

**GRÍMNISMÁL:
A CRITICAL EDITION**

Vittorio Mattioli

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



2017

**Full metadata for this item is available in
St Andrews Research Repository
at:**

<http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>

Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:

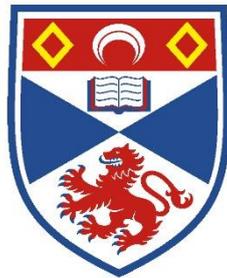
<http://hdl.handle.net/10023/12219>

This item is protected by original copyright

**This item is licensed under a
Creative Commons Licence**

Grímnismál:
A Critical Edition

Vittorio Mattioli



University of
St Andrews

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews

12.11.2017

Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is an in-depth analysis of the Eddic poem *Grímnismál* found in the manuscript known as Codex Regius (GKS 2365 4to), located in Reykjavík, dated to c. 1270 and a fragment (AM 748 I 4to), located in Copenhagen, dated to c. 1300. While a great deal of work has been done on *Grímnismál* as part of the *Elder Edda*, there is yet no specific edition focusing on it alone.

New studies on Germanic paganism and mythology show its shifting nature and the absence of specific tenets or uniform beliefs throughout the Germanic speaking world and in time. The relatively absent sources are similarly scattered. As such, the thesis suggests a new method of study, following a focused historical approach in which only *Grímnismál* is analysed in an attempt to understand the beliefs of the people that composed it. The nature of pagan belief itself prevents one from drawing more general conclusions on ‘Norse mythology’ as a whole.

Part 1 is divided into two chapters and deals with my approach, the nature of Germanic belief, and the sources available as well as techniques of interpretation for them, all relevant to the production of the arguments made in the thesis. Part 2 deals with *Grímnismál* itself: Chapter 1 provides an analysis of the manuscripts, Chapter 2 contains my editing notes and Chapter 3 analyses the contents of the poem, Chapter 4 consists of my conclusions to this study, focusing on the cosmology and the dating of the poem. Part 3 contains the edition of *Grímnismál* and is followed by Part 4 which is the commentary to the poem. The thesis is followed by two appendices, one containing a facing transcription of the manuscripts and the other being a glossary to all words used in *Grímnismál*. Finally, this thesis includes a digital edition worked on xml. This is available in the following link:

<https://starescomp.github.io/grimnismal/#idm140518410334752>

Contents

Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgments.....	vi
Part 1 Introduction	1
Chapter 1. Germanic Paganism.....	1
Chapter 2. The sources.....	12
1. The Interpretatio Romana.....	12
2. Christian Sources.....	17
3. Better safe than Snorri	21
4. Icelandic Sources	24
5. Linguistic Sources	32
6. Comparative philology	35
7. Comparison with Christianity.....	38
8. Conclusion	40
Part 2 <i>Grímnismál</i> : Manuscripts and Contents	42
Chapter 1. Manuscripts	42
1. GKS 2365 4to Manuscript.....	44
2. AM 748 I 4to Manuscript	51
Chapter 2. Editing Notes	58
1. Printed Edition.....	58
2. Digital Edition	65
3. Snorri's <i>Grímnismál</i>	67
Chapter 3. The Poem.....	70
1. Metre and Performance	71
2. Óðinn	83
Chapter 4. Conclusion.....	98
1. Cosmology.....	102
2. Dating of <i>Grímnismál</i>	112
Part 3 <i>Grímnismál</i>	115
Chapter 1. <i>Grímnismál</i> - <i>Codex Regius</i> manuscript (GKS 2365 4to).....	115
Fra sonom. hraðungi konungs.....	115
Chapter 2. <i>Grímnismál</i> – AM 748 I 4to Fragment.....	125
Fra hraðungi konungi	125
Chapter 3. Uppsala Edda quotes of <i>Grímnismál</i>	135
<i>Gylfaginning</i>	135

Part 4	<i>Grímnismál</i> – Commentary	139
Appendix I	Transcriptions	247
Chapter 1.	GKS 2365 4to Facing Facsimile Diplomatic Transcription.....	247
Chapter 2.	AM 748 I 4o Facing Facsimile Diplomatic Transcription	260
Appendix II	Index of Names and Glossary	271
Chapter 1.	Index of Names	271
Chapter 2.	Glossary.....	281
Appendix III	Bibliography.....	304

Acknowledgments

I would first like to thank both my supervisors, Dr James Palmer and Dr Alex Woolf. The continued support of my third, unofficial supervisor, Paul Bibire, has been critical as well. Moreover, I would like to thank everyone that helped me with my research, namely: Hannah Burrows, Henning Kure, Orestis Lapokoustantakis, Emmanouil Spiliotopoulos, Jonas Wellendorf, Terry Gunnell, Jonathan Hui and the folks at the Arnamagnæan Manuscript Summer School who taught me so much about editing and who introduced me to the wonderful world of digital humanities. Furthermore, Alice Crawford, Patrick McCann and especially Swithun Crowe, who spent countless hours helping me with my digital edition of *Grímnismál*. Working on this thesis would have been impossible without the support of my family and the job provided by the University Library Special Collections. Help provided by Michael French, Hrileena Ghosh, María Merino and Timothy Owens has not gone unnoticed, as well as the tolerance of my office mates in the Osgood Room and the secretaries at the Department of Medieval History, Audrey and Dorothy, who received countless of research books delivered for me. Lastly, I would like to thank my parents, Óðinn and Margaret Clunies-Ross.

Part 1 Introduction

Chapter 1. Germanic Paganism

Anders Andrén writes that ‘there never was an archaic and unchanging Scandinavian religion’.¹ This view, contradicting popular ideas of Germanic paganism, has been analysed and discussed by a number of scholars in the past few decades. If I were asked to describe Germanic paganism in one sentence, I would say that such a thing simply does not exist. As Palmer notes, paganism is ‘something more akin to an attitude than a belief system.’² Paganism is a shifting identity, a *forn siðr*, ‘old way of life’, instead of a specific religion followed universally in the Germanic-speaking world.³ As it will be shown below, the surviving sources are very fragmentary and limited, and in many cases problematic to use. In his study of Greek religion, Veyne wrote that it is not necessary that mythology was directly related to religion. People might have believed in the mythology without actually practicing anything related to it in their cults.⁴ It could have been the opposite too. Pious people with regard to cults need not necessarily have believed in the myths. The same might be the case with Germanic religions. I can see why de Vries, in his study of Loki, saw ‘nothing but a medley of contradictions’,⁵ and that could be said to be the case for all of Germanic mythology.

The Eddic Poem *Grímnismál* has the god Óðinn narrate in the first person how the worlds of the gods are divided, which creatures live where and a number of other cosmological elements. He does all this, after having been tortured by the human king Geirrøðr, as a means to thank the king’s son, Agnarr, who helps him by giving him something to drink. This premise

¹ Anders Andrén, “Behind Heathendom: Archaeological Studies of Old Norse Religion.” In, *Scottish Archaeological Journal*, v. 27.2 (Edinburgh, 2005). p. 132.

² James Palmer, “Defining Paganism in the Carolingian World.” In, *Early Medieval Europe*, v. 15.4 (2007). p. 409.

³ Andrén. p. 108.

⁴ Paul Veyne, *Did the Greeks Believe in Their Myths? An Essay on the Constitutive Imagination*, ed. Paula Wissing (Chicago and London, 1988). p. 17.

⁵ Jan De Vries, *The Problem of Loki* (Helsinki, 1933). p. 55.

shows that the knowledge that Óðinn imparts to Agnarr is not inconsequential, but of critical importance for one to have, especially a future king. By reading *Grímnismál* we not only get to know what a cosmological map of some of the Norse people was, but also its huge importance. But was it so for all Germanic speaking pagans, or even just the Norsemen? Making such a grand statement would imply a unified mythology and set of beliefs.

Óðinn is often presented in the secondary literature as the main god of the Æsir; I shall take him as an example here. Óðinn is a god that appears in different ‘versions’ with different attributes that could have changed through time and space. One can find a huge number of facets attributed to him. However, is Óðinn the same as Wôdan? Is the Óðinn in the *Snorra Edda* the same as the Óðinn in the *Elder Edda*? More importantly, is the Óðinn in *Völuspá* the same as the Óðinn in *Vafþrúðnismál*? Taking an even more specific case, is it the same Óðinn found throughout *Hávamál*? And, of course, one can ask, are all these Óðinns related to any Óðinn worshipped in the pre-Christian world? The sources mentioned here all survive from long after the people had converted to Christianity. Even more universal questions can be asked. In *Skáldskaparmál*, Snorri Sturluson writes:

Sjá saga er til þess at Óðinn fór heiman ok kom þar er þrælar níu slógu hey. Hann spyr ef þeir vili at hann brýni ljá þeira. Þeir játa því. Þá tekr hann hein af beltí sér ok brýndi, en þeim þótti bíta ljárnir myklu betr ok fõluðu hinina. En hann mat svá at sá er kaupá vildi skyldi gefa við hóf, en allir kváðusk vilja ok báðu hann sér selja, en hann kastaði heininni í lopt upp. En er allir vildu henda þá skiptusk þeir svá við at hverr brá ljánum á háls oðrum.⁶

This sounds like a very unjust god. As Turville-Petre writes, there are many examples in which Óðinn awarded victory unjustly, and he turned against his favourite warriors in a few cases.⁷

⁶ ‘The story is that Óðinn went away from home and came there to a place where nine thralls mowed hay. He asked if they wished that he whet their scythes. They assented to that. Then he took a whetstone from his belt. It seemed to them that the scythes cut much better and asked to buy the whetstone. But he answered that he who wished to buy it must give a considerable price. But all said they wished it and instructed him to sell it himself. He threw the whetstone up into the air. But when all wished to put their hands on it, then they each struck each other against their neck.’ Snorri Sturluson, *Skáldskaparmál*, ed. Anthony Faulkes (London, 1998). p. 4.

⁷ Gabriel Turville-Petre, *Myth and Religion of the North: The Religion of Ancient Scandinavia* (Westport and Conn, 1975). p. 53.

One could continue asking such questions for infinity. Answers to any of these questions can also be as varied as the questions themselves, with interpretations of Óðinn going as far as him being considered to be Attila the Hun.⁸ In some cases a likely answer can be given, but the main conclusion is that we simply cannot know exactly who believed in what. Andrén was correct in writing the above quote. He then goes on to call paganism a ‘multifaceted hybrid’ that mutated according to how it was needed to, and of course, throughout time and space.⁹

The image of paganism given here is very negative, and it might seem to the reader that it is impossible to study such a field considering all the problems found in the short number of sources available to us. However, by piecing these few sources together, one can come to some conclusions on how this ‘old way of life’ was. For example, Andrén mentions how Snorri writes about how the Sun is drawn across the sky by two horses. By looking at the archaeological remains, one can see that there is a vast range of artefacts that depict this figure and date to as far back as the fourteenth century BC, with the chariot found in a bog in

⁸ See: Lotte Hedeager, *Iron Age Myth and Materiality: An Archaeology of Scandinavia Ad 400-1000* (Oxon, 2011).

⁹ Andrén. p. 121.

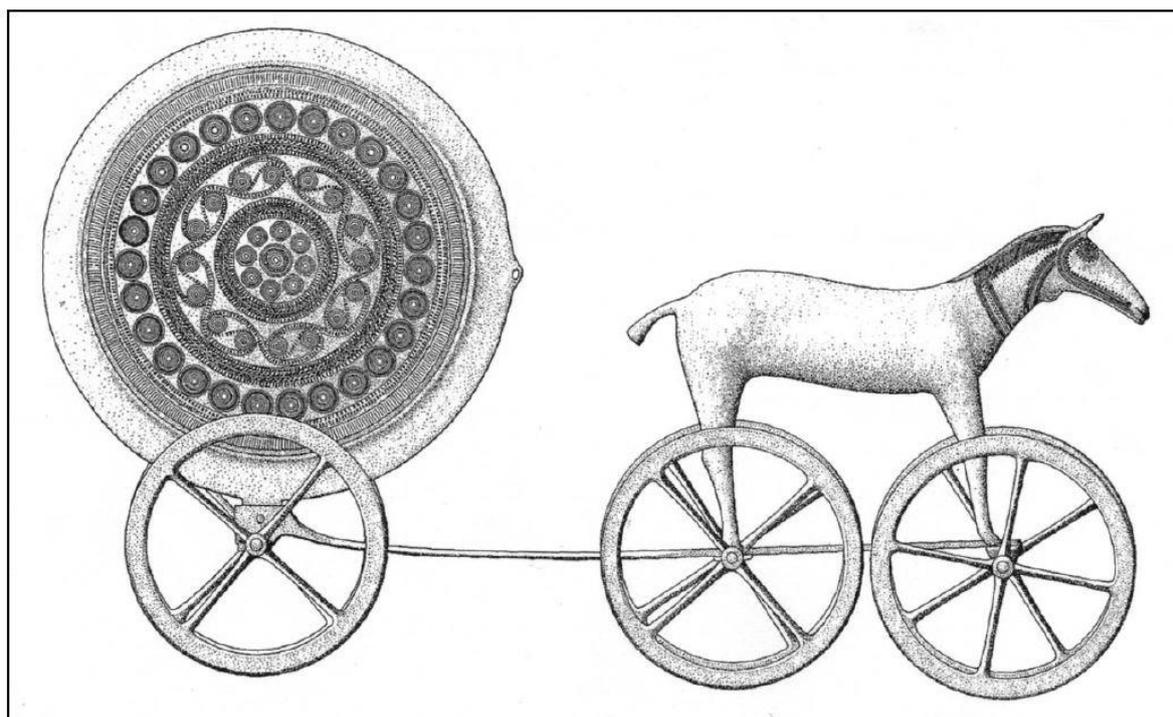


Figure 1 The Sun Chariot found in Trundholm. Source: Andrén. *Behind Heathendom*. p. 123.

Trundholm in Sjælland (see Figure 1 The Sun Chariot found in Trundholm. Source: Andrén. *Behind Heathendom*. p. 123.).¹⁰ Thanks to this, one can conclude that Snorri's depiction could be related to some real belief and not his own creation. However, it could also be a misdated archaeological interpretation on Snorri's, or his source's, part. This could have brought to such similar depictions in his writings. Stefan Brink makes an observation worthy of being reported in its entirety:

All cultures have myths, stories that make an unknown, metaphysical world graspable and familiar. In many cultures there is no dividing line between mythology and history, something that it is important to bear in mind when dealing with oral cultures. For early Scandinavia, we have remnants of such myths in the Poetic *Edda* and in Snorri's *Edda*. These myths are not linear or focused stories; they normally lack logic and continuity, they are fragmentary and repetitive, and they become very 'kaleidoscopic' because they lack depth in time, constituting rather of fragments set in the present. Very often these myths are connected with certain physical features in the landscape, objects that, owing to their perpetual presence, make the mythical stories not only memorable but enable them to function as sanctions or witnesses to these myths.¹¹

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 124.

¹¹ Stefan Brink, "Myth and Ritual in Pre-Christian Scandinavian Landscape," In *Sacred Sites and Holy Places: Exploring the Sacralization of Landscape through Time and Space*, ed. Sæbjørg Walaker Nordeide and Stefan Brink (Turnhout, 2013). p. 34.

This image connects, rightly, mythology to landscape and naturalistic elements, creating a bridge between what people believed in and how they dealt with those beliefs. Archaeological sources point out to the importance of trees, for example, in pagan religions.¹² Sacred trees and groves were common in the Germanic world. It is in those groves that, according to Fabech and Näsman, people believed that the gods resided, and where hierophanies¹³ took place.¹⁴ We may be unable to understand all the underlying concepts of naturalistic cults, but we can see their critical importance in both religion and mythology of the Germanic-speaking peoples.¹⁵ The importance of the symbolism of the tree can be seen in a vast number of religions throughout the world, and Eliade has given a list of all the aspects related to it.¹⁶ As Andrén writes, the tree ‘has always been there, and will always be there.’¹⁷ Following this idea it can hardly be seen as shocking that all kinds of sources, as will be outlined below, show the importance of the tree, especially seen as an *axis mundi*. As will be clear in reading *Grímnismál*, the main surviving literary source on Norse cosmology, the tree was central, both literally and figuratively, in the map that Germanic pagans had painted of the world, as well as their religious practices. What was the case for whoever composed *Grímnismál* might not have been the case for all. Not when it comes to specifics. Below, a number of surviving sources will show the

¹² Carole Cusack, *The Sacred Tree: Ancient and Medieval Manifestations* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2011). p. 1.

¹³ Hierophany definition: compound word that comes from Greek *ἱερός* ‘holy’ and *φαίνειν* ‘to reveal’. The word is used for ‘manifestation of the sacred’.

¹⁴ Charlotte Fabech and Ulf Näsman, “Ritual Landscape and Sacral Places in the First Millennium AD in South Scandinavia,” In *Sacred Sites and Holy Places: Exploring the Sacralization of Landscape through Time and Space*, ed. Sæbjørg Walaker Nordeide and Stefan Brink (Turnhout, 2013). p. 74.

¹⁵ Brink. p. 41.

¹⁶ 1. There is a pattern of stone-tree-altar which constitutes a microcosm of the world in most ancient religions (Australia, China, Indo-China, India, Phoenicia, the Aegean).

2. The tree is an image of the cosmos (India, Mesopotamia).

3. The tree is a site of cosmic theophany (India, Mesopotamia, the Aegean).

4. The tree is a symbol of life, inexhaustible fertility, absolute reality, connected with the symbolism of water identified as the fount of immortality.

5. The tree is the centre of the world and a supporting prop of the universe (Altaians, Scandinavians).

6. Mystical bonds exist between the tree and man (it gives birth to men, is a repository of the souls of ancestors, is used in wedding and initiation rites).

7. The tree is a symbol of the resurrection of vegetation, and of spring (as used in May processions).

Source: Clive Tolley, *Shamanism in Norse Myth and Magic* (Helsinki, 2009). p. 304.

¹⁷ Anders Andrén, *Tracing Old Norse Cosmology. The World Tree, Middle Earth, and the Sun in Archaeological Perspectives* (Lund, 2014). p. 40.

importance of natural elements throughout the Germanic speaking world. One might see a connection between the Irminsul, the world-tree Yggdrasill, the Old Norse *barnstokkr*, the *öndvegissúlur*, ‘high-seat posts’, which, according to Tolley, symbolised such a world pillar.¹⁸ However, such a connection could be mistaken. Or indeed, it could be true for some medieval contexts but not for others. The reader might be forgiven for considering it a hopeless task.

Nevertheless, this does not make this study impossible. Below, I shall outline my proposed method of study, which I hope will address all these problems without making a conclusion impossible and then proceed to give a brief overview of all types of sources available for our study of Germanic paganism and more specifically mythology. My choice of choosing only one source, *Grímnismál*, will then hopefully be made clear as an attempt to not only provide a thorough study of this poem on its own, but also a case study testing the premise that pagan belief was not unchanging and uniform throughout the Germanic speaking world and in time.

As Terry Gunnell said in the Old Norse Mythology Conference in Aarhus (2014),¹⁹ whoever is part of this field of research, is a ‘researcher of the probable’. The sources are too scarce and scattered among both space and time to give one the opportunity to be able to come to definitive conclusions. This is more the case, the study of Germanic paganism, when it comes to the question of how people related to their beliefs, as opposed to the study of what these people believed in.

¹⁸ Tolley writes that ‘The *öndvegissúlur* were carved wooden posts forming the supports of the high seats; tradition relating to the time of the Icelandic settlement, set out most fully (and several centuries after the events described) in *Eyrbyggja saga* ch 4 (34), asserts that the Norsemen took them from their homes when they moved, and, as they neared the land they were to settle, they threw the posts overboard. The new house would be built where the pillars were found’. Source: Tolley. p. 279.

¹⁹ Terry Gunnell, “Myth and (the Knowledge of) Seasonal Change - the Myths of the Vanir,” in *Aarhus Old Norse Mythology Symposium* (Aarhus, 2014).

Before proceeding to explain my proposed *modus operandi*, I will have to explain my approach to the study. I come from a background as a historian of the medieval world. However, I do not exactly consider my research to be limited to the history of religion. What I ultimately consider myself to be, is a *mythologist*. My goal is to get a better understanding of the belief of pagan people in the Germanic-speaking world. This is not a study on how the people dealt with such beliefs, but of how they believed the world was created, which gods they worshipped and similar topics. Of course, such a study can easily fall into the trap of expecting a single unified set of beliefs throughout the pre-Christian Germanic-speaking world. However, my claims are much smaller than such a general assertion. What I am interested in is whether some parts of Eddic poetry can be said to come from a much older, pagan background, and what the people that composed these specific texts believed that the world of the gods was like.

My approach could be seen as a one of focused history. Instead of being ‘synthetic’ in my usage of sources, placing together everything that discusses Germanic mythology and trying to make sense of it, I argue in favour of doing the opposite, and focusing on the source at hand and the most closely related sources to it. As far as I am aware, such a method has never been used for the study of Eddic sources before. It should thus provide with a fresh view of the source. In focusing only on *Grímnismál* and looking for smaller answers, namely what the specific people from the region and time believed in, I would be able to come to more substantiated answers that would also agree with the nature of pagan belief as well. This study would also provide with a complete study of *Grímnismál* on its own, with a new and comprehensive commentary on each of its stanzas.

In order to undertake such a study, I propose an interdisciplinary approach, in which I will try to give similar weight to all the areas that are related to the study of mythology, namely history, folklore, religion, archaeology, linguistics and literature. I believe that it is only

following such an approach that one can hope to get a glimpse of the *forð siðr* of the Old Norse people through the Eddic sources. I am no trained archaeologist, neither am I a trained linguist, so I ask the reader to forgive an occasional lapse in terminology. If one can think of one bane of interdisciplinary studies, it would be that the scholar ends up being what would be called a *jack of all trades, but master of none*.

Having chosen *Grímnismál* as my main source, I shall proceed on analysing it from a linguistic perspective, in trying to see whether there are words or expressions that are not attested in Iceland but were used in Scandinavia. This will be done mainly through an etymological study of its contents, using Ásgeir Magnússon's *Íslensk Orðsifjabók*,²⁰ and Jan De Vries' *Altnordisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*.²¹ Consequently, I will study the images given in this text and explore whether there is any archaeological material to support the text. I will also try to come to an understanding of what *Grímnismál* was supposed to represent. Was it meant to be performed? Was it a gnomic poem? Was it a heroic poem? Was it meant to give information to a skald on how the world of the gods was understood to be? What is the kind of wisdom imparted through it? All these are questions that have been met with a lot of discussion and little agreement.

Past studies of Eddic poetry have tended to rely heavily upon the works of Snorri Sturluson as interpretative aids. A number of problems arise with the use of Snorri's works, as I shall show below. I shall thus break from most past scholarship and completely avoid using the *Prose Edda* as a source to interpret or elucidate any points on *Grímnismál*. Snorri's work is of tremendous importance, and no scholar, including myself, who has read the *Prose Edda* even once, can ever claim to completely ignore it. Every single piece of secondary scholarship is affected by Snorri's writings. As such, I cannot claim complete avoidance of the *Prose Edda*.

²⁰ Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon, *Íslensk Orðsifjabók* (Reykjavík, 1989).

²¹ Jan De Vries, *Altnordisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Zweite Verbesserte Auflage (Leiden, 1977).

Ultimately, however, I will attempt to evade actively using any of Snorri's works in my research. The conclusions that will arise from such a study should end up being *purser* in our understanding of *Grímnismál* and the *Elder Edda* in general, without risk of having been tainted by Snorri's own ideas.

When it comes to secondary sources, there are a number of works of extreme importance that I will be referring to throughout this thesis. For instance, especially in the study of the performance of *Grímnismál*, I consider Terry Gunnell's *The Origins of Drama in Scandinavia*,²² to be the best work in the study of drama and performance in the early Scandinavian world. Other of Gunnell's works will be used as well. I am following Gunnell's approach of analysing *Vafþrúðnismál* as a performed piece of work in my analysis of *Grímnismál*, since I find these two poems to be closely connected. I am also looking at Gunnell's analysis of the performance of *Völuspá*, not only because of its extreme importance but also because of the similarity of its contents to *Grímnismál*. Margaret Clunies-Ross's *Prolonged Echoes*²³ is also very important in the study of mythology from a more literary perspective. John McKinnell's articles on *Hávamál* will play a huge role in its comparison to *Grímnismál*. Works of Gísli Sigurðsson, Pernille Hermann, Annette Lassen, Jens Peter Schødt, Vésteinn Ólason, and others, will also be of use to this study. My focus is on the use of recent scholarly works, considering the advances in the field during the past two decades. The recently published *A Handbook to Eddic Poetry* has been one of the most exciting additions to my library.²⁴ Its chapters shall be used sporadically throughout this study, but the nature of the book, which focuses on Eddic poetry as a whole, prevents it from being of core value to this research. I will, controversially, refrain from using older texts such as Jan de Vries'

²² Terry Gunnell, *The Origins of Drama in Scandinavia* (Cambridge, 1995).

²³ Margaret Clunies Ross, *Prolonged Echoes: Old Norse Myths in Medieval Northern Society* (Odense, 1994).

²⁴ *A Handbook to Eddic Poetry: Myths and Legends of Early Scandinavia*, ed. Carolyne Larrington, Judy Quinn, and Brittany Schorn (Cambridge, 2016).

Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte,²⁵ a book I hold dear but that I find would make this specific research more problematic instead of helping since it seeks to produce a synthetic analysis. De Vries heavily relied on the idea of a unified paganism and so his work does not fit with my *modus operandi*. The usage of Simek's *Dictionary of Northern Mythology* might seem to be controversial.²⁶ This work has been accused of having a number of mistakes throughout it.²⁷ However, if used with care and after double-checking any entry that is to be used, it can prove to be of much help for specific information, as will be seen in the commentary.

The choice of *Grímnismál* is not a random one. As has been seen above, its subject matter is of interest from both a mythological and a religious approach, the connection of cosmology and natural elements found throughout the land being of great interest. Most scholars, until very recently, have focused their studies on *Völuspá*, *Hávamál*, *Vafþrúðnismál* especially, and then other mythological poems that raise more obvious questions, like *Lokasenna*, which to me hardly seems to be a religious composition but ultimately a secular (and satirical) one.²⁸ There is a dichotomy on the interpretation of *Grímnismál*. *Grímnismál* has been seen as a very simple gnomic poem, possibly composed in Iceland, whose main purpose was to teach poets the cosmology and its names, so that they would be able to use them in their own compositions. Alternatively, it has been interpreted as being an older, pre-Christian and pre-Icelandic religious poem, possibly related to chieftains and rulers. As I hope I shall be able to prove by the end of this work, *Grímnismál* shows a vast number of attributes usually ignored by past scholarship, and it is actually far more likely to have been neither a late gnomic nor an early religious poem. This, as will be shown, can be seen by its compositional style, musicality, and a number of elements found in archaeological evidence about drama and

²⁵ Jan De Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1957).

²⁶ Rudolf Simek, *Dictionary of Northern Mythology*, trans. Angela Hall (Woodbridge, 2007).

²⁷ Kirsten Wolf and Phillip Pulsiano, "Review: Lexicon Der Germanischen Mythologie by Rudolf Simek." In, *Scandinavian Studies*, v. 62.3 (1990). pp. 357-358.

²⁸ For more information on Lokasenna see: Gunnell, *The Origins of Drama in Scandinavia*. pp. 238-246.

performance in Scandinavia, as well as folkloristic evidence. Having said that, I am not claiming that no importance has been placed on *Grímnismál*'s imparting of wisdom and knowledge, but that *Grímnismál* is possibly the poem, out of all the Eddic mythological poems, where those two attributes are most finely balanced, if I may be allowed to use such a term.

Chapter 2. The sources

Before venturing to the study of *Grímnismál*, I will give a short outline of the surviving sources for Germanic pagan belief. This should provide a glimpse to both problems that emerge when one studies such a topic and the above-mentioned shifting ‘unorganised’ nature of pagan belief.

1. The Interpretatio Romana

Written sources about the Celtic- and Germanic-speaking peoples survive from as early as the Classical period. In his *De Bello Gallico*, Caesar describes the peoples he encountered during his expeditions north of Italy. However, one cannot accept his descriptions and interpretations of native cultic practice at face value. As De Vries writes, ‘Caesar’s remarks show a very superficial knowledge of it [Germanic religion], although they are not altogether erroneous.’²⁹ Publius Cornelius Tacitus (56 AD – first half of the second century) is the first scholar to write a whole study on the Germanic people and their lands. His works, mainly *Germania*, are still widely used by scholars studying the Germanic peoples. Tacitus coined the term *Interpretatio Romana*. This is the use of replacing the original name of a deity with the perceived Roman counterpart and identifying it as a single entity with different names. For example, he writes of the cult of pairs worshipped by the Naharvali:

Apud Naharvalos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur. Praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu, sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant. Ea vis umini, nomen Alcis. Nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinae superstitionis vestigium; ut fratres tamen, ut iuvenes venerantur.³⁰

²⁹ Jan De Vries, “Celtic and Germanic Religion.” In, *Saga-Book*, v. 16 (1962-1965). p. 109.

³⁰ ‘Among the Naharvali there is a grove of an ancient religion. The grove is presided by a priest in women’s clothing, and the gods worshipped are, according to the *interpretatio Romana*, Castor and Pollux. Thus is their divine power, their name is Alci. There are no images and no proof of an imported cult; they are though

Thus, the only thing we know about the Alci,³¹ except that they have no images and are worshipped in a grove, is that they are Castor and Pollux. This brought past scholars, since medieval times, to find elements of the cult of Castor and Pollux and try and ‘force’ them into the cult of the Alci, having no proof, whether archaeological, linguistic or literary, other than this passage of Tacitus. Reading this passage, Hilda Ellis Davidson writes that even whether there were images of the Alci or not is questionable. Tacitus was familiar to the poet M. Annaeus Lucanus, who, in *Pharsalia* III, describes a Celtic sanctuary near Massalia:

Lucus erat longo numquam violatus ab evo,
Obscurum cingens connexis aera ramis,
Et gelidas alte submotis solibus umbras.
Hunc non ruricolae Panes, nemorumque potentes
Silvani Nymphaeque tenent, sed barbara ritu
Sacra deum, structae diris altaribus arae;
Omnisque humanis lustrata cruoribus arbos.
Si qua fidem meruit superos mirata vetustas,
Illis et volucres metuunt insistere ramis,
Et lustris recubare ferae: nec ventus in illas
Incubuit silvas, excussaue nubibus atris
Fulgura: non ullis frondem praebentibus auris
Arboribus suos horror inest. Tum plurima nigris
Fontibus unda cadit, simulacraque moesta deorum
Arte carent, caesisque extant informia truncis.
Ipse situs putrique facit iam robore pallor
Attonitos: non vulgatis sacrata figuris
Numina sic metuunt: tantum terroribus addit,
Quos timeant non nosse deos.³²

worshipped as brothers and young men.’ Source: Tacitus, *Germania*, ed. A. Resta Barrile (Bologna, 1996). ch. XLIII. p. 50.

³¹ Simek writes about the Alci and the Naharvali: ‘The Germanic tribe of the Naharvali, which lived in the area now called Silesia, is only mentioned by Tacitus, who writes about sacred groves when referring to other Germanic tribes. The fact that he distinctively speaks of the *interpretatio romana* by referring to Castor and Pollux shows that he understood the Alcis as being twin gods. The name Alcis (Gmc *Alhiz) is related, together with Gothic *alhs* ‘temple’, Lithuanian *elkas* ‘divine grove’, either to the family of OE *ealgian* ‘to protect’, and thus means ‘protective (-ing?) deity’, or else to the Germanic word *alsces* ‘elks’ recorded by Caesar. Since the Greek Dioskuri were partly thought of as being gods in the shape of horses, and in consideration of the etymology of Alcis as elk-, the Alcis might have been horse gods or elk gods, a theory particularly substantiated in Migration Era illustrations that show a horse-shaped variant of the Germanic twin god motif (Hauck). Supporting this interpretation are the names of the Anglo-Saxon brothers Hengist and Horsa, where a clear link to horses is given.’ Source: Simek. p. 7.

³² ‘There stood a grove

Which from the earliest time no hand of man
Had dared to violate; hidden from the sun
Its chill recesses; matted boughs entwined
Prisoned the air within. No sylvan nymphs

According to Davidson, such images could have been discounted by Tacitus, maybe because of their roughness.³³ Evidently, very little can be said about the Naharvali or the Alci, without falling into the realm of speculation. What one could say, with little doubt, is that groves had some kind of importance for at least some of the Germanic peoples. Such a statement would be further supported by Tacitus' description of the Semnones who apparently worshipped their gods in a grove as well:

Vetustissimos se nobilissimosque Sueborum Semnones memorant; fides antiquitatis religione firmatur. Stato tempore in silvam auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram omnes eiusdem sanguinis populi legationibus coeunt caesoque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia. Est et alia luco reverentia: nemo nisi vinculo ligatus ingreditur, ut minor et potestatem numinis prae se ferens. Si forte prolapsus est, attolli et insurgere haud licitum: per humum evolvuntur. Eoque omnis superstitio respicit, tamquam inde initia gentis, ibi regnator omnium deus, cetera subiecta atque parentia. Adicit auctoritatem fortuna Semnonum: centum pagi iis habitantur magnoque corpore efficitur ut se Sueborum caput credant.³⁴

Here found a home, nor Pan, but savage rites
And barbarous worship, altars horrible
On massive stones upreared; sacred with blood
Of men was every tree. If faith be given
To ancient myth, no fowl has ever dared
To rest upon those branches, and no beast
Has made his lair beneath: no tempest falls,
Nor lightnings flash upon it from the cloud.
Stagnant the air, unmoving, yet the leaves
Filled with mysterious trembling; dripped the streams
From coal-black fountains; effigies of gods
Rude, scarcely fashioned from some fallen trunk
Held the mid space: and, pallid with decay,
Their rotting shapes struck terror. Thus do men
Dread most the god unknown.' Translation: Sir Edward Ridley, 1905.

Source: Marcus Annaeus Lucanus, *Pharsalia*, ed. Carolus Hermannus Weise, (1835). Book III, pp. 399-417.

³³ Hilda Ellis Davidson, *Myths and Symbols in Pagan Europe : Early Scandinavian and Celtic Religions* (Manchester, 1988). p. 17.

³⁴ 'The Semnones consider themselves to be the most ancient and noble of all the Suebi and their antiquity is confirmed from their religion. In said time, the representatives of the different tribes of all the Suebic peoples gather in a forest, sacred for ceremonies and ancient horror, and with the public killing of a human, they give start to their horrendous rite. In another way they manifest a sacred respect for that forest: no one is allowed to enter, unless if tied to a rope, showing thus their inferiority and the greatness of the divinity. If one falls, they cannot get up, but have to crawl on the ground. This religious fanaticism shows that the origin of the people is in the forest, and the god of all is from there, to whom everything obeys. The prosperity of the Semnones confirms this: they live in a hundred districts and because of their high number, they believe themselves to be the most important tribe of the Suebi'. Source: Tacitus. XXXIX. p. 46.

A few centuries later, Servius would write that a grove is an *arborum multitudo cum religione*.³⁵ This fits well with later sources, both archaeological as well as literary, that mention similar practices throughout the Germanic-speaking world. More on this will be further discussed later.

Following Tacitus' example, medieval chroniclers and hagiographers used the *interpretatio Romana* to describe the deities worshipped by the pagans. Ken Dowden quotes Maximus of Tyre's description of an oak, worshipped in the name of Zeus (Jupiter).³⁶ Procopius, writing in the sixth century, describes the practices of the *Thulites* and their worship of Ares.³⁷ In the *Vita Bonifatii*, Willibald describes how Saint Boniface felled a tree that was sacred to the Hessians:

Cum vero Hessorum iam multi, catholica fide subditi ac septiformis spiritus gratia confirmati, manus inpositionem acciperunt, et alii quidem, nondum animo confortati, intemeratae fidei documenta integre percipere rennuerunt; alii etiam lignis et fontibus clanculo, alii aperte sacrificabant; alii vero aruspicia et divinationes, prestigia atque incantationes occulte, alii quidem manifeste exercebant; alii quippe auguria et auspicia intendebant diversosque sacrificandi ritus incoluerunt; alii etiam, quibus mens sanior inerat, omni abiecta gentilitatis profanatione, nihil horum commisserunt. Quorum consultu atque consilio roborem quendam mirae magnitudinis, qui prisco paganorum vocabulo appellatur robor Iobis, in loco qui dicitur Gaesmere, servis Dei secum adstantibus, succidere temptavit.³⁸

³⁵ Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, 2013). p. 618.

³⁶ Ken Dowden, *European Paganism. The Realities of Cult from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2000). p. 72.

³⁷ Turville-Petre. p. 46.

³⁸ Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, v. SS rer. Germ. 57, Chapter 6 p. 30.

Translation: 'Now many of the Hessians who at that time had acknowledged the Catholic faith were confirmed by the grace of the Holy Spirit and received the laying-on of hands. But others, not yet strong in the spirit, refused to accept the pure teachings of the church in their entirety. Moreover, some continued secretly, others openly, to offer sacrifices to trees and springs, to inspect the entrails of victims; and some practiced divination, legerdemain, and incantations; some turned their attention to auguries, auspices, and other sacrificial rites; while others, of a more reasonable character, forsook all the profane practices of the Gentiles [i.e. pagans] and committed none of these crimes. With the counsel and advice of the latter persons, Boniface in their presence attempted to cut down, at a place called Gaesmere, a certain oak of extraordinary size called in the old tongue of the pagans the Oak of Jupiter.' Source: *Vita Bonifatii*, ed. C. H. Talbot (London, 1995). pp. 126-127.

As a last example, Palmer mentions Paul the Deacon, who in *Historia Langobardorum* wrote that the Lombard god Wotan was in actuality the god Mercury who came from Greece instead of Germania.³⁹

One has to make assumptions about who the deity mentioned by these sources was, and this, according to Palmer, leads to a general Romanization of Germanic beliefs that brings us ‘with imaginative portrayals of what “Germanic paganisms” are perceived to be, rather than empirical investigations into what they were.’⁴⁰ Instead, the more one studies Germanic paganism, the more they discover how unlikely it is that there ever was such a unified religion. Furthermore, as it can easily be seen by my examples above, the *interpretatio Romana* results to a threefold interpretation. On one hand, the writers of these texts, following such a practice, would impose their own knowledge and culture on the peoples they mentioned and interpret their gods with Roman names. On the other hand, modern historians as well, make their own kind of ‘reverse *interpretatio Romana*’ in which they impose their own predisposed ideas. Taking the *Vita Bonifatii* as an example, the Oak of Jupiter has been interpreted by historians as being an oak of Þórr or Donar.⁴¹ However, it could have indeed been the case that the Hessians worshipped Jupiter, and not Þórr or Donar. Even if the interpretation that Jupiter in this case would be Þórr, would not necessarily show that this Þórr is the same Þórr found in other areas and sources. In fact, it definitely could not have been Þórr *per se*, since this name form would not be possible in Old Low Franconian. Similarly, the Ares worshipped by the Thulites according to Turville-Petre could be Óðinn instead of Týr who is usually thought to be replaced by Mars and Ares (Turville-Petre does not explain why this could be the case).⁴²

³⁹ Paul the Deacon, *De Gestis Langobardorum*, ed. William Dudley Foulke and Edward Peters (Philadelphia, 2003). pp. 18-19.

⁴⁰ Palmer. pp. 404-405.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 411.

⁴² Turville-Petre. p. 46.

Thus, the *interpretatio Romana* proves to be very problematic for the study of the beliefs of these peoples.

2. Christian Sources

The discussion of the *interpretatio Romana* already showed some of the problems that Christian sources have when it comes to studying Germanic paganism. The only contemporary written material that mentions Germanic paganism comes from Christian writers, mainly missionaries that were hostile to paganism. The absence of written material from the pagans themselves shows how a concept of literature was not a part of their culture.⁴³ This is not to say that there was no written language, since there is a number of runic inscriptions that survive and can be dated to the pre-Christian period. These inscriptions, however, do not deal with belief and mythology at all.⁴⁴ Paganism has thus to be reconstructed using hostile Christian sources,⁴⁵ and as Palmer writes, paganism, as it appears in these sources, is ‘a general characterization of Christianity's perceived antitheses rather than a specific set of beliefs’.⁴⁶ These Christian sources do not try to understand paganism but regard it as *otherness*, using its negative elements to promote Christianity.⁴⁷ Some writers prefer to regard paganism as something akin to magic instead of a religion. For example, Adam of Bremen writes how the Norwegian king St Ólafr rid the land of sorcerers:

Dicunt eum inter cetera virtutum opera magnum zelum Dei habuisse, ut maleficos de terra disperderet, quorum numero cum tota barbaries exundet, precipue vero Norvegia regio monstris talibus plena est. Nam et divini et augures et magi et

⁴³ Robert Bartlett, “Reflections on Paganism and Christianity in Medieval Europe.” In, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, v. 101 (1999). p. 56.

⁴⁴ Andrén, “Behind Heathendom” p. 120.

⁴⁵ Bartlett, “Reflections” p. 56.

⁴⁶ Palmer. p. 403.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p. 425.

incantatores ceteri que satellites Antichristi habitant ibi, quorum prestigiis et miraculis infelices animae ludibrio demonibus habentur.⁴⁸

According to Adam of Bremen, these ‘monsters’ were still present in those lands, even after the conversion.

An example of a Christian source has been seen above in Willibald’s *Vita Bonifatii*. As the reader notices at once, that description says very little about the Hessians’ specific beliefs or cults, except than their worshipping natural aspects of the world. Instead, it focuses on their refusal to accept Christianity. Willibald mentions pagans in another passage:

Per omnem igitur Fresiam pergens, verbum Domini, paganico repulso ritu et erraneo gentilitatis more destructo, instanter praedicabat aecclesiasque, numine confracto dilubrorum, ingenti studio fabricavit.⁴⁹

Probably the most famous example of a Christian description of heathen practices in the Germanic-speaking world is by Adam of Bremen in his description of the temple at Uppsala, where statues of Wodan, Ficco, and Thor stood:⁵⁰

Solet quoque post novem annos communis omnium Sueoniae provintiarum sollempnitas in Ubsola celebrari. Ad quam videlicet sollempnitatem nulli prestatur immunitas. Reges et populi, omnes et singuli sua dona transmittunt ad Ubsolam, et, quod omni pena crudelius est, illi, qui iam induerunt christianitatem, ab illis se

⁴⁸ Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum* Lib. II, cap. 57, pag. 117, lin. 11.

Translation: ‘They say that among other virtuous characteristics of his was a great zeal for God, so that he routed out the magicians from the land. Although all barbarism overflows with their number, the Norwegian land in particular was full of these monsters. For soothsayers and augurs and sorcerers and enchanters and other satellites of Antichrist live where by their deceptions and wonders they may hold unhappy souls up for mockery by the demons.’ In *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, edited and translated by Francis Joseph Tschan (New York, 1998). p. 94.

⁴⁹ Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, Cap. 8, p. 47.

Translation: ‘This, then, is how he traversed the whole of Frisia, destroying pagan worship and turning away the people from their pagan errors by his preaching of the Gospel. The pagan temples and gods were overthrown and churches were built in their stead’. *Vita Bonifatii*. p. 134.

⁵⁰ Adam of Bremen. Lib. IV, cap. 26, pag. 258.

‘In hoc templo, quod totum ex auro paratum [Schol. 139.] est, statuas trium deorum veneratur populus, ita ut potentissimus eorum Thor in medio solium habeat triclinio; hinc et inde locum possident Wodan et Fricco. Quorum significationes eiusmodi sunt: "Thor", inquit, "presidet in aere, qui tonitrus et fulmina, ventos ymbresque, serena et fruges gubernat. Alter Wodan, id est furor, bella gerit hominique ministrat virtutem contra inimicos. Tercius est Fricco, pacem voluptatemque largiens mortalibus.’

Translation: ‘In this temple, which is completely decked out in gold, the statues of three gods are venerated by the people, so that the mightiest of them Thor is in the main throne; Wodan and Fricco are in each side. Their significance is in this mode: "Thor", they say, "presides over air, which governs thunder and lightning, winds and rains, good weather and crops. The other, Wodan, which is fury, presides over war and administers virtue against enemies. Third is Fricco, who gives peace and pleasure to the mortals.’

See also: Thomas A. DuBois, *Nordic Religions in the Viking Age* (Philadelphia, 1999). p. 60.

redimunt cerimoniais. Sacrificium itaque tale est: ex omni animante, quod masculinum est, novem capita offeruntur, quorum sanguine deos [tales] placari mos est. Corpora autem suspenduntur in lucum, qui proximus est templo. Is enim lucus tam sacer est gentilibus, ut singulae arbores eius ex morte vel tabo immolatorum divinae credantur.⁵¹

Here, one can see a more analytical description of the practices. Adam of Bremen also mentions how the Swedes primarily worshipped the god Þórr. Adam of Bremen echoes another chronicler, Thietmar of Merseburg, who a few years earlier than Adam wrote how the Danes would gather at Lejre in Seeland every nine years at January and sacrifice ninety-nine men and horses, dogs and chickens to their gods.⁵² Thietmar's comments on sacrifice are less negative than one would expect, and he accepts that there is a rationale behind it.⁵³

What most Christian sources seem to agree on, is that pagans the venerated trees or wooden poles and posts that might symbolise a tree. To further support this claim, the *Vita St Amandi* (eighth century) mentions wood and tree worship by the people that lived across the River Scheldt.⁵⁴ In addition to the aforementioned examples, the most well-known, and

⁵¹ Adam of Bremen. *SS rer. Germ.* 2, Lib. IV, cap. 27, pag. 259, lin. 5-10. Translation: 'It customary also to solemnize in Uppsala, at nine-year intervals, a general feast of all the provinces of Sweden. [...] the sacrifice is of this nature: of every living thing that is male, they offer nine heads, with the blood of which it is customary to placate gods of this sort. The bodies they hang in the sacred grove that adjoins the temple. Now this grove is so sacred in the eyes of the heathen that each and every tree in it is believed divine because of the death and putrefaction of the victims.' Source: *Gesta Hammaburgensis*. p. 207.

⁵² Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon Thietmari*, ed. Robert Holtzmann (Berlin, 1935). pp. 24-25.

Hinc depressio et libertatis venit nomine, in pago, qui Selon dicitur, ubi post novem annos mense Ianuario, post hoc tempus, quo nos theophaniam Domini celebramus, omnes conveniunt, et ibi diis suis nonagintanovem homines et totidem equos, cum canibus et gallis et accipitribus oblatis, immolant, pro certo, ut predixi, putantes hos eisdem erga inferos servituros et commissa crimina apud eos placaturos.

⁵³ Bartlett, "Reflections". p. 66.

⁵⁴ 'Per idem autem tempus, cum loca vel dioceses ob animarum sollicitudine vir Domini circuiret Amandus, audivit pagum quendam praeter fluenta Scaldi fluvii, cui vocabulum Gandao indidit antiquitas, diaboli laqueis vehementer inretitum, ita ut incolae loci illius, relicto Deo, arbores et ligna pro Deo colerent atque fana vel idola adorarent. Propter ferocitatem enim gentis illius vel ob terrae infecunditatem omnes sacerdotes a praedicatione loci illius se subtraxerant, et nemo audebat in eodem loco verbum adnuntiare Domini.' Source: *Vita S. Amandi, Episcopi Et Confessoris*. c. 13, p. 436.

Translation: 'While the man of God, impelled by his zeal for souls, was engaged on his travels, he heard of a region situated across the River Scheldt, to which antiquity had given the name of Ghent. This region was so caught up in the devil's nets that its inhabitants offered worship to trees and pieces of wood instead of to God: they built shrines and adored idols. Because of the savagery of its people and the infertility of the soil no bishop had preached there nor had anyone dared to proclaim the word of God.' Source: *Vita S. Amandi, Episcopi Et Confessoris*, edited and translated by J.N. Hillgarth (Philadelphia, 1986). p. 143.

probably debated, centre of worship mentioned by Christian sources, is the Irminsul. In the Frankish *Annales Regni Francorum* it is written about Charles the Great's invasion in Saxony:

Et inde perrexit partibus Saxoniae prima vice, Eresburgum castrum coepit, ad Ermensul usque pervenit et ipsum fanum destruxit et aurum vel argentum, quod ibi repperit, abstulit. Et fuit siccitas magna, ita ut aqua deficeret in supradicto loco, ubi Ermensul stabat.⁵⁵

According to Hilda Ellis Davidson:

A pillar was an important feature of some of the holy places of the Germanic peoples. The Saxons had a high wooden pillar called Irminsul at Eresburg, thought to have been Marsberg on the Diemel, although other suggestions have been made, and this was cut down by Charlemagne in 772. The historian Widukind associated such pillars with Mars and stated that their position was chosen to represent the sun. Irmin is thought to be the name or title of a god who could be identified with Tîwaz, as an early Germanic deity associated with the sky.⁵⁶

As seen, she does not give any specific reason for her identification with Tîwaz. Another source mentions Irminsul, namely Rudolf of Fulda who wrote in the 860s. Rudolf identifies Irminsul as a *universalis columna*, 'world pillar'.⁵⁷ Jakob Grimm did an extensive study of the meaning of Irminsul, especially from a linguistic perspective:

In the Hildebrands lied, *irmingot* is the supreme god, the god of all, not a peculiar one, agreeing in a sense with *thiodgod*, the (whole) people's god, formed by another strengthening prefix, Hel. 33, 18. 52, 12. 99, 6. *irminman*, an elevated expression for man, Hel. 38, 24. 107, 13. 152, 11. *irminthiod*, the human race, Hel. 87, 13 and in Hildebr. In the same way I explain proper names compounded with *irman*, *irmin*. And *irmansûl*, *irminsûl* is the great, high, divinely honoured statue; that it was dedicated to any one god, is not to be found in the term itself. - In like manner in the AS. has *eormencyn* (genus humanum), Beow. 309. Cod. Exon. 333,3. *eormengrund* (terra), Beow. 1711. (and singularly in an adj. form: ofer ealne yrmenne grund, Cod. Exon. 243, 13). *eormenstrýnd* (progenies). - ON. *iörmungrund* (terra), *iörmungandr* (anguis maximus), *iörmunrekr* (taurus maximus).⁵⁸

⁵⁵ *Annales Regni Francorum*. a. 772, p. 32.

Translation: 'And so he went for the first time in the parts of Saxony, began from the camp of Eresburg, and reached Irminsul and destroyed that sanctuary, and the gold and silver that was found there, he removed. And there was great drought, so there was shortage of water in the above mentioned place, where Ermensul stood.' See also: 'Rex vero Karlus congregato apud Wormaciam generali conventu Saxoniam bello adgredi statuit eamque sine mora ingressus ferro et igni cuncta depopulatus Eresburgum castrum cepit, idolum, quod Irminsul a Saxonibus vocabatur, evertit.' In *Annales Qui Dicuntur Einhardi*. a. 772, p. 33.

⁵⁶ Davidson. pp. 21-22.

⁵⁷ Dowden. pp. 276-277.

⁵⁸ Jacob Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. 1, trans. James Steven Stallybrass (London, 1883). p. 118.

As seen, there is a large number of possibilities that could also connect Irminsul with the World Serpent, Jormungandr.⁵⁹ Both Davidson and Dowden connect the importance of Irminsul and similar trees or posts found in Christian sources with the World Tree Yggdrasill, found in the Old Norse literature.⁶⁰ In fact, Yggdrasill is the most important cosmological element in *Grímnismál*, being mentioned seven times.

3. Better safe than Snorri

Unlike the *Elder Edda*, the collection of poems in which *Grímnismál* survives – which shall be discussed below – the *Snorra Edda* (probably) has a specific author. It was written by Snorri Sturluson (1179-1241). *Snorra Edda* is divided into five parts. The first is the Prologue, which is an euhemerisation of Norse mythology that describes the gods as descendants of the Trojans. Here, one can already see the problems that arise with Snorri's sources. Snorri was an antiquarian who was not himself a practitioner of Old Norse heathenism and, as Faulkes writes, he was influenced by the time he lived in and the traditions of European Christianity.⁶¹ The second text is *Gylfaginning*, a prose version of the events found in *Völuspá* and other Eddic

⁵⁹ Tolley gives further interpretations, some of which are summarised here: '*Irminsul* as a name has three possible interpretations. The most basic sense is "great column" - this is supported by later German usage, where the term appears as a common noun, "mighty column" or "obelisk": thus in the twelfth-century *Kaiserchronik*, line 602, Julius Caesar's ashes are placed on an *irminsul* (<<úf ain irmensûl begruoben>>), and at line 4213 Simon Magus comes and sets himself on an *irminsul* (<<úf ain irmensûl er staich>>) in full view of all the people (note the usage as a common noun). A similar significance probably also lies behind *irminsuwel*, used to describe great persons. *Irmin* is used as a reinforcing and magnifying prefix in other words: *irmingot* is "highest god" in *Hildebrandslied* 29, *irminþiod* is "mankind" in the *Heliand* (*passim*). There is, nonetheless, a sense not merely of size, but of (magical) potency in all these uses of *irmin*.

A further possibility is to see the name of a god in Irminsul, and interpret it as "column of Irmin". Irmin, or an earlier form of the word, appears to have been one of the three sons of "Man" (Mannus), the ancestral founders of the Germanic peoples: this is to be inferred from Tacitus's name of the Herminones as one of their three divisions. Irmin thus appears as a demi-god as well as an ancestor; cf. the statement of Jordanes that the Goths worshipped their ancestors and called them Ansis, which may possibly be related to the word for "beam". Source: Tolley. pp. 277-278.

⁶⁰ Hilda Ellis Davidson, *The Lost Beliefs of Northern Europe* (London and New York, 1993). p. 23, and Dowden. p. 72.

⁶¹ Snorri Sturluson, *Prologue and Gylfaginning*, ed. Anthony Faulkes (London, 1982). p. xi.

poems, with quotes from them, but also Snorri's expansion of the information found there. In the case of *Gylfaginning* one cannot know whether Snorri added original material, of his own creation, as part of his interpretation of the Eddic poems or whether he had another source, now lost to us. According to Nordal, Snorri's use of *Völuspá* and his characterisation of it as *forn visendi*, 'ancient lore', shows that Snorri attributed a heathen composition to it.⁶² However, *forn* simply means 'old, ancient' and does not necessarily imply a pagan composition. The other two texts found in *Snorra Edda* are *Skáldskaparmál*, which according to Margaret Clunies-Ross is unfinished,⁶³ and *Háttatal*, both of which deal with types of verse and are meant to be used as guides on how to compose poetry, especially of skaldic nature.

When it comes to the *Snorra Edda*, scholars disagree on whether it is useful a source as the *Elder Edda*. According to Brink, remnants of the myths of the pre-Christian Germanic-speaking peoples can be found in both texts, albeit the information is neither linear nor does it always seem to be logical.⁶⁴ Others, myself included, are more reluctant in using *Gylfaginning* for the study of heathenism. Snorri was a historian who seems to have been interested in keeping the poetic traditions of his people alive. However, as it can easily be seen just by reading the *Prologue*, his Christian background is present in his writings, and, moreover, one cannot know which parts found in *Gylfaginning* are Snorri's original work or part of his knowledge of the *forn siðr*.

In trying to understand the purpose for which Snorri composed such a monumental piece of work as the *Snorra Edda*, McKinnell mentions the traditional idea that knowing mythology was necessary for skalds in their courtly compositions of praise of earls and kings.⁶⁵ However, he continues, this would not explain for the composition of mythological poetry,

⁶² Sigurður Nordal, "Three Essays on *Völuspá*." In, *Saga-Book*, v. 18 (1972-1973). p. 81.

⁶³ Margaret Clunies Ross, *A History of Old Norse Poetry and Poetics* (2011). p. 161.

⁶⁴ Brink. p. 34.

⁶⁵ John McKinnell, "Why Did Christians Continue to Find Pagan Myths Useful?" In *Reflections on Old Norse Myths*, ed. Pernille Hermann, Jens Peter Schjødt, and Rasmus Trandum Kristensen (Turnhout, 2007). p. 45.

since this would have little use for the praise of rulers.⁶⁶ Snorri, being an antiquarian himself, removed from Norse heathenism by at least two hundred years, ends up giving only a glimpse of the narratives that once existed.⁶⁷ He saw myth as something far removed from him and his time. As Pernille Hermann writes, the difference between myth and history is that:

Myth is often equated with the past, paganism, traditionality, and orality, while history is equated with the present, Christianity, conventionality, and literacy. Furthermore, myth is associated with concepts such as reversibility and dream time while history is associated with irreversibility and chronology.⁶⁸

As such, Snorri would write his works seeing their content as ‘the other’, which would make a great difference compared to the hypothetical heathen composers of the *Elder Edda*, who would consider myth as part of their society and culture. One has to find which elements of his works are indeed heathen and which not, and whether these elements come from the same set of beliefs or not. When studying the *Elder Edda*, one already finds themselves filled with room for their interpretation. Using, for example, *Gylfaginning*, a work that used a version of *Vafþrúðnismál* as a source, in order to understand and study *Vafþrúðnismál* itself, can end up bringing more questions and misunderstandings than answers. To give a few examples of Snorri’s interpretations, McKinnell mentions an event in which an old one-eyed man appears at the court of Ólafr Tryggvason at Qgvaldsnes. There, the old man keeps the king awake at night by telling old stories. Before leaving early in the morning, the old man leaves two steaks and asks the cooks to prepare them for the king. The king, however, understands that the old man was no mere mortal, and orders the steaks destroyed. There are different versions of this story, and in the one written by Snorri, this old man is identified as Óðinn.⁶⁹ This interpretation seems likely, since Óðinn is one-eyed and is often portrayed as travelling in the guise of an old man and visiting courts. However, it might be exactly because of said stories that Snorri

⁶⁶ Ibid. p. 50.

⁶⁷ Jens Peter Schjødt, “Contemporary Research into Old Norse Mythology,” In *ibid.* p. 2.

⁶⁸ Pernille Hermann, “*Íslendingabók* and History,” In *ibid.* p. 17.

⁶⁹ John McKinnell, “Why Did Christians Continue to Find Pagan Myths Useful?” In *ibid.* pp. 41-42.

identified that old-man as Óðinn, having no other sources to support this claim, and therefore making it only an interpretation that could be just as wrong as it might be right. In fact, in another version, that old man is seen as being the devil in Óðinn's form. An even stronger example comes from Henning Kure's study of Snorri's use of *Völuspá* as a source. Kure finds a number of Snorri's quotations are influenced by Christianity or are personal interpretations.⁷⁰

His conclusion is worthy of being quoted in its entirety:

When we as modern scholars look for Christian influence in *Völuspá* and other Old Norse mythical poems, we are walking the same tracks as those that Snorri and other learned Icelanders did. We then find not only what our medieval colleagues found, but also what they added and modified back then. And in most cases, we do this with a preset mind thoroughly informed by Snorri's *Edda*. At least, that seems to be the only reason for [sic.] why the basic assumption of an afterlife punishment in *Völuspá*, strophe 39, is never questioned. We continue to read *Völuspá* through Snorri's Christian perspective. What we discover, however, may not be Christian influence on the composition of *Völuspá*, but rather the Christian reasons for preserving the heathen poem.⁷¹

Having seen these examples, my reasoning for making a clear distinction between the *Snorra Edda* and the other Icelandic literary sources that deal with mythology should be understood. Snorri's work is very important and should be used in the study of some elements of paganism. However, one needs to be very careful in using Snorri as a source to assert any interpretations they might have on the *Elder Edda* and their contents.

4. Icelandic Sources

Including Snorri, the greatest proportion of textual evidence that we have for the study of Germanic paganism comes from Iceland. These sources were written in manuscripts in the course of the thirteenth century and after, long after, Iceland had converted to Christianity in

⁷⁰ Henning Kure, "Wading Heavy Currents: Snorri's Use of *Völuspá*," In *The Nordic Apocalypse: Approaches to *Völuspá* and Nordic Days of Judgement*, ed. Terry Gunnell and Annette Lassen (Turnhout, 2013). pp. 80, 82-86.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* p. 90.

the year 1000. Some scholars have argued against the use of these sources because of their late writing, but as Andréen writes:

It is fully possible to make an archaeological study of pre-Christian religion in Scandinavia without any consideration of the Icelandic literature. However, such a study would lose fundamental references to a partly non-Christian interpretative framework. Besides, the Icelandic texts exist irrespective of whether one use them or not, and they will always give a pre-understanding of this particular field of research. Therefore, my position is that a dialogue between archaeology and the Old Norse texts should be maintained, even though the use of Snorri's texts, or other Icelandic poems or sagas, in studies of Old Norse religion leads automatically to a number of problems which have been discussed ever since the 18th century.

The Icelandic texts are medieval Christian literature, showing how authors in the 13th-century Iceland interpreted the pre-Christian history of Iceland and Scandinavia. A basic question is therefore how we should view the relationship between the fiction of the narratives, the author's society in the 13th century, and the pre-Christian society in which most of the narratives are placed. [...] We are given a detailed description of the pantheon, but - paradoxically - very little knowledge about how people related to these powers.⁷²

The Icelandic sources can roughly be divided into three main types: sagas, Eddic, and skaldic poetry. Most of the sagas deal with stories related to the families of settlers in Iceland, and a great number of them are considered either fully or partially historical. The sagas, however, are not a main source for the study of paganism, especially mythology, with few exceptions. One of them is *Egils Saga Skallagrímssonar*, which deals with the life of Egill Skallagrímsson (c. 904-995 AD), a historical Icelander who was well known for his poetry. Through poems found in this saga, like *Sonatorrek*,⁷³ which are attributed to Egill himself, and thus of heathen nature, one can get a glimpse of the *forn siðr* of the Icelandic heathens.

This brings us to the Eddic sources, the most copious literary sources used by whoever researches the Scandinavian pre-Christian world. The Eddic sources can further be divided into two parts, the *Poetic* or *Elder Edda*, and the *Prose* or *Snorra Edda*, discussed above. These are found in two different collections which survive in a small number of manuscripts. Starting

⁷² Andréen, "Behind Heathendom." p. 106.

⁷³ *Egils Saga*, ed. Bjarni Einarsson (London, 2003). pp. 146-154.

with the *Elder Edda*, it is a collection of literary material, mainly poetry that comes in two basic forms: mythological and heroic. The *Elder Edda* survives in a manuscript known as *Codex Regius* (GKS 2365 4to). The main poems for the study of Old Norse mythology that are included in this collection, are, in order of appearance, *Völuspá*, *Hávamál*, *Vafþrúðnismál*, *Grímnismál*.

Völuspá, ‘the prophecy of the *völva*, or seeress’, occupies pride of place.⁷⁴ In its 66 stanzas, the *völva*, talking with the god Óðinn, recounts her knowledge of the past and future. She discusses the creation of the world, life, the different creatures and gods that inhabit it, such as elves, *jötnar* and dwarves, and ultimately *Ragnarøk* and its aftermath. A second version of the poem exists in another manuscript, known as *Hauksbók* (AM 765 4to), which was written by Haukr Erlendsson, who died in 1334. By comparing the two texts one finds a few differences.⁷⁵ Sigurður Nordal argued that the main part of the poem is heathen as was the author’s childhood religion.⁷⁶ By ‘examining its place in the religious movement of the tenth century’, Nordal reaches the conclusion that the original poem was probably composed around the time of the conversion to Christianity.⁷⁷ John Lindow further argues that the fear of dealing with a product of Christianity should be even smaller, since, as he claims, Iceland had a strong oral tradition. As such, two centuries of Christianity might not have brought significant change to the poem.⁷⁸ However, in the *Hauksbók* edition of the poem, *Völuspá* ends with a very strange stanza that could point towards a Christian composition, if it was composed as part of the original poem, and not a later addition:

Þa kømr inn ríki
at regindómi
øflugr ofan

⁷⁴ Sigurður Nordal. p. 81.

⁷⁵ *Völuspá*, ed. Sigurður Nordal, trans. John McKinnell and B. S. Benedikz (Durham, 1984). p. 1.

⁷⁶ Sigurður Nordal. pp. 107-108.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* p. 111.

⁷⁸ John Lindow, “Mythology and Mythography,” In *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature: A Critical Guide*, ed. John Lindow and Carol J. Clover (Canada, 2005). p. 30.

sá er ǫllu ræðr.⁷⁹

As Vésteinn discusses, a number of Old Norse deities have been put forward as to who this figure is, ranging from Heimdallr to Óðinn and Freyr. However, none seem to be the case.⁸⁰

The reason I chose to mention this stanza is to show how even *Völuspá* can be a problematic source, and should not be used without a previous analysis of the stanza one would quote.

The second poem of the *Elder Edda* is *Hávamál*, ‘the lay of the High One’. It is a much longer poem than the rest. In fact, it is 164 stanzas long, compared to the meagre 66 of *Völuspá*, for example. Its structure and contents are also different. *Hávamál* is mainly a didactic poem, where the speaker, usually identified as Óðinn, gives advice on how to be an honourable person and a good guest. Incongruity between the stanzas, as well as to its length (which would make it hard to remember by heart in its entirety), point to it being a collection of verses from different sources. Whether this collection was made by the scribe who wrote the *Codex Regius* manuscript or by an earlier person is unknown. The division of the poem according to its stanzas and meaning is thus:

The first 79 stanzas are gnomic verses, giving advice to the reader. Then the mode of the poem changes when Óðinn tells in the first person of his love adventures with the daughter (or wife) of Billingr, and with Gunnlǫð. In stanzas 111–137 the poem shifts back to a gnomic mode, giving advice to a certain Loddfáfnir. The next eight stanzas relate to a list of runes and descriptions of pagan sacrifice, some of which mention Óðinn in the third person. Lastly, the last thirteen stanzas form a different poem that has been incorporated into *Hávamál*, listing magic charms and spells.⁸¹

David Evans, in his edition of *Hávamál* lists the most accepted division of the poem:⁸²

1. Gnomic Verses, which are up to stanza 79 more or less.
2. Óðinn’s adventure with *Billings mæ*r, from stanza 95 to 102.
3. Óðinn’s adventure with Gunnlǫð, from 104 to 110.

⁷⁹ ‘Then comes the great | to the mighty doom | powerful from above | that rules all.’ Source: *Völuspá*. 55 p. 135.

⁸⁰ Vésteinn Ólason, “Völuspá and Time,” In *The Nordic Apocalypse: Approaches to Völuspá and Nordic Days of Judgement*, ed. Terry Gunnell and Annette Lassen (Turnhout, 2013). p. 36.

⁸¹ Vittorio Mattioli, “*Hávamál* 138 and Its Dating: Is Óðinn Christ?” (Unpublished, 2014). p. 1.

⁸² *Hávamál*, ed. David Evans, vol. 7 (London, 1987). p. 8.

4. *Loddfáfnismál*: from stanza 111 to stanza 137.
5. *Rúnatal*: from stanza 138 to stanza 145.
6. *Ljóðatal*: from stanza 146 to stanza 163.

In studying *Hávamál* one can see that a large number of its stanzas may be of heathen nature, for example the *Rúnatal* section. Furthermore, a few examples of words show that these stanzas are unlikely to have been composed in Iceland, for example *bautasteinar* in st. 72, *þjóðann* in st. 15, the solitary fir-tree mentioned in st. 50.⁸³ Even though the first stanzas are of a Gnostic nature, and thus not directly related to the world of the gods, one can get an idea of how men dealt with everyday life and their ethics. Furthermore, parts like Óðinn's adventure with *Billings mæ*r and Gunnlōð, as well as *Rúnatal* and *Ljóðatal* provide with extensive information, especially in the figure of Óðinn.

Vafþrúðnismál, 'the lay of Vafþrúðnir', is the third poem found in the *Elder Edda*. It is a conversation between a disguised Óðinn and Vafþrúðnir, in Óðinn's quest of gaining more wisdom and knowledge and is comprised of 55 stanzas. The style of the conversation is through a wisdom contest between the two, which ends with Vafþrúðnir losing and dying after being unable to reply to Óðinn's question of what he whispered to Baldr's ear during his funeral. The poem is of very significant importance for our understanding of Old Norse cosmogony, since through the wisdom contest, the world of the gods is discussed in great length.⁸⁴

This brings me to skaldic poems, some of which are widely believed to be pre-Christian. Skaldic poetry is flooded with kennings, which are compound expressions in which whatever is alluded to is called 'something which it is not'.⁸⁵ One would call a ship *gjálfr marr*, 'steed

⁸³ See 2.5 Linguistic Sources below.

For more information, see: John McKinnell, "The Making of *Hávamál*." In, *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia*, v. 3.1 (2007); "Personae of the Performer in *Hávamál*." In, *Saga-Book*, v. 37 (2013); "Wisdom from the Dead: The *Ljóðatal* Section of *Hávamál*." In, *Medium Ævum*, v. 76 (2007). Elizabeth Jackson, "Eddic Lising Techniques and the Coherence of "Rúnatal"." In, *Revue Alvíssmál*, v. 5 (1995), and my essay: Mattioli.

⁸⁴ For more information, see the introduction to Machan's edition: *Vafþrúðnismál*, ed. Tim William Machan, vol. 1 (Durham, 2008). pp. 1-55.

⁸⁵ Gabriel Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry* (Oxford, 1976). p. xlv.

of the sea’,⁸⁶ or a battle *fleinbrak* ‘clash of spears’. Kennings can become exceedingly hard to understand since two or more would be put together. Taking the previous example, *fleinbraks fúr*, ‘the fire of the clash of spears’ would be used when talking about a sword.⁸⁷ Rudolf Meissner, in his monumental work on kennings, lists a huge number of kennings related to all sorts of things, from all of the surviving skaldic poetry. To support the previous example of the importance of trees in Germanic paganism, one sees that a large number of kennings related to man have different tree names used instead:

Charakteristisch für die allgemeinen Mannkenningar sind die altertümlichen Grundwörter der Götter- und Baumnamen. Die Verwendung der Baumnamen führt Snorri rationalistisch auf *reynir* (zu *reyna*, zugleich Baumname) und *viðr* (= *vinnandi*) zurück (SnE 1, 334). Natürlich aber liegt bei Männern und Frauen ursprünglich eine poetische Vorstellung zu Grunde. In den Kenningar für den Christengott fehlen natürlich die alten Götternamen, ebenso aber auch die Bäume.⁸⁸

In *Skáldskaparmál*, one finds a large number of skaldic poems being quoted. In it, Snorri writes how skaldic poems should be in accordance with nature,⁸⁹ as well as the importance of trees in relation to man:

Hvernig skal kenna mann? [...] Ok fyrir því at hann er reynir vápnanna ok viðr víganna – alt eitt ok vinnandi; viðr heitir ok tré, reynir heitir tré – af þessum heitum hafa skáldin kallað menn ask eða hlyn, lund eða öðrum viðar heitum karlkendum ok kent til víga eða skipa eða fjár. [...] Rétt er at kenna hana svá at kalla hana selju eða lóg þess er hon miðlar, en selja eða lág, þat eru tré. Fyrir því er kona kölluð til kenningar öllum kvenkendum viðar heitum.⁹⁰

For more information on kennings see: *ibid.*; Anthony Faulkes, *Poetical Inspiration in Old Norse and Old English Poetry*, (London, 1997).

⁸⁶ *Hervarakviða*, ed. Guðni Jónsson. ch. 27.

⁸⁷ Snorri Sturluson, *Háttatal*, ed. Anthony Faulkes (London, 1991). p. 5.

⁸⁸ Rudolf Meissner, *Die Kenningar Der Skalden: Ein Beitrag Zur Skaldischen Poetik* (Bonn, 1921). p. 73.

⁸⁹ Faulkes. p. 30.

⁹⁰ ‘How should man be called? [...] And for this reason, that he is a tester of weapons and achiever of killings – they are all the same, achiever; *viðr* also meaning tree, tester meaning tree – of these names the poets have called men ash or maple, grove or other masculine wood names, and refer to him in terms of slaying or ships or property. [...] Right is to refer to her [the woman] thus, as calling her dealer or consumer of this which she shares out, but [the word for] *selja* or *lág*, these are trees. For this reason is woman called in kennings with all feminine names for trees.’ Source: Snorri Sturluson, *Skáldskaparmál*. XXXI. p. 40. For a more scholarly poetic translation, see: *Edda*, edited and translated by Anthony Faulkes (London, 1987).

Having seen the main Icelandic sources and already discussed a few of these in relation to trees, I shall now proceed to give a few other examples. As seen in the above discussion of Roman and Christian sources, cults are described as focusing on natural elements, one of them being the tree. Icelandic sources support this in their description of the perceived cosmology of Old Norse paganism. In fact, reading both the *Elder* and *Snorra Edda*, we see three mythological trees being mentioned, Yggdrasill, Læraðr and Mimameiðr.⁹¹ It is not known whether these trees are three different ones, or different manifestations or names of the same. Yggdrasill is, of course, the most well-known of these, and it is described in *Grímnismál*, *Völuspá* and *Fjölsvinnsmál*, and the *Snorra Edda*.⁹²

A variety of problems arise when it comes to using Icelandic sources, the main being the late date of the surviving texts as well as the geographical distance and environmental distinctiveness between Iceland and the rest of the Germanic-speaking world. The most widely accepted approach is, as Andrén writes, to compare the Icelandic sources with others, mainly archaeological, but also the Christian ones, and seeing whether there is any corresponding evidence on beliefs or practices.⁹³ To come up with the most accurate and likely answers, though, a focused approach could prove to be more fruitful. Dating a literary source and placing it into a general geographical region and then comparing it with the archaeological remains from that specific region: the conclusions would be far stronger than comparisons with possibly unrelated sites.

Up to now, a negative view on the study of paganism has been seen. The comparison of any two sources could be deemed as unnecessary and problematic, considering the very nature of Germanic paganism, even if the sources are both Icelandic. While I believe strongly

⁹¹ Andrén, *Tracing*. p. 28.

⁹² Tolley. p. 316.

See more in: *Völuspá*. 19, 47, *Grímnismál*, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, vol. 1 (Reykjavik, 2014). 29-35, 44, and Snorri Sturluson, *Prologue and Gylfaginning* 14-15. Source: Andrén, *Tracing*. pp. 28-30.

⁹³ “Behind Heathendom.” p. 106.

on avoiding any study that presupposes a unified set of beliefs, in some cases, comparisons can be fruitful, as well as unavoidable. First of all, after studying a poem on its own and coming to different conclusions, it can be worthy to compare it to others and see where they agree and where they do not. Furthermore, even within the framework of my suggested approach on the study of *Grímnismál* and other mythological poems, it is impossible to completely ignore any other source. As discussed above, up to now, most comparisons tend to be within the boundaries of the mythological poems found in the *Elder Edda* and Snorri. Such comparisons are problematic. However, a number of other literary sources, found outside the boundaries of Eddic mythological poetry can show remarkable similarities to the poem studied. In the case of *Grímnismál*, I have found two poems that show a connection to the poem.

The first is the heroic Eddic poem *Sigrdrífumál*.⁹⁴ In the commentary below, *Sigrdrífumál* will appear in the discussion of a number of stanzas. Both *Grímnismál* and *Sigrdrífumál* are composed in the same metre, *ljóðahátt*. Furthermore, a king named Agnarr, just like in *Grímnismál* makes an appearance in *Sigrdrífumál*. Lastly, a number of similar stylistic choices and mythological elements are mentioned in both poems, for example the *blunnstøfum* of st. 3,⁹⁵ or the horses of st. 16.⁹⁶ Such examples shall be discussed below, and show the likelihood that the composer of one poem might have known the other, or that they both reflect a similar ‘version’ of Germanic paganism.

The second poem which I believe to be of critical importance is *Þórdrápa*, quoted by Snorri in *Skáldskaparmál*.⁹⁷ *Þórdrápa* is one of the most complicated and difficult poems in the Old Norse language, mainly because of its number, and complexity of *kenningar*. In it, Þórr goes to the hall of a *jötunn* king called Geirrøðr, just like Óðinn’s king of the Goths. Þórr does

⁹⁴ *Sigrdrífumál*, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, v. 2 (Reykjavík, 2014).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 313.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 316-317.

⁹⁷ Snorri Sturluson, *Skáldskaparmál*.

what he does best, which is using his physical prowess, and overcomes all the trials brought by Geirrøðr and slays him. Snorri, who also quotes the poem in full, provides with a summary to the story telling us that after Loki was caught in falcon form by king Geirrøðr: ‘*Pá læsti Geirrøðr Loka í kistu ok svelti hann þar þrjá mánuðr*’.⁹⁸ Such a *topos*, for example, is present in *Grímnismál* as well, where Geirrøðr imprisons and tortures and starves Óðinn for eight nights. The commentary below discusses the rarity of the name ‘Geirrøðr’, making it difficult to disregard the presence of this name as a coincidence. The reader familiar with *Grímnismál* will already have noticed the similarities within the setting of the two poems, with a god as the protagonist travelling to a faraway kingdom and engaging into a dispute with the ruler named Geirrøðr. Furthermore, even more particular elements, including kennings and the usage of specific Óðinn names show the possibility of an interesting connection between these two poems. *Pórsdrápa* could prove to be the missing link in our understanding of how the Óðinn cult could have taken over the cult of Þórr, as shall be discussed in Part 2 Chapter 3.3. In conclusion, as part of my analysis of *Grímnismál*, and especially in my attempt to place the poem in a geographic region and date it, I shall be using some of the information gained through the reading of *Pórsdrápa* and *Sigrdrífumál*. My attempt is to be meticulous in my usage of both sources and clear whenever I do so, in giving the reader the possibility of disregarding the conclusions related to such comparisons, should they not find them convincing enough.

5. Linguistic Sources

The least problematic category of source material regarding the study of paganism may, perhaps, be the linguistic. By tracing the meaning and etymologies of the names of gods, one

⁹⁸ Ibid. p. 24.

Translation: Then Geirrøðr locked Loki in a chest and for three months he starved him.

can make many discoveries, as seen in the previous chapter. Moreover, toponymics, the study of place-names and their meaning, is a critical field in the understanding of paganism. For example, the Danish city of Odense comes from a theophoric *Óðins vé* ‘Óðinn’s shrine’.⁹⁹ Places like Torsvi ‘Þórr’s shrine’ and Närlunda ‘Njörðr’s sacrificial grove’, similarly show the cult of some deities, and their second element show the importance of natural places, like the sacrificial grove.¹⁰⁰ D. H. Green, in *Language and History in the Early Germanic World*, gives a vast range of examples of words that showed religious importance:

The OHG word *harug* has cognates in OE and ON. In OHG it occurs in the earliest sources and persists until the tenth century, translating such Latin terms as *ara*, *delubrum*, *fanum*, *lucus* and *nemus*, i.e. ranging from ‘altar’ through ‘sanctuary, chapel’ to ‘holy grove’. None of the examples suggest a large place of worship, but rather a small grove, particularly when *harug* renders *lucus* or *nemus* or when in one gloss it occurs as a translation of *silva* (with non-religious function), but the position is different in OE, where *hearg* can denote ‘wood’ as well as ‘holy grove’, but in addition a pagan ‘sanctuary’ or ‘idol’. In ON *hörgr* is attested as ‘heap of stones’, but also ‘place of worship’ (with stones as a primitive altar?) and ‘mountain’. If we accept the etymological connection with OIr. *carn* ‘heap of stones’ and Lat. *carcer* ‘(stone) enclosure, prison’, the semantic starting-point would seem to have been ‘altar’, then, as with the Latin terms above rendered into OHG, moving to ‘sanctuary, chapel’ and finally ‘holy grove’. The word can also occur as (or in) a place-name (e.g. *Harrow* or *Harrowden* in England), but the double function of the appellative, religious or non-religious, means that we cannot be certain whether the place-name refers to an original place of worship.¹⁰¹

Moreover, Jakob Grimm mentions the Gothic word *alhs*, which is related to Greek *ναός* and *ἱερόν*, ‘temple’. This, according to Grimm, could also be related to the Alcis

⁹⁹ Green writes: ‘Theophoric place-names may contain a general term for the gods at large or the name of an individual god. Scandinavian place-names of the type *Gudhjem*, *Gudme*, *Gudum* (< *Gudhem*) derive from an appellative meaning ‘home of the gods’, extended to mean the place where the gods dwell and are the object of a special rite, then designating places where such worship took place. In addition to this collective word for the gods, the term **ansu-* (one group of gods within the Germanic pantheon) can also be used, as in Sw. *Åsum* (< *-hem*), Norw. *Oslo* and German *Aßlar*. Much more common are place-names which specify an individual god, throughout Scandinavia and especially with reference to the gods *Freyr*, *Óðinn*, *Þórr* (but also *Ullr*, *Freyja* and *Týr*). This category is also represented in WG evidence: *Wodan* in Germany (*Godesberg* < *Wudinisberg*) and in England (*Wednesbury*, *Wenslow*), *Donar* in Germany (*Donnesberg*, whilst in England *Thursley* shows Viking influence), *Tiu* in Germany (*Ciesburg* for Augsburg) and in England (*Tuesley*). For all such place-names of theophoric nature (generic or individual deities) we may assume the presence of a religious site in or near the places in question.’ Source: D. H. Green, *Language and History in the Early Germanic World* (Cambridge, 1998). pp. 25-26.

Also, Grimm. p. 28.

¹⁰⁰ Andrés, “Behind Heathendom.” p. 108.

¹⁰¹ Green. p. 26.

mentioned by Tacitus in *Germania* XLIII.¹⁰² To further show the importance of trees and groves in the Germanic religions, Green writes that OS *alah*, ‘temple’, which is cognate to the aforementioned *alhs*, but also to OE *ealgian*, ‘to protect’, OLith *alkas/elkas*, ‘holy grove’, and Greek *álsos*, ‘grove’.¹⁰³ Through the study of place-names, one can see that there was a common pantheon in the Scandinavian lands.¹⁰⁴ One can also see the cultural perceptions of the landscapes and how people dealt with them.¹⁰⁵

Tracing Óðinn’s name one sees that it is cognate with Wôdan, the suffix *-an* denoting authority over the people, thus making his name mean ‘leader of the *wôd*’. *Wôd*, according to Green, is cognate with modern German *wut*, ‘rage, fury’. Green continues ‘The Germanic word could certainly be seen in a negative sense (in Gothic the form *wôþs* was used to render ‘possessed by demons’), but also positively if we take into account such cognates as Lat. *vātis*, OIr. *fáith* ‘prophet, poet’ (in *Germania* Wodan was also seen as a god of poetry).’¹⁰⁶ This information goes well with some of the attributes found in Óðinn, such as him being the god of poetry (as mentioned above by Green), as well as him being the god of berserkers.

Language can also help with dating the Icelandic sources. By finding words that were not used in Iceland but were common in Scandinavia, one can see that some parts of *Hávamál* were probably not composed by an Icelander. Some examples of these words have been given above (2.4).¹⁰⁷ A meticulous study of the language used in an Icelandic text could thus help to its dating and the understanding of whether said text was probably composed after the Christian

¹⁰² Grimm. p. 66.

¹⁰³ Ibid. p. 27.

¹⁰⁴ Andrén, “Behind.” p. 121.

¹⁰⁵ Sæbjörg Walaker Nordeide “Introduction: The Sacralization of Landscape,” In *Sacred Sites and Holy Places: Exploring the Sacralization of Landscape through Time and Space*, ed. Sæbjörg Walaker Nordeide and Stefan Brink (Turnhout, 2013). p. 4.

¹⁰⁶ Green. p. 79.

¹⁰⁷ *Hávamál*, 7. p. 13.

conversion in its entirety or whether, as Evans wrote about *Hávamál*, one could ‘glimpse the half-submerged hulks’ of older poems.¹⁰⁸

6. Comparative philology

While reading *Grímnismál*, similarities may be found with other Indo-European mythological sources: for example Greek or Sanskrit ones. Such comparative studies have recently re-emerged and historians of religion such as Jens Peter Schjødt have been advocating in favour of following such methodologies.¹⁰⁹ For those scholars who believe that there was a Proto-Indo-European culture, it follows that there was also a common Proto-Indo-European religion and mythology as well. However, according to Beekes, there is only one name of a god that can be traced in most Indo-European languages. This is the name of the Greek god Zeus:

Diéus *ph₂tér (Skt. *Dyáus pitā*, Gr. *Zeús patér*, Lat. *Iuppiter*). The word is related to 'day' (Skt. *dívā* 'during the day', Arm. *tiv*, Lat. *diēs*, OIr. *die*); Zeus would then be the god of the clear skies. The word for 'god' is derived from the same form: **deiuos* (Skt. *devá-*, Lith. *diēvas*, Lat. *deus*, OIr. *día*, OIc. pl. *tívar*; from this root are derived OIc. *Týr*, OE *Tīg*, OHG *Zīo*).¹¹⁰

Some names of other gods have been seen to be Indo-European, but haven't been connected with other Indo-European languages, Wôdan and Venus being some examples.¹¹¹ Old Norse *Æsir*, singular *áss*, 'gods' has been reconstructed to Proto-Germanic **ansuz*, which could be cognate with Hittite *ḫassu-*, 'king', as well as Vedic *ásura-*, and Avestan *ahura-*, both related to divinities.¹¹² **ansuz* and its connections between different religions are debated. A number

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. p. 8.

¹⁰⁹ Jens Peter Schjødt, "The Reintroduction of Comparative Studies as a Tool for Reconstructing Old Norse Religion," In *Theorizing Old Norse Myth* ed. Stefan Brink and Lisa Collinson (Turnhout, forthcoming).

¹¹⁰ R.S.P. Beekes, *Comparative Indo-European Linguistics: An Introduction*, ed. Paul Gaboriner (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 1995). p. 39.

¹¹¹ Benjamin W. Fortson, *Indo-European Language and Culture: An Introduction* (Malden and Oxford, 2004). p. 22.

¹¹² Martin L. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford and New York, 2007). p. 121.

of scholars have also worked in trying to connect the roles of priests such as the Celtic druids and Indic *brahmins*,¹¹³ but their work has proven to be inconclusive and their theories far-fetched.

Following such comparative patterns or thought, I wrote my master's dissertation on the Old Norse myth that related to the creation of mankind and proceeded to compare it to the other Indo-European creation myths. I found strong similarities in two main forms, namely the importance of trees in said myth, and the figure of Loki. Loki is a being shrouded in mystery. Very little is known about his functions in Old Norse religion, as well as his provenance and the date when he became part of the pantheon. Moreover, his name has not been properly explained, though a large number of possibilities have been suggested by scholars. Notable scholars like Dumézil and Jan De Vries have worked on this figure.¹¹⁴ By going through Loki's attributes, as well as the large amount of historiography about this shadowy figure, I found out that, as other scholars had written before me, one could see a number of similarities between Loki and Prometheus, especially when it comes to the creation myth. By analysing the Old Norse texts of *Völuspá* and *Gylfaginning* and comparing them with the Greek works of Hesiod, *Theogony* and *Works and Days*, I explored whether or not Loki and Prometheus are both related to the Caucasian Syrdon, as Dumézil claimed¹¹⁵ and concluded that there was probably a relation between the two.¹¹⁶ The reason I am summarising this here is to say that, as interesting as my conclusions might have been, such a comparative work ended up in the realm of distant possibility, instead of probability. In finding similarities in the importance put into trees in different Indo-European creation myths, I concluded that all these myths came from a single,

¹¹³ Colin Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins*, (London, 1990). p. 251.

¹¹⁴ See: De Vries, *The Problem of Loki*; Georges Dumézil, *Loki* (Paris, 1986); Anna Birgitta Rooth, *Loki in Scandinavian Mythology* (1961).

¹¹⁵ Dumézil. pp. 202-203.

¹¹⁶ Vittorio Mattioli, "Of Tree-Men: Askr and Embla and the Indo-European Anthropogony" (unpublished, 2014). pp. 28-34.

Proto-Indo-European source. What I failed to realise, in this case, is that other religions, unrelated to the Indo-European-speaking peoples, share similar elements concerning the importance of trees. For instance, as described by Mircea Eliade,¹¹⁷ the Nambakula, Kwakiutl, Nad'a, Karadjeri, Chepara and Buriat are but a few of the large number of tribes around the world in which the trees show a similar kind of importance.¹¹⁸ This example shows that finding similarities between two religions or cultures does not necessarily mean that these two cultures stem from the same proto-culture, but could be part of a more universal aspect, present in different and unrelated cultures and religions.

Comparative Indo-European studies, as interesting and important a subject as it might be, proves to be problematic for scholars in this field. When it comes to the field of linguistics, Indo-European comparative linguistics is a field that has proven to be extremely helpful and if I may be allowed to say so, interesting. However, studying the perceived similarities of a virtually unknown culture of the Proto-Indo-European people can only bring inconclusive results. I am keen to believe that there was a common culture shared by the speakers of Proto-Indo-European, including a religion and mythology. It is exactly because of my interest in such an outcome that my proposed method of studying the Proto-Indo-European world, is not to study it at all. Only when all these cultures and religions have been studied extensively on their own, may a comparison between them prove to be fruitful. Until then, any theory is as invalid as the other.

¹¹⁷ Mircea Eliade has done a lot of research throughout his lifetime, working in comparative religions, especially from an anthropological perspective, and, by analysing modern day shamanistic societies, he has tried to understand more of ancient religions that, according to him had similar shamanistic properties. However, his work is now mostly discredited, not only because of his affiliations with fascism, but also because his work 'is based upon a few bits of ethnographic and historical information, interpreted through the fastidious application of unbridled imagination, exaggerations, and misrepresentations, to produce a narrative that accords with a preconceived vision the author wishes to present, no matter how farfetched that vision may be from actual ethnographic or historical circumstances.' Source: Hodayun Sidky, "On the Antiquity of Shamanism and its role in Human Religiosity." In, *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion*, v. 22.1 (2010). p. 79.

¹¹⁸ Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, ed. Willard R. Trask (Orlando, 1959). pp. 33, 35 and *Rites and Symbols of Initiation: The Mysteries of Birth and Rebirth*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Putnam, 1994). pp. 47, 150.

7. Comparison with Christianity

When studying Germanic paganism, it is hard not to compare the sources with other religions, especially with what we know about the beliefs of other Indo-European speaking peoples. As seen above, most of the literary sources compare Germanic paganism with classical religions, so in a way it is almost impossible for a scholar not to do that as well. However, as seen above, the amount of material we have for comparing Indo-European religions is inconclusive.

Christianity and paganism affected each other. Studying medieval Christianity, one might find a large number of pagan elements of worship, especially wells and springs:

Thousands of springs and fountains bore (and bear) the names of saints, usually with some explanatory story, like that relating to the early British saint Decuman, martyred in Devon, who, after decapitation, carried his own head "to that spring of purest water, in which he used to wash his head, and which is still today called 'St. Decuman's fountains,' in memory and reverence to him".¹¹⁹

More examples of such similarities can be found relation to shrines. For example, Gregory of Tours' description of the pagan shrine near Cologne, where people would make offerings to carved images of their gods in hope for healing¹²⁰ is reminiscent of the Christian practice of incubation.¹²¹ At the end of the sixth century, Pope Gregory the Great condemned the practices of Brunhild's subjects of sacrificing animals and worshipping trees, in a letter to her.¹²² Palmer mentions how Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, commented on the fact that Christians had paid

¹¹⁹ Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead*. p. 621.

¹²⁰ Gregory of Tours, *Liber Vitae Patrum*, ed. Bruno Krusch (Hanover, 1885). ch. 57, p. 681.

¹²¹ Incubation: ritual sleep in a sanctuary in order to obtain a dream, mostly for healing. Incubation is known from sanctuaries of Asclepius, but also from other healing sanctuaries like the Amphiarion at Oropus. Such sanctuaries mostly had specific halls where patients slept during the night, with high walls to prevent prying. Aristophanes in *Plutus* gives a detailed description of a night in the Asclēpiēum in Piraeus, while the healing inscriptions from Epidaurus, Rome, and Pergamum although directly aimed at promoting the cult, allow some insights into the nature of the dreams, as does the diary of Aelius Aristides. Source: *Incubation*, ed. John Roberts, (Oxford, 2007).

¹²² Gregory the Great, *The Letters of Gregory the Great*, ed. John R.C. Martyn, v. 2 (Toronto, 2004). 8.4 p. 504.

people to stop thunder and hail, turning to other beliefs than the Christian faith in the process. Agobard proceeded with even giving what could be taken as a positive comment on paganism as opposed to such people: ‘so much stupidity has already oppressed the wretched world that Christians now believe things so absurd that no one ever before could persuade the pagans to believe them, even though these pagans were ignorant of the Creator of all things.’¹²³ Caesarius of Arles, in the early sixth century denounced these practices in one of his sermons:

Audivimus aliquos ex vobis ad arbores vota reddere, ad fontes orare, auguria diabolica observare: de qua re tantus dolor est in animis nostris, ut nullam possimus consolationem recipere. Sunt enim, quod peius est, infelices et miseri, qui paganorum fana non solum destruere nolunt, sed etiam quae destructa fuerant aedificare nec metuunt nec erubescunt.¹²⁴

It is clear from the abovementioned examples, that Christianity was affected by paganism in much more than its incorporation of pagan festivals. Some similarities that one might find, however, are not related to Christianity borrowing from paganism or vice-versa, and a scholar must always keep this possibility in mind.

What the reader might perhaps find more shocking, is that paganism incorporated a large amount of Christian elements as well.¹²⁵ For instance, specialised cult houses seem to have started appearing from the third to sixth centuries AD.¹²⁶ This could be Christian influence (although it is possible that it was Roman influence as well). More importantly, Anders Andrén writes that the practice of wearing a Þórr hammer around one’s neck seems to have been an emulation of the wearing of the cross (or a response to that).¹²⁷ The pagans seemed to see Christianity in a very strange way. For instance, the Frisian king Radbod, a pagan, was about

¹²³ Palmer, p. 406.

¹²⁴ Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones Caesarii Uel Ex Aliis Fontibus Hausti*. sermo: 53, cap. 1.

Translation: ‘We have heard that some of you make vows to trees, pray to fountains and practice diabolical augury. What is worse, there are some unfortunate and miserable people who are not only unwilling to destroy the shrines of the pagans but even are not afraid or ashamed to build up those which have been destroyed.’

Source: *Sermons*, trans. M. M. Muller (Washington, 1957). p. 263.

¹²⁵ Bartlett, “Reflections.” p. 59.

¹²⁶ Andrén, “Behind Heathendom.” p. 112.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 124-125.

to convert to Christianity, when it occurred to him to ask whether his ancestors would be in heaven or hell. When he was told that they would be in hell, he changed his mind saying that he would not leave his predecessors ‘to live in the heavenly kingdom with a few poor people’.¹²⁸ The comparison with Christianity shows better than anything how ‘loose’ paganism was as a religion. As with all pagan religions, having no specific scripture, religious hierarchy, temples or priesthood, Germanic paganism was open to change, as opposed to more structuralised religions such as Christianity.

While there is little doubt that Germanic paganism and Christianity affected each other, the examples mentioned above are far from conclusive and cannot help in finding out more about the pagan religion itself. Such similitudes, for example the similarity of incubation with the worship of carved images of gods mentioned above, are very thin and may be unrelated. Similarly, the appearance of cult houses in Scandinavia may be unrelated to Christianity (for instance, Uppåkra was earlier, as seen above). Just as with similarities found with other Indo-European religions, unless there is direct evidence to believe otherwise, comparisons are hardly fruitful. In fact, the importance of trees, wells and springs that is seen in Christianity could have been the result of incorporation of other beliefs, or it could indeed be part of Christianity itself; after all, the Cross could be compared to a tree.

8. Conclusion

Taking into consideration all the elements of paganism seen above, the problems that come with studying each of the sources (and the absence of sources themselves) mentioned in this chapter, most comparisons (especially to other religions or cultures) are inherently doomed to the realm of distant possibility unless undertaken very carefully and with more specific goals

¹²⁸ Bartlett, “Reflections.” p. 75.

in mind. While a number of elements reminiscing of Christianity or other religions may be seen while reading *Grímnismál*, some of which will be even discussed below, in all cases there are arguments against such juxtapositions. The scope of this chapter was to provide with all kinds of sources available for the study of pagan myth and belief, while showing all problems that arise from using them in order to show that the approach followed in this thesis could possibly come to more valuable results. By focusing only on the source itself (and a handful of other sources of particular interest) and trying to understand the specific beliefs and practices of the people of the region and time of its composition, there is less room for error. Thus, this study of *Grímnismál* will be following Andrén's premise on the nature of paganism.

Part 2 *Grímnismál*: Manuscripts and Contents

Chapter 1. Manuscripts

In order to understand *Grímnismál* in the versions in which it survives, and also in order to help any possible dating of what may have been the relative time period in which its original form might have been composed, a study of the surviving manuscripts is of the utmost importance. Before starting such an analysis, and showing the dating techniques and conclusions for each, some basic but important things should be discussed. *Grímnismál* survives in two manuscripts, GKS 2365 4to (hereafter GKS), and AM 748 I 4to (hereafter AM). According to Vésteinn Ólason, mistakes in spelling and some other details, and the comparison with other manuscripts, such as AM, prove that GKS is a copy and not an original.¹²⁹ The same can be said about AM, and it seems likely that there was at least one older archetype that connects them. Trying to create a stemma from two manuscripts, one of which is in a very fragmentary form, is a counter-productive and needless job. Moreover, it does not seem like either manuscript was directly copied from the other. However, it should be important to show a small passage for Hreinn Benediktsson's ground breaking study of Icelandic Script:

There can be little doubt that what is now preserved of writings from the early period, down to the late thirteenth century, is only a relatively insignificant part of what was actually written in Iceland during this period, the extant sources tell us of a number of literary works which originated in this period, but of which no manuscript is now preserved. Textual critics and literary historians insert a greater or smaller number of lost copies or versions as intermediate between the ultimate original and the extant copies of a great many other works. And this is confirmed by the fact that, on the evidence of certain paleographic and orthographic features, the great majority of the extant manuscripts, even the earliest ones, can be shown to be, not originals, but transcripts of earlier copies, now lost, which, in turn, may have been transcripts, and so on.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Vésteinn Ólason, "The Poetic Edda: Literature or Folklore?," In *Along the Oral-Written Continuum: Types of Texts, Relations and Their Implications*, ed. Slavica Ranković, Leidulf Melve and Else Mundal (Turnhout, 2010). p. 230.

¹³⁰ Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script: As Illustrated in Vernacular Texts from the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Reykjavík, 1965). pp. 15-16.

More recent scholars, such as Matthew Driscoll, have come to similar conclusions, with Driscoll estimating that less than 10% of medieval Icelandic manuscripts survive today.¹³¹ As Hreinn points out, Icelandic manuscript writing probably developed as a result of the conversion to Christianity in 1000.¹³² Thus, an earlier manuscript of *Grímnismál* or the *Elder Edda* in general is unlikely to have existed from a pagan hand. In his study, Hreinn also concludes that whereas Icelandic history is directly related to Norway, Icelandic writing did not develop from Norwegian. Norwegian writing was based on English writing, but it is evident from the Caroline script found in Icelandic manuscripts that Icelandic script was ‘a direct offshoot of the general medieval Latin writing. It was adapted directly to the Icelandic vernacular.’¹³³ Only the writing of characters such as ‘þ’ and ‘ð’ would have been influenced by insular script, which had on turn taken them from earlier Germanic writing.

This is the background which the two manuscripts analysed here come from. The above mentioned information is important to be kept in mind, especially when it comes to trying to understand whether *Grímnismál* (together with the other poems of the *Elder Edda*) is of a pagan nature or not. More importantly, this shows that the chances of this poem having survived exactly in the way it is found in GKS and AM intact in its (possible) pagan roots, is an improbability. Whether it was the editor to one of those two manuscripts or someone before him, stanzas are bound to have been left out, words changed, and material added. The following analysis, however, is based in *Grímnismál* as found in these two manuscripts and not in what it might have been at the time of composition.

¹³¹ Matthew James Driscoll, “Postcards from the Edge: An Overview of Marginalia in Icelandic Manuscripts.” In, *Variants*, v. 2-3 (2004). p. 21.

¹³² Hreinn Benediktsson. p. 18.

¹³³ *Ibid.* p. 34.

1. GKS 2365 4to Manuscript

GKS consists of 45 folios, sized 19.0x12.0cm.¹³⁴ After folio 33, there is a quire missing. According to Vésteinn, this would be eight folios long.¹³⁵ This would make the whole manuscript 106 pages long. It contains twenty-eight Eddic poems. It used to be part of the Royal Collection in Copenhagen (where it gets the GKS classmark from – and its unofficial name of *Codex Regius* of the *Poetic Edda*), was returned to Iceland in 1971, and is now held at the *Stofnun Árna Magnússonar* of the University of Iceland.¹³⁶ According to Frands Herschend, GKS is a copy of a lost original.¹³⁷ By looking at the headings contained in the whole manuscript, not every poem found in modern editions is preceded by a heading in the manuscript. Instead, it appears as if *Skírnismál* were part of *Grímnismál*, and the prose introduction to *Grímnismál* were a different entity compared to the poem itself. According to Herschend, this shows that the editor to GKS was ‘unwilling to present extracts of larger poems as poems or sections in their own right. Their treatment is suggestive, and what remains of the poems is probably as significant as what is left out.’¹³⁸ By reading Herschend’s excellent study of the manuscript headings and their importance for our understanding of both the manuscript and the poems in it, it is evident that *Grímnismál* would have been considered to be important by the editor. The headings are written in red ink, and are difficult to discern (at least through the digital facsimile) while the larger initials are either in red or green ink. One can find marginalia throughout the manuscript. However, margins are reduced a lot by the trimming of the manuscript. A few minor holes are found throughout the manuscript but they all appear to be from the time of production and not later damage. For instance, on the 28th page, one can

¹³⁴ Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, *Sýnisbók Íslenskrar Skriftar - 2. Útgáfa*, (Reykjavík, 2007). p. 36.

¹³⁵ Vésteinn Ólason, “The Poetic Edda.” p. 230.

¹³⁶ Matthew James Driscoll and Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, *Manuscripts from the Arnarnagæan Collection* (Ljubljana, 2015). p. 34.

¹³⁷ Frands Herschend, “Codex Regius 2365, 4to Purposeful Collection and Conscious Composition.” In, *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, v. 117 (2002). p. 121.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 137-138.

find such a hole that has been sewn together with a green thread.¹³⁹ A different argument has been made by Lassen. She writes that the compiler of this collection of poems might not have been the same person as the scribe, and that by looking at orthographical and palæographical sources, one can argue that the poems were compiled from many different written collections.¹⁴⁰ This would agree with theory that Snorri had only three of these poems in front of him when he wrote the *Snorra Edda*: thus, only one of these small collections. Throughout the manuscript one can find a few notes in Árni Magnússon's hand; 1 recto shows the signature of bishop Brynjólfr Sveinsson with the date of 1643,¹⁴¹ and this is the earliest date we have on the manuscript. We know that Brynjólfr sent the manuscript to Frederick III of Denmark in 1662 as a present. The binding is from 1992, and therefore can provide no help with dating the manuscript.

Grímnismál starts at the thirty-first line of the sixteenth page of the GKS manuscript. It ends at the twenty-first page towards the end of the ninth line, just before *Skírnismál* starts. In dating GKS, I shall focus specifically on the above-mentioned folia, since my interest lies purely in *Grímnismál* for the purposes of this thesis. Haraldur Bernharðsson's handbook for dating Icelandic manuscripts is what I will follow.¹⁴² For my transcription I have used the digital facsimile found in handrit.is.¹⁴³

Throughout the poem and the prose introduction and conclusion, 'þ' is used predominately, with 'ð' appearing sometimes in non-initial position. There seems to be no set

¹³⁹ "Eddukvæði — Sæmundar-Edda," (Stofnun Árna Magnússonar (Háskoli Íslands)).

¹⁴⁰ Annette Lassen, "The Early Scholarly Reception of *Völuspá* from Snorri Sturluson to Árni Magnússon," In *The Nordic Apocalypse. Approaches to Völuspá and Nordic Days of Judgement*, ed. Terry Gunnell and Annette Lassen (Turnhout, 2013), p. 8.

See also: Gustaf Lindblad, "Poetiska Eddans Förehistoria Och Skrivskicket I Codex Regius." In, *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, v. 95 (1980).

¹⁴¹ "Eddukvæði."

¹⁴² Haraldur gave this handout during the Aramangnæan summer school in manuscript studies held in Reykjavík 2015. I am very thankful for this concise guide on all the steps that need to be taken for dating Icelandic manuscripts.

¹⁴³ "Eddukvæði."

rule in distinguishing between the two, as, for example, one can find ‘Geirroþr’ (17 recto, line 6), and ‘geirroðr’ (17 recto, line 8). This information points towards the Intermediate Period of the use of ‘þ’ and ‘ð’, which is between c1225 and c1375/1400. The second step comes in the study of the middle voice. Orthographically, the middle voice ending changed between ‘-sc’, ‘-z’, ‘-zt’, ‘-zst’, ‘-st’, depending on the time period. Throughout *Grímnismál*, one finds but a few examples of the use of the middle voice. However, all of the middle voices end in ‘-z’. Some examples are ‘varaz’ (17 recto, line 16), ‘nefndiz’ (in the same page, line 20), or ‘steyptiz’, (21 recto, line 8). This would put the manuscript in the dates between 1225 and 1500. Continuing with the third step, one has to analyse the letter ‘f’ and its form. ‘fundo’ (17 recto, line 2), has an insular ‘f’. The upper horizontal bar bends slightly downward towards the lower bar. ‘fostrapi’, in the same page, line three, uses a similar ‘f’. The use of the insular ‘f’ points towards the intermediate period, between c1225 and 1375/1400. Since the ‘f’ has a bend of the upper horizontal bar, but not as much as making it a two-lobe insular ‘f’, this would point more towards a central time of the intermediate period rather than the years closer to c1225 or 1400.

Consequently, a number of orthographic features in the manuscript can help with its dating. Firstly, it should be pointed out, that to properly date a manuscript based on orthographic features alone, a very substantial amount of text is required. GKS is indeed a substantial source. Looking at the ‘ø’ and ‘q’ can provide linguistic evidence. Initially they were distinct, with their Proto Nordic vowels being ‘e’ and ‘a’ respectively. However, in the early thirteenth century, the two vowels merged. In GKS, there are plenty of examples that show such merger, pointing to a composition later than the early 1200s.¹⁴⁴ Another merger is

¹⁴⁴ Some examples can be seen in the following words, with their normalised Old Norse equivalents having been taken from *Grímnismál*, ed. Gustav Neckel, Second ed., v. 1 (Heidelberg, 1927):

gøngomk – góngomc (9 recto, line 28)

Geirrøðar – geirróþar (9 recto, line 31)

giøld – giold (9 recto, line 33)

þøkþo – þæcþo (9 verso, line 4)

Søkkvabekkr – Sæcqva beccr (9 verso, line 5)

gløð – glæð (9 verso, line 6)

‘æ/ǣ’ with ‘ó/œ’, to form ‘æ’. According to Haraldur, there were two different sounds originally, with ‘æ’ being the result of i-umlaut of ‘á’, and ‘ó’ from i-umlaut of ‘ó’. In the case of this manuscript, trying to date based on this linguistic feature proved to be somewhat problematic. As can be seen by the examples, there does seem to be a distinction between the two sounds, though examples such as ‘*fǣkin*’ (10 recto, line 9), show that this was possibly changing.¹⁴⁵ This would place the manuscript in probably the early part of the intermediate period, 1225-1375, in which scribes used distinct symbols for both sounds, but not consistently, the changes slowly disappearing in the course of the 1300s. A last phonological change to be seen is in ‘y’ becoming unrounded, for example ‘*fyrir*’ becoming ‘*firir*’. This general unrounding happened in the early fifteenth century. In the case of GKS there seem to be no such instances.¹⁴⁶

Valhǫll – valhǫll (9 verso, line 8)

Miǫk – Mióc (9 verso, line 10)

skǫptom - fcaptom (9 verso, line 11)

qrn - ærn (9 verso, line 10)

miǫð – mioþ (9 verso, line 17)

Niǫrðr – niorþr (9 verso, line 21)

mǫgr – maugr [mægr] (9 verso, lines 23-24)

fǫður - fæðr (9 verso, line 27)

Heriafǫðr – heria fæðr (9 verso, line 27)

¹⁴⁵ Examples, in the same form as above and with *ibid.* as a source for the normalised edition:

nætr – nętr (9 recto, line 29)

Bœr – Bqr (9 verso, line 3)

svæfir - fvefer (9 verso, line 21)

lætsk – lęzk (9 verso, line 24)

frœkn - frqcn (9 verso, line 24)

Sæhrímni - fę hrimni (9 verso, line 25)

æ – ę (9 verso, line 28)

Læraðs – lęraþs (10 recto, line 5)

Sœkin - fękin (10 recto, line 9)

dœma – dęma (10 recto, line 16)

rœtr – rętr (10 recto, line 20)

¹⁴⁶ Some examples can be seen in the following words, with their normalised Old Norse equivalents having been taken from Neckel Kuhn *ibid.*:

Firr - fir (9 recto, line 28)

drykkjar – drycciar (9 recto, line 32)

heita – heita (9 verso, line 2)

þeim – þeim (9 verso, line 9)

þrymheimr – þrym heimr (9 verso, line 12)

Breiðablik – Breiða blik (9 verso, line 14)

feiknstafi - feikn ftafi (9 verso, line 15)

Freyia - freyia (9 verso, line 18)

Furthermore, phonological changes that started happening towards the end of the intermediate period (from the second half of the thirteenth century), but became more prominent from 1300 onwards, like the change of ‘vá’ to ‘vo’ (*váði* to *voði*), the fricativisation of ‘t’ in unstressed word-final positions (*þat* to *það*), the fricativisation of ‘k’ in unstressed word-final position (*sik* to *sig*), the diphthongisation of ‘eng’ to ‘eing’ (*gengu* to *geingu*), the u-insertion (*niðr* to *niður*), the diphthongisation of ‘é’ (*þér* to *þier*) or the merger of ‘ll’ to ‘rl’ (*öllungis* to *örlungis*) and ‘nn’ to ‘rn’ (*einn* to *eirn*), are all absent completely, further pointing towards an early writing.

Orthographic features, like the replacement of ‘c’ by ‘k’, can help with dating the manuscript as well. In the case of *Grímnismál*, both ‘c’ and ‘k’ are used, interchangeably. The letter ‘c’ was gradually replaced by ‘k’ during the thirteenth century, and was rarely used in the fourteenth. Throughout the folia of *Grímnismál*, small capital letters used to denote geminate consonants are heavily present. Examples are plenty, for example in ‘*Geirroþr*’ (17 recto, line 6), or ‘*Opinn*’ (17 recto, line 10). The use of small capitals decreased during the fourteenth century, and they were very rarely used after 1400. One does not find the palatisation of ‘g’ and ‘k’ either, another pointer to a pre-fourteenth century writing.

Lastly, looking at the palaeography of the manuscript, it is evident that the script is written in a Gothic bookhand (also known as Textualis) hand, a script that developed in the second half of the thirteenth century, and was dominant until the first half of the fourteenth century. The text is narrow and regular and very easy to read. The curves are more angular, as can be seen in the ‘g’ and ‘r’ in ‘*geirroð*’ (9 recto, line 4). Some double consonants are conjoined, such as ‘*þiccia*’ (9 recto, line 14). ‘u’ and ‘v’ is the same, as in ‘*um*’ and ‘*vetrinn*’ (9 Recto, line 3). However, looking at the capitalised forms of these letters, it is evident that

eitt – eitt (9 verso, line 27)
fyr – fyr (9 verso, line 32)
fyrir – fyr (10 verso, line 2)

there is a difference. ‘V’ in ‘*Vindr*’ (9 recto, line 1) is a good example of a curved capitalised ‘V’ which is Insular and appeared around 1200 in Iceland. It is rarely found after 1300. The left ascender is forked. With the exception of capitalised letters, the ascenders and descenders are not very long relative to the body. The ‘o’ are oval as in ‘*þundo*’ (9 recto, line 2). Some letters are conjoined, such as ‘ci’, which sometimes looks like an ‘a’ as a result. For example ‘*fcipino*’ (9 recto, line 7) has the above mentioned instance but also shows how ‘f’ is conjoined to ‘c’ by a small line extending from its lower right side. All these elements mentioned here are typical of the Gothic script. However, in all cases, the characteristics are not strongly pronounced (for instance, minims are easily distinguishable). This could point towards an early Gothic period (or a more conservative scribe). The uncial ‘d/ð’ with a slanted shaft is present throughout the manuscript for both ‘d’ and ‘ð’. This ‘d/ð’ appeared in 1200. The ‘r’ rotunda is present after ‘o’, such as in ‘*born*’ (9 recto, line 12), but also after ‘d/ð’, as in ‘*geirræðr*’ (9 recto, line 10). The ‘r’ rotunda is not present after ‘a’, ‘y’, ‘v’, and ‘h’, though, a practice that started in the second half of the fourteenth century. As such, this pattern is most likely to be from sometime between 1250 and 1350. A last element to look at is the letter ‘a’. Throughout the manuscript, the ‘a’ is uncial, with a bowl and neck bending down slightly towards the bowl. For instance ‘*aland*’ (9 recto, line 7). This became predominant during the thirteenth century, and was gradually replaced by a two-storey ‘a’ during the second half of the thirteenth century.

By looking at all those conclusions and putting them together, one can conclude that GKS was written in a period between 1250 and 1300. This conclusion agrees with every single dating technique used above, and also agrees with the dating given to the manuscript by other secondary literature, such as handrit.is which places its composition to 1260-1280,¹⁴⁷ Vésteinn Ólason who places it to the second half of the thirteenth century,¹⁴⁸ the *Íslenzk Fornrit* edition

¹⁴⁷ “Eddukvæði.”

¹⁴⁸ Vésteinn Ólason, “The Poetic Edda.” p. 230.

to 1270,¹⁴⁹ and others, like Clunies-Ross as well.¹⁵⁰ Whereas all agree, dates such as 1260-1280, or even specifically the 1270s, seem to me to be too specific for us to know for sure, and the lack of many manuscripts with the same sources, or manuscripts from the same hand, does not help with decreasing other factors, such as the scribe being particularly old fashioned, or the exact opposite, which must be taken into consideration. As such, a half century dating such as 1250-1300 seems more inclusive of all those factors.

¹⁴⁹ Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, *Eddukvæði* (Reykjavík, 2014). p. 19.

¹⁵⁰ Margaret Clunies Ross, “The Transmission and Preservation of Eddic Poetry.” In *A Handbook to Eddic Poetry: Myths and Legends of Early Scandinavia*, ed. Carolyne Larrington, Judy Quinn, and Brittany Schorn (Cambridge, 2016). p. 22.

2. AM 748 I 4to Manuscript

The AM manuscript survives only in fragmentary form. Only six sheets of the AM manuscript fragment are preserved, and they can be found in the Arnamagnean Institute of the University of Copenhagen. The fragment is very precious since it is the only other source apart from GKS to contain extant texts of Eddic poetry, and the only source in which *Baldrs draumar* survives. The poems contained in what survives of this manuscript are, in order of appearance: *Hárbarðsljóð*, *Baldrs draumar*, *Skírnismál*, *Vafþrúðnismál*, *Grímnismál*, *Hymiskviða*, and *Völundarkviða*. Of these, only *Grímnismál* and *Hymiskviða* are complete while the rest are in partial form (only the beginning of the prose introduction to *Völundarkviða* survives, with no poetry). Of further importance to the study of Eddic poetry is the order of these poems, which is very different to that found in GKS, something that suggests one manuscript is not a direct copy of the other. The fragment once was a single codex which included AM, which was separated by Árni Magnússon (1663-1730), dividing the Eddic poetry of the I fragment from *Skaldskaparmál* and genealogical lists relating to the Sturlungar in the II fragment.¹⁵¹ This second fragment is comprised of 22 leaves. Concerning AM's provenance, it is known that Árni got it from Halldór Torfason from Gaulverjabær. According to Driscoll and Svanhildur Óskasdóttir, the manuscript probably belonged to bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson of Skálholt, who bequeathed all his belongings to Halldór's father, Torfi Jónsson.¹⁵² If this were true, then this would mean that both surviving manuscripts of Eddic poetry once belonged to the same person, Brynjólfur Sveinsson. This is hardly of any help in dating the manuscripts, or learning anything more about their provenance, but it is definitely an interesting detail. Just like GKS, AM has red headings. It is similarly small in size and has no illustrations or decorations (at least not in the surviving leaves). This shows that neither manuscript was considered to be very

¹⁵¹ Driscoll and Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir. p. 43.

¹⁵² Ibid. p. 43.

important, or great masterpieces, at the time of creation and were not produced in the most expensive (and visually stunning) way possible, such as, for example, AM 132 fol (*Möðruvallabók*) was. For my transcription I have used the digital facsimile edition found in notendur.hi.is, taken from Finnur's facsimile edition of 1896.¹⁵³ As above, Haraldur's sourcebook has been of immense help in the analysis and dating of the manuscript.

When it comes to 'þ' and 'ð', the scribe is much more regular than in GKS. 'þ' appears predominantly in word initial positions, with some exceptions being, for instance, in compound words such as '*gunnþro*' (4 verso, line 28), '*fimbulþul*' (4 verso, line 28). A change to the usual scribal features is seen in '*þapan*' (4 verso, line 27), '*hæþan*' (5 recto, line 4). Taking the example from above, '*gæirrhoðr*' is found consistently throughout the manuscript (for example in 3 verso, lines 24, 28, 29, 30). On the other hand, 'ð' is written in a similar way to 'd'. Since, as Haraldur writes, this does not denote a change in the pronunciation of the two letters, in my edition I have transcribed the words that would have a 'ð' sound with an 'ð' and 'd' with 'd'. The regularity of such scribal features may point to a later date than the GKS manuscript, though they both still fall in the intermediate period based on the dental fricatives. Looking at the middle voice, similar problems arise as with the GKS manuscript (since the text is almost the same). '*varaz*' is found (4 recto, line 6), '*næfndiz*' (4 recto, line 11), and '*stæýttiz*' (5 verso, line 24). These are exactly the same as GKS when it comes to the middle voice, and therefore would place it at a date between 1225-1500. Continuing to the 'f', just as the GKS, AM has insular 'ƿ'. Looking at the same word as above, '*fostraði*' (3 verso, line 28) has a lower descender that is more curved than in the GKS. However, as a whole, the 'f' would point toward the intermediate period as well, thus between c1225 and 1375/1400. The bend of the upper horizontal bar is not highly accentuated and there is no bend of the lower insular bar (two-lobe insular 'f'), as is the case for later manuscripts of this period. As such, this can help by removing

¹⁵³ "Eddukvæði," (Den Arnamagnæanske Samling (University of Copenhagen), 1896).

the latter part of this time period and it narrows down the dating to c1225 to sometimes before the middle of the fourteenth century.

Turning to linguistic features, AM also shows the merger of ‘ø’ and ‘q’ into a single sound, pointing to a composition post early-thirteenth century.¹⁵⁴ In the case of the ‘æ/ǣ’ with ‘ó/œ’, to form ‘æ’ merger, the contrasts with GKS are strong. In fact, throughout *Grímnismál* AM, one can see ‘æ’ is predominant for both ‘æ’ and ‘œ’ sounds. There are two cases in which one can find ‘æ’ used, ‘*Bætr*’ (4 recto, line 9) normalised as ‘*Bætr*’, and ‘*ǣ*’ (4 verso, line 15) normalised as ‘*æ*’.¹⁵⁵ It is evident that these changes do not show a pattern. As such, it looks like AM is from the late intermediate period, since there is a very small difference in the symbols used, but one that does not follow consistently the origins of the vowels. This would place it between 1300 and 1375/1400, in all probability. Lastly, looking at the ‘y’ being unrounded, as opposed to GKS, one can find sporadic examples of rounded ‘y’, such as ‘*freýia*’

¹⁵⁴ Similarly to GKS 2365 4to, some examples can be seen in the following words, with their normalised Old Norse equivalents having been taken from *Grímnismál*, I. Text. :

gongomk –gongumz (4 recto, line 17)
Geirrǫðar –Gæirrǫðar (4 recto, line 20)
giöld –giælld (4 recto, line 22)
þokþo –þoktu (4 recto, line 25)
Søkkvabekkr –Sockva bæker (4 recto, line 26)
glǫð –glǫð (4 recto, line 28)
Valhǫll –vål hǫll (4 recto, line 29)
Miøk –Miøc (4 recto, line 31)
skoptom - lkoptum (4 recto, line 30)
qrn - qrn (4 verso, line 1)
miqð –miqð (4 verso, line 6)
Niqrðr –niqrðr (4 verso, line 10)
mogr –mogr (4 verso, line 12)
fǫður –fǫður (4 verso, line 12)
Heriafǫðr –Hæria fǫðr (4 verso, line 14)

¹⁵⁵ The normalised Old Norse text has been taken from *ibid.*:

nætr – nætr (4 recto, line 19)
Bær – Bær (4 recto, line 25)
svæfir –fvæfir (4 verso, line 9)
lætsk – læz (4 verso, line 12)
frækn – frækn (4 verso, line 12)
Sæhrímní – fæ hrimni (4 verso, line 13)
æ – æ (4 verso, line 15)
Læraðs – læraðf (4 verso, line 25)
Sækin – fækin (4 verso, line 28)
dæma – dæma (5 recto, line 5)
rætr – rætr (5 recto, line 8)

(4 verso, line 7) and ‘Þrýmhæimr’ (4 verso, line 2).¹⁵⁶ Since the proper unrounding of ‘y’ happened much later, in the fifteenth century, but few instances can be seen since the 1200s, these few examples do not allow precise dating, other than showing that the manuscript is probably pre-fifteenth century. As above, it must be said that since this analysis is specifically based on the part of AM that has *Grímnismál*, linguistic changes are not as easy to see since there is not a substantial amount of words available for a proper study. However, they ultimately agree with the rest of the dating so can be used as an (albeit weaker) further support.

Phonological changes in the Old Icelandic language show the following information and conclusions. Just as with GKS, changes such as ‘vá’ to ‘vo’, the fricativisation of ‘t’ in unstressed word-final positions, the fricativisation of ‘k’ in unstressed word-final position, the diphthongisation of ‘eng’ to ‘eing’, the u-insertion, the diphthongisation of ‘é’, the merger of ‘ll’ to ‘rl’ and ‘nn’ to ‘rn’ are all absent, therefore showing that the manuscript is much likelier to have been written before 1375.

Orthographic changes, such as ‘c’ to ‘k’ are more helpful since, in this case, differences are found. For instance, ‘komu’ (4 verso, line 30) is used throughout the poem, while there is no ‘comu’ to be found. With very few exceptions, such as ‘Miȝc’ (4 recto, line 31), and the ‘ȝc’, symbol, found for example in ‘ƿækc’ (4 verso, line 28) in which one cannot be sure whether it was meant to be read as a single symbol for a ‘kk’ or ‘cc’, or as a symbol for a ‘k’ preceding a ‘c’. In my transcription I have chosen the latter, but I would not count it as a

¹⁵⁶ The normalised Old Norse text has been taken from *ibid.*:

Firr – ƿirr (4 recto, line 18)

drykkjar – drýkciar (4 recto, line 21)

heita – hæita (4 recto, line 24)

þeim – þeim (4 verso, line 1)

þrymheimr – Þrýmhæimr (4 verso, line 2)

Breiðablik – Bræiða blio (4 verso, line 3)

feiknstafi – ƿæiknstaȝi (4 verso, line 5)

Freyia – ƿreyia (4 verso, line 7)

eitt – æitt (4 verso, line 15)

fyr – ƿiri (4 verso, line 19)

fyrir – ƿiri (5 recto, line 20)

support for further dating the manuscript, since it is impossible to know what the scribe meant, and all three spellings can make sense (similarly all the ‘*oc*’ have been expanded from a symbol, and the reason for a ‘*c*’ as opposed to a ‘*k*’ is purely editorial). Such an orthographic change would date the manuscript to the fourteenth century, and points to AM being a newer manuscript than GKS, though it is important to note that one scribe might have been more innovative, or the other more conservative. Small capitals to denote geminate consonants is present throughout the manuscript, for example in ‘*þrigger*’ (4 recto, line 7). Small capitals were rarely used after the early fifteenth century. Just as in GKS, there is no palatisation of ‘*g*’ and ‘*k*’, pointing to a similar dating as the one given by the small capitals.

Lastly, looking at the palæographical features we can deduce the following information. The hand is Gothic/Textualis as well. However, in this case, it seems to be later, as the features are more accentuated. The script is narrow and the ascenders and descenders are generally shorter relative to the body, as in ‘*ifal*’ (4 verso, line 7). A few cursive script elements can be seen, such as the loops on both ascenders and descenders. For example the ‘*h*’ does that, as in ‘*hangir*’ (4 verso, line 1), where the descender loops leftwards to end up in a ‘*b*’like form. Another instance of such loops can be seen in some of the ‘*Γ*’, as in ‘*fvæfir*’ (4 verso, line 9), and similarly the ‘*ƿ*’, as can be seen in the same word. The minims are hard to distinguish in some cases, as in ‘*mikill*’ (4 verso, line 18). As a whole, this script is less regular and more narrow and difficult to read. Though it would be placed in a Gothic/Textualis category, it seems to be particularly late and close to the period in which the cursive script took over. This was in the second half of the fourteenth century. Therefore, AM is likelier to be from the first half of the fourteenth century than the second half of the thirteenth century. The insular ‘*V*’ seems to not be present, with the ‘*V*’ being less pronounced, as in ‘*Valgrind*’ (4 verso, line 18). This would agree with the dating of the hand, since the insular ‘*V*’ was rarely seen after 1300. The ‘*d/ð*’ is uncial and with a slanted shaft. In some cases, such as ‘*dag*’ (4 verso, 8) it is simple,

while in others, such as ‘*hæriaƿrður*’ (4 verso, line 24) there is a curved stroke from the tip of the shaft down to the right side of the bowl. This latter feature became predominant from the second half of the fourteenth century onwards. The use of both ‘d/ð’ forms would point towards a period close to that. The ‘r’ rotunda is present after ‘o’, as in ‘*ƿorna*’ (4 verso, line 3), and after other letters such as ‘d/ð’, as seen in ‘*bruðr*’ (4 verso, line 3), or ‘*ƿrðr*’ (4 verso, line 6). It is not found after other letters. For example ‘*mogr*’ (4 verso, line 12) has a normal ‘r’. This points to a composition after the second half of the fourteenth century and before the fifteenth century. Lastly, the ‘a’ is a two storey ‘a’. It is somewhat more regular than the ‘a’ found in GKS, with all instances having a bend of the neck. Examples are plenty: ‘*goða*’ (4 verso, line 6), ‘*áttu*’ (4 verso, line 5), ‘*valglæmni*’ (4 verso, line 18). This would place the dating in the period after the second half of the thirteenth century, but more likely in the first half of the fourteenth century.

Taking all this information together, the conclusions on the dating of this manuscript would place it in a period between 1300-1350. Once again, this conclusion agrees with previous secondary scholarship. For instance, the *Íslensk Fornirt* edition of the *Elder Edda* places the writing of this manuscript to 1300 or the first quarter of the fourteenth century.¹⁵⁷ notendur.hi.is, where the facsimile I used has been taken from (which follows Finnur’s edition of 1896) also gives the same dates.¹⁵⁸ Just as with GKS, I would prefer a safer dating that would not go any further than giving a half century span, since there are lots of variables and not enough comparative sources in order to be any more scientifically accurate.

¹⁵⁷ Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason. p. 23.

¹⁵⁸“Eddukvæði.” 2.

Table 1 Dating of the two manuscripts

Features	GKS 2365 4to	AM 748 I 4to
<i>þ</i> and <i>ð</i>	c1225 - c1375/1400	c1225 - c1375/1400
Middle Voice	1225 - 1500	1225 - 1500
<i>f</i>	c1225 - c1375	c1225 - c1350
$\phi + \varrho > \ddot{o}$	After 1200	After 1200
$\acute{a} (\acute{e}) + \acute{o}$ (\ae) > \ae	c1225 – 1375 (probably before 1300s)	c1300 – 1375/1400
$i + y > i, \acute{i} + \acute{y} > \acute{i} / ey + ei > ei$	Before 15 th century	Before 15 th century
<i>vá</i> to <i>vo</i>	Before 1375	Before 1375
Fricativisation of <i>t</i>	Before 1375	Before 1375
Fricativisation of <i>k</i>	Before 1375	Before 1375
Diphthongisation of <i>eng</i> to <i>eing</i>	Before 1375	Before 1375
<i>u</i> -insertion	Before 1375	Before 1375
Diphthongisation of <i>é</i>	Before 1375	Before 1375
Merger of <i>ll</i> to <i>rl</i>	Before 1375	Before 1375
Merger of <i>nn</i> to <i>rn</i>	Before 1375	Before 1375
<i>c</i>	Around the 13 th century, before 14 th century	14 th century, possibly 13 th but not early
Small capitals	Before 15 th century, probably before 14 th too	Before 15 th century, probably before 14 th too
Palatisation of <i>g</i> and <i>k</i>	Before 15 th century, probably before 14 th too	Before 15 th century, probably before 14 th too
Script	Gothic/Textualis, after 1250, before 1350.	Late Gothic/Textualis, elements of Cursive. Between 1300-1350.
Insular <i>v</i>	Before 1300	After 1300
<i>d</i>	After 1200	1300-1400
<i>r</i> rotunda	After the middle of the 13 th century, before 1350	After the middle of the 13 th century, before 1350
<i>a</i>	13 th century	After the middle of the 13 th century, predominant in the 14 th century.

Chapter 2. Editing Notes

1. Printed Edition

A good number of editions of Eddic poems have been published in the past two hundred years. However, I chose to transcribe *Grímnismál* by myself from the two manuscripts and make an edition for each. The reason for this is that whereas most of these editions have normalised the spelling and made it more accessible and similar to modern Icelandic, for the purposes of my research I believe that the poem should be presented in as conservative a form as it can be. Choosing to produce an edition of each manuscript version instead of one for both is natural a choice, since the two versions vary slightly from one another.¹⁵⁹ This has also been done in the recent *Íslensk fornrit* edition of the Edda but only for *Völuspá*,¹⁶⁰ a choice which Judy Quinn has deemed to be a ‘commendable editorial approach since it allows us to understand the medieval witnesses better and to appreciate the variability inherent in the eddic tradition as an oral mode.’¹⁶¹ Choosing one version over the other when it is unknown if one was based on the other (and which one was) gives the reader a version of *Grímnismál* that never existed in the thirteenth century. Even if *Grímnismál* could be dated beyond doubt to a few centuries before the composition of GKS and AM, what survives today are those two versions and they should be used as they are in the study of the poem. This is even more important since this edition is also used in an attempt at dating the poem.

The editions produced in my study reflect my wish to show both these versions, their spelling, grammar and possible mistakes exactly as they are found in the manuscripts. As such, I have not made any emendations in changing the ‘c’ to ‘k’, for example. Even more so, I have

¹⁵⁹ For instance sts. 23-24.

¹⁶⁰ *Völuspá*, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, v. 1 (Reykjavík, 2014).

¹⁶¹ Judy Quinn, “The Editing of Eddic Poetry,” In *A Handbook to Eddic Poetry: Myths and Legends of Early Scandinavia*, ed. Carolyne Larrington, Judy Quinn, and Brittany Schorn (Cambridge, 2016). p. 59.

chosen not to emend ‘au’ into ‘ǫ’, ‘ø’ etc. Capitalised letters have been left as such, while the ones that were not, have not been emended, even in the case of given names or place-names. Punctuation has been left exactly as found in each of the two manuscript versions. This edition is meant to be as diplomatic as possible, while also giving the reader ease to read the poem. As such, I have divided the poem by stanzas, following previous editions so that it can be read more easily. I have chosen to keep verses 1-2 and 4-5 in the same line while leaving verses 3 and 6 on their own in order to make it easier to spot alliteration. A further change I have chosen to make was to replace ‘ƿ’ with ‘f’, ‘ŕ’ with ‘s’, and ‘ǰ’ with ‘au’. This change makes it much easier for the reader to go through the poem. Abbreviations have been expanded and are not noted in the edition, to help with its readability. Roman numerals found in the poem have been emended into writing (marked in red) in order to help with finding alliteration and internal rhyme. Superscript word additions (or letter additions that were not part of abbreviations) have been written following the same style of the rest of the text, but marked in red. Lastly, what appear to be spelling mistakes by the scribes have been kept in the text but marked in red.

The differences from other editions are important to note. The most commonly used edition is by Gustav Neckel, who follows a similar verse division as my own but heavily regularises the spelling and only notes differences in AM in his footnotes. More recently, *Íslenzk fornrit* have published a new edition of the Eddic poems, made by Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, which I have used whenever quoting other Eddic poems within this thesis. Jónas and Vésteinn have chosen to show each verse in its own, separate line, and have regularised spelling following the traditional *Íslenzk fornrit* guidelines which bring it closer to modern Icelandic. I personally am more keen on the *Íslenzk fornrit* edition, when it comes to studying a given poem that I have not edited myself. If one were to regularise, I find the *Íslenzk fornrit* guidelines easier to read and more modern. As discussed above, the *Íslenzk fornrit*

edition shows both versions of *Vǫluspá*, though they have not chosen to do the same with the rest of the poems. A comparison of the three different editions can be seen here:

44. Askr Yggdrasils, hann er æztr viðá,
 en Skíðblaðnir skipa,
Óðinn ása, en jóa Sleipnir,
Bilrøst brúa, en Bragi skálda,
Hábrók hauka, en hunda Garmr.¹⁶²

44. Askr Yggdrasils,
hann er æztr viðá
en Skíðblaðnir skipa,
Óðinn ása
en jóa Sleipnir,
Bilrøst brúa
en Bragi skálda,
Hábrók hauka
en hunda Garmr.¹⁶³

GKS Edition

44. Ascr yggdrasils | hann er øztr viðá
 en scíþbladnir scipa
oðinn asa | enn ioa sleipnir
 bilraust brúa
en bragi scalda | habroc hauca
 en hunda garmr.

AM Edition

44. Ascr ýggdrasils | hann ær æztr viðá
 ænn skipblapnir skipa
oðinn asa | ænn ioa slæipnir,
 bilraust brua
æn bragi skallda | habrok hauka
 ænn hunda garmr
ænn brimir sværða.

¹⁶² *Grímnismál*. Ed. by Gustav Neckel (Heidelberg, 1927). p. 64.

¹⁶³ *Grímnismál*. Ed. by Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason. pp. 376-377.

The differences are obvious. For the purpose of a historical analysis of the text, including its orthography, as has been done in this thesis, a more diplomatic edition of the poem, which includes both manuscript versions, instead of just noting the differences in footnotes, is important. In the case of st. 44, the extra verse in the AM edition could be of great importance, as shall be seen in the commentary below and it being lost in a footnote does not do it justice. It will also be noted that Neckel has divided his verses in a different way in the case of this stanza.

It must be pointed out that throughout the past two centuries, there have been scholars debating whether *Grímnismál* was composed as one poem, or whether it is a collection of different parts, put together by an Icelandic antiquarian-editor in a similar fashion to *Hávamál*.¹⁶⁴ This practice of ‘chopping’ poems up, and trying to trace the original poem based on one’s expectations, has haunted Eddic scholarship in the past, but now seems to have fallen out of favor. For instance, Müllenhoff, followed by Sijmons and Gering, chose to remove the following stanzas and verses: 4³⁻⁴, 5-7, 8³⁻⁴, 10-20, 24, 26-35, 37-41, 43-44, 47³⁻⁴, 48¹⁻², 49⁴⁻⁵, 50¹. According to them, this way, a well-connected whole that is solely about Óðinn is found, as opposed to an internal unity and cohesion which are lacking from the whole.¹⁶⁵ According to Schjødt, in relation to *Grímnismál*, it was Magnus Olsen who in 1933 succeeded in making a strong case for the poem to be seen as a whole.¹⁶⁶ Like Olsen, and Schjødt after him, I cannot claim that every single stanza of *Grímnismál* is original. However, trying to find which stanzas are older and which not, seems to me to be a somewhat arbitrary ‘butchering’ of the poem. As opposed to a poem like *Hávamál*, where it is commonly accepted that a number of poems have been connected into the whole that is found in the Elder Edda, *Grímnismál* makes perfect sense

¹⁶⁴ Bo Ralph, “The Composition of the *Grímnismál*.” In, *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, v. 87 (1972). p. 98.

¹⁶⁵ Hugo Sijmons and Barend Gering, *Die Lieder Der Edda*, v. 3 (Halle, 1901). p. 184.

¹⁶⁶ Jens Peter Schjødt, “The “Fire Ordeal” in the *Grímnismál* - Initiation or Annihilation?” In, *Mediaeval Scandinavia*, v. 12 (1988). p. 30.

the way it is, with few verses being an exception, (as shall be discussed in the commentary). In addition to that, an oral poem such as *Grímnismál* could, and possibly did, have stanzas removed or added throughout the time from its original composition to the first writing down as part of a manuscript. It is possible that a number of verses or stanzas are indeed later interpolations, but choosing to remove them from the two versions that survive is an editorial choice with which I disagree. Where plausible arguments have been made on the interpolation of a stanza, they shall be discussed in the commentary, but my goal in the editions themselves has been to keep everything as close to the original as possible.

Following my edition, I have included a commentary to *Grímnismál*. The purpose of this commentary is to update the existing one, made by Sijmons and Gering in the beginning of the previous century. Since then, there has not been a commentary on *Grímnismál* as detailed as theirs. However, especially because of the particularly old date of their scholarship, a large number of discussions and conclusions drawn are problematic or debatable. Furthermore, their work is in German, making it less accessible to the wider public. As such, my goal is to use Sijmons and Gering selectively, focusing mainly on their analysis that agrees with the shifting nature of paganism discussed above, while sometimes showing arguments of theirs that are more problematic. Being mainly a historian and not a textual scholar, I am not going to focus on an in-depth analysis of all the stylistic choices in the poem, nor about syntax, unless I find it to be of importance to the understanding of a verse or stanza as a whole. As I have discussed above, my goal has been to analyse and understand *Grímnismál* on its own. For the sake of simplicity and to avoid too much repetition, in my commentary I have quoted the GKS version, noting wherever there is variation in AM. The reader will notice that a number of other primary sources are mentioned throughout the commentary. I find those to be important for the usage of the commentary in relation to other poetry, but have been careful not to use any other source in my conclusions about *Grímnismál* itself. In essence, the goal is to provide a complete and

in-depth analysis of *Grímnismál* that is based on *Grímnismál* but that can also be used by scholars disagreeing with my *modus operandi* on the study of paganism. More recently, Klaus Von See has supervised a project in Frankfurt am Main in which very detailed commentaries have been made for Eddic poetry. A number of volumes have been published, including one that I have used in my study of *Sigrdrífumál*,¹⁶⁷ though none has been published about *Grímnismál* and with Von See's death, it is uncertain whether it will ever be. The *Frankfurter Kommentar*, as the series is also known, contains updated scholarship on most work done until the date of publication, making Sijmons and Gering somewhat obsolete. While being a project of immense importance and impact on the study of Eddic poetry, if a fault could be found with the *Frankfurter Kommentar*, it is that the work is purely one of literary criticism, and does not focus on the historical elements as much as it could, which is the main goal in my own commentary.

While working on my edition and commentary, I have translated *Grímnismál* as well. Instead of providing a full translation to the poem as part of my editions, I have chosen to only provide a translation for each stanza in the commentary. This has been done because of a number of factors. First of all, as any person with a knowledge of Old Norse can easily tell, Larrington's, Orchard's, Crawford's translations, while enjoyable to read, all miss a number of nuances from the Old Norse, or impose one definition when there are many. This is mainly because it is impossible to translate Eddic poetry, while keeping the metre, nuances, content intact while also having kept nicely readable English. A comparison of the above mentioned translations follows:

45. Fleeting visions I have now revealed before the victory-gods' sons
now the wished-for protection will awaken;
to all the Æsir it will become known

¹⁶⁷ Klaus Von See et. al., *Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda*, v. 5 (Heidelberg, 2006).

on Ægir's benches,
at Ægir's feast.¹⁶⁸

45. Now I've lifted my face before victory-gods' sons,
so the wished-for sustenance will occur;
it shall fetch in all Æsir
on Ægir's benches,
at Ægir's feast.¹⁶⁹

45. I have now shown my face
in the presence of gods,
now help is on its way.
It will come
to all the gods
on Aegir's benches,
when they drink at Aegir's place.¹⁷⁰

45. I have now raised up my glances | before the sons of victory gods,
with this must the desired saving awake.
For all the gods | it must come in
onto the benches of Ægir,
at the drinking of Ægir.

Since this thesis is focused on a more academic audience, likely to be acquainted with Old Norse, I have kept my translation only as part of the commentary, and have chosen to be as literal as possible with it. In a number of cases, such as the example above, this brings awkward

¹⁶⁸ *The Poetic Edda*, trans. by Carolyne Larrington (Oxford, 2014). p. 55.

¹⁶⁹ *The Elder Edda*, trans. by Andy Orchard (London, 2013). p. 57.

¹⁷⁰ *The Poetic Edda: Stories of the Norse Gods and Heroes*, trans. by Jackson Crawford (Indianapolis and Cambridge, 2015). p. 69.

English, but I find it sticks closer to the original, therefore allowing for a better understanding of the contents of the poem.

2. Digital Edition

While a printed edition has its merits, and can be very helpful especially for usage in a class, the advances of technology of the past two decades have digital publishing of critical importance for the future of academia. The Text Encoding Initiative (TEI), funded in 1987, has been able to promulgate the importance of the merge of technology with the humanities.¹⁷¹ Recently, a number of academic institutions have participated in an effort to digitise a great amount of primary sources, from digitising manuscripts to creating fully searchable databases. Withing the study of medieval Scandinavia, the great MeNoTa project has subscribed to the TEI ideals, with its aims to ‘preserve and publish medieval texts in digital form and to adapt and develop encoding standards necessary for this work.’¹⁷² Similarly, projects of massive scale have been undertaken by the University of Iceland, which has created the website handrit.is together with the Arnamagnæan Institute of the University of Copenhagen. The facsimile of GKS that I have used for this thesis was accessed from that site. Lastly, the Skaldic Project which has been editing all surviving skaldic poetry in a series of volumes, the latest on having been published in 2017,¹⁷³ has created a vast digital database of the skaldic poetry the project has worked on, which is accessible through <http://skaldic.abdn.ac.uk/db.php>. Following on those footsteps, when making a new edition, I have chosen to include a digital one. This allows for a number of possibilities. First of all, a digital edition is accessible for free to anyone

¹⁷¹ “TEI: History,” <http://www.tei-c.org/About/history.xml>.

¹⁷² “Menota,” <http://www.menota.org/>.

¹⁷³ *Poetry from Treatises on Poetics - Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages*, ed. Kari Ellen Gade and E. Marold, v. 3 (Turnhout, 2017).

with internet access, making it better for spreading knowledge worldwide. Following the guidelines set by the TEI,¹⁷⁴ and providing open access to the xml files would allow other scholars to add to the edition, including more information based on their expertise and making a short poem such as *Grímnismál* contain massive amounts of knowledge. Lastly, if similar digital editions were made for all Eddic poetry, new kinds of studies could be done, on the usage of words, style and metre, that are only possible thanks to technology.

As part of my edition, I have chosen to mark stanza, verse and word divisions, making sure to distinguish between the different types of *ljóðahattr* verse, as well as giving a regularised dictionary version of each word in the poem, as can be seen from the example of st. 4:

```
<lg n="4">
  <l n="1">
    <w lemma="land">Land</w>
    <w lemma="vera">er</w>
    <w lemma="heilagr">heilact</w>
  </l>
  <l n="2" type="b-line">
    <w lemma="er">er</w>
    <w lemma="ek">ec</w>
    <w lemma="liggja">liggia</w>
    <w lemma="sjá">se</w>
  </l>
  <l n="3" type="ljod-long">
    <pb xml:id="GKS_2365_4to_9v" n="9v"/>
    <w lemma="áss">asom</w>
    <w lemma="ok">oc</w>
    <w lemma="álfr">alfom</w>
    <w lemma="nær">nēr.</w>
  </l>
  <l n="4">
    <w lemma="en">enn</w>
    <w lemma="í">i</w>
    <geogName nymRef="N202">
      <w>þruðheimi</w>
    </geogName>
  </l>
  <l n="5" type="b-line">
```

¹⁷⁴ “TEI: Guidelines,” <http://www.tei-c.org/Guidelines/>

```
<w lemma="skilja">scal</w>
<persName nymRef="N108">
  <w>pórr</w>
</persName>
<w lemma="vera">vera</w>
</l>
<l n="6" type="ljod-long">
  <w lemma="unz">unz</w>
  <w lemma="um">um</w>
  <w lemma="rjúfa">riufaz</w>
  <w lemma="regin">regin.</w>
</l>
</lg>
```

Each toponym and personal name has been marked as well, and given its regularised form. I have also made a list of all these, and have included it in printed form in Appendix II below. Through the list of dictionary forms, I have added simple translations of each word, thus providing with a very simple glossary to the poem, with each word translation(s) appearing when the mouse hovers over a given word, and as a printed list also provided in Appendix II below. The spelling and editorial choices of each word within *Grímnismál* follows the same editorial choices discussed in the Printed Edition section above. Lastly, I have given the reader the option to have the two editions facing each other, or just one of their choice, the possibility of showing stanza and verse numbers, and a link to the facsimile marked in red, whenever a new folio starts. The end result looks very similar to my printed editions of the two poems, but contains much more information, which could be expanded greatly in the future as well and can be found by going to <https://starescomp.github.io/grimnismal/#idm140518410334752> .

3. Snorri's *Grímnismál*

As part of my edition, I have chosen to include all of Snorri's quotes of *Grímnismál*. I have analysed above why the usage of Snorri in the analysis of Eddic poetry can be highly

problematic. However, it should be kept in mind that Snorri was born in 1179 and died in 1241.¹⁷⁵ This makes him older than the production date of both Eddic manuscripts discussed above. Snorri based *Gylfaginning* on a number of poems, including *Grímnismál* and so using the prose parts which he expanded from such poems in trying to understand those poems makes no sense. Still, it should be noted that Snorri also directly quotes a number of stanzas from *Grímnismál* and other poems. ‘It is clear,’ writes Gunnell, ‘that Snorri had access to complete versions of *Völuspá*, *Grímnismál*, and *Vafþrúðnismál* similar to those found in the Codex Regius.’¹⁷⁶ Thus, it could be said that the earliest witness to *Grímnismál* that survives is to be found in *Gylfaginning* and not in either of the two above mentioned manuscripts.

While *Gylfaginning* would have been composed before GKS and AM, the earliest extant manuscript, known as the Codex Uppsaliensis (DG 11 4to), found in the University Library Carolina Rediviva in Uppsala, is dated to the early fourteenth century,¹⁷⁷ and is therefore younger than both GKS and AM. If Snorri is accepted as the author of the *Snorra Edda*, and if the quotes and allusions to *Grímnismál* found in all extant manuscripts that contain *Gylfaginning* are accepted as having been used by Snorri and not added at a later date, the stanzas used by Snorri must predate the surviving manuscripts of *Grímnismál*. This would take the *terminus ante quem* for part of *Grímnismál* back to at least twenty years earlier than the GKS date. It can hardly be argued that any stanza present in Snorri was composed by the scribes of GKS and AM, though they still could have belonged to a different poem that was quoted by Snorri and then interpolated to become part of *Grímnismál*. As seen above, Snorri calls the poems he mentions *forn visendi*, ‘old lore’. *Forn* can be interpreted in many ways, and could both refer to ancient or only a couple of generations back. However, if we accept his

¹⁷⁵ Snorri Sturluson, *Gylfaginning*. p. xii.

¹⁷⁶ Terry Gunnell, “Eddic Poetry,” In *A Companion to Old Icelandic Literature and Culture*, ed. Rory McTurk (Padstow, 2005). p. 83.

¹⁷⁷ Snorri Sturluson, *The Uppsala Edda*, ed. Heimir Pálsson (Exeter, 2012). p. xxx.

statement that *Grímnismál* was ‘old’ by the time he composed *Gylfaginning*, its *terminus ante quem* could be taken back at least another few decades.

While I have transcribed and edited both GKS and AM myself, doing such a task for *Gylfaginning* would be a task beyond the scope of this thesis. First of all, the *Snorra Edda* survive in a number of manuscripts dated up to the seventeenth century. Furthermore, Snorri does not quote all of *Grímnismál* at once, but rather has stanzas interspersed between his prose. Thus, such a transcription would have to be of snippets taken from different leaves. Lastly, while the usage of a heavily edited version of *Gylfaginning* such as the one made by Faulkes (which is otherwise excellent) might not work well in conjunction with my two editions because of its emendations, Heimir Pálsson has made an edition based only on the Codex Uppsaliensis (U) which is more diplomatic. I have chosen to quote all of the *Grímnismál* stanzas as given by Heimir, so that the three earliest extant manuscripts that contain *Grímnismál* (GKS, AM and U) can be seen and compared. Three numbers can be seen in each stanza quoted. The first numbers only the *Grímnismál* stanzas in order of appearance. The second, bracketed, gives the respective stanza in the version of *Grímnismál* from GKS and AM, while the third, in square brackets, shows the number of the stanza as found in *Gylfaginning*.

Chapter 3. The Poem

As part of this summary, I have chosen to include the information gained from the prose introduction and conclusion in parentheses. This is in order to show that the poem can make sense without the prose additions, and to allow for the possibility that the prose was a later addition to the poem, possibly even by the editor of the manuscript himself.

[King Hrauðungr had two sons, Agnarr and Geirrøðr. One day, the two boys got lost in sea until they got stranded in unknown land. There, they found an old man and his wife who took care of them during the winter. Agnarr was taken care of by the old woman, and Geirrøðr by the old man. The old man got a ship for the two boys and before he let them leave, he spoke privately with Geirrøðr. Just as they arrived back to their land, Geirrøðr jumped out of the ship and pushed it out to sea, and Agnarr was not seen again. Geirrøðr's arrival was taken warmly, and at the death of his father, he became an excellent king. Óðinn and Frigg were observing the worlds from Hliðskjálfir when they started to argue about Agnarr and Geirrøðr. According to Óðinn, Geirrøðr had grown into a fine ruler, whereas Agnarr was breeding children with a troll-woman. Frigg said that Geirrøðr was a poor host, but Óðinn, not believing this, decided that he would go and check that himself. Frigg sent her maid to make Geirrøðr aware that an evil sorcerer was coming to his lands. She described how he would be clothed and that no dog would leap at him. Whereas normally Geirrøðr was a good host, fearing for his well-being, as soon as he found the man, who called himself Grímnir, the Masked One, he fettered him and tortured him between two fires for eight nights. Geirrøðr's young son, Agnarr helped Grímnir by offering him a horn of drink, saying that his father had been wrong to torture him for no apparent reason. By that time, the fire had grown so close to Grímnir that his clothes started burning. It was after drinking from the horn that Grímnir said the following.] After complaining about the heat of the fire which is closing up on him, Grímnir mentions his having been in

between the fires for eight nights, with no food or drink being offered to him. He proceeds with thanking Agnarr, who was alone in helping him by offering him the horn, and wishes him good fortune. Grímnir then proceeds in listing a number of cosmological things, namely the lands inhabited by each god and their aspects. He then discusses other cosmological aspects of the world of the gods, the animals around Yggdrasill, Huginn and Munin, his two ravens, and a large number of rivers that flow around the worlds. He then calls some Valkyries to bring him a drinking horn and then goes back to discussing the cosmology by describing the Sun and Moon and the wolves that are going after them. He also briefly mentions the creation of the world out of Ymir's body. Then, he gives a long list of names he goes by, revealing that he is in fact Óðinn. Before concluding, he condemns Geirrøðr. [Upon hearing this monologue, Geirrøðr, understanding his mistake, gets up to help Óðinn and get him out of the fires. However, his sword falls and he stumbles, getting stabbed by it. It is then that Óðinn suddenly vanishes. Agnarr then becomes the king.]

1. Metre and Performance

Grímnismál is composed in *ljóðaháttur*. *Ljóðaháttur* consists of three verses: two half verses and a long verse. These are called a-verse, b-verse and c-verse respectively. The c-verse, the long one, is comprised of three lifts and is unique to *ljóðaháttur*.¹⁷⁸ The a-verse and b-verse are combined to form a single line since they are bound by alliteration. However, the c-verse alliterates by itself. Suzuki writes that:

In this way, *ljóðaháttur* stands out through its heterogeneity in verse- and line-composition. More specifically, asymmetry pervades these two lower levels of metrical organization: the first and the second half of the long line are diversified maximally and come closest to being polar opposites of each other; and the two successive lines, which are provided with different numbers of lifts, seem to be no more reducible to a remotely common scheme of line composition. The

¹⁷⁸ Seiichi Suzuki, *The Meters of Old Norse Eddic Poetry* (Berlin, 2014). p. 573.

juxtaposition of two disparate forms, then, serves as an overarching principle of composition in *ljóðaháttur*.¹⁷⁹

The poems in *ljóðaháttur* that survive are comparatively many: *Hávamál* (with the exception of a few stanzas), *Vafþrúðnismál*, *Skírnismál*, *Hárbarðsljóð*, *Lokasenna*, *Alvíssmál*, *Helgakviða Hjörvarðssonar*, *Reginismál*, *Fáfnismál*, *Sigrdrífumál* and, of course, *Grímnismál*. When it comes to alliteration of the a- and b-verse, *ljóðaháttur* is distinguished from the other metres by the larger amount of single alliteration and smaller amount of double alliteration.¹⁸⁰ The c-verse could be seen as having a first part that corresponds to the a-verse and a second part which ‘is embodied by a fixed value of a single lift’.¹⁸¹ Having three lifts, the c-verse is longer than the other two, and it has its own line since it alliterates by itself. Each stanza can be divided into two half stanzas, each consisting of an a-verse and b-verse line and a c-verse line. Seiichi Suzuki has written a very extensive analysis of all Eddic verse and devotes almost three hundred pages on the study of *ljóðaháttur* alone. It is of interest that his conclusion is that the oldest Eddic metre is *fornyrðislag*¹⁸² with *málaháttur* appearing later, *ljóðaháttur* being the youngest metre.¹⁸³ The detail which Suzuki goes into is beyond the scope of this thesis. Comparing *ljóðaháttur* with the other Eddic metres, Schorn writes that it generally seems to be

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 574.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 652.

¹⁸¹ Ibid. p. 665.

¹⁸² Gunnell, quoting Noreen, lists a number of important differences between *ljóðaháttur* and *fornyrðislag*:

1. *Ljóðaháttur* hardly occurs anywhere outside Eddic poetry.
2. There is less strict control of alliterative patterns in *ljóðaháttur* poems.
3. *Kenningar* (a particular form of skaldic metaphor) are used noticeably less in *ljóðaháttur* than in *fornyrðislag* poetry.
4. Variation (according to Noreen) does not occur in its true form in the *ljóðaháttur* poems.
5. Word order is, in general, much more natural in the *ljóðaháttur* poems than in those composed in *fornyrðislag*. The choice of using *ljóðaháttur* rather than *fornyrðislag* for the dialogic poems might be related as much to the magical/mythical subject matter of the poems in question as to the suggestion that *ljóðaháttur* was more naturally suited to speech than *fornyrðislag*.

Source: Gunnell, *The Origins*. p. 193.

While the first four numbers are of interest for a better understanding of *ljóðaháttur* in general, the fifth point is of the greatest importance and shall be analysed further in the following paragraphs.

¹⁸³ Suzuki. p. 797.

‘more regimented, as the length and structure of the stanzas is more regular.’¹⁸⁴ Clunies Ross argues that:

On formal, metrical grounds Old Norse eddic poetry is indubitably a branch of the West Germanic alliterative measure, and is thus likely to be of considerable antiquity. Its subject matter also suggests antiquity: in the selection of texts that have been preserved in writing, at least, it deals with mythological lore relating to the pre-Christian religion, with narratives about the pre-Christian gods, giants, and dwarfs, and with the deeds attributed to legendary figures, such as Vǫlundr and Sigurðr, who have known counterparts in the alliterative poetry of other West Germanic literatures.¹⁸⁵

Clunies-Ross does not make any distinction between the different Eddic metres in this statement. Thus, it could agree with Suzuki’s conclusions, while stressing the early nature of all metres.

Bertha Phillpotts was the first scholar to study Eddic poetry while looking at the possibility of performance behind it. The idea of these poems being performed makes complete sense, considering the oral tradition of the region. In fact, the moment something is read out aloud, or recited, whether it is sung or not, whether it is acted or not, it still is a performance.¹⁸⁶ In discussing *ljóðaháttir* specifically, Phillpotts argued that this was a metre that was meant to

¹⁸⁴ Brittany Schorn, “Eddic Style.” In *A Handbook to Eddic Poetry: Myths and Legends of Early Scandinavia*, ed. Carolyne Larrington, Judy Quinn, and Brittany Schorn (Cambridge, 2016). p. 279.

¹⁸⁵ Margaret Clunies Ross, “The Transmission and Preservation of Eddic Poetry.” In *ibid.* p. 17.

¹⁸⁶ Phillpotts also gives a number of sources that support this:

‘But there is evidence for other types of dramatic performances in Scandinavia. In the Icelandic *Ljósvetninga Saga* we are told that on his return from a visit to the Trondhjem district in Norway, where there had been great festivities, a man called Brand, in the service of the Icelandic chief Thorkell Geitisson, instituted various entertainments, “and it is said that he first invented the *Syrpu þingslög*” - the “laws of Syrpa’s thing.” The saga tells how folk came from far and near to this entertainment, and were very noisy: it was a hindrance to the household work, and Thorkell often found himself spending the evening almost alone, while his guests joined in the entertainment. He complains to Brand, who tries going to bed early, in order to discourage the visitors. “The thingmen however came according to custom, but the ‘thing’ could not be held when there was no ‘chief man’”. Evidently the *Syrputhing* was a dramatised burlesque of the ceremonies and speeches of an ordinary “Thing”, and Brand got the idea from Norway, the same *Syrpuþingslög* being formed on the analogy of *Frostuþingslög*, the laws of the district round Trondhjem. The ancient “Things”, as we know, were solemnly opened by the priest-chief, the *goði*, with a religious sacrifice. The *Syrputhing*, too, has a “leader” and the ceremonial expression “heyja” for holding the Thing suggests that the representation was accompanied by religious observances, however scurrilous or ribald these may have been. The officiating priest would be a “play-priest”, *leik-goði*, and this word actually occurs in the Icelandic Saga *Vatnsdæla*, applied to one Thórólf who lived in the heathen period and who does not belong to any of the known *goði* families, or indeed to any well-known family.’

Source: Bertha Surtees Phillpotts, *The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama* (Cambridge, 1920). pp. 120-121.

be sung.¹⁸⁷ In support of such a view can be found other Germanic poetry. For instance, D. H. Green writes that the poetry of the *Sagelied* was meant to be sung.¹⁸⁸ On whether there would be musical accompaniment, Green mentions that plucked instruments similar to the harp, *leodslakkeo* in Old High German and *hearpeslege* in Old English were known and used in that time period.¹⁸⁹ Unfortunately, when it comes to Scandinavia and Iceland, our knowledge of musical instruments and music performed in the medieval period is very limited.¹⁹⁰

Grímnismál was never meant to be read privately. It was meant to be ‘heard, seen, and experienced.’¹⁹¹ Eddic poetry is oral poetry (which now survives only in manuscript form):¹⁹² ‘Most people nowadays encounter the Eddic poems in printed form, and thus tend to approach

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. pp. 55-56.

¹⁸⁸ D. H. Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading: The Primary Reception of German Literature 800-1300* (Cambridge, 1994). p. 41.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. p. 67.

¹⁹⁰ Modern musicians have tried to recreate such music: most notably Einar Selvik, who, in his bands Wardruna and Skuggsjá. Selvik has recreated primitive instruments such as bone flutes, *kraviklyra*, *tagelharpe*, goat horns and natural sources of sound such as rocks clashing etc. While there is no way to know that any of this music reflects what would have been specifically performed in medieval Scandinavia, it can provide an idea of how some of these instruments would have sounded, which is in itself important enough on its own for historians of music.

Sources: Wardruna, in *Runaljod – Gap Var Ginnunga* (Oslo2009).

Skuggsjá, in *A Piece of Mind and Mirror* (Marseille2016).

Similarly, the band Sequentia has released the album *Edda: Myths from medieval Iceland*, in which Eddic poems are performed with medieval instruments – though it should be noted that the instruments are mainly continental.

Source: Sequentia, in *Edda: Myths from Medieval Iceland* (New York1999).

¹⁹¹ Terry Gunnell, “Völuspá in Performance,” In *Approaches to Völuspá and Nordic Days of Judgement*, ed. Terry Gunnell and Annette Lassen (Turnhout, 2013). p. 65.

¹⁹² For a better understanding of what this entails, see John Miles Foley, *How to Read an Oral Poem* (Chicago, 2002).

p. 25. ‘So writing is recent and literature is rare. On the other hand, as far as we know all peoples have composed and transmitted oral traditions, an alternate verbal technology that has shown itself not only far more widespread than texts but also much more adaptable and durable. even today the majority of the planet's inhabitants use oral traditions as their primary communicative medium, a fact obscured by modern Western egocentrism. Virtually every single one of the fifty-five officially recognized national minorities in the People's Republic of China, for example, possesses a thriving oral poetry. Rich traditions of oral composition and performance are alive in all regions in Africa, from the praise-poetry of the Xhosa and Zulu to the West African epics of the Banyanga and Mande.’

p. 40. ‘For many people, the designation "oral poetry" means only one thing: verse composed and performed orally in front of a listening audience. In this first category the processes of composition and performance are usually simultaneous, as in South Slavic epic or Xhosa praise-poetry. When these paired processes are separated, we're usually dealing with a memorized text for a later performance (sometimes by a different person), a situation that falls into our second category of Voiced Texts. In Oral Performance, however, reception is customarily live and immediate. Poet and audience participate together, and everything takes place in present time and experience. This is the easiest kind of oral poetry for us text - consumers to grasp, chiefly because it's so opposite to literature in every respect.’

them, and indeed the entire Old Icelandic corpus, first and foremost as *readers* rather than as a listening, watching audience.’¹⁹³ In analysing such performances, Gunnell writes:

Oral storytellers are, in many ways, very much like actors, and naturally the ‘text’ communicated to any audience by an actor on a stage is much more complex than the words printed on the page of a published play. It involves added elements of tone, rhythm and context. Of course, even the spoken words ‘I love you’ can vary intensely in meaning depending on whether they are said to a wife or a mistress, or by a postman trying to placate a rather bad-tempered dog. Their precise meaning also depends on the age, background and appearance of the actor or actress, and whether they are said in a supermarket or in the middle of a battlefield. In short, the performed text has an additional oral, aural, visual and social historical dimensions, and the general context is an essential ingredient: the character of Hamlet as performed by an eighty-year-old ‘bag lady’ in Times Square is bound to be very different from the Hamlet that might be performed by a young stand-up comic from Kosovo on the steps of the parliament building in Belgrade.¹⁹⁴

While Gunnell wrote the above passage in discussing oral performance in general, it is important in the understanding of whether (and how) *Grímnismál* would have been performed.

A number of elements found in *Grímnismál*, its metre, and its contents, should be seen.

They corroborate the performative aspect of the poem. *Ljóðaháttir* as a metre is used only in direct speech, and *ljóð* also has magical connotations and could mean ‘spell’ or ‘magic song’.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ Gunnell, *The Origins*. p. 183.

¹⁹⁴ “Legends and Landscape in the Nordic Countries.” In, *Cultural and Social History*, v. 6.3 (2009). p. 307. Here, Gunnell is discussing folkloristic performances. Considering the oral culture of the Old Norse speaking peoples, and especially the nature of Eddic poetry, Vésteinn Ólason showed that it is correct to consider them both literature and folklore, and study them from both aspects. As such, an analysis such as the one Gunnell gives, instead of being off topic, can help with a better understanding of the performance of *Grímnismál* and other Eddic poems.

Source: Vésteinn Ólason, “The Poetic Edda.” p. 229.

¹⁹⁵ Ilya Sverdlov goes as far as suggesting that it is the power of *ljóðaháttir* itself that frees Óðinn of his imprisonment in *Grímnismál*:

‘In *Grm* Óðinn finds himself bereft of his divine powers and a prisoner, but his gaoler is a mortal, so all Óðinn has to do is to regain these powers; once he has done that, his adversary is doomed. Óðinn succeeds using the power of *ljóðaháttir*, the metre of magical chants, which helps him to merge the mythological world of the *Æsir* and the world of the Eddaic stage where he was bound between the fires. The dramatic effect is due to the switching between these two worlds in the stanzas (Smirnitckaya 1993, 268).’

Source: Ilya V. Sverdlov, ““Ok Dulða Ek Þann Inn Alsvinna Jotunn””: Some Linguistic and Metrical Aspects of Óðinn’s Win over Vafþrúðnir.” In, *Saga-Book*, v. 35 (2011). p. 41.

and:

‘*Ljóðaháttir* serves Óðinn as the means of regaining his godhead. At the crucial moment, when the identity of the supreme god is finally within the reach of the tortured warlock Grímnir, soon to become Óðinn again, he reaches to grasp it with a *galdralag* stanza, *Grm* 45 (quoted above). *Grm* 45 is all spell; in addition to a repetition of the sacred formula *Ægis drekku* at we find double alliteration in the second short line. Immediately after that the warlock begins to recite the names of Óðinn—only he does so in the first person, proving that the effort represented by *Grm* 45 did, indeed, succeed. That Grímnir has already fully become Óðinn in *Grm* 46 and does not postpone his apotheosis until *Grm* 54, where he openly calls himself Óðinn (*Óðinn ek nú heiti*), is

In fact, Meylan writes that *ljóð* and *rúnar* were seen as the instruments that led to Óðinn's power.¹⁹⁶ Looking at magical rites themselves, such as *seiðr*, it is probable that a singing or chanting element would have occurred as a central element.¹⁹⁷ Gunnell argues that all *ljóðaháttir* poems have a dramatic nature, and the fact that they are always in the first person strengthens this dramatic aspect.¹⁹⁸ In the case of *Grímnismál*, the poem is a monologue, and because of its contents it is usually classified as a 'wisdom monologue'.¹⁹⁹ Whether Phillpotts was right in specifically expecting singing, or whether this would have been acted out, or both, the performer of *Grímnismál* would 'become' Óðinn for the duration of this performance. The performer would thus become sacred himself, in having almost transformed to the god he would be representing.²⁰⁰ The idea of Óðinn being part of a performance is not new. In fact, Phillpotts writes, 'there are several references in later tradition to effigies of gods which "talked" and acted.' Saxo mentioned a statue of Odin which would speak upon being touched.²⁰¹

A number of stanzas in *Grímnismál* further play with the performative aspect of the poem. In fact, the usage of sounds in words used in specific stanzas seems to recreate the description of the stanza itself. For instance, Gunnell mentions st. 7 *drecca um alla daga /*

attested by *Grm* 51–52, where the warlock, no longer in pain and angrily talking to the fires as he did in *Grm* 1, curses Geirrøðr and pronounces the king's death sentence.'

Source: *ibid.* p. 60.

It seems to me like Sverdlöv is reading too much into the meaning of *ljóðaháttir*. While there is no doubt that it could have been associated with magic, there is no reason for us to consider *Grímnismál* itself to be a spell.

¹⁹⁶ Nicolas Meylan, *Magic and Kingship in Medieval Iceland. The Construction of a Discourse of Political Resistance* (Turnhout, 2014). p. 106.

¹⁹⁷ Gunnell, *The Origins*. pp. 335-336.

Gunnell also mentions the usage of kennings such as *suerða seiðr*, 'the *seiðr* of swords', which would have referred to battle. This, he argues, suggests that at a later time, *seiðr* ended up being associated more with singing than with any other element of these magical ceremonies.

¹⁹⁸ "Vǫluspá in Performance." p. 73.

¹⁹⁹ Carolyne Larrington, "Vafþrúðnismál and Grímnismál: Cosmic History, Cosmic Geography," In *The Poetic Edda: Essays on Old Norse Mythology*, ed. Paul Acker and Carolyne Larrington (Oxford, 2002). p. 59.

²⁰⁰ Terry Gunnell, "Eddic Performance and Eddic Audiences," In *A Handbook to Eddic Poetry: Myths and Legends of Early Scandinavia*, ed. Carolyne Larrington, Judy Quinn, and Brittany Schorn (Cambridge, 2016). p. 98.

²⁰¹ Phillpotts. p. 178.

glauð or gullnom kerom., ‘drink during all days, | glad from golden vessels’, where the *drecca* and *kerom* recreate a gulping sound, or st. 24. *Fimmhundruþ dúra*, ‘Five hundred doors’, in which the *mm*, *dr*, and *dú* sounds seem to recreate a sort of warlike drumming.²⁰² However, it feels to me that Gunnell may be reading too much into it. By looking at *Grímnismál*, even without the help of the prose introduction, we get the feeling of a stage. Óðinn, Agnarr and Geirrøðr are all in the interior of a hall, where a fire would have been located. The transformation of the performer to Óðinn is further strengthened by the presence of the audience found in Agnarr especially, but also Geirrøðr. In fact, while *Grímnismál* is a monologue, the necessary presence of Agnarr as a listening figure takes the figure of the reciter ‘out of direct communication with the audience in the present time, and places the performer in a more distanced, ‘acted’ situation.’²⁰³ Through this, the performance of poems like *Grímnismál* would create a state of ‘between-world’, connecting the world of the gods with the real world of the audience.²⁰⁴ Larrington argues that:

As Óðinn’s monologue nears its climax, the two worlds seem to be set to converge. The threat of world destruction if the shelf before the sun should fall away (st. 38: 4-6) hints at the terrible consequences when the necessary barrier between gods and men is breached, when divine laws of hospitality and sacrifice are not obeyed. The human world was created violently from Ymir’s dismembered body parts, as recalled in sts. 41: 1-2; the rest of the universe has the same grisly origin in a raw material which is anthropomorphic at a most fundamental level.²⁰⁵

While it seems to me that Larrington may be exaggerating a bit on her description of the creation of the world, her overall analysis of the converging of the two worlds is evident in seeing the contents of *Grímnismál*. The audience might not only end up having Óðinn and Agnarr in front of them, but they could also feel as if they had been transported to the hall of king Geirrøðr in times long past.

²⁰² Gunnell, “Eddic Performance.” p. 102.

²⁰³ *The Origins*. p. 352.

²⁰⁴ “Eddic Performance.” pp. 97-98.

²⁰⁵ Larrington. p. 72.

Gunnell argues that names such as Óðinn's Grímr and Grímnir in *Grímnismál*, but also in other *ljóðaháttir* poems such as Fáfnir's *ægishjálmr*, 'terror mask/helmet', all show the importance of a disguised, masked figure. Such figures, he writes, can be seen in the context of folkloristic images of the Northern world, such as the *julebukk*, Grýla, and the *þingálp*. All these winter figures are related to disguise and the slow revealing of the identity of the figure by the end of the story.²⁰⁶ Grýla was in fact already present as early as during the thirteenth century, already having been associated with masking and guising traditions.²⁰⁷ In fact, she would have been represented by people dressed in skins.²⁰⁸ Such characters of folklore could have arisen from either a common source or they could have been directly influenced by poems such as *Grímnismál*. More difficult to prove is Neil Price's theory that what he calls 'Viking' funerals would have been dramatised stories, and thus performed as well.²⁰⁹ While Gunnell's comparisons are not to be taken lightly, since the folkloristic nature of Germanic paganism may as well have affected the folklore of the Scandinavian countries, Price's theory, while interesting, is based on far too few sources to be taken into consideration. It is thus unknowable that Eddic poems would have been performed in such funerals.

In going through *Grímnismál* there are a few parts which do not sound particularly enticing to hear as part of a performance. These are the two long lists of names: first the river-name list and then the list of Óðinn names. However, the latter, which is at the very end of the poem, is used as part of the narration and becomes part of the very climax of *Grímnismál*.²¹⁰ It thus achieves a double purpose of both adding to the setting of the poem, but also storing a great amount of mythological information. In order to avoid monotony, Jackson argues that

²⁰⁶ Gunnell, *The Origins*. p. 354.

²⁰⁷ "Myth and (the Knowledge of) Seasonal Change - the Myths of the Vanir."

²⁰⁸ "The Season of the Disir: The Winter Nights, and the Disablót in Early Medieval Scandinavian Belief." In, *Cosmos: The Journal of the Traditional Cosmology Society*, v. 16.2 (2000). p. 137.

²⁰⁹ Neil Price, "Mythic Acts, Material Narratives of the Dead in Viking Age Scandinavia," In *More Than Mythology: Narratives, Ritual Practices and Regional Distribution in Pre-Christian Scandinavian Religions*, ed. Catharina Raudvere and Jens Peter Schjødt (Lund, 2012). p. 39.

²¹⁰ Jackson. p. 81.

variations in length and phrasing are brought, as well as the interruption of the list by adding a comment or information, as is the case with sts. 51-53.²¹¹ While remembering such long lists by heart sounds difficult to a modern reader, it should be kept in mind that the mnemonic skills of a performer from an oral tradition would have been better. Furthermore, elements such as alliteration, rhyme and assonance all help in learning words by heart.²¹² On the structure of those lists, Jackson writes that:

A feature of longer lists is division of the item body into sections and then into item pairs or triplets. One way of structuring a longer list is to divide it into two distinct parts each with an equal number of items, although not necessarily with an equal number of half-lines, as this eddic list demonstrates: The most-eminent list: *Grímnismál* 44.²¹³

The composition of these lists is also meant to make them easier to remember and recite, with techniques such as the rhyming of opening pairs *Síþ oc víþ, Kaurmt oc aurmt* etc. These would have signalled to the audience that a list was about to begin.²¹⁴ *Pulur*, ‘lists’, have been an important style of poetry in Old Norse, and follow specific rules. Bo Ralph, in discussing whether these long *pulur* should be seen as later interpolations, argued against that:

Apart from the compositional traits of the *pulur* there are many other reasons for the conclusion that the *pulur* are original in the *Grímnismál*:

1. The *Grímnismál* make up one of the poems in the *Edda* that contain the largest number of names, even with the *pulur* disregarded.
2. Each mythological phenomenon is dealt with rather briefly, which is emphasized by the fact that most names mentioned are not repeated. This renders a touch of *pula*-resemblance to the poem as a whole.
3. There are many stanzas not to be considered as *pulur* that mention a pair of names, or that enumerates a few names. It is difficult to decide which stanzas are *pulur* and which are not.²¹⁵

²¹¹ “The Art of the List-Maker and the *Grímnismál* Catalogue of the Homes of the Gods: A Reply to Jan De Vries.” In *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, v. 110 (1995). p. 31.

²¹² Carolyne Larrington, “Myth and the Psychology of Memory,” In *Old Norse Religion in Long-Term Perspectives: Origins, Changes and Interactions, an International Conference in Lund, Sweden, June 3-7* (Lund, 2006). p. 257.

²¹³ Elizabeth Jackson, ““Not Simply Lists”: An Eddic Perspective on Short-Item Lists in Old English Poems.” In *Speculum*, 73.2 (1998). p. 350.

²¹⁴ “Eddic Listing.” p. 86.

²¹⁵ Ralph. p. 108.

As a further support, I would add that if one took the list of Óðinn names out of *Grímnismál*, it feels to me that the poem would lose its climax. As Bo Ralph wrote, *Grímnismál* can be seen as a longer list in and of itself. Jackson shows this by connecting st. 45 *Svipom hefi ec nu ýpt*, ‘I have now raised up my glances’, with st. 4, where the beginning of the numinous knowledge is.²¹⁶ All the elements discussed above both support the theory of Eddic performance, but also would help it by making the poems easier to remember.

Up to now, in this section I have discussed and analysed elements that show the metric and performative aspect of *Grímnismál*. However, there still has been no answer given as to why would this poem have been performed. According to Larrington, *Grímnismál* is much closer to the style of *Hávamál*, as a didactic wisdom poem, and not solely as a poem listing mythological information.²¹⁷ Some of this information could be interpreted symbolically. More importantly, the setting of the poem itself shows how a human would have to behave towards the divine: by showing respect. In his paper on the poem, Jonas Wellendorf chooses to focus on the fact that *Grímnismál* is the only mythological poem to explicitly deal with the relationship between gods and humans.²¹⁸ He points out the similarities of Geirrøðr with characters such as king Heiðrekr from *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks*, both of them being estranged proteges of Óðinn that die after a confrontation with him in disguise. However, such a comparison could only be made if we chose to use the information of the prose introduction to *Grímnismál*. In the poem itself, there is no reason to see Geirrøðr as once having been favoured by Óðinn in any way. Wellendorf’s conclusion is that *Grímnismál* appears to ‘draw

²¹⁶ Elizabeth Jackson, “The Art of the List-Maker and the *Grímnismál* Catalogue of the Homes of the Gods: A Reply to Jan De Vries.” In *ibid.*v. 110 (1995). p. 12.

²¹⁷ Larrington, “*Vafþrúðnismál* and *Grímnismál*.” p. 74.

²¹⁸ Jonas Wellendorf, “The Wisdom of *Grímnismál*.” In *Old Norse Mythology Conference: Myth and Knowledge* (Aarhus, 13-14.11.2014).

attention to this basic fact of human existence: the divine forces that impel us to actions are only effective if they resonate within us.²¹⁹

However, other scholars have argued differently. Some have seen *Grímnismál* as being an initiation ritual granting mythological knowledge,²²⁰ since it also is one of only two mythological poems – the other being *Rígsþula* – to take place in the world of humans. Other scholars, such as Jere Fleck,²²¹ have taken the above thought further and have linked it to the idea of Germanic sacred kingship,²²² stating that numinous knowledge would be required for that to be attained.²²³ The idea of sacral kingship has been a matter of debate for a long time, while the years such kingship would have been present in, are meant to be between 500 and 1000 CE, while some scholars push it far back into prehistory.²²⁴ A number of archaeological finds could corroborate that there could have been religious importance to the performance of *Grímnismál* especially in relation to masks:

First of all, there are the recurring images of the dancing, horn-helmeted man with two sticks in the seventh-century helmet-plate matrix from Toroslunda, Sweden, on the Finglesham bracelet from England, and on the ninth-century Oseberg tapestry from Norway, just to mention three examples found over a wide area of the territory over a space of about two hundred years.²²⁵

Scholars argue that Óðinn being placed between two fires, as well as his having been starved, are all part of a ritualistic contact with the dead and a supernatural power.²²⁶ Some scholars

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Larrington, “*Vafþrúðnismál* and *Grímnismál*.” p. 60.

²²¹ Jere Fleck, “The “Knowledge-Criterion” in the *Grímnismál*: The Case against “Shamanism”” In, *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, v. 87 (1971).

²²² Because the term and idea of ‘sacred kingship’ has been a very disputed one, Olof Sundqvist has proposed a new concept: ‘religious ruler ideology’. This term is an ‘open concept’ and could tentatively be related to four possible religious strategies for gaining legitimacy and authority: (1) by means of the ruler’s specific relation to the mythic world; (2) by means of (religious) rituals; (3) by means of (religious) symbols; (4) by controlling the cultic organization.’ Source: Olof Sundqvist, “Religious Ruler Ideology’ in Pre-Christian Scandinavia,” In *More Than Mythology: Narratives, Ritual Practices and Regional Distribution in Pre-Christian Scandinavian Religions*, ed. Catharina Raudvere and Jens Peter Schjødt (Lund, 2012). p. 227.

²²³ Larrington, “*Vafþrúðnismál* and *Grímnismál*.” p. 68.

²²⁴ Lasse C. A. Sonne, “Kings, Chieftains and Public Cult in Pre-Christian Scandinavia.” In, *Early Medieval Europe*, v. 22.1 (2013). p. 53.

²²⁵ Terry Gunnell, “Hof, Halls, Goðar and Dwarves: An Examination of the Ritual Space in the Pagan Icelandic Hall.” In, *Cosmos: The Journal of the Traditional Cosmology Society*, v. 17.1 (2001). p. 24.

²²⁶ Schjødt, “Fire Ordeal.” p. 31.

also try to connect this ‘fire ordeal’ with *Hávamál* 138-141, in which Óðinn hangs from a tree for nine nights without food or drink in order to gain obscure knowledge.²²⁷ Schjødt agrees on such a comparison with *Hávamál*, and agrees in seeing the ‘fire ordeal’ in *Grímnismál* as being a ritual. However, he disagrees with what other scholars thought to be an initiation ritual. Instead of suggesting that Óðinn got to know the information he imparts to Agnarr because of the ‘fire ordeal’, Schjødt argues that the recipient of the ritual is instead Agnarr, to whom Óðinn imparts numinous knowledge: the knowledge necessary for a ruler to have.²²⁸ To corroborate his argument, Schjødt mentions the ‘importance’ of Óðinn having been tortured for eight nights instead of nine.²²⁹ However, as discussed in the commentary to st. 2 below, it should be noted that the event happens after the end of the eighth night, therefore, in the ninth day. Schjødt concludes his analysis of the ‘fire ordeal’ by mentioning something that to me seems to disrupt his argument more than support it. He mentions that if one avoided looking at sources outside the Old Norse speaking world – something with which I agree – they would find that fire was used to quell the powers of magicians and sorcerers in Scandinavia.²³⁰ This is important to keep in mind. If it was normal practice to use fire against wizards, why should we think of this ‘fire ordeal’ of Óðinn to be any sort of ritual related to giving numinous knowledge to Agnarr?

It seems to me that the poem has nothing to do with the ‘sacral’ kingship of Agnarr, or the supposed recipient of the *Grímnismál* ritual performance that the scholars mentioned above have argued. Instead, it seems like the expected way to deal with Óðinn since Geirrøðr thought him to be a wizard, though it could also be argued that Agnarr won Óðinn’s blessing by intervening against his father’s wishes. If, alternatively, *Grímnismál* is seen as a purely

Schjødt continues by mentioning how some other scholars, such as Schröder, Fleck and de Vries, found parallels between the ‘fire torture’ of Óðinn and the *Díksá* ritual which took place in India before the *soma*-sacrifice. They found that in both rituals, this was meant to be an initiation to ‘a higher spiritual riveau’.

²²⁷ *Hyndluljóð*, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, v. 1 (Reykjavík, 2014). pp. 350-351.

See Commentary for more on this comparison.

²²⁸ Schjødt, “Fire Ordeal.” p. 37.

²²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 38.

²³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 41.

dramatic work, the ‘fire ordeal’ is what creates the setting of tension that brings to the climax when Óðinn reveals himself. I would agree with the first part of Larrington’s conclusion, that *Grímnismál* seems to be a didactic poem not unlike *Hávamál*. Whether it was meant to be symbolical knowledge, as Larrington claims, is unclear to me. *Snorra Edda* as a whole show how important mythological knowledge was considered to be for a skald. There is no reason for this to have been an Icelandic or Christian innovation. As such, I would rather see *Grímnismál* as a poem in which the performing skald, impersonating Óðinn, would – maybe when performing for an important person for the first time – show his great skill and knowledge, while also suggesting that the king or jarl addressed would be great just like Agnarr.

2. Óðinn

There is no question as to the importance of Óðinn in *Grímnismál*. He is the protagonist, the speaker and the source of all the cosmological knowledge provided by the poem. By being present at the performance of the poem, or reading it, the audience gets to know a fair deal about Óðinn as well. In fact, the climax of the poem comes in Óðinn taking off his disguise of Grímnir and revealing himself as his true self in what Haugen deems ‘chant-like verses’.²³¹ The last nine stanzas of the poem deal directly with Óðinn and Geirrøðr and provide the audience with a list of names by which Óðinn goes by. All in all, in *Grímnismál*, fifty-three Óðinn names are given. However, it is far from certain that Óðinn was always a god of such importance in different Germanic beliefs. In fact, as it shall be seen below, it is likely that Óðinn ‘took over’ from Þórr in the period immediately before the advent of Christianity in Scandinavia.

²³¹ Einar Haugen, “The Edda as Ritual: Odin and His Masks,” In *Edda: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Robert J. Glendinning and Haraldur Bessason (Manitoba, 1983). p. 10.

By studying Óðinn in general and his importance in *Grímnismál* more specifically, some conclusions can be used in the relative dating of the poem. In *The Viking Way*, the archaeologist Neil Price has compiled a list of all Óðinn names and divided them into categories depending on what aspect they may refer to.²³² Price refers to a total of 204 names. This shows that *Grímnismál* is an extremely important source in our understanding of Óðinn and his attributes, since it contains more than a quarter of the surviving Óðinn names. Below, I have followed a similar division as the one provided by Price, but have only included the names mentioned in *Grímnismál*. The first column gives the Óðinn name as present in my GKS edition, and closer to the original manuscript spelling. The second column provides a normalised spelling, in order to facilitate the comparison with other sources. The third column provides with the information of whether an Óðinn name is mentioned by Snorri or not. This is of great interest since it is known (see above) that Snorri knew and used *Grímnismál*. The six names that appear in *Grímnismál* but are not reported by Snorri could provide interesting conclusions. For instance, *Helblindi*, which appears in st. 46 is not cited by Snorri, even though Snorri quotes the other names found in st. 46. This could suggest that Snorri chose to not include this name for some reason, or that this name was later emended into the poem, possibly by the editor to the first manuscript in which *Grímnismál* appeared. The fourth column of the table gives a general category of each name, following Neil Price's subdivision. The fifth and last column lists the stanza(s) in which the name appears in *Grímnismál*.

²³² Neil S. Price, *The Viking Way: Religion and War in Late Iron Age Scandinavia* (Uppsala, 2002). pp. 101-107.

Table 2 Óðinn names in Grímnismál

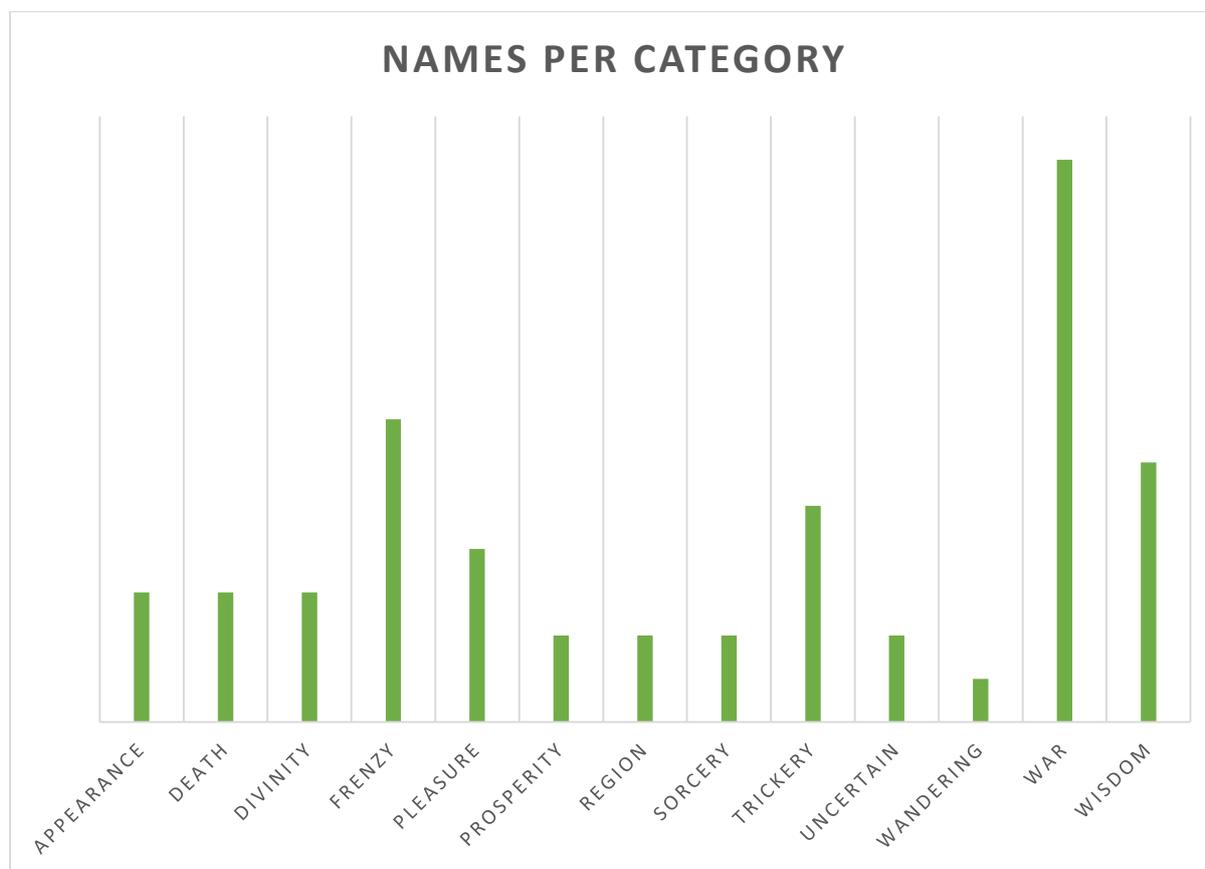
	Óðinn name	Normalised spelling	In Snorri	Category	Stanza
1	Grímnir	Grímnir	Yes	Trickery	47, 49
2	Vera tyr	Veratýr	Yes	Divinity	3
3	oðinn	Óðinn	Yes	Frenzy	7, 9, 10, 14, 19, 44, 51, 53, 54
4	heria fauðr	Herjafuðr	No	War	19
5	grimr	Grímr	Yes	Trickery	46
6	gangleri	Gangleri	Yes	Wandering	46
7	herian	Herjan	Yes	War	46
8	hialmberi	Hjalmberi	Yes	War	46
9	þeccr	Þekkr	Yes	Pleasure	46
10	þriði	Þriði	Yes	Divinity	46
11	þundr	Þundr	Yes	Frenzy	21, 46
12	uþr	Uðr	Yes	Pleasure	46
13	helblindi	Helblindi	No	Death	46
14	hár	Hár	Yes	Wisdom	46
15	Saþr	Saðr	Yes	Wisdom	47
16	svipall	Svipall	Yes	Trickery	47
17	sanngetall	Sanngetal	Yes	Wisdom	47
18	herteitr	Herteitr	Yes	War	47
19	hnicarr	Hnikarr	Yes	Frenzy	47
20	bileygr	Bileygr	Yes	Frenzy	47

21	baleygr	Báleygr	Yes	Frenzy	47
22	baulvercr	Bólverkr	No	Trickery	47
23	fiolnir	Fjølñir	Yes	Trickery	47
24	glapsviþr	Glapsviðr	Yes	Pleasure	47
25	fiullviþr	Fjølsviðr	Yes	Wisdom	47
26	Sipháuttr	Siðhøttr	Yes	Appearance	48
27	sipsceggr	Siðskøggr	Yes	Appearance	48
28	sigfauðr	Sigføðr	Yes	War	48
29	hnikuþr	Hnikuðr	Yes	Frenzy	48
30	alfauþr	Alføðr	Yes	Divinity	48
31	valfauþr	Válføðr	Yes	Death	48
32	atriðr	Atriðr	Yes	War	48
33	farma tyr	Farmatýr	Yes	Prosperity	48
34	ialc	Jalkr	Yes	Uncertain	49, 54
35	viður	Viðurr	Yes	War	49
36	kialar	Kjallar	Yes	War	49
37	þrói	Þrór	Yes	Prosperity	49
38	Osci	Óski	Yes	Pleasure	49
39	ómi	Ómi	Yes	Frenzy	49
40	iafnhár	Jafnhár	Yes	Wisdom	49
41	biflindi	Biflindi	No	War	49
42	gaundlir	Gøndlir	Yes	Sorcery	49
43	harbarðr	Hárbarðr	Yes	Appearance	49
44	Svipurr	Sviðurr	Yes	War	50

45	sviþrir	Sviðrir	Yes	War	50
46	yggrr	Yggrr	Yes	War	53, 54
47	vacr	Vakr	Yes	Wisdom	54
48	scilfingr	Skilfingr	Yes	Region	54
49	váfubr	Váføðr	Yes	Death	54
50	hroptatyr	Hroptatýr	Yes	Uncertain	54
51	Gautr	Gautr	Yes	Region	54
52	ofnir	Ófnir	No	War	34, 54
53	svafnir	Sváfñir	No	Sorcery	34, 54

By looking at the above categories, a certain trend can be found. War is certainly the most common attribute of the Óðinn names with thirteen names relating to it, followed by frenzy with seven, and wisdom with six. Trickery comes fourth with five names, followed by pleasure with four, while the rest of the categories have three or fewer names related to them. If the number of instances in which each name appears were to be counted, then frenzy would take over as the most common Óðinn name category used in *Grímnismál*, thanks to the usage of ‘Óðinn’ in nine instances.

Table 3 Names per Category



It is to be expected that Óðinn would be connected to war. Most, if not all, Scandinavian deities show some connection to war and the battlefield. However, looking at the meaning of these war names, one sees that only two, Svipurr and sviþrir, are related to the spear. This is peculiar, since Óðinn is generally connected to the spear. It becomes more interesting when looking into other sources. In fact, Óðinn is called *Dǫrruðr*, ‘spear fighter’, in *Darraðarljóð*.²³³ In Egill Skallagrímsson’s *Sonatorrek*, a work considered to be early and attributed to an Óðinn worshipper, Óðinn is called *Geirdrótinn*, ‘lord of the spear’.²³⁴ In *Hákonarkviða*, Óðinn is called *Geirtýr*, ‘spear god’, while in *Stjörmu-Oddadraumr*, *Geirvaldr*, ‘spear master’. Lastly, in *Óðins nǫfn*, a poem that lists Óðinn names, he is called *Geirǫlnir*, ‘spear charger’, and *Geirǫðnir*,

²³³ Hjalmar Falk, *Odensheite*, (1924). p. 17.

²³⁴ Price. p. 102.

‘spear inviter’.²³⁵ Óðinn’s weapon is generally considered to be a spear, named Gungnir, and a number of different sources relate him to spears in many ways. In *Hávamál* 138-139, *geiri undaðr*, ‘wounded by a spear’ is critical to the achievement that brings to *nam ek upp rúnar*, ‘I picked up secrets (runes)’.²³⁶ This story is also reminiscent of one of the most well-known sacrifices to Óðinn, that of king Víkarr. This story is found in the long version of *Gautreks Saga*. Víkarr is a Norwegian king. His fleet is delayed by adverse winds and after using divination, his men discover that Óðinn requires the sacrifice of a man from their group. Lots are cast and the lot falls to king Víkarr himself. In light of him being the king, they agree to sacrifice him symbolically. It is thus decided that king Víkarr should be hanged by calf entrails and symbolically wounded by a piece of wood. Starkaðr, a well-known hero who is one of Óðinn’s favourites, is present at the scene, as part of Víkarr’s group. On the eve of the symbolic sacrifice, Óðinn gives Starkaðr a piece of wood that is actually a real spear. The day of the sacrifice comes and ‘*Þá stakk Starkaðr sprotanum á konungi ok mælti: "Nú gef ek þik Óðni."*’²³⁷ After this, the piece of wood transforms into a spear and transfixes king Víkarr. At the same time, the entrails turn into strong withies. Thus, king Víkarr is sacrificed to Óðinn. Similarly, Turville-Petre mentions another incident in which Óðinn gives Dag his spear in order to help him achieve his revenge.²³⁸

While spear names are not as common, frenzy names are plenty, as seen above. The name Óðinn itself is related to frenzy. Óðinn and its OHG counterpart Wôdan, Wotan, Wuotan, are derived from **wōðu-* which means ‘frenzy, madness’.²³⁹ This name could also be related to poetry, magic and prophecy, being cognate with Latin *vates* and Old Irish *faith*, ‘prophet’

²³⁵ Ibid. p. 102.

²³⁶ *Hyndluljóð*, 1. p. 350.

²³⁷ Then Starkaðr stabbed the king with the spear and said: ‘Now I give you to Óðinn.’

Source: *Gautreks Saga*, ed. Guðni Jónsson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, v. 3 (Reykjavík, 1943–44). ch. 7.

²³⁸ Turville-Petre, *Myth*. p 47.

²³⁹ Haugen. p. 6.

and ‘poet’ respectively. Pleasure related names are not unexpected either. A number of myths and stories have Óðinn in the pursuit of different women, such as Gunnlōð or *Billings mæ*r. It is important to not mistake this as an attribute of fertility though. None of the Óðinn stories seem to imply that. It is the opposite: Óðinn has ‘sex as fun’.²⁴⁰ In a way, the pleasure names are related to the trickery names, then. These trickery names are also associated with disguise which seems to be one of Óðinn main attributes. He is the god most associated with disguise:

is known for appearing under any one of a wide variety of names. Two of Óðinn’s names mean ‘the “man” in the helmet or mask’. Interestingly enough, some suggestion as to the nature of the helmet or mask in question is provided by the fact that the same two names also appear in a *pula* (name list) for *goats*. This double use of the names accordingly raises the possibility of a direct link between Óðinn and the horned figures so often encountered in archaeological material. It also adds weight to the idea that the horned figures on the Torslunda matrix and Oseberg tapestry were not merely wearing regalia but were meant to be *representing* somebody, a figure that even in the thirteenth century was still associated with a particular animal.²⁴¹

If Gunnell’s argument is accepted, then this could show that Óðinn’s association with trickery and disguise was a relatively early one, not some addition to his attributes that may have been added during the advent of Christianity in the Germanic speaking world.

Looking into the cult of Óðinn, interesting things can be seen. Schjødt has argued that warriors and kings would have been related to Óðinn, and would be initiated in rituals in which a bond would be created between them and the god.²⁴² It is strange that in the *interpretatio Romana* Óðinn has been equated to Mercury. The information gained through reading the few Old Norse sources show him to be highest of the gods, and this can be seen in *Grímnismál* itself, where he is called Alfǫðr, ‘all father’. This would make Jupiter a probable better equation. At the same time, Russel Poole, following Haugen’s views, argues that this could be

²⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 17.

²⁴¹ Gunnell, *The Origins*. p. 83.

²⁴² Jens Peter Schjødt, “Óðinn, Warriors, and Death,” In *Learning and Understanding in the Old Norse World: Essays in Honour of Margaret Clunies Ross*, ed. Judy Quinn and Kate Heslop (Turnhout, 2007). pp. 141-142. See also: “The Warrior in Old Norse Religion,” In *Ideology and Power in the Viking and Middle Ages, Scandinavia, Iceland, Ireland, Orkney and the Faroes*, ed. Gro Steinsland, et al. (Leiden, 2011). pp. 270-271.

explained because both Óðinn and Mercury seem to disguise themselves with names related to travel and are generally related to travellers. ‘Hermes is depicted with a staff, a sceptre, or a wand; Óðinn often travels with a shepherd’s staff. If Hermes is a wandering god, then Óðinn for his part undertakes migrations and undergoes exile.’²⁴³ Mercury was also a psychopomp who carried the dead to Hades, an attribute strongly connected with Óðinn’s choosing the slain. A different explanation could be given, though, and it is the one I would choose to focus on: the *interpretatio Romana* could have mirrored a general trend in the Germanic cult that changed with time. When people equated Óðinn with Mercury or Hermes, Óðinn could have been a less central figure in the Germanic pantheons, while, with time, he may have taken over as the Alfǫðr.

Gunnell and other scholars have argued that Óðinn was not a popular god, but that he ‘took over’ from Þórr during the time Christianity was spreading in Scandinavia:

I have recently pointed out that in spite of what the thirteenth-century Icelandic scholar and politician Snorri Sturluson might imply in *Yinglinga saga* and the *Prose Edda*, other evidence gives us very good reason to believe that few Icelanders, Faroe Islanders or Norwegians (and probably a minority of Swedes) ever conceived of Óðinn as being the chief ruling god of the Nordic pantheon (if they ever had a concept of the gods all living together in Ásgard). Indeed, it seems that the supposed “alfǫðr” (Óðinn) was comparatively little known by most Icelanders, Faroe Islanders or western Norwegians, most of whom appear to have had more belief in gods like Þórr and Freyr at the time of the Icelandic settlement in the ninth century.²⁴⁴

To this should be added the above-mentioned description given by Adam of Bremen of the Temple at Uppsala where statues of Fricco, Wodan, and Þórr stood, with Wodan, who could possibly be similar to Óðinn, being a secondary figure to Þórr.²⁴⁵ A number of sources can

²⁴³ Russel Poole, “Myth and Ritual in the *Háleygjatal*,” In *Learning and Understanding in the Old Norse World: Essays in Honour of Margaret Clunies Ross*, ed. Judy Quinn and Kate Heslop (Turnhout, 2007). p. 158.

²⁴⁴ Terry Gunnell, “From One High-One to Another: The Acceptance of Óðinn as Preparation for the Acceptance of God.” In *Conversions: Looking for Ideological Change in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Leszek Slupezki and Rudolf Simek (2013). pp. 160-161.

²⁴⁵ Adam of Bremen. Lib. IV, cap. 26, pag. 258.

‘In hoc templo, quod totum ex auro paratum [Schol. 139.] est, statuas trium deorum veneratur populus, ita ut potentissimus eorum Thor in medio solium habeat triclinio; hinc et inde locum possident Wodan et Fricco.

show the prevalence of Þórr as the main god in Scandinavia. The large number of Þórr's hammer amulets, the myths associated with him, and Þórr's associations with blessing suggest that Þórr may have been the main god in the north throughout the pagan times in Scandinavia. This could also help explaining the *interpretatio Romana* and why Þórr was linked with Zeus and Jupiter, though their common relation to thunder should not be forgotten either. According to Gunnell, a number of Óðinn myths suggest that Óðinn is a wandering god and is associated with death. This can be seen in the *Grímnismál* list of Óðinn names that are related to death. In contrast, Freyr or Þórr do not seem to have such an association with death or the afterlife.²⁴⁶ Óðinn seems to have started as being a god worshipped mainly by the warrior class and nobility,²⁴⁷ a small percentage of the overall population of the Germanic speaking peoples. In opposition, Þórr would have been worshipped by fishermen, farmers and so would Freyr. By the time that *Grímnismál* was composed, however, something had changed:

In a sense, Óðinn had made himself the god of the media, the Rupert Murdoch of Ásgarðr, and it is not surprising how successful the Old Norse media was in selling him to future generations (including ourselves), as the allfather, and father and ruler of all other previous gods, many of whom are said to be his children. Names that were probably once those of other local gods are simply said to be manifestations of Óðinn himself. Indeed, it is noteworthy how effective Óðinn seems to be at taking over spaces previously inhabited by other gods and goddesses (not least in the "official" accounts): In *Ynglinga saga* he is accredited as owning a ship elsewhere said to belong to Freyr, and Freyja's birdskin cloak has come into the possession of Óðinn's wife (who never uses it and has little or nothing to do with birds). In a similar fashion, we find here that Skapi has become Óðinn's wife, and

Quorum significationes eiusmodi sunt: "Thor", inquit, "presidet in aere, qui tonitrus et fulmina, ventos ymbresque, serena et fruges gubernat. Alter Wodan, id est furor, bella gerit hominique ministrat virtutem contra inimicos. Tercius est Fricco, pacem voluptatemque largiens mortalibus.'

Translation: 'In this temple, which is completely decked out in gold, the statues of three gods are venerated by the people, so that the mightiest of them Thor is in the main throne; Wodan and Fricco are in each side. Their significance is in this mode: "Thor", they say, "presides over air, which governs thunder and lightning, winds and rains, good weather and crops. The other, Wodan, which is fury, presides over war and administers virtue against enemies. Third is Fricco, who gives peace and pleasure to the mortals.'

See also: DuBois. p. 60.

²⁴⁶ Gunnell, "From One High." pp. 166-167.

²⁴⁷ Andreas Nordberg, "Continuity, Change and Regional Variation in Old Norse Religion," In *More Than Mythology: Narratives, Ritual Practices and Regional Distribution in Pre-Christian Scandinavian Religions*, ed. Catharina Raudvere and Jens Peter Schjødt (Turnhout, 2012). p. 128.

Freyja his mistress; and that (according to Snorri), Freyr is punished for temporarily “usurping” Óðinn’s high seat when observing Gerðr.²⁴⁸

The study of theophoric toponyms can further the understanding of pagan Norse belief. By looking into this evidence, one can see that specific gods were objects of cult in Scandinavia: Óðinn, Þórr, Freyr, Ullr, Njǫrðr, Týr and maybe Freyja.²⁴⁹ This shows that there was some importance in an Óðinn cult. Brink writes that while toponyms related to Óðinn are found throughout Sweden and Denmark and an area of Norway, they are absent in South-Western Norway.²⁵⁰ This absence could possibly suggest that the time in which Óðinn reached Norway

²⁴⁸ Gunnell, “From One High.” pp. 169-170.

²⁴⁹ Stefan Brink, “How Uniform Was the Old Norse Religion?” In *Learning and Understanding in the Old Norse World. Essays in Honour of Margaret Clunies Ross*, ed. Judy Quinn and Kate Heslop (Turnhout, 2007). p. 124.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p. 125.

Brink also provides a list of all Óðinn related theophoric toponyms:

Norway:

1. Onsåker, Våler hd, Østfold (Odensakr *RB*)
2. Onsø, hd, Østfold (ON Óðinsøy, see *NG*, I, 309)
3. Oðinssalr, Onsø hd, Østfold (óðinssalri *Fagrskinna*)
4. Onsrud, Ullensaker hd, Akerhus (a Odenshofue 1331, a Odenshofue *RB*)
5. ?Onsaker, Gran hd, Opland (Onsager 1667)
6. ?Onsåker, Hole hd, Buskerud (Onsagger 1578)
7. ?Osland, Kirkebø hd, Sogn og Fjordane (a Odenslande 1322)
8. ?Osland, Kinn hd, Sogn of Fjordane (i Odenlande *BK*, Odhenslandh 1500s=)
9. Onsöien, Buviken hd, S. Trøndelag (af Odinsyn *AB* Odhensøy *AB*)
10. Onsöien, Byneset hd, S. Trøndelag (Otthensø 1500s)
11. Óðinssalr, Beitstad hd, N. Trøndelag (see *NSL* p. 240)

Sweden:

1. Onsicke, Skogs-Tibbe sn, Hagunda hd, Uppland (i Odhenseke 1409)
2. Odensfors/Onskarby, Tierp, Uppland (Odensfors 1480/odenskarlaby 1486)
3. Onsta, Tierp, Uppland (odenstatt, odenstat 1500s)
4. Onslunda, Tensta sn, Norunda hd, Uppland (apud villam Odinslunde 1302)
5. Odenslund, Söderby-Karls sn, Lyhundra hd, Uppland (j odhenslunde 1365)
6. Odenslunda, Fresta sn, Vallentuna hd, Upland (de Ødhinslundum 1351, j Odhenslundum 1409)
7. Odensholmen, ?Östra Ryds sn, Övertjurbo hd, Västmanland (Onsals backar 1785)
8. Odensholmen, Skånela sn, Seminhundra hd, Uppland (odens hálma 1634)
9. Odensala, sn, Ärlinghundra hd, Uppland (othinsharg 1286, othinsaerg 1288, othinshargh 1291, in odhinshargh 1310)
10. Odinssalir, Sala sn, Övertjurbo hd, Västmanland (Onsals backar 1785)
11. Odensvi, sn, Åkerbo hd, Västmanland (Odhienwi 1351, oþinswj 1366)
12. Onsholmen, Irsta sn, Siende hd, Västmanland (odensholm 1449)
13. ?Onsjö, Fagersta, Västmanland (onsøø 1486, Onssjö 1539)
14. Odensö, probably in Munktorps sn, Snevringe hd, Västmanland (aff odizsiøø, i odinzøø, i odinzø 1485)
15. Odensvi, Viby sn, Grimstens hd, Örebro, Närke (i odhinswi 1385)
16. Odenslunda, Aspö sn, Selebo hd, Södermanland (Otthinslundum 1100s)
17. Odensvi, Kattnäs sn, Daga hd, Södermanland (j Odensui, j Odenswij 1361)
18. Onsberga, Runtuna sn, Rönö hd, Södermanland (?othensberghe 1431)
19. Onsberga, Sättersta sn, Rönö hd, Södermanland (odhinsbiærgh 1364)
20. Odensberga, Gryts sn, Daga hd, Södermanland (in Odhinsberghum 1348)
21. Odensicke, Ytterselö sn, Selebo hd, Södermanland (in odhinsheke 1331, j odhinseke 1365)

was much later than, for example, Sweden, explaining the difference in numbers of theophoric toponyms that relate to him. One explanation is that the earlier a god became important in a place, the better the chances that toponyms would bear his name, while the later he did, the fewer chances of ‘free’ places to be named would exist. Since Þórr or other gods would not have been deleted from a pantheon, toponyms bearing their names would not need to be

-
22. Odensjö, probably in Rönö hd, Södermanland (j odensiø 1462)
 23. Odensfors, Vretaklosterns sn, Gullbergs hd, Östergötland (i wdzens ass 1500, odhensffors 1535)
 24. Odenstomta, Kuddby sn, Björkekinds hd, Östergötland (i odhinstomptum 1409)
 25. Odensåker, Kullerstads sn, Memings hd, Östergötland (j odhensakre 1375)
 26. ?Odenstad, Gillberga sn and hd, Värmland (innan Odinstadum 1355, J odhenstadhum 1361)
 27. Onsön, island, Segerstads sn, Grums hd, Värmland (een öö ok heter Odhinsöo 1480)
 28. Vångsgärde, Orsa sn, Dalarna (odensgerdhe 1539)
 29. Odensala, Östersund, Jämtland (i odhinsal 1410, j odinsall 1430)
 30. Odensjö, Barnarps sn, Tveta hd, Småland (odhensioo, odhenssioo 1394, i Odhensiø 1456)
 31. Odensjö, sn, Sunnerbo hd, Småland (i odhinsredha sokn 1389, Odhænsøryth 1413)
 32. Odenslanda, Vederslövs sn, Kinnevalds hd, Småland (i Odhenslandom 1406)
 33. Odensvi, sn, S. Tjusts hd, Småland (i Odenszwij 1358, in odhinswj 1371)
 34. Odensvi, Högsby sn, S. Tjusts hd, Småland (i Odenszwij 1358, in odhinswj 1371)
 35. Odensö, probably a small island in Emån, Högsby sn, Handbörds hd, Småland (vsque insulam Odensøø 1344)
 36. Odens källa, a well in Åkatorp, Gudhems sn and hd, Västergötland (widh odhens kyældu 1287)
 37. Odensåker, sn, Vadsbo hd, Västergötland (Othensaker 1292, odhensaker 1313)
 38. Onsö, island in Lake Vänern, Torsö sn, Vadsbo hd, Västergötland (jnsule dicte othensø 1371)
 39. Onslunda, Flistads sn, Vadsbo hd, Västergötland (Onsulnde 1540)
 40. Odens kulle, hill, Gökhemns sn, Vilske hd, Västergötland (Odens kulle 1561)
 41. ?Onsered, Tvärreds sn, Kinds hd, Västergötland (odensrydh 1482)
 42. ?Onsjö, Larvs sn, Laske hd, Västergötland (Onsky 1550)
 43. Onsjö, Vassända-Naglums sn, Väne hd, Västergötland (odhenshögh 1397, i ondssiö 1517)
 44. Onsön, Dals-Eds sn, Vedbo hd, Dalsland (een gardh i odhensø 1421)
 45. Onsala, sn, Fjäre hd, Halland (de Othænsæle c. 1300, aff Otænsæle 1403, i Odensale 1490)
 46. Onssjö, Vapnö o Söndrums snr, Halmstads hd, Halland (in Oothensø 1377, i Odhinsyø 1399)
 47. Onslunda, sn, Ingelstads hd, Skåne (aff Othænslundæ 1401, Othinslunda 1430)
 48. ?’Onsualle Kielle’, boundary mark in Höör, Höörs sn, Frosta hd, Skåne (aff Onssualle kielle 1517)
 49. Onsjö, hd, Skåne (i odenshäradt 1245, in Othens H. 1351, i Odenshäradt, in othænhæret 1297-1333, Othænsheret c. 1300 Vjb, in othinshæret 1330).

Denmark

1. Vognsbæk, Skærum and Hørmensted sn, Horns hd, Jutland (Wonsbech 1530)
2. Vonsild, sn, Gislum hd, Jutland (Othensild 1428?, Vonssøld 1442)
3. Oddense, sn, Hindborg hd, Jutland (Otenssogen 1410, Odens 1463, Otthensæ 1464)
4. Onsild, hd, Jutland (Othenshyll c. 1186)
5. Oens, Ølsted sn, Hatting hd, Jutland (Ottens 1464, Otthens 1484)
6. Vonsild, sn, N. Tyrstrup hd, Jutland (Odenschulde 1436, Wondsylde 1452)
7. Vonsbæk, sn, Haderslev hd, Jutland (Odensbek 1413, Odensbeke 1462)
8. Vojens, sn, Gram hd, Jutland (Wodens 1421, Wodense, Wodenze 1475)
9. Onsbjerg, sn, Samsø (Othensberg 1424)
10. Odense, Fyn (Othenseuigensem 988, OÄSVI 1018-35, Odansue c. 1075, Othense, Othensø 1123)
11. Onsved, Skuldelev sn, Horns hd, Sjælland (Othense 1085, Othænsweith 1320)

Source: *ibid.* pp. 129-131.

This list is of importance when studying the cult of Óðinn. It is not just important in order to understand where Óðinn had theophoric place-names, but also because the number of names present (or absence) could show how the cult of Óðinn spread throughout Scandinavia.

changed. The number of Þórr theophoric place-names is striking: Norway has twenty, Gotland seven, Sweden fifty-seven and Denmark five.²⁵¹ Similarly, Freyr has twenty-two names in Norway, thirty-eight in Sweden but only one in Denmark.²⁵² Gunnell is unconvinced that Óðinn had been the head of the Norse pantheons throughout the Scandinavian peninsula and North Atlantic.²⁵³ However, the absence of theophoric placenames related to Óðinn could also have been because Óðinn was a god venerated by the elite. Strangely enough, though, in *Grímnismál* Óðinn talks first about Þórr, instead of himself. Phillpotts argues that this, and Óðinn stating in st. 24 that Þórr's hall is the greatest, show that Þórr is regarded to be first among the gods.²⁵⁴ The sources portrayed above convince me of the likelihood of this late advent of Óðinn. It feels as if Óðinn started out as a god of nobles and poets and slowly took over as the main god of the different Scandinavian pantheons in the time preceding and during the advent of Christianity. In fact, even if the absence of toponyms is attributed to Óðinn being mainly venerated by kings and earls, while Þórr by the farmers and fishermen, this still does change at some point in history and Óðinn appears to become the main deity throughout the *populus*.

If the above conclusion is to be accepted as possible or likely, a very interesting argument could be made that could help placing *Grímnismál* at a better point in time and space. In *Grímnismál*, the wandering Grímnir goes to King Geirrøðr's hall. As discussed in the commentary, Geirrøðr is not a common name at all. The only other place in which it appears with any significance is the skaldic poem *Þórsdrápa*. Furthermore, Vésteinn Ólason, mentions that the name *Grímnir* is found in *Þórsdrápa* in two different *kenningar*, 'there are reasons to suspect that the composer of the *Grímnismál* has the Þórr-tale in mind when he conceived the Óðinn counterpart found in the *Grímnismál*.'²⁵⁵ The very strong similarities in the settings of

²⁵¹ Ibid. pp. 131-133.

²⁵² Ibid. pp. 126-127.

²⁵³ Gunnell, "The Season." p. 120.

²⁵⁴ Phillpotts. p. 90.

²⁵⁵ Vésteinn Ólason, "The Composition of the *Grímnismál*." In, *Akriv för Nordisk Filologi*, v. 87 (1972). p. 117.

the two poems, coupled with all the conclusions drawn from the above argument could show the likelihood that a myth such as the one found in *Þórsdrápa* might have been present in a region that would worship Þórr as a main god. As Óðinn slowly took over that region as the main god, the myth was changed, making Óðinn the protagonist. However, Óðinn was never a god related to *jotnar*, but a wandering god that travelled in the world of humans. As such, the *jotunn* king Geirrøðr was changed into the Gothic king Geirrøðr of *Grímnismál*. Óðinn is not a god that was ever thought of as dealing with issues in a physical way, but mental. He grants ecstasy to his chosen (cf. frenzy names found in *Grímnismál*) etc.²⁵⁶ He is not a brawler but a trickster and wise-man. As such, instead of overpowering Geirrøðr with his fists or weapon, he did so using his cunning mind and knowledge, building up the dramatic tension that also rewarded Agnarr for helping him, and revealing his true nature at the right time, thus making Geirrøðr die by his own hand. Lastly, the importance given to Þórr in *Grímnismál* could show a period of transition between who of the two gods was foremost.

The above discussion on Óðinn and his nature has drawn on a number of sources other than *Grímnismál*. Following the conclusions outlined in Part 1 on the nature of paganism and the sources themselves, this means that the arguments discussed here cannot be taken into account without keeping in mind that compared to most other conclusions in this thesis, the ones set out in this part of this chapter are easier to disagree with, and more difficult to prove. However, I have done my best to keep only the sources that to me appeared to be most authentic and most strongly related to *Grímnismál* itself. A number of different conclusions could be made in analysing each source that portrays Óðinn, but then the conclusion of Óðinn's nature in *Grímnismál* would be shoe-horned into a general idea of a pan-Scandinavian Óðinn that would have remained relatively intact and similar throughout the Germanic speaking world. This is highly unlikely. Theophoric toponymic evidence, if used properly, is of huge

²⁵⁶ Schjødt, "The Warrior." p. 272.

importance because it can avoid the necessity of interpretation other than the very presence (or absence) of a name in a geographical region. As such, I find it to be one of the strongest sources in the understanding of a pre-Christian cult or cults in Scandinavia and elsewhere. *Pórsdrápa* has been discussed (relatively) more than any other poem other than *Grímnismál* because of its extremely strong relations to *Grímnismál* itself.

Chapter 4. Conclusion

What is Eddic poetry? Answering this question is both easy and difficult. My conclusion is that strictly speaking there is no such thing as Eddic poetry. The Eddic poems, as seen above, do not have a single, specific kind of metre, nor do they have a specific theme, since a number of them have a heroic subject. The main reason that there is a specific distinction between skaldic and eddic poetry is not the presence of kennings. In fact, a number of Eddic poems include kennings, albeit of a simpler nature.²⁵⁷ The main reason for this distinction, it seems to me, is that Eddic poems survive in a single manuscript (with few exceptions that have been worked around by scholars), a manuscript with no skaldic metre in it. However, differences found in the different metres of Eddic poetry, coupled with the separate time periods, scope of composition, and theme of these poems, can be a strong argument against such a division between Eddic and skaldic poetry. Furthermore, such a division seems to imply that Eddic poetry would not have been performed by skalds. While nomenclature does not necessarily have to be an issue, it brings the tendency to wish to compare a given Eddic poem with another Eddic poem more so than with a skaldic poem, purely based on the fact that they are found in the same manuscript.²⁵⁸

To make a comparison, it feels to me that the way we study the GKS manuscript is similar to what would happen if one were to come across to a book on the scriptures of Zen Buddhism in the future, with no background to the texts and their history. In terms of content, it would be really easy to compare texts such as the *Lotus sutra* with the *Diamond sutra*, *Platform sutra* and the *Song of Zazen*. They all deal with Buddhist philosophy and make a coherent sense together. However, the *Song of Zazen* was composed by Hakuin Ekaku in the

²⁵⁷ Quinn, “Kennings.”

²⁵⁸ To be clear, I am not renouncing the usage of the term ‘Eddic’, nor do I feel that it has to be changed or removed. In my opinion, it needs to be made clearer that whoever is using it is aware of abovementioned differences and is not thinking of a coherent whole. See also: Brittany Schorn, “Eddic Modes and Genres,” *ibid.* pp. 232-234.

eighteenth century in Japan, while the *Platform sutra* was written in China at some point between the eighth and twelfth centuries, the *Diamond sutra* in subcontinental Asia at some point before the fifth century, and the *Lotus sutra* similarly in subcontinental Asia but as early as the first century BCE. These texts were even composed in different languages and dialects, but to a reader with no knowledge and just the texts in front of them, gathered in one edition, they would be all in Japanese. The conclusions drawn would be very different from the ones we have now, thanks to the knowledge about each separate text. Similarly, differences between the overall similar thought of the general Mahayana schools, Ch'an and Zen would be completely lost in a generalised view of one uniform school of thought. The GKS manuscript and Eddic poetry does not provide with such knowledge, and comparisons of the texts by themselves without more knowledge on each separate one can provide problematic conclusions, as seen above.

Turning specifically to *Grímnismál*, which is the focus of this thesis, a number of other Eddic poems could be compared to it. Scholars have especially liked comparing it to *Vafþrúðnismál*.²⁵⁹ While such comparisons can be fruitful for other reasons, and these two poems do show a similarity in the subject matter they deal with, it is evident from their contents that they are referring to different 'strands' of Norse belief. In fact, Schjødt writes that:

One main problem is that of diversity. Even if we imagine that we could meaningfully draw some connecting lines between the scattered elements hinted at in the poems – which I believe we can, in some cases, with the help of comparative evidence [...] – we cannot be certain that they all contribute to the same version of the myth. In all oral cultures is the nature of myth to be transformational in the sense outlined by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1971: 603).²⁶⁰

Whether it is because one poem is earlier than the other, or that one poem was composed by Christians (such as *Völuspá*), or that there was a regional difference in belief between the two

²⁵⁹ See: Larrington, "Vafþrúðnismál and Grímnismál."

²⁶⁰ Jens Peter Schjødt, "Eddic Poetry and Pre-Christian Scandinavia," In *A Handbook to Eddic Poetry: Myths and Legends of Early Scandinavia*, ed. Carolyne Larrington, Judy Quinn, and Brittany Schorn (Cambridge, 2016). p. 137.

composers, the conclusion is that one should not turn to *Vafþrúðnismál*, or any other Eddic poem specifically, while on a quest to understand *Grímnismál* specifically.

This thesis started from the most important statement about Germanic paganism: its shifting identity. After discussing this and the problems that come with trying to study Germanic pre-Christian belief, I suggested a study on *Grímnismál*, in an attempt to understand the beliefs of its author. The conclusion is that the best way is to start small: namely with trying to understand each source separately before comparing it with others and trying to reach more grandiose conclusions.²⁶¹ As such, the thesis focused mainly on this one poem, and analysed first its contents as a whole, and then, in a commentary, each stanza and word or phrase of interest separately, going through the very *minutiæ* of it. The conclusions are easier to accept simply because they are not about ‘Scandinavian mythology’, ‘Norse belief’ or ‘what the Scandinavians believed in’, but much more specific: this is what the people that interacted with this poem, at least some initial form of it, could have believed in, and the people in the region and timeline in which that person lived.

Grímnismál's focus is certainly the cosmological knowledge that Óðinn imparts to its audience. Even more so than Óðinn himself, the protagonists of the poem are the mythological landscapes, river and creatures mentioned. The commentary on the poem below discusses these cosmological features separately, but because of their importance, it is necessary to study them together and see whether the image painted by *Grímnismál* agrees with the popular version of Norse cosmology. As such, the first part of this conclusion shall be dealing with the cosmology of *Grímnismál*, showing how Andrén's statement of the shifting nature of paganism applies here as well.

²⁶¹ In a recent publication, Schjødt has argued for similar approaches in the study of Eddic poetry as to the ones I have followed in this study (albeit with a few differences). In his view, this is the best way for historians of religion to understand pre-Christian belief in Scandinavia. See: *ibid.* especially pp. 132-135.

The second part of this conclusion deals with a more complicated and controversial matter, the bane of any Eddic scholar: the dating of the poem. Stefan Brink once said that no sane person would try to date Eddic poetry anymore.²⁶² It is too risky and there are far too many factors that need to be taken into consideration. However, by focusing on *Grímnismál* alone, and thanks to the common elements found in *Pórsdrápa* as seen above, I believe that my conclusions are as strong as they can be in such a situation. In my conclusion on dating, I shall be gathering all data collected throughout this thesis and putting it together in order to show why there is a strong case for giving *Grímnismál* a date between the mid tenth and mid eleventh centuries in Norway.

²⁶² Stefan Brink. Personal communication.

1. Cosmology

A number of the elements described in *Grímnismál* do not agree with the popular image of Old Norse cosmology. Some elements, such as Ásgarðr, are completely absent, while others are different than in other sources. In trying to connect all information gained from all mythological sources, a number of scholars have created visual and descriptive representations of the Norse *imago mundi*. Finnur Magnússon in the late nineteenth century was the first scholar to create a map of the worlds of the gods.²⁶³ His ideas have been followed by scholars such as E. V. Gordon,²⁶⁴ Branston,²⁶⁵ and others. Margaret Clunies-Ross has written an excellent overview of Finnur's influence on scholarship on this subject.²⁶⁶ In the popular world, books such as Neil Gaiman's *Norse Mythology* mention such a cosmological view,²⁶⁷ and even otherwise excellent publications such as Larrington's *The Norse Myths* include such maps,²⁶⁸ with a large tree (Yggdrasill), skewering disks which are meant to represent different worlds, including Ásgarðr, Miðgarðr, Hel and so on.

These images are an attempt to make some sense to the modern reader, but they probably would have made even less sense to an Old Norse speaker of the pagan era. Issues with using such a vast number of sources and trying to create a single cosmological image of Scandinavian paganism are only to be expected, considering the aspect of this religion (see Pt. 1 Chapter 2). The image gained by extracting all information on cosmology found in *Grímnismál* and shifting the information around in coherent groups, is as follows:²⁶⁹

²⁶³ Andrés, *Tracing Old Norse Cosmology*. p. 29.

²⁶⁴ Eric Valentine Gordon, *An Introduction to Old Norse* (Oxford, 1927). p. 175.

²⁶⁵ Brian Branston, *Gods of the North* (London, New York, 1955). p. 73.

²⁶⁶ Margaret Clunies Ross, "Images of Norse Cosmology." In, *Myths, Legends, and Heroes: Essays on Old Norse and Old English Literature in Honour of John McKinnell*. Edited by Daniel Anlezark (Toronto, 2011). pp. 53-73.

²⁶⁷ Neil Gaiman, *Norse Mythology* (London, 2017). p. 17.

²⁶⁸ Carolyne Larrington, *The Norse Myths, a Guide to the Gods and Heroes* (London, 2017). p. 10.

²⁶⁹ The numbers in brackets refer to stanza numbers.

(40) Earth was shaped from the flesh of Ymir. From his blood the sea was created, and from his bones the mountains. From his hair tree and from his cranium sky. (41) From his brows middle enclosure was made by the blithe gods for the sons of men. From his brains, clouds were created. (37) The sun is dragged from Árvacr and Alsvíþr. (38) Svauull stands in front of the sun, shield to the shiny god. If he falls from there, mountains and seas must burn. (39) Scaull is a wolf that accompanies the bright faced god to defend the wood. But another wolf, Hati, son of Hrópvitnir, must run before the moon.

(31) The ash of Yggdrasill has three roots which stand in three directions, with Hel living under one, the Hrímpursar (frost giants/frost ogres) under another, and human people under the third. (32) A squirrel named Ratatoscr runs up and down the ash of Yggdrasill. He bears the eagle's word(s) from above and tells it/them to Níþhauggr below. (34) Under the ash of Yggdrasill many *ormar* (it can mean serpent, or dragon, or worm) are found: Góinn and Móinn, who are Grafvitnir's sons, Grábacr and Grafvaulluþr, Ófnir and Sváfnir. They always must harm the branches of the tree. (35) A stag bites from above the ash of Yggdrasill. On the side it rots. From below, Níþhauggr damages it by cutting. (33) There are four stags that gnaw high twigs from towering necks. Their names are: Dáinn and Dvalinn, Duneýr and Duraþrór.

(8) Glaðsheimr is where Valhaull is. It is gold bright. (9-10) More descriptions are given about Óðinn's hall: a *vargr* [wolf or criminal] hangs westwards of the doorway, and an eagle dangles over it. It is rafted with spear-shafts, and thatched with shields, while it is strewn with corselets around the benches. (22) Valgrind stands on flat land before holy doors. Its grating is old and it is locked in in a cord. (23) Bilscirnir is made of five hundred and forty hall floors or chambers. The rafters of this hall are probably also spears. (24) Valhaull has five hundred and forty doors through which the chosen warriors go. (25) On the hall of Óðinn there is a goat called Heiþrún, and it bites on Lęraþr's limbs. She has to fill the *scapker*. (26)

Eikþurnir is the name of a stag which stands on the hall of Óðinn and bites from Leǫraǫr's limbs. From Eikþurnir's horns water drips into Hvergelmir from which all waters have their ways.

(27) There are rivers: Síp and Víþ, Sękin and Eikin, Svaul and Gunnþró, Fiorm and Fimbulþul, Rín and Rennandi, Gipul and Gapul, Gaumul and Geirvimul, which turn around the treasure of the gods, Þún and Vin, Þaull and Haull, Graþ and Gunnþorin. (28) There are also: Víná, Vegsvinn, Þióðnuma, Nýt and Naut, Naunn and Hraunn, Slíþ and Hríþ, Sylgr and Ylgr, Víþ and Ván, Vaund and Straund, Giaull and Leiptr, all of which fall near to men but fall to hell afterwards. (21) There is a river called Þund which makes a rushing noise. (29) Also there are four more rivers, Kaurmt, Aurmt and the two Kerlaugar, which Þórr must wade each day when he goes to the ash of Yggdrasill. The bridge of the gods burns with fire. This bridge could refer to (44) Bilraust, best of bridges. (30) Gods ride horses when they go judge at the ash of Yggdrasill.

(4) Þrúðheimr – holy land lying near to æsir and álfar – home of Þórr. (5) Ýdalir are the dales where Ullr lives. (5) Álfheimr was given to Freyr. (6) Valaskjálfr is a settlement in which glad gods thatched halls with silver in the old days. (7) Saucqva beccr is where cold waves are. Óðinn and Sága drink every day from golden vessels there. (11) Þrymheimr is where Þiazilived but now Scaði, his daughter lives there. It seems to be in ruins and ancient. (12) Breiðablik is where Baldr has made halls. (13) Himinbiorg is where Heimdallr resides and drinks mead in a secure hall. (14) Fiolcvangr is where Freyia rules the excellences of seats in the hall, and chooses half of the slain, which presumably go there. (15) Glitnir is supported with gold and thatched with silver, and *forseti* dwells most days there. (16) Nóa tún are where Niorþr has made halls. He is called king of men and a high-timbered sanctuary presumably is there. (17) The land of Víþar seems to have no buildings, but is bushy, grassy and woody.

The lands where the gods reside are generally thought as being different worlds, or part of the different world. However, the term *world* in English has a number of connotations. This world is somewhere where a human being cannot go by any natural means. The general idea is that all these mythological beings resided in a *heaven* or different *heavens*, but this word is now completely Christian in the minds of most scholars. It could be interpreted as being a different *dimension*, or *universe*, from a more scientific perspective, or it could be a place that *transcends the physical universe*. Each of these words is problematic, as there is a need for a word about a realm that is not inflected by Abrahamic ideas but is also not heavily ‘scientific’. Similarly, using words and ideas from a Greek or Roman cosmology could lead to another sort of *interpretatio Romana*, which would be problematic as well. Turning to an unfamiliar language and culture which does not partake of this thought-nexus, and looking into Hindu and Buddhist cosmology: the Sanskrit word *loka* takes a specialised meaning when it comes to cosmology. That meaning is ‘world, division of the universe (the two worlds = heaven and earth; the three, = the same and the atmosphere or the lower regions; seven worlds are commonly spoken of); heaven; earth’, and is akin to what is being discussed here.²⁷⁰ For present purposes, I shall use the word *loka* to define that notion.

Going back to *Grímnismál*, the lands of the gods are the following: 1. Þruðheimr – Þórr. 2. Ýdalir – Ullr. 3. Álfheimr – Freyr. 4. Bqr/Valaskialfr - ? 5. Saucqva beccr – Óðinn and Sága. 6. Glaðsheimr – Hropr (Óðinn). 7. Þrymheimr – Scaði. 8. Breiðablik – Baldr. 9. Himinbiorg – Heimdallr. 10. Fiolcvangr – Freyia. 11. Glitnir – forseti? 12. Nóa tun – Niorþr. 13. Víþars land – Víþar. Some of these – most notably Álfheimr – are thought to be different and individual spatial entities, or *lokas* than the others. It is evident that *heimr* is important in the naming of these places. According to Cleasby-Vigfússon, *heimr* can also mean ‘abode, village, land,

²⁷⁰ Arthur Anthony MacDonnell, *A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary* (London, 1929), p. 263.

region’ instead of solely ‘world’.²⁷¹ The prose introduction of *Grímnismál* supports the idea that *heimr* does not describe different *lokas* when Óðinn sits on Hlíðskjálf and sees over *heima alla*, over all *heimar*.²⁷² The closest translation to *heimr* is probably found in Greek *οἰκουμένη*, the translation of which is similarly problematic in English, but with the ultimate sense of ‘an inhabited region’.²⁷³ Lastly, it is worth noting that a number of place-names in the inhabited world of the humans had the *-heimr* suffix. Þrándheimr in Norway and Álfheimr in the Swedish province of Bohuslän are examples of that. If *heimr* were used to define different *lokas* then surely it would not be found in place-names around Scandinavia. Furthermore, *Grímnismál* itself does not specify the location of these places. It does not say whether they are to be found on a celestial place or on earth.²⁷⁴

Looking at two stanzas found in *Grímnismál* such a unifying cosmological view can be further supported:

4. Land er heilact | er ec liggia se
asom oc alfom nęr.
enn iþruðheimi | scal þórr vera
unz um riufaz regin.²⁷⁵
29. Kaurmt oc aurmt | oc kerlaugar tvęr
þęr scal þorr vaða
hverian dag | er hann dęma ferr
at asciyiggdrasils.
þvi at as bru | brenn aull logo

²⁷¹ Richard Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, ed. William A. Craigie (Oxford, 1957). p. 252.

²⁷² *Grímnismál*, 1. p. 367.

²⁷³ Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek English Lexicon*, ed. Henry Stuart Jones (Oxford, 1959). p. 1205.

²⁷⁴ Jonas Wellendorf, “Homogeneity and Heterogeneity in Old Norse Cosmology.” In *Old Norse Religion in Long-Term Perspectives: Origins, Changes & Interactions*, ed. Anders Andrén and Kristina Jennbert (Lund, 2006). p. 52.

²⁷⁵ [The] land is holy | which I see lying | near the ásir and the álfar. | But in Þrúðheimr | must Þórr be, | until the gods are torn apart.

heilög votn hlóa.²⁷⁶

Thanks to st. 4 we know that Þórr lives in Þruðheimr, has to cross Kǫrmt, Qrmt and the two Kerlaugar to reach the ash of Yggdrasill. As can be seen in the commentary to st. 29, Kǫrmt and Qrmt appear to be actual toponyms in Norway. Furthermore, even if this were a coincidence, the reading of these two stanzas implies that wherever Þórr is coming from, which presumably is Þruðheimr, is divided from Yggdrasill by rivers. Furthermore, st. 20 tells that:

20. Huginn oc munninn | fliuga hverian dag

iormun grund yfir.

oumc ec of of hugin | at hann aþtr ne comiþ

þo síámć meirr um muninn.²⁷⁷

Of great importance here is *iormun grund yfir*, ‘over the great ground’. If Huginn and Munninn are indeed ravens, as they are interpreted to be, the stanza seems to imply that this is happening in one *loka*.

The argument discussed up to now – on whether there were many *lokas* in which the gods resided or not – is not a particularly controversial one. In fact, while the above-mentioned maps make little sense, no scholar explicitly states that, Nóa tun is in a different *loka* than Breiða blik, for example. However, by focusing on *Grímnismál*, this argument can be taken further into connecting the *loka* of the gods and the land of human habitation into one and the same. In reading *Grímnismál* st. 31 we learn that:

31. Þriár rǫtr | standa aþria vega

undan asci yggdrasils:

hel býr undir einni | annarri hrimþursar

þriðio mennzkir menn.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁶ Kǫrmt and Qrmt | and the two Kerlaugar, | Þórr must wade them | each day, | when he goes to judge | at the ash of Yggdrasill, | Because the bridge of the gods | burns with fire, | holy waters boil.

²⁷⁷ Huginn and Munin | fly each day | over the great ground. | I fear for Huginn | that he shall not come back, | though I fear more for Munin.

²⁷⁸ Three roots | stand in three directions | from under the ash of Yggdrasill. | Hel lives under one, | under another the hrimþursar, | under the third human people.

Mankind, Hel and the *hrimþursar* are all explicitly said to reside underneath the roots of Yggdrasill. Recalling st. 29, we are reminded that Yggdrasill is also connected to the *loka* of the gods. Most importantly, the name of the land where mankind resides should be taken into account: *miðgarðr*. Sts. 40-41, discussing the creation of the world, say the following:

40. Ór ymis holdi | var iorþ um scaupuð

enn or sveita sær

biorg or beinom | baðmr or hári

en or hausi himin²⁷⁹

41. enn or hans brám | gerðo blið regin

miðgarð manna sonom.

enn or hans heila | voro þau in harðmoðgo

scy aull um scaupuþ.²⁸⁰

Not only is there no mention of more than one world being created, but *jǫrð*, ‘earth’, is given in the singular. Furthermore, *miðgarðr* means ‘middle enclosure’, suggesting that it is part of the world. Its creation from brows is also of interest, since it could point to the idea that Ymir’s brows were used to fence off an area of land in which mankind was left to reside. In reading st. 44, we learn that *bilraust* is the best of bridges. *Bilraust*, which is also called *bifrǫst* in some other sources, is thought to refer to the rainbow (see commentary on st. 44 above). Rainbows start somewhere on Earth and finish somewhere on Earth too. Yet, no matter how one might try to reach the beginning or end of a rainbow, he shall ultimately and utterly fail to do so. As highly developed as the Norse understanding of the world might have been, there is no reason to believe that they had understood the way a rainbow works. Its unapproachability possibly

²⁷⁹ From the flesh of Ymir | was the earth shaped | but from blood the sea, | mountains from bones, | tree from hair | but from cranium sky.

²⁸⁰ But from his brows | the blithe gods made | middle enclosure for sons of men. | But from his brains | they, all the hardminded clouds | were shaped.

made it a matter of wonder and awe. *Bilrøst* could be a bridge that gods used, but that humans could not. Its starting point could be in the part of earth that is *miðgarðr* while its ending point could be outside said enclosure, and thus in the part of the world inhabited by gods and other mythological beings. If *bilrøst* is indeed the rainbow, why should one picture it the way that Snorri describes it, changing its shape into an actual bridge to the heavens, when it could be the actual rainbow? Otherwise, the interpretation mentioned by Brink and Lindow (see commentary to st. 44), which suggests that *bilraust* could refer to the sea, can suggest a single *loka*.²⁸¹ All these interpretations would support the hypothesis of the gods residing in this *loka*. A last support to this interpretation could be found in the list of river names in sts. 27-28. As it can be seen in the commentary to these stanzas, a number of these rivers could be related to, or actually be, real rivers in Norway (or lakes and rivers in Sweden). Even if that were not the case, two of the rivers, *Rín* and *Víná*, definitely refer to the Rhein and the Dvina, both present in this world, but said to pass by the lands of the gods and fall to Hel.

If one chose to look at other sources that could be related to *Grímnismál*, further support can be found. As has been seen above, I believe *Grímnismál* to be strongly connected to the skaldic poem *Þórsdrápa*. In its second stanza, the 74th of *Skáldskaparmál*, we read the following:

2. Geðstrangrar lét gongu
gammleið Þórr skommu
- fýstusk þeir at þrýsta
*Þorns niðjum – sik biðja,
þár er *harðvenjuðr gorrðisk
Gandvíkr Skotum ríkri
endr til Ymsa kindar

²⁸¹ Stefan Brink and John Lindow, “Place Names in Eddic Poetry,” In *A Handbook to Eddic Poetry: Myths and Legends of Early Scandinavia*, ed. Carolyne Larrington, Judy Quinn, and Brittany Schorn (Cambridge, 2016). p. 186.

Iðja setrs frá Þriðja.²⁸²

The part of interest in this stanza, is the kenning *Gandvíkr Skotum*. It literally can be translated as ‘of the Scots of Gandvíkr’. Gandvíkr literally translates as ‘the bay of the wizard’s staff’ and in this case, as a place-name, it refers to the White Sea or Kanadalaks Bay on the edge of the White Sea. The Scots of Gandvíkr are *jǫtnar*. Thus, a mythological being is explicitly said to reside close to the White Sea.

The idea of a unified world between mythological beings and humans is not a shocking one. Ancient Greeks believed that too and while making comparisons is not yet advisable, the knowledge that such a concept was not completely alien in the European pagan world is comforting. The image given by the specific reading of *Grímnismál* implies no *loka* or heavenly region. In fact, scholars such as Jens Peter Schjødt and Jonas Wellendorf, have argued that there is no evidence for a celestial location for the gods if one disregards Snorri.²⁸³ Furthermore, very recently, works by scholars such as Brink and Lindow also have agreed with my interpretation.²⁸⁴ The very fact that such scholars have seen the need to discuss this issue, shows that it is far from agreed universally. While the attempt of actually making a visual representation of this cosmological map would still make little sense to a modern viewer, there seem to be no contradictions within it and it should be kept in mind that the understanding of the world that a modern reader has is very different from the understanding of a pagan from medieval Scandinavia. Comparing this cosmological map painted by *Grímnismál* to other Norse sources we find further proof of Andrén’s statement of the shifting nature of paganism.

²⁸² Snorri Sturluson, *Skáldskaparmál*. p. 26.

Translation: Þórr swiftly let the vulture-path bid him on the going to the path severe to the frame of mind – they made themselves eager to crush Þorn’s offspring, then when *the court-accustomed one of Iði’s seat more mighty than the Scots of Gandvíkr makes himself [travels] moreover to Ymsi’s offspring from the Third One.

²⁸³ Wellendorf, “Homogeneity.” p. 51.

²⁸⁴ Brink and Lindow. p. 187.

The absence of places such as Ásgarðr or Múspellsheimr, and beings such as Loki or Týr does not necessarily mean that they would have appeared later, but could simply imply regional variation. This shows that the unified maps mentioned above are highly problematic.

2. Dating of *Grímnismál*

A number of conclusions have been drawn throughout, and they have all been seen above and can be found in the commentary to the poem. If some of those are taken together, they could help with an understanding – or narrowing, at the very least – of the time period and region in which *Grímnismál* would have been composed. The *terminus ante quem* would be the 1230s, before the death of Snorri, since he quotes part of the poem. However, it should also be kept in mind that Snorri himself deems the poems he quotes as *forn siðr*, as seen above, therefore pointing to an earlier composition. Thus, I would expect the latest composition date to be before 1200. While Snorri's interpretations may be doubtful, there is no reason for disbelieving his statement that the sources he quoted were old.

The first big question would be whether this is a Christian or a pre-Christian poem. Only a couple of stanzas could possibly suggest that it was composed by a Christian, and these are discussed in the commentary. However, some of the performative elements of the poem, discussed above, support a pre-Christian composition. Furthermore, a number of word choices, such as trees not present in Iceland or *haf*, 'sea', usually used for the Northern Sea, or generally large bodies of water, and not used while in Iceland, point to a continental composition rather than an Icelandic one. Taking into consideration the different river names and the strong likelihood that a number of them would have been present in Norway, coupled with *Kaurmt* and *Aurmt*, as well as *haf* itself, could all point to a coastal part of Norway. If the connection to *Þórsdrápa* is accepted – and it appears to be a likely one – it could be of great help. The author of *Þórsdrápa* is known: Eilífr Goðrúnarson. He lived in the tenth century and worked under Hákon Sigurðarson (c. 937 – 995) for whom he apparently composed the poem. Hákon resided in the Trøndelag region, somewhere where a good number of Óðinn-related toponyms are present too, as seen above. If *Grímnismál* was indeed composed using *Þórsdrápa* as an example, then it would have to be composed in the second half of the tenth century at the

earliest and probably before the middle of the eleventh century, when most of Norway had been Christianised. As seen above, it is unlikely that the poem was related to sacred kingship – if there ever was such a thing. At the same time it feels unlikely that this might have been a poem meant to teach up and coming poets about the cosmological knowledge that would be necessary in order to compose ‘trendy’ Old Norse poetry. It seems unlikely that *Grímnismál* would have been composed with a similar goal to the *Snorra Edda* in mind. I personally like to think of the poet of *Grímnismál* wandering around and telling the noble-man he is being hosted by this story of a bad king (Geirrøðr), and a good king, who would be the addressee of the poem, Agnarr. Agnarr would be represented by the noble-man who would be addressed in the second person (st. 2) and praised for his prowess and magnanimity. The poet, by taking the disguise of the wandering god of poets Óðinn would thus become Óðinn more effectively than anyone else. By portraying his great numinous knowledge, the poet would show-off his skills and knowledge as a poet.

These different conclusions can be more or less likely. I see little doubt that *Grímnismál*, at least in some form, would have been composed in the Norwegian coast somewhere, and I find it likely that there is some sort of relation between *Pórsdrápa* and *Grímnismál*, and if not with the poem of *Pórsdrápa* itself, at least with the myth behind it. The two poems reflect a similar understanding of cosmology and likely derive from a similar region. Similarly, little doubt can be found in the non-Christian composition of the bulk of *Grímnismál*. Arguments such as Egeler’s on Eikþyrnir and st. 26 (see commentary to st. 26 below),²⁸⁵ can still be accepted, but are not enough to dismiss the whole poem as Christian. Similarly, my picturesque image of the skald performing his *Grímnismál* in front of an earl or king, and the

²⁸⁵ Matthias Egeler, “Eikþyrnir and the Rivers of Paradise: Cosmological Perspectives on Dating *Grímnismál* 26–28.” In, *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, v. 128 (2013).

reasons behind it, is even more difficult to prove, though it is still possible. Here, Bernt Thorvaldsen's analysis of dating of Eddic poetry is of importance:

Although the concept of 'reasonable identity' is perhaps more useful than trustworthy, I tend to agree with Fidjestøl (1999: 195) when he argues that 'the question of their dating is accessible to rational deliberation'. Although the date of the first oral performance of an eddic poem is probably out of reach in most cases, the failure of our methods does not necessarily indicate that the poems are young, or that the oral delivery of eddic poetry is comparable to that of the South Slavic songs. After all, many eddic poems are explicitly presented as old in *Snorra Edda* and in the *fornaldarsögur* (sagas of ancient times), and the eddic mode is associated with heroes of the distant past (see Clunies Ross 2005: 6-13).²⁸⁶

Whatever the nature and reason behind the composition of *Grímnismál* was, and whether I am right in placing it in a region of Norway and between 950 and 1050 or not, it remains as one of the greatest masterpieces of the Old Norse language.

²⁸⁶ Bernt Ø. Thorvaldsen, "The Dating of Eddic Poetry," In *A Handbook to Eddic Poetry: Myths and Legends of Early Scandinavia*, ed. Carolyne Larrington, Judy Quinn, and Brittany Schorn (Cambridge, 2016). p. 90.

Part 3 Grímnismál

Chapter 1. Grímnismál - Codex Regius manuscript (GKS 2365 4to).

Fra sonom. hrauðungi konungs.

8 Verso

Hrauðungr konungr atti tva aftr vera. sono het annarr agnarr en annarr geirrauþr.

Agnarr var x. vetra enn geirrauðr viii. vetra. þeir rero tveir á bati með dorgar sinar at sma
fisci. Vindr rac þa i hafut I nát myrkri bruto þeir við land. oc gengo up fundo cot bónda einn.
þar váro þeir um vetrinn. Kerling fostradi agnar enn karl geirroð. At vári fecc karl þeim scip.
Enn er kerling þáu leiddo þa til strandar þa mælti karl ein mæli við geirrauð. Þeir fengo býr oc
qvomo til stauðva fauðurs sins. Geirroþr var fram í scipi hann hliop up aland enn hratt út
scipino. oc mælti. farþu þar er smýl hafi þic. Scipit rac ut. Enn geirroðr gek ut til bójar hanom
var vel fagnat. þa var faþir hans andaþr. Var þa geirrauðr til konungs tekinn. oc varð maðr
agętr.

9 Recto

Opinn oc Frigg sato i hliþscialfo oc sa um heima alla. oðinn mælti. Ser þu agnar fostra
þinn hvar hann elr born við gygi ihellinom. Enn geirroþr fostri minn er konungr oc sitr nu at
landi. Frigg segir. Hann er mat niþingr sa at hann qvelr gesti sina ef honum þiccia of margir
coma. Opinn segir at þat er in mesta lygi. Þau veðia um þetta. mál. Frigg sendi escis meý sína
fullo til geirroðar. Hon bað konung varaz at eigi fyr gerþi hanom fioliku nnigr maðr. sa er þar
var kominn iland. oc sagði þat marc á at engi húndr var sva olmr at a hann mundi hlaupa. Enn
þat var inn mesti hegomi at geirroþr vęri eigi matgoþr. oc þo lętr hann handtaca þann Mann er
eigi vildo hundar araða. Sa var ifeldi blám oc nefndiz grimnir. oc sagði ecci fleira fra ser þott
hann vęri at spurþr. Konungr let hann pína til sagna oc setia milli elda tveggia oc sat hann þar
viii. nętr. Geirroþr konungr atti son x. vetra gamlan oc het agnarr eptir broþur hans. Agnarr

gecc at grimni oc gafhanom horn fult at drecca. sagði at konungr gorði illa er hann let pína hann sac lausan. Grimnir dracc af þa var eldrinn sva kominn at feldrinn brann af grimni. hann qvad.

Grimnis mal

1. Heitr ertu hripuþr | oc heldr til micill
góngomc fir funi.
loði sviþnar | þott ec a lopt berac
brennomc feldr fyr.
2. Átta neþr | sat ec milli elda her
sva at mer mangi mat ne bauð.
nema einn agnarr **er** | er einn scal ráða
geirróþar sonr
gotna lande.
3. Heill scaltu agnarr | allz þic heilan biþr
veratyr vera.
eins drycciar | þu scalt aldregi
betri giold gera.
4. Land er heilact | er ec liggia se
asom oc alfom neþr.
enn iþruðheimi | scal þórr vera
unz um riufaz regin.
5. Ýdalir heita | þar er ullr hefir
ser um gorva sali.
alfheim freýr | gafo i ardaga
tivar at tann feþ.
6. Bør er sa inn þriði | er blið regin

9 verso

silfri þauþo sali.
valascialf heitir | er vęlti ser
ás iardaga.

7. Saucqva beccr heitir enn **fiorði**. | enn þar svalar knego
unnir ýfir glýmia.
þar þau oðinn oc sága | drecca um alla daga
glauð or gullnom kerom.

8. Glaðs heimr heitir enn **fimmti**. | þars enn gull biarta
vaulhlauull við of þrumir.
enn þar hropt kýs | hverian dag
vapn dauþa vera.

9. Miðc er auþkent | þeim er oðins koma
sal kynni *at sia*
vargr hangir | fyr vestan dyrr
oc drupir aurn yfir.

10. Miðc er auþkent | þeim er til opins koma
sal kynni at sia.
scauptom er rann rept | scioldom er salr þakiþr
bryniom um becki strát.

11. Þrym heimr heitir enn **sétti**. | er þiazi bío
sa inn amatki iotunn.
enn nu scaði byggvir | scír bruðe goða
fornar toptir fauður.

12. Breiðablik ero in siundo | enn þar baldr hefir
ser um gorva sali.
aþvi landi er | ec liggia veit
fosta feícn stafi.

13. Himinbiorg ero en atto | enn þar heimdall

qveþa valda veom.

þar vorþr goða | dreccr ivęro ranni

glapr goða miþ.

14. Fiolcvangr er inn niundi | enn þar freyia reþr
sesa costum isal.

halfan val | hon kýs hverian dag

enn halfan oðinn á.

15. Glitnir er inn **tíundi**. | hann er guli studdr
oc silfri þackþr iþ sama.

enn þar forseti | byggir flestan dag

oc svęfer allar sakir.

16. Noa tun ero en **elliptu**. | enn þar niorþr hefir
ser um gorva sali.

manna þengill | enn meins vani

hatimbroþom haurg.

17. Hrísi vex | oc há grasi

vinþars land. viði

en þar maugr af lezc | af mars baki

fręcn oc hefna fauður.

18. Andhrimnir | leþr ield hrimne

sę hrimni soðinn.

flesca bezt | enn þat fáir víto

hvat ein heriar alaz.

19. Gera oc freca | seðr gunntamiþr

hroþigr heria fauður.

enn viþ vín eitt | vapn gaufugr

oðinn ę lifir.

20. Huginn oc munninn | fliuga hverian dag

iormun grund yfir.
oumc ec of of hugin | at hann aptr ne comiþ
þo síámec meirr um muninn.

21. Þytr þund | unír þjóþ vitnis
fiscr floði í.
ár straumr | of micill
val glaumi at vaþa.

22. Val grind heitir | er stende velli á
heilög fyr helgomdurom.
forn er su grind | enn þat fáir vito
hve hon er ilás lokin.

23. Fimmhundraþ golfa | oc um fiorom togom
sva hygg ec bilscirni meþ bugomø:
ranna þeira | er ec rept vita
míns veit ec mest magar.

10 Recto

24. Fimmhundraþ dúra | oc um fiorom togom
sva hygg ec at valhauillo vera.
átta hundraþ éinheria | ganga or einom durom
þa er þeir fara at vitni at vega.

25. Heiþrún heitir geit | er stendr haulló a heriafauðrs.
oc bitr af leraþs limom
scap ker fýlla | hon scal ins scíra miaðar
kna at su veig vanaz.

26. Eikþyrnir heitir hiortr | er stendr ahaullo heriafauþrs.
oc bitr af leraþs limom
enn af hans hornom | drýpr ihvergelmi
þaðan eiga²⁸⁷ votn aull vega.

²⁸⁷ finnur has o

27. Síþ oc víþ | sękin oc eikin
svaul oc gunnþró
fiorm oc fimbulþul. | rín oc rennandi
gipul oc gaupul.
gaumul oc geirvimul. | þęr hverfa um hodd goða.
þýn oc vin
þaull oc haull. | graþ oc gunnþorin.

28. Vín á heitir enn | aunnor vegsvinn
þriðia þiodnuma.
nýt. oc naut. | naunn. oc hraunn.
slip oc hríp.
sylgr oc ylgr. | víþ oc ván
vaund oc straund.
giaull ocleiptr | þęr falla gumnom nęr
er falla til heliar hepan.

29. Kaurmt oc aurmt | oc kerlaugar tver
þęr scal þorr vaða
hverian dag | er hann dęma ferr
at asciyiggdrasils.
þvi at as bru | brenn aull logo
heilog votn hlóa.

30. Glaþr oc gyllir | gler oc sceiðbrimir
silfrintoptr oc sinir
gísl oc fálhofnir | gulltopr oc letfeti
þeim ríða ęsir íóm
dag hvern | er þeir dęma fara
at asci yggdrasils.

31. Þriár rętr | standa aþria vega
undan asci yggdrasils:
hel býr undir einni | annarri hrimþursar

þriðio mennzkir menn.

32. Ratatoscr heitir ikorni | er renna scal

at asci yggdrasis.

arnar orð | hann scal ofan bera

oc segia níþhauggvi niþr.

33. Hirtir ero oc fiorir | þeirs af hefingar á.

agaghalsir gnaga.

dainn oc dvalinn. | dúneyr oc duraþror.

34. Ormar fleiri | liggia undir asci yggdrasils

enn þat uf hyggi hverr. osvibra apa.

Goynn oc moynn | þeir ero grafvitnis synir

grabacr oc grafvaulluþr

ofnir oc svafnir | hygg ec at ę scyli

meiþs qvisto má.

35. Ascr yggdrasils | drygir erfiði

meira enn menn víti

hiórtr bítr ofan | enn ahliþo fúnar

scerþer níðhauggr neþan.

36. Hrist oc mist | vil ec at mer horn beri

sceggiauld oc scaugul.

hildi oc þruði | hlaucc oc herfiotur.

gaul oc geiraulul.

randgriþ. oc raþgriþ | reginleif

þer bera einheriom ául.

37. Arvacr oc alsvíþr | þeir scolo upp heðan

svangir sol draga.

enn und þeira bógom | fálo blíþ regin

ęsir isarn kol.

38. Svaul heitir | hann stendr solo fyr
scioldr scinanda góði.
biorg oc brim | ec veit at brenna scola
ef hann fellr ifrá.
39. Scaull heitir ulfr | er fylgir eno scírleita goði
til varna viðar.
enn annarr hati | hann er hroþ vitnis sonr
sa scal fyr heiða bruði himins.
40. Ór ymis holdi | var iorþ um scaupuð
enn or sveita sær
biorg or beinom | baðmr or hári
en or hausí himin
41. enn or hans brám | gerðo blið regin
miðgarð manna sonom.
enn or hans heila | voro þau in harðmoðgo
scy aull um scaupuþ.
42. Ullar hylli hefr | oc allra goða
hverr er tecr fyrstr afuna.
þviat opnir heimar | verþa um ása sonom
þa er hefia af hvera.
43. Ivalda sýnir | gengo iardaga
sciþblaðni at scapa.
scipa bezt | scirom frey
nytom niarðar bur.
44. Ascr yggdrasils | hann er qztr viþa
en sciþbladnir scipa
oðinn asa | enn ioa sleipnir
bilraust brúa
en bragi scalda | habroc hauca

en hunda garmr.

45. Svipom hefi ec nu ýpt | fyr sigtíva sonom

við þat scal vilbiorg vaca.

aullom ásom | þat scal inn coma

ęgis becci á

ęgis drecco at.

46. Hetomc grimr | hetomc gangleri

herian oc hialmberi.

þeccr. oc þriði. | þundr. oc uþr.

helblindi. oc hár.

47. Saþr oc svipall | oc sanngetall

herteitr. oc hnicarr

bileýgr baleygr | baulvercr fiolnir.

Grimr oc grimnir

glapsviþr oc fiaullviþr

48. Ssipháuttr siþsceggr. | sigfauðr. hnikuþr

alfauþr valfauþr

atriðr oc farma tyr. | eino nafni

hetomc aldregi

siz ec meþ folcom fór.

49. Grimne mic héto | at geirraðar

enn ialc at ósmundar

enn þa kialar | er ec kialca dró.

þrói þingom at.

Osci oc ómi. | iafnhár oc biflindi

gaundlir oc harbarðr meþ goðom.

50. Svipurr oc sviþrir | er ec het at saucc mimis

oc dulþa ec þann inn aldna iótun.

er þa ec miþviþnis varc | ins mōra burar

orðinn einn bani.

51. Aúlr ertu geirroþr | hefr þu of druccit
miclo ertu hnugginn
er þu ert mino gengi | ollom ein heriom
oc oþins hylli.

52. fiolþ ec þer sagða | enn þu fat um mánt
of þic vela vinir
meþki liggia | ec se mins vinar
allan idreyra drifinn.

53. Eðgmoþan val | nu mun yggr hafa
þitt veit ec líf um líþit
varar ro dísir | nu knattu oðin síá
nalgazstu mic ef þu megir

11 Recto

54. Oþinn ec nu heiti | yggr ec áþan het
hetumc þundr fyrir þat:
vacr oc scilfingr | váfuþr. oc hroptatyr.
gautr oc ialcr meþ goðom.
Ofnir oc svafnir | er ec hygg at orðnir se
allir af einom mer.

Geirroþr konungr. sat oc hafði sverþ um kne ser oc brugðit til miþs. Enn er hann heyrþi at oðinn var þar kominn stoþ hann up oc vildi taca o. fra eldinom. Sverþit slapp or hendi hanom visso hioltin niþr. konungr drap foti oc steýptiz afram enn sverþit stod igo^gnom hann. oc fecc hann bana. Oþinn hvarf þa. Enn agnarr var þar konungr lengi síþan.

Chapter 2. Grímnismál – AM 748 I 4to Fragment

Fra hrauðungi konungi

3 Verso

Hrauðungr konungr atti .ii. sonu. hæt annarr agnarr æn s.annarr gæirþóðr. agnarr var .x. vœtra ænn gæirþóðr .viii. vœtra Þæir ræru .ii. a bati mæð dorgir sinar at smáfiski. Vindr rak þa ihaf ut. þæir brutu ináttmýrkri við land oc gængu upp fundu kot bonda æinn. þar voru þæir um vœtrinn. kærting fosraði agnar æn karl fostraði gæirþóð. oc kændi honum rað. at vár fækc karl þæim skip. ænn ær þau kærting læiddu þa til skips þa mælti karl æinmæli við gæirþóð. Þæir fængu býr oc komu til stauðva fòður sins. Gæirþóðr var fram i skipi. hann hliop upp a land ænn hratt útt skipinu oc mælti far þu nu þar ær smýl hafi þik. Skipat rak ihaf ut ænn gæirþóðr gækc upp til béia honum var þar væl fagnat æn faðir hans var þa andaði. Gæirþóðr var þa til konungs tækinn oc varð maðr agætr.

4 Recto

Oðinn oc frigg satu ihlipskialf oc sa um alla hæima. Oðinn mælti Ser þu agnar fostra þinn hvar hann ælr bõrn við gýgi ihællinum. ænn ær konungr fostri minn oc sitr at lõndum. Frigg sagði hann ær matniðingr sa at hann kvælr gæsti .segir æf honom þikcia of margir koma. Oðinn sagði at þat ær hin mæsta lýgi. þau væðia um þætta mal Frigg sændi æski mæy sina til Gæirþóðar. hon bað konung varaz at æigi firi gærðin honum fiolkunnigr maðr sa ær var kominn iland oc sagði þat mark a at ængi hundr var sva ómlr at a hann mundi hlaupa. ænn var hinn mæsti hægomi at gæirþóðr konungr væri æigi matgoðr. ænn þo lætr konungr handtaka þann mann ær æigi villdu hundar a hlaupa sa var i felldi blám oc næfndiz grimnir oc sagði ækci flæira fra sær þott hann væri at spurðr. konungr lætr pina hann til sagna oc sætia milli ællða oc sat þar .viii. nætr. Gæirþóðr konungr átti þa son .x. vœtra gamlan oc hæt agnarr æptir broður hans. Agnarr gækc at grimni oc gaf honum horn fullt at drækca oc sagði at faðir hans gærði ær

hann pinndi þænna mann saklausan. Grímnir drakc af þa var ælldrinn sva kominn at fælldrinn
brann af grimni. hann. qvað.

grímnis mál

1. Hæitr ertu hripuðr | oc hælldr til mikill
gøngumz firr funi
loði sviðnar | þott æk a lopt væra
brænumz fælldr firi.
2. átta nætr | sat æk millum ællda hær
sva at mær mangi mat næ bauð
næma æinn agnarr | ær æinn scal raða
Gæirrøðar son
gotna landi.
3. hæill scaltu agnarr | allz þik hæilan biðr
væra týr væra
æins drykciar | þu scallt alldrægi
bætri giælld gæta.
4. land ær hæilagt | ær æc liggia sæ
asum oc alfum nær
æn iþrúðnhæimi | scal þorr væra
unz of riufaz rægin.
5. Ýdalir hæita | þar ær ullr hæfir
sær um gærva sali
alfhæim fræy | gafu iardaga
tifar at tannfæ.
6. Bær sa hin þriði | ær blip rægin
silfri þøktu sali
vala skálf hætir | ær vællti sær
ass iardaga.

7. Sǫkva bækcr hæitir hinn fiord | ænn þar svalar knægu
unnir yfir glýmia
þar þau oðinn oc saga | drækca um alla daga
glöð ór gullnum kærum.
8. Glaðs hæimr ær hinn fimti | þars hin gull biarta
vål holl við þrumir
ænn þar hroptr | kýss hværian dag
vapndauða væra.
9. Miðk ær auðkent | þæim ær oðins koma
salkýnni at sia
skoptum ær rann ræpt | skiaulldum ær salr þakiðr
brýnium um bækci stráð.
10. Miðc ær auðkent. | þeim ær til koma
sia at sia
vargr hangir | firi væstan dýrr
oc drupir qrn yfir.
11. Þrýmhæimr hæitir hinn sætti | ær þiazi bio
sa hinn amattki iqtun
ænn nu skaði býggir | skir bruðr goða
forna toptir fauður.
12. Bræipa blío æru hin síáunndu | ænn þar balldr hæfir
sær um gorva sali
a þvi landi | ær æk liggia váeit
fæsta fæiknstafi.
13. himinbiörg æru hin áttu | æn þar hæimdall
kvæða vallda væum
þar vqrðr goða | drækc iværu ranni
glæðr hin goða miðð.
14. Folcvangr er hinn **níundi**. | ænn þar freyía ræðr

sæssa kostum isal
halfan val | hon kýss hværian dag
ænn halfan oðinn á.

15. Glitnir. heitir enn **tíundi** | hann ær gulli studdr
oc silfri þaktr hit sama
ænn þar forsæti | býggir flæstan dag
oc svæfir allar sakir.

16. Noa tun ær. hinn **elliptu** | ænn þar niqrdör hæfir
sær um gorva sali
mana þængill | hinn mæins vani
hatimbruðum hqrgi ræðr.

17. hrisi væx | oc ha grasi
viðars land viði
ænn þar mqr of læz | afmarsbaki
frækn oc hæfna fqður.

18. andhrimnir | lætr iælld hrimni
sæ hrimni soðinn
flæska bæzt | æn þat fáir vitu
hvat æinhæria alaz.

19. Gæra oc fræka | sæðr gunntamiðr
hroðigr hæria fqðr
ænn við vin æitt | vapngofugr
oðinn æ lifir.

20. Huginn oc muninn | fliuga hværian dag
iqrmun grund ýfir
oumz æc um hugim | at hann aptr næ komi
þo siamz ec mæirr um muninn.

21. þýtr þundr | unir þioðvitis

fiskr flóði i
ár straumr | þikcir of mikill
valglaumni at vaða.

22. Valgrind hæitir | ær stændr vælli a
hæilög firi hægum dýrum
forn ær su grind | ænn þat fair vitu
hvæ hon ær ilas um lokin.

23. fimhundrut dýra | oc **fiorum tigung**
sva kvæt æk a val holl væra
atta hundrut æinhæria | ganga sænn or æinum dýrum
þa ær þæir fara við vitni at væga.

24. Fimm hundrut golfa | oc um fiorum tigung
sva hýgg æk a valholl væra bilskirni með bugum
ranna þæira | ær æk ræðt vita
mins væit ec mæst magar.

25. hæiðrun hæitir gæit | ær stændr hollu a hæriafoður
oc bitr af læraðs limum
skapkær fýlla | hon scal hins skira miaðar
kann su væig vanaz.

26. eikþýrnir hæitir hiqrtr | ær stændr hollu a hæriafoður
oc bitr af læraðs limum
ænn af hans hornum | drypr i hværgæلمي
þapan æiga vøtn oll væga.

27. Síð oc við | sækin oc ækin
svöl gunnþro
fiorm oc fimbulþul | rin oc rennandi
gipul oc gopul
gømul oc gæirvimul. | þær hværfa um hoddgoða
þýn oc vin

5 Recto

þoll oc holl | gráð oc gunnþorin.

28. Vina hætir ænn | önnur væg svin
þriðia þioðnuma
nýt oc nýt | nõnn oc hrõnn
slið oc hrið
sýlgr oc ýlgr | við oc vað
võnd oc strõnd
gioll oc læiptr | þær falla gumnum nær
ænn falla til hæljar hæþan.

29. kormt oc qrmr | oc kærláugar **tvær**
þær scal þorr vaða
dag hværn | ær hann dæma fær
at aski ýggdrasils
þviat asbru | brænn oll loga
hæilõg võtn hloa.

30. Gláðr oc gýllir | glær oc skæið brimir
silfrin toppr oc sinir
gisl oc falæpnir | gulltoppr oc lættfæti.
þæim riða æsir ioum
dag hværn | ær dæma
at aski ýggdrasils.

31. þriar rætr | standa a þria væga
und aski ýggdrasils
hæl býr und æinni | annarri hrimþursar
þriðiu mænzkir mænn.

32. Raratoskr hætir ikorni | ær rænna scal
ataski ýggdrasils
arnar orð | hann scal ofan bæra
oc sægia niðhõggvi niðr

33. hirtir æru oc fjórir | þæirs afhæfingar á
gaghalsir ganga
dainn oc dvalinn | dýnæýrr oc dýraþrór.
34. Ormar flæiri | liggia und aski ýggdrasils
ænn of hýggi hværr osvinnra apa
goinn oc moinn | þæirro graf vitnis sýnir
grabakr oc grafvølluðr
opnir oc svafnir | hýgg æk at æ skýli
mæiðar kuistu má.
35. askr ýggdrasils | drýgir ærfiði
mæira ænn menn ofviti
hiqrtr bitr ofan | ænn a hliðu funar
skærðir niðhoggr næþan.
36. hrist oc mist | vil æc at mæc horn bæri
skægg ølld oc skøgul
hilldr oc þruðr | hløkc oc hærfiøtur
gøll oc gæirromul
randgrið oc raðgrið | oc ræginlæif
þær bæra æinhærium øll.
37. arvakr oc alsviðr | þæir scolo upp hæþan
svangir sol draga
æn und þæira bogum | falu blið rægin
æsir isarn kol.
38. Svalin hæitir | hann stæindr solu firi
skiølldr skinanda guði
biørg oc brim | æk væit at brænn scolo
æf hann fællr ifra.
39. Skøll hæitir | ulfr æc fylgir hinu skírlæiða goði
til vaurna viðar

ænn annarr hati | hroðnitnis sun
sa scal firi hæiða bruði himins

40. Or ýmis hólldi | var iqrð um sköpuð
ænn or svæita siór
biqrg or bæinum | baðrmr or hári
ænn or hausu himinn

41. ænn or hans brám | gærðu blið rægin
miðgarð manna sonum
ænn or hans heila | voru þau hin harðmoðgu
ský ǫll of sköpuð.

42. Ullar hýlli hæfir | oc allra goða
hværr ær tekr fyrstr afuna
þviat opnir hæimar | værða of asa sonum
þa ær þær hæfia af hværa.

43. Ivallda sýnir | gængu iardaga
skiðblaðni at skapa
skipa bæzt | skirum fræý
nýtum niarðar bur.

44. Ascr ýggdrasils | hann ær æztr við
ænn skipblapnir skipa
oðinn asa | ænn ioa slæipnir,
bilraust brua
æn bragi skallda | habrok hauka
ænn hunda garmr
ænn brimir sværða.

45. Svipum hæfi æk ýpt | firi sigtifa sonum
við þat scal vilbiqrg vaka
ǫllum asum | þat scal inn koma
ęgis bækci á

5 Verso

ægis drýkciu at.

46. hætumz grimr | oc ganglæri

hærian oc hialmbæri

þækcr oc þriði | þuðr oc uðr

hærblindr oc hár

47. saðr oc svipall | oc sanngetall

hærtæitr oc hnikarr

bilæýgr balæýgr | bqlværkr fiqlnir

grimr oc grimnir

glapsviðr oc fiqlsviðr.

48. Siðhauttr siðskæggr | sigfæðr hnikuðr

alfqðr

át riðr oc farmatýr. | æinu nafni

hætumz siz æc fólkum fór.

49. Grimni mik hætu | at gæirrøðar

ænn íálk at asmundar

ænn þa íálk | ær æc kíalka dró

þror þingum at

viður at vigum | oski oc omi

iafnhar oc biflindi

gqndlir oc harbarðr með goðum.

50. Sviðurr oc sviðrir | ær ec hæt at sqkcmimis

oc dulða æk þann hinn alldna iqtun

þa ær æc miðvitnis var | hins mæra burar

orðinn æinbani.

51. Qlr ærtu gæirrøðr | hæfir þu ofdrukcit

miklu ærtu hnugginn

ær þu ært minu gæði | qlum æinhærium

oc oðins hýlli.

52. Fiöld æc þær sagðac | ænn þu fatt um mant
ofþik væla vinir
mæki liggia ec | sæ mins vinar
allan iðræýra drifinn.

53. æggmoðan val | nu man ýggr hafā
þitt væit æc lif ofliðit
vvarro disi | nu knattu oðin sia
nalgaztu mik æf þu mægir.

54. Oðinn æc nu hæiti | ýggr æc aðan hæ
hætumz þundr firi þat
vakr oc skilfingr | váfuðr oc hroptatýr
gautr oc iálkr mæð goðum.
Ofnir oc svafnir | æc hýgg at orðnir sæ
allir at æinum mær;

Gæirrøðr konungr sat oc hafði sværð um knæ sær brugðit til miðs æn ær hann hæýrði at oðinn var þar kominn þa stoð hann upp oc vill taka oðinn fra ælldinum. Sværðit slapp or hændi honom oc vissu hiølltin niðr konungr drap fæti oc stæýttiz a fram ænn sværð stoð igægnum hann oc fækc þar af bana. enn agnarr varð konungr.

Chapter 3. Uppsala Edda quotes of *Grímnismál*

*Gylfaginning*²⁸⁸

1. (40) [10] Ór Ymis holdi | var jörð um sköpuð,
en ór sveita sjór
b. ór b. | b. ór h.
en ór h. h.
2. (41) [11] En ór hans brám | gerðu blíð regin
Miðgarð manna sonum,
ok ór hans heila | vóru þau in harðmóðgu
ský ǫll um sköpuð.
3. (29) [21] Kormt ok Qrmt | ok Kerlagar tvær,
þær skal Þórr vaða
hvern dag | er hann dóma ferr
at aski Ygdrasils,
því at Ásbrú | brennr ǫll loga,
en heilǫg vǫtn flóa.
4. (35) [23] Askr Ygdrasils | drýgir erfiði
meira en menn um viti:
Hjǫrtr bítr neðan²⁸⁹ | en á hliðu fúnar,
skerðir Níðhǫgr neðan.
5. (34) [24] Ormar fleiri | liggja undir aski Ygdrasils
en þat um hyggi hverr ósvinnra apa.
Góni ok Móni | þeir eru Gravitnis liðar.
Grábakr ok Grafvǫlduðr.
Ófnir ok Sváfnir | hyggek | at æ muni
meiðs kostum má.
6. (46) [28] Hétumsk Grímr | ok Gangleri,
Herjan, Hjálmbéri,

²⁸⁸ Snorri Sturluson, *The Uppsala Edda*. pp. 20, 28, 30, 32, 36, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46, 54, 56, 58, 60.

²⁸⁹ Other Manuscripts have *ofan*. Ibid. p. 30.

Þekkr, Þriði, | Þuðruðr,
Helblindi, Hár

7. (47) [29] Saðr, Svipall, | Sanngetal,
Herteitr, Hnikarr,
Bileygr, Báleygr, | Bølverkr, Fjølñir,
Grímnir, Glapsviðr, Fjølsviðr
8. (48) [30] Síðhotttr, Síðskeggr, | Sigföðr, Atríðr,
Hnikuðr, Alföðr, Farmatýr,
Óski, Ómi | Jafnhár, Biblindi,
Geldnir, Hárbarðr,
Sviðurr, Sviðrir, | Jálkr, Kjalarr, Viðurr,
Þór, Gautr,
Jálkr, Veratýr.
9. (23/24) [31] Fimm hundruð gólfa | ok fjóratugu
svá hygg ek Bilskirni með bogum.
Ranna þeira | er ek ræfr vita
míns veit ek mest magar.
10. (12) [32] Breiðablik heitir | þar er Baldr hefir
sér um gerva sali
á því landi | er ek liggja veit
fæsta fæingstafi.
11. (11) [35] Þrúðheimr heitir | þar nú Þjazi býr
sá enn mátki jötunn.
En nú Skaði bygg<i>r, | skír brúðr guma,
forna toptir fōður.
12. (14) [36] Fólkvangr heitir | en þar Freyja ræðr
kosta beztum sal.
Hálfan val | hon kýss hvern dag,
en hálfan Óðinn á.
13. (13) [37] Himinbjörg heitir, | en þar Heimdallr býr,
kveða valda véum,

vörðum guða. | Drekkur í væru ranni
glaðr en<n> góða mjöð.

14. (15) [38] Glitnir heitir salr, | hans er g(ulli) s(tuddr)
ok silfri s(ama).

En þar Forseti | byggvir f(lestan) d(ag)
ok svefr allar sakar.

15. (36) [42] Hrist ok Mist | vil ek at mér horn beri.
Skegöld ok Skogul

Hildir ok Þrúðr | Hlökk ok Herfjotra
Gjöll ok Geirahöð
ok Randgríðr ok Ráðgríðr | ok Reginleif,
þær bera inherjum ǫl.

16. (18) [43] Andrímnr lætr | í Eldrímni
Særímni soðinn,

fleska bezt | en þat fáir vitu
við hvat einherjar alast.

17. (19) [44] Gera ok Freka | seðr gunntanigr
hróðigr herjafedr.

En við vín eitt | vápngaffiðr
Óðinn æ lifir.

18. (20) [45] Huginn ok Muninn | fljúga hvern dag
jormungrund yfir.

<Ó>unz ek Hugin | at hann aptr kemr,
þó sjámz ek meir um Muninn.

19. (24/23) [46] Fimm hundruð dyra | ok fjóra tugu
svá hygg ek á Valhöllu vera.

Átta hundruð einherja | ganga ór einum dyrum
þá er þeir ganga við vitni at vega.

20. (44) [47] Askr Ygdrasils | er óztr viðá
en Skíðblaðnr skipa,

Óðinn ása | en jóa Sleipnr,

Bifröst brúa
en Bragi skálda, | Hábrók hauka
en hunda Garmr.

Part 4 Grímnismál – Commentary

Title

Whereas *Codex Regius* reads *Frá sonom Hrauðungs konungs*, ‘About the sons of king Hrauðungr’, the AM748 I 4to fragment writes *Frá Hrauðunki konungi*, ‘About king Hrauðungr’. This second title is quite strange since nothing is told about king Hrauðungr in the prose or poem other than that he was a king that fathered Geirrøðr and Agnarr.

According to Sijmons and Gering (hereafter abbreviated to S&G), Hrauðungr is a mythical tribe name,²⁹⁰ mentioned for example in *Hyndluljóð* 26:

26. Sá var vísir
frá Völsungi
ok Hjörðís
frá Hrauðungi
en Eylimi
frá Qðlingum.
Allt er þat ætt þín,
Óttar heimski.²⁹¹

The name should come from **Hrauðr*, which, however, does not appear anywhere other than as a feminine noun *hrauðr* meaning ‘breastplate’. It is also cognate with *hrjóða* ‘make empty’, ‘make room’ (especially by slaughtering one’s enemies).²⁹² Having the title of the prose introduction be *Frá Hrauðunki konungi* in AM748 I 4to, would point out to the importance that such a name might have borne at the time of composition. If, for example, the Hrauðungs as a

²⁹⁰ Sijmons and Gering. p. 184.

²⁹¹ *Hyndluljóð*, 1. p. 464.

Translation: He, the leader, was | from the Völsungs | and Hjörðís | from the Hrauðungs | but Eylimi | from the Qðlings. | All those are your kin, | Óttar, you fool.

²⁹² Sijmons and Gering. p. 184.

dynasty were connected to the king Hrauðungr mentioned in the poem, this would connect Geirrøðr and Agnarr with Sigurðr. Another explanation could be that whoever composed the prose introduction mistook the name Hrauðungr for a given name and ‘made him’ into a king, when originally it was supposed to show a lineage connection of Geirrøðr and Agnarr to the tribe of the Hrauðungs.

Prose Introduction

Hrauðungr konungr atti tva aftr vera. sono het annarr agnarr en annarr geirrauþr. Agnarr var x. vetra enn geirrauðr viii. vetra. þeir reþro tveir á bati með dorgar sinar at sma fisci. Vindr rac þa i hafut I nát myrkri bruto þeir við land. oc gengo up fundo cot bónda einn. þar váro þeir um vetrinn. Kerling fostradi agnar enn karl geirroð. At vári fecc karl þeim scip. Enn er kerling þáu leiddo þa til strandar þa mælti karl ein mæli við geirrauð. Þeir fengo býr oc qvomo til stauðva fauðurs sins. Geirroþr var fram í scipi hann hliop up aland enn hratt út scipino. oc mælti. farþu þar er smýl hafi þic. Scipit rac ut. Enn geirroðr gek ut til bóiar hanom var vel fagnat. þa var faþir hans andaþr. Var þa geirrauðr til konungs tekinn. oc varð maðr agetr.

King Hrauðungr had two sons; one was called Agnarr and the other Geirrauþr. Agnarr was ten winters [old] and Geirrauþr eight. They, the two of them, rowed a boat with their fishing tackles to fish small fish. A wind drove them into the ocean outwards. In the darkness of night they were wrecked against land and went up, [they] found one cottager. There they were for the winter. The old woman fostered Agnarr but the old man Geirrauþr [*and taught him advices*]. In the spring the old man got for them a ship. But when they, the two of them including the old woman, led them to the beach, then spoke the old man private speech with Geirrauþr. They got favourable wind and came to the landing places of their father. Geirrauþr was forwards in the ship. He leapt up onto land but shoved out the ship and said: ‘Go there where the she-troll will take you’. It drove the ship out [*to ocean*], but Geirrauþr went out to the farm[s]. He was there well welcomed. Then his father was dead. Then Geirrauþr was taken as king and became a noteworthy man.

Agnarr is not a common name. It would be **Agan-hari* in OHG but is not attested in any source. However, the name appears in a few mythical sources, before it stopped being

used.²⁹³ For instance, an Agnarr is mentioned in *Sigrdrífumál* when Sigrdrífa tells how she gave victory to an Agnarr, against Óðinn's wishes:

En annar hét Agnarr,
Auðu bróðir,
er vætr engi
vildi þiggja.²⁹⁴

There is no way of telling whether this Agnarr would be related to either Geirrøðr's brother or son, but judging from Óðinn's favouring his enemy, if there is any relation, it is more likely that this Agnarr would be Geirrøðr's brother. That being said, Óðinn is well known for abandoning his chosen warriors or rulers so it is not out of the question that the Agnarr mentioned by Sigrdrífa could be Geirrøðr's son.

Geirraupr comes from **Geir-frøþr*, and according to S&G is found in OHG as *Gêr-frid* (Gothic **Gaisa-friþus*).²⁹⁵ There are only two known historical bearers of this name: a slave of Hjörleifr in the fifth chapter of *Landnámabók*,²⁹⁶ and the settler Geirrøðr mentioned both in *Landnámabók* and *Eyrbyggja saga*.²⁹⁷ When looking at mythical characters named Geirrøðr, the giant that fought Þórr in *Þórsdrápa* comes to mind, and the possible relationship between the two has been discussed in Part 2 Chapter 3.3. According to Jonas Wellendorf,

²⁹³ Ibid. p. 184.

²⁹⁴ *Sigrdrífumál*, 2. p. 314.

Translation: But the other was called Agnarr, | brother of Auða, | which naught | wished to receive.

²⁹⁵ Sijmons and Gering. p. 185.

²⁹⁶ Vésteinn Ólason, "The Composition." chapter 5.

"Hjörleifr herjaði víða um Írland ok fekk þar mikit fé. Þar tók hann þræla tíu, er svo hétu: Dufþakr ok Geirrøðr, Skjaldbjörn, Halldórr ok Drafdritr."

Translation: Hjörleifr made war in Ireland and fetched there great wealth. There he took ten thralls, which are so called: Dufþakr and Geirrøðr, Skjaldbjörn, Halldórr and Drafdritr.

²⁹⁷ "Geirrøður hét maður, er fór til Íslands, og með honum Finngeir son Þorsteins öndurs og Úlfarr kappi: þeir fóru af Hálogalandi til Íslands. Geirrøður nam land inn frá Þórsá til Langadalsár; hann bjó á Eyri." Source: Branston. c. 34.

Translation: A man was called Geirrøðr, who traveled to Iceland, and with him Finngeir, son of Þorsteinn öndur, and Úlfarr kappi: they traveled from Hálogaland to Iceland. Geirrøðr settled the land from Þórsá to Langadalr.

"Geirrøðr hét maður, er nam land inn frá Þórsá til Langadals ok bjó á Eyri; með honum kom út Úlfarr kappi, er hann gaf land umhverfis Úlfarsfell, ok Finngeirr, sonr Þorsteins öndurs; [...]" Source: *Eyrbyggja Saga*, ed. Einar Sveinsson and Matthías Þórðarson, v. 4 (Reykjavík, 1985). c. 7. p. 11.

Translation: A man was called Geirrøðr, who settled the land from Þórsá to Langadalr and lived in Eyri; with him came Úlfarr kappi, who he [Geirrøðr] gave land around Úlfarsfell, and Finngeirr, son of Þorsteinn öndurr; [...]

Geirrøðr has common elements with Heiðrekr from *Hervarar saga*. Both kings are described favourably and yet are ‘estranged protégées of Óðinn’. Similarly, both end up dying after meeting a disguised Óðinn.²⁹⁸

dorgar is a very rare word. It is translated as ‘fishing tackles’. Cleasby et al. write that *dorga* means ‘to fish with a *dorg*, only used when fishing through holes in the ice, while La Farge translates it as ‘fishing lines’.²⁹⁹ De Vries translates it like La Farge, and connects it to the dialects of Orkney and Shetland, where *dorro* and *darro* respectively mean ‘fishing line’ as well.³⁰⁰ Also metaphorically used in Iceland to mean ‘to go angling for a thing’ or ‘go dangle after it’.³⁰¹ According to Ásgeir Magnússon, *dorg* is cognate with Sanskrit *draga* (*dorg* < **durgō* (Hvarfstig)).³⁰²

sma fisci is an ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, which would directly translate as ‘small fish’. This would show that they did not go fishing with nets, which would have been called *stór fisci* ‘large fish’.³⁰³

haf is very important for understanding the region in which the Introduction of *Grímnismál* was composed. In fact, *haf*, whereas thought of as ‘sea’, is usually more specifically used for ‘ocean’. This would put the composition of the Introduction somewhere along the Norwegian coastline, Northern Scotland, or Iceland.

ok kenndi honum ráð is only found in the AM748 I 4to fragment. Its absence from the *Codex Regius* does not change the meaning of the Prose Introduction a lot. However, it does give a stronger underlining of the Old man’s fostering of Geirrøðr.

²⁹⁸ Wellendorf, “The Wisdom.” p. 8.

²⁹⁹ Beatrice La Farge and John Tucker, *Glossary to the Poetic Edda* (Heidelberg, 1992). p. 37.

³⁰⁰ De Vries, *Altnordisches*. p. 79.

³⁰¹ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 101.

³⁰² Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon. p. 121.

³⁰³ Sijmons and Gering. p. 185.

hliop could be translated both as ‘leapt’ and ‘ran’.

smyl is translated here as ‘she-troll’. It is a very rare word that is present only in these two versions of the Prose Introduction of *Grímnismál*, making it an *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*. Cleasby et al. translate it as ‘the evil one’.³⁰⁴ According to S&G, there is no doubt that *smyl* is a synonym for *troll*, *gramr*, and they give similar examples from other sources, where another word for ‘she-troll’ has been used in a similar way, to make a good case for such a meaning.³⁰⁵ Reading the sentence on its own, one can surmise that *smyl* is some sort of female evil creature.

í haf is only present in AM748 I 4to. Its presence does not change the meaning of the Prose Introduction.

Geirraupr gecc út. In AM748 I 4to instead of *út* has *upp* ‘up’. *Upp* would make more sense in this context since Geirrøðr is running from the sea towards the farms, whereas *ganga út* is usually said when one goes towards the sea.

bøiar is found in its singular in AM748 I 4to (béia).

Oþinn oc Frigg sato i hliþscialfo oc sa um heima alla. oðinn mælti. Ser þu agnar fostra þinn hvar hann elr born við gygi ihellinom. Enn geirroþr fostri minn er konungr oc sitr nu at landi. Frigg segir. Hann er mat niþingr sa at hann qvelr gesti sina ef honum þiccia of margir coma. Oþinn segir at þat er in mesta lygi. Þau veðia um þetta. mál. Frigg sendi escis meý sína fullu til geirroðar. Hon bað konung varaz at eigi fyr gerþi hanom fioliku nnigr maðr. sa er þar var kominn iland. oc sagði þat marc á at engi húndr var sva olmr at a hann mundi hlaupa. Enn þat var inn mesti hegomi at geirroþr vëri eigi matgoþr. oc þo leþr hann handtaca þann **Mann** er eigi vildo hundar araða. Sa var ifeldi blám oc nefndiz grimnir. oc sagði ecci fleira fra ser þott hann vëri at spurþr. Konungr let hann pína til sagna oc setia milli elda tveggia oc sat hann þar viii. neþr. Geirroþr konungr atti son x. vetra gamlan oc het agnarr eptir broþur hans. Agnarr gecc at grimni oc gaf hanom horn fult at drecca.

³⁰⁴ See Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon. p. 908. for more.

³⁰⁵ “[...] das wort ist ein synonym von *troll*, *gramr* usw. Vgl. HrbI 60; *farþu nú þars þik hafé allan gramr!*; Br 11³: *gramr hafé Gunnar*; Am 30³: *eige hann jøtnar*; Fms VI, 216¹⁹: *hafí þik allan troll*; Kormaks s. (ed. Möbius) 42¹³: *troll hafí þik allan ok svá gull þitt*; Grett. saga c.4, 4 (Sk. B II, 462): *troll hafé Tréfót allan*; Njála c. 36, 1: *troll hafí þína vini*; Haralds s. harþr. c. 28: *hafí þik allan troll*; Flat. III, 349⁶: *hafí þik troll svá slægan* usw.” Source: Sijmons and Gering. p. 185.

sagði at konungr gorði illa er hann let pína hann sac lausan. Grímnir dracc af þa var eldrinn sva kominn at feldrinn brann af grímnir. hann qvad.

Óðinn and Frigg sat in Hliðskiálf and saw around all worlds. Óðinn said: ‘Do you see Agnarr your foster-son, where he begets children with a she-troll in the cave? But Geirrauþr my foster-son is a king and sits now at lands.’ Frigg says: ‘He is that unshameful in regards to food that he tortures to death his guests if it seems to him too many come.’ Óðinn says that it is the greatest lie. They bet about this matter.

Frigg sent her serving maiden, Fulla, to Geirrauþr. She told the king to be careful that a man versed in magic, he who was come there into the land, not to cause his death, and said it to be the mark on it that no hound was so frenzied that it would leap at him. But that was the greatest falsehood that Geirrauþr was not good with food. And yet he lets seize that man which hounds did not wish to attack. That man was in a black cape and named himself Grímnir and said nothing more in number about himself, although he might be asked about. The king let him be tormented until he talks and be set between two fires, and he sat there eight nights.

King Geirrauþr had a son ten winters old, and he was called Agnarr after his brother. Agnarr went to Grímnir and gave him a full horn to drink, he said that the king acted wrongly when he let him be tormented without having offended. Grímnir drained it. Then the fire had reached the stage that the cape burned off Grímnir. He said:

Hliðskiálf is probably derived from *hlið* ‘door, limb, lock,’ and from PIE **kel*, ‘wattle, fence’. However, Brink and Lindow write that a second meaning should be given: ‘opening, narrow inlet’. *skialf* is not uncommon in Scandinavian toponyms and means ‘shelf, elevation, hillock’.³⁰⁶ It is thought to be Óðinn’s seat, from which he looks over all worlds, as described here. It is found only in this instance of *Grímnismál*, and *Skírnismál*, and then used by Snorri in *Gylfaginning*. It is a strange word for ‘high-seat’. Furthermore, the fact that it is only used in these two poems can show that either may have borrowed the word from the other. This could point towards a later composition of the Prose Introduction, after the first collection of Eddic poems was made in Iceland, or to a later composition of *Skírnismál* which would have

³⁰⁶ Brink and Lindow. p. 183.

been affected by *Grímnismál*. Hliðskiálf as a high-seat is reminiscent of archaeological remains of high seats throughout the Scandinavian world, as discussed extensively by Olof Sundqvist.³⁰⁷ In skaldic poetry, Óðinn is called *Hliðskiálfar gramr* and *Hliðskiálfar harre*.³⁰⁸ However, these names do not help in our understanding of what Hliðskiálf was supposed to be, other than showing, once again, its connection to Óðinn. According to S&G, there is also a Christian connection, with a legend in which a similar seat exists in heaven, from which God can see everything that happens on earth.³⁰⁹ *Skjálf* is even more difficult to interpret. There is a possibility that it could be related to Old English *scylf*, *scelf*, ‘peak, crag’.

qvelr is a very interesting and strong choice of word for this context. In fact, it means ‘torturing to death’ and is cognate with English ‘to quell’.

escis mey is an ἄπαξ λεγόμενον. According to Cleasby et al. it means ‘a lady’s maid’.³¹⁰ In reading the sentence on its own, it is understood by the context that Fulla is a female person working under Frigg.

Fulla. Does not appear anywhere else. However, the Second Merseburg Incantation mentions Frija’s sister and names her Volla, which seems to be the same name:

Phol ende uuodan uuorun zi holza.
du uuart demo balderes uolon sin uuoz birenkit.
thu biguol en sinthgunt, sunna era suister;
thu biguol en friia, uolla era suister;
thu biguol en uuodan, so he uuola conda:
sose benrenki, sose blutrenki, sose lidirenki:
ben zi bena, bluot si bluoda,
lid zi geliden, sose gelimida sin!³¹¹

³⁰⁷ Olof Sundqvist, “Religious and Ideological Aspects of Hall Interiors in the Late Iron Age,” In *Runsa Borg – Representative Life on a Migration Period Hilltop Site – a Scandinavian Perspective*, ed. Michael Olausson (Östersund, 2014). p. 124.

³⁰⁸ Sijmons and Gering. p. 186.

³⁰⁹ Ibid. p. 186.

³¹⁰ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 134.

³¹¹ Translation (by Bill Griffiths): Phol and Wodan were riding to the woods, | and the foot of Balder's foal was sprained | So Sinthgunt, Sunna's sister, conjured it. | and Frija, Volla's sister, conjured it. | and Wodan conjured it, as well he could: | Like bone-sprain, so blood-sprain, | so joint-sprain: | Bone to bone, blood to blood, | joints to joints, so may they be glued. Source: *Second Merseburg Incantation* ed. Bill Griffiths (Ely, 2003).

If Frija is indeed the same goddess as Frigg (at least in a very loose sense, as discussed in Part I, Chapter 2), then the Fulla in the Prose Introduction of *Grímnismál* could be much more than a ‘random’ lady’s maid, but a trusted kinswoman to Frigg.

fyr gerþi. In this context, *fyr gerþi* could mean ‘bewitch’. I have chosen to keep the translation of ‘cause his death’ as it seems to me to be a safest translation that avoids conjecture.

fiolkunnigr maðr could be translated both as ‘a man lined in magic’ and ‘a man knowing many things’.

blár can mean both ‘blue’ and ‘black’. It is cognate with Latin *lividus* ‘of the color of lead’. Cleasby et al. seem to give the meaning of ‘blue’ more importance than ‘black’.³¹² La Farge, only translates it as blue.³¹³ Moreover, considering the rarity of blue dyes in the Northern part of Europe, this could be a sign of Grímnir’s high status, in this case as a god. *Blár* is a particularly interesting since it appears to also have been used on descriptions of fire as well.³¹⁴ Disagreeing with the above interpretation, Georg Brückmann writes that *blár*, when referring to textiles would be taken to denote a black colour.³¹⁵ Brückmann’s work on Old West Norse colours is admirable, and he has gathered all instances in which *blár* appears denoting the colour of clothing. By analysing all these sources, his conclusion is that *blár* is synonymous to the German *schwarz* when it comes to clothing.

sac lausan is a legal term. Cleasby et al. translate it as ‘sackless’, ‘innocent’ and ‘not guilty’, and mention its importance as a legal term as well.³¹⁶ I have chosen to translate it as ‘without having offended’ to underline its legal importance.

³¹² Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon p. 68.

³¹³ La Farge, p. 25.

³¹⁴ Georg C. Brückmann, *Altwestnordische Farbesemantik* (Munich, 2012). p. 16.

³¹⁵ Ibid. p. 17.

³¹⁶ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 509.

setia milli elda tveggja. Placing Grímnir between two fires instead of just tying him up close to one fire is a very interesting choice.

VIII neþr is of great importance. Whereas scholars, such as Ursula Dronke,³¹⁷ focussed on the number eight not being the traditional nine, which has a great importance in the Old Norse world, it seems to me that this shows that Grímnir's exposition of the world of the gods started after the eight nights, meaning that it started on the ninth. The number nine seems to have been a holy number to pre-Christian Scandinavians.³¹⁸ Other Eddic works, like *Vafþrúðnismál*, mention that there were nine worlds. The sacrifices at the temple of Uppsala, described by Adam of Bremen (and mentioned in Part I – Chapter 2) were also performed every nine years. According to Turville-Petre, Óðinn is a god specifically associated with the number nine and with sacrifice.³¹⁹ He also mentions Hákon the Great, a pagan king, who 'sent nine princes to Óðinn and the raven was eating their flesh.'³²⁰ Another deity that has importance in relation to the number nine is the god Heimdallr. In fact, in *Hyndluljóð*, it is written of him that:

35. Varð einn borinn

í árdaga

rammaukinn mjök

røgna kindar;

ní báru þann

naddgøfgan mann

jøtna meyjar

við jarðar þròm.³²¹

³¹⁷ Ursula Dronke, *The Poetic Edda. Volume III. Mythological Poems II*. (Oxford, 2011). p. 127.

³¹⁸ Jens Peter Schjødt, *Initiation between Two Worlds: Structure and Symbolism in Pre-Christian Scandinavian Religion*, ed. Victor Hansen (Odense, 2008). p. 180.

³¹⁹ Turville-Petre, *Myth and Religion*. p. 49.

³²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 53.

³²¹ *Hyndluljóð*, 1. p. 466.

Translation: Born was one | in the old days | very strong | of the god's kind; | nine bore him | stud-glorious man | *jøtunn* maidens | at the edge of the earth.

Such a connection shows, in my view, that the number nine was not important only specifically to Óðinn but generally. While a number of sources connect the number to Óðinn, this could be only because more sources survive that focus on him than, for example, Heimdallr.

oc het Agnarr eptir broður hans: naming his son Agnarr after his brother might have important connotations, as Jonas Wellendorf has stated in a paper, the relevant passage of which is worthy of being quoted in its entirety:

In time, he [Geirrøðr] also becomes the father of a son, whom he names Agnarr. We might see the choice of this name as Geirrøðr's attempt to finish what he began by pushing his brother out at sea. Thus he not only shoved his brother aside, he symbolically prevents Agnarr from regaining any position in the world of men by appropriating his name. This appropriation of the name is necessary because Agnarr is not dead, and therefore we should not see Agnarr II as his reincarnation. Geirrøðr's usurpation of his brother's name amounts to an absolute exclusion of Agnarr from the world of men. Barred entry into the human society, Agnarr is reduced to a subhuman existence breeding half trolls with an ogress in the wilderness. (If Odinn's words are to be trusted: '*hann elr bõrn vid gygi i hellinum*' [why the definite form *i hellinum*? 'in his/her/their cave?']).³²²

Thus, Geirrøðr doubly banishes his brother by making him unable to return to the world of men.

General remarks

According to S&G, a similar story to the one in the Prose introduction of *Grímnismál* is found in a fairy tale from Norway and Lapland. In the story:

[...] daß zwei brüder, Hans Nikolai und Lyk-Anders, die söhne eines reichen bauern in Helgeland, sich kurze zeit nach dem tode des vaters in einem boote nach einer insel begeben, um von dort dischergerät, das im sommer zurückgeblieben war, heimzuholen. Sie werden mit ihrer arbeit spät fertig und der ältere bruder überredet den jüngeren, die nacht über noch auf der insel zu verweilen. Am nächsten morgen aber, als Lyk-Anders erwacht, ist Hans Nikolai verschwunden: er ist nach hause gesegelt, hat dicht an der küste das boot zum kentern gebracht und berichtet daheim, daß der bruder ertrunken sei, worauf er sich in besitz des gesamten

³²² Wellendorf, "The Wisdom." p. 7.

nachlasses setzt. Der auf der insel zurückgebliebene Lyk-Anders nährte sich, so gut es ging, von muscheln, erlegten vögeln (or hatte zum glück seine hüchse mitgenommen) und geangelten fischen. Im spätherbst landet eine prächtige jacht an der insel; das fahrzeug ist von see-zwergen bemannt, die eine schöne menschliche jungfrau mit sich führen, die sie als kind geraubt haben und mit einem der ihren verheiraten wollen. In dem auf der insel befindlichen boots-schuppen wird die hochzeitstafel hergerichtet und mit silber – und goldgeschirr besetzt, worin die köstlichsten speisen sich beinden. Nachdem die zwerge gespeist haben, beginnt zu lustiger musik ein wilder tanz, am dem die braut jedoch nicht teilnimmt. Lyk-Anders, der durch eine luke im dache zugesehen hat, schleicht sich jetzt zu der jacht und wirft seinen feuerstahl darüber (das bekannt mittel, um zeuberei zu zerstören und macht über zauberische gegenstände zu gewinnen), kehrt dann zum schuppen zurück und feuert seine büchse ab, gerade über den kopf der braut. Die erschreckten zwerge stürzen aus der tür und rennen nach der jacht; als sie merken, daß dieselbe ‘gebunden’ ist, erheben sie ein jammer-geschrei und verschwinden dann in einen felshöhle. Die braut war in schuppen zurückgeblieben: sie ist mit Lyk-Anders entfernt verwandt, betrachtet ihn natürlich als ihren retter und hat nichts dagegen ihn zu heiraten. So segeln sie denn mit der zauberjacht, die wie Freys schiff Skíþbláðner immer günstigen fahrwind hat, und mit allen den schätzen, die die zwerge zurückgelassen haben, heim. Er ist nun viel wohlhabender geworden als sein trauloser bruder; diesen aber verzehrt der neid, und da er ahnt, woher der große reichthum gekommen, begiht er sich nun auch nach der insel. Dort stellt er sich aber so ungeschickt an, daß die zwerge macht über ihn gewinnen und ihn wahnsinnig machen.³²³

The similarities between Lyk-Anders and Agnarr, and Hans Nikolai and Geirrøðr are obvious.

Whereas the extent to which S&G try to connect this fairy tale to *Grímnismál* seems to me to be a bit forced,³²⁴ it is not hard to imagine that fairy tales such as the above-mentioned one could have been adapted from mythological material that had transcended to folklore. However, the opposite, namely that this mythological story came from folklore, could also be the case.

S&G also focus on the idea of ‘royal fratricide’, which according to them is something common in the Norse world (an example being Eiríkr blóðøx killing three of his brothers) but is also a common motif in ancient Greece.³²⁵ A similar story is also found in *Hervarar saga ok*

³²³ Sijmons and Gering. pp. 181-182.

³²⁴ For example, they argue that the name Agnarr was changed to a similar-sounding and common Anders on purpose. Source: *ibid.* p. 182.

³²⁵ S&G mention two stories found in Herodotus, namely that of Cambyses and Smerdis, and the theft of the treasury of Rhampsinit. Source: *ibid.* p. 183.

Heiðreks where Heiðrekr kills his brother Angantýr with the sword Tyrfingr.³²⁶ Both Heiðrekr and Geirrøðr end up dying by their own sword. Even more importantly, Heiðrekr, like Geirrøðr, had been fostered by someone other than his father, a man named Gizurr, which could be an Óðinn name.³²⁷ Lastly, Heiðrekr named his son Angantýr, after his brother, in possibly a similar fashion that Geirrøðr did in the Prose introduction of *Grímnismál*.

The Prose introduction gives some extra information to the poem and shows the reasons for which Óðinn is tortured between the two fires. However, it does not seem to me to be a necessity for *Grímnismál* to make sense.³²⁸ Taking Sverdlov's comment on *Vafþrúðnismál*, 'the prose commentary is unnecessary' since one can find a dramatic climax in the poem itself, in the moment where Grímnir reveals his true self.³²⁹ According to McKinnell, the prose ending could also traditionally have been part of a different poem, possibly *Vafþrúðnismál*.³³⁰ The question of the validity of the prose introductions has been a long debated one, and most, if not all, scholars that have studied Eddic poems with such an introduction or conclusion, have debated whether they were later additions or not.³³¹ To me, the most sensible conclusion is given by Terry Gunnell, who simply states that these prose introductions are 'of questionable origins'.³³² Having said that, I do not claim that *Grímnismál* had necessarily not been meant to have a prose introduction and conclusion. As Gunnell writes, the prose account gives a good

³²⁶ "[...] ok brá þá sverðinu, ok lýsti af mjök ok sindraði; hann eiskraði þá mjök, ok héldt við berserksgáng. Nú með því, at þeir bræðr voru tveir saman, en Tyrfingr varð manns bani hvern tíma, er honum var brugðit, þá hjó hann bróður sinn banahögg; þetta var sagt Höfundu." Source: *Hervarar Saga Ok Heiðreks*. (H) ch. 6.

Translation: [...] and [Heiðrekr] drew then the sword [Tyrfingr], and it shone and scintillated much; he [Heiðrekr] then raged much, and showed a berserker's fury. Now they, the two brothers, were the only two there. But since Tyrfingr was a man's bane each time it was drawn, then he [Heiðrekr] cut his brother's death blow; Höfund was told of these matters.

³²⁷ Sijmons and Gering. p. 183.

³²⁸ Schjødt disagrees with this statement, arguing that the prose frame narratives are 'very important' for our understanding of the poem. Source: Schjødt, "The Fire Ordeal." p. 29.

³²⁹ Sverdlov. p. 70.

³³⁰ John McKinnell, "The Paradox of *Vafþrúðnismál*," In *Essays on Eddic Poetry*, ed. Donata Kick and John D. Shafer (Toronto, 2014). p. 160.

³³¹ See also: Larrington, "*Vafþrúðnismál* and *Grímnismál*." p. 59.

³³² Terry Gunnell, "The Performance of the Poetic Edda," In *The Viking World*, ed. Stefan Brink and Neil Price (Abingdon, 2008). p. 301.

narrative frame to the poem.³³³ Thus, it may have been that originally, the audience of *Grímnismál* were aware of the story, making the prose unnecessary, and that the editor, knowing this story, put it down to writing. However, taking into consideration that prose could change throughout time much more easily than poetry, since it needs not follow a specified metre, it becomes a more dubious source in this case. If one chooses to count the prose as having been composed when the poem itself was, then *haf* plays a very important role in focusing the region of composition to the coasts of Norway or Iceland. The Prose being the most dubious part of the poem, I have chosen not to rely on its contents for my analysis of the poem.³³⁴

Stanza 1.

Heitr ertu hripuþr | oc heldr til micill
góngomc fir funi.
loði sviþnar | þott ec a lopt berac
brennomc feldr fyr.

Hot are you, swift one, | are rather too great.
Go in respect of me further, fire!
The cape sings, | though I bear [it] aloft,
the cape burns in front in respect of me.

hripuþr is a rare poetical word. It means ‘fire’ according to Cleasby et al.³³⁵

³³³ “Eddic Poetry,” p. 86.

³³⁴ This is also why the information gained by reading the Prose introductions and conclusions has been added in square brackets in the summary given above.

³³⁵ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 285.

funi is a very rare poetical word. According to Cleasby et al. it might be related to Greek $\pi\tilde{\upsilon}\rho$ ‘fire’ and could be cognate to German *funke*.³³⁶

This stanza gives an introduction of the situation in which Grímnir finds himself in. Hearing it (or reading it) without the Prose Introduction, one can understand how the speaker is close to a fire, so much that it has started burning his cape. This does not seem to be something that the speaker has done to himself on purpose since he ‘complains’ about the fire. As such, it is not far-fetched to think that he is being held close to a fire against his will.

Stanza 2.

Átta nætr | sat ec milli elda her
sva at mer mangi mat ne bauð.
nema einn agnarr er | er einn scal ráða
geirróþar sonr
gotna lande.

Eight nights | I sat between the fires here,
so that to me no man offered food,
with the exception of Agnarr alone | who alone must rule,
Geirrauþr’s son,
the land of the Goths.

gotna lande. S&G argue that this could be emended to *Gotom*.³³⁷ I see no reason for such an emendation.

This stanza continues giving information related to the previous one. Here we learn that the speaker has been in this condition (close to a fire against his will) for eight nights before he

³³⁶ Ibid. p. 178.

³³⁷ Sijmons and Gering. p. 188.

started talking, making this the ninth day since this ordeal of his started. We also learn that he was left without food (and possibly water) until that moment, in which one Agnarr, the son of Geirrøðr gave him something to eat or drink. We also learn that this Geirrøðr rules over the land of the Goths, and is therefore a king.

This stanza, more than any, is reminiscent of *Hávamál* 138-139, in which Óðinn, speaking in the first person, describes how he hung from a tree for nine nights:

138. Veit ek, at ek hekk
vindga meiði á
nætr allar níu,
geiri undaðr
ok gefinn Óðni,
sjálfr sjálfum mér,
á þeim meiði
er manngi veit
hvers hann af rótum renn.³³⁸

139. Við hleifi mik sældu
né við hornigi,
nýsta ek niðr,
nam ek upp rúnar,
oepandi nam,
fell ek aptr þaðan.³³⁹

I have argued elsewhere about the possible pagan composition of these stanzas.³⁴⁰ The *Hávamál* stanzas have been compared to the image of Christ on the Cross. The wounding by a spear strengthens such image.³⁴¹ The hanging of Óðinn is not as shocking, since he is a deity related to hanging, and a large number of Óðinn names show that. In both cases, the speaker has had no food. The similarities to *Grímnismál* can be easily spotted. In both cases something

³³⁸ I know, that I hung | on that windy tree | nine whole nights, | wounded with a spear | and gave to Óðinn, | myself to myself, | at that tree | that no one knows | where its roots grow.

³³⁹ Not by means of loafs and cheers | nor by means of drinks, | I peered below, | I picked up secrets (runes), | I picked them screaming, | I fell back from there.

³⁴⁰ Mattioli, “*Hávamál* 138 and Its Dating: Is Óðinn Christ?”

³⁴¹ *Hávamál*, 7. p. 29.

happens to the speaker in nine nights. [See entry on *VIII neþr* above for more information on the importance of the number nine.]

However, there are some important differences as well. For one, whereas Óðinn appears to have hung on a tree on his own volition, in *Grímnismál* 1 one sees how the situation Grímnir is in is against his will. Furthermore, whereas in *Hávamál* Óðinn completes nine nights without food or cheers, in *Grímnismál* Grímnir does not complete this since Agnarr brings him a drink, and therefore cheers him as well. These differences could show that whereas in *Hávamál* one can definitely see that the situation Óðinn was in gave him a mystical experience that brought to him arcane knowledge, what will follow in the next stanzas of *Grímnismál* need not be something of this sort.

Lastly, it should be noted that this stanza does not follow the traditional system of *ljóðahátt* of having six half-lines, but has an extra half-line.

Stanza 3.

Heill scaltu agnarr | allz þic heilan biþr
veratyr vera.
eins drycciar | þu scalt aldregi
betri giold gera.

You must be whole, Agnarr, | because Veratýr
bids you be healthy.

For one drink | you must never
get better yeald.

Heill scaltu can also be translated as ‘hail to you’.

Veratýr is an Óðinn name. This can be testified by the fact that it is present in st. 54 as part of the list of Óðinn names.

This stanza completes the introductory triplet that shows the audience what has been going on. After hailing Agnarr, Grímnir tells him that Óðinn will bless him. This could be interpreted as already indicating that Grímnir is in actuality Óðinn as shall be seen much later in the poem. It is in this stanza as well that we see that what Agnarr offered Grímnir was indeed one drink. This is important in relation to the idea of ‘liquid knowledge’. Getting knowledge from a drink is a motif commonly found in Germanic sources. In *Sigrdrífumál*, Sigrdrífa offers Sigurðr a *horn fullt mjaðar ok gaf honum minnisveig*.³⁴² According to Judy Quinn:

In the depiction in *Sigrdrífumál*, knowledge is derived from a source beyond human society, and it is conceived to be either elementally, or through a process of mysterious manufacture, a liquid that can be offered in a drinking horn. This seems to be the broad conception exhibited by early poetry and mythology in Scandinavia, that knowledge can be understood as a drink that can be prepared, offered and imbibed, and it is a rather different conception from, say, the notion of inspiration, where insight is transferred from mind to from mind to mind by metaphysical means invisible and non-potable.³⁴³

Another example of liquid knowledge can be found in the form of the mead of poetry. In

Hávamál we are told by Óðinn himself the story of how he got the *dýra mjöð*, ‘precious mead’:

104. Inn aldna jǫtun ek sóttá;
nú em ek aptr um kominn;
fátt gat ek þegjandi þar;
mǫrgum orðum
mæltá ek í minn frama
í Suttungs sǫlum.³⁴⁴

105. Gunnloð mér um gaf
gullnum stóli á
drykk ins dýra mjaðar;
ill iðgjöld

³⁴² *Sigrdrífumál*. p. 313.

Translation: ‘a horn full of mead and gave him memory-drink.’

³⁴³ Judy Quinn, “Liquid Knowledge: Traditional Conceptualisations of Learning in Eddic Poetry,” In *Along the Oral-Written Continuum: Types of Texts, Relations and Their Implications*, ed. Slavica Ranković, Leidulf Melve, and Else Mundal (Turnhout, 2010). p. 209.

³⁴⁴ *Hávamál*, 7. p. 60.

Translation: ‘The old *jǫtunn* I sought; | now I am come back; | little I got by being silent; | many words | I spoke in my benefit | in Suttung’s halls.’

lét ek hana eptir hafa
síns ins heila hugar,
síns ins svára sefa.³⁴⁵

Other references are also found in a large number of kennings that relate poetry to mead and a stanza of *Völuspá* also shows a possible reference to the idea of ‘liquid knowledge’:

28. Ein sat hon úti,
þá er inn aldni kom,
yggjungur ása,
ok í augu leit:
“Hvers fregnið mik?
Hví freistið mín?
Allt veit ek, Óðinn,
hver þu auga falt:
í inum mæra
Mímisbrunni.”
Drekkur mjöð Mímir
morgin hverjan
af veði Valföðrs.
Vituð ér enn – eða hvat?³⁴⁶

I shall not discuss the unorthodox length of this stanza here, but it is worth pointing out to the reader the mead that Mímir drinks, as well as the *Mímisbrunnr*, ‘well of Mímir’. Óðinn appears to have gained positive powers (in this case numinous knowledge) by sacrificing an eye in the well of Mímir. The idea of knowledge or powers gained through drinks is present in many other mythologies, and one cannot help but think of the *soma* of the Indo-Iranian peoples, and as Quinn points out, the effects gained are usually positive.³⁴⁷ Such a *topos* is also found in the magical powers gained by drinking the magic potion that the druid Getafix brews for one small village in Armorica.

³⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 60.

Translation: ‘Gunnloð gave me | on a gold seat | to drink the precious mead; | ill recompense | I let her have in return | for her sincere feelings, | for her heavy mind.’

³⁴⁶ *Völuspá*, 1. p. 298.

Translation: Alone she sat outside | then when the old came, | terror-fearful god, | and stared into the eyes: | “What do you ask me? | Why do you try me? | I know all, Óðinn, | of where you hid your eye: | in the great | well of Mímir.” | Mímir drinks mead | each morning | from the pledge of the father of the slain. | Do you know – or what?”

³⁴⁷ Quinn, “Liquid Knowledge.” p. 187.

This stanza also shows that what will follow is told by Grímnir as a way of thanking Agnarr for his help and good treatment, as opposed to the people who put him in this situation, whose identity, solely based on the poem, is as yet unknown.

There is a small difference in the AM version in this stanza. The last verse has *gæta*, ‘get’, instead of *gera*, ‘make’.

Stanza 4.

Land er heilact | er ec liggia se
asom oc alfom nær.
enn iþruðheimi | scal þórr vera
unz um riufaz regin.

[The] land is holy | which I see lying
near the ásir and the álfar.
But in Þrúðheimr | must Þórr be,
until the gods are torn apart.

álfom can be translated as ‘elves’. However, its exact meaning is not definite. We do not know exactly what the *álfar* were. As such, I have chosen not to translate it. For more information on the *álfar* see Alaric Hall’s *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England*.³⁴⁸

Þrúðheimr literally means home of Þrúðr, Þrúðr being cognate with Gothic *þroþjan* which is in turn translated from Greek *γυμνάζειν* ‘exercise’.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁸ Alaric Hall, *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England : Matters of Belief, Health, Gender and Identity* (Woodbridge, Suffolk and Rochester, 2007).

³⁴⁹ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 746.

According to Dronke, the land next to the *álfar* and the *æsir* is not yet inhabited.³⁵⁰ No explanation is given by Dronke as to why she considered it to be the case so it might be surmised that she made a distinction between the land mentioned in the first three verses and *Brúðheimr*. Whether such a distinction should be made, there being no name of a god mentioned for that land does not necessarily make it uninhabited. It could just as well be *miðgarðr*.

With this stanza, a long description of the world of the gods and their abodes starts.

Stanza 5.

Ýdalir heita | þar er ullr hefir
ser um gorva sali.
alfheim freyr | gafo i ardaga
tivar at tann fę.

They are called Ýdalir, | there where Ullr has
made for himself.

The gods gave Álfheimr | to Freyr in days of old
as tooth-money.

Ýdalir means ‘dales of yew’. This place is not attested in any other source. The only possible relation might be with a place-name in the North of Scotland and called Udale and a Udale in Lancashire. This has first been recorded in the second half of the sixteenth century and according to Robert Bevan-Jones, it could be connected to the veneration of Ullr in Norse Scotland.³⁵¹ According to Henry Adam Bellows ‘The wood of the yew-tree was used for bows

³⁵⁰ Dronke. p. 127.

³⁵¹ Robert Bevan-Jones, *The Ancient Yew: A History of Taxus Baccata* (Oxford, 2002). p. 134.

in the North just as it was long afterwards in England.³⁵² This would connect Ullr and Ýdalir to bows.

Ullr as a god is a very shadowy figure, if he ever was a god at all. Cleasby et al. write that Ullr is cognate with Gothic *wulþus* ‘glory’.³⁵³ According to Rudolf Simek, Ullr is mentioned in kennings for ‘warrior’.³⁵⁴ A great number of place names in Norway show that he held some importance in religion.³⁵⁵ De Vries also connects the name to a runic inscription in which *[o]wlpewaR* appears, and dates the inscription to c. 300, showing that if such connection is correct, Ullr was an old name.³⁵⁶ The name appears to be cognate with Gothic *wulþus* and translated from Greek *δόξα*, ‘glory’.³⁵⁷

Alfheim means home of the *álfar*. This place is not recorded in any sources other than this stanza and by Snorri Sturluson,³⁵⁸ who might have taken it from stanza 5 of *Grímnismál*. However, outside of a mythological setting, it appears as the toponym of a region in Sweden. As such, nothing more can be said on this place other than what this stanza gives us, namely that it was given to Freyr as tooth-money and is now his abode.

Frey is generally taken to denote the god Freyr. It should be noted, however, that the name could also mean ‘lord’. If this were the intention of the composer of *Grímnismál*, then one could argue that Ýdalir and Alfheimr are somehow related and that Ullr is the lord mentioned that gets the tooth-money. According to Dronke, Freyr is a ‘younger figure’ of Ullr.³⁵⁹ This argument would make sense from the perspective that st. 6 mentions Valaskíalfr as being the third place when there have been three places mentioned already (see st. 6 for

³⁵² *Grímnismál*, edited and translated by Henry Adam Bellows (Princeton, 1936). p. 88.

³⁵³ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 648.

³⁵⁴ Simek. p. 339.

³⁵⁵ Sijmons and Gering. p. 188.

³⁵⁶ De Vries, *Altmordisches*. p. 633.

³⁵⁷ Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon. p. 1084.

³⁵⁸ Snorri Sturluson, *Gylfaginning*. ch. 17. p. 19.

³⁵⁹ Dronke. p. 127.

more). If Frey would be seen as *frey* for Ullr, and Ýdalir part of Alfheimr, then the ‘mistake’ from st. 6 would disappear.

Stanza 6.

Bor er sa inn þriði | er blið regin
silfri þaucþo sali.
valascialf heitir | er vęlti ser
ás iardaga.

That settlement is the third, | which the glad gods
thatched the halls with silver.
It is called Valaskiálf | which the god made with skill
for himself in the old days.

Bor er sa inn þriði seems to be a mistake. There have already been mentioned three places, namely Þrúðheimr, Ýdalir and Álheimr. Furthermore, if st. 4 does indeed talk about two different places, then four places have been mentioned. This would make Valaskiálf the fourth or fifth. See st. 5 for an explanation on this.

Valaskiálf means ‘the seat of the slain’. It is only mentioned in Eddic poetry, and later by Snorri. However, it is not stated who built it,³⁶⁰ if it is indeed a building.

The *ás* mentioned here is presumably Óðinn, judging from the places relation to the slain, though no specification is given.

Stanza 7.

³⁶⁰ Sijmons and Gering. p. 189.

Saucqva beccr heitir enn **fiorði**. | enn þar svalar knego
unnir yfir glýmia.
þar þau óðinn oc sága | drecca um alla daga
glauð or gullnom kerom.

The fourth is called Saucqva beccr | but there did the cold
waves crash over.
There they, Óðinn and Sága, | drink during all days
glad from golden vessels.

Saucqva beccr means ‘sunken bank or bench’.³⁶¹ Interestingly, Cleasby-Vigfússon-Craigie write that it is the seat of Freyja according to *Grímnismál*, connecting Sága with her. See commentary for st. 14 for more on the similarities between the two goddesses.

Sága is a very obscure deity. It is ‘often used in circumlocutions of a woman, *silki-sága, öl-sága*’.³⁶² Ásgeir traces the name to *sjá* ‘to see’, and ultimately to **sègwòn* ‘he/she who sees or forsees’.³⁶³ S&G point the possibility of Sága being the goddess Frigg, known to be Óðinn’s wife and mentioned in the prose introduction of *Grímnismál*.³⁶⁴ Whereas I believe there is good cause to consider Sága as Óðinn’s consort in *Grímnismál*, I would remind the reader that without taking into consideration the prose introduction, Frigg does not appear at all in the poem itself. As such, it could be the case that in different ‘versions’ of Germanic belief, Óðinn was married to different goddesses, which then merged when the mythological material was brought to Iceland. Sága could be Frigg, but she could also be Freyia, who is mentioned in st. 14, and who herself might not be a deity of her own, but a common noun used to mean Sága (or possibly Frigg, who as seen now could also be Sága). Whereas a likely answer to which of the three goddess names would ultimately be thought to be Óðinn’s consort is

³⁶¹ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 620.

³⁶² Ibid. p. 516.

³⁶³ Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon. p. 792.

³⁶⁴ Sijmons and Gering. p. 190.

unlikely to be found, *Sága* seems more likely to be a given name as opposed to Freyia (see commentary on st. 14 for more) and, as such, I have chosen to capitalise her name.

Stanza 8.

Glaðs heimr heitir enn **fimmti**. | þars enn gull biarta
³⁶⁵vaullhlaull við of þrumir.
enn þar hropt kýs | hverian dag
vapn dauða vera.

The fifth is called *Glaðs heimr*, | there where gold bright
Valhauall lies wide.
But there *Hroptr* | chooses each day
the weapon-dead men.

Glaðs heimr means ‘gladness home’.

Hroptr is an Óðinn name.

Valhauall: means the ‘hall of the slain’. By basing our knowledge of the chosen warriors on st. 51, we see a connection with Óðinn which is further strengthened by a great number of his names and also sts. 14 and 24. As such, even if one disregards every other source, it seems very likely that *Valhauall* is a hall related to Óðinn. Simek writes that:

this image of the warriors’ paradise given in *Grímnismál* derives, although not in all details, without a doubt from folk-belief, but nonetheless several elements can be found already in 9th and 10th century skaldic poetry: in Þórbjörn Hornklofi’s *Hrafnsmál* (the shield-covered hall), in Eyvind’s *Hákonarmál* and in the *Eiríksmál*.³⁶⁶

³⁶⁵ The manuscript writes *alhauall*,

³⁶⁶ Simek. p. 347.

This is critical for the dating of *Grímnismál*, since it shows that such a place existed in the minds of people in the ninth and tenth centuries.

Stanzas 9. – 10.

Miðc er auþkent | þeim er oðins koma
sal kynni *at sia*
vargr hangir | fyr vestan dyrr
oc drupir aurn yfir.

Miðc er auþkent | þeim er til oþins koma
sal kynni at sia.
scaptom er rann rept | scioldom er salr þakiþr
bryniom um becki strát.

It is very easily recognized, | for them who come to Óðinn
to see the hall recognition.
A wolf hangs | westwards of the doorway,
and an eagle dangles over.

It is very easily recognized, | for them who come to Óðinn
to see the hall recognition.
With spear-shafts is the hall rafted, with shields is the hall thatched,
with corselets around the benches it is strewn.

þeim er til Óðins coma is interesting. This could be translated both as ‘for them who come to Óðinn’, but also as ‘for them who come to Óðinn’s’ which would probably mean, those who go to Óðinn’s hall.

varg which has here been translated as ‘wolf’, can also be translated as ‘outlaw’ or ‘criminal’, metaphorically, ‘as someone who is to be hunted down as a wolf, esp. used of one who commits a crime in a holy place, and is thereon declared accursed.’³⁶⁷

It should be noted that in AM, these two stanzas are the other way around, though this does not seem to change the poem or the meaning.

Stanza 11.

Þrym heimr heitir enn sétti. | er þiazi bío
sa inn amatki iotunn.
enn nu scaði byggvir | scír bruðe goða
fornar toptir fauður.

The sixth is called Þrym heimr, | where Þiazi lived,
that, the mighty giant.
But now Scaði dwells in, bright bride of the gods,
ancient ruins of [her] father.

Þrym heimr means home of Þrym. Þrym means ‘noise’, possibly a thundering one.³⁶⁸ It can also be related to ‘battle’. S&G write that since this place belonged to the giant Þjazi, it has no place in such a list, even though Scaði apparently lived there for a short period before going to live with her husband, Njǫrðr.³⁶⁹

Scaði is a grammatically masculine *n*-stem. As a goddess, Scaði is married to Njǫrðr, whose name seems to be cognate to the goddess Nerþus mentioned by Tacitus.³⁷⁰ As such,

³⁶⁷ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 680.

³⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 747.

³⁶⁹ Sijmons and Gering. p. 191.

³⁷⁰ *Germania* 40 says: ‘Contra Langobardos paucitas nobilitat: plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti non per obsequium sed proeliis et periclitando tuti sunt. Reudigni deinde et Aviones et Anglii et Varini et Eudoses et Suardones et Nuithones fluminibus aut silvis muniuntur. Nec quicquam notabile in singulis, nisi quod in

Scaði could have originally been a male deity later changed into female when Nerþus became Njörðr. The name could be cognate with *skape* ‘to harm’. Alternatively, it could also be related to Greek *Σκοτία, ‘darkness’,³⁷¹ while Ásgeir writes that the origin is very uncertain since the worship and role of the goddess is unknown. He writes that the name could be linked with Gothic *skadus*, ‘shadow’, which agrees with the S&G supposition and could make Scaði a deity of the darkness and underworld, or the Arctic, which is dark for half of the year, but also writes of the possibility of the name being cognate with Latin *scatère*, ‘to roll down’.³⁷² Scandinavia, and the name of the Southern Swedish province of Skåne, Skáney in Old Norse, could both be related to Scaði. Skåne is where the cult site of Uppåkra was situated. The site seems to have been a major centre of Iron Age ritual in Scandinavia.³⁷³

scír bruðr goða comes against the explanation of Scaði’s name which makes her a goddess of darkness and the underworld, since the idea of a shiny goddess whose name is cognate with darkness makes little sense.³⁷⁴ It is interesting to also note that *scír* is an adjective also used for describing Freyr in stanza 43 of *Grímnismál*.

This stanza is quoted in *Gylfaginning*. *Brym heimr* is emended by Heimir as *Brúðheimr*. *heitir enn sétti* is changed to *heitir*, and *goða* appears as *guma*, ‘men’.

Stanza 12.

commune Nerthum, id est Terram matrem, colunt eamque intervenire rebus hominum, inveni populis arbitrantur.’ Source: Tacitus. p. 46.

Translation: ‘The scarcity of number makes the Langobards notable, which, notwithstanding being surrounded by many powerful nations, keep their security not submitting themselves, but by facing wars and perils. Instead, rivers and forests protect the Ruedigni, Aviones, Anglii, Varini, Eudoses, Suarines, and Nuitones. Nothing noteworthy in each of them, other than that they all worship Nerthus, the Mother Earth, and believe that she intervenes on human affairs and descends between her people.’

³⁷¹ Sijmons and Gering. p. 191.

³⁷² Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon. p. 824.

³⁷³ Peter Lawenius, “Uppåkra.” http://www.uppakra.se/backup/eng/i_arkeologi_eng.htm.

³⁷⁴ Alex Woolf has given me an idea of his on this matter. According to him, snow north of the Arctic Circle could bring brightness in darkness. Source: Private Conversation.

Breiðablik ero in siundo | enn þar baldr hefir
ser um gorva sali.
aþvi landi er | ec liggia veit
fōsta feícn stafi.

The seventh is called Breiðablik, | but there Baldr has
made halls for himself,
in that land | where I know to lie
fewest of treachery-staves.

Breiðablik means ‘Broad gleaming’. This is the only source (other than Snorri, who quotes *Grímnismál*) where it appears.

feícn stafi is very interesting and obscure. It literally means ‘treachery staves’. *Stafr* ‘staff, stick’, can also mean ‘written letters, staves’. This meaning has derived from magic twigs that would have been used in divining the future.³⁷⁵ It could also refer to ‘baleful, evil runes’.³⁷⁶ *Feícn stafi* is reminiscent of *Sigrdrífumál* 3, where *blunnstofum* appears. According to Vésteinn and Jónas, the meaning of *blunnstofum* is ‘sleep runes’.³⁷⁷ If correct, this makes it more likely that *feícn stafi* has a magic connotation, and denotes evil, harmful spells.

This stanza is also quoted by Snorri. It appears almost the same, with the exception that *heitir* is found instead of *ero in siundo*, following a similar pattern as with st. 11.

Stanza 13.

Himinbiorg ero en atto | enn þar heimdall
qveþa valda veom.
þar vorþr goða | dreccr ivęro ranni
glap̄r goða miop̄.

³⁷⁵ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. pp. 586-587.

³⁷⁶ La Farge.p. 57.

³⁷⁷ *Sigrdrífumál*, 2. p. 313.

The eighth is Himinbiorg, | but they say
Heimdallr to have control over sanctuaries.
There, the warden of the gods | drinks in a secure hall
glad [the] good mead.

Himinbiorg means ‘Heaven precipices (especially on a sea-side)’.³⁷⁸ The name also appears twice in *Gylfaginning*.

vörþr goða ‘warden of the gods’ as an attribute of Heimdallr, also appears in *Skírnismál* 28 *vörðr með goðom* ‘warden among the gods’.³⁷⁹ Heimdallr is a very shadowy figure, and has been connected with many facets of Norse mythology. In my M.Litt. dissertation I discussed his relationship with trees. He seems to be a very ancient deity, as Schröder writes:

“Wie Heimdall der “Wächter der Götter” (*vörðr goða*) ist Agni “des Himmels Wächter” (*divás pāyúh*, 8, 60, 19), und nachdrücklich wird immer wieder seine Wachsamkeit hervorgehoben: “der wachsame Hirte des Volkes” (*jánasya gopā jāgrvih*, 5, 11, 1), ein “nach allen Seiten Schauender”; er ist der Gott, “der mit den Augen die beiden Geschlechter beobachtet wie ein Wächter die Wege”, “mit hundert Augen blickend”. Ebenso heißt es auch von Mitra, der mit Agni manche Züge gemein hat, er “gibt auf die Völker Acht, ohne die Augen zu schießen”, und vom iranischen Mithra im 10, *Mithra- (Mihir-) Yašt* des Avesta.”³⁸⁰

Furthermore, Heimdallr seems to be directly related to Yggdrasill and the idea of an *axis mundi*:

In *Völuspá* 27, the *völva* says how she knows that the *hljóð* ‘hearing’ of Heimdallr is hidden beneath Yggdrasill.³⁸¹ There has been some difficulty in the interpretation of *hljóð*. Some scholars believe that it is the Gjallarhorn.³⁸² The fact that it lays underneath it connects Yggdrasill to Heimdallr. Heimdallr’s hearing is important, and the pledging of it to the World Tree reminds of Óðinn, who gave one eye to

³⁷⁸ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 64.

³⁷⁹ *Skírnismál*, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, v. 1 (Reykjavík, 2014). p. 385.

³⁸⁰ Franz Rolf Schröder, “Heimdall.” In, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, v. 89 (1967). pp. 6-7.

³⁸¹ *Völuspá* XXVII. ‘Veit hon Heimdalar | hljóð um folgit | undir heiðvönum | helgum baðmi; | á sér hon ausaz | aurgum forsi | af veði Valföðrs. | Vítuð ér enn – eða hvat?’ Translation:

‘I know of Heimdallr’s | *hljóð* hidden | under the used to the blue clarity of the heavens | holy tree; | she sees it pour | in a muddy fall | from Valföðr’s pledge. | Do you know now – or what?’

³⁸² *Völuspá*. pp. 56-57.

the well of Mímir beneath Yggdrasill.³⁸³ Tolley believes that Heimdallr is a reflection of an *axis mundi*.³⁸⁴ In *Lokasenna*, Loki states that Heimdallr is bound to stay immobile.³⁸⁵ Tolley supports his theory by mentioning that Heimdallr's *örgu baki* is reminiscent of the *hvíta auri*, described in *Völuspá* XIX,³⁸⁶ which is found laded upon Yggdrasill.³⁸⁷ In the Eddic poem *Þrymskviða*, Heimdallr is also called *hvítastr ása* 'whitest of the gods'.³⁸⁸ This strengthens Heimdallr's connection to Yggdrasill, which seems very likely.³⁸⁹

In addition to that, Heimdallr seems to be directly related to humans, which is interesting in juxtaposition to the importance he is shown to have in the world of the gods in Stanza 13. In the first stanza of *Völuspá*, mankind is called *mögu Heimdalar*, directly relating him to it.³⁹⁰ However, Heimdallr is not mentioned at all in the stanzas that relate to the creation of mankind by a trio of other gods. Another Eddic poem, *Rígsþula* shows Heimdallr, who goes by the name Rígr, wandering around the world and contributing to the birth of thralls and slaves, freemen, and earls and kings.³⁹¹ Whereas the purpose of this thesis is not to discuss the multiple facets of Heimdallr (a whole thesis dedicated on this subject would probably not be enough), I deemed it important to give some examples of different attributes given to this god in other Eddic sources. This not only shows how different Eddic sources can be, but also that the Heimdallr

³⁸³ Turville-Petre, *Myth and Religion*. pp. 149-150.

³⁸⁴ Tolley. p. 369.

³⁸⁵ Liddell and Scott. 48. pp. 417-418. "Þegi þú, Heimdallr! | þér var í árdaga | it ljóta líf of lagit; | aurgu baki | þú munt æ vera | ok vaka vqrðr goða." Translation: "You be silent, Heimdallr, | in days of yore for you | an ugly short life | with your back dirty | you must for ever stand | and be awake warding the gods".

³⁸⁶ *Völuspá*. 'Ask veit ek standa, | heitir Yggdrasill, | hár baðmr, ausinn | hvíta auri; | þaðan koma döggar, | þars á dala falla, | stendr æ yfir grønn | Urðarbrunni.' Translation: 'I know an ash standing | called Yggdrasill, | a high tree, ladled | *hvíta auri*; | the dews come from there, | that fall to the dales, | stands ever green | in Urðr's well.'

³⁸⁷ Tolley. p. 375.

³⁸⁸ *Þrymskviða*, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, v. 1, (Reykjavík, 2014). 40. p. 424. 'Þá kvað þat Heimdallr, | hvítastr ása, | vissi hann vel fram | sem vanir aðrir: | "Bindum vér Þór þá | brúðar líni, | hafí hann it mikla | men Brísinga." Translation:

'Then said Heimdallr, | the whitest of the gods. | he knew well what will come | as the other vanir: | "We bind then on Thor | the bridal linen, | he has it great | Brisingr's necklace."

³⁸⁹ Mattioli, "Of Tree-Men: Askr and Embla and the Indo-European Anthropogony." pp. 35-36.

³⁹⁰ *Völuspá*. I, p. 6.

'Hljóðs bið ek allar | helgar kindir, | meiri ok minni | mögu Heimdalar; | vildu, at ek, Valfqðr, | vel fyr telja | forn spjöll fira, | þau er fremst um man.'

Translation: I request hearing from all | of the holy offspring, | greater and lesser | sons of Heimdallr; | you will, Valfqðr, that I | will relate to you | tales of ancient events of gods and men, | that are furthest back in time from man.

³⁹¹ *Rígsþula*, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, v. 1 (Reykjavík, 2014).

found in *Grímnismál* need not be related to the Heimdallr found in *Lokasenna* and so on. *Grímnismál* gives no information that would connect Heimdallr to either the world tree (or any other *axis mundi*), nor to mankind, but instead portrays him solely as the watchman of the gods.

This stanza is quoted by Snorri. *Heitir* replaces *ero en atto*. *Býr*, ‘lives’, is added after *heimdall*. Otherwise, the stanza is similar.

Stanza 14.

Fiolcvanгр er inn niundi | enn þar freyia reþr
sesa costom isal.
halfan val | hon kýs hverian dag
enn halfan oðinn á.

The ninth is Fiolcvanгр, | but there Freyia rules
the excellences of seats in the hall.
Half of the slain | she chooses each day,
but half Óðinn has.

Fiolcvanгр ‘people field’ or ‘host field’. It is only mentioned here and by Snorri who quotes this line.

Freyia is commonly understood to mean the goddess, sister of Freyr, Freiya. Just like Freyr in the masculine, Freiya can mean ‘noblewoman, housemother’.³⁹² Her attributes appear to be similar to Freyr’s, and I would argue that there is a slight possibility that the two were originally a single entity, perhaps an androgynous one. Alternatively they both could have been just a polite way to address male and female deities. Just as it has been discussed with regard

³⁹² Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon. p. 208.

to Freyr, above, I find it probable that only one of them was a deity at one time, or that both titles were used as terms of address for male and female deities.

Halfan val | hon kýs hverian dag, | enn halfan Óðinn á. According to S&G it is very strange that Freyja would be the one to have half of the slain, and they would expect Frigg, Óðinn's wife, to have half of the slain instead. They mention Finnur Jónsson's edition of 1888 in which he replaced Freyja with Frigg in this line.³⁹³ I do not see any reason for agreeing with such an emendation, which is heavily based on conjecture.

Taking into consideration that there is a chance that Freyr and Freyja might have been the same entity, a different reading to this stanza could be made. If that were the case, one could argue that the two might not appear in the same source/beliefs if the source is old. As such, this would give this stanza a very different reading, in which *freyia* would be not seen as a personal name, but a common noun that would denote a lady. This lady would presumably be Óðinn's consort, as S&G and others have argued. Whereas Frigg is not mentioned in *Grímnismál* at all, there is another goddess that could fulfill this attribute, Sága. For more information about Sága in *Grímnismál*, see the commentary on st. 7.

Snorri quotes this stanza as well. As with the two above, *heitir* is found instead of *er inn niundi*. *Sesa costum isal* is also different: *kosta beztum sal*.

Stanza 15.

Glitnir er inn **tíundi**. | hann er guli studdr
oc silfri þackþr iþ sama.
enn þar forseti | byggir flestan dag
oc svæfer allar sakir.

³⁹³ Sijmons and Gering. p. 192.

The tenth is Glitnir, | it is supported with gold

and with silver thatched likewise.

But there Forseti | dwells most days

and lulls all sakes.

Glitnir means ‘the shining’. It appears only in this stanza in Eddic sources, and is then used by Snorri in *Gylfaginning*. It also appears as a horse name in Snorri.³⁹⁴

forseti is, according to Snorri, a god. He is the son of Baldr and Nanna.³⁹⁵ Other than *Grímnismál* 15 and the passage in Snorri, *forseti* does not appear as the name of a god anywhere. There is one place-name in Norway, according to S&G, that bears his name, Forsetalundr ‘Grove of Forseti’.³⁹⁶ However, taking the meaning of *forseti* as a common noun, as well as its later usage in Iceland, is ‘president, presider, peace-maker’ and it may not be related to a specific deity but may be a title or attribute.

In support of there being a god named Forseti is the *Vita sancti Willibrordi*, in which, the saint is said to have visited an island called Fositesland, after the god which the people that lived there worshipped.³⁹⁷ According to Simek, there have been attempts in connecting Fosite

³⁹⁴ Ibid. p. 192.

³⁹⁵ Snorri Sturluson, *Gylfaginning*. ch. 32. p. 26.

‘Forseti heitir sonr Baldrs ok Nǫnna Nepsdóttur. Hann á þann sal á himni er Glitnir heitir, en allir er til hans koma með sakarvandræði, þá fara allir sáttir á braut. Sá er dómstaðr beztr með guðum ok mǫnnum.’

Translation: ‘The son of Baldr and Nǫnna Nepsdóttir. He has that hall in the heavens which is called Glitnir, but all which come to him with difficult legal disputes, then they all travel away reconciled. That is the best place of judgement among the gods and men.’

Snorri then proceeds to quote the stanza from *Grímnismál*. It is very likely here that Snorri had no source other than *Grímnismál* when he wrote about Forseti. The extra information he gives is only his parentage, which could have easily been thought up by himself, and he expands on the *Grímnismál* stanza without giving any actual information. This is a typical example of why I find that using Snorri in studying Eddic sources is counter-productive and can bring only more questions other than answering any properly.

³⁹⁶ Sijmons and Gering. p. 193.

³⁹⁷ Thiofrid, *Vita Sancti Willibrordi*, vol. SS 23, pag.: 14, lin.: 12.

‘Quod in insula Fositeslant in magna supersticionis loco fixit tentoria et animalia ibi pascentia in suorum distribuit cibaria et ob id apud regem accusatus’

Translation by Michael French: That on the island Fositelant in a place of great superstition he set up tents and distributed animals there, who grazed upon their food. On account of this, he was accused before the king.

with a Nordic god named Forseti by trying to find a common base-form **Forsete* or **Forsite*, which would have been interpreted as Forseti in the north.³⁹⁸ Another etymology of the name Fosite sees him as being a loan-word from the Greek god *Ποσειδῶν* ‘Poseidon’. This would make Fosite and Forseti sound similar, but unrelated to each other. Simek finishes his entry on Forseti by stating how Forseti being similar to Fosite, does not strengthen his relation to the law:

The hypothesis that Forseti is, as Snorri suggests, a god of law and legal disputes (de Vries), is found wanting because the derivation of Forseti from Frisian does not give the meaning of the Nordic name any more proof and as such cannot be considered in order to support this theory, however suggestive it might appear at first sight.³⁹⁹

Whereas there are arguments that are both in favor and against a relationship between Fosite and Forseti, I have chosen to take the safe path and not claim that there is one. The absence of the ‘r’ in the name cannot be explained. I have thus chosen to not capitalize *forseti* as a personal name and leave it with the meaning the word has on its own, which has the stanza make as good a sense as it would if *forseti* had been the name of a deity.

flestan dag is awkward, as it does not mean ‘the majority of the day’, but ‘most days’, according to S&G.⁴⁰⁰

svefer allar sakir. I have chosen to translate this as ‘lulls all sakes’, *sakes* with the meaning of ‘offenses, prosecutions for legal offense’. This line is the only reason for which the god Forseti (if there is indeed a god named Forseti) is seen as being a god of law.

This stanza is also quoted in *Gylfaginning*. It is the same.

³⁹⁸ Simek. p. 89.

³⁹⁹ Ibid. p. 89.

⁴⁰⁰ Sijmons and Gering. p. 193.

Stanza 16.

Noa tun ero en **elliptu**. | enn þar niorþr hefir
ser um gorva sali.
manna þengill | enn meins vani
hatimbroþom haurg.

The eleventh are Nóa tún, | but there Niorþr has
made halls for himself,
king of men | the one who lacks harm
rules a high-timbered sanctuary.

Noa tun literally means ‘ship town’ or ‘ship hedge’. *nór* means ‘ship, boat’ and comes from Primitive Germanic **nòwa-z*, cognate with Latin *nàvis* ‘ship’, Greek *ναῦς*, ‘ship’, Sanskrit *nau*, ‘ship’. The earliest attested reference is Linear B *na-u-do-mo* ‘ship-builders’.⁴⁰¹ It could be a kenning for ‘sea’. The word could also be cognate with the Biblical name of Noah, the similarity in sound being obvious, and the relation of Noah to the Flood and building of the Ark is something that can support such view.⁴⁰² *Tún* is cognate with English ‘town’ but in Old Norse mainly meant ‘hedge, enclosure’.

Niorþr: a lot can be said about this deity. By seeing that Niorþr resides in Nóa tun, one can surmise that he is a deity related to the sea. A number of sources other than *Grímnismál* support such statement, so there seems to be little doubt about said relation. From st. 43 of *Grímnismál* we also know that Freyr is his son. According to Simek, Niorþr is a name that

⁴⁰¹ Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon. p. 673.

⁴⁰² It should be noted, however, that the Oxford Dictionary of first names does not list this as a possibility: ‘in the Bible it is implied that it means ‘rest’ (Genesis 5:29, ‘and he called his name Noah, saying, this same shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed’). One tradition indeed explains it as derived from the Hebrew root meaning ‘to comfort’ (see Nahum) with the final consonant dropped.’

Source: *A Dictionary of First Names*, ed. Patrick Hanks, Kate Hardcastle, and Flavia Hodges, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 2006). Web Entry on Noah.

appears scarcely in Skaldic poetry and is mainly found in Eddic poetry, and that apart from the above-mentioned information, little else is known about him.⁴⁰³ This would point to Niorþr being a late addition to the Germanic pantheon, but his name itself points otherwise. In fact, Tacitus mentions the worship of the goddess of the earth Nerthus (presumable *Nerþuz), a passage quoted in my commentary on st. 11.⁴⁰⁴ According to Ásgeir, Niorþr stems from Proto-Germanic *nerþu- which is cognate with Latin *neriðsus* ‘strong’.⁴⁰⁵ There is no explanation on the change of sex (an apparent swap between Skapi and Niorþr, as mentioned above), but Simek explains it by writing that *Nerþuz was either a divine brother and sister, or a hermaphrodite. The connection between the goddess Nerthus and Niorþr further strengthens his relation to the sea, since, as seen in *Germania*, the cult of Nerthus was centred on a sacred island.⁴⁰⁶ Toponymic evidence could also support the relation of Niorþr/Nerthus with the sea when one looks at the ones found in Norway, where all of them are found near the coast. As opposed to this, when one looks at the place-names related to him/her in Sweden, all of them are in inland regions, pointing to a fertility attribute.⁴⁰⁷ This difference is further evidence to the fragmentation of Germanic beliefs and the different regional aspects of cults. Whereas it is evident that Niorþr was worshipped in both Norway and Sweden, and he could have been both a deity of fertility and the sea (his stemming from a “Mother Earth” goddess shows the obvious relations to fertility), the cult centred on him evolved differently in the two different regions. Looking at the information we get from *Grímnismál*, it is evident that Niorþr is a god related

⁴⁰³ Simek. p. 234.

⁴⁰⁴ Tacitus. ch. 40. p. 46.

⁴⁰⁵ Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon. p. 671.

⁴⁰⁶ *Germania* continues the chapter describing such veneration:

‘Est in insula Oceani castum nemus, dicatumque in eo vehiculum, veste contactum; attingere uni sacerdoti concessum. Is adesse penetrali deam intellegit vectamque bubus feminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur.’

Source: Tacitus. ch. 40. p. 46.

Translation: In an island of the Ocean, there is an untouched grove, and in it a covered vehicle; that only the priest can touch. He feels the presence of the goddess and follows her with great veneration, when she is taken to the vehicle carried by cows.

⁴⁰⁷ Simek. p. 234.

to the sea. This could support a Norwegian composition of the poem, or, if nothing else, show the unlikelihood of *Grímnismál* having been composed in Sweden.

manna þengill: it is interesting to see the connection of Niorþr with mankind. An explanation could be that Niorþr, being related to the sea, would be a central deity for a seafaring community. As such, this would further point to a composition of the poem from somewhere close to the sea. It is interesting, however, to remind the reader of Heimdallr's relation to humans as well, mentioned in the commentary of st. 13, and further seen in other Eddic sources.⁴⁰⁸

hátinbroþom haurg recalls *Völuspá* 7.⁴⁰⁹ This could be taken as having two distinct meanings. *horg* can be translated as sanctuary, meaning a closed temple space, which in this case, being 'high-timbered', would be large and made of wood, but could also be an altar of stone erected on a high place and built in open air,⁴¹⁰ in which case, the high-timbers could point to a forest with large trees. The second meaning reminds one of the worship of Nerthus mentioned by Tacitus, but the long period of time between the composition of the two sources makes such a connection a weak one. What is important, in this case, is to remind the reader that an open space within a forest with large trees is something that would not be present in Iceland. Whereas the composer of *Grímnismál* could have travelled to mainland Europe, or just heard about forests, I find it more likely to believe that the composer would use landscapes that would be familiar to them and the listener. Thus, *hátinbroþom haurg* would, in this case, point towards a composition around a region where forests were present.

⁴⁰⁸ See *Völuspá* and *Rígsþula* especially.

⁴⁰⁹ *Völuspá*. St. 7, p. 293.

'Hittusk æsir | á Iðavelli, | þeir er horg ok hof | hátinbruðu; | afla lögðu, | auð smíðuðu, | tangir skópu | ok tól gørðu.'

Translation: 'The gods met themselves | on the plains of Iða, | they which sanctuaries and temples | built high-timbered; | wealth they smithed, | smith's tongs they shaped | and tools they made.

⁴¹⁰ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 311.

The last verse is a bit different in AM. Instead of *hatimbropom haurg*, it reads *hatimbruðum horgi ræðr*.

Stanza 17.

Hrísí vex | oc há grasi
vinþars land. viði
en þar maugr af læzc | af mars baki
frøcn oc hefna fauður.

The land of Víþar | grows with bush
and high grass and with wood.
But there the offspring lets himself be | bold from a steed's
back to avenge his father.

Hrísí vex according to S&G is agreeing with *Hávamál* 119,⁴¹¹ and according to them this is not a coincidence but proof that either poem has been influenced by the other.⁴¹² I do not find any reason to consider this to be the case. Whereas *hrísí vex* obviously appears in both cases, something growing with bush does not seem to me to be any special idiom. Are S&G trying to tell us that nobody likes Víþar and thus his land is never visited? I find that this would be reading too much into the stanza, and see no reason to agree with S&G.

Víþarr: according to Ásgeir could mean ‘he who controls the wide state’.⁴¹³ However, this definition is not certain, according to Simek. He also writes that Víþarr is not mentioned

⁴¹¹ *Hyndluljóð*. 119, p. 346.

‘Rádumk þér, Loddfáfnir, | en þú ráð nemir, | njóta mundu ef þú nemr, | þér munu góð ef þú getr: | veiztu, ef þú vin átt, | þanns þú vel trúir, | far þú at finna opt, | þvíat hrísí vex | ok hávu grasi | vegr er vætki trøðr.’
Translation: This I advise to you, Loddfáfnir, | but you should accept this advice, | you will benefit if you accept it, | it will do good to you, if you are able: | know you, if you have friend, that one which you trust well, | fare you to find him often, | because with bush it grows | and high grass | the way that no one treads on.

⁴¹² Sijmons and Gering, p. 193.

⁴¹³ Ásgeir writes exactly the following: ‘sá sem ræður víðlendu ríki. Source: Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon. p. 1130.

in any skaldic poetry but appears only in Eddic sources. There is a small number of place-names in Norway that could show his existence as a god, but are not enough to prove whether there was a cult centred on him. Simek is also sure that Víþarr is a relatively ‘young’ god.⁴¹⁴

viði is interesting in looking at editorial variation. Rory McTurk writes:

My next example, a more complicated one, is intended to illustrate a possible variety of response of the same kind as is illustrated by a number of Robinson's Old English examples. It is from *Grímnismál*, str. 17, which may be quoted from Neckel's edition as follows:

Hrísí vex oc há grasi

Víðars land, viði.

This, as printed by Neckel, presumably means: 'Víðarr's land is overgrown with brushwood and tall grass; with a forest'. In this interpretation, the word *viði* is seen to parallel the expression *Hrísí... oc há grasi* and to provide an example of what in Campbell's terms would be called a summarizing parallel, a compression of a preceding word or phrase and the exact opposite of the expanded parallel, discussed above. In Bugge's edition, on the other hand, the word *Viði* is printed with a capital V and presented as the name of Víðarr's land; whereas Neckel takes this word as a strong masculine common noun (*viðr*) in the dative, Bugge takes it as a strong neuter proper noun (*Viði*) in the nominative. In Bugge's text, then, while it is the last word in the quoted passage that constitutes the second expression in the variation, as in Neckel's, it is *Víðars land* (rather than *Hrísí... oc há grasi*) that constitutes the first, and it is the specifying rather than the summarizing type of variation that is involved (it may be noted at this point that Paetzel, who was using Bugge's edition, does not include the relevant expressions among his examples, presumably because, once again, he takes them as a clear-cut instance of explanatory apposition; or possibly because he was aware of the alternative reading that Neckel's text reflects, and regarded the case as too doubtful generally to merit inclusion).⁴¹⁵

I have chosen to keep *viði* as a common noun and not as the name of Víðarr's land.

Enn þar maugr of lezk | af mars baki | fröcn oc hefna fauður. Here we are explicitly told that Víþarr is the son of someone, unsurprisingly, but these lines probably point out that Víþarr's father is either present in the poem, or is someone well known to the audience of *Grímnismál*. It also mentions the avenging of the father, which shows that whoever the father

⁴¹⁴ Simek, p. 359.

⁴¹⁵ Rory McTurk, "The Poetic Edda and the Appositive Style," In *Poetry in the Scandinavian Middle Ages: 12 Congresso Internazionale Di Studi Sull'alto Medioevo: Papers* (Spoleto, 1990). pp. 329-330.

may have been, he is dead. In other sources, Víþarr is seen as being the son of Óðinn. There is no specific reference to this in *Grímnismál*, and the knowledge that the speaker here is Óðinn himself, and therefore someone alive, does not agree with such an idea. Óðinn could be speaking about the future, but taking all of the stanzas of *Grímnismál* into consideration this seems unlikely to me. Having said that, we are given no other idea as to who that father might be, and, thus, I would choose to refrain from explicitly naming Óðinn as the father of Víþarr, as likely a conclusion as this might be, since there is no reason to do so basing one's conclusions only on *Grímnismál* itself.

Dronke's commentary on this stanza is of particular interest, not because of any particular insight provided to the understanding of this stanza, but because it is an excellent example of why her work on the *Elder Edda* is problematic:

The settled contentment of the gods, with their own valuable lives and responsibilities and their gold-gleaming homes, is shattered by a glimpse of a deserted land, already overgrown by gorse, a patrimony which Óðinn's young son has abandoned to see and kill his father's killer – traditionally the Wolf. In *Vsp* 55 Víðarr's avenging blow to the Wolf's heart is the centre of the stage – *þá er hefnt fǫður*. In *Grím* Víðarr's land is in anticipatory neglect, as if the lad were setting off on a long, dedicated pilgrimage of vengeance. The emphasis is on his will, his sense of duty. We are not told that he achieved anything. Why does Óðinn – who is here the poet – allude to a tale of vengeance for his own death? Probably, it is deliberately to generalize, to point out that there is more than one wolf to exterminate – the *Einheriar* are constantly out on the attack (23) – and then to emphasize that Óðinn's death is a myth.⁴¹⁶

What Dronke sees described in this stanza is nowhere to be found in *Grímnismál*. There is no reason to specifically consider the description of Víþarr's land as one of abandonment. Such conclusions seem to come from Dronke's mind who then seems to have tried to find support in other poems which might be completely unrelated to *Grímnismál*.

⁴¹⁶ Dronke. p. 128.

Stanza 18.

Andhrímnir | letr ield hrimne
sę hrimni soðinn.
flesca bezt | enn þat fáir víto
hvat ein heriar alaz.

Andhrímnir | puts in Eldhrímnir
Sęhrímnir boiled,
best of fleshes. | But that few know,
with what the chosen warriors are fed with.

Andhrímnir means, according to Ásgeir, ‘a man with a sooty front’, the *hrim* meaning ‘the black soot on a kettle’.⁴¹⁷ S&G choose to translate the name as ‘er dem russ ausgesetzte’.⁴¹⁸ *And*, related to ‘an’ of ‘answer’ in English, denotes whatever is ‘opposite, against’. *Hrím*, though, could also mean ‘rime, hoar frost’, and *Hrímnir* is also a name of a giant in the Edda.⁴¹⁹ One does wonder whether *Andhrímnir* is meant to be a personal name or not. We could just be seeing a description of a cook, instead of someone specific.

Eldhrimne has the same second part of the compound as *Andhrímnir*, with the first being *eldr*, ‘fire’.⁴²⁰ By reading the stanza, there seems little doubt that *Eldhrímnir* is some form of cooking pot. As above, it could be that the name itself is not meant to denote a specific pot, but maybe be of more generic or descriptive nature.

Sęhrimni once again has the same second part *–hrím* which could have the meanings mentioned above. The first part could refer to the sea, therefore making the meaning ‘sooty sea-creature’. This meaning of the name, though, does not really agree with the rest of the

⁴¹⁷ Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon. p. 17.

⁴¹⁸ Sijmons and Gering. pp. 193-194.

⁴¹⁹ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. pp. 285-286.

⁴²⁰ Ibid. pp. 125-126.

stanza. In fact, *flesca bezt*, points to Sęhrimnir being a pig, since *flesk* means only ‘pork, bacon’.⁴²¹ As far as I can see there is no explanation for this. My idea is that Sęhrimnir could have originally been a sea-creature that would have been part of the mythology and maybe specifically food for the chosen warriors, possibly a kind of whale, which is known as *Marsvín*, ‘sea swine’. At some point was changed to a pig, with the name remaining intact. It would work well with the idea that *Grímnismál* was composed somewhere close to the coastline if Sęhrimnir were a fish. However, I must admit that I cannot base this interpretation in any source.

Dronke’s explanation of this stanza is very interesting though it also seems difficult to believe. She suggests that Sęhrimnir is a black boar coming out of the ocean to be cooked by the sun, which is Andhrimnir. The black boar would signify the ‘sooty Earth’, which provides food.⁴²²

This stanza appears in *Gylfaginning*. It is mostly the same. The sixth verse appears as *við hvat einherjar alast* instead of *hvat ein heriar alaz*.

Stanza 19.

Gera oc freca | seđr gunntamiþr
hroþigr heria fauđr.
enn viþ vín eitt | vapn gaufugr
ođinn ę lifir.

The accustomed to war, | boastful father of hosts
sates Geri and Freci,

⁴²¹ Ibid. p. 160.

It should be noted, however, that according to Paul Bibire ‘The word itself seems to have something to do with slicing or cutting, so gives no indication of what sort of thing it might have been slicing.’ This could more easily point to a more universal meaning of the word *flesk*, at least in earlier times. Source: personal communication.

⁴²² Dronke. p. 128.

weapon noble Óðinn | lives always
but with wine alone.

Gera oc Freca means ‘the Greedy one’ for both names. It is generally agreed that Geri and Freki are wolves that belong to Óðinn.⁴²³ Based on *Grímnismál* alone, we can understand that they are two beings that Óðinn sates, something that shows they are living creatures, and possibly animals.

gunntamīþr is an ἄπαξ λεγόμενον. The first part, *gunnr* means ‘war, battle’, and the second is related to *tamr*, ‘ready’. La Farge translates it as ‘accustomed to battle’.⁴²⁴

hroþigr heria fauðr could be translated both as ‘boastful father of hosts’ but also as ‘glorious father of hosts’. There is little doubt that this refers to Óðinn, since he is the main protagonist of this stanza.

enn víþ vín eit is a very peculiar line. According to S&G, one should not be thinking of the *vino immortalitatem nanciscitur* or the ἀμβροσία, since Óðinn is not immortal.⁴²⁵ Reading *Grímnismál*, however, we have no information on whether the author considered Óðinn to be immortal or not. What I find extremely peculiar is the choice of drink that the composer has given Óðinn. Wine was not a common drink among the Germanic speaking peoples, and Óðinn is usually coupled with mead in other sources. The rarity of wine would probably make it a high status consumption. However, people would have known about it. Many ideas come to mind as to why the composer would have chosen *vín* as the drink that nourishes Óðinn. First of all, this could be a metric choice, since *mjǫð* would not fit properly in this line. Secondly, the rarity of wine itself could make it a sought-after drink that only the most wealthy would be

⁴²³ Simek. p. 90, 106.

⁴²⁴ La Farge.p. 95.

⁴²⁵ Sijmons and Gering. p. 194.

able to afford. Óðinn, being generally seen as a god of nobility could easily be seen as someone that would drink such a prized liquid. The choice of *vín* could also be of a regional nature. Otherwise, it could show that the poem was written in a part of the Norse world where wine was accessible more easily through trade. If the composer of *Grímnismál* believed that the gods resided in the world of human habitation, maybe he believed that Óðinn resided further south of the Germanic lands, where wine would have been plentiful. All of these ideas are not based on any sources, however, but conjecture, and therefore their nature is to be taken as such.⁴²⁶

vapn gafugr is another *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον* that means ‘weapon-noble’. This being used to describe Óðinn is very peculiar, since Óðinn’s known weapon of choice is the spear, a weapon that was probably never considered noble. This is interesting with regard to the shifting nature of paganism. In fact, as seen in the analysis of Óðinn names in Part 2 Chapter 3.3, there is a distinct absence of spear related names for Óðinn in *Grímnismál*. According to Green, most Germanic warriors would be equipped by a spear and a wooden shield, both made almost entirely out of wood.⁴²⁷ The rarity of iron is also mentioned by Tacitus who writes that:

Ne ferrum quidem superest, sicut ex genere telorum colligitur. Rari gladiis aut maioribus lanceis utuntur: hastas vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas gerunt angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri et ad usum habili, ut eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel cominus vel eminus pugnent. Et eques quidem scuto frameaque contentus est; pedites et missilia spargunt, pluraque singuli, atque in inmensum vibrant, nudi aut sagulo leves.⁴²⁸

The sword, requiring more iron, would have been used only by the wealthiest of men instead.

Vapn gafugr could be another remnant of older beliefs where the main deity might have not been Óðinn, but possibly Þórr, as has been discussed, whose weapon is a war-hammer. The

⁴²⁶ Hence the absence of references.

⁴²⁷ Green, *Language*. p. 69.

⁴²⁸ Tacitus. ch. 6. p. 8.

Translation: ‘Not even iron abounds, as one may deduce from their kinds of weapons: few use swords or large lances. Spears or, to use their own word, *frameæ* are what they carry: with a short and narrow blade, but so sharp and easy to handle that with one and the same weapon they can as needed fight face to face or from a distance. The horseman is content with shield and *framea*, but foot-soldiers also rain down javelins: each man a number, propelling them a huge distance, naked or lightly clad in a short cloak.’

peculiar thing is that the war-hammer itself seems to bear little more importance than the spear, being a tool of a trade more than a weapon itself.

Snorri quotes this stanza as well in *Gylfaginning*. It appears exactly the same as in *Grímnismál*.

Stanza 20.

Huginn oc munninn | fliuga hverian dag
iormun grund yfir.
oumc ec of of hugin | at hann aptr ne comiþ
þo síám meirr um muninn.

Huginn and Munin | fly each day
over the great ground.
I fear for Huginn | that he shall not come back,
though I fear more for Munin.

Huginn oc Munin: these names have mainly been translated as ‘Thought’ and ‘Mind’ by most scholars,⁴²⁹ whereas they actually mean ‘Thoughtful’ and ‘Mindful’. Huginn and Munin are thought to be ravens, and many other sources point to that. *Grímnismál* does not specify this, but we are told that they *fliuga hverian dag iormun grund yfir*, which makes them winged creature and thus, likely birds. A number of skaldic lines support the view that they are ravens and there seems to be little doubt about that.⁴³⁰ Birds seem to have had some sort of relation to mental faculties. For example, *Hávamál* 13:

Ómínnishegri heitir

⁴²⁹ Simek. p. 164, 222.
see also: Dronke. p. 129.
⁴³⁰ Simek. p. 222.

sá er yfir ǫlðrum þrumir,
hann stelr geði guma;
þess fugls fjöðrum
ek fjotraðr vark
í garði Gunnlaðar.⁴³¹

Dronke writes of an explanation of why the heron is connected to forgetfulness:

In 1968 Lennart Elmevik reviewed the inconclusive state of scholarly opinion on óminnis hegri. He was himself most nearly convinced by Finnur Jónsson's suggestion that the linking of the drunkard's mental torpor with the heron arose from the bird's characteristic ability to stand motionless in water watching for prey, as if oblivious of all around it: 'Jag föreställer mig, att åsynen av en häger i sådan ställning, till synes glömsk av allt, bör ha kunnat egga en skalds fantasi. Steget till att låta fågeln i fråga ingå i en metafor för ölrusets glömska behöver sedan inte ha varit långt.'⁴³²

According to Kate Heslop, *óminnis hegri* is:

an 'anti-Muninn', a bird which personifies forgetting as the active obliteration of memory, hovering and snatching (*stelr*) memories like so many fish. The two passages share not only the bird image, but also the theme of anamnesis or 'calling back to mind', in the phrases *aptr uf heimtir* and *aptr né komið*. This theme points up the way in which memory, in Ann Rigney's words, 'begins not in the plentitude of experience but in the absence or pastness of the moment or period being recalled'. The raven Muninn was once there, and Óðinn nervously awaits his return, while *óminnis hegri* steals his victim's integrity to immobilizing effect, and it is not certain that the drinker will be able to retrieve his stolen *geð* once he has sobered up. Judy Quinn has pointed out the importance of distinguishing in *Hávamál* between Odinic and human experience, and it is possible to read this passage straight, as concluding the gnomes about moderation in consumption of alcohol in str. 11-12 with a warning of its amnesic effects. On the odinic level, however, *óminnis hegri* works, like the *óminnisveig*, magically rather than naturally.⁴³³

Furthermore, Hermann writes that 'traditions other than Old Norse have understood birds as images for the mind, and thus as symbols of memories and thoughts.'⁴³⁴ By reading this stanza,

⁴³¹ *Hyndluljóð*, p. 324.

Translation: It is called heron of forgetfulness | he who carries over ale drums, | he steals upon the mind of people; | with this bird's feathers | I became fettered | in the enclosure of Gunnlað.

⁴³² Ursula Dronke, "Óminnis Hegri." In, *Festskrift Til Ludvig Holm-Olsen* (Bergen, 1984). p. 53.

⁴³³ Kate Heslop, "Minni and the Rhetoric of Memory in Eddic, Skaldic, and Runic Texts." In *Minni and Muninn. Memory in Medieval Nordic Culture*, ed. Stephen A. Mitchell and Agnes S. Arnórsdóttir (Turnhout, 2014). p. 77

⁴³⁴ Pernille Hermann, "Key Aspects of Memory and Remembering in Old Norse-Icelandic Literature." In *ibid.* p. 15-16.

one can understand that Huginn and Munin have a close relation to the speaker, which we know to be Óðinn.

iormun grund means ‘great ground’, which is taken to mean ‘Earth’ by S&G.⁴³⁵ La Farge instead translates it as ‘immense surface’.⁴³⁶ The meanings of *iormun* have been discussed in Part 1, Chapter 2.2. *Grund* is, according to Cleasby-Vigfússon, ‘a green field, grassy plain’.⁴³⁷ Paul Bibire, however, interprets the word as meaning ‘the base of the things in the world, the lowest level physically’.⁴³⁸ Ásgeirr traces the etymology of *grund* to PIE *gheren-, ‘to grind, pulverise, crumble’.⁴³⁹

comiþ is a very awkward word. It has been emended to *komi* by Jónas and Vésteinn.⁴⁴⁰ *Comiþ* could be a mistake for *comi at*.

AM *komi*, which would make the line be *at hann aptr ne komi*, ‘that he shall not come back’.

AM adds *ec* before *mæirr um muninn* in the last verse.

This stanza appears in *Gylfaginning* and is mostly the same. *Aptr ne comiþ* appears as *aptr kemr*.

Stanza 21.

Þytr þund | unír þjóþ vitnis
fiscr floði í.
ár straumr | of micill

⁴³⁵ Sijmons and Gering. p. 194.

⁴³⁶ La Farge. p. 139.

⁴³⁷ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 217.

⁴³⁸ Personal Communication.

⁴³⁹ Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon. p. 283.

⁴⁴⁰ *Grímnismál*. p. 372

Jónas and Vésteinn write: *aptr né komit*: komi ekki aftur (neitunin tvítekin).

val glaumi at vaða.

Þund makes a rushing noise, | a fish is content

in the flood of Þjóðvitnir.

A river stream | seems too great

for the noise of the slaughtered to wade.

Þund means ‘to swell up’. It is only mentioned here in the Eddic corpus. It could merely mean water, or maybe a river. The kenning *Þundar glitnir* supports the view that Þund would be a river name.⁴⁴¹

Þjóðvitnis possibly means ‘nation-wolf’, but the *-vitnir* part is uncertain. This could be referring to Fenrir, but *Grímnismál* does not elucidate the audience on that. It probably shows that this would be understood by the audience. Dronke seems to imply that Þjóðvitnir is ‘the world serpent’, though gives no explanation as to why.⁴⁴²

unir Þjóðvitnis / fiskr floði í could both be translated as ‘a fish is content in the flood of Þjóðvitnir’, or ‘Þjóðvitnir’s fish is content in the flood’. In both cases the meaning seems obscure, especially taking into consideration the meaning of Þjóðvitnir. S&G have a very interesting explanation of these two lines, which is worth being reported here in its entirety:

vitner ist ein mehrfach überliefertes ókent heiti des wolfes (s. zu Vm 53⁴). Durch des steigernde präfix *þjóð-* (vgl. *þjóð-góðr*, *þjóð-leiðr*, *þjóð-mærr*, *þjóð-sterkr* usw.) wird der hier gemeinte wolf als ein furchtbares, gefährliches untier bestimmt; es kann daher kaum von einem anderen als von Fenrer die rede sein, der beim weltuntergange die sonne verschlingen wird (Vm 46, 47): diese ist der im luftmeere schwimmende ‘fisch’. *Þjóðvitnes* gehört also zu *fiskr*, nicht, wie Detter-Heinzel annehmen, zu *flópe*, und dies ist auch sicherlich nicht die aus dem geifer des Fenrer entstandene *V·n* (s. unten zu 28³), denn daß in diesem geifer fische sich wohlfühlen (*una*) könnten, ist eine vorstellung, die dem dichter scwerlich in den sinn kam. [Boer (Ark 22, 140 ff. schlange. Der strom, der Valhøll umgibt, hieße also nicht *Þund*, sondern *Valglaumner*, wie B. durch konjektur herstellt. Diese auffassung, die viel fü sich hat, ist im wesentlichen bereits von Bugge (Fkv. 79^b, 397²) begründet worden.]⁴⁴³

⁴⁴¹ Sijmons and Gering, p. 195.

⁴⁴² Dronke, *The Poetic Edda*, p. 129.

⁴⁴³ Sijmons and Gering, p. 195.

Basing one's explanation solely on *Grímnismál*, the foregoing citation seems unconvincing. The fish of Þjóðvitnir could refer to the sun.⁴⁴⁴ Not taking any other source in consideration, the first three lines of this stanza are far too obscure to understand, and even using what S&G write, the explanation does not become significantly better.

val glaumi is an ἄπαξ λεγόμενον and its meaning is uncertain. It literally would mean 'noise of the slaughtered'. La Farge is uncertain as well, and gives a tentative (and awkwardly complicated) translation of 'host of the slain hastening towards Valhall'.⁴⁴⁵ According to Bibire, it could refer to a horse or a giant name. If it refers to a giant, the last three lines of this stanza could mean that rivers around Valhalla are too great for the giants to wade. On the other hand, if it refers to a horse, one cannot help but think of another two stanzas in this poem, namely 29 and, to a lesser extent, 30, in which, as shall be seen below, Þórr has to cross rivers to reach the ash of Yggdrasil, and similarly the other gods might have to do the same.

This stanza as a whole, especially if the *unir Þjóðvitnis / físcr floði í* is a reference to Fenrir swallowing the sun, and *val glaumi* is about giants, could be taken as describing an Apocalyptic event. The *ragnarök* is a well-known event even to people uninterested in Old Norse literature and culture. Whereas it is never mentioned by this name in *Grímnismál* this could show that the composer of *Grímnismál* had an apocalyptic event in mind. Whether it was *ragnarök* as we know it (and whether it was named such), or whether it included different details is unknown. Of the Eddic poems, *Völuspá* is the one with the heaviest connotations of *ragnarök*, and the problem there is the agreed Christian composition of that poem.⁴⁴⁶ If references to an apocalyptic event had been limited to *Völuspá* and the allusion in *Grímnismál* it would be easy to dismiss the whole notion of an apocalypse as being Christian. However,

⁴⁴⁴ La Farge, p. 310.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 276.

⁴⁴⁶ John McKinnell, "Heathenism in *Völuspá*." In *The Nordic Apocalypse: Approaches to Völuspá and Nordic Days of Judgement*, ed. Terry Gunnell and Annette Lassen (Turnhout, 2013). p. 95.

possible references akin to the one in *Grímnismál* are found in other poems as well, making the matter more complicated. In conclusion, based on the reading of *Grímnismál* alone, this stanza is problematic. Not knowing for certain what most of these names refer to, it is very difficult to come to any more definitive conclusions about the stanza.

AM is a bit different in this stanza. The fifth verse reads *þikcir of mikill* instead of *of micill*.

Stanza 22.

Val grind heitir | er stende velli á
heilog fyr helgomdurom.
forn er su grind | enn þat fáir vito
hve hon er ilás lokin.

It is called Valgrind | which stands on flat land
holy before holy doors.
Old is this grating, | but few know it,
how she is locked in in a cord.

Valgrind means ‘grating of the slain’.⁴⁴⁷ According to Simek, Valgrind would be the fence in front of Hel, but not a gate to Valhauull, a statement which contrasts with S&G’s interpretation.⁴⁴⁸

heilog fyr helgom durom is interesting in that it means ‘before holy holy door(s)’. This is present in both manuscripts, something that makes it less likely that it would be a mistake. It could be that *heilog* refers to Valgrind. *Durom* can mean both ‘door’ and its plural, ‘doors’.

⁴⁴⁷ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 675.

⁴⁴⁸ Simek. p. 346.

Sijmons and Gering. pp. 195-196.

Through this stanza, it is impossible to understand whether the poet is describing one or more doors.

hve hon er í lás lokin would be translated as ‘how she is locked in in a cord’, ‘she’ agreeing with *grind* from the fourth line. *Lás*, however, could also mean ‘cord of a trap’.⁴⁴⁹ Cleasby-Vigfússon-Craigie translate it as ‘latch, lock’.⁴⁵⁰

AM has the above verse with *ilas um lokin*.

Stanzas 23-24.

Fimnhundruþ golfa | oc um fiorom togom
sva hygg ec bilscirni með bugomø:
ranna þeira | er ec rept vita
míns veit ec mest magar.

Fimnhundruþ dúra | oc um fiorom togom
sva hygg ec at valhauillo vera.
átta hundruþ einheria | ganga or einom durom
þa er þeir fara at vitni at vega.

Five ‘hundred’ hall floors | and beyond four tens,
so I think is Bilscirnir all together.
I know to be the greatest | of my offspring
of those halls which I know to be rafted.

Five ‘hundred’ doors | and beyond four tens,
so I think to be at Valhauill.

Eight ‘hundred’ chosen warriors | walk out of one doorway
then when they go to fight the wolf.

⁴⁴⁹ Paul Bibire, Personal communication.

⁴⁵⁰ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 377.

Note that sts. 23 and 24 are in inverted positions in AM 748 I 4to, with the one about Valhaull appearing first.

Fimm hundrup does not mean five hundred as in 500 but 600 since it should be remembered that the Scandinavian long hundred comprised a ‘hundred and twenty’. Thus, in Bilscirnir there are six hundred (600) doors and beyond forty (40). Six hundred and forty does not appear to hold any special importance in Germanic culture, nor does any number higher than that. Whether this was a random choice of number, maybe based on the metre of poetry, or a specific number that would have meant something to the composer and the audience is unknown.

sva hygg ec: *hygg* is a peculiar choice of a word here. It means ‘to think, believe, mean, to suppose’. The speaker, whom we know to be Óðinn, thus, shows uncertainty on the number of hall floors or rooms in Bilscirnir and doors in Valhaull. This is peculiar, especially taking into consideration that Valhaull is supposed to be a hall in Óðinn’s own domain. An explanation could be that this form fits metrically and was therefore used for this purpose.

Bilscirnir means ‘astonishing-bright’.⁴⁵¹ Simek translates it as ‘the one striking lighting with rays of light’.⁴⁵² Ásgeir gives two definitions: either ‘he who radiates light for a little while at a time’ or ‘the trust (he who fails to fail)’.⁴⁵³ Lastly, De Vries translates it not unlike Ásgeir into ‘der lichtstrahlen hervorblitzen lässt’.⁴⁵⁴ None of these definitions make much sense to me, I have to admit. Otherwise, Brink and Lindow write that:

It is perhaps worth noting that the name of this hall has a close relative in another hall’s name, an obviously ‘real’ hall, namely *Skíringssalr*, the old name for the royal estate/farm *Huseby*, at Tjølling, Vestfold, Norway. **Skíring-* is not known,

⁴⁵¹ Ibid. p. 62.

⁴⁵² Simek. pp. 37-38.

⁴⁵³ Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon. p. 55.

⁴⁵⁴ De Vries, *Altnordisches*. pp. 36-37.

either as a word or a name, and there have been many proposals for interpreting the name (see Brink 2007a: 60-3). These range from an old name for the bay down at Kaupang, or a by-name for Freyr. An interesting suggestion was put forward by Andreas Nordberg (2003), that the name of the hall may have meant ‘the shining, radiant *salr*’.⁴⁵⁵

If Nordberg’s suggestion were to be accepted, this could connect Skíringssalr and its meaning to the ‘light’ etymologies provided by Simek and Ásgeir.

Ranna þeira | er ec rept vita | míns veit ec mest magar. I translate this as ‘I know to be the greatest | of my offspring | of those halls which I know to be rafted.’ Rafted here probably means that spears are rafted in those halls. The greatest offspring has been taken to be referring to Þórr.

These two stanzas are also found in *Gylfaginning*. They appear exactly the same, with the exception of *um* before *fiorom togom*.

Stanza 25.

Heiþrún heitir geit | er stendr haulló a heriafauðrs.
oc bitr af lęraþs limom
scap ker fýlla | hon scal ins scíra miaðar
kna at su veig vanaz.

A goat is called Heiþrún | which stands on the hall of the father of hosts
and bites from Lęraþr’s limbs.
She must fill | the Scapker
that drink does not diminish.

Heiþrún appears to be a creature that damages Lęraþr. Clunies-Ross describes Heiþrún (and Eikþurnir from the following stanza):

⁴⁵⁵ Brink and Lindow. p. 184.

There are also other animal-like beings who represent sinister malign forces. They belong among what Georges Dumézil referred to as the 'cosmic bestiary' (1973f[1959]) of birds and animals that inhabit the World Ash, Yggdrasill, and another cosmic tree, Læraðr, which is mentioned in *Grímnismál* 25-6. The destructive power of these creatures is expressed in *Grímnismál* 35 through the image of the effect of animal overgrazing on the leaves, barks and roots of Yggdrasill.⁴⁵⁶

The meaning of the name is a very obscure name. According to Ásgeir, *heip-* might be a word related to any kind of magic.⁴⁵⁷ *-rún*, on the other hand, can mean any of the following: 'to enquire, mystery, secret conversation, hidden lore, mystery, written character, rune' and can also be related to magic.⁴⁵⁸ Simek writes that *heiðr* could be a ritual word related to sacrificial mead and mentions similarities with the goat from Greek mythology *Ἀμάλθεια*.⁴⁵⁹

Scapker is a very obscure word. It could be a given name of an item. *scap-* means 'frame of mind', while *-ker* is a 'cask'.

heriafauðrs means 'father of hosts' and is an Óðinn name.

Leraps appears to be a tree judging from this and the following stanza. Simek mentions its possible meaning as being 'causer of harm' (related to *læ*), but admits that it is an awkward name for a mythological tree.⁴⁶⁰ It has generally been thought to represent Yggdrasill, and Andrén writes of it that:

In Old Norse cosmology, then, the tree stands out as a distinct but complex figure of thought. I therefore think that we should not regard Yggdrasill as the 'true' world tree, but should consider Yggdrasill, Mimameid, Laerad, and Voslung's tree, and possibly 'the sacred tree', 'the windy tree', 'the measuring tree', and 'the gallows tree', as variations only, whereas other names were probably linked to different myths in which different aspects of the figure were emphasized.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁶ Clunies Ross, *Prolonged Echoes*. p. 63.

⁴⁵⁷ Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon. p. 314.

⁴⁵⁸ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 504.

⁴⁵⁹ Simek. p. 135.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 185.

⁴⁶¹ Andrén, *Tracing Old Norse Cosmology*. p. 32.

The importance of trees and the idea of an *axis mundi* has been discussed in Part I. However, it is also important to note how both Yggdrasill and Lęraęr are mentioned in *Grímnismál*, a fact that makes the idea of them referring to the same tree more unlikely. However, it could also be that both names refer to the same tree, something that the audience of *Grimnismál* would have known.

Stanza 26.

Eikęurnir heitir hiortr | er stendr ahaullo heriafáęrs.
oc bítr af lęraęs limom
enn af hans hornom | drýęr ihvergelmi
ęaðan eiga votn aull vega.

A stag is named Eikęurnir | which stands on the hall of the father of hosts
and bites from Lęraęr's limbs.
But from his horns | it drips into Hvergelmir,
thence all waters have their ways.

Eikęurnir is 'the one with the oak-like antlers'.⁴⁶²

Hvergelmi is the 'bubbling cauldron'. Egeler argues that this is likely a pagan name, because Snorri tries to reconcile what *Grímnismál* 26 says about it with some other strand of knowledge that places it to a primeval time with which its description here would not agree.⁴⁶³

Enn af hans hornom | drýępr í Hvergelmi, | þaðan eiga votn aull vega. These three lines are very important in the study of the cosmology of *Grímnismál*. In fact, as discussed in Part 5 Chapter 1, this shows that all rivers (the ones mentioned in sts. 27 and 28, but also

⁴⁶² Simek. p. 70.

⁴⁶³ Egeler. p. 26.

possibly all sources of water of the world) get their water from the water that drips into Hvergelmir, pointing to the idea that there are no different worlds between the abodes of the gods and humans, but a single one, the world of human habitation.

Matthias Egeler describes the great similarity found in this stanza with medieval Christian imagery that was present in Europe during the twelfth century. In fact, a number of important churches, especially in Rome, would have had depictions of the cross, with four rivers going downwards, almost like roots (see st. 31) and in some instances stags drinking water from them.⁴⁶⁴ Such similarities, along with the list of river names provided in st. 27-28, Egeler argues, and the fact that most of the river names seem to be completely unknown to Old Norse lore, mean that these three stanzas are of a Christian composition. On the list of river names and their being unknown, Egeler argues that they ‘are [all] invented names without any real cosmological significance or any indications of traditional roots’,⁴⁶⁵ a statement that presupposes that every single source on Scandinavian pre-Christian cosmology survives today (see sts. 27-28 below for more on the rivers). While it is strange indeed that most of the rivers in the list appear unknown to the modern scholar, the possibility that they would have represented something to the intended audience of *Grímnismál* cannot be ruled out. Egeler writes that the composer of these stanzas purposely invented the river names, in an attempt to contrast them to the four rivers mentioned in the Bible. Two of the four Biblical rivers, Pishon and Gihon, would have been virtually unknown to a European audience, considering the geographical distance, and therefore were equated with the Ganges and the Nile. However, in this analysis, Egeler forgets to mention that all rivers would have been known to Europeans simply because they were in the Bible itself. On the question of why some of the rivers mentioned in *Grímnismál* are actual known rivers of the Scandinavian world, Egeler says it

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid. pp. 18-22.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid. p. 32.

was a ‘concession to the contemporary world and contemporary Norse literature’.⁴⁶⁶ As a whole, Egeler’s suggestions are at least enticing and they do provide a valid explanation for this stanza and the list of river names. However, a few things should be kept in mind. For starters, it is interesting that the Christian imagery described above would have been taken in two different ways in the same poem. Basically, the four rivers that are starting at the foot of the cross and going downwards just like roots, is meant to be both the reason for st. 31’s description of Yggdrasill and the division of the worlds, and as the description of Hvergelmir and the source of all waters. This feels problematic. Furthermore, another issue, which Egeler admittedly notes in his article,⁴⁶⁷ is that while in the Christian imagery the stags are usually two or more and are only drinking from these rivers, *Grímnismál* only mentions Eikþurnir and makes him a critical actor in the source of water, through the dew of his antlers. Moreover, the motif of liquid dripping from horns, as Egeler himself argues, appears to be a purely pagan one.⁴⁶⁸ It should be added that Clunies-Ross, in discussing the animals mentioned in *Grímnismál* and related to Yggdrasill and Læraþr could be seen as referring to a ‘cosmic bestiary’, a term coined by Georges Dumézil and present in other religions as well.⁴⁶⁹ Eikþurnir has thus not been necessarily emulated from Christianity. Lastly, I would argue that there are two other things that should be kept in mind when thinking about this. While Egeler’s arguments are convincing, why would this Christian composer choose to blend such elements together and why should he have included a list of more than thirty rivers – breaking the metre – instead of just the four? I am unable to find a persuasive answer to that. Furthermore, even if stanzas 26-28 are taken to be of a Christian composition, which could be the case, that does not

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid. p. 32.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid. pp. 27-28.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 31.

⁴⁶⁹ Clunies Ross, *Prolonged Echoes*. p. 63.

make all of *Grímnismál* into a poem composed in the Christian period. These stanzas could be an interpolation, or have been composed by the editor himself.

Stanza 27.

Síþ oc víþ | sękin oc eikin
svaul oc gunnþró
fiorm oc fimbulþul. | rín oc rennandi
gipul oc gaupul.
gaumul oc geirvimul. | þęr hverfa um hodd goða.
þýn oc vin
þaull oc haull. | graþ oc gunnþorin.

Síþ and Víþ, | Sękin and Eikin,
Svaul and Gunnþró,
Fiorm and Fimbulþul, | Rín and Rennandi,
Gipul and Gaupul,
Gäumul and Geirvimul, | they turn around the treasure of the gods,
Þýn and Vin,
Þaull and Haull, | Graþ and Gunnþorin.

Síþ means ‘slow’. Hale suggests that it could instead be related to *síðr*, ‘long, hanging’. There could be parallels found with the Swedish Sibro, which is also related to *síðr*, or Sidus, derived from the same word.⁴⁷⁰

víþ could mean ‘wide’. Alternatively, it could be related to *víðr*, ‘wide’. Taking the *víðr* etymology, it could be related to Via, Barvio and Vidflaa, all being Norwegian river names, as well as Breia.⁴⁷¹

⁴⁷⁰ Christopher S. Hale, “The River Names in *Grímnismál* 27-29.” In *Edda: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Robert J. Glendinning and Haraldur Bessason (Manitoba, 1983). p. 168.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.* p. 168.

sękin means ‘hurrying forward’. A similar river name could be found in the Norwegian Sokna.

eikin means ‘frenzied’. If that were the case, Eikjola, found in Norway would have derived from a similar name. Alternatively, eikin could be linked to *eik*, ‘oak’, and is a common element in river names. A third explanation for this river name would derive it from *aka*, ‘to move, drive’, and parallels are found in rivers such as Akurda and *Aka in Norway and Agabæk in Denmark.⁴⁷²

svaul means ‘cold’. A number of Norwegian toponyms are possibly formed from a river name *Svala. The lake Suluvatnet could also be related, as well as the Swedish Svalen. Lastly, Cleasby-Vigfússon identify *svaul* as the Swale in England.⁴⁷³

gunnþró means ‘courageous’. The Norwegian Trona could be etymologically parallel with the *-þró* element. Hale suggests that *gunnþró* means ‘the one which travels swiftly or wildly in its course.’⁴⁷⁴

fiorm means ‘hasty’. Similar river names can be found in the Fjermendal and Fjermestad.⁴⁷⁵

fimbulþul means ‘rushing violently’. The Norwegian Humla and Kumra are semantically similar.⁴⁷⁶

rín is the Rhine.

⁴⁷² Ibid. p. 169.

⁴⁷³ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 780.

⁴⁷⁴ Hale. p. 170.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 170.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 171.

rennandi appears as part of a ship kenning according to S&G.⁴⁷⁷ It could be related to *renna*, ‘to run’. A number of river names in Norway are formed from *renna*. Hale quotes Magnus Olsen who interpreted this as meaning ‘the one which is always free of ice’.⁴⁷⁸

gipul oc gaupul seem to both be related to ‘yawning’ and indicate well-flowing rivers with steeply sloping shores.⁴⁷⁹ The Norwegian Gipa and possibly Gjeispa are probably related to *gipul*, while the pastures known as Goppollen are related to *gaupul*. The name of these pastures is probably derived from a river that flows in their vicinity.⁴⁸⁰

gaumul is cognate to *gamall*, ‘old’, and could refer to an old riverbed.

geirvimul means ‘swarming spear’. The *-vimul* element could be related to the district called Vimar or Vimir. The idea of rivers swarming with spears would have been common among Scandinavians, writes Hale, and is also found in the Haddingssagnet in the *Gesta Danorum* of Saxo Grammaticus.⁴⁸¹

þer hverfa um hodd goða translates as ‘they turn around the treasure of the gods’.

þýn means ‘rushing’. It also appears in *Njáls saga* as part of a kenning for gold.⁴⁸² There are several rivers in Norway with a similar name and meaning, such as Tya, while Cleasby-Vigfússon identify *þýn* as the Tyne.⁴⁸³

vin is unknown. It could be referring to the *vín á* mentioned in st. 28, in which case it would be the Dvina. (see st. 28 below).

⁴⁷⁷ Sijmons and Gering. p. 198.

⁴⁷⁸ Hale. p. 171.

⁴⁷⁹ Sijmons and Gering. p. 198.

⁴⁸⁰ Hale. p. 172.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid. p. 172.

⁴⁸² Sijmons and Gering. p. 198.

⁴⁸³ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 780.

þaull means ‘swollen’. Hale writes that it is identical to *þoll*, ‘young fir tree’. This would connect it to the Tollaaen and Tolga rivers.⁴⁸⁴ Cleasby-Vigfússon connect *þaull* with the Scottish river Thuil.⁴⁸⁵

haull means ‘sloping’. It could be related to Hallen and Haldalen, while a number of lake names in Sweden have a similar root.⁴⁸⁶

grap is probably derived from *gráðr*, ‘hunger, greed’.

gunnþorin means ‘more pugnacious’, or ‘daring’.

Stanza 28.

Vín á heitir enn | aunnor vegsvinn
þriðia þjóðnuma.
nýt. oc naut. | naunn. oc hraunn.
slíþ oc hríþ.
sylgr oc ylgr. | víþ oc ván
vaund oc straund.
giaull ocleiptr | þer falla gumnom nær
er falla til heliar hepan.

Yet, wine river is called, | another Vegsvinn,
a third Þjóðnuma,
Nýt and Naut, | Naunn and Hraunn,
Slíþ and Hríþ,
Sylgr and Ylgr, | Víþ and Ván,
Vaund and Straund,
Giaull and Leiptr, | they fall near to men
but fall to hell hence.

⁴⁸⁴ Hale. p. 174.

⁴⁸⁵ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 780.

⁴⁸⁶ Hale.

vín á, as will also be seen in Part 5 Chapter 1, could be referring to the Dvina. It means ‘wine river’.

vegsvinn is problematic. It could stem from *vegr*, ‘way’ and *svinnr*, ‘quick, swift’, which occurs in a number of Norwegian toponyms such as Svindalen. *Vegsvinn* would mean ‘the one who flows rapidly’.⁴⁸⁷

þiodnuma could mean ‘misleader of peoples’. Alternatively, it could be related to Norwegian *nome* which could derive from ON **numi*, ‘a little lake right beside a river, water container’. *Þjóð-* could in this case mean something like ‘great, powerful’.⁴⁸⁸

nýt possibly means ‘milk coloured’. It could instead be related to *nyt*, ‘enjoyment, produce, use’, relating to its richness in fish. The Swedish river names Gagnån and Nytteström derive from a similar meaning (and Nytteström the same root), as well as the Norwegian Nøsle and Nøtterøy.⁴⁸⁹

naut could, according to S&G, mean ‘the stinging or burning one’,⁴⁹⁰ or be cognate with Gothic *gantjan*, ‘to wet’, OHG *naz*, ‘wet’, and the Low German river Nette. In such a case, a similar name would be found in the Swedish lake Naten.⁴⁹¹

naunn means ‘bold’.

hraunn is related to *hrǫnn*, ‘wave’. Gira and Unna in Norway have both similar names and refer to rivers with rough waters.⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 176.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 176.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid. p. 178.

⁴⁹⁰ Sijmons and Gering. p. 199.

⁴⁹¹ Hale. p. 178.

⁴⁹² Ibid. p. 179.

slīþ means ‘terrible, fearful’. The river Otta in Norway is semantically parallel to slīþ.

hrīþ means ‘stormy’. Fjuka and Frysja are semantic parallels to hrīþ.⁴⁹³ Cleasby-Vigfússon instead connect hrīþ to the English Reed.⁴⁹⁴

sylgr means ‘devouring’. Svelga in Norway has the same etymology, just as Svelgsá in Iceland does.⁴⁹⁵

ylgr means ‘wolf’. The Norwegian river Ylja would thus be related to it. A number of river names in Scandinavia seem to be derived from wolf words, such as the Ulva, Ulvaen and Ulven.⁴⁹⁶

vīþ see above.

ván means ‘hope’. Toponyms such as Vonbækken and Ona are derived from the same. Alternatively, according to Hale, ván

‘is possibly an old ‘noa-’ name with the meaning of ‘hope, good prospects’ and called after a large, well-known river in the Norway of the pre-Christian period. [...] Ván could [potentially] be the old name for this river which is still found in the lake Vänern. The name also seems to occur in a couple of skaldic kennings, for example, *fránskíðs af mér Vánar* (*Plácitúsdrápa* 9/4) and *Vánar dags á Spáni* (*Útfarardrápa* 2/2).⁴⁹⁷

vaund means ‘the difficult’. Otherwise, it could be related to *vōndr*, ‘wand’, which would connect it to the district Gand and the lake Gjende and a number of river names related to *stafr*, ‘stick’.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹³ Ibid. p. 179.

⁴⁹⁴ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 780.

⁴⁹⁵ Hale. p. 179.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 180.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 181.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid. p. 181.

straund is unknown. It seems to be identical to *strǫnd*, ‘shore, coast’, but the relation of that to a river is difficult to find.

giaull means ‘resounding’. The toponyms Gjellestad, Gjeldal and Gjellebæk all are etymologically related to *giaull*, while a river Gjold seems to have formed a number of place-names in Denmark.⁴⁹⁹

leiptr means ‘lightning’ possibly referring to its speed.⁵⁰⁰ It could also be referring to its shine, which would thus connect *leiptr* with the Norwegian Lysa and Skinaaen rivers.

þer falla gumnom nær | er falla til heliar hepan. translates to ‘they fall near to men but fall to hell hence.’. Considering the information based on st. 26, these rivers have their origin in Hvergelmir, pass by where mankind resides and then proceed to fall to hell.

Christopher Hale, who has written an detailed article on the river names in *Grímnismál* states his belief that sts. 27-28 are an interpolation to ‘enlarge on the word *vǫtn* in st. 26.’⁵⁰¹ While all of Hale’s connections and derivations are not definitely proven, the original interpretation of these rivers being all (with the exception of *rín* and *vín á*) made up does not seem as strong. As Hale shows, a number of these rivers show connection to rivers and other place-names found in Scandinavia, especially in Norway, but also in Sweden. Some of these could be the names of actual rivers, while some rivers may have once been named as such and then their names changed, having survived only in compound names.⁵⁰² If the different metre and nature of these stanzas do indeed show that they were interpolations in *Grímnismál*, Hale’s analysis points to it being a very early interpolation, probably before *Grímnismál* was taken to Iceland. The evidence portrayed here makes Egeler’s argument about the Christian nature of

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid. p. 182.

⁵⁰⁰ Sijmons and Gering. p. 199.

⁵⁰¹ Hale. p. 165.

⁵⁰² Ibid. p. 182.

st. 26 (see above) more problematic. One of Egeler's main arguments is that these rivers were all made up by the mind of a Christian composer and that they bore no 'contemporary real world relevance'.⁵⁰³ While this may have been the case to an Icelandic scribe who put *Grímnismál* down to parchment, it does not seem to have been the case for the composer of this river list.

Stanza 29.

Kaurmt oc aurmt | oc kerlaugar tvę
þęr scal þorr vaða
hverian dag | er hann dōma ferr
at ascyiggdrasils.
þvi at as bru | brenn aull logo
heilog votn hlóa.

Kaurmt and Aurmt | and the two Kerlaugar,
Þórr must wade them
each day, | when he goes to judge
at the ash of Yggdrasill,
Because the bridge of the gods | burns with fire,
holy waters boil.

Kaurmt is, according to S&G, derived from *karmr*, 'bulwark'.⁵⁰⁴ What is particularly interesting is that a large island off the coast of Norway, in the region of Rogaland, now called Karmøy, used to be called by this name, normalised as Kǫrmt.

⁵⁰³ Egeler. p. 25.

⁵⁰⁴ Sijmons and Gering. p. 200.

aurmt is more difficult to derive. It could be related to ‘something that divides itself into arms that form a delta’.⁵⁰⁵

kerlaugar tver. *Kerlaug* is attested in the first stanza of *Snæfríðardrápa*, a poem attributed to king Haraldr hárfagri Hálfðanarson:

Hneggi berk æ ugg
óttá; hlýði mér drótt;
dána vekk dul at mey
drauga á kerlaug.
Drôpu lætk ór Dvalins greip
dynja, meðan framm hrynr
— rekkum býðk Regins drykk
réttan — á bragar stétt.⁵⁰⁶

The meaning here is definitely related to liquid and possibly as a river. The meaning of *Kerlaug* is ‘bath tub’.

Kaurmt oc aurmt | oc kerlaugar tver seem to be the names of four bodies of water – usually regarded as rivers. This can be surmised by the author’s usage of *vaða*, ‘to wade, to go through shallow water’.⁵⁰⁷ As seen above, at least one of them, *Kaurmt*, is problematic to think of as a river, considering that it survives as an island name in Norway. It could possibly relate to the sound separating the island from the mainland. If there is indeed a connection between the two, this could add to a theory of a composition of *Grímnismál* in the Norwegian coast, and possibly not far from where Karmøy is located.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid. p. 200.

⁵⁰⁶ Haraldr hárfagri Hálfðanarson, *Snæfríðardrápa*, ed. Russel Poole (Turnhout, 2002). p. 68. Translation (by Russel Poole): I constantly carry trepidation <in the rock of fear> [HEART]; let the company hear me; I bring to light a delusion after the maiden’s death in <the cup-liquid of the undead> [POETRY]; I make the drápa ring out from <the grasp of Dvalinn <dwarf>> [MOUTH], as it rushes forth on <the path of poetry> [TONGUE]; I offer men <a correct drink of Reginn <dwarf>> [POETRY].

⁵⁰⁷ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 673

heilög votn, it does not seem strange that waters would be deemed ‘holy’. A tradition seems to have existed and can also be attested in *Helgakviða Hundingsbana I*, 1.3 where *heilög votn* are mentioned.⁵⁰⁸ It could also be connected to a similar ancient Greek tradition, which can be seen in Homer *ἱερῶν ποταμῶν*, ‘holy rivers’,⁵⁰⁹ and Hesiod *ἱερὸν ῥόον Ὠκεανοῖο*, ‘holy river Oceanus’,⁵¹⁰ to name a few.

The idea of Þórr wading a river seems to have been used in at least one other text: *Þórdrápa*. Considering the possible connections with *Grímnismál*, it is of interest to see the passage in its entirety. See *Þórdrápa* 5-8 (77-80):

5. Ok geþverrir *varra
vann fetrunnar Nõnnu
hjalts af *hagli oltnar
hlaupár um ver gaupu.
Mjök leið ór stað stökkvir
stikleiðar veg breiðan
urðar þrjóts þar er eitri
æstr þjóðar fncestu.

6. Þar Í mörk fyrir markar
málhvettan byr settu
(ne hvélvölur hálar)
háf- skotnaðra (sváfu).
Knátti hreggi hoggvin
hlymþél við mól glymjja
en fellihryn fjalla
Feðju þaut með steðja.

⁵⁰⁸ *Helgakviða Hundingsbana I*, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, v. 2 (Reykjavík, 2014). p. 247.

⁵⁰⁹ Homer, *Odyssey*, ed. A. T. Murray (London, 1919). Book 10, v. 351

⁵¹⁰ Hesiod, *Works and Days*, ed. Hugh G. Evelyn-White (London, 1914). v. 566.

7. Harðvaxnar sér herðir

hallands ok sik falla

(*gatar maðr) njótr (hin neytri)

njarð- (ráð fyrir sér) -gjarðar.

Þverrir lætr nema þyrri

Þo<r>ns *barna sér Mornar

snerríblóð til svíra

salþaks megin vaxa.

8. Óðu fast (en) *fríðir

(flaut) eiðsvara Gauta

setrs víkingar snotrir

(*svarðrunnit fen) gunnar.

Þurði hrönn at herði

hauðrs runkykva nauðar

jarðar skafis af afli

áss hretviðri blásin.⁵¹¹

Of interest are also other similarities with *Grímnismál* to be found in this passage. Both Ymir's blood as being water is mentioned (see sts. 40-41) and Óðinn is called Gautr, which is given in the list of Óðinn names in *Grímnismál*.

⁵¹¹ Snorri Sturluson, *Skáldskaparmál*. pp. 26-27.

Translation: 5. And the honour-lessener [Thor] of the wake-hilt-[rock-]Nanna [troll-wife] caused the swollen rivers, rolling with hail over the lynx's sea [mountains], to be foot-crossed. The violent scree-villain-[giant-]scatterer very much disturbed the broad staked-track-way [river] where mighty rivers spewed poison.

6. There they pushed shooting-snakes [spears] in the fish-trap forest [river] against the talkative [noisy] fish—trap-forest wind [current]. The slippery wheel-knobs [stones] did not lie asleep. The clanging-file [ferrule] did bang on stones, and the mountains' falling-noise [river] rushed along, beaten by storm, with Fedia's anvil [rock].

7. The stone-land's [sword's] impeller [warrior, Thor], possessor of the strength-girdle, let the mightily-grown waters fall over him. One could have found no better course for oneself. The diminisher of Morn's children [giants] said his might would grow as high as the world's roof unless the violent Thorn's [Ymir's] neck blood [water] diminished.

8. The fine oath-bound Gaut's [Odin's] residence [Asgard] vikings [Æsir], battle-wise, waded hard while the sward-flowing fen [river] flowed. The earth-drift-[mountain-]wave [river] raged mightily, blown by stormy weather, at the ridge-land [mountain] room-[cave-]dwellers' [giants'] trouble-worsener [Thor].

Source: *Edda*. pp. 83-84.

hlóa is an ἄπαξ λεγόμενον. According to Cleasby-Vigfússon, it means ‘to bellow, roar’, and is meant to relate to rivers or cascades.⁵¹² However, others believe that *hlóa* means ‘to become hot, to boil, cook’.⁵¹³ If so, this could be related to st. 38 of *Grímnismál*.⁵¹⁴

This stanza as a whole could be referring to some lost myth about Þórr.⁵¹⁵ It should be noted that verses 4 through 6 are to be found in st. 30 as well. This could mean that lost verses in one of the two stanzas might have possibly been replaced with these. It is important to note, however, that these verses are to be found in this stanza in Snorri’s edition so, if st. 29⁵¹⁶ had changed or added them, this had happened before Snorri’s time. It could be interpreted that because the *as bru*, ‘bridge of the gods’ – which could be related to *bilraust* from st. 44 – is burning, Þórr has to wade the rivers instead.

This stanza is also quoted in *Gylfaginning* and is almost the same. *en* is added before *heilög votn hlóa*.

Stanza 30.

Glaþr oc gyllir | gler oc sceiðbrimir
silfrintoþtr oc sinir
gísl oc fálhofnir | gulltopr oc letfeti
þeim ríða ęsir íóm
dag hvern | er þeir dęma fara
at asci yggdrasils.

Glaþr and Gyllir, | Gler and Sciðbrímir,
Silfrintoþtr and Sinir,
Gísl and Fálhofnir, | Gulltoppr and Léttfet,

⁵¹² Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 272.

⁵¹³ La Farge. p. 115.

⁵¹⁴ Sijmons and Gering. p. 200.

⁵¹⁵ Simek. p. 183.

⁵¹⁶ Snorri Sturluson, *Gylfaginning*. pp. 17-18.

the gods ride those horses
each day | when they go to judge
at the ash of Yggdrasill.

Glapr means ‘glad, cheerful’.

gyllir means ‘gold coloured’.

gler means ‘luminous’. It can also be found in a *þulur* in which it is the name of a bow, and is used in skaldic poetry for kennings that relate to the sea.⁵¹⁷

sceiðbrimir means ‘the snorting one’.

silfrintoptr is ‘the one with silver-white hair’.

sinir is ‘the sinewy’.

gísl is ‘the radiant’.

fálhofnir means ‘the one with covered hooves due to hair growth’.

gulltopr means ‘the one with gold hair on his forehead’.

letfeti means ‘the one with a light pace’.

Most of these horses are also mentioned in a short *þulur* known as *Þorgrímsþula*:

1. Hrafn ok sleipnir
hestar agætir
valr ok lettfeti
var þar tialdari
gulltopr ok goti
getit heyrþac sota
mór ok lungr með mari.

⁵¹⁷ Sijmons and Gering. p. 201.

2. Vigg ok stufr

var með skefaði

þegn knatti blackr bera

silfr toppr ok sinir

sva heyrþac faks of getit

gullfaxi ok ior með goþum.

3. Bloðughofi het hestr

ok bera qvaþu

aufgan atriða,

gisl ok fallhafnir,

glær ok skeiðbrimir,

þar var ok Gullis of getinn.⁵¹⁸

One might notice the absence of Glapr in the *pulur*. Furthermore, and more interesting, would be the absence of horses such as Sleipnir, Blóðughófi and Hófvarpnir in the list of *ás*-horses in stanza 30.

Stanza 31.

Þriár røtr | standa aþria vega

undan asci yggdrasils:

hel býr undir einni | annarri hrimþursar

þriðio mennzkir menn.

Three roots | stand in three directions

⁵¹⁸ *Þorgrímsþula*, ed. Finnur Jónsson, v. 1 (Copenhagen, 1912). pp. 649-650.

Translation: Hrafn and sleipnir | excellent horses | valr and lettfeti | there were racers | gulltopr and goti | I heard soti get | mór and lungr with mari.

Vigg and stufr | were with skefaði | þegn I know blackr to bear | silfr toppr and sinir | so i heard fak get | gullfax and ior with the gods.

Bloðughofi is named a horse | and bears request to | strong atrið, | gisl and fallhafnir, | glær and skeiðbrimir, | there was also Gullir to get.

from under the ash of Yggdrasill.
Hel lives under one, | under another the Hrímpursar,
under the third human people.

hel here could be interpreted in different ways. It could be referring to hell, the abode of the dead. Alternatively, it could mean ‘death’. It could also be referring to Hel, the goddess of the underworld.⁵¹⁹ According to Simek, Hel is a ‘very late Poetic personification of the underworld Hel’. The first kennings referring to her are from as late as the tenth century, and the most detailed description is given by Snorri and is heavily influenced by Christianity.⁵²⁰ I hesitate to consider *hel* in st. 31 as necessarily being that personification, though that usage could certainly agree with the possible composition date of *Grímnismál*. While it seems certain that it is considered some sort of being (see *býr*), connecting her with the Hel described by Snorri feels to be a huge leap.

hrimpursar probably refers to *jotnar*. *Hrím* means ‘rime, hoar frost’, while the compound would refer to some sort of frost-*jotnar*. *Purs* is considered to be an older term than *jotunn* and is also found in *Hávamál* 109, *Skírnismál* 30, 34. While the usage in *Grímnismál* could be seen as anachronistic, it is interesting that two other Eddic poems with possible pre-Christian roots contain the same.

mennzkir menn. Clarification that it is human people that live under the third root of Yggdrasill is needed since the term *maðr* could have been used for other anthropomorphic beings as well. Dronke writes that all the damage to Yggdrasill mentioned in st. 32-35 come from the ‘realm of men’, and that this realm is in a state of ‘dereliction and danger’.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁹ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 254.

⁵²⁰ Simek. p. 138.

⁵²¹ Dronke, *The Poetic Edda*. p. 131.

Stanza 32.

Ratatoscr heitir ikorni | er renna scal
at asci yggdrasis.
arnar orð | hann scal ofan bera
oc segia níþhauggvi niþr.

The squirrel is called Ratatoscr | who must run
at the ash of Yggdrasil.
From above he must bear | the eagle's word
and say to Níþhauggr below.

Ratatoscr could mean ‘boring-tooth’.⁵²² It is a squirrel and according to Simek is just an ‘embellishing detail’.⁵²³ According to Bugge, the *rati* part of this compound cannot mean ‘drill’ because this was not a word used in the North. He instead translates the name as ‘rat-tooth’.⁵²⁴ Lastly, Cleasby-Vigfússon translate *rati* as ‘the traveller’ and the whole name as ‘Toskr the climber, Toskr the traveller’.⁵²⁵

arnar. S&G mention that according to different scholars, a stanza is missing between 31 and 32. This conclusion is brought by the absence of an explanation on what the *orn* of st. 32 is. They go as far as reconstructing such a stanza by using information taken from Snorri’s *Edda*:

Orn sitr á asks limom
es vel kveþa mart vita;
ogler einn honom augna í mille

⁵²² La Farge. p. 212.

⁵²³ Simek. p. 261.

⁵²⁴ Sijmons and Gering. p. 202.

⁵²⁵ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 483.

Veðrfólner vakar.⁵²⁶

As S&G agree, such an addition has little to no effect in the understanding of the poem. It is, therefore, pointless. It is common to try and explain every single aspect of a text. However, there is no need to give any name to the eagle, or any more information. It could either be that the audience was expected to know which *örn* was mentioned, or that it just did not matter at all.

orð could be translated in both the singular and plural.

níphauggvi is a problematic word. *Hauggvi* means ‘hewer’. The length of the vowel of the *níþ* element is not certain. It could be, in a normalised spelling, either *níð*, ‘malice, slander’, or *nið*, ‘the darkness of the moon’. It could be ‘abusive hewer’ or ‘dark hewer’.⁵²⁷

arnar orð / hann scal ofan bera / oc segia níphauggvi níþr. As others have pointed out before, these verses recall a fable by Phædrus:

Aquila in sublimi quercu nidum fecerat;
Feles cavernam nancta in media pepererat;
Sus nemoris cultrix fetum ad imam posuerat.
Tum fortuitum feles contubernium
Fraude et scelesta sic evertit malitia.
Ad nidum scandit volucris: Pernicies ait
Tibi paratur, forsan et miserae mihi;
Nam fodere terram quod vides cotidie
Aprum insidiosum, quercum vult evertere,

⁵²⁶ Sijmons and Gering. pp. 201-202.

Translation: An eagle sits on the ash’s foliage | who is said to know much; | between his eyes one hawk |
Veðrfólner is awake.

See also Snorri Sturluson, *Prologue and Gylfaginning*. 16. p. 18: Örn einn sitr í limum asksins, ok er hann
margs vitandi, en í milli augna honum sitr haukr sá en heitir Veðrfólner.

Translation: One eagle sits on the foliage of the ash, and he knows much, but between his eyes sits a hawk who
is named Veðrfólner.

⁵²⁷ Bibire. Personal Communication.

See also: La Farge. p. 194.

Ut nostram in plano facile progeniem opprimat.
Terrore offuso et perturbatis sensibus
Derepit ad cubile setosae suis:
Magno inquit in periculo sunt nati tui;
Nam, simul exieris pastum cum tenero grege,
Aquila est parata rapere porcellos tibi.
Hunc quoque timore postquam complevit locum,
Dolosa tuto condidit sese cavo.
Inde evagata noctu suspenso pede,
Ubi esca se replevit et prolem suam,
Pavorem simulans prospicit toto die.
Ruinam metuens aquila ramis desidet;
Aper rapinam vitans non prodit foras.
Quid multa? Inedia sunt consumpti cum suis
Felisque catulis largam praeberunt dapem.
Quantum homo bilinguis saepe concinnet mali,
Documentum habere stulta credulitas potest.⁵²⁸

In *Gylfaginning* 16, Snorri writes of Ratatoskr that it *berr ofundarorð milli arnarins ok Níðhoggs*, ‘brings grudging words between the eagle and Níðhoggr’.⁵²⁹ Because of the absence

⁵²⁸ Phaedrus, *Fabulae Aesopiae*, ed. L. Mueller (Leipzig, 1876). Book 2.4.

Translation by Christopher Smart:

An Eagle built upon an oak | A Cat and kittens had bespoke | A hole about the middle bough; | And underneath a woodland Sow | Had placed her pigs upon the ground. | Then treacherous Puss a method found | To overthrow, for her own good, | The peace of this chance neighbourhood | First to the Eagle she ascends- | " Perdition on your head impends, | And, far too probable, on mine; | For you observe that grubbing Swine | Still works the tree to overset, | Us and our young with ease to get." | Thus having filled the Eagle's pate | With consternation very great, | Down creeps she to the Sow below; | " The Eagle is your deadly foe, | And is determined not to spare | Your pigs, when you shall take the air. | Here too a terror being spread, | By what this tattling gossip said, | She slyly to her kittens stole, | And rested snug within her hole. | Sneaking from thence with silent treat | By night her family she fed, | But look'd out sharply all the day, | Affecting terror and dismay. | The Eagle lest the tree should fall, | Keeps to the boughs, nor stirs at all; | And anxious for her grunting race, | The Sow is loth to quit her place. | In short, they and their young ones starve | And leave a prey for Puss to carve. | Hence warn'd ye credulous and young, | Be cautious of a double tongue.

Source: *Fabulae Aesopiae*, ed. Christopher Smart (London, 1913). Book 2.4.

⁵²⁹ Snorri Sturluson, *Gylfaginning*. 16. p. 18.

of *qfundarorð* in *Grímnismál*, however, S&G find that such a comparison is not valid.⁵³⁰ It is likelier that Snorri might have been influenced by Phædrus than the composer of *Grímnismál*.

Stanza 33.

Hirtir ero oc fiorir | þeirs af hefingar á.
agaghalsir gnaga.
dainn oc dvalinn. | dúneyr oc duraþror.

There are also four stags, | they who gnaw
things lifted up from towering necks.
Dáinn and Dvalinn, | Duneýr and Duraþrór.

hefingar is an ἄπαξ λεγόμενον. Its normalised spelling could either be *hefingar*, *hæfingar*, or *hófingar*. La Farge translates it as ‘something which raises itself up’,⁵³¹ but ultimately its meaning is unknown and its role within the sentence is not understood.

agaghalsir is an ἄπαξ λεγόμενον. It means ‘towering’ probably. The *gag* element is not uncommon. It can be seen regularly in Norwegian as well, *gag-hals* and *gag-halsad* being found in the region of Hallingdal.⁵³² According to Bibire, *háls* has a wider meaning than English ‘neck’. It can be used for a pass between two mountains, a lower point of a ridge, etc.⁵³³

þeirs af hefingar á. | agaghalsir gnaga. are a very difficult couple of verses to translate or understand, mostly because of *hefingar* and *agaghalsir*. A possible translation, and the one I reached with the help of Bibire, is ‘they who gnaw | things lifted up from towering necks.’

⁵³⁰ Sijmons and Gering. p. 202.

⁵³¹ La Farge.p. 130.

⁵³² Sijmons and Gering. p. 202.

⁵³³ Paul Bibire. Personal Communication.

dainn means ‘dead’. It is usually thought of as being a dwarf name, while here it is clear that it refers to a stag.⁵³⁴ According to S&G, such a chthonic name makes these stags ‘animals of the underworld’ in mythical imagination.⁵³⁵ While this could be the case, I would refrain from thinking too much about connections between these names, dwarves, and the underworld.

dvalinn is another dwarf name. It means, ‘the slow one, the sleeping one’.

dúneyr means ‘the brown eared one’. It could be a corruption of the dwarf name Durner.⁵³⁶

duraprór means ‘slumber boar’. It does not appear as a dwarf name.

This stanza is particularly problematic. First of all it is not complete, missing a long line. Because of the uncertain meaning of *agaghalsir*, the meaning of the whole stanza becomes more dubious.

Stanza 34.

Ormar fleiri | liggja undir asci yggdrasils
enn þat uf hyggi hverr. osviþra apa.
Goinn oc moinn | þeir ero grafvitnis synir
grabacr oc grafvaulluþr
ofnir oc svafnir | hygg ec at ę scyli
meiþs qvisto má.

More in number wyrms, | lie under the ash of Yggdrasill

⁵³⁴ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 97.

⁵³⁵ Sijmons and Gering. p. 203.

⁵³⁶ Ibid. p. 203.

but it each of unwise apes considers it:
Góinn and Móinn, | they are Grafvitnir's sons,
Grábacr and Grafvaulluþr,
Ófnir and Sváfnir, | I think that always must
harm the branches of the tree.

Ormar can mean 'serpent, dragon' as well as 'worm'.

uf is an outfilling particle like *of*. It can also be used as a preposition. It appears to be a scribal form between *of* and *um*.

Goinn. The meaning of this name is uncertain. Simek writes that it could possibly mean 'land animal'.⁵³⁷

moinn has an uncertain meaning as well. It could be related to 'moor'.⁵³⁸

grafvitnis is interesting. It is to be expected that Grafvitnir is an *ormr* as well. However, *vitnir* is a wolf name. It is important to note that in GKS 2365 4o, the *a* is above the line and is in another hand. The name means 'grave wolf, ditch wolf'.

grabacr means 'gray back'. It is a poetic synonym to the Ormr lange ship from *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar*.⁵³⁹

grafvaulluþr means 'the one burrowing in the field'.

ofnir oc svafnir is a particularly problematic verse. The same two names are found in st. 54 as Óðinn names. A connection with *ormar* that damage Yggdrasill and Óðinn feels unlikely. Ofnir means 'the twisting one', while Svafnir 'bringer of sleep'.

⁵³⁷ Simek. p. 115.

⁵³⁸ Ibid. p. 222.

⁵³⁹ Sijmons and Gering. p. 203.

It should be noted that this stanza is longer than the usual *ljóðaháttr* metre by three verses.

This stanza is quoted by Snorri. Instead of *Goynn oc moinn*, the Uppsala Edda version has *Góni ok Móni*. Furthermore, instead of *synir, liðar*, ‘family, host, people’, is used. Lastly, *scyli* is found as *muni*, ‘will’.

Stanza 35.

Ascr yggdrasils | drygir erfiði
meira enn menn víti
hiórtr bítr ofan | enn ahliþo fúnar
scerþer níðhauggr neþan.

The ash of Yggdrasill | suffers more hardships
than men might know:
a stag bites from above, | but on the side it rots,
from below Níðhauggr damages it by cutting.

dyrgir erfiði is also found, according to S&G, in *Homiliubók* 49.32. The meaning of ‘suffering, enduring’ in this verse is rare.⁵⁴⁰

This stanza also is quoted in *Gylfaginning*. *Um* is added before *víti*. In the Uppsala Edda manuscript is written *Hjórtr bítr neðan*, but Heimir notes that all other manuscripts have *ofan* so it would be probably expected to be a scribal error.⁵⁴¹

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 204.

⁵⁴¹ Snorri Sturluson, *The Uppsala Edda*. p. 30.

Stanza 36.

Hrist oc mist | vil ec at mer horn beri
sceggiauld oc scaugul.
hildi oc þruði | hlaucc oc herfiotur.
gauld oc geiraulul.
randgríþ. oc ráþgríþ | reginlëif
þer bera einheriom ául.

I wish that | Hrist and Mist to bear a horn to me.
Sceggiauld and Skaugul,
Hildir and Þruðr, | Hlaucc and Herfiotr,
Gauld and Geiraulul,
Randgríþ and Ráþgríþ | Reginlëif.
They bear ale to the soul heroes.

hrist means ‘the shaking one’.

mist means ‘mist’.

skægg ǫlld means ‘the age of swords’. It is a term related to *ragnarøk*.⁵⁴²

skogul could be related to Gothic *skôhsl*, (which is, in turn, used to translate Gr. *δαίμων*), ‘demon’.⁵⁴³ The meaning is uncertain.

hildir means ‘battle’.

þruðr means ‘powerful’.

hløk means ‘noisy’.

⁵⁴² Bibire, Personal Communication.

⁵⁴³ Sijmons and Gering. p. 42.

hærfiqtur means ‘army fetter’. This is also the name of the panic that Óðinn can induce to his enemies.

goll means ‘noise’.

gæirromul means ‘the one charging with a spear’.

randgrið means ‘shield-truce’. Could be referring to the destroying of shields.⁵⁴⁴

raðgrið, normalised as Ráðgrið would mean ‘the destroyer of plans, advice’. Otherwise it could be ‘advice truce’. S&G would emend the spelling to Raðgrið, therefore giving the name a meaning of ‘destroyer of slaughterers’.⁵⁴⁵

reginlæif means ‘daughter of the gods’. This also was a common given name for females in Iceland.⁵⁴⁶

The different female names mentioned in st. 36 all seem to be valkyrie names. Most are found in other sources as well, including *Völuspá*. *Valkyrjar* derives from *valr*, ‘battle-dead’, and *kjósa*, ‘to choose’. Simek has suggested that before being identified as women and related to Óðinn, the valkyries were demons of the dead.⁵⁴⁷

This stanza is quoted by Snorri. It is mostly similar, though *ok* is added after *randgrið* and *reginlæif*. Furthermore, *geiraulul* appears as *Geirahöð*.

Stanza 37.

Arvacr oc alsvíþr | þeir scolo upp heðan
svangir sol draga.
enn und þeira bógom | fálo blíþ regin

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 205.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 205.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 206.

⁵⁴⁷ Simek. p. 349.

ęsir isarn kol.

Árvacr and Alsvíþr, | hungry they must up from here
drag the sun.

But under their shoulders | the blithe gods, ęsir,
hid the cold iron.

Árvacr means ‘early awake’. Presumably a horse or some other quadruped. *Árvacr* appears in the *Snorra Edda* as the name of an ox.⁵⁴⁸

alsvíþr is generally thought of as a dwarf name and not a horse name.⁵⁴⁹ It means ‘all swift’.

Árvacr oc alsvíþr both appear in the Eddic poem *Sigrdrífumál* st. 16:

Á skildi kvað ristnar
þeim er stendr fyr skínanda goði,
á eyra Árvakrs
ok á Alsvinns hófi,
á því hveli er snýsk
undir reið Rungnis,
á Sleipnis tǫnnum
ok á sleða fǫtrum,⁵⁵⁰

This stanza seems to agree with the information given by st. 34. It furthermore adds to our knowledge that at least Alsvíþr is hoofed. Both animals could be oxen, considering oxen are also hoofed.

⁵⁴⁸ Snorri Sturluson, *Gylfaginning*. ch. 10. p. 14.

⁵⁴⁹ Bibire, Personal Communication.

⁵⁵⁰ *Sigrdrífumál*. pp. 316-317.

Translation: On a shield she said to carve | that which stands in front of the shining goddess, | on the ear of Árvakr | and on Alsvinn’s hoof, | on this wheel that turns | under the carriage of Rungnir, | on the tongue of Sleipnir | and on the fetters of a sledge.

svangir would literally mean ‘slender’, especially when used about horses, but could also mean ‘hungry’ metaphorically.⁵⁵¹ Within this context, both could be the case.

isarn kol is a most peculiar thing. It would literally mean ‘cold iron’ but as S&G write, the meaning behind this cold iron is completely unknown:

[...] gedacht hat, wird wohl immer verborgen bleiben. Snorre (Gylfag. c. 11 = Sn. E. I, 56; in U fehlt die stelle) erklärt sie als zwei blasebälge (*vindbelgir*): diese sind aber niemals aus eisen hergestellt worden [s. Finnur Jónsson, Ark. 14, 197f.]. – Eine merkwürdige parallele aus Shirleys ‘Triumph of peace’ (1633) weist M. E. Seaton nach (Ark. 29, 343): dort ist von verschiedenen erfindungen die rede, darunter von der eines jockeys, der einen wunderbaren zaum konstruiert haben soll, in dessen hohles gebiß ein gas (*vapour*) eingelassen ist, welches das pferd so kühlt und erfirscht, daß es niemals ermüdet.⁵⁵²

With the exception of the doubtful meaning of *isarn kol*, and the possibly bovine nature of Arvacr and Alsvíþr, this stanza is quite straightforward in giving the audience the knowledge that these two animals (probably horses but also possibly oxen) drag the sun. They are slim, possibly because of hunger. The blithe gods have hid *isarn kol*, ‘cold iron’ underneath the shoulders of Arvacr and Alsvíþr. The first part of this stanza is reminding of Helios – who may be identified as Apollo⁵⁵³ – dragging the sun with his horsed chariot. The names of his horses are dissimilar in different sources, but none bears even a remote resemblance to Arvacr or Alsvíþr, making any attempt to consider the first part of st. 37 as having been directly influenced by the Helios myth unlikely.

Stanza 38.

Svaul heitir | hann stendr solo fyr
scioldr scinanda góði.
biorg oc brim | ec veit at brenna scola

⁵⁵¹ La Farge.p. 253.

⁵⁵² Sijmons and Gering. p. 206.

⁵⁵³ Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion*, ed. John Raffan (Cambridge (MA), 1985). p. 120.

ef hann fellr ifrá.

He is called Svaul, | who stands in front of the sun,
shield to the shiny god.

I know that | mountains and seas must burn
if he falls from there.

Svaul means ‘the cool one’. It also appears as a river name in st. 27, though there seems to be no connection between the two. This shield seems to be identified as the sun disc which would be in front of the *scinanda goði*, ‘shining god’, and possibly also makes him invisible to mankind. A similar idea, which connects the sun ‘shield’ with divinity is found in *Pórsdrápa* 4 (76):

Ok *gangs vanir gengu
gunnvargs; himintǫrgu
Fríðars vers til fljóða
frumseyris kom dreyra,
þá er þǫlkve<i>tir brjóta
bragðmildr Loka vildi
bræði vændr á brúði
bág sef-Grímnis mága.⁵⁵⁴

Here, the extremely complex kenning *frumseyris fljóða vargs Fríðars himintǫrgu* is of interest. It would be translated as ‘the main diminisher of the maidens of the enemy of the goddess of the shield of heaven’, referring to Þórr. Himintarga is the ‘shield of heaven’ and could be specifically referring to Svaul.

⁵⁵⁴ Snorri Sturluson, *Skáldskaparmál*. p. 26.

Translation: And the ones accustomed to the course [battle] of the battle-wolf [sword] travelled; the heaven-targe-[sun-]dwelling’s [sky’s] blood [water] of the women [Gialp and Greip] of Frid’s first defiler [giant] was reached [i.e. the river Vimur], when Loki’s bale-averter [Thor], guilty of hastiness, wished, deed-unsparing, to open hostilities with the bride [Gialp] of rush-Grimnir’s [giant’s] kinsmen.
Source: *Edda*. p. 83.

Svaul heitir | hann stendr solo fyr | scioldr scinanda góði. heavily reminds of the first two verses of *Sigrdrífumál* st. 16: *Á skildi kvað ristnar | þeim er stendr fyr skínanda goði.*⁵⁵⁵ This definitely connects st. 37 and 38 of *Grímnismál*. Furthermore, it could show a connection between the two poems as well, though whether they both refer to a similar myth, or one has emulated the other, is unknown.

AM has *Svalin* instead of *Svaul*.

Stanza 39.

Scaull heitir ulfr | er fylgir eno scírleita goði
til varna viðar.
enn annarr hati | hann er hroþ vitnis sonr
sa scal fyr heiða bruði himins.

The wolf is called Scaull, | who accompanies the brightfaced god
to the defense of wood.

But another, Hati, | he is the son of Hróþvitnir,
he must run before the shining lady of the sky.

Scaull is problematic. According to Simek it means ‘mockery’.⁵⁵⁶ However, it could be related to *skollr*, ‘fox’.⁵⁵⁷ In this case, though, there is no doubt that Scaull is a wolf.

scírleita goði means ‘brightfaced god’.

varna viðar is somewhat problematic. S&G choose to emend *varna* to *ísarn*, ‘iron’.
However, *varna viðar* could make sense on its own. The first three verses would thus mean

⁵⁵⁵ *Sigrdrífumál*. p. 316.

Translation: On a shield she said to carve | that which stands in front of the shining goddess.

⁵⁵⁶ Simek. p. 292.

⁵⁵⁷ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 554.

that Scaull accompanies the brightfaced god to the defense of wood. According to Bibire, ‘defense of the wood’ could be explained by prose sources in which the sun is seen on land, going down to the wood at sunset.⁵⁵⁸ The wolf could follow the sun as it goes down, and the woods could symbolise the sun reaching safety. I would prefer such an explanation to S&G’s emendation.

hati means ‘hater’ and certainly refers to a wolf as well.

hroþ vitnis means ‘fame wolf’. The same name appears in *Lokasenna* 39:

Handar em ek vanr
en þú Hróðrsvitnis;
bǫl er beggja þrá;
úlfgi hefir ok vel,
er í bǫndum skal
bíða ragnarǫks.⁵⁵⁹

This suggests that *hroþ vitnir* could be identified with Fenrir, making *hati* Fenrir’s son.

heiða can be translated as ‘shining’ but also as ‘glorious’ or ‘bright’.

heiða bruði himins here refers to the moon.

The stanza as a whole is interpreted as having two wolves, one trying to catch the sun, and the other trying to catch the moon. However, it is important to note that the three verses about *hati* use *fyr*, ‘before, in front of’.⁵⁶⁰ This feels somewhat strange if one is to picture a wolf trying to catch the moon. Furthermore, the absence of a verb of movement is to be noted, with S&G adding one such in order for the stanza to make more sense.⁵⁶¹ Lastly, the usage of

⁵⁵⁸ Bibire. Personal Communication.

⁵⁵⁹ *Lokasenna*, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, v. 1 (Reykjavík, 2014). p. 416.

Translation: Of a hand I am lacking | but you Hróðrsvitnir; | longing is misfortune to both; | the wolf is also not well, | who in fetters must | endure for *ragnarǫkr*.

⁵⁶⁰ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. pp. 180-182.

⁵⁶¹ Sijmons and Gering. p. 207.

skal should be taken into consideration. *Skal* translates to ‘must’, and denotes ‘fate, law, bidding, need, necessity, duty, obligation, and the like’, according to Cleasby-Vigfússon.⁵⁶² As such, it could be argued that *hati* has to run away from the moon, rather than the opposite. If this were the case, and the reasoning for such a story will probably remain a mystery, the whole last part of this stanza could have a very different meaning from the one traditionally given.

Dronke sees the two wolves as being a sort of escort to the sun and moon, instead of trying to catch them.⁵⁶³

Stanzas 40-41.

Ór ymis holdi | var iorþ um scaupuð
enn or sveita sær
biorg or beinom | baðmr or hári
en or hausi himin

enn or hans brám | gerðo blið regin
miðgarð manna sonom.
enn or hans heila | voro þau in harðmoðgo
scy aull um scaupuþ.

From the flesh of Ymir | was the earth shaped
but from blood the sea,
mountains from bones, | tree from hair
but from cranium sky.

But from his brows | the blithe gods made
middle enclosure for sons of men.
But from his brains | they, all the hardminded clouds
were shaped.

⁵⁶² Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 560.

⁵⁶³ Dronke, *The Poetic Edda*. p. 132.

Ymir appears in different Eddic poems, including *Vafþrúðnismál* 21 and 28, *Hyndluljóð* 33 and *Völuspá* 3. He is generally regarded to be a *jötunn*.⁵⁶⁴ Its Proto-Germanic form would be **jumia-*. The name could be linked to *ymja*, ‘to whine, cry’ and might have to do with ‘awareness’. Henning Kure writes that whether such an etymology would be correct, the connection with screaming or whining would have been evident to an Old Norse speaking audience.⁵⁶⁵ It is more probably cognate to Avestan *yāma-* ‘twin’, Sanskrit *Yama*, Latin *geminus*, all having the same meaning. De Vries agrees with the twin etymology as well.⁵⁶⁶ According to Ásgeir, the name ultimately means ‘hermaphrodite being’ and he connects Ymir to Tuisto, who is mentioned in Tacitus and whose name similarly has a meaning of duality.⁵⁶⁷

sveita means ‘sweat’, but is also commonly used as ‘blood’.

harðmoðgo means ‘hardminded’. It is an interesting choice of adjective to describe clouds.

These two stanzas remind of *Vafþrúðnismál* st. 21:

Ór Ymis holdi
var iqrð um scqpuð
en ór beinom biqrg,
himinn ór hausi
ins hrímkalda iqtuns
en ór sveita siór.⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁴ Simek. p. 377.

⁵⁶⁵ Henning Kure, “In the Beginning Was the Scream: Conceptual Thought in the Old Norse Myth of Creation,” In *Scandinavia and Christian Europe in the Middle Ages. Papers of the 12th International Saga Conference*, ed. Rudolf Simek and Judith Meurer (Bonn, 2003). p. 312.

⁵⁶⁶ De Vries, *Altnordisches*. p. 678.

⁵⁶⁷ Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon. p. 1165.

⁵⁶⁸ *Vafþrúðnismál*. p. 62.

Translation: From the flesh of Ymir | was the earth shaped | but from bones the mountains, | sky from cranium | of the rime-cold *jötunn* | but from blood the sea.

Three verses are exactly the same as in st. 40 (1, 2 and 6). Verses 3 and 4 is also similar (in content) to verse 4, 6 of st. 40 respectively. According to S&G, the *Vafþrúðnismál* version was based on the more detailed one from *Grímnismál*. I would avoid making such claims, and as a response to S&G would wonder why would the composer of the *Vafþrúðnismál* stanza choose to add the fifth verse, with information that does not appear in either of the two *Grímnismál* stanzas, when there were more things to be added from there.

These two stanzas appear in *Gylfaginning* and are exactly the same. The last three verses of st. 40 are heavily abbreviated.

Stanza 42.

Ullar hylli hefr | oc allra goða
hverr er tecr fyrstr afuna.
þviat opnir heimar | verþa um ása sonom
þa er hefia af hvera.

Each who grasps first onto the fire | has the support of Ullr
and all gods,
because open worlds | come about
concerning the sons of the gods.

Ullar cf. st. 5 above. S&G consider *Ullr* here to be possibly referring to Óðinn.⁵⁶⁹

hverr er tecr fyrstr afuna. would translate to ‘each who grasps first onto the fire’. Some scholars have chosen to emend *afuna* to *af funa*, ‘of fire’.⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶⁹ Sijmons and Gering, p. 211.

⁵⁷⁰ Andreas Nordberg, “Handlar Grimnesmál 42 Om En Sakra Måltid?” In, *Scripta Islandica*, v. 56 (2006). p. 55.

þviat opnir heimar / verþa um ása sonom / þa er hefia af hvera. translates to ‘because open worlds | come about | concerning the sons of the gods.’ S&G write that:

In den alten nordischen häusern befand sich im first des daches eine öffnung [...], um das licht herein und den rauch hinaus zu lassen [...]. Unter dieser öffnung wurde das feuer entzündet und in der nähe derselben waren, wie es scheint, die ketten befestigt, an denen man die kessel aufhing. Diese konnten somit, namentlich wenn sie hoch emporgezogen waren, demjenigen, der vom dache in die halle hineisehen wollte, den einblick unmöglich machen. Óþenn [sic.], der aus seiner üblen lage erlöst sein will, wünscht, daß die kessel herabgenommen werden, damit die asen vom himmel herab ihn sehen und ihm zu hilfe kommen können.⁵⁷¹

Bo Ralph instead chooses to treat *opnir heimar* as *opin jörð*, meaning ‘open soil, land from which the upper layer of soil is removed’.⁵⁷²

Andreas Nordberg has written an article trying to explain the contents of this stanza. He argues that st. 42 describes a ritual meal related to a *blót*.⁵⁷³ Whoever performed such ritual would get the blessing of Ullr and all the æsir. Nordberg translates the whole stanza thus:

“‘The one who first uses the sacred fire in order to cook the ceremonial meal,’ or, ‘The one who lifts the cauldron with the ceremonial meal off the sacred fire, / has the race of Ull and all the gods, / because the cosmic worlds will open around the sons of the Æsir (i.e. the gods), / when the cauldrons are lifted off the fire and the communion meal can begin’.”⁵⁷⁴

As a whole, to me this stanza feels off compared to the rest of the poem, whether Nordberg’s interpretation is to be followed or not. It does not seem to be of a gnostic nature, or to relate with anything cosmological at all, but rather feels gnomic, like the larger part of *Hávamál*, though the kind of advice given here is obscure.

Stanza 43.

Ivalda sýnir | gengo iardaga

⁵⁷¹ Sijmons and Gering. p. 208.

⁵⁷² Nordberg, “Handlar.” p. 53.

⁵⁷³ Ibid. p. 58.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 60.

sciþblaðni at scapa.
scipa bezt | scirom frey
nytom niarðar bur.

The sons of Ívaldi | went in the early days
to shape skíþblaðnir,
best of ships, | for bright Freyr,
for the profitable son of Niorþr.

Ivalda could mean ‘mighty’,⁵⁷⁵ or ‘owner of the bow’, from *iwawaldan, or ‘he who rules over the yew-tree’ or be derived from *Inhu-waldan. The first could be referring to Ullr, the second to Skaði and the third to Yngvi.⁵⁷⁶ This name is shrouded in mystery. The sons of *Ivaldi* are thought to be dwarves, suggesting that *Ivaldi* himself would be one.

sciþblaðni is also a strange name. *Skip* is a ‘flat piece of wood’ (and is the origin of ski), while *blaðnir* should be ‘the bladed one’. *Blað* can also mean ‘leaf’. Thus, it would mean ‘bladed flat piece of wood’, ‘plank-bladed-one’ or something similar. S&G translate it as ‘made of small thin planks’. Dronke writes that *Sciþblaðnir* is a metaphor for the sun, to be interpreted as moving over the ocean of the sky.⁵⁷⁷ As with many others, this interpretation is not supported by any sources. The name of this ship is elsewhere only mentioned in the *Snorra Edda*, which expands on the information given here. However, as with any such descriptions by Snorri, one should be cautious in using them to explain Eddic poetry.

nytom niarðar bur. means ‘for the profitable son of Niorþr’. This probably refers to Freyr. A similarity can be found with *Vafþrúðnismál* 13, in which *nýt regin* is mentioned.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁵ Sijmons and Gering. p. 208.

⁵⁷⁶ Simek. p. 177.

⁵⁷⁷ Dronke, *The Poetic Edda*. p. 133.

⁵⁷⁸ *Vafþrúðnismál*. p. 61.

Machan writes that the usage of *nýt* would not be expected of a *Vafþrúðnir*, and he thus places it in the mouth of the composer.⁵⁷⁹ If that is the case, this would apply to Óðinn as well.

Stanza 44.

Ascr yggdrasils | hann er qztr viþa
en skíþbladnir scipa
oðinn asa | enn ioa sleipnir
bilraust brúa
en bragi scalda | habroc hauca
en hunda garmr.

The ash of Yggdrasill, | he is the noblest of trees
but skíþblaðnir of ships,
Óðinn of gods | but of steeds Sleipnir,
Bilraust of bridges,
but Bragi of skalds, | Hábróc of hawks
but of hounds Garmr.

sleipnir means ‘sliding one’. It is generally identified with Óðinn’s horse. He is also mentioned in *Sigrdrífumál* 16, *á Sleipnis tǫnnum*,⁵⁸⁰ further connecting that poem – and more specifically, that stanza – to *Grímnismál*. Sleipnir generally appears in many other sources, listed by S&G.⁵⁸¹

bilraust is somewhat problematic. Cleasby-Vigfússon translate it as ‘rainbow’.⁵⁸² S&G translate it as ‘the deceptive way’.⁵⁸³ *Bilraust* is thought to be identical to *bifrøst*, mentioned by Snorri, who says it is the rainbow. Ásgeir also translates it as ‘rainbow’ and tentatively

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 80.

⁵⁸⁰ *Sigrdrífumál*. pp. 317.

⁵⁸¹ Sijmons and Gering. p. 209.

⁵⁸² Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. p. 62.

⁵⁸³ Sijmons and Gering. p. 208.

traces the etymology of *bifrøst* to ‘trembling path’ and *bilrøst* to ‘the colourful path’.⁵⁸⁴ Lastly, La Farge translates it as ‘road that gives way, road that fails’, but gives no explanation for this.⁵⁸⁵ All the connections to the rainbow could have been influenced by Snorri and thus should not be taken to face value. It is not even certain that *bilraust* is a bridge. If it is related to the gods, which seems likely, it could be the *as bru* mentioned in st. 29. Otherwise, Brink and Lindow, mentioning Deavin’s work, propose the possibility that *bilraust/bifrøst* could be a poetic metaphor for the sea, ‘and hence the name denoting a bridge that connects the sea and the world’.⁵⁸⁶

bragi is identified as a poet god, though *Grímnismál* itself does not specify this. Interestingly, he appears in *Sigrdrífumál* 16:

á bjarnar hrammi
ok á Braga tungu,
á úlfs klóm
ok á arnar nefi,
á blóðgum vængjum
ok á brúar sporði,
á lausnar lófa
ok á líknar spori,⁵⁸⁷

This is a further connection between the two poems. Bragi also appears in *Lokasenna*, sts. 11, 12, 15, 16, 18⁵⁸⁸ and is said to be Íðunn’s husband in the prose introduction. It could be that Bragi is Bragi Boddason inn gamli, considered to be the first skald. This could either mean that

⁵⁸⁴ Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon. p. 54.

⁵⁸⁵ La Farge. p. 23.

⁵⁸⁶ Brink and Lindow. p. 186.

⁵⁸⁷ *Sigrdrífumál*. p. 316.

Translation: On a bear’s paw | and on Bragi’s tongue, | on a wolf’s claw | and on the beak of an eagle, | on bloodied wings | and on a bridge’s end, | on releasing hands | and on a healing step.

⁵⁸⁸ *Lokasenna*. pp. 410-412.

Bragi here is not a divine being at all, and is just mentioned as the best of skalds, or that by the time this stanza was composed, Bragi Boddason had become a mythical figure and had been deified, or was known to be historical and was presumed to have undergone some sort of apotheosis.

habroc. It is obvious by this verse that this is the name of a hawk. The first element of this word is *hár-* ‘high’, while the second is more problematic and would probably be *brók*, ‘breeches’, giving the hawk’s name a meaning of ‘high breeches’. The meaning behind this name is very obscure.

garmr means ‘rag’ though S&G translate it as ‘the grim, the evil’.⁵⁸⁹ Other than him being a hound, nothing else is known.

In AM a tenth verse is added at the end: *ænn brimir sværða*, which means ‘but brimir of swords’. Brimir is sometimes associated with Ymir and thought to be the same.⁵⁹⁰ An association that also includes swords is found in *Sigrdrífumál* 14:

Á bjargi stóð
med brimis eggjar,
hafði sér á hofði hjálm;
þá mælti Míms hofuð
fróðligt it fyrsta orð
ok sagði sanna stafi.⁵⁹¹

If Brimir and Ymir are indeed the same, the fact that they are mentioned in this stanza of *Sigrdrífumál* could suggest that *brimis eggjar* and *Míms hofuð* refer to the same thing. If *enn*

⁵⁸⁹ Sijmons and Gering. p. 57.

⁵⁹⁰ Simek. p. 44.

⁵⁹¹ *Sigrdrífumál*. p. 316.

Translation: On a mountain stood | with brimir’s edge, | had a helm on his head; | then spoke Mímir’s head | wise the first word | and said true knowledge.

brimir sværða is read with this in mind, it could be suggesting that knowledge and wisdom is the best weapon, giving this verse a very different meaning. A similar thought can be made in reading Snorri's account of Heimdallr's 'sword'. In *Gylfaginning* 27, it is said that *Heimdalar sverð er kallat höfuð*, 'the sword of Heimdallr is called head'.⁵⁹² This is only found in Snorri's writings so it is unknown whether it was made up by him, the misunderstanding of some source, or it was indeed taken from some source now lost. If read in relation to *Grímnismál* 40 and *Sigrdrífumál* 14, it feels to me that all refer to the mind, knowledge wisdom etc. as opposed to actual swords.

This stanza appears in *Gylfaginning*. It is exactly the same as the GKS version.

Stanza 45.

Svipom hefi ec nu ýpt | fyr sigtíva sonom
við þat scal vilbiorg vaca.
aullom ásom | þat scal inn coma
ęgis becci á
ęgis drecco at.

I have now raised up my glances | before the sons of victory gods,
with this must the desired saving awake.
For all the gods | it must come in
onto the benches of Ægir,
at the drinking of Ægir.

Svipom hefi ec nu ýpt. *Svipom* refers to the speaker's face or appearance of the face according to S&G. According to them, it should not make sense in the context.⁵⁹³ La Farge

⁵⁹² Snorri Sturluson, *Gylfaginning*. p. 26.

⁵⁹³ Sijmons and Gering. p. 210.

similarly agrees and translates it as ‘face’.⁵⁹⁴ Its translation would be ‘I have now raised up my glances’.

fyr sigtiva sonom is a problematic verse according to S&G. The alliteration of is wrong and they would emend it to *sigtiva mōgom*.⁵⁹⁵

vilbiorg is an ἄπαξ λεγόμενον. It is here translated as ‘desired saving’.

ęgis means ‘sea, ocean’. It may be cognate with Greek Ὠκεανός.⁵⁹⁶ In *Grímnismál* there is no such suggestion about the nature of this being. According to Simek, *ęgir* appears in pre-Christian skaldic poetry, for example in *Sonatorrek*, and thus seems to be an old creation.⁵⁹⁷ S&G consider *ęgir* here to be referring specifically to Geirrþōðr.⁵⁹⁸ Considering the meaning of this name, I wonder whether this actually refers to a personification to the sea or not. It could be actually referring of the sea itself and some myth that does not survive.

ęgis drecco at. recalls the setting of *Lokasenna*.⁵⁹⁹ *Hymiskviða* sets up the narrative background for the drinking at *ęgir*‘s.⁶⁰⁰

Stanza 46.

Hetomc grimr | hetomc gangleri
herian oc hialmberi.
þeccr. oc þriði. | þundr. oc uþr.
helblindi. oc hár.

I am called Grímr, | I am called Gangleri,

⁵⁹⁴ La Farge, p. 256.

⁵⁹⁵ Sijmons and Gering, p. 210.

⁵⁹⁶ Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon, p. 758.

⁵⁹⁷ Simek, p. 1.

⁵⁹⁸ Sijmons and Gering, pp. 210-211.

⁵⁹⁹ *Lokasenna*, 1. pp. 408-421.

⁶⁰⁰ *Hymiskviða*, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, v. 1 (Reykjavík, 2014). p. 399.

Herian and Híálmberi,
Þeccr and Þriði, | Þundr and Uþr,
Helblindi and Hár.

Grímr means ‘mask’. Neil Price, who has compiled a comprehensive list of Óðinn names and where they appear, dividing them into the attributes they may refer to, lists *Grímr* under the ‘trickery names’.⁶⁰¹

gangleri means ‘wanderer’ and is listed under the ‘wanderer names’ of Óðinn.⁶⁰²

herian means ‘the army one’.⁶⁰³

híalmberi means ‘helmet wearer’.

þeccr means ‘well liked, clever’.

þriði means ‘third’. This is an important divinity name, and was also used by Snorri in *Gylfaginning*.

þundr is normally thought to be a Þórr name. It means ‘thunder’ or ‘sweller’. It also appears as a river name in st. 21, and in *Hávamál* 145.

uþr means ‘lover, beloved’.

helblindi means ‘Hel blind’ according to Price.⁶⁰⁴ S&G prefer the AM spelling of *hærblindr* which would give it a meaning of ‘he who blinds warriors’.⁶⁰⁵ The latter feels more

⁶⁰¹ Price. p. 105.

All Óðinn name translations, unless otherwise noted, are taken from Price. pp. 101-105.

⁶⁰² Ibid. p. 105.

⁶⁰³ Price. p. 105.

All Óðinn name translations, unless otherwise noted, are taken from Price. pp. 101-105.

⁶⁰⁴ Price. pp. 101-105.

⁶⁰⁵ Sijmons and Gering. p. 211.

believable to me, as there has been no connection between *hel* and Óðinn in this poem. This name does not appear in *Gylfaginning*.

hár means either ‘the one-eyed’ or ‘the high one’. It also appears in *Völuspá* 21.

Bo Ralph argues that the three stanzas starting with st. 46 should instead be edited as one. His argument is based on there being no divisions visible in in the manuscripts.⁶⁰⁶ While his argument is certainly valid, I would point out that there are no indications of any stanza division in the manuscript, therefore leaving the choice of how to divide and edit ‘unorthodox’ stanzas in the poem up to the editor. In the end, whether they are to be seen as one stanza or more makes little difference to our understanding of the poem.

In AM, instead of *hetomc gangleri*, the *hetomc* is replaced with *oc*.

Snorri quotes this stanza. It is generally the same with few exceptions. All *oc* are absent, and instead of *þundr oc uþr*, the name is found as one: *Þuðruðr*.

Stanza 47.

Saþr oc svipall | oc sanngetall
herteitr. oc hnicarr
bileýgr baleygr | baulvercr fiolnir.
Grimr oc grimnir
glapsviþr oc fiaullviþr

Saþr and Svipall, | and Sanngetall,
Herteitr and Hnicarr,
Bileýgr, Báleygr, | Baulvercr, Fiolnir,
Grímr and Grímnir,
Glapsviþr and Fiaulsviþr.

⁶⁰⁶ Ralph. pp. 106-107.

Sapr means ‘the true one’. It also appears in Einarr Gilsson’s *Drápa* on Guðmundr Arason st. 13.⁶⁰⁷

svipall means ‘changeable’.

sanngetall means ‘the one that guesses the truth’.

herteitr means ‘army glad’.

hnicarr means ‘inciter’. It also appears in *Reginsmál* 19.⁶⁰⁸

bileygr means ‘poor sighted’, probably referring to Óðinn’s one eye.

baleygr means ‘flame eyed’. It also appears in Hallfrøðr Óttarsson’s *Hákonardrápa* st. 6 and Gísli Illugason’s *Erfikvæði* st. 1.⁶⁰⁹

baulvercr means ‘evil doer’. It also appears in *Hávamál* 109.⁶¹⁰

fiolnir means ‘concealer’. It also appears in *Reginsmál* 19.⁶¹¹

grimmir means ‘the masked one’. It also appears in Ulfr Uggason’s *Húsdrápa* 1, Hallfrøðr Óttarson’s *lausavísur* 9, Rognvaldr jarl’s *lausavísur* 7,⁶¹² and in *Þórsdrápa* 3.⁶¹³

glapsviþr means ‘seducer’.

fiullviþr is generally emended as *fiolsviðr* and means ‘very wise’.

⁶⁰⁷ Price. p. 102.

⁶⁰⁸ *Reginsmál*, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, vol. 2, (Reykjavík, 2014). p. 301.

⁶⁰⁹ Price. p. 103.

⁶¹⁰ *Hyndluljóð*. p. 344.

⁶¹¹ *Reginsmál*. p. 301.

⁶¹² Price. p. 105.

⁶¹³ Snorri Sturluson, *Skáldskaparmál*. as st. 75. p. 26.

This stanza is quoted in *Gylfaginning* as well. All *oc* are absent as above and *Grimr* is not repeated.

Stanza 48.

Sípháuttr sípsceggr. | sigfauðr. hnikuþr
alfauþr valfauþr
atríðr oc farma tyr. | eino nafni
hetomc aldregi
siz ec með folcom fór.

Síphauttr, Sípsceggr, | Sigfauðr, Hnikuþr,
Alfauþr, Valfauðr,
Atríðr and Farmatýr. | By one name
I have never been called,
since I went with peoples.

Sípháuttr means ‘the man with the deeply pulled down hat’. The image of Óðinn with a hat covering most of his face is a *topos* in the *sögur*.⁶¹⁴

sípsceggr means ‘long beard’.

sigfauðr means ‘victory father’. It also appears in *Völuspá* 53,⁶¹⁵ and *Lokasenna* 58.⁶¹⁶

hnikuþr is similar to *hnicarr* from st. 47 and means ‘inciter’.

alfauþr means ‘all father’. It also appears in *Helgakvíða Hundingsbana I* 38,⁶¹⁷ and in Arnórr Þórðarson’s *Þórfinnsdrápa* 4.⁶¹⁸

⁶¹⁴ Sijmons and Gering. p. 213.

⁶¹⁵ *Völuspá*, 1. p. 305.

⁶¹⁶ *Lokasenna*. p. 419.

⁶¹⁷ *Helgakvíða Hundingsbana I*. p. 254.

⁶¹⁸ Price. p. 101.

valfauþr means ‘father of the slain’. It also appears in *Völuspá* 1 and 27.⁶¹⁹

atríðr means ‘attacking rider’.

farma tyr means ‘god of cargoes’. It also appears in *Háleygjatal* 2.⁶²⁰

siz ec með folcom fôr. translates as ‘since I went with peoples’. However, *folcom* could also be translated as ‘armies’, giving this verse a very different meaning.

In AM, this stanza appears with substantial differences. *valfauþr* is not present, and instead of an extra half line, it is six verses long. *Æinu nafni | hætumz siz æc fólkum fôr* is found instead of *eino nafni | hetomc aldregi | siz ec með folcom fôr*.

This stanza appears in *Gylfaginning*, the last of the Óðinn name list. It is very different. *Atríðr* is added before *hnikuþr*. *eino nafni | hetomc aldregi | siz ec með folcom fôr.* does not appear at all and is replaced with names that are found in other stanzas. *Osci oc ómi | iafnhár oc biflindi | gaundlir oc harbarðr* appear, *með goðom* not being present. Heimir has normalised *gaundlir* to *Geldnir* which seems to be a particularly different name. *Ialc, kialar, viður*⁶²¹ and *þrói* all appear but without the further information given in st. 49 of *Grímnismál*. *Svipurr oc sviþrir* from st. 50 are mentioned and *gautr* and *ialcr* from st. 54. Lastly, *Veratýr*, who is not found in the *Grímnismál* list of Óðinn names closes the list in *Gylfaginning*. However, *Veratýr* is the first Óðinn name to be mentioned after Grímnir, in st. 3.

Stanza 49.

Grimne mic héto | at geirraðar
enn ialc at ósmundar
enn þa kialar | er ec kialca dró.

⁶¹⁹ *Völuspá*. p. 291 and p. 298.

⁶²⁰ Eyvindr skáldaspillir, *Háleygjatal*.

⁶²¹ See st. 49 below.

þrói þingom at.

Osci oc ómi. | iafnhár oc biflindi
gaundlir oc harbarðr meþ goðom.

Grímnir they called me, | at Gairrauðr's
but Ialc at Qsmundr's
but then Kialar, | when I dragged a jaw.

Prór at things,

Viðr at slayings

Ósci and Ómi, | Iafnhár and Biflindi
Gaundlir and Hárbarðr with gods.

Grimne see st. 47.

ialc means 'gelding'. It also appears in Einarr Helgason skálaglamm's *Vellekla* 24.⁶²²

qsmundar means 'protege of the *æsir*' and who it refers to is unknown according to S&G.⁶²³

kialar means 'nourisher' according to Price,⁶²⁴ or 'boatman' according to S&G.⁶²⁵

er ec kialca dró. would translate to 'when I dragged a jaw'. However, *draga kialca* could also mean 'to drag a sledge'.⁶²⁶

þrói, normalised as þrór, means 'thrifer'.

Osci means 'desired'. It also appears in Óttar svarti's *Óláfsdrápa sænska* 2.⁶²⁷

ómi means 'the highest'.

⁶²² Price. p. 105.

⁶²³ Sijmons and Gering. p. 213.

⁶²⁴ Price. p. 102.

⁶²⁵ Sijmons and Gering. p. 214.

⁶²⁶ La Farge. p. 143.

⁶²⁷ Price. p. 105.

iafnhár means ‘just as high’.

biflindi means ‘the shield shaker’. This name does not appear in *Gylfaginning*.

þrói þingom at. / Osci oc ómi. / iafnhár oc biflindi is, according to S&G, an interpolation in *fornyrðislag*.⁶²⁸ An extra half line appears in AM, making the whole part of this stanza: *þror þingum at | viður at vigum | oski oc omi | iafnhar oc biflindi*, ‘þror at things, | viður at slayings | oski and omi, | iafnhar and biflindi’. McKinnell writes that while most scholars have interpreted this name to show that Óðinn would also be related to legal cases, the kenning *Þrós þing* refers to battle and this should be the interpretation in this case.⁶²⁹

Viður would mean ‘killer’. It also appears in Bragi enn gamli Boddason’s *lausavísa* 2.⁶³⁰

gaundlir means ‘staff wielder’ or ‘enchanter, sorcerer’.

harbarðr means ‘grey beard’.

Stanza 50.

Svipurr oc sviþrir | er ec het at saucc mimis
oc dulþa ec þann inn aldna iótun.
er⁶³¹ þa ec miþviþnis varc | ins mōra burar
orðinn einn bani.

Sviþur and Sviþrir | when I was named at Saucmímir’s
and I deceived that the old iótun,
then when I was become, | the sole bane
of the famed son of Miþviþnir.

⁶²⁸ Sijmons and Gering, p. 214.

⁶²⁹ John McKinnell, *Meeting the Other in Norse Myth and Legend* (Cambridge, 2005). p. 148.

⁶³⁰ Price, p. 103.

⁶³¹ er in margin.

Svipurr oc sviþrir both mean ‘spear god’.

saucc mimis is a given name that means ‘the quarrelsome *jötunn*’ or the ‘valiant *jötunn*’. He appears in *Ynglingatal* 2.⁶³²

miþviþnis means ‘sea wolf’. Appears as a dwarf name in *Völuspá* 11.⁶³³

orðinn æinbani. This verse is missing in the GKS version. It translates as ‘[I was] become the sole bane’

Stanza 51.

Aúlr ertu geirroþr | hefr þu of druccit
miclo ertu hnugginn
er þu ert mino gengi | ollom ein heriom
oc oþins hylli.

You are drunk, Geirrauþr. | You have overdrunk.

By much you are deprived of
when you are deprived of my retinue, | all the soul heroes
and Óðinn’s favour.

oc oþins hylli. is, according to S&G, corrupt in both manuscripts.⁶³⁴

Stanza 52.

fiolþ ec þer sagða | enn þu fat um mánt

⁶³² Snorri Sturluson, *Ynglinga Saga*. 2.

⁶³³ *Völuspá*. p. 294.

⁶³⁴ Sijmons and Gering. p. 215.

of þic vela vinir
meþki liggia | ec se mins vinar
allan idreyra drifinn.

Many a thing I have told you, | but few you remember,
friends practice deceit around you.
I see my friend's sword | lying all sprinkled
in blood.

Stanza 53.

Eggmoþan val | nu mun yggr hafa
þitt veit ec líf um lípit
varar ro dísir | nu knattu oðin síá
nalgazstu mic ef þu megir

Yggr shall now have | the edge-weary slain,
I know your life is over.
The goddesses are hostile, | you can see Óðinn,
you bring yourself near to me if you can.

Eggmoþan translates to ‘edge-weary’.

yggr means ‘terrible’.⁶³⁵ It is probably related to the first element of Yggdrasill and is an Óðinn name. It also appears in *Vafþrúðnismál* 5,⁶³⁶ *Hymiskviða* 2,⁶³⁷ and *Fáfnismál* 43.⁶³⁸

varar ro dísir translates to ‘the goddesses are hostile’. S&G have edited the text to *úfar* instead of *varar*. *Úfar* means ‘unruly, uproarious’, keeping a similar meaning and appears

⁶³⁵ Ibid. p. 163.

⁶³⁶ *Vafþrúðnismál*. p. 59.

⁶³⁷ *Hymiskviða*. p. 399.

⁶³⁸ *Fáfnismál*, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, v. 2 (Reykjavík, 2014). p. 311.

mainly in the Old Norwegian form of Old Norse.⁶³⁹ The AM manuscript version has *vvar* instead. *Varar* is similarly edited to *úfar* by Jónas and Vésteinn.⁶⁴⁰ If it is to be taken to be *úfar*, it is of immense importance since it is a further support for a Norwegian composition of the poem.

ef þu megir means ‘if you can’. According to S&G, this implies that it is impossible for Geirrøðr to actually bring himself near Óðinn.⁶⁴¹

in AM, *um liþit* is found as *ofliðit*.

Stanza 54.

Ofinn ec nu heiti | yggr ec áþan het
hetumc þundr fyrir þat:
vacr oc scilfingr | váfuþr. oc hroptatyr.
gautr oc ialcr meþ goðom.
Ofnir oc svafnir | er ec hygg at orðnir se
allir af einom mer.

Óðinn I am now called, | Yggr I was called before,
They called me Þundr before it,
Vacr and Scilfingr, | Váfuðr and Hroptatýr,
Gautr and Iæacr with gods,
Ofnir and Sváfñir, | which I think that all be
become of me alone.

yggr see st. 53.

⁶³⁹ Sijmons and Gering, p. 215.

⁶⁴⁰ *Grímnismál*. pp. 378-379.

⁶⁴¹ Sijmons and Gering, p. 215.

pundr see st. 46.

vacr means ‘the watchful’.

scilfingr could mean ‘sitting on a high seat’, related to *skjálfr*, ‘high seat’. It could alternatively be related to *Skjælf*, *Skälf* which is a name given to Norway and mainly Sweden.⁶⁴²

This name could thus place Óðinn as ancestor of the Norwegians or Swedes.

váfuþr means ‘hanging’.

hroptatyr probably means ‘tumult god’. It also appears in *Hávamál* 160,⁶⁴³ Ulfr Uggason’s *Húsdrápa* 8 and Eivindr Finnsson skáldaspillir’s *Hákonarmál* 14.⁶⁴⁴

gautr means ‘the Geat, the Goth’. As a given name, it was popular in Norway.⁶⁴⁵ It is uncertain whether this could be used as a support to a Norwegian composition.

ialcr see st. 49.

vacr oc scilfingr / váfuþr. oc hroptatyr. / gautr oc ialcr með goðom. According to S&G, this is an interpolation, the reason given being that *ialcr* is mentioned in st. 49. Whether this is the case or not, it should be noted that this stanza is three verses longer.

Ofnir oc svafnir see st. 34. Both names are given as *ormar* there. Here it is evident that they refer to Óðinn. *Ofnir* means ‘inciter’ and it does not appear in *Gylfaginning*. *Svafnir* means ‘sleep bringer’ and also appears in Þórbjörn hornklofi’s *Haraldskvæði* 1.⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴² Ibid. p. 216.

⁶⁴³ *Hyndluljóð*, 1. p. 355.

⁶⁴⁴ Price. p. 106.

⁶⁴⁵ Sijmons and Gering. p. 216.

⁶⁴⁶ Price. p. 104.

er ec hygg at orðnir se | allir af einom mer. Would translate to an awkward English ‘which I think that all be | become of me alone.’ *Af* appears as *at* in AM and is considered by S&G to be the right reading.⁶⁴⁷

Prose Conclusion.

Geirroþr konungr. sat oc hafði sverþ um kne ser oc brugðit til miþs. Enn er hann heyrþi at óðinn var þar kominn stoþ hann up oc vildi taca o. fra eldinom. Sverþit slapp or hendi hanom visso hioltin niþr. konungr drap fōti oc steýptiz afram enn sverþit stod igognom hann. oc fecc hann bana. Oþinn hvarf þa. Enn agnarr var þar konungr lengi siþan.

King Geirraupr sat and had a sword on his knees and drawn to the middle. But when he heard that Óðinn was come there, he stood up and wished to take Óðinn from the fire. The sword slipped from his hands, the hilt faced downwards. The king stumbled his foot and fell forwards, but the sword stood through him, and he got his bane. Óðinn then disappeared. But Agnarr was there king long after.

The prose conclusion given to *Grímnismál* adds little to no information to the poem and feels unnecessary. Whereas the prose introduction is not necessary, it expands on the setting in which Grímnir’s monologue takes place. Here, it seems evident that the writer used information gained from st. 52, where the bloodied sword is mentioned, as well as st. 51 which mention’s Geirrøðr’s drunkenness. It should also be considered that Agnarr is mentioned in the beginning of the poem and is the main recipient of the numinous knowledge provided by Grímnir, especially st. 2: *nema einn agnarr er | er einn scal ráða | geirróþar sonr | gotna lande*, ‘with the exception of Agnarr alone | who alone must rule, | Geirraupr’s son, | the land of the Goths’, the choice of ending the story with him becoming a king is far from unexpected.

⁶⁴⁷ Sijmons and Gering. p. 216.

Appendices

Appendix I Transcriptions

Chapter 1. GKS 2365 4to Facing Facsimile Diplomatic Transcription

8 Verso

31. Hraðungr *konungr* atti tva **Fra fonom. hraðungi konungf.** aftr vera.
32. fono het *annarr agnarr* en *annarr geirraupr*. Agnarr
33. var x. *vetra enn geirraðr* viii. *vetra þeir reþo tveir á*

17
 18
 19
 20
 21
 22
 23
 24
 25
 26
 27
 28
 29
 30
 31
 32
 33
 34
 35
 36
 37
 38
 39
 40
 41
 42
 43
 44
 45
 46
 47
 48
 49
 50
 51
 52
 53
 54
 55
 56
 57
 58
 59
 60
 61
 62
 63
 64
 65
 66
 67
 68
 69
 70
 71
 72
 73
 74
 75
 76
 77
 78
 79
 80
 81
 82
 83
 84
 85
 86
 87
 88
 89
 90
 91
 92
 93
 94
 95
 96
 97
 98
 99
 100

9 Recto

55. bati með dorgar sínar at síma þífi. Vindr rac þa i hafut
 56. I nát myrkri bruto þeir við land. oc gengo up fundo cot bónda
 57. einn. þar váro þeir um vetrinn. Kerling þostradi agnar enn
 58. karl geirroð. At vári þecc karl þeim scip. Enn er kerling þá
 59. leiddo þa til strandar þa mælti karl ein mæli við geirrað. Þeir
 60. þengo býr oc qvomo til staðva þáðurf sínf. Geirroþr var fram
 61. í scipi hann hliop up aland enn hratt út scipino. oc mælti. þarþu
 62. þar er smýl haþi þic. Scipit rac ut. Enn geirroðr gek ut til
 63. bóiar hanom var vel þagnat. þa var þaþir hanf andaþr. Var þa geir
 64. raðr til konungf tekinn. oc varð maðr agætr. Opinn oc Frigg fato i
 65. hliþscialþo oc sa um heima alla. oðinn mælti. Ser þu agnar þostr
 66. þinn hvar hann elr born við gygi ihellinom. Enn geirroþr þostri minn
 67. er konungr oc sitr nu at landi. Frigg segir. Hann er mat niþingr fa at hann
 68. qvelr gefti sína eþ honum þiccia of margir coma. Opinn segir at þat er in
 69. mesta lygi. Þá veðia um þetta. mál. Frigg fendi efcif meý sína
 70. þullo til geirroðar. Hon bað konung varaz at eigi þyr gerþi hanom þioliku
 71. nnigr maðr. fa er þar var kominn iland. oc sagði þat marc á at engi
 72. húndr var sva olmr at a hann mundi hlþpa. Enn þat var inn mesti he
 73. gomi at geirroþr vþri eigi matgoþr. oc þo leþr hann handtaca þann M^{ann}
 74. er eigi vildo hundar araða. Sa var iþeldi blám oc neþndiz
 75. grimnir. oc sagði ecci þleira þra ser þott hann vþri at spurþr. Konungr let
 76. hann þína til fagna oc setia milli elda tveggia oc fat hann þar viii.
 77. neþr. Geirroþr konungr atti son x. vetra gamlan oc het agnarr
 78. eptir broþur hanf. Agnarr gecc at grimni oc gaþhanom horn þult
 79. at drecca. sagði at konungr gorði illa er hann let þína hann fac la
 80. fan. Grimnir dracc aþ þa var eldrinn sva kominn at þeldrinn
 81. Heitr ertu hripuþr oc heldr **Grimnif mal** brann aþ grimni. hann qvad.
 82. til micill góngomc þir þuni. loði sviþnar þott ec a
 83. lopt berac brennomc þeldr þyr. Átta neþr fat ec mil
 84. li elda her sva at mer mangi mat ne bað. nema einn agnarr er
 85. er einn scal ráða geirróþar sonr gotna lande. Heill scaltu agnarr
 86. allz þic heilan biþr veratyr vera. einf drycciar þu scalt al
 87. dregi betri giold gera. Land er heilact er ec liggia se

9 verso

1. afom *oc* alþom nēr. enn iþruðheimi fcal þórr vera unz um riuþaz
2. regin. Ýdalir heita þar er ullr heþir ser um gorva fali. alþheim
3. þreýr gaþo i ardaga tivar at tann þe. Bqr er fa inn þriði
4. er blið regin filþri þa/cþo fali. valafcialþ heitir er velti ser ás
5. iardaga. Sæcþva beccr heitir enn iiii. enn þar fvalar knego unnir
6. ýþir glýmia. þar þa/ oðinn *oc* fága drecca um alla daga glað or
7. gullnom kerom. Gladf heimr heitir enn v. þarf enn gull biarta
8. ⁶⁴⁸vahlþall við of þrumir. enn þar hropt kýs hverian dag va
9. pn dauþa vera. Miðc er aþkent þeim er oðins koma fal kynni vargr hangir
10. þyr veftan dyrr *oc* drupir aþrn yþir. Miðc er aþkent þeim er til oþins
11. koma fal kynni at fia. fcaþptom er rann rept scioldom er falr þa
12. kiþr bryniom um becki strát. Þrym heimr heitir enn vi. er þiazi
13. bío fa inn amatki iotunn. enn nu scaði byggvir fcír bruðe goða
14. þornar toptir fæður. Breiða^{blik} ero in fiundo enn þar baldr heþir
15. ser um gorva fali. aþvi landi er ec liggia veit þqfta þeicn staþi.
16. Himinbiorg ero en atto enn þar heimdall qveþa valda veom. þar vorþr
17. goða dreccr iþero ranni glaþr goða miop. Fiolcvangr er inn
18. niundi enn þar þreya reþr fesa costum ifal. halþan val hon
19. kýs hverian dag enn halþan oðinn á. Glitnir er inn x. hann er guli
20. studdr *oc* filþri þackþr iþ fama. enn þar þorfeti byggir þlestan
21. dag *oc* sveþer allar sakir. Noa tun ero en xi. enn þar niorþr
22. heþir ser um gorva fali. manna þengill enn meinf vani hatimbro
23. þom hærg. Hrífi vex *oc* há grafi vinþarf land. viði en þar ma
24. ugr aþ lezc af marf baki þrōcn *oc* heþna þæður. Andh
25. rimnir leþr ield hrimne fe hrimni foðinn. þlesca bezt
26. enn þat þáir víto hvat ein heriar alaz. Gera *oc* þreca feðr
27. gunntamiþr hropigr heria þæðr. enn við vín eitt vapn ga/
28. þugr oðinn e liþir. Huginn *oc* munninn þliuga hverian dag
29. iormun grund yþir. oumc ec^{of} hugin at hann aþtr ne comiþ
30. þo síame meirr um muninn. Þytr þund unir þióþ vit
31. niþ þiscr þloði í. ár stræmr of micil val glaþmi at va
32. þa. Val grind heitir er ftende velli á heilog fyr helgom
33. durom. þorn er fu grind enn þat þáir vito hve hon er ilás
34. lokin. Fimmhundruþ golþa *oc* um þiorom togom fva hygg

⁶⁴⁸ alhaþll,

19
 ec billscirni m; hugoo: rana þra e ec rept vica minf. veit
 ec mett magar. J. imhundrup duru 3 v juoro tago s hys
 ec at valhalla va. viii. hundrup einhja ganga a einorn
 duru þa e þr para at viciu at vega. Heiþron heit gete
 e stende halla a þraþadof. 3 hitr 3. leraps limo scap þer 3
 lla ho st int scira mradar kna at so veig vanaz. Cikþy
 rñ heit hiocty ey stende ahavlo þra þaþri. 2 hitr 3. ler
 apl limo ey 3. hl hoeno dreypr ihugelmi þan eigo vorty
 all vega. Sip 3. vif sekun 3 ekin svaul 3. gnyþro juorn 3
 þiþvulþul. rit 3. reþandi gþul 3. gþul. gam v l 3. getr vi
 mul. þer hþja v hadd goda. þyn 3. v m þvill 3. hall. gras
 2. gnyþoey. Vin a heit ey vnyoz veglum þridia þiodnuma
 nyt. 3. navt. navy. 3. hray. slip 3. hriþ. tylgr 3. ylgr. vif 3. van
 vand 3. strand. gvall 3. leipter þer þalla gyno nef e þalla t
 hehar heday. Karmit 3. armit 3. klavgar tves þer st þon
 vada hvian dag ey h doma þer at alci yodrafill. þer at
 al þru brey al logo heilog vorty hloa. Glasþ 3. gyllþ gler
 3. sceidþrum silþintoptr 3. simr gull 3. þalþorn gull toptr 3
 leþeci þei rida elir iom dag hvn er þr doa þara at af
 ei yodrafill. Þriar vort standa apria nega vndan alci
 yodrafill: hel þyr vnd eyi axara hmpurlar þridio mæh
 a. Ratatolser heit ihoem e reya st at alci yodrafill. arñ
 æd h st opam þa 3. legia niþhocun niþ. Hirt ey 3. juoz
 þerl 3. heþingar a. agaghals gnaga. dan 3. dvalus. doneþr
 3. duraproz. Ormar ylem 3. hsta vnd alci yodrafill ey þ vj
 hþei hvr. olvþra apa. Hon 3. mon þr eyo gþ. vrcniþ syn
 grabacr 3. grasvullþ of n 3. svap hys ec at 3. scyþ meþ
 ofta ma. Alci yodrafill dryg eyþidi meira ey m vrc
 hnoct hitr opam ey ahliþo þunap scerþer niþhavt nef
 rist 3. mlt vil ec at m hoenþi scegiwald 3. scagvi. hidi
 3. þrud hlocc 3. hnoct. gull 3. getravlul. vandgrif. 3. rap
 grip regnley. þer þa einhiom vil. Arvacr 3. allvipe

10 recto

1. ec bilfcirni meþ bugomø: ranna þeira er ec rept vita mínf veit
2. ec meft magar. Fimmhundruþ dúra oc um þiorom togom sva hygg
3. ec at valhǽllo vera. viii. hundruþ einheria ganga or einom
4. durom þa er þeir fara at vitni at vega. Heiþrún heitir geit
5. er stendr hǽlló a heriafǽðrf. oc bitr af leraþs limom fcap ker fý
6. Ila hon fcal inf fciara miaðar kna at fu veig vanaz. Eikþy
7. rnir heitir hiotr er stendr ahǽllo heriafǽþrf. oc bítr af ler
8. aþf limom enn af hanf hornom drýpr ihvergelmi þaðan eiga⁶⁴⁹ votn
9. ǽll vega. Síþ oc víþ fekin oc eikin fvaþl oc gunnþró þiorm oc
10. fimbulþul. rín oc rennandi gipul oc gǽpul. gǽmul oc geirvi
11. mul. þer hverfa um hodd goða. þýn oc vin þǽll oc hǽll. grab
12. oc gunnþorin. Vín á heitir enn ǽnnor vegfvinn þriðia þiodnuma.
13. nýt. oc nǽt. nǽnn. oc hrǽnn. flíþ oc hriþ. fylgr oc ylgr. víþ oc ván
14. vaþnd oc ftraþnd. giaþll ocleiptr þer falla gunnom ner er falla til
15. heliar hepan. Kǽrmt oc ǽrmt oc kerlǽgar tver þer fcal þorr
16. vaða hverian dag er hann dōma ferr at afciyggdrafilf. þvi at
17. af bru brenn ǽll logo heilog votn hlóa. Glaþr oc gyllir gler
18. oc fceiðbrimir filfrintoptr oc finir gífl oc fálhoþnir gulltopr oc
19. letþeti þeim ríða efir íóm dag hvern er þeir dōma fara at af
20. ci yggdrafilf. Þriár rōtr ftanda aþria vega undan afci
21. yggdrafilf: hel býr undir einni annarri hrimþurfar þriðio mennzkir
22. menn. Ratatofer heitir ikorni er renna fcal at afci yggdrafilf. arnar
23. orð hann fcal ofan bera oc fegia níþhǽggvi niþr. Hirtir ero oc þiorir
24. þeirf af heþingar á. agaghalsir gnaga. dainn oc dvalinn. dúneyr
25. oc durapror. Ormar fleiri liggia undir afci yggdrafilf enn þat uþ
26. hyggi hverr. ofviþra apa. Goinn oc moinn þeir ero graþvitnif fynir
27. grabacr oc graþvaþlluþr ofnir oc fvaþnir hygg ec at ef fcyli meiþf
28. qvifto má. Afcr yggdrafilf drygir erfíði meira enn menn víti
29. hiótr bítr ofan enn ahliþo fúnar fcerþer níðhǽggr neþan.
30. Hrift oc mist vil ec at mer horn beri fceggiaþld oc fcaþgul. hildi
31. oc þruði hlǽcc oc herþiotur. gǽll oc geiraþlul. randgriþ. oc rap
32. griþ reginleif þer bera einheriom ǽl. Arvacr oc alfviþr

⁶⁴⁹ finnur has o

10 verso

1. þeir scolo upp heðan fvangir fol draga. enn und þeira bógom falo
2. blíp regin efir ifarn kol. Svǽl heitir hann ftendr folo fyr sci
3. oldr scinanda góði. biorg oc brim ec veit at brenna scolo ef
4. hann fellr ifrá. Scǽll heitir ulfr er fylgir eno scírleita goði
5. til varna viðar. enn annarr hati hann er hroþ vitnif sonr fa scal
6. fyr heiða bruði himinf. Ór ymif holdi var iorþ um scaþuð enn
7. or fveita fær biorg or beinom baðmr or hári en or hæfi hi
8. min enn or hanf brám gerðo blið regin miðgarð manna sonom. enn
9. or hanf heila voro þǽ in harðmoðgo fcy ǽll um scaþuþ. Ullar
10. hylli hefr oc allra goða hverr er tecr fyrstr afuna. þviat opnir
11. heimar verþa um áfa sonom þa er hefia af hvera. Ivalda fýnir
12. gengo iardaga scipblaðni at fcapa. fcipa bezt fcirom frey
13. nytom niarðar bur. Afcr yggdrasill hann er qztr viþa en fciþ
14. bladnir fcipa oðinn afa enn ioa fleipnir bilrǽft brúa en bragi
15. fcalda habroc hæca en hunda garmr. Svipom hefi ec nu
16. --- ýpt fyr figtiva sonom við þat fcal vilbiorg vaca. ǽllom áfom þat
17. fcal inn coma egif becci á ægif drecco at. Hetomc grimr hetomc
18. gangleri herian oc hialmberi. þeccr. oc þriði. þundr. ^{oc} uþr. helbli
19. ndi. ^{oc} háf. Saþr oc fvipall oc fanngetall herteitr. oc hnicarr biley
20. gr baleygr bælvercr fiolnir. Grimr oc grimnir glapfviþr oc fiaþllviþr
21. Sfíþh'ǽttr fíþfceggr. figfǽðr. hnikuþr alfǽþr valfǽþr atríðr
22. oc farma tyr. eino nafni hetomc aldregi fíz ec með folcom fór.
23. Grimne mic héto at geirraðar enn ialc at ófmundar enn þa kial
24. ar er ec kialca dró. þrói þingom at. Ofci oc ómi. iaþnhár
25. oc biþlindi gǽndli oc harbarðr með goðom. Svipurr oc fviþrir
26. er ec het at fǽcc mimif oc dulþa ec þann inn aldna iótun.
27. er⁶⁵⁰ þa ec miþviþnif varc inf mōra burar orðinn einn bani.
28. Aúlr ertu geirroþr hefr þu of druccit miclo ertu hnugg
29. inn er þu ert mino gengi ollom ein heriom oc ofins hylli.
30. fiolþ ec þer fagða enn þu fat um mánt of þic vela vinir
31. meki liggia ec fe mins vinar allan idreyra driþinn. Egg
32. moþan val nu mun yggr haþa þitt veit ec líf um líþit

⁶⁵⁰ er in margin

21
 var ro diltu nu knattu odin sia nalgastu mic ey: þu
 meg. Opnu ec nu herti vor ec aþan hec hecve þuða þyr
 þ: ræc 7 skilþing: vafuþ. 7 broptatyr. gætt 7 valer mþ
 godo. Opn 7 svapn er ec hys at oðr le all: q: einö mey.
 Geinof k. læc 7 hqdi lóp u kne s 7 bringot t miþl. Es e
 h heyrþi at dny var þar komi stoph up 7 vildi taca s.
 þ eldrið. Súþr flap oc hendi hō villo hiotuin mþ. þ
 þ þota 7 steyptiz agra ey lóþr stōð igōnō h. 7 þec h bana.
 Opny hvarj: þa. Es agnar v þar hý lengi lif. *þec þer*
 reytr sō marþax hqdi setze ihlþþerale: 7 sa v heia
 alla. h sa notun heia 7 sa þar mey þag þa e ho gecc
 þra scala þadur s. t læmo. þar q: þec h hvgsfott miclar
 Scirn h. leo svens þreys. moþ þap h qþia þrey mall. þa
 mli scadi. Ristu nu scirn 7 gacc at beida. ocaru mala ma
 va. 7 þ at þregna hveit e þroþi le opreþi aþi. Scirn q. Illra
 oþa e m on at ylaru lyni ey: ec geg at mla vþ marg. þ
 at þregna h. e. þ. l. o. a. Segdu þ þreye þole valdr goda
 7 ec inha vta. þu þv ey þer enlanga tali mny dny vþ
 daga. þvi v legnac þ leor ey vge mikny mōð trega. þat
 alþra þv lvs um ala daga 7 þeygi at minō muno. þvni
 þina hveca ec s micla va at þv m leor ne seg. þat vng
 saman varō iardaga vel metti tveir trvazc. þvniþ gar
 þō ec la gāga m tþa mey. armar lyfto e q: þap at loþt
 7 loþt. þer e m tðari ey maþ hveit angō 7 arclaga. ala
 7 alþa þ vill ey þ at vþ læc lem. þar geþdu m þa þaþ
 e mic þ myrþuan þi vþan vayr loga. 7 þ þverþ e halyt
 vega v totna ey. þar ec þ þan geþ: e þie v myrþu þr
 vþan vayr loga. 7 þ lóp e halyt mny vegar ey: sa e holet
 e þer. Sc. ml v hestny. þyret e vti mal qþ ec oer þa
 ta vng þoll þr. þyria þroþ þr: þadir vþ comve ey oer
 þada teor sa þ amacki notny. Scirn reþ þota heia
 t gymis garda. þar v hundar olm 7 þvðon þ: leidgar

11 recto

1. *varar ro dífir nu knattu oðin síá nalgazstu mic eř þu*
2. *megir Oþinn ec nu heiti yggr ec áþan het hetumc þundr řyrir*
3. *þat: vacr oc scilřingr vářuþr. oc hroptatyr. gǽtr oc ialcr meþ*
4. *goðom. Ořnir oc fvařnir er ec hygg at orðnir fe allir ař einom mer.*
5. *Geirroþr konungr. fat oc hařði fverþ um kne ser oc brugðit til miþf. Enn er*
6. *hann heyrþi at oðinn var þar kominn stöþ hann up oc vildi taca o.*
7. *řra eldinom. Sverþit flapp or hendi hanom viffo hioltin niþr. konungr*
8. *drap řoti oc steýptiz ařram enn fverþit stod igo^snom hann. oc řecc hann bana.*
9. *Oþinn hvarf þa. Enn agnarr var þar konungr lengi řiþan.*

Chapter 2. AM 748 I 4o Facing Facsimile Diplomatic Transcription

Sæg þu. h. y. h. þu ogra voh all vaf þriddi vif þi roena rymu zall
 goda sag þu hio sammarca hmi alsumi roeni. þ ra roena rymu zall
 goda æt nan segna fact þar hmi þær æt hæf of hote mo ho æt hæf
 ma þi myð hæf naef hring deyna æt hæf hæf. þ ra æt þær þær
 æt þær hæf. þ. ec of ræynda rægm hie hie. þi þa æt hmi mæra lide
 þ mmi vate m. y. m. þi z læs þær æt þa lægnaz mvmu tholl
 di hodd mmi mogi daggr þa þær æt ma þa æt þær æt þær æt
 d alar. þ ra. e. f. y. e. f. þi hæf sol a hmi stæta hmi þa æt þær
 hæf þær yær. l ma doco þi al. y. d. u. l. æt þa þær þær þær þær
 sel ræda þa æt rægm deyna mogi deat mæy. þ. e. y. þ. e. y. þi æt
 þær mæy þær æt lida mar þi þi rodgæd rad. þ. þi æt þær þær
 ræda þær þi mæy mæy þi hamngne em þær æt þær
 m æt þa þær m. roeni alar. þ. e. f. þ. e. f. þi ræda æt þær
 æt goda þa æt stohi þærca logi. Vidar z uat byggia vae
 goda þa æt stohi þærca logi. mod. z magni scolu mmi
 þa æt vngni æt vngni. þ. e. f. þ. e. f. þi vae æt æt æt æt
 þa æt of vngni rægi. þi. r. gæyppa mmi alioa þær þær mmi
 vidar ræda halioa hærca h þærca mmi mmi mmi æt
 þ. e. f. þi mmi æt æt a dal stigi z stigi ræynda sym. þi mmi
 þ vae þi þu rædaga sag. ræynda sym. þi mmi mmi mmi
 ta æt mmi mmi þi ræstazi zoy ræynda voh. þu æt mmi
 æt mmi dæstlag mmi æt þær þu æt æt vngni þa þi hær
 ræstlag hær. þ. y. som. þi æt rægnaz dæstlag
 æt þi gæyppa. agni. þi. y. vae æt gæyppa vmi vae
 þi ræynda. y. a þær mmi dæstlag mmi æt mmi. vmi ræstlag þa
 ræynda. þi dæstlag mmi mmi mmi þi. lo z gæyppa vmi mmi
 hoc dæstlag æt. þi vae vae. hæstlag mmi agni æt æt
 ræstlag gæyppa. z hæstlag hmi ræd. æt vmi ræstlag hmi hmi
 æt þa hmi hmi þa æt hmi þa. m. hmi æt mmi vmi gæyppa.
 þi ræyppa þær z hmi æt stæta þær mmi. Gæyppa vmi
 hmi. þi hmi vmi a lo æt hmi vmi hmi z. m. þær þu mmi

3 Verso

22. **Fra hrǫ**
23. Hrǫðungr konungr atti .ii. sonu. hætt annarr agnarr **ðungi konungi**
24. æn f.^{annarr} gæirðr. agnarr var .x. vœtra ænn gæirðr .viii. vœtra
25. Þær ræru .ii. a bati mæð dorgir sínar at smáfilki. Vindr rak þa
26. ihaft ut. þær brutu ináttmýrkri við land oc gængu upp fundu
27. kot bonda æinn. þar voru þær um vætrinn. kærling þofraði agnar æn karl
28. þofraði gæirðr. oc kændi honum rað. at vár þækc karl þæim skip. ænn
29. ær þær kærling læiddu þa til skipf þa mælti karl æinmæli við gæirðr.
30. Þær þængu býr oc komu til stæðva þqður sínf. Gæirðr var fram i
31. skipi. hann hliop upp a land ænn hratt útt skipinu oc mælti þar þu nu þar

æ smyl hagi þin. Sliþi rak ihay vo æn gær røde gæte up ð ðæra
 hni v þi vael yagnac æs þad þs v þa andæde. bæni v þa cil hæg æth
 z vð m agæcc. Oðm z þo sacv ihl ið þraals. z þa v alla hæma. O. m.
S þu agni þost þm hō h æte ðoen v gygr ihælmū. æn h þost mni
 z þer ac tovm. f. o. f. h æ mar mōm gr þa ac h h v æte æzst. f. æ. hō
 þi ðæa on mō hōma. O. t. ac þi æ h m mæsta ligr. þa v æðra v þra mal
 f. o. lænð æst mæy. f. y. vllv ð gærn. h ðad h g varax ac æ þi gð. hō
 þið h m m gr m ra æ þi v hōm ið z lagð þi m h a ac ængi h v r i d e
 v þra o h m r ac a h m i d i h l a y a æ n þi v h m m æ s t i h æ g o m m a g g æ m
 h v r æ m a c g o d r. æ n þo læc h h o t þ a n m a n æ æ v l l o v h v i d
 a h l a y a r a v y æ l l o r d i a r n z m æ y n d i x g m m z. t. æ l o r þ l æ r n a
 þi læc þo h v æ r i a d s p i d e. h læc þ r m a h c i l l a g n a z t æ c c i a m i l l i
 æ l l o a z t a t þ. v i i y. n æ c r. G æ r n h æ r i þ a l o n. y. v æ t g a m l a n z h
 a g n i r æ y o ð e o d r h s. a g n i r g æ t e a c g m m z g a y h m h o e n z v l l e
 æ d æ t e a z l a g d i a c þ a d h s g o d æ h þ m d i þ n a m a n t a h l a t a n.
S m m d e a l o a y. þa v æ l l o n þ r a h o m m i a d y æ l l o n þ n a y. g m m. h. q.
 æ n o r e r c v h y v d e z h æ l l o e c i l m i d i l l g o n g u m x
H þ m þ v m l o d i r v i d i þ o v æ h a l o p o v a h æ r m i r z æ l l o e j i. æ r i
 n æ c r l a t æ h m i l l v æ l l o a h s a v m m a n g i m a o n æ b a d
 n æ a æ n i a g n i r æ æ n i t e l v æ l l a d æ m g o t o n g o o n a t o r. h æ n i l t e l
 o v a g n i r a l l æ þ i h h æ n l a n d i d v a t y r v a æ n i t d y p l o r a r þ u s e l o a h
 d e æ g i ð e o g r æ l l o g æ t a. l a n d æ h æ r l a g o æ æ c l i g r a t æ a r v z a h y v
 n o e r æ n i þ r v d h æ r m i t e l þ o n v a v m z o f r y p s a r t æ g m. þ d a l
 h æ n t a þi æ v l l e h æ r i v g u a t a h a l p h æ r i þ y g a y v i a r d a g a o y i
 a c t a n þ æ. Þ æ r æ þa h m þ i d i æ b l i d r æ g i t i l y. þ o h e v t a l i v a l a s t r a l y
 h æ n e æ v æ l l e r t æ r a l l i a r d a g a. S o þ o ð æ t o r h æ r i h m i z æ d æ n i
 þi r v a l a r h n a g v v m m þ y g l y m n a þi þa o d m z s a g a æ æ t e a v a l l a
 d a g a g l o d æ g u d m u h æ r v. O l a d t h æ r m i r æ h m i z m m e r þi h m
 g u d d i a r t a v a l h o l l v þ r v m æ n i þi h y o r h y i t h o r a d a g v a y p d o u
 v a v a. O h o h æ a d h æ n t þi æ o d m s h o a t a l h y m m a c t i a s h o p r o
 æ r a n r æ y o s t r a l l o v æ s a t e þ a h i d t e y m m v ð æ t o r s t r a d. O h o e

4 Recto

11. *ær smýl haði þik. Skipat rak ihað ut ænn gæirrøðr gækc upp til béia*
12. *honum var þar væl þagnat æn þaðir hans var þa andaði. Gæirrøðr var þa til konungf tækinn*
13. *oc varð maðr agætr. Oðinn oc þrigg fatu ihlipkialf oc fa um alla hæima. Oðinn mælti*
14. *Ser þu agnar þoftra þinn hvar hann ælr bõrn við gýgi ihællinum. ænn^{ær} konungr þoftri minn*
15. *oc fitr at lōndum. Frigg sagdi hann ær matniðingr fa at hann kvælr gæfti. segir æf honom*
16. *þikcia of margir koma. Oðinn sagði at þat ær hin mæfta lýgi. þa^ð væðia um þætta mal*
17. *þrigg sændi æski mæy. fina. til Gæirrøðar. hon bað konung varaz at æigi þiri gærðin honum*
18. *þiolkunnigr maðr fa ær var kominn iland oc sagði þat mark a at ængi hundr*
19. *var sva ómlr at a hann mundi hlaupa. ænn var hinn mæfti hægomi at gæirrøðr*
20. *konungr væri æigi matgoðr. ænn þo lætr konungr handtaka þann mann ær æigi villdu hundar*
21. *a hlaupa fa var i þelldi blám oc næþndiz grimnir oc sagði ækci þlæira*
22. *þra sær þott hann væri at spurðr. konungr lætr pina hann til sagna oc sætia milli*
23. *ællda oc fat þar. viii. nætr. Gæirrøðr konungr átti þa son .x. vætra gamlan oc hætr*
24. *agnarr æptir broður hans. Agnarr gækc at grimni oc gað honum horn þullt*
25. *at drækca oc sagði at þaðir hans gærði ær hann pinndi þænna mann faklaðfan.*
26. *Grimnir drakc af þa var ælldrinn sva kominn at þælldrin brann af grimni. hann. qvað.*
27. *Hæitr ertu hripuðr oc hælldr til mikill gongumz grimnif **mal***
28. *þirr þuni loði sviðnar þott æk a lopt væra brænumz þælldr þiri. átta*
29. *nætr fat æk millum ællða hætr sva at mætr mangi mat næ bað*
30. *næma æinn agnarr ær æinn scal raða Gæirrøðar son gotna landi. hæill scal*
31. *tu agnarr allz þik hæilan biðr væra týr væra æinf drýkciar þu scallt all*
32. *drægi bætri giælld gæta. land ær hæilagt ær æc liggia sæ afum oc alþum*
33. *nær æn iþrúðnhæimi scal þorr væra unz of riuþaz rægin. Ýdalir*
34. *hæita þar ær ullr hæfir lætr um gærva fali alþhæim þræy gaðu iardaga tiþar*
35. *at tannþæ. Bær fa hin þriði ær blip rægin filþri þoktu fali vala þkálþ*
36. *hæitir ær vællti sær aff iardaga. Søkva bæker hæitir hinn þiord ænn*
37. *þar svalar knægu unnir ýfir glýmia þar þa^ð oðinn oc saga drækca um alla*
38. *daga gløð ór gullnum kærum. Gladf hæimr ær hinn þimti þarf hin*
39. *gull biarta vál holl við þrumir ænn þar hroptr kýff hværian dag vapndað*
40. *ða væra. Miok ær æðkent þæim ær oðinf koma falkýnni at sia þkoptum*
41. *ær rann ræpt skiðlldum ær falr þakiðr brýnium um bækei fráð. Miok*

4 Verso

1. ær *ǰðkent*. þeim ær til koma sía at sía vargr hangir *ǰiri* væftan dýrr oc drupir orn ýǰir.
2. Þrýmhæimr hæitir hinn sætti ær þiazí bio fa hinn amatki iǰtun ænn
3. nu skaði býggir skir brudr goða ǰorna toptir *ǰǰður*. Bræiða blio æru hin
4. sí *ǰnndu* ænn þar balldr hæǰir fær um gorva fali a þvi landi ær æk liggia váeit
5. ǰæsta ǰæiknstaǰi. himinbiǰrg æru hin áttu æn þar hæimdall kvæða
6. vallda væ um þar vǰrðr goða drækc iværu ranni glaðr hin goða miǰð. Folc
7. vangr er hinn ix. ænn þar ǰreyia ræðr sæssa kostum ifal halǰan val hon kýff
8. hværian dag ænn halǰan oðinn á. Glitnir. heitir enn x. hann ær gulli studdr oc silǰri þaktr
9. hit sama ænn þar ǰorsæti býggir ǰlæstan dag oc svæǰir allar sakir. Noa
10. tun ær. hinn xi. ænn þar niǰrðr hæǰir fær um gorva fali mana þængill hinn
11. mæinf vani hatimbrudum hǰrgi ræðr. hrifi væx oc ha grafi viðarf land
12. viði ænn þar mǰgr of læz aǰmarfbaki ǰrækn oc hærna ǰǰður. andhrim
13. nir lætr iælld hrimni sæ hrimni foðinn ǰlæska bæzt æn þat ǰáir vitu
14. hvat æinhæria alaz. Gæra oc ǰræka sæðr gunntamiðr hroðigr hæria ǰǰðr
15. ænn við vin æitt vapngǰfugr oðinn é lifir. Huginn oc muninn ǰliuga
16. hværian dag iǰrmun grund ýǰir oumz æc um hugim at hann aptr næ komi
17. þo siaz ec mæirr um muninn. þýtr þundr unir þioðvitnis ǰilkr ǰló
18. ði i ár straumr þikcir of mikill valglǰmni at vaða. Valgrind hæitir ær
19. stændr vælli a hæilǰg ǰiri hælǰum dýrum ǰorn ær fu grind ænn þat ǰair vi
20. tu hvæ hon ær ilaf um lokin. ǰimhundrut dýra oc .xl. sva kvæt æk a val hǰll
21. væra atta hundrut æinhæria ganga sænn or æinum dýrum þa ær þæir ǰara við vitni
22. at væga. Fimm hundrut golǰa oc um ǰiorum tigung sva hýgg æk a valhǰll væra bil
23. skirni með bugum ranna þæira ær æk ræðt vita minf væit ec mæft
24. magari. hæiðrun hæitir gæit ær stændr hǰllu a hæriaǰǰður oc bitr aǰ
25. læraðf limum skapkær ǰýlla hon scal hinf skira miaðar kann fu væig
26. vanaz. eikþýrnir hæitir hiǰrtr ær stændr hǰllu a hæriaǰǰður oc bitr
27. aǰlæraðf limum ænn aǰ hans hornum drypr i hværgælmi þapan æiga vǰtn ǰll væga.
28. Síð oc við sækin oc ækin fvǰl --- gunþro ǰiǰrm oc ǰimbulþul rin oc ren
29. nandi gipul oc gǰpul gǰmul oc gæirvimul. þær hværǰa um hoddgoða

4
 þyn z um þoll z þoll græð z gvin þœm. Vma hæc æn gvin væg
 tom þia þroðmna nyo z noo non z þroð rið z þi þylgr z þylgr
 vid z uad vgrnd z stvond groll z læyvor þær þalla gvin næc æn
 þalla tñ hæðiar hæf. hæmo z gvin z þlaug. y. þær tel þon vada
 dag þyn æ h daerna þr avastri þgðastis þar astou bæen oðl loga
 hælog vœn þloa. þlak z gylli græc z þæcð þm þhþn tœpr z þm
 gis z þabœn gulltœpr z læyvor. þ rida æt' rou dag þyn æ dœa ac
 apn þgðastis. þær ræcæ standa apna vœga vnd alki þgðastis hæð þpr
 vnd æm anan þmpvœsar þðv mæð m. Haratœlar hæc i hæm
 æ ræga tel acastri þgðastis arn æð h sel oþ' þa z sægra mid hœg mðe
 h nt æv z m. þr þy. hæyngiar a gag þastri ganga dan z dvalm
 dþrœym z dþrœþrœ. Orm þærri liggia vnd alki þgðastis æn oþ' hjo
 gi hvr ofvœna apa gom z mori þrro gþ vœmif þyn g þahr z gþ.
 vœlðe opn z þvayn hþig æh ac æ stþh mæð' hvntv ma. Alþr þð
 dþis æyþ æyðs mœna æn m oþ' viti hæcæ' þic oþ' æn ahlœvœv
 n mðr mid hœgr mœþ. hit z mnt vil æc ar m hæm bi þæc gllœ
 z hœgul hiltœ z þrœðe hloðe z hþrœ goll z gæc vœmif randgð
 z radgrid z rœg mœn: þær þa æm hrv oðl ær vahr z alsvide þr
 tœlo vþ hæf þuang tœl dga æn vnd fra þogv þalv blid rœgi æcæ
 marn hœl. Svalm hæc h stænde tœlo þi stvœlœ stvœna gudi þigg
 z þm æh vœc ac hæna tœlo æg h þæcæ y. S þoll hæc vþr æ
 þylg hmv stvœna gudi tñ vœna vid æn amir hæc h vœmif
 þv ta tel þi hæcða hœðs hmv. Or þmif hœlœ v þœð v stvœ æn
 œ svœcæ tœc þvæg æ vœmif bæcæm œ hær æn œ hær hmv
 æn œ hœ þœam gðu blid rœgi mðgð m som æn œ hœ þœna v
 þœ hmv hðmœðgu stv oðl oþ' stœp. V þær hþli hæc z all' goda hvrœ
 tœlæ þyr þr æy vna þær opn hæm vða oþ' ala som þa œ þr hœ
 þia œ þva. þvœlða þyn ggu iardaga mðblœðm ad þœpa þi
 þa bæc stvœ þy nœv mæðar þv. Alœr þgðastis h æc

5

5 Recto

1. þýn oc vin þoll oc holl gráð oc gunnþorin. Vina hæitir ænn qnnur væg
2. fvin þriðia þioðnuma nýt oc not nonn oc hrqnn flið oc hrið fylgr oc ýlgr
3. við oc vað vqnd oc strqnd gioll oc læiptr þær falla gumnum nær ænn
4. falla til hæliar hæþan. kqmt oc qrmt oc kærl'ægar .ii. þær scal þorr vaða
5. dag hværn ær hann dæma fær at alki ýggdrafilf þviat afbru brænn qll loga
6. hæilqg vqtn hloa. Gláðr oc gýllir glær oc fkæið brimir filþrin toppr oc finir
7. gill oc falæpnir gulltoppr oc lættæti. þæim riða æfir ioum dag hværn ær dæma at
8. alki ýggdrafilf. þriar rætr ftanda a þria væga und alki ýggdrafils hæl býr
9. und æinni annarri hrimþurfar þriðiu mænzkir mænn. Raratofkr hæitir ikorni
10. ær rænna scal atafki ýggdrafilf arnar orð hann scal ofan bæra oc fægja niðhoggi niðr
11. hirtir æru oc .iiii. þæirf afhæþingiar á gaghalsir ganga dainn oc dvalinn
12. dýnæýrr oc dýraþrórr. Ormar flæiri liggia und alki ýggdrafilf ænn of hýgg
13. gi hværr ofvinnra apa goinn oc moinn þæirro graþ vitnif fýnir grabakr oc graþ
14. vqlluðr opnir oc fvaþnir hýgg æk at æ skýli mæiðar kuiltu má. afkr ýgg
15. drafilf drýgir ærþiði mæira ænn mænn ofviti hioqtr bitr ofan ænn a hliðu þu
16. narfkærðir niðhoggr næþan. hrist oc mist vil æc at mærr horn bæri fkægg qlld
17. oc fkqgul hilldr oc þruðr hlqkc oc hærfiqtur goll oc gæirromul randgrið
18. oc raðgrið oc ræginlæiþ þær bæra æinhærium ql. arvakr oc alfviðr þæir
19. scolo upp hæþan fvangir fol draga æn und þæira bogum þalu blið rægin æfir
20. ifarn kol. Svalin hæitir hann ftæindr folu þiri fkiqlldr fkinanda guði biqrg
21. oc brim æk væit at brænn scolo æþ hann fællr iþra. Skoll hæitir ulþr ær
22. fýlgir hinu fkiðlæiþa goði til vaufna viðar ænn annarr hati hroðnitnif
23. fun fa scal þiri hæiða bruið himinf Or ýmif hqlldi var iqrd um fkoþuð ænn
24. or fvæita fiór biqrg or bæinum baðrmr or hári ænn or hæfi himinn
25. ænn or hans brám gærðu blið rægin miðgarð manna fonum ænn or hans heila voru
26. þæ hin harðmoðgu fky ql of fkoþuð. Ullar hýlli hæþir oc allra goða hværr ær
27. tekr fýrft afuna þviat opnir hæimar værða of afa fonum þa ær þæir hæ
28. þia af hværa. Ivallda fýnir gængu iardaga fkiðblaðni at fkaþa fki
29. þa bæzt fkirum fræý nýtum niarðar bur. Afcr ýggdrafilf hann ær

b. 100

æter vinda æn ihw bladn þiþa æd m̄ ata æn ioa næpni þeva æn
 ðgr thallda ha þh hahha æn hunda gmr æn brni tuda. Sunpū hæ
 fræh þpo þi frigeþa somv v þ col vishæg vaha ollu atū þ col m̄
 homa egg boetci a ægri dypitv ad. hævū gmr z ganglæri hān
 z hralmbi þæter z þðr þvð zud. hðlmda z har ladd z lūpall z
 lāngatall hæter z hmban dilaepgr balæpgr þolu hr þpū gmr
 z gmr gnapvud z yzollvud. Sid haur hðlægr sigvæde hm
 hvðe alþvðe at rīð z þi maþr. æmo næpni hævū þæ æc þ. ollu
 þæ. Gvmmi mih hæru ad gæm gðar æn ralh at almdar æn þa
 vāh æ æc hāhha æo þvæ þvūgū ad vīðv at vīgū ollu z omi
 raynar z þy. lmbi gendv z harðvæde mīð godū. Svīðvū z lūde
 æc eo hæc ad sehemms z dōvda æh þan hm allona vōvū þa æ
 æh mīðvūem̄ v hīl mæra bvt æd m̄ æmbayn. Þr æc v gæm̄
 hæp þv oþvūð mīðv æc v hūvūgū æ þv æc mīv gæð ollu
 æem̄v z oðr hþli. þ. vðv æc þ sagðæc æn þv þ. ac v mād oþ þh
 væla vīn mæh̄n hīra æc læ mīl vīn all vðæþra þ. m̄. ægmo
 ðan val mō mā þgr hāga þv væit æc hþ oþ. hūvū vūvū ðv m̄
 hnaev oðm tra nalgæru mīð æþ þv mæeg. Oðm æc mō hæi
 vī þgr æc adan þ hævū þvūde þi þ vabr z hūþmīgr vāþvð
 z þpæpþr gæv z ralh m̄ godū. Oþr z vāþr æc hþg at oð
 v læ all at æmū m̄. Gæm̄ h læ z hāþr lūð v hnaev z
 ðgðv oīl mīð æn æ þ hæpþr at. o. v þ homm̄ þa tōð h vþ
 z vñ. o. þ ælōmū. Svīðvū þap æ hðr hō z vūvū hūllōi m̄
 A þpæci z læpþr aþm æn tōð tōð igcēgnū h zæte þi aþ.
 R valvīþ væðar namū hūm̄ vūvū bāna. En agn̄ vðh.
 z lūþfām aþ lād þrð. hītu cœma z hūvū lā fūndv þr
 at ægri ar hōst hūia. Sac ðg bvi bncæter þi mīghl̄r mægi
 mīthæ vlm̄da læit rāgv þgr ðn iþ þv sēv aþv oþo sūðl gæþa.
 A n þete vōvū æd vœgn̄ hāte hūgðr at hūgn̄ h væit v god bā
 h rīþræc v læv þa hū þāþ æc ollu þvð oī oþ. hāri. Hæ þ

5 verso

1. æztr við a ænn skipblapnir skipa oðinn afa ænn ioa flæipnir, ^{bilraft} brua æn
2. bragi skallda habrok hæka ænn hunda garmr ænn brimir sværða. Svipum hæ
3. þi æk ýpt þiri figtiða sonum við þat skal vilbiörg vaka qlum afum þat skal inn
4. koma egif bæki á ægif drýkciu at. hætumz grimr oc ganglæri hærian
5. oc hialmbæri þækcr oc þriði þuðr oc uðr hærbindr oc hár faðr oc svipall oc
6. fangetall hærtæitr oc hnikarr bilæygr balæygr bqlværkr þiqlnir grimr
7. oc grimnir glapviðr oc þiqlviðr. Siðhætt siðlkæggr sigfæðr hni
8. kuðr alþuðr át riðr oc þarmatýr. æinu naþni hætumz liz æc þólkum
9. þór. Grimni mik hætu at gæirruðar ænn iálk at afmundar ænn þa
10. iálk ær æc kíalka dró þror þingum at viður at vigum ofki oc omi
11. iaþnar oc biþlindi gundlir oc harbarðr með goðum. Sviðurr oc sviðrir
12. ær ec hætt at fókemimif oc dulða æk þann hinn alldna iotun þa ær
13. æk miðvitnif var hinl mæra burar orðinn æinbani. Qlr ærtu gæirruðr
14. hæfir þu ofdrukcið miklu ærtu hnugginn ær þu ært minu gæði qlum
15. æinhærium oc oðinl hýlli. Fiqlð æc þær fagðac ænn þu þatt um mant ofþik
16. væla vinir mæki liggia ec sæ minl vinar allan iðræyra driþinn. æggmo
17. ðan val nu man ýggr hæfa þitt væit æc liþofliðit vvarro difir nu
18. knattu oðin fia nalgaztu mik æf þu mægir. Oðinn æc nu hæi
19. ti ýggr æc aðan hætt hætumz þundr þiri þatvagr oc skilþingr vápuðr
20. oc hroptatýr gætt oc iálkr mæð goðum. Ofnir oc svaþnir æc hýgg at orð
21. nir sæ allir at æinum mæri;. Gæirruðr konungr fat oc hæfði sværð um knæ sær
22. brugðit til miðf æn ær hann hæyrði at oðinn var þar kominn þa stoð hann upp
23. oc vill taka oðinn þra ælldinum. Sværðit flapp or hændi honom oc viflu hiqltin niðr
24. konungr drap þæti oc stæytriz a fram ænn sværð stoð igægnum hann oc þækc þar af
25. bana. enn agnarr varð konungr.

Appendix II Index of Names and Glossary

Chapter 1. Index of Names

Agnarr

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 2.4, 3.1, Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 2.4, 3.1, Conc.

Alföðr

GKS 2365 4to: 48.3

AM 748 I 4to: 48.3

Alsviðr

GKS 2365 4to: 37.1

AM 748 I 4to: 37.1

Andhrímnir

GKS 2365 4to: 18.1

AM 748 I 4to: 18.1

Atríðr

GKS 2365 4to: 48.4

AM 748 I 4to: 48.4

Álfheimr

GKS 2365 4to: 5.4

AM 748 I 4to: 5.4

Árvakr

GKS 2365 4to: 37.1

AM 748 I 4to: 37.1

Ásmundr

GKS 2365 4to: 49.3

AM 748 I 4to: 49.3

Baldr

GKS 2365 4to: 12.2

AM 748 I 4to: 12.2

Báleygr

GKS 2365 4to: 47.4

AM 748 I 4to: 47.4

Biflindi

GKS 2365 4to: 49.8

AM 748 I 4to: 49.9

Bileygr

GKS 2365 4to: 47.4

AM 748 I 4to: 47.4

Bilrøst

GKS 2365 4to: 44.6

AM 748 I 4to: 44.6

Bilskirnir

GKS 2365 4to: 23.3

AM 748 I 4to: 24.3

Bragi

GKS 2365 4to: 44.7

AM 748 I 4to: 44.7

Breiðablik

GKS 2365 4to: 12.1

AM 748 I 4to: 12.1

Brímir

AM 748 I 4to: 44.10

Bølverk

GKS 2365 4to: 47.5

AM 748 I 4to: 47.5

Dáinn

Appendices

GKS 2365 4to: 33.4

AM 748 I 4to: 33.4

Duneyrr

GKS 2365 4to: 33.5

AM 748 I 4to: 33.5

Duraþró

GKS 2365 4to: 33.5

AM 748 I 4to: 33.5

Dvalinn

GKS 2365 4to: 33.4

AM 748 I 4to: 33.4

Eikin

GKS 2365 4to: 27.2

AM 748 I 4to: 27.2

Eikþyrnir

GKS 2365 4to: 26.1

AM 748 I 4to: 26.1

Eldhrímnir

GKS 2365 4to: 18.2

AM 748 I 4to: 18.2

Falhófnir

GKS 2365 4to: 30.4

AM 748 I 4to: 30.4

Farmatýr

GKS 2365 4to: 48.4

AM 748 I 4to: 48.4

Fimbulþul

GKS 2365 4to: 27.4

AM 748 I 4to: 27.4

Fjölur

GKS 2365 4to: 47.5

AM 748 I 4to: 47.5

Fjolsviðr

AM 748 I 4to: 47.7

Fjorm

GKS 2365 4to: 27.4

AM 748 I 4to: 27.4

Forseti

GKS 2365 4to: 15.4

AM 748 I 4to: 15.4

Fólkvangr

GKS 2365 4to: 14.1

AM 748 I 4to: 14.1

Freki

GKS 2365 4to: 19.1

AM 748 I 4to: 19.1

Freyja

GKS 2365 4to: 14.2

AM 748 I 4to: 14.2

Freyr

GKS 2365 4to: 5.4, 43.5

AM 748 I 4to: 5.4, 43.5

Frigg

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

Fulla

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

Gangleri

GKS 2365 4to: 46.2

AM 748 I 4to: 46.2

Garmr

GKS 2365 4to: 44.9

AM 748 I 4to: 44.9

Appendices

Gautr

GKS 2365 4to: 54.6

AM 748 I 4to: 54.6

Geirrøðr

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 2.6, 49.2, 51.1, Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 2.6, 49.2, 51.1, Conc.

Geirvimul

GKS 2365 4to: 27.7

AM 748 I 4to: 27.7

Geirǫnul

GKS 2365 4to: 36.6

AM 748 I 4to: 36.6

Geri

GKS 2365 4to: 19.1

AM 748 I 4to: 19.1

Gipul

GKS 2365 4to: 27.6

AM 748 I 4to: 27.6

Gísl

GKS 2365 4to: 30.4

AM 748 I 4to: 30.4

Gjöll

GKS 2365 4to: 28.10

AM 748 I 4to: 28.10

Glaðr

GKS 2365 4to: 30.1

AM 748 I 4to: 30.1

Glaðsheimr

GKS 2365 4to: 8.1

AM 748 I 4to: 8.1

Glapsviðr

AM 748 I 4to: 47.7

Glitnir

GKS 2365 4to: 15.1

AM 748 I 4to: 15.1

Glær

GKS 2365 4to: 30.2

AM 748 I 4to: 30.2

Góinn

GKS 2365 4to: 34.4

AM 748 I 4to: 34.4

Grafvitnir

GKS 2365 4to: 34.5

AM 748 I 4to: 34.5

Grafvölluðr

GKS 2365 4to: 34.6

AM 748 I 4to: 34.6

Grábakr

GKS 2365 4to: 34.6

AM 748 I 4to: 34.6

Gráð

GKS 2365 4to: 27.11

AM 748 I 4to: 27.11

Grímnir

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., Title, 47.6, 49.1

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., Title, 47.6, 49.1

Grímr

GKS 2365 4to: 46.1, 47.6

AM 748 I 4to: 46.1, 47.6

Gulltoppr

GKS 2365 4to: 30.5

AM 748 I 4to: 30.5

Gunnþorin

Appendices

GKS 2365 4to: 27.11

AM 748 I 4to: 27.11

Gunnþró

GKS 2365 4to: 27.3

AM 748 I 4to: 27.3

Gyllir

GKS 2365 4to: 30.1

AM 748 I 4to: 30.1

Gøll

GKS 2365 4to: 36.6

AM 748 I 4to: 36.6

Gømul

GKS 2365 4to: 27.7

AM 748 I 4to: 27.7

Gøndlir

GKS 2365 4to: 49.9

AM 748 I 4to: 49.10

Gøpul

GKS 2365 4to: 27.6

AM 748 I 4to: 27.6

Hati

GKS 2365 4to: 39.4

AM 748 I 4to: 39.4

Hábrók

GKS 2365 4to: 44.8

AM 748 I 4to: 44.8

Hár

GKS 2365 4to: 46.6

AM 748 I 4to: 46.6

Hárbarðr

GKS 2365 4to: 49.9

AM 748 I 4to: 49.10

Heiðrún

GKS 2365 4to: 25.1

AM 748 I 4to: 25.1

Heimdallr

GKS 2365 4to: 13.2

AM 748 I 4to: 13.2

Hel

GKS 2365 4to: 31.4

AM 748 I 4to: 31.4

Herblindi

GKS 2365 4to: 46.6

AM 748 I 4to: 46.6

Herfjotur

GKS 2365 4to: 36.5

AM 748 I 4to: 36.5

Herjaføðr

GKS 2365 4to: 19.3, 25.2, 26.2

AM 748 I 4to: 19.3, 25.2, 26.2

Herjann

GKS 2365 4to: 46.3

AM 748 I 4to: 46.3

Herteitr

GKS 2365 4to: 47.3

AM 748 I 4to: 47.3

Hildir

GKS 2365 4to: 36.4

AM 748 I 4to: 36.4

Himinbjörg

GKS 2365 4to: 13.1

AM 748 I 4to: 13.1

Hjalmberi

GKS 2365 4to: 46.3

Appendices

AM 748 I 4to: 46.3

Hliðskjálfr

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

Hlökk

GKS 2365 4to: 36.5

AM 748 I 4to: 36.5

Hnikarr

GKS 2365 4to: 47.3

AM 748 I 4to: 47.3

Hnikuðr

GKS 2365 4to: 48.2

AM 748 I 4to: 48.2

Hrauðungr

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

Hrist

GKS 2365 4to: 36.1

AM 748 I 4to: 36.1

Hrið

GKS 2365 4to: 28.6

AM 748 I 4to: 28.6

Hroptatýr

GKS 2365 4to: 54.5

AM 748 I 4to: 54.5

Hroptr

GKS 2365 4to: 8.4

AM 748 I 4to: 8.4

Hróðvitnir

GKS 2365 4to: 39.5

AM 748 I 4to: 39.5

Hrönn

GKS 2365 4to: 28.5

AM 748 I 4to: 28.5

Huginn

GKS 2365 4to: 20.1, 20.4

AM 748 I 4to: 20.1, 20.4

Hvergelmir

GKS 2365 4to: 26.5

AM 748 I 4to: 26.5

Höll

GKS 2365 4to: 27.10

AM 748 I 4to: 27.10

Ívaldi

GKS 2365 4to: 43.1

AM 748 I 4to: 43.1

Jafnhár

GKS 2365 4to: 49.8

AM 748 I 4to: 49.9

Jalkr

GKS 2365 4to: 49.3, 54.6

AM 748 I 4to: 49.3, 49.4, 54.6

Kerlaugar

GKS 2365 4to: 29.2

AM 748 I 4to: 29.2

Kjalar

GKS 2365 4to: 49.4

Körmt

GKS 2365 4to: 29.1

AM 748 I 4to: 29.1

Leiftr

GKS 2365 4to: 28.10

AM 748 I 4to: 28.10

Léttfeti

Appendices

GKS 2365 4to: 30.5

AM 748 I 4to: 30.5

Læraðr

GKS 2365 4to: 25.3, 26.3

AM 748 I 4to: 25.3, 26.3

Miðgarðr

GKS 2365 4to: 41.3

AM 748 I 4to: 41.3

Miðvitnir

GKS 2365 4to: 50.4

AM 748 I 4to: 50.4

Mist

GKS 2365 4to: 36.1

AM 748 I 4to: 36.1

Móinn

GKS 2365 4to: 34.4

AM 748 I 4to: 34.4

Muninn

GKS 2365 4to: 20.1, 20.6

AM 748 I 4to: 20.1, 20.6

Niðhoggr

GKS 2365 4to: 32.6, 35.6

AM 748 I 4to: 32.6, 35.6

Njorðr

GKS 2365 4to: 16.2, 43.6

AM 748 I 4to: 16.2, 43.6

Nóatún

GKS 2365 4to: 16.1

AM 748 I 4to: 16.1

Nyt

GKS 2365 4to: 28.4

AM 748 I 4to: 28.4

Nönn

GKS 2365 4to: 28.5

AM 748 I 4to: 28.5

Nøt

GKS 2365 4to: 28.4

AM 748 I 4to: 28.4

Óðinn

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 7.4, 9.2, 10.2, 14.6, 19.6, 44.4, 51.6, 53.5, 54.1, Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 7.4, 9.2, 14.6, 19.6, 44.4, 51.6, 53.5, 54.1, Conc.

Ófnir

GKS 2365 4to: 34.7

AM 748 I 4to: 34.7

Ófnir

GKS 2365 4to: 54.7

AM 748 I 4to: 54.7

Ómi

GKS 2365 4to: 49.7

AM 748 I 4to: 49.8

Óski

GKS 2365 4to: 49.7

AM 748 I 4to: 49.8

Randgríðr

GKS 2365 4to: 36.7

AM 748 I 4to: 36.7

Ratatoskr

GKS 2365 4to: 32.1

AM 748 I 4to: 32.1

Ráðgríðr

GKS 2365 4to: 36.7

AM 748 I 4to: 36.7

Reginleif

Appendices

GKS 2365 4to: 36.8

AM 748 I 4to: 36.8

Rennandi

GKS 2365 4to: 27.5

AM 748 I 4to: 27.5

Rín

GKS 2365 4to: 27.5

AM 748 I 4to: 27.5

Saðr

GKS 2365 4to: 47.1

AM 748 I 4to: 47.1

Sangetall

GKS 2365 4to: 47.2

AM 748 I 4to: 47.2

Sága

GKS 2365 4to: 7.4

AM 748 I 4to: 7.4

Silfrintoppr

GKS 2365 4to: 30.3

AM 748 I 4to: 30.3

Sinir

GKS 2365 4to: 30.3

AM 748 I 4to: 30.3

Síð

GKS 2365 4to: 27.1

AM 748 I 4to: 27.1

Síðföðr

GKS 2365 4to: 48.2

AM 748 I 4to: 48.2

Síðhöttr

GKS 2365 4to: 48.1

AM 748 I 4to: 48.1

Síðskoggr

GKS 2365 4to: 48.1

AM 748 I 4to: 48.1

Skaði

GKS 2365 4to: 11.4

AM 748 I 4to: 11.4

Skeggjöld

GKS 2365 4to: 36.3

AM 748 I 4to: 36.3

Skeiðbrimir

GKS 2365 4to: 30.2

AM 748 I 4to: 30.2

Skilfingr

GKS 2365 4to: 54.4

AM 748 I 4to: 54.4

Skíðblaðnir

GKS 2365 4to: 43.3, 44.3

AM 748 I 4to: 43.3, 44.3

Skogul

GKS 2365 4to: 36.3

AM 748 I 4to: 36.3

Skoll

GKS 2365 4to: 39.1

AM 748 I 4to: 39.1

Sleipnir

GKS 2365 4to: 44.5

AM 748 I 4to: 44.5

Slíð

GKS 2365 4to: 28.6

AM 748 I 4to: 28.6

Strönd

GKS 2365 4to: 28.9

Appendices

AM 748 I 4to: 28.9

Svalinn

GKS 2365 4to: 38.1

AM 748 I 4to: 38.1

Sváfnir

GKS 2365 4to: 34.7

AM 748 I 4to: 34.7

Sváfnir

GKS 2365 4to: 54.7

AM 748 I 4to: 54.7

Sviðrir

GKS 2365 4to: 50.1

AM 748 I 4to: 50.1

Sviðurr

GKS 2365 4to: 50.1

AM 748 I 4to: 50.1

Svipall

GKS 2365 4to: 47.1

AM 748 I 4to: 47.1

Svöl

GKS 2365 4to: 27.3

AM 748 I 4to: 27.3

Sylgr

GKS 2365 4to: 28.7

AM 748 I 4to: 28.7

Sæhrímnir

GKS 2365 4to: 18.3

AM 748 I 4to: 18.3

Sækin

GKS 2365 4to: 27.2

AM 748 I 4to: 27.2

Sökkvabekkr

GKS 2365 4to: 7.1

AM 748 I 4to: 7.1

Søkmímir

GKS 2365 4to: 50.2

AM 748 I 4to: 50.2

Uðr

GKS 2365 4to: 46.5

AM 748 I 4to: 46.5

Ullr

GKS 2365 4to: 5.2, 42.1

AM 748 I 4to: 5.2, 42.1

Vakr

GKS 2365 4to: 54.4

AM 748 I 4to: 54.4

Valaskjálfr

GKS 2365 4to: 6.4

AM 748 I 4to: 6.4

Valföðr

GKS 2365 4to: 48.3

Valgrind

GKS 2365 4to: 22.1

AM 748 I 4to: 22.1

Valhöll

GKS 2365 4to: 8.3, 24.3

AM 748 I 4to: 8.3, 23.3, 24.3

Váfuðr

GKS 2365 4to: 54.5

AM 748 I 4to: 54.5

Ván

GKS 2365 4to: 28.8

AM 748 I 4to: 28.8

Vegsvinn

Appendices

GKS 2365 4to: 28.2

AM 748 I 4to: 28.2

Veratýr

GKS 2365 4to: 3.3

AM 748 I 4to: 3.3

Viðurr

AM 748 I 4to: 49.7

Vin

GKS 2365 4to: 27.9

AM 748 I 4to: 27.9

Við

GKS 2365 4to: 27.1, 28.8

AM 748 I 4to: 27.1, 28.8

Viðarr

GKS 2365 4to: 17.3

AM 748 I 4to: 17.3

Vín

GKS 2365 4to: 28.1

AM 748 I 4to: 28.1

Vönd

GKS 2365 4to: 28.9

AM 748 I 4to: 28.9

Yggdrasill

GKS 2365 4to: 29.6, 30.9, 31.3, 32.3, 34.2, 35.1, 44.1

AM 748 I 4to: 29.6, 30.9, 31.3, 32.3, 34.2, 35.1, 44.1

Yggr

GKS 2365 4to: 53.2, 54.2

AM 748 I 4to: 53.2, 54.2

Ylgr

GKS 2365 4to: 28.7

AM 748 I 4to: 28.7

Ymir

GKS 2365 4to: 40.1

AM 748 I 4to: 40.1

Ýdalir

GKS 2365 4to: 5.1

AM 748 I 4to: 5.1

Þekkr

GKS 2365 4to: 46.4

AM 748 I 4to: 46.4

Þjazi

GKS 2365 4to: 11.2

AM 748 I 4to: 11.2

Þjóðnuma

GKS 2365 4to: 28.3

AM 748 I 4to: 28.3

Þjóðvitnir

GKS 2365 4to: 21.2

AM 748 I 4to: 21.2

Þórr

GKS 2365 4to: 4.5, 29.3

AM 748 I 4to: 4.5, 29.3

Þriði

GKS 2365 4to: 46.4

AM 748 I 4to: 46.4

Þrór

GKS 2365 4to: 49.6

AM 748 I 4to: 49.6

Þrúðheimr

GKS 2365 4to: 4.4

AM 748 I 4to: 4.4

Þrúðr

Appendices

GKS 2365 4to: 36.4

AM 748 I 4to: 36.4

Prymheimr

GKS 2365 4to: 11.1

AM 748 I 4to: 11.1

Pundr

GKS 2365 4to: 21.1

AM 748 I 4to: 21.1

Pundr

GKS 2365 4to: 46.5, 54.3

AM 748 I 4to: 46.5, 54.3

Pyn

GKS 2365 4to: 27.9

AM 748 I 4to: 27.9

Þoll

GKS 2365 4to: 27.10

AM 748 I 4to: 27.10

Ægir

GKS 2365 4to: 45.6, 45.7

AM 748 I 4to: 45.6, 45.7

Qrmt

GKS 2365 4to: 29.1

AM 748 I 4to: 29.1

Chapter 2. Glossary

af: off, from, out of, beyond, of

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 17.4, 17.5, 25.3, 26.3, 26.4, 33.2, 42.6, 54.9

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 17.4, 17.5, 25.3, 26.3, 26.4, 33.2, 42.6, Conc.

ala: to give birth to, to nourish, to support, to feed

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 18.6

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 18.6

aldinn: ancient

GKS 2365 4to: 50.3

AM 748 I 4to: 50.3

aldregi: never

GKS 2365 4to: 3.5

AM 748 I 4to: 3.5

aldri: never

GKS 2365 4to: 48.6

allr: all, entire, the whole

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 3.2, 7.5, 15.6, 26.6, 29.8, 41.6, 42.2, 45.4, 51.5, 52.6, 54.9

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 3.2, 7.5, 15.6, 26.6, 29.8, 41.6, 42.2, 45.4, 51.5, 52.6, 54.9

anda: to breathe, to expire

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

annar: one of two, the other

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 28.2, 31.5, 39.4

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 28.2, 31.5, 39.4

api: ape

GKS 2365 4to: 34.3

AM 748 I 4to: 34.3

aptr: back, back again

GKS 2365 4to: 20.5

AM 748 I 4to: 20.5

askr: ash tree, fraxinus

GKS 2365 4to: 29.6, 30.9, 31.3, 32.3, 34.2, 35.1, 44.1

AM 748 I 4to: 29.6, 30.9, 31.3, 32.3, 34.2, 35.1, 44.1

at: towards, against, to, at, at first, at the beginning

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 2.3, 5.6, 9.3, 10.3, 20.5, 21.6, 24.3, 24.6, 25.6, 29.6, 29.7, 30.9, 32.3, 34.8, 36.2, 38.5, 42.4, 43.3, 45.7, 49.2, 49.3, 49.6, 50.2, 54.8, Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 2.3, 5.6, 9.3, 10.3, 20.5, 21.6, 23.6, 29.6, 29.7, 30.9, 32.3, 34.8, 36.2, 38.5, 42.4, 43.3, 45.7, 49.2, 49.3, 49.6, 49.7, 50.2, 54.8, 54.9, Conc.

auðkenndr: easy to recognise

GKS 2365 4to: 9.1, 10.1

AM 748 I 4to: 9.1, 10.1

á: on, upon, during, towards, at, to

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 1.5, 12.4, 21.4, 22.2, 25.2, 26.2, 28.1, 31.2, 33.2, 35.5, 42.3, 45.6

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 1.5, 12.4, 21.4, 22.2, 23.3, 24.3, 25.2, 26.2, 28.1, 31.2, 33.2, 35.5, 42.3, 45.6

áðan: a little before, a little while ago, erewhile

GKS 2365 4to: 54.2

AM 748 I 4to: 54.2

áfram: with the face downward, forward

GKS 2365 4to: Conc.

Appendices

AM 748 I 4to: Conc.

ágætr: famous, goodly, excellent

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

álfr: elf, fairy

GKS 2365 4to: 4.3

AM 748 I 4to: 4.3

árdagar: in the days of yore

GKS 2365 4to: 5.5, 6.6, 43.2

AM 748 I 4to: 5.5, 6.6, 43.2

áss: god

GKS 2365 4to: 4.3, 6.6, 29.7, 30.6, 37.6, 42.5, 44.4, 45.4

AM 748 I 4to: 4.3, 6.6, 29.7, 30.6, 37.6, 42.5, 44.4, 45.4

átta: eight

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 2.1, 24.4

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 2.1, 23.4

átti: eighth

GKS 2365 4to: 13.1

AM 748 I 4to: 13.1

baðmr: tree

GKS 2365 4to: 40.5

AM 748 I 4to: 40.5

bak: back

GKS 2365 4to: 17.5

AM 748 I 4to: 17.5

bana: bane, death

GKS 2365 4to: Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Conc.

bani: bane, death

GKS 2365 4to: 50.6

AM 748 I 4to: 50.6

barn: child, baby

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

bátr: boat

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

bein: bone

GKS 2365 4to: 40.4

AM 748 I 4to: 40.4

bekkr: bench, bank

GKS 2365 4to: 10.6, 45.6

AM 748 I 4to: 9.6, 45.6

bera: to bear, to carry

GKS 2365 4to: 1.5, 32.5, 36.2, 36.9

AM 748 I 4to: 32.5, 36.2, 36.9

betr: better

GKS 2365 4to: 18.4

AM 748 I 4to: 18.4

biðja: to beg

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 3.2

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 3.2

bíta: to bite

GKS 2365 4to: 25.3, 26.3, 35.4

AM 748 I 4to: 25.3, 26.3, 35.4

bjarg: rocks, precipices

GKS 2365 4to: 38.4, 40.4

AM 748 I 4to: 38.4, 40.4

bjartr: bright

GKS 2365 4to: 8.2

AM 748 I 4to: 8.2

bjóða: to bid, offer

GKS 2365 4to: 2.3

Appendices

AM 748 I 4to: 2.3

blár: blue, black

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

blíðr: blithe, gentle

GKS 2365 4to: 6.2, 37.5, 41.2

AM 748 I 4to: 6.2, 37.5, 41.2

bógr: the shoulder of an animal

GKS 2365 4to: 37.4

AM 748 I 4to: 37.4

bóndi: husband-man, farmer

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

brá: eyelid

GKS 2365 4to: 41.1

AM 748 I 4to: 41.1

bregða: to move swiftly, to break up, to break off, to upbraid

GKS 2365 4to: Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Conc.

brenna: to burn

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 1.6, 29.8, 38.5

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 1.6, 29.8, 38.5

brim: surf

GKS 2365 4to: 38.4

AM 748 I 4to: 38.4

brjóta: to break

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

bróðir: brother

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

brú: bridge

GKS 2365 4to: 29.7, 44.6

AM 748 I 4to: 29.7, 44.6

brúðr: bride

GKS 2365 4to: 11.5, 39.6

AM 748 I 4to: 11.5, 39.6

brynja: coat of mail

GKS 2365 4to: 10.6

AM 748 I 4to: 9.6

buga: to bow, to draw the net round

GKS 2365 4to: 23.3

AM 748 I 4to: 24.3

burr: son

GKS 2365 4to: 43.6, 50.5

AM 748 I 4to: 43.6, 50.5

búa: to live, to abide, to dwell

GKS 2365 4to: 11.2, 11.4, 15.5, 31.4

AM 748 I 4to: 11.2, 11.4, 15.5, 31.4

byrr: a fair wind

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

bær: town, village

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 6.1

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 6.1

dagr: day

GKS 2365 4to: 7.5, 8.5, 14.5, 15.5, 20.2, 29.4, 30.7

AM 748 I 4to: 7.5, 14.5, 15.5, 20.2, 29.4, 30.7

dauðr: dead

GKS 2365 4to: 8.6

AM 748 I 4to: 8.6

Appendices

dís: a sister, a goddess or priestess, a female guardian-angel, a maid

GKS 2365 4to: 53.4

AM 748 I 4to: 53.4

dorg: an angler's tackle

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

draga: to drag, to carry, to pull

GKS 2365 4to: 37.3, 49.5

AM 748 I 4to: 37.3, 49.5

drekka: to drink

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 7.5, 13.5, 45.7, 51.2

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 7.5, 13.5, 45.7, 51.2

drepa: to stumble

GKS 2365 4to: Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Conc.

dreyri: blood

GKS 2365 4to: 52.6

AM 748 I 4to: 52.6

drífa: to drive

GKS 2365 4to: 52.6

AM 748 I 4to: 52.6

drjúpa: to drip

GKS 2365 4to: 9.6, 26.5

AM 748 I 4to: 10.6, 26.5

drykk: drink, beverage

GKS 2365 4to: 3.4

AM 748 I 4to: 3.4

drýgja: to commit, perpetrate

GKS 2365 4to: 35.2

AM 748 I 4to: 35.2

dylja: to conceal, to bide

GKS 2365 4to: 50.3

AM 748 I 4to: 50.3

dyrr: door, doors

GKS 2365 4to: 9.5, 22.3, 24.1, 24.5

AM 748 I 4to: 10.5, 22.3, 23.1, 23.5

dæma: to give judgement, to pass sentence

GKS 2365 4to: 29.5, 30.8

AM 748 I 4to: 29.5, 30.8

ef: if

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 38.6, 53.6

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 38.6, 53.6

eggmóðr: edge-weary

GKS 2365 4to: 53.1

AM 748 I 4to: 53.1

eiga: to possess, to have

GKS 2365 4to: 14.6, 26.6

AM 748 I 4to: 14.6, 26.6

eigi: not

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

einmæli: private talk

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

einn: one

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 2.4, 2.5, 3.4, 18.6, 19.4, 24.4, 24.5, 31.4, 36.9, 48.5, 50.6, 51.5, 54.9

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 2.4, 2.5, 3.4, 18.6, 19.4, 23.4, 23.5, 31.4, 36.9, 48.5, 50.6, 51.5, 54.9

ek: I

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 1.5, 2.2, 2.3, 4.2, 5.3, 6.5, 12.3, 12.5, 16.3, 20.4, 23.3, 23.5, 23.6, 24.3, 34.8, 36.2, 38.5, 45.1, 48.7,

Appendices

49.1, 49.5, 50.2, 50.3, 50.4, 52.1, 52.5, 53.3, 53.6, 54.1, 54.2, 54.8, 54.9, Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 1.5, 2.2, 2.3, 4.2, 5.3, 6.5, 12.3, 12.5, 16.3, 20.4, 20.6, 23.3, 24.3, 24.5, 24.6, 34.8, 36.2, 38.5, 45.1, 48.6, 49.1, 49.5, 50.2, 50.3, 50.4, 52.1, 52.4, 52.5, 53.3, 53.6, 54.1, 54.2, 54.8, 54.9, Conc.

ekki: not

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

eldr: fire

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 2.2, Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 2.2, Conc.

elleft: eleventh

GKS 2365 4to: 16.1

AM 748 I 4to: 16.1

en: but, and

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 4.4, 7.1, 7.2, 8.1, 8.2, 8.4, 11.1, 11.4, 12.2, 13.2, 14.2, 14.6, 15.4, 16.2, 16.5, 17.4, 18.5, 19.4, 22.5, 26.4, 28.1, 34.3, 35.3, 35.5, 37.4, 39.4, 40.3, 40.6, 41.1, 41.4, 44.3, 44.5, 44.7, 44.9, 49.3, 49.4, 52.2, Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 4.4, 7.2, 8.4, 11.4, 12.2, 13.2, 14.2, 14.6, 15.4, 16.2, 17.4, 18.5, 19.4, 22.5, 26.4, 28.1, 28.12, 34.3, 35.3, 35.5, 37.4, 39.4, 40.3, 40.6, 41.1, 41.4, 44.3, 44.5, 44.7, 44.9, 44.10, 49.3, 49.4, 52.2, Conc.

engi: none, no one

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 2.3

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 2.3

eptir: after

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

er: which, who, that, there where

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 2.5, 4.2, 5.2, 6.2, 6.5, 9.2, 10.2, 11.2, 12.4, 22.2, 23.5, 24.6, 25.2, 26.2, 28.12, 29.5, 30.8, 32.2, 39.2, 42.6, 49.5, 51.4, Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 2.5, 4.2, 5.2, 6.2, 6.5, 11.2, 12.5, 22.2, 23.6, 24.5, 25.2, 26.2, 29.5, 30.8, 32.2, 39.2, 42.3, 49.5, 51.4, Conc.

erfiði: toil, labour, trouble

GKS 2365 4to: 35.2

AM 748 I 4to: 35.2

es: which, who, that, there where

GKS 2365 4to: 8.2

AM 748 I 4to: 8.2

eskimær: lady's maid

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

faðir: father

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 11.6, 17.6

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 11.6, 17.6

fagna: to be fain, to rejoice

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

falla: to fall

GKS 2365 4to: 28.11, 28.12, 38.6

AM 748 I 4to: 28.11, 28.12, 38.6

fara: to go, to travel

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 24.6, 29.5, 30.8, 48.7

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 23.6, 29.5, 48.6

fá: to fetch, to catch, to seize

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., Conc.

fár: few

Appendices

GKS 2365 4to: 12.6, 18.5, 22.5, 52.2

AM 748 I 4to: 12.6, 18.5, 22.5, 52.2

feikn: portent

GKS 2365 4to: 12.6

AM 748 I 4to: 12.6

fela: to hide, to conceal

GKS 2365 4to: 37.5

AM 748 I 4to: 37.5

feldr: cloak

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 1.6

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 1.6

fé: cattle, property

GKS 2365 4to: 5.6

AM 748 I 4to: 5.6

fimm: five

GKS 2365 4to: 23.1, 24.1

AM 748 I 4to: 23.1, 24.1

fimmti: fifth

GKS 2365 4to: 8.1

AM 748 I 4to: 8.1

finna: to find

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

firr: away

AM 748 I 4to: 1.3

fiskr: fish

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 21.3

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 21.3

fjórði: fourth

GKS 2365 4to: 7.1

AM 748 I 4to: 7.1

fjórir: four

GKS 2365 4to: 23.2, 24.2, 33.1

AM 748 I 4to: 23.2, 24.2, 33.1

fjölð: much

GKS 2365 4to: 52.1

AM 748 I 4to: 52.1

fjolkunnigr: skilled in the dark art

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

fleiri: more

GKS 2365 4to: 34.1

AM 748 I 4to: 34.1

flesk: pork

GKS 2365 4to: 18.4

AM 748 I 4to: 18.4

flestr: most

GKS 2365 4to: 15.5

AM 748 I 4to: 15.5

fljúga: to fly

GKS 2365 4to: 20.2

AM 748 I 4to: 20.2

flóð: flood, inundation, deluge

GKS 2365 4to: 21.3

AM 748 I 4to: 21.3

folk: folk, people

GKS 2365 4to: 48.7

AM 748 I 4to: 48.6

forn: old

GKS 2365 4to: 11.6, 22.4

AM 748 I 4to: 11.6, 22.4

fóstr: to foster

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

Appendices

fóstra: foster

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

fótr: foot

GKS 2365 4to: Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Conc.

fram: forward

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

frá: from

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 38.6, Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 38.6, Conc.

frækn: valiantt, stout

GKS 2365 4to: 17.6

AM 748 I 4to: 17.6

fullr: full

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

funi: flame

GKS 2365 4to: 42.3

AM 748 I 4to: 1.3, 42.3

fúna: to rot, to decay

GKS 2365 4to: 35.5

AM 748 I 4to: 35.5

fylgja: to follow

GKS 2365 4to: 39.2

AM 748 I 4to: 39.2

fylla: to fill, to pour

GKS 2365 4to: 25.4

AM 748 I 4to: 25.4

fyrir: before, in front of

GKS 2365 4to: 1.6, 9.5, 22.3, 38.2, 39.6, 45.2, 54.3

AM 748 I 4to: 1.6, 10.5, 22.3, 38.2, 39.6, 45.2, 54.3

fyrirgøra: to forfeit

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

fyrstr: first

GKS 2365 4to: 42.3

AM 748 I 4to: 42.3

gagháls: with neck thrown back

GKS 2365 4to: 33.3

AM 748 I 4to: 33.3

gagn: use, avail

GKS 2365 4to: Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Conc.

gamall: old

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

ganga: to go

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 24.5, 43.2, 51.4

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 1.3, 23.5, 43.2, 51.4

gefa: to give

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 5.5

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 5.5

geit: goat

GKS 2365 4to: 25.1

AM 748 I 4to: 25.1

gera: to do

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 3.6, 12.3, 16.3, 41.2

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 12.3, 16.3, 41.2

gestr: guest

Appendices

- GKS 2365 4to: Intro.
AM 748 I 4to: Intro.
- geta:** to get
AM 748 I 4to: 3.6
- gjald:** tribute, payment
GKS 2365 4to: 3.6
AM 748 I 4to: 3.6
- glaðr:** glad
GKS 2365 4to: 7.6, 13.6
AM 748 I 4to: 7.6, 13.6
- glaumr:** lusty crowd of men, a host of warriors (with val-)
GKS 2365 4to: 21.6
AM 748 I 4to: 21.6
- glymjja:** to rattle, to clash
GKS 2365 4to: 7.3
AM 748 I 4to: 7.3
- gnaga:** to gnaw
GKS 2365 4to: 33.3
AM 748 I 4to: 33.3
- goð:** god
GKS 2365 4to: 11.5, 13.4, 27.8, 38.3, 39.2, 42.2, 49.9, 54.6
AM 748 I 4to: 11.5, 13.4, 27.8, 38.3, 39.2, 42.2, 49.10, 54.6
- goti:** Goth
GKS 2365 4to: 2.7
AM 748 I 4to: 2.7
- góðr:** good
GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 3.6, 13.6, 43.4
AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 3.6, 13.6, 43.4
- gólf:** floor
GKS 2365 4to: 23.1
- AM 748 I 4to: 24.1
- gras:** grass, herbage
GKS 2365 4to: 17.2
AM 748 I 4to: 17.2
- grind:** lattice door, gate
GKS 2365 4to: 22.4
AM 748 I 4to: 22.4
- grund:** ground
GKS 2365 4to: 20.3
AM 748 I 4to: 20.3
- gull:** gold
GKS 2365 4to: 7.6, 8.2, 15.2
AM 748 I 4to: 7.6, 8.2, 15.2
- gumi:** man
GKS 2365 4to: 28.11
AM 748 I 4to: 28.11
- gunntamiðr:** valiant
GKS 2365 4to: 19.2
AM 748 I 4to: 19.2
- gýgr:** ogress, witch
GKS 2365 4to: Intro.
AM 748 I 4to: Intro.
- gøfugr:** noble, worshipful
GKS 2365 4to: 19.5
AM 748 I 4to: 19.5
- gøra:** to make
GKS 2365 4to: 5.3
AM 748 I 4to: 5.3
- haf:** sea, ocean
GKS 2365 4to: Intro.
AM 748 I 4to: Intro.
- hafa:** to have

Appendices

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 5.2, 12.2, 16.2, 42.1, 42.6, 45.1, 51.2, 53.2, Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 5.2, 12.2, 16.2, 42.1, 42.6, 45.1, 51.2, 53.2, Conc.

halfr: half

GKS 2365 4to: 14.4, 14.6

AM 748 I 4to: 14.4, 14.6

handtaka: to seize, to capture

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

hanga: to hang

GKS 2365 4to: 9.4

AM 748 I 4to: 10.4

hann: he

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 9.2, 10.2, 15.2, 20.5, 23.4, 24.6, 26.4, 29.5, 30.6, 30.8, 32.5, 33.2, 34.5, 37.2, 37.4, 38.2, 38.6, 39.5, 41.1, 41.4, 44.2, Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 9.2, 10.2, 15.2, 20.5, 23.6, 24.4, 26.4, 29.5, 30.6, 32.5, 33.2, 34.5, 37.2, 37.4, 38.2, 38.6, 41.1, 41.4, 42.6, 44.2, Conc.

harðmóðigr: hard of mood

GKS 2365 4to: 41.5

AM 748 I 4to: 41.5

haukr: hawk

GKS 2365 4to: 44.8

AM 748 I 4to: 44.8

hauss: skull, cranium

GKS 2365 4to: 40.6

AM 748 I 4to: 40.6

hár: high, tall, hair

GKS 2365 4to: 17.2, 40.5

AM 748 I 4to: 17.2, 40.5

hátimbra: high-timbered

GKS 2365 4to: 16.6

AM 748 I 4to: 16.6

hefna: to revenge

GKS 2365 4to: 17.6

AM 748 I 4to: 17.6

heið: brightness of the sky, shining

GKS 2365 4to: 39.6

AM 748 I 4to: 39.6

heilagr: holy

GKS 2365 4to: 4.1, 22.3, 29.9

AM 748 I 4to: 4.1, 22.3, 29.9

heili: brain

GKS 2365 4to: 41.4

AM 748 I 4to: 41.4

heill: good luck, auspice, 'be whole!'

GKS 2365 4to: 3.1, 3.2

AM 748 I 4to: 3.1, 3.2

heimr: world, lying in a place. related to Gr. *οίκουμένη*

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 42.4

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 42.4

heita: to call, to give name to

GKS 2365 4to: 5.1, 6.4, 7.1, 8.1, 11.1, 22.1, 25.1, 26.1, 28.1, 32.1, 38.1, 39.1, 46.1, 46.2, 48.6, 49.1, 50.2, 54.1, 54.2, 54.3

AM 748 I 4to: 5.1, 6.4, 7.1, 11.1, 15.1, 22.1, 25.1, 26.1, 28.1, 32.1, 38.1, 39.1, 46.1, 48.6, 49.1, 50.2, 54.1, 54.2, 54.3

heitr: hot

GKS 2365 4to: 1.1

AM 748 I 4to: 1.1

hel: the abode of the dead

GKS 2365 4to: 28.12

Appendices

AM 748 I 4to: 28.12

heldr: more, rather

GKS 2365 4to: 1.2

AM 748 I 4to: 1.2

hellir: cave

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

herja: harrying, battle

GKS 2365 4to: 18.6, 24.4, 36.9, 51.5

AM 748 I 4to: 18.6, 23.4, 36.9, 51.5

heyra: to hear

GKS 2365 4to: Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Conc.

héðan: hence

GKS 2365 4to: 28.12, 37.2

AM 748 I 4to: 28.12, 37.2

hégómi: falsness

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

hér: here

GKS 2365 4to: 2.2

AM 748 I 4to: 2.2

himinn: heaven

GKS 2365 4to: 39.6, 40.6

AM 748 I 4to: 39.6, 40.6

hin: the

GKS 2365 4to: 12.1, 16.1, 41.5

AM 748 I 4to: 12.1, 13.1, 16.1, 41.5

hinn: the

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 6.1, 11.3, 14.1, 15.1, 39.2, 45.5, 50.3, 50.5

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 6.1, 7.1, 8.1, 8.2, 11.1, 11.3, 13.6, 14.1, 15.1, 16.5, 39.2, 45.5, 50.3, 50.5

hjalt: the knob at the end of a sword's hilt, the guard between the hilt and blade

GKS 2365 4to: Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Conc.

hjørtr: hart, stag

GKS 2365 4to: 26.1, 33.1, 35.4

AM 748 I 4to: 33.1, 35.4

hlíð: slope, mountain

GKS 2365 4to: 35.5

AM 748 I 4to: 35.5

hlóa: to bellow, to roar

GKS 2365 4to: 29.9

AM 748 I 4to: 29.9

hnöggva: bereft

GKS 2365 4to: 51.3

AM 748 I 4to: 51.3

hodd: hoard, treasure

GKS 2365 4to: 27.8

AM 748 I 4to: 27.8

hold: skin and flesh, body

GKS 2365 4to: 40.1

AM 748 I 4to: 40.1

horn: horn

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 26.4, 36.2

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 26.4, 36.2

hón: she

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 14.5, 22.6, 25.5, 27.8, 28.11, 29.3, 36.9

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 14.5, 22.6, 25.5, 27.8, 28.11, 29.3, 36.9

hrinda: to push, to kick

Appendices

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

hripuðr: fire

GKS 2365 4to: 1.1

AM 748 I 4to: 1.1

hrímpurs: rime-giant

GKS 2365 4to: 31.5

AM 748 I 4to: 31.5

hrís: shrubs, brushwood

GKS 2365 4to: 17.1

AM 748 I 4to: 17.1

hróðugr: glorious

GKS 2365 4to: 19.3

AM 748 I 4to: 19.3

hundr: hound

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 44.9

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 44.9

hundrað: a hundred (120)

GKS 2365 4to: 23.1, 24.1, 24.4

AM 748 I 4to: 23.1, 23.4, 24.1

hvar: where

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

hvat: what

GKS 2365 4to: 18.6

AM 748 I 4to: 18.6

hverfa: to turn around

GKS 2365 4to: 27.8, Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: 27.8

hverr: who, which, each, every

GKS 2365 4to: 8.5, 14.5, 20.2, 29.4, 30.7,
34.3, 42.3, 42.6

AM 748 I 4to: 8.5, 14.5, 20.2, 29.4, 30.7,
34.3, 42.3, 42.6

hvé: how

GKS 2365 4to: 22.6

AM 748 I 4to: 22.6

hyggja: to think, to mean, to believe

GKS 2365 4to: 23.3, 24.3, 34.3, 34.8,
54.8

AM 748 I 4to: 24.3, 34.3, 34.8, 54.8

hylli: favour, grace

GKS 2365 4to: 42.1, 51.6

AM 748 I 4to: 42.1, 51.6

hæfing: aiming at

GKS 2365 4to: 33.2

AM 748 I 4to: 33.2

høll: hall

GKS 2365 4to: 25.2, 26.2

AM 748 I 4to: 25.2, 26.2

hønd: hand

GKS 2365 4to: Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Conc.

høgr: heathen place of worship

GKS 2365 4to: 16.6

AM 748 I 4to: 16.6

in: in

GKS 2365 4to: 13.1

inn: the

GKS 2365 4to: 25.5

AM 748 I 4to: 25.5

it: the

GKS 2365 4to: 15.3

AM 748 I 4to: 15.3

í: in, within, during, into

Appendices

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 4.4, 5.5, 6.6, 13.5, 14.3, 18.2, 21.3, 22.6, 26.5, 38.6, 43.2, 52.6, Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 4.4, 5.5, 6.6, 13.5, 14.3, 18.2, 21.3, 22.6, 26.5, 38.6, 43.2, 52.6, Conc.

íkorni: squirrel

GKS 2365 4to: 32.1

AM 748 I 4to: 32.1

íllr: ill, evil

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

ísarn: iron

GKS 2365 4to: 37.6

AM 748 I 4to: 37.6

jór: stallion

GKS 2365 4to: 30.6, 44.5

AM 748 I 4to: 30.6, 44.5

jörð: earth

GKS 2365 4to: 40.2

AM 748 I 4to: 40.2

jormun: great

GKS 2365 4to: 20.3

AM 748 I 4to: 20.3

jötunn: giant

GKS 2365 4to: 11.3, 50.3

AM 748 I 4to: 11.3, 50.3

karl: man

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

ker: tub, vessel

GKS 2365 4to: 7.6, 25.4

kerling: old woman

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

kjálki: jaw-bone, a kind of sledge

GKS 2365 4to: 49.5

AM 748 I 4to: 49.5

kjósa: to choose, to elect

GKS 2365 4to: 8.4, 14.5

AM 748 I 4to: 8.5, 14.5

kná: to know how to do a thing, can

GKS 2365 4to: 7.2, 25.6, 53.5

AM 748 I 4to: 7.2, 25.6, 53.5

kné: knee

GKS 2365 4to: Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Conc.

kol: coals, charcoal

GKS 2365 4to: 37.6

AM 748 I 4to: 37.6

koma: to come

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 9.2, 10.2, 20.5, 45.5, Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 9.2, 10.2, 20.5, 45.5, Conc.

konungr: king

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., Conc.

kostr: condition, chance, opportunity, choice, quality

GKS 2365 4to: 14.3

AM 748 I 4to: 14.3

kot: cottage, hut, small farm

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

kunna: to know, to understand

GKS 2365 4to: 9.3, 10.3

Appendices

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 9.3

kveða: to say

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 13.3

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 13.3, 23.3

kvelja: to torment

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

kvistr: twig, branch

GKS 2365 4to: 34.9

AM 748 I 4to: 34.9

land: land

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 2.7, 4.1, 12.4, 17.3

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 2.7, 4.1, 12.4, 17.3

lauss: loose

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

láss: latch, lock

GKS 2365 4to: 22.6

AM 748 I 4to: 22.6

láta: to let, to put, to place, to suffer, to grant, to behave

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 18.2

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 18.2

látask: to let oneself be

GKS 2365 4to: 17.4

AM 748 I 4to: 17.4

leiða: to lead, to conduct, to make a person loathe a thing

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

lengi: long, for a long time

GKS 2365 4to: Conc.

lifa: to be left, to live

GKS 2365 4to: 19.6

AM 748 I 4to: 19.6

liggja: to lie

GKS 2365 4to: 4.2, 12.5, 34.2, 52.4

AM 748 I 4to: 4.2, 12.5, 34.2, 52.4

lim: foliage of a tree, crown of a tree

GKS 2365 4to: 25.3, 26.3

AM 748 I 4to: 25.3, 26.3

líða: to go, to pass, to move

GKS 2365 4to: 53.3

AM 748 I 4to: 53.3

líf: life

GKS 2365 4to: 53.3

AM 748 I 4to: 53.3

loði: fur cloak

GKS 2365 4to: 1.4

AM 748 I 4to: 1.4

loga: burn with a flame

GKS 2365 4to: 29.8

AM 748 I 4to: 29.8

lopt: loft, air, atmosphere

GKS 2365 4to: 1.5

AM 748 I 4to: 1.5

lúka: to shut

GKS 2365 4to: 22.6

AM 748 I 4to: 22.6

lygi: lie

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

maðr: man

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 2.3, 16.4, 31.6, 35.3, 41.3

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 2.3, 16.4, 31.6, 35.3, 41.3, 53.2

Appendices

margr: many

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

mark: mark

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

marr: sea, steed

GKS 2365 4to: 17.5

AM 748 I 4to: 17.5

matr: food

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 2.3

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 2.3

mágr: brother in law, father in law, son in law

GKS 2365 4to: 23.6

AM 748 I 4to: 24.6

mál: speech, faculty of speech, suit, action, cause

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., Title

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., Title

máttigr: mighty

GKS 2365 4to: 11.3

AM 748 I 4to: 11.3

með: with

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 23.3, 48.7, 49.9, 54.6

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 24.3, 49.10, 54.6

mega: may, might, to have strength to do

GKS 2365 4to: 34.9, 53.6

AM 748 I 4to: 34.9, 53.6

meiðr: pole, longitudinal beam

GKS 2365 4to: 34.9

AM 748 I 4to: 34.9

mein: hurt, harm

GKS 2365 4to: 16.5

AM 748 I 4to: 16.5

meiri: more, more in number, greater

GKS 2365 4to: 20.6, 35.3

AM 748 I 4to: 20.6, 35.3

mennska: humanity

GKS 2365 4to: 31.6

AM 748 I 4to: 31.6

miðr: middle

GKS 2365 4to: Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Conc.

mikill: great, tall

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 1.2, 21.5, 51.3

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 21.5, 51.3

milli: between

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 2.2

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 2.2

mínn: my, mine

GKS 2365 4to: 51.4

AM 748 I 4to: 51.4

mjǫðr: mead

GKS 2365 4to: 13.6, 25.5

AM 748 I 4to: 13.6, 25.5

mjök: much

GKS 2365 4to: 9.1, 10.1, 23.6

AM 748 I 4to: 9.1, 10.1, 24.6

muna: to mind, to call to mind, to remember

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 52.2, 53.2

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 52.2

myrkr: mirk, murky, dark

Appendices

- GKS 2365 4to: Intro.
AM 748 I 4to: Intro.
- mækir:** sword
GKS 2365 4to: 52.4
AM 748 I 4to: 52.4
- mæla:** to speak
GKS 2365 4to: Intro.
AM 748 I 4to: Intro.
- mærr:** famous, glorious, great
GKS 2365 4to: 50.5
AM 748 I 4to: 50.5
- mogr:** boy, youth
GKS 2365 4to: 17.4
AM 748 I 4to: 17.4
- nafn:** name
GKS 2365 4to: 48.5
AM 748 I 4to: 48.5
- nálgask:** to approach, to come near to
GKS 2365 4to: 53.6
AM 748 I 4to: 53.6
- nátt:** night
GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 2.1
AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 2.1
- neðan:** from beneath, from below
GKS 2365 4to: 35.6
AM 748 I 4to: 35.6
- nefna:** to name
GKS 2365 4to: Intro.
AM 748 I 4to: Intro.
- nema:** except, save, but
GKS 2365 4to: 2.4
AM 748 I 4to: 2.4
- né:** not
GKS 2365 4to: 2.3, 20.5
AM 748 I 4to: 2.3, 20.5
- niðr:** down
GKS 2365 4to: 32.6, Conc.
AM 748 I 4to: 32.6, Conc.
- níðingr:** villain, truce breaker
GKS 2365 4to: Intro.
AM 748 I 4to: Intro.
- níundi:** ninth
GKS 2365 4to: 14.1
AM 748 I 4to: 14.1
- nú:** now
GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 11.4, 45.1, 53.2, 53.5, 54.1
AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 11.4, 53.2, 53.5, 54.1
- nýtr:** fit, usable
GKS 2365 4to: 43.6
AM 748 I 4to: 43.6
- nær:** near
GKS 2365 4to: 4.3, 28.11
AM 748 I 4to: 4.3, 28.11
- of:** over, similar to 'um'
GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 8.3, 20.4, 21.5, 34.3, 51.2, 52.3
AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 4.6, 21.5, 34.3, 35.3, 41.6, 42.5, 51.2, 52.3, 53.3
- ofan:** from above
GKS 2365 4to: 32.5, 35.4
AM 748 I 4to: 32.5, 35.4
- ok:** and
GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 1.2, 4.3, 7.4, 9.6, 15.3, 15.6, 17.2, 17.6, 19.1, 20.1, 23.2,

Appendices

24.2, 25.3, 26.3, 27.1, 27.2, 27.3, 27.4, 27.5, 27.6, 27.7, 27.9, 27.10, 27.11, 28.4, 28.5, 28.6, 28.7, 28.8, 28.9, 29.1, 29.2, 30.1, 30.2, 30.3, 30.4, 30.5, 32.6, 33.1, 33.4, 33.5, 34.4, 34.6, 34.7, 36.1, 36.3, 36.4, 36.5, 36.6, 36.7, 37.1, 38.4, 42.2, 46.3, 46.4, 46.5, 46.6, 47.1, 47.2, 47.3, 47.6, 48.4, 49.7, 49.8, 49.9, 50.1, 50.3, 51.6, 54.4, 54.5, 54.6, 54.7, Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 1.2, 4.3, 7.4, 10.6, 15.3, 15.6, 17.2, 17.6, 19.1, 20.1, 23.2, 24.2, 25.3, 26.3, 27.1, 27.2, 27.4, 27.5, 27.6, 27.7, 27.9, 27.10, 27.11, 28.4, 28.5, 28.6, 28.7, 28.8, 28.9, 28.10, 29.1, 29.2, 30.1, 30.2, 30.3, 30.4, 30.5, 32.6, 33.1, 33.4, 33.5, 34.4, 34.6, 34.7, 36.1, 36.3, 36.4, 36.5, 36.6, 36.7, 36.8, 37.1, 38.4, 42.2, 46.2, 46.3, 46.4, 46.5, 46.6, 47.1, 47.2, 47.3, 47.6, 47.7, 48.4, 49.8, 49.9, 49.10, 50.1, 50.3, 51.6, 54.4, 54.5, 54.6, 54.7, Conc.

opinn: open

GKS 2365 4to: 42.4

AM 748 I 4to: 42.4

orð: word, words

GKS 2365 4to: 32.4

AM 748 I 4to: 32.4

ormr: snake, serpent

GKS 2365 4to: 34.1

AM 748 I 4to: 34.1

óask: to dread, to fear

GKS 2365 4to: 20.4

AM 748 I 4to: 20.4

ólmr: savage, furious, worrying

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

ór: out of, from

GKS 2365 4to: 7.6, 24.5, 40.1, 40.3, 40.4, 40.5, 40.6, 41.1, 41.4, Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: 7.6, 23.5, 40.1, 40.3, 40.4, 40.5, 40.6, 41.1, 41.4, Conc.

ósvinnr: unwise

GKS 2365 4to: 34.3

AM 748 I 4to: 34.3

pína: to torment, to torture

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

rann: house

GKS 2365 4to: 10.4, 13.5, 23.4

AM 748 I 4to: 9.4, 13.5, 24.4

raptr: roof, ceiling

GKS 2365 4to: 23.5

AM 748 I 4to: 24.5

ráða: to advise, to counsel, to rule, to consult

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 2.5, 14.2

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 2.5, 14.2, 16.6

regin: gods

GKS 2365 4to: 4.6, 6.2, 37.5, 41.2

AM 748 I 4to: 4.6, 6.2, 37.5, 41.2

reka: to drive, to thrust, to throw, to push violently

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

renna: to run

GKS 2365 4to: 32.2

AM 748 I 4to: 32.2

repta: to roof

GKS 2365 4to: 10.4

AM 748 I 4to: 9.4

ríða: to ride

GKS 2365 4to: 30.6

Appendices

- AM 748 I 4to: 30.6
- rjúfa:** to break, to rip up, to break a hole in
GKS 2365 4to: 4.6
AM 748 I 4to: 4.6
- róa:** to row
GKS 2365 4to: Intro.
AM 748 I 4to: Intro.
- rót:** root
GKS 2365 4to: 31.1
AM 748 I 4to: 31.1
- salr:** hall
GKS 2365 4to: 5.3, 6.3, 9.3, 10.3, 10.5, 12.3, 14.3, 16.3
AM 748 I 4to: 5.3, 6.3, 9.3, 9.5, 12.3, 14.3, 16.3
- samr:** the same
GKS 2365 4to: 15.3
AM 748 I 4to: 15.3
- sá:** this, that, such
GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 6.1, 11.3, 22.4, 25.6, 39.6
AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 6.1, 11.3, 22.4, 25.6, 39.6
- seðja:** to satiate, to feed
GKS 2365 4to: 19.2
AM 748 I 4to: 19.2
- segja:** to say
GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 32.6, 52.1
AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 32.6, 52.1
- senda:** to send
GKS 2365 4to: Intro.
AM 748 I 4to: Intro.
- sess:** seat
GKS 2365 4to: 14.3
AM 748 I 4to: 14.3
- setja:** to seat, to place, to set, to put
GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 2.2
AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 2.2
- sétti:** sixth
GKS 2365 4to: 11.1
AM 748 I 4to: 11.1
- sigtívar:** victory gods
GKS 2365 4to: 45.2
AM 748 I 4to: 45.2
- silfr:** silver
GKS 2365 4to: 6.3, 15.3
AM 748 I 4to: 6.3, 15.3
- sinn:** his, hers, its, theirs
GKS 2365 4to: Intro.
AM 748 I 4to: Intro.
- sitja:** to sit
GKS 2365 4to: Intro., Conc.
AM 748 I 4to: Intro., Conc.
- síðan:** since
GKS 2365 4to: Conc.
- sízt:** since
GKS 2365 4to: 48.7
AM 748 I 4to: 48.6
- sjaundi:** seventh
GKS 2365 4to: 12.1
AM 748 I 4to: 12.1
- sjá:** to see
GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 4.2, 9.3, 10.3, 52.5, 53.5, 54.8
AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 4.2, 9.3, 10.3, 52.5, 53.5, 54.8

Appendices

sjásk: to fear

GKS 2365 4to: 20.6

AM 748 I 4to: 20.6

sjóða: to cook

GKS 2365 4to: 18.3

AM 748 I 4to: 18.3

skapa: to shape, to form, to mould

GKS 2365 4to: 25.4, 40.2, 41.6, 43.3

AM 748 I 4to: 25.4, 40.2, 41.6, 43.3

skapt: shaved stick, shaft, missile

GKS 2365 4to: 10.4

AM 748 I 4to: 9.4

skáld: skald, poet

GKS 2365 4to: 44.7

AM 748 I 4to: 44.7

skera: to cut

GKS 2365 4to: 35.6

AM 748 I 4to: 35.6

skilja: to part, to separate, to divide, to distinguish, to discern, to understand

GKS 2365 4to: 2.5, 3.1, 3.5, 4.5, 25.5, 29.3, 32.2, 32.5, 34.8, 37.2, 38.5, 39.6, 45.3, 45.5

AM 748 I 4to: 2.5, 3.1, 3.5, 4.5, 25.5, 29.3, 32.2, 32.5, 34.8, 37.2, 38.5, 39.6, 45.3, 45.5

skip: ship

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 43.4, 44.3

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 43.4, 44.3

skína: to shine

GKS 2365 4to: 38.3

AM 748 I 4to: 38.3

skírleitr: pure of countenance

GKS 2365 4to: 39.2

AM 748 I 4to: 39.2

skírr: clear, bright, pure

GKS 2365 4to: 11.5, 25.5, 43.5

AM 748 I 4to: 11.5, 25.5, 43.5

skjöldr: shield

GKS 2365 4to: 10.5, 38.3

AM 748 I 4to: 9.5, 38.3

ský: cloud

GKS 2365 4to: 41.6

AM 748 I 4to: 41.6

sleppa: to slip, to slide

GKS 2365 4to: Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Conc.

smár: small

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

smýl: she troll

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

sonr: son

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 2.6, 34.5, 39.5, 41.3, 42.5, 43.1, 45.2

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 2.6, 34.5, 39.5, 41.3, 42.5, 43.1, 45.2

sól: sun

GKS 2365 4to: 37.3, 38.2

AM 748 I 4to: 37.3, 38.2

spyrja: to ask, to spear

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

stafr: staff, post

GKS 2365 4to: 12.6

AM 748 I 4to: 12.6

Appendices

standa: to stand

GKS 2365 4to: 22.2, 25.2, 26.2, 31.2, 38.2, Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: 22.2, 25.2, 26.2, 31.2, 38.2, Conc.

steypa: to 'make stoop', to cast down, to overthrow

GKS 2365 4to: Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Conc.

straumr: stream, current, race

GKS 2365 4to: 21.4

AM 748 I 4to: 21.4

strá: straw, to strew, to cover with straw

GKS 2365 4to: 10.6

AM 748 I 4to: 9.6

strönd: border edge, strand, coast, shore

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

styðja: to steady, to prop

GKS 2365 4to: 15.2

AM 748 I 4to: 15.2

støðva: to soothe, to halt

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

svalr: cool, fresh

GKS 2365 4to: 7.2

AM 748 I 4to: 7.2

svangr: slender, slim, thin

GKS 2365 4to: 37.3

AM 748 I 4to: 37.3

svá: so, thus

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 2.3, 23.3, 24.3

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 2.3, 23.3, 24.3

sveiti: sweat, blood

GKS 2365 4to: 40.3

AM 748 I 4to: 40.3

sverð: sword

GKS 2365 4to: Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: 44.10, Conc.

sviðna: to be singed

GKS 2365 4to: 1.4

AM 748 I 4to: 1.4

svipr: a glimpse of a person

GKS 2365 4to: 45.1

AM 748 I 4to: 45.1

svæfa: to lull to sleep

GKS 2365 4to: 15.6

AM 748 I 4to: 15.6

sær: sea

GKS 2365 4to: 40.3

AM 748 I 4to: 40.3

søk: charge, offense

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 15.6

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 15.6

taka: to take hold of, to seize, to grasp

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 42.3, Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 42.3, Conc.

tann: tooth

GKS 2365 4to: 5.6

AM 748 I 4to: 5.6

tigr: ten

GKS 2365 4to: 23.2, 24.2

AM 748 I 4to: 23.2, 24.2

til: to

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 1.2, 10.2, 28.12, 39.3, Conc.

Appendices

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 1.2, 10.2, 28.12, 39.3, Conc.

tíu: ten

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

tíundi: tenth

GKS 2365 4to: 15.1

AM 748 I 4to: 15.1

tívi: god, divinity

GKS 2365 4to: 5.6

AM 748 I 4to: 5.6

topt: green tuft, green grassy place, place marked out for a house or building

GKS 2365 4to: 11.6

AM 748 I 4to: 11.6

tveir: two

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 29.2

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 29.2

um: around, about, of, in regard to a thing

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 4.6, 5.3, 7.5, 10.6, 12.3, 16.3, 20.6, 23.2, 24.2, 27.8, 40.2, 41.6, 42.5, 52.2, 53.3, Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 5.3, 7.5, 9.6, 12.3, 16.3, 20.4, 20.6, 22.6, 24.2, 27.8, 40.2, 52.2, Conc.

una: to abide, to dwell

GKS 2365 4to: 21.2

AM 748 I 4to: 21.2

undir: under, underneath, below

GKS 2365 4to: 31.3, 31.4, 34.2, 37.4

AM 748 I 4to: 31.3, 31.4, 34.2, 37.4

unnr: waves, sea

GKS 2365 4to: 7.3

AM 748 I 4to: 7.3

unz: till that, till, until

GKS 2365 4to: 4.6

AM 748 I 4to: 4.6

upp: up

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 37.2, Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 37.2, Conc.

úlfr: wolf

GKS 2365 4to: 39.1

AM 748 I 4to: 39.2

út: out

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

vaða: to wade, to go through shallow water

GKS 2365 4to: 21.6, 29.3

AM 748 I 4to: 21.6, 29.3

vaka: to be awake

GKS 2365 4to: 45.3

AM 748 I 4to: 45.3

valda: to wield, to rule, to cause

GKS 2365 4to: 13.3

AM 748 I 4to: 13.3

valr: the slain

GKS 2365 4to: 14.4, 21.6, 53.1

AM 748 I 4to: 14.4, 21.6, 53.1

vana: to wane

GKS 2365 4to: 25.6

AM 748 I 4to: 25.6

vanr: wont, accustomed

GKS 2365 4to: 16.5

AM 748 I 4to: 16.5

varask: to beware of

Appendices

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

vargr: wolf, outlaw

GKS 2365 4to: 9.4

AM 748 I 4to: 10.4

varna: to warn off

GKS 2365 4to: 39.3

AM 748 I 4to: 39.3

vatn: water

GKS 2365 4to: 26.6, 29.9

AM 748 I 4to: 26.6, 29.9

vaxa: to wax, to grow

GKS 2365 4to: 17.1

AM 748 I 4to: 17.1

vápn: weapon

GKS 2365 4to: 8.6, 19.5

AM 748 I 4to: 8.6, 19.5

vár: spring

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

veðja: to lay a wager, to bet

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

vegr: way, road

GKS 2365 4to: 24.6, 26.6, 31.2

AM 748 I 4to: 23.6, 26.6, 31.2

veig: strong beverage, drink

GKS 2365 4to: 25.6

AM 748 I 4to: 25.6

vel: well

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

vera: to be

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 1.1, 2.4, 3.3, 4.1, 4.5, 6.1, 8.6, 9.1, 10.1, 10.4, 10.5, 12.1, 13.1, 14.1, 15.1, 15.2, 16.1, 22.4, 22.6, 24.3, 33.1, 34.5, 39.5, 40.2, 41.5, 42.3, 44.2, 50.2, 50.4, 51.1, 51.3, 51.4, 53.4, 54.8, Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 1.1, 1.5, 3.3, 4.1, 4.5, 8.1, 8.6, 9.1, 9.2, 9.4, 9.5, 10.1, 10.2, 12.1, 13.1, 14.1, 15.2, 16.1, 22.4, 22.6, 23.3, 24.3, 33.1, 40.2, 41.5, 42.6, 44.2, 50.2, 50.4, 51.1, 51.3, 51.4, 53.4, Conc.

verða: to become, to happen, to come to pass

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 42.5, 50.6, 54.8

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 42.5, 50.6, 54.8, Conc.

vestr: west

GKS 2365 4to: 9.5

AM 748 I 4to: 10.5

vetr: winter

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

vé: mansion, house, sanctuary

GKS 2365 4to: 13.3

AM 748 I 4to: 13.3

véla: to defraud, to trick, to deal, to manage

GKS 2365 4to: 6.5, 52.3

AM 748 I 4to: 6.5, 52.3

við: with, against, by, at, close to

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 19.4, 45.3

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 19.4, 45.3

viðr: tree

GKS 2365 4to: 17.3, 39.3, 44.2

AM 748 I 4to: 17.3, 39.3, 44.2

Appendices

vilbjörg: help desired, help in need

GKS 2365 4to: 45.3

AM 748 I 4to: 45.3

vilja: to wish, to will

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 36.2, Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 36.2, Conc.

vindr: wind

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

vinr: friend, kinsman

GKS 2365 4to: 52.3, 52.5

AM 748 I 4to: 52.3, 52.5

vissa: certain knowledge, certainty

GKS 2365 4to: Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Conc.

vita: to wit, to have sense, to be conscious

GKS 2365 4to: 12.5, 18.5, 22.5, 23.5,
23.6, 35.3, 38.5, 53.3

AM 748 I 4to: 12.5, 18.5, 22.5, 24.5,
24.6, 35.3, 38.5, 53.3

vitnir: wolf

GKS 2365 4to: 24.6

AM 748 I 4to: 23.6

víðr: wide, large

GKS 2365 4to: 8.3

AM 748 I 4to: 8.3

víg: fight, battle

AM 748 I 4to: 49.7

vín: wine

GKS 2365 4to: 19.4

AM 748 I 4to: 19.4

værr: comfortable, tranquil

GKS 2365 4to: 13.5

AM 748 I 4to: 13.5

vøllr: field

GKS 2365 4to: 22.2

AM 748 I 4to: 22.2

vorðr: warden, warder

GKS 2365 4to: 13.4

AM 748 I 4to: 13.4

yfir: over, above

GKS 2365 4to: 7.3, 9.6, 20.3

AM 748 I 4to: 7.3, 10.6, 20.3

yppa: to 'up with' a thing

GKS 2365 4to: 45.1

AM 748 I 4to: 45.1

þaðan: thence, from there

GKS 2365 4to: 26.6

AM 748 I 4to: 26.6

þann: that

GKS 2365 4to: 50.3

AM 748 I 4to: 50.3

þar: there, at that place

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 5.2, 7.2, 7.4, 8.2,
8.4, 12.2, 13.2, 13.4, 14.2, 15.4, 16.2, 17.4,
Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 5.2, 7.2, 7.4, 8.2,
8.4, 12.2, 13.2, 13.4, 14.2, 15.4, 16.2, 17.4,
Conc.

þat: that, it, therefore

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 18.5, 22.5, 34.3,
45.3, 45.5, 54.3

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 18.5, 22.5, 45.3,
45.5, 54.3

þau: they

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 7.4, 41.5

Appendices

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 7.4, 41.5

þá: then, at that time

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 24.6, 42.6, 49.4, 50.4, Conc.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 23.6, 42.6, 49.4, 50.4

þekja: to thatch

GKS 2365 4to: 6.3, 10.5, 15.3

AM 748 I 4to: 6.3, 9.5, 15.3

þengill: captain of a thing, prince, king

GKS 2365 4to: 16.4

AM 748 I 4to: 16.4

þessi: this, these, those

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro.

þing: thing, assembly, meeting, gathering

GKS 2365 4to: 49.6

AM 748 I 4to: 49.6

þjóta: to emit a whistling sound

GKS 2365 4to: 21.1

AM 748 I 4to: 21.1

þó: though, yet, but yet, nevertheless

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 20.6

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 20.6

þótt: although

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 1.5

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 1.5

þriði: third

GKS 2365 4to: 6.1, 28.3, 31.6

AM 748 I 4to: 6.1, 28.3, 31.6

þrír: three

GKS 2365 4to: 31.1, 31.2

AM 748 I 4to: 31.1, 31.2

þruma: clap of thunder

GKS 2365 4to: 8.3

AM 748 I 4to: 8.3

þú: you

GKS 2365 4to: Intro., 1.1, 3.1, 3.2, 3.5, 51.1, 51.2, 51.3, 51.4, 52.1, 52.2, 52.3, 53.3, 53.5, 53.6

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 1.1, 3.1, 3.2, 3.5, 51.1, 51.2, 51.3, 51.4, 52.1, 52.2, 52.3, 53.3, 53.5, 53.6

því: this, because

GKS 2365 4to: 12.4, 29.7, 42.4

AM 748 I 4to: 12.4, 29.7, 42.4

þykkja: to be thought, to seem

GKS 2365 4to: Intro.

AM 748 I 4to: Intro., 21.5

æ: for ever

GKS 2365 4to: 19.6, 34.8

AM 748 I 4to: 19.6, 34.8

æðri: higher, highest

GKS 2365 4to: 44.2

AM 748 I 4to: 44.2

øl: ale

GKS 2365 4to: 36.9

AM 748 I 4to: 36.9

ølr: worse for ale, worse for drink

GKS 2365 4to: 51.1

AM 748 I 4to: 51.1

ørn: eagle

GKS 2365 4to: 9.6, 32.4

AM 748 I 4to: 10.6, 32.4

Appendix III Bibliography

Manuscripts

“Eddukvæði.” 3v-5v: Den Arnamagnæanske Samling (University of Copenhagen), 1896.

“Eddukvæði — Sæmundar-Edda.” 8v-11r: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar (Háskoli Íslands).

Primary Sources

Adam of Bremen. *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*. edited and translated by Francis Joseph Tschan (New York, 1998).

Adam of Bremen. *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*. Lib. II, cap. 57, pag. 117, lin. 11.

Annales Qui Dicuntur Einhardi. <http://clt.brepolis.net.ezproxy.st-andrews.ac.uk/emgh/pages/Results.aspx?qry=b7c6fbd9-c11b-4815-aadf-e1ad20363463&per=0>

Annales Regni Francorum. <http://clt.brepolis.net.ezproxy.st-andrews.ac.uk/emgh/pages/Results.aspx?qry=b7c6fbd9-c11b-4815-aadf-e1ad20363463&per=0>

Caesarius of Arles. *Sermons*. Translated by M. M. Muller (Washington, 1957).

Caesarius of Arles. *Sermones Caesarii Uel Ex Aliis Fontibus Hausti*.

<http://clt.brepolis.net/llta/pages/Results.aspx?qry=46850121-9dc1-4ecf-8b5b-a1cddb42286d&per=0>

Egils Saga. Edited by Bjarni Einarsson (London, 2003).

Appendices

Eyrbyggja Saga. Íslenzk fornrit. Edited by Einar Sveinsson and Matthías Þórðarson, v. 4 (Reykjavík, 1985).

Eyvindr skáldaspillir. *Háleygjatal*.

[http://www.heimskringla.no/wiki/H%C3%A1leygjatal_\(B1\)](http://www.heimskringla.no/wiki/H%C3%A1leygjatal_(B1))

Fáfnismál. Íslenzk fornrit: Eddukvæði. Edited by Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, v. 2 (Reykjavík, 2014).

Gautreks Saga. Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda. Edited by Guðni Jónsson and Bjarni

Vilhjálmsson, v. 3 (Reykjavík, 1943–44). http://heimskringla.no/wiki/Gautreks_saga

Gregory of Tours. *Liber Vitae Patrum*. Edited by Bruno Krusch (Hanover, 1885).

Gregory the Great. *The Letters of Gregory the Great*. The Letters of Gregory the Great:

Translated with Introduction and Notes, by John R. C. Martyn. Edited by John R.C. Martyn, v. 2 (Toronto, 2004).

Grímnismál. edited and translated by Henry Adam Bellows. The Poetic Edda. (Princeton, 1936). <http://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/poe/poe06.htm>

Grímnismál. Íslenzk fornrit: Eddukvæði. Edited by Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, v. 1 (Reykjavík, 2014).

Grímnismál. Edda - Die Lieder des Codex Regius nebst Verwandten Denkmälern. Edited by Gustav Neckel. Second ed., v. 1 (Heidelberg, 1927).

Haraldr hárfagri Hálfðanarson. *Snæfríðardrápa*. Poetry from the Kings' Sagas 1: From Mythical Times to c. 1035. Edited by Russel Poole (Turnhout, 2002).

<http://skaldic.abdn.ac.uk/db.php?id=3205&if=default&table=verses>

Hávamál. Edited by David Evans (London, 1987).

Helgakvíða Hundingsbana I. Íslenzk fornrit: Eddukvæði. Edited by Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, v. 2 (Reykjavík, 2014).

Appendices

Hervarakviða. Edited by Guðni Jónsson

<http://www.heimskringla.no/wiki/Hervararkvi%C3%B0a>

Hesiod. *Works and Days*. The Homeric Hymns and Homerica with an English Translation by Hugh G. Evelyn-White. Edited by Hugh G. Evelyn-White (London, 1914).

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hes.+WD+566&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0131>

Homer. *Odyssey*. The Odyssey with an English Translation by A.T. Murray. Edited by A. T. Murray (London, 1919).

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:abo:tlg,0012,002:10:351>

Hymiskviða. Íslenzk fornrit: Eddukvæði. Edited by Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, v. 1 (Reykjavík, 2014).

Hyndluljóð. Íslenzk fornrit: Eddukvæði Edited by Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, v. 1 (Reykjavík, 2014).

Lokasenna. Íslenzk fornrit: Eddukvæði. Edited by Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, v. 1 (Reykjavík, 2014).

Marcus Annaeus Lucanus. *Pharsalia*. Edited by Carolus Hermannus Weise (1835).

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0133%3Abook%3D3%3Acard%3D399>

Paul the Deacon. *De Gestis Langobardorum*. Edited by William Dudley Foulke and Edward Peters (Philadelphia, 2003).

Phaedrus. *Fabulae Aesopiae*. The Fables of Phaedrus Translated into English Verse. Edited by Christopher Smart (London, 1913).

———. *Fabulae Aesopiae*. Phaedrus, Augusti libertus. Edited by L. Mueller (Leipzig, 1876).

Reginsmál. Íslenzk fornrit: Eddukvæði. Edited by Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, v. 2 (Reykjavík, 2014).

Appendices

Rígsþula. Íslenzk fornrit: Eddukvæði. Edited by Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, v. 1 (Reykjavík, 2014).

Second Merseburg Incantation Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Magic. Edited by Bill Griffiths (Ely, 2003). <http://abdn.ac.uk/skaldic/db.php?id=17095&if=teach&table=verses>

Sigrdrífumál. Íslenzk fornrit: Eddukvæði Edited by Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, v. 2 (Reykjavík, 2014).

Skírnismál. Íslenzk fornrit: Eddukvæði. Edited by Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, v. 1 (Reykjavík, 2014).

Snorri Sturluson. *Edda*. edited and translated by Anthony Faulkes (London, 1987).

———. *Háttatal*. Edited by Anthony Faulkes (London, 1991).

———. *Prologue and Gylfaginning*. Edited by Anthony Faulkes (London, 1982).

———. *Skáldskaparmál*. Edited by Anthony Faulkes (London, 1998).

———. *The Uppsala Edda*. The Uppsala Edda. Edited by Heimir Pálsson (Exeter, 2012).

———. *Ynglinga Saga*. http://www.heimskringla.no/wiki/Ynglinga_saga

Tacitus. *Germania*. Tacito, La Germania, La Vita di Agricola, Dialogo Sulla Eloquenza. Edited by A. Resta Barrile (Bologna, 1996).

The Elder Edda, trans. by Andy Orchard (London, 2013).

The Poetic Edda, trans. by Carolyne Larington (Oxford, 2014).

The Poetic Edda: Stories of the Norse Gods and Heroes, trans. by Jackson Crawford (Indianapolis and Cambridge, 2015).

Thietmar of Merseburg. *Chronicon Thietmari*. Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg und ihre Korveier Überarbeitung. MGH Scriptorum rerum Germanicarum NS 9. Edited by Robert Holtzmann (Berlin, 1935).

Thiofrid. *Vita Sancti Willibrordi*. Vol. SS 23, pag.: 14, lin.: 12, <http://clt.brepolis.net.ezproxy.st->

Appendices

andrews.ac.uk/emgh/pages/Results.aspx?qry=2e9fbf94-4f9d-417e-a17a-89b628a26fbb&per=0

Þorgrímsþula. Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning. Edited by Finnur Jónsson, v. 1 (Copenhagen, 1912). <https://archive.org/details/dennorskislandsk01finn>

Þrymskviða. Íslenzk fornrit: Eddukvæði. Edited by Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, v. 1 (Reykjavík, 2014).

Vafþrúðnismál. Edited by Tim William Machan (Durham, 2008).

Vita S. Amandi, Episcopi Et Confessoris. <http://clt.brepolis.net.ezproxy.st-andrews.ac.uk/emgh/pages/Results.aspx?qry=49c7c223-2f4a-4527-bd05-68286c36d45f&per=0>

Vita S. Amandi, Episcopi Et Confessoris. edited and translated by J.N. Hillgarth. In *Christianity and Paganism, 350-750* (Philadelphia, 1986).

Völuspá. Íslenzk fornrit: Eddukvæði. Edited by Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, v. 1 (Reykjavík, 2014).

Völuspá. Translated by John McKinnell and B. S. Benedikz. Edited by Sigurður Nordal (Durham, 1984).

Willibald. *Vita Bonifatii*. *Soldiers of Christ*. Edited by C. H. Talbot (London, 1995).

Willibald. *Vita Bonifatii*. Vol. SS rer. Germ. 57, Chapter 6., <http://clt.brepolis.net.ezproxy.st-andrews.ac.uk/emgh/pages/Results.aspx?qry=828e1417-42f2-47cb-bd74-ca429fc68030&per=0>

Secondary Sources

Poetry from Treatises on Poetics - Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages. Edited by Kari Ellen Gade and E. Marold (Turnhout, 2017).

Appendices

- Andrén, Anders. "Behind Heathendom: Archaeological Studies of Old Norse Religion." In *Scottish Archaeological Journal*, v. 27.2 (2005). 105-138.
- . *Tracing Old Norse Cosmology. The World Tree, Middle Earth, and the Sun in Archaeological Perspectives* (Lund, 2014).
- Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon. *Íslensk Orðsifjabók* (Reykjavík, 1989).
- Bartlett, Robert. "Reflections on Paganism and Christianity in Medieval Europe." In *Proceedings of the British Academy*, v. 101 (1999). 55-76.
- . *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, 2013).
- Beekes, R.S.P. *Comparative Indo-European Linguistics: An Introduction*. Edited by Paul Gaboriner (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 1995).
- Bevan-Jones, Robert. *The Ancient Yew: A History of Taxus Baccata* (Oxford, 2002).
- Branston, Brian. *Gods of the North* (London, New York, 1955).
- Brink, Stefan. "How Uniform Was the Old Norse Religion?" In *Learning and Understanding in the Old Norse World. Essays in Honour of Margaret Clunies Ross*, edited by Judy Quinn and Kate Heslop (Turnhout, 2007). 105-136.
- . "Myth and Ritual in Pre-Christian Scandinavian Landscape." In *Sacred Sites and Holy Places: Exploring the Sacralization of Landscape through Time and Space*, edited by Sæbjørg Walaker Nordeide and Stefan Brink. (Turnhout, 2013). 33-52.
- Brink, Stefan, and John Lindow. "Place Names in Eddic Poetry." In *A Handbook to Eddic Poetry: Myths and Legends of Early Scandinavia*, edited by Carolyne Larrington, Judy Quinn and Brittany Schorn (Cambridge, 2016). 173-189.
- Brückmann, Georg C. *Altwestnordische Farbesemantik* (Munich, 2012).
- Burkert, Walter. *Greek Religion*. Edited by John Raffan (Cambridge (MA), 1985).

Appendices

Cleasby, Richard, and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*. Edited by William A. Craigie (Oxford, 1957).

Clunies Ross, Margaret. *A History of Old Norse Poetry and Poetics* (Cambridge, 2011).

———. “Images of Norse Cosmology.” In *Myths, Legends, and Heroes: Essays on Old Norse and Old English Literature in Honour of John McKinnell* Edited by Daniel Anlezark (Toronto, 2011). 53-73.

———. *Prolonged Echoes: Old Norse Myths in Medieval Northern Society* (Odense, 1994).

———. “The Transmission and Preservation of Eddic Poetry.” In *A Handbook to Eddic Poetry: Myths and Legends of Early Scandinavia*, edited by Carolyne Larrington, Judy Quinn and Brittany Schorn (Cambridge, 2016). 12-32.

Cusack, Carole. *The Sacred Tree: Ancient and Medieval Manifestations* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2011).

Davidson, Hilda Ellis. *The Lost Beliefs of Northern Europe* (London ; New York, 1993).

———. *Myths and Symbols in Pagan Europe : Early Scandinavian and Celtic Religions* (Manchester, 1988).

De Vries, Jan. *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1957).

———. *Altnordisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Zweite Verbesserte Auflage (Leiden, 1977).

———. “Celtic and Germanic Religion.” In *Saga-Book*, v. 16 (1962-1965). 109-123.

———. *The Problem of Loki*. (Helsinki, 1933).

A Dictionary of First Names. Edited by Patrick Hanks, Kate Hardcastle and Flavia Hodges. 2nd ed. (Oxford, 2006).

Dowden, Ken. *European Paganism. The Realities of Cult from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2000).

Appendices

- Driscoll, Matthew James. “Postcards from the Edge: An Overview of Marginalia in Icelandic Manuscripts.” In *Variants*, v.2-3 (2004). 21-36.
- Driscoll, Matthew James, and Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir. *Manuscripts from the Arnarnagnæan Collection* (Ljubljana, 2015).
- Dronke, Ursula. “Óminnis Hegri.” In *Festskrift Til Ludvig Holm-Olsen* (Bergen, 1984). 53-60.
- . *The Poetic Edda. Volume III. Mythological Poems II* (Oxford, 2011).
- DuBois, Thomas A. *Nordic Religions in the Viking Age* (Philadelphia, 1999).
- Dumézil, Georges. *Loki* (Paris, 1986).
- Egeler, Matthias. “Eikþyrnir and the Rivers of Paradise: Cosmological Perspectives on Dating *Grímnismál* 26–28.” In *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, v. 128 (2013). 17–39.
- Eliade, Mircea. *Rites and Symbols of Initiation: The Mysteries of Birth and Rebirth*. Translated by Willard R. Trask (Putnam, 1994).
- . *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*. Edited by Willard R. Trask (Orlando, 1959).
- Fabech, Charlotte, and Ulf Näsman. “Ritual Landscape and Sacral Places in the First Millennium Ad in South Scandinavia.” In *Sacred Sites and Holy Places: Exploring the Sacralization of Landscape through Time and Space*, edited by Sæbjørg Walaker Nordeide and Stefan Brink (Turnhout, 2013).
- Falk, Hjalmar. *Odensheite*. (Oslo, 1924).
- Faulkes, Anthony. *Poetical Inspiration in Old Norse and Old English Poetry* (London, 1997).
- Fleck, Jere. “The “Knowledge-Criterion” in the *Grímnismál*: The case against “Shamanism””. In *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, v. 87 (1971). 49-65.
- Foley, John Miles. *How to Read an Oral Poem* (Chicago, 2002).

Appendices

- Fortson, Benjamin W. *Indo-European Language and Culture: An Introduction* (Malden and Oxford, 2004).
- Gaiman, Neil. *Norse Mythology* (London, 2017).
- Gordon, Eric Valentine. *An Introduction to Old Norse* (Oxford, 1927).
- Green, D. H. *Language and History in the Early Germanic World* (Cambridge, 1998).
- . *Medieval Listening and Reading: The Primary Reception of German Literature 800-1300* (Cambridge, 1994).
- Grimm, Jacob. *Teutonic Mythology*. Translated by James Steven Stallybrass. v. 1. (London, 1883).
- Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson. *Sýnisbók Íslenskrar Skriftar*. Second ed. (Reykjavík, 2007).
- Gunnell, Terry. “Eddic Performance and Eddic Audiences.” In *A Handbook to Eddic Poetry: Myths and Legends of Early Scandinavia*, edited by Carolyne Larrington, Judy Quinn and Brittany Schorn (Cambridge, 2016). 92-113.
- . “Eddic Poetry.” In *A Companion to Old Icelandic Literature and Culture*, edited by Rory McTurk (Padstow, 2005). 82-100.
- . “From One High-One to Another: The Acceptance of Óðinn as Preparation for the Acceptance of God.” In *Conversions: Looking for Ideological Change in the Early Middle Ages*, edited by Leszek Slupecki and Rudolf Simek (Vienna, 2013). 153-178.
- . “Hof, Halls, Goðar and Dwarves: An Examination of the Ritual Space in the Pagan Icelandic Hall.” In *Cosmos: The Journal of the Traditional Cosmology Society*, v. 17.1 (2001). 3-36.
- . “Legends and Landscape in the Nordic Countries.” In *Cultural and Social History*, v. 6.3 (2009). 305-322.
- . “Myth and (the Knowledge of) Seasonal Change - the Myths of the Vanir.” In *Aarhus Old Norse Mythology Symposium* (Aarhus, 2014).

Appendices

- . *The Origins of Drama in Scandinavia* (Cambridge, 1995).
- . “The Performance of the Poetic Edda.” In *The Viking World*, edited by Stefan Brink and Neil Price (Abingdon, 2008). 299-304.
- . “The Season of the Dísir: The Winter Nights, and the Dísablót in Early Medieval Scandinavian Belief.” In *Cosmos: The Journal of the Traditional Cosmology Society*, v. 16.2 (2000). 117-149.
- . “Völuspá in Performance.” In *Approaches to Völuspá and Nordic Days of Judgement*, edited by Terry Gunnell and Annette Lassen (Turnhout, 2013). 63-77.
- Hale, Christopher S. “The River Names in *Grímnismál* 27-29.” In *Edda: A Collection of Essays*, edited by Robert J. Glendinning and Haraldur Bessason (Manitoba, 1983). 165-185.
- Hall, Alaric. *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England: Matters of Belief, Health, Gender and Identity*. (Woodbridge and Rochester, 2007).
- A Handbook to Eddic Poetry: Myths and Legends of Early Scandinavia*. Edited by Carolyne Larrington, Judy Quinn and Brittany Schorn (Cambridge, 2016).
- Haugen, Einar. “The Edda as Ritual: Odin and His Masks.” In *Edda: A Collection of Essays*, edited by Robert J. Glendinning and Haraldur Bessason (Manitoba, 1983). 3-24.
- Hedeager, Lotte. *Iron Age Myth and Materiality: An Archaeology of Scandinavia Ad 400-1000* (Oxon, 2011).
- Hermann, Pernille. “Íslendingabók and History.” In *Reflections on Old Norse Myths*, edited by Pernille Hermann, Jens Peter Schjødt and Rasmus Tranum Kristensen (Turnhout, 2007). 17-32.
- . “Key Aspects of Memory and Remembering in Old Norse-Icelandic Literature.” In *Minni and Muninn. Memory in Medieval Nordic Culture*, edited by Pernille Hermann and Stephen A. Mitchell (Turnhout, 2014). 13-39.

Appendices

- Herschend, Frands. "Codex Regius 2365, 4to Purposeful Collection and Conscious Composition." In *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, v. 117 (2002). 121-143.
- Heslop, Kate. "Minni and the Rhetoric of Memory in Eddic, Skaldic, and Runic Texts." In *Minni and Muninn. Memory in Medieval Nordic Culture*, edited by Stephen A. Mitchell and Agnes S. Arnórsdóttir (Turnhout, 2014). 75-107.
- Hreinn Benediktsson. *Early Icelandic Script: As Illustrated in Vernacular Texts from the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Reykjavík, 1965).
Incubation. Edited by John Roberts (Oxford, 2007).
- Jackson, Elizabeth. "The Art of the List-Maker and the *Grímnismál* Catalogue of the Homes of the Gods: A Reply to Jan De Vries." In *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, v. 110 (1995). 5-39.
- . "Eddic Listing Techniques and the Coherence of "Rúnatal"". In *Revue Alvíssmál*, v. 5 (1995). 81-106.
- . "'Not Simply Lists': An Eddic Perspective on Short-Item Lists in Old English Poems." In *Speculum*, v. 73.2 (1998). 338-371.
- Jónas Kristjánsson, and Vésteinn Ólason. *Eddukvæði*. In *Íslensk Fornrit* (Reykjavík, 2014).
- Kure, Henning. "In the Beginning Was the Scream: Conceptual Thought in the Old Norse Myth of Creation." In *Scandinavia and Christian Europe in the Middle Ages. Papers of the 12th International Saga Conference*, edited by Rudolf Simek and Judith Meurer (Bonn, 2003). 311-319.
- . "Wading Heavy Currents: Snorri's Use of *Völuspá*." In *The Nordic Apocalypse: Approaches to Völuspá and Nordic Days of Judgement*, edited by Terry Gunnell and Annette Lassen (Turnhout, 2013). 79-91.
- La Farge, Beatrice, and John Tucker. *Glossary to the Poetic Edda* (Heidelberg, 1992).

Appendices

- Larrington, Carolyne. "Myth and the Psychology of Memory." In *Old Norse Religion in Long-Term Perspectives: Origins, Changes and Interactions, an International Conference in Lund, Sweden, June 3-7* (Lund, 2006). 256-259.
- . *The Norse Myths, a Guide to the Gods and Heroes* (London, 2017).
- . "Vafþrúðnismál and Grímnismál: Cosmic History, Cosmic Geography." In *The Poetic Edda: Essays on Old Norse Mythology*, edited by Paul Acker and Carolyne Larrington (Oxford, 2002). 59-77.
- Lassen, Annette. "The Early Scholarly Reception of *Völuspá* from Snorri Sturluson to Árni Magnússon." In *The Nordic Apocalypse. Approaches to Völuspá and Nordic Days of Judgement*, edited by Terry Gunnell and Annette Lassen (Turnhout, 2013). 3-22.
- Lawenius, Peter. "Uppåkra." http://www.uppakra.se/backup/eng/i_arkeologi_eng.htm.
- Liddell, Henry George, and Robert Scott. *A Greek English Lexicon*. Edited by Henry Stuart Jones (Oxford, 1959).
- Lindblad, Gustaf. "Poetiska Eddans Förehistoria Och Skrivskicket I Codex Regius." In *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, v. 95 (1980). 142-167.
- Lindow, John. "Mythology and Mythography." In *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature: A Critical Guide*, edited by John Lindow and Carol J. Clover (Canada, 2005). 21-67.
- MacDonnell, Arthur Anthony. *A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary* (London, 1929).
- Mattioli, Vittorio. "Hávamál 138 and Its Dating: Is Óðinn Christ?" (Unpublished, 2014).
- . "Of Tree-Men: Askr and Embla and the Indo-European Anthropogony." (Unpublished, 2014).
- McKinnell, John. "Heathenism in *Völuspá*." In *The Nordic Apocalypse: Approaches to Völuspá and Nordic Days of Judgement*, edited by Terry Gunnell and Annette Lassen (Turnhout, 2013). 93-110.

Appendices

- . “The Making of *Hávamál*.” In *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia*, v.3.1 (2007). 75-115.
- . *Meeting the Other in Norse Myth and Legend* (Cambridge, 2005).
- . “The Paradox of *Vafþrúðnismál*.” In *Essays on Eddic Poetry*, edited by Donata Kick and John D. Shafer (Toronto, 2014). 153-171.
- . “Personae of the Performer in *Hávamál*.” In *Saga-Book*, v. 37 (2013). 27-42.
- . “Why Did Christians Continue to Find Pagan Myths Useful?” In *Reflections on Old Norse Myths*, edited by Pernille Hermann, Jens Peter Schjødt and Rasmus Trandum Kristensen (Turnhout, 2007). 33-52.
- . “Wisdom from the Dead: The *Ljóðatal* Section of *Hávamál*.” In *Medium Ævum*, v. 76 (2007). 85-115.
- McTurk, Rory. “The Poetic Edda and the Appositive Style.” In *Poetry in the Scandinavian Middle Ages: 12 Congresso Internazionale Di Studi Sull'alto Medioevo: Papers* (Spoleto, 1990). 321-337.
- Meissner, Rudolf. *Die Kenningar Der Skalden: Ein Beitrag Zur Skaldischen Poetik* (Bonn, 1921).
- “Menota.” <http://www.menota.org/>. [accessed 20.10.2017]
- Meylan, Nicolas. *Magic and Kingship in Medieval Iceland. The Construction of a Discourse of Political Resistance* (Turnhout, 2014).
- Nordberg, Andreas. “Continuity, Change and Regional Variation in Old Norse Religion.” In *More Than Mythology: Narratives, Ritual Practices and Regional Distribution in Pre-Christian Scandinavian Religions*, edited by Catharina Raudvere and Jens Peter Schjødt (Turnhout, 2012). 119-151.
- . “Handlar Grimnesmál 42 Om En Sakra Måltid?” In *Scripta Islandica*, v. 56 (2006). 55-64.

Appendices

- Nordeide, Sæbjørg Walaker. "Introduction: The Sacralization of Landscape." In *Sacred Sites and Holy Places: Exploring the Sacralization of Landscape through Time and Space*, edited by Sæbjørg Walaker Nordeide and Stefan Brink (Turnhout, 2013). 1-12.
- Palmer, James. "Defining Paganism in the Carolingian World." In *Early Medieval Europe*, v. 15.4 (2007). 402-425.
- Phillpotts, Bertha Surtees. *The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama* (Cambridge, 1920).
- Poole, Russel. "Myth and Ritual in the *Háleygjatal*." In *Learning and Understanding in the Old Norse World: Essays in Honour of Margaret Clunies Ross*, edited by Judy Quinn and Kate Heslop (Turnhout, 2007). 153-176.
- Price, Neil. "Mythic Acts, Material Narratives of the Dead in Viking Age Scandinavia." In *More Than Mythology: Narratives, Ritual Practices and Regional Distribution in Pre-Christian Scandinavian Religions*, edited by Catharina Raudvere and Jens Peter Schjødt (Lund, 2012). 13-46.
- Price, Neil S. *The Viking Way: Religion and War in Late Iron Age Scandinavia* (Uppsala, 2002).
- Quinn, Judy. "The Editing of Eddic Poetry." In *A Handbook to Eddic Poetry: Myths and Legends of Early Scandinavia*, edited by Carolyne Larrington, Judy Quinn and Brittany Schorn (Cambridge, 2016). 58-71.
- . "Kennings and Figurative Language in Eddic Poetry." In *A Handbook to Eddic Poetry: Myths and Legends of Early Scandinavia*, edited by Carolyne Larrington, Judy Quinn and Brittany Schorn (Cambridge, 2016). 288-309.
- . "Liquid Knowledge: Traditional Conceptualisations of Learning in Eddic Poetry." In *Along the Oral-Written Continuum: Types of Texts, Relations and Their Implications*,

Appendices

edited by Slavica Ranković, Leidulf Melve and Else Mundal (Turnhout, 2010). 183-226.

Ralph, Bo. "The Composition of the *Grímnismál*." In *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, v. 87 (Lund, 1972). 97-118.

Renfrew, Colin. *Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins* (London, 1990).

Rooth, Anna Birgitta. *Loki in Scandinavian Mythology* (Lund, 1961).

Schjødt, Jens Peter. "Contemporary Research into Old Norse Mythology." In *Reflections on Old Norse Myths*, edited by Pernille Hermann, Jens Peter Schjødt and Rasmus Trandum Kristensen (Turnhout, 2007). 1-16.

———. "Eddic Poetry and Pre-Christian Scandinavia." In *A Handbook to Eddic Poetry: Myths and Legends of Early Scandinavia*, edited by Carolyne Larrington, Judy Quinn and Brittany Schorn (Cambridge, 2016). 132-146.

———. "The "Fire Ordeal" in the *Grímnismál* - Initiation or Annihilation?" In *Mediaeval Scandinavia*, v. 12 (Odense, 1988). 29-43.

———. *Initiation between Two Worlds: Structure and Symbolism in Pre-Christian Scandinavian Religion*. Edited by Victor Hansen (Odense, 2008).

———. "Óðinn, Warriors, and Death." In *Learning and Understanding in the Old Norse World: Essays in Honour of Margaret Clunies Ross*, edited by Judy Quinn and Kate Heslop (Turnhout, 2007). 137-151.

———. "The Reintroduction of Comparative Studies as a Tool for Reconstructing Old Norse Religion." In *Theorizing Old Norse Myth* edited by Stefan Brink and Lisa Collinson. (Turnhout, forthcoming).

———. "The Warrior in Old Norse Religion." In *Ideology and Power in the Viking and Middle Ages, Scandinavia, Iceland, Ireland, Orkney and the Faroes*, edited by Gro

Appendices

- Steinsland, Jón Viðar Sigurðsson, Jan Erik Rekdal and Ian Bauermann (Leiden, 2011). 269-296.
- Schorn, Brittany. "Eddic Modes and Genres." In *A Handbook to Eddic Poetry: Myths and Legends of Early Scandinavia*, edited by Carolyne Larrington, Judy Quinn and Brittany Schorn (Cambridge, 2016). 231-251.
- . "Eddic Style." In *A Handbook to Eddic Poetry: Myths and Legends of Early Scandinavia*, edited by Carolyne Larrington, Judy Quinn and Brittany Schorn (Cambridge, 2016). 271-287.
- Schröder, Franz Rolf. "Heimdall." In *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, v. 89 (1967). 1-41.
- Sequentia. In *Edda: Myths from Medieval Iceland* (New York, 1999).
- Sidky, Homayun. "On the Antiquity of Shamanism and Its Role in Human Religiosity." In *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion*, v. 22.1 (2010). 68-92.
- Sigurður Nordal. "Three Essays on Völuspá." In *Saga-Book*, v. 18 (1972-1973). 79-135.
- Sijmons, Hugo, and Barend Gering. *Die Lieder Der Edda*. v. 3 (Halle, 1901).
- Simek, Rudolf. *Dictionary of Northern Mythology*. Translated by Angela Hall (Woodbridge, 2007).
- Skuggsjá. In *A Piece of Mind and Mirror* (Marseille, 2016).
- Sonne, Lasse C. A. "Kings, Chieftains and Public Cult in Pre-Christian Scandinavia." In *Early Medieval Europe*, v. 22.1 (2013). 53-68.
- Sundqvist, Olof. "Religious and Ideological Aspects of Hall Interiors in the Late Iron Age." In *Runsa Borg – Representative Life on a Migration Period Hilltop Site – a Scandinavian Perspective*, edited by Michael Olausson (Östersund, 2014). 111-145.
- . "'Religious Ruler Ideology' in Pre-Christian Scandinavia." In *More Than Mythology: Narratives, Ritual Practices and Regional Distribution in Pre-Christian*

Appendices

- Scandinavian Religions*, edited by Catharina Raudvere and Jens Peter Schjødt (Lund, 2012). 225-261.
- Suzuki, Seiichi. *The Meters of Old Norse Eddic Poetry* (Berlin, 2014).
- Sverdlov, Ilya V. ““Ok Dulða Ek Þann Inn Alsvinna Jøtunn”: Some Linguistic and Metrical Aspects of Óðinn’s Win over Vafþrúðnir.” In *Saga-Book*, v. 35 (2011). 39-72.
- “TEI: History.” <http://www.tei-c.org/About/history.xml>. [accessed 20.10.2017]
- Thorvaldsen, Bernt Ø. “The Dating of Eddic Poetry.” In *A Handbook to Eddic Poetry: Myths and Legends of Early Scandinavia*, edited by Carolyne Larrington, Judy Quinn and Brittany Schorn (Cambridge, 2016). 72-91.
- Tolley, Clive. *Shamanism in Norse Myth and Magic* (Helsinki, 2009).
- Turville-Petre, Gabriel. *Myth and Religion of the North: The Religion of Ancient Scandinavia* (Westport, Conn, 1975).
- . *Scaldic Poetry* (Oxford, 1976).
- Vésteinn Ólason. “The Composition of the *Grímnismál*.” In *Akriv för Nordisk Filologi*, v. 87 (1972). 97-118.
- . “The Poetic Edda: Literature or Folklore?” In *Along the Oral-Written Continuum: Types of Texts, Relations and Their Implications*, edited by Slavica Ranković, Leidulf Melve and Else Mundal (Turnhout, 2010). 227-252.
- . “Völuspá and Time.” In *The Nordic Apocalypse: Approaches to Völuspá and Nordic Days of Judgement*, edited by Terry Gunnell and Annette Lassen (Turnhout, 2013). 25-44.
- Veyne, Paul. *Did the Greeks Believe in Their Myths? An Essay on the Constitutive Imagination*. Edited by Paula Wissing (Chicago and London, 1988).
- Von See, Klaus et. al., *Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda*, v. 5 (Heidelberg, 2006).
- Wardruna. In *Runaljod – Gap Var Ginnunga* (Oslo, 2009).

Appendices

Wellendorf, Jonas. "Homogeneity and Heterogeneity in Old Norse Cosmology." In *Old Norse Religion in Long-Term Perspectives: Origins, Changes & Interactions*, edited by Anders Andrén and Kristina Jennbert (Lund, 2006). 50-53.

———. "The Wisdom of Grímnismál." In *Old Norse Mythology Conference: Myth and Knowledge* (Aarhus, 13-14.11.2014).

West, Martin L. *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford and New York, 2007).

Wolf, Kirsten, and Phillip Pulsiano. "Review: Lexicon Der Germanischen Mythologie by Rudolf Simek." In *Scandinavian Studies*, v. 62.3 (1990). 356-358.

Figures

Andrén, Anders. "The Sun Chariot Found in Trundholm." *Behind Heathendom: Archaeological Studies of Old Norse Religion* p. 123.