarðar dætr níu* of *Sól* 78-79 may similarly have been influenced by the *Sólblindar synir* and the *njarðlássar níu* of *Fj* 10 and 26; for the association of nine with *njarð* see pp. 315-6.

e. *Gróg* 16 and *Hsv* 129

Gróg 16: *Móður orð*

*berþú, mōgr, heðan,
ok lát þér í brjósti búa*

Hsv 129: *At hyggnum*

*mōnnum
nem þú horsklig ráð,
ok lát þér í brjósti búa.*

The identity of the last line and the similarity of sense — get good advice and keep it in your heart — make direct influence likely. As *Sól* appears to borrow from *Sv* (see above), it is probable that *Hsv*, the other ON Christian poem in *ljóðahátt*, is also borrowing from *Sv*.

4. The Poet and his Material

4.1 What the poet knew and used

It is apparent from the first two parts of this chapter (pp. 300-17) that the poet knew many of the poems of **CR** well and was fluent in their idiom. The poet's ease of reference to the poetry of **CR** permits effortless generation of his own new words and phrases.

It is interesting that it is the poetry of **CR** (and **A**, for *Bdr*) which dominates. All but two of the conscious and unconscious echoes of poetry discussed in the first two parts of this chapter are to the poetry contained in that collection. The two exceptions are:

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1. *Hyndl* 35; Snorri's citation confirms the age of this poem;
2. *Þórsdrápa* 7; the citation by Snorri again confirms its age.

The absence of any other reference to Skaldic poetry and the preponderant use of Eddic poetry show clearly where *Sv*'s affiliations lie.

The echoes of the poems of **CR** discussed in the second part of this chapter (pp. 313-7) extend across all the groups of poems in that MS. This is not the case for the passages in *Sv* directly based on specific passages discussed in the first part (pp. 300-13). Here, *Sv* is remarkably selective: intensive use is made of the first five poems of **CR** (*Skí* especially) and of the poems of the *Sigurðr* cycle. But no such special use appears to have been made of any of the other mythological poems, or of any part of the *Helgi* cycle, or of the poems of **CR** from *Guðr* II on — though echoes from all of these make it likely the poet knew them. This concentration of specific borrowing on a few poems when the poet knew many more suggests deliberate poetic intention.

a. Effect of the use of the mythological poems of **CR**

Many of these borrowings discussed in the first section of this chapter are not just verbal echoes of their source but the context and function of the parallel phrases are near identical in both *Sv* and its source: e.g. the phrases *þursa þjóðar sjöt*, *úrgar brautir* and *vísum vafrloga* (*Fj* 1, 2, 31) used of the obstacles in *Svipdagr*'s way as they are of those in *Skírnir*'s. As well, several of the echoes of these poems extend beyond words and phrases across whole lines, almost to whole stanzas. Instances of this are the use of *Hávm* 149 in *Gróg* 10, and the pastiche of the various Eddic question formulas which lie behind *Svipdagr*'s eighteen-times repeated *Segþú mér Fjolsviðr*.

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The effect of these borrowings is to make *Sv* part of the tradition of the mythological poems which it so self-consciously echoes. This is especially so with *Skí*. The many echoes of *Skí* appear like the reminiscences of a poet who has absorbed *Skí* so thoroughly that its language is ever in the back of his mind, colouring the whole expression of his poem. Further, many of these echoes elevate *Sv* by association. The *úrgar brautir* of Svipdagr's journey recall the *úrig fjöll* Skírnir must travel over; the loveterms *munir* and *gaman* reverberate through *Sv* as through *Skí*; the childlike aspect of Freyr, as presented in *Skí*, and the unusual epithet *afi* used of him in *Skí* 1-2, may lie behind Svipdagr's despairing *þykkjumk ek til ungr afi* in *Gróg* 5/6. *Sv* is a finer poem for the echoes and that may be the poet's aim. However, the role given to destiny in *Sv* is extended beyond that in *Skí*. The poet here goes beyond his model.

b. Effect of the use of poems from the Sigurðr cycle

The echoes of the Sigurðr poems discussed on pp. 310-3 exalt Svipdagr by frequent reminiscence of the greatest of all Germanic heroes.¹ He too is given resources of supernatural backing from a woman, adopts the same stratagem of the false name and is loved imperiously. Svipdagr is the destined one of Menglǫð, just as Sigurðr is the destined one of Sigrdrífa. Most strikingly, similar incidents are clothed in similar language.

It is fitting that the last speech of *Fj* 50 *aldri saman slíta* should echo Brynhildr's words at the end of *Helr*. The poet of *Sv* is placing his hero in the same frame as Sigurðr.² The happy ending of *Fj* gains extra force from the sharply pointed contrast with Sigurðr's tragedy.

¹ Earlier scholars have noticed individual echoes of the Sigurðr poems in *Sv* (eg. Falk 1893, 331; De Vries 1967, II 525-6) but have not elaborated the systematic nature of these echoes.

² Compare Evans' discussion of Snorri's allusions to the beginning and end of *Hávam* at the beginning and end of *Gylf*: "the most natural

4.2 The poet as adapter and innovator

The above analysis of the poet's use of the older mythological poems and the Sigurðr cycle shows that the poet goes freely beyond his models. This can be seen in the poet's treatment of particular passages drawn from the older poems: he adapts, adds or alters as he will; e.g. the use of *Skí* 42 in *Gróg* 4, pp. 306-7 above.

At the same time, Sv's closeness to the language of the older poetry underlines its claim to be part of the same tradition. The poet's coinages, adaptations and innovations resonate with old knowledge — a dangerous path, a formidable giant, mighty locks, a remarkable palace and a hero who triumphs.

The range of the poet's knowledge, the control of his use of it, the poise of utterance imply mastery, just as does the ease of the metre (see pp. 425-6). At the same time, the poet's willingness to go beyond his models suggests that he may not be a reliable witness to old traditions, but might alter — even invent — to suit his poetic purpose.

explanation ... is that Snorri knew *Hávam* and was consciously echoing it" 1986, 37.

III.3 Approaches to the Use of Mythological Reference in Sv

1. Previous Discussion

Previous commentators on the mythological aspect of Sv have divided between those who see Sv as fundamentally mythological in substance and detail and those who see it as rooted in popular tale but with mythological colouring.

In the first part of the chapter the significant studies of this aspect of Sv known to this editor are discussed. It is not always clear what these commentators mean by 'myth' and 'mythological'. Here, as elsewhere in this thesis, I follow Thompson's broad definition: a motif or tale having to do with gods, creation or the nature of the world (see p. 235).

In the second part of the chapter the assumptions behind this study are explained.

1.1 Sv is mythological in substance and detail

"Manches darin klingt noch ganz wie ein Mythos ... Um sie (Sv) zu verstehen, müssten wir den ursprünglichen Mythos kennen."¹

— H. Lüning, *Edda* 1859, pp. 22, 26.

The quotations from Lüning express succinctly the common position of those who offer mythological interpretations of Sv. Much in Sv can be paralleled in other myths: therefore, Sv is a myth. If we can identify just what is the original myth behind Sv, then we will understand it.

¹ "Much in it sounds just like a myth ... to understand it, we must discern the original myth".

a. Finnur Magnússon: names and *Naturmythus*

Finnur Magnússon (*Mythologiae Lexicon*, 1828, pp. 72-4) appears to have been the first to publish a mythological interpretation. He sees Menglǫð as the Earth and Fjolsviðr as the mountain-tempest which guards her until the coming of her lover. Svipdagr is first the cold wind (Vindkaldr), but then approaches as 'Day-Lengthener' (his rendering of Svipdagr) and son of 'Sun-Glittering' (Sólbjartr). His union with his beloved sparks the revival of the earth to life and fruitfulness.

Finnur's brief comments set the parameters for most later discussion:

1. Explication of the names is seen as the key to revealing the myth;
2. The characters are equated with natural forces;
3. The myth is linked with fertility and the seasons.

b. Cassel: Christian essence? the Grail?

Cassel's *Eddische Studien: Fjolsvinns mál* (1856) is one of only two book-length studies I know to have dealt with the mythological aspect of Sv. The other is that of A-L. Talbot, discussed below, pp. 334-5. The core of Cassel's argument is that Menglǫð, her retinue and her palace represent Heaven, 'die Wohnung und das Haus der Wonne'¹, and therefore Fj is Christian in substance. Accordingly he relates the name Hyfjaberg (MSS Fj 36) to OE *heofon* (p. 41). Not only this: Hyfjaberg is also the Grail Mountain and Cassel declares (without further detail) that the theme of Fj is exactly that of Wolfram's *Parzifal* (p. 45). But the usual ON word is *himinn*, and the emendation to *Lyfjaberg* (as in Fj 49) is certain. The rest of Cassel's 141 pages is dominated by generalisations and rhetoric.

¹ "The domicile and the house of bliss".

Like Magnússon's, the study is dated in that it deals with *Fj* alone. The link with *Gróg* was not realised before the work of Grundtvig and Bugge, see p. 285.

c. *Naturmythus*: Lüning, Schwartz and Rupp

Lüning, in his *Edda* (1859) pp 21-30 was the first to consider the mythological aspect of Sv in the light of Grundtvig and Bugge's landmark demonstration of the links between *Gróg* and *Fj* and with *Ungen Svendal*. He therefore recognizes the presence of much *märchenhaft* material in Sv and the apparent inconsistency of this with the supposed mythical substance of the poems.

Lüning is not disposed to discard the notion of a mythological basis: thus the quotations at the beginning of this section. He introduces a concept which has haunted discussions of this aspect of Sv ever since. This is the distinction between the "ursprünglichen Mythos" (the original myth), as embodied in the "mythische Gedicht" (mythological poem) he sees behind the poems, and the poems as we actually have them (pp. 26, 28). Lüning refrains from asserting what this original myth might have been, remarking sensibly that this is groping about for the meaning in the dark ("darum tappt auch die Deutung ... im Dunkeln" p. 28). However, his comments on *Fj* 40 (p. 513) show that he is of the *Naturmythus* camp, and he compares Sv to *Skí* "das im Frühling und Sommer sich entwickelnde Erdenleben zum Gegenstand gehabt hat"¹.

No such inhibitions trouble W. Schwartz and Th. Rupp (respectively *Ursprung der Mythologie*, Berlin 1860; "Fjölsvinnsmál" *Germania* 10, 1866 pp. 433-46). Neither shows any knowledge of Bugge and

¹ "... which has taken for its subject the quickening of earthly life in the spring and summer".

Grundtvig's discoveries, though Rupp must have known them from Lünig's *Edda* (on which he comments extensively). Both discuss *Fj* only; both ignore the folklore elements entirely; both studies are *Naturmythus* at its most surreal. Schwartz takes Menglǫð as a cloud-goddess, Vindkaldr is the storm-god of spring, the *ljóss lé* of *Fj* 30 is the rainbow, Sinmara's rod (=MSS *Hævateinn*) is the thunder, and the whole poem is to do with the union of heavenly beings. Rupp reshuffles the personages: Menglǫð is the sun, Svipdagr the moon, Menglǫð's nine maidens the mountains of the sun, the three sons of Sólblindr snow, wind and ice, and so on.

d. Imaginative synthesis: Rydberg

V. Rydberg's *Undersökningar i germanisk mytologi* (1886; tr. R. B. Anderson 1891) sets itself no less a task than the reconstruction of the single myth which tells the whole story of the "earliest age of man or of the Teutonic race" (p. 83). He weaves together a vastly complex myth out of the Eddas, Saxo and much else. Svipdagr has an honoured place in all this as "the most brilliant and most beloved of those celebrated in Teutonic songs", p. 136. The incompatibilities of the various Old Norse Svipdagrs (see pp. 343-5 below) do not exist for Rydberg. He sweeps all together: Svipdagr is the son of Gróa by Aurvandill, born in Halfdan's house after he siezes Gróa, who then returns to Aurvandill, but dies after telling Svipdagr to come to her grave.

One example of Rydberg's method. Rydberg wants Svipdagr to fight on the side of the giants (pp. 137, 510-11), and so he follows **1108** and **1869** in reading *pursa þjóðar sjol* in *Fj* 1. Rydberg takes *sjol* as *sjólr* (sic) 'hero, champion', and — ignoring virtually everything else in the first forty verses of *Fj* — takes this as confirmation of Svipdagr having fought as the captain of the giants. But the two Langebek MSS **1108** and **1869** are here

modelled on the B text, itself following O in the quite nonsensical *sjolurgar*. O is in turn following Ra, which reads (incorrectly) *sjol urgar* and writes the two words so close together as to permit O's error. Thus *sjol* stands at the end of a long chain of MS errors, and has no authority. In any case, the correct form would be *sjóli*, as in *himinsjóli þórsdrápa* 9 — the only occurrence of the word in ON.

However, Rydberg deserves credit as the first scholar to explain correctly the reference to *lúðr* in *Gróg* 11 (p. 509); see pp. 368-9 below.

e. The Grail again: Falk

Hj. Falk's "Om Svipdagsmál", *ANF* 9 (1893) pp. 311-62; 10 (1894) pp. 26-81, includes a full account of all the sources and analogues then known. This is still useful, but not so Falk's own ideas of the development of the story. He expands Cassel's suggestion that the Grail story underlies Sv so far that the poem itself disappears. A few examples; see especially pp. 326-31:

1. Falk finds three castles in *Fj* and identifies these with three he finds in Chrétien's *Perceval*.
2. *Mimameiðr* is the tree of life of the *Apocalypse*, which Falk identifies with the grail-castle.
3. *Viðófnir* is a symbol of both Christ and Baldr.
4. *Lævateinn Fj* 26 performs the same function as Baldr's mistletoe, which Falk identifies with Longinus' lance.

Einar Sveinsson's assessment of Cassel's original thought applies equally to Falk: "þar er engin hátíðleg innganga Graal-berans, ekkert

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blóðugt spjót, ekkert brotið sverð, og það sem mestu máli skiptir: enginn Graal. það merkir: þetta er engin Graal-sögn." (1975, 25).¹

f. *Naturmythus* modified: Höfler and Schröder

Höfler's "Das Opfer im Semnonenhain und die Edda" (*Felix Genzmer Festschrift* 1952 pp. 1-67) also reads the poem as *naturmythus*, albeit somewhat modified. He believes that the Helgi lays reflect cult practices current among the Swabians. Svipdagr is part of this argument because of the statement in the Prologue of *Gylf* ch. 10 concerning *Svebdegg*, *er vér kollum Svipdag*. Höfler identifies this person with the *Swæfdæg* of the OE genealogies, interprets the name as 'Day of the Swabians' and argues that the *Dagr* of *Hhund* I originally bore this name. Thus the slaying of Helgi by Dagr (= *Svipdagr*, or 'Day of the Swabians') recalls Swabian vegetation rituals of the May-battle.

Höfler therefore thinks that every Svipdagr in ON must reflect this supposed ritual origin. To him, *Sv* portrays the young god, and his union with Menglǫð a different version of the May-battle. He refers to Magnus Olsen's article on *Skí* and suggests that a *hieros gamos* underlies *Fj* as it does that poem. However, his remarks on *Sv* are brief (pp. 37-41) and subsidiary to his main purpose. He says nothing about the folk-lore elements in *Sv*, and ignores *Gróg* almost completely, rejecting it (in a footnote) as belonging to a 'jüngeren, rein epischen Schichte' (a younger, purely epic stratum; p. 39 fn 158).

Franz Rolf Schröder in his study of *Sv* in *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrifte* 16 (1966) pp. 113-19 follows Höfler's views closely (the

¹ "There is no ceremonial entrance of the Grail bearer, no bloody spear, no broken sword and — most important — no Grail. That means this is no Grail story".

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article was originally written as part of an unprinted festschrift for Höfler) and amplifies them somewhat:

1. Schröder sees Svipdagr as 'Gott des Tages, als "Lichtgestalt" der Atmosphäre verhaftet'¹, bringing us very close again to C19 *Naturmythus*.
2. He explains away the extreme differences between the young wooing Svipdagr of *Sv* and the old, blind and evil Svipdagr of *Ynglinga saga* ch. 34. To Schröder, the differences reflect simply the polarity of the god, the light and dark of his nature.
3. He dismisses the folklore elements as external to the 'mythische Kern' (mythic kernel) of the poem and probably grafted onto the *Sv* story following contact between Vikings and Celts.

As elsewhere in these studies, the assertion of a 'mythischer Kern' underlying *Sv* leads away from the poems we actually have.

g. Motz: Initiation Ritual

Lotte Motz's "The King and the Goddess: An Interpretation of the Svipdagsmál", *ANF* 90 (1975) pp. 133-50 is in many ways the most satisfactory treatment of the mythological aspect of *Sv*. Motz was the first scholar to examine critically the links with *Skí* accepted as a *donnée* by all earlier commentators. She shows that the two narratives so differ in substance, detail and emphasis that *Sv* must be treated in its own right, and not as an appendix to the other poem (pp. 146-7; see too p. 265 above). Much in her essay also shows unusual sensitivity to the fine detail of the poems: e.g. the discussion of Svipdagr's passivity as implied by Gróa's charms and his isolation throughout the narrative.

¹ "God of day, apprehended as the atmosphere in its aspect of light".

Her fundamental thesis, though delicately argued, is less convincing. She claims to see in it 'the elements of an initiatory sequence leading to admission into the secret house of a goddess' (pp. 148-9). She parallels the dangers implied by Gróa's charms with initiatory practices, the false name given by Svipdagr in *Fj 7* with the 'masks and disguises' frequent in such rites, and the revelation of his true name with 'the moment of the initiatory sequence when the candidate ... enters the state to which he had aspired' (pp. 135-41). But the parallels are too general to compel assent: why must the rivers Svipdagr crosses 'represent his initiation', simply because water elsewhere is an 'instrument of death and rebirth'? Far from Svipdagr being immersed in these waters, the rivers actually dwindle before him (*Gróg 8*).

Essential to the initiation is the 'final proof of worthiness' (p. 140), the passing of some test. But there is no such test in the poems. Just giving his name can hardly be the test. Motz finds herself appealing to what 'must' have been in the original story: 'He too must have passed a final test.' (p. 141). The theory founders on the simple fact that the poem does not fit it. It is Svipdagr asking the questions, not Fjölsviðr, and Svipdagr's behaviour hardly shows the 'frenzied and exalted state of the initiand' (p. 140).¹

The most serious defect is the complete lack of reference to the analogues (*Culhwch, Art* and *Ungen Svendal*), or to any of the various discussions of these. Motz dismisses De Vries' arguments concerning the secular origins of the poems rather easily (pp. 134, 149-50). She could hardly have done so had she known the force of the links with the Celtic stories. Thus she does not consider the problem of the stepmother at all.

¹ Another scholar who sees initiation ritual behind these poems is A. Kragerud 1981, 38. Kragerud says that the initiand "gradvis føres inn i en ny status i kraft" (is gradually taken into a new level of power), cites Eliade, but gives no details.

To her, apparently, this cannot have been part of the 'older version' (p. 146), and hence not worth discussing. But the analogues show that this part of the story is indeed older than Sv.

h. Talbot: Brigit and Irish Harvest Festival

The only book-length modern attempt at a mythological interpretation of Sv is A-L. Talbot's "The Quest for the Otherworld Maiden: A Study of *Svipdagsmál*" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Lancaster 1976). Unlike Motz, she pays full attention to the analogues and possible sources of Sv, and this I found most useful:

1. She was apparently the first scholar to recognize that elements of the same Celtic story as that behind *Art* and *Culhwch* (as well as Sv) are present in the C12 French romance *Le Bel Inconnu* (92-3, 104). See pp. 379-81 below.
2. She finds traces of the story in folklore of the Western Islands of Scotland, suggesting the story may have travelled to Iceland by this route (121, 148). See pp. 262-3 above.
3. The comparison of Menglǫð with Brigit is most suggestive (138-49, 187-8). Though this is not Talbot's argument, both figures may ultimately descend from the Celtic figure of the Sovereignty Goddess. See pp. 352-4 below.

Talbot could fruitfully have carried this analysis of analogues further. She fails, for example, to see that *Le Bel Inconnu* provides a most striking parallel to the ending of Sv, in the simultaneous revelation of the hero's name and his winning of the bride. Rather, her perspective is 'religio-historical' (p. 1) and she pursues uncritically the notion that ancient Celtic seasonal ritual underlies Sv. Menglǫð must be Brigit — both as pagan goddess and as saint! Svipdagr must first be Patrick, but most of all he

must be Lug. The whole narrative must be related to the harvest festivals of the feast of Lughnasa of 1st August, festivals which Talbot has to reconstruct from Macneill's 1962 study of them.

There is little evidence even for the Irish elements in this. Brigit had her own festival, the spring festival of 1st February, and the reasons Talbot gives to associate Brigit with Lughnasa are fragile, typically the occurrence of a 'Brigit's well' by a Lughnasa site (pp. 149-53). Macneill 1962, 424 explicitly declares that she can find no relationship between the festival of Lughnasa and divine marriage between Lug and Brigit, or anyone else.

Talbot's study is further damaged by speculative detail and insecure philology. For example:

1. Fjolsviðr and his family (so understanding *sjöt*, *Fj* 1) "I interpret as a stone-circle on a Lughnasa height where the mythic drama is imagined as being staged" (p. 176).
2. She takes Fjolsviðr's statement that he is mean with his food (*Fj* 4) as confirming that he represents "hungry July" (p. 151), soon to be banished by the festival: he is both stone and month, it seems.
3. She relies overmuch on the text of Vigfússon 1883, and thus takes the impossible *Sumur hvar* of the MSS in *Fj* 40 as 'Every summer', confirming her notion of an annual festival behind the narrative (p. 13).

Finally, when Talbot sees that *Sv* simply will not fit the myth she thinks she sees within it, she rewrites it. *Gróg* cannot be made to fit her Lughnasa story so — against the evidence of the analogues and against the trend of a century of scholarship — she drops it: "I venture to suggest the possibility that *Gróg* is an attempt of a later antiquarian to furnish *Fj* with a suitable beginning" (p. 175).

1.2 Sv derived from popular tale, with mythological coloring

The discussion above shows that no mythological interpretation has come even close to explaining the substance and detail of the poems as they actually are. There is no equivalent in Sv scholarship to Olsen's 1909 article on *Skí*, which has provided a framework for all later discussion of that poem. The step-mother and the long dialogue between Svipdagr and Fjölsviðr remain intractable; indeed the stepmother is usually dismissed or ignored.

Comparatively few critics have offered an alternative to a mythological reading of the poems. Yet, such an alternative has long lain ready to hand. The source of the narrative of Sv might lie not in myth, but in popular tale.

Again, it is not always clear what scholars mean by popular tale, or *märchen*. As elsewhere in this study I follow the broad definition of international popular tale implicit in Jackson's Gregynog lectures (Jackson 1961): a story in popular form, of wide distribution and relatively fixed narrative. In this definition, a popular tale differs from a myth in the absence of any primary religious or cultic element.¹

a. Grundtvig and Hollander: Svafnþorin and Sleeping Beauty

In his notes to *Ungen Svendal* in *DgF* Grundtvig observes that the name Svafnþorin given to Menglǫð's grandfather could be a deliberately obscured reference ("med flid fordunklet omskrivning") to the *svefnþorn* with which Brynhildr is stung. Grundtvig is well aware that this does not key with the

¹ Cf. the discussion of the relationship between popular tale and myth in Kirk 1970, 31-41: "myths often have some serious underlying purpose beyond that of telling a story" (p. 41).

authority shown by Menglǫð elsewhere in the poem and declines to press the point (II 671 fn).

Hollander, in the preface to his translation of Sv 1962, 140, cites Grundtvig but goes beyond him, declaring that Sv is a version of 'the myth — the fairy-story motif of Sleeping Beauty'. The notion that Menglǫð is Sleeping Beauty should not survive a single reading of the poem. I know of no evidence for it except Grundtvig's hesitant speculation. Nor is it clear whether Hollander regards the Sleeping Beauty story as myth or fairy-story. Yet this statement — in what is probably the most widely read of all versions of Sv — seems to have become part of the popular perception of the poems. S. H. Rossel 1982, 65 repeats Hollander's notion.

b. De Vries: Märchen and Myth into Eddic Poem

There has been no systematic, complete discussion of the popular tale elements in Sv comparable to Kenneth Jackson's 1961 study of the Mabinogion, *The International Popular Tale in Early Welsh Tradition*. The only such study of any length appears to be the three pages on Sv in De Vries' *Altnordische Literaturgeschichte* 1967, II 524-7. De Vries places Sv as "einen Spätling des 14. Jahrhunderts" (a late fruit of C14), and stresses the use of popular tale material which he sees as characteristic of the late period. The narrative "ganz zur Welt des Märchens gehört" (belongs wholly to the world of popular tale): thus the stepmother and Menglǫð, whom De Vries equates with the popular tale figure of the "Princess in the Enchanted Mountain".

However, De Vries also notes that much of the detail of the poems appears mythological, though the detail is occasionally blurred as one might expect in a late work (e.g., the placement of Delligr among the *ásmegir* Fj 34). De Vries thus places Sv in the border land between myth and popular tale (as did Lüning before him). The poet wished "ein

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Märchenabenteuer in eine mythische Umwelt versetzen, indem er mythologisches Beiwerk, teilweise aus alter Überlieferung, teilweise auch aus eigener Erfindung hinzufügt" (p. 526).¹

Despite this, De Vries appears reluctant to abandon a mythological source for the substance of *Sv*. He quotes with approval Höfler's explanation of the name *Svipdagr*, and — like Schröder — argues for a "mythischer Kern" within the tale. He reconciles the apparent inconsistency with all he has earlier said by asserting that poet knew the original mythical poem only in fragmentary ("trümmerhaft") form and so supplemented what was original myth by unoriginal popular material.

The desire to retain some part of the mythological explanation creates complexity, at least. One might wonder how a critic might sift original myth from unoriginal addition. There is much else which is dubious about De Vries' account:

1. It is actually extremely difficult to find parallels in popular tale for the material in *Sv*. Wicked stepmothers who send their stepsons to woo women they have not met are very rare. I know of none outside *Sv* and its analogues, and it is certainly not a general popular tale motif.
2. De Vries makes no mention whatever of the Celtic analogues. I do not see how we can reconcile the remarkable correspondences between these and *Sv* with De Vries' notion of a poet making his own patchwork of original Old Norse myth and popular tale.

¹ "... to transplant a popular tale adventure into a mythic environment, which he has furnished with mythological accessories, partly from older belief, partly from his own invention."

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Most valuable in De Vries is his sense that the poems are the work of an individual poet and show signs of that poet's interests and intentions. Though not developed far, this is a welcome corrective to views which see only the myth and not the poems.

c. Other studies

Many other writers mention the mythological material of *Sv* in passing. Often, this is no more than a simple note of an instance of similar material to that of *Sv* in other sources. The inference is that *Sv* is the borrower, but this and the varieties of borrowing are not discussed: thus SGK *passim*.

Where there is discussion of specific instances of mythological reference between *Sv* and other sources, the aim is to clarify the other material rather than *Sv*. Thus the references to *Urðar lokur* in accounts of the *varðlok(k)ur* of *Eiríks saga rauða* (e.g. Olsen 1916, Strömbäck 1935), or to *Mímameiðr* in discussion of the world-tree (e.g. Schröder 1931, 95-6; De Vries 1956, II 381; Hallberg 1952, 151).

1.3. Einar Ólafur Sveinsson: the Poet and Mythical Tale

De Vries' shift of focus toward the poet is pursued in the one study I know which covers something of the whole range of mythological reference in *Sv*. This is Einar Sveinsson's *Löng er fjar* (1975), pp. 26-31.

Most valuable among the many insights in this necessarily brief account — the fruit of a lifetime's thought on these poems — is a clear-eyed sense that the poet is not simply parroting (or garbling) mythological matter. Einar points to several instances where the poet appears to be combining elements of older mythology into confections of his own making; e.g. *Leirbrimis limum*, *þrymgjöll*, and the odd collection of names given to Menglǫð's maidens in *Fj* 38. Hence he argues that the poet's aim is not mythological at all, certainly not in the sense understood by 19th

century scholars: "Þeim (C19 scholars) hættir til að leita að goðafræði í þessum kvæðum, en það fer ekki hjá, að skáldið stefnir að allt öðru".¹

This thought permits the poet far more freedom than is allowed by earlier scholars. The poet may not just be a reporter — perhaps, a bad reporter — of genuine older tradition. He might be using mythological material for his own deliberate and poetic purposes.

Another far-reaching perception in this study is his placement of the poems in relation to myth and popular tale. Other scholars, as we have seen, want to place the poems as close to myth as they can, even when all their arguments point in the other direction: thus De Vries. Einar sees the development from myth to popular tale as happening in three stages:

Myth or cult legend (*goðsagan*, *blótsagan*), e.g. *Skí*

|

Freely-developed wonder-tale about the gods (*frjálsleg kynjasaga um goðin*); e.g. *Culhwch*

|

Pure popular tale (*hrein ævintýr*); e.g. *Cinderella*.²

Einar would place *Sv* somewhere between *kynjasaga* and *ævintýr* (p. 116). Thus:

1. *Sv* is not based directly on any myth, but on a tale — or body of tales — developed out of myths. This view makes good sense of the established links with the wonder tales *Culhwch* and *Art*.
2. This formulation allows the poet considerable freedom in his choice of material and style.

¹ "They are inclined to look for mythology in these poems, but it is inescapable that the poet is aiming at something quite different"; p. 29.

² p. 31. The English terms of the summary on p. 116 have been adapted here; the examples of *Skí* etc. are mine, not Einar's.

Consistent with this, Einar makes no attempt to identify the myth ultimately behind Sv.

2. The Assumptions behind this Study

I can do no better than follow Einar Sveinsson's lead. He implies a distinction between the substance of Sv, that is its narrative structure, and the mythological detail of the poems. The narrative structure is drawn from the Celtic *frjálsleg kynjasaga um goðin* which also lies behind *Culhwch* and *Art*. There may once have been a myth (*goðsagan*, *blótsagan*) behind this proximate source. But the story seems to have progressed so far from such an original that even if one could identify this myth it would be powerless to explain any of the mythological detail — that is, the names and motifs — in Sv as we actually have it.¹ Like Einar, therefore, I make no attempt to identify this myth.

The distinction between narrative structure and mythological detail in Sv runs to the heart of the poems. While the narrative of Sv appears based on a Celtic wonder tale, the mythological detail is thoroughly assimilated to ON, just as its language is firmly rooted in Eddic poetry.

This presents an odd conundrum: an originally Celtic tale appearing in ON dress. The simplest explanation of the mythological detail of Sv is that all such detail is not original to the story and has been added to it, perhaps by the poet himself.

One may divide the mythological detail of Sv into two broad parts: names and motifs. Several questions arise:

¹ An instance of the apparent impossibility of identifying the 'original myth': Menglǫð in Sv seems most like the Celtic 'Sovereignty goddess', see pp. 352-4. But in both *Art* and *Culhwch* her equivalent is a giant's daughter and very far from being sovereign of anything.

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1. What names and motifs have been added?
2. How do these names and motifs accord with what is known elsewhere?
3. What has guided the selection of names and motifs found in *Sv*?

The next chapter of this section deals with the names; chapter five with the motifs.

III. 4 Mythological Reference in *Sv*: the Names

As I observe on p. 234, there appears to be no connection between any of the fifty names in *Sv*, the forty-seven names in *Art* and the hundreds of names in *Culhwch*. This is consistent with none of the names in *Sv* being original to the story; it is possible that all were added to the story by the poet of *Sv* itself.

1. The Names of the Major Characters

Because of their importance, I deal more fully with these.

Nothing of what *Sv* tells us of these four characters — Svipdagr, Gróa, Fjolsviðr and Menglǫð — permits us to identify any one of them with any other character anywhere else in ON, under the name given them in *Sv* or under any other name. All these figures are likely to have been imported from Celtic origins along with the story. Therefore, apt names had to be found for all of these.

1.1 Svipdagr

Of the four names borne by the major characters of *Sv*, we have the fullest accounts elsewhere of characters called Svipdagr:

1. In Saxo bk. I: A Svipdagr is King of Norway and conqueror of Denmark and Sweden. He defeats Gram, king of Denmark and lover of Gro (=Gróa). He also seduces Gram's sister, and marries his daughter by Gro; this daughter is not named. He is later killed by Hading, Gram's son.
2. In *Hrólfs saga kraka*: A Svipdagr serves king Aðils and loses an eye fighting his berserks. He then goes with his brothers

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to serve Aðils' enemy Hrólfr, fighting among Hrólfr's champions against Aðils.

3. In *Ynglinga saga* ch. 22: A Svipdagr is one of the champions of Huggleikr, king of Sweden, in the battle of Fýrisvellir against Haki. He may be the same person as a Suibdaverus who fights for Hugleucus, king of Ireland, against Hako in Saxo bk. VI.

4. In *Ynglinga saga* chs. 34-38: Another Svipdagr is the blind foster-father of king Ingjaldr. He gives Ingjaldr a wolf's heart to eat and later dies fighting for him.

5. In the Prologue to *Gylf* ch 10: The name is identified with "Svebdegg er vér kǫllum Svipdag"; one of the ruling dynasty of East Saxony and a descendant of Óðinn. A 'Swebdæg' also appears in a genealogy in two MSS of *ASC*, again as an ancestor of a royal house and a descendant of Óðinn.¹

It is difficult to see much in common between all these different Svipdagrs. One is a king, two are champions of other kings, one is an Odinically menacing adviser, the others are just names in genealogies.² The nearest we have to an explicit connection with the Svipdagr of *Sv* is that of Saxo, (1) above. The connection is the name Gro, occurring together with the name Svipdagr in both Saxo and *Sv*. Apart from this, the narratives differ radically:

¹ *Sub anno* 560 in Tiberius A. vi and B. i; the passage has apparently been erased from the Parker MS. Wheloc's edition, based on a now-lost transcript of the Parker MS, reads 'Swæf-d' (*ASC* I 18; cf. II 5).

² See pp. 329-30 for Rydberg's attempts to reconcile some, or all, of these Svipdagrs.

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1. In Saxo Gró is Svipdagr's mother-in-law, not his mother as in Sv.
2. Of all else in Sv — the dead mother, the dangerous wooing journey, Fjolsviðr — there is no hint in Saxo.
3. Of all else in Saxo — Hading's vengeance for his father, the seduction of Gram's sister — there is no trace in Sv. Indeed, the killing of Svipdagr by his brother-in-law Hading is much closer to the Sigurðr legend than it is to anything in Sv. Hading's brother is actually called Guthorm.

Saxo's account may confirm that association of the two names Svipdagr and Gróa is older than Sv. However, the stories are otherwise so far apart that one cannot assert any other relationship between Sv and Saxo.¹

The absence of any trace of the Sv story from the three quite full accounts of Svipdagrs listed above (those of Saxo, *Hrólfs saga kraka* and *Ynglinga saga*) agrees with the presumption that the name is not original to the story. Svipdagr would do very well as a name to graft to the narrative:

1. The name comes with legendary and quasi-mythological echoes from its appearance in Saxo, genealogies and elsewhere.
2. The name is transparently attractive — "passing expression, appearance (*svipr*) of day".
3. Elsewhere, he is a hero of the second rank, well known enough for the name to have resonance but not so well known as to be encumbered by exact associations.

¹ Ellis Davidson 1979, II 28-9 notes the occurrence of the two names together in both Saxo and Sv, but offers no explanation.

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4. The names of some of the major characters in the Celtic analogues — see p. 234 above — seem to have been chosen for similar reasons.

The link between the ON name Svipdagr and this Celtic story can not be of any great age, and may be no older than Sv itself. The name may have been chosen by the poet for its poetic appeal and for its legendary and mythological echoes.

1.2 Gróa

The name occurs elsewhere in Old Norse in the following:

1. *Skáldsk* ch 17: Aurvandill's wife, who *gól galdra sína* over the whetstone lodged in þórr's head, loosening the stone and relieving the pain. This Gróa is also notably fond of her husband Aurvandill, forgetting her spells when þórr tells her that he will soon be home.
2. Saxo bk. I: a Gro is mother-in-law of a Svipdagr; see above.
3. As a malign sorceress in *Vatnsdæla saga* ch. 36.
4. As a more benevolent *völva* in *Göngu-Hrólfs saga* ch. 2.
5. Sixteen other women so named in the family sagas.

These names can no more be harmonized into one than can the various heroes called Svipdagr discussed above.

The closest of these to the Gróa of Sv is that of *Skáldsk* (1 above). She too is associated with charms, and her fondness for her husband might place Svipdagr's apparent anger in *Gróg* 2 at his father's new love in context. The age of some of Snorri's story is supported by its treatment in Þjóðólfr's *Haustlög*, where Gróa may be identified with the *ǫlGeffjun* 'ale

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(fortune?) goddess' who *gæli* 'chanted' the whetstone from Þórr's head (*Skj. B I 18*).¹ Against this:

1. The healing charms of the Gróa of *SnE* are different in kind from those of *Sv*, which ward the hero on his journey.
2. None of the three names Svipdagr gives for his relatives in *Fj 6* and *47* bear any relationship to Aurvandill, nor is any Svipdagr a son of any Gróa or Aurvandill anywhere else.

From the evidence that the original story was Celtic one would not expect the figure of Gróa in *Sv* to appear elsewhere in ON. Rather, she corresponds to the Celtic figure of the supernatural female who helps the hero in his wooing: the same role as that of Custennin's wife in *Culhwch* and that of Creide Fíralainn in *Art*. Like Creide she helps the hero by guiding him on his way; like other marvellous Celtic female helpers (e.g. the hero's aunt in *Fróech*), she is related to the hero.

So interpreted, the poet's presentation of Gróa is a brilliant modulation of the Celtic motif:

1. The supernatural woman is turned into a dead mother; the hero seeking help is turned into a son visiting the dead mother's grave, similar to *Hervarar saga* ch. 4.
2. The transformation of the helper into a dead mother allows a pointed contrast between the stepmother (*in lævísá kona*) and the mother (*góð kona*).
3. The directions the helper gives to guide the hero are inventively transmuted into a series of charms, guarding the hero on his way.

¹ On *ǫl* = *alu* 'the most popular and powerful of spell-words found in the earliest rune period' on Danish inscriptions see Moltke 1985, 102-3.

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The connotations of the name Gróa — 'grow; heal (of wounds)' — make the name attractive. The correspondences with the Gróa of *Skáldsk* are appropriate: the good fortune the Gróa of Sv wishes her son might recall Þjóðólfr's epithet *ólGefjun*, and both women sing powerful charms. That the healing chants of *Skáldsk* are more appropriate to the name Gróa than the protective chants of *Gróg* suggests again that the poet of Sv may have borrowed the name from the story of Aurvandill and Gróa.

In summary: in *Gróg* the Celtic figure of the female fairy relative helper has been assimilated to ON with such skill that one would think her native to ON if it were not for the strength of the other parallels between Sv and the Celtic analogues.

1.3 Fjølsviðr

a. This and related names elsewhere in ON

Compare:

1. Fjølsviðr: an Óðinn heiti in *Grí* 47 and *þula* IV jj 2; a dwarf *þula* IV ii 5, *Skj.* B I 672; the name of a fourteenth-century priest¹; an adjective.²
2. Fjølñir: either an Óðinn heiti or the name of characters with Odinic associations: *Grí* 47; *Reg* 18; *Ynglinga saga* chs. 1, 10-11, 16; *Jómsvíkinga saga* chs. 7, 12-14.³
3. The dwarf names Alvíss in *Alv*; Ráðsviðr in *Vsp* 12.

¹ *DI* IV, 14/23.

² Amundr Arnason lv. 5, *Skj.* A II 51 (one MS; others read *fullsviðr*).

³ De Vries 1962, 125 takes Fjølñir as a shortening of Fjølsviðr.

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4. Many names compounded with *Fjöl-* for supernatural beings or objects, or for men in the *þulur* or *fornaldarsögur*.¹ No such name occurs in any family saga.

Nowhere else, therefore, does the name *Fjölsviðr* appear linked to a particular story, though this and similar names are widely instanced. In the oldest sources, such names appear specially — but not exclusively — connected to Óðinn. In later sources, notably the *fornaldarsögur*, any supernatural being or object could bear such a name: cf. the common saga epithet *fjólkunnigr*, "well-versed in magic". However, only here and in the giant heiti *Fjölverkr*, *þula* IV b 3, is a name compounded from *Fjöl-* given specifically to a giant.

b. Analogues to *Fjölsviðr* in Celtic.

No other figure in ON presents quite the same combination of roles as *Fjölsviðr*. He plays the wise giant, like *Vafþrúðnir*; the guard who warns the visitor, like the *féhirðir* of *Skí*; and the helper who aids — albeit unconsciously — the hero to his bride, like many a giantess in the *fornaldarsögur*.² The unique combination of roles in this character suggests that he, like the story itself, is not native to ON tradition. Figures similar to *Fjölsviðr* — the giant who first bars the hero's way, then helps him — appear in the closest Celtic analogues:

1. In *Culhwch*, *Custennin* is first fearsome and the description of him and his dog suggests that he is a guardian. Like *Fjölsviðr*, he is less hostile than his first appearance suggests and he advises *Culhwch* that he should leave for his own good, just as *Fjölsviðr*

¹ Thus: *Fjölverkr* (giant), *Fjölvr* (trollwoman) *þula* IV b 3, c 3, *Skj.* B I 659; *Fjölbyrja* (island) *þula* IV bbb 6, *Skj.* B I 679; *Fjólmoðr* (man) *Gautreks saga* ch. 1 and *Fjólmundr* (man) *Orvar-Odds saga* ch. 14.

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advises Svipdagr in *Fj* 2. Later Custennin actively aids Culhwch, enabling the lovers to meet and having his son slay Yspaddaden. Just so Fjolsviðr opens Svipdagr's way to Menglǫð when he tells him that none but Svipdagr may win her.

2. In *Art* there are two figures, one who acts as guardian, one who acts as helper. The guardian is the "warrior giant" Curnan Cliabsalach, "the doorkeeper of Morgan's house", who is duly killed by Art (Cross 1935, 500). The helper is the unnamed wife of Ailill Dubdedach, the heroine's giant brother whom Art has just killed. Art siezes her, and forces her to tell him "the way to Morgan's stronghold, and the land of wonders."¹

3. In *Le Bel Inconnu* the hero comes to a castle in which anyone seeking hospitality must defeat the castellan Lanpart in a joust. The hero does this, whereupon Lanpart changes aspects entirely, giving the hero much excellent advice and guiding him to his destination (Owen 1968, 86).

Similar figures are widespread elsewhere in early Celtic tradition. A late version of "The Training of Cúchulainn" has the hero guided to Scáthach by "a solitary huge man ... black as coal" (Stokes 1908, 115).² In

² For further discussion of the Celtic and ON instances of the "giant-figure who helps" see Ellis 1941.

¹ According to the text of *Art* Ailill is *mac Mongain* 'the son of Mongan'; the emendation to *mac Morgain* 'son of Morgan', and hence brother of Delbchaem is suggested by O'Hehir 1983, 176-7 and assumed by Sveinsson 1975, 96. The confusion is readily explained: the name Mongan is well known in early and middle Irish literature, both as a historic King of the Ulaid (Gantz 1981, 19) and as the centre of his own cycle of stories in later tradition (Cross 1935, 546-50).

² Thus the C18 MSS here used by Stokes. The Rawlinson B. 412 version, dated by Meyer to C8, has a 'warrior' perform this function for Cúchulain (Meyer 1890, 439, 447).

the romances of Chrétien and others, the motif of the giant herdsman who points out the way to the otherworld is common enough for Brown 1903, 71 to label it "a stock incident of the otherworld journey". Besides *Máel Dúin* p. 127 there are instances in both Chrétien's *Ivain* l. 278-409 and the parallel Welsh *Lady of the Fountain* p. 158.¹

These few examples show the rich variety of forms so complex a motif as this "giant guardian/herdsman/helper" might assume in later Celtic and related sources. There appears to be a close relationship between the various motifs involving giants and other supernatural beings, and this might lead in Celtic tradition — and hence ON — to just such an interchange of functions between giants as foes, guardians, guides and helpers as appears to underlie the figure of Fjolsviðr in Sv and its analogues.

Thus the figure of Fjolsviðr too appears to have been imported into ON along with the story. Again a poetically apt ON name had to be found for this character. Fjolsviðr is just such a name.

1.4 Menglǫð

a. Elsewhere in ON

Only one other character in ON bears this name: the giant's daughter in *Orms þáttur*, chs. 8-9. This Menglǫð acts as giantess helper to the hero, a type well-known from the *fornaldarsögur* (Ellis, 1941). The story has strong popular tale affinities: her brother's mother (later killed by Ormr) is a black cat and the magic gloves she gives Ormr are reminiscent of popular tale motifs.²

¹ Compare too the three giants who guide the hero on his way in a version of AT 313 collected by Curtin 1941, 28-9.

² For the magic gloves as a popular tale motif see the references in Boberg 1966, 65 = D 1066 and ST II 133 = D 1066. For cats in popular

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The only connection with the Menglǫð of Sv is that both are associated with giants: the Menglǫð of Sv through the description of her palace as *pursa þjóðar sjøt*, the Menglǫð of *Orms þátr* as herself a giantess. Otherwise, the two figures are quite unlike and it is possible that *Orms þátr* has borrowed the name from Sv as Faulkes 1965, 174 supposes.

b. Menglǫð and the Celtic Sovereign Fée

Not only is the name rare in ON but the closest analogues for Menglǫð are again in Celtic. Her supreme imperious power, her gift of herself to the fortunate chosen man after a dangerous journey by him to her, her accompaniment by a group of nine maidens, her association with a remarkable tree and her connection with great healing powers: all these can be paralleled among the sovereign fées of Celtic story. Above all, Menglǫð is like the "Sovereignty of Erin" in that she is not to be won by force of arms; only the destined man may have her. Thus:

1. Her supreme imperious power: Cross 1913, 385 describes "the typical Celtic fée" as "a dignified, independent being who is never surprised, and never coerced into becoming the mistress of anyone". Thus the women of *Bran*, of *Connla*, of *Segrlike*; the many who rule remarkable islands in the *Immrama* such as those in *Máel Dúin* chs. 16-17, 28; and Brigit, the Christian saint who appears to have absorbed the characteristics of a pre-Christian goddess.¹

tales see ST VI 121-2, and Boberg 1940. *Orms þátr* is also connected to the *fornaldarsögur* through Ormr's descent from Ketill Hæng, ch 1.

¹ See Cross 1952, 258 = F. 302.6.1 "Celtic fairy mistress dominant". For Mesopotamian analogues see Frankfort 1948, 297: "in the sacred marriage the dependence of the god upon the goddess is strongly emphasized". For Brigit, see Talbot 1976, 138-44 and MacCulloch 1918, 66-8.

2. Her gift of herself to the fortunate chosen man after a dangerous journey by him to her: thus a *fée* who is queen of the island sleeps with Máel Dúin while her seventeen daughters sleep with his crew (ch. 17). In the *Acallam Cael* journeys "over regions of hills, of rocks" to seek out and woo the fair Crédhe. The poem he composes to her stresses her independent power (O'Grady 1892, II 119-20).¹
3. Her accompaniment by a group of nine maidens: see pp. 375-8 for Celtic parallels to this. Brigit especially is frequently portrayed as accompanied by a troop of maidens, over whom she exercises sovereign authority: e.g. Meyer 1912, 13, Mould 1962, 44; Plummer 1910, I clxv; and in modern folk-custom, Danaher 1972, 25.
4. Her association with a remarkable tree: Brigit is especially linked with her great oak of Kildare (Fitzgerald 1879, 193; Talbot 1976, 144); also the "golden tree" outside the house where Conn meets the "Sovereignty of Erin" in the *Phantom's Frenzy* p. 13.
5. Her connection with great healing powers: Brigit is particularly associated with healing. One of her three personas in *Cormac's Glossary* is as "Brigit the female physician", p. 23. The Book of Lismore version of her life, modern Hebridean and Irish

¹ Yet more references may be found in Cross 1952, 256 = F. 302.1 "Man goes to fairyland and marries fairy", and Patch 1980, 57-8. See also *Teigue Son of Cian*, in which the hero voyages over a dangerous sea and there meets one *fée* after another, but forms no liaison with any of them. Traces of this type are also to be seen in some of the later romances, where the hero traverses an otherworld landscape on his quest to the *fée* (Cross 1913, 387). One such is a Scottish Gaelic folktale collected last century by Alexander Carmichael, *The Gruagach of the Green Isle*, where we find again the voyage and the imperious fairy queen.

folk-custom all stress her power in midwifery and in healing illness in women (Talbot 1976, 147, 142; Danaher 1972, 16, 32-3).¹

6. She is not to be won by force of arms: like Svipdagr, Conn has only to be himself to win the "Sovereignty" in the *Phantom's Frenzy*. Like Svipdagr, he is the chosen one of destiny.²

The coalescence of several of these characteristics in the one figure, that of Brigit, is suggestive: see too pp. 262-3. Menglǫð is closer to these figures than she is to any figure in the other Eddic poems or in *SnE* and it is likely that she too came to Iceland from the Celtic area along with the story.

c. The choice of the name Menglǫð

Once again, it appears the poet had to choose a poetically apt name for a character foreign to ON. Again, the poet has chosen well. Both *men* and *glǫðr* are common as words but rare as name elements in ON.³ Thus the

¹ Also Cross 1952, 261 = F. 344 "Fairies heal mortals"; 217 = E. 481.4.1 "Happy otherworld where dead are healed". Compare too Cross 1952, 13 = A. 454.1 "Goddess of healing"; 250 = F. 243.5 "Fairies' food gives immortality" (for this last, see also MacCulloch 1911, 376-8 for instances of the "food or drink of immortality").

² Wagner 1975, 14 points out that there are many close parallels in Sumerian sources, dating to around 1900 B.C., to this apparent choosing of the King by the Goddess in early Irish.

³ This is the only instance of a name in ON of a personal name which is compounded from *men-*. The nearest is Menja, the name of one of the two women set to grinding for Fróði in *Grott*. Names formed from the near-synonym *baugr* are also extremely rare, though *hringr* is rather more fruitful. *Men-* is highly productive as an element in compounds and kennings denoting "woman": eg *men-Gefn*, *men-Grund*, *menbrekka* etc. Similarly rare are names in *-glǫð*. Víggǫð is a trollwoman heiti, *þula* IV c 5 *Skj.* B I 660, and an axe heiti, *þula* IV m, *Skj.* B I 664. The only other possible occurrence of *-glǫð* as a name element is *hróðr glǫð*, *Hamð* 22, but this is probably an adjective (Dronke 1969, 235).

combination 'neck-lace' and 'gracious; splendid' is both unusual and transparently meaningful.

The name recalls such famous necklaces as the *men Brísinga* of *Þry* 13 and *SnE*, which may be identified with the *Brósinga mene* of *Beowulf* 1199. From the association of Freyja with necklaces, Menglǫð shares some of Freyja's glory.¹ Also:

1. In *Gylf* ch. 35 Freyja weeps for her husband Óðr, who has *fór í braut langar leiðir*; cf. the *þrár langar* Menglǫð feels for Svipdagr.
2. Freyja is *ágætust af Asynjum* (*Gylf* ch. 24); cf. the supremacy of Menglǫð.

However, the resemblances between Menglǫð and Freyja are superficial. It is the woman Freyja who seeks her man, not the other way about as in *Sv*. Freyja's role as valkyrie, sharing the slain with Óðinn, has no counterpart in Menglǫð.

2. Other Names Occurring outside Lists in Sv

2.1 Hel, Skuld, Urðr, Viðófnir

Of the thirty-two names outside lists in *Sv* only these four agree with their occurrence elsewhere.

Hel: *Fj* 25. The phrase *hníga á Heljar sjǫt* is a conventional poetic circumlocution for "die" (*LP* 241-2), e.g. *Helr 8 heljar ganga*.

¹ Freyja is also associated with a precious necklace in *Sǫrla þáttur*. It is not there specified that this is *men Brísinga*. The first scholar to link Menglǫð to Freyja appears to have been Grimm in *Deutsche Mythologie*, I 255 (4th ed.)

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Skuld and Urðr: *Gróg* 4, 7, *Fj* 47. Here appearing together, as arbitrators of destiny, as in *Vsp* 20 and *SnE*. See further pp. 381-3 for discussion of *Urðar lokur*.

Viðófnir: No conclusion can be drawn from the single occurrence elsewhere in ON of the name, in *pula* IV uu (*Skj.* B I 676) of the cock heiti preserved in A (fol. 26v) and AM 757 a 4to. For the possible significance of the name in these MSS for the dating of *Sv* see pp. 399-400. The name may have been borrowed thence by *Sv*, or vice-versa, or may exist in each perfectly independently. For discussion of the name's etymology see the Commentary; the cock's possible mythological background is discussed pp. 373-4 below.

2.2 The names of Svipdagr and his relatives

Svipdagr gives two sets of names for himself and his relatives. In *Fj* 6, when he has just arrived at Menglǫð's palace, he gives his name as Vindkaldr; his father is Várkaldr and his grandfather is Fjolkaldr. In *Fj* 43 and 47, when he has won Menglǫð, he gives his name as Svipdagr and his father is now Sólbjartr.

Commentators have commonly taken these names as evidence that a nature-myth lies behind the story, with Vindkaldr representing the winter which becomes summer or spring (Svipdagr, Sólbjartr) with the success of the wooing; see p. 327 ff. One may compare *Vafþr* 26, where the fathers of winter and summer are given similiary evocative names.

However, some points about these names demand attention:

1. Nowhere else in ON does a name occur compounded of -*kaldr*.¹ But three such names appear in just three lines in *Fj* 6.

¹ Nor, so far as I can discover, do any names occur compounded of *varmr*, *heitr*. The only examples of names formed from any of these are

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2. Nowhere else in ON does a man have a name compounded of *-bjartr*. The adjective *sólbjartr* is used exclusively of women in ON poetry, and three women in ON literature bear names compounded of *-björt* (see p. 137 above).

There may be a better explanation than nature-myth for the improbability of these names. In *Fj* 47 Svipdagr states that his quest thither led him *vindkalda vegu*. The epithet *vindkalda* — which comes immediately after Svipdagr's proclamation of his own and his father's sunfilled names — recalls the three names, all compounded of *-kaldr*, the hero gave in *Fj* 6. Further, the extraordinary name *Sólbjartr* given for Svipdagr's father recalls Fjolsviðr's description of Menglǫð as *in sólbjarta brúðr* in *Fj* 42, one of only three occurrences of this adjective in ON poetry.

Thus: while Svipdagr is on his quest we have *vindkalda vegu*; he is 'Vindkaldr' and his relatives have wintry names. When he has won his bride, his own and his father's name reflect the glory of his *sólbjarta brúðr*. The contrast is pronounced: the hero has come through cold and danger to sunlight and bliss.

So interpreted, these names appear a striking extension of poetic imagery.

2.3 Horn, Ruðr, Svafrþorinn, þrymgjöll, Sólblindi, Gastrofnir, Veðrglasir, Lævateinn, Segjárn, Sinmara, Aurglasir, Lýr and Lyfjaberg

None of these names occurs anywhere else.

For several of these, the reference of the name is transparently obvious from its constituent elements. Thus *þrymgjöll* "din-screech",

the giant heiti Kaldgrani *pula* IV f 2 (*Skj.* B I 660) and various place-names, such as Kaldbakr in *Grettis saga* (Lind 1905, 671-2).

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Sólblindi "sun-blind", Lævateinn "evils' twig" and Lyfjaberg "mountain of healings" (*Fj* 10, 10, 26, 36). These names are so precisely appropriate to the objects they denote — respectively: an alarum-gate; a builder who is presumably a dwarf, proverbially sun-blind; a remarkable weapon; a healing mountain — that one must suspect that the poet has manufactured these names exactly for their contexts. Thus probably also for Svafþorinn, Veðrglasir, Aurglasir and Lyr: see the Commentary for the explanations "strife-darer", "air-tree", "mud-tree" and "bright" (*Fj* 8, 24, 28, 32).

I can make nothing certain of Horn (cf. Hǫrn, a name for Freyja *Gylf* ch. 35; also *Skáldsk* ch. 75 and Einar Skúlason's *Øxarflokkur* 3, *Skj.* B I 450), Ruðr, Gastropnir and Segjárn (*Gróg* 8, 8, *Fj* 12, 26). All are close to nouns which would fit their context very well (*hrönn*, *unnr* both 'wave'; *gestrofnir* 'guest-destroyer', *seigjárn* 'tough iron' and the poet may be punning loosely on this. Textual corruption is also possible.

So perhaps also Sinmara (*Fj* 24-30). Her name may be interpreted as *sin* "sinew" and *mara* "witch, incubus"; thus "sinew-destroyer". It appears that her function in the poem is to guard the extraordinary weapon Lævateinn in *Segjárn's* *keri* and release it from the *njarðlásar* apparently at *ragnarök* (see pp. 386-95). The name may suggest 'destroyer of bonds', a reference to her release of the weapon from its guarding. This reading would agree well with Bugge's emendation *NF* 347, following Egilsson 1860, 689, of *Segjárn* to *Seigjárn*: compare the apparently proverbial *seigar verða gamals manns sinar* 'an old man's sinews become tough', *Bevens saga* ch. 21; cf. *Flovents saga* ch. 9.

In general: most of these names fit their context so exactly that it is likely that the poet fabricated them to do just that.

2.4 Eir, Aurglasis and Aurboða: sound before myth (*Fj* 28 and 38)

Superficially, Eir in *Fj* 28 appears no more than a conventional kenning base-word "goddess", hence "woman". Yet, whatever meaning we give *Aurglasis* (see Commentary) it appears that this *Eir Aurglasis* is equivalent to *in fólva gýgr* of *Fj* 29, the giantess Sinmara. I can find no other instance in ON of a giantess described as Eir.¹ As expressions for giantesses and goddesses are usually kept strictly apart in ON — an axe might be the giantess of the shield, or a woman the goddess of the ring, but the basewords of each kenning are not interchangeable — the description of Sinmara here as *Eir Aurglasis* appears inappropriate.

In the second phrase, *Eir ok Aurboða* from *Fj* 38, it is the other name, Aurboða, which appears out of place. The giantess Aurboða of *Hyndl* 30 is unexpected among the wholly benevolent company of Menglǫð's maidens.² In this phrase it is the Aur- element that is out of place; in the *Fj* 28 phrase it is the Eir- element.

It seems the poet found the euphonious sequence Eir ... Aur an attractive dying cadence to the verse. Thus each of *Fj* 28 and 38 end with this cadence, regardless of the exact relevance of the names to the context. The poet appears to prefer a fine poetic effect to exact distinctions between categories of mythological beings.

¹ Nearest is the description of a valkyrie as *vápn-Eir* in the kenning for warrior *vápn-Eirar vǫrðr*, Björn Hitd. lv. 24, *Skj.* B I 282-3.

² It is not specified that this Aurboða is a giantess, but her husband Gymir is certainly a giant, her daughter Gerðr is of *jǫtna ættar* and the giant þjazi is *þeira frændi*. The name "*aurr* offerer" here may echo the sacred turbid waters about the world-tree of *Vsp* 27, which Snorri says the norms each day pour over the world-tree *til þess at (eigi) skyli limar hans tréna eða fúna* 'so that its limbs neither decay nor rot'.

2.5 Mimameiðr

It appears that the tree represented by this name is the world-tree itself: see p. 384 below.

Only here is the world-tree described as the "wood of Mímir", or itself named Mímir. The compound may be based on the association of *Mímis brunnr* (the "well of Mímir" in which Óðinn places his eye in *Vsp* 28) with the world-tree. The wording of stanzas 27 and 28 of *Vsp* could be taken as implying some connection between the world-tree and *Mímis brunnr*. But Snorri is more explicit and places *Mímis brunnr* under one of the three roots of the world-tree, *Gylf* ch. 15. The poet may also have in mind the *holtr Hoddmímis* 'treasure-Mímir's wood' of *Vafþr* 45 in which a single human couple survive *ragnarøk*.¹

The form of the name here differs from that found elsewhere. The genitive form here and in *Fj* 24 is *Mima*, presupposing a nominative *Mimi*; elsewhere the genitive is *Mímis* or *Míms*, the nominative *Mímir*. From *Fj* 24/3 the vowel must be short, yet elsewhere it appears to be long (*LP* 408).

On this evidence, it would be dangerous to presume that the name Mimameiðr is anything other than the poet's invention.

2.6 The dogs Gífr and Geri

From *Fj* 44 *hundar fagna*, if not from *garmar Fj* 13, these two must be dogs. But neither name is elsewhere associated with dogs. The name Geri is known from *Grí* 19, where it is given as the name of one of Óðinn's two wolves. Hence, it stands for wolf frequently in poetry and in kennings (*LP*

¹ Schröder 1931, 95-6 takes *holtr Hoddmímis* as denoting the world-tree; Martin 1972, 126 argues that this cannot be taken so specifically. Two of the oldest MSS, the Uppsala codex of Snorri's *Edda* and A, read *holdi* "flesh" for *holti*.

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180). Gífr appears nowhere else as a name in Old Norse. Furthermore, where an exact sense can be determined for *gífr* elsewhere in Old Norse poetry it appears that it denotes a troll-woman.¹

Both names appear poetically vivid but mythologically imprecise.

3. Names in Lists

Eighteen of the names of Sv appear in two lists of nine names each: the builders of the palace and Menglǫð's maidens.

3.1 The builders of the palace, Fj 34

This discussion presumes that Delligr is the last name in this stanza, giving nine builders of the palace (see Commentary).

In ON mythology, craftsmanship is the special province of dwarves.² Four of the nine names given as the builders of Menglǫð's palace are indeed found elsewhere as dwarves: Dóri, Óri, Varr and (if this reading is correct) Jari; all in *pula* IV ii 3, 4, *Skj.* B I 672 (Dóri, Óri, Varr) or *Vsp* 13 (Jari).

According to *Vafpr* 25 Delligr is the father of Dagr. The notion that *Delligr* is a dwarf (as apparently here, and in the *dverga heiti* in *pula* ii 3) could have resulted from a misunderstanding of *Hávnm* 160/3, as SGK 159, 169 suggests; see the Commentary.

¹ *LP* 183 defines *gífr* as "troll, især troldkvinde". In fact, there appear to be no clear examples of *gífr* being used of anything but a female being. Like *flagð* (see Commentary *Fj* 1) *gífr*, used collectively, might signify various supernatural beings, imprecisely defined. Or, its use here as a dog's name may reflect a genuine survival in ON of the sense "greedy, ravenous" seen in OE *gífre*; see Commentary *Fj* 13/5.

² For example: the *ivalda synir* of *SnE*, who make Sif's hair, Óðinn's spear and Þórr's hammer, among other things.

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Of the other four names given in this stanza:

1. Vegdrasill: only here. The second element *drasill* 'horse', (see Commentary), as in Yggdrasill, evokes images of the world-tree.
2. Bari: only here, though the name Barri occurs elsewhere (see Commentary)
3. Uni and Iri are elsewhere personal names (see Commentary).

There seems no reason to associate any of these four with dwarves or builders.

Even if we can manage to identify all these builders as dwarves they are described as *ásmegir*. This word appears only twice elsewhere in ON, in each place denoting the gods themselves.¹ Dwarves are not gods. Perhaps this poet interprets this word as "kin of the gods". I know no other place in ON where the dwarves are described as related to the gods. The notion might have arisen from an inexact reading of *Vsp* 9.²

The list of names is of dubious mythological precision as beings of different types are grouped together. The description of the palace's builders as *ásmegir* reflects a divine grandeur upon the palace, and that may be the poet's purpose.

3.2 Menglǫð's maidens, *Fj* 38

One might expect Menglǫð's nine maidens to be goddess-figures with particular healing and protective associations. Only one of these names appears elsewhere as such: Eir, named by Snorri as one of the goddesses, and as *læknir beztr* (*Gylf* ch. 35).

¹ In *Bdr* 7/5 and in *Vellekla* 16, *Skj.* B I 119.

² Alternatively, *LP* 31 takes *ásmaga* as dependant on *garð* "palace of the gods". This would be an unexpected designation of Menglǫð's palace; cf. *púrsa þjóðar sjöt* of *Fj* 1/3.

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None of the other eight is known elsewhere as a goddess, but seven of these eight names have transparent associations of protection, beauty or power. Respectively: *Hlíf* 'protection', hence *Hlífprasa*; *Þjóðvara* 'great one', *Björt* 'shining', *Blik* 'glitter', *Blíð* 'gentle' and *Fríð* 'beauty'. The one exception is *Aurboða*, known elsewhere as a giantess: see p. 359 above.

These seven names fit their context almost too well, suggesting that names such as *Björt*, *Fríð* and *Blíð* — unknown elsewhere as names — have been manufactured to fit the context. The pair *Hlíf* and *Hlífprasa* (accepting here Bugge's emendation, see Commentary) may have been conceived as counterparts of *Líf* and *Lífprasir*, the two who survive *Fimbulvetr* in *Vafþr* 45.

Again: one may explain all these names in terms of poetic appeal; see too p. 359 for the inclusion of *Aurboða* for euphony. These maidens may have come into ON from Celtic (see p. 375-8). Norse names would have to be found for them, and these are just the sort of names one would expect.

4. Summary of the Poet's Use of Names

It is not surprising that so few names in *Sv* occur elsewhere. List stanzas particularly, such as *Fj* 34 and 38, are repositories of the lost and obscure: thus the *pulur*, and the *dvergatal* of *Vsp*. What is surprising is how many of the names in *Sv* are inappropriate to their context, or appear transparently invented to fill their place, or appear chosen for poetic effect:

1. Inappropriate to their context: the wolf name *Geri* given to a dog (pp. 360-1); the giantess name *Aurboða* given to one of *Mengloð*'s maidens and the kenning base *Eir* 'goddess' applied to a giantess (p. 359).

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2. Transparently invented to fill their place: the names discussed on pp. 357-8 (e.g. þrymgjöll "din-screech" etc.) and many of those in the lists of *Fj* 34 and 38 (pp. 361-3).
3. Chosen for poetic effect: for mythological and historic resonance, all the names given the major characters (pp. 343-55); for euphony, in the *Eir ... Aur-* sequence (p. 359); as a type of imagery, in the names given for Svipdagr and his relatives (pp. 356-7); for grandiloquence, in the 'list' stanzas.

The poet's use of names is very similar to his free use of older Eddic poetry discussed in the first section of this chapter. There is a joyous spontaneity of invention and adaptation as the names are fitted to the poems. This makes for picturesque poetry, but it would seem unsafe to rely on *Sv* as mythological evidence as far as these names are concerned.

III.5 Mythological Reference in Sv: the Motifs

1. Mythological Motifs Used in Sv as in other Sources

The following motifs in Sv have a significant element of identity with motifs found in other sources:

Gróugaldr

1 The waking of the dead by a child seeking help: cf. *Hervarar saga*, see pp. 318-9.

6-14 The nine charms which help: cf. the eighteen charms of *Hávam* 146-63.

The magic number nine: see p. 423 for other occurrences in Sv. Magic nines elsewhere in ON: *Hávam* 138; *Vsp* 2; *Heimdallargaldr*; (See SGK 148 for more instances.)

10 The charm which enables escape from fetters: *Hávam* 149, see pp. 300-2 above.

15 Standing upon a stone while swearing oaths: Saxo bk. 1.

Fjölsvinnsmál

1ff The closely-guarded woman; her guarding by dogs and the *vaftrlogi*: cf. *Skí*, see pp. 306-8.

31-2 The remarkable hall: cf. *Vsp* 37-8 and the halls of *Gylf* ch. 14, etc.

These motifs may have been introduced into Sv as part of the process of adaptation of the original Celtic story to ON. Thus in *Gróg* the Celtic motif of the female helper who guides the hero to the heroine is transmuted into the son visiting his mother's grave, with the mother providing the guidance in the form of charms: see p. 347. Similarly, the

potent number nine of ON is used as a fundamental organizing principle in the poems: see p. 423.

2. Adaptation in Sv of Mythological Motifs Found in Other Sources

A measure of adaptation can be seen even in the particular forms of the motifs discussed above:

1. There is no other instance in ON of a son waking his dead mother in search of help, though *Hervarar saga* is a close parallel.
2. The charms sung by Gróa are purely protective and so differ from such as *Hávm* 148, which offer success in battle. See further p. 410 for other differences.
3. No other heroine in ON has such an extraordinary array of defences as Menglǫð.

These are more variations of detail than of the motif itself. In the following instances, the motif itself appears to have been adapted.

2.1 Rindr, Rani and spells

Þann gól Rindr Rani, *Gróg* 6, can be explained in one of two ways. In neither case can the apparent allusion be readily harmonized with what is known of Rindr from elsewhere in ON:

1. The passage might allude to the spells which, according to Saxo Bk. III, Óðinn cast on Rindr as he attempted to seduce her.¹ Compare *Hrólfs saga kraka* chs. 26, 30, in which Óðinn appears

¹ Emending to *Rindi Rani*: so NF 339, following a suggestion of Vigfússon. The age of this story is supported by an allusion in Kormák's *Sigurðardrápa* 3 *seið Yggr til Rindar* "Óðinn cast spells on Rindr", *Skj.* B I 69.

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under the name *Hrani*. However, the two situations are quite different. The spells in Saxo are those of a man attempting to seduce a woman; these spells are those of a mother protecting her son on a dangerous journey.¹ Also, the identification of *Hrani* with *Rani* is very dubious. In these poems, *hr-* never alliterates with *r-*, while in *Gróg* 12/4-5 *hr-* alliterates with *h*.²

2. Or, it might allude to spells sung by the mother Rindr to her son Váli (=Ranr, the presumed nominative for MSS *Rani*; thus Ólsen 1917, 1-3). This is exactly congruent with the situation here; both *St* and *Ra* read *Rindr Rani*. But we know of no spells sung by Rindr to Váli, nor of any reason why she should have sung spells to the precocious Váli, who avenged Baldr when just one night old. Nor is there any record of any by-name Ranr for Váli.³ As we know very little of Rindr or Váli this is not decisive.⁴

¹ Kragerud 1981, 37-8 accepts the identification of these spells with those used by Óðinn to seduce Rindr and thinks this anticipates Svipdagr's union with Menglǫð. But the words, so read, remain inappropriate to their present context.

² This also counts against Falk's suggestion 1893, 351 that *rani* might be linked to Mod. Icel. *hrani* "blusterer".

³ The attempt by Ólsen 1917, 1-3 to see *Rani* as a corruption of **Vanr*, the supposed etymon for the name Váli, is tortuous. Ólsen must suppose that the original reading here was *Vrindr Vani*; that the name *Vrindr* arises from the poet knowing a now-lost text of *Bdr* 11 which likewise read *Vrindr*, and that Váli was a Vane, despite Snorri's explicit statement — five times, *Gylf* ch 55 (twice, = *Bragaræður* I 207), *Skáldsk* chs. 12, 55, 75; but cf. Detter 1894, 509 — that he was one of the *Æsir*.

⁴ For Rindr we have only the references given above, and various statements in Snorri's *Edda* that she is an *ásynja* (*Gylf* ch. 36), mistress of Óðinn and mother of Váli (e.g. *Gylf* ch. 30). For Váli, we have also *Vsp* 32-34, where we learn that *Baldrs bróðir* is apparently his avenger, and *Hyndl* 29, which adds that this vengeance is achieved by Váli slaying his brother (Hǫðr). According to *Vafpr* 51, Váli will live on after *ragnarøk*.

Both interpretations involve us in names unknown from elsewhere and events either inappropriate to the poem or otherwise unknown.

It might be simpler just to take the passage as a picturesque combination of Rindr, spells, and perhaps her famous son, together lending a mythological colour to this passage. Some support is given this by the apparent uncertainty about the name of Rindr's son in the corruption of the text of *Bdr* 11/1 in A.¹

2.2 The magic mill calming the sea, *Gróg* 11

The notion of magic charming a stormy sea is well-known from *Hávm* 154 and is probably also present in *Rþ* 44. But the apparent application of this motif here — a mill grinding calm upon the waves — is unique. Two other ON motifs may here be combined:

1. The association of a mill with the sea is known from the introductory remarks to *Grott* in *Skáldsk* ch. 43 stating that a whirlpool (*svelgr*) resulted from the sinking of the salt-grinding mill of the poem into the sea. This association is also evidenced in the analogous popular tales discussed by Christiansen 1959, 154-162, in which the mill produces salt, and by Snæbjørn's kenning for the sea in storm as *grotta hergrimmastan ... eyliúðrs* "the most

Snorri names *Váli* among the *æsir* (see last footnote), but otherwise adds nothing. Saxo confirms the main outlines of this: a son Bous is born by Rindr to Óðinn, and he avenges Baldr by killing Høðr, I 69-79.

¹ A reads *Rindr berr í vestrsqum* with a line-ending coming between *berr* and *í*. The sense of the next line demands a male name, which must alliterate on *vestrsqum* if further emendation is to be avoided. *Vála* (NF 137) is the obvious choice, but the corruption is nonetheless suggestive. All thirty-three paper MSS of *Bdr* which I have seen read *Rindr berr son*.

war-raging hand-mill of the island-frame (= sea)", lv. 1, *Skj B. I* 201 (adapted).¹

2. The poet may be thinking of the mill of Fróði in *Grott* which could grind out whatever was asked of it, whether peace, wealth or war.

This combination of the "mill of the ocean" and the "magic mill" verges on the creation of a new motif.²

2.3 The palace of Menglǫð

The presentation of the palace itself and its defences is an intriguing blend of the borrowed and the new. Extraordinary halls, some of most forbidding aspect, are well known from *Vsp* 37-8 and *Gylf* ch. 14, as are the *vafhrlogi* and the dogs about the woman from *Skí*. But much else is unique to *Fj*.

a. The magic gate; the wall made from a giant's limbs, *Fj* 9-12

The gate itself appears modelled on Valgrind, the gate which stands before Valhöll in *Grí* 22. The wall in which it is set may be patterned after the Miðgarðr of the Eddas, the rampart surrounding the world of men and protecting it from the giants (*Gylf* ch. 8, *Grí* 41).

From this point, the poet's fantasy takes off. His gate and his wall are exalted above even the famous defences of the gods: of both it is said *er*

¹ Cf. Amleth's riddling remark, comparing sand-dunes to flour ground by the waves, Saxo bk. III. Snæbjörn's verse is discussed in Gollancz 1898, xi-xxi; see too Ellis Davidson 1979, II 59.

² This interpretation follows that given by Rydberg 1886, I 563, accepted by Ólsen 1917, 4-5. Other interpretations (Fritzner "windbag", SGK 405 "boat", etc) are reviewed by Holtsmark 1946, 55-59. She seems unaware of Rydberg and Ólsen's work, and rejects the notion that *lúðr* here might be a "mill" as unparalleled. She favours taking *lúðr* as a "runenbomme", a runic magic drum similar to that found among the Lapps, and interprets *logn* and *lōgr* as magic tokens.

með goðum sáat menn it meira forað. Both are given exotically meaningful names, and we are told the gate is made by *Sólblinda synir*: the poet's counterpart to the dwarf craftsmen *Ívalda synir* of *Grí* 43 and *SnE*. Like the *grind* of Hel in the Uppsala MS of *SnE*, described there as *fallanda forað* (*Gylf* ch. 34; in other MSS this is the *þreskǫldr*), it is a *forað* and a door that lifts. But the concept is differently developed. The danger to the unwary traveller here comes not from a falling gate, but from the *ffjoturr fastr* which might bind him.

Individual, to the point of eccentricity, is the concept of a wall shaped from the limbs of the otherwise unknown *Leirbrimir*. Again, the sources of this notion may be traced elsewhere in ON:

1. *Leir-* is "mud": compare the *leirjǫtunn* *Mokkurkálf*i, whom according to *Skáldsk* ch. 17 the giants make *af leiri* to oppose *þórr*, with disastrous results. Similarly, the dwarves fashion *mannlíkun ... ór jǫrðu* (*Vsp* 10). Behind these two instances and the phrase *ór Leirbrimis limum* may lie the notion of creation from the primeval ooze.¹
2. Elsewhere in ON, we are told of objects and creatures fashioned from the bodies of giants. According to *Grí* 41 and *Gylf* ch. 8 *miðgarðr* was made from the eyelashes of the giant *Ymir*; *Vafþr*, *Grí* and *Gylf* tell us that the whole earth was shaped from the body of this *Ymir*. In *Vsp* 9 the *dverga drótt* (*SnE*; *drotin CR*) is fashioned from the blood of *Brimir* and from the legs of *Bláinn*. The name *Brimir* may be a by-name of *Ymir*: the

¹ Compounds from *Leir-* occur elsewhere in (1) *Leirvǫr*, a *heiti* for a trollwoman (*Þula* IV c 5, *Skj.* B I 660, and in v. 11 of the *Selkolluvísur* of Einarr Gilsson, *Skj.* B II 437) and (2) *Leirhafnar-Hjalti* in v. 6 of Ingjaldr Geirmundarson's *Atloguflokk*r, where *Leirhǫfn* may be either a nickname (*LP* 368) or a place name (*Skj.* B II 100).

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sea (*brim*) was made from his blood (Nordal 1978, 26). Hence, the name *Leirbrimir* could be taken as an echo of the creation of earth from Ymir.

From the above, it seems that the concept of the creation of the wall about the palace from *Leirbrimis limum* is a concatenation of the idea of the mud-giant (1 above) and of the creation of the physical world from the body of a slain giant (2 above). However, while one can see the roots of this idea in these notions, its development in this poem — the name *Leirbrimir*, and the creation of an artifact (as opposed to a physical feature) from a giant's body — appears unique to this poem.¹ Again, this adaptation of motifs verges on the creation of a new motif.

b. *A brodds oddi bifask, Fj 32*

The notion of a palace trembling on the point of a *broddr* "spear, dart, arrow; spike" is certainly fantastic.² But this is clearly what the text says in

¹ I have not been able to find any parallel for the creation of an artifact from the body of a giant. ST, I 168-82 = A 900-99, cites many instances of the formation of natural features from parts of a creator's body, or his sweat or urine, but neither there nor in ST F 700-900 ("Extraordinary places and things") are there any instances of the creation of an artifact in this manner. Compare the notion of the body as a microcosm of earth in medieval sources, Faulkes 1983, 288-9.

² Some scholars accordingly suggest alternative explanations. Jónsson 1926, 208 and LP 66 read *á bjargs oddi* "on the summit (= *oddi*) of a mountain". This is an odd expression for summit, and does not explain *bifask*. Olsen 1917, 19 cites an incident from *Heiðarvíga saga* ch. 14, where the idiom *á vandar veifi* 'fluttering on a spear' (?) is used of something that one can contemplate but not grasp. As in Gísli's parable comparing Barði's hopes of payment for his brother's death with a stolen purse stuck on a spear's point, the palace is near but out of reach. This is ingenious but the wording differs from our passage. Also this part of *Heiðarvíga* is known only from Jón Ólafsson's transcript from memory.

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all thirty nine MSS which have this stanza. Again the poet may be twisting old ideas into new shapes:

1. SGK 418 cites evidence of an idiom *skjálfa ... sem á oddi léki* "shake as if suspended on a point": thus in one MS of *Hrólfs saga kraka* ch. 43, and in modern *leika á als oddi* "spin on an awl's point; be giddy with delight" (Blöndal 588, Halldórsson 1954, 48-9).¹
2. Remarkable castles figure elsewhere in Icelandic legendary tales: a house standing on one pillar in *Yngvars saga víðförla* ch. 6 and a moving tower, reminiscent of a revolving castle, from *Rímur Sveins Múkssonar*, itself based on a prose romance dating from before 1569 (Sveinsson 1957, 11).
3. Magic castles are well known from Celtic stories: e.g. the revolving stronghold of Cú Roí in *Fled Bricrend* (Gantz 1981, 247). Such castles are popular in Irish folktales and romances up

¹ The *Hrólfs saga* MS is GkS. 1002 fol., written in 1667 (Slay 1960, 23). Other MSS of *Hrólfs saga kraka* read *skjálfa ... sem alsolla léki*, the reading accepted by Jónsson *Fornaldarsögur* I 84 (as also by Finnur Jónsson). This idiom is glossed by Blöndal 32 as "juble, være meget glad" (exult in delight), derived by Blöndal from *sollur* "broils, tumult; gaiety, loose company" Blöndal 774. Halldórsson 1954, 48-9 regards *leika á als oddi* as a corruption of *leika alsolla*, and the unreliable nature of the one MS of *Hrólfs saga* in which *leika á als oddi* occurs (Slay ed. p. 129-30) lends apparent support to this. However, *leika alsolla* seems not to appear anywhere in the older language apart from these 17th century MSS of *Hrólfs saga kraka*. The Icelanders I have asked know the idiom *leika á als oddi*, but not *leika alsolla*. Further, the phrase *leika á als oddi* does occur in Ole Worm's *Specimen Lexici Runici* where it is specifically referred to *historia Rolvonis Krake* (Slay 1960, 134-5). As this work was written in 1650 — 17 years or more before Páll Sveinsson wrote 1002 fol. — at least one other MS relatively early in the manuscript tradition is likely to have read *leika á als oddi*. It seems possible that this was the original reading and that the idiom is genuinely old (despite Slay 1960, 134-5).

to modern times.¹ Particularly widespread in these is the notion of the maiden's bower placed on a single pillar, the *gríanan* (Bruford 1966, 14-15). Delbchaem, the heroine of *Art*, the closest Celtic analogue to Sv, lives in just such a bower.

The combination of a magic revolving castle with a bower on a pillar and the idioms *skjálfa ... sem á oddi léki*, *leika ... sem á als oddi* would give us something very like this poem's *bifask á brodds oddi*. Such a fantastic synthesis would be entirely typical of this poet. The associations of the palace with light and fire — *garðar glóa* of Fj 5, *vaftrlogi* of Fj 31, perhaps its motion (*bifask*) and its name Lyr (see Commentary) — may suggest an archaic association of the heroine with the sun.

2.4 The cock Viðófnir

From verse 18 and verses 24-30, it appears that Viðófnir plays a key role in the guarding of Menglǫð: none can enter the palace while he lives. So far as I know, nowhere else in Old Norse does a cock play a role analogous to that of Viðófnir as "guardian", rather than as "bird of warning". Again, the roots of this concept can be seen elsewhere in ON:

1. Cocks with numinous associations occur in *Vsp* 42-3, where the coming of *ragnarǫk* is heralded by the crowing of three cocks. In *Hhund* II 49 another cock, Salgofnir, wakes the *sigrþjóð* at dawn and the battle of *Bjarkamál* is heralded by the beating of a cock's feathers, *Skj.* B I 170.
2. Other birds act as guardians of eligible women — notably the *gammr* of *Bósa saga* ch. 8 and the *fugl mikill* (actually, a man

¹ Christiansen 1959, 71, Bruford 1966, 89 n. 10 and Cross 1952, F 163.1.1, F 771.2.6.

í arnar líki) which guards Sigrlinn in *HHj* 5 (prose) — but not cocks.

The hints of *ragnarøk* attaching to Viðófnir (see p. 386-95 below) suggest that the poet may have meant his audience to equate Viðófnir with one of the cocks of *Vsp* 42-43. The defining of his role as guardian may be influenced by the occurrence of the other guardian birds in ON.

Characteristically the *Sv* poet exceeds *Vsp* in fancy: Gullinkambi (*Vsp* 43) might have a golden comb, but the whole of this cock glitters with gold (*Fj* 23).¹

Once more: the poet appears to have fashioned a unique whole from familiar parts.

2.5 The mountain of health, Lyfjaberg *Fj* 36

Analogues can be found similar to the mountain with special power to heal the diseases of women, but — in ON at least — nothing exactly the same.

Nearest is the account of Helgafell in *Eyrbyggja saga* ch. 4. But sacred though that mountain is, it is not linked specifically to the health of women. *Konungs skuggsjá* ch. 10 states that should a sick man visit a particular island *hvatki sótt sem hann hefir ... neytir hann þeira grasa ... er í hólmanum vaxa, þá verður hann þegar heill* 'whatever sickness he has, (if) he uses the herbs growing on the island, he will be instantly cured'.

However, Lyfjaberg is a mountain and not an island, and this mountain heals the diseases of women not men.²

¹ SGK 414 compare the description of the Phoenix in *Alfræði Íslenzk* I p. 4-5: *hann glóar allr sem gull*. All that Viðófnir has in common with the Phoenix (as described in the AM 194 8vo text printed by Kålund) is the golden colour and his perch *á þat tré er hæst er í Paradiso*.

² Reichborn-Kjennerud 1926, 130 argues that *konur* in 36/6 comprehends both men and women. As SGK 421 observe, this is

Rather closer parallels can be found in Irish accounts associating magic mountains and healing. In *Máel Dúin* the hero meets a fairy queen on an island with a hillock ; this queen offers Máel Dúin immortality if he chooses to stay (ch. 28).¹ The closest parallel to *Lyfjaberg*, with its special power to cure women who climb it, comes from a C19 account of Croagh Patrick, "the holiest mountain in Ireland". According to this, "one station on the climb was performed only by female pilgrims who were barren and desired children" (Macneill 1962, 82, cited by Talbot 1976, 186).²

If this is a genuine survival of older belief, it may not be Norse. Again, a fragment of Celtic story may be appearing under the guise of Norse myth.

2.6 The nine maidens of Menglǫð, *Fj* 38

That there are nine such maidens is in accord with the significance invested in the number nine in ON: see p. 365. But there seems no exact parallel in ON to this group of nine maidens serving the goddess-like Menglǫð, and themselves invested with protective potency. Analogous in ON are:

1. The *þrennar níundir meyja* 'three nines of maidens' who accompany Sváva in *HHj* 28. These have protective and creative powers, as guardians of Helgi's ships and patrons of the harvest: *þaðan kǫmr með ǫldum ár* 'thence comes fruitfulness among

impossible: there are many instances of *maðr* denoting both sexes, but none of *kona* so used.

¹ See further Wagner 1975, 17-19 (these mountains as deriving from "the primordial earth-mountain" and as "visible symbols of the earth-goddess") and Cross 1952, 261 = F 344 ("Fairies heal mortals").

² Falk 1893, 318, 70 identifies *Lyfjaberg* with the "Monsalvage" of the Grail stories; similarly Cassel 1856, 43 (cited by SGK 420). It is likely that a similar body of Celtic materials concerning magic mountains underlies all these. Of less value are a number of supposed parallels with the *De Nuptiis* II, 119 of Martianus Capella cited by Falk 1891, 298-9.

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men'. But they appear to be valkyries, like the *hvít und hjálmi mæ*r Sváva herself, and so removed from Menglǫð's benign maidens.

2. The *níu konur allar í ljósum klæðum ok á hvítum hestum* 'the nine women all in shining raiment and on white horses' of *Þiðrandi þátr*. These are explained as the *betri dísir* who would help Þiðrandi but are unable to save him from another group of nine women, dressed in black with drawn swords. But neither nine appears as servants of a superior and the whole passage has a strong Christian colouring.¹

3. The festival of the *dísablót* (e.g. *Víga-Glums saga* ch. 5) may lie behind the suggestion that these nine should be prayed to in case of need (*Fj* 40). But the *dísablót* seems to be a seasonal ceremony, not the occasional resort of any in need. The hints of menace about the *dísir* (e.g. their association with imminent death) are absent from the wholly benevolent maidens of *Fj*.²

4. The nine mothers of Heimdallr, known from *Hyndl* 35, from Úlfr's *Húsdrápa* 2 (*Skj.* B I 128) and the fragment of

¹ Turville-Petre 1964, 222-3 notes that "the better *dísir* resemble the armies of *Revelation* (XIX), mounted on horses, clothed in linen pure and white".

² For general discussion of the *dísir* see Turville-Petre 1964, 221-7; De Vries 1956, II 297-9. Their connection with death is seen most clearly in the *jódís* who takes the corpse of Dyggvi at *gamni*, *Ynglingatal* 7; the extraordinary death of Aðils in *Ynglinga saga* ch. 29, when his brains are dashed out during a *dísablót*; the *konur ... dauðar* of whom Glaumvǫr dreams in *Am* 28.

Heimdallargaldr preserved in *SnE*. However, we know virtually nothing of these nine.¹

Again, the closest parallels to these nine are Celtic. It appears to be a *donnée* of early Celtic stories that where there is a sovereign fée like Menglǫð, there is a group of maidens about her. These groups of maidens serve to demonstrate both the authority of their queen, the sovereign fée, and also the overflowing bounty of the Otherworld. In several instances the number of maidens is specified as nine and they are associated with healing, exactly as here.

The most remarkable instance is also the oldest: in the first century AD *De Chorographia* of Pomponius Mela an island *Sena in Britannico mari* is described, inhabited by nine enchantresses *perpetua virginitate sanctae*, who have among other abilities the power to heal illness (Parroni 1984, 163).² Also, there is the famous *insula pomorum* of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Vita Merlini*, where Morgan is accompanied by her eight

¹ These nine may be identical with the *skerja ... náu brúðir* of Snæbjörn lv. 1 (*Skj.* B I 201) who are waves of the sea. For a brilliant hypothesis linking the nine mothers who are waves with Heimdallr, the sea-god who is a ram, see Dumézil 1973, 131-38.

² Clarke 1973, 203 identifies *Sena* with Ile de Seins in Brittany, following in this such earlier commentators as H. Kiepert 1878, 517. This identification is forcefully denied, as phonologically impossible, by D'Arbois de Jubainville, *RC IX* (1888) pp. 278-9 and J. Loth *RC X* (1889) pp. 352-3. Mela was writing in the first half of the first century AD; both Hammond 1970, 666 and Thompson 1948, 225-6 are dubious of his accuracy, and Reinach 1897, 7-8 thinks Mela's description of this island derives ultimately from the island of Circe in the *Odyssey*. A similar island is found in Strabo: Paton 1903, 43 fn. 4 notes that Strabo, citing Posidonius, also speaks of an "island of women", an island near the mouth of the Loire inhabited by women he calls the Namnites, priestesses of Dionysus. The similarities of these islands of women with those described in later Irish sources suggest that genuine Celtic tradition, however garbled, may lie behind the accounts of Strabo and Mela.

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sisters (Parry 1925, 82-5). Compare too the eighteen maidens (the queen and her seventeen companions) who offer Máel Dúin and his crew eternal youth if they stay with them (ch. 28).¹

A mythical tale including Celtic material may here underlie Sv.

2.7 Triumph through identity: the manner of Svipdagr's success

There is no other instance in ON of a hero who wins his bride simply by announcing his name. The only other clear instances I know of this motif anywhere are in the Danish ballad versions of *Ungen Svendal*, almost certainly based on Sv itself.

Once more, we seem to be dealing with a unique adaptation of ideas found elsewhere in ON:

1. In both *Grí* and *Vafþr* the climax of each poem comes with Óðinn's revelation of his real identity to his interlocutor. Both narratives have Óðinn giving a false name which he retains throughout the narrative. The narrative of each consists of the relation of mythological information, just as apparently does *Fj* 7-40.
2. There appears to be a convention that a hero in danger might conceal his name. Sigurðr first gives a false name to Fáfnir in *Fáfn* 2, and the prose explains this "þat var trúa þeira í forneskju, at orð feigs manns mætti mikít, ef hann þolvaði óvin sínum með nafni" (it was their belief in pagan times that the speech of a doomed man had great power if he cursed his enemy by name).

¹ Similar instances are: the nine witches pierced by Cei in poem xxxi from *The Black Book of Carmarthen*; the nine maidens whose breath kindles the cauldron of the poet's inspiration in poem xxx from the *Book of Taliesin* (Jackson 1959, 12-16).

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See pp. 310-3 for other echoes of the Sigurðr poems in *Sv*.

Similarly Helgi conceals his name in *Hhund* II.

The combination of the two conventions — firstly, that the climax might rest upon the revelation of the hero's true identity, as in (1) above; secondly, that a hero in danger might conceal his name, as in (2) above — is of great utility to the poet. It allows the climax of the poem to be deferred from stanza 7 to 43, permitting the inclusion of a mass of purportedly mythological information. Further, the stamp of destiny can be seen in this: Svipdagr's name alone qualifies him for the bride.

It is also possible that the motif of the hero winning the bride simply by announcing his name may have been in the story which underlies the poems. Close analogues for this motif may be found in two early Celtic sources:

1. The Old Irish text *The Colloquy of the Two Sages*, in which the young poet Néde comes to claim the official robe of chief-poet of Ulster on his father's death. He is opposed by Ferchertne: neither knows the other's name and they engage each other in a virtuoso poetic contest. The contest ends when each reveals their identity to the other and Néde claims Ferchertne as a second father. The context here is not a wooing tale, but the similarity between the use of the revelation of the hero's name here and in *Sv* in order to effect a happy climax is striking.
2. The medieval French romance *Le Bel Inconnu*, a romance with strong affinities with Celtic literature.¹ The hero, who up to

¹ *Le Bel Inconnu* was composed by a poet of north-east France, Renaut de Beaujeu, about 1185-90. There is also extant a German version, dating to c. 1210, a middle English version dating c. 1350, and an Italian version dating c. 1375. Owen 1968, 83-8 gives a useful summary of the poem and references to discussion of the relationship between the various versions.

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now has only been described as "le bel Inconnu", enters the Cité Gaste. A hideous fire-breathing serpent approaches him, kisses him and withdraws. Immediately, he hears a voice proclaim his true identity: he is Guinglain, the son of Gawain and Blancemal. The next day, the otherworld maiden whom he seeks, Blonde Esmerée, appears to him for the first time and tells him that she was the serpent but she has now been transformed because of his kiss and she is in fact the Queen of Wales. The two later marry and live happily ever after in her city (Owen 1968, 86-7).

The closeness of *Le Bel Inconnu* to *Sv* is remarkable. In both, the successful wooing is related to the proclamation of the hero's name, and the differences between the exact circumstances can be explained by the contamination of the *Bel Inconnu* story by the "fier baiser" motif. Not only this: in *Le Bel Inconnu* we find almost exactly the same narrative structure as that behind all three of *Sv*, *Culhwch* and *Art*:

1. The hero, on his quest for an otherworld maiden, is helped by a second woman, *la Pucelle aux Blanches Mains*, just as *Svipdagr* is helped by *Gróa*;
2. He is both opposed and helped by a guardian of the otherworld (who also plays a game similar to *fidchell*);
3. The heroine is a queen, and they live in her country after their marriage (Owen 1968, 85-8).

All that is lacking is a stepmother's curse at the beginning. *Le Bel Inconnu* might itself be based on the same story as *Sv*, *Culhwch* and *Art*. However, the narrative of *Le Bel Inconnu* is so muddled by the intrusion

The occurrence of many motifs familiar from early Irish sources — the heads on stakes around the heroine's castle, the "fier baiser" — suggests that all these versions may have drawn on Celtic materials.

of such elements as the "fier baiser", and much else, that no certainty is possible. A study of all the medieval versions of *Le Bel Inconnu* might be most rewarding.

In summary: the manner of Svipdagr's winning of his bride may be the poet's own adaptation of ON material, or it may have come to him with the original Celtic story.

3. Mythological Innovation in Sv

Several motifs discussed above verge upon innovation, rather than adaptation. In the instances discussed in this section, the motifs appear so unusual that invention predominates over adaptation.

3.1 *Urðar lokur*, *Gróg* 7

This phrase occurs nowhere else. I take *lokur* as a type of verse-form especially appropriate to incantation; hence "charms, incantations".¹

1. *Langloka* is given as the name of a verse-form in both *Háttalykill* and *Háttatal*, while in modern Icelandic a *langloka* is a poem not divided into verses and with irregular rhyme.²

¹ Alternatively: *loka* regularly means "latch, lock", and LP 382 takes the expression metaphorically as "protection": "May Urðr's protection ward you" (but cf. LP s.v. Urðr for a slightly different interpretation: the phrase is there glossed "skæbnens faste bestemmelser", fate's fixed destiny). I can find no instance elsewhere of *loka* having such an extended meaning. The only instance of a figurative use I have found is the proverbial *margr seilisk um hurð til lokunnar* 'many grope about the door for the lock' — ie, stretch far for what is near at hand, in *Grettis saga* ch. 28.

² *Skj.* B. I 501-2, B. II 64: in *langloka* the first and last lines of an eight-line stanza are linked in sense and form, thus forming a frame into which the central six lines of the stanza are intercalated. In modern Icelandic it is a poem not divided into strophes (CV 373; Blöndal 473; an instance in *Islenzkar gáttur* IV 375). The apparent use of *-loka* here as a technical term for a kind of verse recalls the *lel lettres loken* of *Sir Gawain and the Green*

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2. It is possible that the second element of the mysterious *varðlokur* of *Eiríks saga rauða* ch. 4 is the same word: these *varðlokur* are described as a *kvæði* 'poem', *með fegri raust kveðit* 'recited [sung?] in pleasing tones'.¹

The story of the Greenland prophetess in *Eiríks saga rauða* shows *varðlokur* as powerful in beneficent magic, and specially associated with women: only women, it seems, may know or perform them. Such charms as these would be very appropriate here.²

We know *Urðr* from *Vsp* 20 and *Gylf* ch. 15. Together with *Skuld* (cf. *Gróg* 4) she is one of the three whom Snorri specifies as the Norns who *skapa mǫnnum aldr*. But there is considerable difference between such remote figures, inscrutably shaping the fate of men, and the notion of specific help for a specific quest through *Urðar lokur*. The idea that the

Knight 35, which is probably a reference to the "locking together" of alliterative verse by correctly-chosen (*lél*) initial letters (Davis 1967, 72). Compare too *Beowulf* 870-1 *word oper fand soðe gebunden*, and Klaeber's note 1950, 158. *Langlokur* in modern Icelandic are sandwiches made from stick loaves.

¹ This explanation of the second element of *varðlokur* as denoting a verse form, hence 'charms', does not appear to have been offered before. Olsen 1916 relates *-lokur* to the noun *loka* "lock", and explains it as "that which locks in spirits and holds them fast". Strömbäck 1935, 124-39 prefers the form *-lokkur*, found in some MSS, and relates to the verb *lokka* 'allure, entice; that which calls (back) the spirit'. There is certainly no connection with English "warlock", as supposed by (among others) CV 679-80 and Olsen 1916, 14-21. This venerable canard first appeared in Johnson's *Dictionary* 1755, where Johnson states that this "etymology was communicated by Mr Wise"; Francis Wise (1695-1767; see DNB) may have passed this on when Johnson stayed with him at Elsfield Vicarage in 1754. For a better derivation of warlock, from OE *wærloga* 'troth breaker; devil', see OED and OEDEE.

² There is no need to emend here to *varðlokur*, as does Vigfússon 1883, I 485, an emendation which leaves the alliteration defective (one late and corrupt MS, 818 — otherwise a poor copy of **Ha** — reads *vapar laukur*).

cosmic Norns might provide personal magical help seems quite unique to this poem.

The poet might have manufactured this concept for his own purposes. He is at great pains to show that the shadow of fate lies over Svipdagr and his wooing journey: thus the references to Skuld in *Gróg* 4 and to Urðr in *Fj* 47. These invocations of destiny, coming at each end of the narrative, frame the whole story. The obvious comparison is with the emphasis laid on the Norns in the opening verses of *Hhund* I: no less than Helgi, Svipdagr is fortune's favourite child. Hence, the labelling of these charms as *Urðar lokur* seems the poet's picturesque way of associating destiny with his hero; see further p. 409.

3.2 The dogs' alternating sleep, *Fj* 16

I can find no parallel anywhere in ON for the dogs rostering their sleep so that there is not a moment's break in their guardianship. The nearest parallel I have been able to find anywhere is from the Old Irish *Orgain denna Ríg*, where it is said of Scoríath that *a mmáthair oca comét; ocus níro chomthuilset a dá súil ríam acht indala n-aí oc aire a ingine* 'her mother guarded her, and her two eyes never slept but that the one of them kept watch over the daughter' (Greene 1955, 12). Somewhere behind these stories may lie something like the Greek legend of Argus, with his hundred eyes of which only fifty would sleep at once.

If the poet knew something like this, he has so far adapted it as to make a new motif.

3.3 The world-tree by Menglōð's palace, *Fj* 19-24

One can find warrant for the appearance of a remarkable tree in a wooing story. Thus:

1. In the oldest Danish versions of *Ungen Svendal*, a lime-tree stands by the heroine's palace and bows its leaves to the ground as

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the hero enters (see p. 287 above). If *Ungen Svendal* is not based on Sv itself, but goes back to the same source as our poem, then this suggests that the tree was present in the source of both.

2. In *Skí* 39 Freyr and Gerðr will be united in a *lundr lognfara*, "a peace-moved grove".
3. Compare the golden tree that stands by the palace where Conn meets the Sovereignty of Erin in the *Phantom's Frenzy*, and the many magic trees of Irish story (e.g. *Máel Dúin*). Mac Mathúna 1985, 245 cites a description of Muhammed's ascension through the seven heavens: in this passage he encounters a pleasing damsel and a tree of immense size (from A. Guillame, *The Life of Muhammed* 1955). The association of trees with the coupling of men and women is at least as old as the book of Genesis.

It appears that Mimameiðr, the tree of *Fj* 19-24, is not just a remarkable tree, but is in fact the world-tree:¹

1. The epithet Mimameiðr *Fj* 20 might be appropriate to the world-tree: see p. 360 above.
2. The echoes in *Fj* of descriptions of the worldtree from *Gylf*, *Hávam* and *Grí* discussed on pp. 303-4 all suggest that Mimameiðr is to be equated with the world-tree.
3. The invulnerability of the tree to *eldr né járn*, its labelling as *mjǫtuðr* and *ins mæra viðar*, and the suggestions of *ragnarǫk* in stanzas 24-30 (see next section) all argue for the identity of this tree with the world-tree.

¹ So Boer 1922, II 384; *LP* 410 sv *mjǫtuðr*; Schröder 1931, 96; Hallberg 1952, 151.

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It seems that the poet wanted his poem to gain by the world-tree's glory. Hence he imports it into his poem, regardless of possible incongruity. The poet goes on to invest this tree with qualities unknown to the world-tree from elsewhere:

1. The tree is given special power to heal certain indispositions of women, *Fj* 22. This stanza, with its prescription concerning the burning of the tree's *aldin* in a fire, appears to have more to do with folk-medicine than with cosmic force.
2. The tree is designated as *með mǫnnum mjǫtuðr*. The phrase is obscure. The only possible sense *mjǫtuðr* can have here is "destiny", but the identification of even so remarkable an object as this tree with the abstract notion of "destiny" is surprising.¹ As well, one might find the sudden introduction of destiny into a stanza concerning healing rather jarring.² The poet might have had in mind the designation of Yggdrasil as *mjǫtviðr mærr* in *Vsp* 2. Like some modern scholars he might have equated *mjǫtviðr* with *mjǫtuðr* and hence we find (rather awkwardly) *mjǫtuðr* here.³

¹ Elsewhere in ON *mjǫtuðr* has two senses, derived from the notion of "measure" (De Vries 1962, 385 sv. *meta*): firstly, "destiny, fate"; secondly, "death, slayer".

² Alternatives to reading *mjǫtuðr* "destiny" are: (1) Reichborn-Kjennerud 1923, 51 translates *mjǫtuðr* as "lægekraft". This is hardly possible, as SGK 413 note. (2) *LP* 410 takes *mjǫtuðr* in a passive sense: "the destiny determined for the tree" (that is, to heal). However, as De Vries 1962, 390 observes, *mjǫtuðr* elsewhere carries an active sense: "that which determines". (3) Pipping 1925, I 40-44 reads *mǫtuðr* "matträd", identifying this with the *mjǫtviðr* of *Vsp* 2, "tree of measure".

³ Bugge 1881, 491; Fritzner II 725-6; cf. Pipping, last footnote. As Nordal 1978, 90 remarks, "there is no authority for equating *mjǫtuðr* ... with *mjǫtviðr*".

The vagueness of the description of the tree as *mjǫtuðr* recalls the uncertainty concerning the phrases *barr* and *af móði*; see the Commentary on *Fj* 19/4 and 21/4. One suspects that the imprecision of all this stems neither from textual corruption nor our own ignorance but from the poet's own uncertainty as to exactly what he was describing. Thus the judgement of Einar Sveinsson 1975, 29: 'Þetta nafn varpar hálfgerðum goðsagnaljóma yfir tréð, en aðeins hálfgerðum ...'.¹

4. Mythological Innovation: the impenetrable palace, *Fj* 17-18; 24-30

These eight stanzas are the most obscure of the two poems. They include names known either not at all or only fragmentarily from elsewhere (*Viðófnir*, *Sinmara*, *Segjárn*, *Lævateinn*) and apparently allude to events described nowhere else.

However, the broad outline of these stanzas is clear enough. They establish the impossibility of *Svipdagr* entering the palace by force. Accordingly from stanza 31 he abandons questions which seek to find some way in. It appears that the palace is inaccessible to the unwanted intruder for two reasons:

1. It can only be entered by force if *Viðófnir* is killed — these stanzas apparently establish this as impossible;
2. *Menglǫð*'s palace will not be entered by force until *ragnarøk*.

Both ideas are quite unique to this poem.

¹ "That name casts a half-realized mythological light about the tree, but only a half-realized one."

4.1 The invulnerability of Viðófnir: the impossible conditions

From stanzas 17 and 18, and 24 to 30, it appears that an intruder may only force entry to the palace after the following sequence of events:

1. He must distract the guardian dogs by giving them something to eat, and then he may *hlaupa inn meðan þeir eta* (17-18).
2. But the only food the dogs eat is *Vængbráðir tvær* which lie *í Viðófnis liðum*: apparently, two pieces of the cock's wingflesh.¹
3. Viðófnir perches upon the world-tree beside the palace (= Veðrglasir, see Commentary Fj 24/2). According to Fj 24, he is somehow causing terrible anguish to a Sinmara.
4. Viðófnir may only be killed by "Lævateinn": Fj 25-6. It appears that this is a variant of the mistletoe which killed Baldr (see Commentary 26/1).
5. Lævateinn is locked in a cauldron, *í Segjárn's ker*, which lies beside Sinmara and is secured by nine remarkable locks: Fj 26. The terrible anguish of Sinmara caused her by Viðófnir (Fj 24) is apparently the obligation on her to guard Lævateinn; see p. 358.
6. Lævateinn can only be successfully gained if some remarkable object is brought to Sinmara: Fj 27-9.²
7. The remarkable object which must be brought to Sinmara is *ljósan ljá ... þann er liggr í Viðófnis vølum*: apparently, Viðófnir's

¹ This extraordinary food may be a recollection of the boar Sæhrímnir, which alone suffices to feed perpetually the hosts in Valhöll, *soðinn hvern dag ok heill at apni* 'cooked each day and whole in the evening' Gylf ch. 38.

² For the interpretation of *Eir Aurglasis* as "the woman of the loam-glitterer (=worldtree)", and the identification of this and *in fólva gýgr* with Sinmara, see Commentary Fj 28/6.

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scythe-shaped tail feather, *Fj* 30. This must be brought to Sinmara in a *lúðr* (chest?); only then will she release the weapon.

4.2 The four elements of these conditions

Four distinct threads may be discerned in the impossible conditions outlined above:

1. A particular weapon, *Lævateinn*, must be used to kill the cock.
2. The weapon is locked-away: *Lævateinn í Segjárnns ker*, warded there by *njarðlásar níu*.
3. The tasks specified in *Fj* 17-18, 24-30 are a sequence of nested conditions, each dependent on the next for fulfilment, each more difficult than the last. Thus: to evade the dogs one must give them food; to get the food one must kill *Viðófnir*; to kill *Viðófnir* one must get *Lævateinn*.
4. Not only are the tasks a sequence: the sequence forms a circle. *Viðófnir* can only be killed by *Lævateinn*; but to get *Lævateinn* it appears you have to kill *Viðófnir*:
 - i. *Lævateinn* will only be given to the person who gets the *ljóss lé* (= *ljósan ljá*) embedded in *Viðófnir*'s body, *í Viðófnis vqlum*;
 - ii. presumably the *ljóss lé* can only be got by killing the cock;
 - iii. the cock can not be killed without *Lævateinn*;
 - iv. *Lævateinn* can not be got without the *ljóss lé* ... and so on.

The circle of impossibilities is complete; *Viðófnir* is invulnerable; the palace is impregnable.

4.3 Possible sources for these conditions

I have been able to find no parallel for this extraordinary sequence.¹

However, one may trace something of the genesis of the four elements distinguished above:

a. A particular weapon must be used to kill the cock

The particular weapon is *Lævateinn*; only this can kill *Viðófnir*. This is the motif of "unique vulnerability". A creature can be killed only by a specified, usually remarkable, weapon (often his own: see p. 392 below), in a particular spot or in a particular way.

The best-known instance of this in ON is that of the slaying of *Baldr* by the mistletoe. As I suggest in Commentary 26/1, it appears that *Lævateinn* is a variant of this mistletoe. Hence the name, hence its picking by *Loki*. Hence only *Lævateinn* has power to kill *Viðófnir*, just as only the *mistilteinn* has power to kill *Baldr*.

b. Success depends on gaining access to a secret object

The secret object is *Lævateinn í Segjárnns ker*, warded there by *njarðlásar níu*, with its power over *Viðófnir*'s life.

This recalls the motif of the "hidden life". This exists in numberless variants and is especially well-known from the wide-spread popular tale "The Ogre's Heart in the Egg", AT 302. In this motif, the life of a creature depends on a particular object which is difficult of access. In several Norwegian versions the ogre's life is hidden in a mouse inside a duck

¹ The closest parallel I have found is the Old Irish tale "The Death of *Cú Roí*", probably extant in the 8th century and apparently itself a version of AT 302 (*Aided ConRoí*, summarized and so dated by Thurneysen 1921, 431). In this the life of *Cú Roí* is in an apple, inside a salmon; to kill the salmon one must use *Cú Roí*'s own sword. Combined in this one tale is something of all four elements discussed above, but the overall effect (*Cú Roí* is killed, *Viðófnir* is not) and incidental detail are very different.

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swimming on a well inside a church on a remote island (Christiansen 1959, 45). This parallels both the hiding of Lævateinn and the sequence of nested conditions. Further, AT 302 was almost certainly known in medieval Iceland.¹

c. The sequence of difficult tasks, each dependent on the next

Sequences of difficult tasks characteristic of AT 313 ("The Tasks and the Magic Flight") are widely known throughout the Celtic and Scandinavian worlds, especially in "suitor-test" stories.

Thus in *Eyrbyggja saga* ch. 28 Stýrr sets the unwanted berserk suitor of his daughter a series of difficult tasks: *Nú mun ek göra sem fornir menn, at ek mun láta þik vinna till ráðahags þessa þrautir nokkurar* 'Now I will do as men of old, and have you earn this match by doing some difficult tasks'. The number of the tasks he sets — three — and their kind — rearranging the landscape — recall many other versions of this motif.²

Difficult tasks in, for example, modern versions of AT 313 are usually an unrelated sequence, with no organic link between them. The hero must simply do one after another: thatch a house with feathers, wash black sheep until they are white, dance in a red-hot oven, and so on. However I know of two medieval sources where the tasks are linked one with another:

1. In the *Eyrbyggja saga* instance, the suitor must first clear a path across a lava field, set up a dike across the lava and build a

¹ Sveinsson 1957, 11-12. Note his remarks concerning the compound *fjöregg*: "the word *fjör* (in *fjöregg*) has an obsolete meaning, 'life': it shows that both the idea and the word derive from the first centuries in the history of the Icelandic people ...".

² For the rearranging of the landscape, compare the tasks imposed on Mider in *Étaín*, Gantz 1981, 53. The number of tasks set in versions of AT 313 is usually three (Christiansen 1959, 81). Harris 1976 discusses the popular tale background to the *Eyrbyggja saga* incident.

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sheep-byre on Stýrr's side of it. The link between the tasks is present, though weakly articulated. Also, the links work in the reverse direction to those in *Fj*. In *Eyrbyggja saga* it is "do this, then do that"; in *Fj* it is "do this; but this cannot be done till you have done that".

Though distant, this echo establishes the presence of a motif something like the sequence of *Fj* in C13 Iceland — and earlier, if the reference to *fornir menn* can be trusted.

2. Closest is the amazing sequence of tasks specified by Yspaddaden in *Culhwch*. These are all linked — all thirty-nine of them — and they are all linked in the same direction as the conditions in *Fj*: "do this; but this cannot be done till you have done that". The meat and drink for the wedding feast must come from a field cleared, sown and harvested in one day; this cannot be done except by Amaethon; and so on through the hunting of the great boar to win the comb for the grooming of Yspaddaden. However, none of the individual tasks resemble any of the conditions established in *Fj*. Cei does acquire a remarkable sword in *Culhwch*, but this is not related to the tasks.

In addition to these, the "nested hiding places" common in Norwegian versions of AT 302 discussed above also parallel the sequence of nested conditions of *Fj*. A common Swedish variant of AT 302 has the "hidden-life" in the form of a "life-egg" dependent upon the life of another animal, which has to be killed first.¹

¹ Christiansen 1959, 60-61.

d. The sequence of tasks forms a circle

Of the four separate elements of this sequence of conditions, I have been able to find the fewest parallels for this. Related ideas are:

1. The being who may only be killed by his own weapon.

Boberg 1966, 267 cites many instances from ON: the giant Gautr in *Egils saga einhenda* ch. 15 may only be injured by his own sword; cf. the slaying of Grendel's mother in *Beowulf*.¹ Usually, the circularity implicit in this motif is evaded by either sheer force or some subterfuge.

2. There is an element of circularity in the sequence of hiding-places in some Norwegian versions of AT 302: the hidden life is concealed within a church, with the keys to the church hanging in the steeple of the church (Christiansen 1959, 45).

In none of these is the notion of circularity, hence impossibility, developed so fully as in *Fj*. In all these cases, the hint of circularity is used to make the task difficult but not impossible. But in *Fj* the object is to make the task impossible and hence the greater stress on the circle of impossibility.

4.4 Menglǫð's palace cannot be entered till *ragnarǫk*

So complete are the defences of the palace that the poem suggests that Viðófnir will not be killed and Menglǫð's palace entered by force until *ragnarǫk*. Thus Fjǫlsviðr's earlier statement that the dogs will guard the palace *unz rjúfask regin* 14/6 and his assertion that the wall about the palace will stand *æ meðan ǫld lifir* 12/6.

¹ Nordal 1978, 103-4 suggests that Surtr kills Freyr at *ragnarǫk* with Freyr's own sword, which he previously gave to win Gerðr.

III.5. MYTHOLOGICAL REFERENCE IN SV: THE MOTIFS

Fj 30 relates the only sequence of events which will lead to the forcible entry of the palace. *Fj* 12/6 and 14/6 imply that this entry will only happen at *ragnarøk*. It follows that the poet conceives the events of *Fj* 30 as either immediately preceding *ragnarøk* or as part of *ragnarøk* itself.¹

a. *Fj* 24-30 and eschatology

Hence, this part of *Fj* is redolent with eschatological association:

1. Lævateinn appears to be a variant of the *mistilteinn* by which Loki achieves Baldr's death, so presaging *ragnarøk* (see Commentary 26/1). It is picked by Loki (=Loptr), the critical agent of *ragnarøk* in various ON sources.
2. The extraordinary measures taken to guard Lævateinn suggest extraordinary danger and recall the binding of Loki and Fenrir, whose escape explicitly signals *ragnarøk*.
3. The role of Sinmara here may be compared to that of Sigyn, the wife of Loki who must tend him in his bonds until he escapes at *ragnarøk* (*Gylf* ch. 50). Similarly, it appears that Sinmara is doomed to stay beside the *ker* containing Lævateinn until she can release it at *ragnarøk*. This may be the terrible obligation referred to in 24/4-6: Viðófnir "oppresses Sinmara beyond measure" by somehow constraining her to guard Lævateinn.
4. Both the world-tree of *Fj* 19-22 and the *lúðr* of *Fj* 30 have cosmic associations appropriate to an eschatological context:
 - i. The poet's use of the epithet *mjǫtuðr* for Mimameiðr — the world-tree in which Viðófnir perches — recalls the difficult phrase *mjǫtuðr kyndisk* of *Vsp* 46. The poet,

¹ No previous scholar appears to have noted these explicit links between the events of stanzas 24-30 and *ragnarøk*.

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like several modern commentators, may have thought this described the burning of the world-tree at *ragnarøk*.¹

ii. The *lúðr* in which the *ljóss lé* must be brought to Sinmara has connotations of giant potency: cf. the *lúðr* of *Grott* containing the mill which grinds out whatever is asked of it and that of *Vafþr* 35 in which the giant Bergelmir is laid.

b. Fj 24-30 and adynaton

Nowhere else in ON is *ragnarøk* associated with anything like these stanzas. This assertion that an event is impossible because it will not happen until *ragnarøk* recalls the adynaton found several times in scaldic poetry.

Eyvindr, Hallfreðr vandræðaskáld and Arnórr jarlaskáld all magnify the subjects of their eulogies by asserting that there will be no greater king on earth before the end of the world. Eyvindr's phrasing is explicit in the identification of this with *ragnarøk*:

*Mun óbundinn
á ýta sjøt
Fenrisulfr fara,
áðr jafngóðr
á auða trøð
konungmaðr komi.*²

The reference appears to be to Baldr's return after *ragnarøk*. Hallfreðr and Arnórr are more discreet in their references to the end of the world, probably out of deference to Christianity. But the hints of violent

¹ This interpretation is almost certainly incorrect: see Nordal 1978, 90-91.

² 'The wolf Fenrir will roam unleashed in the homes of men, before so good a king comes to the abandoned path (= fills the empty place)'.

destruction in both, and of *Vsp* in Arnórr especially, suggest they are thinking of *ragnarøk*.¹

A verse in *Kormáks saga* (ch. 19; lv. 42; *Skj.* B I 79) adapts the motif to the praise of a woman: this side of the violent destruction of the earth — again, apparently (though not explicitly) at *ragnarøk* — no woman so beautiful as Steingerðr will be born.²

The poet of *Sv* goes further. His argument is not the impossibility of a great king or of a beautiful woman, but of a successful rapine. And he carries the circumstantial method of the other poets — referring to *ragnarøk* by its events, rather than by name — to its logical (to him) conclusion. So he wraps *ragnarøk* in a series of obscure allusions to events probably of his own invention.

In short: the inspiration for this net of unattainable tasks appears to be the desire for a striking expression of the impossibility of forcible entry to the palace by a variant of *adynaton*.

¹ *Skj.* B I 60 (Eyvindr's *Hákonarmál* 20); *Skj.* B I 156-7 (Hallfreðr's *Óláfsdrápa*, -*erfidrápa* 29); *Skj.* B I 321 (Arnórr's *Þórfinnsdrápa* 24). A weakened form of the same praise-topos is found in several other skaldic verses: simply, 'a better king will never come', but with no explicit link to the end of the world: e.g. Þórbjörn's *Glymdrápa* 9, *Skj.* B I 21 and Arnórr's *Hrynhenda*, *Magnúsdrápa* 20, *Skj.* B I 311.

² Thus *Skj.* B I 79, *LP* 22 and Sveinsson 1939, 275, accepting the usual solution of supplying *auðs* before *áðr* and reading *auðs ... tróða* as 'path of gold; woman'. The likeness with Eyvindr's *á auða trøð* is remarkable; one suspects some more deep-seated corruption in the verse.

Schröder's arguments that the instance in *Kormáks saga* derives from troubadour poetry pay scant attention to the occurrence of the motif elsewhere in ON. He refers briefly to Hallfreðr, not at all to Eyvindr (Schröder 1952, 133-37).

5. Conclusion: the Poetry and the Mythology

One may usefully compare the mythological references in *Sv* with those of poems usually regarded as trustworthy sources for knowledge of beliefs and stories concerning the gods current among pagan Icelanders. How does *Sv* differ from *Vsp*, *Skí*, *Hárb* or *Lok*?

As in *Sv*, there are many allusions in these poems to matters known not at all, or known only imperfectly, from other sources. But there is this emphatic difference. Exploration of the puzzling allusions in the other poems often reveals unsuspected depths of meaning. An enigmatic, apparently casual reference finds its image in Indian, Classical or Celtic mythology and a window is opened. The writings of Dumézil teem with instances of this.¹

It is otherwise with *Sv*. These poems have the appearance of great mythological richness but not the substance. The more we compare the mythological material of *Sv* with that elsewhere in ON the more we see the poet adapting, altering, renovating and finally inventing. The older mythological motifs and names are treated in the same way as are the older poems: as sources for resonant images and colorful detail. A Celtic wondertale is made to appear a Norse myth; it is a measure of the poet's success that so many scholars have sought to explain it as such (pp. 326-35).

This returns us to Einar Sveinsson's observation, quoted p. 340 above, that the poet's aim is not mythological. Poetic effect appears more important to the poet than mythological accuracy. Thus, he freely borrows, alters and invents, the better to adorn his poem.

¹ E.g. his discussion of Heimdallr 1973, 126-40.

IV.1 The Date of *Svipdagsmál*

"The two most vexed problems of eddic scholarship have from the earliest times remained the dating and provenance of the poems."

- Joseph Harris, "Eddic Poetry", in *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature: A Critical Guide*, ed. C. J. Clover 1985 (p. 93).

In the absence of autograph datable MSS, and in the context of a literature with its roots in oral tradition, there is no reason for argument over dating ever to cease: thus the discussion of the date of *Hávam* by Von See and others (1972a, b; Harris 1985, 109-11; Evans 1986, 16-18).

Nevertheless, there is evidence which favours a thirteenth century dating for both *Gróg* and *Fj*.

1 Previous Opinions: before Einar Ólafur Sveinsson

Scholars before Einar's 1975 study dealt with the date of the poems only briefly and impressionistically:

1. *NF* xlv distinguishes the poems from "de gamle Gudekvæder": they belong to a later stage in the development of mythological poetry ("de betegne et senere Stadium i Mythedigtningens Udvikling"). However, Bugge insists that they are genuine, and not like *Hrafnagaldur* the product of a late antiquarian. He takes the occurrence of the name Viðófnir in two MSS of the *pulur* as borrowings from *Fj*: this would place *Fj* before c. 1300. He finds the identity of the story of *Sv* with that of the *Ungen Svendal* ballads consistent with this.
2. Falk 1893, 330-31 finds sufficient points of contact between *Sv* and French Arthurian romance — especially the *Perceval* cycle — to place *Sv* at the end of C12, or the beginning of C13.

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3. Heusler 1906, 267-8 does not give an exact date to the poems, but his comments that the pagan material in *Sv* is "altertümlichen kolorit" (given an antiquarian colouring) and that the two poems are "Studien in eddischen Stile" (studies in Eddic style) are consistent with a late dating.
4. Boer 1922, II 387-90 regards the poems as a recombination of older material. He accordingly assigns them to c. 1150-1200, and probably later rather than earlier.
5. Noreen *Den norsk-isländska Poesien* 1926, 73-6 follows Bugge in observing their "efterklassisk" character; however they lack the manifest fictions of *Hrafnagaldur* and so he agrees with Falk and Bugge: they may be dated c. 1200.
6. Finnur Jónsson 1920, I 218-23 disagrees with the consensus of scholars who date the poems c. 1200. He regards the pagan tone and materials of *Fj* as evidence that *Fj* dates from the middle of the tenth century. He thinks *Gróg* the work of a different poet, and places it rather later, in the last decades of paganism, or in the first of Christianity. He supposes it may have been composed in Norway "på grund af den norske religiøse fanatisme" (because of Norse religious fanaticism).

This edition has discovered nothing to support Finnur's notion that *Gróg* and *Fj* are by different poets. Their use of older ON poetry, their characteristic preference for poetic effect over mythological precision, their metre — not to mention identity of MS history — all assert the closest of links between the poems.

7. Like Finnur Jónsson, De Vries 1967, II 524-7 also disagrees with the c. 1200 dating, but would place the poems later rather than earlier: *Sv* is a "Spätling des 14. Jahrhunderts" (a late fruit of C14). De Vries does not detail his reasoning, but it appears that he derives this late date from the mingling in the poems of the disparate traditions of "Mythos" and "Märchen".

2. Einar Ólafur Sveinsson

Einar's 1975 *Leng er fgr* pp. 31-7 provides the fullest study of the poems' date.

Einar discusses just what it is about the poems' handling of its material which makes it appear younger than the other Eddic poems. He isolates several points where the poet mishandles older material, thus:

1. The confusion of beings traditionally of different origins in the 'list' stanzas of *Fj* 34 and 38. The discussion of these on pp. 361-3 elaborates Einar's arguments.
2. The use of the names Gífr and Geri for dogs: see pp. 360-1 above.
3. The use of the name Fjolsviðr — elsewhere an Óðinn heiti, or a dwarf heiti — for the giant of *Fj* is anomalous: see p. 349 above.

Hence, Einar argues that "Auðsætt er á öllu, að skáldið hefur þekkt allmikið af fornum kvæðum, en hitt virðist mér jafnauðsætt, að þau séu ekki frá samtíð hans."¹

Einar notes four names which *Sv* shares with the "B" *pulur* found in A and AM 757 a 4to: Fjolsviðr, Viðófnir, Dóri and Varr. But these names are not in the "A" *pulur* found in the two MSS which appear to preserve a more original form of *SnE*, the Codex Regius and Utrecht MSS (Wessén 1940, 6-7). Hence, Einar assigns the composition of *Sv* to the decades between the writing of the "A" and "B" *pulur*, around 1200-1250 (pp. 34-5; 115): the "B" *pulur* derive these names from *Sv* itself. As the oldest MS

¹ "It is quite clear that the poet knew the old poems thoroughly, but it seems equally clear to me that they were not contemporary with him" (p. 32).

containing the "B" *pulur* is A, usually dated c. 1300, this *terminus ante quem* might be somewhat later.

3. The Conclusions of this Edition

This edition agrees with Einar Sveinsson's dating; a somewhat later dating (to about 1250) is however possible.

This date is supported by linguistic evidence derived from the metre and orthography of *Sv*, as represented in the two principal MSS **St** and **Ra**, as well as by analysis of the relationship of *Sv* to its analogues and to other ON works.

3.1 The evidence of metre: stress patterns in the long line

It is observed on pp. 28-9 that the text of *Sv* in **St** and **Ra** obeys throughout the rule that the last word of a full line can not be a trochee if it takes the primary alliteration. One can have *dura Gróg* 1/3 and *koma Gróg* 1/6 in this position but not *meira* or *brúði*.

This rule can only have been meaningful before the lengthening of vowels in open syllables in Icelandic.¹ The lengthening of the first vowel of *dura* and *koma* made these metrically equivalent with *meira* and *brúði*. Scribes and poets writing after this lengthening cannot have been aware of the original metrical distinction between *dura* and *meira*. They could not have understood the rule forbidding trochaic words to stand under the primary alliteration at the end of a full line: if *dura* and *koma* could stand in that position, it would have seemed that *meira* and *brúði* could also.

Accordingly, one finds the instances given on p. 29 of many MSS of *Sv* — but not **St** or **Ra** — which have full lines breaking this rule.

Similarly, one finds full lines ending *standa*, *gagni*, *leiði*, *þingi*, *þagna* etc.

¹ I am indebted to Dr Anthony Faulkes for pointing out the significance of this sound change for the dating of *Sv*.

in Eggert Ólafsson's poems reviving the *ljóðahátt* metre, e.g. in *Mánamál* and *Mánaspá* in his autograph Bodley MS Bor. 81. The avoidance of final trochaic words in full lines in Sv is most unlikely to be simple chance.

Trochaic words occur finally fifteen times in the 115 distinct long lines in Sv (e.g. *breiðask Fj* 19/5); not at all in the 116 full lines. The inference is clear: the poet of Sv knew the rule and obeyed it rigorously.

Therefore, Sv must have been composed before the rule was obscured by lengthening of vowels in open syllables. Noreen 1903 § 120 dates this lengthening as complete in Iceland by 1400, commenting that it may have occurred rather earlier in certain words. Dahlerup 1880, vii gives 38 instances where the scribe of *Agrip* in AM 325 II 4to, written c. 1200-25, appears to indicate long vowels in words subject to this lengthening.

The evidence that Sv was composed before lengthening of vowels in open syllables supports the proposed date of 1200-1250.¹

3.2 The evidence of orthography: æ and œ

From the discussion of the conservatism of the scribe of St on pp. 47-8 above, it is likely that the orthography of St may preserve many features of its exemplar. Certain spellings may have descended to St (and Ra) from the lost medieval copy X (cf. pp. 156-7).²

Two groups of spellings in St appear more characteristic of the medieval period than of the late C17 and may preserve traces of the original orthography of X. The first of these groups consists of the spellings of the reflex of $\bar{a} + i$ (æ). It is usual in the C17 MSS I have seen for this to be spelt either æ or ȳ, and ȳ occurs 27x in St for this sound. But

¹ Conversely, the presence of trochaic feet finally in long lines in *Sól* (see p. 28, fn. 3) suggests that it may have been composed after lengthening in open syllables. See too p. 29, fn 2.

² Compare Faulkes' analysis (1985) of the Utrecht MS of *SnE* for instances of spellings in a C17 copy derived from a lost medieval original.

spellings with *e* also occur in **St**, four times certainly (*levisa Gróg* 3, *let Gróg* 10, *vetur Fj* 16, *vetur Fj* 42) and another three times probably (*kveðki* = emended *kvæmtki* *Gróg* 3, *Vegn-*, emended *Veng-* = *Væng-* *Fj* 18, *Hevatein* = emended *Lævateinn* *Fj* 26).

Further, **Ra** has almost exactly the same distribution of *ǣ* / *e* spellings as **St**; the two MSS **P** and **J** which appear descended from **X2** independent of **St** and **Ra** (see pp. 221-3) also have almost exactly the same distribution.¹ These spellings must therefore go back at least to **X2**. Indeed, as it is most unlikely that these *e* spellings originated in C17 they were probably present in the lost medieval archetype.² Lindblad table 7 (1954, 308-16) notes several C13 MSS where *ǣ* / *e* are similarly distributed: e.g. AM 655 4to (frag. III; c. 1200), AM 686 b 4to (c. 1230), AM 334 fol. (*Staðarhólsbók*, hand B, c. 1270) and *Morkinskinna* (hand B, c. 1280). These spellings therefore suggest a medieval archetype.

The second group of spellings consists of the spellings of the reflex of $\bar{o} + i$ (α). There is some evidence that the spellings for this sound are kept apart from the spellings for $\bar{a} + i$ (α) in the four MSS **St Ra J P** descended independently from **X2**: the distinction in spelling will then go back at least to **X2**. Four words containing original $\bar{o} + i$ occur in these MSS of Sv, as follows:

sækja Gróg 12: spelt *sǣkja* all four MSS;

sæmdar Fj 4: *sǣmdar* **St P**, *semdar* **Ra**, *sæmdar* **J**;

færir Fj 28: *fǣrir* **St J**, *forir* **P**, *fǣrir* **Ra**);

¹ The only differences are that **Ra** has *hrevea* in *Gróg* 12, and **J** has three spellings with *æ* instead of *ǣ*.

² The preference for representing original $\bar{a} + i$ by *ǣ* or *æ* in C17-18 MSS can be seen in the levelling of the *e* spellings in **St** and **Ra** for *levisa Gróg* 3 and *let Gróg* 10 to *ǣ* or *æ* in many later MSS (*lǣvís*a 27 MSS, *lævís*a 4 MSS; *lǣt* 23 MSS, *læt* 1 MS).

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dægr Fj 49: dagur St, dǫgur Ra, dǫgur P J.

Remarkable here are the *o* / *ǫ* spellings in *færir* in three of the four MSS. One expects the words with original $\bar{o} + i$ to be levelled to *æ* or *ǣ*, as with the commonplace *sækja* and *sæmdar*, and as they are generally in C17-18 MSS (e.g. *S*). Again, the *o* / *ǫ* spellings in *færir* (and probably also in *dǫgur Ra*) cannot have arisen in C17, but will go back beyond X2 to the lost medieval archetype *X*. It cannot be chance that there are no spellings with *o* / *ǫ* among the thirty-four possible occurrences of original $\bar{a} + i$ in each of the four MSS, yet several among the very few occurrences of original $\bar{o} + i$ in these same MSS.

It therefore appears that the two sounds *æ* and *ǣ* were distinguished in the speech of the scribe of *X*: the former was represented by *ǣ* / *e*, the latter by *o* or *ǫ*. The two sounds fell together in Icelandic about 1250-1300 (Benediktsson 1965, 57-9, 62-4).¹ The evidence that these sounds were distinguished in *X* suggests that it was written before 1250.²

3.3 The evidence of the analogues

A date between 1200 and 1250 is consistent with all that is known about the analogues of *Sv*:

1. Pp. 242-58 above suggest that the story of *Sv* was originally current in the Celtic area around 1000, and came to Iceland via Ireland. Composition between 1200-1250 allows time for the

¹ Hægstad 1942, 94 dates the change earlier: according to his evidence it began in the first generation of C13, and was well under way by 1250. This would shift the terminus ante quem of *X* forward.

² Compare *CR*, where the distribution of forms for *æ* and *ǣ* suggest that the two were not distinguished in the speech of the scribe (Lindblad 1954, 148).

Other forms which may have survived into *St Ra* from a medieval MS are *afui Gróg* 5/6, *gfva Gróg* 15/1, *eðir* 2x in *Fj* 2/6, *aðir* *Fj* 30/5 and *sea Fj* 5/2. See pp. 41 fn, 157.

absorption of the story into Icelandic tradition. This absorption is otherwise confirmed by the traces of the story and distinctive motifs of *Sv* found elsewhere in Icelandic tradition, and especially in the *stjúpmaðra sögur* and *lygisögur* known to have been extant in popular tradition in C12-13 Iceland (see pp. 266-8).

2. The appearance of the story in the *Ungen Svendal* ballads, written down from 1583 on, is consistent with composition about 1200-1250. Other Scandinavian ballads tell the same story as Eddic poems written down in C13 (e.g. *Þry*). By analogy, *Sv* itself might have been written down in the same century (see p. 298).

3.4 *Sv* and other ON literature

While the style, metre and vocabulary of *Sv* have much in common with Eddic poems — notably *Hávǫm*, *Vafþr*, *Grí*, *Skí*, and the *Sigurðr* poems — the following suggest that it is rather later than these:

1. The reference to the *kristin dauð kona* of *Gróg* 13 dates the poem to after the coming of Christianity (this first noted by Bartholin 1689, see p. 49) while the pagan contents of other Eddic poems (e.g. the *ljóðatal* sequence of *Hávǫm*) make it likely that they date to before the coming of Christianity.¹
2. The individual handling of mythological detail in *Sv* noted by Einar Sveinsson (pp. 339, 363-4, 396 above), and the freedom with which the poet adapts older material in order to achieve greater poetic effect without regard to mythological precision,

¹ For the pre-Christian date of the *ljóðatal* at least see Evans 1986, 35; Von See's arguments (1972a, 1972b) concerning the post-Christian origin of the 'gnomic poem', *Hávǫm* 1-79, do not touch on the *ljóðatal* sequence.

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suggest antiquarian renovation and not the living impulse evident in the Eddic poems.

3. The many apparently mythological names and motifs in *Sv* which appear nowhere else, and which appear the poet's own invention, suggest individual pastiche rather than common tradition. Thus the names which appear fabricated just for the poem, pp. 357-8, 361-3, and the elaborate adynaton of *Fj* 24-30, pp. 386-95. Again, the aim of the invention appears to be greater poetic effect.

It follows that the resemblances between *Sv* and the Eddic poems are due to deliberate borrowing by *Sv* (see further pp. 300-13). There is a self-conscious literary artifice about *Sv* that savours of the study and written composition. A date between 1200 and 1250 is not too early for this, and not too late for the poet to have known his Eddic poetry thoroughly.

The date 1200-1250 also leaves time for *Sv*, in turn, to influence other works:

1. The "B" *pulur*, dating perhaps to 1250, may have drawn the names *Fjölsviðr*, *Viðófnir*, *Dóri* and *Varr* from *Sv* (pp. 399-400 above).
2. The idiom *skjóta leikborði* in a verse in *Grettis saga* ch. 72 may derive from *Gróg* 3 (pp. 319-20 above). *Grettla* is commonly dated to the last quarter of C13 and this verse may be no older than the saga itself (Jónsson 1936, xli, cvi).
3. Borrowings from *Sv* may be present in *Ketils saga hængs*, *Sól* and *Hsv*: see pp. 320-22 above. None of these can be certainly dated; all might have been composed after 1250.

4. The Poems' Background

Composition of *Sv* in the period 1200-1250 agrees with what is known of Icelandic cultural life in that period:

1. Snorri's writings show the learned interest in the mythology and poetry of Iceland's pagan past at that period.
2. The contemporary collection of the Eddic poems underlying Snorri's work and culminating in the writing of *CR* itself about 1270 and the many references to pagan belief within the family and Sturlunga sagas affirm that Snorri was far from alone in his knowledge of and interest in the old mythology and poetry.

Snorri is careful to distinguish his interest in the pagan mythology and poetry from approval of it: his work is *til fróðleiks ok skemtunar* 'for scholarly information and amusement' (*Skáldsk* Epilogue). Others may not have been so meticulous. Collecting, reading and discussing the old poems might lead to a desire to create new poems in the old style.

Thus could arise the paradox of *Sv*, a deliberately pagan pastiche written two centuries after the coming of Christianity. Hallfreðr vandræðaskáld's words to Óláfr Tryggvason, asserting the merit of the traditional poetry against the new Christian teaching Óláfr would have him learn, may stand as epigraph for *Sv* :

... eru þau fræði ekki skáldligri, er þú lézt mik nema, en kvæðit er,
þat er ek hefi um þik ort.

'... that teaching which you had me learn is not more poetic than is the poem which I have made about you'.

— *Hallfreðar saga* ch. 6

IV.2 A Reading of *Svipdagsmál*

Analysis of *Sv* by its constituent parts, as performed in the chapters analysing its analogues and its use of ON materials, makes *Sv* appear a curious mixture. The narrative framework is Celtic, the poetic manner is Eddic, the individual motifs are a blend of borrowings, adaptations and inventions; myth, popular tale, folk lore and fantasy appear side by side.

Yet, *Sv* is far from being the confusion such diversity might suggest. From this fertile marriage of the apparently disparate, the poet has wrought a pagan romance remarkable for its supple narrative and its benign and lyrical fantasy.

This skilful weaving of these various threads together is achieved through the traditional strengths of ON narrative poetry, especially the deft use of dialogue and dramatic detail to advance the action. The blending of all these disparate elements with the poet's own sophisticated lyricism gives these poems their charm. In the hands of a poet who is both preserver and innovator Eddic poetry achieves a late flowering.

1. Gróugaldr

1.1 Svipdagr at his mother's tomb

The opening of *Gróg* is highly dramatic; before *dauðra dura* a son summons his dead mother (st. 1). As almost always in the Eddic poems the poem begins in the midst of the narrative; as always in the Eddic poems in *ljóðaháttir* the poet tells the story almost entirely in dialogue, informing us of the situation in a few phrases embedded in the dialogue — he is her *mōgr*, and he is visiting her at her *kumblðys*. The poem's first words *vaki þú Gróa* and the only child summoning a parent from the dead are strongly reminiscent of Hervor's visit to Angantýr's tomb in *Hervarar*

saga. But the differences between the two reveal the intentions of the poet of *Gróg*. The atmosphere of *Hervarar saga* carries a heavy freight of the doomladen terror of a world beyond the grave: as Angantýr tells of fearful curses unearthly fires burn all about; his dialogue with his daughter, while not without pathos, is *full feiknstafa*.

In *Gróg* the horror is muted to the point of disappearance. Gróa is *góð kona* and Svipdagr is no wilful intruder upon the sleep of the dead, but the loved son who comes at his mother's request (st. 1-2). Here is none of the grotesque grave furniture — *haugeldar*, bones, treasure — found in other accounts of encounters with the dead in ON, as in *Grettis saga* ch. 18. The *kumblðys* is domesticated by its description as at *dauðra dura* (compare *innan dura* st. 15) and death itself is described in the neutral tones of *til moldar ... komin ok ór ljóðheimum liðin*. The humanity of Gróa's affection for her son is highlighted as her thoughts on being awoken from the dead by her son turn immediately to concern for him. The *nú* in st. 2/1 is deliciously pointed: what is the matter this time, she wonders, with her son? The supernatural quality of their encounter is transformed into a beneficent magic; love and not fear is the ground of their meeting.

Svipdagr's character and his tender love for his mother are rapidly sketched in the opening stanzas. He calls her *góð kona*, contrasting her with *in lævísa kona*, the stepmother who he implies in disgust rules his father by her embraces while the *ljótt leikborð* she sets sends him to his mother's tomb in search of comfort and succour (st. 3). After her initial surprise at his wakening of her, Gróa's speech is authoritative and firm:

*Lǫng er fǫr,
langir ro farvegar,
langir ro manna munir* (st. 4).

IV. 2 A READING OF Sv

By contrast, Svipdagr's initial poise gives way to a childishly touching fear as he begs his mother for aid, reminding her of his youthful dependance on her:

*bjarg þú, móðir, megí !
á vegum allr,
hygg ek, at verða muna,
þykkjumk ek til ungr afi (st. 5).*

Svipdagr's manner is that of an adolescent; this is no Sigurðr preparing for heroism.

As always in Eddic poetry the narrative of these first five stanzas of *Gróg* — as of the whole of *Sv* — is speeded by the omission of all that does not drive the story forward. Of events preceding the beginning of the poem we are told only what is immediately necessary: we are not told the name of *in lævísa kona*, the reason for the *ljótt leikborð* being set Svipdagr or the circumstances of Gróa's death. This allows the poet to concentrate his audience's attention on the dialogue between the son and the mother.

In these few stanzas, too, the base notes of the whole are struck. Words of love — *munir*, *gaman* — reverberate through *Sv* as they do through *Skí*. A son's need for his mother drives Svipdagr to seek his mother beyond the grave; the mother's love for her *einga sonr* prompts the charms that will make safe his going; at the end of his long journey is Menglǫð, his destined bride. For love is interwoven with fate: the whole narrative is framed by the invocations of Skuld here in *Gróg* 4, of Urðr in st. 7 and again at the moment of Svipdagr's triumph in *Fj* 47. And through fate the poems open on eternity. It is eternal bliss that Menglǫð offers Svipdagr at the end of *Fj*, as the lovers shall out-wear eternity — *slíta aldri* — together:

"Eternity was in our lips and eyes,
Bliss in our brows' bent.."

1.2 The nine charms Gróa sings her son

In stanzas 6 to 14 of *Gróg*, the mother responds to her son's request for help with a sequence of nine charms. The number of charms, their choice and order are not accidental. The number nine has special significance in these poems as elsewhere in ON: nine locks bind Lævateinn in *Fj* 26, nine maidens sit at Menglǫð's feet in *Fj* 38 (see further p. 423).

The charms draw much of their detail and wording from the *ljóðatal* sequence of *Hávm* 146-163 and the teaching of Sigdrífa in *Sigrdr* 6-37. However the selection of charms here made by the poet is quite distinct in cumulative effect from these two collections. None of the nine charms seeks to equip Svipdagr with success in battle. There are no *sigrúnar* here (*Sigrdr* 6), no spells to chant under opponents' shields (*Hávm* 156). Instead Gróa first chants two general charms (stanzas 6 and 7) designed to afford Svipdagr protection against anything *atalt*. These first two charms and the following seven charms are specified as aids for Svipdagr on this particular quest rather than to equip him with powers for a lifetime:

Urðar lokur
haldi þér ǫllum megum,
er þú á sinnum sér (st. 7).

The seven specific charms (stanzas 8 to 14) present a picture of all obstacles — human, natural and supernatural — melting away before Svipdagr's progress. Floodwaters will dry up in his way (st. 8); his enemies will become his friends (st. 9); should he be captured the bonds will spring from his limbs (st. 10); the ocean's great mill will grind the sea smooth for him (st. 11); the mountains' savage cold will have no power to hurt him (st. 12) and even a dead Christian woman surprising him in the open at night will leave him unscathed (st. 13). Only the last charm (st. 14) suggests that Svipdagr might become involved in conflict, yet even here

the contest will be of words and his only weapons *mál ok manvit*. These charms present a civilized paganism; the poet is at pains to show a benevolent magic which protects Svipdagr and injures no-one else, in sharp contrast to the malice of the *kristin dauð kona*. Like the terrors in a children's story, these dangers are both intensely real — the *hrævakulði* that claws flesh — yet quite without menace as Gróa winds them in beneficent charms. Like Fidele, Svipdagr is warded from evil:

"Ghost unlaid forbear thee
Nothing ill come near thee."

Nor is the order in which these charms are given random. Through their sequence, Gróa's words sketch in vivid outline the journey that lies ahead. Svipdagr must ford flooding rivers, pass through enemy country and possibly be taken captive, cross a raging sea, climb mountains cold as death, endure the creatures of the night and finally face a giant in verbal contest.

This is a brilliant variation on the device of prospective or retrospective narrative found so widely in the Eddic poems: events need not be described as they happen but can be related by one speaker to another as they have happened (thus in the dialogue of Helgi and Sigrún in *Hhund* II 8-13) or will happen, as in *Gríp* and the latter part of *Vsp*. The poet's originality here lies in his casting of this prospective narrative in the form of spells.

Gróa gives her son her final benediction in the last two stanzas of *Gróg*. Her speech is firmly authoritative as she stands *á jarðföstum steini* (st. 15) — no insubstantial spirit this — and she is also decisively human as her last words stress their relationship:

*Möður orð
ber þú, mögr, heðan* (st. 16).

She has done all she can for her son; alone now he must face whatever danger threatens.

2. Fjolsvinnsmál

2.1 Svipdagr's arrival at Menglǫð's palace

The second poem begins with three lines that notify the reader with typical economy that Svipdagr has safely performed his journey and is now at the last stage of his quest:

*Útan garða
hann sá upp um koma
þursa þjóðar sjöt* (st. 1).

There is no reason to suspect that these lines are not genuine, or that the MSS are wrong in placing them at the head of the poem (see also Commentary). *Vafþr* 5 performs an identical function as a narrative link which shifts the scene from that of the four stanza prelude in Óðinn's hall to *Vafþrúðnir*'s hall, where the remainder of the poem is set. Nor is there any reason to suppose that there was ever anything more than the briefest prose link — if that — describing Svipdagr's journey. The audience has already learnt of his journey through Gróa's spells and would expect the poet to move the action immediately to the last act of his quest. That is precisely what these lines do.

Svipdagr sees Menglǫð's palace towering high before him. It is splendid, but menacing: *þursa þjóðar sjöt*, words that suggest with *upp um koma* that the palace is built either upon or within a mountain and that it is inhabited and guarded by giants. Gróa's last spell stated that Svipdagr would have to match wits with a giant and as he looks *útan garða* he sees a threatening shape standing in the forecourt, outside the *hættan loga* that rings the palace. He challenges him (st. 1), questioning what he is and

speaking with a querulous aggression that ill conceals his fear. The guardian commences his part of the verbal duel by ignoring Svipdagr's peremptory demand, asking him his business and advising him that here there is neither friendship nor shelter for him (st. 2). Events will prove this advice ironically mistaken.

The guardian is patronizing and rather contemptuous of Svipdagr, addressing him as *þú*, and Svipdagr is provoked into rebuking his rudeness (st. 3). He suggests that if the guardian cannot behave more politely he is the one who should get back home and not Svipdagr. There is adolescent bluster in Svipdagr's speech, as if he is determined to be brave no matter what.

This time the guardian does give his name: Fjolsviðr. He prides himself on his wisdom and his meanness (st. 4), qualities usefully linked in one whose charge is to interrogate strangers and to repel the unwelcome. Again Fjolsviðr repeats his advice to Svipdagr to be off, this time in stronger and more specific terms:

ok drifþú nú, vargr, at vegi !

Svipdagr's answer to this is a stanza of lyrical soliloquy (st. 5). He has looked past Fjolsviðr and glimpsed the courtyards radiant about the golden halls — *garðar glóa mér þykkja* — and is moved to comment that all men are ardent for a vision of sweet bliss. He is no exception. Entranced, he muses

hér munda ek eðli una

This is no non sequitur, but a subtle answer to Fjolsviðr's demand that he be off. His words reflect his mother's comment when he told her of his apparently impossible quest (*Gróg* 4):

langir ro manna munir

Svipdagr will not, perhaps even cannot, leave. Whatever the initial motivation of his quest he is now held here by *munir*: the heart's strong reasons which draw him to his *eðli*, his proper home. Svipdagr's answer shows exactly the *mál ok manvit* his mother wished for him in *Gróg* 14. After an awkward beginning in stanzas 1 and 3 he shows in this stanza an innocent skill in the devious arts of verbal warfare, by indirections finding directions out.

That Fjolsviðr appreciates the force of Svipdagr's answer is shown by him henceforth dropping his advice to Svipdagr that he should leave immediately. Svipdagr is there to stay, at least for the time being, and Fjolsviðr alters the direction of his speech accordingly. With calculated rudeness he calls Svipdagr "boy" — *sveinn* — and asks him not his name but that of his father and family: while Svipdagr himself is of no account his father and family may be (st. 6/1-3).

Svipdagr turns the intended insult back upon Fjolsviðr by giving a name for himself, with some emphasis — *Vindkaldr ek heiti* — and only then stating names for his father and paternal grandfather (st. 6/4-6). The wintry names given for the hero and his family echo the insecurity of his position (see pp. 356-7). The poet makes skilful use of the convention that a hero in danger should conceal his name, as does Óðinn in *Vafþr* and *Grí*, Helgi in *Hhund* II and Sigurðr in *Fáfn*. This convention allows the poet to have the climax of the poem rest upon Svipdagr's revelation of his identity in stanza 43; see pp. 378-81.

2.2 Svipdagr's eighteen questions, stanzas 7-42

Svipdagr now takes up Fjolsviðr's boast of his knowledge and begins the sequence of questioning that continues through the next thirty six stanzas.

As with the charms Gróa sings, the number of questions, their arrangement and substance are not random. The thirty six stanzas

comprise eighteen questions and eighteen answers; the twin multiples of nine maintain the patterns of nine seen throughout (see p. 423).

These thirty six stanzas fall into three groups of twelve stanzas, each made up of six questions and six answers. The first group of twelve stanzas (st. 7-18) is devoted, once Svipdagr has established that Menglǫð does live there, to questions about the palace's defences as Svipdagr probes Fjǫlsviðr's knowledge, seeking a way in. In the second group of twelve stanzas (st. 19-30) Svipdagr asks Fjǫlsviðr about the great tree standing by the palace, apparently the world-tree itself (see p. 384). In the course of this apparent diversion Svipdagr continues his attempts to find a way in through a more indirect line of questioning than in stanzas 7 to 18. When this proves fruitless Svipdagr alters the course of questioning once more, and the final sequence of twelve stanzas (st. 31-42) asks questions about the palace and its inhabitants apparently devoid of any motive beyond fascinated interest. Yet it is just this least promising approach which is crowned with success beyond all expectation.

a. The first group of six questions, stanzas 7-18

Svipdagr begins the first group by asking who rules over this palace (st. 7), and the wording of his question reflects the splendour of the palace with its *auðsalir*. Fjǫlsviðr's reply (st. 8) affirms the pattern of feminine power present throughout the poem: Menglǫð does not just live there; she reigns there in secure authority. His answer also reveals his tendency to reveal more than he is asked out of an apparent sheer delight in the extent of his own knowledge, as he gives, pointlessly it seems, the name of Menglǫð's paternal grandfather.

Svipdagr, encouraged by the freedom of Fjǫlsviðr's answer, now asks the name of the gate he sees barring his way (st. 9). His one hope of successful entry is that Fjǫlsviðr might inadvertently let slip some piece of

information that will take him past the palace's formidable defences. From the poet's point of view, Svipdagr's questioning — and the answers — can range more widely than simple direct probing related strictly to entry to the palace would allow.

Once more Fjölsviðr's answer (st. 10) reveals more than is asked as he gives the names of the gate's makers. But he is careful to add nothing that might be useful to Svipdagr; on the contrary he seems to understand what motivates Svipdagr's studiously innocent question and takes gleeful pleasure in proclaiming that all who enter unbidden will be taken captive.

Next Svipdagr turns his attention to the wall about the palace, asking its name with hopeful naivety (st. 11). Once more Fjölsviðr answers the question and gives extra information, but not at all the information that Svipdagr had hoped for: he has so buttressed this wall that it will stand forever (st. 12). Svipdagr then asks a series of questions about the savage guard-dogs he sees prowling about the wall: what are their names (st. 13)? could anyone enter while they sleep (st. 15)? could they be fed something to distract them (st. 17)? The increasing bluntness of Svipdagr's questions reflects his growing realisation of the hopelessness of his first strategy of gentle indirection; so he tries simple frankness. Fjölsviðr counters Svipdagr's questions with easy irony: he will have to wait till *ragnarøk* before the dogs cease their guard (st. 14); as one of them is always awake their watch is continual as well as perpetual (st. 16); Viðófnir keeps their only food. (st. 18).

b. The second group of six questions, stanzas 19-30.

This first group of six questions has got Svipdagr no nearer his goal; in the second group of six questions he abandons the relatively direct approach there attempted. He changes the subject entirely, appearing to give up his ambitions of winning entry to the palace. He asks the name of the great

tree whose branches extend over every land (st. 19). Again, Fjölsviðr delights in showing off his knowledge: from his answer it appears that this is the world-tree itself (st. 20; see p. 384). The description of such a tree situated close to Menglǫð's palace adds to our impressions of its solid grandeur and, as Fjölsviðr probably intends, reinforces the theme of the eternal invulnerability of its defences.

His guileless curiosity is one of Svipdagr's most attractive traits, as well as conveniently allowing the poet to extend the range of his questions. This, as much as vague hope that Fjölsviðr's answer might prove useful, prompts him to ask of the tree's powers (st. 21). The exact meaning of Fjölsviðr's reply is uncertain, but it appears that the ashes of its fruit have power to intervene in the illnesses of women, and especially gynaecological indispositions (st. 22). It is remarkable that of all the powers the poet might have chosen to give the tree he has selected this one: he is deliberately emphasizing the gentler, healing aspect of pagan belief.

Svipdagr now follows up with a further question related to this tree: what is the name of the cock in its branches (st. 23)? The fantastic golden glitter of this bird is typical of the poet's world of picturesque fancy. Once more, Fjölsviðr's reply is enigmatic and its exact meaning uncertain: there appears to be some connection between this cock Viðófnir and a certain Sinmara, who is known only from this poem (st. 24). Svipdagr recognizes Viðófnir as the keeper of the guard-dogs' food mentioned by Fjölsviðr in stanza 18. He senses a possible opening in the palace's defences and his questioning gains a new cogency: is there any weapon by which Viðófnir might be killed (st. 25)? will he return who goes in quest of this weapon (st. 27)? what might induce Sinmara, the keeper of this weapon, to give it up (st. 29)?

Fjölsviðr sees exactly where Svipdagr's questions are leading and delights in raising Svipdagr's hopes, only to dash them the more

comprehensively. Yes, there is such a weapon; indeed it appears related to the weapon that causes Baldr's death (see Commentary *Fj* 26/1). But it is quite inaccessible, locked in a cauldron by nine magic locks, buried deep beneath the earth and guarded by Sinmara (st. 26). Yes, he will return who goes in quest of this weapon — again Fjolsviðr jeeringly echoes Svipdagr's words — but only if he gives Sinmara something few possess (st. 28). Svipdagr's hopes rise on the word *fáir* but Fjolsviðr's answer to his last question is crushing: only a *ljósan ljá ... í lúðr* can tempt Sinmara to give up the weapon that can slay Viðófnir and this scythe lies in the power of none other than Viðófnir himself (st. 30).

The circle of Viðófnir's defences is perfect; the palace is impenetrable. *Fáir* can be used in litotes to mean not just "few" but "none", and that is exactly Fjolsviðr's meaning. As if this is not enough: it appears that the slaying of Viðófnir will not occur until *ragnarøk* (see pp. 386-95). Until *ragnarøk*, none will enter the palace by force. Svipdagr's quest appears hopeless.

c. The third group of six questions, stanzas 31-42

Once again Svipdagr's questions have brought him no nearer his goal, and once again a complete change of subject begins a new group of questions. The final sequence of twelve stanzas centres on Menglǫð's palace and its inhabitants. Svipdagr first asks after the name of the palace (st. 31); then follow questions concerning its builders (st. 33), the name of the *bjarg* upon which a *brúðr ... þjóðmær*, apparently Menglǫð, is standing (st. 35) and then the names of the maidens who sit at her feet (st. 37). Fjolsviðr's replies show the poet's taste for mythological embroidery: the amazing notion of the palace moving on the point of a spike (st. 32, a motif probably deriving from Celtic, see pp. 371-3), and catalogues of the palace's builders and of Menglǫð's maidens in sts. 34 and 38. Some at least

of these maidens have names with connotations of healing and stanza 36 once more lays intriguing stress on a supernatural power of healing feminine illness.

In some respects the binding of this group of twelve stanzas (st. 31-42) into the poem is unsatisfactory. Svipdagr appears to have abandoned all hope of effecting entry into the palace and his questions seem motivated by curiosity alone. This does allow us to see the poet's preoccupations all the more clearly, untrammelled by the demands of the narrative. In stanza 39 Svipdagr asks a further question about Menglǫð's maidens: do they protect those who sacrifice to them? For a poem written in the Christian period Fjǫlsviðr's answer is startling: in the strongest terms he reassures Svipdagr that no matter how desperate the need — *ei svá hátt forað* — they will shelter those who sacrifice to them, provided the sacrifice is done in the correct form *á stallhelgum stað* (st. 40). Again, supernatural feminine protective power is stressed and there is a mildly evangelical purpose to Fjǫlsviðr's statement: the old pagan gods are still alive and capable.

The two poems are consistent throughout in their presentation of a civilized paganism as the poet omits picturesque vulgarities such as six-headed giants bred by the mating of feet (*Vafþr* 33) or halls twined with snakes (*Vsp* 38). The virtues of paganism in these poems are feminine in nature. The poet celebrates protection and healing rather than the ferocity of a Gunnarr in *Akv* or the prickly independence of an Egill Skallagrímsson. The most war-like creatures in these poems are the *sóknðjarfir* dogs (st. 15), and even they are soon moved to welcome Svipdagr. Fjǫlsviðr's answers demonstrate that force will gain Svipdagr nothing.

2.3 Svipdagr's last question and his triumph

Svipdagr is emboldened by Fjolsviðr's assurance of the benevolence of Menglǫð's maidens and he tries a last and apparently despairing question: is there any man who will enjoy Menglǫð's embrace (st. 41)? The first half of Fjolsviðr's answer looks set to crush Svipdagr's sinking hopes forever: Menglǫð will be won by no man. But the second half of his answer turns the whole poem around: Menglǫð will be won by no man except Svipdagr (st. 42)!

If the poet drew this idea from Óðinn's triumphant self-proclamations in the concluding stanzas of *Vafþr* and *Grí* (see pp. 378-9), he has varied it brilliantly. The result of this self-revelation is not the forfeit of an enemy's life but the winning of a woman's love. Its effect is not to reinforce our admiration of the protagonist's guile (for Óðinn knows all along what the effect of his self-proclamation will be) but the reverse: Svipdagr is the innocent who stumbles upon success. Just by being himself, he has broken into Menglǫð's charmed circle. Svipdagr slays no dragons and uses no physical force; he is a guileless half-adolescent who succeeds because he is fortune's favourite.

Svipdagr's first words on the startling discovery of his success are charged with self-forgetting bliss as he exultantly bids the palace defences give way before him, no doubt much to Fjolsviðr's surprise. *Hér máttu Svipdag sjá* he tells Fjolsviðr and gives his first orders as prospective master: he must go and see

ef vilja muni

Menglǫð mitt gaman. (st. 43)

Fjolsviðr turns and addresses Menglǫð for the first time in the poem as the house's defences fall before the man who may be her husband. Even the fierce watchdogs welcome Svipdagr (st. 44).

2.4 Menglǫð claims Svipdagr for her lover

Menglǫð herself now speaks. Her words contain the only hint of real violence in *Sv* as she threatens a terrible vengeance on Fjolsviðr if he has raised her hopes only to disappoint them; let him be hung on the gallows and his eyes torn out by ravens if he is lying (st. 45). The hesitancy of Fjolsviðr's assertion of Svipdagr's identity — *hygg ek, at Svipdagr sé* — suggests that he may have anticipated this reaction and the vehemence of Menglǫð's speech shows the passion of her long yearning for her lover. Now, Menglǫð addresses Svipdagr with a rush of excited questions (st. 46), asking him about his journey, about himself and then — as if in embarrassed afterthought — for proof of his identity. Like Svipdagr's speech in st. 43, the order of her questions is emotional rather than rational.

Svipdagr confirms his name and parentage, reflecting on the terrible journey — *vindkalda vegu* — now safely behind him. The contrast between the sunshine of the names Svipdagr here associates with himself (Sólbjartr, Svipdagr), and the wintry names he gave in *Fj* 6 (Vindkaldr, etc.) underlines his emergence from danger into triumph (see pp. 356-7). He adds the commonplace — as if no words of his own are adequate — that no-one resists fate, however unjust. How delightful then when fate brings such unlooked-for joy (st. 47).

Menglǫð then speaks the last three stanzas of the poem, and her words confirm the pattern of feminine authority so notable throughout the two poems. In *Skí* Gerðr is brought to Freyr; in these poems it is the other way about (see p. 265 for other differences between *Sv* and *Skí*). Menglǫð greets Svipdagr formally, exults in her desire's fulfilment and grants him a kiss: *fylgja skal kveðju koss*. Like Svipdagr she reaches for a commonplace to express her feelings, the poet's way of underlining the universality of this lovers' meeting;

*forkunnar sýn
mun flestan glaða
hverrs hefir við annan ást* (st. 48).

Menglǫð greets her young lover as a mother might greet her son: he is her *mógr* and he is to be her consort in *mínir salir*. Yet her emotions are those of a passionate woman: *beið ek þín dægr ok daga* (st. 49).

The play on words of love that runs throughout the poems — see p. 409 — reaches a climax in the last stanza of *Fj*. When Svipdagr's mission seemed hopeless he pined for *augna gamans* (st. 5); when success lay in his grasp he dispatched Fjolsviðr to ask Menglǫð *ef vilja muni Menglǫð mitt gaman* (st. 43). Now, in this last stanza, Menglǫð states that she too has yearned for Svipdagr's *gaman*, as he has longed for her *munr*:

*Þráar hafðar
er ek hefði til þíns gamans,
en þú til míns munar.*

The poet here makes a finely-drawn distinction between *gaman* and *munr*, between the attitudes to love appropriate to a younger man and an older woman respectively.¹ They have longed for one another; the poem's last words promise that now they will enjoy one another:

*nú er þat satt,
er vit slíta skulum
ævi ok aldri saman.*

It is typical of these poems' sophisticated lyricism that the final image should be of an eternal love violent in its bliss. Like the lovers in Marvell's "To his Coy Mistress" Menglǫð promises that they will

"Tear our pleasures with rough strife
Through the iron gates of life."

¹ For the stress here laid upon *munr* compare the remarks on the word in *Skí* in Dronke 1962.

3. Poetic Mastery

The reading given above suggests that the poet succeeds in reconciling disparate materials within a single narrative. This final section focuses on two aspects of the poet's skill: his fusion of his material into a whole and his handling of his verse.

3.1. The unity of *Svipdagsmál*

There is much more to the unity of Sv than the poems simply telling a single story. Their unity grows out of a poetic vision which organises verbal and narrative details into complex and interwoven patterns.

The most important such pattern is the pattern of nines. On the narrative level this expresses itself in Gróa's nine charms, in Svipdagr's eighteen questions, in Fjolsviðr's eighteen answers. Thus these patterns of nines account for forty five of the sixty seven stanzas — almost exactly two thirds — of the two poems.

Both poems balance themselves about these central patterns of nines. Each poem has a brief introduction — five verses in *Gróg*, six in *Fj*— leading into a pattern of nine. *Gróg* ends with two stanzas of benediction after Gróa completes her nine charms; *Fj* ends with eight verses which unite Menglǫð and Svipdagr after the completion of the thirty-six stanza question sequence.

These patterns of nines create the major framework of the poems: within that framework the poet's verbal craft creates further linkages. The nine maidens of Menglǫð (*Fj* 38), the nine locks which guard Lævateinn (*Fj* 26), and (probably, see Commentary) the nine builders of Menglǫð's palace (*Fj* 34) mirror the larger patterns. Each stanza within the patterns of nines is linked to the others within the same pattern by formulaic repetition (*þann gel ek þér ...* ; *Segðu mér þat, Fjolsviðr*) and by verbal echo: the

insistent optatives of Gróa's charms (*haldi*, *gangi*, *snúisk*), or Fjolsviðr's mocking repetition of Svipdagr's words (e.g. *Fj* 7-8).

Outside these patterns of nines the narrative is interwoven by verbal and thematic echo. As noted above (pp. 383): Svipdagr's quest is framed by the references to destiny before he leaves (*Gróg* 4, 7) and at his moment of triumph (*Fj* 47); references to *munir* (*Gróg* 4, 15, *Fj* 50) and *gaman* (*Fj* 5, 43, 50) interlace the narrative as Svipdagr proceeds from fear to hope and final joy.

Most revealing is the poet's use of *møgr*. In the first verses of *Gróg* Svipdagr describes himself to Gróa as her *møgr* 'son' (1, 5). In the last verses of *Fj* Menglǫð describes Svipdagr as her *møgr*, her "young man; lover" (45, 49). The shift between the senses of *møgr*, from "son" to "young man", maps precisely the change in Svipdagr over the two poems: he has grown from his mother's son to Menglǫð's lover.¹ Here, the ending of *Fj* links to the beginning of *Gróg*: the son whose mother helps him in *Gróg* becomes the young man whose bride receives him at the end of *Fj*.

"In my end is my beginning": *Sv* begins with a son's anguished plea to his mother and ends with his bride's assertion of their eternal bliss. Affirmations of feminine power open and close the poems; powerful women — the *kristin dauð kona*, Menglǫð's maidens — promise threat or succour. The poems' virtues are those of peace: healing, pacific conquest of danger, triumph by nonviolent means and finally loving marriage. The beauty of *Sv*'s integration on every level — verbal, thematic, structural — is itself an instance of the peaceful virtues the poems celebrate.

¹ For the likely parallel with Sigurðr in the unusual use of *møgr* 'young man', and other parallels with the Sigurðr cycle, see p. 312.

3.2. The verse of *Svipdagsmál*

The skill of the poet is such, his craft so far from mechanical, that Sv's metrical orthodoxy hides itself. Sv reads with a grace and fluidity which belies the complexity of the metre.

The poet exploits every device at his disposal. He needs only on the rarest occasion, and then with the greatest effect, to move into the grey bounds of poetic licence (thus the primary alliteration on the pronouns in *Fj* 50/2-3; cf. pp. 139-40). Yet, there is so little sense of strain that only close analysis reveals the rigid patterns beneath the untroubled surface.

Hence *Gróg* 4:

*Lŕng er fŕr, langir ro farvegar,
langir ro manna munir —
ef þat verðr, at þú þinn vilja bíðr,
ok skeikar þá Skuld at skŕpum.*

The double alliteration of the first long line (*l ... f*) hints at the weight behind Gróa's meditation. It also prepares us for the shift of the primary alliteration in the full line, away from the adjective *langir* to the following noun *manna*. The shift signals the interplay between individual and universal, between Svipdagr's immediate journey — *lŕng er fŕr* — and all men's desires, *manna munir*. The license by which an adjective (*langir*) may stand before the primary stave in the full line is used pleasingly.

Note too the metrically light first a-line, *Lŕng er fŕr*. This line, of just three syllables but two full lifts, is of a type allowed elsewhere in *ljóðaháttr*, where it appears to be used to provide an emphatic opening to a line: e.g. *Hávm* 76 and 77 *deyr fé*. But it is a device which must be used sparingly if its effect is not to be dissipated, and the poet employs it just twice elsewhere in Sv. Each signals a stanza of great import: the first line of the last stanza of *Gróg* begins with such a short line (*Gróg* 16/1 *Móður*

orð). The other instance is *Fj* 30/1 *Ljósan ljá*, the critical stanza which finally destroys any hope of forcible entry into Menglǫð's palace.¹

The second helming builds to the final *ok skeikar þá Skuld at skǫpum*. The permitted license of three stresses and three alliterations, following the three stresses and two alliterations of the first full line, is here put to climactic effect. The line has the ring of proverbial utterance, and once more the poet moves past the particular to the universal.²

A universe of hierarchic resonances underlies this stanza, as the whole poem. The *lǫng ... langir* structure of 1-3 recalls *Skí* 42 (see pp. 306-7), and so the poet places his story within the landscape of the older wooing tales. Just as omnipresent destiny shadows his human actors, the pressures of the *ljóðaháttir* stanza weight their speech. Svipdagr, Gróa, Menglǫð and Fjolsviðr are themselves, but their language is that of gods and poetry.

3.3. Conclusion

Sv is rich in its parts: the language of the Eddic mythological poems; the picturesque material of a Celtic story; subtle characterisation and swift narrative; the poet's clever organization of his material and his subtle use of verbal echo.

But it is the poet's skill with words which gives *Sv* its highest distinction. He has found the right words, in the right metre, to say what he wants to say. Such expressive ease, within the precise confines of a traditional structure, is the mark of more than craft. At its best — in the delightful dialogue between Svipdagr and his mother which opens *Gróg*, in the rapturous lyricism of Menglǫð's final speech which closes *Fj* — *Sv* is the work of a major talent.

¹ I exclude MSS *Fj* 38/1 *Hlíf heitir*, usually emended to *Hlíf heitir ein*.

² See Commentary for evidence that a traditional formula *láta skeika Skuld at skǫpuðu* underlies this phrase.

Non-examinable Appendix: Other Manuscripts

Reasons for the choice of the two MSS **St** and **Ra** as the base for this edition are given on pp. 16-33, and the two MSS themselves are described on pp. 50-58. A summary sketch of each MS is given in the section "Abbreviations; Manuscripts" prefixed to the thesis. Because none of the other MSS of *Sv* are essential to this edition, full accounts of them are more appropriate in an Appendix rather than in the text of the thesis itself.

This appendix is provided for two reasons:

1. Reference is made frequently to these MSS in the thesis, and especially in chapters 1, 2 and 5 of Section I. The reader may here find fuller information than is given in the summary sketch given in "Abbreviations; Manuscripts";
2. The information herein might be useful to other scholars using these MSS.

The MSS are grouped into sections as in I.5:

1. A text MSS, dividing into the Stockholm, Luxdorph, Egilsson, Langebek and Ungrouped MSS as classified in I.5. **497**, not classified in that chapter, is placed with the Ungrouped MSS.
2. B text MSS, dividing into **O** (together with its copy **1872**) and the nine B MSS proper.

In addition, the following are discussed:

3. MSS containing *Sv* known to have existed but now apparently lost.
4. Arni Magnússon's now-lost transcript of **CR**. Although this did not contain *Sv* it is important in establishing relations between MSS descended in part from the various copies of it.

1. A Text MSS

1.1 Stockholm Group

a. **11** (Stockholm group; related MS **Gu**)

Stockholm Papp. 11 quarto was written in 1690 by a Gabriel Duhre, according to a note on the last page of the MS. Gödel 1897, 274 describes **11** as a copy of **St**. In fact, it is a copy of **Gu**:

1. It has the same note '* uppfillingarin endir' beside *Brot 1* as has **Gu**, where **St** has nothing.

2. All stanzas are divided, numbered and separated into lines exactly as in **Gu**; **St** does not divide stanzas into lines or number the stanzas.
3. All line-ends correspond precisely with **Gu**, and it shares with **Gu** the key readings *niflvefi Gróg* 10, *sú Fj* 9.
4. Duhre's description of his exemplar as 'Gudmunn Olssons ägit manuscript' most naturally fits the MS written in Guðmundur's own hand, hence **Gu** and not **St**.
5. The character set and orthographical practice (marking of long vowels etc.) is virtually identical with **Gu**.
6. There are almost none of the abbreviations so usual to **St**: just *Fjolsviþr* in *Fj* 22, 26, 28 etc.

The situation is the same as that for **1870**, itself based on a copy of **St** (34) and not on **St** itself. Probably Duhre, like the scribe of **1870**, found **St** with all its contractions too difficult to read. The choice and order of the poems in **11** are identical with that of the other MSS of the Stockholm group and it has exactly the same oddities — the rearranged stanzas of *Vsp*, the spurious verses in *Sigrdr* — as those found in **St** and widely in other Stockholm MSS; see pp. 51-2.

The MS is one of the few written in cursive and is declaredly for the scribe's own use ('mitt ägit behof'). It looks hurried, and much of it can only be read by close comparison with **Gu**. It has a very odd e — closer to r or n than it ever is to the usual e; the same e can be seen, for example, in Bodley MS. Bor. 100. The v verges on a w: Duhre seems influenced here by the v of Guðmundur. *Fj* 4/3 and 43/5 are omitted entirely; 14/5 repeats 14/3.

b. He (Stockholm Group; related MSS **Gu**, **682**, **818b**, **E**, **4877**, **289**, **6**, **3633**, Luxdorph Group; 17 contaminated MSS)

Lbs 1562 quarto (Helgi Ólafsson's MS) is a MS of the greatest importance, for two reasons:

1. If PEÓ's dating of the main hand (hand 1) to 1660 is correct, then this MS contains the oldest copy of **CR** in existence, and the only extant copy made before **CR** left Iceland. PEÓ is usually conservative, and the hand is consistent with other early to mid C17 hands I have seen (e.g., that of Jón Erlendsson in his 'Sagabook', JS 28 fol).¹

¹ **He** is certainly older than 1707, when Helgi Ólafsson died, and therefore significant as apparently the only instance of a copy of **CR** from that time remaining in Iceland and not collected by Arni Magnússon and others. (As Helgi — through his brother Guðmundur's association with the

2. The section containing *Sv* is written by Helgi Ólafsson (hand 2, see below), and its text is very close to **682**: Helgi's own copy of **Gu**, itself his brother's copy of **St**. It appears that **He** is also a copy by Helgi deriving from **Gu**: see p. 170. So **He** confirms that Helgi brought at least one such copy back with him to Iceland on his return in 1687. Thus the Stockholm text of *Sv* was brought to Iceland; see pp. 186-8 above for the extraordinary influence of the Stockholm MSS on every extant MS of the A Text of *Sv* written in Iceland after 1700.

The MS itself consists of unbound gatherings, very worn. It is an agglomeration of materials. Four main hands can be distinguished:

Hand 1: dated by PEO to 1660. 16r-143v, excluding material interleaved as noted below. All the poems of **CR**, in exactly the order of **CR**, except for:

- i. *Vsp* 1/1-23/7 (... *skyldu*): this corresponds to the first leaf of this part of the MS, apparently lost;
- ii. 120v-124v: *Guðr* I 23/7-end, *Sigsk*, *Helr* 1/1-3/1: supplied by Helgi Ólafsson (see below);
- iii 135r-140v: *Am*: supplied by Hand 3 (see below).

Hand 2: Helgi Ólafsson, who wrote:

113r-116v: the filling of the lacuna with exactly the same material (spurious verses, *Volsunga saga* chapters) as in the Stockholm MSS, see p. 52.

120v-124v: *Guðr* I 23/7-end, *Sgsk*, *Helr* 1/1-3/1;

144r-147v (a separate gathering): *Fj*, *Hyndl*, *Gróg*, *Grott*.

Also, titles and numbers for most of the poems written by Hand 1; marginal annotations; variant readings for *Hávm* on 8 interleaved pages (=two sheets, 27/32, 29/30).

Hand 3: Younger than either Hands 1 or 2; c. 1750 or later.

6r-15r: *Sól* 11/3-end; *Hrafnagald*r,

62r-63v: *Bdr*, followed by an extract from a geographical treatise, 'I Russavellði eru thessar Borgir Merkastar..');

135r-140v: *Am*.

Hand 4: Contemporary with Hand 3(?)

1r-2v: Table of contents for the complete MS, as it now stands;

2v-5v *Getspeki*.

Swedish collectors — was in some manner a rival of Arni, he had motive for keeping the MS from him.)

The stages in the making of the MS appear to have been:

1. Hand 1 copied the poems of **CR**.

His model appears not to have been **CR** itself but an incomplete or 'edited' copy: hence the absence of *Am*, presumably excluded as it repeated the material of *Akv* (cf. the list of *þættir* of *SE* in **Ra**, where *Akv* and *Ghv* are similarly omitted; also Weston 75 in Uppsala, a copy of the poems of **CR** dated c. 1700, omits *Am* (Samsonarson 1969). Also, the orthography seems sufficiently removed from **CR** to suggest one or more intervening copies. That said, it appears a remarkably accurate and intelligent copy.

2. This came into the possession of Helgi Ólafsson. Helgi:

- i. Added numbers, titles and annotations (both in the margins and on interleaved sheets) to the **CR** poems written by hand 1. The numbers correspond to the numbers given to the poems in the Stockholm MSS (e.g. **St**), not to their position in this MS;
- ii. Replaced the gathering 121r-124v (*Guðr* I etc) with his own copy of these poems, writing the bridging verses between the end of Hand I on 120v and the start of his copy on 121r at the base of 120v.
- iii. Filled the lacuna with the same spurious verses and chapters from *Völsunga saga* as found in the Stockholm group;
- iv. Added the gathering containing *Fj Hyndl Gróg Grott*.

3. Helgi's MS was then combined with gatherings from another MS: This was written in hand 3 — or, more likely, these were copied specifically for insertion into this MS — and contained *Bdr*, *Am*, etc. There are no annotations, etc, by Helgi in these parts of the MS, suggesting this stage follows 2 above.

4. The register was added. Hence:

- i. This gives a list of the contents of the whole MS, and attempts to reconcile the order of poems with the numbers given by Helgi.
- ii. Refers specifically to 'S^a Helge', Helgi Ólafsson, describing him and his MS: '..sem var a stad skrifad þa þín var / i stock holm'. Helgi was priest at Staður in Hrótafjörður from 1689-1707.
- iii. Notes other MSS: so 'membrana', for an alternative title to *Akv*; and 'bapa codices' as lacking *Getspeki*, which he therefore supplies immediately following the register. None of the Stockholm MSS contain *Getspeki*.

Steps 3 and 4 may have occurred simultaneously: the man who united Helgi's MS with that of hand 3 might also have written the register. The MS also contains much commentary etc., written across all sections of the

MS and on interleaved sheets, in various hands probably contemporary with or later than hand 4. The reference to 'bapa codices' in step 4 suggests that Helgi may have brought not one but two copies of the Stockholm text back with him. I represent this possible second copy in the stemma as X5.

c. 34 (Stockholm Group; related MSS St, 1870)

Stockholm Papp. 34 fol. contains a copy by Helgi Ólafsson of St, and he gives his name 'Helgus Olai islandus' on the last page of the text, beneath the end of *Grott. St* also contains a copy of *SnE* from St. papp. 47 quarto, again written by Helgi.

This copy of St appears to have been laid out specifically to carry a translation beside the text. The text is written throughout in a single column placed close to the spine of the large folio volume, with sufficient space beside for a second column. The margins contain no variant readings and in many pages this space is taken up by a Latin or Swedish translation; in others the space is left blank. Some of this translation (e.g. that of *Hrafnagaldur* and *Sól*) appears to be in his brother Guðmundur's hand. Guðmundur also appears to have written the first verse of *Hrafnagaldur*, which is the first verse in the whole volume, with Helgi taking over at verse 2 and continuing to the end of the MS.

The writing appears hurried if clear. The copying of the meaningless *þaðg* in *Fj* 1 (where St clearly indicates that this is a mistake) suggests that Helgi was copying what was in front of him, without pausing for understanding. The script becomes progressively more untidy towards the end, as if more hurried. This and the note on the last page before Helgi's autograph 'Finitum Holmiae in posterioribus idib: Maij Anno 1684.' suggest that the MS was being written for a deadline connected with Guðmundur's sale of MSS to the Antikvitetskollegiet on 1 May 1684.¹

34 gives evidence that Jón lærði did not know the concluding stanzas of *Sigrdr*, now lost from CR. The adaptation of *Völsunga saga* ch. 21 used to conclude *Sigrdr* is ascribed to Jón lærði in the margin: 'NB Jöns lærða skrif'. If Jón had known the closing stanzas of *Sigrdr* he is likely to have used them instead; nor is there any evidence in his *Aðfornu* (see p. 40, fn. 1) that he knew these stanzas.

d. 1870 (Stockholm Group; related MS 34)

NkS 1870 quarto is a copy of 34. Thus:

1. The meaningless *þaðg* of *Fj* 1 in that MS is carried over to here;

¹ Thus a letter of that date from Guðmundur to the King, detailing 50 MSS he is depositing in the Antikvitetskollegiet. St is among the MSS (p. 55-7 above) but not apparently 34. That this amounts to a sale is confirmed by receipts for 136 dlr. associated with these MSS (Gödel 1897b, 179-81).

2. It mindlessly copies Helgi Olafsson's autograph 'finitum .. 1684' at the end of that MS, though the hand is clearly not that of Helgi.

Indeed the date '1684' cannot be the date of writing. Throughout the MS are references to page numbers in Bartholin 1689. Some at least of these seem to have been written in the same ink, in the same hand, and so at the same time as the MS itself, dating it after 1689.

The order of poems and the treatment of the lacuna are the same as *St* and other MSS of the Stockholm group. In other ways the MS is eccentric. It omits all of *Vsp* (though writing the title, and leaving a half sheet blank) and *Háv*m 1-137. An unrelated text, written in a different hand — "Hvad Gräkerne och annat Folk tagit ur våra Norska fäders äldsta Skriffter" is inserted upside down between *Fj* and *Sigrdr*. Extracts from Resen's preface to Guðmundur Andrússon's *Lexicon Islandicum* (published 1683) follow *Grott*.

Like **34**, the MS has been arranged to leave space for a translation: the text is written in one of two columns, with the second left for the translation. The translation is either in Latin or Swedish; but like **34**, most of the poetry has been left untranslated. I have not collated the translations in **1870** and **34**: the Latin translation beside *Gróg* 13, at least, is original to **1870**, or rather is copied from Bartholin (which did not appear till after **34** was written).

Finally, the hand, the unusual layout and the distinctive paper are all identical with those of Uppsala R691 4to; this MS also contains an odd selection of poems (the mythological poems of **CR** but without *Vsp* or *Háv*m 1-137, again). Some of these appear in R691 4to with a Latin translation, and again the text and translations in R691 4to appear to be based on **34** as do those in **1870** (a further copy of part of **34** is found in Uppsala 682 — a distinct MS from **682**, Helgi's complete copy of **34** including *Sv*).

This copying by the scribe of **1870** and R691 4to may be connected to Jón Eiríksson's compilation of material concerning *SE* collected in **47** (see below pp. 439-40). Jón refers frequently to **1870** ('cod. Suec'), apparently using it as his source for the readings of the Stockholm MSS. It is possible that **1870** was written in Sweden and brought back to Copenhagen specifically for Jón's use.

e. **Gu** (Stockholm Group; related MSS **St**, **34**, **682**, **11**, **He**)

Stockholm Papp. 46 quarto is Guðmundur Ólafsson's own copy of **St**. His brother Helgi copied **Gu** in **682** and so **Gu** must have been written before Helgi left Sweden in spring 1686 (Gödel 1897b, 188). It is written in two columns throughout with many marginalia.

Comparison with **34**, Helgi's copy of **St**, shows Guðmundur as a rather better copyist than his brother. He includes *Fj* 8, omitted in **34**, and correctly excludes *þvi* and (*þab*) *g*, *Gróg* 16/4 and *Fj* 2/1, apparently written by mistake by the scribe of **St** and marked for omission. His brother mechanically copies both into his **34**, whence they find their way into **1870**.

An undated and unsigned note on the flyleaf (written by Jón Sigurðsson?) suggests that the MS may not have been written by Guðmundur, but brought by him from Iceland ('Synes wara äldre än GO ok kanske af honom medford från Island'). This is incorrect. The notion may have arisen because of the apparent difference between the hand of the text and that of the marginalia, with the presumption that the marginalia are written by Guðmundur but not the text. In fact, the difference is only that Guðmundur writes the text in a half uncial book hand while the marginalia are written in cursive letter hand: this was the usual practice of both him and his brother. The identical letter hand can be seen in the prose passages (e.g. *Sigrdr*).

The order of poems is exactly as in **St**. A title page, facing the beginning of *Sól*, lists the poems, with much crossing out. This may be an attempt to reconcile the order of the poems in this MS with that in some other MS — perhaps **CR**, which has the poems in a rather different order from these Stockholm MSS (see p. 51).

This MS is more than just a copy of **St**. Different readings from **St**, and more frequently the marginalia, show knowledge of other versions of the texts. The text of *Háv**m* includes several readings also found in Resen 1665. These are usually kept distinct from the **CR** text — essentially that of **St** — by being given as marginalia, or marked by brackets or written in the distinctive cursive hand (e.g. *mals mattu villast af mans gamans*, Resen 1665 v. 103 = **CR** *Háv**m* 114, is bracketed). However Resen 112, added after **CR** *Háv**m* 125 (*allt er vant* .. = *Sigrdr* 25) is included in the text.

As far as I can tell, all these variants introduced into *Háv**m* are found in, and therefore may stem from, Resen 1665. But there is evidence that Guðmundur had seen **CR** itself, or a good copy of it. After *Sigrdr* 28/6 — where **St** launches straight into the spurious verses derived from *Völsunga saga* — Guðmundur first writes 29/1-2 as in **CR**, then crosses these out and proceeds into the spurious verses. Further, against *Brot* 1 Guðmundur places an asterisk before *saka* (*til * saka unnit*) and notes in the margin '* uppfillingarin endir': there is no hint of this in **St**.

The differences between **St** and **Gu** — see pp. 180-1 above — are sufficient to enable us to determine which is the source of a particular MS.

f. 682 (Stockholm Group; related MSS **Gu**, **11**, **He**)

University Library Uppsala R 682 a is a large folio volume and was written by Helgi Ólafsson, presumably before he left Sweden in the spring of 1686 (Gödel 1897b, 188).

682 is not based directly on **St**, or on **34**, Helgi's own copy of **St**. Rather, it is a copy of **Gu**, his brother Guðmundur's copy of **St**. So:

1. Marginal variants are noted freely throughout the MS, and all these that I have checked are readings either from the text or margins of **Gu**;
2. The poor *þaðg* of *Fj* 1 in **34** (and **1870**) is gone;
3. The treatment of the lacuna in **CR** corresponds exactly to that in **Gu** (29/1-2, and the note against *Brot*) see above.
4. Even the orthography of **682** is closer to that of **Gu**: the end of each line is marked /, just as in **Gu**, and *r* is regularly *r*, not *z* as in **34**.

The chief importance of **682** is its closeness to **He**, and hence its corroboration that Helgi took his own copy of **Gu**, similar to **682**, with him back to Iceland. See the description of **He**.

g. **E** (Stockholm Group; related MSS **He**, **4877**, **289**, **5**)

Advocates Library 21.4.7 (Eggert Ólafsson's MS, now in the National Library of Scotland) is written mostly in the one hand, dated by Ólafur Halldórsson 38 to c. 1750 and identified by him as that of a Sauðlauksdalur scribe, perhaps Eggert Ólafsson himself. For Eggert and the Sauðlauksdalur scribes see notes on **5**, pp. 459-60 below. *Rþ* and *Höfuðlausn*, inserted respectively at the end of the **CR** poems and at the very end of the MS, are in a different hand.

This is a neatly written MS, though without the elaborate care of the Copenhagen MSS (e.g. **L**). There is no indication in the MS as to its source or sources. Comparison of the photos of **E** with Eggert Ólafsson's autograph copy of his poems in Bodley MS. Bor. 81 makes Ólafur Halldórsson's tentative ascription of **E** to Eggert himself likely, but not certain: the hands of all the scribes of this school are so similar that it is not easy to discriminate between them.

Sv contains sufficient distinctive Stockholm readings for the text to be based ultimately on **X5**, **He**, with contamination by a MS descended from a **Ra** text or a **B** text MS; see pp. 182-5 above for the likelihood that **E** has the same exemplar as **L**. The characteristic Stockholm order *Fj*, *Hyndl*, *Gróg*, *Grott* in which **E** has these poems supports derivation of these, at least, from the Stockholm group. As well, **E** contains all the poems of **CR**, in exactly the order of **CR**, and follows these with ten other poems: *Rþ*, *Hrafnagaldur*, the four poems from *Fj* to *Hyndl*, then *Getspeki*, *Sól*,

Sonatorrek, *Høfuðlausn*. This is one of the few MSS I have seen which preserves *Rþ* together with *SE* (see pp. 464-5). Unusually, *E* does not include *Bdr*.

This choice of *SE* poems additional to those commonly preserved in the Stockholm MSS (so *Getspeki*, *Sonatorrek*, *Rþ* and *Høfuðlausn* added by a second scribe), together with the *CR* order rather than the Stockholm order for the poems of *CR*, suggests that the scribe is drawing on different MS traditions for the various poems. Thus, the *CR* poems appear to be based on the same exemplar of Þórður Jónsson as **5** and **1491**, itself based on *CR*. So far as I have checked, *E* presents the identical marginalia and readings in *Vsp*, *Hávm* and *Vafþr* as Þórður's MS, and with exactly the same odd sequence — differing from that in Arni's copy — in *Sigrdr*; see notes to **5** (pp. 459-60). From the notes about Þórður Jónsson's MS in both **1491** and **5**, it included only the *CR* poems, and the scribes of *E*, **1491** and **5** had to look elsewhere for texts of the additional poems of *SE*.

h. 4877 (Stockholm Group; related MS *E*)

British Library Additional 4877 is a large quarto book, written in the one hand throughout. The hand and layout of the MS are very similar to those of the Sauðlauksdalur scribes, Oddur Jónsson (see notes on **5**) and the scribe of *E*. The MS is, in any case, so close to *E* as to be almost certainly a copy of that MS. Like *E*, the text of the *CR* poems is based on Þórður Jónsson's MS, with the identical insertions and marginalia. The choice and order of material is exactly as for *E*, with the following differences:

1. *Bdr* is included, placed between *Hamð* and *Fj* where *Hrafnagaldur* stands in *E*; *Hrafnagaldur* is omitted from **4877**.
2. *Rþ* and *Høfuðlausn* are not present: these appear to have been added to *E* by a rather later scribe, and **4877** may have been copied from *E* before their addition to *E*.
3. *Sonatorrek* (the last poem written by the first scribe of *E*) is omitted.
4. Although the lacuna in *CR* is handled within *Sigrdr* exactly as in *E*, the scribe places extra related material found in other MSS — but not in *E* — after *Hamð*: so the prose from *Völsunga saga* ch. 21.

In any case, the text of *Sv* is very close to that of *E*. The computer collation shows that of 1128 readings in **4877**, 1017 also appear in *E*; both MSS are much closer to each other than either is to any other.

4877 was purchased by Sir Joseph Banks (1743-1820) during his trip to Iceland in 1772, and was among the books and MSS presented by him to the British Museum on 3rd December 1772 (*Catalogue of Additions* 1977, p. 234-5; Miller 1973, 72).

i. 289 Gróg only (Stockholm Group; related MSS E, 4877; also 223)

Lbs 289 quarto is written about 1800 (PEÖ) in double columns in a single very clear hand. It contains an identical selection of CR to 223, in the identical order: that is, all the poems of CR not printed in Arnamagnæan 1787. Like that MS, it may therefore be firmly dated as written after 1787. The same poems follow *Hamð*, but here in a different order: so *Gróg*, *Grott*, *Rþ*.

The text of the CR poems differs from that in 223, itself copying L: variants from a text derived from Arni's copy are noted in the margin, but the base text gives many readings from outside CR. This is one of the few MSS I have seen to read *tregari* in *Vsp* 40. Also, this MS contains all *Sigrdr*. A fair example of the value of the MS is its reading for *Vsp* 3/3: *vara Sanþr Særr*.

The text of *Gróg* appears derived from E, and is closely related to the other copy of E in 4877. Like those MSS, it is an eclectic MS mingling readings drawn from the disparate Ra and St traditions.

j. 6 (Stockholm Group; related MSS X5, He)

Advocates Library 21.6.7 (now in the National Library of Scotland) was written by Jón Egilsson (1724-1807, *Ævi* III, 92), farmer at Stóra-Vatnshorn, between 1750 and 1755. Jón was an uncommon man, about whom stories still circulate in Haukadalur, and his MS is uncommon in the range of its material, the eccentricity of some of its readings and Jón's own helpful observations on his sources and the circumstances of his writing.¹

Three originally separate MSS were bound together into this MS:

1. 1- 131r: Miscellaneous mythological material and poetry (e.g. Resen's edition of *Vsp* and *Hávm*, *SnE* and *Sól*.)
2. 132r-257v: 'Sæmundar-Edda. Kvæði og fyrirsagnir'. *SE* runs to 223r, and then follow various miscellaneous poems — *Getspeki*, *Hákonarmál*, *Krákumál* etc.
3. 258r-end: 'Her Hefiast / Dulkvednar Forn / Drapur'; further poetry: *lausavisur* from the sagas, etc.

The book appears to have been bound for Jón; the initials IES are set on the binding clasps. The book was later owned by Jónas Jónsson, and Ebenezer Henderson: their names appear on the title page to the whole

¹ His epitaph — carved on a massive stone which formed the steps to the old church by the farm at Stóra-Vatnshorn, all that remains of that church — gives a taste of Jón's desire to leave his thumbprint on the world: 'Hér hvilir hin merkasti maður Jón Egilsson'. I am grateful to Jón's great-great-great-great grandson for pointing this out to me.

book. Henderson presumably acquired the book on his excursion around Iceland in 1814, and so the book made its way to the Advocate's Library: other Icelandic MSS owned by him were presented to the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1815-6 (Halldórsson *London*). Folded within the front cover is a fragment of letter from Ólafur Jónsson of Arnabœli, dated 29 Oct 1750: the same man who owned and partially wrote **J**.

Only the second section concerns this study. According to the title page of this section this is '... Ny uppritad, Epter Eigiñ hende Magnusar / Sal: Jonssonar Er Sat I Wigur vid Isafiord, aukeñ / Nockrum ägiætum qvidum̃..'; this is dated 1751. On 223r, directly beneath the end of *Grott*, is written: 'Sä er fjrrer mig hefur skrifade / Seiger So oc qvedur þetta: / Ar var Datum þusund þá, þar med hundred Sex til / Smä; Nijutiju og Niju þö, nu er hiñ þridie I Martio. / þegar a enda Vuñed var, verkid giert til Skiemtun(a)r / er þo betra eñ Ecki þar, jdiu leised þogninnar / M A G / I Annad Siñ upp skrifad I Wogie 1751 in Dec / af IESijne.'

Hence, an MS of Magnús Jónsson (1637-1702, *Ævi* III 433-4) written in 1699 served as exemplar for all the poems in this section of the MS up to the end of *Grott*. This is all the poems of **CR**, plus *Sól* and *Hrafnagaldur* (placed before *Vsp*), *Bdr* (placed between *Hym* and *Vpl*) and *Fj*, *Hyndl*, *Gróg* and *Grott* (placed after *Hamð*). The 'aukeñ / Nockrum ägiætum qvidum̃' then refers to the additional poems (*Getspeki* etc) placed after *Grott* in this collection.

The order of the poems in the part of the MS from *Sól* through to *Grott* declaredly in the exemplar of Magnús Jónsson is identical to that of the Stockholm group, as in (for instance) **St** and its copies. This, and the closeness of the text of *Sv* here to **He**, indicates that a MS written by Helgi Ólafsson, based ultimately on **St**, lies behind this section. The date 1699 is consistent with this. However, the text of the **CR** poems, so far as I have checked them, differs from that in the Stockholm group. The text of *Vsp* has some amazing corruptions. From the second verse alone:

CR *iotna* — **6** *vettna; ár um* — *vite; nío man ek heima* — *mo*
(sic) *veit ec standa; nío iviði* — *moi viðe*.

Otherwise, the text here is close to that of **636**. The handling of the lacuna is also different from that of the Stockholm group, giving first the full text to 37, and then going back to 22 and following the Stockholm version, with the spurious verses and chapters from *Volsunga saga*.

Despite the worthlessness of **6**, two later MSS appear to copy *Gróg* from **6**: thus **3633** and **818b**. All three MSS, for example, have the extraordinary readings *Ranði* 6, *om* added 7, *fria* (!) 12. None of these readings appear in any other MS, and the pairs **6/3633** and **6/818b** share several further readings unique to each pair.

k. 3633 (*Gróg* only; Stockholm Group; related MS 6)

Lbs 3633 octavo is a small bound volume which PEÓ thinks written all in the one hand. It contains miscellaneous items of a generally mythological or antiquarian cast. The part of the MS containing *Gróg* has *Hávm* 138-end, *Gróg*, *Sigrdr* (v. 5-21 only), *Hyndl*, genealogical notes, and a handwritten copy of the 'Schedae Ara hins Froda' from the 1688 Skálholt printing of that text.

Gróg is on 14v-16v of this MS. The relatively high number of unique readings found in *Gróg* alone — 20, more than many MSS have for both poems — indicates the general unreliability of the text. See above for the derivation of this MS from 6; this suggests that PEÓ's dating of 3633 to early C18 is wrong, as 6 was written in 1751. The peculiar readings this MS shares with 6 have so much of the eccentric stamp of Jón Egilsson that 3633 must derive from 6, and not an earlier exemplar.

1.2 Luxdorph Group

a. L (Luxdorph Group; related MSS E, 47, 223, S)

NkS 1866 quarto ('Codex Luxdorphianus'; see p. 189 above), written throughout in the one hand and dated 1750 on the title page, is a manuscript of meticulous beauty. With its large number of marginal variants throughout it constitutes an edition of *SE* in its own right. This and the laudatory comments written by Hersleb on the first pages have recommended it to many editors: see pp. 5-9.

The CR poems are distinguished most clearly in this MS from the poems from outside CR. Not only are the non-CR poems placed after the CR poems, but they are written in two columns where the CR poems are written in one. The non-CR poems are further marked off by a break in pagination: *Hamð* finishes on 220; the next page, with *Hrafnagaldur*, is numbered 321. This suggests that like several other MSS (e.g. 5, E and 1491) L uses different exemplars for the poems of CR and the poems not in CR.

So far as I can tell from my partial collation the source for the CR poems appears to be the same MS of Þórður Jónsson which lies behind CR in E, 5 and 1491. Thus L has exactly the same distribution of variants between the text and margin at the points I have collated in *Vsp*, *Hávm* and *Vafþr* as these MSS: all these MSS, for instance, read *handar* in *Hávm* 71 and note the alternative *hundar* in the margin; all omit the extra verse from *Alv* from the text and write it in the margin. Most telling, L treats the lacuna in exactly the same odd way as 5 and E: it has all of *Sigrdr*, then follows this with the spurious verses derived from *Völsunga saga* ch. 21 leading into *Brot*.

L is further linked with **E** by the choice of additional poems and their order. It contains the same eight poems, in the same order, as written by the principal scribe of **E**: that is *Hrafnagaldur*, *Fj*, *Hyndl*, *Gróg*, *Grott*, *Getspeki*, *Sól*, and *Sonatorrek*. The two poems not written by this scribe — *Hqfuðlausn* and *Rþ* — are both absent. A ninth poem, *Bdr* (surprisingly missing from **E**) is placed between *Hrafnagaldur* and *Fj*. See pp.182-5 above for evidence that **L** and **E** have a joint ancestor (**X6**) between the two MSS and **X5**, **He**.

b. 47 (Luxdorph Group; related MS L)

I have not had access to *MS Icelandic 47* itself, but the Houghton Library (Harvard) provided me with a microfilm of the complete MS. According to a note signed 'George Stephens' on the inside front right flyleaf, the MS was 'Bought from the Collection / of the Chamberlain Bernhard / Rosenblad, Stockholm, Janu/ary 5, 1845.' The facing bookplate gives the date 1929 as that of its accession to the Harvard College Library.

A pencilled note (not in Stephens' hand) on the first written page of the MS declares that it was 'Skriiven af Jon Erickson, Over -/ Bibliothekarie Kjøbenhavn / 1760-70 talet'. This is Jón Eiríksson the elder (1728-87), sometime chief librarian of the Royal Library Copenhagen (*Ævi* III 103). It appears that the first pages have been bound in the wrong order, and the first page should follow the third page, headed 'Edda Sæmundi Froða'. These two pages contain a preface by Jón, detailing the MSS he used in the preparation of this copy: 'Luxdorph' (**L**) as his main text with variants from 'Langebek' (1869), 'Sveinsson' (1491) and 'Suec' (1870). So far as I can read his difficult hand in the microfilm, he gives no information additional to that found in these MSS themselves.

The second and fourth pages — which have probably also been misbound, and should lie together — give tables of contents for his book and various MSS, including 1870, **L**, 1869. Among these is given the list of contents of a MS not known to me: what Eiríksson calls 'Joh Olavius .. sua Edda'; see pp. 465-6 below.

Like **L** and the other MSS descended from Þórður Jónsson's MS, 47 follows the text of **CR** very closely and supplements **CR**'s text with the same extra marginal material as these MSS (e.g. *Vsp* 34, placed after 35; extra verse in *Alv*, extra lines in *Vsp* 47, 61, *Vafþr* 31, 40 and 41). Like these MSS, it notes these as 'ch' or 'add ch' or 'ita ch'. The MS also contains other material drawn from elsewhere: it places *Sigrdr* 25 in the margin beside *Hávam* 125 (as in Resen 1665), citing 'Cod Res' for this. It follows *Sigrdr* to the lacuna, then notes '(ex?) membrana 8 folio Desunt', then follows with *Sigrdr* to end, 'ex libro quodam chartaceo'. This is followed by the spurious versification of *Vǫlsunga saga* ch. 21, from 'Codex Luxd'.

47 appears to have been the base of the Arnamagnaeon 1787 edition of *Fj*, which follows the text, orthography and line-division of 47 closely. This edition also draws much of its apparatus from the notes in 47: all the references to 'Suec' (=1870) are taken from 47.

c. 223 (*Gróg* only; Luxdorph Group; related MSS L, 289)

JS 223 quarto, in Lbs, is a particularly handsome and beautifully produced book. According to the title page, it was written in 1809-10 by Bjarni Þórarinnsson (= Thorarensen; 1786-1841, *Aevi* I 194-5). It is written in two columns, with the only marginalia being some pencilled in by a later hand (according to PEÓ, that of Dr Hallgrímur Scheving; cf. description of S). The MS contains all the poems of CR not printed in Arnamagnaeon 1787 — thus, the declared intention of the scribe in a preamble above the table of contents — in exactly the order of CR. *Rþ*, *Grott* and *Gróg* complete the MS, in that order. *Fj* was printed in Arnamagnaeon 1787 and is so excluded. Exactly the same selection of poems is found in 289 (see p. 436).

In the preamble, Bjarni gives the sources for all the texts in the MS. The CR poems are copied from "Edda Jons Olafssonar hins yngri": on this now-lost MS see pp. 465-6 below. *Rþ* is based on "Worms Skinnbók" (=Codex Wormianus, AM 242 fol.), *Grott* "eptir Justitráds Thorlacii útgaðu" (printed 1794). *Gróg* itself "var ... ritin eptir Lúxdorphs eddu, er finnz í hinna konungliga bókhöðu". This is L: of the 253 variants in 223, 222 also occur in L.

d. S (*Gróg* only; Luxdorph Group; related MS L)

JS 429 quarto in Lbs consists of many leaves of paper of various sizes, some no more than scraps. Except for one section of 20 octavo leaves, these are notes by Dr Hallgrímur Scheving (1781-1861), headmaster at Bessastaðir school (*Ævi* II 288-9), towards an edition of Eddic poems, especially *Hávam* and *Vsp*, and including a text of *Gróg* together with extensive notes.

The text of *Gróg* was written by Hallgrímur in a single column close to the spine, leaving space which he has filled with Latin translation and notes. Many further notes, reporting variant readings from other MSS and the like, follow. Some notes are most perceptive: Hallgrímur recognized that *Gróg* was somehow linked to *Fj* through Menglǫð and that *Gróg* 3 is somehow the key to this link. A pencil note against *skauskstu* in *Gróg* 3 — crossing out the *tu* in the text and underlining the last four letters of *iecisti* in the translation — suggests that he may have been close to anticipating Bugge's emendation and consequent explanation of the verse, and thus the link with *Fj* through the step-mother's curse. But his text appears to be a direct copy of L, and so is itself of no value to his edition. Of the 253 readings in S, 236 are shared with L.

The section of 20 leaves is the most valuable part of the book. It contains — somewhat disordered — two full texts of *Vsp*, all of *Hávm*, *Vafþr* to verse 45, two texts of *Sigrdr*, both including all that poem to 37/6, *Hákonarmál* and other scaldic verses by Eyvindr skáldaspillir. All this is written in the one hand, dated — probably conservatively — by PEÓ to 1700. These leaves thus contain two of the oldest texts of the last verses of *Sigrdr*, texts not known to Helgason (1952, III 87-9). For the evidence the texts give of the habits of revision of C17 Icelandic scribes see pp. 25-6 above.

The leaves are preceded by a slip with "Gomul afskrift af Hávamálum" written on it. Above this, in a different hand — possibly that of Hallgrímur (or Jón Sigurðsson?) — is written "A Magn 166 8vo". The hand and format of these leaves appear identical to what survives of AM 166 8vo. According to the autograph catalogue of Jón Ólafsson of Grunnavík in Thott 1046 fol, AM 166 8vo then (in 1730) contained texts of *Vsp*, *Vafþr* and *Sigrdr*: Jón lists these, together with *Hákonarmál* and "fleire Visur Eyvindar", in much the same order as they appear in S.

When Jón Sigurðsson made his notes on AM 166 8vo, probably in the 1830s, the texts of *Vsp*, *Vafþr* and *Sigrdr* had all disappeared. Hallgrímur held an Arnamagnæan scholarship in Copenhagen, with access to the Arnamagnæan collection, from 1808-10. In 1814, he had possession of two copies of *Sigrdr* — from, he wrote, *tveim pappírseddum* — from which he was able to provide Rask with the concluding verses of *Sigrdr* (Rask 1818, 197; Bugge NF 234). He certainly took part of AM 551 4to with him to Iceland, where it is now in Lbs as JS 435 4to. On his death, the first 14 leaves of the AM 544 4to portion of *Hauksbók* were found among his papers. It therefore seems probable that these leaves belong to 166 8vo, exactly as stated in the MS.¹

Written on the base of the last leaf, in the same hand, is "Gudmundr Snorra"; "son" appears to have been written on the next line, but is blotted. AM 166 8vo is associated with the west through Arni's statement that he

¹ Helgason 1960, xxx. I am indebted to Stefán Karlsson for checking the hands of the two MSS and pointing out this reference. It must be observed that the wording of Scheving's explanatory note to Rask concerning these two *pappírseddur*, as printed in Rask 1818, directs the provenance of these texts away from AM 166 8vo, or at least suggests that he was not responsible for their removal. One is said to be 'með hendi Hallþórs Klausturhalda á Reinsstað': Halldór Vídalín, d. 1801 *Ævi* II 274; Gunnarr Pállsson (1714-91, *Ævi* II 205-6) is said to have owned the other. The sections containing the different versions of *Sigrdr* in S do fall into different gatherings but they seem written in the same hand and bear every sign of coming from the one MS.

received the MS from Jón Hákonarson "a Vatzhorne", and I have traced two men named Guðmundur Snorrason from the west. One is from Borgarfjörður; this Guðmundur was the son of Snorri Guðmundsson of Grímsstaðir in Mýrasýsla. He was born in 1657, was Hreppstjóri in Efri-Fellsöxl in 1703, and probably died before 1710 (Guðnason 1973, III 422-23). The other was son of Snorri Asgeirsson, priest at Tröllatunga, who was educated at Skálholt in the time of Brynjólfur Sveinsson's reign there. This Guðmundur lived from 1674 to c.1707, and was farming at Efriból, to the south of Ísafjörður, in 1703 (Guðnason 1955, 271-2). There is nothing to connect either with the copying of MSS. Kálund 1888 II 427 observes that Arni seems to suggest ('synes ... at angife') on a slip accompanying the MS that a Nikulás Finsson wrote 166 8vo. I have not been able to trace this person.

1.3 Egilsson Group

a. 1492 (related MSS 773, 1109, 1868)

Thott 1492 quarto is typical of most of the Copenhagen MSS in its beautifully clear and consistent hand. It is not intended as such a grand volume as (for example) 1111 or 1109 but presents a relatively plain text, without illustrations or elaborate capitals, in quarto format. Unlike most Copenhagen MSS, it is unbound, with only slight signs of wear on the outer pages.

Like 773 and 1109, this MS contains all the poems of CR in the same order as CR, with *Bdr*, *Grott*, *Gróg*, *Fj* and *Hyndl* — the same additional poems, in the same order, as in Ra — placed between *Þry* and *Völ*. Like 1109 and 773, it contains a wealth of marginal variants: 102, according to the computer collation. All these marginalia in Sv are prefixed 'al: ', just as they are in both 1109 and 773. However, in the CR poems in all three MSS we find numerous marginalia prefixed with 'E: ', as well as the same prefix 'al: '. See below for an explanation of these sigla.

While the text of Sv in 1492 derives from Ra (see pp. 209-10), that of the CR poems in 1492 does not. The texts and marginalia of the CR poems are very similar to those of the two MSS claiming descent from Þórður Jónsson's exemplar, 5 and 1491, and to those of other MSS probably deriving from the same source, e.g. E and L. So far as I have checked, 1492 presents the identical marginalia and readings in *Vsp*, *Hávnm* and *Vafþr* as those MSS. In all these cases, 1492 is again identical with 1109 and 773.

However, the treatment of *Sigrdr* differs in 1492 (as in 773 and 1109) from that of 5 and similar MSS: see the notes on 5. Here, after *Sigrdr* 28/6 is written *Desunt membranae ad minimum folia 8*, which derives from Arni's note; see p. 470. Then, the rest of the verses of *Sigrdr* follow, as they did not in Arni's copy. In the margin beside them is a note *chartaceo*

exscripta, and they are followed by the chapters from *Völsunga saga* found in many other MSS. There is thus no trace of the spurious verses found in **5**, **E** and the Stockholm MSS. The version of *Sv* in all three of **1109**, **1492** and **773** is very eclectic: the text of the **CR** poems seems no less so.

Beyond its links with the Egilsson group and its manifest late 18th century hand — the closely related **1109** bears the date 'November 1769' — the only information we have concerning the MS is contained in a note laid on top of the MS, written in a separate hand. This reads:

'Edda Saemundar froða .. cum contentis quarandam odarum at variantibus lectionibus collata cum codice Domini Ejulfi Pastoris praedii Vallensis in Islandia boreali / antiquitatum patriae viri peritissimi / ex tribus aliis manuscriptis cartaceis et memb; Exemplar rarum; ubi in margine litterae E: indicant codicem Eyulfi et litterae al: denotant cartas ..'

This note explains the signs 'E:' and 'al:' before the marginalia in **1492** and the other two MSS. The E: indicates that the reading comes from Eyjólfur Jónsson's MS; the al: that it is drawn from some other — unfortunately unspecified — paper MS. The lack of the sigil E: against any of the marginalia in *Sv* indicates that *Sv* was not in Eyjólfur's MS. Eyjólfur (1670-1745) was priest at Vellir and renowned for his learning (*Ævi* I 459).

Apparently on the basis of this note, and perhaps also from the slight superiority of **1492** over **1109** and **773**, Helgason 1952, III 90 suggested that **1492** may actually itself be the MS of Jón Egilsson referred to in the note in **1109**: see p. 444. This would make **1492** the source of **1109** and **773**, and move it a step closer to **Ra**. This hypothesis cannot stand:

1. **1492** is manifestly all written by the one scribe, at the one time, text and marginalia and all. One might expect that an elaborate collation with up to four other MSS would have taken place in stages over some time, and that this would be reflected in differing orthographies.
2. The near-perfect condition of **1492** is inconsistent with it being a much-used and much-copied MS, as Jón's MS appears to have been.
3. The note in **1492** does not mention Jón Egilsson, and the Latin is somewhat ambiguous. It could be read as stating only that this MS contains variant readings as the result of a collation, not that this MS itself was so collated.

Finally, the style of the note ('exemplar rarum') and — I think — its hand suggest that it was written by Finnur Magnússon, who is notorious

for his puffery of the various MSS he was attempting to sell.¹ **1492** may be a close copy of Jón's MS, but it is unlikely that it is that MS itself.

b. 1109 (related MSS 773, 1492, 1868)

NkS 1109 fol. is a a luxuriously produced book, typical of the Copenhagen MSS in its extensive marginalia; compare the discussion of **1492** above. The hand appears to be from the second half of C18, and this is consistent with the date 'November 1769' written in the MS.

This date is found in a note on a sheet inserted before the titlepage by 'vicelagmand' Jón Ólafsson (1729-78, *Ævi* III 239), who calls the MS 'Luxdorps Exemplar af Edda Sæmundar'; like **L** it was owned by Bishop Luxdorph. This note gives us most of the external information we have concerning the three closely related MSS **1109**, **773** and **1492**. It states that **1109** is based on an exemplar belonging to Jón Egilsson (of Laufás) and collated with various other MSS, including 'nogle codices' belonging to 'Biarni Haldorsen af Tingøre' (Bjarni Halldórsson of Þingeyrar 1703-73, *Ævi* I 169) and also with the well-known MS of Eyjólfur Jónsson (Hersleb's note in **L** refers to this same MS), whose skill and fame as an antiquary the note stresses. Jón's title and the date are given in a separate hand.

The MS is written by the same scribe who wrote **773**, which also claims descent from Jón's MS. For the choice, order of poems and textual relations of this MS see the description of **1492** above.

c. 773 (Egilsson Group; related MSS 1109, 1492, 1868)

Thott 773 a fol. is written by the same scribe who wrote **1109**, and like that MS contains a note — here written in pencil on the inside front cover — connecting the MS to that of Jón Egilsson, priest at Laufás 1768-84 (*Ævi* III 91).

Some slight improvements in this MS — capitalisation of *Groa* in *Gróg* 1 and the restoration of *Fj* 38/6 (omitted in **1109**) distinguish it from

¹ Finnur was Thorkelin's successor as director of the Danish Royal Archives, and 'almost carried on a regular trade in manuscripts, whose value he exaggerated in an objectionable manner for a man of scholarly pursuit.' (Hermansson 1929, 72). He sold MSS to the Advocates Library in 1812 and 1826, to the Bodleian in 1828 and to the British Museum in 1837. I was not able to compare the note in **1492** directly with anything written by him but from memory it is very like the notes I have seen of his in Bodley MS Bor. 100 ('exemplar vetustum') and in **E**.

1109. It appears an independent copy of the same exemplar, which is also the exemplar of **1492**. For the choice, order of poems and textual relations of this MS see the description of **1492** above.

d. **1868** (related MSS **1109**, **1492**, **773**)

NkS 1868 quarto, written probably in the second half of the 18th century, differs in many ways from the three MSS of the Egilsson group, though closely related to them (p. 211-2). Most obviously, it is written in prose (the other three are written as verse), and contains very few marginalia. I found only one marginal note in **1868** — a reference to 'memb' in *Hávm* 112 — whereas there are hundreds in the other three. **1868** thus gives the appearance of a copy of a single exemplar; the others are the result of systematic collation.

The MS is closer to **Ra** than the other three. Both MSS have exactly the same sequence of mythological poems from *Vsp* to *Hyndl*, with *Bdr* between *þry* and *Alv* and *Grott*, *Gróg*, *Fj* and *Hyndl* following *Alv*. These are the only two MSS I have seen with this order; the order in the other three Egilsson MSS is similar to the **Ra** order, but differs in moving *Alv* to after *Hyndl*. Further, at several points in *Vsp*, *Hávm* and *Vafþr* **1868** agrees with **Ra** against the three Egilsson MSS. E.g.:

Vsp 2: *i viði* **Ra**, **1868**; *iviði* text, *iviðiur* margin **1492**;

Hávm: 63 and 62 inverted **Ra**, **1868**; in correct order **1492**.

In many other places **1868**, **Ra** and the text of **1492** all agree, while the margin of **1492** gives an alternative reading: thus the extra stanza in *Alv*, and the additions to the **CR** text of *Vafþr* 27, 31, 40 and 41.

After *Alv* the scribe has written 'her er margt undan fellt'. In fact, the MS seems complete, but the scribe is probably surprised by the order of poems in the MS: instead of the rest of the **CR** poems, *Grott*, *Gróg*, *Fj* and *Hyndl* follow. Alternatively, the scribe may be commenting on the absence of *Völ* from **1868**, apparently a casualty of the attempt to reconcile the order of the poems in **Ra** with that in **CR**. After *Hyndl* the **CR** order is resumed and carries on to the end of *Hamð*. Gatherings are bound in the wrong order in *Hyndl* and the Helgi poems. There is no trace of either the genuine or the spurious extra stanzas in *Sigrdr*; the text goes straight from *Sigrdr* 28 into the extract from *Völsunga saga*.

A note on p.1, facing fly-leaf: 'Ex dono Pastoris venerandi / Dni Sigfusi Jonai hunc [nactus sum] librum / Thordus Thoroddi.' Page 67 carries on the reverse an Icelandic verse thanking Sigfúss for the loan of the book, and various personal names. These are probably þórður þóroddsson (1736-97) and the priest and poet Sigfús Jónsson (1729-1803).

1.4 Langebek Group

a. 1108 (Langebek Group; related MSS 1111, 165, 1869, 4)

NkS 1108 fol. is a lavishly produced book, with elaborate coloured capitals for each poem. The page numbering throughout and the note on the flyleaf 'Af Biblioteka Hytardalensi exscripta af Arna Bodvari Poet. Island' in this MS are in the same distinctive hand and ink as the notes at the beginning of **1869**, stated by Kålund to be that of P. F. Suhm. (Arni Böðvarsson 1713-76, *Ævi* I 37). As with the closely related **1111**, no marginal variants appear to be noted in the **CR** poems, but many (61) in *Sv*. Both text and marginalia throughout are written in the one hand, as they are in all the MSS of this group.

At the end of *Sigrdr* (**CR** text) is the following note: "desunt ad minimum octo folia scribit A Magnus in membrana ut existimo". This note descends from Arni's 'desunt ad minimum 8 folia'; see p. 470. As in Arni's copy, the MS reads *Hávm* 62 and 63 in the correct order, *handar* in 71, and there is no attempt to bridge the lacuna by chapters from *Völsunga saga*, etc. There is no indication in **1108** of the source of the poems from outside **CR**.

The care with which the MS is written is at odds with the extraordinary carelessness of the binding. The gatherings are misplaced to such an extent that the intended order of the **CR** poems — presumably that of **CR** — is obscured. So in *Hávm* 118/4-127/7 is placed after 128-136/4. In the lacuna and after the note 'desunt at minimum...' the MS leaps to *Akv* 26/8. It follows **CR** to *Am* 63/7, then leaps again to *Sigsk* 9/2, and so on.

However, this misbinding does not affect the poems of *SE* from outside **CR**. These are grouped at the end of the MS, after *Hamð*, in the order *Bdr*, *Fj*, *Hyndl*, *Gróg*, *Sól*, *Grott* and *Getspeki*. Exactly the same order is found in three of the other MSS of this group, **1869**, **165** and **1111**, except that **1111** and **165** add *Hrafnagaldr*. The fourth MS, **4**, has the same additional poems as **1108** in the same order but inserts them between *Alv* and *Hhund* I.

b. 1111 (Langebek Group; related MSS 1108, 165, 4, 1869)

NkS 1111 fol. is a splendidly written MS, executed in the one clear late eighteenth century hand throughout. Like **1108**, there are very few marginalia outside *Sv*, where there are many: 63, according to the computer collation. **1111** may have been intended for sale to a wealthy collector as apparently many of the *Sv* MSS now in Copenhagen but appears unfinished. Though collected into even gatherings it is not bound. Space has been left for decorative capitals, none of which have been completed though some have had their outlines drawn.

A note at the end of the MS (p. 513) states that the **CR** poems come from an 'autograph' source, and that the remainder — including *Sv* — come from different, unspecified, sources and are not found in 'membrana'. As with **1108** and **1869**, the 'autograph' source appears likely to be one of the copies descending from Arni's copy of **CR**: so **1111** has the same characteristic readings in *Hávsm* as those two and exactly the same treatment of the lacuna, including the note 'desunt ad minimum' referring to Arni. Accordingly, the **CR** poems are in exactly the same order as **CR**, and the additional poems of *SE* are appended in the same order as the other four MSS of this group (see **1108**), but with the addition of *Hrafnagaldr*.

c. **165** (Langebek Group; related MSS **1108**, **1111**, **4**, **1869**)

British Library Additional 11,165 is a small quarto volume, very like the other MSS of this group in its careful writing, lay-out and occasional ornamentation. Like these too it has many marginalia in *Sv* and no marginalia in the **CR** poems, which are given exactly in their **CR** order, as they are in **1111**. There is no trace of the misbinding which affects some of the other MSS of this group. It contains the same seven additional *SE* poems as all others in this group, placing these after *Hamð* as do all others of this group except **4**. Like **1111**, it places *Hrafnagaldr* after *Getspeki* as the last poem in the MS. **165** handles the lacuna in the same way as the other Langebek MSS and appears to follow the same exemplar for the **CR** poems I have collated as **1108** and **1111**, at the least.

According to a note on the flyleaf, **165** was purchased by the British Museum from Finnur Magnússon in July 1837.

d. **4** (Langebek Group; related MSS **1108**, **1111**, **165**, **1869**)

From its photos — I have not been able to examine the MS itself — *Trinity College Library L. 4. 1.* is a much less elaborate production than the other MSS of this group. The hand of *Sv* (which Halldórsson *Ireland* 42 states wrote the whole MS) is cruder, even untidy, and this together with the poor reproduction makes the MS difficult to read, especially the many marginalia. Both Skulerud 1918, 31 and Halldórsson assign the MS to C18 and Halldórsson puts it in the latter part of the century. This would align it with the other four MSS of this group, also written then.

The MS differs from the other four in placing the additional poems of *SE* — the same poems, in the same order, see notes on **1108** — between *Alv* and *Hhund* I. Because I have not been able to see the rest of the MS, I can not say if anything else in the MS differs from the others of this group.

e. **1869** (Langebek Group; related MSS **1108**, **1111**, **165**, **4**)

NkS 1869 quarto is written throughout in a single clear hand, identified by Suhm in a note on the first page as 'M. Ioniae' and by Arnarnaglaean 1787,

xliv as that of Markús Jónsson (perhaps 1751-72, *Ævi* III 471). Suhm himself wrote many notes in the margins throughout the whole MS, though comparatively fewer in Sv where — as in the other MSS of this group — the scribe has freely provided marginal variants. However, his is the (presumably astonished) underlining of *Gróg* 13/6.

Suhm appears to have used this and 1108 together. His distinctive ink and hand are seen in the page numbering and flyleaf note in that MS, and a note 'p. 251 i folio' beside *Gróg* 1 in 1869 refers to the page on which *Gróg* begins in the folio MS 1108; similarly the note 'p. 233 i folio' beside *Fj* 1. Also, in *Hhund* I 19 *filki* is dotted underlined in the text, and in the margin Suhm has written 'filkir p. 149': that is exactly the reading on that page of 1108. Suhm appears to have known a MS where *Hrafnagaldur* follows *Bdr*: he has written 'her kom Hrafna galdur' beside *Fj* 1, following *Bdr*. I know of no such MS.

The order and choice of the additional poems of *SE* in 1869 is the same as in the other MSS of this group. They are placed after *Hamð*, as in 1108 and 1111. The text of Sv in 1869 is very close to the other four MSS of the group.

However, the source of the CR poems in 1869 may differ from that of the other MSS. It may ultimately be the same autograph copy of Arni as that which underlies them: it has exactly the same characteristic readings in *Hávm* and the same treatment of the lacuna as do they and Arni's copy (see p. 470). But the order of the CR poems is much altered, thus: *Vsp*, *Hávm*, *Alv*, *Skí*, *Hym*, *Lok*, *Hhund* I, *HHj*, *Hhund* II, *Sinfiqtla lok*, *Gríp*, *Grí*, *Vafþr*, *Þry*, *Völ*, *Reg*, *Fj*, *Sigrdr* and hence to the end of CR. This reordering may have occurred when the separate gatherings were bound together; the mythological poems appear to have been in a different order — still distinct from that of CR — when the scribe of 1872 used the MS (see pp. 456-7 below). Similarly, the MS may — on the evidence of my very incomplete collation — contain more readings from outside CR than 1108 or 1111. It includes the probably spurious additional lines at the end of *Vsp* 61 (*folkvaldr goða* ...), omitted in the others, though all the MSS omit the additional lines in *Vafþr* and *Alv* found in many paper MSS. The question remains open.

1.5 Ungrouped MSS

a. P

Lbs 1441 quarto is a thick bound volume of 614 pages containing all the poems of CR, with *Bdr*, *Getspeki*, *Hyndl*, *Gróg*, *Fj*, *Hrafnagaldur* and *Grott* following the CR poems from p. 464 to 559. All this part of the MS is written in a single bold, clear and consistent hand, in two columns with very few marginalia (see the reproduction on p. 222). Hence, it appears to be a plain copy of a single exemplar. The title-page, written by the same

hand, gives the date of writing as 1760. After *Grott*, different hands have added *Rþ*, together with other poems and miscellaneous items of a mythological cast. A separate hand also wrote a prose introduction to the poems of *SE*, placed between the title page and *Vsp*.

The version of **CR** in **P** appears to derive ultimately from Arni's copy: so the correct readings in *Hávǫm* (*handar* in 71; 62-3 in the right order) and the note 'desunt ad minimum 8 folia' against the lacuna.¹ The closeness of the text here and elsewhere to **CR** suggests that this is an excellent copy of an excellent exemplar.

The elaborate title-page, written in the same hand as the main part of the MS, declares it was written 'ad storum Reikium i Midfyrde 1760': Reykir, a farm in the northern part of Miðfjarðardalur. The **CR** poems are preceded by a prose introduction written, according to PEÓ, by Þorsteinn Pétursson (1710-85), priest at Staðarbakki, a few miles south of Reykir, from 1744 to 1776 (*Ævi* V 226). He also added *Rþ* after *Grott*. Þorsteinn was a man of great learning, as the appendix he wrote to Vídalín's *Recensus Poetarum* shows (Samsonarson, 1985) and is likely to have had access to the best available MSS. It seems probable that he commissioned the writing of the MS.

PEÓ suggests that the hand of the main part of the MS, including *Sv*, is similar to that of Guðmundr Helgason Isfold (1732-82). He was a student at Skálholt and in Copenhagen and did much copying for Suhm and Skúli fógeti (*Ævi* II 153). Many MSS written by him are preserved in the Royal Library, Copenhagen and Lbs. However, the resemblance between the hand of **P** and that of those MSS certainly by him which I have seen (Lbs 38 fol; Lbs 853 4to) is not striking.

b. J

Lbs 966 quarto is unbound, much worn and written by many hands. The contents are miscellaneous, even more than is usual among Icelandic MSS. 1-16v are religious poems and other edifying matter, all in one hand; see PEÓ for a fuller account. The latter part of the MS, 95r -end (92-94 are blank), contains genealogies, legal notes, and a copy of a royal command, written in at least three hands.

The section relevant to this edition is 17r-91v. The first part of this, to 45v, contains (in order) *Sól*, *Hrafnagaldur*, *Bdr*, *Grott*, *Gróg*, *Fj*, *Hyndl* and *Hávǫm*. These are all written in the same hand, also the hand of at least the title of the next section — a copy of a legal document concerning inheritance — and the date '12 Sept 1792' immediately after the title. The remainder of this section, not certainly in the same hand, is taken up with various documents mostly of a legal or formal character.

¹ On these as characteristic of Arni's copy of **CR**, see p. 470 below.

Sv is written in two columns, in an exceptionally clear and bold hand. Word-division, ambiguous in many MSS, is marked with unusual clarity; see the reproduction on p. 222. There are no marginalia whatever, so that — like *P* — it appears to be a plain copy of a single exemplar.

The compiler of *J* appears to have had access to excellent copies of the poems contained in *J*. The text of *Grott* at least — and possibly also that of *Sv* — is derived from an otherwise unknown copy made by Jón Erlendsson, priest at Villingaholt 1639-1672 (*Ævi* III 106-7), who was closely associated with Brynjólfur Sveinsson in the copying and editing of MSS: see especially Jóhannesson 1956, xvii-xix on Jón's copies of Ari's *Islendingabók* under Brynjólfur's supervision.

On 25v, after the title of *Grott* and before the prose introduction to that text, is written:

'Ritadr eptir Bók Páls Sveinssonar, Torfasonar, en Su bók med hendi Sira Jóns sem var i Villingaholti'.

The wording suggests that Páll Sveinsson — the same man who wrote **1491**, see pp. 452-3 — owned this MS, which was written by Jón, rather than there being two separate MSS (one by Jón, one by Páll) collated by the scribe. In any case, as I noted above, the MS shows none of the usual signs of conflation. Páll was the grandson of Torfi Jónsson, nephew and heir of Bishop Brynjólfur, and so could have acquired the MS by inheritance.

Although the prose note can only be taken as certainly referring to *Grott*, it is possible that the poems immediately following — *Gróg, Fj, Hyndl*, but not *Hávnm* — are also copied from the same MS. The order *Grott, Gróg, Fj* and *Hyndl* is exactly that of two of the three oldest MSS of these poems, *O* and *Ra*. The third MS, *St*, has the poems of *CR* in a drastically rearranged order, and the rearrangement might extend to these four poems as well.

Against this:

1. By mid C18, the order *Grott Gróg Fj Hyndl* seems to have acquired authority, probably from its frequent occurrence in MSS descended from *Ra* (e.g., the Egilsson MSS). Hence Oddur Jónsson, the scribe of **5 1689 329** placed these in this order rather than in the order of *Ha*, his stated exemplar for **5**. Their order here may be the scribe's own arrangement. This suggests that the exemplar for *Grott* may be different from that for *Sv*.
2. The text of *Grott* is laid out in an unusual fashion: in two columns, but with the half-lines running across the page, not down. Also, the orthography of one page of *Grott* is meticulously strained, as if trying to mimic a strange script. Jón's transcripts of the now lost MS of Ari's *Islendingabók*, especially AM 113 a fol., show that he was apt to mimic the script of a much older

exemplar (Jóhannesson 1956, xviii), and the scribe of **J** may be following his lead. By contrast, the layout and orthography of the following poems, including *Sv*, are perfectly conventional.

However, *Hrafnagald* — two poems before *Grott* — is laid out in the same manner, though without the oddity of script.

3. The text of *Hávm* is derived from Arni's copy of **CR**, and not from any lost copy by Jón Erlendsson. Comparison with the *Hávm* text in **Ha**, known to be derived from Arni's copy, shows that **J** and **Ha** share the same misreading *pikkir* 28 for **CR** *pikkiz* (= *pikkisk*), and both expand the abbreviated formula of 112ff identically: *at þú rað* 112-114, *enn þú rað* thereafter. Exactly these same readings are found in Edinburgh 21.4.4: for these readings as characteristic of MSS descended from Arni's copy see p. 470.

The text of *Hávm* in **J** lends confidence: it is remarkably close to that of **CR**, closer indeed than are many modern editions. The scribe here shows that he is an excellent copyist, with access to an excellent copy.

J was once owned by Ólafur Jónsson of Purkey (1722-1800), farmer on Arney (*Ævi* IV 62; Guðnason 1961, II 234), who probably also compiled the MS in the last decade of the 18th century. The date "12 Sept 1792" is written after the title of the next item in the MS after *Hávm*, in the same hand as wrote the preceding poems.

Pages 110v-114v contain Ólafur's genealogy, written in his own hand; this hand appears distinct from that which wrote the poems, including *Sv*, in the earlier part of the MS. He was an annalist, a man of wide tastes (as the MSS associated with him in Lbs show), and well connected: his father too was a man of learning and his maternal grandfather Bjarni Bjarnason held high office under Páll Vídalín (*Ævi* I 158-9).

The MS was owned before the middle of the nineteenth century by Jón Gíslason "Steinholm", according to an undated note on a separate sheet: "Jon GislaSon Steinholm / a þessa Bok Olafur Jons". This note also confirms that the book was once in Ólafur Jónsson's possession. I have not been able to trace Jón Gíslason, beyond B. M. Ólsen's statement on a note with the MS that his family was from the north and that he was brought up at Steinanes in Arnarfjörður.

The MS may have been brought to Arnarfjörður by Ólafur Jónsson's nephew, Ólafur Einarsson (1737-1828). His name is on the back of this same sheet — apparently, as a signature on a fragment of a letter — with the date '22 Februari 1798'. He was priest at Ballará, just north of Purkey, from 1768 to 1800 or 1801, then moved to Alptamýrr in Arnarfjörður and was priest there till 1817 (*Ævi* IV 38). In any case, the book passed to Jón Gíslason's daughter Guðrún (b. 1831, Guðnason 1961, II 266), and her

husband Brynjólfur Brynjólfsson (1800-77, Guðnason 1961, II 207) wrote on p. 112 in 1853:

'Brynjolfr Briniolfsson .. / a / þessa bók með rettu og einginn / annar Anno 1853'

Finally, the book passed to Björn M. Ólsen, who sold it to the Lbs on 30th August 1904.

c. 1491

Thott 1491 quarto was written by Páll Sveinsson ("Deacon Paul"; c. 1704-84, *Ævi* IV 141-2): so the title page, and a letter dated 2/2/70 from Skúli Magnússon to Thott included in the MS. The MS was prepared and copied with manifest care, each line being traced to keep the text straight.

The title page grandly states:

'Edda Islendinga / Skrifud af Diakna Paule / efter bestu Membrana sem / Island a'

On p. 416, immediately after *Hamð*, Páll writes that 'hactenus exemplar' was that of Þórður Jónsson and that this exemplar had been collated 'med hans eiginlega hendi' with 'þa bestu codices', both 'membraner' and 'papyri'. This exemplar is now, he says, owned by Jón Jónsson, 'Prestur til Flugumýrar og Hjalta Stadar'.¹

So his exemplar, up to this point, was written by Þórður Jónsson. Þórður (1672-1720), a close friend of Árni, was in Copenhagen in 1668-93 and 1697-8. He appears to have brought a copy of the CR poems back with him to Iceland (Helgason 1952, III 91); see pp. 469-70 for the relation between Þórður and Árni's copies.

However, it appears that Þórður supplemented the text of CR. The MS was collated throughout with other MSS, and the "variantes lectiones" written in the margin: hence the identical marginalia found in both **1491, 5** and the other MSS probably descended from Þórður's in their texts of CR: **E L 1109 1492 773**. The extra genuine verses of *Sigrdr* were written in, with some note to the effect that these were not in CR: E has beside *Sigrdr* 28/6 "hæc sequentia ex Libro quodam chartaceo exscripta hic inseruntur" and follows this with *Sigrdr* 29-37. So, all these MSS contain *Sigrdr* 29-37, though some (L, E) also add the spurious verses and chapters from *Volsunga saga*, probably from a Stockholm MS.

Þórður's MS contained only the poems of CR: thus the explicit statement of the scribe of **5**, and also a note by Páll after *Hrafnagaldur* on p. 457, in which he states that the last five poems in the MS — i.e. *Grott*,

¹ I am grateful to Þorunn Valdimarsdóttir for her help in deciphering Páll's difficult hand. Jón Jónsson (1725-99, *Ævi* III 183-4) was priest at Flugumýrr and Hjaltastaður between 1763-70, so dating **1491** between 1763 and 1770.

Gróg, Fj, Hynd and *Hrafnagaldr* — were not in Þórður's MS. Páll says he has placed these at the end 'ad syna það þær vantadi i hid goda Exemplar' (compare the contrary decision of the scribe of 5). Most significantly, Páll complains of the quality of this exemplar: these five poems

'eru skrifadar eptir óeptirréttanlega Exscripto, sem eiñ vidvaningur hefir skrifad ...'

Hence, Páll's copy of Sv is spoilt by impossible readings: see p. 220 above. These five additional poems have no marginalia at all.

There is some question as to what exactly Páll means by *hactenus exemplar* in his note on p. 416, at the end of *Hamð*. Does he mean all the poems of CR, which certainly were all in Þórður's MS? or just some of the poems of CR? Kålund 1900, 333 thinks that by "hactenus exemplar" Páll means not all of CR, but just the part represented by pp. 193-416 of 1491. He apparently bases this on a difference of paper between 192 and 193, indicating that these may have once formed separate volumes. But nothing else in the MS supports such a division; there are other changes of paper, there is no break in pagination, and 192/193 falls in midverse — in *Hhund* I 41/4 — so Kålund's division appears arbitrary.

Yet the copy of CR in Edinburgh 21.2.5, which Halldórsson *Scotland* thinks may also have been written by Páll, stops at exactly the same place in *Hhund* I as Kålund thinks "hactenus exemplar" did ! So far as I can tell, 21.2.5 is also based on Þórður's MS, containing exactly the same readings in *Vsp*, *Hávm*, *Vaffr* and *Alv* distributed in exactly the same way between the text and margin as 5 and 1491. The best explanation may be that Páll, while waiting for paper, used what he had in making two copies of Þórður's MS up to *Hhund* I 41.4. When extra paper came he carried on to the end of CR in the MS that is now 1491, but never completed 21.2.5.

d. 1609 (*Gróg* only)

Lbs 1609 octavo was written by Benedikt Gabriel Jónsson (not in *Ævi*) in Reykjavörður around 1810. The MS has been bound, but the cover has been lost. After the title 'Edda .. / Sæmundar Prests ins / Froda Sigfuss Sonar' the MS has all the first eleven poems of CR up to the end of *Alv* in the same order as CR. Then follows *Hyndl*, *Gróg*, *Reg*, *Fáfn*, *Sigrdr* to 37/6, followed immediately by *Brot*, stopping abruptly after 4/6. Some *lausavísur* follow, then *Bdr* and *Hamð* up to 24/2, where the MS ceases. Brief extracts of *SnE* are interspersed among this. *Gróg* is on 70v-71v.

This unusual selection and ordering of material suggests an eclectic collection. So too the text of *Gróg* shows traces of influence from various traditions; see pp. 219-20 above.

e. 1867 (related MS M)

NkS 1867 quarto was written in 1760, by Ólafur Brynjólfsson (1708-83, *Ævi* IV 33): thus the title-page, and notes on pp. 60 and 100. It contains a remarkable selection of superb illustrations of mythological subjects; see the reproduction in Kristjánsson 1970, 26.

A full account of its vast and varied contents is given in Kålund 1900, 251-3. *SE* is on pages 1-60, and the choice and order of poems seem unique: *Gunnarslag*, *Vsp*, and the mythological poems to *Þry* as in *CR*; then *Bdr*, *Alv*, *Völ*, *Gróg*, *Fj*, *Grott*, *Hyndl*, *Sól*, *Hhund* I followed by all the heroic poems in the order of *CR*. **1867** fills out the lacuna with the material from *Völsunga saga* ch 21 as well as from the later chapters. A second text of *Vafþr* is on 213-19r. Bugge's assertion *NF* lxi that this second text differs from the first is unfounded, and his statement that the text of *Hávam* is based on Resen 1665 is also misleading: there are a few readings from Resen in **1867** but the great bulk of readings agree with *CR*, or misread *CR*, rather than follow Resen.¹

The insertion of the additional poems of *SE* among the *CR* poems recalls the similar arrangement in *Ra* and the associated MSS of the Egilsson group. However, the text of the *CR* poems, so far as I have collated them in *Vsp*, *Hávam* and *Vafþr*, seems most like that of the Stockholm MSS: e.g. the extraordinary order of stanzas and the choice and placing of additional material from *Hb* in *Vsp*. **1867** incorporates many of the same readings from Resen 1665 as do the Stockholm MSS (see footnote).

Thus **1867** seems to use the Stockholm text for at least some of the poems of *CR*, but not the Stockholm order. This suggests a considered eclecticism on the part of the Ólafur Brynjólfsson. He appears to have had access to many different MSS, and Pétursson regards the **1867** text of Jón lærði's *Aðfornu* as the best extant (1984, 273). It is not surprising therefore that the text of *Sv* appears heavily contaminated by readings from the B text and Stockholm groups (if it is not in fact based on a Stockholm MS).

f. M (related MS 1867)

I have not seen *Melsteð's Edda*, owned by K. Melsteð of Wynyard, Saskatchewan and on loan to the Arnarnagæan Institute in Reykjavík in 1988, whence I acquired photos of the text of *Sv*. *M* is written by Ólafur Brynjólfsson, who also wrote **1867**. According to Faulkes 1979, I 463 it is dated 1765 (five years later than **1867**) and is very similar to that MS in its

¹ As in Resen are: *rann* 99; inclusion of *Sigrðr* 25 after 125; 113 closer to Resen than *CR*. Agreeing with *CR* are: 122, 123, 128 are all included (Resen omits all these); 64-8 follow the *CR* order rather than that of Resen. All these readings may derive from the Stockholm MSS.

illustrations, its selection of texts, and its text of Magnús Ólafsson's Edda. The text of Sv in **M** is accordingly nearly identical to that in **1867**, and is plainly either a copy of **1867** or of the same exemplar.

g. 2797

Lbs 2797 quarto is a bound volume written with great care and in a handsome mimicry of vellum script by Gísli Konráðsson. Gísli's name and the place and date of writing — at Sköruðugil in Skagafjörður in 1820 — are given on the title page of the MS. Gísli (1787-1877) was the father of Professor Konráð Gíslason and himself a man of great learning — as his commentary in **2797**, written in the margins and between the poems throughout the MS, amply attests (*Ævi* II 66-7).

2797 contains all the poems of **CR** and a wide selection of other "Fornquidr" all under the collective title of *Sæmundar Edda*: besides Sv, *Grott*, *Hyndl*, *Sól*, *Getspeki* and *Hrafnagaldr* there are *Hervarar saga* verses, *Bjarkamál*, *Krákumál*, *Ragnars þáttr* verses, *Ynglingatal*, *Hofuðlausn*. In a separate section at the end headed 'Apocrypha' are *Hsv*, *Merlinusspá*, and "Nora edr Niöra Iötuns Qu". *Gróg* and *Fj* are on pages 51-55 and 68-74, in the numbering of the MS. *Gróg* is preceded by *Grott* and followed by *Grí*, *Alv*, then *Fj*, then *Hervarar saga vísur*.

2797 is not simply a copy of another MS, but rather an edition of *SE* in its own right. As the above indicates, the poems of **CR** are radically reordered: *Hávm*, for instance, is placed at the end of the whole collection of *SE*, immediately preceding the 'Apocrypha'. *Hhund* I and *Hhund* II are combined into one poem by a process of patching. At the foot of each page, and between each poem throughout the whole MS, is written an extensive commentary which also reports textual variants. The text of *Hávm*, *Vsp* and *Vaffr* includes many of the characteristic readings of MSS descended from either the Þórður Jónsson or Eyjólfur Jónsson versions. Some readings characteristic of the Stockholm MSS — notably the extra lines of *Hávm* 86, and the first two spurious lines of the verses filling out the lacuna — suggest that Gísli has seen a MS belonging to this group. Rask 1818 is cited on p. 145, in *Sigrdr*.

Hence, this MS presents an eclectic text of **CR**. Consistent with this, the Sv text is similarly eclectic; see pp. 219-20 above.

h. 497 (*Fj* only)

JS 497 octavo, now in *Lbs*, is one of a fifty volume set of *Kvæða-Safn*, in two sets of twenty-five volumes. This is Volume Three of set B. *Fj* is on pp. 39-44 and begins a new gathering unrelated to what precedes. The page containing the first verse of *Fj* has been lost, and this verse is written on the leaf facing by Páll Pállsson (1806-77, *Ævi* IV 136-7). *Fj* is followed by *Hyndl* and the first lines of *Hrafnagaldr*, whereupon the gathering ceases abruptly. A note on the inside front cover flyleaf, written by Jón

Arnason, states that the part of the MS containing Fj came to him from "Eggert Tjeldsted spítalin bónda á Hallbjarnareyri". I have not been able to trace this man.

The hand is the worst kind of Icelandic cursive and extremely difficult to read. As so many readings would be guess-work, this MS was not transcribed and collated. What can be read of the MS shows that it is worthless. Many readings show galloping corruption. So *Fj 22 f. keli / siu car cop (or cof) ür utar hverfa* and *28 firer nä gedr nedan ... hallda ei ard läsar. Sitja in Fj 38*, found otherwise only in Langebek group MSS, suggests contamination.

2. B Text MSS

2.1 O and 1872: the 'First Version'

a. O (related MSS: Ra, 1872, B MSS)

AM 738 quarto (Codex Oblongus, dated 1680 and now in the Stofnun Arna Magnússonar, Reykjavík) is the best known of all the MSS containing Sv: e.g. Bugge *NF* lxii, and Faulkes 1979, I 122-23. Beside much else of a poetic or mythological cast, it contains exactly the same selection of mythological poems from *SE* in exactly the same highly unusual order as *Ra*: thus, all the poems of *CR* up to *Alv*, with *Bdr* placed before *Alv* and *Grott*, *Gróg*, *Fj* and *Hyndl* following *Alv*.

For evidence that the text of Sv in *O* is based on the same exemplar as that from which *Ra* derives see pp. 195-7. However, as shown on pp. 197-9, the version of Sv in *O* appears to be a late revision, perhaps a first version of what later became the B text.

The close links between the early C17 copies of Sv and of *Bhl* are also evidenced in *O*: this is one of the few MSS (the others are *Sa* and 64) to read *Himrunar* or similar at *Sigrdr* 11. This is altered in *O* to *Linrunar*, as in Stockholm Papp. 64 fol.: see p. 40 fn. 3 above.

b. 1872 (related MS: O)

NkS 1872 quarto is written, according to its frontispiece, by a M. Magnússon, probably in the second half of C18: perhaps Markús Magnússon 1748-1825, *Ævi* III 472-3. The frontispiece declares that the exemplar is 'Cod. Chart. / fol Obl': this is *O*. Directly after this Suhm has added 'og conferet cum / et mSs i 4to hos mig / af / M MagnuSons.' This must be 1869, so far as I can tell the only quarto MS containing these poems in Suhm's possession.

The computer collation confirmed this exactly. The text of 1872 contains 58 of the same 79 B variants as *O*; two more are in the margin. Thirteen of the Langebek variants from 1869 are in the text of 1872, and a

further sixteen in the margin. It therefore appears that the scribe of **1872**, while using **O** as his base text, also had **1869** in front of him as he copied **O** and freely included readings from **1869** in the text as well as the margin.

Similarly, the order of poems, both in the text and in the table of contents, does not follow **O** but seems some sort of blend of **O** and **1869**. The MS does not include *Vsp* or *Hávm*, and begins with *Alv*, then *Skí*, *Hárþ*, *Hym*, *Lok*, *Grí*, *Vafþr*, *Þry*, *Bdr*, *Fj*, *Hyndl*, *Gróg*, *Sól*, *Grott*, *Getspeki*. The placing of *Bdr* after *Þry* may derive from **O**, while the order of the last six poems is identical with that of **1869**, which also has *Fj* follow *Bdr*. **1869** might have had the **CR** poems in the order here given when the scribe was using it, though the gatherings — and hence the poems — were later bound in a different sequence; see notes on **1869** above, pp. 447-8.

2.2 The B MSS: 'Final version'

a. Ha (related MSS: 215, 5, 1689, 636, 643)

Lbs 214 quarto (Jón Halldórsson's MS) is bound with the spines of each leaf and many page edges reinforced: a few letters have been lost under the repairs. 1-122v are a copy of all the poems of **CR**, in exactly the order of **CR**, written by Jón Halldórsson in 1723. Jón Halldórsson (1665-1736) was priest at Hítardalur from 1691 to 1736, and a man of great learning. (*Aevi* III 142-3).

In a note on 122v, directly beneath the end of *Hamð*, Jón declares that he has written that part of the MS in Hítardalur from Arni's folio copy of **CR**. It appears that **Ha** is the copy of 'sira Jón í Hitardal' referred to by Arni in the lists discussed on p. 467; for this MS as confirming the readings characteristic of MSS descending from Arni's copy see p. 470.

The remainder of the MS (123r-160v) is a miscellany of neo-Eddic and related poetry, in no particular order, including both the 'older' and the 'younger' versions of *Hyndl* (see notes on **5**), *Sonatorrek*, *Geðspeki*, *Sól* etc, but not including either *Grott* or *Hrafnagald*r. All this part of the MS was written by Vigfús Jónsson, except for the final two leaves, written in 1800 and containing items of no importance ('Skagavísur' and 'Vísá trémanns mosavaxins'). Vigfús Jónsson (1706-76, *Ævi* V 53-4) was son of Jón Halldórsson and likewise renowned for his learning. *Gróg* and *Fj* come on 143r-144r and 145r-147r respectively. 'Faein Formmæle' — glosses on kennings — precede *Gróg*, *Bdr* comes between the two poems; *Krákumál* follows *Fj*.

There is nothing in this part of the MS to indicate its provenance. The text of *Sv* is pure 'B' recension, and the best text extant of that version: at least, it is relatively free of mutilating omissions and absurd readings. It may not be the oldest MS containing 'B': **934** may have been written earlier. Also, the Langebek MSS appear to derive their B readings from an

MS closer to **O** — and therefore probably older — than **Ha**; see pp. 213-4 above. However, this MS appears to have been the most influential in disseminating that text. The B Text is certainly copied from here into **215** and **5**; the versions in **636**, **1689**, **643** and **329** probably also descend from here. This accounts for all the B Text MSS except **934** and **818**; **934** may be older than **Ha**, and **818** is aligned with **934**.

The book came to the Lbs with the collection of Hannes Finnsson (1739-96, *Ævi* II 308-10), nephew of Vigfús Jónsson and grandson of Jón Halldórsson.

b. 215 (related MS: Ha)

Lbs 215 quarto contains *SnE* on p. 124-218, written by Vigfús Jónsson, and all the poetry of **Ha** written in a younger hand, except for the items on the last two leaves of **Ha**, which may not have been added to **Ha** until after **215** had been copied.

The poetry is, so far as I can see, copied directly from **Ha**, and certainly so for *Hávm*, *Vsp* and *Sv*. According to Faulkes 1979, I 122 the text of *SnE* here is very close to that in **934**, which also contains the 'B' text of *Sv*.

c. 1689 (related MSS: Ha, 329, 5, 643)

Lbs 1689 quarto is written by Oddur Jónsson (1734-1814, *Ævi* IV 15); he also wrote **5** and **329**. The selection of poems and their order in the three MS are similar, but not quite identical. Like **5**, this MS contains all the poems of **CR** in the same order as **CR**. In both, *Bdr*, *Grott*, *Gróg*, *Fj* and *Hyndl* are placed in that order between *Þry* and *Völ*, but **1689** also places *Hrafnagaldr* after *Hyndl* rather than after the **CR** poems. Other differences are similarly minor. *Gróg* is on 40v-41v, *Fj* follows from 41v to 44r.

The text of the **CR** poems manifestly follows the same exemplar, that of Þórður Jónsson, as does **5**. Marginalia and readings in *Vsp* and *Hávm* are near identical, though **1689** is rather less liberal in reporting variants than **5**. The text of the poems not in **CR** is therefore likely to follow **Ha**, as does **5**. This is confirmed by the choice of these poems being identical in **Ha** and **5** except for the last poem in the MS, a piece called 'Valogaldr Kraco', which I have seen elsewhere only in **636**, likewise a B text MS.

PEÓ identifies the hand as that of Síra Sæmundur Holm (1749-1821), and accordingly dates the MS 'c1780'. The identity of the hand of **1689** with that of **5**, written by 'Oddur' c. 1755-1758, make this impossible. Comparison of **1689** with Lbs 552-3 folio, certainly written by Oddur Jónsson, confirms him as the writer of both MSS. He was Eggert Ólafsson's amanuensis from 1752-57, accompanying him on his journeys about Iceland, and was in Copenhagen from 1757-59, exactly when *Merlínusspá* was copied into **5** in that city.

d. 329 (related MSS: 5, 1689)

I have not been able to examine *Ms. germ. qu. 329*, in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, West Berlin. From the photos, the hand is identical with that of **5** and **1689**, which I have identified as Oddur Jónsson. The choice and order of poems is very similar to **5**, being identical in the two MSS up to the end of *Krákumál*. **329** follows this by *Jomsvíkinga drápa* and the MS finishes there; **5** adds a good deal more.

A letter dated 22 March 1820 from R. Nyerup in Copenhagen to Dr R. H. Julius is prefixed to the MS. Nyerup speculates that the scribe of the MS might be Eggert Ólafsson. This is incorrect, but the ascription is not so far astray: Oddur acted as amanuensis for Eggert for five years, and was presumably trained by him. If Eggert did write E, then their hands are very alike.

e. 5 (related MSS: Ha, 1689, 329)

According to notes in the MS, *Advocates Library 21.5.2* (now in the National Library of Scotland) was written in Iceland 1755-6 except for *Merlínusspá*, which was written in Copenhagen in 1758. The scribe is Oddur Jónsson, who also wrote **1689** and **329**: he gives his first name on 334v: 'skrifud .. af Odde (sem öll Böken).' The hand and layout of the MS are characteristic of what Ólafur Halldórsson calls a 'Sauðlauksdalsskrifari', a scribe associated with Eggert Ólafsson. On Eggert's associations with Sauðlauksdalur see Hermansson 1925, 12-19. Eggert appears to have trained his scribes to a 'house style' of an economical, upright and readable script without flourishes. Verse is written in lines, each line identically indented and the first line of each verse marked by slightly greater indentation. The style can be seen in the three MSS written by Oddur Jónsson (**1689** and **329** besides this MS), in **643**, **4877** and in E, perhaps written by Eggert himself.

The order of poems here is exactly as CR, but *Bdr*, *Grott*, *Gróg*, *Fj*, and *Hyndl* are inserted between *þry* and *Völ*. After *Hamð* come other neo-Eddic poems including *Hrafnagaldur*, *Sól*, *Gullkårs lióð*, 'Hyndló liód (en yngri)' — a quite different poem from *Hyndl* (printed *Islenzkar gátur*, IV 65-76), *Krákumál*, 'Vísá Tremanns mosavaxens', *Getspeki*, etc. The whole text of *Sigrdr* is given to st. 37. This is followed by 'Haec sequentia inserit Liber chartaceus alter' and the spurious verses based on *Völsunga saga* ch. 21. In the margin beside the first verse is written 'þetta er ungt og illa smídat'. The identical sequence, with both versions of the last verses of *Sigrdr* placed one after the other, is found in E and **4877**, MSS also written by Sauðlauksdalur scribes.

Several notes in the MS give details of the scribe's exemplars. On 227v, at the end of *Hamð*, the scribe describes his exemplar as that which

'Sr þórdr ... hafor skrifad efter / membrana'. This MS contained only the poems of **CR**, for the scribe remarks:

'nu vantar i þ(et)ta exemplar / nefnelega 5 kvidur: vegtams-kv, grotta saung, gröu / galdur, fiolsvinns-mäl og hyndluliod; sem allar eiga / ad iñsetiast ä eftir þryms-qv [nb i þessu Apographo / eru þær i tilvisudum stad iñsettar pag. 152 Seqq].'

Hence, the scribe has deliberately elected to place these poems, which were not in his exemplar, among the mythological poems of **CR**; compare the contrary decision of Páll Sveinsson in 1491. This placing of the poems is identical to that of the Egilsson group, itself descended from **Ra** and this might have influenced the scribe. The order of these poems in **5** also follows that of the Egilsson MSS, rather than that of **Ha**.

The scribe also tells us what his exemplar for these poems — including *Sv* — was:

'þessar epter skrifad(u)r (adr nefnd(u)r Vegtams qu etc) / Qvidur, Liöd og Kvædi eru ür bok Sr Vigf I.S. Prof i / Hitardal'.

This is **Ha**. So, the scribe prefers Þórður Jónsson's MS for the **CR** poems, but uses **Ha** for the additional poems of **CR**. He is likely to have chosen Þórður's exemplar over **Ha** for the **CR** poems because it provided a wealth of marginalia, and filled up the lacuna. However unlike **Ha** he chooses to place these five within the **CR** poems.

As a copy of **Ha**, the text of *Sv* in **5** is B Text.

f. 636 (related MSS: **Ha**)

Lbs 636 quarto is a bound volume written in a single hand for the most part, dated by PEÓ to 1750-60. The poetry is written as prose, with each verse forming a single paragraph. The contents are as PEÓ describes them, but with poems from outside **CR** intermingled with those from **CR**. Thus the order of these is: *Vsp*, *Hávm*, *Sigrdr* (v. 5 to end; see below), kennings ('Eya nöfn'), *Gri*, *Vafþr*, *Alv*, 'Haugbua ed(ur) Hallmundar Vysur', *Sól*, *Höfuðlausn*, 'FáEinar Kien(n)ingar', 'Flock Vysur Hromundar', *Helr*, *Reg* (16-25), 'Helsaungur Asbiarnar', 'Rekstefia', *Skí*, *Hárb*, *Hym*, *Lok*, *Þry*, *Fj*, *Bdr*, *Gróg* (= 'Grouljód') and *Völ*. This is followed by *Hhund* I, and the MS then follows the **CR** order through to the end of *Hamð*, but giving only *Sigrdr* 1-4. The rest of the MS is as given in PEÓ: poetry and prose items of a mythological cast. The selection of poems is similar to that of 1689: these are the only two MSS I know which contain the curious 'Valagaldur Kraco'. No other MS I know mingles **CR** and non-**CR** poems so thoroughly as this.

The text of *Vsp* is a C19 copy of — presumably — the c18 version, with many notes and annotations. The text of *Vsp* itself is close to the Stockholm manuscripts. Hence, it shares characteristic readings with the text found in the second part of **6**, but without the appalling errors of that MS, and also lacking verse 65 (with the extra lines, *semr hann dóma ...*), as found in **6**. There is another link with **6** in the text of *Hávm* in 636: this is a straight copy of Resen's 1665 printed text. These two MSS are the only ones I have seen which simply copy that text.¹ Octavo sheets are interleaved within *Hávm*, giving variant readings from **CR**.

The texts of *Sigrdr* are again unusual. The first text, that following *Hávm* in the MS, gives broadly the same text as (for example) **S** and Stockholm Papp. 38 fol: that is, v. 5- end, followed by a brief prose link leading into verses from *Guðr* I.² This text also reads *Linrunar* at 11/1, exactly as do **S**, **O** and **38**, following Björn of Skarðsá. The second text of *Sigrdr*, inserted in its proper place among the **CR** poems, goes only up to the end of the prose preceding v. 5, notes that the remainder is to be found in 'Sigurdrifumál' and goes straight on into *Brot*. Both **934** and **818** give similarly complementary versions of *Sigrdr*, but this MS does not share the other eccentricities of those two, giving, for instance, the full text of *Vafþr*.

This suggests that the MS, or its exemplar, is based on an eclectic and unusual selection of texts. The text of *Sv* is pure recension B, and according to the computer collation closest to that in **Ha** of all the MSS.

g. **818** (related MSS — **818: 934; 818b** [*Gróg* only:] **He**)

Lbs 818 quarto is a bound collection of mostly mythological prose (*SnE*, kenning lists) and poetry ('*Sæmundar Edda*', and other poems — e.g. *Sonatorrek*, *Hrafnagaldur*, *Sól*, etc), in two distinct parts, separately numbered. According to the title page to the whole collection, it was:

'Samañtint oc i eitt binde iñ fest og skrifad / á Hrappsey 180. [*sic*]
af Olafe Sveinsyne.'

¹ The copy of Resen's *Hávm* in **6** is that in the first part of that MS. As one might expect, the text of *Hávm* in the second part of **6**, that containing '*Sæmundar Edda*', shows the characteristic readings of the Stockholm manuscripts.

² For other texts containing a similar arrangement see Helgason 1952, III 88.

Ólafur Sveinsson (1761-1845; Guðnason 1961, II 222) was son-in-law of Ólafur Jónsson of Purkey, owner and probable compiler of **J**. However, there appears to be no direct connection between the texts of the two MSS.

There are several different hands, and the material is spectacularly disorganized: there are two different texts of *Hávm*, three of *Sigrdr*, two of *Akv* and two of *Gróg*. The order, or lack of order, is reminiscent of **934**, with which this MS has much in common, but neither the order or choice of poems in the two MSS is identical. The texts of *Sv* all occur in the second part of the MS, along with all the poetry except the first text of *Hávm*. The first text of *Gróg* is placed after the 'bird riddles' (Faulkes 1979, I 58) and before *Alv*, on 6r-6v. *Fj* appears between *Vsp* and *Hym*, 14v-15r. These together are **818**. The second text of *Gróg* — **818b** — comes on 74r-74v, between *Gri* and *Grott*, and is written in three columns: the other text of *Sv* is written as prose, across the whole page. Virtually all this second part of the MS, including the two *Sv* texts, is written in the one hand.

The text of the poetry in the second part of the MS is, so far as I have checked, remarkably close to **934**. It preserves exactly the same quite extraordinary readings in *Vsp* and *Hávm*. In both MSS *it setta* in *Vafþr* 32 is omitted, and the numbering of all the following questions moved up one to accommodate this. Both MSS of *Vafþr* stop abruptly at the end of 45. Faulkes 1979, I 116 states that the interpretation of the bird riddles in the two texts is very similar. Finally both MSS preserve, rather poorly, the B version of *Sv*. The first text of *Sv* in **818**, on pp. 6 and 14-15, is wonderfully nonsensical: perhaps influenced by the characteristic B reading of *Fj* 44 *vætr... knegia* (there's no man who can't sleep in Menglǫð's arms) **818** alters *til pins* in *Fj* 50 to *alþings*. Menglǫð is looking forward to pleasuring the Althing !

The second text of *Gróg*, 74r-74v, is little better, and appears — like **3633** — to be based on the worthless **6**; see pp. 437-8 above.

h. **934** (related MS: **818**).

Nordiska Museet (Stockholm) 64. **934** is, according to Faulkes 1979, I 120, 'written circa 1700 or in the early 18th century'. Like many other Icelandic MSS (e.g. **J** and **He**) **934** was originally an unbound collection of gatherings of various sizes: thus the heavy wear on some pages (e.g. last page of 'Snorra Edda' 35v, and first page of 'Annar partur', 36r; also first page of *Hávm*, 62r).

The first 8 leaves of text (2r-9v) are the frontispiece and pages 1-14 of 'Schedae / Ara Prests / Froda', printed at Skálholt 1688; these pages contain Jón Erlendsson's edition of Ari's *Íslendingabók*. The last 4 (87r-90v) are pages 175-182 of the same book, the appendix ('Vidboetir Sogunnar') of 'Ara Prests Froda'. The whole is bound with stiffened paper formed by compacting old letters.

Several names are written on the reverse of the flyleaf facing the frontispiece, and on 10r and v. Prominent among these is 'Sveinbiorn Biarnason': written across the fly-leaf is 'Eigandr þessar bókar er Sveinbiorn Biarnason', and the name reappears on 10v: 'Sveinbiarn^r Biarnas / þverfelle'. Among these names too is 'J Helgason ad Woge'; I have not been able to trace either person. These references place the MS in the same small area of Hvammsfjörður associated with a surprising number of other MSS — so J, the exemplar of 6 and especially 818, with which 934 has much in common. The book came to the Nordiska Museet on 27 November 1889 through Helgi Sigurðsson, priest at Akranes. He bought many articles for the Nordiska Museet on the commission of Artur Afzelius. This book appears to have come from his own collection: it is listed in his 'Skrá yfir forngripur sira H. S. a Akranesi', 1887, and the initials H.S. appear on the title page.

The manuscript portions of 934 constitute a collection of older mythology and poetry. Sheets 11 to 49r are *SnE* (the Y version of Magnús Ólafsson's Edda, Faulkes 1979, I 120-1); the remainder — carrying straight on from *SnE* on the same sheet — contains virtually all the poetry of *SE*. The order of the poems in this MS is unusual:

49r-50r *Sigrdr* (verses 5-37); 50r-50v *Sonatorrek*, 51r-52v *Geðspeki*. (Wear on first leaf suggests this was a separate booklet.); 53r-54r 'Sinfiotla lok', *Gríp*, 54r-55r *Fáfn*, 55r-55v 'Upptak Brinhilldaz kvida': *Sigrdr* 1-4, with prose, as in CR; 55v-56r *Guðr* I, 56r-56v *Oddrgr*, 56v-61r *Völ*, *Hhund* I, *HHj*, *Hhund* II; 61r-61v *Hamð*, 62r-65v *Hávm* (first leaf very worn); 66r-67v *Vsp*, 67v-68v *Vafpr*, 68v-70v *Sól*, 70v-72v *Grí*, 72v-73v *Skí*, 73v-75v *Lok*, 75v-76v *Alv*, 76v-77r *Gróg*, 77r-78r *Hyndl*, 78v Bird riddles (Faulkes 1979, I 120); 78v-81r *Hárb*, *Hym*, 81r-82v *Þry*, 82v-83v *Fj*, 83v-84v *Krákumál*, 84v-85r verses 16-24 of *Reg*, 85r-86v 'Faein formale epter ABC': glossarial entries alphabetically arranged.

One cannot imagine the order of poems in CR more thoroughly scrambled. A similar rearrangement of the order of the poems is found in 818. The sequence 'Sinfiotla lok'-*Hamð* is identical in both, but the order and selection of the poems otherwise differs.

In addition, the text of at least some of the CR poems differs radically from that of CR. The text of *Vsp* contains more readings from MSS of

SnE and **Hb** than is usual: this is one of the very few MSS I have seen to read *tregari* in 40 (the others are Uppsala R681, **818**, Sb, **289** and possibly **2797**), and which gives 47/1-4 in the order preferred by modern editors and found in some MSS of *SnE* (thus also **818**, Sa, Sb, AM 281 4to). Yet some readings from outside **CR** common in other MSS are absent: e.g. *iviðjur* in 2; also verse 34. Similarly with *Hávm*: **934**, **818** and **636** are the only MSS I have seen which agree with Resen 1665 in omitting 53/1-2 and 129, yet **934** does not give many other readings of Resen found in many other MSS — notably the extra verse in 87 and *þioðanlaðar* in 114. The replacement of 64/6 by 62/6, following inversion of 62 and 63, seems unique to **934** and shows critical acumen.

Although the relationship of the **CR** poems in this MS to **CR** presents problems, the affiliations of the texts of *Gróg* and *Fj* are clear enough. These are pure B text.

i. **643** (related MS **1689**)

Egerton 643 (British Library) is the MS referred to as 'my MS. of the ancient Edda' on a single sheet of paper pasted inside the front cover of a copy of Arnamagnæan 1787 in the Bodleian library, shelf mark Douce E 277. The sheet gives a table of contents for the MS, and was written by Dr. Adam Clarke (1762?-1832, *DNB*). The table of contents corresponds exactly with the order of poems in this MS: thus all the poems of **CR**, in the same order as **CR**, with the poems titled as is usual in paper MSS ('hamars heimt', etc). Between *Þry* and *Völ* are placed *Bdr*, *Grott*, *Gróg*, *Fj*, *Hyndl* and *Hrafnagald*, with *Rþ* occurring after *Hamð*.

No other MS I have seen has all these poems in this order. **1689** (written c. 1755 by Oddur Jónsson) has exactly the same poems in exactly the same order right through to the end of *Hamð*, but not *Rþ*. Like **1689**, **643** is a Sauðlauksdalur MS (see p. 459). The text of *Sv* is very close to that of **1689**; it may be a copy of that or another of the three MSS written by Oddur Jónsson. It is written in the one hand throughout.

The inclusion of *Rþ* may date this MS. So far as I know, no MS of *SE* written before about 1770 includes this poem. It appears in only another three of the MSS I have examined:

E: most of this MS is written c. 1760, but *Rþ* was added later and apparently after c. 1770. The copy of **E** in **4877** does not include *Rþ*, suggesting that this poem was not in **4877** at the time of copying. **4877** was probably written c. 1770; it was acquired by Sir Joseph Banks in 1772. The other MS closest to **E** is **L**, apparently derived from the same exemplar (pp. 182-5 above). **L** is dated 1769, and does not include *Rþ*.

289: this is a copy of **E**. *Rþ* here may derive direct from **E**. **289** appears to have been written after 1787 (p. 152 above).

223: written 1809-10. This MS is closely related to **289**.

The association with **E** is strengthened by the placement of *Rþ* in Clarke's MS after *Hamð*, exactly where it is placed in **E**.

643 was purchased by the British Museum as part of the Clarke sale 24 May 1838. In pencil on the fly-leaf is the note "Codex Thorlacianus".

3. Lost Manuscripts

In this section I discuss only those MSS containing *Sv* for whose sometime existence there is firm documentary evidence.

a. 'G'

The Arnamagnæan 1787 edition of *Fj* cites numerous readings it attributes to 'G'. According to the preface of this edition (xliii), this is 'Codex chartaceus a possessore Geiro Vidalino'. Rask 1818 also refers to a 'Geirseddu', which he says (in his note to *Fj* 19) was used by the Arnamagnæan editors of *Fj*.

I have seen no MS known by this name and the readings cited as 'G' do not correspond to those of any MS I know. It appears closest to the Egilsson MSS (*siá at*, *Fj* 9, 11; *hvert* 17) but some readings I have seen nowhere else: *foral Fj* 9, *rökum* 20. Like **47**, also used by the Arnamagnæan 1787 editors, it may have found its way into a foreign library.

b. The Edda of Jón Ólafsson yngri

Bjarni Þórarinnsson declares that the exemplar for his copy (**223**, written in 1809-10) of the **CR** poems was 'Edda Jóns Ólafssonar hins yngri'. Jón Ólafsson yngri (1738-75) was the brother of Jón Ólafsson eldri (1731-1811) who was much involved in the preparation of Arnamagnæan 1787 (*Aevi* III 240).

This MS now appears lost, but quite a lot can be deduced about it from Bjarni's comments. Bjarni says that it was written 'eptir handskrá Professoris Arna Magnússonar', Arni's copy of **CR**. Accordingly, Bjarni's copy has the readings characteristic of MSS descended from Arni's copy — see p. 470. But as Arni's copy was burnt in the 1728 fire — ten years before Jón's birth — Jón himself cannot have copied Arni's MS.

At least one copy must lie between Jón and Arni's copies. The close correspondence of the wording of part of Bjarni's preamble with a note in Edinburgh 21.4.4, the copy of Arni's MS made about 1727 by Jón Sigurðsson (see pp. 469-70), suggests that this MS lies behind Jón's copy. Bjarni's preamble states that the table of contents and the titles were not in the original MS, but "þetta allt hefr lögmaðr Páll Jónsson Vidalin latit tilsetia". In Edinburgh 21.4.4 these are very similarly explained: 'Allt þ(at) hefr latit tilsetia Edla h(er)r(a) lögmaðr/rinn Paall Jónsson Widalin'.

It is likely that this "Edda Jons Olafssonar hins yngri" is the same MS as 'Joh Olavius ... sua Edda', whose contents are given by Jón Eíriksson in the preface to 47. According to him, this had the poems of CR in the same order as CR down to the end of *Þry*, then *Bdr*, *Gróg*, *Fj*, *Hyndl*, *Völ* and thence the order of CR to the end of *Hamð*. *Hrafnagald*r and *Sól* complete the MS. The sequence *Gróg*, *Fj* and *Hyndl* is identical with that found in Ra and MSS demonstrably derived from it: e.g. the three Egilsson MSS, 1868, O and the MSS written by Oddur Jónsson (1689 5 329). The placement of these poems among the mythological poems of CR — between *Þry* and *Völ* — also resembles that common to Ra and its descendants.

Therefore, the text of Sv may likewise derive from Ra, as does Sv in the Egilsson MSS. But this cannot be certain: at least two MSS, 1491 and J, which appear to derive from X4 rather than Ra have the poems in similar order. One would also expect *Grott* to precede *Gróg*, as it does in Ra and the other related MSS.

This MS may have made its way to a foreign library and be preserved there, exactly as happened with 47.

c. Resen's MS

Among the MSS listed in P. H. Resen's catalogue (printed in 1685) of books and MSS given by him to the University Library of Copenhagen is a single 'Edda Sæmundi'.¹ The contents of this are listed, apparently in full and in the MS order. These are the mythological poems of SE, in a most unusual order: *Vsp*, *Háv*m, *Vafþr*, *Grí*, *Bdr*, *Alv*, *Hárb*, *Hym*, *Lok*, *Þry*, *Skí*, *Grott*, *Gróg*, *Fj*, *Hyndl*, *Sól*. The titles given the poems are those usual to paper MSS: so 'Wegtansqvithu' (sic), 'Egisdrekká', 'Lokaglepsa', 'Hamars heimt'. Each poem is briefly described: *Gróg* is 'incantamenta Groæ Sagæ', and *Fj* is 'sermones Fiolsvinii varia naturæ secreta edisserentis'.

No MS now extant has the CR poems in this order. It is closest to the order of these poems in the Stockholm MSS, as in St itself: see p. 51. Thus the placement of *Alv* before *Hárb*, *Lok* and *Þry* and of *Skí* after these. In other respects, the orders differ: *Bdr* in St comes after *Hym*. On the other hand, the sequence *Grott*, *Gróg*, *Fj*, *Hyndl* is identical with that found in Ra and its descendants.

Therefore, this MS cannot be assigned to any known MS family, as can the other lost MSS discussed above. It may represent a now-lost line

¹ *Petri Johannis Resenii bibliotheca regiae academiae Hafnensis donata*, Copenhagen 1685. The descriptions of MSS in this are reprinted in Kålund 1909, 108-120.

of descent from X. Like almost all the MSS given by Resen to the University Library, it appears to have been burnt in the 1728 fire.¹

d. Arni Magnússon's MSS

Several MSS containing *Sæmundar Edda* are listed in the partial catalogues of MSS collected by Arni preserved in AM 435 a and 435 b, both quarto. These are printed in Kålund 1909. Thus:

1. 'Sæmundar Edda folio manu mea. / hun er óefad hia Sr. Jone i Hitardal. hun kom ur lanenu 1724' (p. 55).

'Sr Jone' is Jón Halldórsson, priest at Hítardalur. This appears to be Arni's own copy of CR, the exemplar of Edinburgh 21.4.4 and Ha; see pp. 469-70 below. It appears that Jón copied this MS into Ha in Iceland in 1723, see p. 457 above: so Arni's statement 'hun kom ur lanenu 1724'.

2. 'Sæmundar Edda, ex membr. (Regiâ)'. (p. 68).

3. 'Sæmundar Edda, med sømu hendi'. (p. 72).

Written by 'Sr Jon i Villinga holti': Jón Erlendsson.

4. 'Sæmundar Edda med hendi Asgeirs, ex membr. Regiâ'. (p. 75).

This is Asgeir Jónsson (1657-1707, *Ævi* I 91-2).

5. 'Sæmundar Edda a pergament, ritud med hende Jons Jons sonar i Oddgeirs holum og vida in marginibus corrigerud med eigen hendi Mag. Bryniolfs. Er søgd Membrana eigi mikils verd, vida mis skrifud og per totum parum accuratè. Er annars i fyrsta ex membranâ (Regiâ). Mag. Bryniolfr gaf Monsr. þormode þetta exemplar'. (p. 81).

Jón Jónsson 'i Oddgeirs holum' (c. 1660, *Ævi* III, 170-1) copied MSS for Brynjólfur Sveinsson. The comment 'Er annars i fyrsta ex membranâ (Regiâ)' suggests that one part of the MS contained some, at least, of the poems of CR copied from CR itself — and that other parts of the MS contain poems not found in CR and derived from a different and inferior 'membrana'. If Sv was in this MS, it must have been in the part derived from the inferior vellum.

This last entry is the nearest we have to any reference to the existence of X, the medieval MS from which all extant copies of Sv descend. There is no evidence that X was ever in Arni's possession: he states that 'oll exemplaria, sem eg séð hefi, eru yngri en initium episcopatus Brynolvi' — that is, written after 1639 (quoted Vigfússon 1883, I xcii; from Univ. Cph. Add 65 4to, according to Bugge lxiii, citing Jón Sigurðsson).

¹ The only MS of this collection to survive the fire was what is now AM 399 4to, which had been lent to Arni and so escaped (Kålund 1900, xv-xvii; Hermannsson 1929, 50-51).

We know of many other MSS of *SE* held by Arni. Among the materials relating to Arni's MSS collected in AM 739 4to is a list of 'Sæmundar Eddur geysi-margar', written by Arni himself. This details fifteen copies of *SE*, all presumably in Arni's possession before the 1728 fire. The list is printed in Vigfússon I xcii; thus:

"Med hendi Jóns Gísla sonar. 4to."

(Perhaps 1665-1724, *Ævi* III 116.)

"Mágnuss Sigurds sonar. Folio."

(I cannot trace this person.)

"Arna Alfs sonar. Folio."

(c.1655-1737, *Ævi* I 34.)

"Med hendi Sira Ólafs Jóns sonar. 4to."

(1672-1707, *Ævi* IV 60.)

"Med hendi Mag. Bryniólfs framan af, frá Oddi Sigurds syni. Folio."

(Perhaps 1637-65, *Ævi* IV 18-9. Possibly the copy on vellum of **CR** made by Brynjólfur himself referred to by Arni in *Vita Sæmundi* viii-ix).

"Med hendi Biörns á Skardsá, 4to, gaud-röng."¹

"Med hendi Sira Jóns í Villingaholti. Folio."

Med hendi Sira J..... 8vo."

(cf. 2 and 3 above.)

"Sira Þorkels Arngríms sonar, 8vo, ónyt."

(Perhaps 1629-77, *Ævi* V 144-5.)

"Sira Arna í Gerdi, 8vo, ónyt."

Sira Einars í Görðum, 8vo, ónyt."

Sira Halldórs í Reykholti, 4to."

(I cannot trace these last three.)

"Sigurðar Biörns sonar lögmennz. Folio. Með tvö-faldri Völuspá. Báðar eins rangar. Í Mag. Bryniólfs var fleira en í membranis."

(1643-1723, *Ævi* IV 212-3. The 'tvö-faldri Völuspá' probably means a text composite of **CR** and **Hb**. Thus Bugge *NF* lix, and so too in **Ra**: see p. 57).²

¹ *NF* lxii reads this as 'gandraung'.

² *NF* lix appears to think that the 'Báðar eins rangar' refers to both this MS and that of Sira Halldór; both these therefore have the 'tvö-faldri

"Jóns í Oddgeirs hólum. 4to."

(apparently the same MS as 5 above.)

"Med minni eigin hendi. Folio. þar af hafa copiur sira Jón í Hitardal og Páll lögmadr."

(the same MS as 1 above. Jón's copy is **Ha**, Páll's Edinburgh 21.4.4)

All these MSS, and presumably many others, appear to have been destroyed in the 1728 fire. How many such there were, and how many contained Sv, is forever uncertain. The damage to Sv scholarship from the loss of these MSS is incalculable.

3.1 Possible Impact of Rediscovery of Lost MSS

After thirty MSS had been seen the MSS were divided into the groups described in I. 5. The MSS seen later — all written after 1728 — altered this reconstruction of the MS history only in minor details. I am confident that the reconstruction is sufficiently robust to absorb further MSS written after 1728.

However, other MSS representing an alternative line of descent from X and X1 may once have existed; see pp. 22, 466-7. Some of the many MSS presumably burnt in 1728 may have derived independent of X2. If any of these were to reappear, the conclusions of this edition might need radical revision.

4. Arni Magnússon's Copy of CR

The two lists of Arni's MSS of *SE* discussed above refer to his own autograph copy of **CR** and two copies of it: one owned by "Sira Jón í Hitardal" and the second by "Páll lögmadr". While his autograph itself appears to have been burnt in the Copenhagen fire of 1728, both these copies survive:

1. "Sira Jón í Hitardal" is Jón Halldórsson, priest at Hítardalur from 1691 to 1736. His copy of **CR** was written in 1723 and is now preserved in **Ha**, see pp. 457-8.
2. "Páll lögmadr" is Páll Jónsson Vídalín (1667-1727, *Ævi* IV 145-6). His copy is now in Edinburgh 21.4.4 written according to Halldórsson *Scotland* 35a by Jón Sigurðsson (1702-57). Jón was Páll's foster-son and was in Copenhagen from 1726-29 (*Ævi* III 261). In a prefatory note to the MS Jón states that Páll asked for the titles and table of contents to be supplied (see pp. 465-6). This

Völuspá'. But Arni may mean that both texts combined into the composite *Vsp* are 'eins rangar'.

suggests that Edinburgh 21.4.4 was written before Páll's death on 18th July 1727.

þórður Jónsson's copy of the poems of CR may also have been copied from Arni's MS. I have not been able to trace this MS. However, exact comparison of the copies of it in 1491 and 5 with the two copies of Arni's MS in Ha and Edinburgh 21.4.4 — which I have not been able to carry out — should show whether þórður's MS is based on Arni's copy or directly on CR itself. For the influence of þórður's MS see pp. 187-8 above.

The excellence of Arni's transcript of CR is evident from Ha and Edinburgh 21.4.4: one can use these two as transcripts of CR itself. Arni was able to correct misreadings of CR resulting from the attempts of earlier scribes to read that MS: he restores stanzas 62 and 63 of *Hávm* to the correct order and reads *handar* in *Hávm* 71. These readings show Arni's sensitivity to scribal practice; see p. 36 for the erroneous readings found in other MSS.

Indeed, the excellence of Arni's copy — and, in turn, the copies of it — make it difficult to establish descent from Arni's copy rather than from CR itself, or from some other copy. So far as I have compared these MSS with Wimmer and Jónsson's reproduction of CR, I have found only one error in the text of these copies. That is at *Hávm* 28, where both Ha and Edinburgh 21.4.4 read *þiccir* for CR *þicciz* (= *pikkisk*). It appears that Arni realized his mistake, for in both MSS "*þicckiz Memb*" is written beside the error.

Two other peculiarities apparent in these two copies appear to derive from Arni's MS:

1. In both MSS the formulas of *Hávm* 112-37, variously abbreviated in CR, are expanded identically: to *at þú rað* 112-14 and to *enn þú rað* thereafter.
2. In both MSS there is written in the lacuna "Desunt ad minimum 8 folia" followed by *Brot*.

Presence of these peculiarities in copies of CR therefore suggests descent from Arni's copy. Some of these appear in P J (*Hávm* only) 223 and the Langebek MSS: these MSS may then descend from Arni's copy.¹

Arni's copy is important not just for the MSS which were copied from it but for the example it set. Many early copies of the poems of CR show that the scribes might feel free to rearrange, emend, introduce new material from other MSS and alter generally in any way they felt inclined. Thus the texts of *Vsp* in (for example) St, Sb, Ra and O. Even when scribes tried simply to copy, the standard of accuracy could be low: e.g. the errors in S

¹ Excepting perhaps the Langebek MS 1869; see p. 448.

discussed on pp. 25-8. Against this, the rigorous accuracy of Arni's copy demonstrated a different concept of scribal duty.

Scribal eccentricity did not disappear in Iceland in the eighteenth century. But for every Jón Egilsson of Haukadalur (see pp. 436-8) there seem to have been many more who wanted MSS which copied their exemplars exactly: thus Páll Sveinsson, Eggert Ólafsson, Þorsteinn Pétursson, Oddur Jónsson and Ólafur Jónsson. It seems no accident that the two best late MSS of Sv, P and J, also preserve copies of poems from CR which descend from Arni's copy.

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Abbreviations used in this Bibliography are:

<i>Aarb</i>	Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie.
<i>ANF</i>	Arkiv för nordisk filologi.
<i>EA</i>	Editiones Arnemagnæanæ.
<i>FFC</i>	Folklore Fellows Communications.
<i>IF</i>	Íslensk Fornrit.
<i>MM</i>	Maal og Minne.
<i>PBB</i>	Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur begründet von Wilhelm Braune, Hermann Paul, Eduard Sievers. Halle 1874- and Tübingen 1955-.
<i>RC</i>	Révue Celtique.
<i>STUAGNL</i>	Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur.

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- Lbs Landsbókasafn, Reykjavík: both as the name of the National Library of Iceland and as the prefix for the MSS collected under that shelf-mark.

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Wordcounts

Abbreviations; Manuscripts	969
I.1 Previous editions and this Edition	3946
I.2 The MSS St and Ra	13694
I. 4 Commentary: <i>Gróugaldr</i>	4747
Commentary: <i>Fjölsvinnsmál</i>	13552
I.5 A Reconstruction of the MS Tradition	22908
II.1 Sources and Analogues: Introduction	571
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II.3 The Matter of <i>Sv</i> and other Icelandic Sources	5719
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III. 1 Old Norse Tradition in <i>Sv</i> : Introduction	286
III.2 Verbal Echoes of Eddic Poems in <i>Sv</i>	7101
III.3 Approaches to Mythological Reference in <i>Sv</i>	4652
III. 4 Mythological Reference in <i>Sv</i> : the Names	6309
III.5 Mythological Reference in <i>Sv</i> : the Motifs	9875
IV.1 The Date of <i>Sv</i>	3026
IV. 2 A Reading of <i>Sv</i>	6190
Non-examinable Appendix: Other Manuscripts	20537
Bibliography	6111
Total (excluding Text and Appendix)	124400