Cover image: Manuscript illumination of Óðinn from SÁM 66, 77 recto (https://handrit.is/en/manuscript/imaging/is/SAM-0066#page/77r++(159+of+505)/mode/1up); remix with mask.

All articles in the Communications section of the journal have been subject to peer review.

Contents

COMMUNICATIONS

This article attempts to alleviate what it identifies as an 'issue of communication and shared understanding' in Viking Studies: the range of methodological concepts used in different discourses within the field. It proposes a set of approximate equivalences between a range of such methodological concepts, organised into two groups, intended to allow scholars to roughly but efficiently locate scholarship from outside their own speciality within more familiar systems of meaning.

Names of gods and other mythic agents are commonly seen as emblematic of the respective religions with which they are associated, both for researchers and for people involved in religious encounters. This paper explicates the relationship between names, images of mythic agents and people's social alignments with religious or cultural identities. These factors produce sociolinguistic perspectives on both theonym etymologies and on uses of the same names today.

Mammoths have long been extinct, yet they seem to have left traces in cultural memory of peoples in the northern half of the northern hemisphere. As the largest and most powerful land animal encountered in those parts of the world, there can be little doubt that mammoths were integrated into the mythologies of these peoples. The present study explores this possibility and what might be reconstructed of such mythology.

The early 13th-century Chronica Polonorum *contains a tripartite sea/earth/heaven formula unique for medieval Polish sources but paralleled by a Germanic earth/heaven/sea formula. The Polish source and example are introduced and the Germanic comparative material is surveyed, including the more widely recognized bipartite earth/heaven (Old Norse* jǫrð/upphiminn*) formula, with some currently unrecognized examples. The strongest parallel is found in the Old Norse* griðamál, *and the possibility of Scandinavian influence is considered.*

In the 16th century, numerous translations into Danish were made of the 13th-century Old Norwegian law-code, the Landslov*, which was still in force in Norway. This article argues that these translations were made not only due to the linguistic difficulties facing Danes working with a law-code in Old Norwegian, but also reflect an attempt to stop the Norwegian legal system fracturing as a consequence of a multitude of Danish versions of the law.*

COMMENTS AND PERSPECTIVES

Responding to an article published in a previous number of the journal, a perspective is offered here on our drive to interpret and understand features of cultures in the past, and how, in so doing, we can easily lose sight of the fact that cultures are made up of people, who are themselves thinking and interpreting from diverse and sometimes unexpected perspectives.

This is short article offers a survey of three statistically based phylogenetic studies of flood myths around the world. The three studies have been published in French. The results offer perspectives on the flood myths of the world having spread with population movements already in the Palaeolithic era. The purpose of this article is to make these results accessible to a wider readership with an added discussion of the collective findings.

This study introduces lexical proximity analysis applied to motif and tale-type summaries in order to identify structural oppositions, assess their relative prominence in a corpus and enable further analysis. Findings are presented and discussed from a pilot study to assess Claude Lévi-Strauss's hypothesis that myths are characterized by 'strong' oppositions while folktales are not. The methodology of lexical analysis can, however, be applied with a variety of aims.

CONFERENCES, EVENTS AND NETWORKS

PUBLICATIONS

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Open Calls

Transitions and Transformations

Work with retrospective methods is often concerned with gaining perspective on a culture or tradition on the far side of a cultural change that is remote from the present, such as Christianization of modernization. Now, we find ourselves in the midst of such a change and, alongside well-worn terms like *pre-Christian* and *pre-modern*, we begin to use *pre-pandemic* to describe an era before mandatory face masks and zoom-fatigue. The world is transforming around us, inviting us to reflect on how the changes we study may have been perceived in their time.

A curious thing about this transition has been its limbo-like temporality. Things that happened pre-pandemic can easily seem a lifetime away, while those that should occur since the pandemic began often seem beset by Kafkaesque cancella-tions and postponements. In many cases, these events have felt perpetually impending yet never occur, as though they are trapped in Zeno's paradox of the arrow, doomed always to cover only half of the remaining distance to its target, as time is subdivided infinitely. We have wrested this journal from pandemic suspension, so that it may reach you at last.

Although time may seem limbo-like, the contributions gathered here show that work has not stopped and is as vibrant and diverse as ever. Among the projects and networks that fall under the aegis of the RMN, the Austmarr Network has been especially active. Rather than being postponed, Austmar X was split: Austmar X.1 was held virtually in 2020, keeping the annual rhythm, and Austmarr X.2 followed in 2021 (see Willson, this volume). The edited volume based on Austmarr VII, *Crossing Disciplinary Boundaries in Studies of the Viking Age*, edited by Daniel Sävborg, should appear with Brepols in 2022, and a volume surrounding Austmarr X.1–2 is being organized by Sabine Walther.

The Aarhus Mythology Conference has also been lively. It is no longer 'so-called': informal reference to it through its place of origin is now treated as its name, retroactively numbering the meetings. A publication from the 13th event, *Folklore and Old Norse Mythology*, has just appeared (Frog & Ahola, in this volume). The publication from the 14th, *The Feminine in Old Norse Mythology and Folklore*, edited by Tommy Kuusela, will hopfully appear in late 2022 or early 2023. The 15th (see Kaikkonen & Kozák, this volume) also has a publication in process: *Methodology in Old Norse Mythology*, edited by Jesse Barber, Amy Jefford Franks, Jonas Koesling, Giulia Mancini and Bob van Strijen with Frog and Simon Nygaard. The 16th conference was just held – with much live participation – in Reykjavík in November 2021.

Transitions and transformations are also coming to *RMN Newsletter*. We are returning to an exclusively digital publication. We have adjusted our format from continuous text to beginning each contribution on a new page with the journal's full header. We are also in the process of reorganizing our editorial structure and invite you to see the call for editors at the end of this issue. Our journal has always aimed to meet the interests and needs of you, our readership, and we hope these current changes will help us keep pace with the future.

Frog
University of Helsinki

Towards a Phrasebook of Methodology in Viking Studies: A Perspective from the Study of Religion

Luke John Murphy, University of Iceland

Abstract: This article attempts to alleviate what it identifies as an 'issue of communication and shared understanding' in Viking Studies: the range of methodological concepts used in different discourses within the field. It proposes a set of approximate equivalences between a range of such methodological concepts, organised into two groups, intended to allow scholars to roughly but efficiently locate scholarship from outside their own speciality within more familiar systems of meaning.

'Viking Studies' is booming. The Nordic Late Iron and early Middle Ages have enjoyed a period of cultural popularity in recent years, with television and video games in particular driving surges of both general interest in Vikings, and student numbers on courses dedicated to them. Of course, our field still has issues, although there is a reassuring interest in the conscious reflection over and compensation for many of them. In this article, I wish to respond to a point raised in one such reflection: in the most recent issue of *RMN Newsletter*, Frog, Joonas Ahola and Kendra Willson observed that the problems of research in a diverse field "are not simply issues of communication and shared understanding" (Frog et al. 2019: 7). I have no wish to dispute this statement, but am of the opinion that much of the confusion produced in Viking Studies does, in fact, stem from issues of communication and comprehension. As such, I hope this article will go some way to facilitating the effective communication of future research in the field.

The particular issue I wish to address here has its roots in the sheer breadth of disciplinary, national, and philosophical traditions that make up the field of Viking Studies – roughly the study of the cultures and histories of the Germanic peoples of Scandinavia and the wider Nordic cultural sphere, ca. AD 500–

1500. This breadth has led to a proliferation of specialised terminology. Jargon and technical language is, of course, a double-edged sword: it can effectively and efficiently communicate concepts, premises and biases underlying whole swathes of scholarship, allowing researchers to focus on the matter under study. On the other hand, it also raises significant barriers to those not familiar with particular discourses – a group that includes our students and colleagues in other fields, but also other Viking Studies researchers from different backgrounds.[1] In an effort to increase the accessibility of what can be frustratingly arcane discussions, this article therefore outlines a number of approximate equivalences between a series of key terms, and the concepts they represent, drawn from a range of discourses in and adjacent to Viking Studies. It is not my intention to demonstrate that these concepts are identical, or even freely interchangeable, but rather to suggest superficial 'translations' of how they are regarded and employed by different scholars in the field.

In this, I take my lead from travellers' phrasebooks, which list rough translations of key terms for foreigners operating in unfamiliar linguistic and cultural environments. It is of course debatable whether *true* translation is ever possible: there are no such things are 'true' synonyms, as even signifiers with highly similar semantic fields carry different shades

of meaning (O'Grady et al 2005: 202). Nonetheless, phrasebooks offer some translations that are more or less exact, particularly given that many signified concepts (hotel, bus, bank) are similar across cultural boundaries in the twenty-first century. Others are looser, as might be found in an English-Danish phrasebook: *please* is a common term in English, and many native English speakers are confused by the absence of a commonly-used equivalent in Nordic languages. Some phrasebooks might offer *være sødt* [lit. 'be sweet, kind'] or *være venlig* [lit. 'be friendly'], which can sometimes be used in circumstances when English would employ *please*. It would be important for an English speaker learning Danish with the aim of becoming fully bilingual to distinguish between the semantic fields of *please* and *være sødt* or *være venlig*, but for the casual traveller, the phrasebook equivalence is 'close enough'. I believe that an analogous case can be made for researchers operating in unfamiliar academic discourses: to fully participate in that discourse would require significant investment and a shift of vocabulary and academic grammar, but to reframe another debate's premises, biases and approaches in more familiar terms requires only the drawing of equivalences that are 'close enough'.

Inspired by the recent trend of reflexive examination of methodology in Viking Studies (e.g. Hadley & Richards 2000; Frog & Latvala 2013; Gunnell 2014a; Bek-Pedersen 2016; Glauser et al. 2018), this article therefore explores the ways in which a number of related methodological approaches and ideas can be communicated. In order to achieve this, I present a generalised survey of methodological concepts categorised into two groups: the first presents methods that work 'bottom up' (sometimes described as emic, inductive, *Idealtypisch*[2] or insider) while the second discusses approaches that move from the 'top down' (sometimes described as etic, deductive, *Normaltypisch* or outsider). I do not believe that the constituent concepts of these groups are identical, but rather that they share a family resemblance with one another, and that each also has a counterpart in the opposing group. I hope that the future use of such a codified set of equivalences, however approximate, will allow researchers in Viking Studies to be able to both follow discourses outside their own speciality and communicate their own working assumptions and methodological biases.

There are two caveats to the approach proposed here. The first is that the digital categorisation I outline does not reflect the employment of methodology on the ground in day-to-day research. In reality, scholars might tend towards one pole or the other, yet still move freely along the length of a spectrum between the binarisms considered here – a point to which I will return in my conclusion. The second is that my purpose here is to establish a (deliberately polarised) overview of various methodological concepts employed in Viking Studies, not to advocate for one type of approach over another. The sheer breadth of subjects under investigation in Viking Studies necessitates the employment of different approaches for different material or when different results are sought – even if certain methodologies have historically been found wanting[3] – and this article is not the place to argue for or against particular cases. To reiterate, my goal is descriptive – the facilitation of communication – not prescriptive.

Modelling

Before considering the various methodological concepts employed in the study of historical Nordic cultural phenomena, we must first establish the basis upon which such scholarship is conducted. As a form of human cognition, scholarship does not engage directly with the object of its study. Rather, humans (including academics) produce mental 'models' of how they conceive things to be. These models reflect our understandings, interpretations and culturally-based conceptions; as Jeppe Sinding Jensen has described: "[w]hen I think of rocks, I do not have rocks in my head, but conceptions of rocks" (2008b: 250). Indeed, it is impossible to think *directly* about an object, in that an object is only conceived of as a discrete object in the first place in the thinker's mental model. A pile of sand in the desert has no inherent 'pileness', and recognising it as a pile is a mental picture – or model – formed on and in the thinker's own terms, and at least one step removed from reality. This discrimination is the product of a fundamental process of human

thought: comparison. It is only by comparing A with B, the pile with its surroundings, that we can establish one object as sufficiently different from another (in some characteristics, if not all) so as to constitute two separate objects (Jensen 2008a; 2014: 10–12; 2016: 468–469).[4]

All models ignore or simplify some aspects of the object they portray, and therefore no model is a complete *reconstruction* of any (historical) reality (Schjødt 2012b: 270–271). Models are instead *constructions*, produced in the context of their utilisation, and none is any more real than another – that is, none are themselves inherent in reality, existing only in the mind of the model-maker. This has famously been summarised in the aphorism 'map is not territory' (see e.g. Smith 1978). Consider, for example, two models of pre-Christian belief in Þórr: the first argues that he was an important sky-deity associated with the weather, and the second that he was an alien whose 'chariot' was a flying saucer. Both are equally real in that they exist only in the minds of those who think about them. Generally speaking, humans employ models in an effort to understand the world around them. As such, we ought to prefer models that, to the best of our knowledge, best explain the data which we have available (Schjødt 2007: 7).

The philosopher Michael Strevens has argued that we should distinguish between true and correct models, with the former referring to the literal accuracy of a given model and the latter to its explanatory value: "[a]n idealizing explanation is correct if the propositions expressing its explanatory content, as opposed to its literal content, are true" (Strevens 2013: 512). As scholars of historical cultural phenomena, we therefore accept that our models may not be completely true, but hope that they are as correct as possible. We might therefore argue that the model of Þórr as a sky-deity is more correct – more useful – than the model of Þórr as an extra-terrestrial (although cf. von Däniken 1968; 'The Viking Gods', 2013), and must make these decisions on the basis of the context in which the model is expected to serve. For example, the differentiation of 'Viking-Age culture' from neighbouring social systems in both time and space ('Anglo-Saxon' and 'Slavic' cultures,

for example) is a model that has been criticised by Fredrik Svanberg as inappropriately colonial and over-generalised, the product of nineteenth- and twentieth-century nationalism rather than a reflection of historical reality (2003). A study of Iron-Age culture in south-eastern Skåne would likely be more productive if it were to distinguish its theoretical object from Svanberg's other 'ritual systems' in different regions of Scandinavia, rather than against an abstract whole of 'Viking-Age culture' (of which it is also a constituent articulation). Similarly, models of folklore traditions are more true – more accurate to reality – when they are based on coherent bodies of empirical data that are socially and temporally localized, but as such models are expanded to include more variant data from other communities, they become more abstract, depicting any one individual tradition less accurately (Frog 2016: 74–76).

Thus, which aspects of our object we consciously decide to simplify or overlook when constructing a model will depend on the purpose for which we intend to employ that model. To give an extremely basic example, if we wished to create a simple model of a Reuleaux triangle, would we generalise it as a straight-sided triangle (focusing on its three axes of rotational symmetry), or as a circle (focusing on its curved edges)? The result depends on which aspects of our initial data we deem worthy of emphasis.
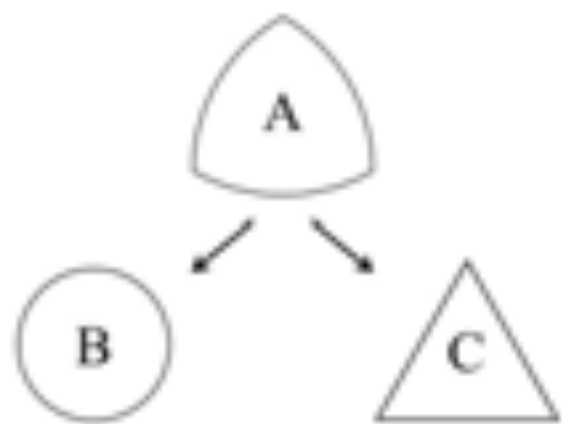

Figure 1. Variant models of a Reuleaux triangle (A) as a circle (B) and a straight-sided triangle (C).

A hypothetical Viking Studies example might concern the office of the *goði*. A study interested in religious authority in the Viking Age would, presumably, consider the *goði* alongside Christian priests, emphasising their

ritual duties. On the other hand, a study of political power might examine the *goði* alongside *þingmenn*, petty kings and war leaders, emphasising their social and judicial authority. From what we know of *goðar* (Jón Hnefill Aðalsteinsson 1998; Sundqvist 2007), neither of these models is necessarily incorrect – they simply emphasise different aspects of the phenomenon under study according to the terms of the wider analysis. This selection of distinguishing characteristics based on perceived relevance is an integral part of academic model building, and forms a key difference between the two groups of methodological concepts I wish to examine in this article: all models must start somewhere, and where each tradition favours starting – the first and fundamental choices or assumptions made – have cascading effects for the resultant models. These initial starting points underlie my categorisation of various methodological concepts used in Viking Studies into opposing pairs, and the subsequent arrangement of the halves of those pairs into two family groups: bottom-up and top-down approaches.

From the Bottom Up: Emic Models and Idealtypen

The earliest work in the field of Viking Studies – even as far back as Snorri Sturluson's *Edda* – can uncontroversially be described as philological. While Philology as a discipline no longer has a place on the organisational tables or syllabi of most universities, it is unquestionably alive and well as a pursuit, even if precisely what constitutes Philology and what Linguistics, Manuscript Studies or Literary Criticism varies from scholar to scholar (Frank 1997: 488–490). In the early nineteenth century, Karl Wilhelm Friedrich Schlegel declared that "[d]er Zweck der Philologie ist die Historie" (Schlegel 1981: 37) ['the point of Philology is History'],[5] an attitude reflected by contemporary scholars like Roberta Frank, who argue that a language's vocabulary reflects the most important concepts of its speakers' culture (1997: 498). Thus, the argument goes, the topography of lexicon mirrors the peaks and troughs between the semantic fields actively employed by cultural participants, and that by studying a lexicon, scholars can come to understand a culture (Hall 2007: 9).

Such bottom-up approaches should not be mistaken to assume that there is a one-to-one relationship between vernacular vocabulary and cultural categories. It is entirely possible for humans to conceive of concepts, interpretations, and ideologies for which they have no single lexeme. The hexadecimal codes employed to designate certain colours for which there is no name in a given language are a clear example of how groups of humans subjectively select which aspects of reality are important enough to bear their own signifiers. This is famously exemplified in Viking Studies by the lack of clear distinction between blue and black in many Old Norse texts (Wolf 2006) – a vital distinction to modern sensibilities, but not enough to produce a clear linguistic distinction in many of our early-Medieval sources. Similarly, it is entirely possible for a culture to have a single signifier that designates a range of concepts. While the Old Norse vocabulary of supranatural beings (as perseved in extant medieval manuscripts) represents a range of temporal and cultural usages, it is clear that lexemes like *trǫll*, *vǫlva* and *dís* could be used to designate different beings in different circumstances (Mitchell 2001; 2011; Ármann Jakobsson 2008; 2017; Bek-Pedersen 2011; Murphy 2013; 2022; Sävborg 2016; Frog 2019), which might have varied according to geography, time, social context or even cognitive states (Schjødt 2009). Models created from the bottom up thus attempt to represent a selected part of the perspectives and worldview of the culture they are studying, and can usefully be differentiated from studies predicated on the employment of non-native terminology and categories – what Alaric Hall regards as "positing categories and then seeking evidence for them" (2007: 9). In methodological discourse, the former are labelled 'emic', and the latter 'etic'.

The emic/etic distinction was first proposed by the linguist Kenneth L. Pike in 1954 on the basis of phon*emics* and phon*etics* in linguistics – the study of the distribution of distinct sounds (phonemes) in a given language, and of the physiological acoustics of human speech, respectively. Transposing a similar relationship to cultural studies, Pike proposed that:

an etic approach to any cultural phenomenon is based on a reference system constructed by the analyst that, like the IPA [the International Phonetic Alphabet], provides a set of criteria for classifying and organizing analogous types of data from all over the world into a single system in order to compare them. (Pike 1954–1959 I: 8.)

In contrast, emic studies are those that seek to elucidate theoretical objects within a single cultural system, objects 'discovered' within the primary data rather than 'constructed' by the academic. The models created by emic and etic approaches are thus generalised pictures that emphasise different aspects of their theoretical objects: an emic approach focuses on what its creator sees as characteristically inherent in the object itself, inductively arriving at the frame of reference for the study at hand and working 'bottom up' from the data under study. On the other hand, an etic model concentrates on those aspects of the object that correlate with the analyst's preselected characteristics of interest, 'deducing' their own framework, and working 'top down' from the perspective of the researcher.

The works of Hall, Frank and countless others that draw on the cultural categories of the society they study are thus emic, seeking to reproduce 'native' or 'ethnic' cultural categories, concepts, and ideologies (Ben-Amos 1969). Such bottom-up approaches are employed in a wide range of scholarly fields beyond Germanic Philology, such as the interest of mathematicians in what they term 'ethnomodels' – mathematical systems "socially constructed and culturally rooted" outside of Western discourses (Rosa & Orey 2012: 877). Similarly, in her work on traditional Chinese opera, Barbara Ward rejects the imposition of English-language terms such as 'play' or 'drama' onto her data, favouring instead of close translations of Cantonese terms, as when she renders *shan kung hei* as 'god-revere-play' (1979: 34). Later, she declares that "if one is to interpret the native insiders' understanding of their own culture one must try to comprehend and use their categories, not impose one's own" (Ward 1979: 36). Ward's terminology here touches on another key distinction drawn in many sociological and anthropological fields: that between 'insiders' – commonly understood as the bearers of the culture under study – and 'outsiders' – typically used to denote scholars, tourists, foreigners, and other non-participants looking 'in' at a culture from beyond its bounds.

The distinction between insider and outsider is often confused with that between emic and etic (see further Jensen 2008b; 2011; 2016; Mostowlandsky & Rota 2016; Chryssides & Greg 2019). A traditional view of cultural phenomena is that cultural insiders have privileged access to both experience and knowledge, and that only such insiders may offer comment on their areas of expertise. In the context of Viking Studies, it is of course impossible – barring the use of time machines or Ouija boards – to approach insiders directly for their take on cultural matters. This may be to the benefit of our field, given the issues of exclusivism, loyalism and normativism that can arise in disciplines like contemporary Pagan Studies when insiders attempt to act as outsiders (i.e. practitioners producing normative scholarship), or when outsiders become insiders in the pursuit of privileged information (i.e. scholars converting to the religion they study; see further Davidsen 2012). In my view, a modern Viking Studies scholar is, by definition, an outsider, although we might reasonably see them as *less* of an outsider than a non-specialist layman, what Margaret Clunies Ross called "partial insiders" (1994: 26). This should not, however, prevent us from utilising insider categories in the construction of our models. A cultural outsider can produce a bottom-up model of an emic concept, category or ideology just as well than a cultural insider can – potentially better, if the outsider were academically trained and the insider were not.

What such bottom-up models are not, however, is direct one-to-one reconstructions of 'native', 'ethnic' or 'folk' models. They remain, of necessity, selective generalisations: Hall, for instance, sought to understand Anglo-Saxon *ælfe*, a supranatural being related to Old Norse *álfr*. In doing so, he chose to exclude a small category of linguistically uncertain instances of *ælf*-based lexemes from his study, none of which map neatly onto his proposed model of *ælfe* as highly gendered supranatural beings (2007: 182–183). This exclusion seems sensible, but any such exclusion must be acknowledged as a selection by the researcher, not necessarily something inherent in the data.

As such, bottom up models like Hall's are what Max Weber termed *Idealtypen* ['ideal types'], a form of mental construction formed by the:

> [...] einseitige Steigerung eines oder einiger Gesichtspunkte und durch Zusammenschluß einer Fülle von diffus und diskret, hier mehr, dort weniger, stellenweise gar nicht, vorhandenen Einzelerscheinungen, die sich jenen einseitig herausgehobenen Gesichtspunkten fügen, zu einem in sich einheitlichen Gedankenbilde. (Weber 1904: 65.)

> [...] one-sided exaggeration of one or more points of view and by the combination of an abundance of diffuse and discreet extant isolated phenomena, some included more, some less, in some instances not at all. These phenomena, each individually representing singled-out perspectives, are combined into an integrated mental construct.

Hall's model is thus *not* the reproduction of 'the native's point of view' by an outsider (cf. Geertz 2000). Despite basing itself on insider, vernacular, or 'native' terminology or concept, a bottom-up study is still a model of reality constructed outside of the culture it studies, created "in the analyst's language" (Jensen 2008a: 143), both figuratively and literally.

There are, of course, limits to emic methods. Often, this is due to the paucity of data with which we build models: at least half of what we commonly refer to as the Late Iron and Middle Ages predates the arrival of literacy in the Nordic region, which makes it much more difficult to establish bottom-up, emic models on the basis of evidence from Old Norse texts preserved in manuscripts from the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Similar concerns may sensibly be raised about the geographic origin of the overwhelmingly West-Norse/Icelandic manuscript corpus: to what extent can Old West Norse/Classical Old Icelandic vernacular terms be assumed to represent cultural phenomena in the East-Norse cultural sphere (Nordberg 2012: 122)? The runic corpus allows us to compensate for this difficulty to a certain extent, but the cultural categories, concepts, and ideologies it witnesses are limited. Even when contemporary vernacular terminology has been preserved, the data-sets that interest scholars of Viking-Age cultural phenomena may not be large enough for effective model-building. Scholars

of Anglo-Saxon elite culture, for example, cannot establish a clear typology of those structures commonly dubbed 'halls', as Helen Bennett has noted:

> Among the multiple Old English words for 'hall', including *heall*, *sele*, *reced*, *ærn*, *bold*, must be distinctions in meaning beyond their usefulness within different metrical and phonological environments, distinctions we can no longer access. (Bennett 2009: 6.)

Similar concerns have been raised regarding cultural phenomena more generally, with Neil Price observing that scholars have a history of uncritically applying Early Medieval cultural categories drawn from textual sources – in Price's example, mythological names – to excavated objects (Price 2006). While our field has come a long way from Olaf Olsen's description of various sites as *Hørg, hov og kirke* (1966) ['*Hǫrgr, hof* and church'], Preben Rønne's declaration that his intriguing finds at Ranheim (Trøndelag, Norway) "can be interpreted [as 'horg, hov and ve'] from Norse sources without any difficulty" (2011: 80) is worrying, particularly given recent toponymic studies that a *hǫrgr*, for example, could also designate a non-sacral rocky barrier (Heide 2014; Vikstrand 2016: 179; cf. Murphy 2016). Most recent scholarship regarding sacral architecture is reluctant to directly identify archaeological finds with terms from Early-Medieval textual sources – *hǫrgr*, *hof*, *vé* – instead preferring etic terms like 'cult house' and 'ritual area' (e.g. Gräslund 2008: 251; cf. Murphy 2016). The use of such modern linguistic signifiers to designate what does appear to be a relatively coherent corpus of architectural finds is an example of what I would term top down, rather than bottom up, methodology.

Table A. Categorising cultural categories by family resemblance (columns) and as opposed pairs (rows).

Bottom Up	Top Down
seiðr	magic
ergi	queerness
forn siðr	religion

To sum up: scholarship that moves bottom up seeks to base itself in categories, concepts, and ideologies drawn from the culture under study. As such, the results it produces can be seen as emic models or *Idealtypen*, produced through

the application of inductive reasoning. These models seek to reproduce a cultural insider's perspective in so far as is useful and comprehensible for the model maker, and as such move from the concrete instances of a data set to a general, abstract paradigm. Examples in Viking Studies might include studies of *seiðr* as opposed to 'magic', *ergi* as opposed to 'queerness', or *forn siðr* [lit. 'ancient custom'] as opposed to 'religion'.

From the Top Down: Etic Models and Normaltypen

If bottom-up models work emically, inductively arriving at their research objects from the data they study, then top-down models are produced concomitantly by deductive, etic approaches. Top-down models focus on categories, concepts or ideologies drawn from outside the culture under study, often (but not always) from the cultural context of the researcher creating and employing them. They are thus sometimes termed 'analytical categories', as opposed to 'native', 'folk' or 'ethnic' classes (Ben-Amos 1969). Such top-down models can sometimes seem anachronistic at first glance. A particularly clear example of this can be found in Jonathan Shay's *Achilles in Vietnam* (1994), which uses the modern Western model of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder to help elucidate the lives of famous warriors in Classical literature. Given PTSD as a concept was first developed on the basis of American soldiers' trauma in Vietnam in the 20th century – displacing earlier Western models like the First World War 'shell shock' – a sceptic might argue that its application to the Bronze Age Aegean is inappropriate. What Shay demonstrates, however, is the productivity of such approaches: even if Achilles himself would have been able to make no sense of the concept of PTSD, it is nonetheless a model that enables modern researchers to make sense of otherwise puzzling episodes.

In Viking Studies, we might consider seemingly-anachronistic studies like Richard Cole's (2015) application of "racial thinking" to Old Norse literature, which, again, have proven highly productive. Thus, I believe that Till Mostowlandsky and Andrea Rota had the right of it when they observed that:

[t]he validity of these [etic] categories does not depend on their 'reality' or relevance from the participant's point of view, but rather on their recognition by a scientific community and on *their capacity to provide parsimonious and powerful theories with far-reaching explanatory potential*. (Mostowlandsky & Rota 2016: 323, emphasis added.)

It is from this perspective that models with a clearly modern, Western basis can be gainfully applied to Viking Studies. Admittedly, these two examples both reflect concepts developed in a modern Western setting, but which arguably reflect universals of the human experience grounded in psychological and social forces experienced by all members of our species. Less clear cut, but potentially still productive, might be a category developed in and for modern Western society that can only be applied to other cultures analogically, such as a hypothetical study of political parties in the Viking Age Alþing or medieval tourism.

Not all top down models are as recognisably derived from modern Western bases as 'racism' or 'PTSD', and there are serious risks involved in employing such concepts when their origin outside the culture under study is not acknowledged and dealt with. This risk is particularly elevated with categories or concepts that might seem like human universals, such as 'anger', 'honour' or 'religion'. To take just the last example, it is undoubtedly true that human cultures around the world and throughout history have upheld more or less systematised practices and beliefs regarding the supranatural. Nonetheless, we must acknowledge that, for many such systems, 'religion' is an ill-fitting moniker, originating as an emic category from Western (primarily Protestant) cultures, and as such is predicated on Christian structures (Fitzgerald 1997; Jensen 2003). Unless it is actively deconstructed and reformulated, 'religion' therefore carries implicit connotations of doctrinal texts, dedicated buildings for ritual praxis and professional ritual specialists. These features are prominent in systems as diverse as Irish Roman Catholicism, Saudi Arabian Wahhabi Islam and Japanese Shingon Buddhism – examples of what are sometimes misleadingly called 'world religions' – but not in the beliefs and ritual practices of (primarily) oral cultures outside the modern West, such as the pre-Christian Nordic region. Early

scholarship in Viking Studies did not always recognise this distinction, as can be seen in early descriptions of the *Poetic* and *Prose Edda*s as "the bible of the Old Scandinavians" (Keyser & Pennock 1854: 17). Such a description emphatically fails the test posited by Mostowlandsky and Rota (2016: 323): far from providing "explanatory potential", referring to the *Edda*s as 'bibles' falsely implies they were received as orthodox texts by practitioners of pre-Christian religion, when in fact orthodoxy itself was likely a foreign concept in prehistoric Scandinavia (Bertell 2006; Brink 2007; Schjødt 2009; Nordberg 2012; Gunnell 2015; Murphy 2016; 2017; 2018).[6]

We must therefore be careful to interrogate the origins and baggage of the categories, concepts, and ideologies on which we base our models. This should not stop us employing top-down models in our research, however. Just because there is no vernacular Old Norse word for 'religion' – the closest counterpart might be (*forn*) *siðr* [lit. '(ancient) custom'], although this appears more predicated on praxis rather than belief – does not mean we cannot employ 'religion' as an externally-derived category to help us recognise states of reality in our data that purely emic models would overlook. On this topic, Jensen draws a useful parallel to linguistic models: "No one ever 'saw' a grammatical case – but without the concept one could never make sense of the declension of nouns" (Jensen 2008a: 144). This has led to the 'eticisation' of some emic terms, whereby categories with 'far-reaching explanatory potential' are applied as conscious borrowings from one culture to express a concept lacking a clear lexical signifier in others. Well-known examples applied in Viking Studies include 'taboo' (originally a Polynesian system of ritual cleanliness: de Vries 1970: 298–299; Ström 1942: 256–61), 'mana' (an Austronesian concept of personal power: Meylan 2016) and 'shamanism' (originally an Evenki concept generalised to designate a northern Eurasian set of practices and beliefs, now applied to ritual ecstatic practices generally: Price 2000; Tolley 2009). I therefore concur with recent scholarship in the History of Religions that problematic terms like 'religion' and 'magic' can be applied to a range of cultures without straightforward emic equivalents,

provided they are suitably deconstructed and reflected upon in the process (Jensen 2003; Sørensen 2007; 2013; but cf. Fitzgerald 1997).[7]

In employing such top-down methodological concepts, scholars cannot be said to be constructing Weber's *Idealtypen*, which move from concrete examples to abstract models, but rather a form of mental construction described by another early German sociologist, Ferdinand Tönnies, as *Normaltypen* ['normal types'] or *Normalbegriffe* ['normal terms']. Tönnies, seemingly working along the same lines as Weber, proposed that an understanding of an individual may be established by starting with:

> [...] der Essentia des Menschen, nicht von einer Abstraktion, sondern von konkreten Inbegriff der gesamten Menschheit, als dem Allgemeinst-Wirklichen dieser Art, aus-gegangen; und demnächst fortgeschritten, etwa durch die Essentia der Rasse, des Volkes, des Stammes und engerer Verbände, endlich zu dem einzelnen Individuo, gleichsam dem Zentrum dieser vielen konzentrischen Kreise, hinabgestiegen. Dieses ist um so voll-kommener erklärt, je mehr sich verengernde Kreislinien die Brücke zu ihm hinüber schlagen. (Weber 1979: 149.)

> [...] the essence of the human, not as an abstraction, but rather as a concrete embodiment of collected humanity as the most general reality of its kind. From there we proceed through the essence of the race, the people, the clan, and narrower groupings, before we finally reach the individual at the centre of these many concentric circles. The more contracting circles a bridge to such an individual crosses, the better he is understood.

Despite the somewhat confusing (and alarming) terminology he employs, it is clear that Tönnies saw his mental models as produced by a process that began with an abstract *a priori* category (the essence of the human) and progressed to the empirically concrete (the individual human) – that is, a process yielding top-down, etic models produced via deductive reasoning. This is in contrast to Weber's *Idealtypen*, which begin with the concrete (aspects of the individual) and move to the abstract (a collective picture of the 'average' aspect), forming emic models, produced 'bottom up' via inductive reasoning.

I do not dispute that there are criticisms of top-down approaches, which seek to practice Viking Studies on our own modern, Western terms, rather than those of the Nordic Late Iron and Middle Ages. Key amongst these is the understandable concern that top-down scholarship risks reading a scholar's own concerns into their data, which might – in extreme cases – lead to circular reasoning. Similarly, by constructing models that did not exist during the Viking Age and would not be recognised by cultural insiders, there is a danger of eliding key distinctions within the data, or engendering distinctions where none existed. Nonetheless, it is my position that, as no model stands in a one-to-one relationship with the reality it represents (cf. Schjødt 2012b: 270–271), all models are therefore approximations – as is all scholarship. Indeed, despite positivist critiques like those of Svanberg noted above, most Viking Studies scholars continue to use 'the Viking Age' to differentiate a period of time, despite no one living in that period having been aware they were doing so (Ahola & Frog 2014: 35–44; Aalto 2014). We do this not because we believe 'the Viking Age' is necessarily a true, real, or even necessarily very correct model, but because it is *useful*, at least in some circumstances. I therefore see no reason to favour emic models over etic ones, and believe that the value of an academic model – like any other tool – lies in its utility, nothing more, nothing less.

To sum up: scholarship that moves top down seeks to base itself in categories, concepts, and ideologies drawn from outside the culture under study. As such, the results it produces can be seen as etic models or *Normaltypen*, produced through the application of deductive reasoning. These models do not seek to reproduce a cultural insider's perspective, and as such move from a general abstract paradigm of a data set to concrete instances. Examples in Viking Studies might include studies of magic as opposed to *seiðr*, queerness as opposed to *ergi*, and religion as opposed to *forn siðr*, beginning from the opposite side of the table above.

Methodology on the Ground: Abduction

I have thus far been at pains to emphasise that, regardless of the bases upon which we develop the simplified models we construct in our scholarship, they do not – indeed cannot – reflect the full complexity of actual (historical) reality. Instead, they represent calculated overstatements in the service of understanding in that they exaggerate certain select aspects of our theoretical objects – be that something fundamental to the object itself in the construction of bottom-up *Idealtypen*, or something we as scholars seek to find in the making of top-down *Normaltypen*.

Notably, however, the survey I have presented here is itself also a model, albeit a model of other models. It is thus also a calculated exaggeration, one that overemphasises the discrepancies between different methodological concepts into binary extremes at the expense of reporting the responsive adaptability most scholars display in the course of their work. For all the clarificatory value of the binary model of methodological concepts I have presented here, the practicalities of academic research are far more analogue than digital. Even those scholars working at one or other extreme of the methodological spectrum employ some aspects from the opposite pole: Jens Peter Schjødt's highly abstract, top-down re-examination of Georges Dumézil's structuralist mythological system utilises emic categories such as *Æsir* and *Vanir* (Schjødt 2012a; cf. Dumézil 1973); Hall's bottom-up, evidence-led emic study of *ælfe* makes etic decisions as to the relevance of instances of his data (Hall 2007: 182–183); and Cole's study of the etic category 'racial thinking' is dedicated to establishing a deeper understanding of the cultural phenomena surrounding the emic signifier/signified *blámaðr* (Cole 2015; cf. Vídalín 2020). I do not believe that acknowledging this infiltration of the emic by the etic and *vice versa* negates the arguments I have made here, but rather that it reflects the 'reality on the ground' – that Holy Land of academics – in the conduct of scholarship in our field. Indeed, the majority of research in Viking Studies falls somewhere between the extremes of wholly-etic and wholly-emic methods, and moves freely back and forth between the poles of a methodological spectrum according to the requirements of its data and research goals.

This flexibility can, in fact, be recognised as a distinct position, and not merely as evidence of methodological insecurity: if bottom-up,

emic models are constructed inductively and top-down, etic models deductively, a deliberate employment of both methods can be seen as an employment of abductive (or 'retroductive') reasoning. This mode of thought is one that was first made explicit by the 19th-century polymath Charles Sanders Peirce, who saw what he called 'Originary Argument' as the "only kind of argument which starts a new idea" (1958–1966 II: 53–54). In Peirce's terms, the very selection of the object for a deductive examination as worthy of study in the first place is a form of informed guesswork, and that initial 'guess' that the object might have something of interest to be uncovered is where reason starts. The guess is formed into a hypothesis (i.e. etic deduction) and tested against data (i.e. emic induction), which produces results – typically in the form of refinements of the initial hypothesis, which is subjected to further rounds of inductive and deductive examination (see discussion in Seebok 1981: 17–52).

Conscious employment of this approach in Viking Studies does not always start with what Peirce termed 'a new idea', but frequently sets out to test models pre-existing models employed by other scholars. Rudolf Simek famously rejected *Vanir* as an emic category of pre-Christian deities, arguing that Snorri Sturluson drew on the Freyja kenning *vana brúðr* ['bride of the Vanir'] to create an anachronistic label he applied to Freyja, Freyr, and Njǫrðr (Simek 2010). In this, Simek did not reject the existence of an emic association of these three gods in pre-Christian society, only the use of the Old Norse lexeme *vanir* to describe them collectively as representative of a category. Simek's study may be regarded as abductive in that it tested a hypothesis – there was a pre-Christian category of gods called *Vanir* – against the available data, producing refinements of the hypothesis – *Vanir* appears to have been rationalised by Snorri (see further discussion in Tolley 2011; Frog & Roper 2011; Słupecki 2011; Frog 2020). Similarly, I have elsewhere examined evidence for what I termed 'Old Norse privacy' in early Medieval textual sources, seeking to test the hypothesis that early Medieval constructions of privacy would be distinct from modern models – a hypothesis I was then able to refine when my

source material showed little interest in the restriction of access to space, and resolve still further by considering evidence for a concern with intimate interpersonal relationships (Murphy 2017: 18–52). This cyclical approach is sometimes known, particularly but not exclusively in Theology and Philosophy, as the 'hermeneutic cycle' (Bleicher 1980).

Less conscious hybridisation of emic and etic approaches also occurs, although it is rarely so productive. Comparable to the eticisation of terms like 'taboo', 'mana' and 'shamanism' noted above, issues can arise where a category designated by an emic label (particularly one consisting of a broad or poorly-witnessed pheneomenon) is unconsciously eticised within its original cultural setting, becoming applied more widely than the available data would support. In a Viking Studies example, *seiðr* is at risk of becoming used as an emic label for an etic category of something like 'Viking magic' without due consideration for the existence of magical practices that do not seem to have been regarded as *seiðr* by cultural participants (for discussion of two such practices, see Gunnell 2014b). It is, of course, one of the jobs of scholarship to argue for likely links between related phenomena and thus to establish the boundaries of cultural categories, and there may be good reason to regard a particular practice as *seiðr* even where it is not explicitly labelled as such in our sources. We should nonetheless be on guard for the unconscious overextension of emic labels to designate etic models created on the basis of modern scholarship, however sympathetic the goals of such overeager scholarship might be.

Conclusion
It has been my goal in this article to facilitate the effective communication of research in Viking Studies by proposing a codified set of equivalences between the methodological concepts and terminologies employed within different discourses in the field. To do so, I set out an argument that all scholarly representations of reality (historical or otherwise) are somewhat-simplified 'models', created by and for the analyst. According to this argument, what distinguishes between the two polar groupings of methodological concepts I have presented is which aspects of analogue reality

the researcher employs as the basis of their model – aspects emergent inductively from, or features read deductively into, the data. These two poles formed the basis of the families of methodological concepts I proposed, the first of which I described as 'bottom up': depending on the discourses with which scholar describing them seeks to engage, these might be characterised as methodologies that employ inductive reasoning, base themselves on cultural categories drawn from the culture under study (i.e. are more interested in the insider's perspective), move from concrete instances of data to abstract paradigms, produce emic models, or build *Idealtypen*. The second grouping of methodological concepts, which I described as 'top down', consists of the counterparts to the first group: depending on the context within which they are described, these might be regarded as employing deductive reasoning, basing themselves on cultural categories drawn from the outside culture under study (i.e. are more interested in the outsider's perspective), moving from abstract paradigms to concrete instances of data, producing etic models, or building *Normaltypen*.

Table B. Categorising methodological approaches by family resemblance (columns) and as pairs of counterparts (rows).

Bottom Up	Top Down
emic models/methods	etic models/methods
inductive reasoning	deductive reasoning
Idealtyp	*Normaltyp*
concrete to abstract	abstract to concrete
insider's perspective	outsider's perspective

I must stress that the equivalences I have suggested between the concepts and terminology of different discourses are just that: approximate correlations at best. We have already discussed the distinction between the use of insider terminology and the building of emic models; and we might also draw differences between the employment of inductive reasoning (a process) and the emic model it creates (the result of that process). These discrepancies reflect the genuine differences between the approaches of employed in different discourses within Viking Studies, and I believe any attempt to further systematise such methodologies would be self-defeating, nullifying the genuine advantages brought about by the breadth of disciplinary, national, and philosophical traditions represented in the field.

Of course, the very reason we classify our work into false-colour groupings like 'bottom up' and 'top down' is the same reason we simplify our models of historical reality: generalisation helps us understand. I believe the hugely complex nature of methodological discourse, with its profusion of similar-sounding terminology and confusing specialist jargon, can also benefit from simplification in pursuit of understanding. I therefore hope that generalised equivalences, whether those I have outlined here, or others judged more appropriate, can form the basis of an academic equivalent to a traveller's phrasebook, allowing students and researchers to roughly – but efficiently – locate scholarship from discourses outside their own speciality within more familiar systems of meaning. It may of course prove that 'translating' methodological terminology and concepts from one jargon into another is not the most effective way of facilitating communication, and that what is needed is simply more explicit explanation of the premises, biases, and approaches underlying individual works of scholarship. I suspect this will be the case when different discourses employ the same signifier to designate different concepts – as was for so long the case with the use of 'ritual' in archaeology and the history of religion (Insoll 2004: 10–12). Nonetheless, I wish to close this essay by reiterating both my belief that much of the confusion in Viking Studies stems from issues of communication and comprehension between the constituent discourses of the field; and that many of these issues can addressed by a concerted effort to make our scholarship more accessible.

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Notes

1. I strongly disagree with Anatoly Liberman's claim that some areas of Viking Studies have "been studied

so well that outsiders should probably leave it to specialists" (Liberman 2016: 218). On the contrary, I fundamentally believe we should encourage researchers from other backgrounds to engage with our material and in our debates.

2. I have retained the German for *Idealtypish* and *Normaltypisch* (and their nominal forms) in an effort to prevent confusion with the widespread use of 'type' as a category marker in folkloristics and literary studies. Further discussion of the origins of these concepts in German-language sociology can be found below.

3. Methodologies that have now fallen (mostly) into disuse include, for example, the uncritical comparativism of Eliadian phenomenology (Mostowlandsky & Rota 2016) and the hypercritical New/Processual Archaeology (Gerrard 2003: 172–180).

4. All objects are thus comparable, with the potential exception of the divine in some religious ontologies.

5. All translations are my own.

6. The *Edda*s have their origins in the 13th century, and seem to have been created for audiences with an interest in poetry. Modern scholarship recognises that the texts comprising both *Prose* and *Poetic* manuscript traditions exhibit not insignificant levels of Christian influence (Nordal 1970–1973: 79–91; Gunnell 2007; Faulkes 2008).

7. In the case of 'religion', Jensen proposes that it be rehabilitated as a form of discursive space "where the interlocutors may meaningfully disagree […] this occurs when there is so much congruent semantic space that they agree on certain 'ultimate sacred postulates'. On a large scale, Jews, Christians and Muslims may agree or disagree on whether they have the 'same god', but to a Japanese Shintoist that is beyond the point, that is, outside the relevant semantic space of 'meaningful disagreement'" (Jensen 2014: 9–10). Schjødt applies similar ideas to the study of pre-Christian Nordic religion(s), calling for the use of "discursive spaces" (2012b: 275–278). On ultimate sacred postulates, see Rappaport 1999: 287–290.

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Theonyms, Alignment and Social Stance-Taking:
From Bronze-Age Borrowings to Baby Names

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Abstract: Names of gods and other mythic agents are commonly seen as emblematic of the respective religions with which they are associated, both for researchers and for people involved in religious encounters. This paper explicates the relationship between names, images of mythic agents and people's social alignments with religious or cultural identities. These factors produce sociolinguistic perspectives on both theonym etymologies and on uses of the same names today.

The relationship between a community and a mythic agent is often polarized as aligned or opposed. As a rule of thumb, a venerated agent is aligned with the worshipping community, and that community will be opposed to that god's adversaries. This phenomenon is here approached through *mythic discourse* – i.e. the use, transmission and manipulation of mythology in society. Approaching mythic agents as existing in and through discourse acknowledges them as social constructions without independent consciousness. This makes their relationships to a society predictable according to a basic structural principle:

> A society or group will link its social position in the universe to that of its venerated gods: adversaries of the gods are thereby adversaries of the society, while adversaries of the society are either directly projected as adversaries of the gods or the gods are summoned as allies within a system of reciprocity.

The resulting alignments and oppositions are approached here in terms of social stance-taking. With particular attention to theonyms, focus is on this phenomenon in situations of religious or cultural contacts and historical change that produce alignments with, or oppositions to, gods of other groups, and/or that result in changes in social stance-taking toward inherited gods. The outcomes of these situations are then analyzable as evidence about the relations between the groups or societies involved.

The idea that positions and relations in a mythology map over those in the human world is not new. Scandinavian giants and trolls, adversaries of the old gods, became identified with the Sámi as their real-world counterparts already in the 18th century (Kuusela 2021: 474–475). Similarly, Elias Lönnrot's *Kalevala* (1835; 1849) is a reconstructive mythography in which he imagined the mythic conflicts as representing historical encounters between the Finns and their northern neighbours (Honko 1990: 560–561). That people think through such mapping is reflected in metaphorical use of terms that may reciprocally shape their semantic development (e.g. Koski 2012). During the 20th century, mythology and religion were theorized as a symbolic projection of society (e.g. Durkheim 1915 [1912]; Malinowski 1948 [1926]; Dumézil 1958). This led to more nuanced perspectives on correlations between mythology and society in meaning-making (e.g. Clunies Ross 1994–1998).

Discussions of this phenomenon often center on how the human world echoes cosmological structures and events (Frog 2022a). When mythologies are viewed as culture-bound and mutually exclusive, alignments and oppositions appear stable and tend to be taken for granted, unless current interpretations are being

challenged (e.g. Ingunn Ásdísardóttir 2018 on *jǫtnar* in Old Norse mythology). Mythic agents are then viewed through the tradition's evaluative framework. Oppositions like GOOD/ EVIL or ORDER/CHAOS become a determinant on word usage, as when Modern English *angel* and *devil* are used to characterize children according to their behaviour. However, a mythology is always linked to a society or group, which both positions itself in relation to those structures and reciprocally shapes them in relation to socio-historical factors. When the relationship between mythology and society is recognized, a mythology's structures are reframed in terms of alignments and oppositions involving the living society or group.

The empirical focus here is on cultures in the Circum-Baltic region, especially Scandinavian and Finno-Karelian societies. The non-Christian religions tend to be imagined as individually opposed to Christianity as it spread. Scholars usually view what happened in these encounters in terms of historical change, continuity, syncretism and, more recently, hybridization. In contrast, non-Christian mythologies have customarily been framed as static and ideal systems, and the roles and relations of mythic agents to one another and to society are simply built into those systems. Research acknowledges contact-based influence, but such influences have predominantly been viewed in terms of 'borrowings', consistent with diffusionist approaches to folklore that were dominant across the first half of the 20th century. Conceiving non-Christian religion and mythology first and foremost in terms of linguistic-cultural heritage implicitly excluded the possibility of transcultural conversion and thus of aggressive competition between vernacular religions. The turn to mythic discourse shifts attention from stable or static structures to variation and change

The principles of social relations that map between society and mythology are here combined with a framework for mythic discourse analysis. Together, these produce a model for interpreting examples and analyzing variation that can be applied to stance-taking by individuals or to social changes as outcomes of individuals' acts. Since the 19th century, etymology has been a key tool for assessing the background of mythic agents, linking them to vernacular heritage or foreign contacts. Following the principle "that the evolution of linguistic systems occurs in systematic connection to the socio-historical situation of their speakers" (Conde-Silvestre & Hernández-Campoy 2012: 1), etymological analysis becomes a tool to reveal information about historical situations.

The approach introduced here can be applied to any vocabulary characterized by polarized alignments. Theonyms are in focus because the connection between veneration and social alignment is salient, and names can offer indications of several types of socio-historical situations. Moreover, names can be identical to common nouns, which makes them interesting because of ways that they interact with other words that seem to be less common and more difficult to demonstrate for other vocabulary. Nevertheless, as several examples below illustrate, polarized alignments and oppositions in a lexicon often exhibit remarkable durability. It should therefore be taken into account in any relevant etymology.

The framework presented here is an extension of my work on mythic discourse. I have discussed many of the examples more thoroughly elsewhere, although with different concerns. Following an overview of the theoretical and methodological approach, cases where social alignments remain the same through religious contact or change are discussed first. Such cases take a variety of forms, and the types illustrated should not be considered exhaustive. Discussion then turns to cases where alignments change. Finally, the usage of theonyms in society today is addressed in connection with heritagization, considering whether this constitutes the same or a distinct phenomenon.

Mythic Discourse Analysis and Theonyms
The turn to mythic discourse emerged independently across different disciplines especially around 1990, at a time when 'discourse' was trending as a new lens for looking at cultural phenomena (e.g. O'Leary & McFarland 1989; Rowland 1990; Urban 1991; Siikala 1992 [= 2002]; Goodman 1993). Approaches to mythic discourse remain diverse, but a crucial trajectory development has been to advance beyond treating mythology as static (often imagined as a textual universe), with which

people and societies engage. Mythology has been reframed as something that exists as and through discourse (e.g. Schjødt 2013; Bønding 2021), which tethers it to social activity, practices and situations (Frog 2015).

The methodology applied here is built on a semiotic approach to mythology as constituted of socially accessible signs mediated through language or other forms of expression (see further Frog 2015; 2019). Rather than treating mythologies as linked to particular cultures, societies or religions in isolation, mythology is approached as a *symbolic matrix* constituted of all mythic signs available in a particular milieu. Signs in the matrix operate as models for knowing that produce convictions for people in society, but they are engaged from different perspectives and with potentially competing evaluations and interpretations. The symbolic matrix offers a framework for approaching Christians' and non-Christians' acknowledgement of one another's gods and practices, although they evaluate them from competing perspectives. Mythic signs can then be circulated across different groups as knowledge about the other religion (Frog 2021a). It can also result in an assimilation of some or many of its mythic signs as 'knowledge-of' things in the world, its past or future, or as others' 'knowledge-of' that is rejected as false. Such circulation is a precondition for Christians preserving the rich bodies of information about non-Christian Scandinavian mythology, as well as for the persistence of Odin, Thor, trolls and so on in traditions recorded in the 19th and 20th centuries. Mythic discourse analysis provides an approach to these processes.

In this approach, theonyms are distinguished from the respective images that they identify. A *mythic image* is a static unit of mythology equivalent to the grammatical category of a noun. An image with a unique identity commensurate to a proper noun is described as *centralized*, while an image equivalent to a categorical identity commensurate to a common noun is described as *decentralized*. Using small capitals to represent mythic signs, the centralized image THOR is distinct from the linguistic sign *Þórr*. This image may thus be recognized in iconography, through allusion and so forth without the linguistic sign. Within this approach, images are only one formal type

of sign. Other types are not of particular concern here, but they are significant in constructing images and their associations, so two types warrant mention. A *motif* is a dynamic unit that incorporates one or more images with the equivalent of the grammatical category of a verb. A *diagrammatic schema* is a static relationship between two or more images that constitutes a distinct unit of meaning and can reciprocally impact understandings of the respective images involved.

The late 13th-century *Njáls saga* offers an illustrative example in a confrontation between a Christian missionary and a pagan woman. In their dialogue, the missionary asserts that Þórr was created and empowered by the Christian God, while the pagan woman claims that Þórr challenged Christ to a duel and Christ was too cowardly to show up (ch. 102). The Christian's assertion redefines the centralized image THOR by excluding it from the decentralized or categorical image GOD or DIVINITY. Instead, THOR is situated in a diagrammatic schema of CREATOR/CREATED relative to the Christian GOD. The woman's retort situates the centralized image CHRIST in the motif THOR CHALLENGES X TO:DUEL, where the variable slot X is conventionally completed by various specific examples of the decentralized image GIANT. The motif thus correlates the image CHRIST with agents of chaos who threaten society. (Frog 2021b: 201–203.) The example presents a specific instance of mythic discourse, or perhaps a legend type (cf. Frog 2021a; 2022b), yet the image THOR was excluded from the category GOD as a historical process. For the sake of illustration, we may also consider that, had the assertions attributed to the pagan woman become socially established, *Kristr* ['Christ'] could have become established as the name of a giant adversary of Þórr. Rather than redefining the image through its categorical identification, the theonym could simply be reassigned to a vernacular image or a new centralized image could be produced on that basis. In this case, KRISTR could have been wholly vernacularized, as an image linked to a particular adventure or adventures as people told and elaborated accounts of this or other encounters with Þórr.

The approach to mythology in terms of signs is complemented by the concept of semiotic

ideology. Perspectives on semiotic ideologies are an outgrowth of research on language ideologies – i.e. the systems of ideas, evaluations and assumptions about what languages are and how they relate to things in the world (Kroskrity 2001; Keane 2018; Gal & Irvine 2019). Put simply, language ideologies identify particular ways of speaking with social class, race and so on. Mythology is distinguished as the mythic signs constitutive of a symbolic matrix, whereas ideologies relate signs as parts of groups or systems and link these to things in the world, such as a religion or culture. Ideologies of this type can be described as *symbolic matrix ideologies* or *SMIs*. As with other semiotic ideologies, SMIs are multiple, linked to different social positions, and they may even be idiomatic to a single person. Research oriented to broad social patterns or historical cultures is normally concerned with *dominant ideologies* "that have become successfully 'naturalized' by the majority of the group" (Kroskrity 2001: 203). Especially in historical environments, the sources may also primarily represent only certain segments of society, such as the group or groups behind medieval written texts.

Individual mythic signs may index one another through their patterns of use (i.e. point to one another, be associated with one another); they may also link to things in the world, for instance as a model of lightning. When individual signs are in focus, the boundary between these and ideology can become fuzzy.[1] Nevertheless, the distinction is clear when broader systems are in focus, such as segregating certain mythic signs as belonging to one mythology as opposed to another.

Social stance-taking toward groups and systems of signs reflects an evaluative dimension of such ideologies. Medieval Christians' polarized stance-taking toward non-Christian mythology as 'pagan', with its accompanying evaluations, can be viewed as a dominant SMI for those groups. The dominant Christian SMI contrasts with that of people aligned with non-Christian Scandinavian religion, which seems to have been generally open to accepting additional gods (Schjødt 2021). It is important to acknowledge that SMIs operate in today's scholarly and popular contexts, where dominant SMIs tend to view 'Scandinavian mythology' as systematic and uniform, although the growing trend has been to challenge such assumptions and bring diversity and variation into focus.

Figure 1. A stance triangle of alignment with religion relative to mythic signs (adapted from Du Bois 2007: 163, Fig. 1).

SMIs correlate religious identity with the ways that individuals or groups engage with mythic signs, interpretable as stance-taking, and as reflecting an alignment with (or against) a religious identity, as illustrated in Figure 1. Agents such as gods subject to veneration hold salient positions in such SMIs because positive alignment with a god becomes corollary with religious alignment. When social identities linked to different alignments become contrasted, conflicts or competition between them may get played out in mythic discourse. Accounts of events of cosmological scope involving emblematic agents then emerge, like that of Þórr challenging Christ to a duel, or a poem from Karelia that describes God trying to kill the demiurge Väinämöinen (*SKVR* I₁ 115). These cases reflect ideologies of exclusion in aggressive conflict, whereas others may be oriented to integration. Another singer from Karelia exchanged Väinämöinen's creation of the world from an egg for summoning God to raise the first earth (*SKVR* I₁ 54). Formally, the change to the cosmogonic epic only required the transposition of one passage for another, but it asserted Väinämöinen as relaint on, and thus subordinate to, the power of God. Such conflicts and competitions are not restricted to encounters between Christian and non-Christian religions. The mythology of Finno-Karelian kalevalaic epic and ritual incantations is structured by a contrast between the vernacular

type of ritual specialist called a *tietäjä* and that of earlier practices that this displaced, which blur into Sámi shamanism (Frog 2010: 191–196). In Old Norse mythology, Óðinn's encounters with dead seeresses called *vǫlur* may similarly play out tensions or competitions between different types ritual specialists or between the people aligned with them (Frog 2022b). When alignments are considered in relation to society, theonyms and mythology become analyzable as potential indicators of stance-taking, even if this is only seen from the perspective of a dominant SMI.

Loans with Unchanged Alignments

Where theonyms appear borrowed across languages without a change in alignment, they suggest that the theonym has spread in conjunction with an alignment of religious identity. For instance, the name repertoire of Christianity has spread across countless languages over the course of two millennia. Modern English *Jesus*, *Mary*, *Michael* and so on are outcomes of loans that reflect a perceived alignment of the respective agent with society.

Today, outside of their use as personal names for members of society, these names refer to mythic images as agents with significance and influence or impacts of cosmological proportions. Although the respective mythic images tend to be treated as internationally regular and shared, the variation in how they are conceived locally and in different parts of the world should not be underestimated. In the process of religious change, the borrowing of these theonyms is paired with the borrowing of the respective mythic images. Nevertheless, just as the theonyms are adapted to the phonology and morphology of a language, mythic signs are subject to corresponding adaptation into the local mythology and SMIs. Especially in the initial stages, assimilated images are viewed through the lens of vernacular categories and their relations, while the accompanying traditions linked to the agent could be very limited and streamlined (Bønding 2021). Where religious change is competitive, the agents of the new religion may operate as *tradition dominants*, replacing or assimilating other agents in relevant contemporary traditions (Eskeröd 1947: 79–81; Honko 1981a: 23–24; 1981b: 35–36). For example, the 10th-century Second

Merseburg Charm describes an exemplar healing event in mythic time involving Wodan and other Germanic gods, whereas Christian agents predominate in the rich post-medieval evidence of this charm type (e.g. Christiansen 1918). If we accept the charm type's Germanic background, Christian agents have replaced non-Christian gods – variations that might involve as little as transposing the respective names (cf. examples in Linderholm 1920: 427–446, #986–1034). In Finno-Karelian incantations, the Virgin Mary took over the roles and activities of otherworldly women such as *Kivutar* ['Pain-Maid'], summoned for aid in curing pains (Siikala 2002: 203). Assimilating such roles reciprocally impacted on understandings of the Christian agents in local cultures, participating in the construction of the respective mythic image. Nevertheless, the roles in the incantations remained aligned with the local society, although the images of particular agents underwent renewal in connection with religious change.

Christianity spread with a full repertoire of names, including those for agents opposed to religious or social order and many that could be more ambivalent. Stance-taking remains regular in connection with names of agents opposed to social order, yet these seem less stable at the level of mythic signs. For example, the name *Juutas* in Finnish and Karelian was linked to the Christian image JUDAS, yet the name also appears in contexts where DEVIL is expected, and it could be used as, or blurs with, a common noun. It is occasionally found for the counter-role to GOD (*Jumala*) in mythic tales (e.g. SKS KRA Kaarle Krohn 9876 [Nurmes, 1885]), as the agent of chaos from whose drool the first viper is created (e.g. *SKVR* VI_1 3808), as a parallel word for vernacular terms for DEVIL in the poetry (e.g. *SKVR* I_4 495) and is even sometimes used in the plural (e.g. *SKVR* I_2 1105a). The name has thus shifted or extended usage to a common noun as one of a rich variety of vocabulary for DEVIL (cf. also Valk 2012: 45). In spite of the shifts in the usage of the name that identify it with other centralized and decentralized images, there is continuity in the referent's polarized opposition to the community.

Social stance-taking that structures alignment with, or opposition to, a group is not restricted to theonyms. The same may be considered for

words cognate with English *angel* or *bishop*, which also spread with Christianity. Similarly, *þur(i)saz*, "[o]ne of the Proto-Germanic words for 'giant'" (Kroonan 2013: 552), was borrowed into Middle Proto-Finnic as *tur(i)sas* already early in the Iron Age (*LägLoS* III: 322). Use is consistently for a supernatural monster. This suggests continuity as a word for a mythic agent opposed to society through roughly two millennia of cultural changes, including conversion to both eastern and western Christianity and their respective Reformations.

When a polarized alignment or opposition is found across the source and target languages of a loan, it suggests an alignment of the social positions of the speech communities involved. When the lexeme refers to a venerated agent, comparing that relationship in the source language with that in the language receiving the loan offers indications of whether the groups concerned shared or contrasted religious frameworks. Where agents are opposed to society, however, terms and mythic images may move more easily between groups: the same monster may presumably be considered equally hazardous to different religious groups.

Translations with Unchanged Alignments

In the case of Christianity, the administrative apparatus of the Church, with its organized missionary activity and progressively extending reach, worked to maintain the regularity of names, images and a dominant SMI that actively resisted identifying venerated Christian agents with the names of local gods. The exception, however, was that the Christian God was commonly designated by a common noun meaning 'god' used as a theonym. The Christian theonym was thus translated from one language into the next accompanying the assimilation of the mythic image GOD.

A similar process occurred in several languages around the Baltic Sea with the agent DEVIL and the decentralized image DEVIL. These fused with images of vernacular agents of chaos and counter-roles of the local sky god. Just as terms for, and images of, agents opposed to society seem to move more easily between groups, their images also seem to be more open to hybridization. Consequently, such images are potentially less stable and distinctive than those of venerated agents.

Slavic and Uralic cultures that underwent religious change in the spread of Orthodox Christianity exhibit a prominent position of the thunder god commensurate to that found in the Baltic Sea region. Although Christianity did not have a distinct thunder god image *per se*, St. Elijah became identified as the closest equivalent. Local forms of his name were transposed into local thunder-god traditions. Thus *Ilja* and similar names became used for a local agent with a background largely independent of Christianity.

Translation seems to be commonplace in the cross-cultural circulation of mythology. For example, traditions related to the thunder-god moved across cultures in the Baltic Sea region, yet the categorical identity THUNDER-GOD was uniquely held by a single centralized image in each local society, such as THOR, PERKŪNAS, TIERMAS or UKKO. The assimilation of a tradition involving any one of these would be 'translated', not only by exchanging the name used in one language for that of another, but also by interpreting the respective image of the god as equivalent to, and translatable through, that of the local god.

Sometime during the Iron Age, North Finnic religion assimilated a framework of North Germanic religion in a process that I have described as creolization (Frog 2019). The vernacular mythology was radically restructured as a large amount of mythology was assimilated. This included adopting the roles of gods and their relationships to practices, as well as adopting a thunder god as distinct from the inherited Finnic sky god. (See Frog 2013.) In this process, the dominant SMI clearly valorized the North Germanic models to a degree that led to fundamental changes in religion. Nevertheless, it was in parallel with a language ideology that resisted the adoption of foreign theonyms: the protagonists of mythological epic have names of Finnic origin and the assimilated thunder god became exclusively designated by vernacular terms, such as *Ukko* ['Old Man']. The resistance to borrowing theonyms appears to reflect the corresponding translation of images of North Germanic gods through Finnic counterparts with which they were identified, producing and supporting extensive hybridization. The process reflects a cross-linguistic alignment of religious identities, on which it is contingent, even if the

process transformed the assimilated framework of religion.

Processes of translation at the level of mythic signs rather than theonyms easily remain invisible. Those in the remote past require multiple points of reference to bring into focus. Whereas the creolization in North Finnic religion becomes recognizable through the collective evidence of a number of traditions, a much earlier cross-cultural change can be observed through lexical evidence in multiple languages. In both Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Uralic, the name of the central sky god is reconstructed as identical to the common noun meaning 'Sky, Weather'. As I have discussed elsewhere (2017a: 100–111; 2019: 268–269), an isogloss of these languages exhibits the loss of both this name and the corresponding common noun, coupled with a noun meaning 'god' becoming the proper name of the sky god. Evidence of this change is found in Baltic, Germanic, Mari and Mordvinic, along with loanword evidence that it occurred in an Indo-Iranian language. The correlation of multiple developments within an isogloss spanning two language families shows that 'something happened', and it suggests a conversion-like process that displaced the inherited sky gods. However, the development must have been completed in the remote past, before the present era. If this is correct, it suggests a process in which multiple linguistic-cultural groups changed their religious alignment in some sort of extended network, translating the name of the new god, 'God', into the respective local language, much as later occurred in the spread of Christianity.

Loans and Semantic Correlation

Many mythologies present theonyms that are lexically identical to common nouns for natural phenomena. The Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Uralic celestial divinities named 'Sky' are a case in point. Direct lexical identification of the image of the god SKY with the image of the phenomenon SKY can be considered rooted in a principle of the dominant SMI that I have described as *semantic correlation* (Frog 2017a). This principle is reflected in the co-variation of the theonym and corresponding noun. Thus, when the name of the sky god underwent renewal in some Uralic languages,

the noun for SKY changed to match it (Rédei 1996: 283–284; Frog 2017a: 86–100). Similarly, the Proto-Baltic and Proto-Germanic thunder gods were named with the common noun for 'thunder'. Whether Proto-Baltic *Perkūnas ['Thunder'] or *Þunraz ['Thunder'] in Proto-Germanic is considered the innovation, covariation of the theonym and noun reflects semantic correlation (Frog 2017a: 112–113).

Loans of words for natural phenomena are commonly considered neutral. However, where semantic correlation is part of the dominant SMI, the loan may offer perspectives on the history of the religion. When a theonym and common noun are identical, lexical change with co-variation most likely reflects a change in the theonym. Semantic correlation binds the natural phenomenon to the mythic image of the god, so a change in the name for that image produces a change in the word for the natural phenomenon. In Mari languages, for example, the displacement of 'Sky' by 'God' resulted in the latter's name also becoming a common noun meaning 'sky'. A loan only for the natural phenomenon would imply a breakdown of semantic correlation: it would produce a lexical distinction between the common noun and the theonym.

Hypothetically, a new word could be introduced as a poetic parallel term or an avoidance term for the inherited theonym (i.e. used to refer to the god/phenomenon without using the name), but this possibility would be contingent on two factors. Frist, it would require a language ideology that would make it reasonable or desirable to refer to the vernacular god with a word from another language. Second, it would require that the word was not also a theonym in the source language. Such a hypothetical scenario is possible, but not necessarily probable.

Proto-Baltic *perkūnas ['thunder'] was borrowed into Pre-Mordvin as *perkänä ['thunder'] (Grünthal 2012: 324–325). The word was presumably borrowed early in the Iron Age or already in the Bronze Age. However, *Perkūnas was simultaneously the name of the Proto-Baltic thunder god. The loan must be assumed to reflect the borrowing of the theonym rather than being adopted as a common noun independent of its embeddedness in Proto-Baltic mythology. Proto-Uralic mythology

lacked a pantheon (cf. Ajkhenvald et al. 1989: 156–157); the power of thunder and lightning was presumably attributed directly to the central sky god (Frog 2013: 69–72). The loan of *perkūnas* most likely reflects a borrowing of the image *PERKŪNAS, conceiving thunder not just as an empirically observed phenomenon but as a distinct agent active in the world. The loan thus implies that the pre-Mordvin speakers viewed *PERKŪNAS as having a commensurate or identical alignment with their society as to that of the respective Proto-Baltic speakers. The Erzya Mordvinic theonym *Pur'gine-paz* ['Thunder-God'] disambiguates the god from the phenomenon thunder, which suggests that the image of the god underwent some sort of fundamental renewal between the borrowing of *perkūnas/*Perkūnas* and the documented mythology.

Early in the first millennium, Proto-Sámi language spread rapidly and widely from southern inland regions of what are today Finland and Karelia. Whatever the process behind its spread, languages spoken among mobile cultures to the north and on the Kola and Scandinavian Peninsulas disappeared in language shifts. (See Aikio 2012.) Eastern Proto-Sámi *tiermēs* ['thunder'] appears to be a loan from a Palaeo-European language (Aikio 2012: 84). This word appears as the name of the central sky god in Sámi languages on and near the Kola Peninsula (Rydving 2010: 98–102). This indicates a principle of semantic correlation (at least historically) in the respective SMIs. It is therefore unlikely that the word was simply preserved from an indigenous language and later became used as a theonym. It implies that the spread of Proto-Sámi encountered one or more societies with a central god 'Thunder', whose name was retained as *Tiermēs* through a language shift. The theonym then reciprocally accounts for the retention of the common noun and implies a continuity of religion. This scenario is consistent with the paucity of Common Proto-Sámi religious vocabulary, which does not support a view of the language spreading with an associated religion (Frog 2017b).

The name of the South Sámi thunder god *Hovrengaellies* is a compound comprised of *Hovre* (not attested as an independent name or noun), from the Old Norse theonym *Þórr*, and *gaellies*, a loan related to Old Norse *karl* ['man, husband, old man']. The loan implies that the respective Sámi-speaking community imagined Þórr as in a commensurate or identical relationship to their community as to that of the speakers of Old Norse. The name has commonly been considered a borrowing of *Þórr karl* ['old man Þórr'], although *karl* is unlikely to reflect an Old Norse divine epithet.[2] Also, use in the South Sámi theonym would have to be an etymologization or translation of the Old Norse word, because *gaellies* and *Hovre* were borrowed in different periods (Frog 2017a: 120). Common Proto-Sámi *kāllēs* ['old man'] (Lehtiranta 2001: §350) was borrowed prior to syncope, when the form of Þórr's name was *Þunrar*; the reduction of *Þunrar* to *Þunrr* caused u-breaking, resulting in Þórr (Kroonan 2013: 538), from which *Hovre* derives. Finally, the theonym uses the genitive form *Hovren*. The structure of the name parallels other Sámi theonyms outside of the Kola Peninsula in which a noun for a phenomenon is combined with a noun meaning 'man', 'woman', 'old woman' or other male or female member of society. This suggests that *Hovrengaellies* was not conceived as the name Þórr with an epithet; it more likely formed as a construction meaning 'Old Man of Thunder'. Proto-Germanic *Þunraz* was both the theonym and noun for 'thunder', but, in Old Norse, Þórr was only the theonym. The disambiguation appears uniform throughout Old Norse language areas, which makes it seem unlikely to postdate syncope. In this case, the theonym was presumably borrowed, underwent semantic correlation, and then the god was disambiguated as the 'old man' of the phenomenon. Because the loan postdates syncope, it postdates the major spread of Proto-Sámi, making it unlikely to reflect some sort of language shift like that behind *Tiermēs*. It is hypothetically possible that Þórr was adopted into the mythology, complementing existing roles in a pantheon or pantheon-like structure, as seems likely for Pre-Mordvin *PERKÄNÄ. However, thunder gods are prominent in the Baltic Sea region and also found across other Sámi languages. Also, if *þórr* was not a common noun for thunder, the ideology of semantic correlation was presumably linked to an inherited god, who would then have been displaced. In this case,

semantic correlation points to some process of hybridization, adapting the Old Norse god to the respective SMI.

Loans with Contrasted Alignments

In the anecdote above about Þórr challenging Christ to a duel, the image CHRIST was transposed into a traditional motif THOR CHALLENGES X TO:DUEL. This situated CHRIST in a diagrammatic schema of THOR/ADVERSARY, corelating it with images of other agents of chaos that threaten society or social order. This type of discourse can be inferred in the background when names of venerated gods are borrowed and become used to designate images opposed to, rather than aligned with, society. The result is a *contrasted alignment* that can be attributed to *contrastive stance-taking*.

In their comparative reconstruction of central features of Uralic ('Finno-Ugric') mythology, Aleksandra Ajkhenvald, Eugene Helimski and Vladimir Petrukhin observe that the counter-role of the main god often has a name borrowed from an agent "often endowed in the source mythology with positive functions" (1989: 157). These findings should be reviewed in the light of the profound advances in Uralic linguistics. If they are correct, the pattern suggests an inherited SMI that would actively engage mythic images aligned with other groups.

A classic example is the proposed etymology of Proto-Finnic *perkeleh* ['devil'] as a borrowing of the Proto-Baltic theonym *Perkūnas*. This loan was then presumably borrowed from Proto-Finnic into Pre-Sámi (Aikio 2012: 75), yielding *pērkele* ['devil']. The background of the Finnic ending *-leh* is unclear (*LägLoS* III: 52), although it has been accounted for as deriving from a diminutive form *Perkelis* (Metsämägi et al. 2012: *s.v.* 'pergel'). If the etymology is accepted, the loan would appear to belong to a Baltic substrate in Middle Proto-Finnic probably linked to the movement of Proto-Finnic speakers during the Bronze Age (Lang 2019; Kallio 2021). The loan correlates the Baltic thunder god with the counter-role of the Finnic celestial god, presumably within the inherited dualist schema of SKY-GOD/ANTITHESIS. This indicates social stance-taking toward *PERKŪNAS as opposed to the Finnic speakers' society. The stance-

taking implies conflict or competition between the groups associated with the respective gods.

The borrowing of the Proto-Baltic theonym *Perkūnas* should not be confused with borrowing the image *PERKŪNAS. It is possible that the discourse behind the loan involved adopting and manipulating features emblematic of the Baltic god. In a 17th-century trial in Northern Norway, for example, Anders Poulsen, a speaker of North Sámi, identified a figure on his drum by the name *Ilmaris*, responsible for storm and bad weather, apparently the negative counterpart of the thunder god he called *Diermis* (< *Tiermēs*) (Willumsen 2008: 241). The name *Ilmaris* is a transparent borrowing of Finnish or Karelian *Ilmari(nen)*, a mythic smith invoked as a god of wind and weather (Harva 1946). Poulsen's use of *Ilmaris* seems to be unique, while his Christian vocabulary also seems to come from Finnish or Karelian (Krohn 1915: 13–14). Relevant here is that Poulsen seems to present Ilmaris as opposed to Diermis in a SKY-GOD/ANTITHESIS schema, but he also incorporates characteristics of the Finnic god. The discourse in the Finnic assimilation of the Proto-Baltic theonym may have similarly produced an image *PERKELEH that incorporated traits of the Proto-Baltic god. Because the evidence postdates the loan by thousands of years, the designation is simply found as a word for DEVIL, but it is necessary to consider that the borrowing of the theonym was linked to contemporary knowledge of the god.

Contrastive stance-taking was of course common in encounters between Christian and non-Christian religions. Representatives of Christianity commonly asserted that agents such as Þórr and Óðinn were opposed to (Christian) society and social order. This could involve simply using the names *Þórr* and *Óðinn* as referring to an image DEVIL. In many cases, however, Christians drew on established features or associations of the images THOR or ODIN (e.g. Kaplan 2011: ch. 6). These are preserved in a medieval corpus of specific examples. In contrast to Anders Poulsen's isolated description of Ilmaris, these examples collectively reflect a social process. Moreover, rather than a situation of religious contacts across groups speaking different languages, these are contacts between groups of competing religious alignments and identities that speak a common

language. The process is commensurate, but the theonyms are not loans.

Like loans and adaptations with unchanged alignments, contrastive stance-taking also occurs with decentralized images. In medieval Icelandic sources, the image of the *berserkr* warrior was stigmatized as a 'pagan' identity associated with supernatural power in competition with the power of Christianity. The construction of BERSERKR as opposed to society may be a product of anti-pagan discourse, since the word *berserkr* seems to have retained positive associations in contemporary Norway. (Samson 2011: 225–226; Dale 2014: 180–183, 200–202; Frog 2021b: 199–200.) The contrasted alignment between ODIN and the seeress-image VǪLVA seems to have non-Christian roots (Frog 2021b: 200). Similarly, the radical changes in the creolization of North Finnic religion, mentioned above, produced a polarized contrast between the new type of specialist and that referred to by the inherited term *noita*. *Noita* became used for dangerous, supernaturally-empowered outsiders; later, use of the word for the Christian image WITCH also impacted on the vernacular image (Frog 2013; 2022b). The Reformation produced contrastive stance-taking toward agents of pre-Reformation Christianity. In Finland, the words *munkki* ['monk'] and *nunna* ['nun'] became used as words for supernatural agents of chaos, conforming to vernacular mythic images like GIANT (cf. Jauhiainen 1998: N931). Whereas BERSERKR and NOITA evolved with continuity as images of people who were supernaturally empowered, the terms *munkki* and *nunna* were transferred more completely to images of otherworld agents, illustrating the variety of forms this process can take.

Categorical Shift and Transposition

As names and mythic signs move between groups and SMIs, they are impacted by changes, sometimes subtle, sometimes radical. Some of these result from interpretations of the foreign through the familiar. Others are produced through aggressive assertions and reinterpretations. In both cases, the assimilation of the respective image may involve only a selection of its characteristic features. Not all of these processes result in the borrowing of theonyms, as illustrated by the North Finnic creolization of North Germanic religion. Conversely, the spread of Christianity through Scandinavia entailed not only the assimilation of countless names and mythic signs associated with the new religion; the associated SMI systematically redefined images identified with vernacular names and terms.

As Christian agents were adapted into one society after another, some features were foregrounded while others were marginalized or omitted from what might be described as the Church-authorized mythology. Some shifts could be subtle or culture-specific, such as the fields of activity with which the Virgin Mary became identified in local practices in Karelia. They could also be structural, such as a lack of differentiation between CHRIST and GOD (Bønding 2021), or they could be streamlined, like the image CHRIST becoming centered on 'baby Jesus' in genres in Karelia, increasing the prominence and roles of Mary. If the new images became tradition dominants, they assimilated traditions associated with other images or they assimilated those other images directly. This process would introduce additional elements to the core characteristics of an image, which Jens Peter Schjødt (2013) describes as its *semantic center*. In some cases, a Christian name could simply re-label a vernacular image, like St. Elijah's name becoming used for local thunder gods. Even in this case, however, the image did not remain unaffected. Although the local god's semantic center could remain intact, the identification situated him within a Christian SMI's structures as subordinate to the Christian God. It also linked him directly to other agents identified by the same name in extended multicultural networks, which could make the image more open to influences and cross-cultural standardization.

Within the Church-authorized SMI, the centralized image of the Christian DEVIL and its categorical counterpart DEVIL were constructed in the polarized GOD/DEVIL schema in a fundamentally moral universe. This made DEVIL an agent of corruption, moral harm and deceit. As Christianity spread through the Circum-Baltic area, the image DEVIL assimilated vernacular counterparts with which it was identified, a process supported where the word for 'devil' was translated through vernacular vocabulary. Such vocabulary included Finnish

perkele (< **perkeleh*) and *piru* (thought to be a shortened form of *perkele*), and Lithuanian *velnias*, which historically seems to have designated a vernacular chthonic deity, although it became used for the plurality of agents of chaos that can be encountered in the human world (Gimbutas 1974; Laurinkienė 2022).

In North Finnic cultures, the Christian image GOD was assimilated by the image of the vernacular sky god, UKKO. This was an exceptional outcome of social and historical factors that are not of concern here.[3] A relevant structural factor seems to be that Finnic religion maintained a central dualist structure of a sky god and his antithesis. Rather than the creolization of North Germanic religion producing a pantheon of celestial gods, in which a thunder god was positioned alongside the sky god, the dominant SMI seems to have maintained SKY-GOD as an exclusive role that did not admit additional celestial divinities. The same principle would preclude viewing the Christian and vernacular sky gods as alternative or competing celestial gods (which would require imagining that two or more such gods could exist).

The inherited North Finnic sky god displaced by UKKO was named *Ilmari(nen)*. Ilmari had evolved from the inherited Uralic sky god called **Ilma* ['Sky, Weather']. Although ILMARI was displaced from the role SKY-GOD, he retained connections to atmospheric phenomena in function-specific ritual contexts and continued to be identified as the agent of thunder and lightning in non-ritual genres like riddles (Harva 1946; Frog 2013). The role SKY-GOD had held a central position in the culture. Displacement from that role fundamentally changed the semantic center of ILMARI, but the change could not be immediate or uniform for all the contexts in which the god was engaged or in all regions. The name *Ilmari* and corresponding image was preserved in some contexts, much as linguistic archaisms may remain normal for particular registers, such as incantations, or embedded in idioms, as in the riddles.

The assimilation of GOD by UKKO resulted in a mapping of the Christian GOD/DEVIL schema over the vernacular THUNDER-GOD/ADVERSARY schema. The image DEVIL retained its polarized opposition to Christian society. In North Finnic

mythology, however, a moral polarization was usually lacking outside of markedly Christian discourse. Aggressive hostility characterized the THUNDER-GOD/ADVERSARY schema, but its was more like cosmological pest control, without moral evaluation: devils were like rats of the universe, which the god sought to exterminate at any opportunity. The resulting GOD/DEVIL schema opposed DEVIL to human society, which was aligned with GOD. That society was characterized as Christian, which set the image DEVIL in contrast to Christianity, but without characterization as an adversary of the religion and its values.

Indo-European cultures had pantheons of gods among which multiple gods could be identified with the celestial sphere. The dominant SMI allowed the Christian God and the thunder-god to remain clearly distinct celestial agents. In Lithuanian, the THUNDER-GOD/ADVERSARY schema was or became a PERKŪNAS/VELNIAS schema alongside GOD, and the conflicts between the thunder-god and the devil were central. In Swedish traditions, however, the Christian image DEVIL remained largely distinct from images of TROLL, GIANT and other non-Christian agents of chaos that historically completed the THUNDER-GOD/ADVERSARY schema. As a consequence, the image DEVIL did not evolve in the same way as in traditions across the Baltic Sea.

Social stance-taking that involves a realignment of an agent's polarized relationship to a community often seems to involve a recategorization of the image, which redefines and reshapes it. Within a stable SMI, centralized images are regularly identified with decentralized images. This makes unique identities examples or exemplars of categorical identities. In other words, THOR, ODIN, FREYJA and FREYR were all identified with the decentralized image GOD, which characterized them, while their individual characterizations reciprocally participated in constructing the decentralized image. Christian discourse contested this categorization and reconceived THOR and so on through alternative images like DEVIL or SORCERER. The change in identification denied the validity of their veneration and characterized them as categorically (rather than only individually) opposed to society within the dominant Christian SMI. This strategy

sought to impact the mythic images' core features that are built into their patterns of use by targeting the heart of the semantic center – identity as GOD.

Among the Old Norse non-Christian gods, Odin and Thor exhibit the greatest resilience and endurance through subsequent centuries. They were marginalized from public religion and veneration, but, in Sweden, the image ODIN remained connected to sorcery, mythic knowledge and wealth (e.g. Linderholm 1920; Mitchell 2009; Barber 2019), and THOR retained connections to thunder and sorcery (e.g. Linderholm 1920; af Klintberg 2010). Whether as an expansion of his semantic center or a feature not known from early Scandinavian sources, Odin was also identified as a hunter of female forest spirits in legends (af Klintberg 2010), but he was divorced from agency of cosmological scope. Thor's connection with thunder was obscured by *Åskan* ['Thunder'] becoming the common name for the embodied agent THUNDER and otherwise by replacing the image THOR with GOD in motifs of thunder production.[4] The semantic center of ODIN and THOR had each been pared down, comparable to what happened to North Finnic ILMARI when displaced by UKKO in the restructuring of religion, reducing him from an agent of lightning and weather to a mythic smith and counter-role to the demiurge Väinämöinen (Frog 2013). In all these cases, the respective images appear to have been upheld in quite specific contexts and traditional narratives or plot types.

The features of a god's semantic center get bound up with practices and traditions that sustain the images through processes of change. As the engagements with the image become more limited, the identity's core shrinks and may seem fragmented. At the same time, individuals continued to align themselves positively with ODIN (Mitchell 2009) and the agency of thunder retained its positive associations, even when identified with THOR. The persistence of alignments with these images highlights that the Church-authorized SMI was not the only one present, even if it was dominant in the public sphere (cf. Frog 2020).

Modern Heritagization

The Enlightenment had a transformative effect on ideologies related to non-Christian religions.

It enabled mythic signs to be lifted up, brushed free of the stigma of 'paganism', and viewed as expressions of the spirit of a people. The mythic signs could then be evaluated on aesthetic rather than religious terms, which led to their conversion into cultural capital during the era of Romanticism. This was a heritagization process, whereby traditions identified with the past received value in the present and were repackaged in an idealized form.

Heritagization affected the use of theonyms and names of other mythic agents in ways directly comparable to what occurred in contexts of cultural contacts and religious change. The names are identified by people as referring to supernatural agents that align with and against another group. The images of the respective agents are most often streamlined constructs of discourse, characterized through a limited number of central features and associations.

A key difference between religious encounters and heritagization concerns the potential for supernatural agency. Historically, the existence of mythic agents has not been denied in religious encounters; instead, stances are taken toward their evaluation and definition. Thus, Christians' anti-pagan discourse acknowledged THOR, ODIN and so on as agents able to affect things in the world, but they excluded them from the category GOD and set them in a polarized opposition to society. In heritagization (revivals of vernacular religions aside), the same agents have normally been considered to lack empirical existence and thus to lack potential for supernatural agency.

Heritagization allows the names and mythic images to be lifted from connotations of belief. They retain an emblematic relation to religion, but it is a religion of the past rather than of the present, itself emblematic of the culture before Christianity and modernity. The names thus become tokens of a historical culture. They can be used to create specific connections with particular agents, but the agents are identified with the imagination of that culture rather than as social beings. Such connections are related to meaning-making, but they are used especially to create connections and alignments with the historical culture. Others who align with that culture in a similar way are invited to infer that the shared evaluation entails participation in a collective identity with shared values.

Heritagization results in using theonyms in new ways. Connotations of shared (national) values makes it unsurprising that theonyms were transferred to businesses. In many cases, such use of a name connects features of the god's semantic center to the business's aims. For example, ODIN Fund Management in Norway links their identity to Óðinn's connections to wealth. This can be viewed simply as referential play, yet Óðinn's name activates contemporary images of the god with its connotations of power, authority and supernatural agency, even for people unfamiliar with his connections to hoarded treasure and other riches. The connotations operate unconsciously as well as consciously, particularly before one has become familiar with the business's name and its work.

In one information booklet, ODIN Fund Management explicates their engagements with mythology. They make the significance and symbolism clear under the heading "A solid platform in the Nordic region" (n.d.: 7). Their logo is primitive-looking image reminiscent of Nordic petroglyphs. It is comprised of an eight-legged horse with an overlapping circle centered on its head, with "ODIN" written in a similar style. The horse is explained to be Sleipnir, whose eight legs "symbolis[e] his ability to outrun all other horses" and who "carried Odin to every corner of the world, over land, through the air and across water, on his many quests to acquire new knowledge" (n.d.: 7). More difficult to recognize without explanation is the circle, representing Óðinn's ring Draupnir, which produced eight gold rings of equal weight every nineth night – "a symbol of wealth and prosperity" (n.d.: 7). Although not in the logo, the brochure also mentions Óðinn's two ravens, Huginn and Muninn, which "flew all over the world, returning to Odin every night with information" (n.d.: 7). The ravens identify the newsletter *Hugin & Munin: Information from ODIN Fund Management.* The component of play is part of the value of using these names: it produces positive feelings for the people encountering them, even if they are merely considered 'witty'. At the same time, they attribute the business with deep roots in a collective Nordic heritage and invite people to identify the qualities of the mythic symbols with the business itself.

New uses of theonyms extends to personal names. In territories of the Swedish kingdom, the Finno-Karelian vernacular system for personal names disappeared rapidly in the medieval Christianization; a similar process, although not as comprehensive, occurred in territories of Novgorod and subsequently Russia (Ainiala et al. 2016: 159–161; see also Kepsu 2018: 32). Following the publication of the second, revised edition of Lönnrot's *Kalevala* in 1849, names began to be taken from it for use as personal names. The process was gradual, advancing to a movement toward the end of the century and reaching a watershed around the decade of Finland's independence.[5] The *Kalevala* frames its central characters as human heroes rather than gods (removing Väinämöinen from the role of demiurge), and the epic was surrounded by discussions of its possible basis in historical conflicts. In this light, 'reviving' the use of these names for people is not inherently surprising. However, they were not historically used as personal names, although exceptional people could take or receive them as epithets, apparently reflecting the individual's exceptional supernatural capacity (Frog 2020). Nevertheless, names taken from *Kalevala* gradually extended to those of supernatural agents, such as *Tapio*, the forest god: according to Finland's Digital and Population Data Services Agency (DVV), *Tapio* is now among the top ten men's names in Finland.

Choosing a theonym as a baby name may seem striking, but Lönnrot's *Kalevala* mediated that choice. The epic shifted mythological agents into a human sphere, and the challenge of the epic's language made it a work that was probably much more discussed than read. The names were easily decontextualized, while the epic was easily received as literature. In addition, the ideology of National-Romanticism promoted the use of names based in the Finnish language, which meant finding or inventing these, and baby name suggestions circulated in newspapers and on many calendars (Vilkuna 2005: 19). This promotion could leave the names completely decontextualized. Their use could draw upon the symbolic value of the associated traditional image, especially as found in Lönnrot's *Kalevala*, but the name system was progressively transformed. Just as none of the associations of Proto-Baltic

Perkūnas are retained in Finnish *perkele*, many of these names have become so commonplace that they can be given as baby names without reflection on their earlier mythic significance.

Limiting discussion to the DVV data, names from Scandinavian mythology are also found in Finland. *Kalevala* blurred the boundary between Finno-Karelian theonyms and human personal names, and there were earlier traditional uses of the theonyms for people. Scandinavian theonyms were not euhemerized in National-Romanticism, nor were they historically used alone as personal names or personal epithets: *Þórr* has been a common element in Scandinavian names since the Iron Age, but people were not named *Þórr*. The Scandinavian names are thus more saliently identified with mythology. This connection is underscored by being generally rare rather than traditional personal names. In many cases, use of the name would have required a special application for permission.

In Finno-Karelian cultures, the use of theonyms for living people is rooted in the lack of a fundamental divide between GOD and HUMAN. The word *jumala*, commonly translated 'god' today, earlier referred to a category of supernatural agency. It could thus be used for any sufficiently powerful agent, including a living ritual specialist. Non-Christian Scandinavian SMIs generally maintained a cleft between human actors and those operating on a cosmological scope, paralleled by a constraint against names being shared across that divide. Today, that usage of names is viewed from the outside, and the names refer to heritagized mythic images rather than actors in the contemporary world.

The Scandinavian theonyms used in Finland according to the DVV's database include the names of central gods Óðinn (*Odin*, *Oden*), Þórr (*Thor*, *Tor*), Freyja (*Freja*, *Freya*, *Freija*, *Freia*, *Freyja*), Freyr (*Frej*, *Frei*, *Frey*, *Freyr*, but not *Frö*), Frigg (*Frigga*), Baldr (*Balder*, *Baldur*), Heimdallr (*Heimdall*), Týr (*Tyr*), Njǫrðr (*Njord*) and Skaði (*Skadi*). Names of Óðinn's male relatives are also found. His son Víðarr's name (*Vidar*, *Vidarr*) was popular on a level with that of Þórr, Freyr and Freyja. The names of his son Váli (*Vali*) and his brother Vé (*Ve*) are less common. The name *Vili* corresponds to that of Óðinn's other brother, Vili, but it is also considered a variant form of a Finnish name (Vilkuna 2005: 249–250). Similarly, *Nanna*, corresponds to the name of Baldr's wife Nanna, but its modern usage has several derivations, so it is not clear that examples in the database are linked to mythology. Óðinn's father's name Borr (*Bor*, *Bur*) shows up, as do names of personifications of the sun (*Sol*) and moon (*Mani*). The name of the obscure goddess Gná is found (*Gna*), although not that of Frigg's handmaid Fulla, who appears more in the mythology. The distinctiveness of these names in modern society suggests a conscious connection with non-Christian mythology, linking the child to the identity of the mythic agent.

The database presents statistics across periods of twenty years each for the 20th century, with earlier data in a single period, and data from the 21st century grouped by decade. Use of Scandinavian theonyms rises in the 1980–1999 period, continuing through the present. Beginning from this time, additional mythic names get used. Heritagized uses of these names are not constrained by principles of the agent's alignment with, or opposition to, society in the source culture. Names of agents who are ambivalent or opposed to society in the mythology are found used for people especially, although not frequently, from the 1980–1999 period onward.

Loki orchestrates the death of Óðinn's son Baldr and fights against the gods in the eschatology, so finding his name (*Loki*) is striking. However, Loki is also often viewed as a trickster-like figure, and selection of the name for a child might be based on his roles in certain stories rather than as an adversary of the gods. Similar is the appearance of the name of the cosmogonic giant murdered by Óðinn and his brothers, Ymir (*Ymir*, *Ymer*, and perhaps *Imir*, *Imer*). *Ymir* might simply be considered the name of the first being, whose body is transformed into the world. However, the personified agent of death, Hel (*Hel*) appears in 1960–1979, and the name of the eschatological wolf Fenrisúlfr, Fenrir (*Fenrir*), who swallows Óðinn, shows up in 1980–1999 and again in 2010–2019. In these cases, the rationale behind giving these names is less clear.

Names from Finno-Karelian mythology exhibit some differences. The historical

framing of Lönnrot's *Kalevala* may account for the name of Louhi (*Louhi*), the central adversary of the epic's heroes, appearing as a personal name occasionally during the period 1900–1959 (i.e. the first three periods of that century). The renewed appearance of the name in the present century may instead be connected to the rise in use of such names from Scandinavian mythology. The name of the Finno-Karelian personification of death, Tuoni (*Tuoni*), appears in the period 1920–1939. This looks anomalous in the data, but likely reflects an evaluation of the name through its connection to the mythology as heritage.

Giving people names of mythic agents opposed to society spills over from today's milieux into representations of the past. In the popular series *Vikings*, the Loki-like character Floki names his daughter *Angrboða*,[6] described as Loki's first wife. When Floki's wife objects that Angrboða was evil, Floki responds: "She was a great giantess" (season 2, episode 10, "The Lord's Prayer"). The name choice is presented as irregular, as corresponding choices might seem today. However, the show does not acknowledge and probably did not recognize that this use of the name contravenes the constraint against giving names of cosmological actors to human beings. It is a single instance of mythic discourse, which always presents the possibility of being idiosyncratic or anomalous, as might be the case with naming a child *Tuoni* in 1920–1939 or *Hel* in 1960–1979. Nevertheless, it appears consistent with a number of examples in the data above. What makes the example seem particularly modern (or, more accurately, postmodern) is that it steps outside of the polarized alignments and oppositions of SMIs that have historically structured the mythology. It equally dismisses the giantess's connection to events and other agents as well as her categorization as a destrictive agent of chaos. Floki considers Angrboða from an alternative perspective that was completely foreign and hypothetical – a perspective aligned with the monster. He selectively picks which features to bring into focus and evaluate and treats the image as having a positive emotional valence. His choice and explanation for it appear more reflective of contemporary perspectives on heritagized mythologies and engagements with them than those of the historical period.

A Perspective

Just as people align their perspectives and evaluations with characters in narration, they align with certain agents of a mythology and against others. When mythology is approached as a closed system linked to a single culture or religion, these alignments appear self-evident and stable, making them easy to take for granted. When mythology is instead approached as a symbolic matrix, constituted of all signs in a given environment, these alignments can also concern mythic agents linked to religious and cultural identities of other groups. At that point, it becomes useful to distinguish between mythic signs and the ideologies linked to social positions from which mythic signs are engaged, evaluated and manipulated. Although individual instances of discourse can be idiomatic or otherwise anomalous, SMIs position many mythic images as aligned with, or opposed to, the associated society. When mythic images or associated names are assimilated by one group from another, or when a society otherwise undergoes internal change, consistency or contrasts in these alignments or oppositions are analyzable, with the potential to reveal social dimensions behind those changes.

The examples reviewed here illustrate the wide variety of forms and diverse outcomes that these processes can have. Although heritagization may seem like an unrelated process, it also operates on the principles of one group, embedded in its own SMIs, approaching, evaluating, interpreting and manipulating mythic signs and associated names identified with another group.

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Notes

1. Mythology is here not restricted to narrative worlds and extends to ritual, omen, taboo and so on, including the potential for individuals to actualize motifs as experience. This allows for motifs of higher levels of abstraction like X VENERATES THOR and diagrammatic schemata like VENERATOR/VENERATED, which might equally be viewed as structures of an associated ideology. Rather than being problematic for the approach, such cases reflect a role of ideology

in producing more abstract mythic signs through the association of more specified signs.

2. In medieval sources, use of *karl* as an epithet is only found for living human beings. Gods do not receive terms for human domestic roles as personal epithets, nor do they receive epithets common for human beings, unless they are in disguise or are euhemerized as human sorcerers. *Þórr karl* corresponds to *Torekall* of later Scandinavian ballads, but use in the ballad more likely reflects the euhemerization of the ballad character than a historical use of the epithet for the god.

3. This assimilation may have already occurred at the end of the Viking Age, when changes in burial practices point to the arrival of Christianity before the administrative apparatus of the Church had extended to Finland (Ahola & Frog 2014: 68–69). The evidence of later North Finnic traditions shows that medieval Christianity was assimilated as complementary to, and extending, the vernacular mythology, retaining the inherited cosmological mythology, although communities consistently viewed themselves as Christian. Evidence of early Christianization thus implies that the new religion was assimilated by identifying the Christian celestial god, ambiguously named 'God', with the vernacular celestial god, ambiguously named 'Old Man'. Finland and Karelia were claimed in the expansion of the kingdoms of Sweden and Novgorod; the Christianization process was driven by religious and political authorities and administration that were linguistically and culturally other to Finnic speakers. The territories were also on the wilderness peripheries of the respective kingdoms without infrastructures for accessibility – infrastructures that were still underdeveloped or lacking in many regions in the 19th century.

4. This is evident, for example, from a review of the cards indexed under "Åska: Benämningar" ['Thudner: Names'] at the Institute of Language and Folklore, Uppsala.

5. This view is developed from the Name Service database of Finland's Digital and Population Data Services Agency alongside especially Kustaa Vilkuna's (2005) dictionary of Finnish forenames as a resource for identifying first occurrences of names.

6. Although not relevant for the current argument, Michael Males (2021: 144–155) has recently pointed out that *Angrboða* may not have been a personal name prior to the work of Snorri Sturluson; it may have been a poetic expression that was consciously reinterpreted and presented as a personal name.

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The Mammoth Sonata

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Abstract: Mammoths have long been extinct, yet they seem to have left traces in cultural memory of peoples in the northern half of the northern hemisphere. As the largest and most powerful land animal encountered in those parts of the world, there can be little doubt that mammoths were integrated into the mythologies of these peoples. The present study explores this possibility and what might be reconstructed of such mythology.

The memory of the mammoth has been preserved among Siberian peoples, where the thawing of the plains sometimes still reveals its long spiral tusks. Boris Aleksandrovitch Rybakov (1994) suggests that *Cudo-Yudi*, the Russian dragon, found its inspiration in a distant memory of the pachyderm: the traps used to catch the animal became the Kalinov Most (Калинов мост ['Guelder-Rose Bridge']), its killing, a river of fire, its tusks and trunk, multiple heads. Rybakov observes that only 240 generations of storytellers have followed one another between the last mammoths of Eastern Europe and the present, which would allow the form of the mammoth to survive in cultural memory. In this essay, which borrows its structure from the musical structure of sonata, I will go further, showing not only the survival of the mammoth's shape in cultural memory, but especially of certain Palaeolithic beliefs associated with it.

Exposition
First Subject Group: The Probable Antiquity of an Evenk, Tungus and Manchu Narrative
According to the Evenks (Anisimov 1951: 195–196), the Tungus (Ocharov, cited in Lot-Falck 1963: 8) and the Manchus (Wei et al. 2001: 195), the earth was once almost entirely covered with water. It was the mammoth that turned the underwater soil with its tusks, allowing the land, originally very small, to expand, raising mountains and cliffs. A serpent crawled after the mammoth, squirming through the low spaces, and made bodies of water appear on the land behind it. The internal analysis of the Evenk, Tungus and Manchu narratives, summarized here, provides valuable information about the possible age of the tradition.

Beginning with the acts of the mammoth, raising the first land out of a primordial water through the intervention of an animal belongs to the mythological *Earth-Diver* tale type, Stith Thompson's (1955–1958) motif-type number A812, which is probably Palaeolithic. Several points imply a great antiquity for this tale type, mostly notably the following three:

1. The similarity between Eurasian and North American versions
2. The contrastive distribution of the tales of earth divers and the tales of emergence
3. Evidence of a directed pattern of distribution from Southwest Asia to North America

Regarding point 1, Earth-diver tales appear in continuous distribution in Eurasia and North America, no doubt as a result of diffusion (Hatt 1949: 15). F.H. de Charencey, comparing a Mansi and an Algonquin version of this myth, concludes that its spread from Asia to North America was undeniable and dates from ancient times (1894: 23). Based an analysis on a much broader corpus, Oscar Dähnhardt

(1907: 1–89) concludes concerning the origin of the North American versions that "ihre Herkunft keineswegs mit biblischen Flutsagen auch nur das geringste zu tun hat, sondern daß sie mit den nordasiatischeu Schöpfungssagen aufs engste verwandt sind" (1907: 75) ['has nothing to do with ephemeral biblical legends, but that they are closely linked to the North Asian myths of creation']. This view is shared by Anna-Birgitta Rooth (1957: 99), Vladimir V. Napolskikh (1991; 2012) and Michael Witzel (2012: 116–117), who all support a common origin for the Eurasian and North American versions.

Regarding point 2, Yuri Berezkin (2007a) and Jean-Loïc Le Quellec (2014; 2015) independently highlight a complementary global distribution of cosmogonic myths of emerging from underground (or other enclosure) and of raising the first land from the sea. Of these, the former exhibits a distribution across more or less the southern hemisphere, while the latter's distribution more or less covers the northern hemisphere. When human migration to the Americas has been from Chukotka to Alaska, distribution across the southern hemisphere from Africa across the Asian Pacific Coast to South America suggests that cosmogonic myths of emergence from underground were carried by the earliest human migrations from Africa. The earth-diver complex's complementary distribution across the northern hemisphere suggests a subsequent development that formed in Eurasia and was carried to North America in a later wave of migration sometime before the end of the Pleistocene.

Regarding point 3, a statistical approach illustrates that the earth-diver concept belongs to a set of motifs that spread from Southwest Asia, probably with the establishment of the first settlement in North Eurasia (see d'Huy 2017; see also d'Huy, in this journal, pp. 73–74). In line with Napolskikh (1991; 2012), in the earliest form of the motif can be described: *A person or a creature dives to the bottom of the water or into the infra-world to bring back a solid substance that will become the Earth.* The type of animal doing the diving does not appear to have been important – it is found as a bird, mammal, turtle, etc. – and thus the diver could also be a mammoth.

All three elements would therefore corroborate a Palaeolithic origin of the myth, indicating that at *a minima* the earth-diver structure of the Evenk, Tungus and Manchu narrative existed in the Palaeolithic.

This brings us to the snake as a creator of rivers that follows the earth-diving mammoth. On the basis of three different databases, I have previously shown that the snake as an animal linked to water and as an originator of rivers is statistically reconstructed as having a Palaeolithic Eurasian background (d'Huy 2013a; 2016b; 2016c). The convergence of the reconstructions show that the conclusion could be very strong.

Finally, the Evenk and Tungus stories fit well with the beliefs of other North Eurasian peoples, who see the mammoth as a burrowing animal, connected to water and often able to create the world's land or shape the landscape. In Nenets and Mansi, the mammoth is referred to as the 'underground bull'. They fear this creature, which has created lakes and rivers where it has walked, and created caves and mountains where it has dug. The Nenets also think that mammoths form herds that belong to subterranean creatures, the *Syixyirtya*, that share characteristics with the communauty of the deceased (Lukin 2020: 112). The Yakuts conceive of the vanished pachyderm as a 'master of waters' (Ivanov 1949: 135–401). For some peoples, such as certain Uralic peoples, the mammoth is a powerful animal, travelling underground and creating tunnels in which groundwater flows (Ivanov 1949: 134).[1] The Evenks, located near Lake Baikal, conceive of the mammoth as a large horned fish living in the sea, or as a half-fish and half-terrestrial animal, with a moose's head and the tail and body of a fish (Ivanov 1949: 137). According to John Bernard Muller (1731–1738: 373, 382), the 'Ostyaks' (which, at the time, simply meant 'people of Siberia', leaving the ethno-linguistic identity uncertain) believe that its movable tusks, placed just above the eye, allow the animal to find its way through clay and mud. Throughout Siberia, the mammoth appears as an enormous quadruped that lives between two realms, and as a beast that dies as soon as it breathes (Delisle de Sales, 1797: 42; see also Mervaud 1994: 112ff.; for a similar belief in China in the 17th

century, see Pfitzenmayer 1939: 17–18). The mammoth is therefore generally considered to be a mediating animal, dwelling between the visible and the invisible, between the earth's surface and the subterranean, the terrestrial and the aquatic. This dual nature makes it seem only natural for this great creature to be attributed with the transition from a primordial ocean to the first continents. Even if the symbol of the mammoth as an underground animal could be explained by frozen corpses of the animal emerging from the ground, the coherence of the whole motif complex – the link with water, being half-terrestrial and half-aquatic, and as a shaper of the landscape – suggests either a rapid spread of the tradition or the existence of a very ancient substrate, common across Eurasia.

The structure of the Evenk, Tungus and Manchu stories and their integration of the two protagonists, both connected with what is likely a Palaeolithic pan-Eurasian substrate, make it possible that the plot type could have formed a very long time ago, potentially already in the Upper Palaeolithic.

Second Subject Group: The Mammoth, a Shamanic Helping Spirit…

The present study requires supporting the age of a link between the mammoth and the snake. Evidence of this connection may be sought through a detour into local ritual, acknowledging that the boundary between ritual and myth often seems to be an artificial construction. Following A.F. Anisimov (1951), Éveline Lot-Falck (1963) observes that a Tungus shaman includes two mythic beings among his spirits: the snake Diabdar'a and a creature constituted of a male reindeer's body, a moose's antlers and a fish's tail. The latter, composite animal echoes the mammoth as the partner of the snake in the Tungus cosmogonic myth. S.V. Ivanov (1949: 152) observes that the largest and strongest animals known to the peoples of Siberia were seen as the owners of taiga, and thus the owners of animals. There can be little doubt that the mammoth held a prominent position in the mythologies of contemporary societies, while the replacement of the mammoth by the moose in Eurasia can be considered the result of the moose becoming the largest and strongest animal of taiga once the mammoth was gone (Ivanov 1949 :152).

A connection between the Tungus composite creature and the mammoth is supported by the position of the mammoth in the Siberian shamanic system. Precious helping spirits of the shaman are some of the most powerful representatives of terrestrial and aquatic fauna – moose, bears, pikes – that, following their deaths at an extreme old age, exchange their shape for that of a (Selkup) *kožar surp* ['wild beast mammoth'] or (Selkup) *kožar khvoli* ['fish mammoth'] or a (Khanty) *muv-khor* ['earth bull / earth reindeer'] (Lot-Falk 1963: 116). As an underground animal, the mammoth excellently fulfils the functions of a guide during the shamanic so-called *kamlenie* séance, through which the lower world is engaged.

The helping spirit of the Tungus shaman moreover exhibits a strong similarity to the gigantic *kalir* reindeer-fish, which lives on the steep cliffs of the Endekit River, the river of the dead. This master of animals leads the helping spirits and lives out its existence underground (Lot-Falk 1963: 114). This is makes it all the more likely as some Siberian peoples conceive the mammoth as a chimera, uniting the characteristics of terrestrial and aquatic animals. The shamanic ritual thus seems to reduplicate the cosmogonic myth.

….Very Old and Dangerous (Codetta)

It should then be noted that the common noun *kheli* and the proper noun *kalir* both stem from a common reconstructed root **kel-/*khel-*. According to Glafira Makarevna Vasil'evitch (1949), this root produced innumerable derivatives, not only in the Ural-Altaic languages, but also in the Palaeo-Arctic and even among the Indo-European languages. The word, historically associated with the mammoth and to a lesser extent with reptiles, appears to have designated an evil creature that carried death or was linked to death, and was potentially located underwater or underground.

The wide dispersal of the root in Eurasia would seem to indicate a very remote origin, possibly Palaeolithic. This remote origin of this belief is interestingly corroborated by the preservation of similar beliefs in North America with content remarkably consistent with the meaning reconstructed by Vasil'evitch for the

*kel-/*khel-* root. Similarities in the descriptions found in the respective narrative traditions are complex and largely arbitrary to the remains of mammoths that people might discover in the landscape. Therefore, these similarities cannot be considered independent products of relatively recent interpretations of bones. Identifying a corresponding mythological complex in both Eurasia and North America would thus support the theory of its great age as present in the era of the respective trans-continental migrations, most likely with continuities from encounters with living mammoths.

Development: Amerindian Parallels to Support the Reconstruction of Eurasian Symbolism

Drawing on multiple examples from across North America, William D. Strong (1934) and Mary Chandler Edmonston (1953) attempt to demonstrate that a distorted memory of the mammoth became linked to an evil entity, a destroyer of human beings, yet retaining thing entity's association with water. The connections between these creatures and mammoths have often been rightly criticized (see e.g. Lankford 1980), yet the closeness of Eurasian beliefs to some Amerindian traditions remains striking and difficult to dismiss.

Pierre François-Xavier de Charlevoix, referring to an Algonquin group, writes that:

> Il court aussi parmi ces Barbares une assez plaisante tradition d'un grand Orignal, auprès duquel les autres paroissent des Fourmis. Il a, disent-ils, les jambes si hautes que huit pieds de neiges ne l'embarrassent point: sa peau est à l'épreuve de toutes sortes d'armes, & il a une manière de bras, qui lui sort de l'épaule, & dont il se sert, comme nous faisons des nôtres. Il ne manque jamais d'avoir à sa suite un grand nombre d'orignaux, qui forment sa Cour, & qui lui rendent tous les services, qu'il exige d'eux. (de Charlevoix 1744: 127.)

> It also runs among these Barbarians a rather pleasant tradition of a great Moose, to which others seem like ants. Its legs are so long that eight feet of snow do not embarrass it: its skin is protected against all kinds of weapons, and it has a kind of arm, which comes out of its shoulder, and which it uses, as we do ours. It never fails to have in its wake a large number of moose, which form its Court, and which provide it with all the services it requires of them.

This animal can easily be considered to resemble a mammoth. The description could equally refer to the Eurasian *kalir*, a creature with a combative appearance and that prominently holds the position of the master of helping spirits. In Eurasia, the mammoth was also often associated with the moose (as well as with reindeer: Lukin 2020) and acquired features from this animal. Nevertheless, it remained a distinct entity that has reached a great age and dwells underwater or underground. The description of the Algonquin monster as "a great Moose" create a further connection to Siberian mythology, where the mammoth was replaced by (or reimagined through) the moose and the reindeer (Ivanov 1949: 152).

In North America, Strong presented a striking example of a man-killing monster told of among the Naskapi called Katcheetohliskw. Katcheetohliskw "was very large, had a big head, large ears and teeth, and a long nose with which he hit people. His tracks in the snow were described in [Naskapi] stories as large and round" (Strong 1934: 83–84). This again harks back to the meaning of the Eurasian root *kel-/*khel-*, which associates the mammoth with danger and death. Strong's interpretation of Katcheetohliskw as referring to a mammoth has been criticized, comparing it to fabulous monsters in other North American cultures without the exaggerated ears or giant, weaponized nose (Speck 1937). The possibility that the description was influenced by photographs of elephants has also been considered, but deep roots in cultural memory of the mammoth cannot be ruled out (Chandler Edmonston 1953: 18). The confusion between a creature that kills humans and a being resembling an elephant finds "too many parallels in eastern Indian folklore generally to be of recent Caucasian introduction" (Strong 1934: 84–85).

The criticisms levelled against Strong are linked to the potential of cherry-picking examples, selectively choosing only those that support an argument based on descriptive details. To avoid such criticism, I will turn from descriptions of fantastic beasts to the structures embedded in a narrative tradition widespread in North America. Narrative

patterns and the structural features organizing them can be remarkably enduring in transmission. The testimony of de Charlevoix, as well as many other accounts used as evidence in favour of cultural memory that has preserved the concept of the mammoth (Lankford 1980: 297–298), is related to the folktale about a battle against the Giant Elk / Ungulate, widely attested in North America. Stith Thompson (1929: 315n.144) identifies this type of narrative among the Salishan Kalispel, the Athabaskan Kaska, Dane-zaa, Navajo, Jicarilla and Chiricahua, the Uto-Aztecan Southern Paiute, the Yuman Mojave and one among the Kutenai (language isolate). This story tells how the hero, a young man who reaches adulthood in just a few days, faces a giant reindeer or horned animal that has been preying upon people. The hero turns into a lizard so he can get close to the beast. A burrowing animal – usually a gopher – then offers its help and digs a tunnel under the monster to circumvent the protection surrounding its heart. The hero then only has to pierce the creature's vital organ with an arrow. Before dying, however, the monster manages to destroy the tunnel, creating landscapes contemporary to that of the informant. (Thompson 1977: 338.) The similarities between these widespread Amerindian tales and the Evenk, Tungus and Manchu tales are manifold. The following parallels warrant consideration:

1. Action in these narratives only advances due to the correlation of a reptile and an animal with horns or tusks that move towards one another in North America and follow one another in Eurasia
2. In North America, the reptile is associated with a being that creates open spaces underground, which duplicates the pattern of the snake that creates impressions in the landscape in Eurasia
3. The monster, potentially associated in some cases with the mammoth, is the creator of features in the landscape; the North American narrative may be considered to invert the motif of the mammoth digging tunnels known from some Eurasian stories by destroying a tunnel and thereby shaping the landscape

The link thus established between Eurasia and North America can be strengthened. The Manchus people inhabiting China are Tungusic peoples, like the Evenks. They tell that two brothers flooded the cave of a dragon who was attacking humans, threw stones at it and wounded it with a spear. While fleeing, the dragon dug a river with its claws and coloured the mountains in red. Only one brother survived. He dragged the dragon along the ground, creating elements features in the landscape (Bäcker 1988: 11–21). This tale echoes the Amerindian myth. Indeed, the enemy who persecutes humans is attacked through a hole in the ground, pierced with a weapon, his fight leads to the creation of rivers and his death to the creation of similar landscape features. Moreover, the enemy is a snake – i.e. a reptile. This feature is a reversal from the Amerindian myth, yet it allows us to recognize the Eurasian form of the myth. Reinforcing the idea that the Manchus' tale could be an intermediate form between the Eurasian and Amerindian versions, it should also be noted that, for the Manchus, snakes and mammoths worked together during the flood, some digging canyons, others creating riverbeds; it is thanks to their joint action that the water came back down (Wei et al. 2001: 195). Tales in which the mammoth and the snake are involved in the creation of the such landscape features are rooted in an old Eurasian cosmogony. It is therefore probable that they came first, and that the Amerindian version emerged through a transformation that would presumably have occurred in Asia before the migrations across the Bering Strait to North America. In addition, it should be noted that this chronology would corroborate the existence of a link between the snake and the creation of rivers, the presence of which during the Palaeolithic has been statistically demonstrated in other studies (d'Huy 2017; 2020). In this case, this simple motif appears integrated into a more complex narrative that can be traced back to the same period.

Parallels in the structural organisation of the Native Amerindian tale and its relation to the Eurasian myths are complementary to the previous examples of possible traces of the mammoth in Amerindian cultural memory, offering stronger support through their integration into a regular structure, where it

was linked to the creation of landscape features..

These comparisons find a complex of similar beliefs in cultures on either side of the Bering Strait:

- The dangerousness of the 'mammoth'
- The 'mammoth's' identification as a powerful 'animal master'
- A connection with water
- A narrative connection of the 'mammoth' and a reptile
- The 'mammoth' as a creator of landscape features

These parallels are complemented by the linguistic reconstruction of the same beliefs for a family of words with the reconstructed root *kel-/*khel-, widely spread in Eurasia, which are either present in these narratives or the corresponding semantics can be observed there. The system of elements is so complex that its established presence in both Eurasia and North American traditions suggests a genetic relation. When this relation can be considered independent of the relatively recent colonization of the Americas by Europeans, it can be assumed to have been carried in migrations from Eurasian peoples to North America in the Upper Palaeolithic.

The mammoth has associations with danger and even death on both continents. Its identification in Eurasian traditions as an underground and burrowing animal has been considered the root of interpretations of the mammoth usually as an evil being in Siberia because its subterranean kingdom touches that of death (Lot-Falck 1963: 114). In North America, the mammoth seems to have evolved into a dangerous animal that kills human beings, which could be accounted for through the same connection or development from the same underlying ideas. This leads to the question of whether the mammoth can be shown to have associations with death already in the Palaeolithic in Eurasia.

Recapitulation
First Subject Group: Review of the Elements in Favour of the Great Antiquity of the Evenk and Tungus Narratives
If we return to the Evenk, Tungus and Manchu creation myth, we must admit the following:

1. The structure of the tale as an earth-diver motif could be Palaeolithic
2. The protagonists' individual roles – the mammoth as a shaper of the landscape and the snake as creator of rivers – could be Palaeolithic
3. The pairing of the mammoth and the reptile as cosmogonic agents
4. The presence of a *kalir*, associated with a snake in Tungus rituals, seems connected with its etymology, reflecting an ancient link between the ophidian and the pachyderm

Accepting that complex mythological traditions found in both Eurasia and North America are most likely genetically related, and that their historical spread is contingent on a common Palaeolithic origin (and thus carried in migrations), further points are admitted:

5. Part of the mammoth mythology has spread from Eurasia to North America

Of these points, I have previously shown the overwhelming probability of points 1, 2 and 3 using a statistical approach (d'Huy 2017), while point 4 relies on the etymological study of Vasil'evitch (1949).

Second Subject Group: The Mammoth and Death: Some Archaeological Evidence
In Eurasia, a recurrent theme is the connection of the mammoth and the subterranean world. This connection brings the mammoth into the proximity to the underworld, which makes the mammoth an ideal intermediary between life and death. This connection makes the beast a precious spirit helper to the Tungus shaman. As noted by Lot-Falck (1963: 116), however, the Tungus *kheli* is not a spirit of death, but he remains at the gates of the realm of the dead.

The connection between the mammoth and death inverts the motif of the mammoth giving life to the earth's surface and shaping the landscape, transforming these into the motif of the mammoth taking life underground and creating tunnels. The latter motif may be very old. If we accept that the structural principles governing the construction of myths already existed in Palaeolithic Eurasia,[2] as shown by Claude Lévi-Strauss, whose *Mythologiques* (1964–1971) demonstrate that these principles already existed during the first settlement of the Americas, we can admit that the link

between the mammoth's connection to death on the one hand and Evenk, Tungus and Manchu creation myths on the other hand can be considered to trace from that time. Connections of the mammoth with death and the underworld are found in the archaeological record. Mammoth bones, especially shoulder blades, have been found in many tombs of Palaeolithic Central and North Europe, sometimes constituting their walls (Roussel Versini 2004: 44). Mammoth bones were carefully placed on the bodies of the deceased in the graves of Brno II, Kostiendy and Predmosti, which is a potential sign of belief in the protective powers of a 'Great Mammoth' (Lister & Bahn 1995: 110). In Austria, a child's grave was covered with a mammoth scapula (Einwögerer et al. 2006). Even if the mythology behind these acts remains opaque, they indicate a clear connection between the mammoth and what happens to humans at death.

On the basis of the preceding discussion, an evolution of the symbolism of the mammoth can be proposed: the mammoth first became associated with the underground world, then (or at the same time) with death, before symbolizing the dangerousness of the beings with which it was associated.

The deep roots of 'the danger of the mammoth' discussed here further suggests that the mammoth may have played the role of a dangerous 'master' or 'mistress of animals' in the Palaeolithic. There are two notable arguments for this.

First, the distribution of the motif of the 'master of animals' (Eurasia, Africa, the Americas) and its connection to the world of hunting points to a potential Palaeolithic origin (Le Quellec & Sergent 2017: 749).

Second, the dissemination and analysis of so-called 'Polyphemus' stories, wherein animals are stolen from their dangerous owners, would seem to support the idea that the master of animals was dangerous (d'Huy 2013b; 2014; 2019; 2020). The great age of this myth is based on a large body of evidence. Berezkin (2007b) has shown that the spread of the motif of a man going to the home of a monstrous animal master or shepherd and, threatened with death, is only able to escape the master's wrath by covering himself with an animal skin or hiding under an animal, is limited to Eurasia and North America. According to Berezkin, this complex tale can be explained by a Palaeolithic migration from Asia to the New World (see also Le Quellec 2019). Korotayev and Khaltourina's statistical approach (2011) connects this motif with a story of how game was once concentrated in one place, before being released by an individual and dispersed throughout the world. Their examples illustrate a clustering that connects northern Eurasia and northern North America. Finally, the phylogenetic approach, based on three different corpora, corroborates the existence of a Palaeolithic belief in a master of animals imprisoning wild animals only to be liberated by a hunter, a Eurasian belief that spread from Southwest Asia to North America via North Eurasia during the Palaeolithic (d'Huy 2013b; 2014; 2019).

A potential link between the myth of Polyphemus and the mammoth might perhaps be even closer. When we look at the massive skull of a mammoth, we can observe that at the level of the eye sockets there is a vast central hole, suggesting that the animal had only one eye. At a time when mammoths were already extinct, this observation could have inspired the idea of extinct, cyclopean giants the among Mediterranean peoples, as in their versions of the Polyphemus tale (Mayor 2000). A Paleolithic identification of the mammoth as a master of animals, if it were proven, could explain the appearance of the Cyclops, while reinforcing the hypothesis of a symbolic continuity between the Paleolithic and more contemporary periods. The physical aspect of the antagonist would have only needed to evolve by a simple shift from images of the animal's exteriority to its skeleton, while preserving its main defining features that link it to danger, death and dominion over animals.

Arial and statistical approaches therefore suggest the Palaeolithic existence of dangerous creatures, including the mammoth, who were also masters of animals, holding and releasing game. Accordingly, shamanism is conceived even now in Eurasia as a principle of exchange within an alliance between animal masters and human beings. This principle would explain the dangerousness of animal masters. A principle of one life for one life places the risk

of death over the one who obtains imprisoned animals, which would indeed be a counterpart to the game given by the animal master and killed by the hunter (Hamayon 1990). This hypothesis of dangerous masters of beasts could explain the dominance of dangerous animals in Aurignacian rock art (Clottes 1995).

We can note that images from the caves of Pech-Merle and Cussac, in France, suggest that the mammoth may have been considered as a female being. These images, dating back to the Gravettian of the Upper Palaeolithic, show mammoths covering women, suggesting an identity between the two elements (Bahn 2016: 287). Such an identity would echo the numerous figures from Central and Eastern Europe engraved in mammoth ivory, and moreover placed in long-term dwellings, themselves covered with mammoth tusks (Lorblanchet 2010: 166). The potentially feminine nature of the mammoth as a master of animals also points to beliefs that are still held in Siberia today. The alliance between human beings and societies of humans and of nature are commonly forged through a shaman, who marries a female spirit of the nourishing world (Sternberg 1925; Hamayon 1990; 2015: 86–87, 102–104). Such a belief in a mistress of animals could have existed from the beginning of *Homo sapiens* conquest of northern Eurasia, including Europe. Indeed, it is possible to show using a statistical method that 'Earth' was considered to be a female being or of a feminine nature from the beginning of the settlement of northern Eurasia (d'Huy 2018; 2020). The mammoth is often associated with earth, both in Eurasia and in North America.

Coda: Proposal for the Interpretation of the Cave Decorated with Rouffignac

Nearing the end of this essay, we are brought to a concluding question of whether any trace of the creation myth linking the mammoth and the serpent can be found in Palaeolithic rock art. In the Palaeolithic rock art record today, the Rouffignac cave features the highest concentration of mammoth depictions known, for which scholars have proposed various explanations. One of the most original – but also most categorical (Plassard 1999: 90) – is that of Louis-René Nougier (1984), who proposes that animals facing into the cave

symbolize death, while animals facing out of the cave symbolize life. To date, a problem at the heart these explanations is that Nougier presupposes the existence of an explanatory element (hunting magic, shamanism, etc.) in the Palaeolithic period without demonstrating its presence (Le Quellec 2017).

However, the present analysis may shed new light on the Rouffignac's rock art. Indeed, "le thème de l'association Mammouth–Serpent si particulier" ['the theme of the mammoth–snake association, so specific,'] (Barrière 1984: 164) demands comparative discussion. According to Jean Plassard:

> parmi les innombrables tracés digitaux [...] certains ont fait l'objet d'un traitement spécial [et] furent tracés en deux lignes réalisées successivement. Il ne s'agit plus ici de simples 'méandres' mais bien d'une figure suggérant avec soin l'ondulation d'un serpent. Il arrive même qu'une des extrémités soit relativement globuleuse et fasse alors penser à une tête. (Plassard 1999: 62.)

> among the innumerable digital outlines [...] some were subject to special treatment [and] were drawn in two lines made successively. These are no longer simple 'meandering things' but a figure that suggests the undulation of a snake well. It even happens that one of the depicted figure's extremities is relatively globular and looks like a head.

Plassard points out that, if the meandering lines are indeed similar to snakes, rather than the 'Cave of the Hundred Mammoths', Rouffignac would then be the 'cave of snakes' (Plassard 1999: 62). If Plassard's interpretation is correct, the co-presence of these two species in Rouffignac cave offers evidence that they were being linked already in the Palaeolithic. It could be explained by a creation myth related to that of the Evenks, Tungus and Manchus, the great historical depth of which seems very plausible, and an early form of this tradition could account for the co-presence of the two species.

In addition, while several techniques are used to represent other animals, snakes are systematically traced with a finger, and therefore recessed on the wall. The difference in technique mirrors the Siberian contrast between the mammoth as creator of promontories, and the

snake as creator of valleys and places where water crosses the landscape. The Rouffignac cave paintings could therefore be, in large part, a hymn to the creation of the world.

In closing, let us mention the likelihood that, following the example of recent practices in Siberia, the pachyderm appears to have been part of symbolically mapping a series of binary oppositions (land/water, high/low). Indeed, if Rouffignac cave consists of three levels – the lowest occupied by a stream – representations seem essentially concentrated around wells, allowing a person to pass from one level to another (Plassard 1999).

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Notes

1. Ivanov does not specify the linguistic-cultural groups to which he refers here.
2. See Claude Lévi-Strauss's *Mythologiques* (1964–1971), which show that these principles already existed during the first settlement of the Americas.

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The Sea/Earth/Heaven Formula in Cracovian Mythology, in Master Vincent's *Chronica Polonorum*, the Old Norse *griðamál* and Other Similar Formulas

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Abstract: The early 13th-century Chronica Polonorum *contains a tripartite sea/earth/heaven formula unique for medieval Polish sources but paralleled by a Germanic earth/heaven/sea formula. The Polish source and example are introduced and the Germanic comparative material is surveyed, including the more widely recognized bipartite earth/heaven (Old Norse* jǫrð/upphiminn*) formula, with some currently unrecognized examples. The strongest parallel is found in the Old Norse* griðamál, *and the possibility of Scandinavian influence is considered.*

The *Chronica Polonorum* ['Chronicle of the Poles'] of Master Vincent, or in Polish Wincenty *Kadłubek* (ca. 1150–1223), preserves a myth of the origins of the town and country of Cracow. This myth is in fact a foundation myth of the whole Polish Kingdom, and it remains well known as a legend and fable in Poland even today. It is written in five chapters (I.3–7) in exquisite and sophisticated Latin. The last of these chapters (I.7) includes a lengthy episode that describes the successful rule of Queen Vanda, in which a German ruler utters a stanza with a charm-like character that opens with the lines:

> Vanda mari,
> Vanda terrae,
> Aeri Vanda imperet,
> (*Chronica Polonorum* I.7.)

> Let Vanda the sea,
> Vanda the earth
> the air, Vanda, rule,[1]

The tripartite sea/earth/heaven formula in these verses seems to have parallels in Germanic and Celtic traditions, as well as a similar structure being found in the Bible. Surprisingly, the closest analogy that I have found is in the Old Norse juridical text of *griðamál*. This is an oath confirming the agreement to renounce attacks, which resonates with the context in which the stanza appears in the *Chronica Polonorum*.

Almost a century ago, W.H. Vogt (1936) observed that the oldest version of the *griðamál* formula is in verses like a kind of *galdr* ['charm, incantation']. The question considered here is: How did such a tripartite formula enter the narrative of the *Chronica Polonorum*?

Master Vincent and His Chronicle

Master Vincent was on good terms with Polish rulers and with Pope Innocent III. In 1208–1218, during the end of his clerical career, he was a bishop of Cracow and participated in the Synode of Lateran in 1215. He retired from bishop dignity in 1218 and then spent the last five years of his life in the Cistersian monastery in Jędrzejów. It is unclear whether he wrote the *Chronica Polonorum* during those final years or prior to becoming a bishop in 1208, but I prefer to assume that the work was written before he was elected bishop.[2] He undoubtedly lived and worked during the same period that Saxo Grammaticus was writing the *Gesta Danorum* ['History of the Danes'] in the early 13th century.

The content and Master Vincent's narrative strategies both present and construct Polish legendary history, supplemented with a lot of moral learning in line with medieaval pedagogy. Both the style and content of the

narratives are very reminiscent of Saxo's accounts about Denmark and the Scandinavian past. Many years ago, Stella Maria Szacherska (1976) discovered this similarity, and despite differences between the two authors, it is possible to argue that they studied at the same time in the same or similar schools in France. The only significant differences between the works of Master Vincent and Saxo are that the Polish chronicler wrote about Polish rather than Danish legendary history, what he wrote is much shorter, and he tends to add much more moral learning to his stories, with an abundance of direct and indirect quotations of Classical authorities.

Master Vincent's Origin Myth

To summarize *Chronica Polonorum* I.3–7, Master Vincent locates the beginning of the legendary history of Poland in Cracow,[3] beginning with the mythical King Krak, Latinized with the name Graccus. The strategy of dressing national heroes in Roman robes is of course also well known from Saxo's work. To make a long story short, Master Vincent first describes the settlement of Krak and his people as arriving from Carinthia in the Mediterranean to what would be Poland, where the people elected Krak-Gracchus as their first king. As a ruler, Krak established laws and social order. This is followed by episodes describing a fight with a dragon-like monster (but not precisely a dragon!) that occupies the land, tormenting people and making their lives so difficult that the success of the settlement and the building of the town of Cracow was only possible after Krak's sons' victory over the monster. In the *Chronica Polonorum*, the building – i.e. the origin – of the town of Cracow is connected in a very strange way to information about King Krak's burial: the town was built to honour him after his death, and the name *Kraków* obviously derives form *Krak*.

Strangely enough, it is only at that point in the chronicle that the relates the tragic end of Krak the Old's two sons in a struggle for power between them. At the command of their father and king, the brothers went to the fight and slay the monster that was tormenting the people. However, after they accomplish the feat, one brother immediately killed the other. When this fact was finally discovered, the murderer was swiftly driven out of the country. Nevertheless, the late King Krak also had a daughter, Vanda, who succeeded her father and brothers. Vanda was then elected as the next ruler, not as a queen, however, but as a true king with all of a king's power in her hands – as she was not married. Emphasizing a sense of morality, the subsequent story makes it clear that, in fact, she did not want to marry at all, and that she had no desire to share her royal power with another. A key word found in the account is Latin *imperium*. The word's double meaning may refer to the country Vanda ruled but also to her power to rule: this is a story about power in hands of a great female king, whom we are told was a very strong person and good ruler, successful in war and admired for bringing prosperity to her people. However, by not delivering a successor, she ultimately created a crisis for her people as her death nearly doomed the kingdom.

According to Master Vincent's account, Vanda possessed supernatural power. In this respect, she resembles the three daughters of the Czech hero Krok in the *Chronica Boemorum* ['Chronicle of the Bohemians (i.e. Czechs)'] written by Cosmas of Prague in the early 12th century. In the Czechs' origin myth, Krok is the leader who brings his people to settle in Bohemia and is a transparent counterpart of the Polish King Krak (Słupecki 1993: 15). Among Krok's daughters, who are presented as witches, the eldest, Kazi, was an herbalist, the second, Thetka, taught people pagan cult practices as a pagan priestess, and the youngest, Lubusa, who was of course the best and most honest – and supposedly the most beautiful – was a diviner-prophetess (*phitonissa*). After the death of her father, Lubusa was elected to rule the country alone.[4] (Cosmas Pragensis, *Chronica Boemorum* I.3–6.) The name *Vanda* has obviously been invented by Master Vincent, presumably alluding to the Germanic tribe of the Vandals from the Migration Period, who were considered to originate from the territory of future Poland. Nevertheless, the parallel of the daughters of Krok in the Czechs' origin myth make it apparent that this learned name has been transferred to an established mythic

character. In opposition to Vanda, however, when Lubusa was asked by her people to take up this role, she found a husband for herself and a king for the country. Being a seer (*phitonissa*), she used her second sight to find an appropriate person – a ploughman, Premysl – who, in the Bohemian tradition is a legendary founding father of the Premyslids dynasty. Worth mention here is the motif of Lubusa warning her people before complying with their wish that she search for a king. She warns that the true rule of a real king means tyrrany and exploitation, but the Czech people still insist on this course. The Czechs' origin myth is a story about the situation as it is expected to be, in contrast to the Cracovian case, which is instead a kind of moral warning about a similar situation. There is no doubt that the legends are connected, and not only because of the similarity (or identity) of the names Krak and Krok, or the presence of very similar female characters.

After Vanda had succeeded her father and brothers and begun ruling in Cracow, one German ruler (literally *lemannorum tyrannus* ['tyrant of the Allemanns']), according to Master Vincent, *quasi vacans rapere molitur imperium* ['tried to capture her *imperium* as though it were vacant']. Although the situation is not described very clearly in the *Chronicle*, it is a story about an unsuccessful (yet malicious) suitor in a kind of bridal-quest narrative (Banaszkiewicz 1984). The suitor is, however, *inaudita quadam virtute orius vincitur quam armis* ['defeated by her unheard-of virtue rather than by arms']. As Master Vincent said at the beginning of this part of the story, Vanda was beautiful and wise, and her wisdom obviously also included witchcraft. Upon merely seeing the Cracovian Queen, or rather female King, the whole army of the 'German tyrant' refused to fight *quodam solis radio percellitur* ['like being knocked down with sunbeams']. The enemy's army was defeated with Vanda's charm – referring to both her witchcraft and her beauty – so efficiently that:

> omnes ueluti quodam iussu numinis animos hostiles exuti a proelio diuertunt, asserunt sacrilegium a se declinari non proelium, non hominem se uereri, sed transhumanam in homine reuereri maiestatem. (*Chronica Polonorum*, I, 7.)

as though following a divine command overcoming their hostility, they refused to fight, declaring that they want to avoid sacrilege, and that they would not fight, not because they do not fear a human being, but because they wish to revere the transhuman majesty in the human [i.e. Vanda's] person.

As a consequence, the German ruler, moved *incertum est amoris an indignatione an utriusque* ['by love or disgrace, or both'], *ait* ['said']:

> "Vanda mari,
> Vanda terrae,
> Aeri Vanda imperet,
> diis immortalibus pro suis
> Vanda uictimet!

> Et ego pro uobis omnibus, proceres, solempnem inferis hostiam deuoueo, ut tam uestra quam uestrarum succesionem perpetuas sub femineo consenescat imperio." Dixit et exerto incumbens mucroni expirat. (*Chronica Polonorum*, I, 7.)

> "Let Vanda the sea,
> Vanda the earth
> the air, Vanda, rule,
> and to immortal gods for her [people],
> Vanda, immolate!

> And for all of you and all your progeny, my lords, I offer a solemn sacrifice to the infernal gods, in order that you and your successors will grow old under female rule!" He said and threw himself on his drawn blade and expired.

After stabbing himself with his own sword, the unsuccessful suitor also solemnly acknowledged the power of Vanda as ruling over all the basic elements of the universe – i.e. the sea/earth/heaven – and that what she was doing brings offerings to the gods and use of her supernatural power. On the other hand, the German tyrant curses his army by making an offering of himself for his own army in order to bring them under female rule and, in that cruel way, to punish the army which betrayed him (Kumaniecki 1925–1926: esp. 49). In fact, when Vanda appeared before them, the army immediately acknowledged her power!

Some scholars suppose that the German ruler's suicide takes on an exact counterpart in

a corresponding self-sacrifice by Vanda – i.e. they have interpreted the words *pro suis Vanda victimet* ['Vanda, immolate for hers'] as a curse on Vanda, who should offer herself to the gods in reciprocation for victory. Although this is completely wrong, Master Vincent's text has been understood thus by authors of all subsequent Polish Chroniclers (and all Polish modern historiography!), creating a story about a patriotic queen who defends the country and sacrifices herself for the Fatherland. But this story is not Master Vincent's! As I have discussed elsewhere, a counterpart suicide to that of her antagonist that first appears in the 14th-century *Chronica Poloniae Maioris* (I.1), where Vanda drowns herself in the waves of the Vistula River. In the 15th century, the German ruler received the name Rithogarus and, as J. Banaszkiewicz (1984) has observed, the story absorbs more elements from German bridal quest narratives. It is also only after the 14th century that one of the large burial mounds over Cracow begins to be connected to the myth, becoming *Kopiec Wandy* ['Wandas Mound'] and regarded as her burial place. (See Słupecki 2005.) In Master Vincent's account, Vanda rules (*imperat*) for a very long time. After her victory over this tyrant, Vanda goes on to defeat even Alexander the Great himself (*Chronica Polonorum* I.9–10). In the end, *quia [...] connubio protulerat celibatum* ['because she [...] preferred to live alone over matrimony'], she died *sine succesore decessit* ['without any successor'] *diuque post ipsam sine rege claudicauit imperium* ['and for a long time after her rule, the empire was without a king'], which forms a moral of the story.

Comparative Evidence for the Sea/Earth/ Heaven Formula

The sea/earth/heaven formula in German tyrant's charm is unique in Polish medieval sources. Gerard Labuda had previously suspected some links to Scandinavia, and potentially even to skaldic poetry, although he could not find an analogy (1988: 30–42). No parallel in skaldic verse is known to me, yet Labuda was on the right track. The best analogy is found in Old Icelandic juridical texts, as I pointed out already 25 years ago (Słupecki 1995), when I discovered that the

German scholar W.H. Vogt (1936a; 1936b), already 90 years ago, had analyzed a similar formula in the Old Icelandic lawbook *Grágás*. The respective formula is to be spoken for *griðamál*, a ceremony of reconciliation between two sides in quarrel. Both sides should swear a *griðr*, literally 'a peace', which in this context means 'an agreement to renounce the violence'. *Grágás* then presents the text that should be spoken by the man who performs the agreement. (*Grágás*, *Baugatal*, ch. 2, p. 456.) However, Vogt (1936b: 326) argued that another text of *griðamál*, published in the *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, includes an older version of the formula. What is certain is that the latter version is in verse, increasing its character as a kind of *galdr*, and it also includes a tripartite earth/heaven/sea formula and a curse. In the version in the *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, the following text should be spoken on concluding the *griðr*:

> [...] set ek grið eptir handlagi þeirra ok skilorði:
>
> Jorð raeðr griðum fyr neðan
> en upphimin (fyrir ofan)
> en siór fyrir utan
> sa er kringir um oll lond.
>
> En sa er þessi griðr heldr eigi, þrifiz hvergi milli þessara takmarka ok heiti griðniðingr. (*Diplomatarium Islandicum*, vol.2, p. 659; cf. Vogt 1936b: 326.)

> [...] I set up the peace after they join hands and with the stipulation:
>
> The earth rule the agreement from beneath, and the high heaven from above
> and the sea from all around
> which encircles all land.
>
> Let those who do not hold this agreement find prosperity nowhere between these borders and be called a truce-breaker.

The formula defines the reach of the agreement's validity through the bounds of the universe as the earth, heaven and sea (Vogt 1936b: 331). Master Vincent defines the limits of Vanda's power in a similar way, although in a different order, by the sea, earth and heaven. It may be asked to what degree the Old Norse *upphiminn* ['higher heaven'] is the same as Latin *aer*, yet *aer* and *upphiminn* mark the celestial limit in both cases.

As already stressed by Vogt (1936: 331), this type of tripartite formula is rare in Germanic sources, where usually only earth and heaven are paired. Lars Lönnroth (1981: 313), Rudolf Simek (2003: 173) and Michael Schulte (2007: 61; 2018: 201) have collected examples of that bipartite structure from the Old Norse *Vǫluspá* (st. 3), *Vafþrúðnismál* (st. 20), *Þrymskviða* (st. 2), *Oddrúnagrátr* (st. 17), Old High German *Wessobrunner Gebet*, Old Saxon *Heliand* (2885–2886), Old English *Andreas* (798), *Christ* (967–968), *Psalm 121.2* and a magic charm, and also on from the Swedish runestone in Skarpåker and the Ribe rune stick. Lönnroth argued that the earth/heaven bipartite structure belongs to the myth of creation – to which I would here add: like in the Bible – but that there is also an earth/sea alternative, here, there and in many other creation myths in the world. The alliterative *jǫrd/upphiminn* formula appears in mythological descriptions of the creation and, according to Lönnroth, it was also used for 'magic' purposes when:

> the speaker invokes the holy cosmic powers [...] to give him the strength necessary to perform an act of magic [...] thought [...] as an act of exorcism, whereby nature is cleansed from evil spirits and restored to health, fecundity and usefulness. (Lönnroth 1981: 325.)

In poetic use, the earth/heaven formula appears when "the text deals with the arrival of a great hero or god [...] in a world other than his own" (Lönnroth 1981: 322):

> [This] arrival should imply a threat to the natural order und ultimately the complete destruction of the world (Ragnarök, Judgment Day). The arrival implies that heaven and earth are roaring/trembling/cracking [...]. (Lönnroth 1981: 322.)

Such a binary structure is, however, incomplete as compared to the Cracovian sea/earth/air formula and the earth/air/sea formula of *griðamál*. The sea "which encircles all land" – to quote *griðamál* – is also an important cosmological element known very well in Old Norse mythology. Lönnroth did not include the formula from *griðamál*. He quoted the *Wessobrunner Gebet* (Lönnroth 1981: 313), where the three elements appear, as well as *Vafþrúðnismál*, but did not stress that such

a tripartite structure also appears in arguably its best example in the third stanza of *Vǫluspá*, describing the chaos before the gods create the universe:

> Ár var alda
> þat er Ymir bygði,
> var sandr né saer
> né svalar unnir;
> iorð fannz aeva
> né upphminn,
> gap var ginnunga,
> en gras hvergi.
> (*Vǫluspá* 3.)

> At (before) the beginning of time, there, when Ymir dwelled, was sand nor sea nor chill waves; earth was found nowhere, nor high heaven, the void was yawning, and grass nowhere (cf. Klaus von See et al. 2019: 86).

Here the sea (*saer*) / earth (*jǫrð*) / high heaven (*upphimmin*) formula is somewhat dispersed across the verses and supplemented with elements representing the world of the earth (or sea floor? – *sandr*) and sea (*svalar unnir*); no concrete example is given only from heaven.

Vafþrúðnismál 21 speaks about the creation of the world from the primordial giant Ymir's corpse – very much in harmony with other Indo-European cosmogonies beginning from the Vedic sources. Here, following Óðinn's questions about the origins of the world in the form of the *bipartite* formula *Segðu [...] hvaðan iorð um kom eða uphimmn [...]* (st. 20) ['Tell [...] whence came the earth or high heaven'], Vafþrúðnir's answer echoes this with a *tripartite* structure:

> Ór Ymis holdi
> var iorð um scopuð,
> enn ór beinom biorg,
> himmin ór hausi
> ins hrímkada iotuns,
> en um sveita siór.
> (*Vafþrúðnismál* 21.)

> From Ymir's flesh the earth was crated, but the mountains form his bones, heaven from rime-cold giants skull, and the sea from his blood.

Funnily enough, a somewhat similar situation is found in the Bible, where Genesis 1 first presents a bipartite creation of the earth and heaven, and then adds the third element in the following sentence: *In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram. Terra autem erat inanis et*

vacua et tenebrae erant super faciem abyssi; et Spiritus Dei ferebat super aquas. ['In the beginning God created heaven and earth. And the earth was void and empty, and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the Spirit of God moved over the waters.]

The earth/heaven structure is indeed more frequent in Germanic texts, but the tripartite structure is also recorded in some other important sources. Some less well-known examples are found in German laws from the High Middle Ages. For example, in the 15th-century *Ordnung des Kampfrechten am Landgericht der Franken*, the corpse of an outlaw was dedicated in damnation formula (*maledictio*) to *den thieren in den walden, den vogeln in den luften und den fischen in dem wage [...]*(following Siuts 1959: 127) ['the animals in the woods, the birds in the air and the fish in the waves'], with additional examples from the 14th through the 16th century surveyed by Hinrich Suits (1959: 127–129). It thus seems there were (at least) two cosmical structures in Old Norse mythology described in the respective formulas.

The tripartite earth/heaven/sea formula is also known from Irish sources and appears many times in the *Tain Bo Cuailinge* epic, and also brings to the mind cosmological or even eschatological events of heaven falling, the sea moving horribly with the floating the earth, and of the earth breaking and opening; the formula appears in connection to the deeds of a great hero Conchobar (*Tain Bo Cuailinge*, pp. 666, 676–677, 862–864; Vogt 1936b: 331–333; Słupecki 1995:163–165).

Conclusion

Returning to the tripartite formula from Cracow, the formula's usage is of particular interest for comparison. The Germanic formula is not simply linked to the cosmological structure; it was used in ritual speech to demarcate inclusion in, or exclusion from, the whole of the created universe, paralleling that found in Master Vincent's *Chronica Polonorum*. Gerard Labuda (1988) proposed that the Old Norse formula could have reached Cracow through Germany. This is of course possible, yet there is no reason that it could not have simply come from Germany, which indeed seems more likely than a

hypothesis of an Icelandic juridical formula being used in Cracow at the beginning of 13th century. But there remains a possibility of some Scandinavian link, a link that would be in alignment with the strange similarity between the narrative strategies, ways of Latinizing the proper names of local heroes and, generally speaking, the similarity in the Latin language used by Master Vincent and Saxo Grammaticus. The two authors, Danish and Polish, may have known one another, spoken together and exchanged ideas. On many occasions, Polish historiography has noticed *en passant* the similarities between the works of Saxo Grammaticus and Master Vincent, which in fact demand a new and in-depth study. On the other hand, there is also the possibility of seeing a much broader background to the tripartite formula, which can be viewed against not only Germanic and Celtic cosmogony, but also that of the Bible.

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Notes

1. All translations are by the present author unless otherwise noted.
2. For current research on Master Vincent's *Chronicle*, see Dąbrówka & Wojtowicz 2009.
3. Thus in Little Poland (Małopolska), whereas the first Polish chronicler, known as Gallus Anonymous and who was writing about a century earlier, located it in Gniezno in Polonia Maior (Wielkopolska). Gallus focuses on the local tradition of the tribe of the Polanians and the royal dynasty of Piasts that descend from them. Master Vincent, considered the second Polish chronicler, focuses on the tradition of a different region, where the center of the kingdom was already located during his lifetime, and where the new royal capital, which had been in Cracow since the mid-11th century, was by then firmly established.
4. *Omnia nostra et nos ipsi in tua manu sumus, te ducem, te judicem, te rectorem, te protectorem, te solum nobis in dominum eligimus* ['We and all that is ours are in your hands; we only choose you as our guide, you as our judge, you as our ruler, you as our protector, you as our master] (Cosmas Pragensis, *Chronica Boemorum* I.3–6, p. 16).

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Translation and the Fracturing of the Law:
The Motivation Behind the Norwegian Law of 1604

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Abstract: In the 16th century, numerous translations into Danish were made of the 13th-century Old Norwegian law-code, the Landslov*, which was still in force in Norway. This article argues that these translations were made not only due to the linguistic difficulties facing Danes working with a law-code in Old Norwegian, but also reflect an attempt to stop the Norwegian legal system fracturing as a consequence of a multitude of Danish versions of the law.*

The first national law-code valid for the whole of Norway, King Magnus Lagabøte's *Landslov*, was passed in 1274. It replaced earlier regional laws, the *landskapslover*.[1] When the *Landslov* was introduced, Norway was an independent kingdom, and the introduction of a national law-code was an important stage in the process of Norwegian state formation and the consolidation of the power of the monarchy.[2] The *Landslov* stayed in force for an impressive 400 years, and was valid for the reigns of 19 monarchs until well into the early modern period, when it was superseded in 1687 by Christian V's Norwegian Law (*Kong Christian Den Femtis Norske Lov*).[3]

During the period the *Landslov* was in force, Norway was transformed from a medieval kingdom into an early modern European state. For much of this time, it was in a union with Denmark. In 1380, the Danish King Olaf II Håkonsen inherited the Kingdom of Norway as Olav IV Håkonsson. After his death, Norway was ruled by his mother, Margrete I, from 1387 to 1412. In 1397, Sweden, Denmark and Norway formed the Kalmar Union, which was dissolved in 1523 when Sweden withdrew.[4] From 1536/1537, Denmark and Norway were in a personal union,[5] and when in 1536 the Norwegian Council of the Realm was abolished, Norway in effect became a province ruled from Denmark.[6] Up until 1814, Norway

remained a part of the Kingdom of Denmark–Norway, which in 1660 became the integrated state of Denmark–Norway and an absolutist monarchy.

The *Landslov* was originally written in Old Norwegian. However, by the 16th century, Danish was the language of the administration in Norway and legal officials could no longer necessarily read the Old Norwegian found in the medieval lawbooks and their copies with ease (Vinje 1973: 27, 31). Danish translations of law manuscripts thus had to be made for practical purposes. In the 16th and 17th centuries, these translations were handwritten in manuscripts and, as a result, there are about 120 manuscripts of the translated laws.[7] In 1604 a government-mandated translation of the *Landslov* was published in Danish, which was the first time that the law had been printed. The observable errors and inaccuracies in the printed translation of 1604 suggest that a perfectly collated and translated law-book in 1604 was an unmanageable task, given the background of the variable translations into Danish in use in Norway.

Previous scholars have emphasized that the immediate aim of the 1604 translation was to provide an adequate Danish translation of the *Landslov*.[8] I argue that, in addition to solving the practical difficulty of Danish lawmen not being able to read Old Norwegian, the printed

translation of 1604 was put together in an attempt to stop the Norwegian legal system fracturing as a consequence of a multitude of Danish versions of the law, and to consolidate the Danish control over the Norwegian legal system. The printed translation of 1604 aimed to codify law that was valid, thus aiming to incorporate amendments and other regulations that had been promulgated since the time of Magnus Lagabøte, thereby consolidating Norwegian law from the variable translations available by the end of the 16th century. Incorporating 300 years of amendments into the law-code was no easy task, which will have been one of the reasons why it took so long to produce a satisfactory text, and why the results were mixed, as this article will demonstrate. One other important aspect of the assembly and printing of the law-code was to consolidate Danish control over the Norwegian legal system. The Danish king asserted his authority by printing the law and distributing it around Norway, a country still without its own printing press. This move from Copenhagen gave a clear signal of Danish power and wealth. Norwegians were now under the control of a law distributed directly from Denmark, even if the content was still recognisably Norwegian. The absolutism established in Denmark in the 1660s was included in Norwegian law with the introduction of Christian V's Norwegian Law (*Kong Christian Den Femtis Norske Lov*), with which the *Landslov* was finally replaced in 1687.[9]

The article analyses diverging translations of the *Landslov*. I will begin by presenting the background of the *Landslov*'s 16th-century translations into Danish. Secondly, I examine the 16th-century attempts at putting together a new translation, and, thirdly, I will discuss the aims of the printed translation of 1604.

The Background of the Translations of the Landslov into Danish ca. 1600

While little work has been done on the Danish translations of the *Landslov*, there are thought to have been 3–4 influential translations actually undertaken that were copied and circulated widely, one from the beginning of the 16th century, one from the 1530s and one from the 1550s. It has been suggested that lawmen with especially good expertise were responsible for

these. In the 1560–1570s and, later, other translations seem to have been undertaken but these were not widely disseminated. (Fladby 1986: 192.)

Disparity arose in the translations of the *Landslov*, both in comparison with the Old Norwegian versions of the law texts (the source texts), and between the translations themselves. For comparative purposes, I will illustrate this with four manuscripts, two from early in the manuscript tradition (ca. 1300), and two later Danish translations, one from the end of the 16th century and one from 1600.

1. Holm Perg 34 4to from the last quarter of the 13th century, the oldest surviving *Landslov* manuscript
2. AM 79 4to from the end of the 16th century
3. NKS 1642 4to from around 1300
4. AM 92 4to from 1600, a copy of NKS 1642 4to

Holm Perg 34 4to is the oldest manuscript of the *Landslov* still preserved. The selection of text examples made in Table 1 concerns the killing of a lawman.[10]

Although AM 79 4to is not a direct translation of Holm Perg 34 4to, the translation of the *Landslov* it contains is typical, and its exemplar seems to have been close enough that we can get an idea of the translation strategy employed. Key vocabulary remains recognizably the same: for example, *lǫgmann* ['lawman'] in Holm Perg 34 4to is rendered by *Laugmand* in AM 79 4to. Old Norwegian *níðingsvíg* in Holm Perg 34 4to is rendered by Danish *nidings verck* in AM 79 4to. The first half of the compound remains the same, but the second element replaces *víg* with *verck* ['deed'], changing the meaning from 'villainous killing' to 'villainous deed'; whether *víg* or *verck*, both misdeeds meant that the perpetrator was considered a *níðingr*, a scoundrel with a malicious and base character. *Skipaðr* in the Old Norwegian means 'appointed', and also has connotations of something having been created. This is rendered by *skickit* in Danish, a Low German loan word (*schicken*) (*Den Danske Ordbog*, *s.v.* 'skikke'), which means 'appointed', and also has connotations of something having been fashioned or set up in such a way as to be fit for a specific purpose. The lawman in Old Norwegian graphically *høggr niðr* ['strikes down'] justice (more

Table 1. Comparison of extracts from four manuscripts concerning the killing of a lawman.

Holm Perg 34 4to (late 13th century)	AM 79 4to (late 16th century)	NKS 1642 4to (ca. 1300)	AM 92 4to (1600, copy of NKS 1642 4to)
Þat er ok níðingsvíg, ef maðr drepr lǫgmann þann er til þess er skipaðr at segja mǫnnum lǫgg því at sá høggr niðr réttyndi fyri ǫllum mǫnnum því at hann er ǫllum jafnskyldugr svá ríkum sem fátøkum þar sem hann er yfir skipaðr. (23v)	Det er oc nidings verck at drebe Laugmand som til des er skickit at sige mend laug. Thi huo det giør hand nedertrycker ret for alle mand Thi hand er alle plictige loug at sige saa velde fattige som den rige. (33r)	Þat er nidings vigh at uega logman firir retta logsogn. þui at han hoggar niðr rœttyndi firir mannon. Þui at han er allum iamskyldugar log at segia þeim sem han er ifir skipaðr. (31a)	Det er nidinngsverck, at mand dræber Lagmanden for rette lagsognn Thi at denn nedhugger retten for mannd Thi hannd er dem alle lige ret pligtige som i hans lag sognn ere. (22v)
It is also a villainous killing if a man kills a lawman, that one who is appointed to do this: to say the law to people so that that one exacts [literally 'strikes down'] justice for all people since he is equally obligated to the rich as to the poor where he is appointed [to preside] over.	It is also a villainous killing to kill a lawman, who to this is appointed: to say the law to people. Because that one does this: he brings justice to bear for all people. Because he is equally obliged to say the law to the very poor as to the rich.	It is a villainous killing to slay a lawman for a just decision. Because he exacts [literally 'strikes down'] justice for people. Because he is equally obliged to say the law to everyone that he is appointed over.	It is a villainous killing to kill a lawman for a just decision. Because he exacts [literally 'strikes down'] justice for men. Because he is equally obliged in the law to all those who are in his jurisdiction.

idiomatically, 'exacts justice'); in Danish, he *nedertrycker* ['bears down'] justice (more idiomatically, 'brings justice to bear'). The AM 79 4to translation lacks the final "hann er yfir skipaðr" ['he is appointed to preside over']; Holm Perg 34 4to denotes that each lawman is responsible for his own territory, while the Danish version is more general about the duty of the lawman,[11] although it agrees with the Old Norwegian that the lawman is as equally obligated to the rich as to the poor.

AM 92 4to from 1600 is a direct translation of NKS 1642 4to from c. 1300. Again, we can see that key legal vocabulary is preserved (*nidings vigh* is translated *nidinngsverck*, with the same change in the second element of 'killing' to 'deed'), *logman* is translated *Lagmanden*, *logsogn* is translated *lagsognn*. *Hoggar niðr* in the source text becomes *nedhugger* in the target text, which has the same meaning but uses vocabulary with a Low German rather than an Old Norse origin. AM 92 4to translates "þeim sem han er ifir skipaðr" as "som i hans lag sognn ere", delineating the area of the lawman's responsibility more precisely. It moves the focus of his responsibility

from the group of people for whom he is responsible in the Old Norwegian, to simply those living in an administrative area in the Danish text.

Variation amongst the Danish translations becomes clearer if we add readings from AM 90 4to, from 1593:[12]

> Det er och <u>fredløss gierning</u> att Mand Dræber laugmand, som til <u>dis err skickede att sige huer mannd loug</u>, bode <u>fattige och ryge</u>, ti dem der det giør hannd nedfelder rettenn for alle Mand. (28r, emphasis added)

> It is also <u>an outlawable deed</u> that a man kills a lawman, who is appointed <u>to this: to say the law to each person</u>, both <u>poor and rich</u>, because it is they who do this: he adjudicates justice for all people.

The translations into Danish differ significantly from one another. Both AM 79 4to (from the end of the 16th century) and AM 92 4to (from 1600) use a version of *nidinngsverck* (Old Norse *níðingsverk*). AM 92 4to translates *nidings vigh* (as given in NKS 1642 4to from 1300) from the source text by switching the meaning of the second element from 'killing' to 'deed', as discussed above. In AM 90 4to

from 1593, however, we find *fredløss gierning* rather than *nidinngsverck*. A *nidings vigh* was a deed that caused the perpetrator to lose his land as punishment and was not atonable by paying compensation; the offender was executed or made an outlaw. A *fredløss gierning* was an act causing the offender to lose his legal protection, meaning that he could be killed without retribution (cf. *Den Danske Ordbog, s.v.* 'fredløs'). In terms of practical consequences, these two terms mean much the same, although *fredløss gierning* does not capture the debasement of the offender's character implied by *nidings vigh* or *nidinngsverck*. In addition, AM 90 4to and AM 79 4to mention the poor and the rich as both receiving the law (*bode fattige och ryge / velde fattige som den rige*), whereas AM 92 4to summarises this as all who are in his jurisdiction (*lag sognn*).

This brief example demonstrates that the translations from ca. 1600 are dissimilar in places. Across the corpus, there are omissions, additions, amendments and so forth, which means that, by the end of the 16th century, there was a certain amount of variation in the law.

This variability in the Danish translations was from the mid-16th century onwards subject to the attention of the administration and much lamented, since it meant the law-code had become fragmented. This had to be dealt with to ensure the integrity of the Norwegian legal system. The way the Danish administration in Norway sought to solve this problem was to appeal to the government for a revision of the law-code and for a single translation that could be used everywhere.[13]

The 16th-Century Attempts at Putting Together a New Translation

There were a number of failed attempts to get a state-sponsored translation off the ground. In 1557 and in 1572, there were indications by the Danish administration that a more uniform law was required, but nothing happened. In a meeting in Bergen in 1557, the stated goal was to make the old law and the amendments applicable to the whole of Norway, which can only mean that a new translation was being suggested at the time. Likely this led to simply another translation that was valid alongside the others. In 1572, a declaration from Fredrik II demanded a coherent translation in good

Danish to be used all over the country, but it also effectively came to nothing.[14]

By the end of the 16th century, the need for a state-sponsored version of Norwegian law was urgent. While the Norwegian lawmen in the 1500s could still manage to read the Old Norwegian texts, the language was remote, and they could need a translation of the law-code themselves (Vinje 1973: 31). The need for a Danish translation to serve the needs of the Danish administration was consolidated in the late 16th century by three factors: firstly, by the gradual professionalization of legal officials from 1590 onwards (Sunde 2005: 25, 218–219, 225); secondly, by the implementation of the position of *sorenskriver* in Norway in 1590–1591 (a type of administrative legal official, eventually equivalent to a district court judge); and thirdly, by the removal of Norwegian lawmen and the implementation of Danish legal officials in Norway in 1600–1603 (Fladby 1986: 193; Sunde 2005: 177). These officials did not understand Old Norwegian, nor were they familiar with Norwegian laws.

At the beginning of the 1590s, in the time of Christian IV, there was again a royal command that a lawbook in Danish had to be developed for Norway, probably as a reaction to a report of 1590 that stated clearly that Danish and German administrative officials and priests could absolutely not read or understand Norwegian and that there were huge differences between various translations of the law (Hallager & Brandt 1855: viii–xiv). This at least seems to have provoked a flurry of activity and it seems that many people became involved in translation work in the early 1590s (Fladby 1986: 192). However, even that attempt pretty much fell flat, and the results did not have much influence.

Again in 1602, a new order to work on a lawbook for Norway came from Copenhagen. Within a year, a new draft for the Norwegian lawbook was put forward. Such was now the stir around the book that the king himself examined the suggestions, and the work was also reviewed at a meeting in Bergen, where it was substantially revised. (Hallager & Brandt 1855: xiv–xviii; Fladby 1986: 193). Finally, in December 1604, the new lawbook for Norway was published under the title *Den Norske low-bog offuerset, corrigerit oc forbedrit* ['The Norwegian Law Book: Translated, Corrected

Table 2. Comparison of extracts from three manuscripts and the printed edition of 1604 of the section concerning the killing of a lawman.

AM 79 4to (end of the 16th century)	AM 92 4to (1600)	AM 90 4to (1593)	1604 translation
Det er oc <u>nidings verck</u> at drebe Laugmand som til <u>des er skickit at sige mend laug</u>. Thi huo det giør hand nedertrycker ret for alle mand <u>Thi hand er alle plictige loug</u> at sige saa velde fattige som den rige. (33r)	Det er <u>nidinngsverck</u>, at mand dræber Lagmanden <u>for rette lagsognn</u> Thi at denn nedhugger retten for mannd <u>Thi hannd er dem alle lige ret pligtige som i hans lag sognn ere</u>. (22v)	Det er och <u>fredløss gierning</u> att Mand Dræber laugmand, som til <u>dis err skickede att sige huer mannd loug</u>, bode <u>fattige och ryge</u>, ti dem der det giør hannd nedfelder rettenn for alle Mand. (28r)	Det er oc nidingsværck, om mand dræber laugmanden for sin dom thi hand da nederfelder low oc ret. (Hallager & Brandt 1855: 41)
It is also a <u>villainous killing</u> to kill a lawman, who <u>to this is appointed: to say the law to people</u>. Because that one does this: he brings justice to bear for all people. <u>Because he is equally obliged</u> to say <u>the law to the very poor as to the rich</u>.	It is also a <u>villainous killing</u> to kill a lawman <u>for a just decision</u>. Because he exacts [literally 'strikes down'] justice for men. <u>Because he is equally obliged in the law to all those</u> who <u>are in his jurisdiction</u>.	It is also an <u>outlawable deed</u> that a man kills a lawman, who is <u>appointed to this: to say the law to each person</u>, both <u>poor and rich</u>, because it is them who does this: he adjudicates justice for all people.	It is also a villainous killing if a man kills a lawman for his judgement, since he adjudicates law and justice.

and Improved'], known as Christian IV's Norwegian Law.[15] In June 1605, the lawmen in Norway received their copies.

The Results of the Printed Translation of 1604

If we compare the 1604 translation of the law-man section to the other translations from ca. 1600 in Table 2, we can see that the law of 1604 is considerably shorter. The whole final section of the law, stating that the lawman is equally obliged to say the law to all men and to provide justice for the rich as to the poor, is missing.

A lot of material added to the law of 1604 does not correspond to the *Landslov*. In some cases, the sources of the laws are not known, but much of it derives from identifiable texts (as listed in e.g. the notes in Hallager & Brandt 1855), and some of it was drawn from customary practice. Tingfarebolken (the section on travelling to the thing) ch. 2, for example, contains material that is not in the source (Hallager & Brandt 1855: 9n.2), but has a rule inserted that the 1604 translation says "haffuer verit sædvaanligt" ['has been customary '] nevertheless.

In general, the law of 1604 includes a number of mistakes and misinterpretations. These include some simple printing errors, for example *hindis* for *hans* (Hallager & Brandt 1855: 77). More serious misunderstandings can be illustrated by the following five examples:

Tingfarebolken, Ch. 4

In Tingfarebolken (the section on travelling to the thing), ch. 4, the meaning of the source's term *nauðsynjarvitni* (Hallager & Brandt 1855: 12) is misunderstood, and the law of 1604 has: "IV. Ere de vidner, som mand met lowen nædis til at bere, paa sin egen vegne, eller effter en andens ord" ['They are witnesses, as a man obliged by law to testify, on his own behalf or for another's word']. A *nauðsynjarvitni* is in fact a witness produced to prove impediment (Cleasby & Vigfusson 1957: *s.v.* 'nauðsynjarvitni').

Landevernsbolken, Ch. 4

The beginning of Landevernsbolken (the section on coastal defence), ch. 4, contains a misunderstanding that makes the whole chapter confusing.[16] The original Old Norse, normalised from Holm Perg 34 4to,[17] reads "Nú ef hers er ván í land várt, þá skulu men vitavǫrð sinn reiða" (18r) ['Now if an army is expected in our country, then men should attend to their watch-beacon duty']. The translation reads "Er der feide formodendis paa rigit, da skal vædvarder oc vardehusze ferdig giøris" (Hallager & Brandt 1855: 26) ['If a war is expected in the country, then beacons and watchhouses should be made ready'], mistranslating the expectation that men will

attend to their legal duty to man the beacons with readying beacons and watchhouses.

Landevernsbolken, Ch. 9
The beginning of Landevernsbolken (the section on coastal defence), ch. 9, has been misunderstood (Hallager & Brandt 1855: 26n.9). In the 1604 translation:

> Naar skib skal vdsættis, oc skipperen lader tilsige saa mange der til behoff giøris: da skal huer som icke kommer vden lowlig forfald, bøde konningen to marck sølff: oc flytte dog skibit i haffne, oc foruare det, til det bliffuer anlagt. (Hallager & Brandt 1855: 30)

> When a ship shall be launched and the captain asks for as many men as are needed, then shall each who does not answer the call without a legal reason be fined two marks of silver to the king; and yet the ship moved into the harbour and secured until docked.

The original reads:

> Nú skal stýrimaðr boð upp skera, er skip skal út setja, ok stefna svá víða mǫnnum til sem hann sér at þarf. En hverr sem eigi kømr eftir boði forfallalaust, sekr eyri silfrs við konung, ok flyti skip til hafnar. Þeira ábyrgð er á þar til er fest er" (19v)

> Now shall the captain send a summons when the ship shall set out, and summon as many further men as he sees necessary. And each who does not answer the summons, without a legal cause, is fined an eyrir of silver to the king, and has to move the ship to the harbour. Their responsibility lasts until it is moored.

Landevernsbolken, Ch. 18
There is an incorrect explanation of the word *Styrehamle* in Landevernsbolken (the section on coastal defence), ch. 18 (Hallager & Brandt 1855: 39n.4), where it is explained in the translation "som kallis det rum, skipper oc styrmand haffuer til deris redskab" (Hallager & Brandt 1855: 39) ['as the room is called, which the skipper and helmsmen have for their equipment']. This is actually the strap that secured the steering oar. The incorrect definition found in the law of 1604 made its way into the *Dansk Ordbog udgiven under Videnskabernes Selskabs Bestyrelse* (1848 VI: 919) as the explanation for *Styrehamle*.

Mannhelgebolken, Ch. 7
"Da skulle de sette hannem fangen paa omudsmandens bekostning" ['Then they should keep him prisoner at the ombudsman's cost'] from Mannhelgebolken (the section on personal rights), ch. 7, is an incorrect translation in the law of 1604 (Hallager & Brandt 1855: 46n.6). The original in chapter 9 of the *Landslov* reads: "þá skulu þeir...setja hann bundinn á flet hans" (25r) ['then they should set him bound [on the floor of] his house'].

In addition, sections of the *Landslov* were included that were clearly antiquated by 1604. Some examples are:

Tingfarebolken, Ch. 8
Tingfarebolken (the section on travelling to the thing), ch. 8, is a misunderstanding of the *Landslov*'s Tingfarebolken's chapter 8, to the point where it could have been omitted, since it contains a distinction relevant to a situation where a killing was punished with a killing, a practice long since forbidden (Hallager & Brandt 1855: 17–18n.3).

Landevernsbolken, Ch.1
The introduction to Landevernsbolken (the section on coastal defence), ch. 1, is clearly outdated; it begins: "Norgis konnung skal raade, oc biude offuer hans vndersaatte effter lowen: oc biude dem i leding oc vdfærd, naar behoff giøris." (Hallager & Brandt 1855: 24n.3) ['Norway's king shall rule, and have command over his subjects according to the law, and command them in readying crew and ships for defense and for campaigns as needed'].

Arvetallet, Ch. 17
In Arvetallet, "da skal hand steffne hannem til sit eget rettelige" in ch. 17 (Hallager & Brandt, 1855: 90–91n.1) ['then he shall serve him lawful summons at his own [home]'] is the translation of chapter 28 in MLL, "þá skal hann stefna honum heimstefnu rétta" ['then he shall serve him lawful summons at his own home'], a practice that in the time of Christian IV was long out of use, and thus the provisions in this passage are antiquated (Hallager & Brandt 1855: 91n.1).

Some legal decisions that had since been replaced were included anyway, while amendments and other regulations that were still valid were not included or were inserted into the wrong place, or misunderstood.[18]

It is tempting to dismiss the law of 1604 as a poor effort – but to produce a perfect translation that was also a solid revision was always going to be very difficult. The *Landslov* at this point was over 300 years old, written for a medieval state that had become an early modern society. The new regulations that had been introduced in the intervening time period, and that should have ideally been seamlessly incorporated by the translators, were numerous, made by many different people and legal bodies over a long period of time, and highly scattered, which made the production of an early modern version of the *Landslov* an impossible task.

The inconsistencies and mistakes in the translation of 1604 quickly came to light. As early as the mid-17th century, it was recognised that the law was no longer fit for its purpose due to the changes in society since the 13th century. It was especially Norway's *Kansler* ['Chancellor'],[19] Jens Aagesen Bjelke, who made efforts to do something about this from 1619 onwards, but they were never realised, and he gave up in the 1640s (Aubert 1877: 66–70; Prebensen & Smith 1887: vii). From the perspective of King Frederick III (1648–1670), more pressing was that the Norwegian law-code did not reflect his 'total sovereignty' (*absolutum dominium*) and sovereign rights concerning royal succession.[20] This, along with other defects, was to be corrected in a revision of the Norwegian law, as the king makes clear in a missive to Ulrik Frederik Gyldenløve (then *Stattholder* ['Governor-General'] in Norway)[21] on 25 March 1666.[22] The resulting law from 1687,[23] *Kong Christian den Femtis norske Lov af 15 April 1687*, introduced absolutism in Norway.

Conclusion

The translation of 1604 was put together in an attempt to stop the Norwegian legal system fracturing as a consequence of a multitude of Danish versions of the law. The differences in the translations from manuscripts are quite visible in the examples given above, which demonstrate variable phrasing as well as fluctuating vocabulary for the same terms. The examples drawn from the translation of 1604 showed that the state-sponsored translation produced yet another version of the law, one that also contains misunderstandings and strangely placed, antiquated rules. The printing and distribution of the translation from 1604 was a display of Danish power, which culminated in the law of 1687, when the *Landslov* was finally replaced.

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Notes

1. See Iuul & Leidgren 1965: 230.
2. See Helle 2003: 380–385. For state formation in the Middle Ages, see Bagge 1986; 2010. The role of legislation in state formation in Norway and the other Nordic realms has been explored by Imsen 2013.
3. *Kong Christian den Femtis Norske Lov af 15de April 1687*, printed in Copenhagen in 1687; for a facsimile edition, see *Faksimilie utgave av Norske Lov Trykt hos H. kongl: Højh: privil: Bogt. Joachim Schmedrgen i Kiøbenhavn i det Herrens aar 1687* (1991).
4. For overviews of the Scandinavian politics and inter-relations, see Olesen 2003: esp. 722, 769–770. And Schück 2003: esp. 683, 685, 689. See Albrechtsen 1999 for Norway's relationship to Denmark 1380–1536.
5. A personal union is a union between two or more states by the same monarch, while their interests (e.g. boundaries, laws) remain separate.
6. See Jespersen 2016: 346–347.
7. For an overview of the manuscripts of the *Landslov*, see Storm 1879; Rindal & Spørck 2018: 18–50. Those discussed in this article have been selected on the basis that they are: the oldest version in existence (Holm perg 34 4to), broadly representative (AM 90 4to, AM 79 4to), or a translation (AM 92 4to) of a known medieval manuscript of the law (NKS 1642 4to).
8. See for example Prebensen & Smith, who comment that the plan for the 1604 lawbook was "at levere en ordnet Oversættelse af Magnus Lagabøters Lov med tilhørende Retterbøder, derimod ikke nogen ny eller omarbeidet Lovbog" ['to deliver a mended translation of Magnus Lagabøte's law with accompanying amendments, not a new or revised lawbook'] (1887: 7).

9. See Prebensen & Smith 1887; Iuul 1954.
10. All translations are my own.
11. The source text of the translation may simply have not contained this line.
12. Although a copy of Thott 2086 4to from 1589 (see Storm & Keyser 1885: 453, 585).
13. For a brief overview of the appeals, see the introduction to Hallager & Brandt 1855; see also Fladby 1986: 192–194.
14. For overviews of this process, see Hallager & Brandt 1855: v–viii; Fladby 1986: 192–194.
15. The original is listed in the bibliography under *Den Norske Low-Bog, offuerseet, corrigerit oc forbedrit Anno M.DC.IIII.* This is edited in Hallager & Brandt 1855.
16. "Denne Misforstaaelse har bragt Vildrede i hele Kapitlet" ['This misunderstanding brings confusion to the whole chapter'] (Hallager & Brandt 1855: 26n.6).
17. This is the normalised transcription provided by Robert Paulsen via his Emroon.no digital edition.
18. See for example Mannhelgebolken (the section on personal rights) ch. 24, in which an amendment from King Håkon from 29th May 1303 has been inserted into the text but partially misunderstood (Hallager & Brandt 1855: 24n.4).
19. The *Kansler* had significant political influence and was head of the judiciary.
20. On the introduction of absolutism in Denmark, see Jespersen 2016: 343–358.
21. The *Stattholder* was the representative for the monarch.
22. The missive is printed in Prebensen & Smith 1887: xxxix–xl.
23. For an overview of the process of compiling the law of 1687, see Prebensen & Smith 1887; Iuul 1954.

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The Missing Factor: A Timely Reminder

Jill Bradley

Abstract: Responding to an article published in a previous number of the journal, a perspective is offered here on our drive to interpret and understand features of cultures in the past, and how, in so doing, we can easily lose sight of the fact that cultures are made up of people, who are themselves thinking and interpreting from diverse and sometimes unexpected perspectives.

The article on the dwarf stone in the *RMN Newsletter* 12–13 (Egeler 2017) serves as a timely reminder that in our search for the 'significance' of creations of the past we can overlook the element of just creating something for one's own and other people's enjoyment. Of course, there are mystic or religious meanings to many products of the past. This is particularly true in my field of medieval visual arts, since such things as manuscripts and sculpture in and on churches were costly and were indeed used to convey messages, but other works seem to be outside the mould of a vector for religious concepts. It is more than twenty-five years since Michael Camille published his seminal and perceptive *Image on the Edge* (1992), in which he explored the strange, fantastical and sometimes scatological images that were very often literally on the physical edge of a page or building, but, as Camille pointed out, that also indicated the edge of the Church or society. These oddities, sometimes obvious, such as marginalia in manuscripts, others hidden or at least not on general display, have long fascinated me. In some cases, there seems to be a clear didactic reason. Camille suggests that they are a commentary on the text designed to deepen the meaning and stimulate reflection. This appears to be the case in the manuscript The Hague, Koninglijke Bibliotheek cod. 78D 40, illuminated at the Premonstratensian Abbey of Amiens. From my own examination of this manuscript, there is a point of contact between the various *bas-de-page* illustrations and the text, sometimes highlighting aspects such as human frailty or inverting the conventional surface reading. In attributing this extra significance, it is as well to remember that the Premonstratensians were a particularly austere order and would be unlikely to commission a Missal to contain irreligious images without a reason. However, the stimulus to contemplate the meaning has an element of 'puzzling things out': *Why this image? Why here?* In other words, while the intention is serious, there is the implication of a little intellectual enjoyment for both the reader and the maker who set the 'puzzle'.

Having a serious purpose does not preclude the entertainment factor. On other occasions, I have argued for the apotropaic and sometimes symbolic function of such things as beakheads and grimacing faces on corbels (Bradley 2008: ch. 5), but perhaps for sheer exuberance carved misericords are prime examples. The range of these is enormous covering heavenly figures, moral proverbs, daily life and occasionally downright strange and scatological scenes. Did it amuse the members of the chapter of St. Yves in Tréguier to know that they were supported by an angel, or a defecating man (Figures 1 & 2)? Did the woodcarvers enjoy the creation of such diverse figures in a single set? One of the dangers for any researcher is projecting the interests of one's own time onto

Figure 1. Misericord in the choir of Tréguire cathedral, Brittany, France (photograph by the author).

creations of the past. We have only to look at the popularity of studies of minorities and marginalized groups, be it women, children, the mentally ill, non-sedentary and others, to realize how different the approach to the past is now to when 'history' was about kings and wars, with some diplomacy and a few marriages and rebellions thrown in. While we strive to 'understand' the language of the past and to glean how they expressed their ideas of life, death and the world in general, in doing so perhaps we forget to try to understand the people of the past. I have been as guilty as any other of trying to grasp the ideas of the people of the medieval period while not giving as much attention to the people themselves.

Every researcher builds on the work of his or her predecessors, confirming, developing and challenging data, theories and methods and knows that there is no 'right' theory or method, but rather hopes to add to knowledge and understanding. The current awareness of the possibility of researcher bias and preoccupation with the themes and ideals, both social and academic, is hopefully an advantage when it comes to understanding people of the past, but it does not mean we can dismiss earlier work as irrelevant: historiography is also invaluable in seeing how people in a less distant past viewed the past. Reception history can give us some clues: how people fifty or even a couple of hundred years later view a work, indicates not only the prestige of the work in question, but also a tradition of interpretation. A few years ago, I was privileged to play a small part in the Bosch 500 research project.[1] As well as being surprised by the ignorance of the general public about Bosch – seeing him as a lone, slightly mad genius, probably based on the incomprehensibility of his idiom for the present-day, non-historically-minded viewer, I was very interested to learn the views of later Spanish theologians. Their writings bring out the importance, to them, of the puzzle element, the need to understand Bosch's idiom, which I believe had its roots in earlier marginalia such as the Croy Hours as well as local sayings, an idiom that was taken up by the many Bosch imitators, usually with less success. A publication of 1788, dealing with the royal collection of art, states "on the subject of Hyerónimo Bosco, this [his witty and strange works] is reason enough to open the eyes of ordinary viewers – and others who have less understanding" (de Guevara & Ponz 1788: 41; all translations are by the present author unless otherwise noted). The popularity of this idiom demonstrates people's delight not only in the strange, horrific and bizarre, but also in trying to unravel the meaning of some strange image. Medieval art has always delighted in making

Figure 2. Misericord in the choir of Tréguire cathedral, Brittany, France (photograph by the author).

oblique references, creating a sort of language understood only by insiders, and indeed is the reason why much is incomprehensible or strange to most people looking at it today, and why people like me spend so much time and energy trying to fathom this 'dead language'. The problem lies not only in the fact that the various idioms are no longer in use – a museum curator bemoaned to me that visitors no longer recognized a saint by their attributes, necessitating lengthier information signs than many visitors like – but these past idioms have been overlaid by more recent ones and symbols have taken on new meanings (see Bradley 2011).

It must be remembered that works in the past, just as today, were made not only with a specific purpose, but also with a public, sometimes a very specific public, in mind. Particular references understood only by certain people could strengthen group identity and surely the enjoyment of unravelling a puzzle was part of an 'in joke', however serious the subject. Indeed, it can be argued that there is almost always a moral or didactic intent. Sometimes this is very apparent and created with such a serious primary intent that the result can be regarded as a purely theological work, as in the Exeter Riddle Book, which is a prime example of such a puzzle, in this case literary, theological riddles in the form of long poems. Other examples are less obvious, taking the form of a legend or folk tale, for example; while a puzzle such as a strangely shaped rock provides the chance to create an enjoyable tale, it also gives the opportunity to elaborate on the virtues of piety. Any parent or teacher knows that things are learned better when there is an element of enjoyment, and that anyone, from a young child to academic researcher, has a better understanding of something if they have to work to gain that understanding, rather than accepting a current or obvious interpretation – and indeed it may possibly increase the depth and degree of knowledge and comprehension by discussing alternative 'solutions' with others who have come to different conclusions. I suggest that not only Bosch, but many others, both visually and verbally, created their puzzles, both for their own pleasure and understanding and for that of their intended public, and that tradition continues, as is shown by the 18th century work cited above. The intention of inducing people to look beyond the surface is particularly apparent in Bosch's landscapes, sometimes obviously, as in his sketch of the woods have ears and the fields have eyes, but also in his complex major works: a cliff above a lake is a face in profile, a hummock is a crawling man, distant hills are wheels and cloaked figures. Landscape is

particularly suitable for this purpose, asking the viewer to look at the world around his or herself with new eyes.

The serious intent attributed to Bosch's work and part of the academic research tradition of searching for the deeper meaning of whatever strikes us as strange or incongruous in them and much else, can be demonstrated by a sentence from José de Sigüenza's (1544–1606) *Historia de la Orden de San Gerónimo*: "I admit that in this painting [the Hay Wain], in a brief glance, I read more than in other books in many days". The passage continues:

> The other panel[2] dealing with vain glory and brief pleasures of the strawberry or the fruit of the strawberry tree, and its scant scent that you scarcely taste when you have eaten it, is the most ingenious work of the greatest skill that one can imagine. I speak the truth when I say that – if someone should take up this plan and one or other great writer would commit it to paper – it would be an extraordinarily useful book, for here, live and clear, countless places from the Holy Scriptures can be seen that concern the wickedness of mankind... I would wish that everyone would be just as filled with representations of this painting as from the truth and the original on which Geronimo Bosque based his madness, for – apart from the refined details and considerations that are to be found in each thing (it is amazing how one head could think of so much) – everyone would profit greatly from features that he would find if he in reality withdrew into himself; if that is not so, then he is not aware of what goes on within him and then he is so blind that he does not see the passions and vices that have disfigured him into a beast or many beasts. (*Historia de la Orden de San Gerónimo*, III, p. 840.)

Up to the preset day, scholars argue about the 'meaning' of this work, the one work that most people think of when Bosch is mentioned; is it a warning of man's heedlessness of sin, or a depiction of man's state before he discovered sin? Or one of a hundred more interpretations. Nevertheless, it is interesting to read a

'learned' interpretation from a couple of hundred years ago, and evidently current more than two hundred years after Bosch's death. However Bosch intended it to be interpreted, he certainly set a puzzle.

In this tradition, even though we are from a different time, culture and society, we seek to unravel the puzzles set in the past, and we go about trying to do so in the same way. Perhaps we do not strive to understand a theological or psychological 'truth', but we seek to comprehend the understanding of it, and the ways in which both the makers and their public viewed the world.

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Notes
1. My thanks to my colleagues, in particular Jos Koldeweij and Loes Scholten. The results of this research, including a lot of work on contemporary archives, is freely available at boschproject.org/#/ and boschdoc.huygens.knaw.nl, for which I am happy to say we won the Netherlands Data Prize 2016. The citations in this article can be found on this website, along with transcriptions and translations.
2. Now known as "The Garden of Earthly delights".

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At the Origin of Flood Mythologies: Synthesis of Three Papers

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Abstract: This short article offers a survey of three statistically based on phylogenetic studies of flood myths around the world. The three studies have been published in French. The results offer perspectives on the flood myths of the world having spread with population movements already in the Palaeolithic era. The purpose of this article is to make these results accessible to a wider readership with an added discussion of the collective findings.

Flood myths are widely found around the world. They are very rare in Africa, which stands out as an exception (Baumann 1936; Le Quellec & Sergent 2017: 283–284), where they might have been replaced by the myth of the 'Devouring Calabash' (Paulme 1986: 277; but, on the number of flood myths, more numerous than expected in Africa, see Le Quellec 2021). The wide dissemination of flood myths could be interpreted as a memory of the myth of the Biblical flood, as an impact of missionary efforts or as a mark of the myth's much greater antiquity. However, most of the myths of the flood around the world do not appear to be related to the Christian or Muslim traditions (see Quellec & Sergent 2017: 277–278 and works there cited). On the other hand, Werner Müller (1930: 92) indicated versions very close to the Amerindian myths are found among the Andamans. A historical relationship between these traditions would situate its spread into the Americas with the first human migrations to those continents. This would constitute proof of the great antiquity of at least some versions of the flood. If we accept the diffusionist hypothesis, most flood myths could have spread:

1. From Central Asia (accounting for most traits; see van Binsbergen 2007)
2. From South-East Asia (Oppenheimer 1998)
3. From Africa, during the Out of Africa process (Witzel 2012)

I tested the hypothesis of a Paleolithic diffusion of a set of flood-related motifs in three different studies all based on a statistical approach. The three studies were published in French. The goal of the present paper is to make the conclusions available to a wider range of readers.

Study 1: Entre Ciel et Terre (2017a)
The first study is based on all the motifs concerning the flood included in Yuri E. Berezkin's database (Berezkin & Duvakin, n.d.). When the definition of a motif was large enough to include several types of disasters (flood, ekpyrosis, etc.), only the tales directly linked to the flood were retained, and the others were not taken into account. The level of analysis chosen was that of the cultural area (as defined by Berezkin). This prevents a given people from losing one or more motifs, which could distort the phylogenetic message. Indeed, within a cultural area, such a particular motif is most likely to have been preserved by a neighbouring people. Areas with at least five motifs (1/5 of the number of possible motifs) were selected. *Mesquite* 2.75 software was then used to build the 2,000 most parsimonious phylogenetic trees, and synthesize all nodes found in at least 50% of the reconstructed trees.

The retention index (0.52) suggests a partial 'collective' transmission of the flood's motifs.

In order to determine the main origin of the major part of the diluvian motifs (this analysis only allows trends to be highlighted), the tree was successively rooted in:

- The Bantu area, which would suggest an origin in Africa
- The main Eurasian group, including the Bantu area, which would suggest an origin in Central Asia with back-migration to Africa
- The root of the clade clustering the areas of South-East Asia / Oceania and the areas of South America, which would suggest an origin in South-East Asia

Two reconstruction methods (parsimony and maximum likelihood) were used to reconstruct the motifs at each root of the tree and only the motifs associated with a probability greater than 75% according to both methods were retained. No motifs were commonly reconstructed at both the root of African and Southeast Asian areas.

During the present century and especially across the past decade, research has shown a global pattern in mythological motif distribution that corresponds roughly to the northern and southern hemispheres. Those motifs that have left traces across the southern hemisphere – i.e. in Africa, Southeast Asia, Australia and South America – appear to reflect mythology carried in the first migrations out of Africa. Those found across the northern hemisphere appear to reflect pronounced changes and developments that occurred in mythologies in Eurasia that were subsequently carried in a second major wave of immigration to North America.[1] The low number of motifs related to the flood in Africa and the abscence of motifs commonly reconstructed at both the root of African and Southeast Asian areas do not support a hypothesis of diffusion of a diluvian complex with the out-of-Africa migrations. However, the hypothesis of an African origin of certain relevant motifs is not completely excluded. Indeed, for statistical reasons, only one African area is represented in the corpus, which necessarily biases the results. Berezkin's motif C5A *Bird-scouts* has been reconstructed with an African (not with a Southeast Asian) root. This motif has a context of during or shortly after a flood, as which point "[b]irds or humans

later changed to birds are sent to explore the earth (is it dry, are any survivals, to investigate why smoke rises to the sky, etc.) or to bring some soil to make the land that would be good for living" (Berezkin & Duvakin, n.d.: C5A). It is present in Australia, a continent populated very early in the history of humanity and that remained isolated to a large extent for a long time, so there is the possibility that this motif was carried with the first expansion of *Homo sapiens* out of Africa. Because motif C5A was only retained for analysis in the context of the flood, this expansion may provides potential evidence for a flood myth before the out-of-Africa process.

Two out of three motifs reconstructed by rooting the tree in Central Asia are also found in African rooting, and one out of three motifs is also in Southeast Asian rooting. This position seems to situate Central Asia in an intermediate rather than an original position for the respective motifs. A probable origin for the majority of the diluvian motifs would therefore seem to be Southeast Asia.

The tree exhibits some large clusters. The first cluster groups the areas of Southeast Asia and Oceania and the areas of South America. This clade may be explained by a first human migration (which may have been double) to the New World from Southeast Asia. The peoples of this earliest migration eventually pushed south and became the ancestors of South American populations, among whom traces of correspondingly ancient mythology are found. A second cluster groups together the Eurasian and essentially North American areas. This cluster can thus be correlated with a second migration coming from further north in Eurasia. This migration seems to have driven earlier inhabitants south or assimilated them to become the dominant cultures across most of North America. Moreover, the tree reveals an independent development within Eurasia and one or more migrations back to Africa. These results are consistent with those of many other comparative mythology studies. However, it should be remembered that the results only reflect trends.

The motifs reconstructed at the root of the tree will be discussed below.

Study 2: De l'Art de remonter au deluge (2018)

In order to control the structure of the tree in Study 1, I used a recent edition of chapter five of James Frazer's *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament* (1918). In the book's index (excluding proper names), 39 significant terms referring to at least two of the author's major geographical areas were selected. In addition, the chapter of the book entitled "Other European Versions" was excluded from the analysis, because its limits were not well defined. A binary database was then created by coding the presence of a term with 1 and its absence with 0. Two trees were built using the *Puzzling Quartet* method and the heuristic method (based on likelihood) using *PAUP* 4.0a14. The first tree was rooted in the Australian area, whose native population has remained largely isolated from the rest of humanity. The second tree was rooted on the clade formed by New Guinea, Australia, Polynesia and Micronesia. Both trees show an initial spread from Southeast Asia to South America, and a second migration from a more northerly area of Eurasia to North and Central America. A back-to-Africa migration is also identifiable. The structure of the trees therefore corroborates that of Study 1, as long as one agrees with the tree's root.

The coding method proposed in this study was based on the presence or absence of key concepts in the narration of certain myths, correlated with terms in an index. The index was compiled independently (and indeed a century before) the analysis, which avoided the problem of subjectively determining the data set with the current aims of phylogenetic analysis in focus; any subjective bias in compiling the index was independent of the current study.

A methodological issue was that the reconstructed traits are purely formal and do not allow for the reconstruction of meaning, since words provide meaning only in accordance to their context (which this method cannot take into account). This produces a great risk of reconstructing mythologies as closer to one another based solely on a common set of basic concepts reduced to an index's vocabulary. This coding method could therefore only be complementary to others. Developments of this method are nevertheless possible: for each version of a myth or for each set of myths belonging to the same cultural area, it is possible to statistically establish the nouns, verbs and adjectives most frequent in a corpus (e.g. d'Huy 2014a–b) and, following the method proposed here, to construct a phylogeny on that basis.

Study 3: Un récit de plongeon cosmogonique au Paléolithique supérieur? (2017b)

Study 3 was based on the entire catastrophes section of Berezkin's database. Only the ethno-linguistic groups (*a*) that were listed with at least two motifs in common with others, and (*b*) whose geographical distance from a point of African origin was given by Joaquim Fort and Joaquim Perez Pérez-Losada (2016) were used. The results were then tested by selecting those groups with at least five, and then seven, motifs. For each database, Jaccard's distance was calculated between the particular group and that geographically closest to Africa (no mythology with more than two motifs in common with other mythologies could be retained in Africa). Then the results were compared to the geographical distance separating each linguistic group from Africa as given by Fort and Pérez-Losada (2016), with linear and Spearman regressions to model the relationship between the two parameters.

The distance from an African origin explains between 7.43% and 32.09% of the variation in the mythological diversity (only $p < 0.05$ values were retained here): the variability depends on different factors such as the size of the database or the suppression of certain peoples. Geographic distance alone (Mantel test) explains between 4.62 and 50.55% ($p < 0.05$) of the variability. When the p-value is significant enough to compare results, the influence of distance from Africa is always >50% of the total influence of the geographic distance.

The correlation increases significantly when only mythologies with a higher number of motifs are retained in analysis between the distance from an African origin and the variation in the mythological diversity. These mythologies are mainly located in northern Eurasia and North America, and this increase suggests a second Paleolithic mythological spread from northern Eurasia to North America via Northeast Asia.

Table 1. Motifs reconstructed to different roots on the tree using the parsimony and the maximum likelihood methods. S1 = Study 1; S3 = Study 3; + = corroborating research; motifs are listed according to Berezkin & Duvakin, n.d.

Motif	Southeast Asia	North Eurasia	North America	South America
C4	S1			S1
C6D		S3 +	S3 +	
C6C		S3 +	S3 +	
C6A			S3	
C2	S1		S1, S3	S1
C34	S1 +			S1 +
C5A			S1	
C8			S1	
C19		S3 +		
C32		S3		

C4: The flood: fruits fall from a tree. *During the flood or in the beginning of times fruits, seeds or other objects are dropped into water one by one, usually by a person who has climbed a tree; as far as the objects fall, water recedes and the dry land appears*
Corroboration: *Proximity between Oceanian and South American versions of the myth (d'Huy 2020a: 155–157).*

C6D: The earth-diver. *Persons or creatures get from the bottom of the ocean or from the lower world small amount of solid substance which turns into the earth.*
Corroboration: *Paleolithic origin of the Earth diver and constatation of a diffusion from north Eurasia to north America (Charencey 1894; Dähnhardt 1907; Rooth 1957: 99; Berezkin 2007; Napolskikh 1991; 2012; Witzel 2012: 116–117; Le Quellec 2014; 2021; d'Huy 2020a: 111–158).*

C6C: The diver is a bird. *An aquatic bird brings the desired object from under the water.*
Corroboration = *corroboration for Motif C6D.*

C6A: The diver is turtle or frog. *A turtle, a frog, a toad, or an armadillo brings the desired object from the bottom of the water body or from the lower world.*

C2: Deluge and conflagration combined. *World is destroyed once with fire or draught, another time with a flood or it is destroyed with a flood of fire or boiling water.*

C34: Killing (injuring, offending) of some creature (usually related to water) triggers deluge.
Corroboration: *Very ancient stratum of the mythology: Witzel 2012: 353.*

C5A: Bird-scouts. *Birds or humans later changed to birds are sent to explore the earth (is it dry, are any survivals, to investigate why smoke rises to the sky, etc.) or to bring some soil to make the land that would be good for living.*

C8: The primeval couple of siblings. *In the beginning of time or after the world catastrophe brother and sister or mother and son are the only humans. They marry each other and the present day people descend from them.*

C19: Acquisition of the sun. *The primeval ancestors acquire with difficulty the hidden or stolen sun or daylight.*
Corroboration: *Paleolithic origin and presence of the motif in Eurasia and North America (Witzel 2012: 139–147; d'Huy 2020a: 182–191; on the possible transformation of the motif of the theft of fire, which is probably antedates the out of Africa migration, see d'Huy 2017c).*

C32: Beware of cut off nails. *The cut off nails (and hair) have special significance for the fate of the soul in the beyond or for the future of the entire world.*

Many phylogenetic trees were built from the database with at least seven motifs per group, built with different methods (UPGMA, bio Neighbor-Joining, heuristic research based on the parsimony criterion, using the *PAUP* 4.0a14 software). The median rooting of these trees shows an origin in the Balkans or at least in Southwest Eurasia (depending on the method, the groups located at the base of the tree were, with UPGMA: Bulgarian / Romanian; with bio Neighbor-Joining and heuristic research using the parsimony method: Bulgarian / Romanian / Russian / Finnish, i.e. the groups closest to the African origin).

Peoples whose place fluctuated in the heuristic tree were deleted by using PAUP and a new tree was built. The use of *Mesquite* 2.75 software applied to the corpus preserving the 13 mythologies maximizing the phylogenetic signal made it possible to synthesize the 567 most parsimonious trees (consensus 50%) and to reconstruct the motifs located at the base of the tree by varying the rooting.

First Mythology of the Flood
Using the parsimony (d'Huy 2017a) and the maximum likelihood (d'Huy 2017a–b) methods, the mythological motifs with a probability greater than 75% have been reconstructed at different points on the tree. In Study 1, motifs

Table 2. Comparison of motif E5A: Mankind ascends from the underworld *with motifs C6D:* Earth-diver *and C4:* The flood: fruits fall from a tree.

E5A: *Mankind ascends*	C6D: *Earth-diver*	C4: *Fruits fall from a tree*
Vertical movement	Vertical movement	Vertical movement
From bottom to top	Pendulum	From top to bottom
Life comes from below	Life comes from above	Life comes from above
Empty world	Empty world	Empty world
Awaiting settlement	Awaiting viability	Awaiting viability
The Earth must give in	The Earth must hold	The Earth must hold
Emergence of living beings	Emergence of an element	Emergence of an element
Multiplication of living beings	Multiplication of the element	Multiplication of the element

were reconstructed at the level of the root (Southeast Asia: Melanesia, Malaisia/ Indonesia), at the node uniting the Eurasian and North American areas and both at the nodes clustering the Melanesia/Malaisia areas and the node clustering South American areas. In Study 3, which focuses on the 'northern' migration of humanity, the motifs retained are those identified at the root of the tree (according to four different roots) and, for diffusion in America, with a probability higher than 60% both at the Evenks node and at the node uniting all the Amerindian groups. The reconstruction of the first Amerindian motifs is, however, less reliable, given the small number of groups considered. The results obtained are shown in Table 1.

The results correspond to a double diffusion into the Americas, highlighted by numerous studies in comparative mythology.[1] The first diffusion would have reached both North and South America, but this mythology would have survived centrally in the southern hemisphere. The second migration superseded the first one in the northern hemisphere.

The main core of tradition of the flood would have emerged in the southern hemisphere, more precisely in Southeast Asia and later diffused into Eurasia and the Americas. If the myth of the earth-diver existed from the beginning of human expansion into North Eurasia, it was probably not yet linked to the cause of the flood and was instead linked to a primordial ocean (Witzel 2012; Le Quellec & Sergent 2017: 1051; d'Huy 2020a: 152). The connection between the earth-diver and the flood would have been established later – and on an *ad hoc* basis – in Eurasia and North America.

Comparison of the motifs C6D: *Earth-diver* and C4: *The flood: fruits fall from a tree* reconstructed to the Southeast Asian root, with motif E5A: *Mankind ascends from the*

underworld indicates that the former motifs are transformations of the latter. Motif E5A is described as:

> First people (or only first men or first women) are not created but come to earth from the underworld or from a small enclosure under the earth or on its surface (tree trunk, rock, gourd, etc.). Many people of both sexes and of different age or people and different species of animals come out together. (Berezkin & Duvakin, n.d.: E5A.)

In these types of tales, only the rupture of an occlusion due to a membrane (earth / water) will allow the appearance of life. In addition, there is an inversion between the contents (animals and humans dwelling under the earth) and the container (the earth).

The presence of the earth-diver motif at the root of the North Asian diffusion and the presence of *Fruits fall from a tree* at the root of the diffusion from Southeast Asia suggest a common transformation shortly after the Out of Africa process. In Study 1, the absence of the earth-diver from the reconstruction during the diffusion of myths in North America is explained by the methodological choices that presided over the analysis: motifs unrelated to the flood were excluded, which included *Earth-diver* as connected instead to the primordial ocean. Moreover, the link between *Earth-diver* and the flood seems late and not permanent.

Motif C2: *Deluge and conflagration combined* seems to have spread to both Americas in a first wave of settlement, since it is reconstructed at the root of both the North and South American clades. Significantly, the ekpyrosis is very rare in Africa (Le Quellec & Sergent 2017: 418–421; Le Quellec 2021: 218), suggesting an appearance of the motif after the out-of-Africa migration. Study 3

reconstructs only this motif during the passage in North America, yet, given the structure of the tree, it is not possible to determine whether the diffusion of the motif in North America is a relic of the first migration or of a second migration that would have taken up the theme from pre-existing Siberian populations before diffusing it, again, in North America.

Motif C34: "Killing (injuring, offending) of some creature (usually related to water) triggers deluge" was reconstructed in Southeast Asia. It could be related to two motifs reconstructed before the out-of-Africa migration: *Mythological snakes keep water points, releasing water only under certain conditions* and *Mythological snakes can produce rain and/or storm* (see d'Huy 2013; 2016; 2020b; analyses based on three different corpora). According to Michael Witzel, this diluvian motif belongs to a very ancient stratum of mythology (Witzel 2012: 353).

Motif C8: *The primeval couple of siblings* was reconstructed only in Study 1, identified with the settlement of North America, so reconstruction of the motif is less reliable.

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Notes

1. See e.g. Witzel 2012; Berezkin 2007; 2013; Le Quellec 2014; 2015; d'Huy 2016; 2017c; 2020a; d'Huy & Berezkin 2017.

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Oppositions in Folktales and Myths: Textometric Approach

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Abstract: This study introduces lexical proximity analysis applied to motif and tale-type summaries in order to identify structural oppositions, assess their relative prominence in a corpus and enable further analysis. Findings are presented and discussed from a pilot study to assess Claude Lévi-Strauss's hypothesis that myths are characterized by 'strong' oppositions while folktales are not. The methodology of lexical analysis can, however, be applied with a variety of aims.

In his study "Transformations of Fairy Tales", Vladimir Propp noted that sometimes:[1]

> Нередко основная форма превращается в свою противоположность. Женские образы, например, заменяются мужскими и наоборот. Это явление может коснуться и хатки. Вместо закрытой, недоступной избушки мы иногда имеем избушку с настежь открытой дверью. (Propp 1928: 80.)

> the fundamental form [of a tale] is transformed into its opposite. For instance, female images are replaced by male images, and vice versa. This phenomenon can also affect the cottage. Instead of a closed cottage, we sometimes have a cottage with the door wide open.

Claude Lévi-Strauss has taken up this observation, adding that:

> les contes sont construits sur des oppositions plus faibles que celles qu'on trouve dans les mythes: non pas cosmologiques, métaphysiques ou naturelles, comme dans ces derniers, mais plus fréquemment locales, sociales ou morales. (Lévi-Strauss 1973: 154.)

> tales are built on weaker oppositions than those found in myths: not cosmological, metaphysical or natural, as in the latter, but more frequently local, social or moral.

The oppositions found in folktales would indeed consist of:

> homologues (frères / sœurs) ou [en] proches (le pauvre et le riche, tous deux humains, le diable et sa fille, tous deux appartenant au monde merveilleux), tandis que les opposition dans le mythe sont d'ampleur cosmique et opposent des êtres ou des objets pris dans tous les codes disponibles. (Le Quellec & Sergent 2017: 980.)

> counterparts (brothers/sisters) or relatives (the poor and the rich, both human, the devil and his daughter, both belonging to the wonderful world), whereas the oppositions in myth are of cosmic magnitude and oppose beings or objects taken from all available codes.

The hypothesis put forward by Claude Lévi-Strauss seems fruitful, but the question arises of whether it is possible to test. Here, in the form of a short note, I propose a way to do so.

My first analysis is based on Yuri Berezkin's online database (Berezkin & Duvakin, n.d.). In this corpus, according to Berezkin:

> Motifs included in the first half of the catalogue and denoted with letters from A to I are mostly related to cosmology and etiology. Motifs in the second half, denoted with letters from J to M, are related to adventures and tricks. (Berezkin 2015: 64).

The website offers 1,153 brief descriptions of motifs in the first half (for 5,293 words) and

Figure 1. Word tree made from the first part of Yuri Berezkin's corpus (cosmology and etiology).

1,595 descriptions in the second half (for 7,826 words), i.e. an average of five words per motif.

I used the textometric software TreeCloud (Gambette & Véronis 2010), to visualize the frequency at which the most frequent words in the corpus were found to be co-occurring. To do this, the algorithm 'drags' a 'window' through the text (taking 5 words simultaneously into account in this case) and calculates the number of times a word is close to another within this window (distance formula: jaccard; maximum number of words

Figure 2. Word tree made from the second part of Yuri Berezkin's corpus (adventures and tricks).

Figure 3. Word tree made from the summaries of ATU (fairy tales).

selected: 50). My hypothesis was the following: if, as Lévi-Strauss proposes, folktales are based on weak oppositions, and myths on strong oppositions, then these should appear in the summaries of the texts, and thus in the final word tree. Strong oppositions concern oppositions related to cosmology or the natural world, while weak oppositions concern human social world.

Figures 1 and 2 give a good idea of how the studied corpora are structured. The more two words tend to appear in the same 'window' as it scrolls through the text, the closer the two branches at the end of which they appear will be. Here, however, antinomic terms are often co-current. In the first part of the text, for example, the pairs women/men, people/children, mother/child, earth/sky, sun/moon, star/night, man/woman etc. are often used together (Figure 1). The second part also presents couples in opposition: wife/husband, son/daughter, king/people, girl/sister, father/mother, head/leg, baby/child, fire/stone etc. (Figure 2). The results therefore seem to be in line with Lévi-Strauss's conclusions.

Checking these results for folktales involves analysing a different corpus. I chose the Aarne-Thompson-Uther (ATU) index for folktales, taking into consideration all the fairy tales (Uther 2011: types 300–745A) and keeping sections where each type was summarised succinctly for the analysis. The resulting corpus consists of 43,600 words, to which I applied the TreeCloud software (this time keeping the automatically proposed 20-word window) (Figure 3). The antinomic terms co-occurrent here are: husband/wife, young/old, woman/man, children/mother, girl/boy, prince/princess, boy/daughter, prince/king, father/brothers, father/son etc. As in the second part of Berezkin's corpus, the oppositions are essentially 'local' – political or family terms – and seem to confirm the existence of mostly weak oppositions.

The use of textometric tools to study oral narratives is not new (see e.g. Colby et al. 1963; Kalin et al. 1966; Colby 1966; Maranda 1967; d'Huy 2014a–b; Thuillard et al. 2018), but it is a pity that this route has been so little used. Indeed, the approach seems well suited to answering some of the questions raised by the study of tales and myths. Applied to three different corpora, it confirms here Lévi-Strauss' hypothesis and establishes it on a more solid foundation. It should be noted in passing that the weakened oppositions are also found in the textometric analysis of corpora of

tales told in their entirety (d'Huy 2014a), which reinforces these conclusions.

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Notes
1. All translations are by the present author unless otherwise noted.

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Austmarr Network Updates: *Genius loci* and European Connections

"Genius loci in the Prehistory of the Baltic Sea Region"
29–30 May 2019, Institute of Baltic Region History and Archaeology, Klaipėda University, Lithuania
"European Connections: Cultural Transfer to and from the Baltic Sea Region"
6 November 2020 (Part 1) & 12 November 2021 (Part 2), University of Bonn, Germany

Kendra Willson, University of Turku

Since 2011, the Austmarr Network has promoted international and interdisciplinary cooperation among scholars interested in the prehistory and early history of the Circum-Baltic region and in particular in the role of contacts in shaping the cultures of Northern Europe. *Austmarr* ['Eastern Sea'] is an Old Norse name for the Baltic, attested in the 9th-century skaldic poem *Ynglingatal* by Þjóðólfr ór Hvini. Participants in the network include archaeologists, folklorists, historians, linguists, philologists, and religion experts from Baltic, Finnic, Germanic, and Slavic-speaking areas. In addition to holding annual conferences and workshops, the network has produced the volume *Contacts and Networks in the Baltic Sea Region:* Austmarr *as a Northern* Mare nostrum*, ca. 500–1500 AD* (Bertell et al. 2019) and a special issue of *RMN Newsletter* with the theme of *Interdisciplinary and Comparative Method-ologies: Exploring Circum-Baltic Cultures and Beyond* (no. 14, Ahola et al. 2019). The network website is austmarr.org. In the future, the network hopes to expand its range of activities.

The last physical conference of the Austmarr Network to date was held at the Institute of Baltic Region History and Archaeology at Klaipėda University, Lithuania, on 29–30 May 2019, hosted by Vykintas Vaitkevičius. The theme was "*Genius loci* in the Prehistory of the Baltic Sea Region" (Austmarr IX). The concept of *genius loci* ['spirit of a place'] is based on a supernatural being in Roman religion, but has been extended to a more abstract meaning. What makes places significant, and how does this spirit adapt and renew over time?

Alexandra Sanmark (University of the Highlands and Islands) opened with a keynote lecture on "Norse Assembly Sites: A Case of *genius loci*?", focusing on the example of Anundshög. Many assembly sites remain important over long periods even though the surrounding society may change in significant ways, for example through a change of religion. Jukka Korpela (University of Eastern Finland) discussed "*Genius loci* of Cult Places – Place Names and Cult Places in East Finnic Forests". Place names can provide information about pre-Christian cultic sites, which may also show such archaeological features as cup stones, petroglyphs, and cairns. Sabine Walther (University of Bonn) presented examples of "Greek and Latin Authors on Religious Practices Performed in Natural Spaces in the Southern Baltic Region". The passages from Classical authors describing the religious practices of Germanic tribes and other 'barbarians' that are presented in anthologies and textbooks are typically taken out of context. The same author may provide contradictory information within the same text and often has a political agenda. Turning to a modern-day example, Kendra Willson (University of Turku / Polish Institute of Advanced Studies) discussed the role of narrative in "Creating the Vörå Runestone Sites". The discovery of runes in Ostrobothnia

around 1980 led to an authority crisis, expressed in competing narratives, about their age and about the prehistory of the region. Leszek Słupecki (University of Rzeszów) gave the second keynote lecture on "Three Capitals Where *genius loci* Works: Vilnius, Cracow, and Kiev". All of these cities have foundational myths stemming from pagan times, with associated supernatural figures - iron wolf, dragon, and swan respectively - that continue to function as symbols of the cities.

The next set of papers were theoretical. In his keynote lecture, Joonas Ahola (University of Helsinki) considered "*Genius loci* and Ontologies of a Place". Linguistic behaviors such as narration and cognitive factors such as cultural knowledge shape an individual's experience of a place. Léon van Gulik (University of Leiden) talked about "Evoking the Spirits of Time and Place: Towards a Theory of Atmospheres as the Felt Properties of Human Experience". He offered some conceptual tools for understanding the interaction between experience and memory. Bridging the connection between theory and practical applications, Rasa Čepaitienė (Lithuanian Institute of History) discussed "*Genius loci* and the Cultural Heritage Conservation Discipline", asking challenging questions about the use of places and how being identified as heritage transforms a site. Frog (University of Helsinki) introduced the concept of "Otherworlding: A Theoretical Approach to the Mythologization of Place". He considered the relationship among places that exist solely in mythology, places that are real but sufficiently far away that most community members have no firsthand knowledge of them, and local and familiar places that can become mythologized through ritual actions. The penultimate paper by Andrius Kaniava (Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore) presented "Story-Places: Phenomenological Approach to Lithuanian Sacred Sites". Sacred sites in Lithuania are part of the natural landscape, understood through human experience expressed by means of stories. Finally, Eero Peltonen (Finnish Folklore Society) discussed "Sacred Encounters – Ancient Echoes of Painted Cliffs in Finland". Archaeoacoustics combines archaeology and ethnomusicology. It turns out that the sites of cliff paintings over water in

Eastern Finland are characterized by distinctive echo effects; by experimenting with their acoustic potential, researchers explore possible prehistoric sacred soundscapes. Peltonen led the group in a sing-along of a piece in Kalevala-meter, a participatory end to an intense and stimulating day of lectures.

A full day of papers was followed by a full-day excursion around western Lithuania to view places of diverse and lasting significance, with expert guidance by Vykintas Vaitkevičius. The first stop was the hill dedicated to St. Birutė in Palanga, which has been a ritual site since at least the 16th century. Vykintas Vaitkevičius presented a "talk on the spot" about the history of the hill. The second location was the Eršketynė holy spring, which has been a ritual site since pagan times. After a picnic lunch at Eršketynė, we proceeded to Šilalė, a complex of sacred stones. The Apuolė hillfort boasts the oldest Lithuanian name known from written records, mentioned by Rimbert in the Vita Sancti Anscharii in AD 853. The site is also used for an annual gathering of recreational and experimental archaeologists. The late spring weather showed off the eastern Baltic coast at its finest.

The tenth symposium was to be held in 2020 in Bonn, hosted by Sabine Walther at the University of Bonn. Due to the global pandemic, the symposium was split into two parts. Rather than simply postponing the meeting, a concentrated, one-day online event was held on 6 November 2020 as Austmarr X.1, with the hope that a physical meeting could be held in the following year, although it also proved necessary to hold Austmarr X.2 online on 12 November 2021. The theme was "European Connections: Cultural Transfer to and from the Baltic Sea Region", broadening the Austmarr perspective to look at contacts between the Baltic region and other regions. The online format was meant for presentation of work in progress, and virtual spaces were set up to facilitate further communication among participants.

The first Bonn event started with an archaeological session. Torun Zachrisson and Cecilia Ljung (Stockholm University) opened with a presentation of "The Maritime Network Realm of the Svear and One of Its Major Hubs: Sigtuna". Sigtuna lay on the border between

districts, a different type of location from other Viking Age emporia, and includes some features that predate the Viking Age. Analysis of grave finds from the 10th through 13th centuries show significant changes over time and a cosmopolitan population. Leszek Gardeła (National Museum of Denmark) presented joint work with Kamil Kajkowski (West Cassubian Museum in Bytów) under the title "Around the Baltic and Beyond: West Slavic Warriors in the Viking World". West Slavs were present in Scandinavia not only as slaves but also as warriors. Indications of their presence include T-shaped axes and winged snake motifs. Focusing on the unique island society of Gotland, Matthias Toplak (University of Tübingen) discussed "Equestrian Burials on Viking Age Gotland: Between Mounted Warriors and Women on Wagons". A total of 62 graves from the Late Vendel Period and early Viking Age Gotland have been identified as containing either a horse skeleton, some horse bones or related artifacts, or a single horse bone or tooth; these different types correlate with other features. The horse was clearly an important animal for the Scandinavians, but the symbolic meanings of its presence in graves are hard to recover. Sebastian Wärmländer (Stockholm University) discussed the "Origins of Wire-Drawing Technology in Viking Age Scandinavia". Wire-drawing has been practiced by the Sámi at least since the 17th century and drawn tin wire has been found in older Sámi deposits. Wire was also drawn in Central Sweden during the Viking Age using tools made of antler. The oldest evidence for the technique in Europe comes from Scandinavia, but the directions of cultural influence and its ultimate origin are not known.

The focus then shifted to connections between the Baltic and the Mediterranean. Sabine Walther (University of Bonn) presented "Classical Authors and the Baltic Sea Area: Contacts and Perceptions". She proposed a program to gather Greek and Latin sources that mention the Baltic and reevaluate previous research. For example, it appears from Xenophon of Lampsacus (ca. 100 BC) and Philemon (1st century AD) that the Greeks had some knowledge of the Baltic prior to the Roman expedition of Tiberius, contrary to a claim in Otto Kunkel's (1941: col. 1694)

handbook. The next two talks concentrated on specific motifs from Classical traditions and their manifestations further north. Grzegorz Bartusik (University of Silesia, Katowice) focused on "The Cultural Transfer of the Conceptual Metaphor 'The Ruler is the Father of the Fatherland' as a Marker for Latinization in the Nordic and Baltic Regions in the Middle Ages". The conceptual metaphor in question disseminates from the Roman tradition into both Latin and vernacular texts from the Nordic and Baltic regions. Leszek Słupecki (University of Rzeszów) posed the question "Did Otto of Bamberg Like Walnuts? The Motif of the Mediterranean Walnut Tree in St. Otto's Lives, in the Reality of Monastic Bamberg and Pagan Pomerania". The lives of St. Otto describe his encounters with pagans in Szczecin, where he ordered the destruction of sacred trees. However, a miracle demonstrated that the tree in question was innocent and should be spared as long as the locals ceased to worship it. While this narrative draws on a Mediterranean legend featuring a pine tree, the tree is described as a nut tree, most likely the European walnut. Walnut trees were also associated with the monastery he founded.

Frog (University of Helsinki) discussed "Cultural Transfer in the Interaction of Systems in the Symbolic Matrix: Perspectives on the Early Spread of Christianity through the North". The symbolic matrix is a conceptual tool for discussing religious contacts and their influence on mythology. It consists of the mythic symbols available in a particular milieu and their potential to be viewed from different perspectives. Vykintas Vaitkevičius (Klaipėda University) traced the development "From Universal to Local One: The Case of Baltic Swastika". The swastika is a widespread symbol that appears in many different variants. It is found on Baltic artifacts already from the Iron Age but appears more frequently from the 13th and 14th centuries, where it is thought to have symbolized the sun or fire and offered the local vernacular religion an alternative to the Christian cross. Tõnno Jonuks (Estonian Literary Museum, Tartu) showed pictures of "Dragons and Griffins in Eastern Baltic: First Conveyors of Christian Europe" – fantastic beasts with Mediterranean roots that appear in 11th–13th artifacts from Estonia, predating

documented conversion. Finally, Jakub Morawiec (University of Silesia, Katowice) showed how "Miles Christi Goes North: Emergence and Development of a New Concept of Knighthood in Medieval Scandinavia". The Scandinavian warrior ideal shifted in the Middle Ages towards a model akin to that of the Crusades. This influence is visible, *inter alia*, in the depiction of the Jómsvíkings as a warrior-band. The formal program was followed by general discussion and online socialization.

The 2021 symposium Austmarr X.2 offered a new line-up of speakers and topics, balanced among archaeology, folklore and mythology, and runology. Elena Mel'nikova (Russian Academy of Sciences) opened with a survey of "Runic Inscriptions of the Scandinavian Diaspora in the Baltic Lands", discussing characteristics of the inscriptions concentrated in two areas: Pomerania in the west and northwestern Russia (Ladoga, Gorodishche, Novgorod) in the east. Kendra Willson (University of Turku) opened the question of "Language Contact Reflected in Runic Inscriptions", outlining ways in which such contact might appear. The focus was on contact with Latin at the time of the invention of the runes and again in the Middle Ages, as well as memorial stones from the Isle of Man which contain Celtic names and even combine runic and ogham inscriptions.

Three talks were devoted to folklore and mythology. Jesse Barber (University of Helsinki) presented "Óðinn and Väinämöinen: A Comparison of the Archetypal Ritual Specialist in the Nordics", pointing out striking similarities seen in three pairs of myths from Norse and Finno-Karelian tradition. Olle Möllervärn (Mid Sweden University) discussed "Bear Transformation in Scandinavian Folklore". He argued that being a bear was seen as a social status with somewhat fluid boundaries, rather than there being an absolute species difference between humans and bears. He distinguished three categories of transformation into a bear: a spell cast by others, self-transformation by magic, and the effect of prolonged contact with bears. Frog (University of Helsinki) built on the previous year's discussion with a presentation on "Migration Period Christianity Spreading

through the North? Or, is Old Norse Mythology a Creolized Christianity?". Long-noted parallels to Christian myths are sufficiently central to Norse mythology that they are unlikely to reflect a superficial layer of late borrowings, but rather religious hybridization through contact with the Roman Empire.

The remaining four talks focused on archaeology. Anneli Sundkvist (Societas Archaeologica Upsaliensis) introduced "The Context of Amulet Rings: An Overlooked Type of Artefact?". Small rings of poor-quality metal, often with pendants of cutting implements, have been found in large quantities at a number of sites around Sweden, but their function is unknown. She compared several sites with concentrations of such rings, and asked about appropriate comparanda from outside Sweden. Andris Šnē (University of Latvia) presented the "Grobiņa Archaeological Complex: A Melting Point of the Baltic and Scandinavian Cultures in the Pre-Viking Age". Excavations in Grobiņa on the west coast of Latvia reveal Scandinavian settlement from the 7th century, coexisting and hybridizing with the local Curonians. Adam Engvall (Uppsala University) discussed "The Puzzling Towers of Gotland: Some Thoughts Regarding 12th Century Towers from Gotland". Ten known towers distributed around Gotland vary in shape; most have not been systematically excavated. It is unknown who built them or for what purpose, although they are generally regarded as defensive structures. Finally, Jhonny Therus (Kalmar County Museum – Linnaeus University) presented "Small Finds and Large Networks: Using Beads and Knife Sheath Fittings to Trace Networks in the 11th and 12th Century Baltic and beyond". The distributions across Scandinavia of a particular elite style of bead and of a type of knife sheath fitting identified as 'Slavic' illustrate different types of networks. After the academic program on Zoom there was a 'wine hour' using the platform Wonder.

Sabine Walther is organizing a volume on the topic of cultural exchanges between the Baltic Sea region and other parts of Europe, with contributions solicited for the spring of 2022. If you wish to propose a paper, please contact swalther[at]uni-bonn.de.

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Methodology in Mythology: Aarhus Old Norse Mythology Conference
31 October – 1 November 2019, Bergen, Norway

Konsta I. Kaikkonen, Western Norway University of Applied Sciences,
and Jan A. Kozák, Charles University

The so-called Aarhus Old Norse Mythology conference series landed in Bergen in late October in 2019. For this year, the idea of the conference was to present an overview of various theoretical approaches on the one hand and various disciplines (related to the types of sources) and their diverse methods and issues on the other hand. The goal was to answer the question: *Where does the study of Old Norse religion stand, and where can we go from here?* The organizers, led by the driving force behind the conference, Eldar Heide, decided to approach the architecture of the program from a point of view that would broadly showcase the cutting edge of Old Norse Mythology studies. The result was a well-balanced collection of presentations that covered the majority of contemporary trends and methods.

Margaret Clunies Ross (Universty of Sydney) started the conference's academic content after Heide bid everyone welcome to the conference. In her keynote lecture, she looked back on the origins of her pivotal book *Prolonged Echoes*, published 25 years before the conference, and offered her assessment of the 25 years of scholarly discussion following its publication. While she appreciated a number of new trends, she warned against extreme positions that denounce the principles of structuralism completely, throwing out the baby with the bathwater. Her position of defending the core of the structuralist project sparked engaging discussions with the

audience, and it became clear that the debate on what the useful (or even indispensable) aspects of the structuralist approach are, along with its major weaknesses, is still ongoing.

This keynote presentation was followed by a dual presentation by Michael Stausberg (University of Bergen) and Olof Sundqvist (Stockholm University). Stausberg talked generally about the principle of comparison and comparativism in mythology and religion, stressing the fact that we cannot do without comparison, however uneasy it can make us. Small-scale comparison is not usually perceived as such and it is easier to control and can be more precise, while large-scale comparison is often seen as problematic. However, there is no clear delineation of where one begins and the other ends. Sundqvist followed the general introduction by focusing on smaller-scale intracultural comparison, specifically concerning the issue of the Christianization of Scandinavia, which is often studied with a focus on the outcome and not on the process itself. The specific processes and tactics of dismantling religious institutions – especially those connected to the roles of kings and chieftains – are intangible but valuable objects of intracultural comparative study.

In the next talk, John Lindow (University of California, Berkeley) reviewed the early scholarship and its conception of mythology, distinguishing two 'mythologies': 'mythology I' being the mythological stories and motifs

coming from the studied culture itself, and 'mythology II' ('mythography') being the 'science of myths', performed by the scholars. Lindow brought up some of the typical features of early scholarship – for example, the primary focus on texts, as a result of which religion was equated with mythology (as in the case of Jacob Grimm). Early mythologists tended to aim at producing coherent mythologies, and were in this respect not so far away from medieval scholars like Snorri Sturluson.

The next session started with Sophie Bønding's (National Museum of Denmark) presentation on the usefulness of typologies of religion. She outlined two widely used typologies: the two-fold typology of Jan Assmann (primary/secondary religion) and the three-fold typology of Robert Neally Bellah (tribal/archaic/axial religion) and argued that certain features are associated with certain types (for example, a textual canon with axial religions, but it is usually absent from non-axial religions). It thus makes sense to ask questions and search for features that are in accordance with the type. Typology thus helps us eliminate useless searches for features belonging to different types of religion, according to her.

Simon Nygaard (Aarhus University) followed with a presentation based on a similar theoretical framework – Bellah's evolutionary typology of religion. The idea is that two historically unconnected societies of a similar environment, social structure and technological development can arrive at a similar type of religion and mythology via 'convergent evolution'. Nygaard presented a case study of pre-Christian Hawaii as compared with pre-Christian Scandinavia, and showed a series of analogies between these two societies and postulated a specific sub-type situated between 'tribal' and 'archaic' religion called 'chiefdom', which fits both Hawaii and Scandinavia.

The typological-comparative session was closed with a two-presenter paper by Luke John Murphy (University of Iceland) and Giulia Mancini (independent). Mancini chose the example of the goddesses Diana, Artemis and Skaði to show how comparison can be done by assessing both similarities and differences. While comparativism may often be used to focus only on similarities, Mancini's approach

resulted in presenting more differences. Murphy then followed with a comparison of household rituals in medieval England and Scandinavia, again assessing similarities side-by-side with differences. Both presenters then concluded with general observations on the pros and cons of comparisons of this sort.

Joonas Ahola (University of Helsinki) presented the audience with general questions of mythology research, approaching the topic from the perspective of Finland. Ahola was concerned with the fact that Finnish religion was constructed from later sources and analogies; he asked questions about the definitions of mythology and religion, as well as what was considered Christian or pre-Christian. He discussed how these definitions were constructed within theoretical frameworks by Finnish 19th-century mythologists such as M.A. Castrén and later reinterpreted according to the perspectives of their successors.

The scholarly talks were followed by a musical performance by Einar Selvik of Wardruna. Selvik performed several examples of eddic poems turned into songs using various historical instruments including a harp and a ram-horn trumpet. He explained that he is well aware that we have no records of melodies from the Viking Age and that his interpretations have no claim to historicity. However, he showed that most of the instruments have certain specific features and their own musical 'logic', which at least puts constraint on the scope of the musician's creativity and grounds it in the physicality of the instruments themselves.

The next session started with a paper by Andreas Nordberg (Stockholm University), who discussed past scholarship of folklore and its relation to the study of mythology, with a focus on traditions connected to the 'last sheaf'. Nordberg remarked on the usual directions of comparisons which tended to go towards Finnic, Sámi, Vedic or Greek cultures, but not toward later folklore. He also singled out the famous Swedish folklorist Carl Wilhelm von Sydow, who interpreted large parts of folklore as a result of hallucinations and products of mental illnesses among the people.

The next speaker in the last session was Else Mundal (University of Bergen), who talked about *Vǫluspá*, stressing the fact that *Vǫluspá*

is one of the most interpreted poems in the Old Norse corpus, but also raises more questions than others. She proposed two principles for analysis: genre and the relation between individual parts and the whole. One of the problems of the poem is its authorship and aim – who put the poem together? And for what reason? The poem seems to be partly inspired by Christian prophetic texts, but in the end provides a surprising structure of Old Norse cosmology.

The last speaker of the first day was Haukur Þorgeirsson (Árni Magnússon Institute), who talked about the dating of eddic poetry. The talk put questions of dating and oral memory into perspective by showing cases from other oral traditions, especially Ancient India, but also Classical Antiquity, stressing the fact that oral traditions can be both surprisingly good at preserving very old text but also always present themselves as ancient while containing layers from various eras. The layers can then be distinguished through the analysis of stylometric criteria: verse forms, formulas and other formal aspects.

The second day of the conference started with questions about interpretations when working with historical, mainly textual materials. Jens Peter Schjødt's (Aarhus University) talk on the interesting theme of absence in retrospective research materials opened the session. He brought the audience to ponder over the credibility of asking questions about the lack of material and asked whether it was possible to deduce certain aspects of Old Norse mythology from typological comparisons, despite them not being mentioned in the sources. Schjødt's discussion on *argumenta ex silentio* was an interesting opening for the day.

A presentation that sparked a lively discussion was given by Amy Franks (independent) and examined the possibilities of applying queer theory to Old Norse studies. Franks gave a short presentation of the premises of using queer theory in academic scholarship and then continued to discuss alternate approaches to certain aspects of Old Norse mythology, where using queer theory could reveal new interpretations that contest previously established ones.

Jan Kozák's (Charles University) presentation on the use of bodily metaphors

and cognitive studies in interpretations of Old Norse mythology brought another new approach to the table. One of the main points of this presentation was to show that most myths about bodies in the eddic corpus can be classified into four types corresponding to the four 'master tropes': metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and irony. Myths are so surreal, because they turn these tropes into stories and concrete attributes.

Following Kozák's talk, three up-and-coming researchers presented their ideas for research projects in the form of posters. They held a short presentation on their projects and discussed them informally with more senior researchers.

The second session of the day was reserved for studies of performance and orality. Frog (University of Helsinki) began the session with his discussion of orality in mythological source texts. He discussed both kalevalaic and eddic poetry in terms of orality and performance in relation to the textual forms in which they are mostly analyzed. The questions of context and meaning in oral vs. written sources were taken up in an in-depth analysis of verses and their oral performance. Going deeper into the aspects of performance, Terry Gunnell (University of Iceland) provided the audience with an interesting reconstruction of how mythological poems were performed in Old Norse society. Similar themes to those in Frog's discussion emerged, and the analysis of texts without a consideration of their performative contexts was put into question in a productive manner in Gunnell's presentation.

The day's third session looked at diverse approaches to Old Norse studies. Pernille Hermann (Aarhus University) took the stage with a presentation on memory studies. She showed the audience a glimpse of how memory works in culture and how aspects of memory are visible in both Old Norse myths and the form in which they have been preserved, and how memory studies and Old Norse studies can benefit from each other. Her presentation highlighted how fundamental memory is to Old Norse studies, although it is an aspect often overlooked.

Pierre-Brice Stahl (Sorbonne University) was up next with an overview on how reception plays a great role in interpretations of

mythological texts. First providing an introduction to the hermeneutical background of reception studies, Stahl proceeded to discuss the complexity of reception and the fruitful applications of reception studies to Old Norse mythology.

The last presentation of the session was held by Kendra Willson (University of Turku), who talked about the fruitful, yet often misused etymological approach to mythology. Presenting some of the past pitfalls of etymological analysis and its potentially fruitful future applications, Willson discussed the possible contact points of historical analysis and etymology, presenting how etymological analyses can be seen as indicators of cultural contacts and historical phenomena in the analysis of mythologies.

Picking up partly where Willson left, Stefan Brink (University of Cambridge) started the last session of the conference with an interesting look at toponymy, the study of place names. Presenting an overview of the history of place name research, Brink provided the audience with some points as to why toponymy can provide researchers with information on Old Norse religion. He contemplated the lack of current research on place names despite the potential it holds for studies of landscapes and mindscapes and their relations to historical studies of Old Norse religion.

Brink's presentation functioned as a bridge from linguistics to archaeology, which was the topic of the two last presentations. Laurine Albris (University of Bergen) discussed the use of place names in archaeological research in her presentation, where she presented the audience with some Danish examples of sacrificial sites with mythological place names. She pondered over the links between landscape and mythology and concluded that it was important to look at long term processes and suggested place names to be looked at as biographies.

Anders Andrén (Stockholm University) closed the session with a look at ritual and materiality from an archaeological point of entry. He discussed the upsides and downsides of archaeological interpretations and the limitedness of archaeological remains as witnesses to ritual processes. Presenting some interesting case studies and new methods in archaeology, Andrén provided the audience with a look at what questions archaeology can answer, and what is left to interpretation, thus communicating some of the most important discourses within Old Norse studies from an archaeologist's point of view.

After Andrén's presentation, Heide closed the conference by thanking the audience and the speakers, summing up some of the main threads visible in current studies of Old Norse mythology. After the conference came to an end, the idea of publishing a volume of articles based on the conference was raised, and a group was assembled to take on that task. It therefore seems that also those who were not present will soon be able to tap into the latest research in Old Norse mythology in textual form.

According to the wide array of disciplinary and methodological approaches presented at the conference in Bergen, the study of Old Norse mythology is a vibrant field and as relevant as ever. Ranging from linguistic and cognitive approaches through typological and comparative ones, without forgetting the importance of materiality and lived religion, the conference reached its aim in showcasing the current state of Old Norse mythology studies.

Some of the main threads that could reflect current trajectories in the field could also be followed through the conference. One of the major thematic and theoretical approaches was related to comparative typologies. At least Bønding's, Nygaard's and Schjødt's presentations, and to an extent also Murphy's and Mancini's, took this point of view and showed how typologies could be used as heuristic tools. Another such thread was the consciousness of the roots of mythology research. For example, Lindow's, Ahola's, Nordberg's and also Franks's talks looked to the history of studies of mythology and the foundations on which our knowledge stands, shedding light on them more or less critically.

11th Annual Aarhus Student Symposium on Viking and Medieval Scandinavian Subjects

25th – 26th April 2018, Aarhus, Denmark

Amelia Herridge Ishak, University of Cambridge

This year's two-day Interdisciplinary Aarhus Student Symposium on Viking and Medieval Scandinavian Subjects, the 11th annual edition, was yet again a delightful and intellectually stimulating event, with the symposium continuing to bring together young scholars from many different countries and universities, to enter a lively discussion on their current research. It is always a very friendly and encouraging conference, especially given the large number of first-time and new presenters, who can showcase their undergraduate or postgraduate studies and get peer and lecturer feedback on their research. Furthermore, the broad category for calls-for-papers encourages a diverse range of topics; thus, one can enter into a deep discussion of literature or mythology in one session and learn something new in the next session on digital humanities or archaeological theory, or indeed vice versa. This year, we also transcended location boundaries with the symposium's first ever live Skype presentation from Nottingham, bringing the symposium into a new virtual and modern dimension. We thank our organising committee Simon Nygaard (chair), Mai Nørskov Nielsen, Line Korsholm Lauridsen, and Johan Sandvang Larsen, and all the session chairs and presenters for bringing us another fantastic conference this year.

After a bright and cheerful welcome by Simon Nygaard, we delved straight into our first session, "Queering Old Norse Literature"*,* chaired by Kathryn A. Haley-Hallinski

(University of Cambridge). This session brought about interesting discussion on the perception of gender and re-visualising modern concepts of gender and sexuality. Amy Jefford Franks (University of Iceland) explored the theme through semantic centre analysis of Óðinn in their paper "Óðinn: A Queer *týr*? A Study of Óðinn's Function as a Queer God in Iron Age Scandinavia". Lee Colwill (University of Iceland) discussed how we can theorise gender as a performance in their paper "The King's Two Bodies? The Performance of Gender in *Snjáskvæði*". Paul Martino (University of Iceland) used queer theory in discussions of Marie de France, in their paper, "The Fay and the Foreigner: Translating Queerness in *Strengleikar*".

The next session, chaired by Line Korsholm Lauridsen (Aarhus University) was all about "Runes". Scott T. Shell (University of California, Berkeley) opened the session with how we can use semiotic models to show the importance of looking at runes *in situ*, when trying to deduce possible magical qualities in his paper, "Applying Semiotic Models of Communication to the Elder Furthark Period". Johan Bollaert (University of Oslo) gave us a fascinating paper on Latin and Old Norse inscriptions from Norway in his paper "**her:huilir** or ᚺᛁᚱᛉᚼᚢᛁᛚᛁᚱ – Carving Traditions in Early Medieval Norway". Finally, Christian Alexander Lyons (University of Iceland) took us to the Isle of Man in a discussion of cultural

connection and influence in his paper "Runic Evidence of Manx Identity".

After a lunch break, we went into the first of the afternoon sessions on "Transgression and Marginalisation in Old Norse Literature", chaired by Anna Solovyeva (Aarhus University). Basil Arnould Price (University of York) kicked off the session with their paper on "Grimmer and Wiser: Transformation, Cannibalism and the Eaten Heart in Norse Myth and Legend" with a discussion of heart eating in the Sigurðr cycle. Next was a paper from Kayla Kemhadjian (University of Nottingham), entitled "In the Eyes of God: Acceptable versus Unacceptable Incest in Medieval Nordic Conversion Narratives". Kayla was unfortunately unable to give the paper in person, so Simon Nygaard stood in for her. Hannah Armstrong (University of Oxford) continued the session with her paper on "Princesses, Prisoners and Pawns: A Reconsideration of Slaves and Slavery in the *Íslendingasögur*" which discussed the literary function of a selection of slaves from *Brennu-Njáls saga* and *Laxdæla saga*. The session ended with Josefina Troncoso (University of Oxford), who took us into eddic poetry, discussing the women of the Sigurðr cycle in her paper "I am By No Means Fit to Live: Women and Suicide in the *Poetic Edda*".

The final session of the day centred on "Iconography", chaired by Arngrímur Vídalín (University of Iceland), with a rather exciting presentation delivered from Nottingham via Skype, as Harriet Clark discussed the cultural influences on wooden church doors with her paper "Symbols of Identity: Cultural Hybridisation in the Iconography of Norwegian Stave Churches".

We started the second and final conference day bright and early with "Digital Humanities", or as our chair Seán D. Vrieland (University of Copenhagen) put it, "Let's get digital!" Sven Kraus (European University Viadrina Frankfurt), started by taking us through the digital programme, Prolio, which he had worked on during a research period at the University of Bergen, in his paper "*Oc SQL vex mer iafnan*: Tackling Single Manuscript with Large Scale Network Analysis". Amina Hilbert and Fredrik Gahm (Uppsala University), showed us the work they had conducted during their internship at the university museum Gustavianum in Uppsala, in 3-D digitalisation of archaeological finds from the Valsgärde burial site onto the Alvin platform, in their paper "If You Can't Go to Valhalla, You Can at Least Go Online: Digitalizing Iron Age Collections".

After the break, Mai Nørskov Nielsen (Aarhus University) chaired the next session on "Contemporary Approaches". Rune Hjarnø Rasmussen (Uppsala University) took us out of Scandinavia in a comparative anthropological study of Norse mythology to tribal religions from the West African region, in his paper "Viking Globalization: Applying Globalization Anthropology on Viking Age History of Religions". The session ended with Luca Panaro, (University of Iceland) and a study of the appropriation of mythological and eddic material in the music of Norwegian Black Metal, in his paper, "Return to Yggdrasil: Pagan-Inspired Black Metal as Modern Retextualization".

Johan Sandvang Larsen (Aarhus University) chaired the third session on animal studies. Jane Jordahl (Uppsala University) picked up where her two colleagues had left off in the first session, to give us a more in-depth analysis on bird remains found at the Valsgärde burial site in her paper, "Birds as Companions to Humans: Bird Remains Found in Boat Graves from Valsgärde". Christopher Nichols (Uppsala University) continued from there in the same vein with analysis of dog bone remains from the Valsgärde burial site, in his paper "Hounds of Hel: Canine Remains at the Vendel-Viking Cemetery of Valsgärde, Sweden". Finally, Kathryn A. Haley-Halinski (University of Cambridge) gave us an iconographic survey of bird motifs to challenge previous interpretations of their significance on bracteates, in their paper entitled "Not All Bracteates: The Bracteates' Forward-Facing Bird Motif and Socio-Cultural changes in Scandinavia".

The next session dealt with "Ritualised Behaviour", chaired by Simon Nygaard (Aarhus University). Anya Maltsberger (University of York) opened the session with a discussion of reciprocal gift-giving and death rituals in Old Norse literature, in her paper entitled "Keeping Close: Gift-Giving and the

Deceased in Pre-Christian Scandinavia". Emily Parsons (University of Iceland) then presented us with the role of nuns and convents in Iceland, with a particular focus on the Benediction order of nuns at Kirkjubæjarklaustur in her paper, "Sister Act: Piety, Performance, and Prayer at the Convent of Kirkjubæjarklaustur".

The penultimate session, chaired by Amelia Herridge Ishak (University of Cambridge), centred on "Material Culture". Zachary C. Cole (University of Iceland) opened the session with a presentation on new and upcoming research on dietary and social differences to try to demonstrate migration patterns between Denmark and the British Isles through bone analysis, in his paper "Buttered Bread and Battered Bones: Dietary Analysis of Human Remains from Medieval Period Denmark and the British Isles". Olivia Elliot Smith (University of Iceland), gave an interesting paper on the use of cloth and colours as literary memory indicators in her paper, "Material Culture and Memory: The Textiles of *Laxdæla saga*".

The final session of the day was chaired by Luke John Murphy (University of Leicester) and concerned "Old Norse Poetry". Anna Solovyeva (Aarhus University), discussed the case of Ragnarr loðbrók as a king and a skald and his removal from the Codex Uppsaliensis of *Snorra Edda* in her paper, "Power over Men and Power over Words: The Poet and King Ragnarr loðbrók". The final paper of the conference was presented by Eleonora Pancetti (University of Iceland) on the archaeology of emotions and cognitive responses to negative emotions in her paper, "The Vocabulary of Negative Emotions in the *Poetic Edda*".

Further information on the Student Symposium can be found at: www.vikingoldnorse.au.dk/activities-and-events/student-symposium/. We look forward to welcoming more exciting papers for the conference next year.

Personal Names and Cultural Reconstructions
21–23 August 2019, Helsinki, Finland

Jaakko Raunamaa, University of Helsinki

The conference of *Personal Names and Cultural Reconstructions* was organized at the University of Helsinki on August 21–23. *Metsätalo* ['forest house'], originally built for the students studying forest sciences, served as a venue for the conference which concluded a three-year research project called "Personal Name Systems in Finnic and Beyond: Reconstructing the Concepts of Name Giving in Cultural Layers", and was funded by The Academy of Finland. The aim of the conference was to highlight anthroponymic systems within a historical context. The program consisted of 46 paper sessions, three keynote sessions and one poster session with nine posters. The atmosphere was multicultural and multidisciplinary. There were participants from 28 different countries. Most of them were linguists and onomasticians, but also scholars from the fields of archaeology, folklore studies, history and other disciplines were present.

Keynote Sessions
The first keynote speaker, Ellen Bramwell from the University of Glasgow, had a socio-onomastic look into personal names. She was comparing the personal name systems in five different communities in Scotland. She pointed out how important the cultural context is in order to understand personal naming systems.

The second keynote speaker was Mr. Frog from the University of Helsinki, whose presentation was about ancient Finnic personal name systems. As a researcher specialising in folklore studies his perspective was multidisciplinary. He presented how ancient Finnic personal names appear in folklore and mythology. Frog concluded that many Finnic personal names have had mythological significance and this perspective should be taken into consideration when studying ancient anthroponyms.

In the last keynote session, Aleksandar Loma from the University of Belgrade and the Serbian Academy of Sciences, presented what kind of problems appear in chronological and social stratification of ancient personal names. He used two zoonyms, meaning 'horse' and 'wolf', in Indo-European context as examples. Professor Loma described how these two animals have appeared in personal names among Indo-European tribes from the Bronze Age onwards.

Paper Sessions
Paper sessions consisted of wide variety of topics and covered aras from that of ancient Egypt to contemporary times. Regions named were, for example, the Baltics, Denmark, Finland, Kazakhstan, Poland, Prussia, Scandinavia, South Africa, Turin and Zambia. The only continents that were not dealt with were Antarctica and Oceania. A scholarly change in onomastics was also visible. Many lectures had a socio-linguistic or semantic perspective whereas the amount of presentations concentrating on name etymologies were fewer than one might expect. A quick analysis of the paper titles shows that

expressions like 'personal name(s)', 'anthroponym(s)' and 'individual name(s)' were used the most. In addition, expressions like 'region', 'area', 'century' and 'medieval' were popular. It could be concluded that the most typical lecture was about presenting an ancient personal name system in one specific area.

It was also interesting that many of the papers were based on multidisciplinary work. Lecturers were acquainted with various disciplines. Archaeology and history were probably the most common disciplines together with linguistics. A good example of multidisciplinary work was a paper presented by Albris Sofie Laurine. She proposed that the evidence of Late Iron Age Scandinavian naming could be studied by viewing various themes and elements used in mono- and dithematic personal names from an archaeological perspective. This means that name elements mentioned in ancient Scandinavian runestones could be compared to archeological data found in the vicinity. For example, the name element *Björn* ['bear'] could occur with artifacts depicting or including the same animal.

The connection between personal names and cultural heritage was another theme that was examined in many papers. There were three papers and one poster that discussed the role of personal names in cultural identification practices among African peoples or people descended from there. For example, Osward Chanda stated that, in Zambia, the local personal name culture was almost completely superseded by English-derived practices during the 19th and 20th centuries. He proposed that Zambians should be made more familiar with their ancient personal names by promoting the theme in schools.

It was also refreshing to notice that many papers were not only multidisciplinary but also based on modern methods or trends. For example, Giacomo Luigi Morando presented a study where he tries, on the basis of personal name data, to create a reconstruction of the ancient urban culture and society of Old-Elamite Susa, in South-Western Iran. He used a variety of different methods and perspectives in order to illustrate this. Indeed, Morando's study is also a fine example of how digital tools can be applied to onomastic studies. Vanessa Hannesschläger's paper was another good example of using digital tools. She demonstrated how names appearing in personal name corpuses can be divided into categories by gender by using computational aid.

Among the different language groups represented at the conference, Finnic was the most present. This is expected as the conference was held in Helsinki and the project that the conference was based on concentrated mostly on old Finnic personal names. For example, Janne Saarikivi analyzed the etymologies of different Finnic deities and mythological heroes. Oliver Blomqvist's paper fit very well with the theme of the conference. He demonstrated how traces of Finnish personal name forms can be found in medieval Swedish documents.

One could argue that Finland's location on the border between Eastern and Western Europe was evident in the topics. There were many scholars from Latvia and Lithuania covering the naming systems used by Baltic tribes. For example, Darius Ivoska had a look into ancient Prussian personal names. Western Europe was also well presented. Volker and Rosa Kohleim gave a presentation about the reconstruction of ancient Bavarian mentalities based on medieval personal names. Elisabetta Rossi's paper covered the personal names used by upper classes in the city of Chieri (modern-day Northern Italy). In addition to Western Europe, there were also papers concerning eastern parts of Europe and Asia, like Leo Loveday's paper focusing on Japanese naming customs or Alexander Pustyakov's paper presenting the 17th century personal name system in Mari-El (in modern-day Russia). Zhazira Agabekova, in turn, examined "The Arabic Side of the Kazakh Anthroponymy".

Summary
The variety of lecturers hailing from different backgrounds was visible in the variety of academic presentation styles. In general, it seemed that scholars from the sphere of Western culture were more informal and had put effort into the clarity and vividness of their presentations. On the other hand, there were also scholars who had prepared their presentations as academic papers nearly ready for publication, which they read to the public. Even though onomastics can be considered as

a small discipline in the field of linguistics, there is nevertheless so much inherent variety in the topic that it is impossible for one onomastician to understand everything. Thus, it would be desirable that, for example, visual aid would be used more often to make presentations easier to understand.

The conference not only consisted of presentations and posters but also provided the opportunity for participants to socialize and connect. The first day of the conference, Wednesday, concluded with a reception hosted by the University of Helsinki's Faculty of Arts. The second day concluded with an evening dinner at the Culinary School Perho. The vocal group *Kärhämä* introduced participants to Finnish folk music. The lyrics were based on etymologies proposed for various Finnish words. The conference ended on Friday with a closing session held by the organizers Terhi Ainiala, Jaakko Raunamaa, Janne Saarikivi and Johanna Virkkula.

In summary, the conference was successful and interesting. Topics spanned many different eras and covered most regions of the world. Speakers were from diverse backgrounds and careers. This may have been the first conference focused exclusively on ancient personal names. We found the conference to be an exceedingly positive experience and we sincerely hope to see similar events organized in the near future.

Guder og gudinder i nordisk mytologi
['Gods and Goddesses in Norse Mythology']

Karen Bek-Pedersen, Aarhus University

Gods and Goddesses in Nordic Mythology is a new, Danish-language overview of Old Norse mythology that provides a solid introduction to the subject. It provides excellent reading for anyone with an interest in the subject while also being useful for museum guides, students and and other people with a special interest in Vikings.

This book presents the mythology as it is found in the primary sources, as well as what can be deduced from both the written and other types of materials. At the same time, it provides an overall interpretation that can nuance one's knowledge of Norse mythology, dispel some outdated stereotypes and provide an updated perspective on the gods and goddesses in line with 21st-century research.

The book contains a total of 31 chapters. Four introductory chapters with an introduction as such followed by a chapter that covers the topics of faith, religion and myth, another on sources and then an overview of the cosmology. These are followed by 26 chapters, each of which presents a portraits of a particular god. A brief concluding chapter then closes the volume.

Please also visit the publisher's website at: https://turbine.dk/produkt/guder-og-gudinder-i-nordisk-mytologi/. However, the publisher recommends that those outside of Denmark who are interested in the book instead visit: www.saxo.com.

Folklore and Old Norse Mythology

Frog and Joonas Ahola (eds.), University of Helsinki

This book responds to the rising boom of interest in folklore and folklore research in the study of Old Norse mythology. The twenty-two authors of this volume reveal the dynamism of this lively dialogue, which is characterized by a diversity of perspectives linking to different fields and national scholarships.

The chapters open with a general overview of how the concepts of 'folklore' and 'mythology' have been understood and related across the history of Old Norse studies. This is followed by a group of chapters that discuss and present different approaches and types of source materials, with methodological and theoretical concerns. The interest in folklore is bound up with interests in practice and lived religion, which are brought into focus in a series of chapters relating to magic and ritual. Attention then turns to images that link to mythology and different mythic agents in studies that explore a variety of usage in meaning-making in different forms of cultural expression. The next group of studies spotlights motifs, with perspectives on synchronic usage across genres and different media, cross-cultural exchange and long-term continuities. The volume culminates in discussions of complex stories, variously behind medieval sources and relationships between accounts found in medieval sources and those recorded from more recent traditions.

The book's first section, *Approaches*, is constituted of five chapters. John Lindow opens the section with perspectives on the development of research in "Folklore, Folkloristics, and an 'Old Norse Mythology Method'?". Jens Peter Schjødt then engages currently debated topics in "Pre-Christian Religions of the North as Folklore, with Special Reference to the Notion of
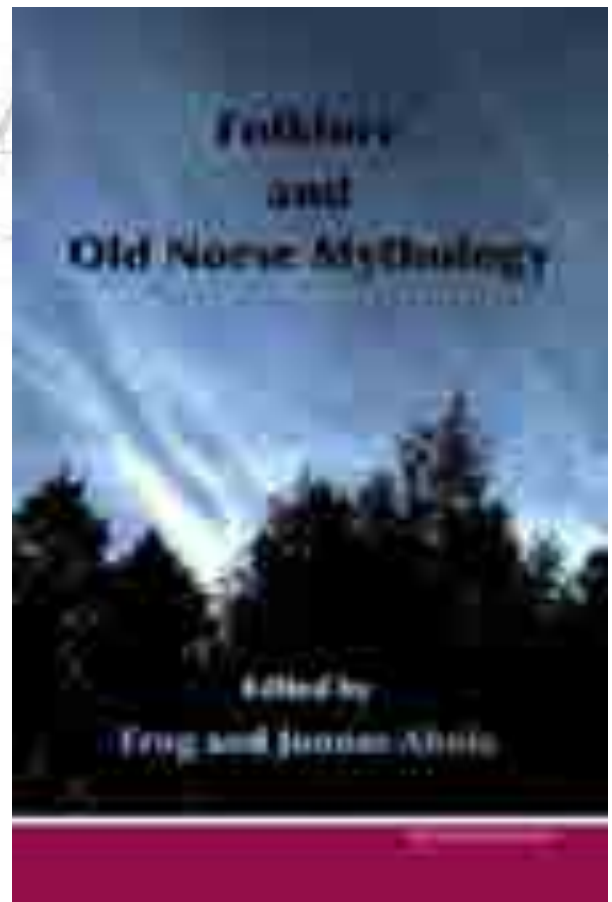
'Pantheon'". Sophie Bønding has a strong theoretical emphasis in "Conceptualising Continuity in the Christianisation: Towards a Discursive Approach". Olof Sundqvist illustrates the potential of interdisciplinary approaches in "A 'Turn to Interdisciplinary Methods' in the Study of Old Norse Mythology and Religion, with a Case Study on the Distribution of the Cult of Freyr". The section is closed by Frog's outline of a framework for addressing several current issues in "Mythic Discourse Analysis".

The second section, *Magic and Ritual*, is formed by four chapters. In "*Seiðr* and (Sámi) Shamanism: Definitions, Sources, and Identities", Kendra Willson considers how *seiðr* and its construction in comparative research has been shaped by scholars' contemporary trends and concerns. Stephen A. Mitchell then offers "Notes on *historiola*s, Referentiality, and Time in Nordic Magical Traditions", raising valuable issues related to mythological narratives and their connections to charm texts. Bengt af Klintberg then brings into focus a particular Swedish charm and its potential for continuities from a pre-Christian milieu in "The Dead Mother: An Exceptional Nordic Binding Charm". Clive Tolley completes the section with an extensive and thorough study "Heimdallr's Charm: The Lost *Heimdallargaldr* and Symbolism and Allusion in the Myths of Heimdallr", which first explores the image of the god Heimdallr and then turns to the relationship of the mysterious source to charm traditions.

The third section, *Mythic Images and Agents*, also consists of four chapters. In "Divine Gear? – 'Odinic' Disguise and Its Narrative Contexts in Medieval Icelandic Literature", Joonas Ahola explores the role of images in meaning-making, and how connections of images with the mythological sphere can shape the significance of the same images in other contexts. Leszek Gardeła then turns attention to artefacts in the archaeological record in "Women and Axes in the North: Diversity and Meaning in Viking Age Mortuary Practices", where he argues for axes as ritual objects in these contexts based on a wide range of comparative evidence. In "Wise Men and Half Trolls", Rudolf Simek and Valerie Broustin turn discussion to

supernatural agents, bringing into focus the often overlooked position of trolls in the genealogies of significant Icelandic families. Tommy Kuusela brings the section to a close with a return to the history of scholarship in "The Giants and the Critics: A Brief History of Old Norse 'Gigantology'", exploring how views on giants in mythology and folklore have been shaped by scholars' contemporary discussions.

The fourth section, *Motifs and Narratives*, is again comprised of four chapters. In "Mythological Motifs and Other Narrative Elements of Vǫlsunga saga in Icelandic Folk- and Fairytales", Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir explores long-term continuities and transformations of motifs in oral tradition. In "Gotland Picture Stones and Narration", Laila Kitzler Åhfeldt then presents an approach to carvers' use of templates in depicting stories, in which she uniquely applies Oral-Formulaic Theory. Kirsi Kanerva follows questions of composition with variation of a topic as it is addressed in different genres in "Genre Matters? – Female Suicide in Mythic, Mytho-Heroic, and Historical Contexts". Karen Bek-Pedersen closes the section with a discussion of "Bolli Þorleiksson's Celtic Horses", with an approach to cross-cultural comparison more concerned with meanings than reconstructing earlier forms or origins.

The final section, *Stories*, is formed by another group of four chapters. Else Mundal opens discussion by raising issues about the value of different types of sources, connecting back to issues of genre, in "Old Norse Myths, Heroic Legends, and Folklore: Sources for Old Norse Religion on the Move". The problem of distinguishing tradition behind medieval written sources is then taken on by Joseph Hopkins in "Phantoms of the *Edda*: Observations Regarding Eddic Items of Unknown Provenance in the *Prose Edda*". Eldar Heide illustrates the potential for narrative traditions to endure in the long term and to provide insights into obscure sources in the past in "Magical Fishing in *Historia Norwegie*: Incomprehensible without Late Folklore". The section and the book are then brought to a close by Terry Gunnell with Tom Muir in "George Marwick's Account of 'The Muckle Tree or Igasill': Folklore or Literature?", examining a case of potential

long-term continuity that might also reflect an oral tradition that emerged around an early written source.

Individually, the chapters variously offer reflexive and historical research criticism, new research frameworks, illustrative studies and exploratory investigations. Collectively, they illustrate the rapidly evolving multidisciplinary discussion at the intersections of folklore and Old Norse mythology, where the transformative impacts were recently described as a paradigm shift. They open new paths for scholarly discussion with the potential to inspire future research.

The book will soon become available at: https://tiedekirja.fi.

Outlanders? Resource Colonisation, Raw Material Exploitation and Networks in Middle Iron Age Sweden

Andreas Hennius, Uppsala University & Upplandsmuseet

The Middle Iron Age, around 300–650 CE, was characterised by extensive transformations across many aspects of society in the area of present-day Sweden. These changes included a fundamental reorganisation of settlement structure, new burial rituals, increased militar-isation and the building of hillforts. Moreover, in the time period, social stratification increased, there was a growing amount of imported objects, sometimes with exotic origins, and, especially in middle Sweden, the largescale construction of monuments.

The thesis *Outlanders? Resource Coloni-sation, Raw Material Exploitation and Networks in Middle Iron Age Sweden* addresses an additional aspect of Middle Iron Age societal change, namely a largely overlooked increase in the utilisation of raw materials and resources from landscapes situated beyond the agrarian farm, such as boreal forests, lakes, rivers and the coastal zone. These non-agrarian landscapes are commonly referred to as the outlands (*Utmark* in Swedish).

The thesis is based on the *hypothesis* that the exploitation of the outlands is a fundamental, but underrated, factor for explaining the development of the agrarian regions in the Middle Iron Age. The central idea is that the changes in land utilisation and societal structure that can be seen in the agrarian farms during the period are associated with an intensified exploitation of the landscape and new ways of organising production and controlling land use. The *objective* of the dissertation is to expand our knowledge of Iron Age outland resource exploitation and the acquisition of raw materials and goods for further refinement into trade items with the *aim* to achieve a more profound understanding of the societal developments that took place in the agrarian regions, as well as in the outlands, during the Middle Iron Age. The argument of the thesis is constituted of four case studies published in peer-reviewed journals, in relation to studies performed by other scholars.

The Articles and Discussion
The articles "Towards a Refined Chronology of Prehistoric Pitfall Hunting in Sweden" (Hennius 2020a) and "Whalebone Gaming Pieces: Aspects of Marine Mammal Exploitation in Vendel and Viking Age Scandinavia" (Hennius et al. 2018) investigate chronological frame-works regarding the large-scale hunting of terrestrial and marine mammals, respectively. In the first paper, radiocarbon samples from

Figure 1. Chronological developments based on present knowledge and the appearance in archaeological empirical material of different phenomena discussed or referred to in the thesis. White – no or as yet very scarce indications, light grey – indications of small-scale activities or ini-tial production, dark grey – extensive indications or large-scale production. The upper part of the table shows changes in the infields, lower part the outland changes. Related phenomena marked with colour coding in the second column.

pitfalls in the boreal forests are analysed using Kernel Density Estimations (KDE) to create a chronological model of pitfall hunting. The second paper is based on a study of raw materials used in the production of gaming pieces. By using a combination of osteological methods and ZooMS, the analyses show that a majority of the Late Iron Age gaming pieces were made from whalebone, primarily from bone of the North Atlantic right whale *(Eubalaena glacialis)*. Furthermore, the study suggests that these mass-produced and standardised gaming pieces were distributed via extensive networks, dating from as early as the Vendel Period.

In "Viking Age Tar Production and Outland Exploitation" (Hennius 2018) Iron Age tar production is discussed. The production of tar transforms from small-scale production at settlements during the Early Iron Age to large-scale production located in the woodlands during the Late Iron Age. This relocation certainly had major implications for planning the production and work organisation and was probably implemented and conducted on a seasonal basis with the intention of using the tar as a commodity in supraregional trade networks.

In "Outland Exploitation and the Emergence of Seasonal Settlements" (Hennius 2020b), the emergence of seasonally utilised sites during the Middle Iron Age is discussed, aiming to deepen the understanding of societal development and the interdependence between different types of landscapes and resource areas. The article bridges the infield/outland dichotomy by studying the reorganisation of grazing systems in relation to the emergence of seasonal production sites in the outlands in the middle of the Iron Age from a coherent model of explanation. The development of multi-functional sites for intermittent use in the outlands is related to increasingly stronger claims to and control of land, which is also visible in the agrarian units in the field during the period. This change affects both the work organisation of the actors involved and social relationships. The chronological coherence between outland resource acquisition and the development of the agrarian regions shows an interdependence between different types of landscape.

The final discussion is centred around the five classic questions: *When*, *What*, *Where*, *Who* and *Why*. It elaborates on the chronology, the nature, the geographical scale, the societal organisation and the reasons behind the increased outland exploitation. Even if the questions seem simple, the answers are much more complex, indicating that the societal and economic developments in the Middle Iron Age affected and connected most parts of Scandinavia and tied them together through far-reaching networks.

Results

In contrast to previous assumptions rooted in a model of Viking Age expansion, an intensified outland resource colonisation can be identified already during the Middle Iron Age. The case studies suggest that similar explanatory models can be used to understand the parallel developments seen in different parts of the landscape – the agrarian regions as well as forested or coastal outlands.

Already during the Middle Iron Age, it is possible to identify a largescale landscape utilisation and a surplus production that exceed the needs of ordinary households, as exemplified by hunting using pitfalls, whaling and, towards the end of the period, tar production. Furthermore, the case studies show the presence of the mass production of serially produced items as well as other types of exotic commodities, which are distributed through far-reaching trade networks. The most illustrative example would be the trade in whalebone gaming pieces, but this is supported by other studies and also by other outland resources, such as furs from lynx and bear, or reindeer antler for crafts. The networks can be interpreted as part of a world system connecting distant regions from the Far East to Arctic Scandinavia, but on a local, domestic, scale also as the origin of Late Iron Age network kingdoms.

The interplay between different groups of people – producers and consumers, farmers and hunters – in different parts of the landscape, generated complex, social and economic relations and interdependencies, and furthermore created specific cultural patterns that could be compared to a middle ground in the border region between the agrarian areas in the south and the boreal forests in the north.

Overview

Overall, the case studies indicate that the outlands were an important driving force in societal development during the Middle Iron Age. The outland perspective used in the thesis enables a broader understanding of resource and raw material exploitation as well as landscape use during the Middle Iron Age, with significance for how to understand societal development from a large-scale perspective. Not only the time-depth, but also the geographical scale, of such outland exploitation was much more extensive than has previously been assumed and included a wide range of resources. The outland exploitation affects the overall social structure, including labour division, organisation of production and social hierarchies, but also power politics, networks and the development of pre-Viking Age trade. Furthermore, it is suggested that many of the characteristics of Late Iron Age society are established at least as early as the 5th to 6th centuries, if not even earlier. The study thus raises the necessity to re-examine models of societal development during the period.

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The Perception of Thunder Gods in Scandinavian and Northern Baltic Cultural Milieus: Idiosyncrasies, Changes and Possible Parallels

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This dissertation project proposes to examine the perceptions regarding Thunder gods in Scandinavian and Northern Baltic belief systems and mythologies. The theoretical inspirations for such an endeavor were the recent works of Declan Taggart (2017; 2018), which competently questioned the Norse god Þórr's connection with thunder. This compelled me to start searching for other areas of regency concerning this god, such as his role as protector of gods and men, giant-slayer, maintainer of cosmic order, helper of fertility and even as responsible for creative and cosmogonic acts (Lindow 1996: 17–19; Langer 2018: 226–239). Other turning points were Frog's studies, which offered a broad and in-depth look at a type of folk narrative indexed as ATU 1148B, demonstrating how the Germanic and Scandinavian traditions of this kind differed considerably from those circulating in Finnic, Baltic and Sámic traditions of the same type (Frog 2011: 89–91; 2014: 141–143), and Clive Tolley's extensive comparative investigation pointed out some interesting traits present in Þórr's relation with waters and the cosmic pillar (Tolley 2009: 283–287).

Þórr's lack of a connection with thunder, along with the fact that he was somehow related to protection, superhuman strength, communy welfare and cosmic balance, made me ponder whether these features were the result of a hybridization of his Germanic inheritance with certain characteristics of thunder gods present in mythological and belief systems of the Finno-Ugric peoples. If so, such transformations could have been introduced by the Finns, Estonians and Sámis through their contact with Scandinavians. My intention is to map the presence of thunder gods in these Finno-Ugric religions/mythologies while inquiring about the meanings, values, characterizations and areas of regency which were attributed to these gods by believers inside the vernacular religions. Once this has been done, I will investigate the mythology surrounding the Norse god Þórr for similar perceptions regarding the thunder god that could have emerged as a result of Finno-Ugric influence.

The an additional aim of the project is to indicate and elucidate how Scandinavian mythology, religion and culture received influences and borrowed from Finno-Ugric peoples in an attempt to invert previous ethnocentric studies that frequently assumed the similarities between these different religions to be loans and influences imported from the allegedly superior Scandinavian religion (Rydving 1990). Therefore, the basic aim is to compare how thunder gods were perceived in each of the respective cultural milieus, demonstrating the parallels between them as well as showing what seems to be

peculiar to each system. If changes and evolution in the perception of the thunder god within a religious system are observed, these will also be indicated.

Methodology and Theoretical Framework

The first step of the research is to map the presence of thunder gods inside each mythology (Scandinavian, Finnic, Sámic), attempting to understand how they were perceived and how they have operated within their traditions as symbols and models for understanding the world. In other words, it is a scrutinizing procedure to look for internal balance, steadiness and incoherence in the symbolic representation of these gods. The second step constitutes the main objective of the research, dedicated to putting these different traditions in a broad comparative perspective. Steps one and two correspond, respectively, to what Schjødt named 'first' and 'fourth' levels of comparison (Schjødt 2017a: 72). Since these different mythologies and systems of belief belong to peoples who have established cultural and historical contacts and exchanges, my proposal consists in what is called a genetic comparison (Schjødt 2017b: 2).

Mythology is approached in a broad sense as a system of signs and structures that are emotionally invested models for interpreting experience of both the seen and unseen worlds, with which people, then, interact (Frog 2015; 2018). Such a conception enables us to discuss these interactions as mythic discourses, allowing mythic narratives to be seen not only as stylistically representative of their respective genres, but as cultural discourses of which meaning can be analyzed on the levels of text, performance and oral tradition: it provides us with the tools to give an approximate answer of how mythic tradition operates and works as a means of constructing the community and the individual's ego, as well as a mode of interpreting feelings and experiences (Siikala 2012: 34–35). Within mythic discourses are mental images, through which mythological phenomena are perceive by 'seeing' them instead of comprehending them logically or through abstract concepts. The act of interpretation creates in our minds mental images that could never be seen in reality; images that acquire meaning by referring to

phenomena from the mythic world. These images, of course, do not rise out of nothing but belong to a specific culture that will offer people a large – although limited – number of such shared images that may be engaged unconsciously (Siikala 2002: 47–49). Bearing this in mind, it is possible that the perception of thunder gods in Scandinavian and Northern Baltic areas could be fairly diverse and varied, although such variation would have been limited.

It is therefore impossible to separate the thunder gods present in these mythological systems from the contemporaneous mentality of their societies. This mentality is a set of cognitive, experiential, action-governing models for perceiving and analyzing the world; these models create and organize the perceptible expressions of a culture, and thus mentality becomes fixed and is transmitted along with these representations (Siikala 2002: 28). That being said, my objective is precisely to identify the roles of thunder gods in regard to these models of perception. These theoretical premises are the main foundations of my research.

Schjødt's (2013) notion of 'semantic center' will be utilized as a tool in order to effectually identify and clarify the functions, characteristics, values, regencies and portrayals each of these thunder gods receive (and in turn, give) within their mythological systems.

Research Materials

The sources on Þórr are numerous. This is especially true if we consider mythological narratives in which, despite not being a protagonist, he is still somehow mentioned. His presence will be sought in materials such as The Prose Edda (with focus on *Gylfaginning* and *Skáldskaparmál*); in Eddic Poems (*Vǫluspá*, *Grímnismál*, *Skírnismál*, *Hárbarðsljóð*, *Hymiskviða*, *Lokasenna* and *Þrymskviða*); in some of the *Íslendingasögur* (*Eyrbyggja saga*, *Eiríks saga rauða*, *Hallfreðar saga vandræðaskálds*, *Njáls saga*) and *Fornaldarsögur* (*Gautreks saga, Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar berserkjabana*, *Þorsteins þáttr bæjarmagns*); and finally in skaldic poems such as *Þórsðrápa*, *Ragnarsðrápa*, *Húsðrápa* and *Haustlöng*. The thunder gods from Finno-Ugric mythologies

we intend to analyze (Finnish, Sáami, and Estonian) will be pursued mainly in the folklore corpus encompassing oral traditions, poems, laments, short tales, incantations and the like (Kuusi, Bosley & Branch 1977; Honko et al. 1994; Jauhiainen 1998; Virtanen & DuBois 2000; Kurrik 2013; Koskimies & Itkonen 2019). In the case of Saami traditions, other works will be taken into account, as for example Johannes Schefferus' *Lapponia* (1674) and Lars Levi Laestadius' *Fragments of Lappish Mythology* (2002).

The primary sources to be analyzed indeed constitute a considerably long list. However, since the object of interest is well defined and fairly specific, it must be taken into account that the manifestation of thunder gods in many of these textual materials is brief, if not, in some cases, superficial. Also, the fact that these sources differ greatly from each other both chronologically as well as in their nature (epic poetry, oral prose folklore, incantations, prose sagas, fieldwork reports, bibliographic studies) will be kept at sight. Unfortunately, this is an arbitrary fact imposed by the nature of the sources themselves if one intends to study these different cultures from a comparative perspective. Nevertheless, the social, historical and cultural context in which each of these sources was written or collected will be made explicit and taken into consideration at all times. If we are to comprehend the perception of thunder gods and their role in contemporary thinking-models, it is not possible to separate such perceptions from the cultural milieu where they circulated and with which they established a network of dialogic relations.

This is an endeavor to bring Finno-Ugric studies to Brazil, where the field is practically nonexistent. Besides my master's thesis, which discussed some of the sources on Ukko, Hovregaellies and Þórr (Sampaio Alves 2019), nothing related to Finno-Ugric studies has been developed here. I hope this PhD research will not only bring relevant conclusions regarding thunder gods in the area, but that it will also turn the attention of a Portuguese audience to this thematic field of study.

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Early Modern Finno-Karelian Healing Practices in the Light of Cognitive Science and Ritual Theories

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A human being is a complex creature. Humans are social and cultural beings, but they are biological beings as well – with all different kinds of cognitive processes and neural structures developed by, for instance, evolutionary processes. In my dissertation project, I am studying one kind of cultural and traditional behaviour, but I am interested in considering all of the aspects of being a human being.

In my dissertation, I argue that the human cognition system has affected the forms of the early modern Finno-Karelian healing tradition and especially the ways of narrating about it. The research project concentrates on analysing the illness-concepts, ritualistic aspects of the healing practices and the ritual profiles of the healers in 19th- and early 20th-century Finland and Karelia. As research material, I am relying on archived folklore materials on the healing tradition: memorized narratives about healers and healing processes, healing instructions and incantations, and folk narratives on the past healers and ritual specialists (*tietäjä*s). The materials are deposited to the folklore archive of the Finnish Literature Society in Helsinki, Finland.

My perspective aims to analyse how humans generally behave in ritual situations, especially when encountering illnesses, dangers and other life-threatening, stress-causing phenomena, and how this affects the research materials and the healing tradition behind them. Certainly, there are culturally variable ways of dealing with these kinds of situations, but, in this project, I am interested in the general similarities in human behaviours that may be due to aspects of human cognition. I propose that this kind of approach to the study of Finno-Karelian traditional healing can also provide new information about the tradition.

In the research field on Finno-Karelian vernacular healing, the healing tradition has been considered as a form of ritual drama (e.g. Honko 1960) and as a particular kind of interaction between the healer and the patient (e.g. Piela 2010). Additionally, previous studies on traditions of Finno-Karelian magic have touched on the subject of healing, especially in cases where the healer performs incantations and magical rituals (e.g. Siikala 2002; Stark 2006). In her studies, Finnish folklorist Anna-Leena Siikala connects these to the paradigm of cognitive anthropology, considering cognitive memory processes in her analyses (e.g. 2002). Following her efforts, however, the cognitive perspective has been largely forgotten in Finnish folkloristics, although it continued in the neighbouring field of religious studies, where it developed into the paradigm of the cognitive science of religion (CSR). Thus, my research project is rooted in

the works of Siikala as well as the CSR paradigm, especially the ritual theories developed within CSR.

The main research question of my dissertation is: *How have the cognitive processes of the human mind affected the early modern Finno-Karelian healing tradition, especially in its ritualized forms and the cultural representations surrounding the tradition?* I approach this question in three research articles. The first article was published in 2018, the second in 2020, and third is currently in process.

In my first research article (Kohonen 2018), I apply of the ritual competence theory (Lawson & McCauley 1990) in order to study two Karelian healers who lived in the same area at approximately the same time. My analysis proposes that these two healers and their performances were encountered quite differently although they both performed similar healing practices within the same tradition.

The next two articles consider an illness concept called wraths (*vihat*), especially the wraths of fire (*tulen vihat* in Finnish), and how to heal them. This illness concept is widely repsented in the folklore materials on healing skin burns. Previous studies on the subject have proposed that the wraths are an illness that contaminates a person via damaged skin, and that they are caused by the origin of the wound or burn (Stark 2006: 275–277).

In the article published in 2020, I consider how the research materials present the illness concept and what kind of features it involves. I propose that the illness concept is highly influenced by some basic cognitive biases that are common in assisting the human mind to process everyday information smoothly without causing cognitive overload.

In the second article on this subject, and the third article of the dissertation, I consider how the concept of wrath-illness is related to the actual healing processes behind the folklore materials. In this article, my preliminary plan is to consider the relationship between the illness concept and the healing practices from the perspective of placebo and performance studies. I suggest that the folklore on illnesses and their curing processes affect the cognitive scripts and schemas of these that people have in their minds. I suggest that the scripts and schemas affect people's expectations of the healing process in real-life contexts. The expectations of healing processes affect the evaluations of healing performances as well as the placebo effect, which can increase the possibilities for successful healing.

All the research articles of this dissertation project will consider the early modern Finno-Karelian healing tradition from the perspective of the human mind, but, additionally, all of the articles will also test the validity of these cognitive theories. These theories have mostly been tested for modern, Western people, which means that the research field needs other kinds of test environments as well. In my dissertation, I bring these theories into historical context and into non-urbanized and non-industrialized environment.

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Poetry as Ritual in Pre-Christian Nordic Religion

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This doctoral dissertation features performance-based analyses of a selection of Old Norse poems (*Grímnismál*, selected stanzas of *Hávamál*, *Eiríksmál*, *Hákonarmál* and *Hrafnsmál*). The underlying assumption is that these are a form of oral-derived poetry which preserves traits of having been performed in collective, religious rituals in a hall-based, Viking Age setting. Any kind of preservation of knowledge in an oral context like that of the pre-Christian North is conventionally thought to presuppose activities connected to memory, and the transmission of such preserved knowledge intuitively entails some form of performance (Gísli Sigurðsson 2018). Furthermore, in pre-literate societies, this performance is often ritualised and formalised (Gunnell 2018a; 2018b; Assmann 2006). The theoretical framework of this dissertation is therefore grounded in approaches to orality, memory, ritual and performance studies.

Orality studies provides a starting point for looking at the poetic tradition and religion in question. Oral societies, their religion, and poetic traditions are vastly different from those based on writing and all the possibilities this technology brings with it, since the transmission of oral religion and oral poetry rests on human memory and ritual performance, as Jan Assmann (2006: 39) has argued. In the Pre-Christian Nordic context, however, the source situation is such that we are only left with medieval manuscript versions of the poems in question. The medieval manuscript versions of these Old Norse poems may be treated as what orality scholar John Miles Foley (2002) terms *voices from the past*, or later, fixed versions of once-living, oral traditions, with an inherent *vocalité* (Zumthor 1988). This provides us with an opportunity for glimpsing the oral traditions of the Viking Age through the medieval, textual lens. Memory studies (Assmann 2006; 2008) may assist the reading and contextualisation of these poetic sources. Focusing on the role of both autobiographical and collective, cultural memory in ritualised, oral transmission, memory studies can be used to propose models for understanding this transmission process – not least the role of individuals termed memory specialists. The transmission of cultural memory in oral societies is heavily formalised and often takes the form of ritual performances of, for instance, oral poetry. Ritual studies may thus provide suggestions for the functions of this transmission process, especially for the performer and audience of the oral transmission process. The performance of religious, ritual acts often secures continuity through a demand of invariance and formality, while at the same time giving authority to the performer and furthering conformity and acceptance of the validity and reality of the performed rituals. This leads to group coherence and solidarity between the participants in the ritual performance (Rappaport 1999). In ritual

performance, furthermore, the setting – or the performance space – and the content – or the performed space – meld together in the creation of a 'double scene' (Lönnroth 1978, 2011: 243–259), transporting and transforming the participants (Gunnell 2011). Performance studies may then be used when analysing the poems. Paying attention to the context of any performance is pivotal, and this holds especially true when dealing with oral poetry (Bauman 1975). The oral-poetic rules of Old Norse poetry are an essential part of the 'performance archaeological' (cf. Gunnell 2016) reading of the poems in question.

In the analysis of the poems, various performance markers (the use of self-reference, props and gestures by the performer, as well as a focus on aural and spatial qualities) and the interaction between performer and audience are treated as some of the most important aspects to consider when establishing the poems' context and connection to oral performance. Having done this, the oral, ritual performances of poetry are then argued to have had transformational qualities for performer, audience and space – with lasting consequences for their notion of identity and self-understanding. These transformations then serve as a basis for placing the individual poems, seen as ritual performances, in a specific ritual context, as summarised below.

Grímnismál may fruitfully be viewed as an initiation ritual for a future ruler represented by Agnarr, with the ritual specialist acting as the initiator represented by Grímnir/Óðinn. The ritual specialist is placed between multiple fires in a ruler's hall. Whether he has been sitting there for a full eight nights and days, or this in perhaps just implied as a part of the esoteric mythology, is unclear. The participant who will represent the old (deceased) ruler (Geirrøðr in the poem) sits in the high-seat and the audience gather in the hall. The initiand ruler-to-be (Agnarr in the poem) enters the hall and the masked ritual specialist begins the performance. The initiand offers the initiator a ritual libation, as described in *Grímnismál* stanza 3, after which the ritual specialist performs the poetic transmission of knowledge to the initiand, addressing him while gradually revealing his identity as Óðinn in the process. This culminates in the last two stanzas where

the old ruler on the high-seat is addressed and ritually 'killed' to make room for the new ruler. Thus, the initiation ritual ends and the new ruler has received a new higher status (see also Nygaard 2019).

The selected stanzas of *Hávamál* (138–164) are argued to represent a ritual connected to transmission of secret knowledge of runes, rune carving, and magical spells from one ritual specialist, an initiator, to a prospective ritual specialist, an initiand: an audience of elite warriors and the prospective ritual specialist are gathered in a hall to witness and participate in a teaching ritual, perhaps the public part of the ritual specialist's initiation. An initiator-specialist performs *Hávamál* stanzas 138–141, during which a mock hanging ritual is enacted. In this situation, the initiator is transformed into Óðinn in order to authenticate the knowledge transmitted in the second and third parts of the performance. After concluding the performance of the self-hanging myth, the initiator performs stanzas 142–145, which consist of knowledge of runes and sacrifice and their proper conduct. In the final part of the poem, the initiator transmits knowledge of the function of the 18 magic spells, but not the spells themselves. Here, the identity of the performer is more ambiguous than before. He may still be performing as Óðinn but he may also be performing as a ritual specialist with Odinic knowledge. In any case, doubled traits are ever-present and the performance is concluded with a reference to the High One and his hall, cementing the fact that this performance stems from Óðinn's knowledge and has been conducted in an otherworldly location all along. The ritual-specialist-initiand may have learnt the runes and skills in stanza 142–145 and thus have been partly initiated, whereafter he will acquire the actual spells, the functions of which were merely described in stanzas 146–163, perhaps through a secret initiation ritual.

Both *Eiríksmál* and *Hákonarmál* may find their ritual context at the funerals of the deceased kings they commemorate, their performance functioning as rite-of-passage rituals for the dead kings travelling to the otherworld, Valhǫll: in *Eiríksmál*, the ritual specialist begins the commemoration of Eiríkr by taking on the identity of 'Óðinn' and setting

the scene of the performance (the performed space) as Óðinn's hall Valhǫll, which is being prepared for the arrival of a great king. Shifting between the roles of 'Óðinn' and 'Bragi' in the first stanzas (2–4), the performer establishes the identity of the great king to arrive – the noise of battle comes from Eiríkr and his army approaching Valhǫll. Performing stanzas with mixed metre, the ritual specialist shifts between the role of 'Óðinn' and 'Sigmundr' (stanzas 5–7) while adding the mention of Ragnarǫk to give the poem its eschatological tenor. Stanza 8 features the ritual specialist, as 'Sigmundr', inviting 'Eiríkr' – perhaps originally represented by his heir to the throne, Gamli Eiríksson – into the hall to be inducted among the ranks of the *einherjar*. In stanza 9, Eiríkr is thus led to the otherworld and included in Óðinn's army.

In *Hákonarmál*, the sources allow us to reconstruct the context in a little more detail. After King Hákon has been interred at Sæheimr in Hordaland (according to *Hákonar saga góða* 32), a ritual specialist recites *Hákonarmál* stanzas 2–9. These describe the Battle of Fitjar in vivid detail, with emphasis on reproducing the aural qualities of the battle. This happens outside by the king's grave. In stanza 10, direct speech commences and a female specialist enacts the role of a *valkyrja*, describing the process of choosing 'Hákon', portrayed by a male ritual specialist, and speaking (stanza 12) and then travelling with him to the home of the gods (stanza 13). Following this stanza's call to go and meet Óðinn, the ritual performance moves into the hall building. In stanza 14, the heir to the throne – acting as 'Óðinn' on his high-seat – sends Bragi and Hermóðr to meet 'Hákon' and invite him into the hall, which occurs in stanza 16. (In stanza 15, 'Hákon' expresses concerns about entering Valhǫll, perhaps due to his conflicted relationship with pre-Christian Nordic religion.) Here, a high-ranking warrior – acting as 'Bragi' – invites 'Hákon' to enter the hall with a ritual libation. In stanza 17, 'Hákon' declares his constant vigilance in the face of Ragnarǫk, and the ritual performance is concluded with the male ritual specialist stepping out of the role as 'Hákon' offering praise for King Hákon who has been safely conducted into the otherworld.

Hrafnsmál may be a more political ritual performance than a religious one, since, in large part, it lacks clear ritual transformation. Still, it draws heavily on pre-Christian Nordic religion and mythology. We may assume that the battle poem of *Hrafnsmál* stanzas 7–12 was performed in a hall-based setting, although this is not explicitly stated in the stanzas. The performing poet, who may have been present at the battle, could have performed it in pure praise of King Haraldr using Odinic imagery in the kennings of, for instance, stanzas 11–12. The dialogic poem in *Hrafnsmál* stanzas 1–6 and 15–23 features a skald, acting as a ritual specialist, framing the praise of Haraldr and his court as a dialogue between a *valkyrja* and a raven – both characters with strong connections to Óðinn and warfare, emphasising Haraldr's warrior prowess. The performer of the dialogic poem shifts between the two roles using different performance markers, taking on the roles with few transformative consequences for him.

All of these performances will have had consequences for their performers and audiences alike, leading to religious experiences, and likely shaping their group identity. By situating the performances of Old Norse poetry in a ritual studies framework, it is argued that, through Rappaportian *auto-* and *allo-communication* (Rappaport 1999: 51), the ritual participants and the ritual specialist signal a conformity towards themselves and each other. They accept the reality of the rituals as "'in earnest' […] taking place in the world" (1999: 43). By participating in, and thus accepting the rituals as real and meaningful, the participants form a community. The ritual specialists are able to be transformed into otherworldly beings in their poetic, ritual performance using Rappaportian *performatives* (1999: 114–115), and this ability would have had an effect on their religious authority and the perceived authenticity of their knowledge. The audience to the ritual performances is themselves transformed into otherworldly collectives (Rappaport 1999: 40; Schechner 2006: 72–73), like *einherjar* and *valkyrjur*, during the performance. This would have strengthened their group coherence and solidarity, and would have confirmed their notions about the afterlife in Valhǫll (Nygaard 2019). Additionally, it may have created

Rappaport's 'high-order meaning' in the group (Rappaport 1999: 71). This entails participation in the sacred and is key to the formation and upholding of groups. These oral-poetic ritual performances and the religious experiences that they entailed may thus be viewed as key expressions of the pre-Christian Nordic elite warrior religion.

In sum, this dissertation argues that the ritual performances of the oral versions behind the medieval, Old Norse poems had specific ritual contexts. These may be gleaned by analysing the poems as performances rather than merely as texts. Furthermore, it is argued that, through participating in the ritual performances, the performer and audience would have had transformative, religious experiences forming their worldview and respective individual and group identities.

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Kenning Variation and Lexical Selection in Early Skaldic Verse

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This thesis represents an attempt at developing and testing new methodologies for the study of diachronic trends in kenning use and skaldic stylistics in the early *dróttkvætt* production. The target of the analysis is the effect of lexical choice in kennings, and to what extent skalds would make a pointed use of this resource in their verse. The sampled corpus comprises 18 authorial skaldic poems in *dróttkvætt* verse, examined in their editorial reconstructed form, whose composition is dated to the pre-literate period of the skaldic genre (9th–11th centuries).

The survey has highlighted important dynamics concerning three aspects that are often treated as peripheral, marked, or exceptional to the functioning of the 'kenning-system', namely, the kenning's contextual motivation, the stylistic exploitation of the kenning's inherent imagery and intertextual strategies such as borrowing, imitation and allusion. These three macro-phenomena are treated in the three analytical chapters of the thesis, devoted, respectively, to: (*a*) so-called 'situational kennings'; (*b*) 'sentence metaphor' and similar stylistic figures; and (*c*) cases of borrowing, imitation and allusion.

Depending on the nature of the source, lexical and literary analysis was combined and supported by metrical, palaeographic and philological considerations. Positive results emerged, encouraging the adoption of a qualitative, diachronic analysis of skaldic diction alongside the most common systemic one, in order to fully appreciate the dynamics of early *dróttkvætt* composition.

Lost in Translation: Adapting Supernatural Concepts from Old French Chivalric Literature into the Old Norse *riddarasǫgur*

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This dissertation sheds light on the effects that the process of translation had on various Old Norse supernatural concepts. First, the supernatural motifs of *fées* [sg. *fée*, 'fairy'], *nains* [sg. *nain*, 'dwarf'], *jaiants* [sg. *jaiant*, 'giant'] as well as magic and magic wielders are examined in 12th- and 13th-century Old French courtly literature. Then, the respective Old Norse translations dating to the 13th and 14th centuries are scrutinised regarding the presentation of those figures as *álfar* (sg. *álfr*) or *álfkonur* (sg. *álfkona* ['*álf*-woman']), *dvergar* (sg. *dvergr* ['dwarf']), *jǫtnar* (sg. *jǫtunn* ['*jǫtunn*']) and magic and magic wielders. Following this, differences and similarities in the depiction of these characters are analysed in order to shed light on the perception of these supernatural motifs in Old Norse mythology and contemporary saga literature (such as *fornaldarsǫgur* and indigenous *riddarasǫgur*). This is done in order to grasp how these notions may have been altered either by the influence of the foreign Old French courtly literature or by the translators who, naturally, translated with their indigenous Old Norse audience in mind. The dissertation's thesis comprises a total of four articles, three of which focus solely on the translation of one specific supernatural concept, and one being concerned with the portrayal of magic and magic wielders. While each article deals with its own issue, the overall theme of the dissertation is nonetheless woven into them in order to engage the underlying research question: *How influential was Old French courtly literature, and the translations thereof, on the inner-Scandinavian (and especially Icelandic) development of the supernatural motifs in question*?

The first article of the dissertation, "Of Magical Beings and Where to Find Them: On the Concept of *álfar* in the translated *riddarasǫgur*" (Lummer 2021a), investigates instances of appearances of *fées* or *álfkonur* in the material of the translated *riddarasǫgur* and their respective source material, such as in *Erec et Enide* and *Erex saga*. It must be noted, however, that, in the examined Old Norse material, no *álfar* are featured, but only *álfkonur*. While considering the background of *fées* and *álfkonur* at the time of the works' creation and translation, as well as their function in mythology and literature, the examination focuses on instances of the translation of *fée* as *álfkona*, or the lack of such translations, in order to find similarities and differences in the depiction of these figures. Thus, the accumulated information forms the bedrock for the questions regarding whether these divergences can be accounted for, for example, by social or cultural preferences. Of particular interest are *fées* and *álfkonur* who

are portrayed in positions of craftsmanship, their tremendous beauty and their respective roles regarding fate and changelings.

The second article, "'ek hræðumz ekki þik' – The *dvergar* in translated *riddarasǫgur*" (Lummer 2021b), examines Old French courtly works and their respective Old Norse translations that feature either *nains* or *dvergar* or both. Old French courtly literature knows two different types of *nains*, the so-called *petit chevaliers* ['little knights'] and the servant-*nains* (Martineau 2003: 17–22, 70–73). It is the latter kind that is found in the translated *riddarasǫgur* and therefore subject of this article. Unlike their Old Norse counterparts, Old French *nains* only have few mythical traits, if any. On the other hand, the *dvergar* appear as well-established mythological figures. Keeping these differences in mind, this article considers the translation of *nain* as *dvergr*, or the lack thereof, in order to deduce valuable information about the acculturation that might have taken place during the process of translation. Interestingly, later Old Norse sagas did not make use of the Old French *nain* in their figure inventory, rather staying with the known creature type of Old Norse mythology. It may be said that the *nain*-like *dvergar* of translated *riddarasǫgur* appeared to not have caught on outside this specific literature style. It appears as though, over time, the perception of the *dvergar* as rock-dwelling, metal-working beings reflected in Old Norse mythology faded, with only the most interesting stories being preserved in Iceland.[1] Apparently, there seems to have been no place for the 'alien' literary construct that was the *nain* – like *dvergr* of translated courtly literature in then-active Scandinavian folk belief.

The third article, titled "Solitary Colossi and Not-So-Small Men: A Study on the Effect of Translation on the Old Norse Supernatural Concept of the *jǫtnar*" (Lummer 2022a), follows the overall theme of the dissertation project by studying the mentions of *jaiants* in Old French courtly literature and that of *jǫtnar* in the material of the translated *riddarasǫgur*. Numerous different types of *jaiants* encountered in the Old French chivalric literature have been identified, two are relevant here, namely the "Saracen champion" and the "terrorizing giant" (Dubost 1978: 300), none of

which have much relation to the mythological Old Norse *jǫtnar*. In their narrative guise, these figures are two dimensional with two features being considerably prominent: (*a*) their size and (*b*) their diabolical aspects (which are commonly connected to their Muslim faith in the narratives) (Dubost 1978: 302–307). Further features heavily depend on the narrative in question and mostly revolve around the respective *jaiant*'s physiognomy. As figures of considerable strength, they wield crude weapons such as cudgels, staves or whips. Arguably, their only superhuman feature is that, somewhat like the *jǫtnar*, they live on in folklore as creators of Neolithic tombs (Sébillot 1904–1907 IV: 32–33). Evidently, the Old Norse *jǫtnar* Snorri was describing at the same time that the *riddarasǫgur* were being translated are quite different. Essentially mythological creatures, they are the most active group in Old Norse myth after the *æsir* and *vanir*. As Ingunn Ásdísardóttir has stressed, the mythological *jǫtnar* have few associations with size apart from Ýmir (2018: 213–214, 237). Regarding the translated *riddarasǫgur*, one notes that the word *jaiant* is consistently translated as *jǫtunn*. Furthermore, where the demonic aspects of the *jaiants* are underlined with the use of words like *malfé* ['devil'], one notes that the translators occasionally call them *trǫll* ['troll'], a word that was evidently closer to the demonic (see e.g. Ármann Jakobsson 2008). This case study thus points to several significant things. First of all, the transformation of *jǫtnar* into *trǫll* was beginning. Second, the aspect of size was becoming a steadfast aspect of the image of the *jǫtnar* by the early 13th century. Indeed, this seems to correspond to the Scandinavian development of the concept of the *jǫtnar* starting to move away from their mythological origins as they began to merge with other large, supernatural motifs. Therefore, the depiction of the *jǫtnar* in the translated *riddarasǫgur* embodies another step in the attenuation of the *jǫtnar* into the dull, large and cruel trolls that would come to dominate the later *Märchen* and folk legend tradition (Kvideland & Sehmsdorf 1988: 301–317).

"The Translation of Magic in the translated *riddarasǫgur*" (Lummer 2022b) is the fourth and final article of this collection and aims to investigate the various forms and depictions of

magic and magic wielders in the Old French courtly literature and the translated *riddarasǫgur*. Due to the limitations of an article-length analysis and for comparison's sake, Kieckhefer's general dichotomy of magic as an act that "uses demonic aid or occult powers in nature" is employed (Kieckhefer 1990: 14). Subsequently, a magic wielder is an actor utilising such an action. This case study naturally bears in mind the fact that ideas relating to medieval magic found in the *riddarasǫgur* needed to be comprehensible not only for learned individuals but also the common populace. Owing to restrictions in space, the article does not discuss magical items, prophecy, and divination or shape-shifting. In the Old French and Anglo-Norman narratives considered here, many (especially female) figures are presented as being knowledgeable in alchemy and/or herbalism, both of which are used to heal wounds and to concoct potions to cure diseases. While Old Norse literature mentions several essentially male figures, who work as healers, these are never presented as magicians, and the work of *seiðkonur* (sg. *seiðkona* ['a woman performing *seiðr*']) was different in nature, focusing chiefly on prophecy (Mitchell 2011: 94–98).

This dissertation's thesis as a whole emphasizes the importance of considering the role of translation – and the omnipresent human element in that process – on ways of thinking, something that is particularly applicable when it comes to the tricky question of the translation of concepts and not least supernatural concepts. While some things are lost in the process of translation, other things are gained. Naturally, as these concepts were mostly introduced via literature, one can expect much of the influence to have been essentially literary. Something that tends to receive less attention is the fact that these stories were popular amongst people at large, and that they were also read out aloud in farmhouses alongside other local materials during *kvöldvökur* ['evening wakes'], thereby reflecting a complex interaction between two kinds of culture, the written and the oral. What seems clear is that, for one reason or another, some motifs were more influential on local beliefs than others. The new *nain*-form of *dvergar* appears to have largely been confined to literature, partly because belief in *dvergar* as

beings in our world seems to have been waning in Norway and Iceland. As the respective articles demonstrate, things seem to have been different with the *álfar* and *álfkonur*, while in the case of the *jǫtnar*, it seems apparent that the influence of the translated *riddarasǫgur* tapped into an ongoing developmental process whereby they were gradually becoming aligned more with the notion of the *trǫll*, moving out of the pre-Christian mythological domain and into our modern(?) world. Regarding the translations of magic and magic wielders, the influences and developments seem to be much more complex. As noted at the start, it is my hope that this dissertation has opened a few doors with regard to this process, not only for work on the *riddarasǫgur*, but also other types of translation. Of course, one always needs to bear in mind the problems of working with the extant material: a great deal is missing in the puzzle. Nonetheless, what is always unescapable here is the nature of the end result which, when compared to the extant Old French, suggests that the flavour of the soup has subtly changed as the recipe has been passed between cultures. *Why* that happened on the way will continue to be open for debate.

Notes
1. Kvideland & Sehmsdorf do not list any legends relating to dwarfs (1988: 224, 227 and 230–1). Regarding Swedish folklore, af Klintberg knows four tales revolving around so-called 'mountain smiths' (2010: 135). Jón Árnason (1954–1961 I: 453–455) only knows of a few tales of dwarfs in Iceland.

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The God on the Windy Tree: Christian Origins of the Figure of Wodan in the Cross-Cultural Relations of Northern Europe

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The parallels between Óðinn hanging from the tree in the eddic poem *Hávamál* and Christ hanging from the cross in Christian mythology may have been best summarized in Annette Lassen's article "The God on the Tree": "Óðinn and Christ are both 1) hung on wood or a tree; 2) wounded by a spear; 3) sacrificed to themselves [...]; 4) they got no food or drink; 5) Óðinn hung for nine nights, while Christ died in the ninth hour; and 6) they both look down at the end of their hanging" (Lassen 2009: 232). Mikael Males added "7): they both willed their crucifixion" and suggested that both *rísa upp* ['rise up'] (Males 2013: 108). In this thesis, I discuss the two camps in the interpretation of the myth of Óðinn's self-hanging: (*a*) similarities between Óðinn and Christ are coincidental and that Óðinn is a fully original, Germanic pagan deity; and (*b*) Óðinn's hanging has, somewhere between 8th-century Britain and 13th-century Iceland, been coloured by the image of Christ on the Cross. I proceed to investigate a thus-far overlooked third option, namely that (*c*) the 'original' Germanic pagan deity had been coloured by Christianity very early on, before arriving in the British Isles. In chapter two and three of the thesis, I evaluate the earliest evidence – runic inscriptions, bracteates and, to some extent,

Anglo-Saxon royal genealogies and place-names – for Wodan, a continental cognate of Óðinn, as well as the equation with the Roman god Mercury. In chapter four, I assess the rise of Christianity in the Roman Empire and the spread of Roman influences to northern Europe. The resulting picture is two-fold: evidence for a cult of Wodan does not predate the 5th century at the earliest, whereas Christendom was firmly established on the *limites* of the Empire at the beginning of the 4th century. The concept of seepage further leads me to conclude that Christian notions must have been present in the minds of the Germanic peoples in the border regions with Roman influence reaching much further north along trade routes, and that it is possible, if not probable, that the figure of Wodan may have been influenced by, if not originated from, the concept of Christ in pre-missionary northern Europe.

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Artemis, Diana, and Skaði: A Comparative Study

Giulia Mancini

The Norse goddess Skaði is somewhat of a Nordic enigma in that she seems to be much more complex than what we can make from mentions of her in the myths, which are scarce and yet surprisingly detailed. The question of her role within Norse mythology is still largely unanswered, and while her complexity has captured the attention of many of the finest minds in the field, no study has yet succeeded in individuating her role in the late pagan period. As such, this thesis seeks to insert itself into the discussion by attempting a different course of research in the investigation of the Norse goddess.

Specifically, this project attempts a reconstruction of the goddess' role by placing her into a wider European context, using Artemis and Diana as terms of comparison, as they seem to share some superficial similarities, albeit only concerning their connection with animals, hunting and landscape. Drawing from a series of literary sources from the Germanic and Classic tradition, together with William Paden's approach to comparativism (1996) and Jens Peter Schjødt's concept of *semantic center* (2013), a comparative analysis is carried out using Artemis and Diana as tools for (re)constructing a more detailed idea of Skaði's late pagan role through the individuation of similarities and differences in their relationship with wild nature and wildlife. It is concluded that, while Skaði bears a significant connection to darkness, skiing and winter, her core is to be found within the frames of dry-land wildlife; however, the question of her semantic center, and thus her distinctive role in the late pagan period, remains open.

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The Age of the Eddic Poems: *Of/um*-Particle as Criterium for Dating

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"Alderen til eddakvada i *Codex Regius*. Spesielt om *of/um*-partikkelen som dateringskriterium" ['The age of the Eddic poems in *Codex Regius*, with special focus on the *of/um*-particle as criterium for dating'] was the subject of my master thesis. My ambition was to find criteria for dating which can get general approval and solve the long-lasting problem of dating the eddic poems. I concentrated on the poems in the 'Codex Regius of the Elder Edda', ms. GKS 2365 4to, and left out other eddic poems, and studied the linguistic traits in the poems. I found that linguistic traits, the *of/um*-particle in particular, provide us with the most reliable criteria for dating. I also concluded that the *of/um*-particle was *not* an expletive particle, as most scholars have maintained, but had still retained some meaning even in Norse time. I mapped which meaning the particle provided to the following word, in each case where the *of/um*-particle was used in the Codex Regius (225 cases; Appendix 2 in the thesis).

In skaldic poems, the use of the *of/um*-particle was extensive in the 9th and 10th centuries, amongst the most frequent of all words, but decreased markedly from the end of the 10th to the middle of the 11th century. From the middle of the 11th to the end of the 13th centuries, the frequence was about 1/10 (!) of the frequence in the 9th and early 10th centuries. The particle ceased to be used after the end of the 13th century. The use of the *of/um*-particle

in prose from the 12th and 13th centuries is fully in accordance with the use in skaldic poems from the same time. The amount of the *of/um*-particle should therefore be used as a criterium for dating even in the eddic poems, provided that the *number of verselines* studied are sufficient numerable. Based on the use in skaldic poems, I concluded that we need 300 (short-)verselines or more to use the *of/um*-particle as a somewhat insecure indicator for dating, more than 500 verselines to use it as a relatively reliable indicator, while with more than 3,000 verselines, the *of/um*-particle is a solid indicator for dating.

In total, there are nearly 10,000 unrepeated verse-lines in *Codex Regius*. The average occurence of the *of/um*-particle is on the same level as in skaldic poems from the 10th century. This indicates that the great majority of poems in *Codex Regius* are older than the 11th century.

The other linguistic features I studied, was *SOV-wording* in unbound sentences; the so-called *vinðandin forna* ['antiquated wording']; *hiatus* in words which received contracted forms in the 12th century; the prepositions *ept*, *fyr* and *und* (which later become *eptir, fyrir, undir*); enclitic use of *ek*, *es* and *vas*; use of *enclitic articles* and *alliterations v/vowel*. I found a high degree of accordance between ages indicated according to all linguistic features; the poems that seemed to be old according to one criterium also seemed to be

old according to most other criteria, and poems that seemed to be young according to one criterium also seemed to be young according to most other criteria. This is a strong indication that those linguistic features have something to do with the age of the poems.

The use of the *of/um*-particle is the only linguistic features that indicates an age for all eddic poems.

Based on all linguistic criteria, I divided the poems in the Codex Regius into three layers. The oldest layer I would say should be older than the 10th century and younger than the 6th century, the middle layer probably dates from the 10th century or early 11th century, while the youngest layer (the three Helgi-poems, *Gripisspá* and *Atlamál*) seems to be composed in the 11th century or not later than the first half of the 12th century.

Die altwestnordischen Adaptionen des Nicodemusevangeliums (*Gesta salvatoris*): Übersetzung und Kommentar
['The Old West Norse Adaptions of the Gospel of Nicodemus (*Gesta Salvatoris*): Translation and Commentary']

Tom Lorenz, Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU)

The apocryphal *Evangelium Nicodemi* ['The Gospell of Nicodemus'] was originally composed in late Antiquity and has since been one of the most popular non-canonical Christian texts. During the Middle Ages and early Modern period, *Evangelium Nicodemi* was translated or adapted into most of the West European vernaculars, based on its several Latin redactions. In the North, there have been both complete and partial translations of the text in Iceland, Denmark and Sweden. The best known of those is probably the 13th century Old Icelandic *Niðrstigningar saga* ['The Saga of the Descend'] which translates the second part of *Evangelium Nicodemi*, the *Descensus christi ad inferos* ['Christ's Descend into Hell'], according to 12th century Troyes redaction of the text (cf. Izydorczyk & Bullitta 2017: 577–578) and which is usually considered to incorporate, to some extent, elements of Nordic mythology into the Christian text (cf. Haugen 1993: 430).

The first part of this project's two components is an updated overview of the vernacular translations and adaptions of *Evangelium Nicodemi* in Iceland and Scandinavia, including both prose works and poetry in West Norse, East Norse and Modern Icelandic. The overview focuses on the different redactions of these texts, their manuscripts transmission and how they relate to the Latin tradition.

The second part is a commented translation of the two Old Icelandic adaptions of *Evangelium Nicodemi* into German, neither of which has been translated into German before. The translation of *Af fangelsi Ioseps* ['On the Imprisonment of Joseph'] is based on the edition by Bullita (2016). For *Niðrstigningar saga* both text redactions, the older redaction A and the younger redaction B, are translated based on the edition by Bullitta (2017). The commentary provides contextual information about the biblical and apocryphal personage of these texts.

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Call for Editors of *RMN Newsletter*

RMN Newsletter is looking for enthusiastic and dependable individuals to join its editorial team. Our periodical was founded as a newsletter for the Retrospective Methods Network in 2010; by 2012, in response to our readership, we had become an international peer-reviewed journal, now ranked in several countries. The journal has been run with a small, tight-knit team of editors for the past decade. We now restructuring, increasing the number of people involved to distribute the work load and open the journal to new possibilities of development.

The journal is a multidisciplinary venue with a thematic center in *retrospective methods* – i.e. interest or concern for using evidence from one period to develop an understanding of a corresponding phenomenon in an earlier period, or for modelling traditions, practices or culture in the past behind limited sources. The RMN was initially founded by scholars of Old Norse studies interested both in exploring later folklore in relation to medieval and Viking Age culture and in drawing on perspectives from folklore research. The Network immediately extended to include researchers working with other cultures around the Baltic Sea region, for which vernacular medieval literature was largely or entirely lacking, and also began to penetrate into medieval studies more broadly. As we expand our editorship, we are hoping for this to match the interests and diversity of our contributors and readership.

The concept of the journal has been to function primarily as an informational resource and discourse space for the researchers of diverse and intersecting disciplines interested in retrospective methods and in research employing such methods. Reports on research, announcements and calls of various sorts usually constitute the greater number of contributions to an issue of the journal, while scientific articles usually fill the greater number of pages. We maintain sections for both peer-reviewed and non-peer-reviewed articles, the latter usually being more discussion-oriented, presenting work from current or ongoing research or perspectives on relevant topics. Other types of pieces group into a variety of categores, including overviews of master's theses, doctoral dissertations, other projects, reports on conferences and events, recent publications and calls for papers. Although these contributions are shorter, they are an important part of the journal.

Our venue has been developed as an arena that brings togother researchers at all career stages. We have been especially active in engaging with the up-and-coming generations of scholars still working on their doctoral or even master's degrees. Many have their first publication here as a report on a thesis project, a conference report or a short article. We have built on a principle of supporting and facilitating the development of solid contributions to the journal with greater editorial engagement, which can be a rewarding and learning experience on for both sides.

If getting involved with this type of journal would be of interest to you, please contact us at: *editor.rmnnewsletter[at]gmail.com* .