# 2016–2017
# *Double Issue*

*RMN*

# № 12–13

*RMN Newsletter* is a medium of contact and communication for members of the Retrospective Methods Network (RMN). The RMN is an open network which can include anyone who wishes to share in its focus. It is united by an interest in the problems, approaches, strategies and limitations related to considering some aspect of culture in one period through evidence from another, later period. Such comparisons range from investigating historical relationships to the utility of analogical parallels, and from comparisons across centuries to developing working models for the more immediate traditions behind limited sources. *RMN Newsletter* sets out to provide a venue and emergent discourse space in which individual scholars can discuss and engage in vital cross-disciplinary dialogue, present reports and announcements of their own current activities, and where information about events, projects and institutions is made available.
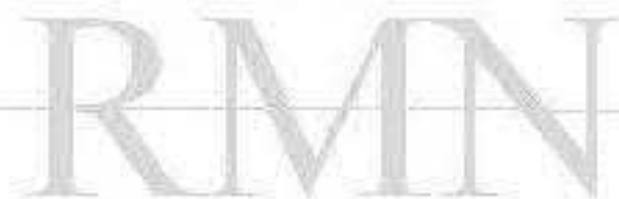
Cover image reproduced from *Knud Leems, Professor i det Lappiske Sprog, Beskrivelse over Finmarkens Lapper, deres Tungemaal, Levemaade og forrige Afgudsdyrkelse, oplyst ved mange Kaabberstykker: med J.E. Gunneri, Anmærkninger; og E.J. Jessen-s, Afhandling om de Norske Finners og Lappers Hedenske Religion: Canuti Leemii, professoris Lingvæ Lapponiccæ, de Lapponibus Finmarchiæ, eorumqve lingva, vita et religione pristina commentatio, multis tabulis æneis illustrata: uma cum J.E. Gunneri, Notis; & E.J. Jessen-s, Tractaru singulari de Finnorum Lapponumqve Norvegic. religione pagana*, Kongl. Wäysenhuses Bogtrykkerie of G.G. Salikath, 1767.

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

# **CONTENTS**

## **COMMUNICATIONS**

*This paper discusses the relationship between a folk tale about the* Dvergasteinn *['Dwarf-Stone'] on the fjord of Seyðisfjörður in eastern Iceland and the details of the tale's landscape setting. It argues that storytelling for storytelling's sake might have been neglected in current theorising on the conceptualisation and narrative use of landscape. This, as well as the intensity with which landscape is used in Iceland for the construction of narratives, might also affect the use of place-lore for retrospective approaches.*

*This paper is devoted to the Lithuanian* apidėmė, *attested since the 16th century as the name of a goddess in the Baltic religion, as a term for the site of a former farmstead relocated to a new settlement during the land reform launched in 1547–1557, and later as a widespread toponym.* Apidėmė *has been researched by linguists, historians, and mythologists. An archaeological perspective is applied here for the first time.*

*This article reviews the sources behind the alleged tradition that the plant* galium verum, *commonly known as 'bedstraw', was associated with Freyja in pre-Christian times. All references to this link ultimately go back to the same Latin document from ca. 800. Unfortunately, the relevant section of this document is unintelligible without textual emendation and, of the three commonly suggested emendations, 'bedstraw' is the least likely.*

*Like previous entries in the Goddesses Unknown series, the present article focuses on heretofore little-studied goddesses in the Germanic corpus, in this case the obscure Old Norse goddess Hlín and her association with the widely attested Germanic goddess Frigg.*

*Any historical study of Sámi religions links religion to the history of the language. Here, Proto-Sámi language spread is reviewed and the fundamental (and often implicit) assumption that religion spread with Proto-Sámi language is challenged. An alternative model that language spread as a medium of communication adopted by different cultures is proposed and tested against the Common Proto-Sámi lexicon.*

*The paper discusses the metre and the diction of a previously unpublished short poem composed in the 18th century about characters of* Laxdæla saga. *The stanzas are ostensibly in skaldic* dróttkvætt. *Analysis shows them to be a remarkably successful imitation of the classical metre, implying an extraordinarily good grasp of* dróttkvætt *poetics on the part of a poet who was composing several centuries after the end of the classical* dróttkvætt *period.*

*This study applies phylogenetic software to motifs connected with the Pleiades as identified in Yuri Berezkin's database, The Analytical Catalogue of World Mythology and Folklore. The aim of analysis is to determine which, if any, of the analysed motifs are likely to have spread in conjunction with the earliest migrations out of Africa and to the Americas. The Pleiades analysis is compared to an analysis of Orion motifs.*

*Scholars have traditionally reflected on the Old Norse cultural area's poetic output on the basis of a binary classification of the poetry into two types: the categories are labelled as 'eddic' and 'skaldic'. This paper explores the formation of the dichotomy and how the application of these categories in scholarship may obscure rather than clarify the nature of Old Norse poetry*

## MASTER'S THESES

# Editor's Column

Adaptation is fundamental to evolution. Retrospective methods, by definition, are oriented to look into the past, and studies in this journal commonly discuss historical changes, their motivations and consequences, not to mention alternatives such as disarticulation or extinction. A lesson to be drawn from these discussions is that, when conditions beyond our control change, adaptation may become essential for continuation. The Retrospective Methods Network was flexible in its emergence and has thrived, with multiple shifting centers of activity loosely organized and *RMN Newsletter* at their nexus. Of course, as a journal, *RMN Newsletter* requires greater formalization, structure and stability. Unlike the organization of activities of the RMN and its daughter networks, responsibility for the journal does not move from institution to institution and from country to country. It is therefore more vulnerable to changes in circumstances where it is based. As many of our readers have noticed, such changes have occurred, resulting in delays in publication and threatening even to erase the journal from the web. And we have adapted, emerging reborn with a new URL. And the journal has evolved.

What happened? *RMN Newsletter* is published by Folklore Studies of the University of Helsinki, and the journal's pages were constructed on that department's webpages. A few years ago, Folklore Studies was absorbed into the (super-)Department of Philosophy, History, Culture and Art Studies in the sort of departmental consolidation happening in many universities, and at the end of this year the super-departments within the Faculty of Arts will also be dissolved (although the new divisions will also be called 'departments' in English). One would not expect all of this to affect the journal, but web pages associated with the previous department structure were frozen last year, blocking publication. Finding a new home on the University's site proved a challenging task: the super-departments were on the cusp of being dissolved; the new divisions did not yet have webpages; yet the journal's website could not be independent in the University of Helsinki's domain. Finally, this summer, we received a new URL and began to rebuild.

This tumultuous period has not been without activity in the RMN. A multidisciplinary international symposium and workshop for doctoral students, "Mythology, Discourse, and Authority: Retrospective Methods in Cultural Research" (22nd–23rd November 2016, Tartu, Estonia), was organized by the Department of Estonian and Comparative Folklore, University of Tartu, the Estonian Graduate School of Culture Studies and Arts (GSCSA), and the Department of Folklore Studies, University of Helsinki. Among the daughter networks of the RMN, the Austmarr Network has been going strong. It has maintained its rhythm of annual meetings: Austmarr VI: "Religion – Language – Practice, with a Workshop on Late Iron Age Mortuary Behaviours" was held at the University of Helsinki (5th–6th December 2016, Helsinki, Finland), and this year Austmarr VII is returning to the University of Tartu, where it was founded, organized on the theme of "Crossing Disciplinary Borders in Viking Age Studies: Problems, Challenges and Solutions" (1st–3rd December 2017, Tartu, Estonia). The long-awaited collection of articles that developed around selected contributions from Austmarr II and Austmarr III, *Contacts and Networks in the Baltic Sea Region:* Austmarr *as a Northern* Mare nostrum*, 500–1500 A.D.*, will appear with Amsterdam University Press in 2018. At the initiative of Kendra Willson, the Austmarr Network is organizing a special issue of the present journal, planned to appear in the same year. The Old Norse Folklorists Network has developed a volume of eleven selected articles based on its 2014 symposium that should also appear in the coming months. There is much to look forward to, and talk of plans for new directions that will certainly become of interest to our readership.

The revamping motivated by building *RMN Newsletter*'s new website has extended to additional changes for the journal itself. Of course, the journal has evolved continuously over the years in relation to the interests and needs of our readership. It was founded at the first meeting of the Retrospective Methods

Network (13th–14th September, 2010, Bergen, Norway) as a medium of information and communication for Network members. The idea was to include announcements and reports on relevant events, publications, research, projects and also information on departments and programs accompanied by perhaps two short, discussion-oriented articles or their responses. This idea was met with such enthusiasm that the first issue appeared already in December of the same year with 57 pages of contributions. Since that time, *RMN Newsletter* has produced two issues per year, averaging about 100 pages each and longer for special issues. This activity rapidly established us as an international journal. At the request of Network members, we established a standard of open peer-review for article contributions, relevant for contributors' bibliometric profiles and allowing us to be ranked in several systems. Articles had started off comprising half or less of any particular issue, but the proportion has gradually increased. Our publication schedule had initially been on a rhythm of appearing before the summer and winter breaks on the academic calendar. Feedback from Network members led us to shift this rhythm to the beginnings of terms, when people would be returning to work. The average length of contributions was allowed to increase. Announcements and reports of current research had initially been quite constrained in length. With a special issue in 2015, a new type of section was separated out of this for non-peer-reviewed articles and perspective pieces. The journal has never been static, but with the present issue we are making some more substantial changes.

The delay in *RMN Newsletter*'s publication has resulted in a double-issue, the contents of both issues 12 and 13. From this point onward, we have decided that we will produce only one issue per year. We have also done some reorganizing of sections. "Communications" is retained as the title for the section of peer-reviewed articles, with a nod to the esteemed series Folklore Fellows' Communications. This is followed by a complementary section of non-peer-reviewed articles, discussions and reports: "Communications, Perspectives and Reports". These sections are followed by publication announcements and reports on or introductions to ongoing or recently-completed projects, including larger group projects, post-doctoral and PhD projects as well as Master's thesis projects. We hope that this new organization and publication rhythm will appeal to our readership.

The aim of the journal continues to be to provide an emergent discourse space in which scholars may discuss, debate, and share information, and to make knowledge, discussions and information available to those interested in it. We have restructured the journal and its rhythm, adapting to changing circumstances as part of our on-going evolution, but we continue to offer a distinct venue to our contributors and readership. We organize and maintain *RMN Newsletter* as a discourse space, but that space would be empty were it not peopled by the voices of contributors, allowing dialogue with an ever-widening readership. Over the course of this journal's modest life, it is you who have driven the journal's evolution.

*Frog*
*University of Helsinki*

# COMMUNICATIONS

## Icelandic Folklore, Landscape Theory, and Levity: The Seyðisfjörður Dwarf-Stone

Matthias Egeler, Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich / Institute for Advanced Study, Berlin

*Abstract: This paper discusses the relationship between a folk tale about the Dvergasteinn ['Dwarf-Stone'] on the fjord of Seyðisfjörður in eastern Iceland and the details of the tale's landscape setting. It argues that storytelling for storytelling's sake might have been neglected in current theorising on the conceptualisation and narrative use of landscape. This, as well as the intensity with which landscape is used in Iceland for the construction of narratives, might also affect the use of place-lore for retrospective approaches.*

In her introduction to the recent 'Art Seminar' volume on *Landscape Theory*, Rachel Ziady DeLue argues programmatically that "the intellectual and socio-political stakes of landscape theory are high", and that the importance of understanding our relationship to landscape can hardly be overestimated (DeLue 2008: 11). Seen against the background provided by such an ambitious claim, it comes as little surprise that the issues addressed in the scholarly discourse on landscape tend to be grave and important ones. Denis Cosgrove, for instance, is deeply concerned with matters of ideology: in the mid-1980s, he argued that 'landscape' is primarily a "way of seeing", through which parts of the European population commented on social relations, and emphasises the importance of 'myth', 'memory', and 'meaning' for the relationship between landscape and human beings (Cosgrove 2008: 20–21; Cosgrove in DeLue & Elkins 2008: 88–89; Cosgrove 1984). Myth and memory also play a core role for the approach that was taken by Simon Schama in his classic book on *Landscape and Memory*, and the seriousness of the topic is underlined by the location in which he begins his story of landscape and remembrance: at the mound at Giby in north-eastern Poland. He tells how this mound made him grasp what really is meant by 'landscape and memory' – and that his narrative opens at just this particular place sets a solemn tone indeed, as this mound tells the story of the mass-execution of several hundred men and women (Schama 1996: 23–26). Keith

H. Basso in his long-term ethnographic study of the use of places, place names, and place stories among the Western Apache takes a very different approach, but he deals with matters of social importance as well: a central concern of his book is how fundamental ethical and social questions can be addressed by taking recourse to place-lore (Basso 1996). Gillian R. Overing and Marijane Osborn adopt a more literary perspective, engaging with the landscapes of storytelling (1994). While the workings of society and the tragedies of 'real life' remain outside of the scope of their work, they still share a sense of acuteness with other landscape writers. Writing about the *Landscape of Desire*, they express already with their choice of title a deeply-felt urgency for their engagement with the relationship between landscape, story, and meaning in an approach where "place is a shared form of meaning", providing the space for an intense dialogue with the past (1994: xvi–xvii). More recent, but no less serious, is the approach taken by Robert Macfarlane (2015). In discussing the landscape writing of Barry Lopez and Peter Davidson, for instance, he emphasises the humanistic value of the approaches that these writers take to their respective chosen landscapes – northern ones in both cases – and concludes by emphasising their ethical aspects and their relationship to morality, seen as deeply connected to the power of certain landscapes to "bestow [...] a grace" upon the people inhabiting or travelling through them (Macfarlane 2015: 209–220). Even more intense is the engagement with

place and space frequently found in the study of religions. For Mircea Eliade, whose works have become classics of the discipline in spite of their notoriously crypto-theological tendencies, sacred space was a space in which 'the sacred' had revealed itself in an act of theophany, investing the place of this self-revelation with immense significance and turning it into a sacred centre from which everything around it took its meaning and orientation (Eliade 1998: 21–60). If one takes such an approach, virtually nothing can be more significant than place.[1] More recently, Jürgen Mohn (2007) abandons Eliade's quasi-mystic emphasis on 'the sacred', but still approaches sacred space as a central source of orientation: place continues to be analysed under a perspective which primarily sees it as a medium of deep existential importance.

### A Tale from the Shores of Seyðisfjörður Fjord

None of this is wrong: all of human life is set in places and 'landscapes', and the interaction between these settings of human life and human life itself is of obvious import. Yet if one leaves the library and, on a bright late summer's day, takes a stroll along the north coast of the Seyðisfjörður fjord in eastern Iceland, life might easily seem too pleasant to ponder deep thoughts of desire, meaning, ethics, and orientation. There is just too much there to occupy the idle wanderer with much lighter thoughts. Picturesque cast-concrete ruins offer sheltered space to do some not-really-rough camping; the mountains could have been painted by W.G. Collingwood (and some of them, in fact, have been); and the sky and the sea compete with each other to be the most blue (unless a cloud passes and turns the competition into one of shades of grey). Even the saga-traveller and historian of religions will not be disappointed, as the north coast of the Seyðisfjörður fjord was the site of a church of literary fame. About a third of the way along the fjord's northern shore lies the farmstead Dvergasteinn. Formerly, Dvergasteinn was the site of the local church and the seat of the priest serving it. In the mid-19$^{th}$ century, the great collector of Icelandic folktales, Jón Árnason, included a short story about this place among his 'church tales' (*kirkjusögur*). According to

this tale, the church had once stood to the west or south of the fjord; this had been so long ago, however, that nobody remembered what the place where it had stood had been called. At that time, there was a big boulder next to the church. People believed that this boulder was inhabited by dwarfs; hence it was called *Dvergasteinn* ['Dwarf-Stone']. But as time went by, people came to think that the location of the church was really rather inconvenient, and decided to move it to the northern side of the fjord to the place where it was still standing when Jón recorded his tale. Yet while the parishioners were engaged in erecting the church in its new location, suddenly they were astonished to see a house sailing across the fjord to the very place in which they were building the new church. This house continued on its way until it hit firm ground and lodged itself on the foreshore: this was the big boulder which had been standing next to the church in its old location and that had always been thought to be inhabited by dwarfs, but which of course had not been taken along when the church building was moved. So now people knew that the dwarfs had not liked being far from the church, and had therefore relocated their house-stone. Jón's account concludes by stating that the vicarage was given the name 'Dwarf-Stone' to memorialise the dwarfs' piety.[2]

### Place and Story

Jón Árnason published this little tale in 1864. Since then, the church has been moved (again) and now stands close to the harbour in the town of Seyðisfjörður. Yet while the church is gone, the stone is still where it used to be (Figures 1–3). It is a grey boulder as tall as a man that faces the water of the fjord with a 'facade' which strikingly recalls the facade of a house: it has the exact triangular shape of a house's gables, and is nearly plumb-vertical. Furthermore, it also catches the eye because of the unusual erosion patterns which the salty sea water has eaten into the rock: the Dwarf-Stone's 'facade' has dissolved into an almost organic pattern of vertical bowls separated by narrow, cardboard-thin ridges; its whole structure is suggestive more of soap bubbles than of solid stone. What is more – and this may be very important – the Dwarf-Stone seems to be the only isolated

*Figure 1. The Dwarf-Stone with its unusual erosion pattern and its distinctive triangular shape recalling the gables of a house.*



*Figure 2. The location of the Dwarf-Stone immediately above the shingle beach of a small 'harbour' protected by a rock-outcrop projecting into the fjord.*

boulder on this stretch of shore; it is the only rock formation of such an unusual house-like shape; and it is the only stone which shows this kind of strange erosion pattern. The last point in particular cannot be emphasised enough. While there is plenty of rock on this shore, none of it looks to be dissolving in a pattern

*Figure 3. The Dwarf-Stone seen from the rock outcrop that projects into the fjord just to the east of the stone. Note the stump of rock that has been worked into a semi-natural bollard to which a mooring line is attached; this line leads to the buoy visible in Figure 2. Note also how differently this rock erodes in comparison to the Dwarf-Stone, showing no indication whatsoever of the remarkable quasi-organic way in which erosion affects the Dwarf-Stone's 'facade'.*

that even remotely recalls the quasi-organic cell structure of the Dwarf-Stone (Figure 1).

Similarly suggestive is the location of this boulder (Figure 2). It lies immediately above a stretch of shingle beach; unlike much of the rocky coast of the fjord, this flat beach would make a good spot to pull an open boat ashore. (Seen from the slope above the shore, the shape of the Dwarf-Stone arguably even recalls a boat stored on the beach turned keel-upwards.) The impression of being by a natural 'harbour' of sorts is further strengthened by a rocky outcrop that juts out into the fjord just to the east of the Dwarf-Stone, acting as a natural breakwater protecting the shingle beach (which, in fact, is much broader behind this rock outcrop than further along the shore).

The evocative image of the natural harbour is also accentuated by the only visible piece of human interference in this little landscape of rock and water. About halfway along the rock outcrop-breakwater, a groove has been cut into a naturally protruding stump of rock, turning it into a semi-natural bollard (Figure 2). A mooring line is attached to this rock-bollard which leads off into the water towards a buoy

bobbing in the fjord a few metres further out (Figures 2 & 3).

This little ensemble shows a striking convergence between the physical topography of the place and the 19th-century folk tale. The conspicuous and flamboyantly unusual erosion pattern seen on the rock is mirrored by the otherworldly character that it attains in the story. Its striking house-shape is reflected by the story element that it serves as the dwarfs' rock-house. Its location immediately above a natural harbour corresponds to its arrival by floating across the fjord. And, the location of the stone next to the former parsonage correlates with the religious frame within which the action of the tale is set. Thus, there is a one-to-one match between the physical features of the place as it was at the time when the story was recorded (unusual, house-shaped stone; natural harbour; church) and the motifs employed in the tale (stone serving as a house of dwarfs; voyage; the dwarfs' piety). The story of the Dwarf-Stone is a place story in the strictest sense: it does not only play itself out in a real-world locality, but its whole plot appears to be directly crafted onto the features

of the local landscape. Or rather, it has not been crafted *onto* the landscape, but out of it. The extreme closeness of the correspondence between the tale of the Dwarf-Stone and its particular landscape setting on the coast of the fjord seems to suggest that, on one level, this tale in its transmitted form has been created specifically from the elements of its location: topographical element by topographical element, the land has been turned into a story.

### Place, Story, and Storytelling Tradition
On another level, however, it goes without saying that the statement that the land has been turned into a story also needs to be qualified: it is by no means meant to imply that all the elements that are used in the tale to weave the different topographical features together to form a coherent narrative whole were invented from scratch. Rather, the tale seems to draw on a rich corpus of established narrative motifs to turn place into story. For instance, the use of stones as devices to cross bodies of water is attested both in Icelandic saga literature (Boberg 1966, motif-type F531.4.8, with attestations such as the giant rowing a stone in the A-text of *Ǫrvar-Odds saga*: Boer 1888: 120) and in later Scandinavian folklore (e.g. af Klintberg 2010, tale-type M110). Later Scandinavian folklore also presents numerous tales of how a prominent stone by a church was the result of – and is testimony to – a supernatural encounter (af Klintberg 2010, tale-type J1 "Giant throws stone at church", J8 "Giant throws stone at churchgoers (wedding party)"). The multitude of attestations of such tales that is listed by Bengt af Klintberg for Sweden alone strongly suggests that there was a widespread feeling that prominent stones in the surroundings of church buildings were warranted as objects of a narrative.[3]

Another long-established motif in the tale of the Dwarf-Stone is the idea that dwarfs live in stones: this motif can be found already in the kennings of Egill Skallagrímsson's poem *Sonatorrek*, where sea cliffs are called the boat-house doors of a dwarf (st. 3; Bjarni Einarsson 2003: 147). Classic examples of benevolent (if pagan) supernatural beings which inhabit a rock near a farm – at least until they are driven out by a missionary – can be found in *Þorvalds þáttr víðfǫrla I* (ch. 3) and *Kristni saga* (ch. 2; both texts ed. Sigurgeir Steingrímsson et al. 2003). Even the idea that the supernatural inhabitants of local rock formations can be Christian was not an innovation by the inventor of the Dwarf-Stone tale, but was well established in 19th-century Icelandic folklore. In Jón Árnason's collection, other examples are provided by the tales of "Borghildur álfkona" (Jón Árnason 1862: 8–9; 1889: 3–5), "Túngustapi" (1862: 31–34; 1889: 16–20), and "Barnsskírnin" (1862: 54–55; 1889: 27–28).

Nonetheless, the specific combination of motifs found in the aetiological tale of the Dwarf-Stone has been spun specifically out of the local topography, using the narrative vocabulary of its time and place of creation, but using it specifically to turn main features of the locality into a coherent plot. Such established motifs as are used in the resulting tale greatly contributed to making the tale narratively plausible to its audience; they ensured that it 'made sense' to them, as it related to a well-established tradition of storytelling. Yet while this tradition can account for the *motifs* used in the tale of the Dwarf-Stone, it cannot account for the particular way in which these motifs are woven together to form the tale's *plot*. This plot as such was not developed out of traditional motifs, but out of a specific local landscape. In a manner of speaking, the traditional motifs employed in this narrative development merely were seeds falling on the fertile soil of the parsonage, and the folk tale grew out of the place in the same – if not in an even more intimate – sense as a plant grows out of the soil in which its seeds first take root.[4] This makes it as pertinent to the relationship between landscape and story as any tale can possibly be.

### Place, Story, and Landscape Theory
Looking back to the approaches to landscape mentioned at the beginning of this essay, it seems remarkable just how little they appear applicable to the Dwarf-Stone. Admittedly, the tale speaks of an old, now long-abandoned site where the parsonage was located once upon a time; thus, there is an element of 'memory' here as is so prominent in classical treatments of landscape such as Simon Schama's (1996). Yet this memory is a memory of a place that

never was – and, what is more, consciously so. As the tale itself says, this former parsonage was located 'either to the west or to the south of the fjord.' This is virtually a non-statement: west and south are the two only possible directions in which the church could have been, given that it stood to the north of the fjord in the present when the story was told, and that to the east there is nothing but the North Atlantic. Thus, the maximum openness provided by this localisation 'to the south or west' seems like a tongue-in-cheek way of both denying and emphasising that, really, there was no such other location of the church within living memory. This lack of a memory of the church's previous site even appears in a virtually explicit way when the tale states that nobody remembers what its former location might have been called. Memory is absent; a memory approach, therefore, has little explanatory power.

Even less explanatory power lies in approaching the tale as a narrative referring to questions of morality or as an illustration of social norms. The moral of the story – if there is one at all – seems to be that one should live right next to the parish church. Yet this does not help in understanding the tale, as in the widely dispersed settlement patterns of Iceland, this was not customarily the case and thus is not a plausible, realistic moral message. If anything, the lengths to which the dwarfs went to live next to the church might in such a social context have seemed a bit silly.[5] Neither, furthermore, does the tale create meaning and orientation in the senses postulated by Mircea Eliade or Jürgen Mohn (see above), let alone contribute to the sacrality of the land. If there is any 'message', it does not seem to be more than the provision of an example of 'stranger things have happened', while offering some sort of explanation for the place name Dvergasteinn.

So, if we are trying to understand the relationship between landscape and storytelling, the case of the Dwarf-Stone might teach us some humility in our quest for deep, serious, and profound meanings: these do not seem to be what this tale is all about. Rather, it seems to be about the simple pleasure of storytelling for its own sake, for nothing more (but also nothing less!) than the fun of it.

Artfully and cleverly, it takes all the most eye-catching elements of a micro-landscape and turns them into a tale which combines them to form a working (if utterly fantastic) plot; whoever managed this little feat must have been immensely proud of themselves, and rightly so. Yet there is no indication that there is more to this little feat of landscape storytelling than the feat for its own sake.

Hypothetically speaking, there may have been other versions of this tale in circulation. Some people could also have believed that the Dwarf-Stone was indeed inhabited by supernatural beings rather than merely being the object of an entertaining story. Discourse about the meaning of landscape (and probably any discourse about any meaning) is best conceptualised as an ongoing phenomenon rather than a static one;[6] it is, thus, not unlikely that the Dwarf-Stone was ascribed different meanings by different people at different times. Yet in the form in which it was recorded by Jón Árnason, this particular tale is not only tailored to its local setting in the closest way possible, but it also shows no indication of having been meant as more than a story for storytelling's sake. Horace in his *Art of Poetry* states that *aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae / aut simul et iucunda et idonea dicere vitae* (*Ars poetica* 333–334) ['poets either want to be useful or to delight, / or say the pleasant and the useful things of life at once']. The teller of tales who invented the story of the Dwarf-Stone seems to have been firmly in the second of these three categories: it is all about delighting in a good yarn. Admittedly, there is also an element here of enchanting the landscape (cf. Macfarlane 2015: 24–26), charging it with associations that transcend the mundane and the everyday. Yet given the overall structure of the tale, this enchantment does not appear to be the intention, but rather one of the tools of the storyteller. Drawing on traditional motifs such as the motif of dwarfs living in stones, the storyteller does to some extent inscribe supernatural connotations into the landscape. However, given the specific relationship between the tale and the landscape it is woven out of, these supernatural motifs were not more than a narrative device used to string together a series of landscape features into a working plot. The aim seems to be the

working plot, not the supernatural. Enchantment comes as a by-product, welcome perhaps, but secondary nonetheless – and is certainly not taken very seriously.

In this way, the Seyðisfjörður tale of the Dwarf-Stone serves as a reminder to put some levity back into landscape theory: in trying to understand the relationship between humans and the landscapes they are inhabiting, we should not forget that underlying the profound there is also the everyday, and that there is a lot that is done in everyday life which is simply done for the joy it gives.

### Place, Story, and Retrospective Methodology

All this, however, may also have consequences for the use of Norse narrative material for retrospective reconstructions. In a level of detail that is achievable only very rarely, the folklore of the Dwarf-Stone illustrates the extreme interconnectedness between place-lore and the specific landscape of the place in which it is set. In the case of the Dwarf-Stone, if one wants to understand the degree of this interconnectedness, it is inevitable to consult, in the words of Schama (1996: 24), "the archive of the feet": no textual analysis that is unaware of the text's landscape referent would be able to make head or tail of this particular story. Only with recourse to this landscape referent can the tale be understood as a clever and delightful play on real-world topography; without this, it would have seemed quaint at best. This situation constitutes an emphatic warning about the interpretation of place stories whose place referents are lost – and such a warning is very pertinent indeed to the study of Old Norse sources, as so much of this material is (or purports to be) place-lore.

To illustrate this problem, another example linked to the topic of stones can be taken from *Landnámabók* [the 'Book of Settlements'], where it is told that certain boulders by the name of *Gunnsteinar*, which were located somewhere in the valley Flateyjardalr in northern Iceland, had a double function as both boundary markers and as a cult site (ch. S241=H206). It is not known today where exactly these boulders might have been located (Jakob Benediktsson 1968: 273n.6). Jón Hnefill Aðalsteinsson, in his influential *Under the Cloak* (1999: 29), takes this reference to be

a historical one. But in assessing the historicity of a report such as this, one should always wonder: assuming that in the medieval Flateyjardalr there really was a rock formation which was somehow striking enough to attract attention, what reason do we have to believe that it drew the religious attention of the valley's Viking Age inhabitants, rather than that of a medieval storyteller simply in search of inspiration for a good tale? Not every narrative using religious or mythological motifs also has a deep religious or mythological significance.

Another aspect of the Dwarf-Stone tale that is also of relevance for retrospective approaches is the importance of sheer entertainment. Entertainment for entertainment's sake was also a major factor for medieval saga writers; this is central to keep in mind when we consider sagas and stories that appear oriented towards entertainment as sources for vernacular religion and mythology. Looking beyond place-lore, one may think about tales such as *Bósa saga*, *Þorsteins þáttr bæjarmagns*, or Snorri's myth of Thor's visit to Útgarðaloki.[7] The motifs that are used and manipulated in such texts may be conventional and link to widely held (or once-held) beliefs – as is the case with the Dwarf-Stone tale, which uses some very old themes indeed, such as dwarfs living it stones – but such motifs have often been removed from their former ('original') contexts and have been recombined in unique, unexpected, and entertaining ways. Thus, such texts may be of interest for studying individual motifs, but may hardly be able to tell us much about coherent plot lines and larger narrative structures of vernacular mythology: in constructing a new tale with an agenda focused on entertainment, the overarching plot lines are the first elements to undergo far-reaching transformations whose results may bear hardly any perceivable resemblance to the vernacular mythology of the Viking Age. The Seyðisfjörður folk tale of the Dwarf-Stone constitutes an emphatic reminder that stories (including place stories) can always just be stories for storytelling's sake. The delight that this folk tale exhibits in the sheer joy of storytelling reminds us that, if we take narrative texts too seriously as reflections of the period they pretend to talk
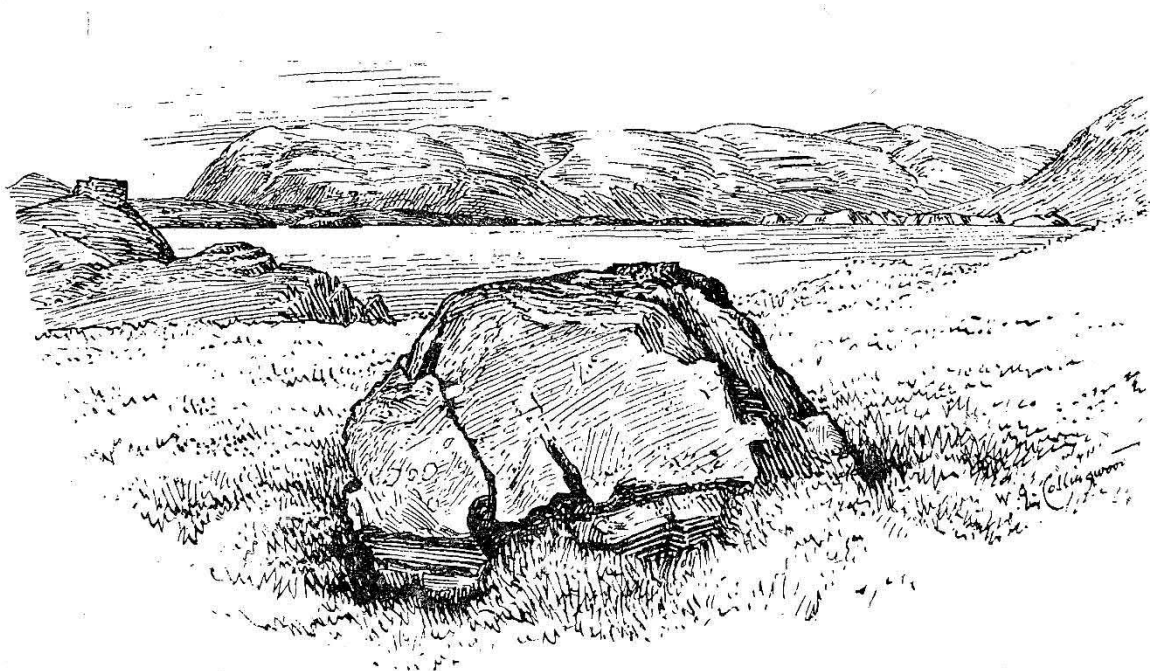
*Fig. 4. A topos of saga scholarship which provides an exact parallel to the Seyðisfjörður folk tale of the Dwarf-Stone is the blood-spattered 'Stone of Thor' of* Eyrbyggja saga *in the home-field of Þingvellir farm on Þórsnes. (Reproduced from Collingwood & Jón Stefánsson 1899: 96, Figure 82.)*

about, we may be taking them more seriously than they ever took themselves – even if, in taking such an overly serious approach, we follow a path well-trodden in current landscape writing.[8]

To conclude by returning to the topic of landscape proper, the importance that the lessons drawn from the Dwarf-Stone tale have for saga scholarship is also illustrated by the *Þórssteinn* ['Stone of Thor'] and the scholarly discussion associated with it. *Eyrbyggja saga* (ch. 10) and *Landnámabók* (ch. S85=H73) locate this stone on the assembly site on the Þórsnes peninsula, claiming that human sacrifice was performed on it. *Eyrbyggja saga* (ch. 10) furthermore adds the detail that the stains left by the blood of the sacrificial victims can still be seen on the stone. Jón Hnefill Aðalsteinsson, again, takes this to be a historically reliable tradition (2005: 500–501; 1999: 150–152, 194). Yet what we are dealing with here rather seems to be a case that is – at least within the frame of medieval saga literature – uniquely similar to the case of the Dwarf-Stone by the Seyðisfjörður. On the home-field of the farm Þingvellir ['Assembly Site'], to this day there lies a prominent boulder – a boulder that already W.G. Collingwood and Jón Stefánsson noted was coloured by inclusions of iron, giving it the look of a boulder spattered with blood (1899:

95–96 with Fig. 82 = Figure 4 above). Collingwood and Jón Stefánsson may have been the first modern writers to suggest that this stone and its colouring "may have been what the saga-man saw" (1899: 95); just as in the case of the Seyðisfjörður folk tale, this detail of *Eyrbyggja saga* also seems to have been directly developed out of (rather than being inscribed into) the landscape. Yet Collingwood and Jón Stefánsson were by no means the last scholars to note this correlation; rather, this correlation has long since become something of a topos of scholarship (cf. e.g. Böldl 2005: 213; Egeler 2015a: 83–84; Lethbridge, n.d.). What is crucial to note, however, and what is brought to the fore by the case of the Dwarf-Stone, is that this correlation is not a one-off occurrence, as it has been treated in scholarship to date. We are not dealing with an individual case here, but with a pattern: landscape and storytelling stand in a close dialogue with each other, sometimes so close that storytellers simply seem to have taken down their landscape's dictations in order to create an artistic interweaving between a literary plot and its real-world setting. We see this happening most clearly in the case of the Dwarf-Stone, but that it also appears in *Eyrbyggja saga* with almost the same clarity indicates that this is a pattern

which has to be fully taken into consideration in any attempt to assess the usefulness of medieval literary sources for retrospective reconstructions – even if, due to the nature of the material, close relationships between story and landscape tend to elude us when we are dealing with medieval texts, whose landscape settings are largely lost.

*Matthias Egeler (Matthias.Egeler[at]daad-alumni.de), Institut für Nordische Philologie, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Geschwister-Scholl-Platz 1, 80539 München, Germany.*

## Notes

1. For justified criticism of Eliade's approach, which ultimately is not scientific but mystic and theological, see Gill 1998: 301–304; Smith 1987: 1–23.
2. "Dvergasteinn. (Eptir frásögn kandid. Eiríks Magnússonar.) Prestsetrið á Seyðisfirði var í fyrndinni vestan eða sunnanfjarðar; en ekki greinir frá því, hvað það hafi þá heitið. Í grend við það var stór steinn, og trúðu menn því fult og fast, að í honum byggju dvergar, og því var hann kallaður Dvergasteinn. Þegar framliðu tímar, þókti staðurinn og kirkjan óhaganlega sett þeim megin fjarðarins, og var því hvorttveggja flutt þángað sem þau eru nú, hinu megin við fjörðinn. Steinninn stóri varð eptir, eins og nærri má geta. En þegar kirkjusmíðinni var lokið að mestu, varð mönnum starsýnt á að sjá hús koma siglandi handan yfir fjörðinn, og stefna beint þángað, sem kirkjan stóð. Heldur það á fram, uns það kennir grunns, og nemur þá staðar í fjörunni. Urðu menn þess þá vísari, að Dvergasteinn var þar kominn með íbúum sínum, dvergunum. Kunnu þeir ekki við sig, eptir að kirkjan var flutt, og drógu sig því á eptir henni. En til ævarandi minníngar um guðrækni dverganna var prestsetrið kallað Dvergasteinn." (Jón Árnason 1864: 67; for a translation cf. Jón Árnason 1891: 61.) See also the Sagnagrunnur database of Icelandic folklore.
3. More internationally, see also Christiansen 1958: 88 and motif-type A963.4 in Thompson 1955–1958.
4. A point which perhaps should at least be mentioned – even though it cannot be resolved – is the chicken-and-the-egg problem of the parsonage being called 'Dvergasteinn' and how this links to the story. The story's religious element seems to presuppose the existence of a church, and therefore it also presupposes that the parsonage predates the formation of the story as we have it. At the same time, if the story had only been invented after the parsonage had been established, it would be surprising (though perhaps not impossible) that the parsonage should have been renamed with a toponym correlating with the new story. One, though not the only, possible scenario is that the unusual stone on the northern coast of the Seyðisfjörður at an early point attracted a dwarf story, was then used as a reference point for naming the parsonage after it was established at a later point, and was finally used as a core element of a story connecting both. If this sequence of events comes close to the truth, then the awkward relationship between the presuppositions made respectively by the naming of the parsonage (which presupposes the story of the dwarf stone) and by the story (which presupposes the parsonage) seems to be an indication of the growth of a Dvergasteinn story that took place in several steps and perhaps over a long period of time.
5. For an instance of a (Norwegian) supernatural aetiological place story that, at the time of its recording, was considered comical rather than being taken seriously, see Frog 2018.
6. For telling examples see also Tim Robinson on the toponym *Corrúch* on the island of Aran off the Irish west coast (Robinson 2009: 296–297), or his discussion of the different ways in which both scholars and local fishermen have attempted to make sense of the toponym *Oileán Dá Bhranóg*, borne by a little uninhabited island to the northwest of Aran (Robinson 2008: 151–153; in the present context it may be particularly interesting that the understanding current among the local fishermen – who are the only people to frequent the place – sounds like a joke, and from a scholarly perspective has been dismissed as one).
7. See also Power 1985; Egeler 2013: 33–43; 2015b: 73–92; Frog 2014: esp. 138–139.
8. To some extent, this parallels a problem in many approaches to the history of religions which Burkhard Gladigow (1988: 22) called "Rekonstruktion unter den Bedingungen von Perfektion": "Ein [...] Darstellungs-problem in der Rekonstruktion eines Symbolsystems liegt in der Tendenz der Wissenschaftler, das System unter den Bedingungen von Perfektion zu rekonstruieren. So gibt es in den traditionellen Religionsgeschichten einer bestimmten Region oder Epoche kaum Routine und Trivialisierungen, Inkonsequenzen und notorische Mißverständnisse, Desinteresse oder Apathie. [...] Die Menschen begegnen ständig 'heiliger Wirklichkeit', befinden sich meist in 'numinoser Hochstimmung', handeln grundsätzlich in voller Kenntnis von Bedeutung und Geschichte der Rituale." But cf. also the writings of Tim Robinson mentioned above in note 6.

## Works Cited
### Sources

*Bósa saga ok Herrauðs* = Jiriczek 1893.
*Dvergasteinn* (folktale) = Jón Árnason 1864, 1891.
*Eyrbyggja saga* = Einar Ól. Sveinsson & Matthías Þórðarson 1935.
*Kristni saga* = Sigurgeir Steingrímsson et al. 2003.
*Landnámabók* = Jakob Benediktsson 1968.

*Ǫrvar-Odds saga* = Boer 1888.

Sagnagrunnur database of Icelandic folklore. Available at: http://www.sagnagrunnur.com/ (last accessed 26 September 2015).

*Sonatorrek* = Bjarni Einarsson 2003.

*Þorsteins þáttr bæjarmagns* = Tietz 2012; Sveinbjörn Egilsson et al. 1827: 175–198.

*Þorvalds þáttr víðfǫrla I* = Sigurgeir Steingrímsson et al. 2003.

### *Literature*

Basso, Keith H. 1996. *Wisdom Sits in Places. Landscape and Language among the Western Apache.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Bjarni Einarsson. 2003. *Egils saga.* London: Viking Society for Northern Research.

Boberg, Inger Margrethe. 1966. *Motif-Index of Early Icelandic Literature*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.

Boer, R.C. 1888. *Ǫrvar-Odds saga.* Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Böldl, Klaus. 2005. *Eigi einhamr: Beiträge zum Weltbild der* Eyrbyggja *und anderer Isländersagas.* Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 48. Berlin / New York: de Gruyter.

Christiansen, Reidar Th. 1958. *The Migratory Legends: A Proposed List of Types with a Systematic Catalogue of the Norwegian Variants*. FF Communications 175. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Collingwood, W.G., & Jón Stefánsson. 1899. *A Pilgrimage to the Saga-Steads of Iceland.* Ulverston: W. Holmes. (Facsimile reprint ed. by Matthias Egeler, London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 2015.)

Cosgrove, Denis E. 2008. "Introduction to *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*". In DeLue & Elkins 2008: 17–42.

Cosgrove, Denis E. 1984. *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape.* London: Croom Helm.

DeLue, Rachael Ziady. 2008. "Elusive Landscapes and Shifting Grounds". In DeLue & Elkins 2008: 3–14.

DeLue, Rachael Ziady, & James Elkins (eds.). 2008. *Landscape Theory.* The Art Seminar 6. New York / London: Routledge.

Egeler, Matthias. 2013. *Celtic Influences in Germanic Religion: A Survey.* Münchner Nordistische Studien 15. München: Utz.

Egeler, Matthias. 2015a. "A Retrospective Methodology for using *Landnámabók* as a Source for the Religious History of Iceland? Some Questions". *RMN Newsletter* 10: 78–92.

Egeler, Matthias. 2015b. *Avalon, 66° Nord: Zu Frühgeschichte und Rezeption eines Mythos*. Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 95. Berlin / Boston: de Gruyter.

Einar Ól. Sveinsson & Matthías Þórðarson (eds.). 1935. *Eyrbyggja saga; Brands þáttr ǫrva; Eiríks saga rauða; Groenlendinga saga; Groenlendiga þáttr.* Íslenzk Fornrit 4. Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag.

Eliade, Mircea. 1998. *Das Heilige und das Profane: Vom Wesen des Religiösen.* Trans. Eva Moldenhauer. Frankfurt a. M. / Leipzig: Insel.

Frog. 2014. "Germanic Traditions of the Theft of the Thunder-Instrument (ATU 1148b): An Approach to *Þrymskviða* and Þórr's Adventure with Geirrøðr in Circum-Baltic Perspective". In *New Focus on Retrospective Methods: Resuming Methodological Discussions: Case Studies from Northern Europe*. Ed. Eldar Heide & Karen Bek-Pedersen. FF Communications 307. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica. Pp. 118–160.

Frog. 2018 (in press). "When Thunder is not Thunder; or, Fits and Starts in the Evolution of Mythology". In *Stories and Supernatural Places*. Ed. Daniel Sävborg & Ülo Valk. Studia Fennica Folkloristica. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Gill, Sam. 1998. "Territory". In *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*. Ed. Mark C. Taylor. Chicago / London: University of Chicago Press. Pp. 298–313.

Gladigow, Burkhard. 1988. "Religionsgeschichte des Gegenstandes – Gegenstände der Religions-geschichte". In *Religionswissenschaft: Eine Einführung*. Ed. Hartmut Zinser. Berlin: Reimer. Pp. 6–37.

Jakob Benediktsson. 1968. *Íslendingabók; Landnámabók.* Íslenzk Fornrit 1. Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag.

Jiriczek, Otto Luitpold. 1893. *Die Bósa-saga in zwei Fassungen: Nebst Proben aus den Bósa-rímur.* Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner.

Jón Árnason. 1862. *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og æfintýri* I. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

Jón Árnason. 1864. *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og æfintýri* II. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

Jón Árnason. 1889. *Isländische Volkssagen.* Selected & trans. M. Lehmann-Filhés. Berlin: Mayer & Müller.

Jón Árnason. 1891. *Isländische Volkssagen.* Selected & trans. M. Lehmann-Filhés. New Series. Berlin: Mayer & Müller.

Jón Hnefill Aðalsteinsson. 2005. "Þórsnes". In *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* XXX. Comprehensively revised and expanded edn. Ed. Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich & Heiko Steuer. Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter. Pp. 498–501.

Jón Hnefill Aðalsteinsson. 1999. *Under the Cloak: A Pagan Ritual Turning Point in the Conversion of Iceland.* 2nd extended edn. Ed. Jakob S. Jónsson. Appendix translated by Terry Gunnell. Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan – Félagsvísindastofnun.

af Klintberg, Bengt. 2010. *The Types of the Swedish Folk Legend.* FF Communications 300. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Lethbridge, Emily. N.d. "The Saga-Steads of Iceland: A 21st Century Pilgrimage". Available at: http://sagasteads.blogspot.de/2011/05/eyrbyggja-saga-i-berserkers-and.html (last accessed 26 September 2015).

Macfarlane, Robert. 2015. *Landmarks.* [n.p.]: Hamish Hamilton (Penguin).

Mohn, Jürgen. 2007. "Heterotopien in der Religionsgeschichte: Anmerkungen zum 'Heiligen Raum' *nach* Mircea Eliade". *Theologische Zeitschrift* 63: 331–357.

Overing, Gillian R., & Osborn, Marijane. 1994. *Landscape of Desire. Partial Stories of the Medieval*

*Scandinavian World.* Minneapolis / London: University of Minnesota Press.

Power, Rosemary. 1985. "'An Óige, an Saol agus an Bás', *Feis Tighe Chonáin* and 'Þórr's Visit to Útgarða-Loki'". *Béaloideas* 53: 217–294.

Robinson, Tim. 2008. *Stones of Aran: Pilgrimage.* Introduction by Robert Macfarlane. London: Faber & Faber.

Robinson, Tim. 2009. *Stones of Aran: Labyrinth.* Introduction by John Elder. New York: New York Review of Books.

Schama, Simon. 1996. *Landscape and Memory.* New York: Vintage Books.

Sigurgeir Steingrímsson, Ólafur Halldórsson, & Peter Foote. 2003. *Biskupa sögur 1: Síðari hluti – sögutextar.* Íslenzk Fornrit 15. Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag.

Smith, Jonathan Z. 1987. *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual.* Chicago / London: University of Chicago Press.

[Sveinbjörn Egilsson, Rafn Þ. Gudmundsson & Rasmus Rask (eds.).] 1827. *Saga Olafs konungs Tryggvasonar. Nidrlag sogunnar med tilheyrandi tattum.* Fornmanna sögur 3: Niðrlag sögu Ólafs konúngs Tryggvasonar með tilheyrandi þáttum. Kaupmannahøfn: Harðvíg Friðrek Popp.

Thompson, Stith. 1955–1958. *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature: A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books, and Local Legends.* Rev. & enlarged edn. Bloomington / Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. Available at: https://www.ualberta.ca/~urban/Projects/English/Motif_Index.htm (last accessed 17 October 2017).

Tietz, Andrea. 2012. *Die Saga von Þorsteinn bæjarmagn – Saga af Þorsteini bæjarmagni: Übersetzung und Kommentar.* Münchner Nordistische Studien 12. München: Utz.

# The Lithuanian *Apidėmė*: A Goddess, a Toponym, and Remembrance

Vykintas Vaitkevičius, University of Klaipeda

*Abstract: This paper is devoted to the Lithuanian apidėmė, attested since the 16th century as the name of a goddess in the Baltic religion, as a term for the site of a former farmstead relocated to a new settlement during the land reform launched in 1547–1557, and later as a widespread toponym.* Apidėmė *has been researched by linguists, historians, and mythologists. An archaeological perspective is applied here for the first time.*

Polysemantic words in standard language that coincide with theonyms, people's surnames, or toponyms conceal secrets encoded into their rich history of meanings. On the other hand, they provide researchers with ample opportunities for studying and understanding not just discrete parts of culture, but phenomena as certain links that connect worlds distant in terms of time or, at first glance, unrelated aspects of life. This paper deals with the Lithuanian word *apidėmė,* known from 16th century sources as the name of a goddess in the Baltic religion and later as a widespread toponym. *Apidėmė* was also used as a term for the site of a former farmstead relocated to a new settlement during the Volok Reform, a land reform launched between 1547 and 1557. With the Volok Reform came significant economic and social change but also spiritual religious reverberations: the location of the original farmstead was considered the abode of family hearth deities as well as the souls of ancestors. They could not be left behind without the care of the gods. Data on land ownership and land use reforms in Lithuania collected throughout the 20th century allows one to perceive the phenomenon and to follow its development, even if with certain reservations. During the Soviet occupation of Lithuania, the Soviets demolished or moved Lithuanian settlements. A custom developed in which the locations where these farms once stood were marked with memorial stones, trees, crosses, or small chapels. Today this custom is a notable aspect of Lithuanian culture. *Apidėmė* has been discussed by linguists, historians, and mythologists (Jurginis 1970; Zinkevičius 1981; Greimas 1990: 91–92; Mulevičius 1990). This paper adds, for the first time, an archaeological perspective, which significantly deepens and expands the research on this topic; Viewed in relation to the ethnological data, *apidėmė* emerges as an integral part of contemporary Lithuanian culture, here viewed retrospectively.

Lithuania first attracted the attention of Western European nobility and missionaries in 1009. Two centuries later, Lithuania's Duke Mindaugas rose to the status of Grand Duke and, by the grace of the Pope, wished to advance to the throne of the king. In 1251, in order to be crowned king, Mindaugas was baptised. Two years later, he achieved his goal of kinghood. Yet his monarchy rule was short-lived. Later,

it was the Teutonic Order that sought to Christianise Lithuania. The Teutonic Order organised the Baltic Crusades together with the European nobility, yet the Christianisation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was also a lynchpin of the political aspirations and activity of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, the cousins Jagiello (1377–1392) and Vytautas (1392–1430). In 1387, the Vilnius Diocese was founded, followed by the Samogitian Diocese in 1417. The resulting religious changes had an impact on the political, administrative, economic, and cultural life – and lifestyle – of the country. However, ties with the pre-Christian world were most notably severed by the Volok Reform. The Volok Reform period coincided with the spread of the Reformation and a Counter-Reformation wave. The wave's main representatives in Lithuania – Jesuits – also went to great lengths to remove manifestations of the old religion.

In the implementation of the Volok Reform, all the lands of the Grand Duke (at the time the country's largest landowner) were newly measured and divided. This was achieved by moving peasant houses from individual farmsteads and free-plan villages to new linear settlements in the form of precise rectangular plots along a single road. Deprived of the last of their freedom, peasants received strips of land (a *volok* or its part) in three or more land plots in which they were to strictly administer a newly-introduced three-field crop rotation system. The ruler's example was soon followed by the Catholic Church and the nobility. The establishment and development of *folwarks* (smaller units of economic administration) in areas remote from the main estates took longer (for more details about the reform, see: Balčiūnas 1938: 30–45; Jurginis 1962: 288–297; Bučas 1988: 57–64; cf. Šešelgis 1996).

### The Historical Context of apidėmė

It is important to emphasise that *apidėmė* emerged in religious writings mainly during the Volok Reform. *Apidėmė* is first attested among a group of deity names and sacred places of the old religion found in the first collection of Protestant sermons of 1573. This collection was drafted for Lithuanian Evangelical churches in Prussia and is best known as *The Postilla of Wolfenbüttel*. The attestation appears as follows:

> Tikedami ing szemepaczius, Eitwarius, kaukus, appidemes, kelnus, akmenis, medzius gaius (kaip ghe wadinna alkus) Vpes perkunu. (Gelumbeckaitė 2008: *Litauische*, fol. 85v; here and below, underlining indicates the spelling of *apidėmė* in the source text.)

> (Pagans) believing in gods of the Earth, spirits of wealth, goblins, *appidemes*, hills, boulders, trees, groves (so-called *alkai*), rivers, and Thunder.

Along with the domestic wealth-multiplying *Aitvaras* and the god of farmlands *Žemėpatis*, *Apidėmė* is emphatically refered to as an evil spirit: *Welnas ira etwaras, teip besas ira szemepatis, teipag czertas ira Apideme* (Gelumbeckaitė 2008: Litauische, fol. 85v) ['*Aitvaras* is a devil, as well as *Žemėpatis,* and *Apideme* is also a devil']. In Jan Lasicki's treatise on idolatry *De Diis samagitarum caeterorumque sarmatarum et falsorum Christianorum* (written around 1580 and published in 1615), *Apidėmė* is defined as the deity of a 'changed', i.e. abandoned, settlement:

> Apidome mutati domicilii deum. nato cuiusuis generis, vel coeco vel debili pullo, actutum sedes mutantur.

> *Apidėmė* is a god of a settlement that has been changed. As soon as some animal gave birth to a blind or lame baby animal, people immediately moved to live elsewhere. (Translation following Greimas 1990: 91; see also Lasickis 1969: 20; Ališauskas 2012: 113.)

It is necessary to note that a major source of Lasickis' knowledge was surveyor Jacob Laskowski, implementer of the Volok Reform in the Grand Dukes' land holdings in Samogitia.

As a place name, *Apidėmė* (*опедоми*) is first found in a land ownership document dated to 1552, during the Volok Reform. The number of such records increased continuously through the rest of the 16th century and into the first half of the 17th century (see Mulevičius 1990: 93; cf. Спрогис 1888: 13). Beginning from the Volok Reform period the name *apidėmė* or *apydėmė* is recorded with numerous variant forms in inventories and documents concerning land purchases and litigation. In this period, it emerges as a term for the sites of

*Figure 1. In a cultivated field, a black cultural layer of the Daugėlaičiai ancient settlement, dating back to the 5ᵗʰ to the 13ᵗʰ centuries, stands out. (Photo by V. Vaitkevičius 2014).*

the relocated or vanished farmsteads, as can be illustrated through a few examples: *Ниву мою, называемую Апидеме, то ест старое селищо* ['My field, called *Apidėmė*, i.e. the former living place'] (Pavandenė, 1599 or 1600); *Третюю ниву... называемую Апидемали, где седел Миколаи Кгедеикисъ* ['The third field, called *Apidėmalė*, where Mikalojus Gedeikis used to live'] (Pašilė, 1616); *Прыкуплю [...] назъваную ниву Апидемю старое седлиско [...]* ['I shall buy a field, called *Apidėmė*, a former place of residence'] (Veliuona, 1627 or 1629; Jablonskis 1941: 2). This evidence indicates a change in use of the word in the mid-16ᵗʰ century and that the land reform is of fundamental significance for the study of the history of *apidėmė*.

*Apidėmė* is only attested as a theonym beginning in the second half of the 16ᵗʰ century, a use that seems to have spread simultaneously as a generic name for the site of a former farmstead and a toponym with a corresponding meaning. In the Lithuanian language, the prefix *api-* (*apy-*) frequently means 'an object possessing just a part of some relevant properties', e.g. *apymaišis* ['a not totally full sack'], *apymolis* ['rather clayey soil'], etc. The historian Leonas Mulevičius (1990: 92) argued that *apydėmė* could thus be a compound of *apy-* and *dėmė* ['a spot'] that referred to an indistinct spot which stands out in its environment due to its colour. The linguist Wojciech Smoczyński (2007: 19–20) related *apidėmė* to a later recorded version *apynamė* ['the place around a house'] through the first edition of Konstantinas Sirvydas' dictionary, published around 1620, where *apidėmė* appeared as *apidamė*. Smoczyński did not reject the possibility that the root *dam-* was eventually assimilated by Lithuanians from Sirvydas' dictionary and converted into *nam-* (see also Zinkevičius 1981).[1] Examples from the *Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language* reveal that *dėmė* ['spot'] was a term used for the mark in the landscape that remained on the site of an abandoned farmstead from its structures, and especially from the house, even in negative statements such as *Trobos nė dėmės nebliko* (Salantai; LKŽe, *s.v.* 'dėmė') ['Not a single spot remained from the house']. Therefore, *apidėmė* is most naturally interpreted as that which is above/on[2] or around/by[3] the place where the house or

farmstead used to be. The name of the goddess *Apidėmė* appears to be an epithet that describes the abode of the deity, a location that coincides with a spot of black ground on the site of the former home or a farmstead.

The definition of *apidėmė* as referring to observable traces of earlier settlement in the landscape coincides with the archaeological data: sites of prehistoric settlements established approximately in the first millennium BC (in some places somewhat earlier, in others somewhat later) can be observed as a black cultural layer stretching through the landscape (Figure 1). Whether the buildings decayed or burned in a fire, regular black spots on the ground frequently indicate their former sites. Based on the data of archaeological excavations, archaeologist Rokas Vengalis (2009: 88–89, 103, 151) demonstrated that the thickest and most intensive cultural layers, rich in finds, formed not on the sites of buildings themselves, but close by, around, or possibly in, the spaces between them. However, the hearth was easy to notice, as the earth was full of coal and soot, while stones in that location were shattered and crumbled from the heat. The black sites of a former farmstead and hearth testify that fire was kindled there – people found warmth and made food. Until the 20th century, the fire in a home was protected from extinction every night. In the morning, it was awakened with gentle words: the home hearth fire was considered sacred and called by the name of the Baltic goddess *Gabija* or the Catholic *St. Agota*, or by the joint name of *Gabija-Agota* (Lovčikas 1994).

It is evident from historical sources that the name *Apidėmė* used to be given to farmstead sites: compare Russian *Старое седлиско* ['Old Settlement'], *Старое селищо* ['Old Settlement'], and *Старое Апидеме* ['Old (former) *Apidėmė*'] (Jablonskis 1941: 2). In the second half of the 16th century, i.e. in the years of the Volok Reform and in those following it, Samogitia abounded in *apidėmė*. In toponyms, almost exclusively in the names of fields, *apidėmė* was frequently employed in word combinations (noting that many of these sources were written in Russian) specifying where, what kind of, or whose farmstead used to be there, such as *Апидеме паклоснисъ* [Ru. '*Apidėmė* under/by the Willows'] (Viduklė

rural district, 1595–1653), *Апидемисъ старе* [Ru. 'the Old *Apidėmis*'] (Raseiniai rural district, 1599), *Апидемя авкштоя* [Ru. 'the High *Apidėmė*'] (Josvainiai rural district, 1596), *Апидеме салю* ['*Apidėmė* of the Saliai'] (Raseiniai rural district, 1599) (Спрогис 1888: 13). It is possible that the last of these, *Salių apidėmė*, as well as *Rimdeikiškis apidėmė* (*Апидеме римдейкишкя*, Raseiniai rural district, 1596), *Valatkiškiai apidėmė* (*Апидеме волоткишки*, Vilkija rural district, 1598), and some others had originally been inhabited by people whose proper names were perpetuated in the toponyms.

To date, *Apidėmė*, *Apidemės*, *Apydėmė*, *Apydėmai* and a number of similar names have spread all over Lithuania (LVŽ 2008: 144–146). According to 20th-century data, the names were given to fields, meadows, scrublands, waters (bogs or streams), and occasionally even to individual farmsteads (the *apidėmės* were also re-populated after a break). The toponymic data indicates several ways that places called *apidėmė* were used: they were most frequently used as farmlands, pastures, or hayfields. In Dieveniškės, a town in southern Lithuania, a village cemetery was called *apidėmė*: *Prabaščius ažuprašė mus aptvert apidėmes* ['the parson asked us to fence in *apidėmes*'] (Mikulėnienė et al. 2005: 16). However, the origin of that local phenomenon remains unexplored.

Recent field surveys conducted by the author in Joniškis, Pakruojis, Radviliškis and Šiauliai (districts in northern and central Lithuania) prove that no distinct cultural layers remain in the locations called *Apidėmė* and that any future search for them must be grounded in geophysical or geochemical research methods. However, a high probability of individual archaeological finds (objects or structures) from the 15th to the first half of the 16th century remain, as proven through information on find locations and circumstances surrounding the discovery of stones with narrow-bottomed bowls (cf. Vaitkevičius 2016: 29–31). Before the mid-16th century, these stones were kept in home shrines, most likely in the corners of the house, and were related to an earth deity cult. During the Volok Reform, most of these stones with narrow-bottomed bowls, along with the buildings

themselves and other personal property, were moved to new settlements. Remaining stones from time to time reappeared in arable fields (for details, see Vaitkevičius 2004: 30–31).

The use of *apidėmė* was, and still is, predetermined by a number of circumstances: the relation of the farmer and the community as a whole to their ancestors, customs, and with the past in general. In the years of the Volok Reform, peasants, resisting the transfer of their farmlands from one place to another, appealed not only to their economic experience, but also to customs related to the respect of parents and to the home; "the ancestors or parents' farmstead was regarded as a sacred place to be respected and cherished," wrote historian Juozas Jurginis (1970: 59). Valuable data on the exclusive view of the rural population on *apidėmė*, i.e. on the sites of former farmsteads and villages, can be gained from sources covering the first half of the 20th century's large-scale land ownership reform in Lithuania, the first such reform since the Volok Reform. For example, the former Voveriškiai village site could not be given to a particular villager moving to an individual farmstead; each villager wanted to have at least a part of it (LŽV 1935: Voveriškiai, Šiauliai rural district and county). By way of common agreement, the former Janušava village site was not turned into strips of farmland. Instead, the former village site was measured in small plots used by each owner in compliance with their individual needs:

> In olden times, there used to be the Janušava village there. The plague killed all its villagers; only two old men survived. They took the deceased away from the village and buried them on the largest Trakai Forest hill of Janušava. The hill became a plague cemetery. The village was empty. As nobody wanted to come and live in it, the houses were burnt down, and the land was given to new-comers. The new settlers set up a new Janušava village half a kilometer away north of, and in parallel to, the old location of the village, leaving the old street as a path of remembrance. The land between the New Janušava and the Biliūnai Village was divided into strips. Even though the same strips could have passed the homesteads of the Old Janušava as their extensions, the people would not include the homesteads into the strips, but divided the land in small plots. (LŽV 1935: Janušava, Kėdainiai city and county.)

## Apidėmė *in Contemporary Lithuanian Culture*

In the 19th and the early 20th century, attempts were made in Lithuania to change the division of land from the strips that had prevailed since the 16th century. However, a large-scale land reform was only launched and implemented by the Republic of Lithuania after the restoration of its independence in 1918. Volunteers of the Wars of Independence, as well as villagers with no plots of land (or only small ones) were given estate lands. The reform, of course, also focused on villages: villagers were invited and encouraged to move from the old settlements to individual farmsteads. From farmsteads, farmlands, and meadows for haymaking or grazing, to roads, school locations, forest guard sectors, and commonly used gravel deposits, things were changing. Changes in post-Volok Reform villages in the Polish-occupied Vilnius Region, as well as in other places of Lithuania, took place until the first Soviet occupation of 1940–1941. A second occupation started in the summer of 1944.



*Figure 2. The Ramašauskas family bidding farewell to their native home in the Ročkiai Village (Joniškis District). (Photo of an unknown photographer 1968.)*

By the end of World War II, the owners of numerous farmsteads emigrated to the West, perished in battle against the invaders, or were imprisoned or deported to Siberia. According to different data, however, in the 1950s–1960s there were still some 280,000 to 380,000 farmsteads in Lithuania, or approximately six to seven farmsteads per 100 hectares of farmland that impeded the implementation of the Soviet land reclamation (Murauskas 1970: 53–54; Kavoliutė 2015: 50; cf. Rupas, Vaitekūnas 1980: 60). Deprived of land ownership, people cherished their remaining property – their houses and surrounding plots

of land (that amounted to 60 ares – i.e. 6,000 square meters).

In 1966, a drama started that was only publicly (and honestly) discussed several decades later: numerous farmstead hosts failed to accept the process of land reclamation. This resulted in the relocation or demolition of houses and farmsteads were converted into farmlands or pastures – the people resisted, insisting on their attitudes and beliefs over policy. While authorities offered compensation for downed fruit trees and demolished buildings, the conflict was not extinguished. A 1978 to 1979 survey of the rural population of seven Lithuanian districts showed that 70% to 80% of survey respondents[4] were unwilling to leave their homes in the reclaimed lands (Grabauskas 1983: 1) (Figures 2 & 3).



*Figure 3. "The woman got a room somewhere at a neighbours' place, yet she would come back to her own kitchen stove and make pancakes… and later her stove was completely destroyed." (Photo by Stasys Padalevičius, 1970s. After Matulevičienė 2015: 62.)*

Thus, the last resident of Baranaučizna in Radviliškis District repeated: "You will only carry me out in a coffin." He died at home at the age of 97 and was carried out of his home in a coffin by relatives (field research data, January 2013). The owner of the demolished Mėdginai farmstead in the Joniškis District, Pranas Povilaitis, hanged himself in grief (field research data, January 2015), while a farmstead in Buivydžiai (Joniškis District) was defended by its owner, Ms. Mačiulytė with enviable persistence. Mačiulytė was commonly referred to as a witch and her neighbours still believe that she was helped by her spells (for details, see Vaitkevičius 2016: 48–49).

Under occupation, farmstead destruction became a tool with which occupiers could disrupt human connection to the land and the past. Occupiers could change the identity of the occupied and eventually overcome the local population's resistance, whether they were armed or unarmed. During Soviet occupation, owners of surviving farmsteads demonstrated will and patience, referred to influential patrons, or simply bought themselves off.

The similarity between the historical processes of the second half of the 16th century and the second half of the 20th century is obvious: farmers were made to leave their residences, whether farmsteads, houses or orchards. In the 20th century, most of those places turned into arable or fallow lands or pastures of *kolkhoses* and *sovkhoses* (collective farms).[5] All this happened in the presence of our parents and grandparents, and frequently with their direct participation. In turn, their lively and eloquent testimonies are still available. The former owners once maintained, and in some cases continue to maintain, a sensitive, strong and, most importantly, spiritual relationship with those places.

In 1990, property – primarily land – expropriated during Soviet occupation was returned to the citizens of newly independent Lithuania. Quite a few took advantage of this opportunity; having regained the land, some Lithuanians revived the sites of their former farmsteads and homes. One can still hear stories of how firmly people took this step, and how they received support and encouragement from their deceased parents, grandparents, and other relatives in their dreams. For example:

> Monica, that's my sister, saw Dad in her dream, who said: "Children, take the land." Had I failed to take the land, I would have felt like I had committed a crime. (Vaitkevičienė 2013: 62.)

> When it became possible to regain the land after the Restoration of Independence, I saw in my dream through my bedroom window: Mother's face could not be seen, just a skirt of coarse homemade woolen cloth and bare feet soiled with earth (...), soiled with rich fertile earth. And then Vladukas, my brother, arrived and said (...): "We are getting back the land". Thus, through that window, my Mum with her earth-soiled feet brought me the message that I shall regain the land. (LTR cd 1380.)

It is important to emphasise that family relations with ancestors were formed not

merely through farmland but also through surviving farmstead trees, foundation stones, and sometimes wells or ponds. Where none of those left any trace on the land, memories and ancestral connections were stored in the earth: they can be found in fragments of pots or plates, broken window glass, or broken bricks, for example. (Vaitkevičienė 2013: 64).



*Figure 4. The site of the Radzevičius Homestead in the Antaniškiai Village, Šiluva Eldership, Raseiniai District. The inscription on the cross reads: 'This is our Native Place. The Radzevičius Family.' (Photo by V. Vaitkevičius 2015.)*

Due to changes in lifestyle and other cultural, social, and economic circumstances, most former farmsteads were not revived in the late 20th century. Farmlands or growing forests stretched over these former sites, and a sense of the sacred became associated with these sites. This picture is close to the phenomenon of *apidėmė* found in historical documents: those were fields turned into farmlands and pastures, and occasional untouched small plots of land in their surroundings (which in the 16th century were under the protection of goddess *Apidėmė*, and in the 20th century, the Virgin Mary).

Holding family or neighbour reunions, building memorial stones with names of the former residents and rhymed inscriptions, planting trees or groves, or consecrating crosses or small chapels (Figure 4), were means with which the people of contemporary Lithuania entrusted themselves to the protection of the farmstead sites and of those who had lived and died there (or had moved from there), and also specifically to the protection of the Most Holy Virgin Mary. Thus, for example, 87-year-old Salomėja Eitavičiūtė-Lubienė from Kūlupėnai (Kretinga District) believed that Mary lived in a small chapel mounted in a tree on the site of her native farmstead and protected the place:

– How did it come into your mind to mount a chapel in a tree?

– Because it was necessary. How else? No parents and no home place will be left. Nobody and nothing. Nobody will protect the native home. And somebody has to take care of it, somebody has to be there. Mary [has] to protect us. When nobody is [living] there any longer, just the fields are left. But the place that was left has to stay there.

(Field research data of March 2013.)

In comparison, in 1984, the Blažys family put up an inscription on a small chapel in their grandparents' farmstead in Pušinava (Radviliškis District): *Saturated with blood and tears, land of our parents, be generous* (field research data, June 2013). In Palmajė (Ignalina District), on the outskirts of the Paukštė family farmstead, a stone cross stands with an inscription: *In Memory of Parents' Land* (field research data, August 2013). The Poškiai family, on the site of their family home, in the fields of the Gulbinai Village (Radviliškis District), planted two birch trees with a memorial stone between them. An inscription on the stone reads:

In the years 1926–1959, Pranciškus and Ona Poškiai lived there, worshipped God, raised children, and got through thick and thin. Lord, reward them in eternity. (Field research data, August 2014.)

### Summary and Conclusions

The reference point of the present research is a toponym complex represented in forms such as *Apidėmė, Apydėmė,* and *Apydėmai,* all well-known in Lithuania. As evidenced by the historical data, these toponyms began spreading around 1547–1557, when the Volok Reform was launched, and referred to the sites of former farmsteads, relocated to settlements

measured in Voloks. The application of the name of the goddess *Apidėmė*, attested in the first collection of Protestant sermons from the second half of the 16th century and in the treatise on Samogitian gods by Jan Lasicki, meant that the Volk Reform's changes in land administration and division were not merely of an economic and social character. Rather, one can assume that, as part of their spiritual and – most likely – religious life, human affection for their place of residence intensified and increased. Based on Greimas, the affection for one's historical *apidėmė*, usually a one-and-a-half to two hectare residential area, rested on people's connection with fire and a fireplace. The site of the relocated, collapsed, or possibly even incinerated farmstead was the abode of the family hearth deities. Importantly, it was also the abode of ancestral souls, souls which could not be left without the protection of the gods.

The name of the goddess *Apidėmė* is ultimately an epithet: it in fact describes the abode of the deity which coincides with the spot of black ground on the site of a former home or farmstead. It is difficult to judge either the nature of the goddess or her field of activity. To some extent, *Apidėmė* belongs to the spirits acting in a specific home or place. However, we cannot identify her with the deities who determine the destiny of family wealth, happiness, and health: *Apidėmė* is a kind of reflection of positive material and immaterial good in the place where life (hence rituals and sacrifices) once took place but was interrupted. *Apidėmė* is like a trace of sanctity, still lingering in the earth, water, stones and trees, even though these are no longer tended or augmented by inhabitants.

For the first time, this paper has discussed similarities between the historical *apidėmė*, which once received veneration, and memorial sites that emerged during periods of land ownership and use reforms in the 20th century. Sites of farmsteads, demolished, relocated, or else transformed into arable fields, fallow lands, or pastures for collective farms under Soviet occupation, deserve particular attention. Those places and the protection of the souls that lived and died there – or who had moved away – are mainly entrusted to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and they are marked with memorial stones, trees, crosses, and small chapels. These folk beliefs and customs are a living and significant part of contemporary Lithuanian culture and of the identity of the Lithuanian people.

*Vykintas Vaitkevičius (vykintas.vaitkevicius[at] gmail.com) Institute of Baltic Region History and Archaeology, Klaipėda University, Herkus Mantas Street 84, Klaipėda, Lithuania*

### Notes

1. For comparison, Sirvydas translated the Polish *śiedlisko* into the Latin *sedes* ['an abode, a place of residence'] and *area* ['a square, a yard'] (Pakalka 1997: 353).
2. Cf. *apy-danga* ['a cover, a top'] (LKŽe, *s.v.* 'apydanga').
3. Cf. *apy-gardė* ['the place around an enclosure/a cattle shed'], *api-daržė* ['the place around the vegetable garden'], *api-kaimė* ['the environ, parish'] (LKŽe, *s.vv.* 'apygardė', 'apidaržė').
4. Given the fact that the statistical indicators hail from the Soviet era, actual figures ought to be higher.
5. For a village resident of the 20th century, *apidėmė* would mean a plot of land between two farmsteads, jointly managed by two neighbours or community members (LKŽe). That, of course, does not deny the possibility that in the past those were dwelling places.

### Works Cited
### Archives
LTR cd – Lithuanian folklore manuscript collection of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore (the number of the CD in the phonotheque is indicated).

### Sources
Gelumbeckaitė, Jolanta (ed.). 2008. *Die litauische Wolfenbütteler Postille von 1573* 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Jablonskis, Konstantinas. 1941. *Lietuviški žodžiai senosios Lietuvos raštinių kalboje* 1. Kaunas: Lietuvos istorijos draugija.

Lasickis, Jonas. 1969. *Apie žemaičių, kitų sarmatų bei netikrų krikščionių dievus.* Ed. Juozas Jurginis. Vilnius: Vaga.

LKŽe. 2005. *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas*. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas. Prieiga per internetą: http://www.lkz.lt. [Žiūrėta 2017-02-10]. (Jei reikalinga, cituojant nurodomas antraštinis žodis).

Lovčikas, Klemensas. 1994. "Maldelės ugniai Upynos apylinkėje". *Mūsų kraštas* 1: 94–95.

LVŽ. 2008. *Lietuvos vietovardžių žodynas* 1. Eds. Laimutė Balode et al. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas.

LŽV. 1935. *Žemės vardynas*. (Anketos saugomos Lietuvių kalbos instituto Vardyno skyriuje; nurodomas anketos adresas).

Mikulėnienė, Danguolė; Morkūnas, Kazys; Vidugiris, Aloyzas (eds.). 2005. *Dieveniškių šnektos žodynas* 1. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos instituto leidykla.

Pakalka, Kazys (ed.). 1997. *Senasis Konstantino Sirvydo žodynas*. Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas.

Спрогис, Иван Яковлевич. 1888. *Географическій словарь древней жомойтской земли XVI столетія*. Вильна: И. Я. Яловцер.

### Literature

Ališauskas, Vytautas. 2012. *Jono Lasickio pasakojimas apie žemaičių dievus: Tekstas ir kontekstai*. Vilnius: Aidai.

Balčiūnas, Valerionas. 1938. *Lietuvos kaimų žemės tvarkymas istorijos, ūkio ir statistikos šviesoje*. Kaunas: Žemės reformos valdyba.

Bučas, Jurgis. 1988. *Lietuvos kaimo kraštovaizdžio raida ir istorinės vertybės*. Vilnius: Mokslas.

Grabauskas, Bronius. 1983. *Lietuvos TSR žemės ūkio socialinė raida*. Vilnius: Mokslas.

Greimas, Algirdas Julius. 1990. *Tautos atminties beieškant: Apie dievus ir žmones*. Vilnius / Chicago: Mokslas / Mackaus knygų leidimo fondas.

Jurginis, Juozas. 1962. *Baudžiavos įsigalėjimas Lietuvoje*. Vilnius: Valstybinė politinės ir mokslinės literatūros leidykla.

Jurginis, Juozas. 1970. "Žemdirbių deivė". *Kultūros barai* 4: 59–60.

Kavoliutė, Filomena. 2015. "Etnografinių regionų metų sukaktys". *Liaudies kultūra* 3: 48–57.

Matulevičienė, Saulė (ed.). 2015. "Vienkiemių likimas". *Liaudies kultūra* 3: 58–62.

Mulevičius, Leonas. 1990. "Apydėmė". *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis* 1989: 91–94.

Murauskas, Gediminas (ed.). 1970. *Melioracija Lietuvoje*. Vilnius: Mintis.

Rupas, Vytautas & Stasys Vaitekūnas. 1980. *Lietuvos kaimo gyventojai ir gyvenvietės*. Vilnius: Mokslas.

Šešelgis, Kazys. 1996. *Pietryčių Lietuvos gatviniai kaimai*. Lietuvių liaudies architektūros paminklai 4. Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidykla.

Smoczyński, Wojciech. 2007. *Słownik etymologiczny języka litewskiego*. Wilno: Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego

Vaitkevičienė, Daiva. 2013. "'Man ta žemė viską duoda': Žemdirbio pasaulėjauta Rakščių patirties pasakojime". *Liaudies kultūra* 5: 40–71.

Vaitkevičius, Vykintas. 2004. *Studies into the Balts' Sacred Places*. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 1228. Oxford: J. & E. Hedges Ltd.

Vaitkevičius, Vykintas. 2016. *Senosios Lietuvos šventvietės: Joniškio rajonas*. Šiauliai: Liucijus.

Vengalis, Rokas. 2009. *Rytų Lietuvos gyvenvietės I–XII a*. Dissertation in Humanities, History (05H). Vilnius: Vilnius University Press.

Zinkevičius, Zigmas. 1981. "Dėl vienos mitologinės dievybės vardo". *Baltistica* 17(1): 96–97.

# Freyja's Bedstraw, Mary's Bedstraw or a Folkloristic Black Hole?

Karen Bek-Pedersen, Mythologist, Århus

*Abstract: This article reviews the sources behind the alleged tradition that the plant* galium verum, *commonly known as 'bedstraw', was associated with Freyja in pre-Christian times. All references to this link ultimately go back to the same Latin document from ca. 800. Unfortunately, the relevant section of this document is unintelligible without textual emendation and, of the three commonly suggested emendations, 'bedstraw' is the least likely.*

Having recently looked into some late-recorded folk traditions relating to the Old Norse goddesses Frigg and Freyja, I was attracted by one particular detail, which I have come across several times over the years, namely the idea that especially the plant *galium verum*, commonly known as *bedstraw*, *Our Lady's bedstraw* and similar – with Scandinavian variants such as *Jomfru Marias sengehalm* and *Jungfru Mariæ sänghalm* ['Virgin Mary's bedstraw'][1] – was in pre-Christian times associated with Freyja.

References to a link between Freyja, the Virgin Mary and this particular plant are fairly common.[2] Frustratingly, however, such mentions often circle around a void, with scholars referring to each other rather than to primary sources. The link specifically to Freyja appears not to be all that old, the earliest mention I have been able to locate being a 19th century remark by Hermann Heinrich Ploss (1885: 349–350).[3] However, Ploss points to an 8th century Church Council presided over by St. Boniface, who supposedly ensured that it was forbidden to use *galium verum* for medicinal purposes in connection with childbirth.[4] Ploss also mentions that the prohibition was due to the plant being associated with Freyja (cf. Näsström 1996: 344). This looked to me like an extremely enticing folkloristic carrot at the end of a very long mythical stick. So I pursued it.

The primary source in question is a document known as *Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum*, which is essentially a list of thirty heathen practices that were condemned by the Church at the synod of Listines, held in Estinnes in Hennegau, modern-day Belgium, in perhaps 743 and with St. Boniface as one of the major players (Kalhous 2017: 369). The

extant manuscript of *Indiculus*, Codex Palatinus Latinus 577, is a copy from ca. 800. Unfortunately, the document consists only of the headings; that is, it reads practically as a list of contents, but there is no further information about exactly what the practices listed actually entailed.[5]

And here lies the problem. With no further description we have only these headings to go by. It is heading number 19 on this list that is relevant, and it reads as follows: *De pentendo quod boni vocant sanctae Mariae* ['About [*pentendo*] which good people refer to as Saint Mary's']. The implication of 'good people', presumably Christians, invoking Saint Mary must be that other, not-so-good people invoke someone else. The impression is that heading 19 describes a mixed tradition whose non-Christian version involves a heathen deity, but whose Christianized version involves Saint Mary. The extremely frustrating point is that the crucial word, *pentendo*, in itself appears to be non-sensical and thus poses a range of translation problems. All suggested interpretations rest on some emendation or other of this word. The dominant emendation is to render it as *petendo*, probably because the manuscript features what appears to be a correction indicating that the first 'n' should be deleted; however, it is uncertain whether this 'n' is a later insertion (Homann 1965: 108). As far as I am aware, all interpretations depart from this emendation; that is, they all ignore the first 'n'.

The word *pentendo*, or its emended form *petendo*, has by some scholars been interpreted as referring to 'bedstraw'. Accepting this interpretation, the heading would read: 'About bedstraw which good people refer to as Saint Mary's'. This is, however, a highly conjectural interpretation, which rests on a fairly radical emendation of the text, rendering the written *pentendo* as, instead, *petenstro*, a supposedly Latinized form of *petenstroh* which is a variant of *bettstroh*, the German name for the plant *galium verum* (Homann 1965: 108–109; Dähnhardt 1909: 19). Apart from the required orthographic changes, it is problematic that this would then be the only instance in the document of a vernacular term appearing as anything other than the descriptive of a Latin term. Moreover, the word-order in the sentence as well as the form *pentendo* both suggest that

this is a verbal noun describing an action, not an object.[6]

The interpretation 'bedstraw' nonetheless has a long history; it seems to stem from a work produced in 1729 by the German linguist and historian Johann Georg von Eckhart (1729: 426–427). He makes the argument that heading 19 probably refers to a plant and goes on to discuss a range of folk practices and vernacular names relating to this particular plant with the loosely similar name. Interestingly, von Eckhart openly says that (the already emended) *petendo* is difficult to translate; in other words, he clearly presents an interpretation and does not regard his reading as a statement of obvious facts. He even says about himself that: *Ego vocem non Latinam*, roughly: 'I am no speaker of Latin' (von Eckhart 1729: 426). That von Eckhart's suggested explanation was accepted by his contemporaries is made clear in a subsequent encyclopaedia, which endorses it (Zedler 1740: 217–218), albeit not without noting the translation problem.[7] Despite this difficulty, 'bedstraw' continues to be accepted – apparently unquestioningly – by some modern scholars (e.g. McNeill & Gamer 1990: 420; Freitag 2004: 99).

But what we can at least conclude from this is that the association between the Virgin Mary and *galium verum* was well-known in Germany and that the plant was known as 'Mary's bedstraw' or some variant(s) thereof already from around 1500 (Dybek 1850: 16). That English tradition knows the name *ladies bedstraw* for *galium verum* is documented in the 1600s (Dähnhardt 1909: 18–19).

Other interpretations of *pentendo* have also been suggested. One is the emendation to *petendo*, as mentioned above, which yields the translation 'praying' (Homann 1965: 109; Saupe 1891: 24). Accepting this interpretation, the heading would read: 'About praying that good people address to as Saint Mary'. The implication seems to be that some people address similar prayers to someone other than Our Lady, and here Freyja has been suggested (Saupe 1891: 24).[8] Freyja's involvement is obviously purely speculative. It rests on the reasonable notion that the Christian figure replaced a heathen figure, while the ritual in question remained the same, but there is nothing in the *Indiculus* itself that can help us

name that hidden heathen figure. Linguistically, the link between *petendo* and *petere* ['beg, entreat, ask (for)'] (Latin Dictionary Online: *s.v.* 'peto 3') probably speaks in favour of this relatively uncomplicated interpretation – as does, it would seem, the correction of the manuscript's *pentendo* to *petendo*. However, understanding this as a reference to prayer produces the conundrum that the prohibition then lists praying to Saint Mary among a whole range of improper non-Christian practises, which would seem a little odd. This reading may nonetheless be rescued if the mention of Saint Mary is regarded as an attempt to avoid having to mention the name of whatever heathen deity is involved. Heading 19 can then be read as a sort of euphemistic description of the ritual in question.

A third interpretation of heading 19 suggests the emendation of *pentendo* to *potando*, from *potare* ['to drink heavily, to drink convivially, to tipple; to swallow'] (Latin Dictionary Online: *s.v.* 'poto 2, 3'), thus referring to some sort of toast that was drunk in honour of Saint Mary by 'good people' and, presumably, in honour of someone else by not-so-good people.[9] In a Norse context, this recalls the ritual drink *Maríu-minni* mentioned in *Guta lag* 24, where it is associated with weddings (Säve 1859: 19). *Guta lag* is thought to be from the early 13th century although manuscripts only survive from ca. 1350 (Peel 2009: xv, xix–xx), which means there is a significant chronological as well as geographical gap between this and the *Indiculus*. Such ritual drinking is referred to in several Old Norse sources,[10] but there is only one instance of such a toast in honour of Freyja. This is found in chapter 12 of *Bósa saga ok Herruaðs*, thought by some to have been written ca. 1350, but surviving only in manuscripts from 1450 and later (Jiriczek 1893: lv–lvi).[11] Whether *Bósa saga* can be taken to represent genuine pre-Christian traditions in this respect is very uncertain since some scholars, with good reason, consider it a literary parody (e.g. Vésteinn Ólason 1994: 121). But at least this interpretation yields comparative evidence of drinking customs relating to Saint Mary, and this in some ways makes it less problematic than the other two suggestions (cf. Homann 1965: 110).

Whatever *pentendo* refers to, the implication of heading 19 of the *Indiculus* is that 'good people', presumably Christians, associate it with Saint Mary, whereas other people, presumably non-Christians, associate the very same thing or ritual with a corresponding pagan figure. While *petendo* = 'praying' poses the least orthographic and linguistic problems, it presents a difficulty that praying to Saint Mary comes to be listed alongside various non-Christian practices. The interpretation *potando* = 'memorial toast' is the only one of these three suggestions that is backed up by primary sources describing a potentially similar ritual in the 14th (possibly 13th) century *Maríu-minni*. Finally, *petenstro* = 'bedstraw' not only requires greater orthographic emendations, it is also linguistically more speculative while, in addition, the comparative evidence that does exist in folk tradition is quite late (16th century German tradition). I hold this to be the least likely of the three common interpretations. It is not unlikely that certain plants were linked to Freyja in pre-Christian times, nor is it improbable that any such traditions were subsequently transferred to an equivalent Christian figure.[12] But what *Indiculus* provides us with does not amount to evidence in favour of an herbal explanation. Whatever we do, *pentendo* remains enigmatic – and leaves us guessing. Unfortunately, there is no clear answer.

Equally regrettably, I believe we have to conclude from this analysis of the primary source lurking behind the idea of 'Freyja's bedstraw' as the precedent to 'Our Lady's bedstraw' that such a link cannot in any way be proven. The evidence invites us to speculate, conjecture and hypothesize, but – alas – not to confirm.

*Karen Bek-Pedersen (Karen[at]bek-pedersen.dk), Høegh-Guldbergs Gade 47b, DK-8000 Århus C, Denmark.*

### Notes

1. Also *thymus serpyllum* has been known as *Our Lady's bedstraw* (see e.g. Dybek 1850: 15–16; Rosing 1887: 250 *s.v.* 'Lady'; I am grateful to Frog for these references). The earliest reference I have found to thyme carrying this name is in the Danish scholar Christiern Pedersen's *Lægebog* ['Medical Book'] from 1533 (Hauberg 1933: 16, 23, 45, 198). The two plants occupy very similar habitats. Allegedly, Mary used this plant as bedstraw for the newborn Jesus (e.g. Söhns 1920: 40).

2. E.g. Ellis Davidson 1998: 155; Näsström 1995: 212; Näsström 1996: 344; cf. Hyltén-Cavallius (1863: 237–238), who simply suggests that all plants named after Saint Mary were previously associated with Freyja. In popular works and on numerous websites the plant is also sometimes linked to Frigg (e.g. Storl 2017: 183, although to Freyja in Storl 2000: 78; Eilenstein 2017: 70).

3. Ploss is cited almost verbatim, but without reference, in Söhns (1920: 38–40).

4. Various *galium* species have been used widely in folk medicine (see e.g. Lonicer 1557: 497 [cap. 326]; Söhns 1920: 38–40; Ploss 1913: 310); they have some antimicrobial and antifungal properties.

5. The document itself does not carry the name by which it is now known.

6. I am grateful to Ture Larsen and Chris Yocum for assistance with the Latin.

7. Zedler (1740: 217) explicitly says that no one knows what it means: "Was aber petendum heissen soll, das weiss man nicht" ['However, it is not known what *petendum* is supposed to refer to']. Also many subsequent German scholars note the spurious quality of this interpretation (e.g. Roskoff 1869: 296).

8. Saupe, however, seems to regard Freyja as a combined manifestation of all pagan female deities: "Frigg-Freia (Frouwa, Holda)" (1891: 24), not unlike Näsström's argument in favour of one 'great goddess' (1995 *passim*). I do not adhere to this view, but I can see that if one does, then Freyja would, indeed, be the name for any and all heathen goddesses.

9. Saupe (1891: 25) notes this interpretation, but in combination with more extensive emendations, which lack conviction (cf. Mackensen 1932–1933: 1702).

10. For references, see e.g. Sundqvist (2002: 261–266), who suggests that the term *minni* is a later, Christian term that replaced the pre-Christian term – and ritual – of *full*.

11. I assume *Bósa saga* is the source of the information provided by Wikman (1957: 308) regarding a toast in honour of Freyja at weddings, but Wikman does not specify his sources.

12. That Mary's bedstraw is associated specifically with the birth of Jesus may in some contexts underline Mary's cosmogonic role in Christian tradition; however, it seems to me more likely that vernacular traditions will have picked up on the associations to childbirth and/or motherhood in rather more general ways. If we were to look for an appropriate heathen deity, I would therefore suggest these as the dominant aspects. Considering Freyja as we know her from the extant Norse sources, all of which are 13th century and later, childbirth and motherhood are peripheral aspects of her character; we obviously cannot argue *ex silentio* that earlier manifestations of her had different foci.

## Works Cited
### Sources

*Bósa saga ok Herrauðs*. Guðni Jónsson & Bjarni Vilhjálmsson (eds.). *Fornaldar sögur Norðurlanda* III. Reykjavík: Íslendingasagnaútgáfan, 1959. Pp. 281–322.

### *Literature*

Dähnhardt, Oskar. 1909. *Natursagen* II. Leipzig / Berlin: B.G. Teubner.

Dybek, Richard. 1850. "Växter med namn efter Jungfru Maria". In *Runa*. Stockholm: Beckman. Pp. 5–20.

von Eckhart, Johann Georg. 1729. *Commentarii de Rebus Franciae Orientalis et Episcopatus Wirceburgensis* I. Würzburg: Heinrich Engmann.

Eilenstein, Harry. 2017. *Die Göttermutter: Frigg und Nanna*. Die Götter der Germanen 21. Books on Demand.

Ellis Davidson, Hilda. 1998. *Roles of the Northern Goddess*. London: Routledge.

Freitag, Barbara. 2004. *Sheela-na-Gigs: Unravelling an Enigma*. London / New York: Routledge.

Hauberg, Poul (ed.). 1933. *Christiern Pedersens Lægebog: Malmø 1533*. Facsimile edition. København: Ejnar Munksgaard.

Homann, Holger. 1965. *Der Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum und verwandte Denkmäler*. Göttingen: Philosophischen Fakultät der Georg-August Universität.

Hyltén-Cavallius, Gunnar Olof. 1863. *Wärend och Wirdarna: Ett försök i Svensk Etnologi*. Stockholm: Norstedt.

Jiriczek, Otto Luitpold. 1893. *Bósa saga in Zwei Fassungen*. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner.

Kalhous, David. 2017. "Boniface and His Reform of the Frankish Church (ca. 673–754/755)". In *Great Events in Religion: An Encyclopedia of Pivotal Events in Religious History* I*: Prehistory to AD 600*. Ed. F. Curtis & A. Holt. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio. Pp. 367–370.

Latin Dictionary Online. Available at: http://latin-dictionary.net/.

Lonicer, Adam. 1557. *Kreuterbuch. Künstlige Conterfeytungen der Baeumen, Stauden, Hecken...* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Uffenbach.

Mackensen, L. 1932–1933. "Marienminne". In *Handwörterbücher zur deutschen Volkskunde, Abteilung 1: Aberglaube*. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter. P. 1702.

McNneill, John T., & Helena M. Gamer. 1990. *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Näsström, Brit-Mari. 1995. *Freyja – the Great Goddess of the North*. Lund: Department of History of Religions, University of Lund.

Näsström, Britt-Mari. 1996. "Från Fröja till Maria: Det förkristna arvet speglat i en folklif föreställningsvärld". In *Kristnandet i Sverige: Gamla källor och nya perspektiv*. Ed. Bertil Nilsson. Uppsala: Lunne Böcker. Pp. 335–348.

Peel, Christine. 2009. *Guta Lag – The Law of the Gotlanders*. London: Viking Society for Northern Research, University College London.

Ploss, Hermann Heinrich. 1885. *Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde. Antropologische Studien* II. Leipzig: Th. Grieben.

Rosing, Svend. 1887. *Engelsk–Dansk Ordbog*. Sjette Udgave. København: Gyldendalske Forlag.

Roskoff, Gustav. 1869. *Geschichte des Teufels* I. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus.

Saupe, Heinrich Albin. 1891. "Der Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum, ein Verzeichnis heidnischer under abergläubische Gebräuche und Meinungen aus der Zeit Karls des Grossen, aus zumeist gleichzeitigen Schriften erläutert". In *Programm des städtischen Realgymnasiums zu Leipzig*. Leipzig: Hinrichs. Pp. 3–34.

Säve, Carl. 1859. *Gutniska urkunder: Guta lag, Guta saga och Gotlands runinskrifter*. Stockholm: Norstedt.

Söhns, Franz. 1920. *Unsere Pflanzen, ihren Namenerklärung und ihre Stellung in der Mythologie und im Volksaberglauben*. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner.

Storl, Wolf D. 2017. *The Untold History of Healing: Plant Lore and Medicinal Magic from the Stone Age to the Present*. Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books.

Storl, Wolf-Dieter. 2000. *Pflanzen der Kelten: Heilkunden, Pflanzenzauber, Baumkalender*. Aarau: AT Verlag.

Sundqvist, Olof. 2002. *Freyr's Offspring: Rulers and Religion in Ancient Svea Society*. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet.

Vésteinn Ólason. 1994. "The Marvellous North and Authorial Presence in the Icelandic *fornaldarsagas*". In *Contexts of Pre-Novel Narrative: The European Tradition*. Ed. Roy Erikssen. New York: Mouton de Gruyter. Pp. 101–134.

Wikman, K.R.V. 1957. "Bröllop". *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder* II. Ed. J. Danstrup. København: Rosenkilde & Bagger. Pp. 306–317.

Zedler, Johann Heinrich. 1740. *Grosses vollständiges universal Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* XXVI. Leipzig & Halle.

# Goddesses Unknown III: On the Identity of the Old Norse Goddess Hlín

Joseph S. Hopkins, Seattle

*Abstract: Like previous entries in the Goddesses Unknown series, the present article focuses on heretofore little-studied goddesses in the Germanic corpus, in this case the obscure Old Norse goddess Hlín and her association with the widely attested Germanic goddess Frigg.*

The Old Norse corpus provides no information about the fate of goddesses during the destruction, bloodshed, and rebirth that make up the events of Ragnarǫk. While goddess-names compose the majority of the theonyms of the Germanic corpus (including the North Germanic corpus), female-gendered deities all but disappear from view whenever Ragnarǫk is mentioned. One exception occurs in stanza 53 of the eddic poem *Vǫluspá*, where two apparently separate goddesses, Hlín and Frigg, are mentioned in relation to the event.

The stanza reads as follows (*Hlín* and *Frigg* underlined for emphasis):

Þá kømr <u>Hlínar</u>     harmr annarr fram,
er Óðinn ferr      við úlf vega,
enn bani Belia,    biartr, at Surti;
þá mun <u>Friggiar</u>    falla angan.
(Neckel & Kuhn 1962: 12.)

Then comes <u>Hlín</u>'s second grief,
when Óðinn fares forth to fight the wolf,
and Beli's shining slayer against Surtr.
Then will <u>Frigg</u>'s beloved fall.
(Hopkins trans.)

Over the course of four lines, the stanza predicts that Óðinn will fight the monstrous wolf Fenrir and that the god Freyr (the slayer of the *jǫtunn* Beli) will fight the fiery entity Surtr. Scholars generally accept that the 'second grief' mentioned in the stanza predicts that Óðinn, Frigg's husband, will die during the encounter. (The implied 'first grief' is all but universally read as a reference to the tragic death of Frigg's son, Baldr, a prominent event in the Old Norse corpus.)

At first glance, one may read this stanza two very different ways:

a. *Hlín* and *Frigg* are two names for the same figure.

b. Hlín and Frigg are distinct entities, both somehow connected by a 'second grief'.

However, the *Prose Edda* twice explicitly informs readers that *Hlín* and *Frigg* refer to two separate entities. The distinction is first made in *Gylfaginning*, in which Hlín is listed among sixteen goddesses (*Hlín* and *hleina* underlined here):

Tólfta <u>Hlín</u>: hon er sett til gæzlu yfir þeim mǫnnum er Frigg vill forða við háska nokkvorum. Þiaðan af er þat orðtak at sá er forðask <u>hleinir</u>. (Faulkes 2005: 30)

> Twelfth, Hlín: she is given the task to protect those that Frigg wants saved from danger. (Hopkins trans.)

The sentence *Þiaðan af er þat orðtak at sá er forðask hleinir* has proven an awkward hurdle for translators, no doubt due to the obscurity of the verb *hleina* (discussed below). For example, Rasmus Anderson cautiously provides the rendering "Hence is the saying that he hlins who is forewarned" (1897 [1879]: 98), Anthony Gilchrist Brodeur produces "[…] thence comes the saying that he who escapes 'leans'" (1916: 47), Jean Young gives us the very similar "[…] hence the proverb that 'he who is protected "leans"'" (1964: 60), Anthony Faulkes more cautiously produces "From this comes the saying that someone who escapes finds refuge (*hleinir*)" (1995 [1987]: 30), and Jesse Byock offers "From her name comes the expression that he who escapes finds *hleinir* [peace and quiet]" (2005: 43).

A distinction between Frigg and Hlín occurs a second time in *Skáldskaparmál*, where Hlín appears in a list among 27 different goddesses (*Ásynjur*), including Frigg (Faulkes 1998: 114–115). These lists (Old Norse *þulur*) may have been added by an unknown author (or authors) after the compositon of much of *Skáldskaparmál* (see discussion in, for example, Faulkes 1998: xv–xviii). Beyond these sources, the name *Hlín* appears frequently in skaldic poetry in kennings referring to women (see further Olsen 1996: 270–271) and continues into *rímur* poetry (see Finnur Jónsson 1926–1928: 175 & 245). Like many other Old Norse goddess names, *Hlín* today serves as a female given name in Iceland and, like many other obscure deities from the Germanic corpus, plays no notable role in modern popular culture beyond her veneration in Germanic Neopaganism.

### *From Goddesses to Goddess*

Although the corpus distinctly describes Hlín and Frigg as separate entities, English language translators have identified *Hlín* and *Frigg* as one and the same in nearly every published translation of *Vǫluspá* to date, whether by outright rendering *Hlín* as *Frigg* or by notifying readers that the two theonyms should be read as synonyms in a note or in the work's index. This practice extends into nearly all scholarly works that mention Hlín.

For example, Finnur Jónsson writes that *Hlín* appears as a name for Frigg in *Vǫluspá* and yet elsewhere appears as an independent goddess (Finnur Jónsson 1931: 263). John Lindow produces a similar survey of the situation (Lindow 2001: 176–177) and Anthony Faulkes says, "Hlín is thought to have been another name for Frigg, in spite of [the *Prose Edda*]. Her first grief would have been the death of her son Baldr" (Faulkes 2005: 70). According to Rudolf Simek, "presumably Hlín is really only another name for Frigg and Snorri misunderstood her to be a goddess in her own right in his reading of the *Vǫluspá* stanza" (Simek 2007 [1997]: 153).

In her long-running series of *Poetic Edda* translations, Ursula Dronke makes a similar observation while proposing that the *Vǫluspá* poet employed the name for more than alliteration:

> *Hlínar*: a name for Frigg found only here in poetic texts, but frequent in kennings for 'woman'. […] Hlín is presented as a minor goddess who is appointed by Frigg to watch over men she wishes to guard from danger (this relies upon an etymological link between *Hlín* and *hlein* 'peaceful refuge') […] There is probably a tragic irony implied in the use here of *Hlín* for Frigg, in that she was unable to protect either son or husband. (Dronke 1997: 149, cf. 21.)

Most translators leave the name Hlín unchanged in the stanza but provide some level of commentary. For example, Benjamin Thorpe explains to readers that *Hlín* is "apparently a name of Frigg" (1866: 138), Henry Adams Bellows notes that the theonym is "apparently another name for Frigg" (1923: 22, cf. 569), Lee M. Hollander echoes that *Hlín* here refers to "Óthin's wife, Frigg" (1990 [1962]: 11, cf. 335), and so does Andy Orchard (2011: 12, 271–272).[1]

However, some translators – particularly recent translators – of the *Poetic Edda* are so certain that *Hlín* is another name for Frigg that they simply render *Hlín* as *Frigg* without so much as a note explaining to readers that their translation conflicts with the *Prose Edda*'s description of the figure. Translators who render *Hlín* as *Frigg* include Olive Bray (1908: 53, but cf. 309), Carolyne Larrington (1999

[1996]: 11, 266), Jeramy Dodds (2014: 33), and Jackson Crawford (2015: 52).

The identification of *Hlín* with *Frigg* is not restricted to English language translations of the *Poetic Edda*. For example, Karl Gjellerup's 1895 Danish translation (2001 [1895]: 309, 2), and Barend Sijmons and Gísli Sigurðsson's 1998 Icelandic translation (1999 [1998]: 350, 18) both identify *Hlín* as a synonym for *Frigg* in their indices. Translation aids and secondary sources reinforce these rendering choices. For example, based on Hans Kuhn's *Kurzes Wörterbuch*, Beatrice la Farge and John Tucker's *Glossary of the Poetic Edda* straightforwardly identifies the names as synonyms (1992: 115). The *Íslensk orðsifjabók* outright says "*gyðjunafn; eitt af heitum Friggjar*" ['goddess name; one of Frigg's names'] (Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon n.d.).

### Hlín: 'Protector', 'Maple Tree', 'Warmth'?

As discussed above, in explaining *Hlín*'s name and function, the *Prose Edda* appears to invoke a folk etymology derived from an otherwise unknown and obscure proverb *sá er forðask hleinir* ['he who escapes *hleinir*'] (cf. de Vries 1970: 326–329). Today, most scholars who mention Hlín either accept the *Prose Edda*'s derivation or at least appear to raise no objections to it. For example, in the glossary of his edition of *Gylfaginning*, Anthony Faulkes observes that Old Norse *hleina* appears nowhere else in the Old Norse corpus and, like others before him, provides an (uncertain) semantic value of 'lie low, take refuge?' for the *hapax legomenon*. Faulkes compares the term to Old English *hlinian* and *hlænan*, precursors to modern English *lean* (Faulkes 2005: 107), a derivation that, for example, yields the above discussed *Prose Edda* translations of Anthony Gilchrist Brodeur and Jean Young.

On the other hand, 19th-century scholars also raised a number of derivational possibilities that have since rarely been the subject of discussion. For example, some have linked *Hlín* to the rare Old Norse noun *hlynr* ['maple tree'].[2] In a section of his *Deutsche Mythologie* titled *Personifications*, Jacob Grimm breaches the topic: "The Name of *Hlîn* the âsynja is echoed back in AS. *hlîn*, Cod. Exon. 437, 17, as the name of a tree" (Grimm 1888: 1,573). Elsewhere Grimm ventures a

line of development for the figure, comparing *Hlín*, viewed through the semantics of 'maple tree', to a variety of female-gendered tree entities found in the modern folklore record of northwestern Europe:

> Forest worship [...] could not fail to introduce directly a deification of sacred trees, and most trees are regarded as female; we saw [...] how the popular mind even in recent times treated the 'frau *Hasel*' ['hazel'], frau *Elhorn* ['elder'], frau *Wacholder* ['juniper'] as living creatures [...] Hlín is apparently [named after] our leinbaum, leinahorn, lenne (acer, maple) [...] (Grimm 1883: 884.)

Grimm also approaches the question from another angle:

> Frigg had even [...] a special handmaid, herself a divine being, whom she appointed to the defence (til gætslu) of such foster-sons against all dangers; this personified Tutela was named *Hlîn*, as if the couch, κλίνη, OHG. *Hlîna* [...] on which one leans (root hleina hláin, Gr. κλίνω, Lat. clīno). We find 'harmr *Hlînar*,' [...] and there went a proverb 'sâ er forðaz hleinir', he that is struggling leans for help. Hlîn (Goth. Hleins?) shelters and shields, the gothic hláins is a hill [Germ. berg, a hill, is from bergen, to hide], the OHG. hlinaperga, linaperge = fulcrum, reclinatorium. (Grimm 1883: 874.)[3]

However, Grimm appears to ultimately express frustration when attempting to reconcile the matter:

> From hlîna to slant, κλίνειν, inclinare, Goth. hleinan, comes the causative hleina to lean, Goth. hláinjan. Hláins in Gothic is collis, [slanting or] sheltering hill? I do not see how to reconcile with this the sense attributed to hlîn of a (sheltering?) tree [...] (Grimm 1883: 889.)[4]

A potential connection between the Old Norse theonym *Hlín* and the Old Norse common noun *hlynr* ['elm tree'] may deserve further consideration, particularly in light of a potential connection between the Old Norse theonym *Ilmr* and the Old Norse common noun *almr* ['elm tree'], the cultural implications of the historic deforestation of Iceland, and (as mentioned by Grimm) numerous tree-associated goddess-like figures in North and West Germanic

folklore (also discussed in a previous article in this series: Hopkins 2014: 36–37).

Additionally, the potential of a protective tree goddess brings to mind a mysterious passage in the *Prose Edda* involving the rowan, in which the tree is referred to as Þórr's *bjǫrg* ['aid, help, salvation, rescue'] (cf. Faulkes 1998: 25). Gabriel Turville-Petre saw in this a potential link to the goddess Sif as reflected in borrowings into Sámi religion surrounding the Sámi thunder god *Hovrengaellies* ['Old Man Þórr'] (*Hovre-* < Old Norse *Þórr*[5]):

> […] the Lappish thunder-god preserves archaic features which have been obscured in the Norse literary records. While Snorri and the Norse poets give Thór a wife, Sif, the Lapps gave Hora galles [*sic*] a wife, *Ravdna*. This, it seems, is no other than the Norwegian *raun*, Swedish *rönn* and Icelandic *reynir*, 'rowan, mountain ash'. It was said that the red berries of the tree were sacred to Ravdna.
>
> In the myth of Thór and the giant Geirrǫðr […] Thór saved himself in a torrent by clinging to a rowan, and thus arose the proverb, 'the rowan is the salvation of Thór' … Probably the wife of Thór was once conceived in the form of a rowan, to which the god clung. The rowan was a holy tree in many lands, but nowhere more than in Iceland, where it has been revered from the settlement to the present day". (Turville-Petre 1975 [1964]: 98.)

Another etymological possibility is mentioned by Benjamin Thorpe, a proposed link between *Hlín* and Old Norse *hlýn* ['warmth']: "Hlín or Hlyn (from hly, at hluá, at hlyna, *calescere*), *the mild, refreshing warmth*" (Thorpe 1851: 168, cf. 167). I have not yet been able to identify the origin of this proposed etymology with certainty, but it appears to have seen some level of currency in the 19th century, occurring in English clergyman George Frederick Maclear's history of the Christianization of the English, for example (Maclear 1893: 12).

From a comparative perspective, this derivation seems less well-founded. No similar deity name appears to occur in the corpus, whereas the concept of a tree-associated goddess-like entity features both modern and potentially ancient precedent. The notion of a Germanic protector goddess, as discussed below, appears to have significant foundation

as well. That said, phonetic resemblance may have yielded any or all of these associations among Old Norse speakers. The relation between *Hlín* and *hlein* (and their respective etymologies) deserve further consideration and discussion beyond the scope of the present piece.

### Hlín *and the Early Germanic Mothers*

Although Simek identifies *Hlín* as a name for Frigg in one entry in his handbook (Simek 2007: 153, as cited above), a second entry in the same work offers an entirely contradictory identification:

> [Sága,] Hlín, Sjǫfn, Snotra, Vár, [and] Vǫr […] should probably be seen as female protective goddesses. These goddesses were all responsible for specific areas of the private sphere, and yet clear differences were made between them so that they are in many ways similar to the matrons. (Simek 2007: 274.)

Simek's entry is correct in that the female-gendered protector deity recalls historic precedent in the Germanic 'mothers', who appear depicted with, for example, diapers, vegetation, and fruit in the distant past of the continental Germanic peoples. Regarding iconography surrounding the Germanic 'mothers', Simek writes:

> Apart from fruit baskets already mentioned on reliefs of the matrons there are sacrificial scenes, with burning of incense and sacrifice bowls filled with fruit; pigs and fish as sacrificial animals are also represented. Other decorations depict fruit, plants and trees. Snakes […] as well as children and nappies are other attributes which indicate not only their general protective function over the family, but also their special function as midwives (a suggestion which is party supported by etymologies of some of the names). (Simek 2007: 206.)

The cult of the Germanic 'mothers' appears to continue into the pagan Old English period (extending to the Old English *mōdraniht*) and into the North Germanic record as the *dís-valkyrja-norn* complex (cf. Simek 2007: 206–207).

The scholarly interpretation of *Hlín* as another name for Frigg, like so many other interpretations in Old Norse studies, hinges on a scholar's response to the *Prose Edda.*

Viewed in the light of the mythic 'mothers' of Germanic tradition, Hlín seems at least likely to have been considered an entity distinct from Frigg and also associated with protection. This perspective accords with the statement in the *Prose Edda* quoted above, in which Hlín is clearly distinct and 'given the task to protect those that Frigg wants saved from danger'.

### Fulla *as an Analogous Case*

Beyond the numerous Germanic 'mothers', the textual record offers few glimpses of the deities of the Germanic peoples beyond North Germanic sources. One notable exception is the Old High German Second Merseburg Incantation, a charm for healing an injured horse.[6] This charm is preserved in a 10th-century addition to a 9th-century manuscript. Distant in time and place, the incantation presents several notable correlations with the North Germanic corpus. Although Hlín is not mentioned in this source, it has analogical relevance to the present discussion. This eight-line charm provides the majority of vernacular theonyms in Old High German: it is exceptional as a source, which makes it interesting in what information it can provide and how we would view Germanic mythologies without it.

The historiola (i.e. narrative beginning) of the Second Merseburg Incantation states that the mysterious god Phol and Wuodan were riding to the forest when 'that Lord's foal' sprained its foot, at which point four goddesses are named as pairs of sisters followed by Wuodan again performing verbal magic to heal the horse. Among these goddesses, *Frija*, cognate with Old Norse *Frigg*, is mentioned and *Volla*, cognate with the Old Norse theonym *Fulla*, is named as her sister. Old Norse *Fulla* is identified as the servant rather than sister of Frigg in *Gylfaginning* and in the prose introduction to the eddic poem *Grímnismál*, both prose sources, but not connected with Frigg (or mentioned in any narrative context) in any other source. Like Hlín, Fulla appears in goddess lists in *Gylfaginning* and in *Skáldskaparmál*, and as a component of kennings referring to women. Like Hlín, prose attestations indicate that Fulla is closely associated with Frigg, yet explicitly delineates the two goddesses as independent but associated entities. (cf. Faulkes 2005: 29;

1998: 1,114). Like Hlín, the name *Fulla* ['full, bountiful'] may be tempting to dismiss as a reading error on the part of a *Prose Edda* author or as a poetic invention (cf. de Vries 1970: 349). Were it not for the preservation of the cognate theonym *Volla* in the Second Merseburg Charm, Fulla would remain in a similarly ambiguous position like that of Hlín, easily overlooked, dismissed, or deconstructed.

The case of Fulla is more interesting to consider in relation to that of Hlín because of her association with Frigg. The exceptional Old High German source not only supports viewing Fulla as a distinct entity, but also that she has a historical connection with Frigg. The analogy certainly does not demonstrate a historical relationship between Hlín and Frigg, and certainly not that Hlín had a cognate in Old High German. On the other hand, it demonstrates that Frigg had relationships to other goddesses and that these other goddesses were distinct entities. Frog (2010) observes that the difference between the relationship of Old High German *Volla* to *Frija* and that of *Fulla* to *Frigg* entails a difference in status as sisters of the former, implying equality on the one hand, and that of servant and master of the latter, implying hierarchy on the other. However these relationships are interpreted historically, Old Norse mythology appears to situate Frigg in a hierarchical relationship to other goddesses in a manner different from what is seen in the extremely limited evidence of Old High German. The alliteration of *Frija–Volla* and of *Frigg–Fulla* supports interpreting a historical relationship between these names, increasing the probability of an earlier kinship relation (Frog, p.c.). If Frigg advanced to a hierarchical relation to Fulla in Old Norse mythology, other goddesses like Hlín, whatever their earlier significance, may also have been subordinated. Had more evidence of vernacular mythology been preserved in other Germanic languages, interpretations of Hlín could be more grounded. Nevertheless, the case of Fulla/Volla suggests that the *Poetic Edda*'s description of Hlín as a servant of Frigg would be consistent with a historically independent goddess evolving in a subordinate role to the wife of Odin parallel to that of Fulla.

### Perspectives

The numerous Germanic goddesses attested in the early record make the North Germanic record's multiplicity of goddesses unsurprising. The correlations between the *Prose Edda* and the Second Merseburg Incantation provide something of a cautionary tale: namely, by dismissing information solely found in the *Prose Edda*, one risks violating the foundational maxim *absence of evidence is not evidence of absence*.

There is no reason to doubt that Hlín was an independent entity in Old Norse mythology and no positive evidence to suggest that Hlín was merely a by-name of Frigg. Returning to the passage in *Vǫluspá*, Hlín's 'second sorrow' implies a 'first sorrow'. The *Prose Edda* assigns two identifying traits to Hlín: *a)* that she was somehow in the service of Frigg; and *b)* that she protected people, and more particularly those whom Frigg wished protected. Verifying Hlín's role as a protectress through a proverb might be a construal of Snorri comparable to his many uses of vernacular etymology. On the other hand, if these two features are based in the contemporary mythology, Hlín's 'first sorrow' can be inferred to be her failure to 'protect' Baldr, Frigg's son, from the danger that ended his life, while her 'second sorrow' will be the related failure in the case of the death of Odin, Frigg's husband. When there is no evidence to support reading *Hlín* as a name for Frigg in *Vǫluspá*, interpreting her as a protectress subordinate to Frigg as stated in the *Prose Edda* produces the most probable interpretation available on the basis of our limited evidence. If this interpretation is accepted, it provides an additional glimpse of the goddess Hlín and her significance in Old Norse mythology.

There may be another factor at work in informing interpretations of Hlín reviewed above: a tendency among scholars to seek in a multiplicity of goddesses forms, extensions, or 'hypostases' of a single goddess, sometimes a so-called 'Great Goddess'. A diverse range of scholars frequently refer to Great Goddess theory either directly or indirectly when discussing North Germanic goddesses, and a critical review of the evidence or its lack for such interpretations will be explored in the next entry in the "Goddesses Unknown" series.

### Notes

1. While Orchard straightforwardly identifies *Hlín* as Frigg with a simple side note next to the stanza in question (reading simply "*Hlín* Frigg"), he also provides an endnote discussing the matter: "'Frigg's beloved' is ambiguous: assuming that Hlín ('Protectress') is an alternative name for Frigg, she may be mourning either Odin or Frey" (Orchard 2011: 271–272). As Freyr has no particular association with Frigg in the corpus, an interpretation of "Frigg's Beloved" as Freyr seems unfounded. Orchard (1997: 86) also discusses the topic in his handbook, in which he describes the perceived disparity between *Vǫluspá* and the *Prose Edda* as a result of "confusion".
2. Extensions of the Proto-Germanic masculine noun *\*xluniz* surface as Old Norse *hlynr*, Old English *hlyn*, and Low German *löne* and *läne*, all meaning 'maple tree' (cf. Orel 2003: 178). The Old English noun *hlyn* is itself a *hapax legomenon* within the Old English corpus but appears in toponyms (see further e.g. Murphy 2011: 67; Hooke 2010: 255–258).
3. Editorial insertions in this quote are Stallybrass's.
4. Editorial insertions in this quote are also Stallybrass's.
5. *Hovrengaellies* is commonly treated as a loan of the combined name and epithet *Þórr karl* ['old man Þórr']; elsewhere in this issue, Frog points out that *gaellies* in the South Sámi compound reflects a pre-syncope form cognate with Old Norse *karl* but necessarily borrowed before *Hovre-*.
6. Cf. Turville-Petre 1975 [1964]: 122–123.

### Works Cited

Anderson, Rasmus B. (ed.). 1897 [1879]. *The Younger Edda*. Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Co.

Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon. n.d. "Hlín", *Íslensk orðsifjabók*. Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum. Available at: http://malid.is/leit/hl%C3%ADn (last accessed: November 7, 2017).

Bellows, Henry Adams (ed.). 1923. *The Poetic Edda*. New York: The American-Scandinavian Foundation.

Bray, Olive (ed.). 1908. *The Elder or Poetic Edda*. Part I. Kendal: Titus Wilson.

Brodeur, Anthony Gilchrist. 1916 (ed.). The Prose Edda. New York: The American-Scandinavian Foundation.

Byock, Jesse (ed.). 2005. *The Prose Edda*. London: Penguin Classics.

Crawford, Jackson (ed.). 2015. *The Poetic Edda: Stories of the Norse Gods and Heroes*. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc.

Dodds, Jeramy (ed.). 2014. *The Poetic Edda*. Toronto: Coach House Books.

Dronke, Ursula (ed.). 1997. *The Poetic Edda. Volume II: Mythological Poems*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Faulkes, Anthony (ed.). 1995 [1987]. *Edda*. London: Everyman.

Faulkes, Anthony (ed.). 1998. *Edda: Skáldskaparmál* 1. London: Viking Society for Northern Research.

Faulkes, Anthony (ed.). 2005. *Edda: Prologue and Gylfaginning*. 2nd edn. London: Viking Society for Northern Research.

Finnur Jónsson (1926–28). *Ordbog til de af samfund til udg. af gml. nord. litteratur udgivne rímur samt til de af Dr. O. Jiriczek udgivne bósarimur*. Copenhagen: J. Jørgensen & Co.

Frog. 2010. "Who the Devil is Phil? – The Problem of Baldr in the Second Merseburg Charm yet again". *RMN Newsletter* [1]: 36–37.

Gísli Sigurðsson. *Eddukvæði*. 1999 [1998]. Viborg: Nørhaven A/S.

Grimm, Jacob. 1883. *Teutonic Mythology* II (ed.). James Stallybrass. London: George Bell and Sons.

Grimm, Jacob. 1888. *Teutonic Mythology* IV (ed.). James Stallybrass. London: George Bell and Sons.

Hooke, Della. 2010. *Trees in Anglo-Saxon England: Literature, Lore and Landscape*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

Kuhn, Hans and Gustav Neckel. 1962. *Edda: Die Lieder des Codex regius nebst Verwandten Denkmälern*. Vol. 1. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

Maclear, George Frederick. 1893. *Conversion of the West*: *The English*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Murphy, Patrick J. 2011. *Unriddling the Exeter Riddles*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Hollander, Lee M (ed.). 1990 [1962]. *The Poetic Edda*. 2nd edn. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Hopkins, Joseph S. 2012. "Goddesses Unknown I: Njǫrun and the Sister-Wife of Njǫrðr". In *RMN Newsletter* 5: 39–44.

Hopkins, Joseph S. 2014. "Goddesses Unknown II: on the Apparent Old Norse Goddess Ilmr". In *RMN Newsletter* 8: 32–38.

Larrington, Carolyne (ed.). 1999 [1996]. *The Poetic Edda*. Oxford: Oxford's World's Classics.

Olsen, Karin. 1996. "Woman-kennings in *Gísla saga Súrssonar*: a study". In *Studies in English Language and Literature: Doubt Wisely*. Ed. M.J. Toswell and E.M. Tyler. New York: Routledge.

Orchard, Andy (ed.). 2011. *The Elder Edda: A Book of Viking Lore*. London: Penguin Classics.

Orchard, Andy. 1997. *Dictionary of Norse Myth and Legend*. London: Cassell.

Orel, Vladimir. 2003. *A Handbook of Germanic Etymology*. Leiden: Brill.

Simek, Rudolf. 2007 [1997]. *Dictionary of Northern Mythology*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.

Thorpe, Benjamin (ed.). 1866. *Edda Sæmundar Hinns Frôða: The Edda of Sæmund the Learned*. Part I. London: Trübner & Co.

Thorpe, Benjamin. 1851. *Northern Mythology, Compromising the Principal Popular Traditions and Superstitions of Scandinavia, North Germany, and the Netherlands*. Vol. 1. London: Edward Lumley.

Turville-Petre, E. O. G. 1975 [1964]. *Myth and Religion of the North*. Westport: Greenwood Press.

de Vries, Jan. 1970. *Altgermanische Religions-geschichte*. Vol 2. 3rd edn. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Young, Jean I (ed.). 1964. *The Prose Edda*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

# Sámi Religion Formations and Proto-Sámi Language Spread: Reassessing a Fundamental Assumption

Frog, University of Helsinki

*Abstract: Any historical study of Sámi religions links religion to the history of the language. Here, Proto-Sámi language spread is reviewed and the fundamental (and often implicit) assumption that religion spread with Proto-Sámi language is challenged. An alternative model that language spread as a medium of communication adopted by different cultures is proposed and tested against the Common Proto-Sámi lexicon.*

Research on Sámi religion has increasingly given attention to variation. As Håkan Rydving points out, the 18th-century authors of primary sources already show awareness of variation in Sámi religious vocabulary and practices. Nevertheless, early research tended to view these in isolation against an idea of what might be called 'pan-Sámi' religion; only exceptionally did scholars take a more sensitive approach to regional variation (e.g. Holmberg [Harva] 1915: 12; Wiklund 1916: 46). (Rydving 1993: 19–23.) Concentrated attention is now given to differences in specific vocabulary or features

of practice, but also to questions of broader religion formations on a regional or linguistic basis (e.g. Pentikäinen 1973; Rydving 1993; 2010). Nevertheless, approaches have developed against the background of a continuity theory of Sámi presence throughout Fennoscandia since the Bronze Age. Local and regional forms of Sámi religion are considered as variations of a pan-Sámi heritage resulting from internal developments and contact-based change. An idea that Sámi only began to break up during or following the Viking Age has validated a projection of a homogeneous category 'Sámi'

on references in earlier sources to the *Fenni* (Latin), *Phinnoi* (Greek), *Finnas* (Old English) and *Finnar* (Old Norse) – except when these are situated geographically in Finland and are pragmatically interpreted as 'Finns'.[1] Contact-based change prior to the Viking Age tends to receive little attention outside of archaeology, yet the *Finn-/Fenn-* terms and corresponding *Lapp-* terms centered further east refer to culture type rather than language, which makes their unambiguous correlation with 'Sámi' problematic (e.g. Frog & Saarikivi 2014/2015: 81–82). Moreover, Ante Aikio (2012) has shown on the basis of loanword evidence that Proto-Sámi had already broken up into distinct dialects already before ca. AD 500, which is inconsistent with suppositions of homogeneity. The present article introduces a new perspective on this discussion that problematizes the hypothesis of a pan-Sámi religion.

Understandings of Sámi language history have been radically revised across recent years, especially through the work of Aikio (e.g. 2006; 2012), showing, on the basis of internal linguistic evidence, that Proto-Sámi spread far more recently and rapidly than has been previously assumed. Earlier models of language history usually correlated features in the archaeological record with culture and culture with language. They would imagine scenarios that would relate the language postulated for the archaeological culture to languages known in the present. These approaches theorized vast language areas that could remain coherent and unchanged, sometimes for thousands of years. However, such models were disconnected from use and variation of language in speech communities and their networks; they have been found incompatible with what we know about how languages spread, vary and change (e.g. Aikio 2006; Saarikivi & Lavento 2012). Current understandings are built with emphasis on empirical evidence within languages themselves and compatibility with knowledge about how language develops and varies over time.

These current understandings are here carried back to the study of Sámi culture. The assumption of a pan-Sámi religion is opened to question by the alternative possibility that Proto-Sámi could also have spread primarily as a medium of communication without a full complex of 'culture' and religion.[2] This hypothesis is tested against evidence of the 'Common Proto-Sámi' vocabulary surveyed by Juhani Lehtiranta, revealing a lack of positive evidence for the spread of a complex system of religion and mythology with Proto-Sámi language. (N.B. – reconstructed forms presented here represent Proto-Sámi as distinguished by Aikio, which differ slightly from the forms presented by Lehtiranta.[3])

It is not currently possible to demonstrate or disprove that Proto-Sámi language spread unaccompanied by religion. The term *religion formation* is preferred for discussing local and regional religions. This term avoids a binary distinction of religions being either 'the same' or 'other' and allows elements and structures of religion to be shared across groups, although they may be locally organized with additional specific features into distinctive constellations.

The argument here seeks only to show that this hypothetical model of Proto-Sámi spread can equally if not better account for the evidence, in which case the pan-Sámi religion hypothesis must be tested and argued rather than simply presumed. The implications of this alternative hypothesis for comparative research will then be discussed.

### Locating Proto-Sámi

The Sámi languages are a branch of the Uralic language family. Following Aikio (2012), Proto-Sámi is here considered to emerge from Pre-Proto-Sámi or Pre-Sámi through the Great Sámi Vowel Shift (below). Internal chronologies of both Sámi and Finnic languages are fairly sophisticated even though the languages were documented relatively late. This is possible because contacts with different branches of Indo-European can be distinguished and their internal chronologies link to an absolute chronology of North Germanic back to roughly the beginning of the present era. The historical geography of these languages can be reconstructed to a certain time depth through toponymic evidence, beyond which this can be roughly triangulated through contact histories with other languages. Although emphasis here is on the spread of Proto-Sámi across Lapland and the Scandinavian Peninsula, it is significant to the present discussion to establish roughly whence it spread. Its position relative to Proto-Finnic must also be considered as relevant to

the discussion of the Common Proto-Sámi vocabulary, and taking a stance on the historical relationship between Sámi and Finnic languages in the Uralic family has a bearing on discussions of etymologies.

It is unclear when the Pre-Sámi language or dialect of Proto-Uralic began to be spoken in rough proximity to the Baltic Sea. Scholarship has long considered that Sámi and Finnic evolved from a common Proto-Finno-Sámic language phase, with their separation as one of the most recent major developments in the Uralic family tree, a view that is still widely current.[4] This question is significant for whether certain vocabulary was borrowed into these languages during a shared language phase or should instead be viewed as either independent loans or mediated from one language into the other. Aikio (2012: 67–70, 75–76) stresses that, if there were such a common language phase, it must have been relatively short since the Sámi and Finnic families exhibit few shared innovations, and these could equally be attributable to areal contacts.[5] In addition, Mordvin exhibits relations to both Finnic and Sámi, but the connectoins between these three branches of Uralic do not resolve into a clear stemmatic relation of genetic descent (Saarikivi 2011: 106–110). Mikhail Zhivlov (2014: 116–117) has proposed that either Sámi and Mordvin participated in contact-induced changes that Finnic did not or that they evolved from a common West Uralic dialect independent of Finnic. The westward spread of Uralic languages remains obscure, but Petri Kallio (forthcoming) argues that Early Proto-Finnic expanded during the Bronze Age from a different ecological zone through areas where Proto-Baltic dialects were spoken but were gradually subsumed in a language shift. The loanword vocabulary suggests assimilation of practices and technologies especially in the area of animal husbandry (Larsson 2001: 238–240). Loans from Early Proto-Germanic / Pre-Germanic also begin in the Bronze Age (Kallio 2015b: 29–32). In the Bronze Age, trans-Baltic trade opened from Scandinavia both directly via Gotland to the Gulf of Riga (Vasks 2010: 154–156) and further north via Åland to the coasts of the Gulf of Finland (Siiriäinen 2003: 58–59). Assuming the relevant groups from Scandinavia spoke Pre-Germanic, the loans into Proto-Finnic would be consistent with Proto-Finnic's spread through Baltic language areas into regions east of the Baltic Sea and engagement with these trade networks.

Proto-Baltic contacts with Pre-Sámi seem to have been mediated through Proto-Finnic (Aikio 2012: 72–73) and seem not to have extended to the domain of animal husbandry,[6] which is a potential indicator that Proto-Sámi arrived in the region independent of Proto-Finnic. Proto-Sámi exhibits contacts with so-called Palaeo-European languages (i.e. neither Indo-European nor Uralic) both in Lapland and in Finland (Aikio 2012: 80–88, 91–92). It is not possible to determine whether other vocabulary of obscure etymology only found in the Sámi language family derives from Pre-Sámi contacts with Palaeo-European languages (cf. Aikio 2004). On the other hand, Kallio (forthcoming) finds that there are so few items in the Proto-Finnic lexicon which lack known etymologies that there is no reason to suspect a Palaeo-European impact, which is an additional indicator that Proto-Finnic was spoken farther south. Pre-Sámi had some contacts with Early Proto-Germanic, although not as extensive as those of Proto-Finnic, suggesting that it was at a greater remove from the presumable trade networks (Aikio 2012: 70–76). Geographically, dialects of Pre-Sámi from which Proto-Sámi emerged seem unlikely to have been established south of the Gulf of Finland or Lake Ladoga, where Proto-Finnic seems to have spread and have been connected with different livelihoods. Proto-Sámi was also likely at a remove from the coastal territories of today's Finland where forms of animal husbandry and light agriculture were practiced (on which, see Solantie 2005) and which was more directly linked with early trans-Baltic trade (Siiriäinen 2003: 58–59). The best guess is that it was spoken in the southern half of Karelia and/or inland Finland, as illustrated in Map 1 (see also Aikio 2006: esp. 45).

Proto-Sámi emerged through the Great Sámi Vowel Shift, of which Aikio states:

> That such a complex and idiosyncratic series of changes in pronunciation was completed with near 100% regularity implies that it took place in a relatively compact and tight-knit speech community. In other words, the

language must have been spoken within a relatively limited geographical area until the Great Saami Vowel shift was completed. (Aikio 2012: 71.)

This suggests that the Proto-Sámi emerged within a particular speech community rather than in an extended network of such communities. In a mobile hunting and fishing culture of the northern ecology, this population was probably in the hundreds rather than the thousands (Saarikivi & Lavento 2012: 212). Loanwords affected by the vowel shift include the loan for 'iron': Early Proto-Germanic *rauđan-* ['bog ore' or 'iron'[7]] → Early Proto-Finnic *rauta* ['iron'] and (or EPF *rauta* →)[8] Pre-Sámi *ravta* ['iron'] > Proto-Sámi *ruovdē* ['iron']), which is a factor in dating the shift (e.g. Heikkilä 2011: 70). It is also not certain how quickly the vowel shift occurred or how it related to languages or dialects in other speech communities. However, it was only following this sound shift that Proto-Sámi spread through Finland and Karelia, Lapland and most of the Scandinavian Peninsula.

Loanword evidence shows that Proto-Sámi entered into extensive contacts with Proto-Scandinavian of ca. AD 200–500 (many of the loans could not otherwise produce their attested Sámi forms owing to changes in Proto-Scandinavian; others not after about AD 700) (Aikio 2012: 76; on relevant toponyms, see Bergsland 1995 [1991]; Aikio 2012: 77–79). This period of Scandinavian influence correlates with a substrate of loans from a Palaeo-European language or languages that eventually underwent language shifts to Proto-Sámi (Aikio 2012: 80–88). The impression is that, across a few centuries, Proto-Sámi spread in use across a vast geographical area, and presumably also to the east, although this is less well researched (e.g. Saarikivi 2006). Originally Sámi toponymy in Finland exhibits distinct vocabulary that appears derivative of additional Palaeo-European languages paralleling, if not identical to, the languages it encountered in Lapland (Aikio 2012: 90–92). Other Uralic languages were also likely present at least in Finland and Karelia (see e.g. Rahkonen 2013), if only Para-Sámi languages – independent branches of Pre-Sámi – although these cannot be distinguished without living languages for comparison (Sammallahti 2012:

102). Proto-Sámi thus seems to have spread rapidly enough that this vocabulary was only assimilated after the language had spread to other regions rather than first being assimilated and then carried with the language's spread.
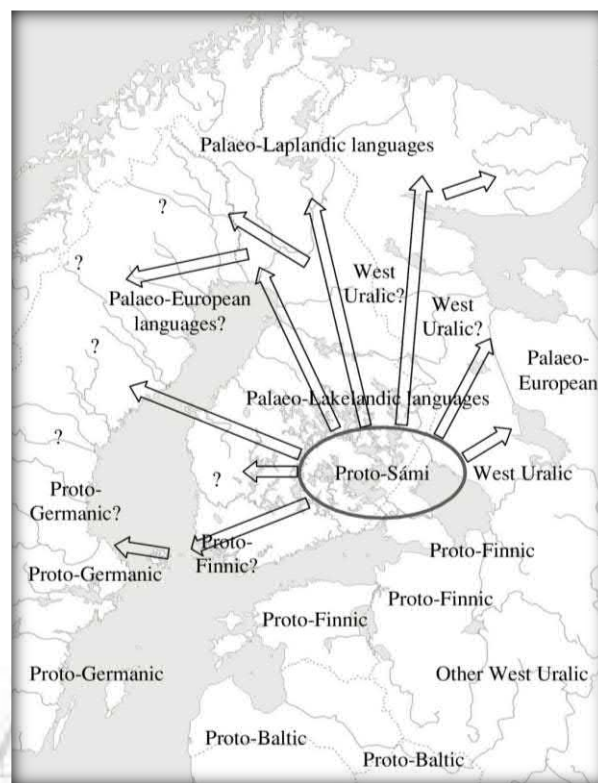


Map 1. *General model of the spread of Proto-Sámi from perhaps ca. AD 200 (adapted from Frog & Saarikivi, forthcoming). 'Palaeo-Laplandic' and 'Palaeo-Lakelandic' are regionally identified groups of Palaeo-European languages distinguished by Aikio (2012). The variety and extent of other West Uralic language presence in these regions is unknown, although at least some Para-Sámi languages are probable. The language situation in some regions is currently even more obscure.*

The Scandinavian loanword vocabulary reveals that Proto-Sámi's rapid spread quickly produced regional dialectal differences (Aikio 2012: 77–78, 93), presumably in large part owing to contacts with local languages. Evidence of Proto-Sámi's rapid spread contrasts sharply with its emergence within a small speech community. Even if the process of spread was initially quite gradual in local networks, there is nothing to suggest a population explosion with a critical mass of migration in every direction but south. Of course, the language would not spread without the mobility of speakers and some migration is probable. Whatever occurred, Proto-Sámi's spread was connected with the activities of people speaking it: they were doing things, communicating with other people, and whatever they were doing
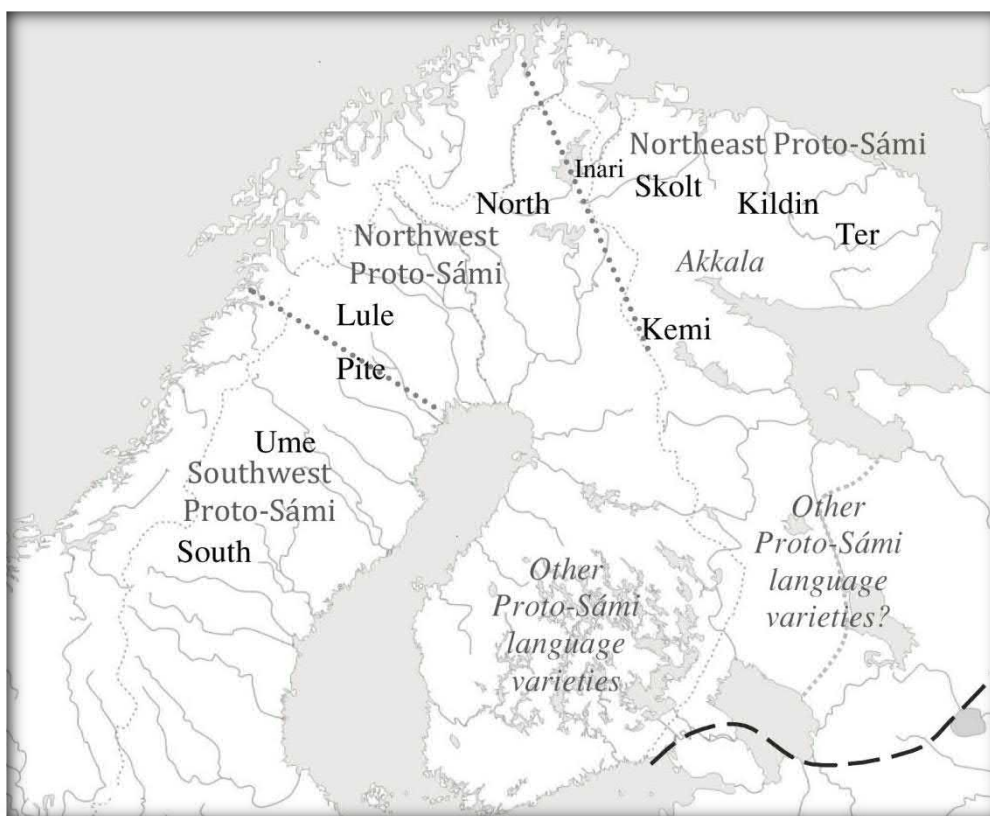
*Map 2. Grey dashed lines roughly distinguish dialects of Proto-Sámi according to Aikio (2012: 77) superimposed on descendant Sámi languages of Map 3. N.B. – the geographical distribution of Proto-Sámi dialects likely changed across the centuries and thus the dialect areas indicated here should not be considered to accurately reflect their areal distribution in e.g. AD 500.*

made it seem useful or desirable for others to be able to also speak Proto-Sámi. The language seems to have spread specifically or predominantly through mobile hunting and fishing groups whose local languages were gradually eclipsed, potentially much later. An aggressive or authoritative role in some sort of economic network could potentially account for the language of an otherwise small number of speakers to rapidly spread across a large geographical area without mass migrations or a centralizing political structure. Aikio (2012: 105–106, and cf. 79) suggests that the role of the language in the Scandinavian fur trade could have been a factor in Proto-Sámi's spread in Lapland. However, Scandinavian contacts seem to have been a consequence of language spread rather than its motivation. On the other hand, the increase of the fur trade in the Viking Age may have been a catalyst that led Proto-Sámi to finally eclipse other languages (Frog & Saarikivi 2014/2015: 107n.19). Whatever initiated the process of spread, Proto-Sámi seems to have become *de facto* enabled as a *lingua franca* for the majority of what were likely

multilingual populations across most of Fenno-scandia. If it did not spread through the agency of speakers conducting trade, its role in trade networks would have been a natural outcome.

Aikio (2012: 77) distinguishes three Proto-Sámi dialects reflected in surviving Sámi languages (cf. also Häkkinen 2010: 60):

- *Southwest dialect* – reflected in South Sámi, Ume Sámi and probably Pite Sámi
- *Northwest dialect* – reflected in Lule Sámi and North Sámi
- *Northeast[9] dialect* – reflected in Inari, Kemi, Skolt, Kildin and Ter Sámi

Additional dialects can be assumed in Finland and Karelia that disappeared with the spread of North Finnic languages (cf. Aikio 2012: 88–97; Kuzmin 2014: 285–287), which becomes particularly evident when Proto-Sámi dialects are superimposed on a map of their descendant languages (Map 2).

Later Sámi languages form an interlocking continuum (Map 3). Considering potentially distinctive influences that Proto-Sámi may have received through contacts in different
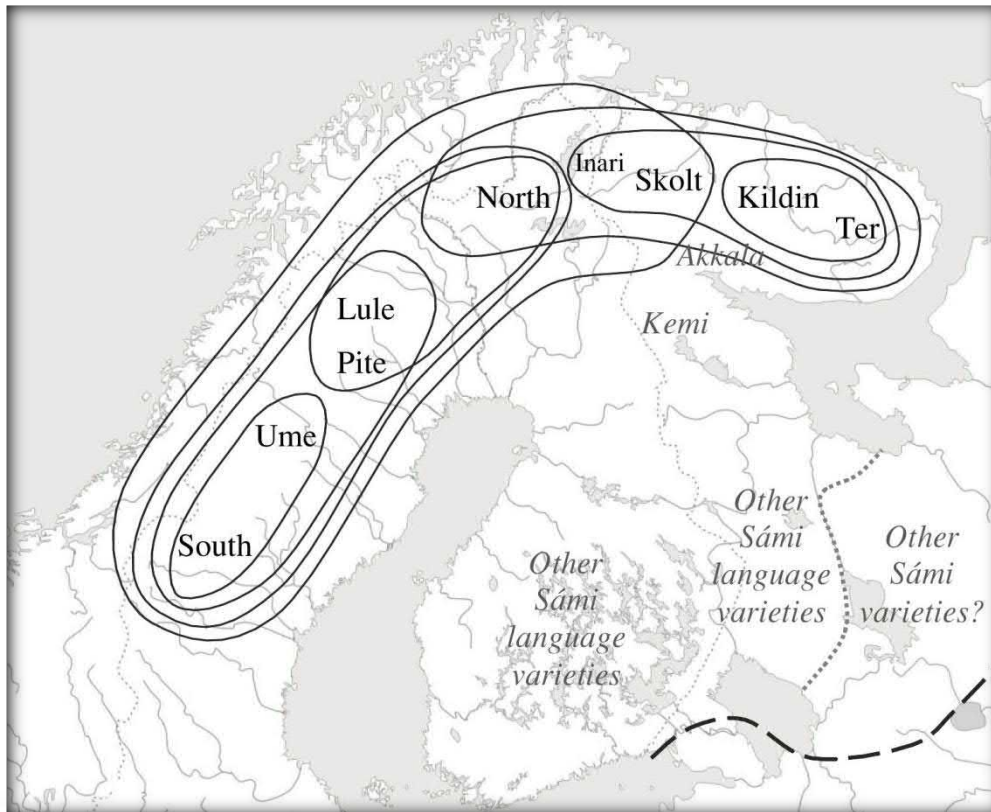
*Map 3. Isoglosses of innovations from Proto-Sámi reflected in modern languages as presented by Mikko Korhonen (1981: 22, Kuva 1; Korhonen did not include Akkala or Kemi Sámi on his map). The black dashed line indicates Aikio's (2012: 64, Figure 1) approximation of maximal Proto-Sámi language spread in the Ladoga region and to the east prior to the spread of Proto-Finnic. The grey dotted line approximates a dialect or language boundary observed in toponymy by Denis Kuzmin (2014: 286, Map 3).*

regions, it is necessary to consider that the interlocking continuum of documented Sámi languages may primarily reflect a millennium of interaction between mobile groups speaking dialects of Proto-Sámi and their emerging languages. This continuum cannot be assumed to reflect a single route of dispersal of a uniform Proto-Sámi that first spread north through Finland and Karelia and then east and west across the Kola and Scandinavian Peninsulas, respectively. Jaakko Häkkinen (2010: 59–60) argues that the northeast and northwest dialects of Proto-Sámi are the result of language spread north through Finland, but that mobility carried the southwest dialect over the bottleneck of the Gulf of Bothnia from the area where the Kyrö culture would later emerge. However, mobile groups appear to have been active farther south than has tended to be acknowledged.[10] Particularly if Proto-Sámi's spread is connected with trade, it is equally likely that the language was carried via the long-established route past Åland, which was also inhabited by a predominantly hunting and fishing culture until the second half of the

6th century (Ahola et al. 2014b). According to this model, Proto-Sámi did not spread down the Scandinavian Peninsula and gradually break up. Instead, two distinct forms of Proto-Sámi with different backgrounds met there, speakers of the southwest dialect never having directly encountered the cultures inhabiting Lapland further north.

### *Religion versus Language*

'Culture' can be considered "localized in concrete, publically accessible signs" (Urban 1991: 1), within which language provides only one system of signification. Religion is here considered:

> a type of register of practice that has developed through intergenerational transmission, is characterized by mythology, and entails an ideology and worldview. (Frog 2015: 35.)

From this perspective, a register of religion simultaneously provides models for behaviours (Agha 2007) associated with the roles taken by individuals within the community. A religious register provides a framework against which
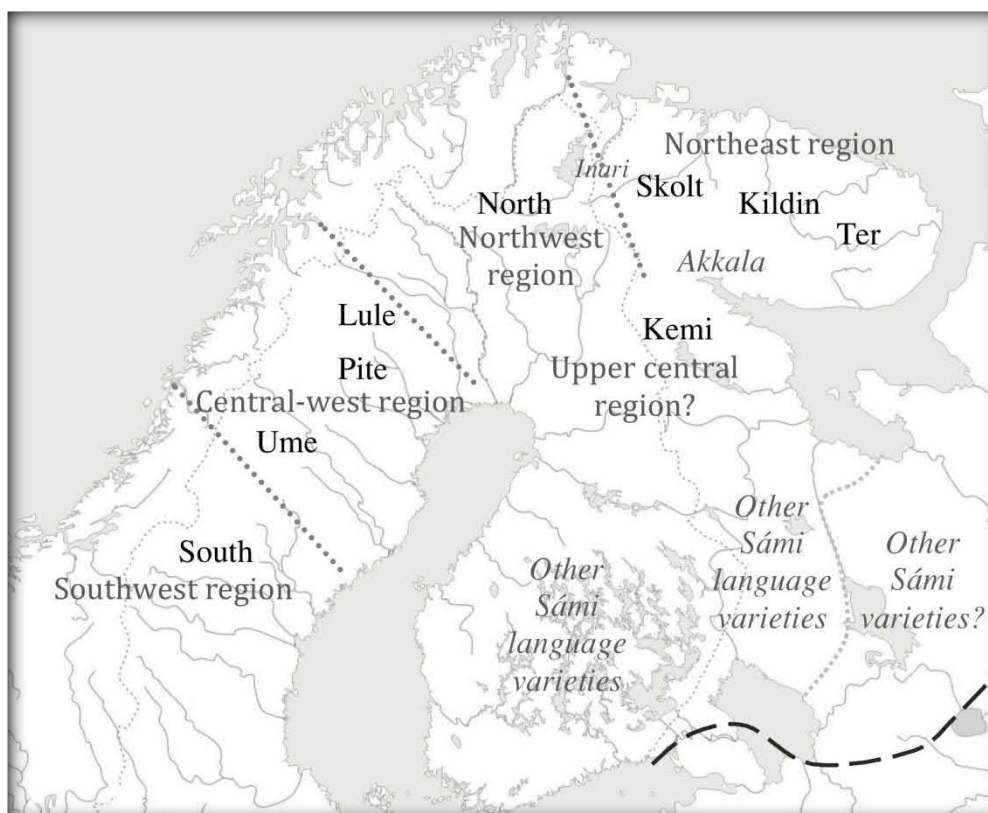
*Map 4. Grey dashed lines roughly distinguish regions of religious traditions or religion formations based on historically documented evidence proposed by Rydving (1993: 23). Limitations of evidence leave boundaries between regions vague.*

others can assess performed behaviours (see also Bauman 1984), familiar in the modern West from assessments of whether someone is or is not 'being a good Christian'.

Mythology is here considered broadly in terms of systems of emotionally invested symbols (rather than narrowly in terms of stories) that provide models for understanding the world and interpreting experience (for discussion, see Frog 2015). These symbols range from gods, stories about them (considered signs insofar as they can operate and be referred to as a meaning-bearing unit), and also symbolic actions and their scripts such as performable signs emblematic of rituals. The crucial point here is that mythic symbols may be mediated verbally, rendered visually through iconography or realized through performative action, but they are not linguistic signs *per se*. The linguistic signifier of the name of a god may have a complex symbolic image of the god as its signified and these may operate as a coherent sign in linguistic discourse, but the symbolic image can also be visually represented or performed without the linguistic sign – i.e. the god is not the name.

Within culture as social semiotic, religion and language become linked and interact in different ways. Nevertheless, religion can be transmitted across languages, a single language may be spoken by practitioners of different religions, and many mythic symbols or scripts enacted and manipulated in ritual may be largely or wholly independent of language. We tend to discuss 'religions' as discrete and homogeneous, a generalization that often offers a pragmatic frame of reference. However, individual mythic symbols and whole networks of them and their structures can be shared across networks of groups within which they may be integrated parts of local religion formations that are otherwise distinct. Attending to the symbols in practice shifts focus away from hegemonic and ideal 'religions' and makes it easier to consider how certain practices, symbols or conceptions might spread among groups and without exchange of one 'religion' for another (cf. Frog 2017).

Just as broad dialect areas of Proto-Sámi language can be reverse-engineered through formal groupings of surviving Sámi languages, features of religion can similarly be grouped

into broad tradition regions. Håkan Rydving (1993: 23) proposes four such regions, but had left aside the religion formations on the Kola Peninsula owing to the lack of early written sources. I include this as a fifth region on Map 4. Rydving's original terms[11] have been adapted to accord with names of the Proto-Sámi dialect regions above. I follow Rydving in addressing the regions through language areas, and in leaving undetermined the region(s) into which Inari and Akkala Sámi group. With these refinements, the religion regions are:

- *Southwest* – South Sámi
- *Central-West* – Ume, Pite and Lule Sámi
- *Northwest* – North Sámi
- *Northeast* – Skolt, Kildin and Ter Sámi
- *Upper Central* or *Northeast*? – Kemi Sámi

Describing the groupings by language is a pragmatic matter of easy reference. One Sámi language could be spoken across communities with quite different livelihoods and cultural features (Saarikivi & Lavento 2012: 200). Regions of tradition are structured and evolve in relation to a number of factors rather than necessarily being in a one-to-one correlation with language (see also Pentikäinen 1973: 139–145). For example, Rydving (1993: 22n.84) points out that the coastal North Sámi designation of the thunder god aligns speakers with the northeast Sámi religion region. Rydving's decision to separate Kemi Sámi from Sámi on the Kola Peninsula is one of methodological caution owing to the lack of data on the Sámi cultures of Finland and Karelia. Kemi may have belonged to the tradition area of that part of Karelia and adjacent Finland, as distinct from those farther north (cf. Manker 1938), but there is not enough evidence to determine this one way or the other.

A crucial difference between this division and Aikio's model in Map 2 is the central west group, which forms a zone between the centers of what would have been the southwest and northwest Proto-Sámi dialects. If southwest and northwest dialects spread independently onto the Scandinavian Peninsula from the east and north, respectively, they would presumably have evolved to at least some degree before coming into contact. In this case, the central-west religion region would have been a zone of their long-term interaction. There, they could have developed hybridized intermediate

language forms much as the Livvi language (or dialect) emerged from the interaction of Karelian and Vepsian (i.e. related North Finnic language forms). Rydving's geographical division is developed according to written sources, yet it "seems to be supported by the geographical distribution of drum types" (1993: 23; see also Manker 1938: 82–108).

The rapid spread of Proto-Sámi extends across a huge geographical area inhabited by multiple cultures. The indigenous languages of those areas were eclipsed. This process does not seem to have been linked to mass migration and population displacement. Consequently, in the wake of the geographical spread of Proto-Sámi and its dialectal differentiation, presumably the vast majority of populations across these regions did not originally speak Proto-Sámi as a domestic language. The language's spread thus seems most likely linked to communication. When considering the rapidity and geographical scope of the language's spread, it becomes reasonable to question whether elements of religion were carried with Proto-Sámi from Finland at all.

Of course, even spread predominantly as a medium of communication could not occur without mobility of speakers. It would also entail at least some degree of additional cultural transfer. Part of this could be at the level of symbols and cognitive metaphors encoded in the language, but communication and networking across different groups would itself have led to a "congruence of codes and values" (Barth 1998 [1969]: 16), at least in those areas of practice linked to such communication and networking (Ahola et al. 2014b: 242). Once a common language was established, boundaries would open that might otherwise more greatly inhibit the spread of new practices across different groups. Language shifts could act historically as a catalyst for convergence, supporting forms of shared identity among networks of speech communities in evolving regions of dialects. It is also reasonable to consider which identities were inclined to converge. When Proto-Sámi speakers were arriving from Finland and Karelia onto the Kola and Scandinavian Peninsulas, whatever they were doing or however they were perceived inclined others to learn their language. Would their religious identity have been equally

interesting (or would it even have direct continuity from the speech community in which Proto-Sámi emerged, spreading first through Finland and Karelia)? Or might local cultures first begin using the language, and, during language shifts, develop shared linguistic identities that could facilitate convergence of religious identities with one another?

When considering what transpired in this process, it is noteworthy that Proto-Sámi language spread does not clearly correlate with changes in the archaeological record. In the archaeology of Finland, this problem is ambiguous because Proto-Sámi spread during a period when the evidence of mobile groups has largely disappeared (e.g. Kuusela 2014; see also Aikio 2012). On the Scandinavian Peninsula and through Lapland, there is a long tradition of identifying Sámi language and ethnic culture with evidence of cultures in the material record, tracing their long-term continuities. Internal linguistic evidence presented above indicates a *terminus post quem* of ca. AD 200 for Proto-Sámi language presence in these regions. Several of these continuities of practices in the archaeological record can be traced back earlier (see e.g. Zachrisson et al. 1997: 195–200), and the so-called scree graves (*urgraver*) by as much as a millennium (Svestad 2011: 43 and works there cited). Such continuities in practices need to be viewed as continuities through the process of Proto-Sámi language spread.

It was once common to correlate historical language spread with evidence of mobile goods in the archaeological record like pottery-types, which is now recognized as highly problematic (Saarikivi & Lavento 2012). Although not specifically tied to language, Kristian Kristiansen has formulated a complex 'axiom', at the core of which is the claim that:

> because a burial is the institutionalised occasion for the transmission of property and power, and the renewal of social and economic ties [... a] radical change in burial rites [...] signals a similar change in beliefs and institutions. (Kristiansen et al. 2017: 336.[12])

This axiom situates burial rituals exclusively in relation to empirical societies of the living. In the present context, it is also relevant that funerary rituals are direct engagements with conceptions of the unseen world, its dynamic

forces, agents and societies, as well as ideas of how it is accessed from the world of the living and of possibilities for interaction with it. The ritual(s) of a single funeral may involve several such types of interaction through engagements with the embodied deceased member of the community and the establishment of that individual in an appropriate location and situation in the unseen world. The funeral also establishes foundations for the maintenance of relationships between the living community and the deceased and/or a community of ancestors and perhaps additional otherworld agents. Funerals are thus a socially central context for engagement with mythology and religious practices.

Of course, Kristiansen's axiom cannot be reversed to claim that lack of change in burial rites signals a lack of religious change. Continuities in practices does not necessarily indicate that Sámi spread independent of a complex religious system and broader culture which might be linked to local rituals. Religious appropriations and reinterpretations were not only made by Romans and Christians: Scandinavian settlers in the Viking Age could strategically assimilate the practices of a local burial ground where they settled (e.g. Artelius & Lundqvist 2005). However, there is no reason to presume such appropriation. The simplest explanation of continuities in complex practices related to burial and so forth is that Proto-Sámi's spread was not significant for local religions. The lack of positive archaeological evidence for the spread of religious change corollary with the probable period of Proto-Sámi's spread must be kept in mind.

On the other hand, continuities in the archaeological record that seem to correlate with Proto-Sámi dialect and tradition regions suggest language spread became coordinated with existing regional networks (presumably not geographically fixed). Interaction within those networks would incline groups towards convergence in registers of social behaviour and communication as well as in intersubjective frames of reference. Later archaeological evidence of significant changes in settlement sites beginning from ca. 700 AD are an indicator of significant changes in societies spreading through regions of Lapland (Halinen 2016). These changes reflect the

spread of aspects of culture through networks where Proto-Sámi was already spoken, at least to some degree. The spread of these changes through the networks suggests convergences in social (and to some degree probably also religious) organization in relation to the landscape.[13] Rather than presuming that Proto-Sámi's spread was accompanied by abrupt local language shifts, local language shifts may have been precipitated by the spread of other aspects of culture. Changes in settlement types suggest the spread of societal frameworks becoming shared across groups, reinforcing collective identity and possibly an ascendance of inter-group communication over in-group communication. The processes remain uncertain, but warrant reflection.

Manifesting degrees of correlation between language areas and tradition areas is a natural historical outcome, even if the boundaries of these may never fully coincide at any given time. Evidence of changes during the centuries following initial Proto-Sámi language spread may have had levelling effects on earlier linguistic and cultural diversity.

### Common Proto-Sámi Vocabulary

Even if religion and language can be transmitted separately, continuity in links between them can be expected where they are transmitted together. One indicator that Proto-Sámi language spread with a common form of Proto-Sámi religion would thus be evidence of a Common Proto-Sámi religious vocabulary. To test this, a list of religious vocabulary was developed on the basis of the fourteen words indexed under religion and beliefs in Juhani Lehtiranta's (2001) lexicon of Common Proto-Sámi vocabulary. This set was expanded with some additional vocabulary in that volume, and a few others relevant for discussion.[14] However, this survey does not presume to exhaust potential vocabulary that could be relevant to such discussion.

Religious vocabulary is not exceptionally stable. Uri Tadmor's (2009) research illustrates that vocabulary related to religion and beliefs can be among the most salient for borrowings. Vocabulary linked to religion and beliefs can thus be expected to both receive and lose words over time. However, not all such vocabulary is exchanged with equal ease. The

ability of such terms to be mobilized across languages should be considered in relation to several factors, including: the word's frequency and range of uses in the lexicon; the centrality[15] of the concept or symbol identified by the word in discourse or beliefs; and the degree to which a borrowing is complementary to existing general vocabulary (e.g. one more word for 'monster'), identifies practice-specific concepts for which existing vocabulary was lacking (e.g. a term for a particular ritual, religious paraphernalia or action like making the sign of the cross), or competes with existing terms to greater or lesser degrees that are eventually displaced (e.g. base vocabulary and proper names). If religion spread with Proto-Sámi language, some distinctive evidence can be expected at least in central areas of the lexicon of mythology and ritual.

Lehtiranta's lexicon strikingly reveals that the southwest, northwest and northeast dialects formed a fairly coherent language network. The shared vocabulary indicates that loans which entered the language after Proto-Sámi had spread geographically were communicated through long-distance networks from the southern extension on the Scandinavian Peninsula across the Kola Peninsula in the east. Such loans are not limited to new concepts and phenomena and extend to core vocabulary. Lehtiranta (2001: 162–163) indexes ca. 100 lexical items for the human body. In round terms, ca. 5% are identified as of Scandinavian origin, ca. 10% appear to be Proto-Finnic loans,[16] less than 50% are otherwise linked to an Uralic heritage through cognates, and more than 35% are of uncertain etymology. The number of uncertain etymologies may be somewhat exaggerated. Nevertheless, a potentially substantial number of loans penetrated the core vocabulary of the language and spread through the Proto-Sámi dialects. Loans of such vocabulary easily occur in the context of language shifts and can also more easily take place in contexts where an asymmetrical relation is perceived by speakers of the respective languages. Such situations may account for this loan-word vocabulary locally or regionally, but the innovations are more striking for being shared through a geographically dispersed area. They therefore underscore the role of the language in contact networks. They simultaneously indicate that

the vocabulary was in dynamic negotiation across those networks, at least until it stabilized.

The potential for vocabulary to spread through the Proto-Sámi language networks opens methodological difficulties. Geographical factors and the history of Proto-Finnic's roles in networks of interaction in the North make it seem most likely that loans of potentially core religious vocabulary from Late Proto-Finnic into Proto-Sámi occurred before Proto-Sámi spread significantly. The likelihood then would seem to decrease in inverse proportion to the geographical spread without corroborating evidence of some impact passing through relevant areas. Proto-Finnic's potential for influences then increases again toward the Viking Age (Ahola & Frog 2014). On the other hand, indications that Proto-Sámi was open to lexical innovation even in core vocabulary make it less certain what language words might be taken from or how far they might spread.

Discussions of loans from Proto-Finnic and words with other Uralic cognates are conditional on understandings of other Uralic languages' relationships to Proto-Sámi. Loanwords from Scandinavian and Palaeo-European languages can be more clearly identified as spreading through a Proto-Sámi dialect continuum. Para-Sámi languages – i.e. language that evolved independently from Pre-Sámi – and probably other Uralic languages were encountered in Proto-Sámi's spread,[17] and these also present potential sources for loans. Proto-Finnic underwent distinctive sound changes which should make it possible to differentiate whether a loan is Proto-Finnic in many cases, although in others they remain ambiguous (or the phonology has simply been considered irregular). Some of the vocabulary identified as borrowed from Proto-Finnic could thus reflect non-Finnic languages of which the speakers also underwent a language shift, as could some vocabulary identified with cognates in other Uralic languages. In terms of individual etymologies, this issue is generally impossible to resolve empirically. It has become customary to acknowledge that vocabulary may have been mediated by a chain of dialects and languages, but the possibility that loans may derive from these undocumented languages remains outside of discussion. Methodologically, this tendency creates the issue that Proto-Finnic may be over-

represented as a source of loans. Interpretation of a loan as Proto-Finnic also implies certain relations between groups of speakers. However, if the loan actually derives from another Uralic language, it may have a very different social-historical background, such as the language shifts of a mobile hunting culture. It is necessary to acknowledge a degree of uncertainty with some words of Uralic etymology, and the general lack of discussion of whether Proto-Sámi borrowed from extinct Uralic languages as it did from Finnic, Scandinavian and Palaeo-European languages.

Another issue is that Lehtiranta's 'common' Proto-Sámi vocabulary is based only on Sámi languages that survived. It thus remains conjectural for Sámi languages which were spoken in most of Finland and Karelia and perhaps farther east. This is not problematic for vocabulary inherited from Pre-Sámi. However, it remains unclear whether or to what extent loanword vocabulary that spread through Proto-Sámi speech networks of the Scandinavian and Kola Peninsulas also penetrated south through Finland and Karelia to become 'common' there as well. It warrants noting that areal linguistics suggests that variation in Proto-Sámi language forms would most likely have been greater closer to the area from which it spread (Frog & Saarikivi 2014/2015: 69–70; for varying forms and distinctive features of Sámi loans in Southern Finland's placenames, see e.g. Aikio 2007b: 172, 190). The great differences in ecology, climate and associated livelihoods between, for example, Lapland and the Lakeland region of southern Finland raise questions about whether these speakers of Proto-Sámi would have maintained meaningful networks across all of these regions, and whether all vocabulary spreading through networks of Lapland should be expected to have also spread to the south.

Another issue of reconstructing 'common' Proto-Sámi concerns initial consonants and consonant clusters of loanword vocabulary that do not reconstruct consistently for the Proto-Sámi dialects on which reconstruction is based. Lehtiranta follows the principle that, if the initial consonant or consonant cluster cannot be reconstructed for all of these branches of Proto-Sámi, it cannot be reconstructed as the Common Proto-Sámi form. This approach

aligns reconstructions with the researcher's expectations for an ideal Proto-Sámi, valorizing the forms closer to Pre-Sámi. I feel that these reconstructions are misleading and marginalize features considered 'foreign' to the ideal Proto-Sámi. The majority of Sámi languages seem never to have lost or reduced the relevant consonants. My perspective is that the question concerns the periodization of developments in loanword vocabulary and its nativization to Proto-Sámi phonology. This question is directly relevant to the background of some of the examples discussed below.

It is a well-known historical feature of Uralic languages that they reduce word-initial consonant clusters in loanwords. Languages descended from the Northeast Proto-Sámi dialect exhibit reduced initial consonant clusters, but this is not necessarily the case for Northwest and Southwest Proto-Sámi dialects. Northeast Proto-Sámi yields a reconstruction of *tālō ['giant in tales'] where Northwest and Southwest dialects yield *stālō, retaining the Proto-Scandinavian consonant cluster through modern times (example (4) below). Lehtiranta (2001: 132; §1222) thus reconstructs the Common Proto-Sámi form as *tālō, presumably because the consonant cluster cannot be unambiguously reconstructed as the 'common' Proto-Sámi form. However, reduction to initial /t/ is artificial for other dialects of Proto-Sámi. The form that spread through the Proto-Sámi dialect continuum appears to have been *stālō. When this is not an isolated case, I consider it improbable that such vocabulary, much of which likely entered Northeast Proto-Sámi from the adjacent dialect, had its consonant cluster more or less immediately reduced as a function of its spread. Instead, I treat *stālō as the Common Proto-Sámi form that spread, and the reduction *stālō > *tālō as a dialectal development. In other words, the reduction of this and initial consonant clusters in other Common Proto-Sámi vocabulary are treated as most likely to have occurred after the words had spread through the dialect area rather than being a function of entering the dialect *per se*. What may have happened to such vocabulary spreading into Proto-Sámi dialects to the south in Finland and Karelia remains unclear, but they do not fall within the reconstruction of Common Proto-Sámi.

Simialarly, initial /h/ was absent from Pre-Sámi, so words reconstructed with an initial /h/ in Proto-Sámi dialects are identified as loans (Korhonen 1981: 134; Aikio 2009: 17). Languages descended from the Northeast dialect of Proto-Sámi show that initial /h/ was elided in loanwords whereas initial /h/ was maintained to the present day in other Sámi languages. Lehtiranta (2001: 16) reconstructs a 'common' Proto-Sámi *āvtē (§68) ['grave, hole'] where the reconstruction for Northwest and Southwest Proto-Sámi would be *hāvtē, reflecting the initial consonant of the Proto-Finnic source language (example (7) below). Reconstruction with an elided consonant is problematic, particularly when it most likely entered Proto-Sámi through contacts in the southern half of Finland. If the word was borrowed early and spread with Proto-Sámi, then the form that spread was presumably *hāvtē; if it entered later and spread through the dialect continuum north into Lapland and thence onto the peninsulas, *hāvtē is still the reconstructed form, otherwise Northwest and Southwest Proto-Sámi would have had *āvtē.

The question of initial consonants and consonant clusters is also of interest as linguistic evidence relevant to the history of Proto-Sámi's spread. Something different was happening with onsets of words in different Proto-Sámi dialects or their descendant languages. Nativization subordinates and conforms features of other languages to a vernacular system. Especially where features unconventional for the vernacular are not meaningful or are not customary for speakers, these are adapted to something more familiar. Proto-Sámi seems to have spread among and coexisted with other languages. Features that were unconventional for Pre-Sámi could be both meaningful and familiar to speakers in multilingual environments. This does not mean that nativization could not occur in Proto-Sámi. However, it makes the elision of initial /h/ or reduction of an initial consonant cluster less likely to be immediate and more likely to be related to a broader language ecology in which Proto-Sámi participated.

On the Scandinavian Peninsula, Proto-Sámi's situation in local language ecologies seems to have resulted in 'foreign' onsets becoming nativized as established in Sámi language

rather than nativizing the vocabulary to conform to Proto-Sámi's inherited phonology. If Proto-Sámi spread among speakers of languages for whom such onsets were familiar, this development in Southwest and Northwest Proto-Sámi is not at all surprising, although not all consonant clusters became acceptable (cf. /dr/ > /r/ in example (3)). In contrast, the language ecology on the Kola Peninsula seems to have differed in ways that aligned with inherited Proto-Sámi phonology rather than tolerated by it. This is likely related to a less significant presence of Proto-Scandinavian (not to mention Proto-Finnic) on the Kola Peninsula. What that situation was remains unclear. The variety and quantity of vocabulary that spread through Proto-Sámi dialects and the probability of Proto-Sámi's significance for reciprocal communication in extended contact networks makes it seem doubtful that there were significant differences in onset consonants in the Northeast dialect, at least in its early stages. Consequently, the differences in Northeast Proto-Sámi seem not only to be developments, but may be developments connected with the phonology of groups undergoing language shifts. Considered in relation to dialects on the Scandinavian Peninsula, what happens in Northeast Proto-Sámi makes it seem likely that the relevant features such as consonant clusters (consistent with Uralic languages, but not exclusive to them) were not nativized to more prominent languages in the local ecology. Of course, possible differences in local language ideologies were potentially also a factor, while archaeological evidence is quite limited and might, for example, point to later contacts impacting local populations. The history of differences between Proto-Sámi dialects remains obscure, but there are differences that seem to point to differences in the language ecologies where Proto-Sámi spread.

### Proto-Scandinavian Loans

Common Proto-Sámi vocabulary includes a striking number of Proto-Scandinavian loans, of which six will be presented here. The first of these belongs to cosmology (modern forms are given in North Sámi):

(1) *mānō (§647) (mánnu)
    'moon'

The moon was linked to a variety of traditions. Some of these attribute supernatural agency to it and may indicate deification; others may reflect conceptions of the moon as a source of dynamic force that can affect the world while its potential for agency is ambiguous (Karsten 1955: 33–35; Lundmark 1982: 57–80; Kulonen et al. 2005: 224–225). The word *mānō is a transparent Proto-Scandinavian loan (~ ON máni ['moon']). It must have been carried through the dialect continuum of Proto-Sámi after the language had spread. It is not clear that any conceptions of the moon as a mythic agent spread with the Scandinavian loan. Sámi connections of the moon with reindeer (e.g. Lundmark 1982: 63; Kulonen et al. 2005: 224–225) are probably not of Scandinavian origin because reindeer remain completely outside of known Scandinavian mythology. The word *mānō should be considered to have a separate history from any concept of the moon in cosmology or as a supernatural agent that may have spread with Proto-Sámi language.

Another Proto-Scandinavian loan that connects with cosmological conceptions is:

(2) *sāvję (§1115) (sáiva, sávja)
    'freshwater lake; earth spirit of legends'

The term *sāvję is cognate with Old Norse sær ['lake'] and receives a great deal of attention in discussions of Sámi religion, while the diversity of concepts linked to the term have made it an illustrative example of variation (Wicklund 1916). According to the survey of Klaas Ruppel (Kulonen et al. 2005: 375–376), this term was most likely borrowed in the sense of 'fresh water'. In North Sámi and languages descended from Northeast Proto-Sámi, sáiva refers to fresh water or lakes, and especially lakes without inlet or outlet. The northeastern group also exhibits a semantic field of 'south' (or 'southwest'). In Lule Sámi, it is associated with sacred or supernatural sites. In South Sámi it is used to refer to subterranean supernatural beings. (Kulonen et al. 2005: 375–376; see also Wicklund 1916.) Lakes with no outlet were connected with the concept of so-called 'double-bottomed lakes'. They were linked to ideas that fish could move between lakes. Such lakes could also be conceived as points of access to an otherworld inhabited by the dead or supernatural beings (Wicklund 1916: 61–66; Kulonen et al. 2005: 374–375; see also Manker

1950: 108–118). According to Ruppel, the conception of *sáiva* as a gate to the other-world is mainly found in western Finnmark (Kulonen et al. 2005: 376). Identification of a lake without outlet as an access point to the otherworld is paralleled in Finno-Karelian traditions (Siikala 2002a: 263, 343, and cf. 128). However, the significance of this parallel is unclear. Finno-Karelian traditions spread through areas where Sámi and probably other languages were spoken, creating the possibility of reciprocal influence (Frog 2013: 87–89).

If all of these meanings share a common etymology, *sāvję* became connected with the supernatural or mythic world quite close to the word's spread and spread in conjunction with it. There is no reason to believe that a phenomenon of cosmology or religion spread with Proto-Sámi language and then a Proto-Scandinavian word was borrowed and spread through Proto-Sámi dialects to designate it. It is also not clear that *sāvję* was borrowed to designate a local mythological or cosmological phenomenon that then spread through Proto-Sámi with the word. Basically, *sāvję* is a loanword that must have spread through Proto-Sámi dialects, but it seems to be attached to the otherworld or points of access to it in different ways, and it is not clear that it was used in such a way in Northeastern dialects.

The proposal that the northeastern use of *sáiva* for the cardinal direction 'south' is because this was the direction of a celestial realm of the dead (Kulonen et al. 2005: 375) requires transferring the word from a lower to an upper world and then referring to a cardinal direction with the word for the upper world. Scandinavian and Finnic cosmologies identify the realm of the dead as down and north rather than up and south (e.g. Lid 1949; Siikala 2002a; Heide 2014). This same model is reconstructed for Proto-Uralic (Napolskikh 1992). If *sáiva* meaning 'south' developed as a cosmological reference, its model presumably derives from a very different culture. However, this word may just be a homonym of unknown but independent etymology.

Accepting the Proto-Scandinavian origin of the word, *sāvję* seems to have been assimilated with the meaning 'fresh water, lake', with its semantics extended, for reasons unknown, to places of supernatural access to the otherworld.

Nevertheless, the word seems to have become attached to different things in each area. Rather than being consistently identified with the same thing as the word spread and then evolved in different directions locally, this variation may, at least to some degree, reflect variation in what the term became linked to in local religion formations as it spread.

Two Common Proto-Sámi terms borrowed from Proto-Scandinavian refer to supernatural agents that human beings encounter in stories:

(3) *rāvkę* (§1028) (*rávga*) 'water spirit'
(4) *stālō* (§1222) (*stállu*) 'giant in tales'

The term *rāvkę* was connected especially with victims of drowning who returned bodily after death. It corresponds to Old Norse *draugr*, which was the term for the animated dead. The Old Norse word was not specific to drowning victims, and could be used for restless and aggressively haunting dead or those residing peacefully in a burial mound (which they could defend when being robbed). The Sámi word and concept seems likely to have been adapted into the Kven language (i.e. the Finno-Karelian language form spoken in Finnmark) as *meri-raukka* ['sea wraith']. (Kulonen et al. 2005: 293.) The loanword's spread was likely linked to an associated concept in legends (a legend is here considered a short story about a specific encounter that is developed on a traditional plot or motif and engages contestable beliefs about the supernatural or history[18]).

The term *stālō* generates Sámi terms for a mythic being that corresponds to a 'troll', 'ogre' or 'devil' of legends and tales. The majority of stories about *stállu* seem to be of Scandinavian or European types, though there are a number of elements that seem to have a separate pedigree that connects them with traditions of other Northern Eurasian hunting and fishing cultures.[19] The word clearly became prominent in the vocabulary concerning monsters and supernatural 'others'. Its range of use indicates it became a 'tradition dominant'[20] – i.e. its prominence in the tradition led to more and more narrative material to become attached to it, so that *stālō* and its derivatives replaced other terms or identities, while new stories were probably also generated around it as an evolving identity.

The initial consonant cluster leaves it unambiguous that this is a loan and suggests a Proto-Scandinavian model. It seems to belong to a word family of instrumental nouns ultimately derived from the verb 'to stand', which produced *stál* ['rick-post on which hay is stacked; pole on the prow of a ship'] and its derivative Old Norse *stáli* ~ Norwegian *ståle* ['big, strong man'].[21] The question of the etymology arises because the latter terms look like they belong to a metaphorical paradigm of referring to tall/large powerful men with words for 'pole', 'post' or 'beam', a type of appellative that seems to have been generative.[22] In this case, Old Norse *stáli* would be a weak masculine formed from neuter *stál* by adding the inflectional ending -*i*. Nils Lid (1933: 43–77) proposes a connection to a Norwegian dialectal use of *ståle* to refer to a supernatural being associated with Yuletide, making a number of interesting, although potentially anachronistic, comparisons.[23] Nevertheless, Lid (1933: 61–62) argues that *ståle* and *stáli* derive from Proto-Scandinavian *\*stālō*, the form anticipated as the model for Proto-Sámi *\*stālō* (cf. ON *máni* < PSc *\*mānō*). In this case, the Old Norse epithet *stáli* may have carried particular connotations perhaps more comparable to uses of *þurs* ['ogre'] as an epithet. Such connotations would extend from being physically big to perhaps mean, clumsy and/or stupid.

The background of the word is unclear, but a Scandinavian etymology seems likely.[25] The fact that Proto-Sámi *\*stālō* suggests a Proto-Scandinavian noun *\*stālō* lends credence to Lid's argument.[24] If Lid is correct, the Norwegian dialectal *ståle* would have continuity from a Proto-Scandinavian *\*stālō*, which, in some uses, would presumably have referred to an anthropomorphic supernatural agent. Alternately, these could be independently produced masculine forms derived from a neuter word for 'pole' in different eras. In this case, use for a supernatural agent would be a development in Proto-Sámi comparable to that of *\*sāvję*, introducing supernatural connotations to the loanword. Of course, this etymology for Proto-Sámi *\*stālō* could be incorrect, but it seems probable, with the central question being whether a Proto-Scandinavian term meaning something like 'big guy' was adapted as a term for a supernatural agent or it was already identified with such an agent in the source language.

*\*Stālō* undoubtedly replaced other terms on local and regional bases when it spread. It presumably became identified with stories in those local traditions, which would seem to be the source of features connecting *stállu* with traditions of other Northern Eurasian and even North American cultures. The term can also be assumed to have spread through the dialect networks in conjunction with stories, which could account for at least part of the narrative traditions that seem likely to have filtered through Scandinavian contacts. Nevertheless, Erkki Itkonen's (1976: 12–25) comparative survey of archaic features of *stállu* and stories related to it does not give the impression of a uniting underlying tradition that spread with Proto-Sámi language. Rather than potentially archaic features strongly linking *stállu* traditions to an Uralic heritage, the stories connect Sámi traditions to Northern Eurasian hunting cultures and to hunting cultures of the Northern Hemisphere more generally.

This list of Scandinavian loans can be expanded with two terms that are more difficult to assess:

(5) *\*likkō* (§587) (*lihkku*)
    'luck'
(6) *\*piernę* (§939) (*bierdna*)
    'bear'

Although *\*likkō* (~ ON *lukka* ['luck']) could be connected to a supernatural concept, this is unclear, as is whether the term spread with the concept or only as a pragmatic unit of the lexicon. Similarly, *\*piernę* (~ ON *bjǫrn* ['bear']) looks like a naming-avoidance term (cf. Edsman 1994: 93–101). In that case, *\*piernę* would be a potential indicator of naming taboos and thus beliefs about bears found among other Uralic groups (Honko et al. 1993: 120–121; Pentikäinen 2007: 93–100). However, the mythic status of the bear and bear ceremonialism have remarkably deep historical roots in Northern Eurasia:[26] the groups that underwent language shifts quite probably had beliefs about bears and practiced forms of bear ceremonialism independently of Uralic contacts. On the other hand, it is the only Common Proto-Sámi word for 'bear' listed by Lehtiranta.

In spite of the range of impacts of Scandinavian influence on Proto-Sámi language, the loanwords do not seem to correlate directly with significant impacts on religion. There is no clear indication that the loan *mānō was linked with beliefs about the moon, and the Proto-Scandinavian model for *sāvjẹ seems to have been a simple secular word. *Rāvkẹ was clearly adopted in connection with conceptions of the supernatural and quite probably *stālō was as well, but the contacts that produced these loans appear centrally associated with narration rather than ritual and cosmology. Of course, the Scandinavian loans spread through Proto-Sámi rather than in conjunction with it. Scandinavian impacts may have been much more significant on a local or regional basis but there is no evidence of sweeping religious change connected with them. When *rāvkẹ and *stālō potentially spread in connection with narrative discourse such as legends and tales, it warrants considering whether *sāvjẹ may have also spread through the same or similar conduits, but differed in that it referred to places or things in the landscape rather than only to supernatural agents without corresponding empirical counterparts.

### Proto-Finnic Loans after the Vowel Shift

Vocabulary borrowed from Proto-Finnic can be distinguished according to whether it was borrowed before or after the Great Sámi Vowel Shift. Two Proto-Finnic loans listed as related to religion and beliefs by Lehtiranta have closely related semantics:

(7) *hāvtē   (§68)   (hávdi)
    'grave, hole'
(8) *kālmē   (§353)   (gálbmi)
    'grave'

Both loans are linked to the materiality of practices related to death. Proto-Sámi *hāvtē ['grave, hole'] corresponds to the common Finnic term for 'grave' as a physical hole in the ground in which one is buried (~ Fi. hauta ['grave, hollow, hole']). Proto-Sámi *kālmē corresponds to the more dynamic concept of forces and (physical) locations associated with death and its supernatural connotations (~ Fi. kalma ['place of the dead, force of death']). Whereas terms for supernatural beings like *rāvkẹ and *stālō may simply accumulate in a language, these terms suggest either the

replacement of existing terminology or the assimilation of the terms with new concepts and/or practices surrounding the dead that may have eventually displaced alternatives. These are the only terms identified by Lehtiranta as Common Proto-Sámi vocabulary related to locations of death.[27]

Three additional loans from Late Proto-Finnic can be mentioned:

(9) *heaŋkẹ   (§235)   (heagga)
    'breath; spirit'
(10) *vājmō   (§1345)   (váibmu)
    'marrow; heart'
(11) *tāvtẹ   (§1238)   (dávda)
    'illness, malady'

*Heaŋkẹ is a loan from Late Proto-Finnic (~ Fi. henki ['breath; spirit']); *vājmō has cognates in Finnic and Mordvin languages: it is a soul-word linked to feeling and impulse, which in (North) Finnic became the word for 'wife' (~ Fi. vaimo). Although *vājmō is commonly treated as an independent inheritance from Uralic (e.g. SSA III, s.v. 'vaimo'), the first vowel does not exhibit the effects of the vowel shift and it must be considered a loan (Saarikivi 2009: 130), presumably from Proto-Finnic. Again, the two terms seem to be connected with a single semantic domain, although their significance remains somewhat ambiguous owing to both terms' potential for semantic fluidity.

Vernacular models of illness generally fall within the purview of what would be considered the supernatural today. Proto-Sámi *tāvtẹ potentially belongs to the same group (~ Fi. tauti ['illness, malady']), even if the significance of this loan remains ambiguous in the extreme. Taken together with *heaŋkẹ and *vājmō, the three words suggest Proto-Finnic influence on vernacular physiology relevant to understanding bodily experiences, which presumably extend to the physiology of death.

Fi. henki and its cognates derive from Proto-Uralic (cf. SSA I, s.v. 'henki'), while the etymology of hauta is traced to Proto-Germanic *sauþa- with its probable semantic fields of 'pit, hole; well, spring' (SSA I, s.v. 'hauta'; LägLoS I, s.v. 'hauta'). The Proto-Sámi loans have a terminus post quem of the change /š/ > /h/, which was among the last changes marking the transition from Middle to Late Proto-Finnic (Kallio 2007: 237). This

transition is currently considered to be at roughly the same time as the transition to Proto-Scandinavian (ca. AD 200; see e.g. Schalin 2014: 405, Table 1), even if the chronologies of Finnic and North Germanic languages should not be considered to coincide exactly.[28] According to this chronology, the loans would not have been earlier than the 3rd century AD.

The loanwords of the semantic fields of this vocabulary can also be contrasted with those of Scandinavian origin. The shared semantic domain of *hāvtē and *kālmē seems more likely to reflect Proto-Finnic influence connected with death and burial rather than the two loans being independent. The corresponding shared semantic domain of *heaŋkę and *vājmō is also noteworthy, although they do not correspondingly both connect to a common area of practices (which for *hāvtē and *kālmē extend to the construction of the landscape). As vocabulary connected with the semantic sphere of 'souls', however, it is possible that these loans became established in connection with religious concepts such as what happens to an individual's identity at death, or related to the power, agency and supernatural activity of a ritual specialist like a shaman.

When one of a shaman's primary roles in a community is the maintenance of health, *tāvtę would also presumably connect with these roles. *Tāvtę could complement existing vocabulary no less than accumulating words for 'monster'. Although core vocabulary seems like it would be more resilient to innovation, the Proto-Sámi vocabulary for the physical body leaves it open to question whether words for imaginal aspects of the body – 'souls' – may also have spread through dispersed language networks.

The spread of *mānō shows that even words for prominent cosmological features could spread through those networks. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that *hāvtē and *kālmē would have spread independently of both one another and also of related concepts or practices. A possibility that seems still less likely when the words group with terms for 'souls' and 'illness' rather than with a more varied range of words connected with religion and belief.

The clustering observed in these Finnic borrowings is more striking when considered in relation to the history of Finnic languages, which seems unlikely to have had extensive

geographical reach in the Proto-Scandinavian period. This situation may have changed with the transformation to trade networks in the second half of the 6th century (see Tvauri 2014: 44–47 and works there cited). However, changes in patterns of borrowing vocabulary into Proto-Sámi by that time (Aikio 2012) may be an indicator that its vocabulary had become more stable (see also Frog & Saarikivi 2014/2015: 107). The Proto-Finnic vocabulary borrowed into Proto-Sámi seems to exhibit a fairly tight semantic clustering in vocabulary that seems less open to free renewal. When this is considered in relation to the contact history with Proto-Finnic, it seem most likely that both loanword vocabulary related to burial and to vernacular physiology entered Proto-Sámi at an earlier stage and were carried with the language rather than entering later and spreading pervasively through Proto-Sámi dialects.[29]

According to this hypothesis, the *terminus post quem* of *hāvtē and *heaŋkę makes the most likely scenario that the borrowings occurred during or immediately prior to the first stages of Proto-Sámi's expansion and were carried with it. The window for the loans is thus fairly limited. If this chronology is correct, it increases the probability that *heaŋkę was borrowed in the same processes that produced loans related to places of the dead, and perhaps also of *vājmō. What these processes may have been is a mystery, but they collectively suggest a significant Proto-Finnic impact on at least an area of religious life of speakers of Proto-Sámi at roughly the time it began to spread. The *terminus post quem* of such vocabulary also adds to the indicators of the rapidity of Proto-Sámi's spread.[30]

### Proto-Finnic Loans into Pre-Sámi

The third term that Lehtiranta identifies as a Finnic loanword connected with religion and beliefs was borrowed already into Pre-Sámi:

(12) *pearkęlę (§914)  (beargalat)
      'evil spirit, devil'

The noun *pearkęlę ['devil'] is semantically similar to the Scandinavian loans above but differs in that the Finnic term (~ Fi. *perkele* ['devil']) is prominent in legends and mythology of the source language as an adversary of the thunder-god and later of the Christian God. The Finnic term is itself considered an early

Baltic loan of the name of the thunder god (~ Lit. *Perkūnas*) (*SSA* II, *s.v.* 'perkele'). Borrowing the name of a positive god from another group and presenting it as the adversary of one's own sky-god is a strategy of mythic discourse that is recurrently found in Uralic mythologies (Ajkhenvald et al. 1989: 157). However, this strategy was quite remote from the term's spread with Proto-Sámi, where it seems to have been a common noun without a connection to distinct belief traditions.[31]

Another term for 'luck' can also be added here, although it is etymologically problematic:

(13) *\*vuorpē* (§1463) (*vuorbi*)
    'lot, luck'

Proto-Sámi *\*vuorpē*, equivalent to Fi. *arpa* ['lot, luck'], appears to go back to Pre-Sámi. The word has customarily been viewed as belonging to a common Finno-Sámic language period and would have been carried with Proto-Sámi spread. The Sámi and Finnic terms are phonologically and semantically equivalent. They are commonly considered a loan from Proto-Germanic, although the Germanic term concerns especially material 'shares' of inheritance rather than abstract or supernatural 'luck'.[32] If the Germanic origin is accepted, the semantic equivalence of the Sámi and Finnic terms could be explained by the loan being mediated to Pre-Sámi via Proto-Finnic. If both terms are treated as independent borrowings from Proto-Germanic, the implication would be that the word's meaning in the source language was closer to these loans than to its later Germanic cognates. In either case, this word could reflect understandings of the supernatural transmitted in conjunction with Proto-Sámi language. In this case, however, it becomes impossible to determine whether such understandings would have merely been encoded in the vocabulary or would reflect a broader conceptual system.

### (West) Uralic Vocabulary

Five of the terms linked to religion and belief by Lehtiranta are identified as having cognates in Finnic and other Uralic languages without being identified as loans of one sort or another. Three of these are clearly connected with shamanism (problems of defining 'shamanism' and comparison of Sámi shamanism with Central and Northern Eurasian or 'classic'

shamanism will be left aside until the review of Common Proto-Sámi vocabulary is completed):

(14) *\*noajtē* (§739) (*noaidi*)
    'shaman, sorcerer'
(15) *\*koamtē* (§473) (*goavdi*)
    'shaman drum; cover'
(16) *\*keavrē* (§398) (*geavri*)
    'hoop, ring, shaman drum'

Proto-Sámi *\*noajtē* is considered to have cognates in Finnic (e.g. Fi. *noita* ['witch, sorcerer, shaman']) and Mansi languages (Southern / Tavdin *näjt*, Eastern / Konda *ńǟjt*, Western / Pelym *näjt-kum*, Northern / Soswa *ńäjt* ['shaman']); Mikhail Zhivlov (2014: 137) has recently identified a potential cognate in Ezra Mordvin: *nud'ńe-* ['to tell fortunes']. The word is generally believed to derive from Proto-Uralic *\*nojta*, referring to a shaman who uses a drum and ecstatic trance techniques (Haavio 1967: 313–314; Rédei et al. 1986–1988: 307–308; UEW #602 FU 'nojta'). The vowel in the Mansi terms is slightly irregular and could thus be of independent origin (Janhunen 1986: 109–110).[33] Terms for ritual specialist roles can exhibit long-term historical stability, but they identify social roles linked to frameworks of practices and potentially with religious identities. As a consequence, they are salient for borrowing in contacts related to religious change and confrontation (see also Tadmor 2009). In his review of vocabulary connected with shamanism in Uralic languages, Juha Janhunen (1986: 113) found that terms for 'shaman' are only reconstructable to proto-languages within a few branches of the Proto-Uralic family; he considers it improbable, albeit not impossible, that a Proto-Uralic term for 'shaman' would be preserved.

In Sámi languages, the word *noaidi*'s semantic field included different types of ritual specialists. At least in later material, the shaman who used a drum and went into trance-states was considered the most powerful type of *noaidi*. The term *noaidi*, however, seems to have referred generally to the social role of someone who ritually engages with supernatural beings and powers rather than to a particular technology for doing so; and its use was more recently expanded to include a European meaning of 'witch' (see Rydving 1987). The mobile hunting cultures that underwent shifts to Proto-Sámi can be assumed to have had

established ritual practices and specialists. The semantic flexibility of later *noaidi* and its cognates suggests any comparable specialist would be referred to as a *\*noajtē* in Proto-Sámi. The term therefore cannot be considered an indicator that a ritual specialist institution of shamanism spread with Proto-Sámi.

Lehtiranta identifies two terms with 'shaman drum', but both appear to have had other primary semantics. Proto-Sámi *\*koamtē* is a term for a covering that has cognates in several West Uralic languages (~ Fi. *kansi* ['cover, lid'], Mordvin *kunda* ['id.'], Mari *komδɘ̂š* ['id.'], ?Komi *śin-kud* ['eye-lid']; UEW #1330, PF 'komta'). The meaning 'drum' appears to be a metonymic derivative of reference to the drum's skin. Finno-Karelian languages used *kannus*, a potential derivative of this term, for 'shaman drum' (*SKES* I, *s.v.* 'kannus 2'; Haavio 1967: 297–302), which could have evolved through Sámi contacts. The term *\*keavrē* only exhibits cognates in North Finnic (~ Fi. *käyrä* ['a curve, bend']) and its use for 'drum' seems likely a corresponding metonymic derivative of the drum's frame.[34] The drum is an emblematic feature of classic shamanism (notably absent from Finno-Karelian practices, which underwent a transformation of religious technologies: see Frog 2013). However, the words could have been transferred to local material culture much as *\*noajtē* might have been to an indigenous shaman. The metonyms could also be calques of other vernaculars. They cannot be considered indicators that either a material culture or technology of shamanism spread with Proto-Sámi.

Lehtiranta lists one term describing a performance behaviour that have been might be connected with ritual or religious practice:

(17) *\*vuolē*　(§1433)　(*vuollu*)
　　'song; to invoke, exorcise, curse'

Proto-Sámi *\*vuolē* has cognates in North Finnic (~ Fi. *vala* ['oath, vow']) and probably Mordvin (~ *val* ['word']) (*SSA* III, *s.v.* 'vala'). It was inherited from Pre-Sámi, potentially as a term for some (or any?) form of ritual verbal art with supernatural effects. However, it is unclear whether or in what way its semantics may have been affected during the spread and evolution of Proto-Sámi. The cognates suggest that *\*vuolē* was perceived as a type of speech behaviour, and the North Finnic cognates

support the possibility of some sort of ritual or supernatural connotation already in Pre-Sámi, but it is difficult to unravel the background of Proto-Sámi words for vocal performance.

The Common Proto-Sámi word for 'sun' also belongs to an earlier stratum of vocabulary:

(18) *\*peajvē*　(§905)　(*beaivi*)
　　'day, sun'

The term *\*peajvē* is unambiguously related to the corresponding Finnic term (~ Fi. *päivä* ['day, sun']); comparisons with possible cognates in Komi and Khanty are ambiguous (*SSA* II: *s.v.* 'päivä'; UEW #715 FU 'päjwä', and cf. #714 'päjä'). The sun was a central cosmological symbol that was ascribed agency in folklore and also linked to ritual (Karsten 1955: 30–33; Lundmark 1982: 13–56; Kulonen et al. 2005: 32–33). However, the sun is a prominent natural phenomenon connected with mythologies almost universally (Eliade 1958, Part III "The Sun and Sun-Worship"). Although cognates of this word appear as a supernatural agent, it is not clear that the word was transmitted in this connection. The fact that *beaivi* is a female being on the Scandinavian Peninsula and a male being on the Kola Peninsula (Lundmark 1982: 50; 1985; Kulonen et al. 2005: 32–33) suggests that the same word became identified with different conceptions of the sun in each region. On the other hand, Ernst Manker (1950: 62) observes that the sun appears to be prominently represented on all Sámi drum-types and there are regional differences in its representation, yet it is never presented with an anthropomorphic form (1950: 62–68; Lundmark 1982: 39–46). There are thus striking differences in traditions related to the sun in different regions, but also broad patterns that seem to extend across different regions. A critical review of evidence of the traditions related to the sun is needed with attention to regional differences.[35] Nevertheless, the general impression of the evidence is that the term *\*peajvē* spread with Proto-Sámi but was no more connected to the spread of associated religious concepts, beliefs and practices than *\*mānō*.

Three additional terms warrant mention here although they remain extremely ambiguous:

(19) *\*peșē*　(§866)　(*básse*)
　　'sacred, holy'

(20) *ẹmẹs   (§17)   (amas)
        'strange, unknown'
(21) *jāmē-   (§256)   (jápmit)
        'to die'

Proto-Sámi *pẹsē and its Finnic cognate (~ Fi. pyhä) may have other Uralic cognates (Saarikivi 2007: 327–331), but concepts of 'sacred' are so common (e.g. Anttonen 2013: 14) that the spread of this word cannot be assumed to have communicated, rather than translated, the concept as Proto-Sámi spread.

Proto-Sámi *ẹmẹs has cognates in Finnic (~ Fi. ihme ['wonder, miracle']) and Ante Aikio (2015: 8–10) has recently identified cognates in Khanty (Proto-Khanty *jēm ['religious or social taboo'], *jēmǝŋ ['sacred']).[36] Aikio (2015: 9) also observes that the South and Ume Sámi forms have clearly been borrowed from more northerly Sámi languages. This word may have been connected to religious concepts or beliefs in Pre-Sámi, but it is not clear that these were maintained in Proto-Sámi's spread. In later languages, the word appears simply as a label for what is other or unknown.

Proto-Sámi *jāmē- has been argued to have cognates in Finnic and Komi languages that suggest it spread with Proto-Sámi, but the meaning 'death' would be a euphemism according to this etymology (Saarikivi 2007: 337; see also Koponen 2005: 154–155). It is then unclear whether the word spread with Proto-Sámi in the sense of 'to die' or if it developed this meaning through contacts with other languages and subsequently spread through Proto-Sámi dialects.

Proto-Sámi vocabulary shared with other Uralic languages exhibits words for categories associated with beliefs, mythology and ritual practices. These include fundamental categories of empirical experience such as 'sun' and 'to die' as well as socially constructed categories of 'shaman' and 'sacred'. However, the spread of this vocabulary is not accompanied by evidence that Proto-Sámi conceptions, institutions and practices spread with them as opposed to being used as practical and potentially quite broad labels for local understandings of phenomena and local practices – i.e. pragmatic translations for inter-group communication.

### Vocabulary of Unknown Origin

The picture is completed by considering Common Proto-Sámi terms of unknown origin. These include one of the most prominent and widely discussed words connected with Sámi religions:

(22) *siejtē   (§1140)   (sieidi)
        'sacrificial stone'

The term *siejtē is perhaps the most noteworthy among terms reviewed here because it refers to sites of ritual activity that allowed access to the unseen world. As such, it presents the possibility that Proto-Sámi may have spread with concepts about particular types of religiously significant site in the landscape. The term is not attested for South or Ume Sámi, i.e. in the southwest and adjacent part of the central-west religion region, but it is considered borrowed into Finnish place names even in southern Finland (Aikio 2007b: 172–173, 191–192). Distinguishing a Finnish borrowing of *siejtē from one of Proto-Sámi sijtë (§1130) (siida) ['(Sámi) village'] is phonologically problematic, but a local form of *siejtē is likely behind toponyms for rock formations (see Aikio 2007b:191; 2009: 147). If *siejtē was current in souther Finland, it was likely also in Southwest Proto-Sámi but dropped out.

There is no consensus on this word's etymology.[37] The vowel combination *ie–ē indicates the word is a loan (Aikio 2012: 84). If borrowed before Proto-Sámi's spread, *siejtē could have been carried in conjunction with practices for engaging with the unseen world and associated conceptions.[38] If borrowed after Proto-Sámi had spread, it could be an indicator of practices and associated conceptions spreading through the extended language network. The practices and conceptions may have been subject to waves of transformation and reinterpretation, but they nevertheless seem to have a direct correlation with practices.

Loans of uncertain etymology include a term related to the material side of shamanic practice:

(23) *pẹlēmē (§856)   (ballin)
        'beater for a shaman's drum'

Lehtiranta only lists cognates of *pẹlēmē in Lule and Ter Sámi, while Pekka Sammallahti (1989: s.v. 'ballin:m') lists a North Sámi form. The limited attestations of this may simply be owing to limitations of the sources regarding

terminology for such a specific object. The beaters for Sámi shaman drums generally exhibit a common basic form (Manker 1938: 300–346), and they are found across regions with markedly different types of drum construction. Traditions of classic shamanism are characterized by cross-cultural isoglosses of individual features (e.g. Pavlinskaya 2001). Consequently, there is no reason to assume that this isogloss of drum beaters is linked to the spread of the noun *pęlēmē* with or through Proto-Sámi. Although *pęlēmē* appears linked especially to uses of the drum in technologies familiar to classic shamanism, it is not clear that the term spread in conjunction with that technology or particular practices.

One term of unknown origin groups with supernatural beings of legends and tales:

(24) *ācē* (§29) (*áhci*)
   'groin, crotch; female troll-monster'

Itkonen (1976: 25–44) contextualizes the folklore associated with *ācē* as belonging to the traditions of Northern Eurasian hunting cultures. Although the term connects with belief traditions, it could have spread through Proto-Sámi dialects in connection with narration.

Two additional words might be mentioned alongside the Proto-Finnic loan of *tāvtę*:

(25) *pākćęs* (§881) (*bávččas*)
   'pain, ache'
(26) *tālkkęs* (§1220) (*dálkkas*)
   'medicine, drug'

The word *pākćęs* was likely related to understandings of the body while *tālkkęs* was potentially connected with some type or types of healing practice. However, the significance of these terms remains unknown.

The vocabulary of unknown etymology does not exhibit clear semantic groupings. The term *siejtē* is of special interest because it connects directly with ritual practices. Nevertheless, so long as the etymologies remain unknown, it is impossible to determine whether these words were carried with the spread of Proto-Sámi or passed through the language networks later.

### Overview of Common Proto-Sámi Religious Vocabulary

Most of the twenty-six terms surveyed fall into distinct groups, which will be reviewed here before discussing their general implications. It is worth reiterating that 'Common Proto-Sámi' refers to vocabulary reconstructed for dialects with documented languages and may not be representative of dialects of Finland and Karelia. The words *ęmęs* ['strange'], *pęlēmē* ['drum-beater'] and *siejtē* ['sacrificial stone'] lack evidence in South and Ume Sámi, and thus may have already been absent from Southwest Proto-Sámi. *Sāvję* lacks a cognate in Ume and its referent in South Sámi differs considerably from cognates in other Sámi languages, leaving its history in the Southwest dialect unclear.

### Cosmology (2 words)

The Uralic or West Uralic term (18) *peajvē* ['day, sun'] spread with Proto-Sámi. Although the sun seems to have been of religious and ritual significance throughout Sámi language areas, variation in the sun's gender makes it questionable whether the mythic identity of the sun spread with language. The word *mānō* ['moon'] is a Proto-Scandinavian loan that spread through Proto-Sámi language networks after their geographic dispersal. It is not clear that it spread with any beliefs or practices related to the moon. Neither *peajvē* nor *mānō* seem to support a correlation between the spread of Proto-Sámi language and religious concepts or practices connected with cosmology. The example of *mānō* makes the negotiation of a Common Proto-Sámi lexicon appear to have potentially been largely independent of religion.

### Shamanism (5 words)

Three of the eight terms considered Uralic or West Uralic in origin are linked to shamanism. Only (14) *noajtē* ['shaman'] can be considered to have spread in this capacity. However, the term's use suggests that it was semantically quite flexible and inclusive rather like Modern English *priest* or *shaman*. Associations of (15) *koamtē* ['shaman drum; cover'] and (16) *keavrē* ['hoop, ring, drum'] with shamanism seem to have been secondary and are not uniform across Sámi languages. West Uralic (17) *vuolē* ['song; to invoke, curse'] refers to a performance practice, but it remains unclear whether the connection to magic or ritual developed during language spread; nor is it clear that the word was associated with 'shamanism'. The word (23) *pęlēmē* ['drum-

beater'], of uncertain origin, is linked to the materiality of shamanic practices. Only two of these words, *noajtē and *pẹlēmē belong unambiguously to the Common Proto-Sámi vocabulary of shamanism: it is not clear that the latter spread with Proto-Sámi, while the former seems not to have been specific to any particular practice or practitioner.

### Delimiting the Supernatural (4 words)
The Uralic or West Uralic word (19) *pẹsē ['sacred, holy'] was likely connected with delimiting spaces and times as religiously significant. However, the concept is so common that the word may quite possibly have been transferred to local concepts in Proti-Sámi' spread. Etymologically, the word (20) *ẹmẹs ['strange'] could have entailed a concept parallel to *pẹsē, but it may have lost connotations of the sacred in the process of Proto-Sámi spread if not before.

Two words stand out because they structure the supernatural in the landscape. The Proto-Scandinavian loan (2) *sāvjẹ was most likely encountered as a common noun for a body of fresh water. For reasons unknown, it became linked to supernatural concepts within the Proto-Sámi language network. The diversity of phenomena with which it is identified in different Sámi languages suggests that, rather than spreading with a uniform concept or practices, speakers applied *sāvjẹ as a term within local religion formations. It seem unlikely that *sāvjẹ ever designated a uniform concept or phenomenon across Proto-Sámi dialect areas. The word (22) *siejtē refers to a focus of ritual activity which is identified as a physical site for engaging in communication with the supernatural world. This word seems to be the only lexical item reviewed with a strong probability of spreading in conjunction with religious concepts and practices. Since *siejtē seems to be a loan into Proto-Sámi, however, it is unclear whether the term and connection with ritual or religious practices was established early and spread with the language or spread later through the dialect continuum.

### The Bear (1 word)
The Proto-Scandinavian loan *piernẹ ['bear'] could link to naming-avoidance and thus reflect taboos or concerns about how bears were referred to. This would be consistent with later traditions of bear ceremonialism among the Sámi, but such traditions of the bear are so common that it does not indicate traditions related to bears spread with Proto-Sámi.

### Burial and 'Souls' (5 words)
This set includes the Late Proto-Finnic loans (7) *hāvtē ['grave, hole'], (8) *kālmē ['grave'], (9) *heaŋkẹ ['breath; spirit'] and (10) *vājmō ['marrow; heart'] as well as the potentially Uralic or West Uralic *jāmē- ['to die']. These five terms are potentially all semantically central vocabulary that would be more resistant to exchange, even if such words were not exempt from the negotiation of a Common Proto-Sámi vocabulary. This group accounts for four of the five addressed Late Proto-Finnic loans, to which the fifth, (11) *tāvtẹ ['illness, malady'], addressed in the following section, can also be potentially linked through connection to vernacular physiology. Any clustering could be accidental. However, it potentially includes all of the Late-Proto-Finnic loans reviewed while constituting almost 20% of the total vocabulary reviewed – two factors that reduce the likelihood of coincidence. (The development in the semantics of the inherited term *jāmē- could also relate to this cluster, although evidence is lacking.) That there are two terms related to the materiality of burial is particularly striking. This vocabulary seems to reflect Proto-Finnic impacts on practices related to death and conceptions of the soul.

Historically, it seems most probable that these impacts preceded significant spread of Proto-Sámi. Once established, the terms linked to burial and death would presumably be used categorically and transferred to new contexts. This model would be consistent with long-term continuities in the archaeological record and the corresponding lack of evidence for new mortuary practices and relevant conceptions spreading once the dialect continuum had been established. The vocabulary cluster seem much less likely to be linked to a spread of practices in conjunction with Proto-Sámi. Terms related to vernacular physiology may have been to some degree encoded with the concepts and symbols to which they referred. The spread of the vocabulary may thus have had some impact on local conceptions. Nevertheless, their impacts on local categories and conceptions should not be exaggerated as religion *per se*.

*Illness, Luck and Medicine (5 words)*
In pre-modern environments, disruptions to the body such as illness or injury interfaced with vernacular models of physiology. Vernacular physiology engaged a mythic level of thought concerning the body and how it works. This brings the remaining Late Proto-Finnic loan (11) *tāvtę* ['illness, malady'] into alignment with the cluster related to death and physiology above, grouping also with (25) *pākćęs* ['pain, ache'], of uncertain etymology.

In Western societies today, physical disorders are clearly distinguished from social disorders like difficulty getting married or supernatural disorders like being cursed. In pre-modern societies, our scientifically-based distinctions between physical, social and supernatural fields do not hold: a healer can be visited to restore lost 'luck'; physical illness can be interpreted as an outcome of a curse or other supernatural agency. Thus, both (13) *vuorpē* ['lot, luck'], which spread with Proto-Sámi, and potentially the Proto-Scandinavian loan (5) *likkō* ['luck'] can be grouped with illness as a vocabulary of order and disorder of an individual's life for which supernatural intervention might be requested. The word (26) *tālkkęs* ['medicine'], of uncertain etymology, may also belong to the same sphere.

All five words in this section could have been relevant to ritual specialists. They also belong to categories that easily increase in vocabulary. In other words, there can be many words for 'pain', 'illness', 'medicine' or even 'luck' that make meaningful distinctions.

*Supernatural Agents of Legends (4 words)*
Four words designate supernatural agents of chaos or harm that are characters of legends and tales. The Proto-Finnic loan (12) *pearkęlę* has a long history but emerges as only a general term for 'evil spirit, devil'. The Proto-Scandinavian loan (3) *rāvkę* seems to have spread in conjunction with a specific concept, presumably in connection with narrative traditions. The roots of the Proto-Scandinavian loan (4) *stālō* are unclear, but this word seems to have developed considerably and spread widely within the Proto-Sámi language networks, again in connection with narrative traditions. The being called (24) *ācē* appears to be particularly connected with Northern Eurasian hunting cultures and similarly spread

through the Proto-Sámi language networks, although with an independent origin. All four categories of supernatural beings named in the Common Proto-Sámi lexicon are adversaries of society, agents of chaos. With the possible exception of *pearkęlę*, they are entities of narrative discourse, not objects of ritual, prayer and other religious activities.

*Gaps in the Common Proto-Sámi Lexicon*
Theonyms are conspicuously lacking from this inventory. This absence is more pronounced when Proto-Sámi retains cognates of the probable name of the Proto-Uralic sky god *Ilma* ['Sky'] as a common noun with no indication of its use as a theonym:[39]

 (27) *ęlmē* (§12) (*albmi*)
  'sky'

Uralic languages generally exhibit a historical pattern of semantic correlation that leads the phenomenon 'sky' to correspond to the theonym of the sky-god (Frog 2017). Proto-Sámi (less likely Pre-Sámi) seems not only to have lost the probable theonym *Ęlmē*: it also exhibits another term which equally lacks a corresponding theonym:

 (28) *ājmō* (§37) (*áibmu*)
  'sky, world, weather'

There is no consensus on the etymology of *ājmō*. It has been approached as from a Pre-Sámi language phase with a cognate in Finnic (~ Fi. *aimo* ['great; real']) or as a Proto-Scandinavian loan (~ ON *heimr* ['abode; region; village; world']).[40] In either case, the noun for the phenomenon does not exhibit a corollary theonym,[41] suggesting that Proto-Sámi diverged from the Uralic pattern of correlating the noun with the name of a corresponding god.

The central west and northwest religion regions exhibit an identification of the thunder god with derivatives of:

 (29) *ājjē* (§32) (*áddjá*)
  'grandfather'

*Ājjē* (~ Fi. *äijä* ['grandfather']) appears in this use in Ume, Arjeplog, Lule, Inari, Kemi, and most North Sámi areas (Rydving 2010: 97–101). It is paralleled in designations for the thunder-god in Finnic cultures as 'Grandfather' (Fi. *Äijä*), 'Old Man' (Fi. *Ukko*), and so on.[42]

(The attribute of age is also built into the South Sámi theonym *Hovrengaellies*, where, *gaellies* is a word for 'old man').[43] Proto-Sámi *ājjē* may thus have been carried with the language as a way to designate the thunder god. However, the designation's ambiguity would not necessarily require a change in the conception of the local god.

In the northeast religion region and in coastal North Sámi, the name of the thunder god and central sky god, Proto-Sámi *Tiermēs* (*Dierpmis*) (Rydving 2010: 98–102), appears to be a loan from a Palaeo-European language (Aikio 2012: 84). This theonym is an indicator that a prominent feature of indigenous religion was maintained through the language shift.

Some vocabulary of the Common Proto-Sámi lexicon was interfaced with religious concepts, yet there is a general absence of terms for otherworldly agents of a cosmogony or cosmology that would likely be at the center of religious discourse and activities. The exceptions are words for the 'sun' and 'moon', the former having spread with the language and the latter a loan that spread through Proto-Sámi dialects; neither seems linked to a spread of ideas about these celestial bodies as agents.

The lack of lexical evidence for positive otherworldly agents and forces that could be connected with religious activity in Common Proto-Sámi, contrasts with words of diverse background for four types of negative agents. In other words, about 15% of the 26 potential words reviewed were terms for supernatural agents, none of which would be central to religious activity; instead, they are types of supernatural agents that people would mainly talk about, and which could complement and expand any local set of words for 'monster'. On the other hand, the name of the main god in Northeast Proto-Sámi seems to have continuity from a linguistic-cultural group that underwent a language shift, which is counter-evidence to religion spreading with the language. Such gaps in lexical evidence are part of the context in which Common Proto-Sámi words like (14) *noajtē* ['shaman'] or (8) *kālmē* ['grave'] must be considered.

### Implications

A significant amount of information about the history of Sámi languages is encoded in the empirical data of the languages themselves. Proto-Sámi's intensive contacts with both North Germanic or Scandinavian languages and Palaeo-European languages of Lapland concentrate in the period ca. AD 200–500. The Late Proto-Finnic loans related to burial and 'souls' (or at least *heaŋkę* ['breath, spirit']) seem most likely to have entered Proto-Sámi in conjunction with a process of changing practices and understandings of vernacular physiology rather than the words being borrowed independently of one another and their semantic grouping being coincidental. It was proposed above that the assimilation of terms most probably occurred prior to, or at an early phase of, Proto-Sámi's spread, when the speech community or network was still relatively unified. If this is accepted, it implies that Proto-Sámi had not spread from southern Finland and Karelia before these loans, which can be dated to around or after AD 200 according to the phonetic shapes of *hāvtē* ['grave'] and *heaŋkę*. Although this does not indicate that practices and understandings linked to the words spread to the Kola and Scandinavian Peninsulas, it suggests a *terminus post quem* of ca. the 3rd century AD for Proto-Sámi's spread through Finland and Karelia. This dating is complementary to the 3rd century AD as a *terminus post quem* for intense contacts with both Proto-Scandinavian and indigenous languages of Lapland. When evidence of the Great Sámi Vowel Shift suggests Proto-Sámi was initially spoken by a relatively small speech community, the geographical reach of this language seems to have exploded over a relatively short period of time.

The extent of vocabulary exchange in the Proto-Sámi language network (at least at its geographical peripheries of Scandinavia and Lapland) indicates the role of this language in communication across extended networks. The fact that loans included core vocabulary suggests that trans-community intelligibility across the full area was sufficiently significant that all vocabulary was open to negotiation, at least for some period of time. Nevertheless, there seems to be a general lack of linguistic evidence for a common religion and mythology shared across this network, even if there were shared nominal categories like 'shaman' and 'sacred'.

It is unclear whether the category *siejtē* spread with the language, like the Late Proto-Finnic vocabulary linked to burial and 'souls', or spread later through the dialect continuum. In either case, *siejtē* appears exceptional because it probably spread in conjunction with an innovation to religious practices. This innovation may have only been an element of religion shared across communities rather than a spread of 'religion' as a complex system more pervasive in organizing social life.

Rather than Proto-Sámi spreading with religion – and by implication with 'Proto-Sámi culture' as social semiotic – the linguistic evidence appears more consistent with Proto-Sámi spreading at least initially as a medium of communication for extended networks of culturally distinct groups. This would not mean that it spread without any concepts or practices connected with religion. Instead, whatever may have been carried with it or spread later through those networks would more likely have been taken up into local and regional religion formations that could have remained quite diverse in other respects.

Of course, Proto-Sámi language spread via people, and those people doubtless had religious ideas, practices and a broader religious register of behaviour. We lack knowledge on the social side of the language's spread. Proto-Sámi-speaking populations that moved to the Kola and Scandinavian Peninsulas or became active there in long-distance mobility may have been relatively few. Once their language became established and other groups began undergoing language shifts, their own religion and culture may have simply been eclipsed. Or the language's success as a medium for inter-group communication might derive from an ideology of religious and cultural adaptability. Or Proto-Sámi might have become a language for inter-group communication before leaving Finland, carried to the peninsulas by people who had another primary language, culture and religion. Whatever happened, if it is roughly correct that Proto-Sámi spread primarily as a medium of inter-group communication, then this has a number of implications for the analysis of Sámi religions.

First of all, binary concerns of whether a feature of religion is 'Sámi' or 'foreign' must open to consider continuity of elements through a language shift. Theonyms and the identities of gods known on a localized basis such as *Ruto*[44] could potentially have a non-Sámi heritage no less than *Tiermēs*. Non-linguistic behaviours may also have had continuity of local transmission through a language shift. Earlier research presumed that a continuity of material culture co-occurred with a continuity of language. This led medieval Sámi cultures to be traced in the archaeological record through continuities of "a coherent and roughly unified material repertoire" (Svestad 2013: 124) going back to the first and second millennium BC. Such continuities include so-called scree graves (*urgraver*), wrapping the deceased in birch bark and uses of metal objects.[45] Language chronology reveals that these archaeological cultures must have undergone language shifts to Proto-Sámi, presumably during the Iron Age.

The significant differences in techniques or technologies for constructing drums should not be assumed to reflect a Common Proto-Sámi drum tradition that underwent great regional changes and innovations, nor should the regional differences in iconography (Manker 1938: 82–104, esp. Fig 67, 109–150, 447–838; see also Bertell 2017). These could reflect differences in the local heritage of indigenous groups that remained emblematic through the shift to Proto-Sámi of how 'we' make drums as opposed to how 'they' do. Of course, such aspects of material culture would continue to evolve through ongoing contacts between groups both before and after the language shift. Language is only one system of signifying behaviour, and other varieties of signifying behaviours might have continuity through language change.

The alternative model of language spread outlined here would also mean that Sámi religions cannot be assumed to reflect an Uralic heritage. In this light, uses of Sámi evidence in the comparative study of Uralic religions should require careful justification. For example, the conception found among Sámi that a shaman loses his power when he has lost his teeth (Rydving 2010: 82) has parallels in Nenets (Lehtisalo 1924: 166), Northern Selkups (Tuchkova et al. 2010: 249), Komi (Konokov et al. 2003: 310), and Finno-Karelian (Stark 2006: 280) traditions.[46] It could thus be consistent with an Uralic heritage and may have spread with Proto-Sámi language. On the other

hand, Finno-Karelians, among whom this conception was prominent, were active in trade networks to the north in the Middle Ages and some immigrated into Lapland during that period. Proto-Sámi speakers could have adopted the concept through contacts with them. It is thus necessary to apply K.B. Wiklund's (1916: 46) dictum that "one must here first and foremost seek to determine the source's geographical provenance," and combine it with a critical comparative method.

When Sámi languages are potentially spoken by multiple cultures that at some point began speaking Proto-Sámi language, generalizations of '(pan-)Sámi religion' become highly problematic. Comparisons to Old Norse (e.g. Price 2002; Tolley 2009) or Finno-Karelian (e.g. Frog 2013) traditions require cautious assessment of 'which' Sámi religion formation is being considered or whether comparison is made with features found across religion formations. Proposing cross-cultural isoglosses of elements of ritual (Tolley 2009 I: 260) or mythology (Frog 2011) should similarly be more nuanced than they have been in the past. Propositions of influences on, or received from, 'Sámi' traditions (e.g. Unwerth 1911; Strömbäck 2000 [1935]) should also consider whether parallels might reflect an indigenous culture behind these impacts.

If language shifts to Proto-Sámi allowed continuities of indigenous religions and ritual technologies, this could potentially shed light on the variations that seem to set 'Sámi shamanism' apart from other forms of classic shamanism. These variations have otherwise been interpreted as the result of a deterioration or breakdown in an inherited form of the tradition.[47] The concept of 'shamanism' has been flexed in scientific and popular discourse to include phenomena on a global scale (e.g. Eliade 2004 [1964]), with the result that the label 'shaman' often seems more evaluative than informative (see also Rydving 2011). Central and Northern Eurasian or 'classic' shamanism (Siikala 1978) is a more specific if still broad areal phenomenon found across languages and cultures. It is not a religion; classic shamanism refers to a complex of features linked to ritual technologies, practices, conceptions of the body, relations of the specialist to agents and forces in the unseen

world, cosmological structures and so forth (see e.g. Vajda 1958). This complex has evolved historically and exhibits numerous culture-specific manifestations. Comaprable elements in compared traditions may thus be equivalent rather than identical.

A distinctive development of classic shamanism is the centralization of power and authority to mediate with the unseen world in the person of the shaman. One manifestation of this development is the so-called 'cult of shamans', whereby shamans could be elevated to the status of guardian spirits or gods (Hultkrantz 1995 [1993]: 149–151). The history of this development is unclear. The broader form of shamanism in which it emerged is considered to be rooted in small hunting societies and is generally accepted as having roots going back to the Palaeolithic period. Some form of classic shamanism is commonly inferred as part of an Uralic heritage.[48] In either case it is inferred as probable for Pre-Sámi culture. On the other hand, the features that set apart forms of shamanism found among Sámi groups have been considered potentially more archaic from a broad comparative perspective. For example, the evidence can give the impression that "there was no proper boundary-line between the shamans and the laity" (Hultkrantz 1992: 140): men who were not formally shamans could use the drum; Sám shamans lack formal costuming; and everyone is imagined to have helping spirits rather than such supernatural support being exclusive to the shaman (Hultkrantz 1987; 1992).[49] Northern Fennoscandia and the Scandinavian Peninsula are at the geographical periphery of the area of classic shamanism. It is therefore open to question whether the practices of indigenous groups in these territories were affected by the developments of classic shamanism. Interpreting of features of Sámi shamanism as more archaic than developments in classic shamanism would be anachronous if this shamanism is presumed to have an Uralic heritage. However, the same features would be reasonable for Palaeo-European groups of Lapland who began speaking Proto-Sámi language but retained their established structures of religion. By reconsidering the relationship between Sámi language and religion, old riddles like these can be approached in new ways.

This model also has another side that should not be overlooked. If Proto-Sámi spread without a full package of culture, it would presumably only be equipped for a limited range of linguistic behaviours and activities. Languages are not uniform, monolithic entities; they are constituted of multitudes of registers, each linked to repeatable practices and recurrent social situations (e.g. Halliday 1978; Agha 2007). Among the relatively small speech communities of mobile hunting and fishing cultures, multilingualism can be expected as a norm (e.g. Saarikivi & Lavento 2012). If Proto-Sámi spread centrally as a medium of communication leading it to become *de facto* a *lingua franca*, it would most likely coexist with the registers in local languages used for ritual, epic, entertainment and so forth. Local language shifts would lead this distribution of communicative labour to break down. Different practices would require the formation of metrical or functional Proto-Sámi equivalents or they would simply not survive the changing of generations as the old language became opaque (cf. Nenets epic performed in Komi motivated by language shift: Konakov et al. 2003: 65–66). There is no evidence of an epic poetry tradition in any Sámi language[50] nor of a principle Proto-Sámi oral meter, nor even of a shared Proto-Sámi poetic system. Proto-Sámi seems to have had vocabulary for varieties of oral performance behaviours, including *vuolē* addressed above, *lāvlō* (*lávlut*) ['to sing'] (§578) (borrowed from Proto-Finnic, ~ Fi. *laulaa* ['to sing']) and *juojkę-* (*juoigat*) ['to yoik'] (§288) (etymology uncertain, as is its relationship to North Finnic cognates, ~ Fi. *joikua* ['to yoik']).[51] The verb *juojkę-* seems to designate a distinctive category and could reflect a practice that spread with Proto-Sámi language. Nevertheless, the word (and practice) could also have spread later, potentially in response to gaps left in verbal art following language shifts.

The question of registers of language might seem tangential, yet registers of verbal art associated with ritual practices and essential cultural knowledge become interfaced with different areas of vernacular mythology (see Frog 2015: 47–50).[52] If Proto-Sámi did not spread with such registers, it is unlikely to have spread with a 'Proto-Sámi mythology' and 'Proto-Sámi religion'. At the same time, language shifts to Proto-Sámi would entail a discontinuity of such indigenous registers. Thus, language shifts would produce significant disruptions and transformations in the communication of orally transmitted knowledge within these groups.

### Rethinking Assumptions

If Proto-Sámi may have spread primarily as a medium of communication, then a Common Proto-Sámi culture as social semiotic cannot be taken as a given: it must be tested and critically reassessed. The preceding discussion has argued grounds for the theory that Proto-Sámi spread as a medium of communication. Focus was on the rate and geographical scope of language spread in relation to the lack of internal linguistic evidence that language spread with corollary religious practices and mythology. The arguments have not demonstrated that no complex religious system accompanied the spread of Proto-Sámi language, nor was that the aim. The aim was to problematize the fundamental research assumption that Proto-Sámi language spread in conjunction with a full complex of culture and ethnic identity. The theory outlined here presents an alternative model that appears to reasonably account for the data. It can now be further explored and tested against a wider range of evidence. It may eventually be found that Proto-Sámi did spread with a significant package of culture, of which a *siejtē* tradition was only one element, On the other hand, the theonym *Tiermēs* indicates, at the very least, religious creolization. The review of evidence here illustrates that imaging that Proto-Sámi spread 'with culture' or 'without culture' easily inclines to binary extremes of either/or whereas the reality – whatever it may have been – was most likely somewhere in between.

*Frog (mr.frog[at]helsinki.fi) Folklore Studies / Department of Philosophy, History, Culture and Art Studies, PL 59 (Unioninkatu 38 B 230), 00014 University of Helsinki, Finland.*

## Notes

1. These materials are covered in the discussion of Valtonen 2008.
2. A theory of a language shift was advanced more than a century ago by K.B. Wiklund; on this and related discussions, see Aikio 2004: 6–7; 2012: 80–81.
3. Lehtiranta reconstructs to the period described in the terminology that he uses as 'Middle Proto-Sámi' (*keskikantasaame*) whereas Aikio's 'Proto-Sámi' corresponds more closely to the 'Late Proto-Sámi' in Lehtiranta's terminology. The main difference is that Lehtiranta follows the earlier standard practice of presenting *ō* for *uo*, long bottom-open *o* (not available in most electronic fonts) for *oa*, *ē* for *ie* and *ɛ̄* for *ea* in stressed-syllables (cf. Korhonen 1981: 76). I very much appreciate Juha Kuokkala's assistance in navigating the differences in terminology used by these and other scholars, as well as how the different terms get related to the chronology of specific phonological changes.
4. E.g. Sammallahti 1998; see also the review of models of Uralic language stemmas in Syrjänen et al. 2013; this view seems, however, to be rapidly changing: see e.g. Saarikivi 2011; Zhivlov 2014; Kallio 2015a.
5. Jorma Koivulehto (2001: 239–247) has discussed an extremely early group of Indo-European loans, of which a significant proportion are attested only in Sámi languages (see also Sammalahti 2012: 99; cf. Kallio 2009). The number of relevant etymologies is limited, but if Koivulehto's interpretation is accepted, it would suggest a very early separation of Finnic and Sámi from a dialect of Proto-Uralic (Aikio 2012: 75–76).
6. The Common Proto-Sámi vocabulary for livestock animals outside of reindeer appears to have entered through Proto-Scandinavian contacts after Proto-Sámi spread (cf. Lehtiranta 2001: §499 'cow', §1114 'sheep', §1407 'ram').
7. The customary semantics attributed to the Germanic source word relate it to 'bog ore' (~ ON *rauði* ['bog ore'], cf. *rauðr* ['red']) (e.g. Viitso 2012: 189); a more compelling proposal is that EPG *\*rauđan-* was also the earlier word for 'iron' and was then replaced by the Proto-Celtic *\*īsarno-* ['iron'] → EPG *\*īsarna- ~ *īsarna-* ['iron'] (Kallio 2015a: 30; see also Kroonen 2013: 271, *s.v.* '\*īsarna- ~ *īzarna-*).
8. The dating of this loan is problematic. The word could have been borrowed already with the introduction of iron objects before the introduction of iron-working technologies (Kallio 2015a: 30).
9. Aikio designates this the 'east dialect', but his designations consider surviving descendants of Proto-Sámi dialects. The terminology here allows for labelling additional Proto-Sámi dialects that, in the future, may be distinguished through toponymy and other loanword vocabulary.
10. Swedish toponymy with the element *Lapp-* seems to indicate that mobile groups were active both in the archipelago of southwest Finland during the medieval period (Heikkilä 2014: 316) and in roughly adjacent areas of Sweden, whence they spread to the north and inland (Zachrisson et al. 1997: 187). The macro-toponym *Fin(n)land* also suggests Scandinavians

earlier identified the populations of Southwest Finland on the trans-Baltic route with the mobile groups they called *Finnar* (see Frog & Saarikivi 2014/2015: 81–82). (See also Olsen 1995; Zachrisson et al. 1997; see Salo 2000; Zachrisson 2008.
11. Rydving's regions were designated: *southern*, *central*, *northern* and *Kemi Saami*.
12. The formulation of the axiom is Kristiansen's (2009: 115–116), earlier presented as one of several "assumptions" in an argument about Proto-Indo-European spread that is not relevant here.
13. In his discussion of radical changes in Scandinavian ritual practices during the Migration Period, Andreas Nordberg (2012) stresses that these most likely reflects reconfigurations within existing mythologies and broader religious frameworks. The changes mentioned in Proto-Sámi societies seem primarily to have affected social organization, and thus may have only impacted particular social domains and practices.
14. The purpose in this article is to open the question of whether Proto-Sámi language spread in conjunction with religion. For the sake of discussion, Lehtiranta's etymologies are accepted without detailed review. Most important here are the items of Proto-Sámi vocabulary themselves.
15. Centrality is conceived of in terms of the number of interdependencies which would be affected within a system if it were to change (see Converse 1964).
16. Some of the examples listed by Lehtiranta as having Finnic cognates are identified here as loans because they have not been affected by the Great Sámi Vowel Shift (e.g. *\*vājmō* below).
17. See also Sammallahti 2012: 102; such languages are perhaps impossible to unravel from the toponymy.
18. This definition is adapted from Valk 2012: 23.
19. See Itkonen 1976: 12–25; Kulonen et al. 2005: 408; see also Qvigstad 1925: *Märchen* types 313–314, 475, 1000–1167; legend types 134–145.
20. On the concept of tradition dominant, see Eskeröd 1947: 79–81; Honko 1981a: 23–24; 1981b: 35–36.
21. Lid 1933: 61–62; cf. ONP, *s.v.* 'stál[2]'; cf. Cleasby & Vigfússon 1896: 589, *s.v.* 'stál[3, II]'; de Vries 1961: 542, *s.v.* 'stál'; Kroonan 2013: 472, *s.v.* '\*stahla-', 472–473, *s.v.* '\*stalla-', 475, *s.v.* '\*staþla-'; ON *stáli* is only attested as a name epithet (four examples in in ONP, *s.v.* 'stáli'); although *stáli* may have resonated with *stál* ['steel'], there are not corresponding uses of *járn* ['iron'] to form a name-epithet or term for 'man'. The statement in Kulonen et al. (2005: 408) that, "It has not been possible to establish the origin of the word *stállu* with any certainty," seems exaggerated.
22. E.g. the epithets *bjálki* ['rafter'], *dettiáss* ['thud-beam'], *skǫkull* ['cart-pole'], *stafr* ['staff'] and *stǫng* ['pole'] (Uckelman 2011). These epithets may have carried sexual connotations.
23. The most striking of these has been comparison with a Sámi Christmas mumming tradition in northern Norway where *stállu* is the term (or part of the term) for the otherworld visitor (see also Itkonen 1976: 14; Gunnell 1995: 105). However, Lid's comparisons are limited by the methodology of his time. They are problematic because: *a*) the review of *stállu* traditions

is selective, bringing forward positive comparisons without situating these in the broader range of *stállu* traditions; *b*) it does not consider whether the term *stállu* may have been identified with these traditions after ca. AD 500; *c*) it does not open the implication that *stállu* would have been borrowed potentially in conjunction with a network of traditions related to Yuletide, or *d*) whether it is reasonable to suggest that e.g. Christmas mumming would be a tradition among mobile groups before ca. AD 500.

24. The lack of medieval evidence for a supernatural being called *stáli* in Old Norse would then be largely a result of the term taking root in Icelandic tradition. The absence of evidence of *stáli* from poetry is ambiguous (cf. *risi* ['giant'], exceptional in poetry). Hypothetically, *stáli* could have also been misidentified as *stála*, the genitive plural of *stál* ['steel'].

25. The observation above that the language ecology on the Scandinavian Peninsula seems to have supported initial consonant clusters beginning with /s/ does not resolve which languages were present.

26. Bear ceremonialism has been considered to have Palaeolithic roots: see Janhunen 2003; Germonpré & Hämäläinen 2007; Witzel 2012: 243–244, 399–400.

27. Lehtiranta also reconstructs *\*sormē* (*sorbmi*) ['(untimely) death'] (§1152), generally accepted as a Finnic loan (~ Fi. *surma* ['(untimely) death']), attested with cognates in northeast and northwest Proto-Sámi. Phonologically, this word gives the superficial impression of having undergone the vowel shift and thus as having been borrowed already in Pre-Sámi, but it is considered a case of 'etymological nativization' (Aikio 2007a: 26).

28. I would like to thank Johan Schalin for discussing this issue with me.

29. The alternative scenario would require accounting for the pervasive spread of two terms related to 'grave' across diverse Proto-Sámi cultural areas although these do not exhibit uniformity or convergence of burial practices in the archaeological record on a corresponding scope.

30. The borrowing of the Finnic word for 'god' (Fi. & Kar. *jumala*) is found throughout the Sámi languages (e.g. Lule *jūpmel*, Kildin *jimmel*, North Sámi *ibmel*). Cognates are attested in South, Ume, Pite, Lule, North, Inari, Skolt, Akkala, Kildin and Ter Sámi (Álgu Database, Language: Finnish, Word family: jumala). The sound change of Finnic diphthong *ju-* is irregular, suggesting the word is a younger loan (Korhonen 1981: 83). It becomes *ju-/jü-* in South, Ume, Pite and Lule Sámi on the Scandinavian Peninsula, *i-* in North, Inari and Skolt Sámi, and *ji-* in Akkala, Kildin and Ter on the Kola Peninsula. Lehtiranta does not reconstruct it as belonging to the Common Proto-Sámi vocabulary. The history of this word and its spread warrants detailed investigation, particularly with regard to whether it has entered some of these languages specifically in connection with Christianity.

31. For example, *The Saami: A Cultural Encyclopaedia* (Kulonen et al. 2005) does not include an entry for *beargalat* or 'devil', nor does the term appear under the entry 'spirits' (2005: 406–407).

32. See furher *LägLoS* I, *s.v.* 'arpa'; *SKES* I, *s.v.* 'arpa'; *SSA* I, *s.v.* 'arpa'; the word has been reconstructed back to Proto-Uralic through comparison with a word from Hungarian, but the vowel correspondence is irregular (UEW #25, FU 'arpa'); an extremely early loan from Turkic has also been proposed (but cf. Janhunen 1986).

33. In his overview of the historical stratification of the lexicon of Sámi languages, Sammallahti (1998: 123) presents *noaidi* among terms that "date back to (at least) Proto-Finno-Saamic" rather than to Proto-Finno-Ugric or Proto-Uralic (which he distinguishes). Kulonen et al. (2005: 244–245) suggest that if the words are related, the phonological irregularity could be an indication that the word spread laterally through language networks, but this remains speculation.

34. *SSA* only lists a meaning of 'drum' for South Sámi and 'Sámi of Sweden' in early sources; use for 'drum' may thus be relatively localized. An etymology from Pre-Indo-Iranian has been proposed by Koivolehto (2001: 249).

35. The female sun-being is found adjacent to Scandinavian culture and aligns with the northern Indo-European zone where the sun is identified as feminine, considered potentially attributable to substrate influence (West 2007: 195–196). A female deity has also been associated with the sun in Uralic cultures (Siikala 2002b). Traditions of a male sun-being on the Kola Peninsula stand apart from both of these.

36. This leads to an etymology from Proto-Uralic that renders moot the complex argument for an early Baltic loan (Aikio 2015: 9–10; cf. Sammallahti 1998: 126, 227).

37. Asko Parpola's (2004) relatively recent etymology has been positively received. He argues that *\*siejtē* is a borrowing of a Norwegian dialectal derivative of Old Norse *seiðr* ['sorcery'] with a *terminus post quem* of the 13th century (2004: 241–242). Phonologically, this is satisfying, but the semantic development 'witchcraft, shamanism' > '*sieidi* sites' requires an intermediate step connecting the Norwegian word to practices at *sieidi* sites, for which there is no evidence. In terms of chronology, the settlement history of southern Finland would seem to require that the loan be established in Proto-Sámi dialects there almost immediately for *\*siejtē*-based toponyms to be borrowed in areas where the mobile cultures were already retreating inland. Moreover, *sieidi* sites were already in use by the 13th century (Äikäs 2011), which would mean the loan's spread involved the rapid and widespread replacement of locally established words for these sites. The 13th century seems late for this loan. A Scandinavian etymology would also be inconsistent with other loans related to religious vocabulary.

38. In this case, variation in forms of the word in Finnish toponyms (Aikio 2007b: 190) might reflect its historical diversification in local dialects. When phonological evidence indicates the word was borrowed into Proto-Sámi, continuity from before or early in the language's spread could also be relevant

to potential etymologies. An etymology of *siejtē* that relates it to Late Middle Proto-Finnic *šiite* (~ Fi. *hiisi*) would thus date it to between the Great Sámi Vowel Shift and the shift from /š/ to /h/ in the transition to Late Proto Finnic (ca. AD 200). Historically, *hiisi* sites were places associated with death and ritual engagements with supernatural powers (e.g. Bergsland 1964; Koski 1990: 434–435; Anttonen 2013: 26–28). If Middle Proto-Finnic *šiite* and Proto-Sámi are related, *siejtē* would have spread with Proto-Sámi, but the etymology requires postulating *ad hoc* sound changes or hypothesizing involvement of a third, unknown language.

39. For a full discussion of this topic with a review of the evidence, see Frog 2017: §1; cf. Rédei et al. 1986–1988: 81.) An isolated cognate appears in a late borrowing of the (North?) Finnic form *Ilmari* > North Sámi *Ilmaris*, attested in a 17th century trial (Krohn 1915: 13–14; Rydving 2010: 48–49, 95) and Anders Fjellner presents a name *Ilmaračče* (Donner 1876: 85, see also 82 and note to line 195), which could reflect the same loan or an adaptation influenced by Finnish *Ilmarinen* learned from *Kalevala* (on which see also Lundmark 1979).

40. *SSA* I: *s.v.* 'aimo'; Sammallahti 1998: 227; Kuokkala 2016 and works there cited; Kuokkala suggests that the Finnic term could potentially have been borrowed from Sámi.

41. Cf. also the early Germanic loan yielding Proto-Sámi *vērttō* (*fiettâ(g)*) ['clear weather'] (§1412) which again does not manifest as a theonym.

42. In Finno-Karelian languages, see Harva 1948: 79–80; in Estonian, see Loorits 1949–1957 II: 6–10.

43. The stem *Hovre-* < *Þór-* ['Thor'] is a post-syncope form; it could not have been borrowed much before the Viking Age at the earliest, though it could have been borrowed later. The theonym *Hovrengaellies* is customarily interpreted as a borrowing of *Þórr karl* ['Old Man Thor'], but *gaellies* is a pre-syncope loan from an earlier period than *Horve-*. I have elsewhere argued that the loan of *Þórr* would likely have undergone semantic correlation, becoming a common noun for 'thunder', and thus the genitive construction with *Hovre-n* would likely have originally meant 'Old Man of Thunder' (Frog 2017).

44. Karsten 1955: 53–54; Pettersson 1985; Kulonen et al. 2005: 339–340; see also Manker 1950; 98–103.

45. See Zachrisson et al. 1997: 195–200; Svestad 2011: 43 and works there cited; 2013: 118–119, 123, 131–132 and works there cited.

46. The Finno-Karelian and Komi traditions refer to vernacular ritual specialists who are not shamans in the classic sense but fill that role in society.

47. E.g. Erich Kasten (1989) argues that shamans' ineffectiveness during the Black Death and subsequent societal changes linked to reindeer pastoralism displaced this specialist role from earlier areas of activity and authority.

48. In Finno-Karelian cultures, see Siikala 2002a; 2002b; see also Haavio 1967: 313–314; Frog 2013: 83–91.

49. The lack of a special costume and range of (male) members of the community who might use a drum can similarly be compared to the so-called 'family shamanism' of the Koryaks, which is also debated (e.g. Eliade 2004 [1964]: 252 and works there cited).

50. Anders Fjellner (1795–1876) sought to fill this gap on the model of Elias Lönnrot's epic *Kalevala* (1835; 1849), producing a few poems that were initially received as oral epic (Donner 1876; for discussion, see Lundmark 1979). Although these poems bring together a number of traditional elements, there does not seem to be any evidence that such stories circulated socially in a form or mode of expression that would be considered 'epic'.

51. The word could have been borrowed into the North Finnic languages or the corresponding dialect of Proto-Finnic from Proto-Sámi. However, the Proto-Sámi word can reconstruct to either a Pre-Sámi form *jojki-* or *jajki-*; the former makes it possible that the term could belong to a shared vocabulary of the two language families, or that it was borrowed into Proto-Finnic at that stage. Use of the Finnic term generally seems encoded with cultural deixis: it is something that culturally 'other' (Sámi) people do. The word is also only found in the North Finnic languages to the north of the Gulf of Finland, which would be consistent with a loan. Yoik has an established tradition in Karelian language but only in the northern region of Viena (Frog & Stepanova 2011: 206–207), where Sámi groups had been gradually undergoing a shift in language and culture (e.g. Pöllä 1995). It is possible that yoiks were part of a Proto-Finnic heritage, but the relatively recent spread of Karelian through these regions makes it seem more probable that they are an outcome of cultural creolization.

52. The Scandinavian loan *stālō*, which probably simply meant something like 'big guy' in the source language, could thus simply have been a local word that superseded other local words in the communication network that lacked a shared word for 'troll, ogre, giant'.

## Works Cited

Agha, Asif. 2007. *Language and Social Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ahola, Joonas, Frog & Jenni Lucenius (eds.). 2014a. *The Viking Age in Åland: Insights into Identity and Remnants of Culture*. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Ahola, Joonas, Frog & Johan Schalin. 2014b. "Language(s) of Viking Age Åland: An Irresolvable Riddle?". In Ahola et al. 2014a: 227–265.

Ahola, Joonas, & Frog with Clive Tolley (eds.). 2014c. *Fibula, Fabula, Fact – The Viking Age in Finland*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Äikäs, Tiina. 2011. "From Fell Tops to Standing Stones: Sacred Landscapes in Northern Finland". *Archaeologia Baltica* 15: 16–21.

Aikio, Ante. 2004. "An Essay on Substrate Studies and the Origin of Saami". In *Etymologie, Entlehnungen und Entwicklungen: Festschrift für Jorma Koivulehto zum 70. Geburtstag*. Ed. Irma Hyvärinen, Petri Kallio & Jarmo Korhonen. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique. Pp. 5–34.

Aikio, Ante. 2006. "On Germanic–Saami Contacts and Saami Prehistory". *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 91: 9–55.

Aikio, Ante. 2007a. "Etymological Nativization of Loanwords: A Case Study of Saami and Finnish". In *Saami Linguistics*. Ed. Ida Toivonen & Diane Nelson. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. Pp. 17–51.

Aikio, Ante. 2007b. "The Study of Saami Substrate Toponyms in Finland". *Onomastica Uralica* 4: 159–197.

Aikio, Ante. 2009. "Saami Loanwords in Finnish and Karelian". PhD dissertation. Oulu: University of Oulu.

Aikio, Ante. 2012. "An Essay on Saami Ethnolinguistic Prehistory". In Grünthal & Kallio 2012: 63–117.

Aikio, Ante. 2015. "Studies in Uralic Etymology IV: Ob-Ugric Etymologies". *Linguistica Uralica* 51(1): 1–20.

Ajkhenvald, Aleksandra, Eugene Helimski & Vladimir Petrukhin. 1989. "On Earliest Finno-Ugrian Mythologic Beliefs: Comparative and Historical Considerations for Reconstruction". In *Uralic Mythology and Folklore*. Ed. Mihály Hoppál & Juka Pentikäinen. Ethnologica Uralica 1. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society. Pp. 155–159.

Álgu Database. Available at: http://kaino.kotus.fi/algu/index.php.

Anttonen, Veikko. 2013. "Landscapes and Sacroscapes: Why Did Topography Make a Difference?". In Brink 2013: 13–32.

Artelius, Tore, & Mats Lundqvist. 2005. "Bones of the Earth: Imitation as Meaning in Viking Age Burial Ritual". *Current Swedish Archaeology* 13: 25–37.

Barth, Fredrik. 1998 [1969]. "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries". In *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*. Ed. Fredrik Barth. Long Grove: Waveland Press. Pp. 9–38.

Bauman, Richard. 1984. *Verbal Art as Performance*. Prospect Heights: Waveland Press.

Bergsland, Knut. 1964. "Suomen *hiisi*". *Virittäjä* 68(3): 242–248.

Bergsland, Knut. 1995 [1991]. "Språklige bidrag til sydsamenes historie". In Knut Bergsland, *Bigrag til sydsamenes historie*. Tromsø: Sámi dutkamiid guovddáš.

Bertell, Maths. 2017. "Två eller fler? – Indigen samisk religion ur ett språkligt perspektiv". *Mellannorrland i centrum: Språkliga och historiska studier tillägnade professor Eva Nyman*. Umeå: Institutionen för Språkstudier, Umeå Universitet. Pp. 241–257.

Brink, Stefan (ed.). 2013. *Sacred Sites and Holy Places: Exploring the Sacralization of the Landscape*. Turnhaut: Brepols.

Cleasby, Richard, & Gudbrand Vigfusson. 1896. *An Icelandic English Dictionary Chiefly Founded on the Collections made from Prose Works of the 12th–14th Centuries*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Converse, Philip. 1964. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics". In *Ideology and Discontent*. Ed. D. Apter. London: Free Press. Pp. 206–261.

Damm, Charlotte, & Janne Saarikivi (eds.). 2012. *Networks, Interaction and Emerging Identities in Fennoscandia and Beyond: Papers from the Conference Held in Tromso, Norway, October 13–16 2009*. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.

Donner, O. (ed. & trans.). 1876. *Lieder der Lappen*. Helsingfors: Finnischen Litteratur-Gesellschaft.

Edsman, Carl-Martin. 1994. *Jägaren och makterna: Samiska och finska björnceremonier*. Uppsala: Dialekt- och Folkminnesarkivet.

Eliade, Mircea. 1958. *Patterns in Comparative Religion*. New York: Sheed & Ward.

Eliade, Mircea. 2004 [1964]. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Eskeröd, Albert. 1947. *Årets äring: Etnologiska studier i skördens och julens tro och sed*. Nordiska Museets Handlingar 26. Stockholm: Nordiska Museet.

Frog. 2011. "Circum-Baltic Mythology? – The Strange Case of the Theft of the Thunder-Instrument (ATU 1148b)". *Archaeologia Baltica* 15: 78–98.

Frog. 2012. "Evolution, Revolution and Ethnocultural Substrata: From Finno-Ugric Sky-God to the God-Smith *Ilmarinen*". In *Finno-Ugric Folklore, Myth and Cultural Identity*. Ed. Adriaan van der Hoeven & Cornelius Hasselblatt. Maastricht: Shaker. Pp. 25–43.

Frog. 2013. "Shamans, Christians, and Things in between: From Finnic–Germanic Contacts to the Conversion of Karelia". In *Conversions: Looking for Ideological Change in the Early Middle Ages*. Ed. Leszek Słupecki & Rudolf Simek. Vienna: Fassbaender. Pp. 53–98.

Frog. 2015. "Registers of Oral Poetry". In *Registers of Communication*. Ed. Asif Agha & Frog. Studia Fennica Linguistica 18. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society. Pp. 77–104.

Frog. 2017 (in press). "Language and Mythology: Semantic Correlation and Disambiguation of Gods as Iconic Signs". In *Shamanhood and Mythology: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy and Current Techniques of Research*. Ed. Attila Mátéffy & György Szabados with Tamás Csernyei. Budapest: Hungarian Society for Religious Studies

Frog & Janne Saarikivi. 2014/2015. "De situ linguarum fennicarum aetatis ferreae, Pars I". *RMN Newsletter* 9: 64–115.

Frog & Janne Saarikivi. Forthcoming. "De situ linguarum fennicarum aetatis ferreae, Pars II". *RMN Newsletter*.

Frog & Eila Stepanova. 2011. "Alliteration in (Balto-) Finnic Languages". In *Alliteration and Culture*. Ed. Jonathan Roper. Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan. Pp. 195–218.

Germonpré, Mietje, & Riku Hämäläinen. 2007. "Fossil Bear Bones in the Belgian Upper Paleolithic: The Possibility of a Proto Bear-Ceremonialism". *Arctic Anthropology* 44: 1–30.

Grünthal, Riho, & Petri Kallio (eds.). 2012. *A Linguistic Map of Prehistoric Northern Europe*. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 266. Helsinki: Société Finno-Ougrienne.

Gunnell, Terry. 1995. *The Origins of Scandinavian Drama*. Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer.

Haavio, Martti. 1967. *Suomalainen mytologia*. Porvoo: Werner Söderström.

Häkkinen, Jaakko. 2010. "Jatkuvuusperustelut ja same-laisen kielen leviäminen (osa 2)". *Muinaistutkija* 2010(2): 51–64.

Halinen, Petri. 2016. "The Inland Sámi Societies of Northern Fennoscandia during the Late Iron Age and Early Medieval Period". In *New Sites, New Methods: Proceedings of the Finnish-Russian Archaeological Symposium, Helsinki, 19–21 November, 2014*. Ed. Pirjo Uino & Kerkko Nordqvist. Iskos 21. Helsinki: Finnish Antiquarian Society. Pp. 160–174.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1978. *Language as Social Semiotic*. London: Edward Arnold.

Harva, Uno. 1948. *Suomalaisten muinaisusko*. Porvoo: Werner Söderström.

Heikkilä, Mikko. 2011 "Huomioita kantasaamen ajoittamisesta ja paikantamisesta sekä germaanisia etymologioita saamelais-suomalaisille sanoille". *Virittäjä* 2011(1): 68–74.

Heide, Eldar. "Contradictory Cosmology in Old Norse Myth and Religion – but Still a System?". *Maal og Minne* 2014(1): 102–143.

Heikkilä, Mikko. 2014. "The Changing Language Situation in the Åland Islands and Southwest Finland during the Late Iron Age". In Ahola et al. 2014a: 303–322.

Holmberg [Harva], Uno. 1915. *Lappalaisten uskonto*. Porvoo: Werner Söderström.

Honko, Lauri. 1981a. "Four Forms of Adaptation of Tradition". In *Adaptation, Change, and Decline in Oral Literature*. Ed. Lauri Honko & V. Voigt. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. Pp.19–33.

Honko, Lauri. 1981b. "Traditionsekologi – En Introduktion". In *Tradition och Miljö: Ett kulturekologiskt Perspektiv*. Ed. Lauri Honko & Orvar Löfgren. Lund: Liber Läromedel. Pp. 9–63.

Honko, Lauri, Senni Timonen & Michael Branch (eds.). 1993. *The Great Bear: A Thematic Anthology of Oral Poetry in the Finno-Ugrian Languages*. Poems trans. Kieth Bosely. Pieksämäki: Finnish Literature Society.

Hultkrantz, Åke. 1987. "On Beliefs in the Non-Shamanic Guardian Spirits among the Saami". In *Saami Religion*. Ed. Tore Ahlbäck. Åbo: The Donner Institute. Pp. 110–123.

Hultkrantz, Åke. 1992. "Aspects of Saami (Lapp) Shamanism". In *Northern Religions and Shamanism*. Ed. Mihály Hoppál & Juha Pentikäinen. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. Pp. 138–145.

Hultkrantz, Åke. 1995 [1993]. "The Shaman in Myths and Tales". In *Shamanism in Performing Arts*. Ed. Tae-gon Kim & Mihály Hoppál with Otto J. von Sadovszky. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. Pp. 145–158.

Itkonen, Erkki. 1976. "Älteste Elemente der lappischen Volksüberlieferung: Erweiterte Fassung des EröffnungsLvortrages auf der Jahresversammlung der Finnisch-ugrischen Gesellschaft am 2. December 1974". *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 74: 5–57.

Janhunen, Juha. 1986. "Siberian Shamanistic Terminology". In *Traces of Central Asian Culture in the North*. Ed. Ildikó Lehtinen. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrialainen Seura. Pp. 97–117.

Janhunen, Juha. 2003. "Tracing the Bear Myth in Northeast Eurasia". *Acta Slavica Iaponica* 20: 1–24.

Kallio, Petri. 2007. "Kantasuomen konsonantti-historiaa". In *Sámit, sánit, sátnehámit: Riepmočála Pekka Sammallahtii miessemánu 21. beaivve 2007*. Ed. Jussi Ylikoski & Ante Aikio. Helsinki: Société Finno-Ougrienne. Pp. 229–249.

Kallio, Petri. 2009. "Stratigraphy of Indo-European Loanwords in Saami". In *Mattut – maddagat: The Roots of Saami Ethnicities, Societies and Spaces / Places*. Ed. Tiina Äikäs. Oulu: Giellagas Institute, University of Oulu. Pp. 30–45.

Kallio, Petri. 2015a. "The Language Contact Situation in Prehistoric Northeast Europe". In *The Linguistic Roots of Europe: Origin and Development of European Languages*. Ed. Robert Mailhammer & Theo Vennemann. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press. Pp. 77–102.

Kallio, Petri. 2015b. "The Stratigraphy of the Germanic Loanwords in Finnic". In *Early Germanic Languages in Contact*. Ed. John Ole Askedal & Hans Frede Nielsen. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. Pp. 23–38.

Kallio, Petri. Forthcoming. "Substrates in Finnic". In *Substrate Languages in Northern Europe: Case Studies and Methodological Perspectives*. Ed. Ante Aikio & Santeri Palviainen. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Karsten, Rafael. 1955. *The Religion of the Samek: Ancient Beliefs and Cults of the Scandinavian and Finnish Lapps*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Kasten, E. 1989. "Sāmi Shamanism from a Diachronic Point of View". In *Shamanism: Past and Present* I. Ed. Mihály Hoppál & Otto von Sadovszky. Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Pp. 115–124.

Koivulehto, Jorma. 2001. "The Earliest Contacts between Indo-European and Uralic Speakers in the Light of Lexical Loans". In *Early Contacts between Uralic and Indo-European: Linguistic and Archaeo-logical Considerations*. Ed. Christian Carpelan, Asko Parpela & Petteri Koskikallio. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrialainen Seura. Pp. 235–263.

Konakov, N., et al. 2003. *Komi Mythology*. Encyclopaedia of Uralic Mythologies 1. Budapest: Académiai Kiádo.

Korhonen, Mikko. 1981. *Johdatus lapin kielen historiaan*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Koski, Mauno. 1990. "A Finnic Holy Word and Its Subsequent History". In *Old Norse and Finnish Religions and Cultic Place-Names*. Ed. Tore Ahlbäck. Åbo: Donner Institute. Pp. 404–440.

Kristiansen, Kristian. 2009. "Proto-Indo-European Languages and Institutions: An Archaeological Approach". In *Departure from the Homeland: Indo-Europeans and Archaeology: Selected Papers from the 12th European Association of Archaeologists (EAA) Annual Meeting, Krakow, Poland, 19th to 24th September 2006*. Ed. Marc Vander Linden & Karlene Jones-Bley. Washington D.C.: Institute for the Study of Man. Pp. 111–140.

Kristiansen, Kristian, et al. 2017. "Re-Theorising Mobility and the Formation of Culture and Language among the Corded Ware Culture in Europe". *Antiquity* 91(356): 334–347.

Krohn, Kaarle 1915. *Suomalaisten runojen uskonto*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Kroonen, Guus. 2013. *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Germanic*. Leiden / Boston: Brill.

Kulonen, Ulla-Maija et al. (ed.) 2005. *The Saami: A Cultural Encyclopaedia*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Kuokkala, Juha. 2016 (in press). "Finnic-Saamic Labial Vowels of Non-Initial Syllables: An Etymological Evaluation". In *Peri orthoteton ton etymon: Uusiutuva uralilainen etymologia*. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.

Kuusela, Jari-Matti. 2014. "From Coast to Inland: Activity Zones in North Finland during the Iron Age". In Ahola et al. 2014c: 219–241.

Kuzmin, Denis. 2014. "The Inhabitation of Karelia in the First Millennium AD in the Light of Linguistics". In Ahola et al. 2014c: 269–295.

*LägLoS* – Kylstra, A.D., Sirkka-Liisa Hahmo, Tette Hofstra & Osmo Nikkilä (eds.). 1991–2012. *Lexikon der älteren germanischen Lehnwörter in den ostsee-finnischen Sprachen* I–III. Amsterdam: Radopi.

Larsson, Lars-Gunnar. 2001. "Baltic Influence on Finnic Languages". In *The Circum-Baltic Languages: Typology and Contact*. Ed. Östen Dahl & Maria Koptevskaja-Tamm. Amsterdam: Benjamins Publishing. Vol. I, pp. 237–253.

Lehtiranta, Juhani. 2001. *Yhteissaamelainen sanasto*. Helsinki: Société Finno-Ougrienne.

Lehtisalo, T. 1924. *Entwurf einer Mythologie der Jurak-samojeden*. Helsinki: Société Finno-Ougrienne.

Lid, Nils. 1933. *Jolesveinar og grøderikdomsgudar*. Oslo: Jacob Dybwad.

Lid, Nils. 1949. Kalevalan Pohjola. *Kalevalaseuran vuosikirja* 29: 104–120.

Loorits, Oskar. 1949–1957. *Grundzüge des Estnischen Volksglaubens* I–III. Lund: Lundequist.

Lundmark, Bo. 1979. *Anders Fjellner – Samernas Homeros – och diktningen om solsönerna*. Umeå: UTAB.

Lundmark, Bo. 1982. *Bæi'vi mánno nástit: Sol- och månkult samt astral och celesta förstellningar bland samerna*. Umeå: Västerbottens Läns Hembugdsförening.

Lundmark, Bo. 1985. "'They Consider the Sun to Be the Mother to All Living Creatures'". In *Saami Pre-Christian Religion: Studies on the Oldest Traces of Religion among the Saamis*. Ed. Louise Bäckman & Åke Hultkrantz. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell. Pp. 179–188.

Manker, Ernst Mauritz. 1938. *Die lappische Zaubertrommel: Eine ethnologische Monographie I: Die Trommel als Denkmal materieller Kultur*. Acta Lapponica 1. Stockholm: Thule.

Manker, Ernst Mauritz. 1950. *Die lappische Zaubertrommel: Eine ethnologische Monographie II: Die Trommel als Urkunde geistigen Lebens*. Acta Lapponica 6. Stockholm: Gebers.

Napolskikh, Vladimir. 1992. "Proto-Uralic World Picture: A Reconstruction". In Juha Pentikäinen (ed.). *Shamanism and Northern Ecology*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. Pp. 3–20.

Nordberg, Andreas. 2012. "Continuity, Change and Regional Variations in Old Norse Religion". In *More than Mythology: Narratives, Ritual Practices and Regional Distribution in Pre-Christian Scandinavian Religions*. Ed. Catherina Raudvere & Jens Peter Schjødt. Lund: Nordic Academic Press. Pp. 119–152.

ONP – Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog / Dictionary of Old Norse Prose. Available at: www.onp.ku.dk.

Olsen, Leiv. 1995. "Stadnamn på *Finn-*: Spor etter samisk aktivitet i Sør-Noreg?". In *Stadnamn og kulturlandskapet: Den 7. nasjonale konferansen i namnegranskig, blinder 19. November 1993*. Ed. Margit Harsson & Botolv Helleland. Oslo: Avdeling for namnegransking, Universitet i Oslo. Pp. 105–128.

Parpola, Asko. 2004. "Old Norse *seið(r)*, Finnish *seita* and Saami Shamanism". In *Etymologie, Entlehnungen und Entwicklungen: Festschrift für Jorma Koivulehto zum 70. Geburtstag*. Ed. Irma Hyvärinen & Petri Kallio & Jarmo Korhonen. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique de Helsinki. Pp. 235–273.

Pavlinskaya, Larissa R. 2001. "Cultural Regions in Siberian Shamanism". In *Shamanhood, Symbolism and Epic*. Ed. Juha Pentikäinen with Hanna Saressalo & Chuner M. Taksami. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. Pp. 41–48.

Pentikäinen, Juha. 1973. "The Division of the Lapps into Cultural Areas". In *Circumpolar Problems: Habitat, Economy, and Social Relations in the Arctic*. Ed. Gösta Berg. Oxford: Pergamon Press. Pp. 135–152.

Pentikäinen, Juha 2007. *The Golden King of the Forest*. Ed. & trans. Clive Tolley. Helsinki: Etnika.

Pettersson, Olof. 1985. "The God Ruto: Some Phenomenological Reflections". In *Saami Pre-Christian Religion: Studies on the Oldest Traces of Religion among the Saamis*. Ed. Louise Bäckman & Åke Hultkrantz. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell. Pp. 157–168.

Pöllä, Matti. 1995. *Vienan Karjalan Etnisen Koostumuksen Muutokset 1600–1800-luvulla*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Price, Neil S. 2002. *The Viking Way: Religion and War in Late Iron Age Scandinavia*. Uppsala: Department of Archaeology and Ancient History.

Qvigstad, J. 1925. *Lappische Märchen- und Sagen-varianten*. FF Communications 60. Helsinki: Academia Sciantiarum Fennica.

Rahkonen, Pauli. 2013. "Suomen etymologisesti läpinäky-mätöntä vesistönimistöä". *Virittäjä* 2013(1): 5–43.

Rédei, Károly, et al. 1986–1988. *Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* I–II. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Rydving. Håkan. 1987 "Shamanistic and Postshamanistic Terminologies in Saami (Lappish)". In *Saami Religion*. Ed. Tore Ahlbäck. Åbo: The Donner Institute. Pp. 185–207.

Rydving, Håkan. 1993. *The End of Drum-Time*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Rydving, Håkan. 2010. *Tracing Sami Traditions: In Search of the Indigenous Religion among the Western Sami during the 17th and 18th Centuries*. Oslo: Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.

Rydving, Håkan. 2011. "Le chamanisme aujourd'hui: Constructions et déconstructions d'une illusion scientifique". *Études mongoles et sibériennes, centrasiatiques et tibétaines* 42: 1–19.

Saarikivi, Janne. 2006. *Substrata Uralica: Studies on Finno-Ugric Substratein Northern Russian Dialects*. Tartu: Tartu University Press.

Saarikivi, Janne. 2007. "Uusi vanhoja sanoja". In *Sámit, sánit, sátnehámit: Riepmočála Pekka Sammallahtii miessemánu 21. beaivve 2007*. Ed. Jussi Ylikoski &

Ante Aikio. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura. Pp. 325–347.

Saarikivi, Janne. 2009 "Itamerensuomalais-slaavilaisten kontaktien tutkimuksen nykytilasta". In *The Quasquicentennial of the Finno-Ugrian Society*. Ed. Jussi Ylikoski. Helsinki: Societe Finno-Ougrienne. Pp. 109–160.

Saarikivi, Janne. 2011. "Saamelaiskielet. Nykypäivää ja historia". In *Saamentutkimus tänään*. Ed. I. Seurujärvi-Kari, P. Halinen & R. Pulkkinen. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirkjallisuuden Seura. Pp. 77–119.

Saarikivi, Janne & Mika Lavento. 2012. "Linguistics and Archaeology: A Critical View of an Interdisciplinary Approach with Reference to the Prehistory of Northern Scandinavia". In Damm & Saarikivi 2012: 177–239.

Salo, Unto. 2000. "Suomi ja Häme, Häme ja Satakunta". In *Hämeen käräjät* I. Ed. Jukka Peltovirta. Hämeenlinna: Hämeen Heimoliitto. Pp. 18–231.

Sammallahti, Pekka. 1989. *Sámi–Suoma sátnegirji – Saamelais–Suomalainen sanakirja*. Ohcejohka: Jorgaleaddji.

Sammallahti, Pekka. 1998. *The Saami Languages: An Introduction*. Karasjohka: Davvi Girji.

Sammallahti, Pekka. 2012. "Bottlenecks and Contacts in the Linguistic Prehistory of the Saami". In Damm & Saarikivi 2012: 93–104.

Schalin, Johan. 2014. "Scandinavian–Finnish Language Contact in the Viking Age in the Light of Borrowed Names". In Ahola et al. 2014c: 399–436.

Siikala, Anna-Leena 1978. *The Rite Technique of the Siberian Shaman*. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Siikala, Anna-Leena. 2002a. *Mythic Images and Shamanism: A Perspective on Kalevala Poetry*. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Siikala, Anna-Leena. 2002b. "What Myths Tell about Past Finno-Ugric Modes of Thinking". In *Myths and Mentality: Studies in Folklore and Popular Thought*. Ed. Anna-Leena Siikala. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society. Pp. 15–32.

Siiriäinen, Ari. 2003. 'The Stone and Bronze Age'. In *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia*. Ed. Knut Helle. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 43–59.

*SKES = Suomen sanojen alkuperä: Etymologinen sanakirja* I–III. 1992–2000. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Solantie, Reijo. 2005. "Aspects of Some Prehistoric Cultures in Relation to Climate in Southwestern Finland". *Fennoscandia Archaeologica* 22: 28–42.

*SSA = Suomen sanojen alkuperä: Etymologinen sanakirja* I–III. 1992–2000. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Stark, Laura 2006. *The Magical Self: Body, Society and the Supernatural in Early Modern Rural Finland*. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Strömbäck, Dag. 2000 [1935]. *Sejd och andra studier i nordisk själsuppfattning*. Hedemora: Gidlunds Förlag.

Svestad, Asgeir. 2011. "The Impact of Materiality on Sámi Burial Customs and Religious Concepts". *Fennoscandia archaeological* 28: 39–56.

Svestad, Asgeir. 2013. "Sámi Burials and Sacred Landscape: Aspects of the Impact of Materiality on Sámi Religious Conceptions and Practices". In Brink 2013: 111–139.

Tadmor, Uri. 2009. "Loanwords and the World's Languages: Findings and Results". In *The Loanwords in the Worlds Languages: A Comparative Handbook*. Ed. Martin Haspelmath & Uri Tadmor. New York: de Gruyter. Pp. 55–75.

Tolley, Clive 2009. *Shamanism in Norse Myth and Magic* I–II. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Tuchkova, Natalja A., et al. 2010. *Selkup Mythology*. Encyclopaedia of Uralic Mythologies 4. Budapest: Académiai Kiádo.

Tvauri, Andres. 2014. 'The Impact of the Climate Catastrophe of 536–537 AD in Estonia and Neighbouring Areas'. *Estonian Journal of Archaeology* 18(1): 30–56.

Uckelman, Sara L. 2011. "Viking Bynames found in the *Landnámabók*". Available at: http://www.ellipsis.cx/~liana/names/norse/vikbynames.html.

UEW – Uralonet: Uralic Etymological Database. Available at: http://www.uralonet.nytud.hu/.

von Unwerth, Wolf. 1911. *Untersuchungen über Totenkult und Ódinnverehrung bei Nordgermanen und Lappen: Mit Excursen zur altnordischen Literaturgeschichte*. Breslau: M. & H. Marcus.

Urban, Greg 1991. *A Discourse-Centered Approach to Culture: Native South American Myths and Rituals*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Vajda, László 1959. "Zur phaseologischen Stellung des Schamanismus". *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 31: 456–485.

Valk, Ülo. 2012. "Legends as Narratives of Alternative Beliefs". In *Belief Narrative Genres*. Ed. Zoja Karanovij & Willem de Blécourt. Navi Sad: ISFNR. Pp. 23–29.

Valtonen, Irmeli. 2008. *The North in the Old English Orosius: A Geographical Narrative in Context*. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique.

Vasks, Andrejs 2010. "Latvia as Part of a Sphere of Contacts in the Bronze Age". *Archaeologia Baltica* 13: 153–162.

Viitso, Tiit-Rein. 2012. "Early Metallurgy in Language: The History of Metal Names in Finnic". In Grünthal & Kallio 2012: 185–200.

de Vries, Jan 1961. *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Leiden: Brill.

West, M.L. 2007. *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wiklund, K.B. 1916. "Saivo: Till frågan om de nordiska beståndsdelarna i lapparnas religion". *Le Monde Oriental* 10: 45–74.

Witzel, E.J. Michael. 2012. *The Origins of the World's Mythologies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zachrisson, Inger. 2008. "The Sámi and Their Interaction with the Nordic Peoples". In *The Viking World*. Ed. Stefan Brink & Neil Price. London: Routledge. Pp. 32–39.

Zachrisson, Inger et al. 1997. *Möten i gränsland: Samer och germaner i Mellanskandinavien*. Stockholm: Statens historiska museum.

Zhivlov, Mikhail. 2014. "Studies in Uralic vocalism III". *Journal of Language Relationship* 12: 113–148.

# Forgotten *Laxdœla* Poetry: A Study and an Edition of Tyrfingur Finnsson's *Vísur uppá Laxdœla sǫgu*

Ilya V. Sverdlov, Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, and Sofie Vanherpen, Ghent University

*Abstract: The paper discusses the metre and the diction of a previously unpublished short poem composed in the 18th century about characters of* Laxdæla saga*. The stanzas are ostensibly in skaldic* dróttkvætt*. Analysis shows them to be a remarkably successful imitation of the classical metre, implying an extraordinarily good grasp of* dróttkvætt *poetics on the part of a poet who was composing several centuries after the end of the classical* dróttkvætt *period.*

As early as the 12th century, an Icelander by the name of Haukr Valdísarson, otherwise unknown, composed verses praising the heroes of the sagas in the stanzas of his *Íslendinga-drápa* ['Encomium on Icelanders'] (Hughes 2008). The verses list over 27 Icelanders known to us through the *Íslendingasögur* ['Sagas of Icelanders']. The ending is lost – it could have included material on the *Laxdæla* heroes. Otherwise, it is not until the 16th century that stanzas inspired by the content and characters of *Laxdæla saga* ['The Saga of the People of Salmon River Valley'] start to appear in manuscripts as appendices to the saga text. Þórður Magnússon á Strjúgi (ca. 1545–1610) is the first known Icelandic poet to compose a so-called *kappakvæði* [lit. 'a poem about heroes'], a flexible poetic genre dedicated to praising/listing saga characters; Þórður's poem includes stanzas in praise of Kjartan son of Óláfr (stanza 12) and Bolli son of Þorleikr (stanza 13), two of the principal *Laxdæla* characters. These panegyrics have been preserved only in late *Laxdæla* manuscripts, dating from the 17th and 18th centuries (Vanherpen 2012; 2015).[1] All through the 17th century, scribes vigorously copied Þórður Magnússon's stanzas word-for-word as a concluding piece to the saga text. These two stanzas from Þórður Magnússon's *kappakvæði* were first edited and published by Jon Þorkelsson in his edition of the poem in the 4th volume of *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi* (*ANF*) in 1888 (Jon Þorkelsson 1888). In addition to his *kappakvæði*, Þórður's celebrated *Fjósaríma* ['The Cowshed Poem'] was also printed in this particular volume of *ANF*. In *Fjósaríma*, Þórður refers to *Laxdæla saga* in stanza 49, listing Kjartan Ólafsson among those heroes who never fought in a cowshed:

> Kjartan spilla kunni hlíf,
> karlmanns hafði sinni,
> þegninn aldrei þreytti kíf
> þar sem naut voru inni
> …
> (Jon Þorkelsson 1888.)

Kjartan knew how to break a[n enemy's] shield, he was a popular man, the warrior never picked a quarrel at a place where cattle were kept …

New stanzas involving the heroes of *Laxdæla* appeared when, by the second half of the 17th century, poets and scribes started to write and create new *kappakvæði*. For example, a *kappakvæði* by Steinunn Finnsdóttir (ca. 1640 – ca. 1710) has two long stanzas on *Laxdæla saga* (JS 470 8vo, f. 343ff; Steinunn Finnsdóttir 1950: 116). Furthermore, other short praise poems were added to Þórður's two stanzas as a companion piece to the saga text.[2] Indeed, from the first half of the 18th century, there survives one such *kappakvæði* stanza jotted down by an anonymous scribe. In ÍB 45 fol. and TCD MS 2009 fol., the respective scribes copied an additional stanza on Kjartan Ólafsson (see ÍB 45 fol., f. 35v and TCD MS 2009 fol., f. 81v). Nearly half a century later, the anonymous scribe of Lbs 1212 4to added another stanza on Bolli Bollason to the two *kappakvæði* stanzas by Þórður Magnússon (Lbs 1212 4to, f. 101v).

Towards the middle of the 18th century, poets composed new *Laxdæla* character panegyrics very much in the same vein as Þórður Magnússon and Steinunn Finnsdóttir had. In Ms. 4° 126, a manuscript stored at the Nasjonalbiblioteket in Oslo, four anonymous poems called *Laxdæla hrós* ['*Laxdæla* praise'] immediately follow the *Laxdæla saga* text (see Ms. 4° 126, pp. 169–170). The topics of these short poems are the saga's characters Hǫskuldr

Dala-Kollsson, his illegitimate son Óláfr *pái* ['The Peacock'], the latter's son Kjartan, and Kjartan's half-cousin Bolli (for details, see the plot summary below). And in 1747, one Tyrfingur Finnsson, an ex-vicar born in 1713 (date of death is unknown), composed seven short *vísur* in honour of the main characters of the saga, one of which is in praise of Auðr *djúp(a)uðga* ['the Deep-Minded' or 'the Extremely Wealthy'] and another in praise of Guðrún, daughter of Ósvífr (Lbs 513 4to). Unique amongst the *Laxdæla*-inspired poetry, Tyrfingur's poem is the first Icelandic *kappakvæði* that not only mentions, but is also in praise of, these two famous saga women.

Apparently, the last in a tradition of *Laxdælakappakvæði* poets is Gísli Konráðsson (1787–1877), who, in 1807, composed and wrote down a short poem in praise of Kjartan Óláfsson (Lbs 2457 4to, f. 102v). Although poetry inspired by *Laxdæla saga* continued to be written, by the early 19th century this particular tradition of *Laxdælakappakvæði* began to fade and quietly died out.

Even though interest in the use of skaldic poetry in the saga text itself has recently grown (Guðrún Nordal 2001; 2002), no research has been done so far on the *kappakvæði* that follow the saga in manuscripts or poetry that was inspired by the saga. The aim of this article is to draw attention to these hitherto unstudied texts by focusing on one particular set of *Laxdæla* stanzas, the *vísur* by Tyrfingur Finnsson. We have opted for Tyrfingur's stanzas because they are an attempt to write *dróttkvætt* poetry well past the commonly accepted date of the demise of that tradition, as well as because, in a rare departure from the canon, two of the stanzas praise female saga characters. We briefly discuss the author and poet Tyrfingur Finnsson, and we also provide information on the manuscript Lbs 513 4to and its contents. We present, for the first time, an edited text of the *vísur* with an English translation of the poems presented over and against the Icelandic text,[3] as well as a detailed commentary on the text and a discussion on the stanzas' metre and diction.

### The Scribe: Tyrfingur Finnsson
Very little is known about Tyrfingur Finnsson. He was born in 1713 at Akrar á Mýrum in

Hraunhreppur, in western Iceland, where his father, Finnur Þórðarson (1687–1733), was a farmer. His mother, Guðrún Högnadóttir (1679–?), came from Straumfjörður. His paternal grandfather, Þórður Finnsson (1651–1729), was a member of *lögrétta*, then a public court of law, and a district administrative officer. (Guðrún Ingólfsdóttir 2011: 97.)

Tyrfingur attended the Cathedral School in Skálholt from 1728–1735 and in 1737 became a pastor at Staður in Súgandafjörður, in the West Fjords of Iceland (Páll Eggert Ólason 1952: 34). In 1740, he was found guilty of drunkenness and causing havoc during mass and consequently defrocked (Páll Eggert Ólason 1952: 34). Little is known about Tyrfingur after his defrocking, beside the fact he was active as a scribe when he wrote at least three manuscripts from 1742–1747.[4] He is not mentioned in the Icelandic census of 1762, so one assumes he died before that date (Census of 1762).

The majority of works in Tyrfingur's hand are theological texts; they were most likely written down during the years that he was a pastor. Two manuscripts, Lbs 513 4[to] and Lbs 2480 4[to], written by him between 1742 and 1747, after his defrocking, contain sagas or saga-inspired texts. His choice of saga literature probably reflects his changing tastes and adds new works to his scribal repertoire, suggesting that the defrocking resulted in a sudden outburst of creativity.

Only a handful of manuscripts in Tyrfingur's hand survive. Of these, only Lbs 513 4to sheds some light on the life of this little-known 18th-century pastor and his original *Laxdælakappakvæði* composition.

### The Manuscript: Lbs 513 4to
Lbs 513 4to is a paper manuscript, 180 x 150 mm, containing 176 leaves of text (with five preceding and three following), all in Tyrfingur's hand. Many of the leaves show signs of wear and tear. In particular, the edges of the paper bear brown and dark stains. This indicates that many hands have leafed through the manuscript: it appears to have been used (i.e. read) a lot. One or more leaves are missing at the beginning; these contained the title page and the opening portion of *Eyrbyggja saga.* The plain three-quarter's brown leather binding

with gilded spine is not original. The foliation has been added later in pencil on every tenth leaf by an unidentified hand. The scribe 'personalized' his text by adding occasional decorated titles and letters (e.g. ff. 45r, 103r, 127r), coloured decorations (f. 45r), rubrication (e.g. 149r) and vignettes (ff. 15v and 172v).

Altogether, the manuscript contains sixteen texts: five family sagas, three *fornaldarsögur* (so-called 'legendary sagas'), three *þættir* (i.e. short saga-like stories about characters that feature in major sagas) and some poetry. The *Vísur uppá Laxdæla sǫgu* are the fourth of these texts, arranged as follows:[5]

1. 1r–44v:     *Eyrbyggja saga* (the beginning of the saga is missing)
2. 45r–97v:    *Laxdæla saga*
3. 97v–102r:   *Bolla þáttur Bollasonar* (as a continuation of the saga text without interruption or rubric)
4. 102v:       *Vísur uppá Laxdæla sǫgu*
5. 103r–112v:  *Kjalnesinga saga*
6. 112v–115v:  *Jǫkuls þáttur Búasonar* (Leaf 116r is blank.)
7. 116v:       *Gælur* ['nursery rhymes']
8. 117r–118v:  *Hálfdanar þáttr svarta*.
9. 119r–126r:  *Sǫgubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum*
10. 126v:      *Draumþula*
11. 127r–138v: *Víglundar saga*
12. 139r–147r: *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða*
13. 147v–148v: *Þorsteins þáttur forvitna*
14. 149r–172v: *Hrólfs saga kraka*
15. 172v:      *Bjarkamál*
16. 173r–176v: *Starkaðar saga gamla* (incomplete)

The first three sagas are connected not only by genre (i.e. they are all family sagas) but also by content: their main characters are various descendants of the famous Norwegian *hersir* (a kind of tribal warlord) Ketill *flatnefr* ['Flatnose']. *Eyrbyggja saga* tells the story of the family of his son Bjǫrn *austræni* ['the Easterner']; *Laxdæla saga* concentrates on the family of his daughter Auðr *djúp(a)uðga*, while *Kjalnesinga saga* details the lives of descendants of his son Helgi *bjólan* (< Gaelic *beulan* ['little mouth']). The other notable group of texts in the manuscript is formed by *Hálfdanar þáttr svarta*, *Sǫgubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum*, *Hrólfs saga kraka* cum *Bjarkamál*, and *Starkaðar saga gamla*: they are all set in Europe and deal with legendary 'Viking' kings.

Throughout the manuscript, Tyrfingur added marginal notes commenting in both Icelandic and Latin on the texts in question. In the first colophon, which follows the first text, *Eyrbyggja saga*, he informs the reader that the writing began during the winter of 1746:

> Eyrbyggja sögu þessa skrifaði ég Tyrfingur Finnsson um veturinn 1746 (Lbs 513 4to, f. 44v).[6]

> I, Tyrfingur Finnsson, wrote down this *Eyrbyggja saga* during the winter of 1746.

There is a second colophon following the second and third texts, *Laxdæla saga* and *Bolla þáttr Bollasonar*:

> Skrifuð orðrett, ok sva stafrett sem verða kunni, Anno a Partu Virginis, Millesimo, Septingentesimo, Qvadragesimo Septimo. Tyrfingur Finnsson. (Lbs 513 4to, f. 102r.)[7]

> Copied word-for-word and, in so far as possible, letter-by-letter. In the year one thousand seven hundred forty-seven after the virgin birth. Tyrfingur Finnsson.

It is safe to assume that the *vísur* following the saga text were written down in 1747 and constitute an original contribution by Tyrfingur.

### Summary of Laxdæla Plot as Relevant to the Stanzas

It is characteristic of Icelandic sagas to be organized around a central plot that is customarily preceded and followed by stories of earlier and later generations in the same family that contextualize it both historically and in society. *Laxdæla saga* starts with the story of the arrival in Iceland of Auðr *djúp(a)uðga*, praised in stanza 1 below. Auðr escapes from Norway via Scotland, the Hebrides and Faroe Islands, and settles a large region in Breiðafjǫrðr ['Broad Fjord'], in the northwest of Iceland. Several of her descendents were significant players in Icelandic politics, among them her great-grandson, Hǫskuldr. He had several children, including two sons: Þorleikr by his wife and Óláfr by a slavewoman he bought while abroad. The slavewoman is later revealed to be Melkorka, a kidnapped daughter of an Irish king Myrkjartan. Óláfr grows up to be a man of renown and acquires the nickname *pái*

['Peacock']; he builds a major new farmstead that he names Hjarðarholt ['The Herd Hill'] (stanza 2 below). He marries Þorgerðr, the daughter of the famous Icelandic chieftain and poet Egill Skallagrímsson from the farmstead of Borg ['Hill'], and has, by her, several sons, the most prominent of whom is Kjartan. Óláfr's half-brother Þorleikr also fathers a son, Bolli, whom Óláfr agrees to foster. Bolli and Kjartan grow up together as best friends and half-cousins. On a nearby farmstead lives another important family headed by one Ósvífr, whose daughter Guðrún, the most beautiful and promising woman in the region and celebrated in stanza 5 below, is about the same age as Bolli and Kjartan. The three regularly meet while growing up and their later relationships are at the center of the plot.

At some point, Guðrún recounts a series of dreams to a soothsayer who predicts she is to be married four times: she will divorce the first husband, while the other three will each meet a violent death. It is the opinion of people that Guðrún and Kjartan are in love; yet she first goes through two marriages before it looks like they will be united. Kjartan is then about to depart for Norway with Bolli; Guðrún promises to wait for him for three years, and they will marry on his return. The foster-brothers leave for Norway, where both accomplish deeds of valour and become retainers of king Óláfr Tryggvason, who converted the country to Christianity. The king also wants Iceland to convert, and when his efforts fail, he takes several Icelanders hostage, including Kjartan, while Bolli returns to Iceland exactly as Guðrún's three years of waiting expire. Ósvífr intervenes and has Guðrún marry Bolli, who plays along by telling Guðrún that Kjartan is having an affair in Norway with the king's sister and claiming that Kjartan's return is uncertain. When Kjartan comes back the following year, he is surprised to hear that his best friend and foster-brother have betrayed him. Kjartan marries another woman, and the relations between the neighbours quickly worsen. Kjartan's wealth allows him to gradually buy all the land that Guðrún and Bolli's farmstead could expand onto, with the aim of driving them out of the district. When the situation becomes untenable, Bolli is goaded by Guðrún into joining a party intent on killing Kjartan. Kjartan is ambushed by a certain stone in Svínadal ['Swine Valley'] in the West Fjords (see stanza 3), and after some hesitation and goading by Kjartan himself, Bolli kills Kjartan with the sword Fótbítr ['The Leg Cutter'] (see stanza 4). Óláfr *pái*, who is still alive, forbids Kjartan's brothers from seeking revenge, but once he dies, his widow Þorgerðr shames her sons into killing Bolli, a deed which they ultimately accomplish, surprising Bolli alone in a shieling in the mountains. A key member of their party is one Helgi Harðbeinsson (stanza 7), a relative of one of the political allies of their father: he kills Bolli with a long spear he drives through both Bolli and his shield. Shortly afterwards, Guðrún gives birth to Bolli's posthumous son, whom she names after his late father.

Guðrún longs for revenge, and having waited long enough for her sons to grow up, she manages to recruit a suitor of hers, one Þorgils Hǫlluson, to lead a revenge party (stanza 7), on a promise of marriage so craftly made that she is subsequently able to refuse him. The political situation is such that attacking Kjartan's brothers is out of the question, so the avengers kill Helgi Harðbeinsson instead. Guðrún, however, has no intention to marry Þorgils, her sights being set on the richer and more powerful Þorkell Eyjólfsson (stanza 6), a fifth-generation descendant of Auðr by a different male line than that of Bolli and Kjartan. Þorgils Hǫlluson is killed and Guðrún marries Þorkell, her fourth husband. As she is about to marry him, he discovers that Guðrún is harbouring one Gunnar *Þiðrandabani* ['Killer of Þiðrandi'], whom Þorkell has sworn to kill, Þiðrandi's surviving brother being one of Þorkell's political allies. Guðrún prevents this from happening, threatening to call off the marriage, and Þorkell later helps Gunnar to leave Iceland and provides him with a ship full of goods (stanza 5).

Subsequently, Þorkell visits Norway, where King Óláfr Haraldsson, later sainted, presents him with a shipload of wood for his services. One day, Óláfr suprises Þorkell on the scaffolding of a church the king is having built at Níðaróss ['Mouth of River Nid'] (modern Trondheim), which Þorkell is measuring. The king is offended by his guest's presumption of

intending to build an equally large church in Iceland, and predicts that the wood given to Þorkell will not be used to build it. Þorkell returns to Iceland, only to drown in Breiðafjǫrðr on his way to his farm at Helgafell ['Holy Mountain'] (stanza 6). Thus, two prophecies, the one of the king and the one of Guðrún's dream, come true.

Guðrún then becomes a hermit nun at Helgafell, the first nun in Iceland, and the saga concludes with her death by natural causes, having famously confessed to her son Bolli Bollason: *Þeim var ek verst er ek unni mest* ['To him I was worst whom I loved most'] (*Laxdæla saga*, ch. 78).

### Concerning This Edition of the Text

#### General Issues

The text of *Vísur uppá Laxdæla sǫgu* is written in two columns, with each line featuring a single line of a stanza. The stanzas are numbered and will be referenced by stanza number and line number (e.g. 3.4 indicates line 4 of stanza 3).

This edition reproduces the text diplomatically and as an Old Norse (ON) normalized text. This is quite a considerable so-called *fyrning* ['deliberate archaization'; lit. 'ancienting']. Late manuscripts are often used as sources especially for early ON texts; *fyrning* is a term used in editing practice when spellings, particularly Modern Icelandic (MI) spellings, of such manuscripts are replaced with standardized ON.[8] The *fyrning* here is especially considerable for a text that was reliably composed in post-medieval times, and that relies, at times, on 18th-century pronunciation for rhymes, as well as on linguistic forms not found in ON (see comments to stanza 3 below). Nevertheless, we feel that this *fyrning* is warranted by the fact that the stanzas constitute an attempt to emulate ON *dróttkvætt* and concern characters from a famous ON text.

In the analysis, we quite consciously avoid addressing the issue of whether *dróttkvætt* poetry 'survived' past the traditional cut-off point of the 14th century of the classic editions of the corpus, such as Finnur Jónsson's *Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtning* (*Skj*). We also avoid the question of whether *dróttkvætt* (or *dróttkvætt*-like) poetry composed past that

point is 'authentic' or not. However, we use the relatively uncontroversial terms of classical and post-classical *dróttkvætt*. Although a full discussion of these issues is beyond the scope of this paper, it is necessary to offer some comment on them in order to frame Tyrfingur's composition in relation to his knowledge of the *dróttkvætt* metre and associated skaldic diction.

Classical *dróttkvætt* is understood as the corpus of *Skj* (subsequently analysed in Meissner 1921); the full corpus of post-classical *dróttkvætt* is still to be established, and the research into it is currently unfolding (see e.g. Haukur Þorgeirsson 2014; Ragnar Ingi Aðalsteinsson 2014; *Vísnabók Guðbrands* 2000). On the surface, it appears unlikely that *dróttkvætt* survived in the post-classical period as a full-fledged oral tradition. Scholars tend to agree that *drápur*, the praise poems for kings, were the core genre of the tradition, yet this key ecological niche disappeared in the 14th century (Haukur Þorgeirsson 2014: 146) and was no longer extant by the time our text was composed. Yet, despite this loss, there were poems composed past that point which are hardly distinguishable from the classic *dróttkvætt* of *Skj*, such as the 16th-century *Heimsósómi* ['Sins of the World'] (on which see Haukur Þorgeirsson 2014). It is thus quite likely that *dróttkvætt* poetry survived as an *aural* tradition and was still being read aloud, *inter alia* from manuscript pages, long past the above-mentioned cut-off point (Frog & Sverdlov 2016: 9). One piece of evidence for this is the sheer number and temporal distribution of manuscripts of the so-called *Laufás Edda* of Magnúss Óláfsson (ca. 1573–1636), who re-arranged Snorri Stuluson's *Edda* in a way not too unlike the much later scholarly work by Rudolf Meissner (1921): there are many dozens of these manuscripts, from the early 17th-century original to copies from the early second half of the 19th century (*Laufás Edda*, 39–155). The wide distribution and apparent accessibility of *Laufás Edda*, with its explanations of the nature of the metre and its lists of kennings and heitis, should have ensured the readabilty of the old *dróttkvætt* poetry and could have assisted in composition of texts in imitation of it. In the oft-repeated words of Matthew James Driscoll of *Den*

*Arnamagnæanske Samling* in Copenhagen: "in Iceland, the Middle Ages end in 1922", the year that the "last great Icelandic scribe", Magnús Jónsson í Tjaldanesi, died (Driscoll 2012). This statement implies a period of continuity far longer than what is the case in other traditions.

The present paper and edition are thus meant as a contribution to this ongoing discussion. In this light, the present authors are of the opinion that if, ultimately, a determination of the nature and degree of continuity between classical (medieval) and post-classical (post-medieval) *dróttkvætt* is to be made, it must rely *inter alia* on comparison of post-classical texts that look like *dróttkvætt* with the classical exponents of the metre to be found in *Skj* and its developing successor *Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages*, notwithstanding the considerable differences in the age of composition and even in language (i.e. essentially MI vs. ON), even though the influence of later poetic tradition of *rímur* is clearly there. Not to be underestimated is also the fact that, for scholars from outside the field of post-medieval Icelandic literature, and even more so for general readers, the main (if not the only) point of interest in these stanzas would be exactly their relations to classical *dróttkvætt* poetry, one of the genres that rightfully made ON literature world-famous. These considerations are in the background of the present paper.

### Manuscript Spelling

The spelling of the manuscript is quite typical for Icelandic of the time: *y* and *e* are used where *i* is required and vice versa (1.2 *ÿtte* for *ýtti*, 5.2. *slisa* for *slysa*); *ð* and *d* are not regularly distinguished and *þ* is used instead of *ð* (1.1 *heiþúrs* for *heiðrs*, 2.2 *dÿgd* for *dygð*). An interesting feature is the regular use of double acute accent to mark the vowels *a*, *o* and *u* that were long in ON (1.1 *trőþa* for ON *tróða*, 3.2 *klắra* for ON *klára*, 3.6 *trű* for ON *trú*, and the preposition *á* ['on'] is always spelled *ắ*). The same does not happen for *y* and *i*: all *y*s in the text are spelled with an umlaut sign above, and this *ÿ* stands for all four original vowels, *y*, *i*, *ý*, *í* (1.2 *ÿtte* for ON *ýtti* and 2.3 *frÿþúr* for *fríðr*, 2.4 *bÿng* for *bing*, 5.7 *ÿfrinn* for *yfrinn*, also the preposition *í* ['in'] is always spelled *i*). When the single acute accent is used, it is placed over both short vowels and epenthetic -*u*-'s (so redundant in these cases, see examples above, but still useful as a reading aid, helping to distinguish handwritten *u* from *n*) and several times over the result of *u*-umlaut of *a* (6.1 *mióg* for *mjǫk*; this feature is well-known and such an *ó* is considered to be a graphemic variant of *ǫ*). The single acute accent is never put on long vowels, the only exception being 6.1 *Ejúlfs* for *Eyjólfs* (see above for epenthetic -*u*-'s). The horizontal line, as usual, denotes a nasal consonant, but sometimes is put over an *n* or *m* already spelled out where no doubling is required (7.5 *húgfúllañ* for acc. sg. *hugfullan*); again, this helps to distinguish between handwritten *u* and *n*. The capital letters and commas, as well as other features in the diplomatic text (tall *s* etc.) are those of the manuscript, as can be observed in the accompanying image; the only visual difference is the use of regular *d* instead of uncrossed *ð*. The only occurrence of the Tironian *et* sign is rendered by italicized MI *og*. The number 7, in superscript and in-line, stands for a variant of *r* used by the scribe: it is *r rotunda*. Its manuscript shape is indistinguishable from letter *z*, but the use of the latter would have been counterintuitive.

### Metre, Diction, and Other Poetic Features

The text of the stanzas is in 18th-century Icelandic but aims to imitate the rules of ON *dróttkvætt*. It largely succeeds in doing so, at times to spectacular effect. However, there are many deviations of various kinds. There are cases where metrical rules are broken; cases when the poet stretches the limits of what is unattested but theoretically possible in classical *dróttkvætt*; and cases where the poet uses what is unmistakably an innovation from the point of view of classical metre, yet such that it is better regarded as a 'natural' result of its actual (if one assumes full-fledged *dróttkvætt* tradition did survive in post-medieval times), or theoretically possible (if one assumes it did not), evolution. In this section, we discuss the most interesting of such features; for interpretations of individual words, see the commentary on the text.

### The Close

One feature that clearly marks this text as a late imitation is the filling of the close. In classical *dróttkvætt*, each line (the ON term is *vísu-orð*

['stanza-word']) always ends with a close – i.e. its last two syllables must always be filled by an ON phonetic structure known as a long disyllable, defined as any word-form that has a first, long-stem syllable (i.e. a long vowel plus a short or long consonant or a short vowel plus a long consonant or a consonant cluster), and a second, final, short syllable (a short vowel followed by, at most, a single consonant). The long disyllable is the most frequent phonetic pattern of ON. Most of the close-filling words from our poem could have been used in a classical *dróttkvætt* close, e.g. *máni* (4.2), *Bolli* (5.2) etc. Some words, however, present difficulties from this point of view.

First, consider *fullur* in line 4.1 and *merkur* in 6.1: both are MI forms featuring an epenthetic -*u*- inside the final consonant cluster where ON had *fullr* and would have had \**merkr* (see also the possible reading *brúður* < ON *brúðr* in 5.5). In MI, these are two-syllable wordforms, but in ON they both were single-syllable forms, unfit for a close.[9] Such forms fill the requirements of the classic close orthographically (cf. MI *fullur* ['full'] with an authentic ON long disyllable *frillur* ['concubines']) and also phonetically according to the phonology of the Icelandic of the time (Kristjan Árnason 1980).[10] Whether one assumes the survival of *dróttkvætt* past the classical period or not, admittance of forms such as *fullur* into the close necessarily constitutes an innovation (as they did not exist in ON), yet it must be regarded as an innovation that could have developed naturally with historical linguistic change.

Second, the stanzas also feature short disyllables as close fillings, such as 1.4 *gǫfug*, 2.1 *ala*, 6.5 *gera*, and 7.3 *bera*. From the point of view of the classical rules, these are inadmissible in classical *dróttkvætt*. The appearance of such forms in the close may be simply explained by the MI context of the application of an ON rule: classic *dróttkvætt* calls for a long disyllable and in MI all stressed syllables are 'long' (Kristjan Árnason 1980: 213–216), thus *bera* was pronounced and perceived in MI as a long disyllable although it was not in ON, and thus would formally conform to the requirements of the close.

Another explanation, possibly working in unison with the former, stems from the likely mode of composition of our poem and the likely source for our poet's knowledge of *dróttkvætt*. Unless the *dróttkvætt* tradition survived orally in the post-classical period, our poet's likely source was a written one, and one of the best candidates is *Laufás Edda* (see above). Importantly, that text presents not only skaldic metres but also eddic ones, including *ljóðaháttr* (Sievers 1893: 79–90, §§53–58), and quotes, as *Snorra Edda* does, long sections of *ljóðaháttr* poems. The key metrical feature of *ljóðaháttr* is the so-called 'complete line' (*Vollzeile* in German terminology) which, like that of *dróttkvætt*, features a regular close (Sievers 1893: 82–89, §57). The filler of the *ljóðaháttr* close is the short disyllable.[11] In this light, it is perhaps intriguing that *ljóðaháttr*'s complete line and *dróttkvætt*'s line have other similarities: metrical, where both have three metrical stresses per line[12] and a marked cadence or close,[13] as well as poetic similarities (e.g. Smirnitskaya 1994; Sverdlov 2011; 2012). Collectively, these factors could have led our 18th-century *dróttkvætt* imitator to perceive the similarity of these meters and to use in his close what would have been perceived as a short disyllable in ON.

*Alliteration*

The first metrically interesting feature in the poem is the use of an extra set of alliteration in certain even lines in addition to regular alliteration and stem-rhyme (e.g. in 2.4 and 2.8). Classical *dróttkvætt* only has three lifts in the even lines (Sievers 1893: 25–28, §8–9), marked by two stem-rhyming words and another word that alliterates with two other words located in the previous odd line. ON *dróttkvætt* stem-rhymes alternate between *skothending* in odd lines, where syllables' final consonant(s) are the same but preceding vowels must differ, and *aðalhending* in even lines, where both the final consonant(s) and preceding vowels are identical. In stanza 2, the poet has an extra pair of alliterating words *inside* two even lines, both located at the end of the respective half-stanzas (regular *dróttkvætt* alliteration is in bold; additional line-internal alliteration in bold italic; stem-rhymes underlined):

2.3–4:  **f**r<u>í</u>ðr gaf **f**yllir d<u>á</u>ð̲a
**F**áfnis b<u>ing</u> ***H***jarð-***h***ylt-<u>ingum</u>.

2.7–8: **b**ar, en **b**yg<u>ð</u>isk af mæg<u>ð</u>um  
**B**orgar **E**igils **ó**d<u>eiga</u>

Lines 2.4 and 2.8 are rather unusual as *dróttkvætt* lines: only odd lines can (occasionally, as a special rule) have four lifts, i.e. have four different stems marked by line-internal alliteration and line-internal stem rhyme at the same time, for example in a stanza by the 11th-century skald Hávarðr *halti ísfirðingr* ['the Lame from Ice Fjord'] (*Skj* B1: 181–12.7–8): **g**arðr sv<u>all</u> **g**ǫfug s<u>ól</u>ar / **G**efn, míns sonar h<u>efn</u>a. Lines 2.4 and 2.8 are even lines, where line-internal alliteration was prohibited in classical *dróttkvætt*. In classical *dróttkvætt* scansion, each of these alliterating and rhyming syllables should be a lift (Smirnitskaya 1994: 349–356, esp. 350), thus the sound repetition tools would mark as many as *five* lifts: three regular ones, **F**áfnis (lift 1) alliterates with *fríðr* and *fyllir* from line 2.3, and *bing* rhymes with *-ingum* (lifts 2 and 3); and two extra lifts, nos. 4 and 5, on **H**jarð- that alliterate with -**h**ylt-. In line 2.8, one extra lift is in an even line, as **E**igils (on which, see below), already marked by stem-rhyming with *deiga*, also alliterates with the negative particle *ó*-, elevating the latter to the position of the lift.

In classical *dróttkvætt*, we never find even lines that feature *two different sets* of alliterating words in addition to the stem rhyme. Snorri Sturluson's poem *Háttatal* ['The List of Metres'] (*HT*) contains several examples of creative *dróttkvætt*-derived stanzas where the author deliberately introduces one extra sound repetition in his lines (e.g. *HT* stanzas 36, 38, 43–44). However, these are limited to only a few stanzas, the stanzas are clearly experimental, the sound repetiton used is stem rhyme, not alliteration, and, importantly, the repetition itself is *not a new one* – the extra lift is marked by repeating the sound sequence from a key position, e.g. the close or the first alliterating syllable, not by introducing an entirely new line-internal sound repetition.[14] The presence of such manifold extra sound repetition marks our stanzas as late: as pointed out by Ragnar Ingi Aðalsteinsson (2014), the development of extra alliteration sets is a typical feature of later Icelandic poetry.

Lines 2.4 and 2.8 also feature another departure from *dróttkvætt* metrical rules in marking the syllable immediately preceding

the close (i.e. *-hylt-* and *ó-*) with alliteration. The marking of this particular syllable is, basically, forbidden in *dróttkvætt* (Smirnitskaya 1994: 360), with a rule-governed exception.[15] Namely, here we have a compound noun, that is, a noun with a suffix and one with a prefix, crossing into the close. Normally, there is a cæsura before the close, but compound words are allowed to cross this boundary provided the phonetic splitting coincides with the morphological boundary (a hallmark of *dróttkvætt*). This is what happens in our case: the close boundary splits *-hyltingum* into two distinct morphemes, the stem *hylt-* and the suffix *-ingum*; *ódeiga* is correspondingly split into the negative prefix *ó-* and the stem *-deiga*; this is perfectly correct procedure, and the resulting long disyllable 'rumps' of *-ingum* and *-deiga* are perfect close-fillers. However, both *hylt-* and *ó-* are single-syllable morphemes, and a compound word that crosses into a close and has a single-syllable morpheme as its first element will never have this element marked.[16]

The additional alliteration in lines 2.4 and 2.8 is thus in clear violation of rules of classical *dróttkvætt*. One may, however, surmise that our poet consciously aimed to produce a pair of such deviating lines to complete each half-stanza in an attempt to develop a new metrical line subtype of his own invention, as a way of marking the last line in each half-stanza. Emergence of new subtypes of *dróttkvætt* that rely on picking a peculiar prosodic type of a regular *dróttkvætt* line (which has a rich prosodic variety) and using it systematically in a stanza is something that did happen in the classical skaldic tradition, as seen in the majority of *dróttkvætt* stanzas in Snorri Sturluson's *Háttatal*, which he claims are in different 'metres'. In this way, Tyrfingur's attempt parallels what went on in the classical skaldic tradition.

Further, line 2.8 features what should be regarded as an eye-rhyme, i.e. 'rhyme' based on spelling rather than sound. The ON spelling has the line running as *Borgar Egils ódeiga*, yet this is an even line, which means some word there must stem-rhyme in full with the close-filler *deiga*. The word *Egils* is pronounced [eɪɪls], and the close-filler is pronounced [eɪʒ], so no full rhyme, or *aðalhending*, is possible phonetically. The poet

is helped by the spelling *Eigils* which achieves the required full match between <*eig*>s of *Eigils* and *deiga*, yet this requirement is only met visually. This line thus runs contrary to the rules of classical *dróttkvætt*: skaldic poetry functioned as *oral* poetry and thus by definition excluded such devices as eye-rhymes.[17]

It is important to point out, too, that a few of the full stem-rhymes (*aðalhendingar*) employed by our poet clearly mark his text as late. The following lines illustrate this: in 7.6, where the late, and etymologically wrong, form *trǫll* (ON has *troll*) is in *aðalhending* with *Hǫllu*, a correct ON form; in 6.2, where the late form *bustum* (ON has *burstum*) is in *aðalhending* with *musteris*, a correct ON form that never had an -*r*- before -*st*; in 4.8, where *geyfu* is in *aðalhending* with *dreifir* only thanks to 18th-century and MI pronounciation of dipthongs *ey* and *ei* as identical, which was not the case in ON.

### Noun Phrase Word Order

Several stanzas of the poem exhibit a peculiar treatment of prepositional phrases with compounds: normal expressions like *í Svínadal* are metrically packaged as *dal í Svína*, as in line 3.7. This is a curious case.

The first impression is that this specific arrangement is 'naturally' forced by rules of classical *dróttkvætt*: as this noun phrase is about to be put at the end of the line, it must match the requirement for filling of the close, and so end in a long disyllable. This can only be achieved by splitting the *Svínadal* compound in two and putting the monosyllable *dal* somewhere else, so that the line ends with the long disyllable of *Svína*. Splittings and word order inversions that resemble this *do* happen in classical *dróttkvætt* syntax (splits are also discussed in "Features Retained from Classical *dróttkvætt*" below).

The most famous case of such a split + inversion is probably by Egill Skallagrímsson, in a stanza from *Egils saga* 47 (also *Skj* B-1 43–6.4): *í dal-miskunn fiska*. What Egill does is, first, coin a three-stem nonce kenning for SUMMER, *dal-fiska miskunn* (*dal-* [bare stem of n.masc. *dalr* 'valley, dale'], *fiska* [n.masc.gen.pl. of *fiskr* 'fish'], *miskunn* [n.fem.nom/dat/acc.sg 'mercy', lit. 'mis-knowledge']). Literally it reads 'the mercy of fishes of the valley': fish of the valley > SNAKE, mercy of SNAKE >

SUMMER;[18] notice that Egill's coinage is a three-stem compound, not a two-stem one like *Svínadal*. Yet Egill cannot use this 'correct' word order if the kenning is to be put at the end of the line (as it is), because the compound *miskunn* does not meet the requirements of the close (see above): the first syllable of this word is short while the second is long, ruling out a position in the close. Nor can Egill put *dalfiska* in the close – *dal-* alliterates with words *dáð* and *drýgja* of the previous line, and, being a single-syllable word, thus cannot occupy the position in front of the close because of the rule we discussed in the previous section. So, the second thing Egill has to do is to *split* the three stems of the kenning (the nature of kenning as a compound noun specifically allows for this) and re-arrange them in a different order, so that *fiska*, being a long disyllable and perfectly matching the requirements of the close, comes last, while *dal-* comes first. The resulting sequence *í dalmiskunn fiska* ['in the mercy of the valley of fishes'] makes no sense at all unless one reverse-engineers the metrical packaging process and re-assembles the elements in correct order; such reverse-engineering is a typical syntactic process involved in the parsing of classical *dróttkvætt* (e.g. Sverdlov 2009). We have to resort to similar reverse-engineering in the case of our poet's *dal í Svína* for it to make sense. The similarity between classical *dróttkvætt* and the metre of our poet ends, however, right here.

Classical *dróttkvætt* allows such split-and-rearrange operations to be carried out for its *kenning*-compounds, not for regular compounds it employs; this is because such reverse-engineering is only possible thanks to the existence and use of kenning-models as recognition patterns, and thanks to the existence of kenning metrical packaging rules that are specific to them. Splitting a phrase around a preposition is not common in classical *dróttkvætt*, although it is sometimes found in the same final four positions of a line.[19] Our poet does this repeatedly in the final four positions of a line: 2.2 *geðs í bygðum*; 3.8 *knjám í Bolla*; 5.3 *dóms í drauma*; and 7.7. *dal í Skorra*. Such splits are typical for certain *rímur* (e.g. *Sǫrla rímur*), which seems the more likely source of influence here.

78

The causes of *dal á Svína* and *í dalmiskunn fiska* are identical: the metre's unyielding requirement to fill the close with a long disyllable. Also identical are the processes of splitting the compound and re-arranging stems and the overall results of a sequence of stems that meets the metrical rules but is not readable without reverse-engineering. Nevertheless, the material to which this procedure is applied and the particular re-arrangement are different, with our poet's result breaking rules of classical *dróttkvætt* as we know it from the classical corpus.

*Lexical and Syntactic Features*

Several lexical and syntactical features 'reveal' the text as a late composition and an imitation.

One such feature is the predicative use of kennings and kenning-like structures. In classical *dróttkvætt*, kennings and heitis for men and women are used as replacements of their names and of respective pronouns; a typical classical *dróttkvætt* sentence would sound like 'the tree of battle [MAN/WARRIOR] waved the fire of wound [SWORD]' or 'the tree of linen [WOMAN] served the dew of the cup [BEER]'. One never encounters phrases such as 'King Haraldr *was* the tree of battle'; this is typical of other types of poetry which rely on metaphors and such like for building images and is thus absent from classical *dróttkvætt* where the syntactic function of a kenning is that of a pronoun.

Our poem seems to have a few cases in which this rule is broken. Stanza 1, for example if we read the sequences *órræða-snor* and *ørlyg-tróða* as kennings for WOMAN, we find such a case in line 1.5 *Auðr var... órræða-snor* ['Aud *was*… sister of solution'] and in line 1.1 *Auðr var ørlyg-tróða* (see commentary below). The poet would appear here to rely on the old system of coining nonce poetic words, heitis as well as kennings, and to use it inventively, yet in a manner that stresses the gap between his poetic idiom and that of classical *dróttkvætt*.

Further, classical *dróttkvætt* is not a metre in which long strings of epithets would normally be used. The exception to this rule is certain usages in Christian skaldic poems, and this could be the influence on our poem, where such strings are encountered several times. In stanza 3, for example, lines 3.2 and 3.3 consist of almost nothing but adjectives describing

qualities of Kjartan, joined together without even the verb *to be*; in a similar vein are the descriptions of Auðr in stanza 1, joined together in something resembling sentences coordinated via an (ellipted) conjunction 'and' and with the verb 'to be' ellipted everywhere but in the first sentence in line 1.2. Such syntax is alien to traditional skaldic poetry.

An example of an entirely different nature that also shows lateness of the text is the sequence *Þorkell Eyjólfs* from line 6.1. It stands for *Þorkell Eyjólfsson* (fourth husband of Guðrún daughter of Ósvífr). The genitive forms like *Eyjólfs* instead of full *Eyjólfsson* are not used in ON, either in prose or poetry. Forms such as this are typical for MI, and are usually explained as truncated patronymic compounds that omit the *-son* ['son'] or *-dóttir* ['daughter'] element. Truncated compounds are indeed typical for Icelandic, however, normally the truncated element is not the core, as it would be in this case, but the modifier. Perhaps a fuller explanation for this usage would be to regard it as parallel to the one that gave rise to certain Icelandic family names, essentially a form of place-name related nicknames, which were popular in Iceland in the 19th and 20th centuries: e.g. *Kaldalóns* in the name of famous Icelandic composer Sigvaldi Stefánsson Kaldalóns is identical in usage to this *Eyjólfs*, as is the 'last name' of Halldórr Laxness. This *Kaldalóns*-type usage, with the nickname in the genitive coming *after* the proper name, appears to be a simple inversion of the regular word order that is widely attested in ON sources. Examples of personal names plus place-name nicknames that come first are numerous, including many famous Icelanders such as *Tungu*-Oddr ['Oddr from Tunga'] (*tunga* [n.fem. 'promontory formed by confluence of two rivers']), whose feud with Þórðr *gellir* ['the Bellower'], Þorkell Eyjólfsson's grandfather, resulted in splitting Iceland into quarters, or *Síðu*-Hallr ['Hallr from the Slope'] of *Njáls saga*, a person who played a key role in adoption of Christianity in Iceland, and others. In the ON names, the personal name comes last and the nickname first, thus forming a regular compound noun; in *Kaldalóns*-type usage, the compound is split and its first part, complete with genitive marker, is placed second. When *Þorkell Eyjólfs* in stanza 6.1 is

viewed not as a MI truncation but in terms of ON onomastics, it can be seen as another example of the order inversion of the compound stems that we discuss here (and which is common in classical *dróttkvætt* in the case of kennings, see next and previous sections). If we restore the order, we get *Eyjólfs-Þorkell*, which is probably not perfect ON, as such compounds were mostly formed with place names as the first element, but it at least matches the regular, recognizable pattern of the first element of the personal name compound being the distinguishing feature for the carrier of the name – so it is employed in the same function as regular patronymics.

*Kennings*

Kennings are rightfully considered to be a core element of the vocabulary and poetics of classical *dróttkvætt*. They form a tightly-knit system with a rich network of internal links (on these see Fidjestøl 1974 and particularly Sverdlov 2015 which presents the network graphically), the functioning of which relies on heiti creation (Gurevich 1984; Gurevich & Matyushina 2000: 17–30; Sverdlov 2003b: 42–62, 103–120), on patterns of variation and extension (Marold 1983; Sverdlov 2003b: 107–109; 2015) and metrical packaging rules (Sverdlov 2012; Frog 2016). Our poet demonstrates both his considerable knowledge of the facts of this system and his understanding of the fundamental principles of variation and semantic rules of heiti creation, which have necessarily been derived from his own working analysis of the contents of *Laufás Edda*, as well as from *rímur* tradition. At the same time, he bends these rules beyond what is factually attested in the corpus of classical skaldic poetry. Some of his innovations could have arguably been developed within the oral tradition, had it survived up to his day (or, if one assumes that it did survive, were developed this way). Others are not supported by the skaldic system and remain in the category of nonce coinages, sometimes at odds with the principles of the classical system.

A good example of this is provided by the *drakons díkja dreifir* sequence from lines 4.7–8. On the surface, it is a straightforward extended kenning: *dreifir*, derived from the verb *dreifa* ['to scatter'] (itself a causative of *drífa* ['to drive']), is a classic *nomen agentis*

baseword for a kenning for MAN/WARRIOR, and the kenning reads 'the scatterer of bed/road of the dragon' → 'scatterer of GOLD' → WARRIOR. However, the baseword for the embedded kenning for GOLD is exceptional. The word *dík* ['dike, ditch'], of which here we have a genitive plural form, is never used in classical kennings for GOLD of the model 'bed of the dragon'. Skaldic heitis are created out of regular words by semantically 'downgrading' them (semantic 'deterioration' in Smirnitskaya 1992; 'levelling' in Frog 2015) to what is best called, somewhat in the spirit of the famous work of Anna Wierzbicka (1972), a 'prime'. In the case of *dík*, the normal 'prime' extracted from it when it is turned into a heiti is WATER, thus its normal use is that of a *determinant* in kennings for GOLD (e.g. 'sun of the dike' → GOLD). Extracting the meaning of BED, is, however, a theoretical possibility: the kenning-model 'bed/abode of dragon' uses heitis created from ON words denoting 'road' and 'path', and because snakes (and dragons are snakes) do live in dikes, dikes might be interpreted as their homes/beds/roads. The situation when *different* primes are extracted from the same word when the skaldic system, or an individual skald, creates a heiti out of it, is far from unknown in classical *dróttkvætt*: for example, the word *máni* ['moon'] can function as a baseword for 'fire of battle' → SWORD kennings if the prime of FIRE is extracted, because the moon is a source of light, and it can also function as a baseword for 'something round or flat of the ship' → SHIELD kennings if the prime of ROUNDNESS is extracted, as shields are round (Sverdlov 2003b: 54). It also follows that the same word-turned-heiti is able to function as both baseword and determinant in *different* kenning-models: e.g. ON *hauðr* ['earth'] can act as a baseword in kennings of SEA such as *knarrar hauðr* ['earth of ship'], and as determinant in kennings of SEA such as *hauðr-men* ['necklace of the earth'] (Sverdlov 2003b: 201–202). Thus, in theory, the same thing could have happened with *dík* too, if it were done at the right time and then picked up by tradition; the extant classical corpus, however, does not attest such usage beyond a single occurrence of a nonce kenning for HELL *díki djǫfla* ['dike (i.e. abode) of devils'] (*LP*: 81).

The *vápnageyfa* sequence from line 4.8 is a peculiar case. Were the word *geyfa* ['particularly dark snowstorm'] to have existed in ON times, it could have indeed served as a good baseword for a kenning of BATTLE (*vápnageyfa* ['snowstorm of weapons' → BATTLE]). The classic kenning-model 'bad weather of weapon(s)' uses all kinds of words denoting bad weather as basewords (e.g. 'hail of sword' etc.). The ON word 'weapon' (*vápn*) however, is rarely used as the determinant (Meissner 1921: 176, 190; Sverdlov 2003b: 189–195; Frog 2016: 189), as classical *dróttkvætt* likes to use words with less abstract semantics as source material for heiti-making (Sverdlov 2003b: 50). Nevertheless, the use of *vápnageyfa* in the final four positions of the verse conforms to one of the two metrical templates in which *vápn* was regularly and even formulaically used for BATTLE kennings in classical *dróttkvætt*, frequently, as here, in a prepositional phrase (Frog 2014: 63–64). It seems unlikely our poet had internalized such subtleties of word usage, leaving it unclear whether he had an exemplar verse in mind.

More substantial deviations are observable in the *fyllir dáða* sequence from line 2.3. This is unmistakably a kenning for WARRIOR, yet it looks somewhat awkward. The word *fyllir* is derived from the verb *fylla* ['to fill'] (a causative derived from the adjective *fullr* ['full']), and thus means 'filler'; it is thus a classic *nomen agentis* baseword for kenning for WARRIOR. The trick is that normally *fyllir* is paired with very specific determinants: those that are heiti for BEASTS OF BATTLE, adding up to the kenning-model 'feeder of the wolf' → WARRIOR (i.e. one who, literally, fills the wolf with food, on which see Sverdlov 2003a). Here, however, we have the word *dáð* ['deed'] as a determinant, adding up to a 'filler of deeds'. This coinage is a good indication that the poet's grasp of principles of skaldic composition was good enough, even too good: its existence depends on understanding that *nomina agentis* basewords for kennings for MAN/WARRIOR are rather devoid of any actual sense, their semantics having been reduced to their function of a baseword and vague meaning of 'doer', and that *ultimately* each such baseword is *interchangeable with any other* of its ilk, without a reference to the source-verb's semantics. The key word here, however, is 'ultimately': not all opportunities present in the skaldic system are, in fact, fully realized and entextualized (Sverdlov 2015: 29–31). The tenor of the list of basewords for any kenning-model is, indeed, to make *any* member of the list interchangeable with any other, i.e. to allow them to co-occur with any determinant; in actuality, this ideal is not (always) achieved. In this particular case, we see that the knowledge of the actual skaldic tradition on the part of our poet was somewhat patchy: in the extant classical skaldic corpus, *dáð* is normally only used as a bare stem in adjectives such as *dáðreyndr* [lit. 'deed-tried', i.e. 'experienced'], with only two kenning-like coinages like *dáð-geymir* (for Christ) and *dáð-hittir* (referring to Bishop Páll) attested.

Further, in stanza 7 we encounter a curious semantic problem that is retained from classical *dróttkvætt*. Namely, in line 7.2, we have *hringþoll*, accusative singular of *hring-þollr*, normally a kenning for WARRIOR, with *þollr* [n.masc. 'fir-tree'] a typical baseword acting as a heiti for TREE, and *hringr* being (here, as in other kennings) a heiti for SWORD, resulting in a classic kenning-model 'tree of weapon'. Yet we have a problem here: the stanza at this point clearly refers to an object, not to a human actor, Helgi Harðbeinsson, who is mentioned in the preceding line. The solution seems to be to read the heitis differently: the basic meaning of *hringr* in kenning vocabulary is the sword's guard (literally 'ring'), and if this basic meaning is the active one here, then also *þollr* might be read not as a heiti for TREE but as a heiti for ELONGATED OBJECT, resulting in a kenning that reads 'the pole of the guard', which matches a well-attested model for a kenning for SWORD, 'elongated object of sword-part", such as *hjalta vǫndr* ['wand of the hilt'] (Meissner 1921: 162). This reading would make grammatical sense and would result in the ON phrase being translated as 'Helgi Harðbeinsson ran a sword through Bolli'. However, this would be *factually* wrong, because the saga explicitly tells us Helgi kills Bolli with a spear (*Laxdæla* 55).

It is unnecessary to assume that the poet is misremembering the saga text here, which he follows rather closely in most cases, particularly in stanza 6. This more likely reflects a very real

problem in the classical kenning system: while it is often assumed that the referent of SPEAR exists in the system as a separate and distinguishable entity, in reality it is poorly distinguished by formal means alone. It does not seem to have developed a kenning-model that is stable and unique to it, which is necessary to prove any referent's existence. Meissner (1921: 145) says this explicitly: "Kenningar des Speers sind [...] von den Schwertkenningar nicht immer mit Sicherheit zu sondern" ['It is not always possible to reliably distinguish between the kennings for SPEAR and those for SWORD']. The material indeed shows that some basewords for alleged kennings for SPEAR are identical to those used for kennings of SWORD, while other basewords that seem to denote either a SPEAR or an ARROW are in fact identical to typical BAD WEATHER basewords for kennings of BATTLE (e.g. *él* ['snow-shower']), further complicating the distinction. This is because even in the case in which such a baseword is used with a determinant that is a heiti for PART OF BOW (resulting in a hypothetical model 'projectile of bow-part', where 'projectile' prime is extracted from a 'bad weather' word, where e.g. rain droplets are 'seen' as projectiles, and the model meaning ARROW), this heiti can be understood as simply a heiti for BOW. Thus, in the case of a suspected ARROW kenning, a determinant that 'wants' to be recognized as PART OF BOW, will nevertheless be recognized by default as simply a WEAPON determinant, and the detected model will be 'bad weather of weapon', i.e. a core kenning-model for BATTLE, not the hypotheticial 'projectile' model for ARROW.

This means that *any* kenning that intends to be a kenning for SPEAR is always in danger of being misidentified as either one for SWORD or for BATTLE, and the system of kennings has no internal way out of this conundrum, not having developed a list of basewords and determinants from which the combination would yield a uniquely recognizable kenning-model for it. And our poet is clearly aware of this, attempting a *system-external* way (i.e. one not relying exclusively on baseword/determinant variation) to resolve the ambiguity.

Helgi Harðbeinsson's spear is mentioned twice in stanza 7, each time referring to it with –

necessarily, as we have just discussed – a SWORD kenning: the first is the above-mentioned *hring-þollr* (itself mistakable for the kenning of MAN/WARRIOR), the second is *sára-teinn* ['tooth of wounds']. And to the latter he attaches an epithet, an agreed adjective *breiðr* ['broad'] (7.3 *sáratein breiðan*). This is remarkable because this epithet is specifically used for spears, e.g. in the famous words of Grettir's brother Atli in *Grettis saga* 45 as he is being killed with a broad-tipped spear: *Þau tíðkast nú, in breiðu spjótin* ['They are quite in vogue these days, those broad-tipped spears']. What is also remarkable is that the reason this particular adjective is picked is purely formal, that is, the adjective is picked with the specific aim of solving the problem of kenning-system ambiguity, and its choice is *not* driven by the actual words of *Laxdæla*, which in fact it contradicts. While the spear that killed Atli in *Grettis saga* is indeed broad, the one that Helgi Harðbeinsson kills Bolli with is specifically described as 'long': *Helgi Harðbeinsson ok hafði í hendi spjót þat, er alnar var lǫng fjǫðrin* ['And now Helgi son of Hardbein held a spear in his hands, one such that had a blade a whole ell long'] (*Laxdæla* 55). Had our poet picked the saga word, his attempt to solve the ambiguity would have failed, as 'long' would be assumed to reinforce the reading of the kenning in question as SWORD. By picking *breiðr*, the poet provides the reader/hearer with a trigger to overrule the basic kenning pattern recognition rule, proving his in-depth awareness both of a particular problem within the traditional system and of the system-compliant way this problem might be bypassed.

*Features Retained from Classical* dróttkvætt
As we noted above, despite the features discussed thus far, the poet's attempt to imitate classical *dróttkvætt* is largely successful. This is due to the retention of many key features, besides the reproduction of the obvious bulk of metrical rules regarding alliteration, stem-rhyme, use of the close, pairing of odd and even lines, syllable count (even if with 18th-century syllables), prosodic structure of the fillers of the various positions and so forth.

One particularly famous quirk of classical *dróttkvætt* is its split-sentence technique (sometimes called 'intercalation'): in the flow of the verse, sentence A can suddenly be
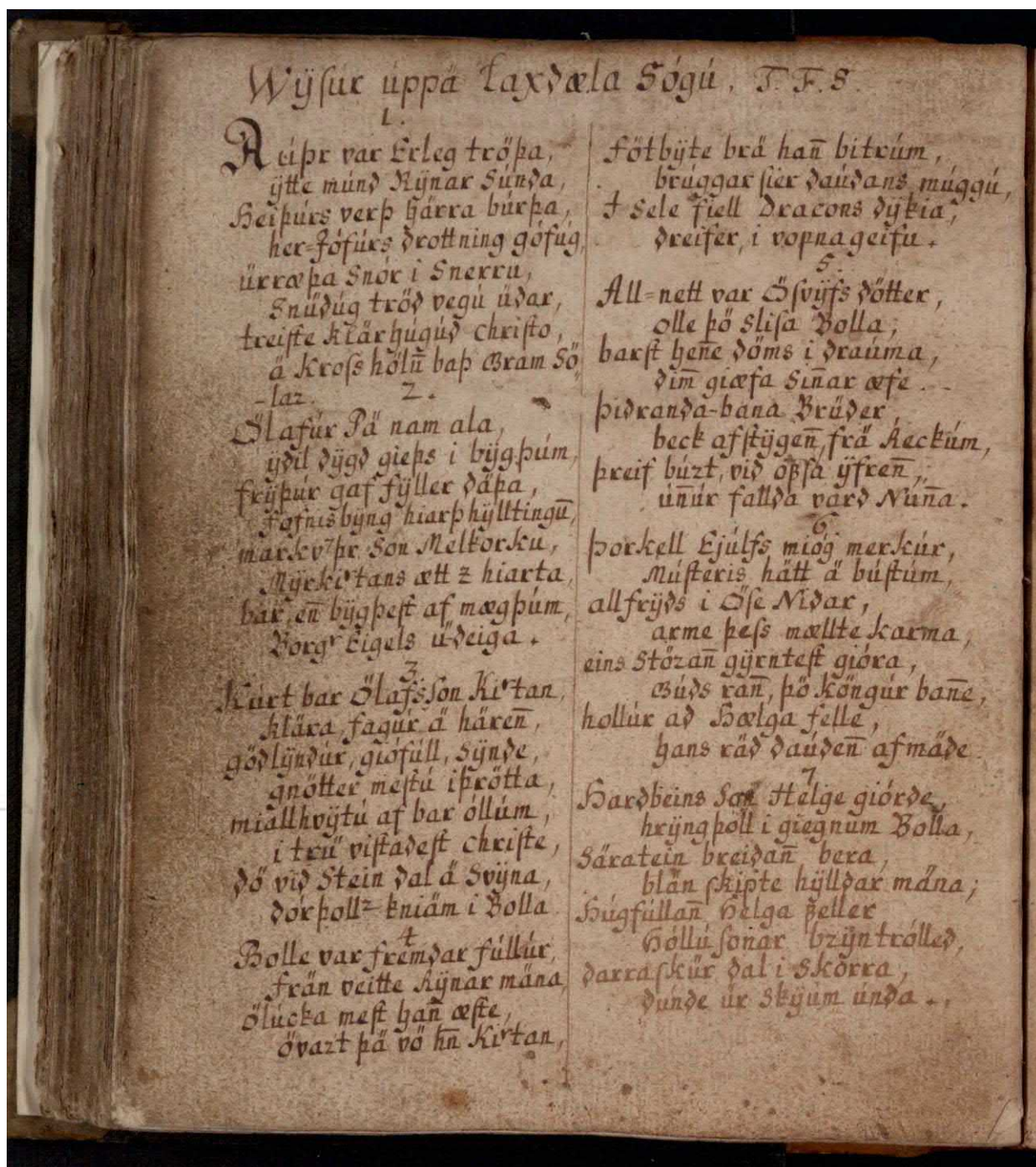
*Figure 1. Folio 102 verso of MS Lbs 513 4to with the* Laxdæla *stanzas of Tyrfingur Finnsson. Image courtesy of Landsbókasafn Íslands-Háskólabókasafn (National and University Library of Iceland, Manuscript Collection).*

interrupted, sometimes mid-word, and a new sentence B will start, with sentence A continuing either after the whole of sentence B, or only part of it. Our poet does employ this technique in stanza 3, where the sentence *[Kjartan] vistaðisk í mjallhvítu trú Kristi* ['Kjartan was steadfast in the spotless faith of Christ'] is split in two by the intervening 'interjection' – *[Kjartan] af bar ǫllum* ['Kjartan was head and shoulders above all the rest'].

Distancing parts of noun, adjective and verb phrases is also one of the hallmarks of classical *dróttkvætt*. Our poem has a few examples of this. In stanza 3, the adjectival phrase *í mjallhvítu trú* ['in spotless (lit. snow-white) faith'] is split into two parts separated by a considerable distance: the adjective *mjallhvítu* is stranded in 3.5, while the preposition *í* and *trú* are in 3.6, with the three-word predication *af bar ǫllum* between them.

*Text, Commentary, and Approximate*
*Translation*

Wẏsúr úppấ Laxdæla Sógú . T. F. S .

1.

Aúþr var Erleg trőþa,
ẏtte múnd Rẏnar Súnda,
Heiþúrs verþ hấrra búrþa,
her=Jófúrs drottning gófúg,
űrræþa Snór i Snerru,
Snűdúg trőd vegú űdar,
treiſte klấr húgúd chriſto,
ấ Kroſs hőlū baþ Gram Ső
-la7.

1.

Auðr var *ørlyg*-tróða,
ýtti mund Rínar-sunda,
heiðrs-verð hárra burða,
her-jǫfurs drottning gǫfug,
órræða-sn*o*r í snerru,
snúðug tróð *veig-úða,*
treysti klár-huguð Kristo,
á Krosshólum bað gram sólar.

*Regular word order*

Auðr var ørlyg-tróða. [Auðr] ýtti Rínar-sunda
mund. [Auðr var] heiðrs-verð. [Auðr var] her-
jǫfurs drottning gǫfug hárra burða. [Auðr var]
órræða-snor í snerru. [Auðr var] snúðug tróð
veig-úða. Klár-huguð [Auðr] treysti Christo.
[Auðr] bað sólar gram á Krosshólum.

*Approximate English translation*

Auðr [the Deep-minded] was an exceptional
  woman,
[she] distributed the money of Rhinewater [→
  GOLD],
a very honourable [woman] of high birth,
a famous queenly wife of a boar of an army [→
  PRINCE],
a woman who knew how to solve difficult
  problems,
the agile water's fire's [→ GOLD'S] faggot [→
  WOMAN],
clear-minded, believed in Christ,
[she] prayed to the Prince of the Sun [→ CHRIST]
  at Krosshólar.

*Commentary*

(1.1) *ørlyg-tróða – tróða* [n.fem.nom.sg.
  'faggot, bundle of sticks'], because of
  meaning and gender, acts as a baseword for
  kennings for WOMAN (*LP*: 572), in a mirror
  image of masculine nouns with the core

meaning of WOOD/TREE that are commonly
used as basewords for kennings for
MAN/WARRIOR. In this case *ørlyg-* [bare
stem of *ørlyg/ǫrlǫg* n.neut.pl. 'fate;
exploits, war'] could be interpreted as a
heiti for BATTLE or SHIELD (*LP*: 667), which
would correspond to a nonce kenning-
model for WOMAN coined as part mirror
image, part carbon copy of a kenning for
MAN/WARRIOR in the following way: the
determinants are identical to a kenning for
MAN/WARRIOR, the basewords are feminine-
gender 'TREE'-words (see above). This is an
expansion of the opportunity partially
exploited by the classical kenning system,
where feminine-gender 'TREE'-words are
used to coin kennings for WOMAN, but, of
the determinants common for kennings for
MAN/WARRIOR, only those for GOLD are
used (Meissner 1921: 413–420; Sverdlov
2015). However, this is an emendation, and
there is an opportunity not to emend the
manuscript's *erleg*. The adjective *erlegur*
[adj.masc. 'proper, honest, upright'] was
current in 18th-century Icelandic (today's
form is *ærlegur*) but is not attested in ON;
*tróða* should here be regarded as a heiti for
WOMAN.

(1.2) *ýtti mund Rínar-sunda – ýtti* [v.3.sg.pret.
  ind. of *ýta* 'to push out']; *mund* [n.masc.
  acc.sg. of *mundr* 'bride-price', i.e. a sum
  supplied by the groom in a marriage
  contract that becomes the exclusive
  property of the bride]; *Rínar-sunda* 'water
  of the Rhine' (*Rínar* [n.fem.gen.sg. of *Rín*
  'Rhine'], *sunda* [n.neut.gen.pl. of *sund*
  'sound, strait, channel']). If *mundr* is read
  as a heiti for TREASURE, 'treasure of the
  Rhine' is a conventional kenning for GOLD.
  The sequence can be read (Auðr) *ýtti mund
  Rínar-sunda* ['distributed GOLD'],
  characterizing Auðr by the classic Old
  Germanic kingly/princely activity of
  distributing gold to retainers and thus
  identifying her with that role, a role to
  which her position as a *landnámsmaðr*
  ['prime settler'; lit. 'land-claim-man'] in
  Iceland can be seen as equivalent.
  Syntactically, this phrase could be modelled
  on a common classical *dróttkvætt* pattern
  for an extended kenning in which a *nomen
  agentis* baseword has been expanded to full

predication by replacing the baseword with the finite verb form. The skaldic *nomen agentis* baseword derived from *ýta* is *ýtir*, which is used regularly with GOLD determinants in 'distributor of gold' kennings for MAN/WARRIOR (Meissner 1921: 307). The hypothetical kenning-instance would have been *ýtir munds Rínar-sunda*, matching a common enough pattern of the classical poetry. Other interpretations are possible, but depend on emending the text.

(1.3) *heiðrs-verð* – *heiðrs* [n.masc.gen.sg. of *heiðr* 'honour'], *verð* [adj.fem.nom.sg. of *verðr* 'worthy']. A compound adjective meaning 'honourable, praiseworthy', which agrees with the subject *Auðr*.

(1.3) *hárra burða* – *hárra* [adj.fem.gen.sg. of *hár* 'high, tall'], *burða* [n.masc.gen.pl. of *burðr* 'birth'], 'of high birth', i.e. noble. With the syntax of the stanza being somewhat loose, this adjective phrase is most likely to be part of the long string of coordinated/apposited predications that seem to make up the first half-stanza; all of these share the subject, *Auðr*, named in the first but ellipted in those that follow, of which three also share the predicate.

(1.4) *her-jǫfurs drottning* – *her-* [bare stem of n.masc. *herr* 'host, army, people'], *jǫfurs* [n.masc.gen.sg. of *jǫfurr* lit. 'wild boar' but used almost exclusively as 'prince, king'], *drottning* [n.fem.nom.sg. 'queen']. *Her-jǫfurr* [lit. 'prince of the army / people'] could be read as a kenning for prince[20] or as a compound heiti for prince; it should refer to Auðr's husband, Óláfr *hvíti*, because here Auðr is called his 'queen'.

(1.5) *órræða-snor í snerru* – *órræða-* [n.neut. gen.pl. of *órræði* 'a tool, means to achieve an end; solution']; *snerru* [n.fem.dat.sg. of *snerra* 'onslaught']. The manuscript's *snór* can be interpreted in two ways. One possibility is to read it as *snǫr* [adj.fem. nom.sg. of *snarr* 'hard; swift; keen']; if so, *órræða-snǫr* is a compound adjective meaning 'decision-swift'. It may also be read as *snor* [n.fem. 'daughter-in-law'] (etymologically unrelated), here functioning either a baseword for a kenning of WOMAN or a simple heiti for WOMAN. The resulting *órræða-snor* would then mean 'resourceful woman', the same as in the pervious

reading. *Snerra*, derived from the same stem as *snarr*, is a BATTLE-heiti; as Auðr did not take an active part in any battle, *snerra* may be read as an *ad hoc* heiti for DIFFICULT SITUATION; finding solutions to disputes was a key skill for a medieval Icelandic chieftain (Byock 2001: ch. 10), and in such a reading Auðr here seems to be once again (as in line 1.2) depicted as a leader of men in the specific social situation of Iceland. More specifically, *snerra* could be a seen as a variant of *ófriðr* [n.masc. 'war, feud'], and a reference to the latter word's occurrence in *Laxdæla saga* 4 in connection to Auðr's escape from Scotland:

> Hon hafði brott með sér allt frændlið sitt, þat er á lífi var, ok þykkjask menn varla dœmi til finna, at einn kvenmaðr hafi komizk í brott ór þvíkíkum ófriði með jafnmiklu fé ok fǫruneyti.

> She [Auðr] had taken away with her all her relatives who were still alive, and the opinion of men is that there is hardly any other example of a woman escaping such a desperate situation with so much wealth and so many followers.

The meaning of *snerra* in both readings is identical – not the literal 'battle' but 'dire straits'.

(1.6) *snúðug tróð veig-úða* – *snúðug* [adj.fem. nom.sg. of *snúðugr* 'agile'], *tróð* [n.neut. nom.sg. 'wood'], *úða* [n.masc.gen.sg. of *úði* 'fire', very rare]. The manuscript's *vegu* does not make much sense,[21] so we suggest the conjecture *veig-* [bare stem of n.fem. *veig* 'a drink']. As *tróð* is identical to *tróða* in 1.1, then with *úði* as a heiti for fire and *veig-* as a heiti for water we get a straightforward 'fire of water' → GOLD kenning, which is then used as a determinant for kenning for WOMAN where *tróð* is the baseword. *Snúðug* agrees with *tróð*; the entirety means 'agile woman' and refers to Auðr. The syntax of the stanza is somewhat loose; this adjective phrase is either part of the predication *Auðr var* from line 1.1, or that of predication *treysti* from line 1.7, or that of predication *bað* from line 1.8.

(1.7) *klár-huguð* – *klár* [bare stem of adj. *klárr* 'clear']; *huguð* [adj.fem.nom.sg. of *hugaðr* 'minded, having this or that temperament']. The entirety is a compound adjective

meaning 'clear-minded', and agrees with *Auðr*. 'Clearness' of mind could possibly be pleonasm, an extra reference to her being Christian, according to this stanza, and not pagan, even though no direct information as to Auðr's faith is provided in *Laxdæla*, and by default one assumes she was pagan. It could also refer to her bold decision to promptly leave Scotland after deaths of her father and son, and to head, ultimately, for Iceland (see commentary on 1.5).

(1.7) *Kristo* – this is dat.sg. form of Latin *Christus*; it is dative because *treysti* [v.3.sg. pret.ind. of *treysta* 'trust to, rely upon'] in the meaning active in this context (which in ON would normally also require reflexive variant *treystask*) here takes an object. The use of the original Latin declension for Latin names is quite typical in ON texts (see e.g. Sturla Þórðarson's *Hákonar saga Hákonarson*).

(1.8) *gram sólar* – *sólar* [n.fem.gen.sg. of *sól* 'sun'], *gram* [n.masc.acc.sg. of *gramr* 'king']. The noun phrase reads as ['prince of the sun']; it is a straightforward kenning for CHRIST (Meissner 1921: 372).

(1.8) *Krosshólum* – *kross* [n.masc.gen.sg. of *kross* 'cross'], *hólum* [n.masc.dat.pl. of *hóll/hváll* 'hill']. The place-name reads as 'The Hills of the Cross', but no such place is mentioned in *Laxdæla saga*. It, as well as the claim – unsubstantiated by the saga text or other saga sources – that Auðr was Christian, appears in *Landnámabók* (1986: 139, ch. S97/H84). Jesse Byock (2001: ch. 16) discusses the issues surrounding the Christian faith of some of the first settlers.

2.

 Őlafúr Pǎ nam ala,
ỹdil dȳgd gieþs i bȳgþúm,
frȳþúr gaf fȳller dǎþa,
fafnis bȳng hiarþ hȳlltingū,
markv⁷þr Son Melkorku,
Mȳrki^r tans ætt *og* hiarta,
bar, eñ bȳgþeſt af mægþúm,
Borg^r Eigels ű-deiga.

2.

Óláfr Pá nam ala
íðil-dygð geðs í bygðum,
fríðr gaf fyllir dáða
Fáfnis bing Hjarð-hyltingum.

Markverðr sonr Melkorku
Myrkjartans ætt ok hjarta
bar, en bygðisk af mægðum
Borgar Egils ódeiga.

*Regular word order*
Óláfr Pá nam ala íðil-dygð í bygðum geðs. Fríðr dáða fyllir [=Óláfr Pá] gaf Fáfnis bing Hjarð-hyltingum. Markverðr sonr Melkorku [=Óláfr Pá] bar Myrkjartans ætt ok hjarta, en bygðisk af mægðum ódeiga Borgar-Egils.

*Approximate English translation*
Óláfr Pái nurtured
exceptional virtue in the house of the spirit [→ BREAST/CHEST (heart)],
the handsome doer of deeds [→ WARRIOR (Óláfr)] gave
the pillow of Fáfnir [→ GOLD] to inhabitants of Hjarðarholt.
The remarkable son of Melkorka [→ ÓLÁFR]
was Myrkjartan's flesh and blood,
and through marriage he became a relative of the formidable Egill [Skallagrímsson] of Borg.

*Commentary*
(2.1) *pá* – [n.masc.nom.sg. 'peacock']. This is a strong-declension form; in ON texts, a different *an*-declension form *pái* is normally used as Óláfr's nickname.

(2.1) *nam ala* – *nam* [v.3.sg.pret.ind. of *nema* 'take'], *ala* [v.inf. 'to feed']. In ON, *nema* normally takes a noun as a direct object (as in e.g. *nema land* ['claim a piece of land as property']), but it could also be used in an emphatic construction *nema* + infinitive, as here. The object of *ala* is *íðil-dygð* (see below). On the phonetic form of *ala* and its metrical implications, see "The Close" above.

(2.2) *íðil-dygð* – *dygð* [n.fem.acc.sg. of *dygð* 'virtue, probity'], the object of *ala* in 2.1. The first element of the compound *íðil-dygð*, present in such MI words as *íðil-fagur* ['very beautiful'], is derived from the ON prefix *íð-* ['very'] (JdV: 283) and acts as a reinforcement; the overall meaning of the noun is 'exceptional virtue'. On alliteration in this line, see "Alliteration" above.

(2.3) *geðs í bygðum* – *geðs* [n.neut.gen.sg. of *geð* 'mind, mood, spirit'], *bygðum* [n.fem. dat.pl. of *bygð* 'abode, habitation']. The whole stands for *í geðs bygðum* ['in the dwelling-places of spirit'] and is a rather conventional kenning for BREAST/CHEST

(Meissner 1921: 134–138); one wants the English translation to read 'in his heart', yet the kenning used is not a kenning for HEART, as the latter has a different model (Meissner 1921: 138). On the syntax of this noun phrase, see "Noun Phrase Word Order" above.

(2.3) *fríðr* – [adj.masc.nom.sg. 'beautiful']. This word cannot be *friðr* [n.masc. 'peace'] with short *i*, because *r* in this word is not radical (acc. sg. from is *frið*) and the phrase already has a noun in the nominative (*Óláfr*).

(2.3) *fyllir dáða* – *fyllir* [n.masc.nom.sg. 'filler'], *dáða* [n.fem.gen.pl. of *dáð* 'deed']. The whole is an awkward kenning for WARRIOR, referring to Óláfr. See "Kennings" above.

(2.4) *Fáfnis bing* – *bing* [n.masc.acc.sg. of *bingr* 'bed, bolster'], *Fáfnis* [n.masc.gen.sg. of *Fáfnir* 'Fafnir', a dragon's name]. The whole is a straightforward kenning 'bed of a dragon' → GOLD. On the manuscript's dotted *y* for short *i*, see "Manuscript Spelling".

(2.4) *Hjarð-hyltingum* – [n.masc.dat.pl. of *Hjarð-hyltingr* 'person who dwells at Hjarðarholt', the farmstead of Óláfr *pái*]. Lines 2.3 and 2.4 as a whole amount to: *fríðr fyllir dáða gaf Hjarðhyltingum bing Fáfnis* ['lit. 'the handsome warrior gave gold to the dwellers of Hjarðarholt'], portraying Óláfr as a king giving gold to his retainers. Being a 10th-century Icelander, Óláfr was not a king and had no retainers either.[22] This is just a poetic way to indicate his status as a leader of men and owner of Hjarðarholt, paralleling a similar description of Auðr in stanza 1. On alliteration in this line, see "Alliteration" above.

(2.5) *markverðr* – *mark-* [bare stem of n.neut. *mark* 'mark, brand; sign'], *verðr* [adj.masc. nom.sg. 'worthy']. The whole is a compound adjective meaning 'remarkable'; this word in not in ClVig, hence it is another indication of lateness of our text.

(2.7) *bygðisk af mægðum* – [v.3.sg.pret.ind. of *byggjask* 'to become populated'], *mægðum* [n.fem.dat.pl. of *mægð* 'relationship through marriage']. A rather unusual construction given the verb's meaning. It is normally used in phrases such as in *Ísland byggðisk* ['Iceland was settled, became an inhabited land']; here it seems that this verb is applied

to Óláfr *pái* and means 'became inhabited through marriage by the decisiveness of Egill of Borg'. Highlighting his settlement in Iceland contrasts with 'he had continued the heart and family of Myrkjartan' (i.e. Óláfr *pái*'s Irish maternal grandfather) of the previous line. Another possibility is to read *byggjask* as 'marry, establish relationship with', in ClVig, however, it is implied that only the non-reflexive form *byggja* can carry this meaning; if so, as it takes an object in genitive, *Egils ódeiga* is to be read as the genitive singular (*ódeiga* [adj.masc.gen.sg. of *ódeigi*, the weak form of *ódeigr* 'unsoft, harsh'], it agrees with *Egils* [n.masc.gen.sg. of *Egill*]), yielding 'and then established a connection with the harsh Egill of Borg through marriage' (Óláfr *pái* married Egill's daughter Þorgerðr). We prefer the latter, but it seems to be stretching the limits of grammar.

(2.8) *Egils* – [n.masc.gen.sg. of *Egill*, personal name]; on the manuscript spelling *Eigils*, see "Alliteration" above.

(2.8) *ódeiga* – [adj.masc.gen.sg. of *ódeigi*, the weak form of *ódeigr* 'unsoft, harsh'], a fitting epithet for Egill's fiery temper. On alliteration and stem-rhyme in this line, see "Alliteration" above.

### 3.

Kúrt bar ŐlafsSon Ki᷎tan,
klắra, fagúr ắ hắreñ,
gŐdlÿndúr, giófúll, Sÿnde,
gnŐtter meſtú iþrŐtta,
miallhvÿtú af bar óllúm,
i trű viſtadeſt chriſte,
dő vid Stein dal ắ Svÿna,
dórþoll⁷ kniắm i Bolla.

### 3.

Kurt bar Óláfsson Kjartan
klára, fagr á hárin,
góðlyndr, gjǫfull sýndi
gnóttir mestu íþrótta.
Mjallhvítu – af bar ǫllum –
í trú vistaðisk Kristi;
dó við stein dal á Svína
dǫr-þollr knjám í Bolla.

*Regular word order*
Kjartan Óláfsson bar klára kurt. [Kjartan var] fagr á hárin [neuter plural with definite article].

[Kjartan var] góðlyndr. [Kjartan var] gjǫfull. [Kjartan] sýndi gnóttir mestu íþrótta. [Kjartan] af bar ǫllum. [Kjartan] vistaðisk í mjallhvítu trú Kristi. Dǫr-þollr [=Kjartan] dó í knjám Bolla við stein á Svínadal.

*Approximate English translation*
Kjartan, son of Óláfr, was a true
gentleman, and a fair-haired one at that,
good-natured, munificent, possessed a lot
of various skills.
[He] was head and shoulders above all the rest,
was a firm believer in the spotless faith of Christ,
[he] died by a stone in Svínadal,
tree of spears [→ WARRIOR (Kjartan)], on Bolli's
knees.

*Commentary*
(3.1) *kurt* – [n.fem.acc.sg. of *kurt* 'courtesy, fine manners, chivalrous feat'], often used with verb *bera* ['carry, bear'].

(3.2) *klára* – *klár* [adj.fem.acc.sg. of *klárr* 'clear'], strong form, agreed with *kurt*.

(3.3) *góðlyndr* – *góð-* [bare stem of adj. *góðr* 'good'], *-lyndr* [adj.masc.nom.sg. 'mooded, tempered in this or that manner']; the whole is a compound adjective meaning 'good-natured, good-spirited'.

(3.3) *gjǫfull* – [adj.masc.nom.sg. 'munificent'], an epithet used in classical *dróttkvætt* for princes. As pointed out above, none of the characters mentioned is a king or a prince; nonetheless, Kjartan here is given this particular epithet to indicate his high social status, just as his father Óláfr and his great-great-grandmother Auðr *djúpúðga* are said to 'distribute gold' in stanzas 2 and 1 respectively.

(3.3) *sýndi* – [v.3.sg.pret.ind. of *sýna* 'to show']. For the whole phrase, see the note following. Notice the enjambment: *sýndi // gnóttir mestu íþrótta*, where the object and the verb are separated by the end of the line; this type of syntax follows the lines of classical *dróttkvætt*.

(3.4) *gnóttir mestu íþrótta* – *gnóttir* [n.fem. acc.pl. of *gnótt* 'abundance, plenty'], *mestu* [adj. 'most'], *íþrótta* [n.fem.gen. pl. of *íþrótt* 'sport, skill']. The adjective is in a weak form in the plural, thus it can be agreed with either *íþrótta* or with *gnóttir*. The resulting meanings 'awesome plenty of skills' or 'plenty of awesome skills' are identical.

(3.5) *mjallhvítu* – *mjall-* [bare unumlatued stem of n.masc. *mjǫll* 'fresh powdery snow'], *hvítu* [adj.fem.dat.sg. of *hvítr* 'white', weak form]. A compound adjective meaning 'as pure as driven snow', rendered here in translation as 'spotless'. The second element is relevant there: 'white' is a traditional ON epithet for Christ, and the weak form of the adjective denotes the permanence of the characteristic denoted. The compound adjective is agreed with *trú* [n.fem.dat.sg. of *trúa* 'faith'] in 3.6 (on the syntax, see "Features Retained from Classical *dróttkvætt*").

(3.5) *af bar ǫllum* – *bar* [v.3.sg.pret.ind of *bera* 'carry, bear'] + *af* [postverbial], *ǫllum* [pron.dat.pl. of *allr* 'all']. The phrase reads [*Kjartan*] *af bar ǫllum* ['Kjartan was head and shoulders above all other [men]']. The expression *bera af* ['to excel, surpass'] (ClVig: 59, *s.v.* 'bera B, III') is very frequent and typical for this meaning; the noun in dative refers to the class of objects that the noun in nominative belongs to, while the exact quality in which the noun in the nominative is better than other members of its class (lacking in our stanza) can be referred to using a noun phrase introduced by *um*.

(3.6) *vistaðisk í trú* – [v.3.sg.pret.ind.refl. of *vista* 'to remain, stay somewhere, lodge with someone'], *í* [prep. 'in'], *trú* [n.fem.dat.sg. of *trúa* 'faith']. The phrase reads as 'remained in faith', i.e. 'was steadfastly faithful', which makes sense semantically but seems to deviate from attested usage: according to dictionaries, *vista* is strictly used to denote physical lodgings and never used for abstract things such as faith. Such usage may be seen as a kind of innovation or pun. If we opt for the pun, it would presumably refer (rather cruelly) to the episode of Kjartan's stay in Norway as a hostage of King Óláfr Tryggvason in his move to compel Iceland to convert to Christianity (*Laxdæla saga* 41) – so, Kjartan 'lodged' (*vistaði*) with the king because of his faith. This episode is a pivotal moment in the saga. Kjartan's faith is mentioned explicitly in *Laxdæla* 43, as the king bids Kjartan farewell and admonishes him to stay true to his faith; yet the verb the king

uses is ON *halda* ['to hold'], the usual ON verb for this expression.[23]

(3.6) *Kristi* – this is gen.sg. form of Latin *Christus* (the phrase is *trú Kristi* ['Christ's faith']), not of Icelandic *Kristr*, where *Kristi* also features but as a dative case form (see also the comment on line 1.7).

(3.7) *stein* – [n.masc.acc.sg. of *steinn* 'stone']. Kjartan is killed in the ambush of Bolli and Guðrún's brothers; the fight between them takes place near a certain large stone in the Swine Valley, Svínadal (*Laxdæla saga* 49).

(3.7) *dal á Svína* – stands for *á Svínadal* in the sentence [*Kjartan*] *dó við stein á Svínadal, í knjám Bolla* ['[Kjartan] died on Bolli's knees next to a stone in Svínadal']; see "Noun Phrase Word Order" above).

(3.8) *dǫr-þollr* – *dǫr-* [bare stem from n.neut. *darr* 'spear'], *þollr* [n.masc.nom.sg. 'fir-tree; peg, thole' (the latter is a cognate)]; the whole means 'spear-tree', a kenning for WARRIOR. The form *dǫr-* marks the text as late. In ON, the same form would have been the plural umlauted stem from neuter noun *darr* ['spear'], however, this particular usage is unattested in classical *dróttkvætt*, where the word *darr*, if used in plural, is always in genitive (*darra-*) and hardly ever used in kennings for WARRIOR;[24] its normal role is as a determinant for kennings of BATTLE (see e.g. commentary on 7.7). In the *rímur* tradition, however, the earlier-neuter plural *dǫrr* was re-interpreted as a singular form (and also changed gender to masculine in some cases, see [OR: 70]). It is this later form that our poet uses to coin a kenning – but coins it according to an ancient model.

4.
Bolle var fremdar fúllúr,
frăn veitte Rўnar măna,
ŏlúcka meſt hañ æſte,
ŏva7t þă vŏ hñ Kiʳtan,
fŏtbÿte brắ hañ bitrúm,
brúggar ſier daúdans múggú,
I Sele fiell dracoNs dÿkia,
dreifer, i vopnageifu.

4.
Bolli var fremdar-fullr,
fránn, veitti Rínar mána,
ólukka mest hann œsti

óvart þá vá hann Kjartan.
Fótbíti brá hann bitrum,
bruggar sér dauðans muggu,
í seli féll drakons díkja
dreifir í vápnageyfu.

*Regular word order*
Bolli var fremdar-fullr. Fránn [Bolli] veitti Rínar mána. Ólukka mest œsti hann [=Bolla] óvart, þá hann [=Bolli] vá Kjartan. Hann [=Bolli] brá bitrum Fótbíti. [Bolli] bruggar sér dauðans muggu. Drakons díkja dreifir [=Bolli] féll í seli í vápnageyfu.

*Approximate English translation*
Bolli was quite an extraordinary man,
brilliant, distributed the moon of Rhine [→ GOLD],
a very ill fate made sure
that, all of a sudden, he killed Kjartan.
He wielded a sharp [sword called] Leg-Cutter,
brewed the snowstorm of death for himself [by killing his brother Kjartan],
in a shieling fell the dragon's dike's [→ GOLD's]
scatterer [→ WARRIOR (Bolli)], in a snowstorm of weapons [→ BATTLE].

*Commentary*
(4.1) *fremdar-fullr* – *fremdar-* [n.fem.gen.pl. of *fremd* 'honour']; *fullr* [adj.masc.nom.sg. 'full'] (on the manuscript spelling *fullur*, see "The Close" above). A compound adjective meaning 'very honourable'.

(4.2) *fránn* – [adj.masc.nom.sg. 'shining'], a poetic ON adjective only used as an epithet for serpents (and, by extension, swords). Agreed with Bolli, *fránn* allows the phrase to be read as a pun, a double- or even triple-edged comment. Bolli was a promising and great man, so a 'shining' one, yet he was also the snake in his double betrayal of his foster-brother Kjartan, first when he married Kjartan's bride Guðrún, then when he killed Kjartan, making an epithet characteristic of a serpent fitting.

(4.2) *Rínar mána* – *Rínar* [n.fem.gen.sg. of *Rín* 'Rhine'], *mána* [n.masc.acc.sg. of *máni* 'moon']. The light-emitting properties of the moon make *máni* a heiti for FIRE, and 'moon of the Rhine' is a straightforward 'fire of all waters' → GOLD kenning (see also line 1.2). In this verse, 'distributing gold' is a poetic indication of Bolli's high social status, even though *Laxdæla* does not mention him giving away any gold.

(4.3) *ólukka mest hann œsti – œsti* [v.3.sg.pret.ind. of *œsa/æsa* 'to incite, stir up']; *ólukka* [n.fem.nom.sg. lit. 'un-luck', here 'evil fate'], *hann* [pron.masc.acc.sg. of *hann* 'he']. Here, *hann* is the accusative object of the verb and *ólukka* is the nominative subject, assigning agency to luck as an active force, as is usual in Icelandic lore. *Ólukka* is here translated into English as 'evil fate' to avoid any misleading implications that the killing of Kjartan was an accident of 'luck' in its modern English sense.

(4.5) *Fótbíti brá hann bitrum – Fótbíti* [n.masc.dat.sg. of *Fótbítr* 'Leg-Cutter', a sword-name]; *brá* [v.3.sg.pret.ind. of *bregða* 'to set in swift motion, brandish'], *bitrum* [adj.masc.dat.sg. of *bitr* lit. 'bitter' (a cognate), here 'sharp']. Both the noun *bítr* and adjective *bitr* are derived from the same ON verb *bíta* ['to cut'] (cognate of English *to bite*), producing an etymological stem-rhyme; *bitr* is regularly used as an epithet for swords in ON because of the meaning of the verb. Both *-bíti* and *bitrum* are dat. sg. because *bregða* calls for a dative of instrument (lit. 'he [Bolli] brandished *with* a sharp sword').

(4.6) *bruggar sér dauðans muggu – bruggar* [v.3.sg.pres.ind. of *brugga* 'to brew'], *sér* [pron.dat.sg. 'to himself'], *dauðans* [n.masc. gen.sg. of *dauði* 'death', with a suffixed definite article], *muggu* [n.fem.acc.sg. of *mugga* 'soft-drizzling mist', here a heiti for STORM]. ON *brugga*, although cognate with English *brew*, is normally used in the sense 'to trouble, confound; to concoct, scheme' and almost never with the sense of cooking, as here, where the object is *mugga*, a kind of wet snowstorm. The expression (Bolli) *bruggar sér dauðans muggu* ['brews himself a storm of death'] refers to the doom of revenge that Bolli prepares for himself by killing Kjartan.

(4.7–8) *drakons díkja dreifir – dreifir* [n.masc.nom.sg. 'scatterer', a *nomen agentis* from v. *dreifa* 'scatter, disperse']; *díkja* [n.neut.gen.pl. of *díki/dík* 'dike']; *drakons* [n.masc.gen.sg. of *drakon* 'dragon']. In ON, *dreki* was more common for 'dragon', but *drakon* is also found. On the use of *dík* as a heiti for BED here, see "Kennings" above;

the whole is a straightforward extended kenning for MAN/WARRIOR referring to Bolli: 'scatterer of BED of the dragon' → 'scatterer of GOLD' → WARRIOR.

(4.8) *vápnageyfu – geyfu* [n.fem.dat.sg. of *geyfa* 'an unusually dark snowstorm', related to n.fem. *gufa* 'vapour']; *vápna* [n.neut.gen.pl. of *vápn* 'weapon']. The whole reads as a kenning 'snowstorm of weapons' → BATTLE. *Geyfa* is neither in ClVig nor in *LP* and is another mark of the lateness of the text; on *vápn* in this kenning, see "Kennings" above.

5.
All=nett var Ővÿfs dőtter,
olle þő Slifa Bolla,
barst heñe dőms i draúma,
dim̄ giæfa Siñar æfe.
Þidranda-bana Brűder,
beck af ftÿgeñ, frã Reckúm,
þreif bú7t, vid öffa ÿfreñ,
uñúr fallda vard Nuña.

5.
All-nett var Ósvífsdóttir,
olli þó slysi Bolla;
barsk henni dóms í drauma
dimm-gæfa sinnar æfi;
Þiðranda-bana, brúðar
bekk af stígin, frá rekkum
þreif burt við ofsa yfrinn;
Unnr falda varð nunna.

*Regular word order*
[Guðrún] Ósvífsdóttir var all-nett, þó [hon] olli slysa Bolla. Dimm-gæfa æfi sinnar barsk henni í dóms drauma; [Guðrún,] stígin af brúðar-bekk, þreif Þiðrandabana burt frá rekkum við ofsa yfrinn. Unnr falda [= Guðrún] varð nunna.

*Approximate English translation*
Guðrún, the daughter of Ósvífr, was [a] splendid [woman],
however she made life difficult for [her husband] Bolli.
The bad luck that was to be her lot in life
revealed itself to her in a fateful dream.
[She] snatched [Gunnar] the Killer of Þidrandi
from the hands of men [of her groom Þorkel],
having stepped down from the women's bench,
and provided him [= Gunnar] with lots of wealth.
Unn of female headgear [→ WOMAN (Guðrún)] became a nun.

*Commentary*

(5.2) *olli slysi* – *olli* [v.3.sg.pret.ind. of *valda* 'wield; cause, inflict'], *slysi* [n.neut.dat.sg. of *slys* 'bad accident; mischief']. In sagas, *slys* is characteristically used to describe female scheming (e.g. the actions of Hallgerðr, Bolli's aunt from *Njáls saga*). The manu-script has *slysa*, which is a gen.pl. form; however, the verb *valda* takes an object in dative case, so we emend accordingly.

(5.3) *barsk* – [v.3.sg.pret.ind.refl. of *bera* 'to bear, carry', not *berask* ['to be seen']²⁵]. The subject for this verb is *dimm-gæfa* ['bad fate'] in 5.4, and the phrase literally means 'bad fate carried itself' *í dóms drauma* ['into fateful dreams'] (see below), i.e. the bad fate 'entered' into Guðrún's fateful dreams, thus revealing itself.

(5.3) *dóms í drauma* – *dóms* [n.masc.gen.sg. of *dómr* 'judgement; doom'], *drauma* [n.masc. acc.pl. of *draumr* 'dream']. The normal word order of words/stems is *í dóms drauma* ['into a fateful, prophetic dream'] (on the syntax, see "Noun Phrase Word Order" above). *Drauma* is here in accusative plural, which, when used with prepositions *í, á* etc., implies motion (in)to (see *barsk* above), whereas the dative would imply a state of being in or at a place or thing. The phrase refers to the episode in *Laxdæla* 33 where Guðrún recounts four of her dreams and these are interpreted as predicting each of her four marriages.

(5.4) *dimm-gæfa* – *dimm-* [bare stem of adj. *dimmr* 'dark, dim'], *gæfa* [n.fem.nom.sg. 'luck']. This compound is an invention of our poet, literally meaning 'dark luck', i.e. bad luck, bad fate. The ON word for this would have been *ógæfa* [lit. 'unluck'], on which see 4.3.

(5.5) *Þiðranda-bana* – *bana* [n.masc.acc.sg. of *bani* 'death; killer'], *Þiðranda* [n.masc. gen.sg. of *Þiðrandi*, a personal name]. This refers to the episode of Guðrún hiding the killer of Þiðrandi (*Laxdæla* 69).

(5.5–6) *brúðar bekk* – *bekk* [n.masc.acc.sg of *bekkr* 'bench' (a cognate)], *brúðar* [MI n.fem.gen.sg of *brúðr* 'bride']; the compound noun means 'women's bench', an area in an Icelandic longhouse. The manuscript spelling *brúðer* with *-e-* does not make sense; the possible conjectures are

*bróðir* [n.masc.nom. 'brother'], *brúðar* and *brúður* [n.fem.nom. 'bride']. The former is rejected because no brothers of Gunnar Þiðrandabani feature in the particular episode of *Laxdæla*, whereas the latter corresponds verbally to the relevant section of *Laxdæla* 69 (lexical matches underlined):

> En Guðrún sat innar á þverpalli ok þar konur hjá henni ok hǫfðu lín á hǫfði; en þegar hon verðr vǫr við, <u>stígr</u> hon <u>af brúðbekkinum</u> ok heitr á sína menn at veita Gunnari lið.

> Guðrún meanwhile sat on the women's bench with other ladies around herself, and all wore festive headgear; so when she becomes aware [of the commotion related to Þorkell seeing through Gunnarr's disguise], she <u>steps down from the women's bench</u> and orders her men to defend Gunnarr.

It is possible to read *brúður* as the nominative subject (= Guðrún), although this would be an indicator of the lateness of the poem since in ON the form would be *brúðr*, unsuitable for the close. We prefer to read the *brúðar bekk* as a compound that consciously mirrors the phrasing of the saga (which requires editorially moving the end-line comma). The use of the genitive inflection of *brúðr* thus appears as a metrically motivated alternative to the bare stem forming the compound owing to the rhythm of the close. This particular type of enjambment in which a two-stem non-kenning compound is split in two by the end of the line is not very common in classical *dróttkvætt*, although it is used. The case is accusative because motion is implied in the verb phrase *stígin af -bekk* ['standing up from bench'] (5.3).

(5.6) *stígin* – [pp.fem.nom.sg of *stíginn* 'risen', of v. *stíga* 'step upwards; run']. This agrees in gender, case and number with *Guðrún*, hence a single *n*, despite the nasal overstroke in the manuscript. As noted in "Manuscript Spelling", a nasal stroke over *n* may function here as a reading aid, distin-guishing handwritten *u* (marked by an acute accent) from *n* (marked with overstroke).

(5.6) *rekkum* – [n.masc.dat.pl. of *rekkr* 'free man']. The word is used as a poetic synonym for men in general, here referring to companions of Þorkell.

91

(5.7) *þreif* – [v.3.sg.pret.ind. of *þrífa* 'to clutch, grasp, take hold']. Gudrun here is said to 'grasp Gunnar away from Þorkell's men'.

(5.7) *ofsa yfrinn* – *yfrinn* [adj.masc.acc.sg 'excessive'], *ofsa* [n.masc.acc.sg of *ofsi* 'arrogance; extravagance']. The word *ofsi* typically means 'tyrrany, overbearance', and more precisely readiness to resort to violence in pursuit of one's goals with arrogant disregard for laws and justice (Byock 2001: chs. 10, 13); by extension it also just means 'extravagance', as in riches etc., which is the meaning active here. The phrase means that Gudrun has provided (or, to be precise, had her husband Þorkell provide) Gunnar with a lot of money on his way out of Iceland.

(5.8) *Unnr falda* – *falda* [n.fem.gen.pl. of *faldr*, 'special women's headgear' worn by high-status ladies in Iceland], *Unnr* [n.fem. nom.sg, a female personal name]. It is a regular kenning for woman coined according to a well-attested model 'female name of piece of female atire' [*LP*: 582; Meissner 1921: 405–409]. This headgear appears in the episode of *Laxdæla* quoted in 5.5, where *lín* [lit. 'linen'] is a common synonym for *faldr*, which was white and made of that fabric. In some ON texts, Auðr the Deep-Minded is called *Unnr* instead of *Auðr*. Our poet could potentially be linking Guðrún to the earlier heroine of the poem. With emen-dation, another interpretation is possible.[26]

(5.8) *nunna* – [n.fem.nom.sg 'nun']. This is a reference to Guðrún becoming the first hermit nun in the history of Iceland, having outlived her four husbands (*Laxdæla* 78).

### 6.

Þorkell Ejúlfs mióg merkúr,
Múſteris hǻtt ǻ búſtúm,
allfrÿds i Őſe Nidar,
arme þeſs mællte karma,
eins Stő7aɱ gÿrnteſt gióra,
Gúds rañ*,* þő kőngúr bañe,
hollúr ad Hælga felle,
hans rǻd daúdeɱ afmǻde.

### 6.

Þorkell Eyjólfs- mjǫk merkr
musteris, hátt á bu*r*stum,
al-fríðs í ósi Níðar,

armi þess mældi karma;
eins stóran *girndisk* gera
guðs rann, þó konungr banni
hollr, at Helgafelli;
hans ráð dauðinn afmáði.

*Regular word order*
Mjǫk merkr Eyjólfs-Þorkell, hátt á burstum, mældi armi karma þess al-fríðs musteris í Níðarósi. [Þorkell] girndisk gera stóran rann eins guðs at Helgafelli, þó hollr konungr banni [þat]. Dauðinn afmáði ráð hans [=Þorkells].

*Approximate English translation*
Þorkell Eyjólfsson, a most remarkable man,
having climbed high on the gables,
with his own hands measured the frame
of that very beautiful minster in Trondheim;
he was eager to build a large
house of One God at Helgafell,
even though the gracious king forbade that;
death ruined his plans.

*Commentary*
(6.1) *Þorkell Eyjólfs* – i.e. Þorkell Eyjólfsson, fourth husband of Guðrún (see plot summary above). On the particular form and word order of this sequence, see "Lexical and Syntactic Features" above.

(6.1) *merkr* – [adj.masc.nom.sg. 'remarkable, noteworthy, truthful']. Agreed with *Þorkell*.

(6.2) *musteris* – [n.neut.gen.sg. of *musteri/ mustari* 'temple']. The word is derived from Latin *monasterium* (> English *minster*); the word is in the same form in *Laxdæla* 74, to the events of which most of this stanza refers.

(6.2) *burstum* – [n.fem.dat.pl. of *burst* 'gable' in a house]; *hátt á burstum* ['high on the gables'] is part of the clause that has *mældi* as the principal verb (6.4), meaning that Þorkell was measuring the church while having climbed high up the scaffolding as described in *Laxdæla* 74. The manuscript spelling has *bustum*, lacking -*r*-, a common spelling mistake already in ON times;[27] we restore it here for clarity. However, *bust* is the correct spelling and pronunciation for the 18th century (e.g. Björn Halldórsson 1992: 95) and necessary here for correct *aðalhending*, a full stem rhyme with *musteris* (which has never had *r* before *s*), which is a mark of the lateness of the text.

(6.3) *í ósi Níðar* – *osi* [n.masc.dat.sg of *óss* 'mouth of a river'], *Níðar* [n.fem.gen.sg of *Níð* 'river Nid']. This stands for *í Níðarósi* ['in Trondheim'], where the events of *Laxdæla* 74 take place (on the syntax, see "Noun Phrase Word Order" above).

(6.4) *mældi armi* – [v.3.sg.pret.ind. of *mæla* 'measure'], *armi* [n.masc.dat.sg. of *armr* 'arm']. The verb has *d* in preterite, unlike its etymologically distinct homonyms *mæla* [v. 'speak'], which has *t*, and *mæla/mála* [v. 'paint']. *Armi* is a dative instrumental; the phrase means 'Þorkell measured the wooden frame of it (i.e. the church) with his own hand'. This is the only finite verb in the first half-stanza; the sentence runs as follows: *Þorkell Eyjófls, mjǫk merkr, mældi armi karma þess al-fríðs musteris í Níðarósi, hátt á burstum* ['Þorkell of Eyjólfr, a famous person, measured the frame of the very beautiful church in Trondheim with his own hand, [sitting] high on the gable'].

(6.4) *karma* – [n.masc.acc.pl. of *karmr* 'wooden frame']. Þorkell was measuring the church's frame while it was still being built (see plot summary above).

(6.5) *eins* – *eins* [adj.masc.gen.sg of *einn* 'one'] is a displaced adjective agreed with *guðs* [n.masc.gen.sg of *guð* 'God'], and the correct word order for this noun phrase is *stóran rann eins guðs* ['big house of one God']. In the same verse, *stóran* [adj.masc.acc.sg of *stórr* 'big'], agreed with *rann* [n.masc.acc.sg of *ran* 'house'], is also a displaced adjective. Such displacement is nothing unusual for classical *dróttkvætt* and is used regularly alongside other splittings and inversions (see "Features Retained from Classical *dróttkvætt*"). This noun phrase features several splits and inversions: the correct word order is either *stóran rann eins guðs* or *eins guðs stóran rann* with nn distancings. The actual order in the stanza text is *eins stóran ... guðs rann* with three distancings (between *stóran* and *rann*, *rann* and *eins*, and *eins* and *guðs*) and several inversions.

(6.5) *girndisk* – [v.3.sg.pret.ind.refl. of *girna* 'to yearn for, long for, have a craving for']. An expansion on the reference to *Laxdæla* 74. The manuscript spelling with *-t-* is a

mark of lateness: it is MI, while ON has preterite with *d* (to which we emend).

(6.5) *gera* – [v.inf. 'make']. See "Concerning the Close".

(6.6) *banni* – [v.3.sg.pres.subj. of *banna* 'forbid']. The phrase runs *þó konungr banni* ['even though the king forbade [that]']. In the saga, however, the king did not forbid Þorkell to copy his church; Óláfr was offended by actions of Þorkell (i.e. his attempts to copy and even surpass the king's church), regarding this as a presumption, and uttered a prophecy to the effect that the wood taken by Þorkell will not be used to build the huge church he intends to, thus effectively cursing him.

(6.7) *hollr* – [adj.masc.nom.sg. 'gracious (of kings and chiefs)']. Agreed with *konungr* [n.masc.nom.sg. 'king'] in the previous line.

(6.8) *afmáði* – [v.3.sg.pret.ind. of *af-má* 'to destroy']. A rather rare ON verb.

### 7.
Hardbeins Son Helġe giórde,
hrÿngþoll i giegnum Bolla,
Sáratein breidañ bera,
blãn ſkipte hÿlldar mãna;
Húgfúllañ Helga feller
Hóllú Sonar b7ÿntrólled,
darraſkúr dal i Skorra,
dúnde ũr Skÿúm únda.

### 7.
Harðbeinsson Helgi gerði
hringþoll í gegnum Bolla,
sáratein breiðan bera
blán, skipti Hildar mána.
Hugfullan Helga fellir
Hǫllusonar bryntr*o*llit.
Darraskúr dal í Skorra
dundi ór ským undan.

*Regular word order*
Helgi Harðbeinsson gerði hringþoll í gegnum Bolla. [Helgi gerði] bera blán [ok] breiðan sáratein. [Helgi] skipti Hildar mána. Bryntrollit [Þorgils] Hǫllusonar fellir hugfullan Helga. Darraskúr dundi undan ór ským í Skorradal.

*Approximate English translation*
Helgi Harðbeinsson ran
a spear through Bolli,
carried a wide-bladed spear

93

blue, split the moon of battle [→ SHIELD].
The fearless Helgi was killed
by the armour-troll [→ GROUP OF WARRIORS/
ARMY] of [Þorgils] Hǫlluson.
The rain of spears [→ BATTLE] at Skorradal
rained from the skies [i.e. was very loud].

*Commentary*

(7.2) *hring-þoll* – *hring-* [bare stem of n.masc. *hringr* 'bracelet; sword's guard']; *þoll* [n.masc.acc.sg. of *þollr* 'fir-tree']. The whole is a kenning-like structure that here means SPEAR, referring to that with which Helgi kills Bolli (*Laxdœla* 55) (see "Kennings" above).

(7.3) *sáratein* − *sára* [n.neut.gen.pl. of *sár* 'wound, sore'], *tein* [n.masc.acc.sg. of *teinn* 'thorn']. The whole is a classic kenning 'thorn of wound' → SWORD, yet here, like *hring-þollr* ['ring-fir'] → SWORD in 7.2, means SPEAR.

(7.4) *blán* – [adj.masc.acc.sg. of *blár* 'blue or jet-black']. It is most likely agreed with *sáratein* (a SPEAR-kenning: 7.3), depicting the dark color of metal, but may also be agreed with *mána* (baseword in a SHIELD-kenning: 7.4).

(7.4) *skipti* – [v.3.sg.pret.ind. of *skipta* 'divide into shares; be of importance']. A rare and somewhat awkward Icelandic use of the verb, as its meaning here seems to be 'to split into parts by striking', presumably referring to Helgi's spear going ('splitting') through Bolli's shield and pinning him to the wall, according to the saga.

(7.4) *Hildar mána* – *Hildar* [n.fem.gen.sg. of *Hildr* 'Hildr' (name of a valkyrie), acts as heiti for BATTLE]; *mána* [n.masc.acc.sg. of *máni* 'moon']. The whole is a 'moon of battle' → SHIELD kenning.

(7.6) *Hǫllusonar* – [n.masc.gen.sg. of *Hǫllusonr* 'son of Halla']. A reference to Þorgils Hǫlluson, whom Guðrún was able to goad into killing Helgi through a deceitful promise of marriage (*Laxdœla* 57–65; see plot summary above).

(7.6) *bryn-trollit* – *bryn-* [bare stem of n.fem. *brynja* 'armour, coat of mail'], *trollit* [n.neut.nom.sg. of *troll* 'troll', with agreed postpositive definite article]. The whole reads 'troll of armour', a kind of halberd according to ClVig, but it can also be read as kenning for AXE. The correct form is *troll*

(JdV: 598), while the manuscript has *trǫll*, a later variant form; we replace it with the etymologically correct one for the sake of editorial consistency, yet the late form is necessary here for a correct *aðalhending* with (etymologically correct) *Hǫllu* and is a mark of the lateness of text. The whole phrase means 'Halla's son's halberd/axe killed the valiant Helgi', which is inconsistent with the saga: the axe is carried by Helgi, while both Þorgils Hǫlluson and Bolli Bollason carry swords; also, it is Bolli who kills Helgi. A factual error on the part of our poet seems very unlikely: he is attentive to tiny details of the saga text, sometimes with direct verbal corres-pondences (see 5.5 above). We presume that our poet has not made a mistake or worked from an anomalous copy of the saga. We therefore interpret 'the armour-troll' not as a weapon but as an *ad hoc* kenning → WARRIOR. Neuter nouns can have a collective meaning in the singular, and its use here can thus be construed as 'GROUP OF TROLLS/ARMY', referring to Þorgils Hǫlluson's party that dispatched Helgi. In classical poetry, *troll* is only attested as a baseword in kennings for AXE, never for MAN/ WARRIOR, and this type of collective use of the neuter singlur is not found; this use of *bryntroll* → ARMY can thus be considered a poetic invention of our poet with no basis in the kenning system of classical *dróttkvætt*.

(7.7) *darra-skúr* – *darra* [n.neut.gen.pl. of *darr* 'spear'], *skúr* [n.fem.nom.sg. 'shower']. 'Shower of spears' → BATTLE is a straight-forward 'bad weather of weapon' kenning.

(7.7) *dal í Skorra* – stands for *í Skorradal*. Skorradal is where Helgi Harðbeinsson lived and was killed in an event referenced by this stanza (on syntax, see "Noun Phrase Word Order" above).

(7.8) *dundi* – [v.3.sg.pret.ind. of *dynja* 'to gush, shower, pour (of rain), with the additional notion of sound' (following ClVig: 111)]. The presence of 'noise' in the semantics allows the verb to be used in the meanings 'to din, rumble', referring to battle; here it is semantically agreed with *skúr*, the whole phrase meaning 'the battle made so much noise as to fill the sky', yet

also literally 'the rain of spears at Skorradal was falling down with a great noise out of the clouds'. Such word choice, where, e.g. the verb is picked to (partially) agree semantically with the literal (i.e. *inactive*) meaning of a kenning baseword (in our case, the basic meaning of the baseword *skúr* is 'rain', and the rain pours, hence the choice of *dynja*), is typical for certain varieties of skaldic verse and described in *Snorra Edda* (*HT* 6–7, sections on *sannkenningar* and *nýgǫrvingar*).

### Conclusion

We believe this little poem is a very interesting text for several reasons. Not only does it represent an attempt to write in *dróttkvætt*, a very strict metre on many levels, including syntactic, lexical and phraseological, a long time after the oral *dróttkvætt* tradition had likely died out, but also an attempt that, as we believe we have shown, should be judged as largely successful. The author demonstrates his very advanced understanding of the metrical requirements of *dróttkvætt*, as well as his very effective grasp of skaldic poetics and the generative principles of skaldic vocabulary – a truly remarkable achievement. Even if *dróttkvætt* was not alive in his time, it does come alive in his poem. The poet also demonstrates his skill and creativity in two veins, one that successfully fits new develop-ments in the language into the confines of the old rules, and one that stretches what was in fact theoretically possible, even though unrealized, in classical *dróttkvætt*, and in other veins that are either unrelated to the *dróttkvætt modus operandi* or altogether impossible. It is a curious example of what may be styled as a 'post-mortem' life of a metre and a poetic system that was once central to the Icelandic tradition, and one that, apparently, was still alive aurally (though most likely not orally), had remained culturally relevant, and, to a degree, resurrectable and renewable centuries later. Further, such evidence of the very active engagement of our poet/scribe with the skaldic tradition should also be considered important for wider issues of the existence and (especially post-medieval) transmission of ON prosimetric texts such as sagas; even if Tyrfingur is probably a rather rare bird in that

he *composed* skaldic verse at such a late date, he certainly could not have been that rare in possessing a very advanced working comprehension of it.

*Ilya V. Sverdlov (ilya.sverdlov[at]helsinki.fi) Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, Fabianinkatu 24 (P.O. Box 4), 00014 University of Helsinki, Finland.*

*Sofie Vanherpen (Sofie.Vanherpen[at]UGent.be) Ghent University Library, Department of Catalography and Acquisition, Sint-Hubertusstraat 8, 9000 Gent, Belgium.*

### Notes

1. *Vísur um Kjartan og Bolla* by Þórður Magnússon are preserved in the following *Laxdæla* manuscripts from the 17th century: TCD MS. 1008 fol., AM 127 fol., AM 126 fol., AM 125 fol., — 4to, AM 396 fol. From the 18th century: Add. Ms. 11111 fol., ÍB 45 fol., TCD MS 1009 fol., Lbs 151 4to, Ms. 4° 306, Lbs 1212 4to.
2. In this article, we only refer to stanzas from *kappakvæði* or panegyrics in praise of *Laxdæla saga* characters that were used as finishing pieces to the saga text. As they are not relevant to the topic of the current article, the discussion does not extend to other poems that conclude the saga (e.g. in ÍB 71 4to and Lbs 1332 4to) or stand-alone poetry inspired by the saga (e.g. *Kjartanskvæði* preserved in JS 520 8vo and *Laxdælarímur* by Eiríkur Bjarnason in the autograph JS 46 4to). For a more thorough discussion of these, see the forthcoming doctoral thesis of Sofie Vanherpen.
3. The third *vísa* or stanza was published in Modern Icelandic spelling without any further analysis or discussion in (Kjartan Óláfsson 1999: 5).
4. These three manuscripts are: Lbs 2480 4to written in 1742 (Páll Eggert Ólason 1935–1937: 325), MS Boreal 144 written in 1746 (Madan 1897: 469) and Lbs 513 4to written in 1746–1747 (Páll Eggert Ólason 1918: 262).
5. In more detail, see: https://handrit.is/en/manuscript/view/is/Lbs04-0513.
6. This is the opening sentence of a very long period detailing the provenance of this text of *Eyrbyggja saga*.
7. The following note, in a different hand, is added to this colophon: *Prestur að Stað í Súgandafyrði* ['Pastor at Staður in Súgandafjörður'] (Lbs 513 4to, f. 102r).
8. One case of *fyrning* are editions of *Vápnfirðinga saga* (1950), of which only a single vellum leaf of a (late) medieval manuscript survives (Jón Helgason 1975: 62–78), while the bulk of the saga texts preserved in paper manuscripts that date from 16th century or later have essentially MI spellings. Despite this, the non-diplomatic editions of the saga

9. routinely replace the spellings of these post-medieval manuscripts with ON ones.

9. A peculiar case is 2.5 *markv⁷þr* where no epenthetic *-u-* is spelled out (cf. 3.3 *gǿdlÿndúr* in an identical grammatical role and in identical metrical position).

10. Although the discussion is beyond the scope of this paper, it is important to point out that it is not at all clear whether the syllables called 'long' in MI and syllables counted as 'long' in ON *dróttkvætt* rely on the same concept of 'length', and, if not, whether these 'lengths' are comparable (Kristjan Árnason 1980: 203–216).

11. As a matter of exception, some complete lines of *ljóðaháttr* have a monosyllabic close or, as a matter of extremely rare exception, the *dróttkvætt* type of close, i.e. in the form of long disyllable (Sievers 1893: 84, §57.4).

12. Some complete lines of *ljóðaháttr*, as a matter of exception, have only two lifts (Sievers 1893: 89, §57.8).

13. As contrasted with the end of the long line of Old English metre and ON *fornyrðislag*, which consistently lack marking and have, consquently, weak ends.

14. For a more detailed discussion of this issue in classical *dróttkvætt*, see Smirnitskaya 1994: 380–383, ch. 7, §5.

15. In such exceptional cases this syllable is the single one of a single-syllable *separate* word that *is not part* of the compound crossing into the close. Also, it can only happen in odd lines, as in this odd line from yet another stanza by Hávarðr (*Skj* B-1, 180–6–3): *hvatr frák at brá bitrum* (cf. stanza 4 below). This issue is discussed in some detail in a paper by William Craigie (1900: see esp. 356–359 for the limited number of examples). Craigie also mentions (1900: 361), without discussing, three examples of proper *dróttkvætt* lines (out of many thousands) that violate even this codified exception, i.e. they feature a compound crossing into the close that has a single-syllable first element marked by alliteration. However, in all such cases this syllable double-alliterates with the close, i.e. they all feature that metrical rarity, a compound noun with internal double alliteration (not infrequent in general language, but studiously avoided in poetry). It is also telling that two of these three examples are, again, from Snorri Sturluson's experimental *Háttatal*, and only one, coined by Bjǫrn *Hitdælakappi* (*Skj* B-1, 282–23), is from a 'common' source. The present authors, on scanning the entirety of *Skj*, have found only two additionals lines not mentioned by Craigie, both by the 10th-century skald Kormákr Qgmundarson, and both involving the same compound *Tin-teini* (*Skj* B-1, 78–38, 81–49). Such is the rarity of this deviant phenomenon.

16. Cf. the following even line from another stanza by Hávarðr (*Skj* B-1, 180–7–8): *ímgjarna Þór-bjarnar*: *Þór-bjarnar* phonetically and morphologically matches *hylt-ingum* and *ó-deiga* but the element *Þór* is not marked by any sound repetition tools, with the alliteration falling on *ím-* for vowel alliteration with

the preceding line and *-bjarnar* stem-rhyming with *-gjarna*.

17. On similar rhyming features in wider Icelandic poetry, see Jón Axel Harðarson 2007.

18. Egill's coinage is a kenning *hapax legomenon*. Kennings for SUMMER do not exist; what we do have are kennings for WINTER with the kenning-model of 'death of snakes' (e.g. *naðrs* [n.masc.gen.sg. of *naðr* 'viper, snake'] *ógn* [n.fem.nom.sg. 'dread, terror, menace'], *HT* 83). So Egill coins a one-off kenning mirror antonym, replacing 'death' with 'mercy'. This process is a good illustration of how new kenning models for new referents were generated and parsed (Egill's coinage is only parseable thanks to the existence of the regular 'death of snakes' kenning-model). This one-off model, however, did not stick – we find only two later coinages with *miskunn*, both probably stemming from Egill's unique coinage as the absense of variation in their basewords implies.

19. E.g. *at gusti geirs* ['in the gust of the spear' = battle] in the anonymous *Óláfs drápa Tryggvasonar* 17.4: *hæstr varð geirs at gusti*; cf. *í drífu vífs Mistar* ['in the snowstorm of the woman of Mist (a valkyrie)' = battle] in Guthormr *sindri*'s *Hákonardrápa* 1.4: *Mistar vífs í drífu*.

20. The interpretation of *her-jǫfurr* as a kenning for prince would be anomalous for classical diction: *jǫfurr* is rare as a baseword for such kennings, most often used alone as laudatory epithet, while *herr,* though fitting the semantic requirements of a determinant of such kennings, is never used as one (Meissner 1921: 354).

21. The only way to keep the original *vegu* is to assume it is gen. sg. of *Vega*, the proper name of the star in the constellation Lyra. This would be, as far as we know, a unique appearance of this star's name in Icelandic poetry. Such a word, similarly to *máni* ['moon'], can act as a heiti for fire in kennings for gold coined following the model of 'fire of water'; we can get water if we assume that the manuscript's *ṹðar* stands for *unnar*, gen. sg. of *unnr* ['wave']. The alternation between forms in *-unnr* and in *-uðr* is attested in ON and particularly for this word (OR: 380), but we still have to emend the double acute accent, signifying a long vowel, to short one. If so, we get a three-stem extended kenning for woman with inverted stem order, *unnar Vega tróð* ['the faggot of the star of the wave' → 'faggot of GOLD' → WOMAN'].

22. On the attempt very rich and powerful Icelanders of the Sturlunga Age to have retainers, see (Byock 2001: 345).

23. *Þá mælti konungr: "Þess vil ek biðja þik, Kjartan, at þú haldir vel trú þína"* ['Then the king said: "This I will ask of you, Kjartan, that you remain steadfast in your faith"'] (*Laxdæla* 43).

24. *LP* (*s.v.* 'darr') attests only one case of its use as a determinant in a warrior kenning.

25. According to ClVig (*s.v.*), *berask* ['to be seen'] is the result of conflation with the homonymous weak verb *bera* ['to make naked, to bare'].

26. In ClVig we find that in later poetry *faldr* is a synonym for Iceland itself; *faldr* being a stately white garment, the island with its glaciers was interpreted as a fine lady with a white headgear, or as a lovely headdress for the sea. If so, one can emend the manuscript's *unnur* to *unnar* and end up with a three-stem compound noun *unnar-falda-nunna*, meaning 'a nun of Iceland', i.e. the first or the most famous Icelandic nun [lit. 'the nun of the hat of the waves'], *unnar falda* (see the commentary on 5.8). Notice that gen. pl. of *falda* works fine in either version. In *dróttkvætt* it does not matter whether we have a bare stem, or a stem seemingly marked with gen. sg., or one with gen. pl.: because (almost) no adjectives are ever agreed with inner heitis of an extended kenning, this case-marker becomes simply an interfix, a 'meaningless' glue between compound elements (for definition of interfix, see Haspelmath, Sims 2010: 139, 332; for its usage in kennings, see Sverdlov 2006).
27. Such a mistake can even be found among quoted examples in ClVig (*s.v.* 'burst').

## *Abbreviations*
3.sg. – third person singular
acc. – accusative case
adj. – adjective
*ANF – Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi.*
ClVig = Cleasby & Vigfusson. 1957.
dat. – dative case
fem. – feminine gender
gen. – genitive case
*HT = Snorri Sturluson, Edda: Háttatal.*
ind. – indicative mood
inf. – infinitive
JdV = de Vries 1962.
*LP = Lexicon poeticum antiquae linguae septentrionalis.*
lit. – literally
masc. – masculine gender
MI – Modern Icelandic
MS – manuscript
n. – noun
neut. – neuter gender
nom. – nominative case
ON – Old Norse
*OR = Finnur Jónsson 1926–1928.*
pl. – plural number
pp. – past participle
prep. – preposition
pres. – present tense
pret. – preterite tense
pron. – pronoun
refl. – reflexive
sg. – singular number
*Skj = Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtning.*
subj. – subjunctive mood
v. – verb

## *Works Cited*
## *Manuscripts*
Add. Ms. 11111 fol.
AM 125 fol.
AM 126 fol.
AM 127 fol.
AM 396 fol.
Census of 1762. NAIS (National Archives of Iceland), Rentukammer, D1 Censuses and Statistical Reports.
ÍB 45 fol.
ÍB 71 4to
JS 470 8vo
Lbs 151 4to
Lbs 513 4to (Landsbókasafn, Reykjavík, Iceland). Accessible online at http://handrit. is/en/manuscript/view/is/Lbs04-0513 (last accessed 2 May 2016).
Lbs 1212 4to
Lbs 1332 4to
Lbs 2457 4to
Lbs 2480 4to
Ms. 4° 126 Laxdælo-Saga (Nasjonalbibliotheket, Oslo, Norway). Available at: http://www. nb. no/nbsok/nb/161535f5db371051fef9600439aa3e49 ?index=1 (last accessed 2 May 2016).
Ms. 4° 306 Fem islendingesagaer i ett bind (Nasjonalbibliotheket, Oslo, Norway). Available at: http://www.nb.no/nbsok/nb/7c431b63ced45e7c62e 3f39a95123a1e?index=1#0 (last accessed 2 May 2016).
MS Boreal 144
TCD MS 1009 fol.
TCD MS. 1008 fol.

## *Sources*
*Edda Íslandorum, Völuspá, Hávamál: P.H. Resen's Editions of 1665*. Facsimile edn. Introduction by Anthony Faulkes. Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, 1977.
*Egils saga Skallagrímssonar*. Ed. Sigurður Nordal. Íslenzk Fornrit 2. Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1933.
*Grettis saga*. Ed. Guðni Jónsson. Íslenzk Fornrit 7. Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1936.
*Landnámabók = Íslendingabók, Landnámabók*. Ed. Jakob Benediktsson. Íslenzk Fornrit 1. Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1986.
*Laufás Edda* = Anthony Faulkes (ed.). 1979. *Edda Magnúsar Óláfssonar (Laufás Edda)*. Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar.
*Laxdæla saga*. Ed. Einar Óláfur Sveinsson. Íslenzk fornrit 5. Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1934.
*Lexicon poeticum antiquae linguae septentrionalis*. By Sveinbjörn Egilsson; 2nd edn. rev. & expanded by Finnur Jónsson. København: S.I. Møllers Bogtrykkeri, 1931.
*Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtning*. A: *Text etter håndskriftene* I–II; B: *Rettet text* I–II. Ed. F. Jónsson. Photographic reproduction of the 1912–1915 1st edn. København: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1973.
*Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages* I–VIII. Ed. Margaret Clunies Ross et al. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007–present. See the associated Skaldic Project, available at: http://www. abdn. ac. uk/skaldic/db. php.
*Snorri Sturluson, Edda: Háttatal*. Ed. Anthony Faulkes. London: Viking Society for Northern Research,

1999. Available at: http://vsnrweb-publications. org. uk/ (last accessed 19 March 2015).

*Vápnfirðinga saga*. In *Austfirðinga sögur*. Ed. Jón Jóhannesson. Íslenzk fornrit 11. Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1950.

*Vísnabók = Bishop Guðbrand's Vísnabók, 1612*. Facsimile edn. Introduction by Sigurður Nordal. Monumenta Typographica Islandica 5. Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1937.

*Vísnabók Guðbrands*. Ed. Jón Torfason & Kristján Eiríksson. Introduction & notes Jón Torfason, Kristján Eiríksson & Einar Sigurbjörnsson. Reykjavík: Bókmenntafræðistofnun Háskóla Íslands, 2000.

### *Literature*

Björn Halldórsson. 1992. *Orðabók: Íslensk-latnesk-dönsk*. Ed. Jón Aðalsteinn Jónsson. Reykjavík: Orðabók Háskólans. (1st edn: 1814. *Lexicon islandico-latino-danicum*. ed. Rasmus Kristian Rask. Copenhagen: Schubothe.)

Byock, Jesse. 2001. *Viking Age Iceland*. New York / London: Penguin Books.

Cleasby, Richard, & Gubrand Vigfusson. 1957. *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*. 2nd edn. Supplement by Sir William A. Craigie. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Driscoll, Matthew James. 2012. "'Um gildi gamalla bóka': Magnús Jónsson í Tjaldanesi und das Ende der isländischen Handschriftenkultur". In: *Text, Reihe, Transmission: Unfestigkeit als Phänomen skandinavischer Erzhälprosa 1500–1800*. Eds. Jürg Glauser & Anna Katharina Richter. Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 42. Tübingen / Basel: A. Francke Verlag. Pp. 255–282. Available at: https://www. academia. edu/13238028/_Um_gildi_ gamalla_b%C3%B3ka_Magn%C3%BAs_J%C3% B3nsson_%C3%AD_Tjaldanesi_und_das_Ende_de r_isl%C3%A4ndischen_Handschriftenkultur (accessed 2 May 2016).

Fidjestøl, Bjarne. 1974. "Kenningsystemet: Forsøk på ein lingivistisk analyse". *Maal og Minne* 1974: 5–50. [English translation available in: Fidjestøl, Bjarne. 1997. *Selected Papers*. Ed. Odd Einar Haugen & Else Mundal. Odense: Odense University Press. Pp. 16–67.].

Finnur Jónsson. 1926–1928. *Ordbog til de af samfund til udg. af gml. nord. litteratur ungivne rímur samt til de af Dr. O. Jiriczek udgivne "Bósaríumr"*. København: J. Jørgensen & Co.

Frog. 2014. "Mythological Names in *dróttkvætt* Formulae II: Base-Word–Determinant Indexing". *Studia Metrica et Poetica* 1(2): 39–70.

Frog. 2015. "Registers of Oral Poetry". In *Registers of Communication*. Ed. Asif Agha & Frog. Studia Fennica Linguistica 18. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society. Pp. 77–104.

Frog. 2016. "Metrical Entanglement and *dróttkvætt* Composition – A Pilot Study on Battle-Kennings". In *Approaches to Germanic Metre*. Ed. Kristján Árnason et al. Reykjavík: University of Iceland Press. Pp. 149–228.

Hughes, Shaun. 2008. "Late Secular Poetry". In *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*. Ed. Rory McTurk. Oxford: Blackwell. Pp. 205–222.

Guðrún Ingólfsdóttir. 2011. *Í hverri bók er mannsandi: Handritasyrpur – bókmenning, þekking og sjálfsmynd karla og kvenna á 18. Öld*. Studia Islandica 62. Reykjavík: Bókmennta- og listfræðastofnun Háskóla Íslands, Háskólaútgáfan.

Guðrún Nordal. 2001. *Tools for Literacy: The Role of Skaldic Verse in Icelandic Textual Culture of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Guðrún Nordal. 2002. "Why Skaldic Verse? Fashion and Cultural Politics in Thirteenth-Century Iceland". Paper presented at the International Conference Sagas & Societies, held in Borgarnes, Iceland, 5th–9th September 2002. Available at: http://hdl. handle. net/10900/46207 (last accessed: 30 March 2016).

Gurevich, Elena A. 1984. "Древнеисландская поэтическая синонимика. Традиция и ее ученое осмысление в XII-XIII вв". ['Systems of Old Norse Poetic Synonyms. Tradition and its Learned Reception in 12–13th Centuries']. Unpublished PhD thesis, Faculty of Philology. Moscow: M.V. Lomonosov Moscow State University.

Gurevich, Elena, & Inna Matyushina. 2000. *Поэзия скальдов* ['Skaldic Poetry']. Moscow: Russian State University of Humanities (РГГУ). Available at: http://www. ulfdalir. narod. ru/literature/Matushina_ Poetryofskalds. htm (last accessed 30 March 2016).

Haspelmath, Martin, & Andrea D. Sims. 2010. *Understanding Morphology*. 2nd edn. London: Hodder Education.

Haukur Þorgeirsson. 2014. "Dróttkvæður *Heimsósómi*". *Gripla* 25: 143–161. Available at: http://timarit. is/view_page_init. jsp?issId=384573&pageId=6472368&lang=is&q= GRIPLA%20XXv (last accessed 2 May 2016).

Jón Axel Harðarson. 2007. "Forsaga og þróun orðmynda eins og *hagi*, *segja* og *lægja* í íslenzku". *Íslenskt Mál* 29: 68–98.

Jón Helgason. 1975. "Syv sagablade (AM 162 C fol, bl. 1–7)". *Opuscula* 5: 1–97.

Jón Þorkelsson. 1888. "Íslenzk kappakvæði II. Fjósaríma Þórðar Magnússonar á Strjúgi". *ANF* 4: 251–283. Available at: http://runeberg. org/anf/1888/ (accessed 2 May 2016).

Jón Þorkelsson. 1888. "Íslenzk kappakvæði III. Kappakvæði Þórðar Magnússonar á Strjúgi". *ANF* 4: 370–384. Available at: http://runeberg. org/anf/1888/ (accessed 2 May 2016).

Kjartan Óláfsson. 1999. "Firðir og Folk: Kafli úr árbók ferðafélags Íslands 1999". *Lesbók Morgunblaðsins*: 4–5.

Kristján Árnason. 1980. *Quantitiy in Historical Phonology: Icelandic and Related Cases*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Madan, Falconer. 1897. *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford which Have not Hitherto Been Catalogued in the Quarto Series with References to the Oriental and Other Manuscripts* IV*: Collections Received During the First Half of the 19th Century: Nos. 16670–24330*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Marold, Edith. 1983. *Kenningkunst: Ein Beitrag zu einer Poetik der Skaldendichtung*. Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Meissner, Rudolf. 1921. *Die Kenningar der Skalden*. Bonn / Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder.

Páll Eggert Ólason. 1918. *Skrá um handritasöfn Landsbókasafn Íslands* I. Reykjavík: Landsbókasafn Íslands.

Páll Eggert Ólason. 1935–1937. *Skrá um handritasöfn Landsbókasafn Íslands* III. Reykjavík: Landsbókasafn Íslands.

Páll Eggert Ólason. 1952. *Íslenzkar æviskrár frá landnámstímum til ársloka 1940* V. Reykjavík: Hin Íslenzka Bókmenntafélag.

Ragnar Ingi Aðalsteinsson. 2014. *Traditions and Continuities: Alliteration in Old and Modern Icelandic Verse*. Trans. Sigurlína Davíðsdóttir. Reykjavík: University of Iceland Press.

Sievers, Eduard. 1893. *Altgermanische Metrik*. Halle: Max Niemeyer.

Smirnitskaya, Olga A. 1992. "Mythological Nomination and Skaldic Synonymics". In *Snorrastefna*. Ed. Úlfar Bragason. Reykjavík: Stofnun Sigurðar Nordals. Pp. 217–225.

Smirnitskaya, Olga A. 1994. *Стих и язык древнегерманской поэзии* ['The Verse and Language of Old Germanic Poetry']. Moscow: Moscow State University. (An extensive review in English by Anatoly Liberman is available in *Scandinavian Studies* 70(1) (1998): 87–108).

Steinunn Finnsdóttir. 1950. *Hyndlu rímur og Snækóngs rímur*. Ed. Bjarni Vilhjálmsson. Rit Rímnafélagsins 3. Reykjavík: Rímnafélagið.

Sverdlov, Ilya V. 2003a [2004]. "Extra Elements in Kennings, or How to Feed the Wolf Single-Wordedly". *Skandinavistik* 33(2): 101–113.

Sverdlov, Ilya V. 2003b. "Системное исследование скальдической лексики на материале развернутых кеннингов мужа" ['The Skaldic Noun Vocabulary as a System, as Represented by Extended Kennings for Man/Warrior']. Unpublished PhD thesis. Moscow: Moscow State University.

Sverdlov, Ilya V. 2006. "Kenning Morphology: Towards a Formal Definition of the Skaldic Kenning, or Kennings and Adjectives". In *The Fantastic in Old Norse/Icelandic Literature. Sagas and the British Isles: Papers of the 13th International Saga Conference, Durham and York, August 6–12, 2006*. Ed. John McKinnell, David Ashurst & Donata Kick. Durham: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Durham University. Vol. 2, pp. 923–934.

Sverdlov, Ilya V. 2009. "Though This Be Madness, yet There's Method in't: Aspects of Word Order in Skaldic Kennings". In *Á austrvega. Saga and East Scandinavia: Papers of the 14th International Saga Conference, Uppsala, August 9–15, 2009*. Ed. Agneta Ney, Henrik Williams & Fredrik Charpentier Ljungqvist. Gävle: University of Gävle. Pp. 913–917.

Sverdlov, Ilya V. 2011. "'Ok dulða ek þann inn alsvinna jǫtun': Some Linguistic and Metrical Aspects of Óðinn's Win over Vafþrúðnir". *Saga-Book* 35: 39–72.

Sverdlov, Ilya V. 2012. "Heads or Tails? or, Metrical Marking of Compound Stems and Family Tree of Old Norse Metres". In *The 15th International Saga Conference: Sagas and the Use of the Past, 5th–11th August 2012: Preprint of Abstracts*. Ed. Mathias Nordvig & Lisbeth H. Torfing. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press. P. 297.

Sverdlov, Ilya V. 2015. "'Man is the Measure of All Things': The System of Kennings as Tangible Object". *RMN Newsletter* 9: 18–34.

Vanherpen, Sofie. 2012. "The Never Ending Story of Auður/Unnur Djúpúðga Ketilsdóttir: Cultural Memory and Religious Identity". In *15th International Saga Conference : Sagas and the Use of the Past, Abstracts*. Ed. Mathias Nordvig & Lisbeth H. Torfing. Aarhus: SUN-Tryk. Pp. 305–306.

Vanherpen, Sofie. 2013. "Remembering Auðr/Unnr Djúp(a)uðga Ketilsdóttir: Construction of Cultural Memory and Female Religious Identity". *Mirator* 14.2: 61–78.

Vanherpen, Sofie. 2015. "Letters in the Margin: Female Provenance of Laxdæla Saga Manuscripts on Flatey". In *The Sixteenth International Saga Conference Sagas and Space: Preprints of Abstracts*. Ed. Jürg Glauser et al. Zürich: Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Skandinavische Studien c/o Abteilung für Nordische Philologie. P. 290.

Vanherpen, Sofie. Forthcoming. "Auðr/Unnr djúp(a)uðga Ketilsdóttir: Tracing the Life and Legacy of the Foremother Figure through Texts." PhD dissertation, Ghent University.

Vanherpen, Sofie, Eevastiina Korri, Ulrike Michalczik, et al. 2014. "An Icelandic Christmas Hymn: Hljómi Raustinn Barna Best". *Gripla* 25: 193–250.

de Vries, Jan. 1962. *Altnordisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 2nd edn. Leiden: Brill.

Wierzbicka, Anna. 1972. *Semantics Primitives*. Linguistische Forschungen 22. Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum-Verlag.

### Internet Sites

Handrit.is, "Entry for Lbs 513 4to". Available at: http://handrit.is/en/manuscript/view/is/Lbs04-0513 (last accessed 30 March 2016).

Stories for All Time, "Entry for Lbs 513 4to". Available at: http://fasnl.ku.dk/browse-manuscripts/manuscript.aspx?sid=TABiAHMAIAA1ADEAMwAgADQAdABvAA2 (last accessed 30 March 2016).

# How Did the First Humans Perceive the Starry Night? – On the Pleiades

Julien d'Huy, Institute of the African World (IMAF), Paris I Sorbonne, and Yuri E. Berezkin, Museum of Anthropology & Ethnography (Kunstkamera), Russian Academy of Sciences / European University at Saint Petersburg

*Abstract: This study applies phylogenetic software to motifs connected with the Pleiades as identified in Yuri Berezkin's database, The Analytical Catalogue of World Mythology and Folklore. The aim of analysis is to determine which, if any, of the analysed motifs are likely to have spread in conjunction with the earliest migrations out of Africa and to the Americas. The Pleiades analysis is compared to an analysis of Orion motifs.*

Numerous studies have shown that many particular episodes and structural elements of mythological narratives were able to subsist over very long periods of time and that the relations which once existed between peoples separated by time and space can be interpreted through such narrative evidence (e.g. Gouhier 1892; Bogoras 1902; Jochelson 1905; Hatt 1949; Korotayev et al. 2011; Witzel 2012; Berezkin 2013; 2017; Le Quellec 2014). Mainly three types of comparative methods have been used to reconstruct narrative episodes and fragments of the worldview known to people who lived in particular epochs and regions: distribution-based studies, structural studies and phylogenetic approaches. The purpose of the present paper is to show the same by using phylogenetic methods with reference to a specific case. Here, a corpus of motifs will be statistically studied to highlight the evolution of the mythology around the Pleiades. These stars form one of the most frequently and prominently recognized constellations among the hunter-gatherer societies of both hemispheres (Hayden and Villeneuve 2011). According to many authors, including Claude Lévi-Strauss (1971a) and George E. Lankford (2007), beliefs surrounding this constellation are particularly likely to be rooted in a very early period. The mythology of the Pleiades could thus be a good indicator of extremely early long-distance migrations.

## Comparative Methods

Before proceeding to the analysis, the comparative method used here will be briefly contextualized in relation to different types of comparative methods that have been used in long-term diachronic studies of mythology. The types of methods will be discussed in terms of myths as narrative plots associated with mythology and mythological motifs as elements of narrative smaller than a plot. Discussion of the methods reviewed in terms of mythology reflects the focus of the present paper, whereas uses of comparative methods reviewed are not limited to studies of myths and mythological motifs.

### Areological Approaches

A method based on the study of the distribution of various myths and mythological motifs to deduce their history and their age can be described as an areological method or areology. Such methods show the clustering of different traits, motifs or versions of the same myth in order to draw conclusions about their history. The basic idea of areological methods is that the geographical distribution of a particular myth or motif is a historical outcome of its spread over time. The formalization of areological methods for the comparative research of myths began already at the end of the 19th century, with the Geographical Method of Julius Krohn, which was the foundation of what became known as the (Classic) Historical-Geographic Method (Krohn 1926; see also Frog 2013). Areaological methods are often used within a culture or across cultures to consider developments and exchanges that have occurred within a few centuries or a millennium of the documented traditions. On the other hand, an extensive distribution of a narrative across both Eurasia and North America normally suggests a much earlier background to the geographical relation going back to the first human migrations to the New World in the Palaeolithic, because such myths could not otherwise be communicated across these continents until recent centuries in contacts that would not normally account for such distributions of the myth.

For instance, two different Eurasian versions of the Cosmic Hunt show Eurasian–North-American parallels at the level of minor details. According to the first version, the object of the hunt and the hunters are associated with Ursa Major, the Big Dipper or Plough. Three stars of the handle of the Big Dipper are hunters and the dipper itself is an animal; Alcor, a star that appears alongside the star at the end of the Big Dipper's handle, is a dog or a cooking pot. According to the second version, the object of the hunt and the hunter are associated with Orion. Orion's Belt represents one or (more typically) three deer, antelopes, mountain sheep or buffaloes; the hunter is Rigel or another star below Orion's Belt; the hunter's arrow has pierced the game and is identified either with Betelgeuze or with the stars of Orion's Head. The correspondences between the Eurasian and the North-American traditions are at a level of detail and complexity that can only be explained by a remote historical relation (Berezkin 2006; 2012; 2017: 73–116, Figures. 21, 25, 26). Remote historical relations have been identified for several myths and motifs, such as the motif of a dog guarding the river of the death (Berezkin 2005), the battle between dwarfs and cranes (Berezkin 2007a; Le Quellec & d'Huy 2017), and diverse narratives surrounding the origin of death (Le Quellec 2015a).

In addition to considering the distribution of single myths or motifs, areal studies can consider the distribution of myths in relation to one another. Two independent studies also show a complementary distribution of myths of the origin of humanity from underground, and of an earth-diver raising dry land from the bottom of the ocean following a succession of dives. Myths of the origin of humanity from underground are concentrated in the southern hemisphere, while the earth-diver myths are concentrated in the northern hemisphere, with few cases where they overlap. Both studies conclude that the narratives had two stages of diffusion: the myths of the origins of human beings followed one or several of the first migrations of homo sapiens out of Africa, after which the earth-diver narratives emerged and were carried in subsequent migrations from Eurasia to Northern America (Berezkin 2007b;

2010; Le Quellec 2014; 2015b). Binary, complementary distribution is found for numerous narratives (Berezkin 2013; Witzel 2012) and corresponds to what we know about the first human migrations.

*Structural Approaches*
A structural method for historical reconstruction defines a myth as the sum of all its versions. It is always possible to order all the variants of the same myth in a series, forming a group of permutations where the variants are related to one another through a series of transformations. These transformations can include the change of an element into its opposite, like *here* becoming *there* without altering a tale's abstract structure (Lévi-Strauss 1955).

For example, Clause Lévi-Strauss (1971a: 20) compares a myth of the Greeks and a myth of the Takelma. In both, the raven is sent to remedy the lack of celestial water by means of the only available terrestrial water: a fountain (Greek) or an ocean (Takelma). Owing to greed (Greek: the bird waits for the fruit to ripen) or laziness (Takelma), the bird neglects its mission. As a punishment, the raven will be thirsty during the summer and thus his voice becomes hoarse because of his parched throat. The Greek myth is connected to the eponymous constellation Corvus [Latin 'Raven'], which marks the end of the dry season. This myth corresponds to a myth from the Xerente people of South America about the origin of Orion and the Pleiades, constellations of summer months in South America that correspondingly mark the beginning rather than the end of the dry season. Similarly, the Blackfoot have a myth very close to that of the Xerente to explain the origin of the Pleiades, heralding a rainy period. Additionally, in North-West America, Raven is often associated with alternating tides, itself often associated with periods of drought and humidity, and of abundance and scarcity. Lévi-Strauss (1971a) concludes that it is not inconceivable that the same myth, transformed through the inversion of one of its elements in relation to the latitude and regional climate, or another myth of the same type, was used to explain the origin of a constellation linked to the dry season in all of these cultures. By comparing these, he asserts that the different versions could ultimately derive from the survival of an ancient myth's underlying structure.

*Phylogenetic Approches*

Phylogenetic classification is a system of classification of species based on the degree of genetic relationship between them. Phylogenetic approaches to myths basically seek to organize relations into a family tree on the biological model. This type of stemmatic method and associated biological metaphor was used for the study of myths already prior to the term 'phylogenetics' in Folklore Studies, known especially through the Classic Historical-Geographic Method with its background in Philology (Krohn 1926; Frog 2013). In *The Tale of Cupid and Psyche* (1955), for example, Jan-Öjvind Swahn used this type of method to examine the transmission of Aarne-Thompson tale-types AT 425 and 428. Today, phylogenetic approaches are being reinvented through the adaptation of software developed for genetic research to studies of culture. Phylogenetic trees are not generated for their own sake: they are considered in relation to current knowledge and theories about the transmission and variation of traditions (Frog 2013). The relationship between language and other aspects of culture such as mythology and religion is now recognized as more complex than has often been assumed in earlier scholarship (Frog, this issue). The spread and transformation of a myth are recognized as separate processes: a myth may first spread and then undergo localized transformations in relation to cultural contacts, social change or difference in the local ecology, or transformation may be integrated into the process of spread itself. Although the processes concerned are obscure in the remote past, they are processes that occur socially and may therefore involve creating relations of sameness and difference with other groups. What spreads may also not be a myth as a stable plot; it may be only a motif, such as that of the sky-woman and of the mysterious housekeeper (d'Huy 2016d), although it is also possible that motifs may be all that remains recognizable in the data from plots that spread in the extremely remote past.

The first to have applied statistical and phylogenetic software to myths and folktales is, to the best of our knowledge, Thomas Abler. Abler used phylogenetic software to classify 41 versions of the Iroquoian myth of the creation of the world in a 1987 article. Most of the clades in the resulting stemmas or trees were shown to correspond to tribal or national traditions. The idea of using phylogenetic software to classify versions or types of narratives was taken up again by Jun'ichi Oda (2001) and later by Jamie Tehrani (2013). Since 2012, one of the present authors (JdH) has used statistical and phylogenetic tools to explore folktales in a new way. The software construes a synchronic classification of diverse versions of a same myth. Those synchronic relations are organized in a stemmatic hierarchy that suggests the myth's diachronic evolution from a common ancestor. This perspective on diachronic evolution offers the possibility of assessing where the diffusion of a myth may mirror the first human migrations, to quantify the proportion of borrowings and innovations in different branches of its evolution, and to reconstruct first narratives, some going back to the upper Palaeolithic, and potentially even to the era of the first migrations from Africa. This method has been applied to numerous families of myths, and folktales among which may be mentioned the Cosmic Hunt (d'Huy 2012a; 2013b; 2016c), the narrative of Polyphemus (d'Huy 2012b; 2013a; 2015b), the narrative of the perverted message (Le Quellec 2015a) and of the emergence of humanity (Quellec 2015b), narratives linked to Balor-type creatures (Lajoye 2015), the motif of the sky-woman and of the mysterious housekeeper (d'Huy 2016d), and the fight between dwarfs and birds (Le Quellec & d'Huy 2016). Many of these analyses are of the themes but are based on very different corpora (three different databases for the Cosmic Hunt and for Polyphemus), offering a check of results. Results have also been checked by comparing them to what has been found from other non-statistical comparative methods.

Of course, myths are not genes, and software borrowed from biology can only provide a tool to organize myths (Abler 1987; d'Huy 2012a), traditions (d'Huy 2015a; da Silva & Tehrani 2016) or motifs (d'Huy 2016a) as data. If we accept that the more common features shared by two traditions or myths, the more likely they are to be related, then it is also possible to build diachronic 'trees' of myths or oral traditions that are considered to be most likely related owing to the number and
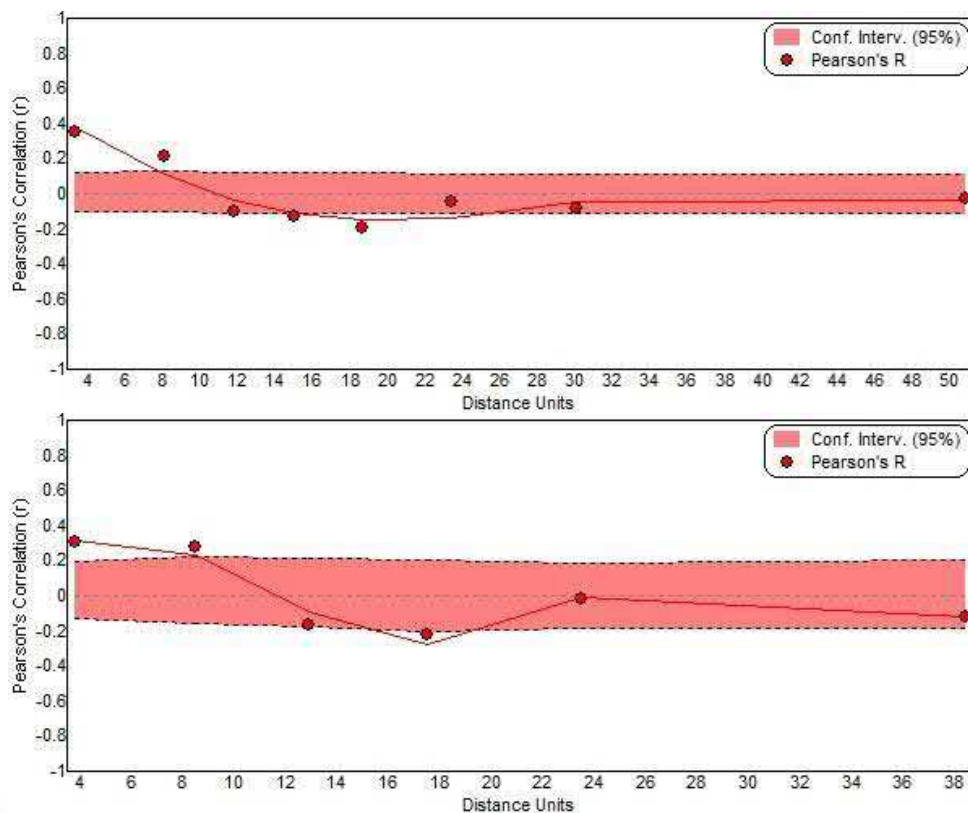
*Figure 1. Mantel correlogramm from the Lankford's dataset (the Mantel correlogram separates the geographic space into sequential distance classes to identify the changes in the strength of correlation with the distance). Spatial correlogram plot showing correlation coefficient between individual traditions' Jaccard distance values and geographical distance. The bootstrapped 95% confidence error bar is also shown. 1a. Ethnic groups exhibiting three or more motifs (24 ethnic groups; Global Pearson's r, which measures the linear correlation between two variables X and Y and has a value between +1 as a total positive linear correlation and −1 as a total negative linear correlation; 0 is and absence of a linear correlation.: 0.176); 1b. Ethnicities exhibiting four or more motifs (15 ethinic groups; Global Pearson's r: 0.3).*

complexity of their shared features. Note that whatever the distance between two versions or traditions of the database is, the shared features should be sufficiently numerous to make random proximity impossible. The phylogenetic message present in the database should also be checked, for example with alternative methods or different data sets.

### *Grounds for the Study*

As noted above, beliefs connected with constellations have been considered likely to be historically enduring even if they undergo transformations over time, making them particularly interesting for long-term diachronic study. To test this hypothesis, we used Lankford's (2007: 263–264) table 11.1 "Occurrences of major motifs and subtypes", which identifies the presence or absence of the eighteen star-related beliefs he identified among North American cultures (Eurasian cultures in the table were not considered).

These were taken as data without prior clustering. Using Berezkin's database, geographical locations were identified for each linguistic-cultural group where relevant motifs have been found. A Mantel test (Jaccard's coefficient matrix, 10,000 permutations) was applied to this data using SAM v.4.0 (Rangel et al. 2010). First, only the 24 ethnic groups with at least three of the eighteen motifs were analyzed to avoid sample bias: some of these cultures have been studied much more than others, which may account for 'gaps' in certain mythologies where only one comparable type was found. Then, for the same reason, only the 15 ethnic groups with at least four of the eighteen motifs were studied. Question marks in Lankford's table have been treated as absence and a Jaccard coefficient matrix has been used. Robert M. Ross and Quentin D. Atkinson (2016) have examined the effect of distance in folktale inventories of 18 hunter-gatherer cultures of Siberia, Alaska, Canada,
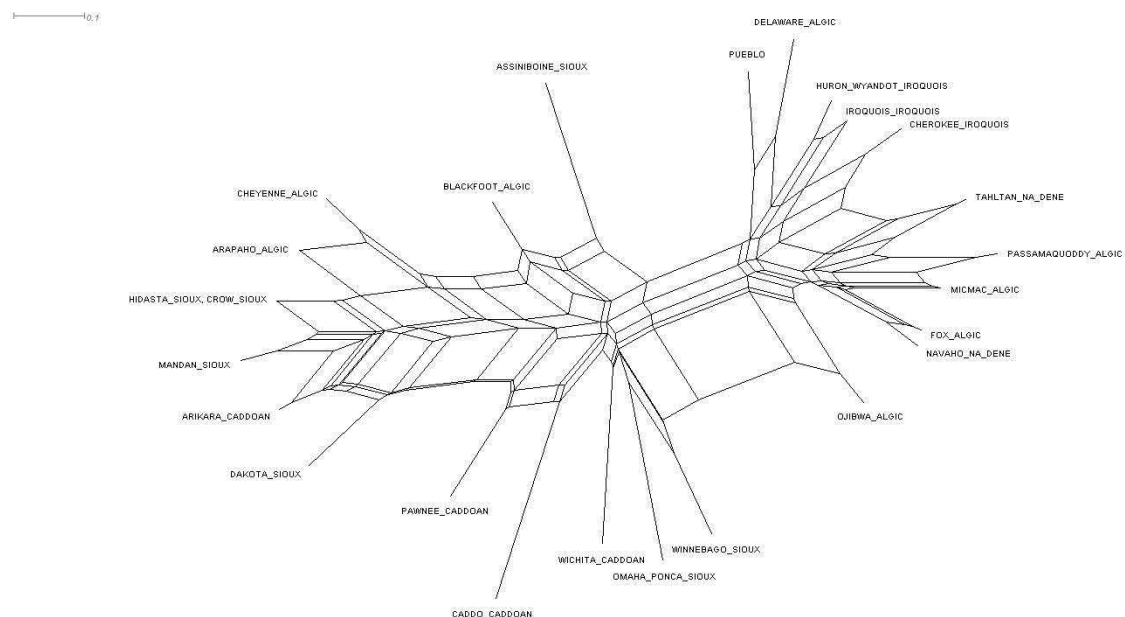
*Figure 2a. NeighborNet based on the Jaccard folktale distance matrix for the 24 ethnic groups in Lankford's dataset exhibiting three or more motifs. Box-like structures indicate a conflicting signal (i.e. suggesting similar independant inventions, borrowings).*

and Greenland, spread across 6000 kilometers. They found that linguistic relatedness and geographic proximity were independent factors in predicting shared folktales, calculating that geographical distance is related to 25.50% of variance in the inventories. In Lankford's data, geographical distance appears related to only 3.09% of the variance in the first dataset (p=0.004), and 9% (p=0.002) in the second (Figure 1a–b). In other words, geographical distribution does not seem to be a significant factor in which groups share motifs. This result is far lower than in Ross and Atkinson's study, which is a potential indicator that the distribution of relevant motifs is an outcome of their longer history rather than attributable to recent contacts between adjacent populations and their networks. This preliminary finding is a potential indicator of the greater endurance of star-related beliefs among hunter-gatherer cultures. Similar conclusions have been reached in studies of d'Huy (2015a) and da Silva and Tehrani (2016), although these must be regarded with caution because their datasets were based on the Aarne–Thompson–Uther tale-type index, which is inadequate for such analyses (see Berezkin 2015; d'Huy et al. 2017). The small dataset and the large geographic distances between the groups serve as a reminder that caution is needed when attempting to interpret

this data. Nevertheless, the analysis of data by George Lankford suggests strong connections in star-beliefs across North American cultures that would at least be consistent with deep historical roots in these traditions.

Further perspective on this data is provided by a NeighborNet (Jaccard; Bryant & Moulton 2004) analysis constructed with *Splitstree* 4.14.4. (Huson & Bryant 2006) in order to visualize specific relationships among traditions of the linguistic-cultural groups (Figure 2a–b). The network shows a low mean delta score (0.32 for the first database; 0.23 for the second). In general the closer to zero the delta score is, the more the data will exhibit a straightforward stemmatic tree. These scores can be compared to the mean delta-score of the principal language families of the world. These language families are generally accepted as analysable in tree-like relations, and the mean delta score within these language families has been calculated by Søren Wichmann et al. (2001) as 0.31. Comparison with the scores reflected in Figure 2a–b suggests that the transmission of these mythological traditions is more tree-like than for many language families. Moreover, the NeighborNet analysis shows a low correlation between the mythologies and language family. Such low correlation presents the possibility of mythological substrate influence which
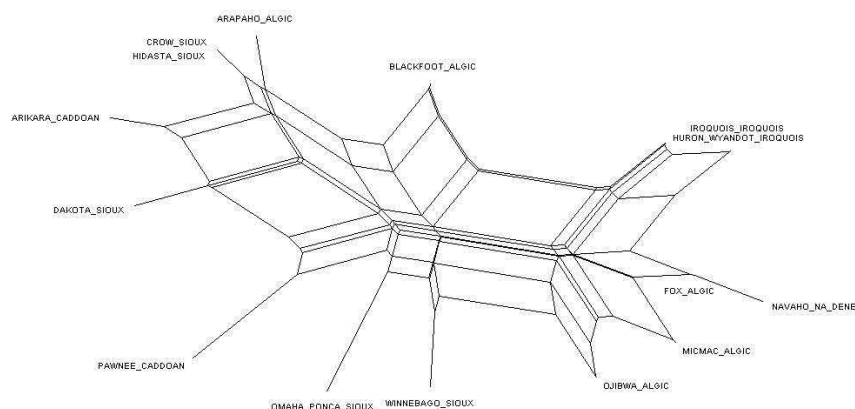
104

*Figure 2b. NeighborNet based on the Jaccard folktale distance matrix for the 15 ethnic groups in Lankford's dataset exhibiting four or more motifs. Box-like structures indicate a conflicting signal (i.e. suggesting similar independant inventions, borrowings).*

antedates the spread of the language families (cf. also Frog, this issue, on the spread of Proto-Sámi). Geographical distance appears as a strikingly low factor in the Mantel tests, suggesting that contacts between groups have not been significant in the distribution of these traditions. This observation, coupled with the common 'Amerindian' nature of the myths, makes a hypothesis of recent changes owing to contact networks improbable. Although further research is needed, the low correlation of motifs with language family make it seem more probable that these elements of star-related mythology have largely survived historical changes in culture and language, potentially going back to the first inhabitants of the continent. Although these findings remain tentative owing to limitations of the corpus analysed, mythology of the stars seems to be particularly well suited to phylogenetic analysis for long-term perspectives on the history of motifs, potentially extending back into the Palaeolithic.

### Material

The databases used in this paper were built from a database developed by Yuri Berezkin. This database, available in Russian on http://ruthenia.ru/folklore/berezkin, was consulted in October 2017. The Analytical Catalogue of World Mythology and Folklore consists of ca. 55,000 summaries of narratives and descriptions of mythological ideas among ca. 1500 large and small ethnic groups combined

into almost 1000 traditions, mostly on the basis of language. Most of the texts in the database were recorded between 1850 and 1980.

Such narratives easily pass the test of a certain degree of distortion due to translation, which affects their linguistic surface but not their structure. Indeed, according to Lévi-Strauss (1958: 232), the signification of a text is preserved even through the worst translation. The basic content of stories is easily translated, for which elementary command of the corresponding language is usually sufficient.[1] What is impossible to translate – people's attitude towards the stories and their feelings when they hear them – are studied by another discipline: cultural anthropology. Furthermore, Yuri Berezkin classifies narratives at a high level of abstraction, which reduces the probably of impacts from translation on the encoding of mythological motifs. Such a classification system avoids dealing with elements that may be deformed, such as surface details of narration. Within a corpus of this size and at such a level of abstraction, issues of the 'quality' of individual sources and their translation do not present significant methodological problems in quantitative analysis.

The mythological motifs selected in Berezkin's database are cultural elements subject to replication. There is no evidence in the database that all the motifs studied have the same history. On the contrary, each motif seems to have a distribution area of its own.

*Figure 3a.*
*Cultural regions of Africa, Eurasia, Australia and the Pacific according to the work of Yuri Berezkin.*
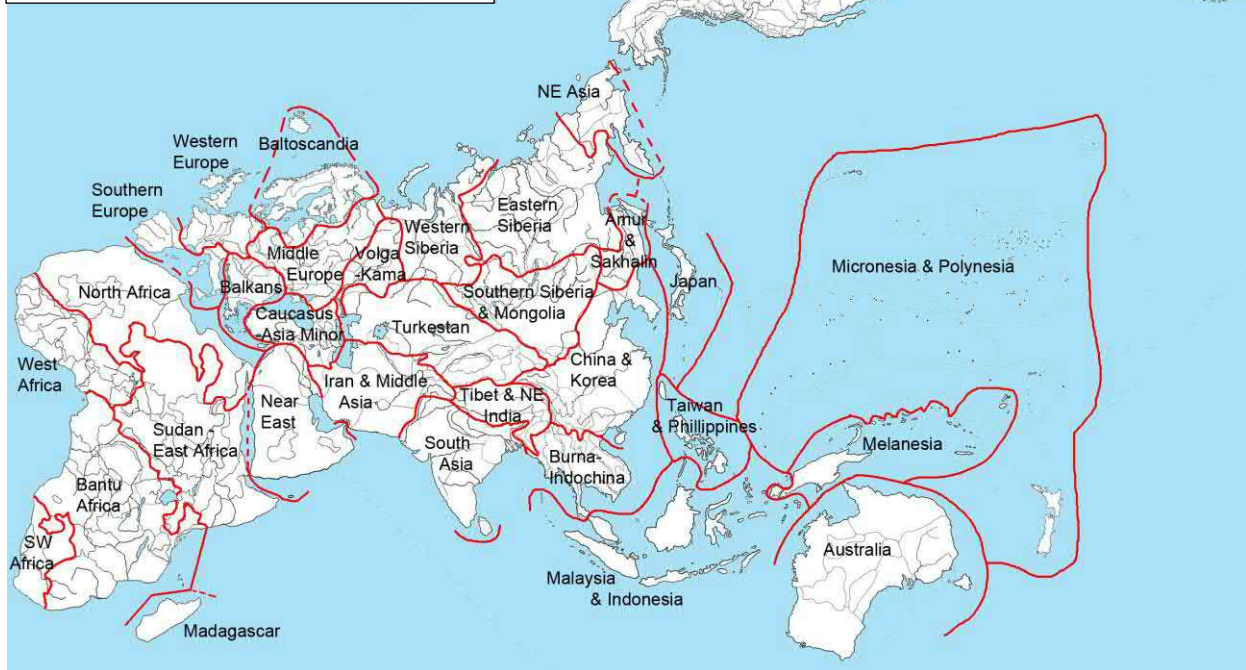
This avoids a vicious circle: a perfect homogeneity of the data could have explained the existence of general trends: but if such trends were to be found here, they would be attributable to data selection.

For the current paper, all the units where the Pleiades appeared in the summary of a motif were added to the dataset. The delimitation of the field is thematic and relationships between motifs is not presupposed, but rather needs to be demonstrated (see below). This leaves 21 motifs listed here according to Berezkin's motif system, as listed in Table 1:

*Table 1. The 21 motifs according to Berezkin's motif system analysed in the current paper.*

1. B42K In the Cosmic Hunt tale, either hunters or game are identified with the Pleiades.
2. B47  In former times or presently, the Pleiades or other group of stars produced or produce severe cold until the present.
3. B47A A cow steps on the stars of the Pleiades, which were a dangerous being that lived on the earth. Part of these stars slip through its split hoof.
4. B59  A group of people (usually children, brothers or sisters) play, dance, ascend to the sky and turn into the Pleiades or another compact constellation.
5. B60  Children come into conflict with their parents who do not pay enough attention to them, condemn their sexual behaviour, do not give them enough food, clothes, etc.; the children abandon their parents, become birds, bats, atmospheric pheno-mena, or stars (usually the Pleiades).
6. I94  The Pleiades are a sieve, holes in the firmament, etc.
7. I95  The Pleiades are a sieve to process agricultural products.
8. I98A The Pleiades are a brooding hen, a hen with its chicks, chickens.
9. I98B The Pleiades are wild ducks, a nest or eggs of wild ducks.
10. I98c The Pleiades are a flock of birds.
11. I99  The Pleiades are a group of boys, lads, men, or a group of different people, but predominantly males.
12. I100 The Pleiades are a group of girls or women (with children).
13. I100A The Pleiades are a woman with her children.

Arctic

Subarctic

NW Coast

Coast - Plateau

Midwest

The Northeast

Plains

Great Basin

California

Great SW

The Southeast

NW Mexico

Mesoamerica

Antilles

Lower Central America

Ecuador

Northern Andes

Llanos

Southern Venezuela

NW Amazonia

Western Amazonia

Guiana

Central

Montaña

Amazonia

Eastern Amazonia

Central Andes

Bolivia - Guapore

Southern Amazonia

Eastern Brazil

Chaco

Southern & Southern Atlantic Brazil

South Cone

*Figure 3b. Cultural regions of the Americas according to the work of Yuri Berezkin.*

14. I100C God transformed man into cuckoo, his wife and children into the Pleiades.
15. I108 The Pleiades are one anthropomorphic person, not several persons.
16. I114 Ursa Major and the Pleiades are described in the context of one and the same tale, Ursa Major being associated with men and the Pleiades with women.
17. 115 Orion and the Pleiades are described in the context of one and the same tale.
18. 115A Orion and the Pleiades are opposed as a man or men and a woman or women. Usually Orion is male.
19. I122 The Pleiades are a nest, a swarm of insects.
20. I130 Orion, the Pleiades, Ursa Major or Ursa Minor are a hunting or fishing net.
21. M50 A man (usually Coyote) tries to join a group of persons who are or become stars (usually the Pleiades) but suffers a reversal. He pursues the stars to have sexual contact with them or to be re-integrated with members of his family.

To avoid bias in the documentation of cultural areas (on units used in this analysis, see below), only those cultural areas possessing more than six relevant motifs (more than 1/4 of the all motifs considered) were retained.

The level of analysis chosen for the database is the cultural area, according to Berezkin's division of the world into a series of areas on the basis of general culture (Figure 3a–b). Obvious long-distance borrowings were already excluded from the database. The cultural unity of each area may maintain consistent boundaries with its neighbours, with a significant part of variation that occurs between areas, significant area-internal similarity, and a decrease of the probability of short-distance borrowings. Accordingly, structural (Lévi-Strauss 1971b) and phylogenetic (Ross et al. 2013) methods show a strong effect of ethnolinguistic and cultural boundaries on the distribution of myths and the folktales. Additionally, in traditional societies, the mythological motifs used in the current database are believed to be 'true'; they are consequently less easily and rapidly borrowed than for folktales.

A dataset of individual ethnic groups was also created to check the results. Only ethnic groups with at least four motifs were retained (five or six motifs eliminates too many ethnic groups to make the corpus significant).

To sum-up, the dataset used is not based on a predefined idea of genealogy. It also has to be noted that the obtained results will be easily be falsifiable by establishing new datasets.

### Method
Each cultural area was coded by a series of 1s and 0s according to the presence or the absence of each studied motif. This produced columns of binary codes for every cultural area. Uncertainty in the presence or absence of a motif was coded with a question mark. 'Absent' does not mean that the motif never
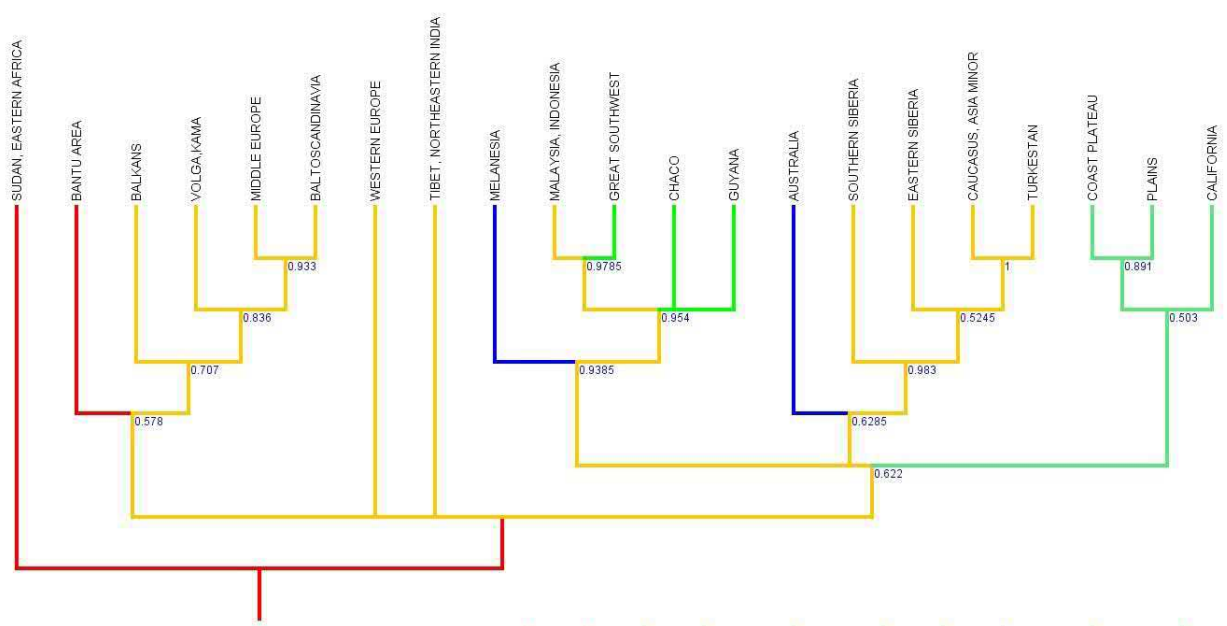


*Figure 4. Tree based on Pleaides motifs in the database of Yuri Berezkin according to cultural area.*
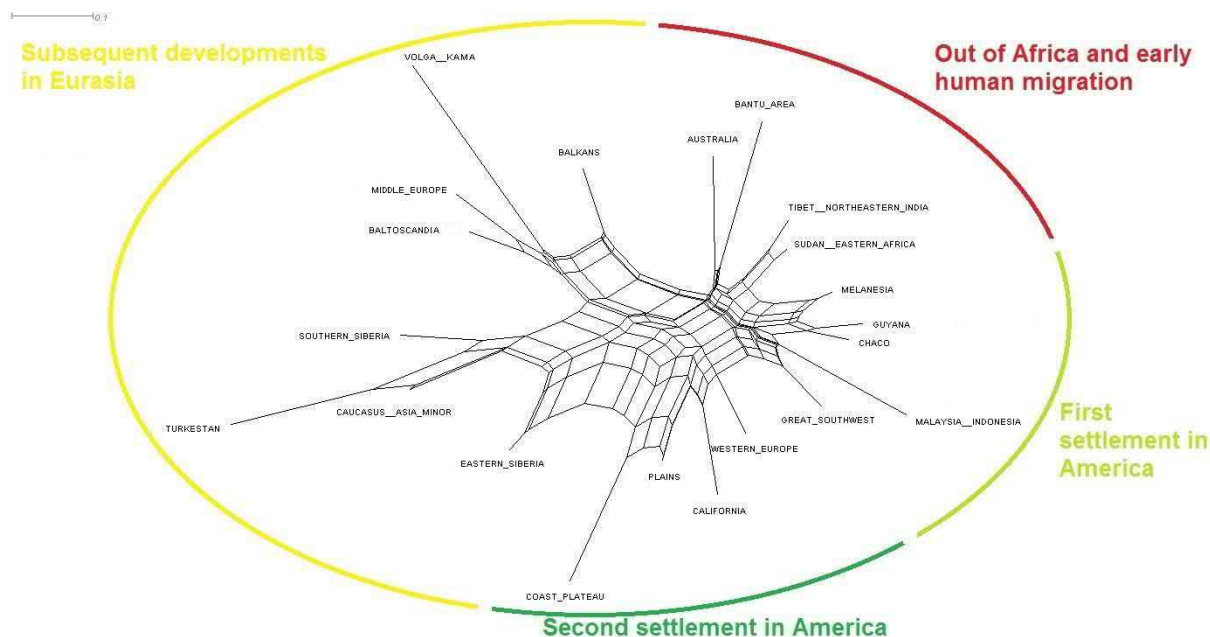
*Figure 5. NeighborNet based on Pleaides motifs in the database of Yuri Berezkin according to cultural area. The clusters were defined on the results obtained from the phylogenetic tree.*
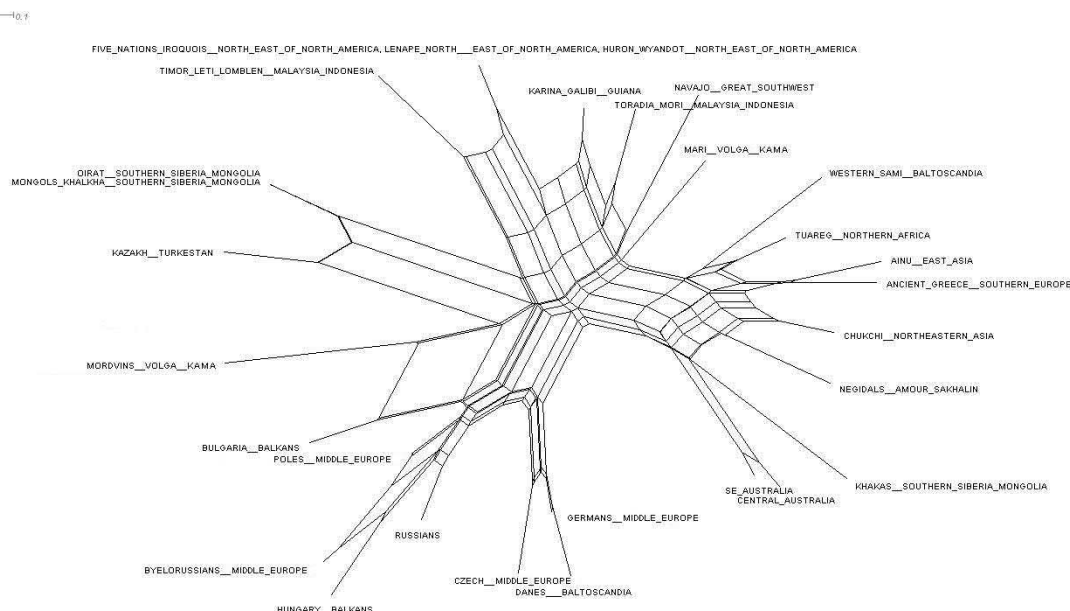


*Figure 6. NeighborNet based on Pleaides motifs in the database of Yuri Berezkin according to cultural groups.*

existed in that tradition, only that it has not been documented there or otherwise has not been recorded in Berezkin's database. This issue was a motivation for a two-level analysis by both ethnic groups and cultural areas.

*Mesquite* 3.2 (Maddison and Maddison 2017) was then used to construct the 1000 most parsimonious trees for the character matrix (method SPR) to address phylogenetic uncertainty and only those clades present in more than 0.50 of the reconstructed trees (Figure 4). This tree represents the branching history of descent linking traditions. It should be noted that a tree can only establish an

extremely simplified evolutionary model of myths.

Another approach – the creation of networks, used for the first time in comparative mythology in 2012 (d'Huy 2012b; 2013a–c; Ross et al. 2013) – can visually report borrowings between versions and/or common independent inventions. From the same data that permits the construction of the tree, it is possible to create a NeighborNet (Figure 5; Jaccard) with *Splitstree* 4.14.4 as above. In such a network, boxes indicate common features between taxa that seem not to be

inherited phylogenetically, or, in our case, borrowings or independent inventions.

To check the previous results, another NeighborNet was built from 29 individual ethnic groups and the same motifs previously used from Berezkin's database (Jaccard; Figure 6). To keep the maximum number of linguistic-cultural groups, only those with more than three of the relevant motifs were retained.

### Results and Discussion

The first point to address is the unity of the corpus and the existence of a phylogenetic signal.

About the NeighborNet, the average delta score of the network built from cultural areas (0.40) and from individual ethnic groups (0.37) show a relatively low, yet existing, tree-like message, comparable to what Russell D. Gray et al. (2010) obtained for Austronesian (0.44) and Indo-European (0.4) language families using typological data, i.e. structural and functional features of many languages.

The delta score ranges from 0 to 1; it equals zero if the data are well-fitted to the tree. The LSFit, expressed as a percentage, shows how accurate the correspondence between the pairwise distances in the graph and the pairwise distances in the matrix are. The fit of the data to the NeighborNet network (Saitou & Nei 1987; Gascuel 1997; Uncorrected_P: 98.18; Jaccard: 98.11; calculated with *Splitstree* 4.14.4) is better than its fit to a bio Neighbor-joining tree (Uncorrected_P: 95.8; Jaccard: 95.74; Figure 7). Consequently, the data fit better with a reticulating network than with a tree. However, there is a small difference between the two LSFit, which indicates that the data also corresponds well to a tree.

Concerning the tree, from a mathematical point of view, it is possible to calculate the Retention Index (RI) to measure the amount of homoplasy (i.e. parallel evolution, including convergence) but also how well synapo-morphies (shared ancestry between a pair of character or trait states) explain the tree. It is calculated as $(h - s) / (h - m)$, where h is the maximum number of changes on a tree, s, the number of changes on the tree and m, the minimum number of changes in the dataset. The RI must be the highest possible (close to 1).
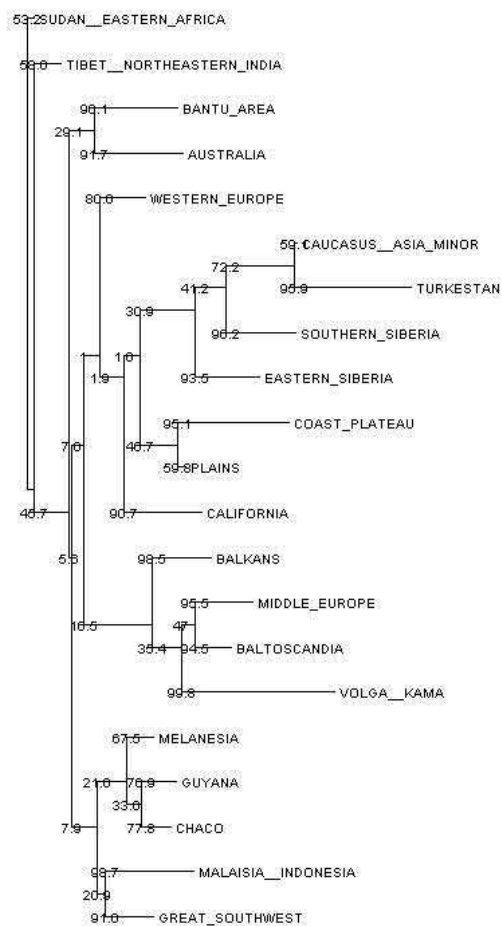


*Figure 7. Bio Neighbor-joining (Jaccard) based on the database of Yuri Berezkin according to cultural areas (bootstrap: 10.000).*

According to Charles L. Nunn et al. (2010), a high RI (for example, greater than 0.60) usually indicates a low horizontal transmission (including borrowings, total or partial, from nearby societies) and an essentially vertical sense of inter-generational transmission. The applicability of these findings to our database is justified because the areal diffusion of studied motifs is very largely or wholly independent of one another. Here, the RI of the tree is 0.56. Such results indicate that most of the motifs are synapomorphic character states, providing evidence of grouping and that they share a common history. The obtained tree indicates general trends of diffusion, and not the sense of diffusion or the evolution of each feature taken individually.

Using SAM v.4.0 (Rangel et al. 2010), Mantel test was applied to the Eurasian ethnic groups (n >3; data and geographical locations found in Berezkin's database, Jaccard's coefficient matrix, 10.000 permutations) to individual ethnic groups to test the

110

*Figure 8. Mantel correlogramm of Pleaides motifs in the database of Yuri Berezkin according to ethnic groups.*

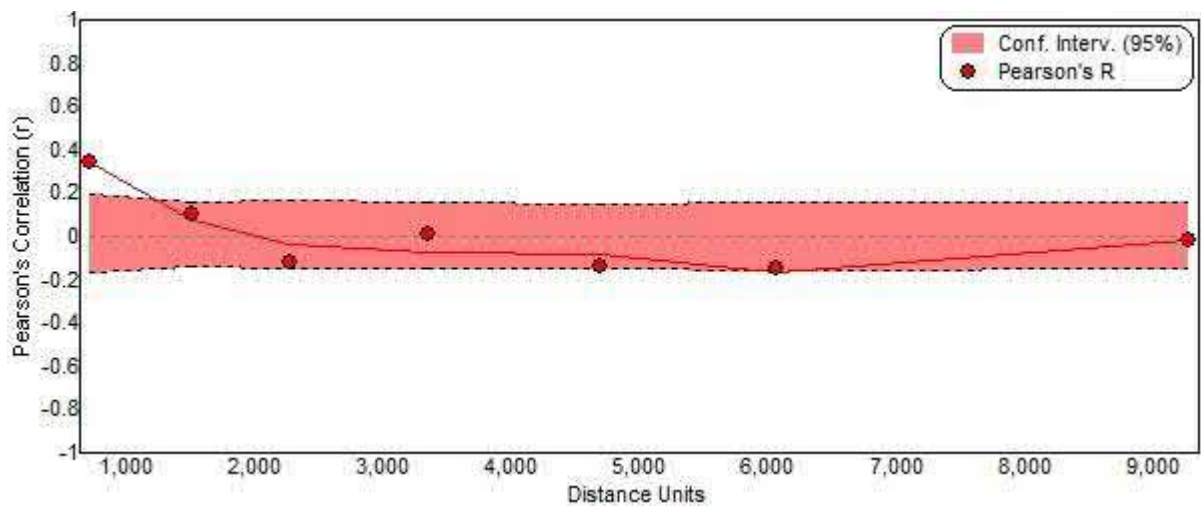phylogenetic message. According to the previous results, the geographic distance explains 4.4% of the variance (global Pearson's r: 0.211; p=0.021), which could imply a strong phylogenetic message (Figure 8). Such a result may be due to the disappearance of some motifs over time, but it reduces the likelihood of a recent diffusion of the motifs and supports the interpretation of a vertical transmission.

The tree in Figure 4 suggests a common branching tree of descent for traditions around the globe. Relations in this tree group in broad geographical areas that correlate well with knowledge of the earliest migrations of human populations and the developments that make Eurasia a distinctive cultural area. The tree can be readily interpreted as suggesting that mythology connected with the Pleiades was established already in Africa, whence it spread with the first human migrations. It also appears to reflect two waves of migration into the Americas. The first of these would seem to have originated from or to have also spread into Southeastern Asia (Melanesia) and also dispersed across North and South America, although its traces are found mainly in the south part of North America and in South America (Great Southwest, Chaco, Guyana). The second wave of migration, doubtless Palaeolithic, probably spread from somewhere in northern Eurasia (see Figure 5) and impacted especially North America (Coast Plateau, Great Plains, California). The first wave, with extensions deeper into inner Africa, Eurasia and America, is probably the older

one, while the second would have partially superseded the first in many regions. The two waves of migrations into the Americas have been confirmed by recent genetic data (e.g. Kashani et al. 2012; Raghavan et al. 2014; Skoglund et al. 2015) and diverse studies in comparative mythology have revealed differences in the mythology correlated with each wave (e.g. Korotayev et al. 2011; Berezkin 2013; Le Quellec 2014; 2015b; d'Huy 2012a; 2016b; 2016d; 2017a). The Eurasian grouping of Figure 4 would show an independent development from Eurasian areas, probably due to the reconquest of these lands after the last Glacial Maximum.

The phylogenetic analysis of motifs in Figures 4 and 5 can be compared with that of ethnic groups in Figure 6 as in Table 2. Figure 6 is constructed from a less extensive dataset (only ethnic groups with four or more relevant motifs), so it is probably less reliable. This would explain the presence of a cluster of ethnic groups not found in figures 4 and 5.

The global structure of the tree, from the initial migrations out of Africa to the settlement of the Americas, is also found in other trees built from radically different datasets, such as motifs connected with the myths of the serpent (d'Huy 2016a), the Milky Way (d'Huy 2017b), or with matriarchy and the origin of fire (d'Huy 2017c). This model of diffusion is also broadly supported by the work of Yuri Berezkin (2013) and Jean-Loïc Le Quellec (2014; 2015b). Correspondence between the resulting trees and what we know about first human migrations is hardly a

111

*Table 2. Summary comparison of information in Figures 4–7.*

| | Tree (cultural areas; Figures 4 and 7) | NeighbourNet (cultural areas; Figure 5) | NeighbourNet (individual ethnic groups; Figure 6) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Out-of-Africa* | (Bantu area), Australia | Bantu area, Australia | SE Australia, Central Australia (Australia) |
| *Two waves of migrations from Asia to America* | Two different clusters: Melanesia, Guyana, Chaco, Malaysia-Indonesia, Great Southwest + Coast-Plateau, Plains, California | Two different clusters: Melanesia, Guyana, Chaco, Malaysia-Indonesia, Great Southwest + Coast-Plateau, Plains, California | Five Nations – Iroquois, Lenape, Huron, Wyandot (Northeastern of North America), Karina Galabi (Guiana), Toradia, Mori, Timor, Leti, Lomblen (Malaysia-Indonesia), Navajo (Great Southwest) |
| *Independent Eurasian development* | Balkans, Volga – Kama basin (i.e. Volga – Perm), Middle Europe (Eastern and Western Slavs), Baltoscandia | Balkans, Volga – Kama basin (i.e. Volga – Perm), Middle Europe (Eastern and Western Slavs), Baltoscandia | Bulgaria, Hungary (Balkans), Mordvins (Volga – Kama basin), Russian, Poles, Byelorussians, Czech, Germans (Middle Europe), Danes (Baltoscancia) |
| *Independent Eurasian development* | Southern Siberia, Turkestan, Eastern Siberia, Caucasus, Asia Minor | Southern Siberia, Turkestan, Eastern Siberia, Caucasus, Asia Minor | Mongols Khalkha, Oirat (Southern Siberia, Mongolia), Kazakh (Turkestan) |
| *Correspondance not found* | | | Khakas (Southern Siberia, Mongolia), Chukchi (Northeastern Asia), Ainu (Eastern Asia), Negidals (Amur, Sakhalin), Ancient Greece (Southern Europe), Tuareg (Northern Africa), Western Sami (Baltoscandia) |

surprise. Indeed, a significant correlation between the distribution of certain motifs and the distribution of certain genes has been highlighted by Andrey Korotayev and Daria Khaltourina with Yuri Berezkin (2011). In addition, the low correlation between the relationships of a set of narrative-types (in the form of an oral tradition belonging to a given population) and the geographical distance separating these populations is an indicator of an essentially vertical distribution of the oral narratives (see above).

### Methodological Considerations for Reconstruction

Once the tree in Figure 4 is established, it becomes possible to statistically reconstruct what the earliest mythology was that spread at the time of migrations out of Africa process. The method of reconstruction chosen here is the maximum likelihood method (d'Huy 2012a; 2015a; da Silva & Tehrani 2016). This method calculates the most probable ancestral states at each node of the tree that, within a model of evolution, would produce the observed evidence, allowing states at all other nodes to vary. Use of this method leads to certain methodological concerns that require discussion.

First, the tree is generated through the analysis of all 21 motifs listed in Table 1, following which individual motifs are traced on the tree. The tree thus becomes treated as having objective and uniform validity for all the analysed motifs while being independent of any one of them. Faced with this problem, Sara Graça da Silva and Jamshid J. Tehrani (2016) came up with the ingenious solution of taking an undisputed tree of the genetic relations between Indo-European languages and then analysing tale-types documented in those

*Table 3. Likelihood of the data under the Markov k-state 1 parameter and the symmetrical Markov k-state 2 parameter models. The asymmetrical Markov k-state 2 parameter model has a higher likelihood than the Mk1 model; however, most of the time, the first model does not support the parobability significantly more than the second. Note that a motif reconstructed for the migration out of Africa possess a much higher rate of change from state from 0 to 1 than for the rate of change from 1 to 0 (with the exception of I115A).*

| | Asymmetrical Markov k-state 2 parameter model | | | Markov k-state 1 parameter model | | 2*ln(likelihood ratio) of asymmetrical vs symmetrical model (assuming chi-square 1 d.f.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Forward rate (0=>1) | Backward rate (1=>0) | LogL | Rate | LogL | |
| B42K | 0.338 | 1.095 | -11.484 | 0.158 | -12.617 | 2.265 (p=0.132) |
| B47 | 0.104 | 0.092 | -10.762 | 0.103 | -10.767 | 0.010 (p=0.917) |
| B47A | 1.410 | 13.400 | -6.604 | 0.065 | -8.223 | 3.238 (p=0.071) |
| B59 | 0.024 | 0.065 | -5.042 | 0.029 | -5.232 | 0.378 (p=0.538) |
| B60 | 0.050 | 0.084 | -7.550 | 0.062 | -7.625 | 0.150 (p=0.698) |
| I94 | 0.068 | 0.065 | -8.162 | 0.067 | -8.163 | 0.001 (p=0.97) |
| I95 | 0.065 | 0.077 | -8.157 | 0.067 | -8.166 | 0.017 (p=0.893) |
| I98A | 0.124 | 0.265 | -12.111 | 0.163 | -12.552 | 0.882 (p=0.347) |
| I98B | 0.063 | 0.149 | -8.041 | 0.066 | -8.218 | 0.355 (p=0.551) |
| I98S | 1.418 | 13.479 | -6.604 | 0.063 | -8.284 | 3.3609 (p=0.066) |
| I99 | 12.170 | 2.028 | -8.612 | 0.105 | -10.684 | 4.143 (p=0.041) |
| I100 | 13.193 | 2.198 | -8.612 | 0.104 | -10.694 | 4.164 (p=0.041) |
| I100A | 0.259 | 0.417 | -13.505 | 0.257 | -13.763 | 0.516 (p=0.472) |
| I100C | 0.028 | 0.141 | -4.815 | 0.030 | -5.203 | 0.776 (p=0.378) |
| I108 | 15.122 | 2.520 | -8.612 | 0.105 | -10.684 | 4.144 (p=0.041) |
| I114 | 0.098 | 0.351 | -9.300 | 0.103 | -10.012 | 1.424 (p=0.232) |
| I115 | 0.152 | 0.107 | -10.551 | 0.108 | -10.593 | 0.084 (p=0.770) |
| I115A | 0.083 | 0.201 | -11.923 | 0.172 | -12.309 | 0.772 (p=0.379) |
| I122 | 0.036 | 0.167 | -7.44 | 0.063 | -8,281 | 1.680 (p=0.194) |
| I130 | 0.805 | 16.102 | -4.020 | 0.029 | -5.232 | 2.425 (p=0.119) |
| M50 | 0.416 | 0.445 | -14.399 | 0.425 | -14.407 | 0.017 (p=0.896) |

languages against that tree. A major risk in adopting this method is that approximations can be built on approximations. In their case, da Silva and Tehrani seek to establish the tales with continuity from the beginning of the Indo-European diffusion. However, the stemma of Indo-European used (da Silva & Tehrani 2016: Figure 2) is both ideal and its regular progressive branching of language families is far from certain; the stemmatic relations of languages within its branches also appear inaccurate, mixing West Slavic languages like Polish with East Slavic languages like Russian, and so forth.[2] Although assessing data against an independent tree is ideal, assessment

becomes conditional on the validity of that tree, which may itself be problematic. Such a method is also limited in applicability by the time-depth of the available trees: the histories of language families can be traced back no more than several thousand years, which is only a small percentage of the time since the first migrations from Africa. Here, it is considered best, though not ideal, to reconstruct the motifs present in the past by using the tree constructed from sets of related motifs, provided that the reconstructed motifs can be verified using other methods. The reconstruction of the earliest presence or absence of motifs depends on the structure of

the tree. Even if the structure of the tree in Figure 4 seems very strong, it remains necessary to move forward with caution. Another methodological issue is that phylogenetic software always organizes data in a single tree. Consequently, even if the researcher includes data not genetically related, the software will organize this into a single tree. This problem is compensated by the retention index (RI) and the delta score, which are indicators of whether or not the tree represents the evolutionary history of most of its constituent motifs. A third shortcoming of phylogenetic reconstruction methods is their dependence on the structure of the tree, and thus in the choice of the root – i.e. what is considered the earliest split. Estimating phylogenies and ancestral states is not a trivial problem and the necessary precautions need to be taken.

*Table 4. Reconstructed motifs with a probability of >75%. Dark gray rows: calculation of Markov k-state 1 parameter; light grey rows: calculation of Asymmetrical Markov k-state 2 parameter:*

A. *Out-of-Africa (Sudan + Melanesia, Chaco, Malaysia, Great Southwest). First result: root = Sudan – Eastern Africa; second result: root = Bantu area.*
B. *First migration in America (Melanesia, Chaco, Malaysia, Great Southwest). Root: Sudan – Eastern Africa.*
C. *Second migration in America (California, Coast Plateau, Great Plains). Root: Sudan – Eastern Africa.*

| Motif | Migrations | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | A | B | C |
| B60 | | 96.95 | 96.78 |
| | | 98 | 97.9 |
| I99 | 98.89 \| 47.33 | 99.86 | 99.85 |
| | 85.71 \| 76.79 | 85.71 | 85.71 |
| I100 | 98.92 \| 98.68 | 99.87 | 98.9 |
| | 85.71 \| 85.71 | 85.71 | 85.71 |
| I108 | 98.9 \| 98,66 | 99.87 | 98.89 |
| | 85.71 \| 85.71 | 85.71 | 85.71 |
| I115 | 98.83 \| 98,68 | 99.74 | 88.26 |
| | 98.45 \| 98.17 | 99.40 | 83.79 |
| I115A | 93.1 \| 93.15 | 96.74 | |
| | 97.73 \| 97.02 | 99.40 | |
| M50 | | | 81.65 |
| | | | 81.33 |

For a motif to be inferred to have continuity from the first migrations out of Africa, it must be able to be reconstructed at the root of the tree, whether the tree is rooted on Bantu or Eastern Africa. Indeed, a different rooting changes the structure of the tree and consequently the likelihood for a particular motif to be reconstructed at the root. The possibility of migration from Eurasia back into Africa could also potentially interfere with the data. In order to compensate for this, the relevant motif should also exhibit continuity through clades in the South Amerindian areas and Melanesia. In contrast to a distribution analysis, the reconstruction of historical presence or absence of motifs is probabilistic and depends on the evolutionary history of the majority of them. The reconstruction must be conclusive with the two likelihood models implemented in Mesquite. Likelihoods under a Markov k-state 1 parameter model and under an Asymmetrical Markov k-state 2 parameter model are compared in Table 3. The reconstruction must also exhibit more than a seventy-five percent probability in the assessments in Table 4. Besides, every feature must be confirmed by using at least another method used in comparative mythology.

### Reconstruction

From the calculations in Table 4, four motifs can be reconstructed as likely to have existed and spread with the earliest migrations out of Africa:

*Table 5. Four motifs reconstructable to the earliest migrations from Africa.*

I100  The Pleiades are a group of girls or women (with children).
I108  The Pleiades are one anthropomorphic person, not several persons.[3]
I115  Orion and the Pleiades are described in context of one and the same tale.
I115A Orion and the Pleiades are opposed as a man or men and a woman or women. Usually Orion is male.[4]

The reconstruction of these four motifs is consistent with earlier studies. For example, Brian Hayden & Suzanne Villeneuve state:

the Pleiades are almost always viewed as a group of individuals and are one of the most
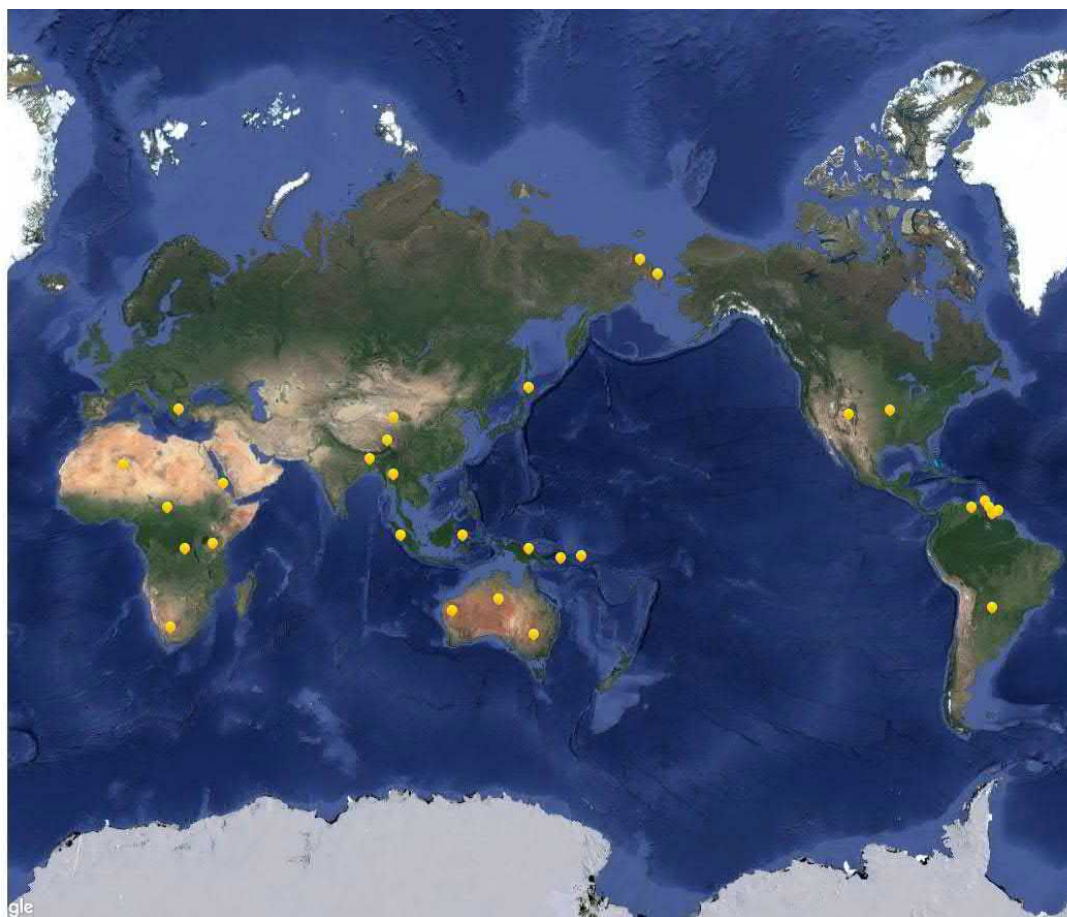
*Figure 9. Distribution of motif I115A: Orion and the Pleiades are opposed as a man or men and a woman or women. Usually Orion is male.*

frequently mentioned star clusters [in the world]. [….] Their importance cross-culturally strongly suggests that they would have been similarly notable in the past. (Hayden & Villeneuve 2011: 342.)

Mentioning two Australian tribes, Edwin N. Fallaize also notes that "The almost unvarying association of the Pleiades with women among different races is remarkable" (1922: 64). According to Yuri Berezkin, the identification of Orion and the Pleiades with characters of different sex, Orion often appearing in the role of men or groups of men, and the Pleiades as a woman or group of women, is widespread (Figure 9), and, in any case, is more popular than the opposite variant, in which the Pleiades pursue Orion. Moreover, the sexual opposition between the Pleiades and Orion, although it occurs on different continents, is absent in the main part of Eurasia: the irregular distribution of the image of Orion as a man, and the Pleiades as women can be considered as an argument that likely emerged among pre-

migration populations in Africa (Berezkin 2017: 20-24).

### Orion Mythology as a Test

To test these results, the database of Berezkin has been used to study all the motifs linked to Orion, listed in Table 6:

*Table 6. Motifs connected with Orion in Berezkin's database.*

1. B42H The game of the Cosmic Hunt tale is identified with Orion's Belt.
2. B42h1 In the Cosmic Hunt, an arrow pierced the animals of Orion's Belt.
3. B42N The constellation Orion or Orion's Belt is identified with only one male person, usually with a warrior or hunter.
4. B42R The three stars of Orion's Belt are three persons or animals who pursue each other.
5. I95A Orion is a balance, scales.
6. I95B Orion is a shoulder-yoke.
7. I95C Orion is a staff.
8. I110A Orion (rare: another constellation) is a plough, associated with breaking ground.
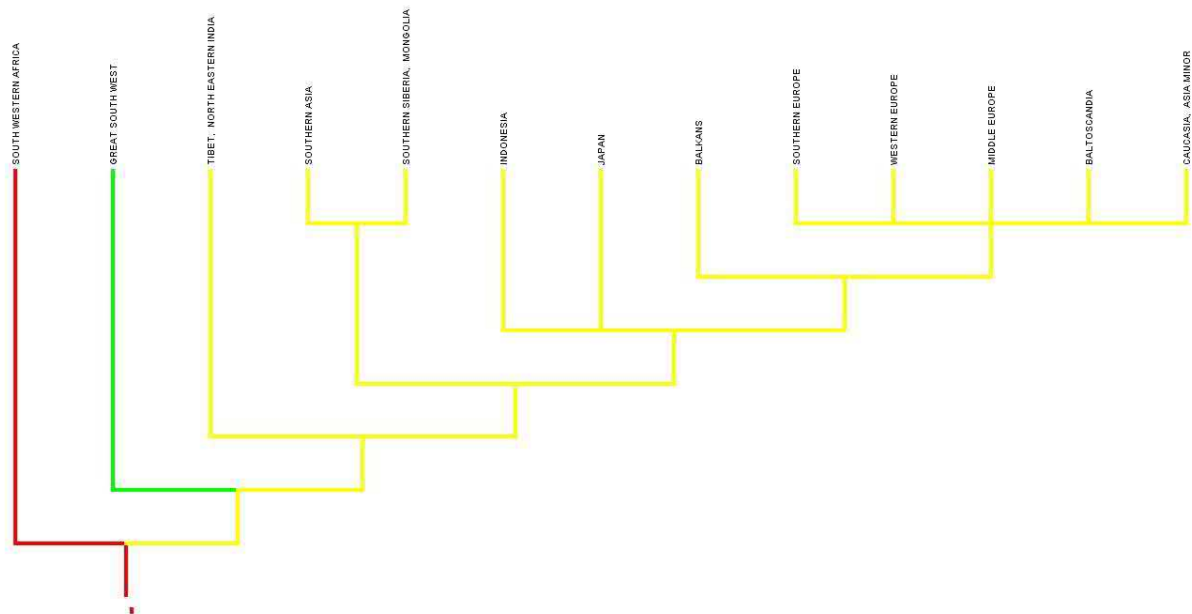
*Figure 10. Tree of Orion motifs based on the database of Yuri Berezkin by cultural region.*
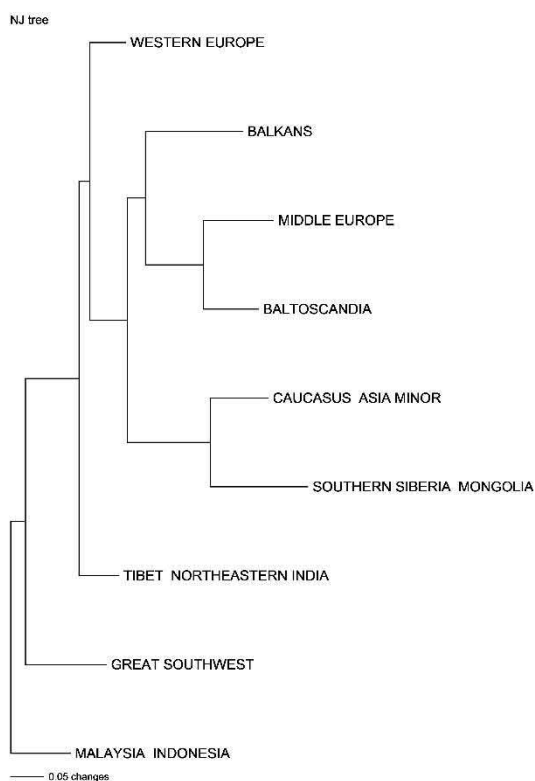


*Figure 11a. Bio Neighbor-joining based on the common Pleiades motifs by cultural region.*



*Figure 11b. Bio Neighbor-joining based on the common Orion motifs by cultural region.*

9.  I110B Orion('s Belt) is (three) mowers or agricultural tools related to mowing and harvesting.
10. I115 Orion and the Pleiades are described in the context of one and the same tale.

11. I115A Orion and the Pleiades are opposed as a man or men and a woman or women. Usually Orion is male.
12. I130 Orion, the Pleiades, Ursa Major or Ursa Minor is a hunting or fishing net.

116

These 12 motifs have been converted into a binary dataset (uncertainty with question mark), and, given the low number of motifs used, only areas with more than four motifs (1/3 of the totality) have been retained. The consensus tree in Figure 10 (1000 trees, method SPR, RI: 0.6) is artificially rooted in Southwest Africa. To compare the tree of Figure 10 with the tree of Figure 4, it is possible to reduce the two matrices (Pleiades and Orion) to the cultural areas where both are attested – i.e. Western Europe, Tibet / Northeastern India, M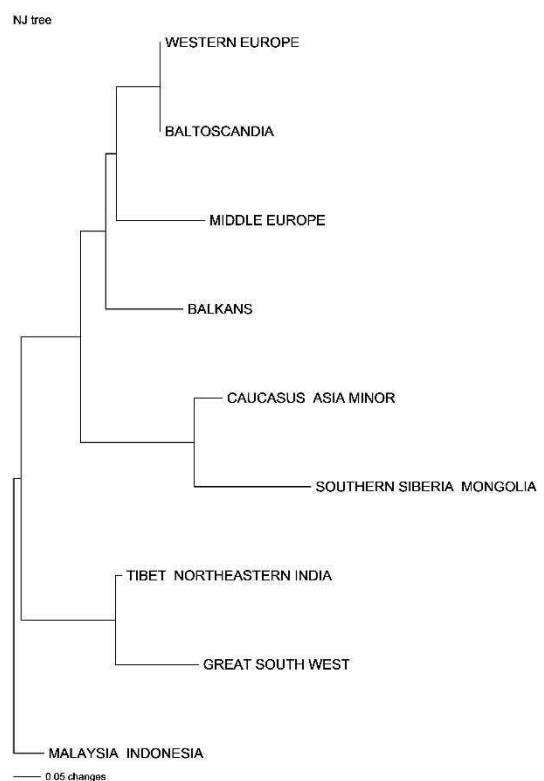alaysia / Indonesia, the Balkans, Central Europe, Baltoscandia, the Caucasus / Asia minor, Southern Siberia, the Great Southwest. Using PAUP 4.0a152, two bio Neighbor-Joining trees based on the Pleiades (RI: 0.536), shown in Figure 11a) and on Orion (RI: 0.591) in Figure 11b) datasets were constructed: only the cultural areas common to the two corpus were retained. The proximity of the two trees is obvious, only one area varies position across the two trees.

The motifs reconstructed both at the root of the tree (Figure 10) and on the basis of the Great Southwest (from the first migration to the Americas?) are B42H (probability at the root of the tree: Mk1: 97.96%; Asymm. 2 param.:98.24%), B42N (90.78% | 81.90 %), I115 (75.38% | 73.49%) and I115A (97.96% | 97.72 %). When taking into account the whole of Berezkin's database, these motifs, with the exception of B42H, have been found in at least two of the four Sub-Saharan areas (i.e. Southwestern Africa, the Bantu Area, the Western Area, the Eastern Area) and in Australia. These findings support a Sub-Saharan origin of the motif of Orion as a man following the Pleiades as a woman.

### *The Pleiades–Orion Opposition*
The opposition between Orion and the Pleiades brings us back to one of the intuitions of Lévi-Strauss (1964). He proposed the existence of a significant worldwide correlation and opposition between Orion and the Pleiades, both in terms of the simultaneous presence or absence of the constellations and in terms of the discontinuous and well-articulated system of Orion as opposed to the continuous and inarticulate set of stars of the Pleiades. Following this second opposition, the couple

Orion–Pleiades becomes a significant expression of seasonal alternation (summer / winter, dry / rainy season, work / leisure, abundance / scarcity, etc.). Is it possible to test Lévi-Strauss' hypothesis? Such structural opposition requires correlation within an individual culture, which means the analysis would have to assess co-occurrence of contrast. The problem is that the opposition between a single Orion and a plural Pleiades can take many forms: the constellation of the Pleiades can represent several men, several women, several children, several birds, etc.; the constellation of Orion can represent a single man, a single stick, etc. It is therefore impossible to correlate precisely the evolution of the two opposing terms on the whole tree, because they can take different values: this structural opposition must be reconstructed at each node. It is therefore impossible to answer this question given the current state of the database. However, the facts that the opposition of Orion as male and the Pleiades as female is not universal (Berezkin 2017: 23) and that the motif is not reconstructed at the root of the northern Amerindian clade (see below) speaks against such a structural opposition.

### *Diffusion of the First Narratives and Founder Effects*
If the reconstructed motifs I100, I108, I115 and I115A existed at the time of the exit from Africa, it is likely that they were carried by the men during those first migrations. Under these conditions, it should be possible to reconstruct a tree similar to the one in Figure 4 on the basis of only these four motifs. The results obtained using Mesquite are insufficient for such a reconstruction due to the small number of items used (only four motifs!) To solve this problem, a majority-rule consensus tree was constructed using a heuristic search. implemented in PAUP 4.0a152 (parsimony; Swofford 2002). Figure 12 shows the results of applying this method to the full dataset yielding a consensus of 35 trees with an RI of 0.588, which is high enough to suggest a good proportion of vertical transmission, and a delta score of 0.40. Figure 13 shows the results of this method applied to the adjusted dataset (i.e. only I100, I108, I115 and I115A), yielding a

consensus of 9 trees: the RI increases to 0.889 while the delta score decreases to 0.20. These results suggest the existence of a primitive group of traits transmitted *en bloc* in connection with the initial migrations out of Africa with a low amount of homoplasy.



*Figure 12. Parsimony tree (heuristic search) based on Pleiades motifs in the database of Yuri Berezkin based on cultural areas.*

The tree in Figure 13, rooted on Eastern Africa, is not exactly identical to that in Figure 12. The differences could be explained by the small number of traits used to construct it, which makes it less reliable. According to the tree in Figure 13, the first migration, shortly after the migration out of Africa, would have spread the proto-folklore of the Pleiades along the Southern Asian coast as far as South America as well as along the southern Asian coast. The second migration, in its turn, presumably spread from northern Eurasia and diffused into North America, possibly in multiple waves with a serial founder effect. A serial founder effect hypothesis could explain this diffusion of the Palaeolithic mythology generally with respect to the topology of the tree and what we know about the earliest human migrations (see also d'Huy 2017c). According to this hypothesis, at each step of geographical

expansion, populations may carry only a subset of the mythological diversity from previous migrations along with new motifs or myths, increasing the mythological differentiation between them and from the previous settlement (for an empirical analysis of a mythological founder effect and an earlier formulation of the hypothesis, see d'Huy 2013d).
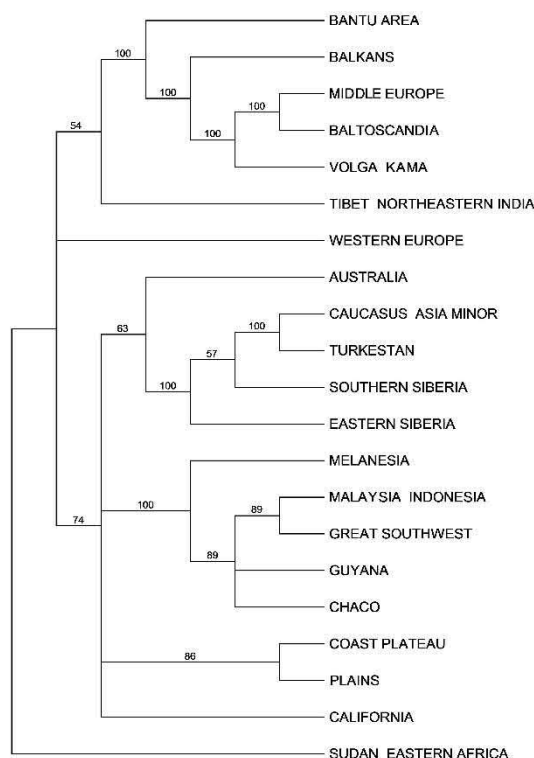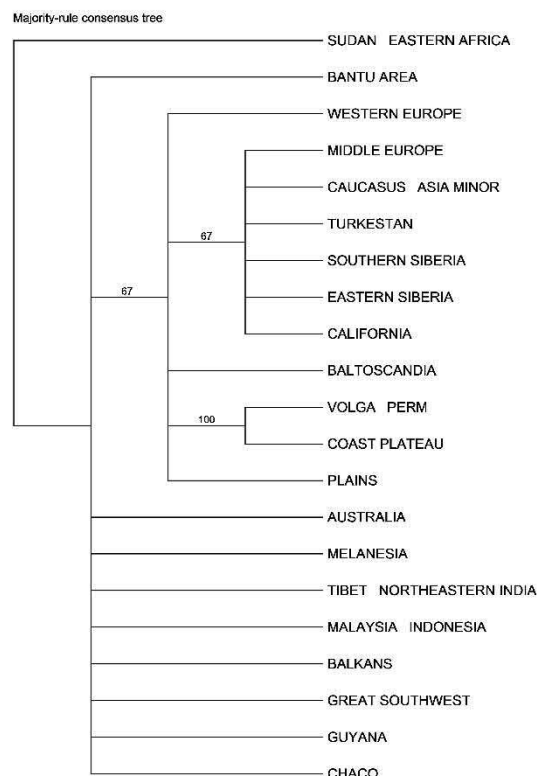


*Figure 13. Parsimony tree (heuristic search) based on the adjusted dataset of Pleiades motifs in the databse of Yuri Berezkin: cultural areas.*

### A Reconstruction of Variation in Spread

In order to test the reliability of the results and of the structure of the tree in Figure 4, and the reliability of an inherited opposition between the Pleiades and Orion, a reconstruction of the patterns present at several nodes/steps following the migration from Africa is developed here. This reconstruction is then compared with the results obtained by other comparative methods.

People who lived somewhere in Southeast Asia contributed to the mythology of both very early Australian and Melanesian and – today essentially southern – Amerindians. This diffusion was already mathematically demonstrated by using comparative and phylogenetic tools, e.g. for the motifs of the

sky-woman and the mysterious housekeeper originating in this area (similar conclusions about this folktale have been drawn using different approaches in Hatt 1949: 101–102, 107; Berezkin 2013: 178–179; d'Huy 2016d), or by using multivariated statistics (Korotayev et al. 2011). The possibility that some of these features may have earlier been established in Africa as well and subsequently disappeared under innovations cannot be overlooked, yet this remains difficult to either corroborate or refute. The most parsimonious hypothesis nevertheless remains an origin of such motifs subsequent to the initial migrations out of Africa.

In Table 4, the four motifs reconstructed for the earliest migrations from Africa in Table 5 are complemented by two additional motifs reconstructable with a probability higher than 75%, at the root of the two Amerindian clusters in Figure 4 (south Amerindian cluster: the Great Southwest, Chaco, Guyana + Malaysia; and the north Amerindian cluster: the Coast Plateau, California, the Great Plains): B60 (Children come into conflict with their parents who do not pay them enough attention, condemn their sexual behavior, do not give them enough food, clothes, etc; children abandon their parents, become birds, bats, atmospheric phenomena, or stars (usually the Pleiades)), and I99 (The Pleiades are a group of boys, lads, men, or a group of different people but predominantly males). This implies that these motifs probably existed before the first settlement in the Americas.

I115A (Orion and the Pleiades are opposed as a man or men and a woman or women. Usually Orion is male) has only be reconstructed at the root of the south Amerindian cluster. This may be due to a cultural survival of the first settlement in the Americas, replaced in North America by other people and other motifs. This would indicate that the opposition of the Pleiades = several people versus Orion = one person is not logical (or should be found reconstructed at the base of North American cultural areas) but probably inherited.

According to William B. Gibbon (1972: 243), "the two motifs […] – dancing [note: people] and the women – must have been part of one original legend, which began in the Old World and was perpetuated in the New." A motif very close to the dancing motif – B59 (A group of people (usually children, brothers or sisters) play, dance, ascend to the sky and turn into Pleiades or other compact constellation) – has not been reconstructed because it is not present in the cultural areas retained for the Americas. This shows a limitation of the method, which requires an extensive corpus, but it does not refute it. However, the motif of the dancers is even closer to the Dancing children myth (B60); the large distribution area of this myth, from North to South America, suggests a significant time depth (Lankford 2007: 175, 180). According to Lévi-Strauss, the tradition relating to an astronomical triad composed of two minor terms symmetrically framing a major term, the one ascribing the origin of the Pleiades to seven characters who ascend into the sky and are, more often than not, greedy or hungry children are "two independent transformations which presumably emerged from the same basic material" (Lévi-Strauss 1968: 39). The reconstructed motifs corresponding to the first settlement of Americas seem to be corroborated by other analyses, which make it possible to corroborate the overall structure of the tree, raising the question of whether it is possible to do this at the level of other nodes.

As discussed above, certain motifs seem to have arrived in North America with a later migration, doubtless Palaeolithic, coming from Northern Eurasia. Such a migration has been shown to be relevant to the history of a number of mythic motifs in earlier studies using different independent approaches, for instance concerning Polyphemus' narratives (areological approach: Berezkin 2007a; multivariated statistics's approach: Korotayev et al. 2011; phylogenetic approach: d'Huy 2012b; 2013a; 2015b). Many previously reconstructed motifs probably arrived twice or more into the Americas, in different forms, as it has seems to have been the case for other families of myths, such as the Cosmic Hunt (Berezkin 2006; 2012; d'Huy 2016c) or the motif of the flood and the separation of the earth from the sky (d'Huy 2017a).

In the case of Berezkin's database, motif M50 (A man (usually Coyote) tries to join a group of persons who are or become stars

(usually the Pleiades) but suffers a reversal. He pursues the stars to have sexual contact or to be reintegrated with members of his family) is only reconstructed on the basis of the northern Amerindian cluster. To my knowledge, no structural or areological study was interested in the distribution of this motif at the global level, which prevents a corroboration of this reconstruction. This result also does not corroborate or refute previous results. Motif I115A is not reconstructed for this migration.

## Conclusion

In summary, computational phylogenetic methods are powerful tools to study the evolution of mythology. They supplement traditional comparative methods, can measure the phylogenetic message and its uncertainty (retention index, bootstrap, delta-score), test different evolutionary models (transmission by distance versus inherited motifs), the existence of a package or myths or motifs that have spread *en bloc*, and allow the result to be tested in a scientific and rigorous manner. Additionally, phylogenetic methods allow the statistical reconstruction of ancient states of mythology.

The study described here shows that the motifs connected with the Pleiades and the stars are more frequently inherited than borrowed from close neighbours. A core tradition of motifs can be statistically reconstructed as spreading at the time of the migrations out of Africa, at the same time as other set of motifs (e.g. myths of: the origin of humanity from underground, the serpent, matriarchy, the origin of fire, the Milky Way, Orion, etc.). This core tradition remains very stable, yet also integrates peripheral motifs that were more easily exchanged and borrowed.

*Julien d'Huy (dhuy.julien[at]yahoo.fr), Institute of the African World, UMR CNRS 8171 and Research Institute for Development (IRD) 243, 75000 Paris, France.*

*Yuri Berezkin (berezkin1[at]gmail.com), American Department, Museum of Anthro-pology & Ethnography (Kunstkamera), Russian Academy of Sciences, 812 St. Petersburg, Russia; Department of Anthropology, European University at Saint Petersburg, 812 St. Petersburg, Russia.*

## Notes

1. Additionally, most of the texts are published in translation and no one (even people who easily read in 30 or 50 languages) can read in 1000 languages.
2. Their study is further made problematic by reliance on the Aarne–Thompson–Uther tale-type index for constructing their data-set, which is not a suitable resource for such investigations (Berezkin 2015; d'Huy et al. 2017), making their conclusions conditional on the representativeness of that data.
3. Motif I108 may seem to be mutually exclusive of the other motifs in identifying the Pleiades as a singular rather than plural entity. Nevertheless, this can be easily accounted for. It is extremely unlikely that a unique culture was at the origin of each diffusion. More likely, there was a pre-existing socially structured mythology within a given geographical area that would be diffused in conjunction with the migrations. Such a general mythology does not not preclude the existence of opposing beliefs embedded in the same symbolic system: for instance, the general idea that the Pleiades is female versus Orion as male can take the form of the Pleiades as either many people or only one person. Broadly speaking, the search for an origin of human mythology is not incompatible with the idea of an original diversity, but this diversity, which was probably significant within an area the size of Africa, was inevitably reduced by the phenomenon of bottlenecks.
4. However, note that the motif I99 (The Pleiades are a group of boys, lads, men, or a group of different people but predominantly males) has also been reconstructed using the Asymmetrical Markov k-state 2 parameter model that may be the most suitable model for this motif (see Table 3). Yet the reconstruction is not corroborated by the Mk1 method, and this reconstruction could be invalid.

## Works Cited

Abler, Thomas S. 1987. "Dendrogram and Celestial Tree: Numerical Taxonomy and Variants of the Iroquoian Creation Myth". *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 7(2): 95–221.

Berezkin, Yuri E. 2005. "The Black Dog at the River of Tears: Some Amerindian Representations of the Passage to the Land of the Dead and Their Eurasian Roots". *Anthropological Forum* 2: 130–170.

Berezkin, Yuri E. 2006. "The Cosmic Hunt: Variants of a Siberian – North-American myth". *Folklore* (Tartu) 31: 79–100.

Berezkin, Yuri E. 2007a. "Dwarfs and Cranes: Baltic Finnish Mythologies in Eurasian and American Perspective (70 Years after Yriö Toivonen)". *Folklore* (Tartu) 36: 75–96.

Berezkin, Yuri E. 2007b. "'Earth-Diver' and 'Emergence from under the Earth': Cosmological Tales as an Evidence in Favor of the Heterogenic Origins of American Indians". *Archaeology, Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia* 4(32): 110–123.

Berezkin, Yuri E. 2010. "The Emergence of the First People from the Underworld: Another Cosmogonic

Myth of a Possible African Origin". In *New Perspectives on Myth: Proceedings of the Second Annual Conference of the International Association for Comparative Mythology: Ravenstein (the Netherlands), 19–21 August, 2008*. Papers in Intercultural Philosophy and Transcontinental Comparative Studies (PIP-TraCS) 5 / Quest: An African Journal of Philosophy / Revue Africaine de Philosophie: Haarlem: Shikanda. Pp. 109–125.

Berezkin, Yuri E. 2012. "Seven Brothers and the Cosmic Hunt: European Sky in the Past". In *Paar sammukest XXVI, Eesti Kirjandusmuuseumi aastaraamat 2009*. Tartu: Eesti kirjandusmuuseum. Pp. 31–69.

Berezkin, Yuri E. 2013. *Afrika, Migracii, mifologija: Arealyrasprostranenija fol'klornyx motivov v istoričeskoj perspektive*. Saint-Pétersbourg: Nauka.

Berezkin, Yuri E. 2015. "Folklore and Mythology Catalogue: Its Lay-Out and Potential for Research". *RMN Newsletter* 10: 58–70.

Berezkin, Yuri E. 2017. *Roždenie zvezdnogo neba: Predstavlenija o nočnyh svetilah v istoričeskoj dinamike*. Saint Petersburg: MAÈ RAN.

Bogoras, Waldemar. 1902. "The Folklore of Northeastern Asia Compared with that of North Western America". *American Anthropologist* 4(4): 577–682.

Bryant, David, & Vincent Moulton. 2003. "Neighbour-Net: An Agglomerative Method for the Construction of Phylogenetic Networks". *Molecular Biology and Evolution* 21: 255–265.

Fallaize, Edwin N., with F. von Oefele, E.N. Fallaize, S. Hagard, E.J. Thomas, G. Dottin, T. Fu, M.A. Cannet, A.S. Geden, A.V.W. Jackson, M. Anesaki, C.A. Nallino & E. Welsford. 1922. "Sun, Moon and Stars". In *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* XII. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 48–103.

Frog. 2013. "Revisiting the Historical-Geographic Method(s)". *RMN Newsletter* 7: 18–34.

Gascuel, Olivier. 1997. "BIONJ: an Improved Version of the NJ Algorithm Based on a Simple Model of Sequence Data". *Molecular Biology and Evolution* 14(7): 685–695.

Gibbon, William B. 1972. "Asiatic Parallels in North American Star Lore: Milky Way, Pleiades, Orion". *Journal of American Folklore* 85(337): 236–247.

Gouhier, Charles-Félix-Hyacinthe. 1892. *L'Orphée américain*. Caen: Imprimerie Ch. Valin Fils.

Gray, Russell D., David Bryant & Simon J. Greenhill. 2010. "On the Shape and Fabric of Human History". *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* 365: 3923–3933.

Hatt, Gudmund. 1949. *Asiatic Influences in American Folklore*. København: Ejnar Munksgaard.

Hayden, Brian, & Suzanne Villeneuve. 2011. "Astronomy in the Upper Palaeolithic?" *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 21: 331–355.

Huson, Daniel H., & David Bryant. 2006. "Application of Phylogenetic Networks in Evolutionary Studies". *Molecular Biology and Evolution* 23(2): 254–267.

d'Huy, Julien. 2012a "Un ours dans les étoiles, recherche phylogénétique sur un mythe préhistorique". *Préhistoire du sud-ouest* 20(1): 91–106.

d'Huy, Julien. 2012b. "Le conte-type de Polyphème". *Mythologie Française* 248: 47–59.

d'Huy, Julien. 2013a. "Polyphemus (Aa. Th. 1137): A Phylogenetic Reconstruction of a Prehistoric Tale". *Nouvelle Mythologie Comparée / New Comparative Mythology* 1: 3–18.

d'Huy, Julien. 2013b. "A Cosmic Hunt in the Berber Sky: A Phylogenetic Reconstruction of Palaeolithic Mythology". *Les Cahiers de l'AARS* 16: 93–106.

d'Huy, Julien. 2013c. "Le motif du dragon serait paléolithique: Mythologie et archéologie". *Préhistoire du Sud-Ouest* 21(2): 195–215.

d'Huy, Julien. 2013d. "Des mythes préhistoriques ont-ils pu survivre au dépeuplement du Sahara: Le cas des hommes-chiens?" *Les Cahiers de l'AARS* 16: 107–112.

d'Huy, Julien. 2015a. "Une nouvelle méthode, rapide et efficace, pour reconstruire les premières migrations de l'humanité". *Mythologie francaise* 259: 66–82.

d'Huy, Julien. 2015b. "Polyphemus: a Palaeolithic Tale?" *RMN Newsletter* 9: 43–64.

d'Huy, Julien. 2016a. "Première reconstruction statistique d'un rituel paléolithique". *Nouvelle Mythologie Comparée / New Comparative Mythology* 3: 15–47.

d'Huy, Julien. 2016b. "Les serpents acéphales de Montespan et du Tuc d'Audoubert / The Headless Serpents of Montespan and Tuc d'Audoubert". *International Newsletter on Rock Art* 74: 20–25.

d'Huy, Julien. 2016c. "Peut-on tester scientifiquement la phylogénétique des mythes? – A propos de la chasse cosmique". *Mythologie française* 263: 20–24.

d'Huy, Julien. 2016d. "Le motif de la femme-oiseau (T111.2.) et ses origines paléolithiques". *Mythologie française* 265: 4–11.

d'Huy, Julien. 2017a. "Entre Ciel et Terre: Reconstruction d'une mythologie paléolithique". *Mythologie française* 267: 14–19.

d'Huy, Julien. 2017b. "Lascaux, les Pléiades et la Voie lactée: À propos d'une hypothèse en archéoastronomie". *Mythologie française* 267: 19–22.

d'Huy, Julien. 2017c (forthcoming). "Matriarchy and Prehistory: A Statistical Method for Testing an Old Theory". *bioRxiv* 141374. Preprint available: doi: https://doi.org/10.1101/141374. Forthcoming in: *Les Cahiers de l'AARS*, december 2017.

d'Huy, Julien, Jean-Loïc Le Quellec, Yuri Berezkinb, Patrice Lajoye & Hans-Jörg Uther. 2017. "Studying Folktale Diffusion Needs Unbiased Dataset". *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 114(41): E8555.

Jochelson, Waldemar. 1905. *The Koryak: The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*. Ed. Franz Boas. Memoire of the American Museum of Natural History, New York 6. Leiden: E.J. Brill / New York: G.E. Stechert.

Kashani, Baharak Hooshiar, Ugo A. Perego, Anna Olivieri, Norman Angerhofer, Francesca Gandini, Valeria Carossa, Hovirag Lancioni, Ornella Semino, Scott R. Woodward, Alessandro Achilli & Antonio Torroni. 2012. "Mitochondrial Haplogroup C4c: A

Rare Lineage Entering America through the Ice-free Corridor?"' *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 147(1): 35–39.

Korotayev, Andrey, & Daria Khaltourina, with Yuri Berezkin. 2011. *Mify i geny: Glubokaja istoričeskaja rekonstrukcija.* Moscou: Librokom/URSS.

Krohn, Kaarle. 1926. *Die folkloristische Arbeitsmethode: Begründet von Julius Krohn und weitergeführt von nordischen Forschern.* Oslo: Aschehoug.

Lankford, George E. 2007. *Reachable Stars Patterns in the Ethnoastronomy of Eastern North America.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama press.

Lajoye, Patrice. 2015. "Balor et Yspaddaden de par le monde: à propos du motif F571.1". *Nouvelle Mythologie Comparée / New Comparative Mythology* 2: 53–102.

Le Quellec, Jean-Loic. 2014. "Une chrono-stratigraphie des mythes de création". *Eurasie* 23: 51–72.

Le Quellec, Jean-Loïc. 2015a. "En Afrique, pourquoi meurt-on? Essai sur l'histoire d'un mythe africain". *Afriques* 6, *Varia*. Available at: http://afriques.revues.org/1717.

Le Quellec, Jean-Loïc. 2015b. "Peut-on retrouver les mythes préhistoriques? L'exemple des récits anthropogoniques". *Bulletin de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 1: 235–260.

Le Quellec, Jean-Loïc & Julien d'Huy. 2017. "Géranomachie: aréologie et phénétique". In *Hommages à Bernard Sergent.* Ed. Alain Meurant. Paris: L'Harmattan. Pp. 282–308.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1955. "The Structural Study of Myth". *Journal of American Folklore* 78(270): 428–444.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1958. *Anthropologie structurale.* Paris: Plon.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1964. *Le Cru et le Cuit.* Paris: Plon.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1968. *L'Origine des Manières de Table.* Paris: Plon.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1971a. *L'Homme Nu.* Paris: Plon.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1971b. "Comment meurent les mythes?". In *Science et Conscience de la Société: Mélanges en l'honneur de Raymond Aron.* Paris: Calmann-Lévy. Vol. I, pp. 131–143.

Maddison, Wayne P., & David R. Maddison. 2017. *Mesquite: A Modular System for Evolutionary Analysis.* Version 3.2: http://mesquiteproject.org

Nunn, Charles L., Christian Arnold, Luke Matthews & Monique Borgerhoff Mulder. 2010. "Simulating Trait Evolution for Crosscultural Comparison". *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences,* 365(1559): 3807–3819.

Oda, Jun'ichi. 2001. "Description of Structure of the Folktales: Using a Multiple Alignment Program of Bioinformatics". *Senri Ethnological Studies* 55: 153–174.

Raghavan, Maanasa, Pontus Skoglund, Kelly E. Graf, Mait Metspalu, Anders Albrechtsen, Ida Moltke, Simon Rasmussen, Thomas W. Stafford Jr, Ludovic Orlando, Ene Metspalu, Monika Karmin, Kristiina Tambets, Siiri Rootsi, Reedik Mägi, Paula F. Campos, Elena Balanovska, Oleg Balanovsky, Elza Khusnutdinova, Sergey Litvinov, Ludmila P. Osipova, Sardana A. Fedorova, Mikhail I. Voevoda, Michael DeGiorgio, Thomas Sicheritz-Ponten, Søren Brunak, Svetlana Demeshchenko, Toomas Kivisild, Richard Villems, Rasmus Nielsen, Mattias Jakobsson & Eske Willerslev. 2014. "Upper Palaeolithic Siberian genome reveals dual ancestry of Native Americans". *Nature* 505: 87–91.

Rangel, Thiago F., Jose Alexandre F. Diniz-Filho & Luis Mauricio Bini. 2010. "SAM: a comprehensive application for Spatial Analysis in Macroecology". *Ecography* 33: 46–50.

Ross, Robert M., & Quentin D. Atkinson. 2015. "Folktale Transmission in the Arctic Provides Evidence for High Bandwidth Social Learning among Hunter-Gatherer Groups". *Evolution and Human Behavior* 37(1): 47–53.

Ross, Robert M., Simon J. Greenhill & Quentin D. Atkinson. 2013. "Population Structure and Cultural Geography of a Folktale in Europe". *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London B: Biological Sciences* 280(1756): 20123065.

Saitou, Naruya, & Masatoshi Nei. 1987. "The Neighbor-Joining Method: A New Method for Reconstruction of Phylogenetic Trees". *Molecular Biology and Evolution* 4: 406–425.

da Silva, Sara Graça, & Jamshid J. Tehrani. 2016. "Comparative Phylogenetic Analyses Uncover the Ancient Roots of Indo-European Folktales". *Royal Society Open Science* 3(1): 150645.

Skoglund, Pontus, Swapan Mallick, Maria Cátira Bortolini, Niru Chennagiri, Tábita Hünemeier, Maria Luiza Petzl-Erler, Francisco Mauro Salzano, Nick Patterson & David Reich. 2015. "Genetic Evidence for Two Founding Populations of the Americas". *Nature* 525(7567):104–108.

Swahn, Jan-Öjvind. 1955. *The Tale of Cupid and Psyche (Aarne-Thompson 425 & 428).* Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup.

Swofford, David L. 2002. *PAUP*: Phylogenetic Analysis Using Parsimony (*and Other Methods).* Version 4. Sunderland, MA: Sinauer Associates.

Tehrani, Jamshid J. 2013. "The Phylogeny of Little Red Riding Hood". *PloS one* 8(11): e78871.

Wichmann, Søren, Eric W. Holman, Taraka Rama & Robert S. Walker. 2011. "Correlates of Reticulation in Linguistic Phylogenies". *Language Dynamics and Change* 1: 205–240.

Witzel, Michael. 2012. *The Origins of the World's Mythologies.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

# The Ecology of 'Eddic' and 'Skaldic' Poetry

Helen F. Leslie-Jacobsen, University of Bergen

*Abstract: Scholars have traditionally reflected on the Old Norse cultural area's poetic output on the basis of a binary classification of the poetry into two types: the categories are labelled as 'eddic' and 'skaldic'. This paper explores the formation of the dichotomy and how the application of these categories in scholarship may obscure rather than clarify the nature of Old Norse poetry.*

The Winter 2015/2016 issue of *RMN Newsletter* focused on the relationship of poetic forms and especially metres in relation to their 'ecology', or the environment of language, genres, ethnopoetics, other metres and broader environments of practice in which they exist and evolve. When we consider the 'ecology' of the Old Norse poetic metres, the fundamental division we make as scholars between poetry deemed 'eddic' or 'skaldic' is applicable in a broad sense to the surviving Old Norse verse. Nevertheless, there is a sizeable proportion of the poetic corpus that cannot be reconciled with this neat dichotomy. The usefulness of the terms and bipartite division can thus be called into question.

The terms 'eddic' and 'skaldic' are used in scholarship both to describe two types of Old Norse prosody and, more broadly, as two types of poetry differing from each other in style and content. In addition to some Old Norse poetry not conforming to the eddic/skaldic dichotomy, another of the difficulties with the constructs 'eddic' and 'skaldic' and the application of the terms in scholarship, lies in the lack of separation between metre and content in the use of the terms. It is implicitly understood in scholarship that the simple alliterative metres we refer to as 'eddic metres' and eddic poetry are different things from each other, for example. This difference is sometimes reflected in encyclopaedic handbooks; *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia* (1993), for instance, has four relevant entries: "Eddic Meters", "Eddic Poetry", "Skaldic Metres", "Skaldic Verse". However, it is seldom that this difference between metre and poetry is acknowledged in the terminology used in scholarship, nor are the categories clearly defined. This leaves us without the terminology to distinguish between, for example, poetry preserved in eddic metre and that has eddic content, and on the other hand, poetry that has eddic metre but skaldic content. In such situations, the content rather than the metre of the verse tends to guide which appellation, eddic or skaldic, is applied to the poetry, but this decision is in many cases far from clear cut.

There are thus two reasons highlighted here to reconsider the eddic/skaldic dichotomy. Firstly, and as will be illustrated below, that some poetry cannot be reconciled with eddic/skaldic dichotomy should cause us to reconsider the applicability of the dichotomy to the corpus at a basic level. Are these analytical terms even useful for scholarship? Secondly, this lack of precision in defining and using the categories and terminology 'eddic' and 'skaldic' in analysis causes potential haziness in the identification of eddic and skaldic verse, if we continue to accept the usefulness of the classification of poetry into two types. Both of these issues are important, because whether poetry is deemed eddic or skaldic by scholars has an impact on the questions we pose to our material, such as the role of poetry in the genre divisions of prose, and it influences what material we might select for an examination of a specific corpus. An example of this is the recent book by Seiichi Suzuki, *The Meters of Old Norse Eddic Poetry* (2014), in which Suzuki examines the eddic metres (those descending from common Germanic metre, discussed further below) only with reference to poems contained in a particular manuscript anthology, the *Codex Regius* of the *Poetic Edda*. The poems in this anthology have mythological and heroic content set in the ancient past, but there exists an abundance of poetry with 'skaldic content' (typically historically contextualised court poetry and praise of kings) also composed in eddic metres. In the case of Suzuki's volume, preservation context trumps metre in the determination of a corpus, even in a volume specifically about metre. In addition, when, for example, we think

of verse as skaldic as opposed to eddic, we have different expectations about the background of the verses and orient our research accordingly. We might try to determine the authorship of skaldic verse, its time of composition, historical value and original context. On the other hand, questions of authorship, exact datability and historical value are not usually deemed relevant for most eddic poetry, which we tend to think of as anonymous via traditionality, timeless and as preserving folk rather than historical narratives.

The purpose of this article is to confront the eddic/skaldic divide with its ecology in mind. Firstly, I will discuss the constructions of the categories eddic and skaldic as used in contemporary scholarship. Then, I will use several case studies to examine how the metres functioned in Old Norse society with relation not only to one another, but also to the contexts in which they survive.

### The Emic and Etic Categorisation of Old Norse Poetry

The division 'eddic' and 'skaldic' is not used in Old Norse texts themselves; rather, they are terms used in popular discourse and scholarship most often as binary analytical categories through which scholars access the Old Norse poetic system. This at once alerts us that 'eddic' and 'skaldic' are etic as opposed to emic terms. An etic approach describes observable behaviour from a standpoint outside a particular linguistic or cultural system, such as definitions and terms constructed by scholars to describe a phenomenon they observe; by contrast, an emic approach is built from perspectives and characteristics internal to the system itself and emic terms are terms used by people within that system: how behaviour functions within the system and how it relates to and contrasts with other linguistically and culturally significant behaviour. An etic analysis may include a range of behaviour that is not culturally significant, but that nevertheless provides the researcher with an entry point into the system being studied and a starting point for analysis, even if the final result must be informed by emic units. Since eddic and skaldic are etic terms, their usage must be informed by examples we find of the metres and styles of the extant poetry if the categories they refer to are to be considered valid categories for analysis.

Dan Ben-Amos' (1976) discussion of ethnic genres, the genre system as experienced by members of the culture (emic), and analytic categories, those established by scholars (etic), has been a useful addition to scholarship on the eddic/skaldic divide (begun by Harris 1975; refreshed by Thorvaldsen 2006: 35–48). Despite the obvious attraction for modern scholars of attempting to adopt a genre system and a terminological vocabulary based on ethnic genres, it is not always easy to separate ethnic genres from analytical categories, nor is it possible to extract an ethnic genre system that we can be sure was actually experienced as we might assume by those engaged with Old Norse oral and written literature in the medieval period.

*'Eddic'*

The denotation 'eddic' usually refers to poetry that is in or is associated with the anthology of poetry found in the *Poetic Edda*, the 13th-century Icelandic manuscript (Gks 2365 4to) of mythological and heroic poetry in the metres *fornyrðislag*, *málaháttr* and *ljóðaháttr* or variants thereof. The name 'Edda' initially appeared as the title of Snorri Sturluson's textbook of poetics known as *Snorra Edda* ['Snorri's Edda'] or the *Prose Edda*. The name 'Edda' in this case is derived from a passage in one of the manuscripts of the text in which it is so titled.[1] In 1643, Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson got hold of the manuscript now known as the *Poetic Edda*. He and his seventeenth century contemporaries were well aware of Snorri's work and had posited the existence of an earlier manuscript containing the poems Snorri drew upon. The discovery of Gks 2365 4to seemed to confirm this and the title *Edda* was duly conferred on the manuscript collection of poems in acknowledgment of this supposed connection with *Snorri Edda*.[2] What the name *Edda* actually means is a topic of much discussion: suggestions include 'grandmother' (in which meaning *edda* appears in the poem *Rígsþula*), 'poetics' (as derived from *óðr* in its meaning 'poem; poetry'), or as a derivation from the name Oddi, the farm on which Snorri grew up (Stefán Einarsson 1957: 15). Anthony Faulkes (in a revised version of his 1977 article), argues that *edda* is coined from Latin

*edo* in the sense of composing poetry.[3] We do not know the meaning in the background of the name 'Edda', but there is no reason to believe it was used for a vernacular category of poetry. Moreover, the adjectival derivative 'eddic' and its equivalents in other languages is a modern development and unambiguously an etic term.

### 'Skaldic'

The term 'skaldic' indicates that the poetry under this heading is to be associated with a *skáld* ['poet'], a medieval, Nordic poet, who is normally named and often referred to as a 'court poet'. Bjarne Fidjestøl makes the following point:

> In modern use, skaldic poetry is defined primarily as Old Norse poetry distinct from eddic poetry. This distinction is not known in Old Norse, however, where the word *skáld* may be used indiscriminately of authors of both genres. Since eddic poetry is anonymous, there was little need for the word *skáld* in this context, and therefore it naturally would be used more commonly of authors of skaldic verse. (Fidjestøl 1993a: 592.)

The chief skaldic metre is *dróttkvætt*, in which five sixths of skaldic poetry is preserved. It is worth noting that the by-name *skald* (the earlier form of *skáld*) appears in runic poetry from the Viking Age. The title 'skald' appears mainly in relation to either rune-carvers or the commissioners of monuments, five times in the runic corpus for four men: Grímr (U 951) and Þorbiǫrn (U 29, U 532) in Uppland, Sweden, another Þorbiörn in Rogaland, Norway (N 239), and an Uddr in Sweden (Vg 4) who may not have been the carver of the stone (see Larsson 2007: 405). It is possible that these men gained this by-name because they were especially talented poets, and it has been assumed by Jansson that this demonstrates the presence of professional poets in Sweden in the Viking Age (Jansson 1976: 134). Problematically, none of these inscriptions have anything poetic about them, so there is nothing to point with certainty to 'skald' in this context meaning poet (cf. Jesch 2001: 6n.2; Larsson 2007: 405). The presence of 'skald' on runic inscriptions alone can thus testify neither to a poetic milieu nor to a wider connection between runic inscriptions and skaldic poetry in Eastern Scandinavia, although in a manuscript context after the period in which these inscriptions

were made, it is possible that the existence of a named individual, a *skáld*, may be a potential delineating factor between eddic and skaldic poetry. Overall, the denotation of *skald/skáld* are relatively unambiguous in contrast to 'Edda'. The evidence speaks against this term for 'poet' denoting a poet of specifically 'skaldic' poetry as conceived today. The term 'skaldic' is a modern adjective derived from the Old Norse word for 'poet', and thus an etic term.

### *Concerns about a Binary Corpus*

In scholarship, the two etic categories of 'eddic' and 'skaldic' have become a primary distinction for approaching Old Norse poetry, effectively dividing it into two corpora – 'eddic' and 'skaldic' – that tend to be analysed in isolation from one another. This has influenced the location and division of the poetic corpus in handbooks and reference works, questions posed in scholarship, editorial technique and not least publication decisions concerning the poetic texts and manuscripts containing them. Scholars have made several publication decisions about the corpus that have had an impact on how we view the divide between eddic and skaldic poetry. These are etic divisions, devised by scholars to provide an entry point into the primary sources. One aspect of this is how poems are grouped for publication and the basis for these decisions. It has long been common in reference works on Old Norse poetry to comment on the differences between eddic and skaldic poetry and to devote a chapter to each separately. Likewise, it has been common to publish edited texts of the poetry separately rather than in mixed eddic/skaldic compendia. In part, this has to do with the origin of each term 'eddic' and 'skaldic', and the manuscript preservation in anthology form of the core poems that make up the eddic corpus. If we consider what the terms 'eddic' and 'skaldic' imply, we begin to see the difficultly in analysing the two groups of poetry in binary opposition to one another. Below I will abstract how these analytical categories are constructed before turning to the problems with this distinction.

### The Modern Division of 'Eddic' and 'Skaldic'

> Unknown to medieval sources, a dichotomy between Eddaic and scaldic poetry has been established mainly through peculiarities of

the transmission process. Actually, there are no precise criteria on which to base the drawing of such a line of demarcation. Nevertheless, scaldic poetry is distinguished from Eddaic poetry because of formal features as well as content. (Szokody 2002: 982.)

In *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook*, Szokody points out that we have no definite criteria by which to distinguish eddic and skaldic poetry as analytical categories, and no medieval precedent, but we do it anyway. In keeping with the binary nature of the terms eddic and skaldic, the two types of poetry are often described in dichotomous terms with various characteristics that are ascribed to each, and these traits used to differentiate between the two groups (cf. Frank 1985: 159; Gade 2002: 856). The typical view has been, to quote Jón Helgason, that the two kinds of poetry "adskiller sig alligevel i det hele og store tydelig fra hinanden, baade med hensyn til indhold og form" ['nevertheless clearly differ from one another, both with consideration of content and form'], despite being contemporaneous and composed by the same men (1934: 55). These distinguishing characteristics can be divided into three main groups: metre, content and style. In encyclopaedic handbooks, it is thus the case that often both eddic and skaldic receive two entries each, one describing their metres and one concerned with the type of poetry more generally (discussed below under the headings 'content and historical context' and 'style', respectively).[4]

*Metre*
In scholarship since at least the 19th century, the metres of Old Norse verse are split into two types: eddic metres, and skaldic metres. The metre of the poem subsequently has been used by scholars as one of several bases on which to categorise poems as eddic or skaldic, as exemplified by Anne Holtsmark's comment that "Skaldediktning kan defineres som vn. poesi diktet i de skaldiske versemål" (1970) ['skaldic poetry can be defined as West Nordic poetry composed in the skaldic verse-forms']. However, since skaldic poetry can easily be found composed in metres defined as 'eddic,' we can immediately problematize this: When is an eddic metre of the eddic type of poetry, and when is it skaldic? In scholarship, the

solution to this question is often presented by also including considerations of content and style alongside metre (two criteria discussed further below), although in some cases this also fails to resolve matters.

We can easily observe that there are both important similarities and differences between eddic and skaldic metres, but two central points that are generally accepted can be taken as a point of departure: that 1) skaldic metres developed from eddic metres, and 2) this development into skaldic metre from eddic resulted in increasing complexity.[5] On this basis, we can describe eddic metres as relatively simple, and the skaldic as relatively complex.

The three eddic metres, *fornyrðislag*, *málaháttr* and *ljóðaháttr*,[6] likely represent to a large extent the common Germanic alliterative metre, as it evolved in Old Norse. They are related to the metrical forms found in the Old High German *Hildebrandslied* and Old English poetry such as *Beowulf*.[7] Eddic metres have neither regular internal rhyme (*hendingar*) nor end rhyme, as variously found in skaldic metres. Eddic metre is accentual, and tends to be in freer measures, in which stresses are counted, not syllables or line-endings, although alliteration is regular.[8]

Skaldic forms, on the other hand, count syllables and are peculiar to the Old Norse area (in particular to Norway and Iceland, although see below for other Scandinavian contexts). Skaldic metres are more complex and particular than eddic, and a named poet is often credited for the manipulation of the form, as opposed to the anonymity of the extant eddic poetry. Skaldic metre is stricter than eddic metre in terms of the number of syllables in each metrical position. The most popular metre of skaldic poetry is *dróttkvætt*, which literally means 'court metre', reflecting the common use of the metre for praise poetry presented at a royal court. This meter has a six-position line normally realized with one syllable per position (allowing for the 'resolution' of light syllables into a single position), with variants possible.[9]

Both eddic and skaldic poems are stanzaic, although the older eddic poetry can be in rather looser strophe form, with strophes of varying lengths.[10] Since this earlier eddic metre is not strictly divided into stanzas, the regular stanzaic form found in eddic poetry, which developed

into an eight-line strophe with a deep caesura after the fourth line (see e.g. Kristján Árnason 2006), likely developed under the influence of the arrangement of skaldic metres (Fidjestøl 1993a), which was divided into strophes from the beginning (Lie 1967). Although a certain chronological change can be detected, it is worth noting that eddic and skaldic metres existed alongside each other, and, as mentioned, poetry in skaldic style could be composed in *fornyrðislag* or other eddic metres. Metre is thus not the only criterion that is used to distinguish between eddic and skaldic poetry, and, all things considered, is arguably one of the least important; most of the difference identifiable between the two kinds of poetry lies in the subject matter of the verse and the context of the preservation of the verse.

*Content and Historical Context*
Both the content taken up by Old Norse poetry and its historical context have also been used by scholars to help define what we might consider either eddic or skaldic.[11] To some extent the division made by distinguishing eddic and skaldic content or historical context corresponds with that made by dividing eddic and skaldic metres, although this is far from absolute; this lack of correspondence is one of the chief difficulties in drawing an absolute divide between eddic and skaldic as overarching categories.

The themes of poetry determined by scholarship as having eddic content are drawn from the remote past, from mythology or from legends of long-dead heroes, as well as riddles, proverbs and aphorisms. Eddic poetry is often considered traditional folk poetry – or, more correctly, traditional metrical texts that circulate socially. We could say that it therefore does not include any personal, occasional or topical poetry. Almost no poetry with this kind of 'eddic' content is attributed to a named poet or given a firm historical context.[12]

In contrast, the majority of the poetry deemed skaldic is attributed to named poets. Skaldic poetry reflects the perspective of a poet, his relationships and personal experiences, which are the same features that appear to underlie attributions of authorship and persistence of verses and/or contextualising information. Attributions of verse very often emphasise the skill of the skaldic poet and the social and financial benefits reaped by that skill. The themes of poetry with what could be termed 'skaldic content' are typically more or less contemporaneous to events they describe or in relation to which they are said to be composed, often praising leaders who are alive or only recently dead:

> Much of the skaldic poetry is panegyric, composed in praise of a monarch. Among the oldest poems are some describing pictures, mostly on decorated shields. There are further lyrical strophes, love songs, battle songs and other occasional verse from everyday life. (Þorleifur Hauksson: 2002: 473.)

Hence the emphasis on court poetry in discussion of skaldic content. The complexity of *dróttkvætt*, the metre often used for skaldic poetry, elevates its status through the skill it demands of the composer. It was also considered a superior form because of its association with the court and social elite, and some topics were even beneath a skaldic poet.[13] Nor is mythology solely the province of eddic poetry. For example, skaldic poetry frequently uses the mythological and heroic background related by eddic poetry as a basis for its poetic circumlocutions (kennings, discussed below), and there is at least one skaldic praise poem to Þórr (see Lindow 1985: 25–27).

*Style*
Stylistically, eddic and skaldic verse is usually characterised by its terseness, and for its complexity in vocabulary (e.g. Fidjestøl 1993a: 592). Eddic poetry favours economy of expression (see e.g. Hallberg 1993: 150), and the word order of eddic poetry approaches prose, relating content in a fairly straight-forward style. Analysis of the complexity of skaldic diction has been appealing to scholars, and as such discussions of skaldic style tend to centre on the ideals of skaldic poetry as praise poetry connected to the court.

Skaldic style as familiar from court poetry is characterised by complex word order and by the use of *heiti* (words that function as synonyms or equivalents) and *kenningar* ['kennings'] (poetic circumlocutions consisting of compounds in which a base-word is modified by a determinant, where one or both of the compound elements are most often *heiti). Heiti* and kennings are also found in

eddic poetry, but to a much lesser degree. As a result, one could say that 'obscurity' is a defining feature of the Old Norse courtly skaldic tradition (Mundal & Jaeger 2015). Due to this obscurity, skaldic diction had to be learnt to be understood, whereas the diction of eddic poetry is simpler and formulaic. The cultivation of an understanding of skaldic diction is one of the didactic aims of Snorri Sturluson's 13th century *Edda*:

> En þetta er nú at segja ungum skáldum þeim er girnask at nema mál skáldskapar ok heyja sér orðfjǫlða með fornum heitum eða girnask þeir at kunna skilja þat er hulit er kveðit: þá skili hann þessa bók til fróðleiks ok skemtunar. (Faulkes 1998: 5.)

> […] these things have now to be told to young poets who desire to learn the language of poetry and to furnish themselves with a wide vocabulary using traditional terms; or else they desire to be able to understand what is expressed obscurely. Then let such a one take this book as scholarly enquiry and entertainment. (Faulkes 1995: 64.)

The ability to unknot, and indeed to construct, poetic obscurity was something that a court poet would need in order to compose skaldic poems. The audience of skaldic poetry would also need an appreciation of obscurity to be able to understand poems they heard, or at least to discern that what was said was opaque.

*The Publication of Eddic and Skaldic Poetry*
The poetry that is best known for being 'eddic' survives in the anthology of Gks 2365 4to, the Codex Regius manuscript of the *Poetic Edda* from the 13th century, as discussed above. This anthology of mythological and heroic poems, all in eddic metres, provides an obvious point of departure for the contents of modern volumes of eddic poetry. Nevertheless, editors take remarkable liberties with what is included in these editions of eddic poetry, changing not only the order in which the poems are presented in comparison to the manuscript, but also with the addition of extra texts from outside this manuscript anthology. The 4th edition of the *Poetic Edda* by Gustav Neckel and Hans Kuhn (1962), for example, admits to being the poems contained in the Codex Regius manuscript, according to the volume's subtitle. However, included in the edition are a number of poems found in other manuscripts or works (*Baldrs draumar*, *Rísþula*, *Hyndluljóð*, *Grottasǫngr*, *The Battle of the Goths and the Huns*, and *Hildebrand's Death-Song*) as an appendix, and a second appendix provides eddic stanzas from *Snorra Edda* and *Vǫlsunga saga*. The editorial decision to include material extraneous to the Codex Regius manuscript immediately broadens the interpretation of what constitutes eddic poetry without any further reflection, since these supplementary poems are termed eddic only because they are similar in their mythological and heroic interests to the poems in the anthology.

Eddic stanzas and poems excerpted from the *fornaldarsögur* ['Sagas of Ancient Times'] (sg. *fornaldarsaga*) are known as the *eddica minora*. These poems or sequences of prosimetric stanzas were collected and published in 1903 by Andreas Heusler and Wilhelm Ranisch under the title *Eddica Minora: Dichtungen eddischer Art aus den Fornaldar-sögur und anderen Prosawerken* ['The Minor Edda: Poetry of the Eddic Type from the *Fornaldarsögur* and other Prose Works']. Like the material appended to Neckel and Kuhn's edition, the poetry here is also deemed eddic because of the similarity in metre (usually eddic metres) and content (heroic) to the eddic poetry in the anthology of the *Poetic Edda*. If we indeed view these groups as stylistically analogous, all of these poems are given the eddic label. However, Rudolf Simek and Hermann Pálsson suggest that the *eddica minora* lie in-between eddic and skaldic poetry (1987: 64). This is likely because, firstly, many of the eddic stanzas found in the *fornaldar-sögur* are used prosimetrically (quoted in a prose saga), although it could be pointed out that some of the poems in the *Poetic Edda* are also prosimetric in that verses are interspersed with prose and/or the poems have a prose framework. Secondly, the eddic stanzas are used situationally in the same way as skaldic verse, for example in dialogue presented as spontaneous in the story, and situational poetry is associated more closely with skaldic verse. Furthermore, so-called 'death songs' (typically long poems in eddic metre about their life stories) found in *fornaldarsögur* are attributed as poems composed by mythic characters in the manner of skalds. Texts of whole poems

uninterrupted by prose, if they ever existed, are few (death songs offer one exception here), which is also often the case with skaldic poems (see below). The *Poetic Edda*, on the other hand, contains whole poems.[14] It should be noted however that it is the prose context rather than the metre, style or content of the stanza itself that informs the reader whether or not it is situational; therefore, there is no reason to consider the *fornaldarsögur* stanzas to be anything other than eddic.

Finally, we can consider the lack of anthologies of skaldic material. There is no evidence for an anthology of skaldic poetry similar to that found for eddic poetry in the Middle Ages (Poole 1991: 3). Edited anthologies of skaldic poetry are thus purely based on skaldic poetry that has been extracted from the prosimetric circumstances of its preservation, and collected together for publication (discussed in Goeres 2013). Indeed, often the longer skaldic poem as a whole is a reconstruction of fragments woven together by an editor (Poole 1991: 3–6). Hitherto, the most influential volumes of skaldic poetry have been those edited by Finnur Jónsson (1912–1915), although these are about to be replaced by the edition of the project "Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages". Confusingly, both of these collections include the eddic poetry of the *fornaldarsögur*, rather than only skaldic poetry in eddic metres. The editorial procedure for skaldic volumes therefore seems to be that more or less all poetry, bar that found in the *Poetic Edda*, is edited under the heading of skaldic poetry; skaldic poetry is implicitly defined as what eddic poetry is not.

### Runic Inscriptions in Ecological Context

In my discussion of the modern construction of the eddic/skaldic binary in scholarship, I began to suggest how the two categories are hardly mutually exclusive and begin to crumble – one could even say merge – upon closer inspection, especially, for example, in the publication of the 'skaldic' corpus. This is still the case when we scrutinize the ecology of Old Norse poetry with specific texts in mind. It must also be said however that there are certain instances in which the eddic and skaldic binary extracted from scholarly literature can apparently be observed, such as in prosimetric sagas; these

will also be discussed and problematized below. Firstly, however, we will turn to verse in a runic context. The categories that scholarship has developed have largely been based on manuscript material. A look at verse in a runic environment shows that the eddic and skaldic binary is, from an etic perspective, notably destabilised in this context, and from an emic perspective, a culturally irrelevant binary. Runic inscriptions containing verse give us another window into Old Norse poetic practices. Rune stones and other items inscribed with runes provide evidence for the ecology of poetry in Scandinavia (as opposed to Iceland), and are of particular value for the poetic record of Eastern Scandinavia, since whereas the poetry available to us in manuscripts is Icelandic or Norwegian, versified runic inscriptions are found in a mainland Scandinavian context, particularly in Sweden.

Almost all poetry in runes is in what we describe as eddic forms; nevertheless, it is clear from the corpus that the form and content of runic verse exist in a noticeably different relationship to the eddic/skaldic binary described above and possibly from that to be found in some manuscript contexts. In manuscripts, for example, we expect to see what is typically delineated as eddic or skaldic poetry associated with a certain type of content (e.g. praise poetry in skaldic metre), and with the saga subgenre when verse is preserved in a prosimetric context (e.g. eddic poetry in *fornaldarsögur*). Runic inscriptions tend to violate this expectation:

> it is appropriate to make a distinction between the content and the form of the verses. Their content resembles skaldic poetry in being mainly praise-poetry, whereas their form has much more in common with eddic poetry [....] It is very rare to find carved in runes such intricate, skaldic-like stanzas as the professional poets from Norway and Iceland produced. With a few exceptions, the most prominent one being the Karlevi stone on Öland, Sweden (Öl 1; DR 411), which has a complete stanza in the favourite metre of the skalds, *dróttkvætt*, the runic verses are generally in the far less complicated metre known as *fornyrðislag*. (Larsson 2007: 404)

The majority of the verse found in runic inscriptions is in simple, alliterative metre, with only a few inscriptions in skaldic *dróttkvætt* extant. Indeed, due to the relative

simplicity of the metre of runic inscriptions, it can sometimes be hard to detect whether runic verse is indeed metrical or simply formalised alliterative prose. As a result of this simplicity, often the metre of runic inscriptions is now identified as simply being "eddic or Germanic" in view of the presence of assonance and alliteration, rather than as a specific or identifiable Norse type,[15] even if skaldic-style content may in some cases also indicate an inscription's status as poetry. If we were to survey the metrical runic inscriptions on their own terms, we would likely not be able to establish the eddic/skaldic binary used by scholars to classify them.

*The Karlevi and Rök Stones*
One particularly important function of Scandinavian rune-stones is commemoration.[16] Most of these commemorative inscriptions that could be considered metrical have what Patrik Larsson (2007) describes above as 'eddic form', with the exception of that on the Karlevi Stone (Ö1, DR 411). The inscription with its *dróttkvætt* stanza is thought to have been carved around the year 1000 and likely originated in an oral setting. (Jesch 2001: 9; Larsson 2007: 408). Both skaldic metre and content typical of skaldic poetry (as discussed above), are combined in the stanza, packed full of kennings and broken-up word order, to fulfil a commemorative function. The importance of the Karlevi Stone can hardly be under-estimated. However, from the perspective of the wider corpus of runic poetry, to accord it "pioneer status" (Larsson 2007: 408) as the first *dróttkvætt* stanza of its kind (to be written in runes), is hardly correct, since it represents the exception rather than the rule. True that it is the only written record of skaldic commemoration in a time when that was still an oral genre; nevertheless, those poetic commemorative monuments that followed the Karlevi Stone are in simple, alliterative 'eddic' metre, rather than in *dróttkvætt*.

One example of a stanza in a metre more typical of commemorative monuments is the equally well-known Rök Stone (Ög 136) from the first half of the 9th century, which, amongst its carefully crafted prose, contains a stanza in the metre *fornyrðislag* about Þjóðríkr. This Þjóðríkr mentioned in the inscription is generally identified with Theodoric the Great,

the Gothic king of the early 6th century. He is described as *skati Mæringa* ['prince of the Mæringar'], a piece of information that may have a counterpart in the Old English poem *Deor* (most recently, see Harris 2009). The runic stanza is full of allusions to legends and assumes background knowledge on the part of the reader that is now unfortunately lost. This stanza has somewhat the same style and content as those found in the *fornaldarsögur*, set in Scandinavia's legendary past, and, when compared with the discussion of metre, style and content above, the inscription has eddic style and content in addition to what we might call eddic form, although Gade points out that, metrically, the inscription seems to record the beginnings of the development of the skaldic metre *kviðuháttr*, which counts syllables (Gade 2002: 859).[17]

The Karlevi and Rök Stones both demonstrate the resistance of the runic corpus to admit a classical eddic/skaldic binary. The Karlevi Stone has an atypical use of *dróttkvætt* metre for a commemorative message; the similar extant inscriptions are in eddic form. The Rök Stone, on the other hand, has eddic forms to commemorate a legendary figure.

*The Ribe Healing Stick*
*Fornyrðislag* was a popular metre for folk charms and incantations, and we can take the Ribe healing stick (ca. 1300) from North Jutland as an example. Here we find, in normalised form:

Jörð bið ek varða     ok upphimin
Sól ok Sancta[m] Mariu    ok sjálfan Guð
   dróttin
At hann lé mér læknis hönd   ok líf tungu
At lyf binda     þar bóta þarf.
Ór baki ok ór brjósti,
Ór líki ok ór limi,
Ór augum ok ór eyrum,
Ór öllu því þar illt kann í at koma.
Svartr heitir steinn,     hann stendr í hafi úti,
Þar liggja á því níu nauðir.
Þær skulu hvergi sætar sofa eða varmer vaka
fyrir (=áðr) en þú
Þessa bót bíðir, þar ek orð at kveða rýndi.
Amen ok
Þat sé.
(McKinnell & Simek 2004: 142, adapted to
show the metrical sections; cf. Moltke 1985:
494.)

I bid the earth ensure,     and the heaven
    above,
Sun and Saint Mary,     and God the Lord
    Himself,
That he lend me a healer's hands,     and a
    lively tongue
To bind 'the Trembler'     where cures are
    needed.
From back and from breast, from body and
from limb, from eyes and from ears, from
every (place) where evil can enter.
A stone is called 'black',     it stands out in
    the ocean.
On it lie nine *nauðir*.[18]
They must never sleep sweet nor wake warm
before you receive a cure for this,
where I have found out runes to speak
words. Amen and
so be it.
(McKinnell & Simek 2004: 142, adapted to
show the metrical sections.)

Here, the charm begins in the eddic metre *fornyrðislag* and dissolves by the end into alliterative prose. Objects could also be inscribed with charms in *dróttkvætt*: a copper box from Sigtuna bears an inscription from the early 11th century, the second half of which is given by Jansson (1967: 135) as:

Fugl velva slæit falvan,
fann'k gauk a nas auka.

The bird tore the pale thief
I saw how the corpse-cuckoo swelled

This is a *dróttkvætt* curse on anyone who steals the box. Why might *dróttkvætt* have been chosen here? There are no typical skaldic connotations here (nor in the first half of the inscription, also in *dróttkvætt*, for which see Jansson 1967: 59), and the example serves to demonstrate that the subject matter of *dróttkvætt* is not always the praise of kings.[19] From these two examples of charms, we can see that the preference for eddic or skaldic metres is not absolute, and that skaldic metres can be used for both commemorative messages and charms, otherwise both more commonly associated with eddic metres.

### Bryggen Inscription 145

On the Bryggen inscription 145 from around 1248, we find a stanza of a love poem in *dróttkvætt* and carved in runes.[20] In normalised form:

Fell til fríðrar þeææu
fárlegrar mér árla

fiskáls festibála
forn byrr hamar- norna-
– omnia vincit amor, et nos cedamus amori
– omnia vincit amor, et nos cedamus amori
(Runic Inscriptions from Bryggen in Bergen 2002.)

The first half of the stanza read 'Early was my love turned towards the fair, dangerous woman' and the second half has been interpreted variously as 'the gold-adorned woman has taken hold of the warrior' or 'it is probable that the sea-farers love will be held on to'. Either way, the stanza is about the power the love of a woman can have even over the strongest warrior. After the 'skaldic' stanza, we find in runic Latin: *omnia vincit amor, et nos cedamus amori* ['Love conquers all; even I must give in to love'], a quotation from Virgil's *Eclogues* (number 10), a very fitting conclusion to the *dróttkvætt* verse. Whoever carved the runes in mid-13th century Norway was educated. He knew the rules of both skaldic and classical verse, and sought to apply them in what we would consider to be a standard skaldic situation. (Spurkland 2005: 182–183.)

### Perspectives on Runic Verse

If we were to examine the runic corpus without knowledge of poetic material preserved in manuscripts, we would not be able to devise the eddic/skaldic dichotomy from its corpus. Metrically, we could observe the differences between *dróttkvætt* and *fornyrðislag*. The division of the inscriptions content-wise into a dichotomy would be impossible. The runic class of evidence for poetry simply does not provide any evidence for the skaldic/eddic dichotomy. The eddic and skaldic categories in scholarship were developed without considering the runic material, which reflects different cultural practices than were recorded in manuscript contexts.

### Manuscript Case Studies

Eddic and skaldic metres are not distinguished between in medieval emic analyses of metres. Neither the earliest, *Háttalykill* ['Key to Verse Forms'] (a 12th century metrical treatise in verse), nor *Háttatal* ['List of Verse Forms'] (the final section of Snorri's *Edda* that illustrates a series of verse forms with a prose commentary), mention any distinction of the kind, though both eddic and skaldic metres, as

we term them, are included. The discussion below explores the ecology of Old Norse poetry and verse forms in manuscript contexts.

*Verses in Saga Prose*

The first aspect of medieval expectations of poetry has already been touched upon: the use of either eddic or skaldic verse in prose contexts to form prosimetra.[21] Often, this prose context is Icelandic saga prose, and this is the preservation context of a great deal of Old Norse poetry. The metre of the verse in the prose is not bound to a particular poetic genre, and *fornyrðislag* could be used for court poetry, epic, riddles and charm verses (as could *dróttkvætt*). Nevertheless, certain saga genres seem to prefer either eddic or skaldic verse forms, as we would classify the metres, so we could ask whether these verse forms might be categories we can inductively identify.

Violation of the metrical choice in saga subgenres, employing skaldic metre in a genre which typically contains eddic verse forms or vice-versa, indicates to us that this may be used for narrative effect. The prosimetric *fornaldar-sögur*, for example, tend to contain eddic verse forms (see Leslie 2013; Leslie-Jacobsen 2016), while the *Íslendingasögur* ['sagas of Icelanders'] and *konungasögur* ['sagas of kings'] tend to contain skaldic verse forms. One text displaying this is the *fornaldarsaga Áns saga bogsveigis* ['The Saga of Án Bowbender']. The five stanzas of the saga are spoken by the character Án. In *fornaldarsögur*, stanzas spoken by characters are typically in eddic metres. In this saga however, the first stanza is a *dans* stanza, the first stanza of a *rímur*, a type of narrative poetry arising in the first half of the 14th century (see Jorgensen 1993), and because of their later date, usually excluded from the discussion of the eddic/skaldic divide. The second stanza is in *ljóðaháttr*, the third is skaldic *fornyrðislag* recited in the presence of a king, the fourth and fifth simpler stanzas in *fornyrðislag*, the saga thus accommodating stanzas in a variety of both metre and style. (Leslie 2013: 401–407.) In the contemporary sagas (*samtíðarsögur*), where the dialogue is in skaldic *dróttkvætt*, poetry in *fornyrðislag* is often spoken in dreams (Quinn 1987), although Stefán Einarsson also points out a dream stanza in *dróttkvætt* with potentially magical associations that is recited

alternately by two men (1951). This indicates not only the importance of metre for literary effect but also indicates that the borders of the use of metre are broad, and the generic expectations of the prosimetric sagas flexible. These examples may also disabuse us of the idea of content suitable for eddic or skaldic metres in a saga context.

*Verses in Snorri Sturluson's* Edda

We can consider Snorri's use of verse in his *Edda* as reflecting emic perceptions of contemporary poetic practices and offering emic analyses of poetic language and form (although it ought to be pointed out that since this is a unique text, it may not necessarily reflect medieval genre conventions). As mentioned above, eddic and skaldic metres are not distinguished between in the list of verse forms in *Háttatal*, although the eddic metres are grouped together towards the end of the work. At a glance, there seems to be a clear separation of what we term eddic and skaldic poetry in the section of the work known as *Gylfaginning* ['The fooling of Gylfi'] and *Skáldskaparmál* ['The language of poetry']. *Gylfaginning*, which relates mythological prehistory, uses prosimetric stanzas in eddic metres as evidence for the characters' assertions. The majority of these are drawn from a limited number of poems also recorded in the *Poetic Edda*, since the content and style of some of the poetry in the *Poetic Edda* relates to mythology and the poetry may also have seemed ancient and timeless already by Snorri's time.[22] *Skáldskaparmál* focuses on poetic diction, and draws examples mainly from poetry in skaldic verse forms, since this is the art form that uses the complex style the section is trying to teach. Nevertheless, *Skáldskaparmál* simultaneously illustrates the artificiality of the eddic/skaldic divide, since it also includes several eddic stanzas (reviewed in Frog 2009a). *Háttatal* likewise uses skaldic stanzas to compose a praise poem of 102 stanzas exemplifying at the same time close to 100 different verse forms, regardless of whether the metres are eddic or skaldic. The distinction between the prosimetric employment of a narrow subset of poetry in eddic forms in *Gylfaginning* and mostly skaldic in *Skáldskaparmál* and *Háttatal* has aligned with categories of poetry that today we are inclined to group as eddic and skaldic, and indeed *Snorra*

*Edda* is a major source for the development of the binary model. Under scrutiny, however the modern binary model seems to be more of a projection onto this work than having been organized through a perception of all poetry belonging to one of two categories *per se*.

### Emic Hierarchies of Verse Forms

The third method of discerning the medieval ecology of eddic and skaldic verse forms that I will discuss is to examine situations where characters react to one form or another in narrative. The choice between using either eddic or skaldic metre was in part socially determined by convention and by the status of the respective metres or style of verse. This means that how appropriate each verse form was felt to be developed not only in relation to the full spectrum of their respective uses in Old Norse society, but also in the relation of *fornyrðislag* and *dróttkvætt* to one another. The associations and values that a poetic system develops according to its application in a culture has been theorised by John Miles Foley under the moniker of 'word-power' (1995). Although the metres were not bound to a particular genre and *fornyrðislag* in particular was associated with a wide range of genres and applications, from court poetry to epic, riddles and charms, eddic and skaldic verse certainly had different cultural connotations, and in Foley's terminology, the 'word-power' of a metre is dependent on its cultural activity.

Although the eddic metre *fornyrðislag* could be used for skaldic poetry, the skaldic metre *dróttkvætt* seems to have had a superior social status in most contexts, and in some contexts also greater word-power. This is demonstrated by two stanzas by King Haraldr *harðráði*,[23] who, having realised he has left his armour aboard his ship before the Battle of Stamford Bridge in 1066, composes a verse in *fornyrðislag* relating this fact, and then says, *þetta er illa kveðit ok mun verða at gera aðra vísu betri* ['that is badly composed and I will now make another, better verse']. The king then composes a rather obscure skaldic stanza:

Svá segja menn, at Haraldr konungr Sigurðarson kvað vísu þessa:

> Framm gǫngum vér
> í fylkingu
> brynjulausir

und blár eggjar.
Hjalmar skína.
Hefkat ek mína.
Nú liggr skrúð várt
at skipum niðri.

Emma hét brynja hans. Hon var síð, svá at hon tók á mitt bein honum, ok svá sterk, at aldri hafði vápn á fest. - Þá mælti Haraldr konungr Sigurðarson: 'Þetta er illa kveðit, ok mun verða at gera aðra vísu betri.' Þá kvað hann þetta:

> Krjúpum vér fyr vápna,
> valteigs, brökun eigi,
> svá bauð Hildr, at hjaldri,
> haldorð, í bug skjaldar.
> Hott bað mik, þars moettusk, (the o with a hook and an accent over)
> menskorð bera forðum,
> hlakkar íss ok hausar,
> hjalmstofn í gný malma.

(*Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar* 1951: 187–188.)

It is said that King Harald Sigurdsson composed this stanza at the time:

> We go forward
> Into battle
> Without armour
> Against blue blades.
> Helmets glitter.
> My coat of mail
> And all our armour
> Are at the ships.

His coat of mail was called Emma; it was so long that it reached below his knee, and so strong that no weapon could pierce it. King Harald then said, 'That was a poor verse; I will have to make a better one.' He composed another stanza.

> We never kneel in battle
> Before the storm of weapons
> And crouch behind our shields;
> So the noble lady told me.
> She told me once to carry
> My head high in battle
> Where swords seek to shatter
> The skulls of doomed warriors.

(*King Harald's Saga* 1966: 150–151.)

Both *fornyrðislag* and *dróttkvætt* are used in poetry by skalds, so the king's switch from one to another is not a switch from what we might consider an 'eddic' to a 'skaldic' composition. Rather, if the king wishes to demonstrate his command of poetry whilst doing so, he must instead compose a *dróttkvætt* stanza, by nature

more obscure than direct, rather than a *fornyrðislag* stanza, which was less complicated and thus potentially less prestigious. This can be taken to mean that skaldic metre was more highly esteemed than eddic (at least in that context).

Expectation of verse form need not align with the eddic/skaldic binary model; social conventions concerning verse form were not simply unspoken expectations in certain situations, as several saga episodes bear witness to. In the episode about King Haraldr above, the skaldic verse form was preferred because it was more prestigious. In *Gunnlaugs saga*, it is clear that there is a level of expectation about which skaldic verse form to use when Gunnlaugr criticises Hrafn for having composed a *flokkr* rather than *drápa* about a king:

> 'hví ortir þú flokk um konunginn?' segir hann; 'eða þótti þér hann eigi drápunnar verða?' (*Gunnlaugs saga Ormstungu* 1957: 22.)

> 'why do you compose a *flokkr* about the king,' he says, 'or doesn't he seem to you worthy of a *drápa*?'

The difference between a *drápa* and a *flokkr* is that a *flokkr* lacks the embellishment of a series of refrains (each called a *stef*) found in a *drápa*. The saga episode should be read against the background of Gunnlaugr composing very well-received *flokkar* himself on several occasions in the saga, but for jarls rather than kings. Thus, the higher status king should be lauded with the superior verse form of the *drápa* rather than the *flokkr* fit for his subordinates. That the *flokkr* and *drápa* are both in *dróttkvætt* makes no difference here to the acceptability of the verse; rather, this example shows than emic categories are not purely based on the eddic/skaldic divide and that the ecology of the verse forms encompasses a complex set of relations that are likely not possible for us to unravel in their entirety.

A similar example can be found in *Óláfs saga helga* in *Heimskringla*, in which Þórarinn *loftunga* offends King Knút by offering him a *flokkr*, scathingly described by Knút as a *dræplingr*, and has to recompose his *flokkr* into a *drápa* to make amends (*Ólafs saga Helga* 2002: 307–310). Note that these verse forms in the *drápa* and *flokkr* are in the same metre

(*dróttkvætt*). In addition to the prose contexts of verse, we must also pay attention to the verse form when considering the ecology of eddic and skaldic verse, since it is the verse forms and their relation to each other rather than metre that is here dictated by social custom, and it is noticed when norms surrounding the contextual use of such poetry are broken.

*Skaldic Poems on the Margins*
The division of eddic and skaldic poetry by metre, style and content can be problematized by a brief look at case studies that show that the interplay of metre, style and content in some poems break down these neat divisions.[24]

Three poems, *Eiríksmál* ['The Lay of Eiríkr'] (anonymous, a panegyrical poem in honour of Eiríkr blóðøx – Eric Bloodaxe), Eyvindr Skáldspillir's *Hákonarmál* ['The Lay of Hákon'] (a 10th-century panegyric to King Hákon *góði*), and Þorbjörn *hornklofi*'s *Haraldskvæði* ['Poem about Haraldr'] (also known as *Hrafnsmál* ['The Lay of the Raven'], now reconstructed from various stanzas from the 9th century about life in King Haraldr's court) straddle the borders of typical eddic and skaldic divisions and appear in a mixed style. These poems are composed in eddic metres but have what could be considered mixed eddic-skaldic content. If we are to describe them in terms of our eddic/skaldic binary, they are particularly pushed towards skaldic classification by their content as panegyrics, but towards eddic poetry in terms of their eddic verse forms. A particular point of interest in these three poems is their use of *ljóðaháttr*, the metre characteristic of eddic didactic poems (Quinn 1994: 76), and not otherwise found in any context that could be defined as skaldic, in addition to other eddic metres.

*Haraldskvæði* has the typical skaldic trait of being by a named poet and celebrates a contemporary prince, yet mixes the straight-forward expressions of eddic poetry and the complex diction of the skalds. Furthermore, the poem is in the eddic metres *málaháttr* and *ljóðaháttr* and its frame-setting resembles some eddic poems, as it is a dialogue between a raven and a Valkyrie (Turville-Petre 1953: 38–39). Edith Marold comments of *Eiríksmál* that:

The poem is one of the "eddic poems," the others being *Hákonarmál* and *Haraldskvæði*. It differs in several respects from the skaldic panegyrics. The metrical form of the stanzas (*fornyrðislag* and *ljóðaháttr*) is typical of eddic poetry, as is the scenic presentation of the events in dialogue. The vocabulary and style also distinguish the poem from skaldic poetry. (Marold 1993a: 161.)

According to Hollander, *Eiríksmál*, *Hákonarmál* and *Haraldskvæði* thus "by definition [...] emphatically are not skaldic" (1945: 19 fn. 25; see also Quinn 1992: 117–119; Thorvaldsen 2006: 276–279),[25] although according to Fidjestøl (1993b: 669), the "vivid descriptions, grim irony, and terse composition" make *Haraldskvæði* "a masterpiece of skaldic poetry". These are some of the particularly ambiguous cases where eddic metre intersects with skaldic content as defined by the eddic/skaldic binary in a complicated manner, with eddic metre and a mixture of skaldic and eddic content and style. This difficulty in using the customary terms as real categories in scholarship shows that these etic terms and divisions do not conform to an emic presentation of the corpus.

Since, as discussed above, poems are usually categorised as eddic or skaldic on the basis of their content, *Eiríksmál*, *Hákonarmál* and *Haraldskvæði* are particularly hard to classify. Nevertheless, all three poems harbour with ease in the skaldic rather than the eddic port when these terms are used as absolutes. The quantity in the corpus of skaldic content intersecting with eddic form seems to have given scholars the liberty for cases that do not conform to be classed as skaldic anyway. Such cases could be viewed as the exceptions (or fuzzy borderline cases) that prove the general rule, rather than being categorised separately on the basis of their generic ambiguities as we perceive them (there is nothing to suggest that their contemporaries would have perceived them as ambiguous in any way).

We can conclude from *Eiríksmál*, *Hákonarmál*, and *Haraldskvæði* that, as far as an etic use of terms is concerned, similar poetry must have eddic metre but both skaldic style and content to be defined comfortably by scholars as a skaldic poem. *Haraldskvæði* has eddic metre, skaldic content and both an eddic and skaldic style; *Eiríksmál* has eddic metre,

skaldic content but eddic style; *Hákonarmál* has eddic metre, skaldic content and a style influenced by *Eiríksmál* in the eddic direction. These mixtures of eddic and skaldic traits in the style and content features of poetry are the factors hindering their easy classification as skaldic. In terms of the ecology of poetry, *Eiríksmál*, *Hákonarmál* and *Haraldskvæði* demonstrate that the eddic/skaldic binary is wholly inadequate to define or explain the choice of verse form in relation to content. These poems are a strong indication that, at least in 9th–10th century Norway, the eddic/skaldic binary does not apply.

*Perspectives on the Manuscript Case Studies*
The examples discussed above exemplify the need to consider not only the metre, style, and content of the poetry, but also the literary and historical context in which it is preserved. Much poetry, of both the eddic and skaldic kinds (however defined), survives in prose contexts used prosimetrically (see Harris 1997), and the genre expectations of these prose contexts can influence in which direction we might be inclined to lean when distributing poetry to eddic or skaldic corpora. On the other hand, the existence of the heavy inclinations of certain saga subgenres towards use of poetry in what we would term either eddic or skaldic style may indicate that saga prose contexts may reflect one medieval understanding of the classification of poetry that to some degree, but far from perfectly, corresponds to a division in Old Norse poetry, although this is by no means to say that the prose contexts of eddic and skaldic poetry support only two classes of poetry in a black and white divide. Eddic and skaldic as modern categories are not reflected in the primary sources.

### Conclusion
By discussing how the metre, content, historical context and style of Old Norse verse are often understood today, I established how the terms eddic and skaldic are defined and are applied in modern scholarship as mutually exclusive concepts. I then demonstrated that the poetic corpus itself does not support the etic division of Old Norse poetry into eddic and skaldic, and that, from an emic perspective, such a categorisation of the corpus seems neither possible nor desirable. Our perception

and categorization of medieval Icelandic poetry is filtered through manuscripts and under the agendas of patrons, authors, redactors and a developing system of conventions. The conventions and agendas of the manuscript tradition have both influenced and limited our understanding of the underlying oral traditions, including those factors linked to the ecology of eddic and skaldic poetry.

Eddic and skaldic are vague and overlapping terms that can be useful and practical for discussion in order to orient ourselves, but using these terms to define or divide a corpus is misleading. They are modern constructs that we define, and by defining the eddic and skaldic, we enclose the concepts in borders. If we must use the terms, we have to admit that poems can be eddic *and* skaldic and that their borders are indeterminate, so as not to bisect the Old Norse poetic corpus artificially.

*Helen F. Leslie-Jacobsen (helen.leslie[at]gmail.com), Institutt for lingvistiske, litterære og estetiske studier, Universitetet i Bergen, Postboks 7805, N-5020 Bergen, Norway.*

## Notes

1. The manuscript is DG 11 4to, University Library Carolina Rediviva in Uppsala, from the first quarter of the 14th century, most recently edited by Heimir Pálsson (2012). 'Edda' is found at the beginning of the work in its first title, which begins *Bók þessi heitir Edda* (Heimir Pálsson 2012: 6) ['This book is called Edda']. No further comment on the origin or relevance of the name is given.
2. The *Poetic Edda* was initially known as *Sæmundr Edda*, since the work was first attributed to Sæmundr *inn fróði*, famous in the 17th century for his learning. This name is no longer used and the attribution discredited.
3. For an overview of the discussion surrounding the meaning of the name *Edda*, see Faulkes 1977.
4. This is the case in, for example, in *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder* (1956–1978), which as articles on eddic poetry, skaldic poetry and Old Norse verses forms, and *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia* (1993).
5. For brief overviews of the key divisions between eddic and skaldic, see Hollander 1945: 1–2, 18; Turville-Petre 1976: xii–xvii; Gade 1995: 1–2.
6. For a discussion of the eddic metres, see Gade 2002: 859–863.
7. *Ljóðaháttr* is however a uniquely Nordic form (Gade 2002: 861).
8. The metrical norms for the lines were established by Eduard Sievers (1893); for an overview of the eddic metres, see Holtsmark 1958: 482; Lie 1967; Russom 1993.

9. For a brief overview of the skaldic metres see Gade 2002: 863–866.
10. This early strophe form, loose though it may be, is certainly present; Gade (2002: 859) points out that the stanza on the Rök stone (discussed below), "consists of four lines, divided into two syntactically independent units, [which] shows that, as early as the beginning of the 9th century, Old Nordic poetry must have been stanzaic rather than stichic like West Germanic alliterative poetry".
11. The term 'content' has been used in relation to eddic and skaldic poetry by e.g. Szokody 2002.
12. An exception could be *Merlinússpá* ['The Prophecy of Merlin'], a 13th century rendition of Merlin's prophecies by the monk Gunnlaugr Leifsson. The poem is composed in *fornyrðislag* stanzas and is modelled upon the poem *Vǫluspá* ['The Seeress' Prophecy'] (which, as well as being a prophecy, can be considered an epitome of eddic poetry in metre, style and content). Nevertheless, this poem is a translation of the *Prophetiae Merlini* ['The Prophecies of Merlin'] rather than being purely a product of the vernacular tradition, and it contains battle descriptions "in the stereotyped skaldic style" (Marold 1993b). These factors make it rather atypical.
13. An example of this can be found in *Sneglu-Halla Þáttr* (pp. 263–295), in which a skáld considers composing a poem about two craftsmen to be beneath him. This episode is analysed by Clunies Ross (2005: 115–116).
14. Although there is a lacuna in the manuscript.
15. See for example the metrical concordance of the Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages http://www.abdn.ac.uk/skaldic/db.php?id=19&if=default&table=metre.
16. For the commemorative function of rune-stones, see Sawyer 2000.
17. For a discussion of the form *kviðuháttr* see Gade 2002: 863.
18. *Nauðir* could be translated as 'needs', 'afflictions'.
19. For a brief overview of *dróttkvætt*'s association with magic, see Stefán Einarson 1957: 44–45.
20. The medieval runic inscriptions from Bergen on small slips of wood evidence many genres of text, including versified romance. We can take for example the simple alliterative line from Bergen *Unn þú mér, ann [ek] þér!* ['Love me, I love you'], inscription N B645 (Larsson 2007: 416).
21. For an overview of Old Norse prosimetra generally, see Harris 1997, and for eddic prosimetra see Leslie 2013.
22. On the two skaldic stanzas in *Gylfaginning*, see Lindow 1977.
23. See also Frog 2009b: 227, discussing the same example with relation to Foley's concept of word-power.
24. The discussion in the case studies section draws upon Leslie 2013: 15–26.
25. Caught at a similarly troubling intersection of the eddic and skaldic forms is *Darraðljóð*, whose metre and subject matter are eddic but are given a precise historical context typical of the skaldic form (see Friis-Jensen 1987: 45).

## Works Cited
### Sources

*Eddica Minora. Dichtungen eddischer Art aus den Fornaldarsögur und anderen Prosewerken*. 1903. Ed. Andreas Heusler & Wilhelm Ranisch. Dortmund: Ruhfus.

*Gunnlaugs saga Ormstungu: The Story of Gunnlaug Serpant-Tongue*. 1957. Ed. Peter Foote. Trans. R. Quirk. Icelandic Texts. London: Thomas Nelson.

*Gylfaginning* = Faulkes 1987.

*Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar*. 1951. Snorri Sturluson. *Heimskringla*. Vol. 3. Ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson. Íslenzk Fornrit 28. Pp. 68–202.

*Háttatal* = Faulkes 1987.

*King Harald's Saga*. 1966. Trans. Magnus Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

*Ólafs saga helga. Heimskringla*. 2002. Ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson. Vol. 2. 3rd ed. Íslenzk Fornrit 27. Reykjavík: Híð Íslenzka Fornritafélag.

*Skáldskaparmál* = Faulkes 1987.

*Sneglu-Halla Þáttr*. 1956. *Eyfirðinga sǫgur*. Ed. Jónas Kristjánsson. Íslenzk Fornrit 9. Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag. Pp. 263–295.

### Literature

Ben-Amos, Dan. 1976. "Analytical Categories and Ethnic Genres". In *Folklore Genres*. Ed. Dan Ben-Amos. Austin: University of Texas Press. Pp. 215–242. (Originally published in *Genre* 1 (1969): 273–301.)

Clunies Ross, Margaret. 2005. *A History of Old Norse Poetry and Poetics*. Cambridge: Brewer.

Faulkes, Anthony (ed.). 1987. *Snorri Sturluson: Edda. Prologue and Gylfaginning*. London: Viking Society for Northern Research.

Faulkes, Anthony (ed.). 1998. *Snorri Sturluson: Edda. Skáldskaparmál* I. London: Viking Society for Northern Research.

Faulkes, Anthony (ed.). 1999. *Snorri Sturluson: Edda. Háttatal*. London: Viking Society for Northern Research.

Faulkes, Anthony (trans.). 1995. *Snorri Sturluson: Edda*. Everyman. London: Dent.

Faulkes, Anthony. 1977. "Edda". Revised. Available at: http://www.vsnrweb-publications.org.uk/Edda.pdf. (Originally published in *Gripla* 2 (1977): 32–39).

Fidjestøl, Bjarne. 1993a. "Skaldic Verse". In *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*. Ed. Philip Pulsiano et al. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities 934. New York: Garland. Pp. 592–594.

Fidjestøl, Bjarne. 1993b. "Þorbjǫrn hornklofi". In *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*. Ed. Philip Pulsiano et al. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities 934. New York: Garland. Pp. 668–669.

Finnur Jónsson (ed.). 1912–1915. *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning*. Copenhagen: Villadsen & Christensen.

Foley, John Miles. 1995. *The Singer of Tales in Performance*. Bloomington: Indiana UP.

Frank, Roberta. 1985. "Skaldic Poetry". In *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature: A Critical Guide*. Ed. Carol J. Clover & John Lindow. Islandica 45. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Pp. 157–196.

Frog. 2009a. "Snorri Sturluson and Oral Traditions." In *Á austrvega: Saga and East Scandinavia. Preprint Papers of The 14th International Saga Conference Uppsala, 9th–15th August 2009*. Ed. Agnete Ney et al. Gävle: Gävle University Press. Vol. I, pp. 270–278.

Frog. 2009b. "Speech-Acts in Skaldic Verse: Genre, Compositional Strategies and Improvisation." In *Versatility in Versification: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Metrics*. Ed. Tonya Kim Dewey & Frog. New York: Peter Lang. Pp. 223–246.

Friis-Jensen, Karsten. 1987. *Saxo Grammaticus as Latin Poet: Studies in the Verse Passages of the* Gesta Danorum. Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, Supplementum 14. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.

Gade, Kari Ellen. 1995. *The Structure of Old Norse* dróttkvætt *Poetry*. Islandica 49. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Gade, Kari Ellen. 2002. "History of Old Nordic Metrics". In *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*. Ed. Oskar Bandle et al. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. Pp. 856–870.

Genzmer, Felix. 1920. "Das eddische Preislied". *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und deutsche Literatur* 44: 146–168.

Goeres, Erin Michelle. 2013. "Editing Skaldic Verse and the Problem of Prosimetra". In *Approaching Methodology*. 2nd rev. edn. Ed. Frog & Pauliine Latvala with Helen F. Leslie. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica. Pp. 185–199.

Hallberg, Peter. 1993. "Eddic Poetry". In *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*. Ed. Philip Pulsiano et al. New York: Garland. Pp. 149–152.

Harris, Joseph. 1975. "Genre in the Saga Literature: A Squib". *Scandinavian Studies* 47: 427–436.

Harris, Joseph. 1997. "The Prosimetrum of Icelandic sagas and Some Relatives". In *Prosimetrum: Crosscultural Perspectives on Narrative in Prose and Verse*. Ed. Joseph Harris & Karl Reichl. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer. Pp. 131–163.

Harris, Joseph. 2009. "The Rök Stone Through Anglo-Saxon Eyes". In *The Anglo-Saxons and the North: Essays Reflecting the Theme of the 10th Meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists in Helsinki, August 2001*. Ed. M. Kilpiö, L. Kahlas-Tarkka, J. Roberts & O. Timofeeva. Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies. Pp. 11–46.

Heimir Pálsson, ed. 2012. *Snorri Sturluson: The Uppsala Edda DG 11 4to*. Trans. Anthony Faulkes. London: Viking Society.

Hollander, Lee. 1945. *The Skalds: A Selection of the Poems, with Introductions and Notes*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Holtsmark, Anne. 1958. "Eddadiktning". In *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder* 3. Pp. 480–488.

Holtsmark, Anne. 1970. "Skaldediktning". In *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder* 15. Pp. 386–390.

Jansson, Sven B. F. 1967. *Runinskrifter i Sverige*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Jesch, Judith. 2001. *Ships and Men in the Late Viking Age: The Vocabulary of Runic Inscriptions and Skaldic Verse*. Woodbridge: Boydell.

Jón Helgason. 1934. *Norrøn litteraturhistorie*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.

Jorgensen, Peter A. 1993. "*Rímur*". In *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*. Ed. Philip Pulsiano et al. New York: Garland. Pp. 536–537.

Kristján Árnason. 2006. "The Rise of the Quatrain in Germanic: Musicality in Word Based Rhythm in Eddic Meters". In *Formal Approaches to Poetry: Recent Developments*. Ed. B. Elan Dresher & Nila Friedberg. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. Pp. 151–169.

*Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder* I–XXII. 1956–1978. Oslo: Gyldendal.

Larsson, Patrik. 2007. "Runes". In *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*. Ed. Rory McTurk. Oxford: Blackwell. Pp. 403–426.

Leslie, Helen F. 2013. *The Prose Contexts of Eddic Poetry: Primarily in the* Fornaldarsögur. Doctoral thesis. University of Bergen.

Leslie-Jacobsen, Helen F. 2016. "Genre and the Prosimetra of the Old Icelandic fornaldarsögur". In *Genre-Text-Interpretation: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on Folklore and Beyond*. Ed. Kaarina Koski & Frog with Ulla Savolainen. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society. Pp. 251–275.

Lie, Hallvard. 1967. "Norrøne versemål". In *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder* 12. Pp. 355–356.

Lindow, John. 1977. "The Two Skaldic Stanzas in Gylfaginning: Notes on Sources and Text History". *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi* 92: 106–124.

Lindow, John. 1985. "Mythology and Mythography". In *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature: A Critical Guide*. Ed. Carol J. Clover & John Lindow. Islandica 45. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Pp. 21–67.

Marold, Edith. 1993a. "*Eiríksmál*". In *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*. Ed. Philip Pulsiano et al. New York: Garland. Pp. 161–162.

Marold, Edith. 1993b. "*Merlíusspá*". In *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*. Ed. Philip Pulsiano et al. New York: Garland. Pp. 412–413.

McKinnell, John, & Rudolf Simek with Klaus Düwel. 2004. *Runes, Magic and Religion: A Sourcebook*. Wien: Fassbaender.

*Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*. 1993. Ed. Philip Pulsiano et al. New York: Garland.

Mitchell, Stephen. 1991. *Heroic Sagas and Ballads*. Myth and Poetics. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Moltke, Erik. 1985. *Runes and their Origin: Denmark and Elsewhere*. Copenhagen: The National Museum of Denmark.

Mundal, Else, & Stephen Jaeger. 2015. "Obscurities in Skaldic and Latin Poetry. Introduction". *Medieval Nordic Literature in its European Context*. Ed. Else Mundal. Oslo: Dreyers Forlag. Pp. 21–49.

Neckel, G., and H. Kuhn (eds.). 1962. *Edda: Die Lieder des Codex Regis nebst verwandten Denkmälern I: Texte*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

Poole, Russell G. 1991. *Viking Poems on War and Peace: A Study in Skaldic Narrative*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Quinn, Judy. 1987. "The Use of Eddic Poetry in Contemporary Sagas". *Frá suðlægri strönd (From a Southern Shore)* 3: 54–72.

Quinn, Judy. 1992. "Verseform and Voice in Eddic Poems: The Discourses of Fáfnismál". *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi* 107: 100–130.

Quinn, Judy. 1994 [1995]. "*Eddu list*: The Emergence of Skaldic Pedagogy in Medieval Iceland". *Alvíssmál* 4: 69–92.

Runic Inscriptions from Bryggen in Bergen. 2002. Available at: http://www.nb.no/baser/runer/efullpost.php?bnr=B145.

Russom, Geoffrey. 1993. "Eddic Meters". In *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*. 1993. Ed. Philip Pulsiano et al. New York: Garland. Pp. 148–149.

Sawyer, Birgit. 2000. *The Viking-Age Rune-Stones: Custom and Commemoration in Early Medieval Scandinavia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sievers, Eduard. 1893. *Altgermanische Metrik*. Halle: Niemeyer.

Simek, Rudolf, & Hermann Pálsson. 1987. *Lexikon der altnordischen Literatur*. Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag.

*Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages*. Available at: http://www.abdn.ac.uk/skaldic/db.php.

Spurkland, Terje. 2005. *Norwegian Runes and Runic Inscriptions*. Trans. Betsy Van Der Hoek. Woodbridge: Boydell.

Stefán Einarsson. 1951. "Alternative Recital by Twos in *Wíþsíþ*(?), *Sturlunga*, and *Kalevala*". *Arv* 7: 39–83.

Stefán Einarsson. 1957. *A History of Icelandic Literature*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Suzuki, Seiichi. 2014. *The Meters of Old Norse Eddic Poetry: Common Germanic Inheritance and North Germanic Innovation*. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter.

Szokody, Oliver. 2002. "Old Nordic Types of Texts I: Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian". In *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*. Ed. Oskar Bandle et al. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. Pp. 981–989.

Þorleifur Hauksson. 2002. "Nordic Language History and Literary History IV: Iceland". In *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*. Ed. Oskar Bandle et al. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. Pp. 470–482.

Thorvaldsen, Bernt Øyvind. 2006a. *Svá er sagt í fornum vísindum: Tekstualiseringen av de mytologiske eddadikt*. Doctoral thesis. University of Bergen.

Thorvaldsen, Bernt Øyvind. 2006b. "The Generic Aspect of the Eddic Style". In *Old Norse Religion in Long-Term Perspectives: Origins, Changes and Interactions. An International Conference in Lund, Sweden, June 3–7, 2004*. Ed. Anders Andrén et al. Lund: Nordic Academic Press. Pp. 276–279.

Turville-Petre, E. O. G. 1976. *Scaldic Poetry*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Turville-Petre, G. 1953. *Origins of Icelandic Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## What to Call the Poetic Form – Kalevala-Meter or Kalevalaic Verse, *regivärss*, Runosong, the Finnic Tetrameter, Finnic Alliterative Verse or Something Else?

Kati Kallio, Finnish Literature Society (SKS), and Frog, University of Helsinki, with Mari Sarv, Estonian Literary Museum

When writing about traditional Finnic (also called Balto-Finnic) oral poetry, everyone who is embedded in its long history of research encounters the same problem of what term to use for it. Several partly overlapping terms are in current use. The different terms are sometimes inconsistent, especially across different languages, contexts, approaches or even genres of poetry addressed. Each is also burdened with its own associations or connotations that in some cases are seen as quite controversial. These issues are not exclusive to Finnic traditions. Research on early Germanic poetries, for example, faces similar issues when referring collectively to the historically related Old English, Old High German, Old Norse and Old Saxon poetic forms – although the research discourse has at least developed vocabulary for it.[1] Although the present discussion concerns Finnic poetries, many of the problems addressed have more general relevance, at least by analogy, such as the burdening of terminology with links to nationalism, the inconsistency of terms across languages, and the ways that terms may foreground certain aspects of a poetic form while marginalizing others. The present review and discussion may thus offer food for thought to scholars working with other traditions where the choice of terms is also problematic.

Concern here is centrally with the terms used in scholarship; the vernacular, local or emic terms (i.e. words used within local singing cultures) remain outside of discussion,[2] except insofar as these have been adapted to use by scholars. A problem of terminology addressed here is related to the fact that the poetic form is used with a variety of genres, which prevents simply referring to its many variations through an associated genre label, as is done with Finnic lament poetry (on which, see Stepanova 2014) and with European or Scandinavian ballads.[3] Generally speaking, scholarly terms group into four broad categories: *a*) terms derived from the title of the Elias Lönnrot's national epic *Kalevala*; *b*) terms derived or developed from emic vocabulary; *c*) descriptive designations of the poetic form; and any of these may be complemented by *d*) a term for the ethnic group with which the poetry is identified. In order to make this discussion accessible to readers less familiar with Finnic oral poetries, we give short introductions to the current terminological situation, poetry, its meter and the forms it takes before turning to terminology in detail.

The aim of this article is to offer an overview of the terminological situation in English and Finnish languages, referring also to the terms in Estonian. This discussion makes no pretence of being comprehensive or of reviewing the history of terminology and its debate. The problematics of terms and the choice of which term to use are commonplaces of research on these traditions. However, the situation discussed here often only appears as a long footnote, explaining the situation in a very general way. Indeed, it seems the discussion on these terms has been largely limited to such footnotes and short definitions of the terms used. The present review is an attempt to gather some of these threads and consider them together, reviewing them in a more organized and developed way than has

been done previously. Bringing them into critical focus opens a discussion in which other scholars may respond. Returning to these terms and concepts is important because the ways we understand the networks, interaction and hybrid variations of different poetic forms also affects our ability to discuss the history of those forms. This context also offers a valuable possibility to reflect on the limits of a poetic phenomenon that has taken, as Anna-Leena Siikala (1994; 2000; 2012) has noted, many local, historical, and genre- or performance-dependent forms. These aspects of the tradition will here be considered in relation to how the phenomenon of the poetic system is defined and described.

### Background and Basic Terms Today

In recent decades, the subject of terminology for this poetry has been discussed, for example, by Pertti Anttonen (1994: 137), Anna-Leena Siikala and Sinikka Vakimo (1994: 11), Jaan Ross and Ilse Lehiste (2001: 7), Tiiu Jaago (2008: 199), Pekka Huttu-Hiltunen (2008; 2010), Seppo Knuuttila, Ulla Piela and Lotte Tarkka (2010: 8), Outi Pulkkinen (2010: 13, 51), Siikala (2012: 24), and most recently Mari Sarv (2015: 6–7). The review offered here has in part been precipitated and motivated by lively discussions (predominantly in Finnish) on such terminology held under a short blog-post (Kallio K et al. 2015a) and a Facebook thread (Kallio K et al. 2015b). We are very grateful for all those who were kind enough to elaborate on the theme and to open new views on different scholarly and popular contexts of use. These views will be included here alongside conventionally published research.

The problems of terminology concern national, linguistic or ethnic implications and associations of alternative terms and phrases. Different terms also vary in formal implications for what they do or do not include, such as referring narrowly to formal metrics of a line, more often the verse form or poetic form, or extending broadly to whole poetic or poetic-musical systems. Difference in the scope of relevance can also be significant, such as whether they primarily describe only a local or regional poetic form, the poetic form of certain genres, or the poetic form in a single language or a group of languages. Discussion is further complicated by the fact that terminology has evolved within each language of discussion rather than being uniform across them, even if they may impact each other and terms get adapted from one language into another.

The most commonly used terms for the poetry in current Finnish research are *kalevala-mittainen runo(us)* ['Kalevala-meter poem (poetry)' or 'Kalevala-metric poem (poetry)'] and *runolaulu* ['*runo*-song, runosong']. In Estonian, the term *regilaul* ['*regi*-song'] is the most common, alongside *regivärss*, which is more or less synonymic to it. Other possible terms in Finnish include *vanha (suomalainen) runo(us)* ['old (Finnish) poem (poetry)'], *itämerensuomalainen runous* ['Finnic poetry'], and *kalevalainen runo(us)* ['kalevalaic poem (poetry)'], in older or popular use also *muinaisruno(us)* ['ancient poem (poetry)'], or simply *(vanha) kansanrunous* ['(old) folk poetry/folklore']. The last of these is a broader term that may include other folklore genres as well, and a relative of the Estonian term *(vana) rahvaluule* ['(old) folk poetry']. In English language scholarship, terms based on *Kalevala* predominate (*Kalevala-metric poetry*, *Kalevala poetry*, *kalevalaic poetry*) alongside terms that implicitly identify the tradition as cultural heritage, such as *old / common Finnish / Finno-Karelian / Estonian/Finnic folk / oral poetry*. Especially when discussing musicological features, terms based on the Finnish and Karelian emic term *runo* (e.g. *runo-poetry, runo-song/runosong*) or its etymological translation (e.g. *rune-songs, runic poetry*) are common. Corresponding terminology has equally evolved in other languages where scholarship has long-standing establishment, especially Russian and German, which will not be reviewed here.

No fewer terms circulate to refer to the meter of this poetic form. In Finnish, it is primarily called *kalevalamitta* ['Kalevala-meter'] or *nelipolvinen trokee* ['trochaic tetrameter', with spesific quantity rules] today, both of which have been carried into Estonian and English-language scholarship. Description-based terms such as *vanhan suomalaisen runon mitta* ['the meter of old Finnish poetry'] have also been popular, and during recent year the terms *runolaulumitta* ['runo-song meter'] and

*kahdeksantavumitta* ['octosyllabic meter'] have been introduced. In particular contexts, the term *runomitta* ['runo-meter'] has been used, although, in modern Finnish language, it refers to any poetic meter (just as *runo* refers to any poem in any meter).

In Estonian, the meter can be called *regilaulu värsimõõt* ['meter of *regilaul*'], *regivärsimõõt* ['*regivärsi*-meter' or 'measure of *regivärss*'] and *kalevalamõõt* ['Kalevala-meter'], although the last one is mostly used today with reference to the rule-based ideal meter (e.g. in Põldmäe 1978; Sarv 2008). In English, *rune/runic meter* has been used less prominently overall, but *runo meter* or *runo-song meter* and *Finnic trochaic tetrameter* are increasingly used. When Estonian terms are used to refer to the meter in English, this is normally a phrase '*regilaul* meter' or 'meter of *regilaul*'; *regivärss* may also be treated as a term for the textual aspect of the tradition rather than as a synonym of *regilaul* as a term for the poetic-musical tradition. Each of the possible terms carries its own connotations owing to its history of use or associations (e.g. with the national epic *Kalevala*), and the terms also tend to be used in slightly different contexts.

Today, researchers tend to use the different terms rather flexibly and in a relaxed manner, often as synonyms. This presupposes a common knowledge of different backgrounds and scholarly loads of each term, or perhaps a degree of ambivalence to, or lack of concern about, those loads. At the same time, flexible and synonymic use reflects an acceptance of the fact that there exists no exclusive and ideal solution. Here, we wish to keep in sight the fact that the choice of terms and the operation of their loads is highly context-dependent, and therefore, quite naturally, we make no attempt to dictate or recommend what terms should or should not be used.

### A Shared Finnic Linguistic Heritage
A key factor in the problems of terminology is that the poetic form is shared across language groups that identify themselves with distinct cultural and national identities. Varieties of the poetic form are found in all Finnic languages except for Livonian and Vepsian, which are at the peripheries of the language area (Kuusi 1994: 47). In addition to features of meter and

poetic syntax, there are traces of a historically shared formulaic idiom as well as of historically shared metaphors, images, motifs and complex narratives with which the poetry was used (Harvilahti 2015: 311–315). This is unsurprising when, in an oral culture, meter is perceived and communicated through language (see Frog 2015: 84–87). The poetic system is considered to have been carried as a form of heritage from a period of common language, so-called Proto-Finnic. It has been estimated to have been in use for perhaps two millennia or even longer, but it presumably dates at least as far back as the breakup of Proto-Finnic into separate languages around the beginning of the Viking Age or ca. AD 800 (on which see Kallio P 2014) since it is unlikely to have spread across languages and cultures thereafter.[4] The poetic system is used with such a remarkable range of genres that it seems to have been a predominant mode of metered poetic expression (used alongside a distinct poetic system for ritual and non-ritual laments).[5] Whatever its actual origins and dating, the poetic system is infused with the quality of 'heritage' linked to language. Language has been viewed as iconic of ethnic identity, which in its turn, for nearly two hundred years, has been shaped and constructed (or with small minorities even suppressed) through nationalism. As a consequence, discussions of the meter, its forms and the terms used to describe it become bound up with ethnic and national identities.

The research history has constructed major divisions of the poetry traditions especially into northern and southern groupings that have shaped the thinking in research. An early major grouping mainly follows linguistic affinity that blur into national or regional and ethnic groupings of 'Finnish', 'Karelian' and 'Ingrian' on the one hand and of 'Estonian' and 'Seto' on the other. This major division is reflected in the publications of corpora. *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot* (*SKVR*) ['Old Songs of the Finnish People'], of which parts I–XIV (1908–1948; 33 volumes) are organized by geographical regions of Finland, Karelia (and additional regions where Karelian is spoken) and Ingria, with part XV (1997, 1 volume) of additional early unpublished texts. The digitization as the SKVR-database remain within this linguistically and geographically defined structure. A similar

structuring is apparent in the publications of songs from Estonia and Setomaa, such as the *Vana kannel* ['Old Harp'] series (Hurt 1875–1886, with the project resumed in the 1950s) and Monumenta Estoniae antiquae ['Monuments of Ancient Estonia'] series. The Eesti regilaulude andmebaas – Estonian Runic Songs' Database (ERA-database) has evolved following the same basis of linguistic and geographical splitting of the Finnic traditions into northern and southern parts.

Speaking of a simple division between northern and southern areas has not been consistent over time. As research underwent a shift in emphasis from tradition as text to tradition as performance and practice, northern and southern Finnic tradition areas were reconceived on those grounds. Traditions in Ingria and southern regions of Karelia were regrouped with traditions of Estonia as (predominantly) women's singing traditions of agricultural village-centered communities, dancing and other performative practices linked to singing, the so-called 'lyric-epic' narrative form, and so forth (e.g. Virtanen 1987; Siikala 1990). Both ways of looking at the north–south division continue to be used according to a researcher's focus: researchers with emphasis on performance practices will discuss the boundaries according to one set of criteria while research with emphasis on mythology or poem-types will use another.

Simplified divisions minimize actual variation, often with the implication of an ideal for a broad area. For example, Finland and Karelia to the Karelian Isthmus are often treated as a single area for which an ideal of poetic form is generalized, marginalizing regional differences as deviations from that idea. Although grouped with Finland and Karelia, traditions of Ingria have also long been recognized as distinct to the point that the relevant volumes of *SKVR* are even organized on different principles. The region is relatively small, but Ingria's treatment as a coherent tradition area blurs ethnic and linguistic distinctions between Ižorians, a population with a long history in the region whose language is close to Karelian, so-called Ingrian-Finns, descended from populations that came from parts of Finland and Karelia some centuries before, and the often-

marginalized Votes, who are linguistically closest to North Estonians but whose traditions were not as well documented. In some areas, differences between the traditions of these groups blur or are ambiguous, but there were also differences in songs and practices that remained distinct (e.g. Salminen 1929). Much as Ingria has been set apart for the northern group, Seto singing traditions of Southeast Estonia and Russia have been treated as distinct from traditions throughout the rest of Estonia, both for differences in form and content and also for differences in ethnic identity, connected with Orthodox religion and strong Russian rather than German influences (e.g. Hurt 1904–1907). Nevertheless, especially in Finnish and English-language scholarship, 'Estonian' has often been used inclusively of Seto, while 'Finnish' has been used as inclusive speakers of other Finnic languages in regions of Karelia and all of Ingria that have never been within the borders of Finland, divesting these groups and their tradition of independent value and identity (see also Kalkun 2011; Haapoja et al. 2017).

The north–south division is important because it created groupings within which the scholarly perception of variation was often minimized. The early division between northern and southern groups became linked to questions of whether the more regular northern form or the more flexible southern form was more archaic (e.g. Kuusi & Tedre 1979; 1987). The archival infrastructures and methodologies for approaching these traditions emerged in the environment that produced the so-called Historical-Geographic Method, which was oriented to historical reconstruction of song types as well as evolvement of tradition in more general terms (Frog 2013a). It was not that scholars were unaware of variation – on the contrary, they were often quite sensitive to it for methodological reasons – but the abstracted extremes were what was important because one of those extremes was presumed to be more archaic and the continuum of variation to the other extreme would most likely reflect a trajectory of spread and/or process of evolution.[6] Recognizing the splitting of the tradition and the differences in where that split occurs is significant here because some terms that might be used to refer collectively to the

common Finnic tradition have also been used only for northern or southern forms.

## *Metrical Form*

This poetic system is governed by *conventions* that are customarily abstracted into ideal images of the meter. In oral poetry, "exceptions or irregularities" are almost inevitable "in the actual lines occurring in versification practice" (Sarv 2015a: 8). What we might call 'metricality' or the 'well-formedness of verses' operates as a perceived quality of text within a continuous flow of performance or other oral discourse. This fact allows lines to be perceived as 'better' or 'worse' rather than in terms of a black and white distinction between metrically 'right' and 'wrong' (Frog 2014a). In this poetry, all of the organizing principles associated with the meter can be conceived as open to varying degrees of flex, beginning from the rhythmic (which may also be melodic) structuring of the mode of expression, and which may also vary locally in relation to genre and context of communication. That is why scholars may speak of tendencies or constraints rather than rules of the poetic meters.

The most detailed studies of the meter of Finnic poetry are those of Walter Anderson (1935), Matti Kuusi (1949), Matti Sadeniemi (1951), Pentti Leino (1986; 1994), Petri Lauerma (2001; 2004), Mari Sarv (2000; 2008a; 2011a; 2011b; 2015) and Jukka Saarinen (2018). These studies also discuss historical perspectives while relationships of meter to historical language change receive focused attention in the works by A.R. Niemi (1922 [1918]); Mikko Korhonen (1987; 1994), Mari Sarv (1997; 2000; 2008a) and Arne Merilai (2006).

Because the problematics of certain terms are linked to giving emphasis or priority to certain regional forms of the poetic system, it is necessary to offer a somewhat more developed overview of the poetic form here in order to make discussion accessible to non-specialist readers. Viena, the northern region of Karelia, is where meter appears most strict. This region is also where those types of vernacular mythology and religion that were of greatest interest to collectors during 19th-century Romanticism were most vital. As a result, Viena became the most extensively studied region of traditional Finnic oral poetry, followed by Ingria and Setomaa owing to the richness of their singing traditions. The more regular form of the meter in Viena was made still more regular in Lönnrot's *Kalevala* and other literary works; this is the form of the poetry best known internationally. The poetic form in Ingria, on the Gulf of Finland, is somewhat more flexibly handled although it seems that mostly linguistic change has been compensated to accommodate metrical form; the poetic form changes outward from Northeast Estonia, while in Setomaa, the poetic form is at the far extreme from what is found in Viena. It is nevertheless possible to find nearly flawless examples of the stricter poetic form in all regions (even if with different proportions of formal line-types), and also to find poems in looser forms, so discussion of regional forms inevitably requires generalizations that marginalize the varieties and ranges of variation within each region. Today, rather than a simple binary division between strict and loose forms, variation is seen on continuums that progress from the White Sea to Southeast Estonia and from inland regions to coastal and island areas. The prevailing view is that the historical poetic form was stricter and that variations in different languages and dialect areas are outcomes of adaptations in relation to language change and in some regions also to contacts with singing traditions in other languages (see especially Sarv 2008a; 2011b). The stricter form thus provides a practical frame of reference for introducing the forms in other regions that increase in flexibility to the south through Ingria and Estonia and to the west through Finland.

A basic line of verse has eight positions organized in four feet with metrical stress on the first position in each foot. The stricter form of the meter is syllabic with a trochaic rhythm: each foot pairs one metrically stressed and one unstressed syllable normally yielding an eight-syllable line, although the first foot is flexible and may contain as many as four syllables. In the dialects of Russian Karelia and Eastern Finland, a line normally consists of 2–4 words. A convention of 'right justification',[7] which Sadeniemi (1951: 36) called the *Gesetz der Wannmühle* ['law of winnowing'],[8] inclines

longer words to be placed at the end of the line and excludes lines from ending in a monosyllable.[9] The poetry is stichic, which means that lines simply follow one another in series rather than being regularly organized in couplets or stanzas. Verses are characterized by alliteration: two or more words in a line would normally begin with the same sound. Strong alliteration was preferred, which means the first vowel is also the same, even when following an alliterating consonant (e.g. *sortu sormin lainehille* ['sank with his fingers into the waves']). Weak alliteration, or alliteration of the onset consonant only, is also used, but clear preference is given to pairing of phonetically closer vowels (Krikmann 2015). Although alliteration is a characteristic feature of this poetry, it is not metricalized: it is not connected with metrical positions and lines could also be without it (e.g. Sadeniemi 1956: 88; Leino 1986: 134); where line-internal alliteration is lacking, alternative phonic patterns, such as repeating consonants across lines, are sometimes used to weave verses into the acoustic texture of a poem (Frog & Stepanova 2011: 200–201). Verses are equally characterized by semantic and grammatical parallelism, not necessary in every line, but parallelism is fundamental to the poetic system (Steinitz 1934; Kuusi 1952; Metslang 1978; Saarinen 2017; Sarv 2015b; 2017). Parallelism is closely linked to alliteration (Steinitz 1934: 182–183, Sarv 2000: 93–105; 2017), and quite notably the frequency or prominence of alliteration and parallelism varied according to genre (Kuusi 1953; Sarv 1999: 132–137).

A distinctive feature of the meter is its conventions for the placement of long and short stressed syllables.[10] In Finnic languages, the first syllable of a word or part of a compound word always receives lexical stress. In poems, compounds are treated metrically as separate words. Apart from the first foot, long stressed syllables should be placed only on the lifts of the meter, whereas short stressed syllables should only on the falls, yielding what has been called a 'broken verse';[11] the placement of unstressed syllables is free (see Leino 1986; 1994). This feature generally takes precedence over the right justification of long words (Kuusi 1952). However, it was also a feature that was allowed at least some flexibility.

As Mari Sarv (2015: 6) stresses, the "meter of oral poetry is subject to variation and should not be treated as a static and petrified phenomenon." Meter and language are in a symbiotic relationship (e.g. Foley 1996: esp. 28; Leino 1986). The most significant factors affecting the evolution of the poetic form were changes that shortened words, affecting how they worked in the meter and the number of words that could be in a line (Sarv 1997, 2000: 32–45; 2008a: 63–90), and intense contacts with languages and their poetic systems organized on different metrical principles (Sarv 2011b). Viena was long considered as the most conservative region and thus as preserving the most archaic poetic form, but traditions had clearly evolved in that region as well (Kuusi 1994; Siikala 2002b; Leino 1986: 136). Flexibility increased to the south on and around the Karelian Isthmus and into Ingria, where two light syllables could sometimes fill a single position in the second foot, with variation increasing on a continuum through Estonia as the number of feet admitting syllabic flexibility rises and a line could have six to twelve syllables in its eight positions. In the southeastern regions, the percentage of 'broken' lines dwindles to a small percentage, where verses were more often accentually structured, simply aligning lexical stress with metrical stress. (See Sadeniemi 1951; Lauerma 2004; Sarv 2008a; 2015).

Western areas also exhibit significant increases in flexibility on both sides of the Gulf of Finland, including a weakening of conventions for the placement of long and short stressed syllables (Leino 2002 [1975]; Laitinen 2006; Sarv 2008a; 2011b; 2015). As in southeastern Estonia, these changes in the poetic form are linked to changes in language, especially the reduction of syllables and syllabic length, which was particularly prominent in languages south of the Gulf of Finland (e.g. Laakso 2001; Viitso 2003). Impacts on syllabic quantity rules in both Western Finland and the Western regions of Estonia may have also been impacted by centuries of intense contact with Swedish language traditions (Sarv 2011; cf. Laitinen 2006: 38). In sung performance, especially in Ingria and Estonia,[12] shortened words of spoken language were sometimes augmented

to affect the length of a syllable, the number of syllables or to allow one syllable to do the work of two so that verses would conform to metrical or musical templates (Lauerma 2004: 24–65; Sarv 2015a: 10). Thus, even in the Finno-Karelian tradition areas, there were significant regional differences in the poetic form.

The poetic form evolved in different ways in relation to changes in language, but, metrically, "similarities are much greater than the differences" in the Finnic tradition as a whole (Leino 1986: 129). Differences predominantly concern the tendencies in the placement of long and short syllables, the number of feet in which multiple syllables can appear, and the degree that those feet can be flexed.[13] The differences in the poetic form can, on the whole, be viewed in terms of the degree to which different conventions of meter hold and in what hierarchies, considered in relation to the linguistic registers and modes of performance of the poetry's use. Even if similarities may outweigh the differences at the broadest level, each regional variation can with equal justification be approached as a distinct poetic system with its own metrical conventions that differ to varying degrees from those of other regions. It might also be reiterated that northern and southern groupings are built on linguistic grounds linked to nationalist agendas or on grounds of performance practices that are more relevant to social use of the poetry than poetic form. The poetic form in Ingria and on the Karelian Isthmus might better group formally with that of Northeast Estonia than with regions to the north and Northeast Estonian traditions might be better grouped with those of Ingria – the regional forms have simply never been analysed areally in that way.

The problems of terminology result from a practical need for relevant terms of different referential scope on the one hand and how terms relate to variation and difference on the other. The degree of difference between the poetic forms in different language areas makes it necessary to distinguish them in certain analyses, while in others it can be equally important to be able to talk collectively about all of these related poetic forms. Whatever term is used, the broader the scope of tradition areas to which it refers, the more that certain

features are likely to be projected as hegemonic while others are marginalized.

### Terms Referring to Kalevala

Of all of the possible terms, variations of 'Kalevala/kalevalaic poetry/meter' are the most well known and widely recognizable internationally. These terms reference the Finnish national epic *Kalevala*, which many more people have heard of than Finnic oral poetry. However, it is exactly this reference that makes such terms awkward from some points of view. The potential awkwardness arises from a variety of associations and connotations linked to *Kalevala*. Another issue is that these terms have often been used only to refer to the North Finnic forms of the tradition.

*Kalevala* is a product of national Romanticism. It was compiled and composed by Elias Lönnrot (1835; 1849) out of literally hundreds of variants of oral songs from different regions and language areas. He and others had collected songs, riddles, proverbs, incantations and numerous other genres from the local oral cultures. The richest body of poems used as the basis for Lönnrot's epic were collected from Russian Karelia, territories that had been separated by the Swedish–Russian border until Finland changed hands and became a Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire in the beginning of the 19th century. *Kalevala* later played an essential part in creating the Finnish nation-state. (See Piela et al. 2008.) In addition to the nation-building of 'Finland', there was also discussion of establishing a 'Greater Finland' (*Suur-Suomi*) consisting also of parts of Russian Karelia, sometimes also Ingria and Estonia. Researchers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries tended to talk about all Finnic groups – Finnish, Karelian, Votic, Ingrian, and sometimes even Estonian – as 'Finnish', which was often seen as a neutral term even if it is ideologically encoded. The priority of 'Finnish' identity was also asserted by Finnish researchers in otherwise neutral linguistic terms for Uralic languages like 'Finno-Ugric'.[14] Especially between the World Wars, some researchers, politicians and activists presented ideas that all the Finnic peoples should form one nation-state and, in the popular discussions of the 1930s in particular, interpretations of terms like

'kalevalaic poetry' or 'Kalevala poetry' were often bluntly nationalistic (Piela et al. 2008). Of course, St. Petersburg had been founded in the middle of the Finnic cultural areas in the early 18th century, which made the proposal of a 'Greater Finnish' nation somewhat problematic. The idea met with immediate objections both within and from outside of Finland. During the Second World War, the Finnish army actually conquered, for a short time, some areas of Russian Karelia. The idea of 'Greater Finland' has not been taken seriously since that time, but for some scholars, terms referring to *Kalevala* still echo the idea of a Greater Finnish Nation.

Today, the making of the national epic can be seen as a process of cultural appropriation: oral traditions of Karelians and Izhorians were taken and branded as 'Finnish'.[15] In fact, the mythology and poetry of Karelia and Ingria are currently, by association, commonly referred to as 'Finnish' both in Finland and more widely in the Western world. In Finland, this tendency is rooted in nationalist discourse; internationally, this tendency is in large part because 'Finland' is a nation-state on the mental map of Westerners, most of whom have never heard of 'Karelia' or 'Ingria' (see also Ahola et al. 2014: 487). For a Finnish researcher, *Kalevala* is burdened with this history, which, by association, gets carried by terms derived from *Kalevala*. Yet, in Finnish popular use, the nationalist resonance is often received positively, acknowledging great oral and literary works as well as local and national (positive) identities.

As modernization progressed in (then Soviet) Karelia, *Kalevala* was 'appropriated back' by Russian Karelians as a *Карело-финский* ['Karelo-Finnish'] epic. Both Lönnrot's epic and the associated oral poetry traditions are addressed as 'Karelo-Finnish' from the perspective of Russian scholarship more generally (where 'Karelia' provides a meaningful frame of reference). Thus, in spite of the political burden on the Finnish side, *Kalevala* and terms for Karelian oral poetry derived from the epic's title seem to be positive from the perspective of Karelians and in Russian scholarship.[16]

The southern forms of the poetic tradition were associated with building Estonian national ethnic identities. The situation was particularly complex because, from the beginning of the 20th century, the Finns were seen as a sort of 'big brother' lending help and support to the Estonians, and Finnish culture was esteemed in contrast to the variety of German influences that had accompanied modernization. One consequence of the authoritative position of Finnish research was the unconditional acceptance of the 'rules' of the northern metrical form. Regional variations in traditions of Estonia were recognized, but performers would sometimes be described as making 'mistakes' and texts published in schoolbooks were edited to conform to the ideal rules. (See Sarv 2008b.) Especially among Finnish scholars, use of Kalevala-based terms for this poetry can thus be seen as cultural appropriation or (when done by Estonian scholars) transfer, or as linking to a 'Greater Finland' ideology. However, such views are dependent on a number of associations which must be seen as significant, particularly: *a*) the association of the term with the epic *Kalevala*; *b*) the association of *Kalevala* with (Finnish) nationalism; and *c*) the association of Estonian oral poetry with (Estonian) ethnic identity and/or nationalism. On the one hand, such associations have been critically revaluated in different contexts, unpacking their political loads. On the other hand, transnational scientific communities evolving in the wake of globalization seem to have relaxed the significance and role of nationalism in research at the level of individual scholars. It is thus unsurprising that many contemporary researchers in Estonia think it is fine to use these Kalevala-based terms also for the Finnic poetry traditions as a whole (see Kallio K et al. 2015b; Jaago 2008). However, this issue is far from being uncontroversial (see Sarv 2015a: 6).

Another issue raised for these terms is that it is considered anachronistic to refer to folk poetry through a derivative, modern epic, and potentially misleading. Although *Kalevala* is a great work of literature, it is a lousy metaphor for oral poetry. Lönnrot composed new narrative structures, regularised the poetic language, and even 'improved' the metricality of verses.[17] He constructed an epic of 22,795 lines out of oral songs that rarely exceeded 350

verses.[18] It has also quite appropriately been noted that terms relating to *Kalevala* bear strong literary associations: *Kalevala* is usually performed as readings or recitals unknown to traditional oral cultures. Moreover, for several decades after the publication of *Kalevala*, Lönnrot's epic was understood and studied as a source of original folk poetry, despite the fact that Lönnrot clearly stated his position as the compiler in the preface of the book (1835; 1849). The long history of treating *Kalevala* as oral tradition, still widely encountered among non-specialists both in Finland and abroad, made it important for researchers to assert the distance and distinction of the oral poetry from *Kalevala* as a literary work. Many scholars have felt that these Kalevala-based terms suggest this earlier interpretive paradigm – i.e. that the oral poems are derivative of *Kalevala* rather than vice versa – which has been seen as more problematic for the terminology than its burden of associations with nationalism.

The term *kalevalamittainen runo*(*us*) ['Kalevala-metric poem/poetry'] was apparently coined during the second half of the 20th century in order to have a neutral word for both the oral poetry and *Kalevala*. At least for many contemporary Finnish researchers, this term feels more neutral and technical than 'kalevalaic' or 'Kalevala poetry' because it names the oral poetry through its meter in an easily recognisable way (Kallio K et al. 2015a & b). On the other hand, the impression of 'Kalevala-metric poetry' as opposed to 'kalevalaic poetry' can be the opposite in English. In the former, 'Kalevala' is a noun that specifies the epic in a construction equivalent to the phrase 'poetry in the meter of *Kalevala*', which can easily sound derivative (and could equally describe Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha*). In contrast, 'kalevalaic' is an adjectival derivative that may more neutrally indicate 'like or related to *Kalevala*', analogous to corresponding terms such as 'Homeric' and 'eddic'/'eddaic' (similarly named from a work called *Edda* by the medieval Icelander Snorri Sturluson). These latter terms did originate with a sense of 'derivative of' but today, at least in scientific discourse, they are generally understood as categories of traditional poetry that happen to be best known through the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*

or poetry preserved in the *Edda*s. In any case, it is sometimes felt that no terms referring to *Kalevala* are sufficiently neutral owing to the heavy literary, National-Romantic or nationalistic undertones of Lönnrot's epic. Other researchers, however, feel that the current use of the terms relating to *Kalevala* has been made possible by a long and critical research history of the national, National-Romantic and nationalistic trends in the history of folklore studies and of history writing (see e.g. Wilson 1976; Sihvo 1973; Bendix 1997; Valk 2004; 2005; Anttonen 2005; Tarkka 2013): in other words, each time the *Kalevala* and terms related to it have been deconstructed, they could be rebuilt with less of this load, and this has been done so many times that – even if no terms are ever wholly neutral – they can be reasonably applied in scientific discussion.

A practical issue in using terms derived from *Kalevala* for the whole of this poetic tradition is its customary scope of reference and connotations for the poetic form itself. Within the scholarly construction of this poetry into northern and southern branches, Kalevala-terms have often been used to refer only to the northern / North Finnic forms (e.g. Leino 1986: 129). In practice, the context of discussion tends to eliminate any confusion regarding which way the term is being used. On the other hand, extending this term's scope only provides a general term for the broader poetic tradition at the expense of a term for the northern / North Finnic forms, for which it is also practical to have a term. Of course, the relevance of differentiating these branches is dependent on the investigation. If concern is exclusively for formal principles of the poetry, the northern–southern division appears as an artificial, political construct, while actual variation in poetic form seems to progress more fluidly from region to region, as does variation in many singing practices, for which a different northern–southern division is relevant. Conversely, the distinction is relevant for research on epic, incantations and mythology because the North Finnic branch of the tradition exhibits distinct and shared systems of poetry at the textual level that seem to be rooted in historical innovations (Frog 2013b). Although songs, verses and symbolism

also passed through networks of communities across thresholds of linguistic difference, innovations in the northern branch extended to basic symbols and metaphors in the poetry (Ahola et al. 2018: 281–283). When terminology for the poetic form is bound up with, or even used for, the broader poetic system and poems, knowledge and practices associated with it, the northern–southern division can be significant.

A more serious issue, however, is that terms referring to *Kalevala* often carry a normative frame of interpretation. The term 'Kalevala-meter' tends to refer to the most regular, strict forms of this poetry and any description of the 'Kalevala-meter' will normally be in those terms. However, this form of the poetry is found mostly in Russian and Finnish Karelia. It is both used and further regularized by Lönnrot in *Kalevala* and tends to be still more ideally represented in metrical descriptions, but this form is not accurately representative of, for example, the poetic form in southwestern Finland. The terms referring to *Kalevala* implicitly valorize the northern Kalevala-meter, of which forms in Ingria, Estonia and even other parts of Finland become viewed as derivatives. Thus, not only have these Kalevala-based terms been used to refer to northern forms of the common tradition but they also suggest a particular, hegemonic frame of reference for viewing the poetry. Thus, some scholars feel that 'Kalevala-meter' is a useful term for the idealized abstraction of the poetic form as a frame of reference for considering different local and regional variations of the tradition, but should not be used as a general term for these traditions as such (see also Sarv 2015a: 6–7).

In sum, terms related to *Kalevala* have the advantage of recognisability, especially internationally. However, they also carry a lot of historical baggage that compromise their usability in the eyes of some researchers. If Kalevala-based terms are used to refer to all Finnic traditions, we lose the benefit of use for the North Finnic forms of the tradition. In addition, Kalevala-based terms suggest a frame of reference for evaluating different forms in relation to an ideal, which may implicitly devalue and marginalize regional variants.

## Regilaul *and* regivärss

Whereas scholarship on northern forms of the tradition evolved a terminology referring to *Kalevala*, Estonian scholarship has used the terms *regilaul* ['*regi*-song'] and *regivärss* ['*regi*-poem/song']. Both terms derive from emic vocabulary for local oral traditions and have been adopted for public and academic use first by Fr. R. Kreutzwald in the 1840s (Laugaste 1980: 1619). Estonian *regi* and its Finnish and Karelian cognate *reki* mean 'sleigh, sledge', but the element *regi-* in these compounds derives from a Low German term for secular or dance songs (*SSA* III: 63, *s.v.* 'rekilaulu'). The original emic terms for *värss* in the cognate *regivärss* were *virsud* and *versid*, which have common root with Finnish word *virsi* 'poem', 'song', not with latin *verse*. *Regilaul* and *regivärss* are now established and considered unproblematic in Estonian. In recent decades, they have also begun to be used also in English language scholarship, where '*regivärss* meter' and '*regilaul* meter' are also both used when making explicit reference to the meter. For a Finnish reader, however, *regilaul* is easily confused with Finnish *rekilaulu*: *rekilaulu* seems to be a loan adaptation of Estonian *regivärss* (*SSA* III: 63, *s.v.* 'rekilaulu'), but now refers to a certain type of rhymed stanza that is very far from the common Finnic unrhymed, non-stanzaic tetrameter (Asplund 2006). This makes the Estonian term problematic in a Finnish language context, although it works fine in English and Estonian.

*Regilaul* and *regivärss* can operate as generally inclusive terms in Estonian for Estonian, Finnish, Karelian and Ingrian traditions, although Seto songs are perceived as different and most often called Seto *leelo* ['songs']. In English, the words' scope has been structured in scope to refer to Estonian and Seto forms of the poetic tradition in contrast to those designated through terms derived from *Kalevala* (cf. Sarv 2015a). In this respect, these terms carry many of the same issues as Kalevala-terms regarding the scope of reference, although they are more neutral in their other connotations.

### *Terms Based on* **runo**

Many terms linked to this poetry and especially its northern forms incorporate the Finnish and Karelian word *runo*. *Runo* was an emic term for 'traditional poem, song' as well as having an archaic meaning of 'performer of poetry; sorcerer (*tietäjä*)',[19] with rare use in a Karelian dialect to refer to a (stringed) musical instrument.[20] From the 17th century on, *runo* appears to have been used to denote the traditional Finnish poem in Latin (*runa*, *runo*), but was mainly used in various compounds for the same in Finnish (*runo-nuotti* [lit. '*runo*-note', 'runo-melody']) and Swedish (*Runewijsor* [lit. '*runo*-songs']) (see Melander 1928–1941 I: 11–14; Niinimäki 2007: 307; Siikala 2012: 24). During the 18th century, the plain term *runo* mostly refers to poems in traditional Finnish meter (although in the literary uses of the 17th and 18th centuries, it was common to add rhymes to such verses, on which see Kallio K 2015).[21] Terms based on *runo* lack the sort of baggage of Kalevala-terms, but, like most Finnish terms relating to old oral traditions, they have accumulated new meanings across the centuries. *Runo* is now the modern Finnish word for 'poem' in any poetic meter. Already in the first Finnish hymnal (1583), Jacobus Finno used the term *runo* and *runoja* indescriminately of pagan, Biblical and Christian poets (Lehtonen 1916: 199–200). In 1642, the first Finnish Bible mostly uses other terms (*wirsi*, *weisu*, *laulu*), but, in the apocryphal book of Tobias also *runo* is used for Hebraic poems (VKK Biblia B1-Tob-e:0-501a20; VKK FinnoVk-e-3a, 5a.). In oral language, *virsi* ['poem, song'] denoted a poem or song in the traditional alliterative meter, but it was then taken to refer to Lutheran hymns, which is how it is understood in contemporary language today. The term *runo* does have a connection to traditional local terms, but it also has a history of four hundred years in the discourse surrounding the tradition and in various literary uses.

The adaptation of *runo* into Estonian has been relatively straightforward, but adaptations of *runo* into other languages come with a different set of problematic associations. *Runo* does not belong to a common Finnic vocabulary and was borrowed from Finnish into Estonian, presumably in connection with the discourse surrounding *Kalevala* and related publications. As such, it is used to refer to traditional poems and has been used in Estonian scholarship to refer to the common Finnic form (e.g. Tedre 2015 [1989/1996]) and also more specifically to Northern Finnic forms (e.g. Särg 2005: 13). Difficulties arise in English and other Germanic languages where it has been common to translate *runo* etymologically. The word *runo* derives from an early Germanic loan, relating it to Old Norse *rún* ['unit of mythic knowledge, charm; letter of the runic alphabet'][22] (the word *runo* was also sometimes used in 17th-century literary Finnish for the runic alphabet: VKK As1667b-A2a). It has thus been translated into English as 'rune' or 'runic' and with corresponding terms in other Germanic languages, but these translations have been gradually devalued because of their misleading primary association with the Scandinavian runic alphabet and, by extension, with Old Norse poetry. Quite recently, the Finnish and Karelian term *runo* has been taken directly into discussions in English, which alleviates this issue.

In Finnish scholarship of recent years, the terms *runolaulu* ['runo-song'] and *runolaulaja* ['runo-singer'] have been favoured as neutral and viable terms for addressing the Finnic alliterative poetry tradition. These terms have spread into both Estonian and English use. In Finland, the term *runolaulu* ['poem-song'] is popular especially among researchers and performers who want to emphasise the oral, performed and musical character of traditional oral poetry (e.g. Laitinen 2006; Heinonen 2007; Huttu-Hiltunen 2008; Pulkkinen 2010; Haapoja 2013; see also Lippus 1995). *Laulu*, a common Finnic word for 'song' (Est. *laul*), has referred and still refers to the aural, musical quality of the poem, although it does not specify the metrical system being used. Foregrounding the performative nature of the poetry has been an important counterpoint to the long history of viewing the poetry as literary text, a paradigm that some feel is embedded in Kalevala-based terms. The Finnish term *runolaulumitta* ['runo-song meter'] is a recent innovation in the same vein, used mostly by those emphasising the musical or performance aspect of the tradition (e.g. Huttu-Hiltunen 2010; Pulkkinen 2010). The

family of *runolaulu*-based terms have been thought to hold promise for breaking away from the limitations of many other terms discussed above – or at least from their baggage of associations and implications.

The term *runo(n)laulu* ['runo-song'] has been used here and there in literary contexts to mean the traditional Finnish poetry from the first dictionary with Finnish words onward (Schroderus 1941, 40: "Poema. Dicht. die Erdichtung. Runoin laulu."). Antti Lizelius, vicar in western Finland, used the term *runolaulu* when narrating the ancient pagan history of his parish Mynämäki in 1780. However, the terms *runo(n)laulu* or *runo(n)laulaja* are not found in the 18th century dictionary by Christian Ganander (1997), nor in the poems of *SKVR*-corpus of Finnic oral poetry – except for one short manuscript by Elias Lönnrot without any contextual or geographical information.[23] Nevertheless, in the contextual information of the *SKVR*, edited in early 20th century, both the terms *runo(n)laulaja* and *runo(n)laulu* are used, and in the newspapers at least from 1823 on, the terms are common.[24] On the other hand, the term *runoniekka* ['poet, versifier'] appears both in the 19th century dictionary and in some oral-like verses and contextualizing information in *SKVR* (Ganander 1997: 813, #21650; *SKVR* VI$_1$ 813; XII$_2$ 6876; XIII$_3$ 9000). It may be that *runo(n)laulaja* ['singer of *runo*s'] was a term coined by 18th and 19th century scholars to refer to the singer of a traditional poems.

*Runolaulu* has a long scholarly history, and it might also have been a vernacular (emic) term. Nevertheless, as the term has, during recent decades, been spreading into more commonplace popular uses (in contemporary newspapers, for example, *runo(n)laulu* is used for any kind of poetry that is performed as song), the term often needs some sort of qualification to distinguish reference to traditional alliterative oral poetry in the tetrameter (e.g. 'Kalevala-metric' or 'traditional Finnic' *runolaulu*). However, these issues are limited to Finnish language use. The ambiguities are escaped in Estonian, where the term *runo* was borrowed early in connection with the traditional poetry, but at present it is not clear that the use of the term in Estonian will be extended to the common Finnic tradition or mainly to refer more narrowly to Finnish, Karelian and Ingrian

traditions. The rather new English translation of this term as 'runo-song/runosong', which retains rather than translates the first part of the compound, is quite specific and clear. The term is readily applied to the common Finnic tradition as a viable means of avoiding any political or ideological connotations of terms based on *Kalevala*. (See Knuuttila et al. 2010; Sarv 2015a; Siikala & Vakimo 1994; see also Kallio K et al. 2015a–b.)

One criticism against the terms with explicit reference to 'song' or 'singing' is that there were also genres performed primarily within conversational speech (e.g. proverbs) or recitation (e.g. some incantations and poems for children). Terms referencing 'song' or 'singing' thus bring particular forms of the tradition into focus with a consequence of marginalizing others. Pekka Huttu-Hiltunen (e.g. 2015) has been a vocal advocate for the terms *runolaulu* and its equivalent 'runosong'. He has recently called on a quotation from Karl Reichl that "singing makes the rule" of meter,[25] arguing that even if some forms of the poetry were not sung, the poetic form has been fundamentally structured by singing practice also for these genres. It is justifiable to claim that, as far as we know, the major part of this traditional Finnic poetry was used as sung poetry, although the interactions of different performance modes on meter remains uncertain. We should also be cautious about oversimplifying those relationships just as we should be cautious about presuming the meter to operate more consistently across genres than it necessarily did. For example, alliteration in metrical proverbs, which were commonly used in conversational discourse, tends to occur at the beginning rather than at the end of the line and, unlike in longer poetic genres, is preferred on particular syntactic elements (Leino 1970: 132–137, 186).[26] Metrical features operate in distinct ways in this genre, presumably connected with how proverbs are used.

Connecting *runo* with 'song' and 'singing' carries connotations for how the resulting terms are understood in our cultures today. In a technical sense, it is accurate to say that "[o]ral poetry is as a rule sung poetry" (Reichl 2012: 9). However, the potentially monotonous repeating rhythmic intonational patterns of much 'sung' oral poetry does not necessarily

align with the what is called 'singing' in many Western languages today, where even melodically rich rap is not called 'singing' (or even 'chanting').[27] Terms based on *runo* offer valuable alternatives to terms already discussed, but they are not without their own connotations that incline towards generalizations with a different emphasis.

### Description-Based Terms

Another possible means of designating this collective Finnic tradition is to use or coin a general descriptive term based on the identification of characteristic features of the poetry. Features that have been or may be used include terms for the linguistic area, language or language group, such as 'Finnic', 'Estonian', 'Karelian', 'Ingrian', 'Finnish', 'Northwest Estonian', 'Seto', etc. Such terms may point to the traditional or shared nature of the poetry as 'traditional', 'common', 'folk', identify its medium of transmission as 'oral', or indicate its presumed age as 'old' or 'ancient'. Such terms may also distinguish one or more metrical or poetic features, such as 'tetrametric', 'trochaic' or 'alliterative'. These terms, like 'Kalevala-meter' or 'kalevalaic', qualify a noun for a general phenomenon such as 'poetry', 'poem', 'meter' (or 'tetrameter'), (song/singing) 'culture', and so on. Like other terms here, these ways of talking about the poetry are based on bringing certain features into primary focus as opposed to others.

### Language and Geography

The descriptor 'Finnic' appears uncontroversial: the poetic system is generally accepted as a common Finnic linguistic heritage even if it is not attested in all Finnic languages. Such a descriptor can be calibrated to a particular study according to language or cultural group (e.g. 'Karelian', 'Seto'), dialect or dialect group (e.g. 'Viena Karelian', 'Saaremaa Estonian', 'Western Finnish'), or according to geographical space (e.g. 'Ingrian' / 'of Ingria'). Such descriptors only become potentially controversial where they generalize from one national or ethnic group to encompass and thereby marginalize others, such as using 'Finnish' as inclusive of Karelian and Ižorian (a language of Ingria).

### 'Folk', 'Traditional', 'Oral'

Descriptors referring to the traditional or shared nature of the poetic system each carry their own connotations and associations (e.g. 'folk', 'traditional') and ambiguities (e.g. 'common', 'shared'), which also extend to the many connotations of 'oral' as a medium of social transmission. Actually, in Finnish and Estonian, the general terms *kansanperinne* [Fi. 'folklore, folk tradition'], *kansanlaulu* [Fi. 'folksong'], *rahvalaul* [Est. 'folksong'], *rahvaluule* [Est. 'folk poetry'] and so forth are rather common, and often used in combination with various adjectives mentioned above. There have been long international discussions on such terms and concepts and the loads they carry (see e.g. Dundes 1980; Finnegan 2003). In Finnish and Estonian, the use of terms incorporating the element 'folk' retain established, although also problematized, positions in scientific discourse (see e.g. Laitinen 2013). The debate surrounding the term 'folk' has left it quite marked especially in English, in which some scholars now tend to avoid it and prefer terms like 'traditional', 'vernacular' and 'oral'. Nevertheless, the discussions on these terms have made them all viable for describing the Finnic poetry addressed here.

### 'Old', 'Ancient', 'Archaic', 'Inherited', 'Indigenous'

Somewhat more problematic are terms designating the age of the phenomena ('old', 'ancient', 'archaic'). The attribute 'ancient' in particular easily gets associated with the most declamatory interpretations of a great national past, carrying much of the same baggage as terms derived from *Kalevala* above. The same is true of referring to the poetry as 'inherited', which is comparable to calling the poetry 'Finnic' but characterizes it as heritage with all that that implies.

Denoting the age of the poems connects to an earlier emphasis on tracing and reconstructing their origins within a discourse of authenticity and heritage construction (see also Bendix 1998; Valk 2005). There was a radical paradigm shift in the second half of the 20th century that rejected the investigation of diachronic continuity to focus on the living tradition and its variation which had until then been marginalized and devalued (see e.g. Honko 2000). The new focus brought valid

methodological criticisms but also stigmatized diachronic investigation with great scepticism concerning any claims about the history of traditions prior to empirical evidence (see also Frog 2013a). The earliest sources are from the 16th century and the evidence remains very limited until the 19th century (see Sarajas 1956; Häkkinen 2013).[28] Variation is fundamental to oral tradition and has even been considered a defining characteristic (e.g. Honko 2013 [1991]: 36). In local cultures, new poems, themes, and variations of these were continuously being created: some themes and formulas have deep historical roots while others were contemporary creations.[29] Thus, very little can be said about exactly what genres, poems, themes, verses and songs were in use even five hundred years ago, and what little can be said remains in quite general terms (e.g. Siikala 2002a; Frog 2013b; Ahola et al. 2018). Referring to these traditions through their great age is thus neither unproblematic nor neutral. Even if there is general scholarly consensus that the poetic system has been in use for a millennium or more, many scholars feel that attributions of great age remain highly controversial and identified with outdated approaches. The controversy is exacerbated by the tendency to conflate ideas about age of the poetic system or certain poetic themes with the age of individual poems themselves.

In Finnish scholarship, some terms referring to the age of the poetry have a long-established place in the discourse (e.g. Häkkinen 2013). In fact, a scholarly distinction is often made between 'old folk poetry/poems' (poems in Kalevala-meter) and 'new folk songs' (rhymed and stanzaic songs). This is based on what we know of the history of alliterative and rhymed poetries in Finnic languages. It seems probable that the Finnic poetic form in focus here was the commonly used poetic medium in the Finnic cultural areas where it was documented up until the 18th century, and in many places well into the 19th century. Rhymed songs are thought to have been developed in various oral and literary forms on the basis of mostly German, Scandinavian and Russian models beginning from not later than the 16th or 17th century. (See Leino 1986; Asplund 1997; 2006; Rüütel 2012 [1969]; Kallio K 2015.) Within the discussion of folklore research,

terms of relative age are therefore well understood. However, the difference between them is not always easily recognized in popular use.

These terms also have value-laden tones in 'old'–'new' oppositions. These descriptions confer both aesthetic and ideological priority and weight to the 'old' poems (see also Saarlo 2008), which correlate with 'inherited' as opposed to 'borrowed' traditions. These value-laden oppositions have in fact had a negative impact in a long line of definitions of the poetic phenomenon. At the end of the 18th century, when the professor of rhetoric Henrik Gabriel Porthan defined the poetic limits and most important areas of Finnish traditional poetry, he founded the beginning of a long history of learned interest in mythological and heroic epic in classical Kalevala-meter. This valorization of certain poetic forms and genres meant that others were regarded as more recent or commonplace and thus did not receive much attention either in the collection of folklore or in research. As a consequence, scholarly models of metrics and poetics have neglected the lyrical, personal, improvisatory or everyday poetic genres, and the non-canonical poetic forms near or even outside the limits of the tetrameter proper have similarly been dismissed or ignored. In recent decades, several researchers have deconstructed the historical context of the relative valorization of particular genres and poetic forms (e.g. Gröndahl 1997; Timonen 2004; Jaago 2008; Sarv 2008a; Kalkun 2011; Stepanova 2014). Nevertheless, terms distinguishing the poetic form according to its age or explicitly as a common heritage seem still to be bound up with quite subtle loads.

*Metrical or Poetic Features*
Simply calling the poems or poetic system 'Finnic traditional poetry' or 'old Finnic folk poetry' may be viable and effective, but these terms also remain ambiguous. However pervasive this poetic system may have been, it seems to have existed alongside the distinct system associated with laments that was equally organized on principles of alliteration and parallelism although lacking a periodic meter. Even though rhymed poetries do not share the same age extending to a common Finnic heritage, these have also been acculturated across the centuries. Terms such

as 'traditional', 'folk', 'old', and so forth are no less applicable to them. The ambiguity of terms like 'Finnic traditional poetry' can be resolved through reference to one or more features of the poetic form.

There are several features of the poetry that might be foregrounded in developing terms to refer to it. The most conservative form of the meter has been described as trochaic or syllabic. If trochaic is understood as the alternation between strong and weak verse positions and syllabic is considered not as a single syllable per position but in terms of clear conventions ('rules') for how syllables fill verse positions (as reflected in performance), then being trochaic and syllabic are almost the only common features uniting the local forms of this meter across the whole tradition area. However, it has already been stressed above that these characteristics are not generally representative of the broader Finnic tradition. Conventions governing the placement of long and short stressed syllables are generally distinctive of the poetic form, but a single, practical term for this metrical feature is lacking and the conventions also exhibit great variation across different singing areas. Organizing principles of alliteration and parallelism are both shared by the poetics of lament poetry. Referring to the poetry as 'alliterative' is quite common and highlights a key characteristic for someone not familiar with it. Although alliteration does not distinguish this poetry from lament poetry *per se*, it presents a neutral formal distinction from many other poetries that might equally be described as 'traditional' and 'old'. 'Alliterative' is a widely used term in labelling the poetic form, presumably in part owing to international use of metrical features in labelling poetic forms. However, this term can also be seen as problematic in its connotations: calling the poetic form 'alliterative', especially in combination with metrical terms (e.g. 'alliterative tetrameter'), suggests that alliteration is metrical, which, technically, it is not; alliteration has no formal link to the metrical template nor is it required in every line. Parallelism is not technically a metrical feature nor is it usually incorporated into a term for the poetry but rather appended to it (e.g. 'characterized by parallelism'). The most

general feature which sets this poetry apart from lament is the tetrameter, which seems neutral both as a technical designation and because it can be generally considered an organizing principle at the base of the many diverse forms of this poetry. However, at least in the North Finnic areas, most rhymed poetry from *rekilaulu* and *tsastuska* to ballads, metrical literary poetry, modern rock and rap is also tetrametric, so this term is also not without ambiguity.[30] Of the various compositional features, only 'alliterative' and 'tetrametric' seem generally representative, although neither is unambiguous alone. Used in combination to describe poetry in the tetrameter as alliterative, but leads to the inference that alliteration is a metrical feature, and thus their combination may be viewed as misrepresentative.

Referring to the poetry through its metrical features has the advantage of being more neutral than other ways reviewed above. In addition, when these features are combined with the linguistic distinction as 'Finnic', terms like 'folk', 'traditional', 'old', 'inherited', 'oral' and so forth all become unnecessary because there is only one 'Finnic alliterative tetrameter' in the sense of a tetrametric form characterized by alliteration shared among Finnic groups. The linguistic descriptor remains relevant to distinguish it from the corresponding 'alliterative tetrameter' of Germanic languages,[31] where, however, alliteration is metrical, highlighting the problem that the same term for the Finnic poetic form sounds technically inaccurate. In English, the terms 'alliterative tetrameter', where alliteration is a qualifier of the metrical descriptor, might be inverted to 'tetrametric alliterative poetry', where the tetrameter qualifies the alliterative poetry and, technically, avoids the implication that alliteration is metrical *per se*. The problem that people may infer alliteration as metrical in any term linking 'alliterative' and 'tetrameter/-metric' is unavoidable, but 'Finnic tetrametric alliterative poetry' is otherwise unambiguous and potentially effective. In contrast to other terms, however, its technically neutral is offset by being long, sterile and cumbersome, poorly suited for engaging students, enthusiasts and scholars not specialized in working with the poetry. Alternately, 'common Finnic tetrameter' can equally be effective when technical

ambiguity is ignored and 'common' is understood as a euphemistic reference to a common linguistic heritage as opposed to poetic forms that have spread later.

## Overview

The Finnic poetry discussed here is both a distinct, shared phenomenon found across Finnic groups and it also takes a great variety of different forms. There is as yet no single, generally agreed term for designating the tradition as a whole, and it has not been the purpose here to propose any one term above others. Instead, the aim here has been to offer a general overview of the variety of terms and the issues associated with them. This has been done in a way that makes the issues of terminology accessible on an international level with the hope of stimulating more concentrated attention to this issue. This overview has highlighted that the question of terminology is not conducive to a single hegemonic answer; it seems to be dependent on language, context or situation, and also on national scholarships.

Terms derived from *Kalevala* carry huge amounts of baggage especially for Finnish scholars. These terms have the advantage of both international and popular recognisability, but they also tend to be suggestive of quite a specific, regionally-centered form of the tradition and an ideal, rule-based conception of the meter (especially in discussions of metrics). They are also associated first and foremost with texts over performance, and especially in popular use lead to mistakenly viewing Lönnrot's *Kalevala* as the exemplar of the traditional poetic form. *Kalevala* based terms have often been used with reference only to the North Finnic forms of the tradition, exclusive of the traditions of Estonia, particularly among Finnish scholars for whom the extended use of the term is politically and ideologically charged. The term has come to be used to refer an ideal model rather than a real tradition in its variability because, through the long history of its use, it was so often connected to normative descriptions of the Kalevala-meter in scholarly and also educational discourse.

The Estonian terms *regilaul* and *regivärss,* widely used in scholarly as well as in common language, are more neutral terms used mostly to denote specifically Estonian tradition, in

Estonian and in English, but they are problematic in Finnish because the cognate *rekilaulu* refers to a quite different form of poetry. In Estonian this is also a feasible term for any branch of or the whole Finnic tradition, together with the reference to different languages or language group. Setos prefer to use their own emic term *leelo* about Seto tradition, accepting though that as a part of common Finnic tradition it may be called *regilaul* as well.

The older Finnish term *runolaulu* and its Estonian (*runolaul*) and English (*runo-song/runosong*) adaptations have gained more popularity in recent years. Like Estonian *regilaul*, these terms point to the poetical-musical tradition as a whole, not segregating texts, melodies and performance. Yet, these terms sometimes turn out to be problematic for describing genres using same poetics that were not sung, like incantations or short forms of folklore. *Runolaulu* also suffers from recent ambiguity in Finnish ('song performance of any poem'), but its adaptations into English and Estonian are semantically clearer. Like the terms referring to *Kalevala*, *runosong* is sometimes used to denote only the Northern branch of the poetic tradition as an extension of its derivation from Finnish tradition and its promotion by Finnish scholars. Thus, the vernacular terms deriving from either Estonian or Finnish/Karelian language and scholarly tradition tend to associate with the specific poetic tradition it comes from (*regilaul* in Estonian and *runsong* or *Kalevala-metric poetry* in Northern Finnic traditions), but with the clear reference to a group in question they can be used for a tradition as a whole or for a more specific branches of it.

One point of contention in terminology is whether terms structured by the division of the tradition into northern and southern forms along the North Finnic linguistic divide should be used at all. The variation in inclusive and exclusive scope of different terms by language foregrounds ways of thinking about Finnic traditions that are rooted in 19th-century constructions of 'Finnish' and 'Estonian' linguistic-ethnic identities as foundations for nationalism. This is quite a serious issue with regard to the analysis of meter, melody and especially other formal aspects of the tradition

and is also relevant to performance practices. For research in these areas, splitting the tradition in two seems a potentially arbitrary modern construct with a misleading terminological implication that there are two, fundamentally different forms or branches of the poetry. Linguistic and national boundaries were clearly permeable and it has never been shown to what degree either of these have structured differences in local traditions. On the other hand, for research with emphasis on language and text or what is performed, and especially research with a diachronic emphasis, there is a relevance and historical validity in distinguishing traditions of the North Finnic language groups. Such a distinction then provides a frame for considering local and regional variation according to contacts, even if the distinction may nevertheless be misleading in terms of poetic form *per se*. The inference that this distinction validates treating all other tradition areas as a coherent group is problematic if only because it homogenizes the traditions of different branches of Finnic language each comparable to North Finnic. This is like saying Old Norse / Scandinavian forms of Old Germanic poetry constitute a valid category so Old English, Old High German and Old Saxon poetries collectively form a second category. For some research there can be a practical advantage to using Kalevala-based terms for North Finnic traditions, *regilaul* as a complementary term for traditions of Estonia and Setomaa, and *runolaulu*/*runolaul*/*runosong* for all of them together. Those advantages do not, however, extend to discussions of the poetic form *per se*, and use of any collective term for non-North-Finnic traditions remains problematic.

A number of descriptive terms are also available, and these help to neutralize implicit thinking according to national, ethnic or linguistic boundaries by making such qualifications conscious and explicit specifications within the broader tradition. Terms relating to the age of the poetry or identifying it as heritage carry similar baggage to Kalevala-based terms. Adjectives like 'traditional', 'oral' and 'folk' each have their own connotations although these have been deconstructed to an extent that they now tend to be viable in the languages considered. The linguistic designation

'Finnic' seems to be neutral while the metrical descriptions as 'tetrametric' and 'alliterative' both seem to be generally representative and neutral. 'Finnic tetrametric alliterative poetry' forms a potentially viable term in English, but the clumsy cascade of syllables limits its utility, and there remains the unavoidable problem that alliteration will be inferred as metrical. 'Common Finnic tetrameter' is more manageable, but not technically without ambiguity.

There seems to be no simple answer concerning which term to use when wishing to refer to this Finnic poetic tradition as a whole. Nevertheless, the consolidation of discussions surrounding the different potential terms in the present review may, perhaps, offer a more substantial frame of reference for reflecting on the topic by not only considering their pros and cons of individual terms, but by looking at various alternatives together. We might also observe that technical ambiguities or inaccuracies and loads of potentially problematic connotations come into focus under detailed scrutiny, but as any phrasal unit becomes established in terminology, its meaning shifts from interpretation of its parts as a composition to a label for what we agree it refers to. Deconstructing and reconstructing potential terminology and its historical or other baggage reshapes the terminology itself. Ultimately, the question of which term to use in a given language has less to do with its semantics and connotations when placed under a magnifying glass than with social consensus, agreed usage in the relevant discourse environment. A reality of terminology is that it changes over time, and it is precisely that we are now in the midst of such changes, renegotiating terms that all seem open to question, that we felt the present discussion was needed.

### Notes

1. In German language scholarship, the term *alt-germanisch* ['old Germanic'] seems to have evolved in the 19th century under the aegis of National Romanticism, and Eduard Sievers' *Altgermanische Metrik* (1893) ['Old Germanic Meter'] was probably a catalyst in its spread. This term became a collective term referencing a common linguistic-cultural heritage for medieval and Iron Age Germanic languages and the people who spoke them. It is now quite well established. The translation of this term is widely used in English to collectively reference the

meter and poetics, but 'Old Germanic' sounds dated and imprecise; also used are 'early Germanic', just 'Germanic' or any of these combined with 'alliterative', and so forth. Joseph Harris' recent title "Old*er* Germanic Poetry" (2012, emphasis added) is symptomatic of a need to reconsider and perhaps rebuild the relevant terminology.

2. On emic terms in Ingria and Karelia, see Timonen 2004: 86–157, 238–303; Kallio K 2013: 166–172; Tarkka 2013: 95–102, 156–158; in Estonia, see Saareste 1955: 28; Oras et al. 2014: 10. No emic terms have cognates used consistently across all languages.

3. On the historically spread ballad form, see e.g. Vargyas 1983; Colbert 1986. Referring to a family of poetic forms through a genre category presents its own sets of problems which are no less complex, but they may vary considerably from one such poetic form to the next and many of those problems are distinct from issues addressed here.

4. The dominant view is that the poetic form derives from a common Finnic heritage (see e.g. Korhonen 1987; 1994; Kuusi 1994; Leino 1994; Helimski 1998: 44–45; Rüütel 1998; Siikala 2012: 438–441). Although some scholars may be sceptical about construing the age of the poetic form, there are currently no substantial arguments for a dating after the breakup of Proto-Finnic.

5. On the diversity of genres and their inter-relations, see e.g. Kuusi 1994; Krikmann 1997: ch. 2.2; Rüütel 1998–1999; Frog & Stepanova 2011; Tarkka 2013; Timonen 2004.

6. For example, Oskar Loorits (1932: 91) considered the Estonian traditions to represent a more archaic poetic on the implicit basis of an idea of cultural evolution from less to greater structure; in contrast, Matti Sadeniemi (1951: 147–149) took the opposite view that the more regular form of the meter is more archaic, and that this has changed especially in Setomaa in relation to historical changes in the language. The question of reconstruction was also a question of heritage, and which nation possessed the more 'authentic' poetry.

7. In the terminology of John Miles Foley (e.g. 1990: 96–106, 178–196).

8. This term has become the basis of reference as *viskurilaki* ['winnower's law'] in Finnish (Kuusi 1952: 242–248) and simplified as *winnowing* in English (Leino 1986: 133–134).

9. The final syllable sometimes appears as an expletive or vocable to accommodate some sort of variation, but this is rare, especially in epic. Right justification is not restricted to metered poetry: all else being equal, a longer or heavier word will often follow a lighter one as in expressions like *death and taxes* or *rhyme and reason*. The difference in kalevalaic poetry is that word length becomes a more significant determinant on word order than conventions of syntax, so word order appears more variable than unmetered discourse. (See further Sadeniemi 1951: 28–39.)

10. Nigel Fabb (2009: 163) implies that this complex constraint is unusual generally for poetry.

11. Description as a 'broken verse' is linked to Matti Sadeniemi's (1951: 27–39) theory of a mandatory caesura between the second and third feet of the line on analogy to Germanic alliterative verse: 'broken verses' have words spanning these positions. However, such verses are so common in Karelia that there is no reason to consider a caesura at all (Leino 1986: 133–134; Frog & Stepanova 2011: 201). They may instead be better viewed as a type of variation that creates aesthetic tension in performance (e.g. Niemi 2016: 29–30).

12. The meter was connected to local forms of speech (Korhonen 1994; Leino 1994; Sarv 2008a). In spoken and dictated forms of poems, the words were often closer to local dialect and, respectively, the lines could easily be shorter or the periodic structure of lines might dissolve, whereas in sung performance, the lines were typically full, their periodic structure more strict, and linguistic forms more archaic (Saarinen 1988: 198–199; Lauerma 2004: 24).

13. Additional differences, such as the percentage of lines with alliteration and type of alliteration may be a more incidental outcome of language change, for example allowing more words with the potential to alliterate within a line.

14. Such ethnocentrism in labelling language families belongs to the era when the term for 'Indo-European' in German scholarship was *indogermanisch* ['Indo-Germanic']. All Finnic groups have been identified, at least at the level of terminology, as essentially 'Finnish' through the earlier term for Finnic languages and peoples, 'Balto-Finnic' or 'Baltic Finnic' based on Lat. *Fennicus*, or simply 'Baltic Finnish', and their equivalents Finnish *itämeren-suomalainen*, and Estonian *läänemeresoomlane* meaning literally 'Baltic Sea Finnish' (Fi. *suomalainen*, Est. *soomlane* ['Finnish']). The current simplified English form *Finnic* is possible because it remains distinct from *Finnish*, which is not the case with Finnish and Estonian terms today.

15. On traditional Finnic poetry and cultural appropriation, see Wilson 1976; see also Haapoja 2013; Hill 2007; Haapoja et al. 2017; this topic is a concern of the current Kone Foundation project "Omistajuus, kieli ja kulttuuriperintö: Kansanrunous-ideologiat Suomen, Karjalan tasavallan ja Viron alueilla" ['Ownership, Language and Cultural Heritage: Ideologies of Folk Poetry in Finland, the Republic of Karelia and Estonia'] (PI Eila Stepanova). Within the framework of Romanticism, such appropriation was part of the general view that *das Volk* preserved parts of an archaic heritage, and that some ethnic groups preserved this heritage for others of the same language (= ethnic) family. Such claims on traditions were thus by no means exclusive to 'Finns': all of the Scandinavian nations laid claim to the mythology, epics and sagas discovered among the Icelanders – as indeed did the Germans and even the British; the common heritage of Germanic religion was largely appropriated from Iceland.

16. The anti-Romantic-Nationalist attitude that became established in the West in the aftermath of World War II did not penetrate Eastern Europe. *Kalevala* is thus not burdened by this more general discourse in Russian Karelia or in Russia more generally.

17. In detail, see Niemi 1898; Kaukonen 1939–1949; 1956; in English, see Pentikäinen 1999; Honko 2002; Järvinen 2010.
18. In Matti Kuusi's (1949) study of more than 700 examples and fragments of the so-called epic Sampo-Cycle (documented with varying aims and degrees of accuracy) around which Lönnrot organized his *Kalevala*, only eight examples exceeded 400 lines, and only an additional eight were 251–400 lines (Kuusi 1949: 22).
19. The sense of 'poem, song' seems to have been general through Finnish and Karelian dialect areas but was not found in the Värmland Finnish dialect of Central Sweden; the sense of 'poet, versifier' is found in the preface to the first Finnish Hymnal; it is found as a parallel term for *laulaja* in traditional poetry in Karelia and Ingria; and in the form *runoi* in Värmland Finnish meaning 'performer of traditional poetry, sorcerer (*tietäjä*)' alongside the verb *runoa* ['to perform sorcery, cast spell a spell, curse'] (*SKES* IV: 863–865, *s.v.* 'runo'; Toivonen 1944:189–190; *SSA* III: 104, *s.v.* 'runo[1]'; *KKS*, *s.v.* 'runo'; Lehtonen 2016).
20. On uses of *runo* for a musical instrument with examples, see *KKS*, *s.v.* 'runo'; cf. also *s.v.* 'kieli' [lit. 'tongue, language'], which has the meaning 'strings (of a musical instrument)' although only indicated for different dialects than this use of *runo*. The history of these semantic and whether these meanings of *runo* and *kieli* are independent or related developments requires detailed investigation.
21. This notion is based on the searches in the corpus of the old literary Finnish language (especially the sub-corpus *Varia*); see also Laitinen 2006: 52.
22. The Finnic form corresponds to a Proto-Scandinavian *\*rūnō* or earlier form (*LägLoS* III: 178, *s.v.* 'runo'). This word seems to have belonged to a common Germanic and Celtic religious vocabulary linked to (secret) council and communication or knowledge that in Germanic came to be used also for the Germanic script or runic (furthark) alphabet. The etymology of word has a long history of debate, recently reviewed by Bernard Mees; forms of the word are attested as Old Norse *rún*, Gothic *rūna* ['secret, mystery; plan, council'], Old High German *rūna* ['whisper, secret'], Old Saxon *rūna* ['council, confidential advice']; in Celtic: Old Irish *rún* ['hidden, occult, mystery, privacy, intimacy, enchantment, charm, virtue, attribute, nature'] with adjectival derivatives in Old Irish, Middle Welsh and potentially preserved in onomastics more widely; Latvian *runa* ['speech, speaking, talking'] is treated as independently derived from Proto-Indo-European (Mees 2014: 527, 520–531 and works there cited). Germanic *\*rūnō* was also used as a (feminine) agentive noun in compounds and may have already been archaic when documented, attested as: Jordanes' use of *haliurunnae* ['death-sorceress'] which he translates *magae* ['sorceress, witch'] (*Getica*, ch. 24); Old English *helerūna* ['death-sorceress'], *būrhrunan* / *burgrūnan* ['Furies; Parcas'], in only one manuscript *leodrūne* ['song-sorceress'], the *hapax legomenon heahrūn* ['high-sorceress, seeress']; Old High German, only in glosses, *liodrūna* ['song-sorceress, witch'], *tōtrūna* ['death-sorceress'], and a non-agentive use of *hellirūna* ['necromancy'] with a masculine derivative *hellirūnāri* ['necromancer']. (See Flowers 1986: 150–153; Macleod & Mees 2006: 5; BTASD, *s.vv.* 'burhrunan', 'heahrun', 'helleruna', 'leódruna'.)
23. Collectors did use these terms in their field notes to refer to singers and songs.
24. The forms *runolaulu/laulaja* are used mostly before 1920s, forms with the genitive *-n- runonlaulu/ laulaja* after that. The contemporary scholarly use has returned to the 19th century form, possibly because of the elevated, romantic and nationalistic uses of the early 20th century. See SKVR-database (www.skvr.fi), searches runolau* and runonlau*; The National Library's digital collections, newspapers (https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/sanomalehti/search?language=en), searches runolaul* and runonlaul*.
25. Huttu-Hiltunen quoted this statement in an oral conference presentation (Huttu-Hiltunen 2015 in the works cited) with reference to a corresponding oral presentation by Reichl: the wording may not be precise.
26. Leino's study of alliteration in proverbs requires reassessment both in terms of the specific parameters whereby a proverb is qualified as metrical, and also to assess whether proverbs embedded within poems of the meter are more metrically consistent and in what tradition regions.
27. At least in the North Finnic branch of the tradition, local (emic) metapragmatic descriptions of sung performance and singing competitions seem to valorize the number of songs and their length with concerns for text organization; descriptions seem to attend to volume and clarity but aesthetic valuations of voice quality and melody of 'singing' are generally lacking, or veiled in metaphor (see e.g. the discussions in Timonen 2000; Siikala 2002b: 33–38; Tarkka 2013: 148–156).
28. Attempts have been made to interpret Novgorod birch bark inscription #292 (apparently a verbal charm in a Finnic idiom) as the earliest example of a Finnic metrical text, but this is highly problematic (Laakso 1999; Frog 2014b: 443–444).
29. See e.g. Harvilahti 1992; 2004; Siikala 2002a; Merilai 2006; Kalkun 2011. Some types of folklore might even move in and out of the poetic form over time, on which see e.g. Kuusi 1954; Rausmaa 1964; 1968.
30. Heikki Laitinen's (2006) proposal of *kahdeksan-tavumitta* ['octosyllabiv meter'] as a term for the metrical form faces a similar issue of non-specificity, even if it may work effectively as a term when its referent is contextually transparent.
31. Some Germanic metricists would object to description as a tetrameter since the meter in most languages allows hypermetric lines with a fifth foot.

## *Works Cited*
### *Abbreviations*

BTASD – *Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. Available at: http://www.bosworthtoller.com/.
ERA-database. Eesti regilaulude andmebaas – Estonian Runic Songs' Database. Available at: http://www.folklore.ee/regilaul/andmebaas.

*KKS – Karjalan Kielen Sanakirja*. Available at: http://kaino.kotus.fi/cgi-bin/kks/kks_etusivu.cgi.

*LägLoS* – Kylstra, A.D., et al. 1991–2012. *Lexikon der älteren germanischen Lehnwörter in den ostsee-finnischen Sprachen* I–III. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

SKS: Suomalaisen Kirkallisuuden Seura / Finnish Literature Society

*SKVR*: *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot* I-XV. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1908–1948, 1997.

SKVR-database. Avalable at: www.skvr.fi.

*SSA*: *Suomen sanojen alkuperä: Etymologinen sanakirja* I–III. Helsinki: SKS, 1992–2000.

VVK: Corpus of Old Literary Finnish. KOTUS. (sub-collections Biblia, Virsikirjoja/Finnon virsikirja, Laki- ja asetustekstejä/1600-luvun asetustekstejä). Available at: http://kaino.kotus.fi/korpus/vks/meta/vks_coll_rdf.xml.

## Literature

Ahola, Joonas, Frog & Clive Tolley. 2014. "Vikings in Finland? – Closing Considerations on the Viking Age in Finland". In *Fibula, Fabula, Fact – The Viking Age in Finland*. Ed. Joonas Ahola & Frog with Clive Tolley. Helsinki: SKS. Pp. 485–501.

Ahola, Joonas, Frog & Ville Laakso. 2018 (forthcoming). "The Roles and Perceptions of Raptors in Iron Age and Medieval Finno-Karelian Cultures through *c.* AD 1500". In *Raptor and Human: Falconry and Bird Symbolism throughout the Millennia on a Global Scale*. Ed. Oliver Grimm. Wachholz: Neumünster.

Anderson, Walter. 1935. *Studien zur Wortsilbenstatistik der älteren estnischen Volkslieder*. Tartu: University of Tartu.

Anttonen, Pertti. 1994. "Ethnopoetic Analysis and Finnish Oral Verse". In *Songs beyond the Kalevala: Transformations of Oral Poetry*. Ed. Anna-Leena Siikala & Sinikka Vakimo. Helsinki: SKS. Pp. 113–137.

Anttonen, Pertti J. 2005. *Tradition through Modernity: Postmodernism and the Nation-State in Folklore Scholarship*. Helsinki: SKS.

Asplund, Anneli. 1997. "Murros, muutos ja mitta: metriikan, rakenteen ja sisällön välisistä suhteista suomalaisissa kansanlauluissa". Unpublished licentiate thesis. University of Helsinki, Department of Cultural Research, Folklore Studies. S-sarja / Helsingin yliopisto, folkloristiikan laitos, 459, I–II.

Asplund, Anneli. 2006. "Runolaulusta rekilauluun: Kansanlaulun murros". In *Suomen musiikin historia 8: Kansanmusiikki*. Ed. Anneli Asplund, Petri Hoppu, Heikki Laitinen, Timo Leisiö, Hannu Saha & Simo Westerholm. Helsinki: Werner Söderström. Pp. 108–159.

Bendix, Regina. 1997. *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies*. Madison (WI): University of Wisconsin Press.

Colbert, David. 1989. *The Birth of the Ballad: The Scandinavian Medieval Genre*. Stockholm: Svenskt Visarkiv.

Dundes, Alan. 1980. *Interpreting Folklore*. Blooington: Indiana University Press.

Fabb, Nigel. 2009. "Formal Interactions in Poetic Meter". In Versatility in Versification. Ed. Tonya Kim Dewey & Frog. New York: Peter Lang. Pp. 147–165.

Finnegan, Ruth. 2003 [1992]. *Oral Traditions and the Verbal Arts: A Guide to Research Practices*. London: Routledge.

Flowers, Stephen E. 1986. *Runes and Magic: Magical Formulaic Elements in the Older Runic Traditions*. Peter Lang: Frankfurt am Main.

Foley, John Miles. 1990. *Traditional Oral Epic: The Odyssey, Beowulf, and the Serbo-Croation Return Song*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Foley, John Miles. 1996. "*Guslar* and *Aoidos*: Traditional Register in South Slavic and Homeric Epic". *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 126: 11‑41.

Frog. 2013a. "Revisiting the Historical-Geographic Method(s)". *RMN Newsletter* 7: 18–34.

Frog. 2013b. "Shamans, Christians, and Things in between: From Finnic–Germanic Contacts to the Conversion of Karelia". In *Conversions: Looking for Ideological Change in the Early Middle Ages*. Ed. Leszek Słupecki & Rudolf Simek. Vienna: Fassbaender. Pp. 53–98.

Frog. 2014a. "Degrees of Well-Formedness: The Formula Principle in the Analysis of Oral-Poetic Meters". *RMN Newsletter* 8: 68–70.

Frog. 2014b. "Myth, Mythological Thinking and the Viking Age in Finland". In *Fibula, Fabula, Fact – The Viking Age in Finland*. Ed. Joonas Ahola & Frog with Clive Tolley. Helsinki: SKS. Pp. 437–482.

Frog. 2015. "Registers of Oral Poetry". In *Registers of Communication*. Ed. Asif Agha & Frog. Helsinki: SKS. Pp. 77–104.

Frog & Eila Stepanova. 2011. "Alliteration in (Balto-) Finnic Languages". In *Alliteration in Culture*. Ed. Jonathan Roper. Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan. Pp. 195–218.

Ganander, Christfrid. 1997. *Nytt finskt lexicon*. Ed. Nuutinen, Liisa. Helsinki: SKS.

Gröndahl, Satu M. 1997. *Den ofullkomliga traditionen: bilden av Ingermanlands kvinnliga runotraditionen*. Uppsala: Universitas Upsaliensis.

Haapoja, Heidi. 2013. "'Jatkuvassa liikkeessä on myös koko kalevalainen perintömme': Nykyrunolauluun liittyvät puheen tavat suomalaisissa medioissa". *Elore* 20/2: 10–32.

Haapoja, Heidi, Eila Stepanova & Lotte Tarkka. 2017 (in press). "The *Kalevala*'s Languages: Receptions, Myths, and Ideologies". *Journal of Finnish Studies*.

Häkkinen, Kaisa. 2013. "Kansanrunouden aineksia vanhimmassa suomalaisessa kirjallisuudessa". In *Viisas matkassa, vara laukussa: Näkökulmia kansanperinteen tutkimukseen*. Ed. Tuomas Hovi, Kirsi Hänninen, Merja Leppälahti & Maria Vasenkari. Turku: Turun Yliopisto. Pp. 56–75.

Harris, Joseph. 2012. "Older Germanic Poetry". In *Medieval Oral Literature*. Ed. Karl Reichl. Berlin: De Greyter. Pp. 253–278.

Harvilahti, Lauri. 1992. "The Production of Finnish Epic Poetry: Fixed Wholes or Creative Compositions?". *Oral Tradition* 7(1): 87‑101.

Harvilahti, Lauri. 2004. "Vakiojaksot ja muuntelu kalevalaisessa epiikassa". In *Kalevala ja laulettu runo*. Ed. Anna-Leena Siikala, Lauri Harvilahti & Senni Timonen. Helsinki: SKS. Pp. 194–214.

Harvilahti, Lauri. 2015. "Register in Oral Traditional Phraseology". In *Registers of Communication*. Helsinki: SKS. Pp. 307–321.

Heinonen, Yrjö. 2007. "Runolaulun kaksi elämää: Värttinän Ukkolumen ja inkeriläisen runosävelmän Satoi ukko uutta lunta etnopoeettinen analyysi". *Etnomusikologian vuosikirja* 19: 151–182.

Helimski, Eugen. 1998. *Samojedit ja šamanismi: Viisi luentoa samojedeista, šamanismista ja uralilaisesta kulttuurista*. Ed. Larisa Leisiö & Timo Leisiö. Tampere: Tampereen Yliopisto, Kansanperinteen Laitos.

Hill, Juniper. 2007. "'Global Folk Music' Fusions: The Reification of Transnational Relationships and the Ethics of Cross-Cultural Appropriations in Finnish Contemporary Folk Music". *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 39: 50–83.

Honko, Lauri. 2000. "Thick Corpus and Organic Variation: An Introduction". In *Thick Corpus, Organic Variation and Textuality in Oral Tradition*. Ed. Lauri Honko. Helsinki: SKS. Pp. 3–28.

Honko, Lauri. 2002. "The *Kalevala* as Performance". In *The Kalevala and the World's Traditional Epics*. Ed. Lauri Honko. Helsinki: SKS. Pp. 13–25.

Honko, Lauri. 2013 [1991]. "The Folklore Process". In Lauri Honko, *Theoretical Milestones*. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica. Pp. 29–54.

Hurt, Jakob (ed.). 1875–1886. *Vana kannel: Täieline kogu vanu Eesti rahva lauluzid* I–II. Tartus: Mattiesen.

Hurt, Jakob (ed.). 1904–1907. *Setukeste laulud: Pihkva-Eestlaste vanad rahvalaulud, ühes Räpinä ja Vastseliina lauludega* I–III. Helsingis: SKS.

Huttu-Hiltunen, Pekka. 2008. *Känsivienalainen runolaulu 1900-luvulla: Kuuden runolaulajan laulutyylin kulttuurisensitiivinen musiikkianalyysi*. Kuhmo: Juminkeko.

Huttu-Hiltunen, Pekka. 2010. "Runolaulu, ikivanha laulutapa". In *Kalevalamittaisen runon tulkintoja*. Ed. Seppo Knuuttila, Ulla Piela & Lotte Tarkka. Helsinki: SKS. Pp. 345–352.

Huttu-Hiltunen, Pekka. 2015. "Lauluntutkimuksen peruskysymyksiä ja käsitteitä". Unpublished conference paper presented at Musical Traditions as Local and Global Phenomena: Conceptualizing Tradition and Interpreting Differences, held 7th November 2015 in Kuhmo, Finland.

Jaago, Tiiu. 2008. "Lyric Folk Song of Karuse Parish in West Estonia". In *Singing the Nations: Herder's Legacy*. Ed. D. Bula & S. Rieuwerts. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier. Pp. 199−212.

Järvinen, Irma-Riitta. 2010. *Kalevla Guide*. Helsinki: SKS.

Kalkun, Andreas. 2011. *Seto laul eesti folkloristika ajaloos: Lisandusi representatsiooniloole*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus.

Kallio, Kati. 2013. *Laulamisen tapoja: Esitysareena, rekisteri ja paikallinen laji länsi-inkeriläisessä kalevalamittaisessa runossa*. PhD thesis. eThesis. Helsinki: University of Helsinki. Available at: http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-10-9566-5.

Kallio, Kati. 2015. "Kalevalamitta oppineiden käytössä uuden ajan alun Suomessa". *Elore* 22(1): 1–30. Available at: http://www.elore.fi/1_15_kallio/.

Kallio, Kati, et al. 2015a. "Miten kutsua vanhaa runoa? [How to call the old poetry?] – Vähäisiä lisiä. Kirjoituksia kulttuurista, tutkimuksesta ja kulttuuriperinnöstä". Blog post, 10 October 2017 by Kallio and comments by several writers. Finnish Literature Society. Available at: http://neba.finlit.fi/blogi/miten-kutsua-vanhaa-runoa/ (last accessed 22.1.2016).

Kallio, Kati, et al. 2015b. Discussion under a link (30.10.2015) to Kallio et al. 2015a in Facebook at: https://www.facebook.com/kati.kallio.52 (last accessed 10.1.2016).

Kallio Petri. 2014. "The Diversification of Proto-Finnic". In *Fibula, Fabula, Fact – The Viking Age in Finland*. Ed. Joonas Ahola & Frog with Clive Tolley. Helsinki: SKS. Pp. 155–168.

Kaukonen, Väinö. 1939–1945. *Vanhan Kalevalan kokoonpano* I–II. Helsinki: SKS.

Kaukonen, Väinö. 1956. *Kalevala: Toinen pianos*. Helsinki: SKS.

Knuuttila, Seppo, Ulla Piela & Lotte Tarkka. 2010. "Nykynäkökulmia kalevalamittaisen runon tutkimukseen". In *Kalevalamittaisen runon tulkintoja*. Ed. Seppo Knuuttila, Ulla Piela & Lotte Tarkka. Helsinki: SKS. Pp. 7–12.

Korhonen, Mikko. 1987. "Kalevalamitan varhaishistoriaa." *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 81: 175–191.

Korhonen, Mikko. 1994. "The Early History of the Kalevala Metre". In *Songs beyond the Kalevala: Transformations of Oral Poetry*. Ed. Anna-Leena Siikala & Sinikka Vakimo. Helsinki: SKS. Pp. 75–87.

Krikmann, Arvo. 1997. *Sissevaateid folkloori lühivormidesse* I. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli kirjastus. Available at: http://haldjas.folklore.ee/~kriku/LEX/KATUS.HTM.

Krikmann, Arvo. 2015. "On the Vowel Euphony in Finnic Alliterative Folksongs". *FF Network* 46: 12–17.

Kuusi, Matti. 1949. *Sampo-eepos: Typologinen analyysi*. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.

Kuusi, Matti. 1952. "Kalevalaisen säkeen, säeryhmän ja runon painavoituvuudesta". *Virittäjä* 56(4): 241–261, 351–352.

Kuusi, Matti. 1953. "Kalevalaisen runon alkusointuisuudesta". *Virittäjä* 1953: 198–207.

Kuusi, Matti. 1954. *Sananlaskut ja puheenparret*. Helsinki: SKS.

Kuusi, Matti. 1994. "Questions of Kalevala Meter. What Exactly Did Kalevala Language Signify to Its Users?". In *Songs beyond the Kalevala: Trans-formations of Oral Poetry*. Ed. Anna-Leena Siikala & Sinikka Vakimo. Helsinki: SKS. Pp. 41–55.

Kuusi, Matti, & Ülo Tedre. 1979. "Regivärsilise ja kalevalamõõdulise laulutraditsiooni vahekorrast: Dialoog üle lahe". *Keel ja Kirjandus* 1979(2): 70–78.

Kuusi, Matti, & Ülo Tedre. 1987. "Dialogi Suomen-lahden yli: Viron ja Suomen vanhan runomitan suhteista". In *Viron veräjät: Näkökulmia folkloreen*. Ed. Leea Virtanen. Helsinki: SKS. Pp. 36–50.

Laakso, Johanna. 1999. "Vielä kerran itämerensuomen vanhimmista muistomerkeistä". *Virittäjä* 1999(4): 531–555.

Laakso, Johanna. 2001. "The Finnic Languages". In *The Circum-Baltic Languages: Typology and Contact* I–II. Ed. Östen Dahl & Maria Koptjevskaja-Tamm. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. Vol. I, pp. 179–214.

Laitinen, Heikki. 2006. "Runolaulu" In *Suomen musiikin historia 8: Kansanmusiikki*. Ed. Anneli Asplund et al. Helsinki: WSOY. Pp. 14–79.

Laitinen, Lea. 2013. "Rahvaan käsitehistoria" in *Kynällä kyntäjät: kansan kirjallistuminen 1800-luvun Suomessa*. Eds. Lea Laitinen & Kati Mikkola. Helsinki: SKS. Pp. 55–59.

Lauerma, Petri. 2001. "Larin Parasken metriikasta". *Virittäjä* 1: 44–58.

Lauerma, Petri. 2004. *Larin Parasken epiikan kielellisestä variaatiosta*. Suomi 189. Helsinki: SKS.

Laugaste, Eduard. 1980. "Iseloomustavat eesti regivärsist". *Looming* 11: 1617–1632.

Lehtonen, Tuomas M. S. 2016. Pious Hymns and Devil's Music: Michael Agricola (c. 1507–1557) and Jacobus Finno (c. 1540–1588) on Church Song and Folk Beliefs. In *Re-Forming Texts, Music and Church Art in the Early Modern North*. Eds. Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen & Linda Kaljundi. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. Pp. 179–216.

Leino, Pentti. 1970. *Strukturaalinen alkusointu suomessa: Folklorepohjainen tilastoanalyysi*. Helsinki: SKS.

Leino, Pentti. 1986. *Language and Metre: Metrics and the Metrical System of Finnish*. Helsinki: SKS.

Leino, Pentti. 1994. "The Kalevala Metre and its Development". In *Songs beyond the Kalevala: Transformations of Oral Poetry*. Ed. Anna-Leena Siikala & Sinikka Vakimo. Helsinki: SKS. Pp. 56–74.

Leino, Pentti. 2002 [1975]. "Äidinkieli ja vieras kieli: rahvaanrunouden metriikkaa". In Pentti Leino, *Mittoja, muotoja, merkityksiä*. Helsinki: SKS. Pp. 207–230.

Lippus, Urve. 1995. *Linear Musical Thinking: A Theory of Musical Thinking and the Runic Song Tradition of Baltic-Finnish Peoples*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.

Loorits, Oskar. 1932. *Estnische Volksdichtung und Mythologie*. Tartu: Akadeemiline Kooperatiiv.

MacLeod, Mindy, & Bernard Mees. 2006. *Runic Amulets and Magic Objects*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.

Mees, Bernard. 2014. "The Etymology of *rune*". *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 136(4): 527–537.

Melander, Toini (ed.). 1928–1941, *Suomalaista tilapäärunoutta Ruotsin vallan ajalta* I–II. Helsinki, SKS.

Merilai, Arne. 2006. "Regilaulu ürgsuse müüt: mimesis ja meetrum". In *Regilaul – esitus ja tõlgendus*. Ed. Aado Lindrop. Tartu: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum. Pp. 15–18.

Metslang, Helle. 1978. "Süntaktilisi aspekte Eesti regilaulu värsiparallelismis". Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Tallinn. (Manuscript in the Estonian Literary Museum.)

Niemi A.R. 1898. *Kalevalan kokoonpano I: Runokokous Väinämöisestä*. Helsinki: SKS.

Niemi, A.R. 1922 [1918]. *Vanhan suomalaisen runomitan synnystä*. Suomi IV: 19. Helsinki: SKS.

Niemi, Jarkko. 2016. "Description of Poetic Form as a Tool for Stylistic Analysis of a Traditional Song Performance: A Case of a Western Nenets Narrative Song". *RMN Newsletter* 11: 17–32.

Niinimäki, Pirjo-Liisa. 2007. *"Saa veisata omalla pulskalla nuotillansa": Riimillisen laulun varhaisvaiheet suomalaisissa arkkiveisuissa 1643–1809*. Helsinki: Suomen Etnomusikologinen Seura.

Oras, Janika, Andreas Kalkun & Mari Sarv. 2014. "Regilaulu kohanemine ja kohandajad". In *Regilaulu kohanemine ja kohandajad*. Ed. Janika Oras, Andreas Kalkun & Mari Sarv. Tartu: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseumi Teaduskirjastus. Pp. 9–12.

Pentikäinen, Juha 1999. *Kalevala Mythology*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press.

Piela, Ulla, Seppo Knuuttila & Pekka Laaksonen (eds.). 2008. *Kalevalan kulttuurihistoria*. Helsinki: SKS.

Pulkkinen, Outi. 2010. "Kaksitoista runolaulumatkaa. In *Kalevalamittaisen runon tulkintoja*. Ed. Seppo Knuuttila, Ulla Piela & Lotte Tarkka. Helsinki: SKS. Pp. 319–331.

Põldmäe, Jaak 1978. *Eesti värsiõpetus*. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat.

Rausmaa, Pirkko-Liisa. 1964. *Hiidestä kosinta*. Suomi 110.4. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Rausmaa, Pirkko-Liisa. 1968. "Runo- ja proosamuodon siirtymisilmiöitä". *Kalevalaseuran Vuosikirja* 48: 36–60.

Reichl, Karl. 2012. "Plotting the Map of Medieval Oral Literature". In *Medieval Oral Literature*. Ed. Karl Reichl. Berlin: De Greyter. Pp. 3–67.

Ross, Jaan, & Ilse Lehiste. 2001. *The Temporal Structure of Estonian Runic Songs*. Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Rüütel, Ingrid. 1998. "Estonian Folk Music Layers in the Context of Ethnic Relations". *Folklore* (Tartu) 6. Available at: http://www.folklore.ee/folklore/vol6/ruutel.htm.

Rüütel, Ingrid. 1998–1999. "Varafolkloorsetelt vokaalžanridelt lauluni I–III". *Mäetagused* 8: 80–95; 9: 92–128; 10: 90–105. Available at: http://haldjas.folklore.ee/tagused/nr8/ing.htm, http://haldjas.folklore.ee/tagused/nr9/rtl.htm, and http://haldjas.folklore.ee/tagused/nr10/rtl.htm.

Rüütel, Ingrid. 2012 [1969]. *Eesti uuema rahvalaulu kujunemine*. Tartu: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum.

Saareste, Andrus. 1955. *Petit Atlas des parlers estoniens: Väike eesti murdeatlas*. Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien.

Saarinen, Jukka 1988. *Variaatio Arhippa ja Miihkali Perttusen epiikassa*. Unpublished master's thesis in Folklore studies, University of Helsinki.

Saarinen, Jukka. 2017 (in press). "'Said a Word, Uttered Thus': Structures and Functions of Parallelism in Arhippa Perttunen's Poems". *Oral Tradition* 31/2.

Saarinen, Jukka 2018 (forthcoming). Doctoral dissertation on the poetics of Arhippa Perttunen. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.

Saarlo, Liina. 2008. "Searching for Art and History in Folksongs". In *Singing the Nations: Herder's Legacy*. Ed. Dace Bula & Sigrid Rieuwerts. Trier: WVT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag. Pp. 144−150.

Sadeniemi, Matti. 1951. *Die Metrik des Kalevalaverses*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.

Salminen, Väinö. 1929. *Kertovien runojen historiaa: Inkeri*. Suomi 5.8. Helsinki: SKS.

Sarajas, Annamari. 1956. *Suomen kansanrunouden tuntemus 1500–1700-lukujen kirjallisuudessa*. Porvoo: WSOY.

Särg, Taive. 2005. *Eesti keele prosoodia ning teksti ja viisi seosed regilaulus*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus. Available at: http://hdl.handle.net/10062/551 (last accessed: 15 January 2017).

Sarv, Mari. 1997. "Language and poetic metre in *regilaul*". *Folklore* (Tartu) 7. Available at: https://www.folklore.ee/folklore/vol7/maripar.htm.

Sarv, Mari. 1999. "*Regilaul*: Clearing the Alliterative Haze". *Folklore* (Tartu) 10: 126–140.

Sarv, Mari. 2000: *Regilaul kui poeetiline süsteem.* Eesti Kirjandusmuuseumi Aastaraamat. Tartu.

Sarv, Mari. 2008a. *Loomiseks loodud: regivärsimõõt traditsiooniprotsessis*. Tartu: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum.

Sarv, Mari. 2008b. "Värsimõõt ja hõimutunded: kvantiteedireeglid eesti regilaulus". *Keel ja Kirjandus* 6/2008: 409–420.

Sarv, Mari. 2011a. "Metrical Universals in Oral Poetry". In *Current Trends in Metrical Analysis*. Ed. Christoph Küper. Frankfurt am Main / New York: Peter Lang Verlag. Pp. 329–337.

Sarv, Mari. 2011b. "Possible Foreign Influences on the Estonian *regilaul* Metre: Language or Culture?". In *Frontiers in Comparative Prosody*. Ed. Mihhail Lotman & Maria-Kristiina Lotman. Bern: Peter Lang. Pp. 207–226.

Sarv, Mari. 2015a. "Regional Variation in Folkloric Meter: The Case of Estonian Runosong". *RMN Newsletter* 9: 6−17.

Sarv, Mari. 2015b. "Veel kord regilaulu parallelismist, poeetilisest sünonüümiast ja antonüümiast". *Methis: Studia humaniora Estonica* 16: 27−34. Available at: http://ojs.utlib.ee/index.php/methis/article/view/12451.

Sarv, Mari. 2017. "Towards a Typology of Parallelism in Estonian Poetic Folklore". *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore* 67: 65–92.

Sarv, V. 2000. *Setu itkukultuur*. Tartu: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum Etnomusikoloogia Osakond.

Schroderus, Ericus. 1941 [1637]. *Lexicon latino-scondicum*. Uppsala : Lundequistska bokhandeln.

Sievers, Eduard. 1893. *Altgermanische Metrik*. Halle: Niemeyer.

Sihvo, Hannes. 1973. *Karjalan kuva. Karelianismin taustaa ja vaiheita autonomian aikana.* Helsinki: SKS.

Siikala, Anna-Leena. 1990. "Runolaulun käytäntö ja runoston kehitys". In *Runo, alue, merkitys: Kirjoituksia vanhan kansanrunon alueellisesta muotoutumisesta*. Ed. Pekka Hakamies. Joensuu: Joensuun Yliopiston Monistuskeskus. Pp. 7–28.

Siikala, Anna-Leena. 1994. "Transformations of the Kalevala Epic". In *Songs beyond the Kalevala: Transformations of Oral Poetry*. Ed. Anna-Leena Siikala & Sinikka Vakimo. Helsinki: SKS. Pp. 15–38.

Siikala, Anna-Leena. 2000. "Body, Performance, and Agency in Kalevala Rune-Singing". *Oral Tradition* 15(2), 225–278.

Siikala, Anna-Leena. 2002a. *Mythic Images and Shamanism*. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Siikala, Anna-Leena. 2002b. "The Singer Ideal and the Enrichment of Poetic Culture: Why Did the Ingredients for the Kalevala Come from Viena Karelia?". In *The Kalevala and the World's Traditional Epics*. Ed. Lauri Honko. Helsinki: SKS. Pp. 26–43.

Siikala, Anna-Leena. 2012. *Itämerensuomalaisten mytologia*. Helsinki: SKS.

Siikala, Anna-Leena & Vakimo, Sinikka. 1994. "Preface". In *Songs beyond the Kalevala: Transformations of Oral Poetry*. Ed. Anna-Leena Siikala & Sinikka Vakimo. Helsinki: SKS. Pp. 7–12.

Stepanova, Eila. 2012. "Mythic Elements of Karelian Laments: The Case of *syndyzet* and *spuassuzet*". In *Mythic Discourses: Studies in Uralic Traditions*. Ed. Frog, Anna-Leena Siikala & Eila Stepanova. Helsinki: SKS. Pp. 257–287.

Stepanova, Eila. 2014. *Seesjärveläisten itkijöiden rekisterit: Tutkimus äänellä itkemisen käytänteistä, teemoista ja käsitteistä*. Joensuu: Suomen Kansantietouden Tutkijain Seura.

Steinitz, Wolfgang. 1934. *Der Parallelismus in der finnisch-karelischen Volksdichtung untersucht an den Liedern des karelischen Sangers Arhippa Perttunen*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.

Tarkka, Lotte. 2013. *Songs of the Border People: Genre, Reflexivity, and Performance in Karelian Oral Poetry*. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Tedre, Ülo. 2015 [1989/1996]. "Eesti rahvalaulus toimunud murrangust: Riimilise laulu teke 19. sajandil". *Mäetagused* 61: 111–122.

Timonen, Senni. 2000. "Thick Corpus and a Singer's Poetics". In *Thick Corpus, Organic Variation and Textuality in Oral Tradition*. Ed. Lauri Honko. Helsinki: SKS. Pp. 627–659.

Timonen, Senni. 2004. *Minä, tila, tunne: Näkökulmia kalevalamittaiseen kansanlyriikkaan*. Helsinki: SKS.

Toivonen, Y. H. 1944. *Sanat Puhuvat: Muutamien Sanojen ja Kuvitelmien Historiaa*. Porvoo: Werner Söderström.

Valk, Ülo. 2004. "On the Discursive Foundations of Estonian Folkloristics: A Farmer's Field of Vision". In *Everyday Life and Cultural Patterns: International Festschrift for Elle Vunder*. Ed. E. Kõresaar & A. Leete. Tartu: Tartu University Press. Pp. 265−272.

Valk, Ülo. 2005. "Establishment of the Estonian Folklore Collections and the Concept of Authenticity". In *Volkskundliche Großprojekte: Ihre Geschichte und Zukunft (35−40)*. Ed. C. Schmitt. Münster: Waxmann Verlag GmbH.

Vargyas, Lajos. 1983. *Hungarian Ballads and the European Ballad Tradition* I. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Viitso, Tiit-Rein. 2003. "Rise and Development of the Estonian Language". In *Estonian Language*. Ed. Mati Erelt. Tallinn: Estonian Academy Publishers. Pp. 130–230.

Virtanen, Leea. 1987. "Suomalaisen ja virolaisen kansanrunouden suhteista". In *Viron veräjät: Näkökulmia folkloreen*. Ed. Leea Virtanen. Helsinki: SKS. Pp. 14–34.

Wilson, William Albert. 1976. *Folklore and Nationalism in Modern Finland*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

# Frog, "Linguistic Multiforms in Kalevalaic Epic: Toward a Typology": Some Comments from an Editorial Perspective

Clive Tolley, University of Turku

Frog's article in the previous volume of *RMN Newsletter* offers a detailed analysis of so-called multiforms in some traditional Finnish and Karelian verse; a multiform, to put it crudely, is a formulaic chunk of text that recurs across variants and redactions. Frog considers these units from a structural and variational perspective, and highlights a good many fundamental points about the nature of certain aspects of the verse they occur in. My concern here, however, is not in the least focused on critiquing or commenting on the scholarly contribution Frog makes; instead, it relates to *presentation*, and Frog's article merely serves as a spring-board for some observations on this topic.

In the earlier part of the article, Frog deliberately takes a provocative approach to presenting some examples of oral poetry from the Finnish-Karelian tradition. Recognising the distinction between oral and written verse (but without, in the present context, considering how this distinction operates in other traditions such as the Old Norse – something he will no doubt be considering in further publications), he decides to present five variants of one poem, *The Singing Competition*, in a manner to which scholars of (ostensibly) written, literary texts found in manuscripts, such as classical or Germanic verse, are accustomed, with just one variant being presented as the main text, the others being reduced to notes in the apparatus. The effect of doing this is to show that in certain respects old manuscript poems may be more similar in their development and realisation to oral poems than is sometimes appreciated, and hence to suggest that a greater element of orality may underlie such poems than the tradition of 19th-century scholarship and its successors have argued. This is all to the good.

Unfortunately, moving beyond these basic points into the detail of the poems, and the point of the discussion (the multiforms), for me the presentation just does not work. The multiform and all it entails, and more widely oral poetry in general with its many variants, do not lend themselves to being confined within this sort of straitjacket. As Frog notes, the variants cannot be read without an archaeological excavation and reconstruction from the notes, or else a resort to the *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot*. Hence it becomes impossible to perceive how the variants really differ from each other and how they are related. Among the chief problems with presenting one text with variants noted merely in the apparatus is that it privileges one form over others; this may sometimes be appropriate for medieval manuscripts, though it often is not, but it does not suit oral poetry, and implies a hierarchical valorisation such as may have suited the politics of the 19th century, but is scarcely appropriate today. All this is obvious and well established.

Frog has taken the deliberately question-raising, and challenging, approach of presenting oral poems as if they were medieval manuscript versions, which as it were cedes the ground to the well-established editorial tradition of presenting classical texts. I would argue it is high time, on the contrary, for this antiquated mode of presentation of classical and medieval texts to be brought up to date and made to adhere to something that would also be more fitting for oral poems. Again, this call is hardly trail-blazing; a number of texts have been edited and presented in a manner which obviates the weaknesses of the classical textual-apparatus approach. Yet it is astounding how many editions stick rigidly to the well-worn but outdated pattern.

One of the main reasons for this is the adherence to presentation in traditional printed book form. There is still a place for the physical book. But that place should be shrinking faster than it is, since digital presentation can offer so much more. Often, however, even digital presentation merely mirrors what takes place in a printed book, and fails to realise the potential of the new medium.

My immediate thought – taking into account, in a modest way, the possibilities offered by a digital presention – when attempting to disentangle the multiforms, the smaller variants, the scenes and other overlapping structural elements of Frog's cited example of verse was that these elements could be colour-coded. Reading the article, however, soon revealed just what levels of complexity need to be brought into the discussion, ranging from small-scale alliteration and case endings up to quite large chunks of text. Any system of colour-coding, even with the addition of features such as italics, bold etc., would just leave something more reminiscent of a neon-flushed scene of the hoardings of Las Vegas than an edited text.

Also, and more fundamentally, using features such as colour in this way hard-wires them into the text as presented. In a printed text, *everything* is hard-wired into the presentation, and the same, unfortunately, applies to many digital presentations which simply ape the printed. What digital media offer, however, is the possibility to make a sharp distinction between *content* and *structure* – and making such a distinction is, it should be quite clear, an essential prerequisite to engaging with, and analysing, materials in a scholarly way. Some structural elements may be perceived by the singer of a poem, but most are the constructs or percepts of the scholar; either way, it is essential to distinguish them from content.

There is a well-established method of carrying out this task. SGML (standard generalised mark-up language), with its more sophisticated successor XML (extended mark-up language) and the derivative HTML (hypertext mark-up language, used for coding web pages), has been around for a good while now. Essentially, structure is marked using tags: we might have e.g. <bold:>put this in bold</bold:>, and any number of these tags can be inserted. The beauty of mark-up language is that structure is discrete from form – it forms a collection of metadata: how the tagged material is presented is defined elsewhere, and can be changed, so e.g. everything tagged bold could appear as red, or not be marked at all, according to what is needed in particular circumstances. Thus, in terms of multiforms, an extant body of tagged text could be made to show all examples of, let us say, multiform type 1 (however defined), but not highlight e.g. individual formulae (which could be selected for viewing on a subsequent occasion if desired, without changing anything other than the definition of how specific tags are to appear). If we turn to something like ancient Germanic verse, we can free ourselves from matters like the forced presentation of the verse in lines, which is not original but which contrasts, in the original manuscripts, with Latin verse, which *was* often set out as verse – a distinction that is lost in the printed edition, which must always make an irrevocable choice: the verse can then be set out as it appears in the manuscript, or divided into traditional half-lines, providing this feature is tagged. Of course, the level of complexity, such as is discussed in Frog's article, means that extensive multi-layered tagging is necessary (indeed, as the example on p. 79 of Frog's article shows, down to the inflectional level), but these simple examples illustrate the principles involved.

All this is rather old hat, and it feels almost embarrassing to set it out. Yet I think it is necessary. In my twenty-odd years of working professionally on the preparation of academic texts for publication, one thing that has astonished me is the slow pace of change towards taking advantages of the use of mark-up language in a digital context – though, as noted, a few large-scale projects have exploited the potential. I have raised this matter on a few occasions, without receiving much more than a bewildered and not specially enthusiastic response. One retort is "we don't have the resources for that". This seems on a par with having arrived on a tour of scriptoria around 1500 and suggesting that the future lay with the new technology of printing, allowing, among other things, for swift and cheap reproduction and dissemination of learning, only to be told "we aren't set up for that, so we'll just carry on copying out a few copies a year by hand" – with the result, we might imagine, of a world in which printing was only taken up for popular romances and eschewed by the elite of the scholarly world. The basics of XML can be learnt in a few days, and should be as much a part of the job for those engaged

in areas where it is (or should be) relevant as being able to use a computer. Producing the definition file for the tags and realising their implementation are, however, more complex: but 'not having the resources' is ultimately a matter of their not having been asked for in the first place, and their importance within a forward-looking project not having been emphasised. At least in some fields, enough people able to implement the more programming-oriented side of things are found in research teams to obviate the need to search for outside 'resources', but such personnel should anyway be found in university computing departments or publishing houses (but publishing houses also need to go a lot further to develop away from the unthinking attachment solely to the printed page). For those without access to such resources, it's far from impossible to learn the necessary skills. Even if it proves impossible to implement from the outset a full-scale realisation of the potential offered by the use of mark-up language, the tags would would remain for future digital implementation without additional work later and would in the mean time still function for printing: I spend a good deal of time tagging authors' documents, which involves an analysis of what is actually intended structurally among a random plethora of formatting, as part of the process of typesetting. I reiterate, however, that the opportunities implicit in mark-up language will only be seized to any significant extent when scholars realise their significance and incorporate a demand for their implementation in project-funding applications.

Of course, tagging with XML for anything as complex as the sort of elements presented by Frog takes time and effort, and may seem tedious. Many aspects of research take time and effort and seem tedious, but a vision of what the effort affords ought to be sufficient to motivate the activity. In the case of the discussion of multiforms offered by Frog, the discursive analysis would still be necessary, but a fully tagged corpus of texts would immediately offer primary material that could be searched and assessed in terms of the many elements he presents, rather than the reader having to rely on a few small examples presented in a very limited traditional apparatus-bound format. Detailed tagging enforces a fully disciplined approach: every instance of every element has to be tagged, and this forces the researcher to constantly assess their analysis of the text and the elements it contains, and update it as necessary. Once tagged, endless opportunities for further analysis open up: for example, to pick a simple example, a formula or multiform could be tracked against dialect, or date of performance, or both, as long as these elements are tagged, even if such an analysis was not specifically initially envisaged. Naturally, further research on a corpus of tagged texts would reveal inadequacies in the initial perception of the structural elements, so the basis of analysis would itself naturally be revised: this is characteristic of advancing research, but once a text is tagged, it is obviously a comparatively small matter to revise certain elements, without the need to revise the bulk of the tagging.

The analytical advantages of having a fully tagged text are considerable, perhaps inestimable. Once the appropriate programming is in place – and this is indeed a specialist operation requiring professional input, and therefore needs accounting for in project management – a plethora of presentational and analytical opportunities opens up; we could imagine, for example, a graphical mock three-dimension screen representation of variants along the axes of time and place, with particular multiforms, and elements within those multiforms, highlighted in appropriate manners. It is way past the time to realise that producing digital editions should not mean producing a 19th-century-style apparatus-bound presentation of a text, exactly as in a printed book, and then shoving it onto the internet: yes, there has been progress, but even examples of texts edited with mark-up language do not always go as far as could be envisaged, and more widely, most of the potential seems to me unrealised most of the time – rather than this being a merely technical issue, it is for the creative scholarly imagination to set the bounds of the agenda here. Frog's essay should act as a wake-up call, illustrating, through its detailed presentation of the many complex layers and elements of textual structural analysis, just why we should no longer be bound to 19th-century models of text editing.

# The Concept of Postmortem Retribution: The Surveyor's Soul as *ignis fatuus* (in Lithuanian Material)

Jūratė Šlekonytė, Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore

*Ignis fatuus* is a ghostly light seen by people who travel when it is dark. According to a wide-spread scientific theory, ghostly lights that appear in moist places may be caused by the spontaneous combustion of gases emitted from rotting organic matter. However, people once lacked such scientific knowledge, and so developed certain beliefs about the phenomenon of these ghostly lights. Thus, in traditional beliefs, these lights were considered otherworldly manifestations, opening them to the formation of a peculiar mythic image discussed here as *ignis fatuus*.

Beliefs about *ignis fatuus* [Latin 'foolish fire'] are found worldwide (motif *Ghost-like lights* E530.1 in Thompson 1955–1958). Distinct terms for this phenomenon are found in many languages, including Latvian (*malduguns* ['misleading fire']), Polish (*ogniki* ['lights.DIM']), *świecniki* ['candlesticks'], *świczki* ['candles.DIM'], *błędne ogniki* ['wandering lights.DIM']), Russian (*блуждающие огни* ['wandering lights'], *болотные огни* ['swamp lights'], *бесовские огни* ['devil's lights']), German (*Irrlicht* ['false light'], *Sumpflicht* ['swamp light']), British English (*will-o'-wisp*, *corpse candle*, *jack-o'-lantern*, *friar's lantern*), American English (*spook-lights*, *ghost-lights*), French (*le feu follet* ['foolish fire']), Italian (*fuoco fatuo* ['foolish fire']), and so on. These are only a few examples of a rich body of traditions surrounding the concept of *ignis fatuus*.

Lithuanian terms for it will be introduced and discussed below. The Lithuanian Folklore Archive contains nearly 500 belief legends about *ignis fatuus* from the 19th century to the mid-20th century. However, ideas about this entity continue to be recorded from inhabitants of rural areas. These sources provide the primary material for the present discussion.

The beliefs about *ignis fatuus* form a very broad topic and many of its aspects require further research. In order to introduce the Lithuanian material, this paper briefly presents forms of *ignis fatuus*, explanations of its origin, its relationship to the human environment, and its connection to the otherworld as reflected in Lithuanian traditions. Thereafter the analysis narrows its focus to discuss more thoroughly belief legends in which *ignis fatuus* is treated as a surveyor's soul. The analysis raises questions concerning why people of such a profession must suffer as *ignes fatui*, and how this relates to the postmortem image of the soul: the places of souls' presence, and the paths they wander. Although the phenomenon is conventional in the legend tradition, this paper considers how it appears to have developed at the interface of the belief tradition with historical processes and thus may reflect a social tension from an earlier period.

## Lithuanian *ignis fatuus* Traditions in Overview

In Lithuanian folk belief, this ghost-light figure is a being known as *žiburinis,* a noun derived from the Lithuanian word *žiburys* ['a light; lantern'], and thus referring to the entity's radiance. Sometimes it is called *klystžvakė* ['wandering candle'] or simply *žvakutė* ['candle.DIM'] or *liepsnelė* ['flame.DIM'].

The time when *ignis fatuus* appears is usually restricted to periods when it is dark. The lights are most commonly visible at twilight or at night when the source of the illumination is clearly distinguished from dark surroundings. Sometimes it is associated with a mythic time, such as midnight. Observers of this phenomenon sometimes point out that the lights appear in the autumn. It is possible that such belief extends from natural conditions: natural emissions producing these lights are more common during the autumn period than in other seasons. In addition, autumn is a time when days become shorter and a period of darkness begins to prevail. According to isolated accounts, *ignes fatui* are candle-like

souls that wander during the new moon, or appear more often before rain. Sometimes the emergence of an *ignis fatuus* is treated as an ill omen: it appears before war.

These nocturnal creatures, visible from afar, usually walk in frightful places – i.e. spaces that according to folk beliefs belong to the dead. Most often, a traveller sees *ignes fatui* emerging from a cemetery and they follow him, or they may recede when approached. Sometimes it is stressed that the location is a graveyard for victims of a plague or a cemetery where suicides used to be buried. A traveller may also meet a wandering light at a place where someone committed suicide. The *ignis fatuus* may be seen when a traveller leaves a village or he may simply encounter it on the public road. Nevertheless, there are many variants in which the lights are observed when walking around houses, while the majority of variants situate the sighting of the ghostly light over bogs, swamps, and marshes.

The appearance of *ignis fatuus* can be described in terms of its form, sound and manner of movement. Descriptions of the light's form exhibit certain regular traits that may be grouped into three basic form-types:

1. *Oblong*: a candle or a group of candles (two, three, or five candles), a candle with a human form, a flame or a candle of human height, as tall as a man, a form with a black pole for a body and a flame where the head should be, a green light, a red light, small blue flames, a light like a lantern.

2. *Round*: a ball of fire, a man in a ball of fire, a form like a hat with two stars on it, a light like the circle of a spinning wheel, a form like a bubble with a light burning inside

3. *Anthropomorphic*: a luminous human skeleton, a man with flames coming out from his ribs, a person with a lantern walking around fields

The association of *ignis fatuus* with locations of the dead and its associated anthropomorphic forms correlate the image with a soul. Such an image of the soul expresses the idea of the origin of human life as fire. The close connection of life and fire or light is also found in beliefs about a burning candle that reflects a human lifespan and beliefs about a falling star marking someone's life coming to an end (Racėnaitė 2011: 179–181).

*Ignis fatuus* is identified not only as a flaming figure, but also through its manner of movement. It rolls, goes up and down, or goes bobbing or swinging. While sound is another feature in descriptions of *ignis fatuus*, this element is only found in a rare variant of the narrative tradition, in which it is characterized as cracking, rattling, squeaking, fizzing, or crackling.

According to folk belief, the origin of these blinking lights can be explained in several ways, most of which can be grouped into two broad categories: *a)* scientific interpretation and *b)* identification with the dead. A considerable number of narratives present *ignis fatuus* as the result of swamp gas emission or gas emissions at a cemetery, for instance: *ignis fatuus* is identified as phosphorus emerging from a grave, a ghostly figure is observed as methane gas, or it is said that such flames appear from ore. These explanations appeared at a time when the old tradition and beliefs about the supernatural in the natural environment gradually began to decline under the influence of scientific publications. Armed with rational explanations, some observers have no fear of wandering lights.

Stories about *ignes fatui* as mischievous spirits of the dead make up the other part of narratives. The visible wandering light is treated as a soul that cannot leave this world owing to certain circumstances. Usually these are souls of the unbaptized people who demand to be prayed for or to be baptized. One such category of unbaptized souls is that of spirits of children born out of wedlock that were subsequently killed (usually by way of strangulation). That is why a person who meets an *ignis fatuus* often tries to perform Christian religious actions in order to liberate the wandering soul and to protect himself from its negative influence. Seeing a ghostly light, a man may make the sign of the cross and offer thanks three times, or may say 'Praised be Jesus Christ'. Interestingly, such actions are not fully Christian: when baptizing an *ignis fatuus*, the person cannot say 'Amen'. According to folk beliefs, the souls of unjust individuals, suicides and people who have been murdered also wander through the human environment. It was believed that such souls must perform penance in this way.

There are also some texts where two varieties of *ignes fatui* are distinguished. For example, one informant reports that lights from swamps will do nothing to people, while others are spirits from Hell (LTR 4057/61/).

The *ignis fatuus* is such a frightening entity that confrontation with it sometimes ends unhappily – even when the observer has not done anything disrespectful and simply wanted to see the light. This person usually becomes ill for a long time due to the scare he or she has experienced and he or she may even die.

People who are not afraid of an *ignis fatuus* and shoot at it, beat it or who perform such acts out of fear when accidentally meeting this being are often harshly punished. They may simply be burnt (in the morning people find a body that falls to ashes at the slightest touch), their skin may be badly scorched, they may be blinded or the *ignis fatuus* may burn their home. Thus in such cases the fiery nature of the ghostly light is revealed. However, there are many narratives that describe the *ignis fatuus* as a demonic spirit. Roused to anger, a soul strangles a man, breaks all his bones, squashes him to death, turns a man's legs backwards and he dies, or breaks all his bones and pulls out his tongue.

This brief survey of *ignis fatuus* in Lithuanian traditions shows that this entity was imagined as mysterious and sometimes dangerous. However, there are also some cases where an *ignis fatuus* appears as the souls of someone of a particular profession. It is the much more specific tradition of interpreting an *ignis fatuus* as the soul of a surveyor that will be discussed in the following section.

### A Social-Historical Context

Legends identifying the *ignis fatuus* as a surveyor's soul mostly reflect memories from the era of the independent Lithuanian state (1918–1940), a period when a land reform was implemented. Consequently, a short introduction to the profession of surveyor in Lithuania at that time is relevant as a context and incitement for the rise or development of such an image of the surveyor's soul within the long history of mythic discourse surrounding *ignis fatuus*.

With the declaration of the independence of Lithuania in 1918, a land reform was implemented with the goals of *a*) providing landless people with land, and *b*) parcelling out villages into grange farms in order to improve conditions for farming. Thus efforts were made to conclusively eliminate the heritage of the Wallach reform (16th century) when peasants' land was divided into three fields (used for crop rotation).

The state organized specialists with the goal of implementing the reforms of independent Lithuania. By 1937, more than 300 surveyors worked in Lithuanian territories, enough to support the publication of a magazine where surveyors shared their professional experiences. The work of surveyors was directly connected to the regulation and management of the land's affairs, such as the resolution of technical and juridical questions. This situation demanded a great deal of professional knowledge because when parcelling out villages into grange farms, the plot of a peasant had to be projected onto one lot instead of having several pieces of land that varied in fertility, and a peasant did not want worse than what he or she had owned before. Surveyors' working conditions were difficult: separated from their families, they worked on fields from early spring until late autumn, all the while enduring constant tension with those whose lives their work affected. Land-surveying projects were discussed extensively at village meetings and people were very critical and concerned about mistakes. After all, a family's prosperity depended on the land that was measured. As a result, the work of a successful surveyor not only demanded specialized technical skills but it also required a level of moral authority while demanding that an individual act as a peculiar sort of sociologist, capable of managing the interests of a community.

### Ignis fatuus *as a Surveyor's Soul*

With this social frame of reference, we can turn to the belief legends that interpret the *ignis fatuus* as a surveyor's soul. Folklore in which an *ignis fatuus* is treated as a surveyor's soul constitutes a small number of the total texts about wandering lights. Indeed, there are only twelve examples of this type, mostly from Western Lithuania.

Usually these accounts describe an *ignis fatuus* that is visible when it is dark. They explain the surveyor's appearance as an *ignis fatuus* to be a punishment for incorrect land measurement:

One woman said:

– I have never seen an *ignis fatuus*, I would like to see one.

An *ignis fatuus* came by the window at midnight.

– Well, get up! You wanted to see me, you'll see now.

The woman, scared, looks: a human body – a skeleton and a candle is burning inside it in the place where a heart should be. The woman caught a fright and died.

It is said that if surveyors measure land wrong, then after their deaths they have to perform penance by being the *ignes fatui*. (LTt 4 451.)

According to other explanations *ignes fatui* are souls of surveyors that did not measure land according to law, for example:

People used to say that surveyors who measured land wrong, not according to the law, those souls used to walk after the death... (LTR 3578/207/.)

Or they might say that these were the souls of unjust surveyors, specialists who were bribed:

Surveyors who measured land wrong, were bribed, these are *ignes fatui*. (LTR 4638/285/.)

That is why the appearance of an *ignis fatuus* is sometimes treated as an attempt by a soul to correct his measuring mistakes:

*Ignes fatui* are the souls of dead surveyors. At night they measure incorrect borders anew. (LTR 1167/547a/.)

Wandering lights are the souls of those surveyors who, when they were alive, measured lands wrong; therefore they now measure them anew. (LTR 2633/155/.)

Even after death, the surveyor retains the equipment of his profession:

When a surveyor measures land wrong, he has to measure it anew after his death. He measures with all his instruments and goes with a candle in hand. (LTR 1418/873a/.)

The presence of *ignes fatui* is tied to weather conditions:

People used to say that *ignes fatui* appeared because surveyors measured land wrong: these candles are a punishment. When the weather grows cold, the candles disappear because the surveyors don't measure any more. (LTR 1196/221/.)

In some cases, the souls of surveyors may wander as if presenting a message about unjust land measurement:

I said: 'Mother, *ignes fatui* are wandering here in pastures.' Mother said: 'They may be surveyors.' It was true, surveyors came a few years later. A dead surveyor wanders until living surveyors come. (LTR 3561/12/.)

The profession of surveyor was characterized by the reciprocal distrust of the peasant and of surveyor. This distrust was not without reason – not all surveyors were fair and just. Perhaps a lack of faith in the surveyor's integrity resulted in conditions that produced the image of a dishonest surveyor's soul forced to wander the world after his death. The establishment and circulation of this image may reflect social concerns and tensions surrounding surveyors and their work.

Some locations where surveyors worked correspond to places where *ignes fatui* might be seen, but that in itself does not account for precisely why unjust surveyors have to wander as *ignes fatui* after death rather than a wider range of souls that have committed injustices.

### Boundaries and Souls

Perhaps this association has a deeper cultural basis, particularly in light of beliefs regarding borders (boundaries) of land and their relation to the world of souls. The Lithuanian term *ežia* refers to a strip of land that forms a border or boundary between peasant plots. These were places where, according to folk belief, souls habitually resided. This is clearly reflected in texts of belief legend texts about people who want to sleep on such a boundary at night and are chased away by someone who warns them (or even strikes them). Usually this happens to people who herd at night:

You should never lie on the boundary between two fields. Once several boys rode off to herd horses at night. They hobbled the horses, left one boy to watch over the animals

and prepared to sleep. They all lied down near the boundary that separated the fields, but one boy lied down across the boundary and fell asleep. In his sleep he heard somebody shouting:

– Get up and go away!

He woke up, looked around but seeing nobody and thinking that a watchman called, he fell asleep again. [This happened three times.] When he fell asleep again, somebody hit him on his back and he retreated from the path of souls. There was a small devil. He walks along the borders and if he finds someone then he drives him away. (LTR 452/112/.)

There are many beliefs about paths of souls that usually coincide with land boundaries, places where no one can enter or do certain things. For instance, people could not build their houses on boundaries because of haunting:

A man built a house on a hill by a swamp. Every night was frightful: somebody ran, rumbled with horses around the house. A brave man asked: 'Will you stop running around?' Somebody said: 'Leave this place.' They had to remove the house. A devils' path was there. (LTR 5278/64/.)

Such soul paths developed over a long period with human activities, with the changes in the landscape, and thus, the abrupt alteration of borders can disturb the souls. People usually knew about these places and tried to avoid disturbing the souls' peace. The paths of souls naturally develop between neighbouring cemeteries. It was also believed that souls communicate with one another:

In Panevėžys volost, near Kabeliai, a strip of land, where nothing grows, runs along Priedžiai field from the chapel to Šlikai cemetery. Old people called this place a path of souls. People used to say that souls of the chapel visited souls in the cemetery. (LTR 1204/68/.)

Therefore souls exist in places that in many cases coincide with the boundaries of the land. This seems to be related to archaic burial customs. According to ethnographic data from the 16th century, Lithuanians from rural areas did not have parochial cemeteries and the dead were buried on the land edges of particular villages (Balsys 2006: 237).

The relationship between the souls of the dead and boundary areas has the consequence that changes in land borders affects the places where souls existed and the paths where they walked. Changing borders may have, according to folk beliefs, belonged to the sphere of 'higher' powers. For instance, it was believed that "if when ploughing one breaks a boundary, he will be struck by thunder" (BsTB 11: 429, Nr. 3). Surveyor's work not only consisted of the measurement of the lands of the living but also involved intervening in the sphere of souls. As this aspect of their duties implicitly engaged the supernatural sphere, it was therefore unsurprising that supernatural consequences could follow. From this emic perspective, becoming trapped in a liminal state of wandering between worlds may have seemed a natural consequence of an action that created a serious or permenant disruption to land boundaries. Perhaps that is why the surveyor is so severely punished.

### Conclusion

In Lithuanian folklore, the *ignes fatui* appear as souls of the individuals who have unresolved affairs in the worldly sphere, such as the souls of unbaptized children and the souls of people whose lives met a premature end. Perhaps surprisingly, the souls of surveyors also fall into this category, doomed to wander until the mistakes they made before death are corrected.

The identification of *ignes fatui* as surveyors appears to be a development in the tradition that is historically rooted in social concerns and tensions linked to the land reforms of the independent Lithuanian state in the first half of the 20th century. Although one might speculate that the identification of *ignes fatui* with surveyors could have emerged from empirical observations of distant surveyors moving about with lanterns, this does not account for why a broader range of occupations (e.g. watchmen) have not been correspondingly linked to the tradition. The present article proposes that the traditional identification of border areas with the dead and supernatural beings may have potentially been a crucial factor in this innovation. If this view is correct, then the punishment of a surveyor's soul – to wander as an *ignis fatuus* for mismeasuring land – is linked to the impact of

this work on spaces belonging to supernatural beings. The supernatural consequences may then have initially linked to violations in the supernatural sphere that echo and validate the social concerns and frustrations experienced among living communities.

## *Works Cited*
### *Sources*
BsTB 11 – *Jono Basanavičiaus tautosakos biblioteka* XI: *Įvairi tautosaka iš rinkinių*. Ed. K. Aleksynas & L. Sauka. Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2002.

LTR – Lithuanian Folklore Archives

LTt 4 – *Lietuvių tautosaka* IV: *Pasakos, sakmės, oracijos*. Ed. L. Sauka [et. al.]. Vilnius: Mintis, 1967.

### *Literature*
Balsys, Rimantas. 2006. *Lietuvių ir prūsų dievai, deivės ir dvasios: Nuo apeigos iki prietaro*. Klaipėda: Klaipėdos universiteto leidykla.

Racėnaitė, Radvilė. 2011. *Žmogaus likimo ir mirties samprata lietuvių folklore*. Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas.

Thompson, Stith. 1955–1958. *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* I–VI. FF Communications 106–109, 116–117. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

## The Hurford Center's 2017 Mellon Symposium "Songs for the Dead: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Lament and Elegy"

*24<sup>th</sup> March 2017, Haverford College, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.*

Oliver Hughes, Maria Mitiuriev and Katelyn St. Onge, Haverford College

The Hurford Center's 2017 Mellon Symposium "Songs for the Dead: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Lament and Elegy" was held on March 24<sup>th</sup> at Haverford College in Haverford, Pennsylvania. Six speakers took turns giving forty-five minute talks on the concept and practice of lament across a variety of cultural experiences and interpretive angles, addressing ancient and modern Greek, Old Irish, Old Norse, and Finnic traditions. The event was organized by Kristen Mills, Visiting Assistant Professor of English at Haverford College.

The symposium began on the morning of Friday the 24<sup>th</sup> with introductory remarks by Mills welcoming the speakers. The floor then went to Casey Dué (University of Houston), presenting on the topic "Mourning Achilles: Achilles and the Captive Woman's Lament in *Iliad* 19". Dué offered a compelling interpretation of Achilles' grief in the *Iliad*, which she noted was strikingly similar to that of the women of Troy and captive woman generally in Greek literary tradition. In particular, Dué drew parallels between Achilles' mourning for the fallen Patroclus and both Andromache's lament for Hector and Briseis' grief in captivity. Dué argued that Achilles mourns in the style of traditional female laments not because he is feminized in the epic, but because, as the warrior with by far the greatest *kleos* ['glory'], he must likewise possess the most profound grief (*akhos*), which tellingly may be the root of the name Achilles itself. The grief of the Trojan women, Dué asserted, came to represent the epitome of suffering and loss to the Greeks, and so it is this to which Achilles' sorrow must be likened.

Thus Homer's epic poetry both celebrates heroes and mourns them, and for the greatest of all heroes, only the heights of both glory and grief are appropriate.

The next speaker was Gail Holst-Warhaft (Cornell University), who spoke on "Containing Passion: The Structuring of Grief in Greek Lament". Holst-Warhaft began with an argument which she openly acknowledged to be controversial: that lament in Greek society was and is not intended as a form of consolation or therapy for the living, nor was it an uncontrolled and spontaneous display of emotion. Rather, she argued, Greek lament was practiced primarily for the sake of society, in order to properly conclude the life of one of its deceased members and so enable the rest to continue on. Lamenters thus served as intermediaries between the worlds of the living and the dead, a potentially polluting role. For this reason, lamenters were most often professionals, drawn from the less than respectable outskirts of society. Additionally, professionals were considered fitter than relatives to perform laments because they were less likely than relatives to be overcome by emotion, a critical point. As Holst-Warhaft made clear, Greek lament was highly ritualized and focused on the containment of emotion, not indulgence in it. Indeed, excessive emotion could present a grave danger to the lamenters and trap them permanently in the world of the dead. All the more so for its controversy, Holst-Warhaft's argument was a riveting and compelling piece.

After the first session of the symposium, the presenters and audience members alike took a brief break before the symposium resumed.

The second session was concerned with Old Irish and Old Norse lament traditions. The first talk, "'No Feigned Grief Mine': Emotion and Expression in the Irish Lament Traditions", was delivered by Alexandra Bergholm of the University of Helsinki. Bergholm's main argument was that as was true for the Ancient Greeks, the tradition of lamenting for the dead was associated with women in medieval Ireland. While she noted that it is harder for scholars of lament to research how the tradition was carried out in Ireland due to the scarcity of extant sources, Bergholm claimed that lament was a controversial art form, pointing out that medieval Irish penitentials made lamenting the dead punishable by up to fifty days on bread and water. Bergholm ended her presentation by returning to the perception of lament as a female practice: acording to her, lamenting was seen as a woman-dominated art form in a male-dominated world. Thus, by extension, the question of how the restriction of lament served as a way to control women was introduced.

Bergholm's paper was followed by another enlightening talk, given by Joseph Harris (Harvard University). His talk, "Beginnings and Endings in the Elegiac Poetry of the Early Medieval North", examined a set of motifs occurring in Old Norse elegiac poetry. Special attention was given to what Harris called the "Ragnarök motif", whereby Norse poems depict cataclysmic disasters laying waste to the world. Harris also discussed another motif present in Norse elegiac poetry, which he dubbed the "never better" motif; he likened this poetic feature to when a wife memorializes her dead husband and declares that no one will ever surpass him. Harris discussed the expression of grief in a selection of *erfidrápa*, a type of Norse ode, before analyzing several eddic elegies, paying careful attention to how the Guðrún poems utilize elegiac tropes. He noted the presence of the Ragnarök motif in these poems and ended his lecture by delivering two points: that elegy emerges out of profound loss, and that the conclusions of elegiac poems stylistically align with the Ragnarök motif, evoking the end of the world.

The final panel focused on the Karelian lament tradition and modern revival of lament traditions in Finland. Eila Stepanova (University of Helsinki) presented a paper entitled "The Poetry of Everlasting Grief and Separation". Combining historical and cultural research with linguistic investigation, Stepanova provided expert insight into the special language used by traditional Karelian lamenters. The language she described was designed for poetry, filled with rhythm and repetition, and relied heavily on allusion. She discussed the decline in usage of this language, relating the story of an elderly woman who wrote her own funeral lament knowing that there would be no one to do it for her. It was remarkable to hear the recording of this woman's lament, and although the audience could not understand her words, the artful language was universally appreciated.

The second presenter was revival lamenter Pirkko Fihlman, President of the Finnish Lament Society. Her presentation, entitled "Reviving Finnish Lament", artfully combined history and personal anecdotes to provide a thorough overview of how traditional lament has been reintroduced in the contemporary experience. It was actually her late husband who first introduced Fihlman to the tradition of Karelian lament through his own research in the region's history for a play he was writing. Fihlman spent much of her early childhood living in Sweden to escape the conflicts of World War II, and her family's history with lament was not revealed to her until she began to lament herself, and her mother mentioned that she sounded just like her grandmother. Now, lament is being reintroduced to modern Finnish culture through Fihlman's work with the Finnish Lament Society. Overall, Fihlman's presentation was a historical retelling artfully laced with pathos and applied effectively to contemporary discourse.

The conference concluded with a round-table discussion featuring all panelists. This stimulating discussion provided a unique opportunity for audience participation and touched on topics ranging from the historical and literary quality of the *Kalevala* to gender roles in global lament tradition. This open-ended dialogue was perhaps the highlight of the entire conference, allowing for candid intellectual exploration by a group of extremely diverse academic backgrounds.

# Versification: Metrics in Practice

*25th–27th May 2016, Helsinki, Finland*

Erika Laamanen, University of Helsinki

The international and multidisciplinary conference *Versification: Metrics in Practice* was held in Helsinki, Finland from 25th to 27th May 2016. The conference was a meeting of NordMetrik (Nordic Society for Metrical Studies). Scholars from a variety of disciplines and from fifteen different countries gathered in the Great Hall of the Finnish Literature Society and the Topelia building of the University of Helsinki to discuss questions of metrics. The conference was organized by the Department of Folklore Studies and the Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies at the University of Helsinki, the Academy of Finland project "Oral Poetry, Mythic Knowledge and Vernacular Imagination", and the Finnish Literature Society.

The theme of the conference was 'metrics in practice'. Versification, that is, the art of making verses, refers to the conventions and techniques that poets have employed when practicing their art. Meter is, however, often discussed in abstract terms. Efforts have been made to formalize the way words and sounds connect with rhythm. The aim of the conference was to highlight the inseparability of meter and language and to call attention to meter in different social language practices.

The five keynote speakers of the conference approached the theme from different angles. Tomas Riad (Stockholm University, Swedish Academy) argued against the idea that meter is an abstract pattern filled with language – the idea supported by, for example, generative metrics. Instead, he suggested that in the case of meter we are dealing with the same kind of phenomenon as prosodic morphemes and that meter should therefore be treated at root as a linguistic object. The central idea of his lecture was *meter as improvement*. According to Riad, improvement occurs when metered discourse obeys one or more linguistic constraints or conventions more regularly than other forms of language use.

Paul Kiparsky (Stanford University), a pioneer of generative metrics, considered inter-relations between a meter and the language in which it is used. He spoke about how meters, in addition to historical context, adjust to functional preferences. For example, genre is a factor affecting the choice of meter. Epic and dramatic forms use flexible meters that have a simple underlying pattern but complex correspondence constraints, the combination of which offers a variety of realization options. Sung lyric poems, on the other hand, consists of a wide range of complex metrical structures with simple correspondence constraints. In each case, the correspondence constraints and the types of flexibility that they evolve dependencies on the language of performance.

Poet and philologist Jesper Svenbro (Swedish Academy) provided a practitioner's perspective on Sapphic and Alcaic stanzas, linking his philological research on these poetic forms to the reflective analysis of his own uses of them and resultant choices in the composition process. In addition to his own poetry, he presented examples from Sappho, Friedrich Hölderlin and Tomas Tranströmer proving the vitality of Sapphic and Alcaic stanzas in modern poetry.

Kati Kallio (Finnish Literature Society) discussed the relationship between meter, music and performance in oral poetry. Kallio began by stating that with oral poetry it is problematic to consider meter exclusively as an abstract pattern. Illustrated with many examples, she presented ways in which Finnic language-speaking peoples have sung poetry and varied meter according to a given performance situation.

Jarkko Niemi (University of Tampere) gave a lecture based on his research project involving the musical traditions, and especially sung expression, of the indigenous ethnic groups living in western Siberia and Northwest Russia, looking especially at peoples speaking Samoyedic and Ob-Ugrian languages. He

highlighted that the linguistic structure of a metrical line could be significantly, if regularly, altered and reorganized as an organic part of oral performance. In his lecture, Niemi presented the results of his project that also cast light on the local cultures more broadly, revealing that areal patterns in the singing traditions of these different groups had evolved through their contact history.

A wide variety of verse forms were examined during presentations in the parallel sessions, ranging from poetry of Antiquity to recent folklore and from medieval court poetry to rap music of the 21st century. Many of the presentations dealt with meter in sung poetry and music. Approaches and methods varied as well. Maria-Kristiina Lotman (University of Tartu) and Mihhail Lotman (University of Tartu/ Tallinn University), for example, introduced their new research project in which they study the relationship between meter and semantics by means of statistical-comparative analysis. Eva Lilja (Göteborg University) spoke on

"Embodied Rhythm". Employing the example of Ann Sexton's poem "The Fury of Rain Storms" she explicated how rhythm produces meaning by using a four step analysis model.

Wednesday evening was spent on Tervasaari island, where the attendees had the opportunity to talk about syllables and statistics in an informal manner with good food and nice weather. On Thursday evening, Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen, the Secretary General of Finnish Literature Society, welcomed everyone to the Society-organized reception. To the great delight of all, Stephen Evans, conference participant and church musician (Parish of Laitila, Turku Archdiocese), offered a short piano performance of "Berceuse" by Armas Järnefelt and "Yö meren rannalla" ['Night by the Sea'] by Heino Kaski.

An edited volume of selected papers from the conference is currently being organized. The next meeting of NordMetric is already being planned and is expected to be held in Stockholm in 2018.

## The Viking World – Diversity and Change
*27th June–2nd July 2016, Nottingham, United Kingdom*

Elisabeth Maria Magin, University of Nottingham

Trying to capture the Viking Age in all its aspects and facets, with its wide range not only of territory but also of time, is a task that cannot be accomplished. Still, people have made attempts. For example, "The Viking World – Diversity and Change", which took place in Nottingham from June 27th to July 2nd in 2016, made a very valid attempt to at least present as many different aspects of the Viking Age as possible, attracting visitors not only from the former Viking territories, but also from countries where Viking influence was not as prevalent as in Northern Europe, like Spain or Russia. Moreover, the conference confined itself neither to one discipline nor restricted itself to the Viking Age alone – periods preceding and following the Viking Age were considered as well as the core areas and time periods of Viking dominion. All papers presented at the conference showed one thing quite clearly: in studying the Viking Age, one needs to broaden the horizon.[1] What

caused a Viking to become a Viking, and what constituted his or her identity as a 'Viking' was at the beginning of this chapter of history something very different than what it was on the eve of the Norman Conquest. The fact that both Knut's accession to the English throne and the Norman Conquest celebrated their respective anniversaries in 2016 brings home once more how diverse the subject we call the *Viking Age* actually is.

The conference's full six-day programme ensured that no conference attendant was bored at any time. An excursion to Lincoln along with an Iceland-England football match and a visit to a sales venue provided ample distraction to fend off conference fatigue. Since our knowledge of the Viking Age is still based on relatively few sources, naturally many talks took their starting point in either archaeological finds or written sources – or both. Fortunately, presenter approaches varied widely. Hypotheses on the – possibly evolutionary –

cause for the earliest known raids, and thus the start of the Viking Age were discussed alongside burial customs in different geographical areas.[2] Amongst observations on changes in burial customs in specific geographic areas (like on the Isle of Man[3]), attention was directed to the phenomenon of master-slave graves,[4] the influence of gender on the interpretation of a person's burial mound,[5] and the reuse of older, local burial sites in Viking territories as a possible sign of assimilation or statements of power.[6]

Not all areas of Viking influence have Viking burials, however, and in some cases – such as in the case of Iberia – it is even questionable if the Vikings were there at all or if travelling to Spain is simply a trope employed by saga authors.[7] It is interesting, however, to look at the routes Vikings explored and travelled along,[8] and their manners of navigation. Papers comparing material evidence with written sources or looking at linguistic contacts[9] revealed that in some areas the Viking influence appears to have been particularly strong on vocabulary concerning farming and fishing,[10] and that our assumption that they navigated along a 'Viking mental world map' maybe wrong. Rather, looking at how locations along their trading routes were named, it would be more correct to think of the Viking landscape as more of a 'mental string'.[11] Due to their extensive travels, the Vikings had many points of contact with other cultures,[12] as is evidenced by the presence of Vikings in Arabic sources,[13] but also in the bones of inhabitants of Viking towns like Ribe.[14] These border encounters opened up influences on daily life that ran both ways.[15] Viking identities appear not to have been as solid as we may think, raising questions about contemporary concepts of social, gender, and language identity.[16] These factors may have been influenced by elements such as location, language proficiency, and perhaps even market demand.

It is therefore logical to pay attention to how people regarded the space they inhabited, and which rules governed 'inside space' and 'outside space'.[17] Outdoor activities like tar production[18] or attending a thing all had their own set of rules that were expected to be followed, as did, for example, the interior of a home. The consequences of violating rules can both be found in poetry and sagas,[19] and interesting observations on the difference of focus in Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian law codices were a topic of discussion.[20] Space utilized to create a specific effect is perhaps most obvious in giant monuments like Gamla Uppsala in Sweden or the Jelling site in Denmark,[21] but can also be traced in boat graves, which connect to boat burials known from narratives like the god Baldr's funeral.[22]

Poetry, languages and myths of origin obviously played a great role in creating a 'Viking identity', but were also important in creating local, flexible identities and in ordering the world, whether explaining the origins of illness[23] or for assigning people to a specific family. Papers on those subjects focused on the role of praise poetry in the Danish dynasty,[24] but also on kinship markers[25] and, again, on language contacts and the remnants of said contacts in individual languages. One particularly interesting paper showed how Harald harðráði's character was constructed by means of using the women of the saga as the saga author's mouthpiece.[26] Yet not everyone told the same story, as reflected in the contrast between Irish stories about Brian boru and *Njáls saga*.[27] Both examples serve to show that as a Viking leader, respecting and making use of the diversity of your army[28] was not enough, you also needed a good skald to tell of your deeds. But the choice of *who to hire* should be made carefully – two other thought-provoking papers dealt respectively with the ingenuity of Egill in scorning Erik Blood-axe even as he praised him,[29] and how Vafþrúðnir could have avoided his own death by listening to the little hints at Odin's identity the disguised god sprinkled into their verbal sparring.[30] They were not the only ones to resort to 'cheating', however. Also interesting were the presentations on the topic of conversion[31] and the various forms it took in written sources, whether in ascribing a 'good character' to a pagan ancestor post-mortem,[32] or bishops advising their priests on how to bend the rules in order to not scare away the newly Christened.[33]

Stories were not only told with words. Events and cosmology were also depicted on

objects of art like the Bayeux tapestry and the Oseberg finds.[34] As one speaker observed: "These artefacts display considerable skill and open up for the question of who we grasp in these finds."[35] Shields were objects that could tell their own story, and appear to have had a connection to the female sphere;[36] dwarfs were popular figures but are not necessarily depicted as small or even supernatural;[37] smiths as a sort of cyborg do capture the imagination;[38] and the embroidery and stitches used to create tapestries in turn tells stories about cultural contacts and influences[39] as much as they tell the actual story in pictures. In detecting these cultural contacts, manuscripts, names and runic inscriptions also play an important role. Runic inscriptions dating from after the Viking Age show that contacts established during the Viking Age were still alive even after the decline of Viking influence;[40] the situation is somewhat more complicated with names.[41] But there is still cause to suspect that scholarly interest in the Viking Age as well as recourse to Viking Age myths and stories helped to create the identities of later rulers and dynasties like the Danish royal family and Hedeby.[42]

Stories about the Vikings, their treasures[43] and their world continue to be told in our modern world, and the references to the Vikings are manifold. This is proven by the amount of material the World Tree[44] project has collected, but it also shows in historical fiction. Two authors of historical fiction, Victoria Whitworth and Justin Hill, gave talks[45] in the course of the conference, and a round table, open to the public, opened discussion about historical facts in fiction between James Aitcheson, Justin Hill, Helen Hollick, and Victoria Whitworth.[46] Topics covered included the amount of research required to write historical fiction and how to deal with historical facts as a storyline hindrance.

During the conference, the conference and recent political developments were topics discussed by Twitter user King Cnut the Great (@CanutusRex), just one example of how embedded events and persons from the Viking Age are in our own memories and identities. It is therefore not surprising that a great ten-year research programme, 'The Viking Phenomenon' located at the University of Uppsala, will be launched on the year of these anniversaries, and the conference certainly served to further future research and strengthen networks between scholars of the Viking Age and adjacent periods.

### Notes

1. "The Viking Period – a Multifaceted Era!", by Caroline Ahlström Arcini and Gareth Williams.
2. "An evolutionary Anthropological Approach to the Origins of Viking Raiding", by Ben Raffield, Neil Price & Mark Collard.
3. "Pagan Conquerors to Christian Settlers: Religious Change and Burial Custom in Viking Age Isle of Man" by Dirk H. Steinforth.
4. "The Life of a Slave: Life Histories and Manners of Death, the Slave Graves of Viking-Age Scandinavia", by Anna Kjellström.
5. "Gender and Burial", by Marianne Moen.
6. "Embedded in the Past? – Site Reuse in Early Viking Age Britain and Ireland", by Stephen Harrison; "'Imbued with the Essence of the Owner': Personhood and Possessions in the Reopening and Reworking of Viking Age Burials" by Alison Klevnäs.
7. "Raiding and Crusading: The Vikings in Iberia According to the Scandinavian Sources", by Edel Porter.
8. "Rus' Raiding in the Caspian Region and the Norman Theory", by Vusala Afandiyeva; "Norse Beliefs in Viking Age Poland: Objects, Symbols and Identities", by Leszek Gardeła.
9. "Ransacking the Wordhord: The Reassessment of Purported English Loanwords in Old Norse", by Nikolas Gunn; "Linguistic Diversity in the Viking World: Place-Name Vocabulary in the Viking Diaspora", by Eleanor Rye; "*Thegns* in the Danelaw: A Case of Scandinavian Usage of the Term in 10–11th Century England", by Denis Sukhino-Khomenko.
10. "Viking Shielings in Northern Britain: *sætr* and *ærgi* Names" by Ryan Foster.
11. "The Names *Eystribygð* and *Vestribygð* and Norse Greenland's Relation to the Norse World", by Eldar Heide.
12. "Cnut's Sea-Dominions, the 'East Way' and the 'Byzantine World'", by Jonathan Shepard; "The Gate to Svithiod: Traces of Viking Age in and around the Island of Stockholm", by Torun Zachrisson; "Where Routes Met: Archaeological Indications of Contacts between Scandinavia and the Trade Routes in Central Asia during the Viking Age", by Charlotte Hedenstierna-Jonson.
13. "Eastern Vikings in Arabic Sources", by Þórir Hraundal.
14. "Between Worlds and Across Borders: Burial Customs and Cultural Transformations in 8th–9th Century Ribe", by Sarah Croix.
15. "Medieval Anthropology and the Norse North Atlantic", by Dayanna Knight.
16. "Transformations: Norse and Gaelic Languages/ Viking Identities", by Roderick McDonald; "'Turn and Face the Strange': Changing Regional Ethnic

Identities of Vikings along the Scottish and Irish Sea Coasts", by Danica Ramsey-Brimberg.

17. "Come In, and Sit Down: Gesture, Posture and Movement as a Contribution to the Study of Domestic Social Space in *Íslendingasögur*", by Teva Vidal.

18. "Exploring the Great Beyond: Outlands and the Beginnings of the Viking Age", by Andreas Hennius.

19. "Viking Age Law Embedded in Eddic Poetry: What Was It and How Can It Be Dated?", by Anne-Irene Riisøy; "Judicial Violence in the Viking Age", by Keith Ruiter and Steve Ashby.

20. "Imagination of Equity: Coming to Terms with Rulers in the Viking World", by Roland Scheel.

21. "Norse Cult Sites and Performance" by Alexandra Sanmark; "The Royal Site of Jelling in Denmark – Latest Investigations and Results from the Jelling-Project" by Charlotta Lindblom.

22. "Ship Burials and Royal Origin Myths in Viking Age Norway and Denmark", by Jan Bill.

23. "A Conceptual Approach to Infectious Disease in Old English and Old Norse Charms", by Stefanie Künzel.

24. "Skaldic Poetry and the Danish Dynasty", by Judith Jesch.

25. "Fathers and Sons: What viðkenningar can tell us about Viking Age Kinship", by Kate Heslop.

26. "Female Characters' Contributions to the Character-izations of Haraldr *harðráði*", by Megan Arnott.

27. "Norse Stories and a Battle in Ireland: Revisiting Sources", by Rosemary Power.

28. "Diversity Leadership: Strength in Compromise in the Viking World", by Shannon Lewis-Simpson; Edmund Ironside: The Forgotten King of 1016 by Heather Flack.

29. "*Dró ek djarfhǫtt um dǿkkva skǫr*: Transformation in Egill's *Arinbjarnarkviða*", by Eleni Ponirakis.

30. "Why Vafþrúðnir Did Not Have to Die", by John D. Shafer.

31. "Transformation on the Borders: Christianization without Missionaries or Kings", by Margaret Cormack; "Early Christian Grave Monuments and Ecclesiastical Organisation in 11th Century Sweden", by Cecilia Ljung; "The Cottingham Font: An Example of the 9th Century Conversions in England", by Christopher Ferguson and Andrew Ferrara.

32. "Remembering 'Good Pagans' in the Early Christian Scandinavian World", by Alban Gautier.

33. "Conversion to Christianity: Expectations of Transformation in the Overseas Settlements", by Lesley Abrams.

34. "Visual Narratives in the Viking World by Lilla Kopár; Art and Cosmology in Viking Age Norway", by Sæbjørg Walaker Nordeide; "Stone, Style and Salvation: Ecclesiastic Sculpture in the Early Medieval Insular", by Heidi Stoner.

35. "Finding the Vikings in Viking art: Makers, Patrons, Users, and Subjects", by Nancy L. Wicker, quotation from the presented version of the paper.

36. "Viking Age Shields: Intersections between Life, Death and Myth", by Kerstin O. Näversköld.

37. "From Spirits to Short People, or What Does a Dwarf Look Like?", by Ugnius Mikučionis.

38. "Technologies for Transformation: Smiths on Stones", by Howard Williams.

39. "Scandinavian Embroidery and its Influence in Early Medieval England", by Alexander Lester-Makin.

40. "Transforming Traditions? Scandinavian Manuscript Runes in the Middle Ages", by Aya van Renterghem.

41. "Long-Distance Cultural Contacts and Names: Onomastic Studies in Bergen, Norway", by Elisabeth Magin.

42. "The Danish Dynasty in Hedeby: Manifestation of Power on the Frontier by Jörg Staecker;'Sacral Kingship' in the North: A New Perspective" by Sophie Bønding.

43. "Hidden Treasures: Deposited Precious Metal as a Resource on the Island of Gotland (Sweden) during the Viking Age", by Janina Dieckmann.

44. "The World-Tree Project: A Teaching Resource for the Study of the Vikings" by Roderick Dale.

45. "Can these dry bones live? The Potential of Archaeo-logical Fiction by Victoria Whitworth; 'Through a Glass Darkly' Inspiration and Exploration from Fictional Narratives of the Viking Age", by Justin Hill.

46. "Viking Facts in Fiction? How Much Research Does A Historical Novel Need?".

# Interdisciplinary Student Symposium on Viking and Medieval Scandinavian Subjects

*17th–18th March 2016, Aarhus, Denmark*

Filip Missuno, University of York

Held at Aarhus University, the ninth instalment of the Interdisciplinary Student Symposium on Viking and Medieval Scandinavian Subjects represented the crowning of a remarkable expansion in size, quality, international visibility and attractiveness over the previous years. As it unfolded over two full days packed with vibrant scholarly communication, it became apparent that this event, now the largest of its kind, had reached full maturity and perhaps an ideal format.

The symposium saw a delightful diversity of presentations by 25 MA and PhD students representing ten different universities across

Europe. The papers, skilfully distributed thematically across eight sessions, engaged with an impressive spectrum of research areas within the cultural, historical and archaeological contexts of Viking Age and Medieval Scandinavia as well as Old Norse language, literature and myth. (The programme of the symposium and an archive of past events are available online at www.vikingoldnorse.au.dk.)

Chair of the organizing committee Simon Nygaard (Aarhus University) addressed a warm welcome to a large gathering of young researchers keen to learn, exchange results and insights from their ongoing work and acquire the indispensable experience in the academic genre of research presentation. He stressed that the Aarhus Symposium still remained true to its original principle – which has been decisive in its growing success – namely, to be a scholarly event organized "for students, by students, with students as speakers, in a professional yet informal setting".

The first session, themed "Reception History", opened with Jay Anthony Hash's (University of Iceland) presentation on the challenges besetting the early days of runic studies as seen through the letters of a pioneer in the field, the Danish polymath Ole Worm. Offering an original, modern counterpoint, Shirley McPhaul (University of Iceland) spoke enthusiastically on how Norse myth is used (and changed) in video games, mainly in terms of narrative. Hana Spacilova (Aarhus University) rounded up this rousing opening session by comparing the treatment of the character of Brynhild in retellings of *Vǫlsunga saga*, focusing on the versions by Morris, Lang and Tolkien.

Logically moving on to the written sources themselves, the following session's topic was "Manuscript Studies". It was started by Anne Ladefoged (University of Copenhagen) who, from a consideration of medieval Danish law manuscripts, analyzed the relationship between a manuscript's layout to its function(s) and intended audiences. Balduin Landolt (University of Iceland/University of Basel) followed with a study of two variants of *Færeyinga saga* interpolated in kings' sagas, examining their relation to the framing text and

demonstrating their adherence to a shared structural pattern. The session concluded with Anthony Jay Bunker's (University of Iceland) inquiry into the treatment of the Huns in Old Norse sources, showing that these 'others' were instrumental to the articulation of important cultural and literary themes, such as kinship or inheritance.

This provided a brilliant transition to the session that set off after lunch under the banner "*Á austrvega:* On the Eastern Way". Emily Reed (University of York) opened the session by examining the stylized tropes and conventions of medieval letter writing through the correspondence between the Swedish monk Petrus de Dacia and the German mystic Christina von Stommeln, interrogating the possibility for us to hear their original voices. Johan Sandvang Larsen (Aarhus University) followed by arguing that what evidence we have for the island of Bornholm's Viking Age material culture points to Swedish tradition and influence rather than to the island having been part of Harald Bluetooth's kingdom. The session closed with two papers that travelled further afield on the 'eastern way': Csete Katona (University of Debrecen) reviewed the question of the presence and influence of the Vikings in the Carpathian Basin and their supposed friendship with the Hungarians in early medieval times. Katona struck a sceptical note in view of the sparse and inconclusive nature of the evidence. Klaudia Karpińska (University of Rzeszów) discussed the quality and authenticity of Viking Age re-enactment in Poland (and exhibited a finely-wrought replica of a putative *seiðr*-staff), stressing the fine line between the valorization of the past and its depreciation.

For the closing session of the day, with the theme of "Daily Life", the audience was treated to two presentations revolving around food and drink: Beth Rogers (University of Iceland) explored the significance of milk and dairy products in medieval Scandinavia and showed their centrality in the culture and mentality of the North. Benjamin Sibley (University of Iceland) analyzed the references to brewing and drinking alcohol in the prose of *Íslendingasögur* and *Sturlungasögur* with a view to assess their uses in historical,

archaeological and cultural contexts. After this apposite and appetizing conclusion of the day, the participants were invited to the conference dinner.

The second day of the symposium was essentially devoted to language, literature and mythology. The opening session, on "Literary Structures", started with Brian MacMahon (University of Oxford) discussing the framing devices used in the sagas, notably the epilogues, in relation to scribal intention and the audience's interpretation of the act of storytelling. Moving on to poetical structure, Nicholas Hoffmann (University of Iceland) showed how verses in a saga can embody and transmit its strange and supernatural aspects, taking the example of the understudied *Harðar saga Grímkelssonar*. Claudia Hoßbach (University of Greifswald) followed by shifting the focus onto the literary device of laughter and seeking its function in the *Íslendingasögur*. Madita Knöpfle (University of Basel) ended the session with a consideration of how music interacts with meaning in various Scandinavian variants of the famous ballad *Den talende Strengeleg* ['The Talking Harp'].

From there the following session proceeded to "Language and Linguistics", beginning with Katherine Thorn's (University of Iceland) examination of the mentions of multilingualism in the sagas and the cultural or narrative importance for saga protagonists to be able to communicate across linguistic borders. Zooming in further on lexis, Johan Bollaert (Uppsala University) presented the results of his research on Romance loanwords in the *riddarasögur* and their subsequent fate in Icelandic and Norwegian in the light of theories about language contact and semantic change. The session concluded with Denis Sukhino-Khomenko (University of Copenhagen, Visiting PhD from Lomonosov Moscow State University) who raised the question of Scandinavian impact on the category of thegn (Old English *þegn* meaning originally 'servant') in the Danelaw, stressing the complex evolution of the social group that this word denoted.

Everybody was kept alert and entertained after lunch by a lively session venturing into the field of "Liminal Beings and Borders".

Barbora Davidková (University of Iceland) began by tracking down the trolls in *Barðar saga Snæfellsáss* in order to interpret their feasting habits through a cultural and religious lens. Jonas Sandager Brammen Møller (Aarhus University) followed with a presentation on *dísir*, suggesting that these female figures are best understood as agents of fate. *Barðar saga* then made a comeback as Daria Segal (University of Iceland) used the abundance of toponyms in the text to argue that naming was a means of asserting control over the undefinable otherness of liminal space. Blake Middleton (University of Aberdeen) wound up the discussion by addressing the problem of the destination of supernatural beings (or of their 'souls') after death in Norse myth.

The symposium went full circle with its last session, which bore the topic of "Reconstruction". Grayson Del Faro (University of Iceland) gave an entertaining lecture on textual discrepancies and methods of reconstruction in the notorious case of *Sigurðarkviða in meiri*, and Roderick McDonald (University of Iceland), in an interesting and intriguing finale, offered paths for reconstructing the largely missing 'Norse Arthurian cycle' through a comparison of the figure of Kæi in Norse romance sagas to his antecedent Cai in Welsh tradition.

It remained for the organizers to thank all participants and the audience for yet another a successful and enthralling symposium in Aarhus. A wealth of ideas were shared and probed, many fresh angles and perspectives were opened onto research areas old and new, and there was food for thought to take home for everyone. The quality, variety, originality and colourfulness of the presentations and the abundance of interesting questions and discussions – which merrily rolled on into the final reception – bore witness to the vitality of Old Norse and Scandinavian studies among junior researchers. This bodes well for scholarship in the field in future years; and in the meantime, one now certainly awaits with impatience yet another Interdisciplinary Student Symposium on Viking and Medieval Scandinavian Subjects, with new exchanges and new excitement, next year.

## Svyatogor: Death and Initiation of the Russian Epic Hero

Jiří Dynda, Charles University, Prague

*The monograph* Svjatogor: Smrt a iniciace staroruského bohatýra (Svyatogor: Death and Initiation of the Russian Epic Hero) *was published by Pavel Mervart, Červený Kostelec, in 2016.*

This book presents a structural analysis and comparative interpretation of thirty-seven textual variants of the *byliny* of bogatyr Svyatogor. My contention is that the Russian folk epics – *byliny* – are a great candidate for thusly based research due to their formal qualities and subject matter.

The principal character of the presented and analysed narratives is Svyatogor, an old and tired hero of gigantic stature and superhuman strength. In the songs he drowsily and solitarily wanders through the regions of his eponymous Holy Mountains (*Svyatye gory*). This is the only area in which he is allowed to dwell, because due to his enormous strength the Moist Mother Earth herself cannot bear his weight. On these Holy Mountains Svyatogor is encountered by Ilya Muromets, young and progressive hero, the most famous *bogatyr* of the Russian bylinaic epics. He tries to attack the sleeping giant, but Svyatogor drowsily puts him into his pocket and carries him over the mountains for a few days. Paradoxically, the two heroes become friends and Svyatogor even becomes Ilya's mentor and teacher. The narrative climaxes when the two *bogatyri* find an empty coffin in the among the stones and they both try to lie inside it. The coffin is too large for Ilya but is a fit for Svyatogor. When the giant tries it out, he is miraculously trapped and closed inside the coffin. Despite many attempts to free him, Ilya cannot do anything about it. Finally, Svyatogor acknowledges his bitter fate – the inevitability of a predestined death – and he offers a generous gift to Ilya: he wants to pass on to Ilya a portion of his enormous strength (*sila*). Ilya agrees and accepts Svyatogor's gift. According to regional variation, this *sila* is represented either by a breath that Ilya must inhale, or by a series of many-coloured foams, sweats, or salivas that come out of the dying hero and which the young hero must lick from him. Odd as it is, this central and cathartic moment is not only uncanny in its form but also in its consequences: the passed-down *sila* usually contains some malicious feature which threatens Ilya's life when mishandled. He nevertheless escapes the dangers and, strengthened by the powers of his dead mentor, rides away to the steppes. In some variants, the story is supplemented by an episode containing Svyatogor's unfaithful wife acting as mediator between the heroes or by an episode featuring Svyatogor's blind father. In this narrative, Ilya must ride to him and announce the death of his son before accepting a sign of his approval.

Even though the narratives above all deal with the destined death of an old, tired, and sleepy *bogatyr*, I am convinced that their parallel meaning in fact lies in a conceptual *second birth* of a young epic hero. The narrative is structured as if mirroring death of the former, who is at the same time the hero's adversary *and* teacher, and who escorts him through his initiation. Simultaneously, these narratives thematise the peculiar and delicate matter of the relationship among the generations and the problem of generational change and succession. This is my hypothesis and in this book I propose as many facts as possible to support it.

The more general problem that lies behind this book is the question of whether and how possible it is to grasp and understand the semantics of *old* and rather *odd* narratives – *myths* – that in their original context must have made a bit more sense than what we can make

of them today. This question highlights universal problems associated with the study of mythology and symbolic systems of traditions (i.e. religions) that have not survived to the present day – so-called *dead traditions* – and therefore cannot be examined by way of an anthropologically-based enquiry. I believe that the study of oral epic traditions may shore up many theoretically and methodologically interesting research questions and principles that can be useful for other specialists, including religious studies academics, linguists, and cultural theoreticians. Among other things, this book is an attempt for a kind of *archaeology and anthropology of text*. One of its goals is the reconstruction of beliefs, imagination and symbolic representations of the archaic, bygone societies.

The book is divided into three equally extensive parts. Its first chapter is theoretical and methodological. The chapter sums up the basic nature and features of the primary sources and presents substantial theoretical attitudes that must be mentioned in order to pursue subsequent analysis. Readers are introduced to the issues central to Russian oral epic studies, including the history of the genre and its academic reception. Then I present the corpus's basic oral-formulaic and structural principles and explore issues of the oral text intertextuality and the fragmentation of texts into smaller narrative units. Next I thoroughly present Lévi-Strauss's notion of *mythème* as a useful concept for studying the narrative and structural units of epic songs. Finally, I propose my own structural concept of myth and cultural representation. I understand *myth* as any narrative with a potential to make sense in the context of particular culture and its symbolic universe of meanings, norms, and values. My contention is that, thusly conceived, the mythopoetic and performative potential of bylinaic narratives shows them as a very important part of Indo-European mythological and epic tradition.

In the second, central part of this study, I attempt to apply the above-mentioned methodological principles to the Svyatogor narrative itself. The two central characters of the narrative are carefully introduced to the reader. I then present an analysis of the

narrative in its 37 variants. In order to make sense of the local context of intertextual bylinaic tradition, I employ a thorough analysis of the story while seeking to demonstrate which mythemes – and their relations – were fundamental to this narrative. My thesis claims that these narratives primarily deal with the themes of the initiation of a young hero, the generational conflict and the law of succession, and the transmission of a mentor's position to his apprentice (or, metaphorically, a father's position to his son). I then take the 'additional' episodes concerning Svyatogor's wife and father into consideration. My conclusions yield proposals: I schematically sum up substantial structural relations I observe to be embedded in my pantotypic reconstruction of the narrative. I then attempt to discern what meanings these abstract structures could have had for the recipients of the *bylina*. I observe that traditional singers of these tales pursued many compositional rules. On the basis of this survey I assume that many – even substantial – differences between particular variants of the story can be understood as meaningful structural variations of the basic mythemes, mythemes that formed a narrative core and from which the tissue, so to speak, of the songs was composed. I identify two particularly important mythemes: first, the mytheme of *inflicted and cancelled inhibition* and, second, the mytheme of *overestimated social relationships*. The mythemes of *acceptance or denial of one's destiny* and *insidiousness of the dying giant* seem important as well.

The third and last part of my study consists of a comparative survey of general narrative structures, mythemes, and an isolation of particular motives found in Svyatogor narratives. The hypothesis about initiation- and destiny-based meaning of the *bylina* is subsequently tested via a two-phased comparative analysis of the central mythemes and their clusters: Firstly, I compare the context of the immanent corpus of bylinaic and the synchronic ethnographic circumstances of the Russian North (i.e. I make an internal comparison). My analysis reaches up to the possible textual layers that belong to a semantic horizon of the Kievan Rus'; it is assumed that the core of the Russian folk epics originated among the court

singers of the Ruthenian princes. The ethnographic evidence is dealt with as well – I examine the semantic range of the concepts of marriage, relationship of men to women, sin, destiny, and death. I also consider the possible remnants of boys' initiation in the bylinaic tradition and in East Slavic folklore.

Finally I deal with the subject in a wider scope of the common Eurasian mythical and epic traditions (i.e. I make an external comparison). Mythemes from the Svyatogor *bylinas* are compared with Indo-European, Caucasian, and Ugro-Finn mythological and epic traditions. Based on the works of preceding researchers and the narrative parallels discovered by them, I present a complex picture of shared narrative principles among different traditions. I propose new narrative parallels based on the motif of the passing on of Svyatogor's strength, generally ignored by previous interpreters. I introduce a narrative about the transmission of power to Bǫðvarr Bjarki through his brother Elc-Fróði in *Hrólfssaga kraka*, an episode from the life of Þéttleifr the Dane in *Þiðrekssaga af Bern*, and some other examples. I also propose previously unnoticed *ritual parallels*: firstly the Vedic rite of passage concerning the death of the father and his passing of the vital forces to his son (mentioned twice in the *Upaniṣads*), and its collation with the archaic Roman ritual *postremum spiritum excipere*.

My comparative analysis of the strength-transmission motif is also supplemented by the linguistic and anthropological examination of the various archaic concepts of the human vital sources of energy, life, and strength. Besides that I propose possible etymological connection (based mostly on the works of R. Kregždys) of the Slavic lexeme *sila* ['strength, power']) and Lithuanian *siela* ['soul'] and *seila* ['saliva']. From this I suggest a common etymology of these Balto-Slavic lexemes and the Germanic words for the 'stuff of life' arising from the reconstructed Proto-Germanic root *\*saiwalō* (> Eng. *soul*, Ger. *Seele*, Old Norse *sála*, etc.) which has to date been interpreted as something along the lines of 'connected with the sea', a hypothetical Germanic otherworld.

Also, I highlight a possible connection between Ilya's unusual heroic initiation by the giant Svyatogor on the one hand, and the archaic paederastic and homoerotic initiation rituals from various Indo-European and other cultures on the other.

The book is supplemented by the collection of the 37 variants of the *bylina* in the Russian original and its Czech translation.

I attempt to interpret Svyatogor's *bylinas* in the context of initiation rituals. It conclude that in the foreground of the Svyatogor's narrative complex stands a story about the origin of the exceptional and famous young hero who takes advantage of Svyatogor – or even causes his own death. Ilya Muromets as an ultimate and invincible hero kills his old mentor and teacher (perhaps, metaphorically, his father), and even later his own son, Sokolnik. Ilya is the optimal and the most perfect archetype of an epic hero – he is a powerful warrior who can be corrupted neither by riches, nor women, and the only value he stands for is the Mother Rus' whom he devotedly protects from intruders.

Svyatogor, in comparison, is a much more complex and ambivalent character. His point of view in the presented narrative is actually a sad swan song of an old, exhausted hero who has problems with women. There is no place for him in this world. He simply wanders in the Other World among his Holy Mountains. And when he is found there by a young hero Ilya, the tragic fate of the old man is confirmed.

Finally, he tries to eliminate the young hero by a last, desperate attempt to prevent his fate: he tries to kill Ilya by way of a deadly overdose of his powers or by some other malevolent trick. But he can never succeed, because the final victory and invigoration of the young hero is predestined and inevitable. The narrative deals with the inevitability of the fact that *old* is replaced by *new*, *inertia* is surpassed by *mobility*, *weariness* is beaten by *energy*, and *age* exceeded by *youth*.

This narrative as a story with mythical potential that could have – in my opinion – worked as a cognitive simulation for dealing with the neuralgical social and psychological situations of parental succession. Very important in this respect is the analysed 'pattern of the reversed effect' – the narrative situation in which a character performs an action with a certain intention or purpose, but

the *result* of the act is always contrary to the *intention*: Svyatogor wants to kill his destined wife, but instead he heals her illness. He wants to possess her for eternity, but he instead loses her forever. Ilya, in comparison, wants to kill Svyatogor in the field, but instead he wakes him. Then he wants to release him from the coffin but instead he binds him there for eternity, and so on. What was the meaning of this narrative pattern?

One possible interpretation is that it is a narrative attempt to comprehensively express the ambivalence of the relations between the characters of the story. It seems that this pattern always turns up in a situations where social relations between characters are somehow overestimated or underestimated (i.e. when someone wants to kill the other or to keep him or her forever). The 'pattern of the reversed effect' could be the representation of the ambivalent, questionable and psychologically unjustifiable moral nature of the particular acts: Ilya 'loves' his mentor so much that he buries him by means of his attempts to release him. Svyatogor 'loves' his wife so much that he forces her to adultery by means of his excessive efforts to harness and bind her. The narrative schema tries to disguise these inevitable but morally dubious acts (as killing of the mentor) as seemingly good, benevolent intentions, only with the reversed effect. Unconscious psychological content is thus transformed into the symbolic form of the narrative, in which it is rationalized and idealised. But it eventually need to be resolved in a way the story wants it to: *tragically*.

The second option for the interpretation – which could be perceived as an amendment to the first one – can be proposed in regard to the central role of the *inevitability of the fate* motive. During my analysis, it became apparent that everything Svyatogor does to prevent his predestined fate eventually leads to the exact result that was prophesized or predestined, which is again the result of the 'pattern of the reversed effect'. However, this could also be the manifestation of a general human experience when an individual can never see the purpose or the direction of his or her fate in the present. He or she can only grasp it retrospectively. Only from retrospection can the past can reveal

its true sense. What at first looked like a blessed state of being turns out to be a passing delusion, later leading to tragic situations. And vice versa: what at first seems to be a catastrophic and unfair chain of events can, viewed in retrospect, turn out to simply be a path leading to positive outcomes.

The motive 'things are not what they seem to be' can be found in the Svyatogor's *bylinas* at varioius points.A small bag is in fact filled with the weight of the whole earth. A sick woman covered in scabs is actually a beautiful girl. What looks like an ordinary coffin is, upon closer inspection, a deadly trap. That invigorating breath is actually a deadly temptation. These heroes find out the true nature of their acts only *ex post*.

The possible moral lesson that the Svyatogor *bylinas* may have provided to its audience is that to rebel against one's destiny is always futile, that such rebellion only leads to a series of tragic events that fulfil the destiny an individual was trying to avoid. As Oedipus, who was predestined to kill his father and marry his mother, experienced, all efforts to avoid this lead to the exact fulfilment of one's destiny. And so it went for Svyatogor. The Svyatogor narratives communitate that no man can escape from his destiny, no matter how hard he tries.

Inaccessible to the everyday man, only the epic and mythological hero has the ability to know his fate in advance.Stories about tragic heroes such as Svyatogor – who 'knows more' and yet is powerless to stop the mechanisms of fate – could work as a means of comfort for everyday people, the listeners of the epics, functioning as a means deal with the unexpected 'structural twists' of their own life narratives.

Even though Svyatogor was probably a negative example, his status of the 'elder bogatyr' and as a mentor of Ilya Muromets make him an important part of the East Slavic oral epic tradition. By studying his story and its twists, mirrorings, and allusions, we can more easily understand some of the other regularities found among the inner narrative dynamics and story-telling topics of the bylinaic epics. Eventually perhaps we can even reveal complex genetic and typological connections with the other Eurasian epic and mythological traditions.

# Master Poets, Ritual Masters: The Art of Oral Composition among the Rotenese of Eastern Indonesia

James J. Fox, Australian National University

This is a study in oral poetic composition. It examines how oral poets compose their recitations. Specifically, it is a study of the recitations of seventeen separate master poets from the Island of Rote recorded over a period of fifty years. Each of these poets offers his version of what is culturally considered to be the 'same' ritual chant. These compositions are examined in detail and their oral formulae are carefully compared to one another.

Professor James J. Fox is an anthropologist who carried out his doctoral field research on the Island of Rote in eastern Indonesia in 1965–66. In 1965, he began recording the oral traditions of the island and developed a close association with numerous oral poets on the island. After many subsequent visits, in 2006, he began a nine-year project that brought groups of oral poets to Bali for week-long recording sessions. Recitations gathered over a period of fifty years are the basis for this book.

The book is available in an open-access electronic format. For further information, please visit the publisher's website at: https://press.anu.edu.au/publications/master-poets-ritual-masters.
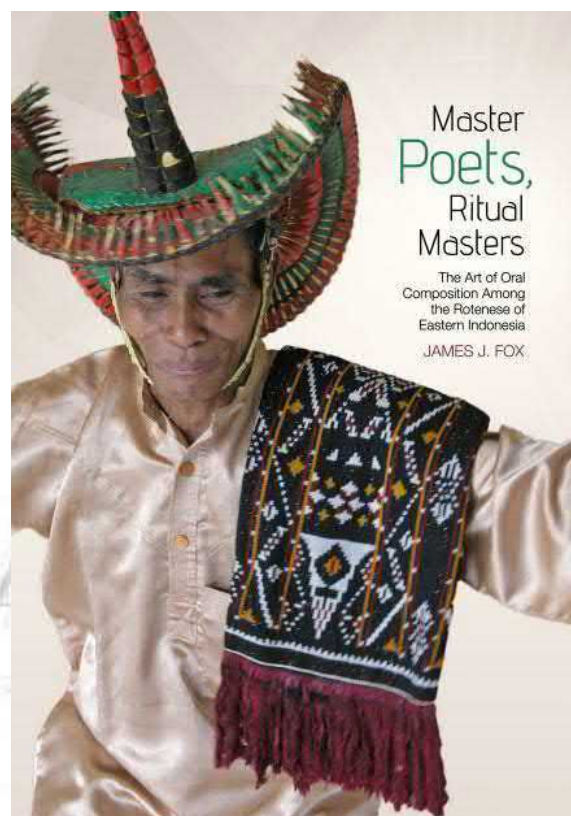
# (Magic) Staffs in the Viking Age

Leszek Gardeła, University of Rzeszów

In December 2016, a new book by Leszek Gardeła entitled *(Magic) Staffs in the Viking Age* was released as volume 27 of the academic series Studia Medievalia Septentrionalia. The monograph is partly based on the author's doctoral dissertation, entitled *Entangled Worlds: Archaeologies of Ambivalence in the Viking Age*, which was defended in 2012 at the University of Aberdeen Department of Archaeology, but has been fully revised for the purpose of publication to include previously unreleased material and new interpretations.

The monograph explores the motif of the magic staff in the Viking Age from an interdisciplinary perspective and in a broad cross-cultural context. A magic staff is defined in a general sense as an object with special properties deriving from the material that was used to produce it, or the appearance, words, and actions of its bearer. The author argues

that, by critically combining Old Norse literature and Viking Age archaeology, it is not only possible to identify material examples of magic staffs in the archaeological record, but one can also unravel the intricate symbolic meanings of these remarkable objects.

*Chapter 1* (*Introduction*) introduces the readers to the broad history of magic staffs and discusses their different examples and applications in a wide spatiotemporal perspective, from prehistory to the Middle Ages. It is argued that staffs made of wood, iron, and other materials are some of the oldest ritual paraphernalia in human history, and were used for a plethora of purposes by ritual specialists and religious leaders in various cultural milieus throughout the ages. In some societies – such as among the Ancient Greeks and Romans – staffs were also regarded as very powerful and important attributes of gods and supernatural beings (de Waele 1927). Following an overview of the different meanings and applications of staffs in times predating the Middle Ages, focus shifts to exploring their role among Viking Age Scandinavians. The use of staffs is discussed in the context of *seiðr* magic and several famous accounts of this practice are brought to the reader's attention (e.g. *Eiríks saga rauða, Laxdœla saga, Ynglinga saga*). Over the last two centuries, *seiðr* has been debated by numerous scholars, including philologists, historians of religion, and archaeologists. Although this monograph does not seek to explore the complete history of *seiðr* research and its various nuances, the major cornerstones and seminal contributions to this field of study are critically discussed (Strömbäck 1935; Ohlmarks 1939; Price 2002; Solli 2002; Heide 2006; Tolley 2009). In the author's opinion, in order to better understand the various intricacies of *seiðr* (including its human and supernatural practitioners and their ritual paraphernalia), one must take into consideration not only the textual sources that describe it, but also a wide range of archaeological finds dating from the Viking Age. In doing so, however, it is important to acknowledge the fact that any attempt to entangle texts and archaeology presents a number of problems; this endeavor cannot be undertaken uncritically. In order to clarify these methodological dilemmas, the final sections of *Chapter 1* discuss how and under what circumstances texts and archaeology can be used to effectively illuminate each other.
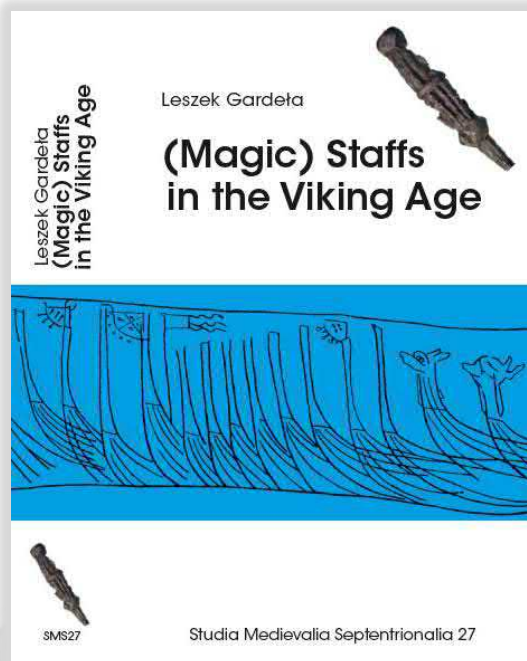


*Chapter 2* (*The Archaeology of Viking Age Ritual Specialists*) provides an overview of the history of archaeological research on magic and its practitioners in the Viking Age. Particular attention is devoted to the seminal study of Neil Price, entitled *The Viking Way: Religion and War in Late Iron Age Scandinavia*, and to a range of more recent work that seeks to expand and/or revise his arguments. Since the publication of Price's monograph, a number of archaeologists have devoted their attention to the material dimension of magic in the Viking Age. This increased interest in pre-Christian religions and expressions of past beliefs in the archaeological record has resulted in new discoveries and the reinterpretation of a number of older finds. These include specialist analyses of the contents of the famous Fyrkat 4 grave (believed to belong to a female magic-worker), and reevaluations of several opulent Norwegian graves from Gausel, Hopperstad, Oseberg, and Trå, some of which contained ambiguous iron rods that could have been used as magic staffs (Holck 2006; Kaland 2006;

Pentz et al. 2009; Sørheim 2011). In addition to discussing the results of these new studies, the final sections of *Chapter 2* summarise the author's recent work, where he argues that iron or wooden staffs from Viking Age funerary contexts are not the only plausible indicators of graves belonging to ritual specialists. In his view, large stones placed on the cadaver could also imply that the dead engaged in the practice of magic.
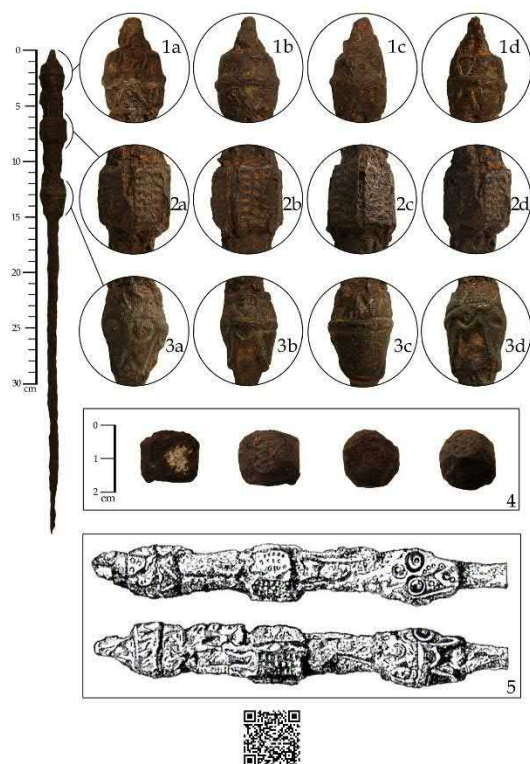


*Figure 1. One of the plates included in the monograph showing the staff from grave Bj 760, which was discovered at Birka, Uppland, Sweden. Photo and copyright Leszek Gardeła.*

*Chapter 3* (*Staffs in Viking Age Archaeology*) offers a thorough analysis of Viking Age artefacts that have been interpreted as magic staffs. After providing a critical overview of their different interpretations, the author explores various aspects of their material composition. He notes that they could be made of wood or iron, and are sometimes found with additional copper-alloy decorations. While the main focus of this chapter is on full-size examples of staffs, a separate section is also devoted to miniature staffs, which probably served the role of amulets. Furthermore, the chapter also examines iconographic representations of staffs in the Northern world,

particularly depictions of staffs on objects made of metal (e.g. *guldgubber* and bracteates) and on carved stones.

*Chapter 4* (*Staffs in Old Norse Textual Sources*) examines staffs from Old Norse texts, including those mentioned in the *Poetic Edda* and *Prose Edda* and in different genres of Old Norse sagas. The survey allows the author to identify several different types of staffs with varying applications. It is argued that some features of staffs mentioned in textual sources closely correspond to features of Viking Age staffs from the archaeological record.

*Chapter 5* (*Interpreting Staffs*) is an attempt to bring the archaeological and textual evidence together and provide a nuanced interpretation of the meanings and functions of staffs in the Viking world. In the author's opinion, the magic staff can be seen a multivalent object possessing a range of symbolic connotations. In addition to being one of the most distinctive attributes of the ritual specialist, the staff can also allude, in both a material and a symbolic sense, to other concepts and objects, such as a distaff, a weapon (e.g. a spear), a phallus, a key, a lamp, a whip-shank, and tools of exchange. The author also argues that staffs may have been conceptualised as models of the universe (*axis mundi*), and that they may have been believed to possess features of specific animals or even have been regarded as animals in their own right. The final sections of this chapter explore other aspects of the materiality of staffs, including how these objects were held, transported and stored. Based on archaeo-logical evidence, the author suggests that some staffs may have been regarded as animated objects which had to be ritually 'killed' in order to neutralise their powers. This idea is supported by the fact that some staffs are found in funerary contexts bent, broken, burnt, or covered with stones.

*Chapter 6* (*Multivalent Objects*) offers a range of final conclusions and demonstrates that the actual function of magic staffs often depended on the skillful mental manipulation of their owners, and that the belief in the supernatural power of these objects was deeply embedded in the pre-Christian worldview of Norse societies. This final discussion of staffs

from the Viking Age is supplemented by an analysis of similar ritual tools from other early medieval societies, such as those of the Slavs, the Anglo-Saxons, and the Baltic peoples.

In addition to an extensive bibliography, the book features a catalogue which thoroughly discusses almost all known examples of staffs from the Viking world, including precise details of their measurements, context, and state of preservation. Each staff is presented on a separate black-and-white plate with photographs taken from multiple angles. One innovative feature of this catalogue is the use of QR codes which link each of the plates with the Pre-Christian Religions of the North Database. By scanning a code with an iPad or Smartphone, one can obtain more information about a particular find and download full-colour photographs.

The book can be purchased directly from the publisher, Verlag Fassbaender (www.fassbaender.com), or on Amazon.de.

### Works Cited

Heide, Eldar. 2006. *Seid, gand og åndevind*. Bergen: Universitetet i Bergen.

Holck, Per. 2006. "The Oseberg Ship Burial, Norway: New Thoughts on the Skeletons from the Grave Mound". In: *European Journal of Archaeology* 9(2–3): 185–210.

Kaland, Sigrid Hillern Hanssen 2006. "Kvinnegraven fra Trå i Granvin – en gydjes grav?". In *Samfunn, symboler og identitet – Festskrift til Gro Mandt på 70-årsdagen*. UBAS. Universitetet i Bergen Arkeologiske Skrifter. Nordisk 3. Ed. Randi Barndon & Gro Mandt. Bergen: Universitetet i Bergen. Pp. 351–362.

Ohlmarks, Åke. 1939. "Arktischer Schamanismus und altnordischer seiðr". In *Arkiv für Religions-wissenschaft* 36: 171–180.

Pentz, Peter, Maria Panum Baastrup, Sabine Karg, & Ulla Mannering. 2009. "Kong Haralds vølve". In *Nationalmuseets Arbeidsmark* 2009: 215–232.

Price, Neil S. 2002. *The Viking Way: Religion and War in Late Iron Age Scandinavia*. AUN 31. Uppsala: Department of Archaeology and Ancient History.

Solli, Brit. 2002. *Seid. Myter, sjamanisme og kjønn i vikingenes tid*. Oslo: Pax Forlag A/S.

Strömbäck, Dag. 1935. *Sejd. Textstudier i nordisk religionshistoria*. Stockholm: Gebers.

Sørheim, Helge. 2011. "Three Prominent Ladies with British Connections". In *Acta Archaeologica* 82: 17–54.

Tolley, Clive. 2009: *Shamanism in Norse Myth and Magic* I–II. Folklore Fellows Communications 297. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia / Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

de Waele, Ferdinand Joseph Maria. 1927. *The Magic Staff or Rod in Graeco-Italian Antiquity*. The Hague: Erasmus.

## Mediaeval Transfer, Transmission, and Reception of the Latin / andiceoitoii Culture in the Saga of the Romans (*Rómverja saga*, AM 595 a–b 4o and AM 226 fol.)

Grzegorz Bartusik, University of Silesia in Katowice

Since the beginning of 2014, I have carried out a project on *Antikensagas*, the Sagas of Antiquity, both in Iceland as a visiting researcher at the University of Iceland, the University of Oslo, and at the University College of Southeast Norway. What was at first a research reconnaissance on the reception of Antiquity in mediaeval Iceland – with time and much sound counsel from my friends and mentors in the North – developed into a project for my PhD dissertation on *The Saga of the Romans* (*Rómverja saga*) in the context of mediaeval cultural transfer between continental Europe and Scandinavia.

This project has been implemented with support from Iceland and Norway, through a grant from the Financial Mechanism of the European Economic Area and the Norwegian Financial Mechanism under the Scholarship and Training Fund (The EEA & Norway Grants). In the following brief project description, I will introduce this work, which will continue until September 2019.

Since this is an ongoing PhD project, the following conclusions are bound to be preliminary. However, I hope they will be helpful to any reader interested in Latin-Ancient Roman influences on Old Norse-Icelandic culture and in Old Norse-Icelandic and Latin-Old Norse interferences.

My doctoral thesis focuses on Icelandic literature and society from around 1200–1400 in the context of the reception and reinterpretation of Latin/Ancient Roman culture in mediaeval Icelandic texts after the late introduction of non-runic written culture in Scandinavia. The purpose of the thesis is to discuss the possible Latin/Ancient Roman influences on Old Norse-Icelandic literature and culture. It employs *Rómverja saga* as an example, along with related Latin and Old Norse-Icelandic literature.

The chronological framework I set up for my thesis extends from as early as the second half of the 12th century (the composition of *Rómverja saga* has often been dated to around 1180), to as late as the half of 14th century, when the preserved manuscripts were produced (AM 595 a-b 4o and AM 226 fol.). The mediaeval manuscript known as AM 595 a–b 4o contains an earlier, fragmented version of *Rómverja saga*, the history of the Romans. *Rómverja saga* is a collection of Old Norse translations of selected ancient Latin works: Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum* and *De coniuratione Catilinae*, and Lucan's *De Bello Civili*. The younger version is preserved in the manuscript AM 226 fol.

Until recently, *Rómverja saga* was little studied. Over the years, *Rómverja saga* manuscripts have been edited by Konráð Gíslason (1860), Meißner (1910), and, most recently, Þorbjörg Helgadóttir (2010). The research on *Rómverja saga* manuscripts, including, the questions of dating them (and the text itself), manuscript authorship, ownership and provenance, and the narrative's connections to *Sverris saga* and *Veraldar saga* has been conducted by Meißner (1903), Hofmann (1986), Þorbjörg Helgadóttir (1987–1988; 1996), Hermann Pálsson (1988; 1991),

Gropper (Würth) (1998; 2009), Robertson (2004), Stoltz (2009) and Wellendorf (2014).

My approach, however, goes beyond these questions. I examine the place of *Rómverja saga* in the cultural transfer of knowledge and learning, as well as the saga's place in the *civilizing process* of Europeanisation of Scandinavia.

Latin or Ancient Roman culture had flowed into Scandinavia via waves of texts from the South. Literary contacts between continental Europe and Scandinavia started as early as the Christianisation of the North. Powerful currents of Latin learning and continental European culture were felt in Iceland from that period onward. The North underwent Christianisation, the first profound colonial *civilizing process*, in the 11th and 12th centuries. The region opened up to Latin culture, and later to the courtly culture and the primary intellectual stream of the Middle Ages in Europe – *translatio studii et imperii*, the cross-cultural exchange of knowledge – the transfer of written knowledge through translation – between the societies in Europe.

*Rómverja saga* is an interesting manifestation of the above-mentioned Europeanisation of the mediaeval North through the instrument of translation. By focusing on this 'displaced' text, an Old Norse-Icelandic translation/compilation of several Latin / Ancient Roman texts, I intend to highlight cultural connections between the two apparently unrelated times, namely Antiquity and the Middle Ages, and places, specifically between the Roman Empire and the Viking-Age and mediaeval Scandinavian kingdoms and the Icelandic Commonwealth. My PhD thesis aims to describe how certain Latin manuscripts that contained ancient Roman texts were imported from continental Europe and the British Isles to Scandinavia and Iceland to certain monasteries and cathedral schools. There, they ended up in the hands of monks who not only used them to teach Latin and possibly history, but also translated Latin texts into the vernacular. A further consequence of the importation of manuscripts is the influence the process yielded on the production of texts *in situ*, the education of the country's intellectual elites and social change *sensu largo*.

I primarily focus on the main intellectual stream of the Middle Ages in Europe – *translatio studii*, cultural transfer or cross-cultural exchange of knowledge and learning between societies in Europe. I also examine the 'cultural imperialism' that helped the Catholic Church and the continental monarchies gain influence over Northern Europe. By these cultural means, they were inducing those within their sphere of influence to imitate the forms and values of the dominant culture.

I reflect on the mediaeval Icelanders' pursuit of knowledge about the South and Greco-Roman Antiquity as a deliberate activity undertaken at all levels: beginning with the import of manuscripts, translation practices, intertextual relations, cultural transfer, and ending with changes in social cognition and mentality.

Preceded by an introduction and followed by a conclusion, my dissertation is divided into five parts. The first part establishes the methodical and theoretical background of my approach to the Icelandic sagas and ancient Roman literature. The second part concerns the background of cultural transfer: people, places, trails, institutions, structures, and manuscripts. The third part is a textual analysis of *Rómverja saga* addressing the question of what became of the ancient Roman text that would eventually be translated by a mediaeval Icelander. The fourth part examines the intertextual relations surrounding *Rómverja saga* and addresses how the saga became intertwined with vernacular Icelandic literature. In the fifth part, I focus on the strata of the social cognition as resembled by the language of the texts, looking for traces of Latin-Old Norse interfaces, points where these two conceptual worlds meet and interact.

Throughout my discussion I refer to a number of theoretical perspectives employed in fields such as linguistics, literary studies, and history. My inspiration for this work is Stephen Greenblatt's cultural poetics theory. The research undertaken in this study is also based upon methodological principles set out by postcolonial theory, intertextuality theory, approaches to cognitive linguistics as

established by George Lakoff, and approaches to cognitive poetics by Peter Stockwell. These theories enable me to examine *Rómverja saga* from many different angles. The resulting portrait is that of a complex phenomenon featuring material, textual, intertextual, and socio-cultural dimensions.

In the second part of my study I seek answers for a basic question: how did the classics (Lucanus and Sallustius in the case of *Rómverja saga*) reach Iceland from continental Europe? What was their route of transmission? I take a close look at the social institutions and structures of Scandinavia that produced a vital environment for literary activity (literary milieus, patronage, and monasticism), at the migratory networks of people travelling between Scandinavia and the continent (scholars, students, pilgrims, missionaries, or travellers) and at the lineages of transmission. I ask, what enabled this case of transcultural translation? What were the channels of transmission that reinforced this flow of ideas? For example, manuscripts may have been transmitted along the same route scholars, students, pilgrims, missionaries and travellers followed, such people bringing manuscripts, books and other material sources of knowledge home with them.

Digging into the textual strata of this case of cultural transfer, I open up an intertextual perspective. I ask, what happened to this cultural product that travelled through time and space to emerge and become enshrined in new contexts and configurations? What are the differences between the original text and the target text? How did the translator re-read the text? The translator, confronted with the texts of foreign linguistic, sociohistorical, cultural and literary origins, as ancient Rome must have been to a mediaeval Icelander, had to decode the text and translate it not only from a foreign language into his or her own but also from a foreign cultural context into his or her own. Differences and tension within the text indicate the presence of conflicting discourses. This is particularly valid not only within the interfaces of cultures and languages that occur in the translated text but especially in the case of a text that was created as a compilation of texts, texts that had originated in different ideological contexts. How did the compiler of *Rómverja saga* resolve the contradiction between the republican Sallustius, whose works have radical ideological implication and share a tragic pattern of fictionalisation and the monarchist Lucanus, whose writings have conservative ideological implications and share an epic pattern of fictionalisation? In this part of my dissertation, I explore omissions, additions, and other modifications that indicate shifts in ideology, from anti-royalist to monarchist, and changes in fictionalisation patterns.

With the flow of Latin learning to Iceland, the Old Norse-Icelandic conceptual world did not remain intact. The classics imported from the South and the Latin language had an important influence on the mediaeval Northern World. Through translation, mediaeval Icelanders incorporated European culture into their own, which made them not only familiar with continental European culture but also enabled them to identify with the region. Therefore, in the following part of my dissertation, I also seek to answer the following questions: to what extent was Old Norse-Icelandic language and literature, in the sense of semantics/meaning, influenced by Latin language and literature? Changes in mentality came hand-in-hand with language change. But what exactly was the influence of classical ideas on Old Norse-Icelandic thought? Might these ideas have been to a certain degree integrated into the mentality of mediaeval Icelanders? Or at least the mentality of certain groups inside mediaeval Icelandic society? In my dissertation, I explore these questions while looking for evidence of the transfer of social norms in the form of cognitive metaphors from continental Europe as it appears in the Sagas of Antiquity (*Antikensagas*) and the vernacular sagas.

The research in this part of my dissertation focuses on social cognition in the context of Latin and Old Norse-Icelandic literature and language, their interfaces, the cross-cultural adaptation of cognitive structures (a process wherein a bit of cultural information is brought into a society), its existing schemata, existing meaning structures, and how it may be subsequently accommodated and assimilated into the social structure, causing changes in mentality and worldview.

In order to see the network of beliefs and attitudes (connected with the worldview of the cultural community from which it stems) which underlie *Rómverja saga* and its *texti recepti*, Sallustius and Lucanus (and which would be otherwise invisible while always implicit in the texture of the saga), I dig deeper into the text and its language to find cognitive structures and metaphors.

On the basis of ancient Roman literature, *Antikensagas* and other vernacular Icelandic sagas and poetry, I draw a social-cognitive models of personality (based on the ancient Roman virtues: *virtus*, *pietas*, *fides*, *iustitia*, *prudentia*, *gravitas*, *clementia*, etc.) and cognitive models of luck and fate as understood by Romans (the *fatum – Felicitas – fortuna – fors – infelicitas* complex) and Icelanders (the *auðna – gifta – gæfa – hamingja – happ – heill* complex) with its cognitive structures, metaphors, schemata, and explanatory models. I detect and analyse differences and similarities between them, and trace Ancient Roman/Latin substrata in a ON-I model. Using as examples works by Lucanus and Sallustius, and works such as *Rómverja saga* and other *Antikensagas*, as well as related vernacular ON-I literature, I consider the following: First, if and how were these cultural concepts translated from Latin to ON-I? Second, how was meaning changed, accommodated, or adapted? Third, to what extent was ON-I language, in the sense of semantics and meaning, influenced by Latin? Fourth, might these Ancient Roman-Latin ideas have been to a certain degree integrated into the mentality of mediaeval Icelanders (or at least the worldview of certain groups inside mediaeval Icelandic society)? Fifth, if *yes*, in what way was the mentality of mediaeval Icelanders affected by these concepts?

Literature is actively involved in the making of society. It plays a significant role in discursive practice. Texts participate in creating the cultural moment from which they originated and in which they were read, and should be associated with other phenomena in society that occurred during a given period. Literature produces cultural effects. The truly important feature of this phenomenon is the creation of hybrid cultures open to continued changes. Therefore, we should read cultural

transfer in terms of 'cultural transplantation': elements become grafted from one 'cultural body' to another and are in turn adapted to new cultural environments. Through an assimilationist attitude towards foreign language and culture – Latin in the case of mediaeval Scandinavia – it was willingly and knowingly embraced by leading mediaeval Icelandic intellectuals as a *modus operandi* of the society's Europeanisation. Ultimately, a kind of hybrid identity was developed in the North, which consisted of the following substrates: Old Norse oral tradition, Christianity, and continental Latin culture.

The present project will contribute to the extant body of research on the medaieval cultural transfer by producing a monograph on the case of *Rómverja saga*. This monograph will enhance our understanding of the development of the mediaeval Icelandic society embedded deeply in the pre-Christian traditions, but strongly influenced by Christianity and Latinity.

## Bibliography
### Editions

*Rómverja sögur*, ed. Konráð Gíslason, [in:] *Fire og fyrretyve for en stor deel forhen utrykte prøver af oldnordisk sprog og litteratur*, ed. Konráð Gíslason. Kjøbenhavn 1860.

*Rómveriasaga (AM 595, 4to)*, ed. R. Meißner. Berlin 1910.

*Rómverja saga*, ed. Þorbjörg Helgadóttir. Reykjavík 2010.

*Upphaf Rómverja (I, II)*, ed. Konráð Gíslason, [in:] *Fire og fyrretyve for en stor deel forhen utrykte prøver af oldnordisk sprog og litteratur*, ed. Konráð Gíslason. Kjøbenhavn 1860.

*Úr Rómverja sögum*, ed. Konráð Gíslason, [in:] *Fire og fyrretyve for en stor deel forhen utrykte prøver af oldnordisk sprog og litteratur*, ed. Konráð Gíslason. Kjøbenhavn 1860.

### Literature

Dronke, Ursula. 1971. "Classical Influences on Early Norse Literature". In *Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 500–1500*. Ed. R.R. Bolger. Cambridge. Pp. 143–149.

Eldevik, Randi. 2004. "What's Hecuba to them? Medieval Scandinavian Encounters with Classical Antiquity". In *Scandinavia and Europe 800 – 1350*. Ed. J. Adams. Turnhout. Pp. 345–354.

Gropper Stefanie. 2009. "Sallust auf Isländisch: Ein Beispiel für die Position der mittelalterlichen Übersetzung zwischen Textrezeption und Textproduktion". In *Lucans* Bellum civile. *Studien zum Spektrum seiner Rezeption von der Antike bis*

*ins 19. Jahrhundert.* Ed. Ch. Walde. Trier: WVT, Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier. Pp. 155–173.

Hermann Pálsson. 1988. "Bækur æxlast af bókum". *Skírnir* 162: 35–50.

Hermann Pálsson. 1991. "Boklig lærdom i *Sverris saga*". *Maal og minne* 1991/1–2: 59–76.

Dietrich, Hofmann 1986. "Accessus ad Lucanum: Zur Neubestimmung des Verhältnisses zwischen *Rómveria saga* und *Veraldar saga*". In *Sagnaskemmtun: Studies in Honour of Hermann Pálsson on his 65th Birthday, 26th of May 1986*. Ed. Rudolf Simek. Wien: Hermann Böhlaus. Pp. 121–151.

Johansson, Karl G. 2007. "Texter i rörelse. Översättning, original textproduktion och tradering på norra Island 1150–1400". In *Übersetzung im skandinavischen Mittelalter*. Ed. Vera Johanterwage & Stefanie Würth. Wien: Fassbaender. Pp. 83–106.

Lönnroth, Lars. 1965. *European Sources of Icelandic Sagawriting: An Essay Based on Previous Studies*. Stockholm.

Lönnroth Lars. 1965. "Det litterära porträttet i latinsk historiografi och isländsk sagaskrivning: En komparativ studie". In *Acta philologica Scandinavica* 27: 68–117.

Meißner, Rudolf. 1903. "Untersuchungen zur *Rómverjasaga*". *Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Philol.-hist. Kl.* 1903: 657–672.

Paasche, Fredrik. 1934. "Über Rom und das Nachleben der Antike im norwegischen und isländischen Schrifttum des Hochmittelalters". In *Symbolæ Osloenses* 13: 113–145.

Robertson, Steven. 2004. *Sverris saga and the Martial Classical Influences*. Master's thesis. University of Oslo.

Sif Rikhardsdottir. 2012. *Medieval Translations and Cultural Discourse: The Movement of Texts in England, France and Scandinavia*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.

Stoltz, Hilde. 2009. *Salustius segir svá - eller gjorde han nå det? – Finlesing av Sallusts* Bellum Catilina *og* Rómverja saga *i eldre og yngre versjon*. Master's thesis. University of Bergen.

Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir. 2000. *Universal History in Fourteenth-Century Iceland. Studies in AM 764 4to*. PhD dissertation. University College London.

Walter, Ernst. 1971. "Die lateinische Sprache und Literatur auf Island und in Norwegen bis zum Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts. Ein Orientierungsversuch". *Nordeuropa-Studien* 4: 195–230.

Wellendorf, Jonas. 2014. "Ancient Traditions in *Sverris saga*: The Background of an Episode in *Sverris saga* and a Note on the Dating of Rómverja saga". In *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 113(1): 1–17.

Würth, Stefanie. 2007. "Die mittelalterliche Übersetzung im Spannungsfeld von lateinsprachiger und volkssprachiger Literaturproduktion: Das Beispiel der Veraldar Saga". In *Übersetzen im skandinavischen Mittelalter*. Ed. V. Johanterwage & S. Würth. Wien: Fassbaender. Pp. 11–32.

Würth, Stefanie. 1998. *Der* Antikenroman *in der isländischen Literatur des Mittelalters: Eine Untersuchung zur Übersetzung und Rezeption lateinischer Literatur im Norden*. Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn.

Þorbjörg Helgadóttir. 1987–1988. "On the Sallust Translation in *Rómverja saga*". *Saga-Book* 22: 263–277.

Þorbjörg Helgadóttir. 1996. "On the Sources and Composition of *Rómverja saga*". *Saga-Book* 24(4): 203–215.

# *Berserkir*: A Re-Examination of the Phenomenon in Literature and Life

Roderick Thomas Duncan Dale, University College Cork

This thesis reappraises the nature and depictions of *berserkir* (sing. *berserkr*), figures known primarily from Old Norse literature. It challenges the stereotype of the violent, out-of-control, liminal character and seeks to replace it with a more nuanced interpretation. In doing so, this thesis defines three models for *berserkir*: the probable Viking-Age reality, the medieval literary character, and the modern popular depiction.

The key question the thesis asks is: did *berserkir* in literature and reality go *berserk* in the modern English sense of the word?

Typically, research has taken it as a given that they did, and that the key question was how they did this. Suggestions have included: eating *amanita muscaria* (Ödmann 1925 I: 177–183; Schübeler 1885 I: 224–226; Fabing 1956: 232–257); consuming alcohol (Wille 1786: 273–274; Poestion 1884: 129–148); suffering from mental illness (Grøn 1929: 43–58; Shay 2003: 77–99); and via shamanic practices (Peuckert 1988: 88–100), among others. The unthinking assumption that *berserkir* went berserk has shaped the dialogue and vocabulary around them to the point where

it is difficult to discuss *berserkir* in terms that do not imply a berserk fit or frenzy; there is no translation of the Old Norse (ON) compound noun *berserksgangr* that does not presuppose illness or loss of control, despite the fact that its etymology is related to neither, but rather to movement. This perception is further reinforced by modern, popular culture depictions of *berserkir*. As the final chapter of the thesis discusses, the modern perception of the concept is that of a one-dimensional killing machine with no regard for his own safety or survival. With this in mind, my analysis focuses on what medieval audiences understood ON *berserkr* to mean, how that meaning may be related to the probable Viking-Age reality, and considers how modern depictions might have shaped and guided researchers' thought processes.

## Berserksgangr

The defining feature of *berserkir* in Old Norse literature is *berserksgangr*. This, more than anything, is how the modern audience recognises and engages with them, and this feature has been researched more than any other, as noted earlier. Two pairs of attributes define it: shield-biting and howling, and invulnerability to iron and fire. While other attributes, such as frothing at the mouth, occur so rarely that they are almost certainly the result of authorial inventiveness, these attributes are present in most narratives about *berserkir*.

Most *berserkir* that bite their shields also howl. These actions occur before the start of combat, and there is often a gap between *berserksgangr* and the fight starting. In *Egils saga*, for example, this gap is punctuated by a poetic contest which Ljótr loses (*Egils saga*: 202–204). The pause between *berserksgangr* and the main action indicates that *berserksgangr* was not a berserk frenzy, because a truly berserk warrior is unlikely to have held back. Thus, like a Māori *haka*, it was pre-battle posturing or ritual. Similar to Germanic warriors of Tacitus' day, *berserkir* appear to have used their shields as sounding boards to appear more frightening (*Germania*: 134–135), planting the teeth on the rim as shown on the Lewis gaming pieces (Robinson

2004: 28-29) and howling. In a pre-Christian context it is tempting to see a parallel here with Óðinn's spell in *Hávamál* 156 where he chants under the shield to carry warriors safely into and home from battle (*Hávamál*: 72). Thus, the Lewis gaming pieces provide a clue how the medieval audience may have envisaged *berserkir*, while the descriptions feed into interpretations of a probable Viking-Age reality.

Invulnerability of *berserkir* to fire and iron is sufficiently consistent within Old Norse literature that it may have been an element of historical reality too. Danielli (1945) suggested that resistance to fire was part of a fossilised memory of a ritual, although this motif was subverted in later texts to prove Christianity's superiority to Norse paganism, as in the conversion episodes in *Njáls saga* (1954: 267) and *Vatnsdœla saga* (1939: 124). Invulnerability to iron may have been either perceived through ritual, or a function of wearing animal-skin armour. A wolf- or bearskin could have proven effective against edged weapons, as *Óláfs saga* implies when Þórir hundr could only be wounded on those parts of him not covered by the enchanted reindeer-skin (*Óláfs saga*: 383–384). However, being flexible, it would have provided little protection against blunt-force trauma, hence the descriptions of *berserkir* being beaten to death with clubs.

Thus, while hidden elements of ritual were certainly present in reality but not depicted in Old Norse literature, depictions of *berserksgangr* provide valuable clues about the probable Viking-Age reality, and close reading shows that it is unlikely that medieval audiences would have interpreted howling and shield-biting as symptoms of loss of control. Instead, where it is said that a *berserkr* rages, it appears to be more a hyperbolic statement of rage as aggression and ferocity in battle than a description of going berserk. This idea is supported by the idea that going berserk would not be a positive attribute in a shieldwall that relies on holding the line as a team (Hedenstierna-Jonson 2009: 49–50).

### Social Position and Roles

Breen (1999) and Liberman (2004) maintain that analysis of *berserkir* must begin and end with Old Norse literature, because ON *berserkr* is only known from the literature. This would limit analysis to the texts, even though Viking-Age usage of ON *berserkr* is demonstrated in *Haraldskvæði* (102 & 113). However, the evidence supports much wider analysis, because *berserkir* are linked to *ulfheðnar* through texts like *Vatnsdæla saga* (24), where the reference suggests that *ulfheðnar* were a sub-group of *berserkir*. From this, and the clear etymology of *ulfheðinn* meaning 'wolfskin', a connection can be traced to the iconographic evidence of the Vendel-era helmet plates with depictions of wolfskin-clad warriors in association with an entity with a horned helmet that has been identified as Óðinn (Hauck 2011: 3–4). From there, the connection may be made to Migration period bracteates where similar iconography exists. Thus, it is possible to construct an image of the social position of *ulfheðnar* and thus *berserkir*, and, by extension, to comment on the roles and functions of *berserkir* in the Viking Age.

The iconography and imagery associated with *ulfheðnar* lies wholly within the aristocratic, martial domain, featuring on helmet plates from wealthy graves and on gold bracteates. This places *ulfheðnar*, and by extension *berserkir*, among the social elite situating them as retainers and bodyguards, if not lords themselves, and firmly places them at the top of society, not on its margins. It also places them in a domain that falls within Óðinn's purview. Thus, they would have been associated with the god without having to be his priests or shamans. The interpretation of *berserkir* as social elite is further reinforced in the *fornaldarsögur*, as in *Hrólfs saga kraka* which includes *berserkir* as some of Hrólf's closest retainers. The social position of *berserkir* in the *Íslendingasögur* is less clear, but they do engage with the upper echelons of society directly, and thus may be considered to be part of it, except in the rare cases where they are outlaws. Certainly, Halli and Leiknir in *Eyrbyggja saga* were retainers of Hákon jarl Sigurðarson (*Eyrbyggja saga*: 60–61) and thus originally members of the elite. Furthermore,

the use of ON *berserkr* in *Ívens saga* to translate Old French *champion* (*Ívens saga*: 80–81) indicates that the medieval audience would have recognised in *berserkir* figures whose role was that of a champion. In this role, they would have fought as bodyguards and fought judicial duels, much as the *blámenn* or giants in *Ívens saga* (80–81) feared Íven's lion might do.

The connection between *berserkir* and duelling is reinforced by the berserk suitor motif (Blaney 1982) where the *berserkr* challenges a man for all his possessions and a female relative. These duels appear to have had legal force, such legality being commented on in Old Norse literature, and the episodes have been interpreted as an initiation ritual (Danielli 1945) where the young man is tested before joining a warband. Weiser (1927: 80–82) and Höfler (1934: 340–341) saw in these episodes a form of initiation into warbands as *Männerbünde* or all-male secret societies. This over-interprets the evidence and ascribes to it a cultic nature that is not evident in the texts. It is more likely that they represent a form of coming-of-age ritual where the young man earns a sword as a badge of his adult status, and it might be linked to the requirement in the *Nyere Landslov* of Magnús lagabœtir that a man be *hólmfærr* in a case where he seeks to inherit (*NGL* 1885: II, 90). Thus, while *berserkir* do provide a foil for the hero to test his mettle against on the literary level, the medieval audience may have recognised a test of manhood in episodes featuring troublesome *hólmgǫngumenn*.

### Conclusions

The final analysis shows that there are three main models of *berserkir*, and that much research into *berserkir* does not clearly differentiate which of these models is its subject. The Viking-Age *berserkr* is a member of the social elite, a champion and a bodyguard, probably with a ritual component to his warband membership. The medieval literary *berserkr* incorporates the attributes of the Viking-Age *berserkr*, but can also be socially disruptive. The modern *berserkr* is a one-dimensional killing machine who actually *goes berserk* in the sense of today's idiomatic

usage, unlike his medieval and Viking-Age predecessors. In all of these depictions, the vocabulary used to translate and discuss *berserkir* devolves to the concepts of frenzy and battle madness. Translating ON *berserkr* as Present Day English 'berserker' immediately suggests wildness and frenzy, while President Day English 'champion' encompasses many of the historical roles and literary activities of *berserkir*. Similarly, ON *berserksgangr* is always translated as 'berserk fit' or 'berserk frenzy' and it is difficult to find an alternative translation that fits the sense of the component elements of ON *berserksgangr* without straying into the realms of the overly mystical (with translations like 'way of the *berserkr*'). While 'berserk fit' may be appropriate in some cases, as when *berserksgangr* is used to refer to illness rather than the activities of *berserkir*, a better, less semantically loaded, if somewhat awkward, translation may be 'the champion's movements'. It cannot be doubted that the choice of vocabulary can steer the analysis subconsciously and thus alternative modes of expression need to be found if further research into *berserkir* is to be pursued effectively. This thesis has begun that process with its three models of *berserkir* and its call for greater precision.

## Works Cited
### Sources

*Egils saga* = Sigurður Nordal (ed.). 1933. *Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar*. Íslenzk fornrit 2. Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag.

*Germania* = Tacitus, Cornelius. 1970. *Agricola, Germania, Dialogus*. Trans. Hutton, M. and Peterson, W. Rev. by Ogilvie, R.M., Warmington, E.H. and Winterbottom, M. Loeb Classical Library 35. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

*Ívens saga* = In Kalinke, Marianne E. (ed. and trans.). 1999. *Norse Romance: The Knights of the Round Table* II. Arthurian Archives 4. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer. Pp. 33–102.

*Haraldskvæði* = In Fulk, R.D. (ed.). 2012. *Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages: Poetry from the Kings' Sagas 1, from mythical times to c. 1035*. Turnhout: Brepols. Pp. 91–117.

*Hávamál*, = Evans, David A.H. (ed.). 1986. *Hávamál*. London: Viking Society for Northern Research.

*NGL* = Keyser, R., & P.A. Munch (eds.). 1846–1895. *Norges Gamle Love indtil 1387*. Christiania: Grondahl.

*Njáls saga* = Einar Ól. Sveinsson (ed.). 1954. *Brennu-Njáls saga*. Íslenzk Fornrit 12. Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag.

*Óláfs saga* = Snorri Sturluson. 2002. *Heimskringla II*. Ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson. Íslenzk Fornrit 27. Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag.

*Vatnsdæla saga* = Einar Ól. Sveinsson (ed.). 1939. *Vatnsdæla saga, Hallfreðar saga, Kormáks saga, Hrómundar þáttr halta, Hrafns þáttr Guðrúnarsonar*. Íslenzk Fornrit 8. Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag.

## Literature

Blaney, Benjamin. 1982. "The Berserk Suitor: The Literary Application of a Stereotyped Theme". *Scandinavian Studies* 54: 279–294.

Breen, Gerard. 1999. *The Berserkr in Old Norse and Icelandic Literature*. Unpublished PhD dissertation. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Danielli, Mary. 1945. "Initiation Ceremonial from Norse Literature". *Folklore* 56(2): 229–245.

Fabing, Howard. 1956. "On Going Berserk: A Neurochemical Enquiry". *The Scientific Monthly* 83(5): 232–237.

Grøn, Fredrik. 1929. "Berserksgangens vesen og årsaksforhold: En medisinsk-historisk studie". In *Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab Forhandlinger og Skrifter* 4. Trondhjem: Bruns Bokhandel.

Hauck, Karl. 2011. "Machttaten Odins. Die Chiffrenwelt der Brakteaten und die Methoden ihrer Auswertung". In *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit – Auswertung und Neufunde*. Ed. Wilhelm Heizmann and Morten Axboe. Berlin: de Gruyter. Pp. 1–60.

Hedenstierna-Jonson, Charlotte. 2009. "A Brotherhood of Feasting and Campaigning: The Success of the Northern Warrior". In *From Ephesos to Dalecarlia: Reflections on Body, Space and Time in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Ed. E. Regner, C. von Heijne, L. Kitzler Áhfeldt & A. Kjellström. Stockholm Studies in Archaeology 48. Stockholm: The Museum of National Antiquities. Pp. 43–56.

Höfler, Otto. 1934. *Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen*. Frankfurt: Moritz Diesterweg.

Liberman, Anatoly. 2004. "*Berserkir*: A Double Legend". *Brathair* 4.2: 97–101.

Peuckert, Will-Erich. 1988. *Geheimkulte*. München: Wilhelm Heyne.

Poestion, Josef Calasanz. 1884. *Aus Hellas, Rom und Thule: Cultur- und Literaturbilder*. 2nd edn. Leipzig: Friedrich.

Robinson, James. 2004. *The Lewis Chessmen*. London: British Museum Press.

Schübeler, F. C. 1885. *Viridarium Norvegicum: Norges Væxtrige : Et bidrag til Nord-Europas Natur- og Culturhistorie* I. Kristiania: Fabritius.

Shay, Jonathan. 2003. *Achilles in Vietnam: Combat Trauma and the Undoing of Character*. London: Scribner.

Weiser, Lilly. 1927. *Altgermanische Jünglingsweihen und Männerbünde: Ein Beitrag zur deutschen und nordischen Altertums- und Volkskunde*. Bühl: Konkordia.

Wille, Hans Jacob. 1786. *Beskrivelse over Sillejords Præstegjeld i Øvre-Telemarken i Norge: Tilligemed et geographisk Chart over samme*. København: Gyldendal.

Ödmann, Samuel. 1925. "Försök, at utur Naturens Historia förklara de nordiska gamla Kämpars Berserka-gång". In *Samuel Ödmanns skrifter och brev med levnadsteckning och kommentar*. Ed. Henning Wijkmark. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonstyrelses Bokförlag. Vol. I, pp. 177–183.

# Runes, Runic Writing and Runic Inscriptions as Primary Sources for Town Development in Medieval Bergen, Norway

Elisabeth Maria Magin, University of Nottingham

*Dissertation project undertaken for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Runology at the University of Nottingham, completion expected between summer 2018 and 2019.*
*Supervisors: Judith Jesch (University of Nottingham), Chris King (University of Nottingham) and Gitte Hansen (University of Bergen).*

The unknown traveller who brought a small wooden stick to the medieval Norwegian town of Bergen sometime towards the end of the 12th century, may have mourned said stick's loss upon discovering it was gone. Or he may have rejoiced – after all, it was inscribed with a message that might have gotten him into trouble were his wife to have found it amongst his belongings: 'Ingibjorg loved me when I was in Stavanger' (cited after Samnordisk Runtextdatabas, 2014 release). Whether he himself was the person who carved the runes in a moment of reminiscing, or Ingibjorg smuggled the inscribed stick into his pack when he was not looking, we do not know. Yet we can be fairly certain that a wife, if she existed, would not have been happy to discover this memento.

Dire and potentially painful as the consequences of that little message may have been for the man who brought it with him, had someone found the inscription hidden under the wax on a little writing tablet, it might have ended the owner's life. Consider the following inscription:

> I would ask you this, that you leave your party. Cut a letter in runes to Ólafr Hettusveinn's sister. She is in the convent in Bergen. Ask her and your kin for advice when you want to come to terms. You, surely, are less stubborn than the Earl. (Inscription N B368, Bryggen, Bergen, cited after Samnordisk Runtextdatabas, 2014 release.)

During the Civil War era,[1] a message like that could easily prove fatal if seen by the wrong pair of eyes. Since this inscription, as well as the first, was found in Bergen, there is reason to assume that the recipient followed the instructions and arrived in Bergen, where he lost or discarded the wooden tablet. His safe arrival there was surely cause for relief and happiness. However, the next recipient, one Eindriði, was probably not too cheerful when he read the following:

> Eindriði! This you owe in payment: two measures and three casks, or else(?) sixteen measures. And you should, Eindriði, take the corn which Bergþórr has to discharge. (You should take) no less than sixteen measures or otherwise take nothing. And I order my father that he pay me three casks … (Inscription N 650, Gullskoen, Bryggen, Bergen, cited after Samnordisk Runtextdatabas, 2014 release.)

These are three very different messages pertaining to three very different aspects of medieval life. They have one thing in common though: all of them were found in the remains of the medieval urban landscape of Bergen. Following a fire in the old town quarter, Bryggen, on July 4th, 1955, archaeological excavations were conducted in the area, where the town's medieval merchant and wharf area were once situated. Excavators hoped to find physical proof of what written sources like sagas had to say about medieval Bergen. Much to their surprise, the excavations not only yielded a somewhat to-be-expected array of
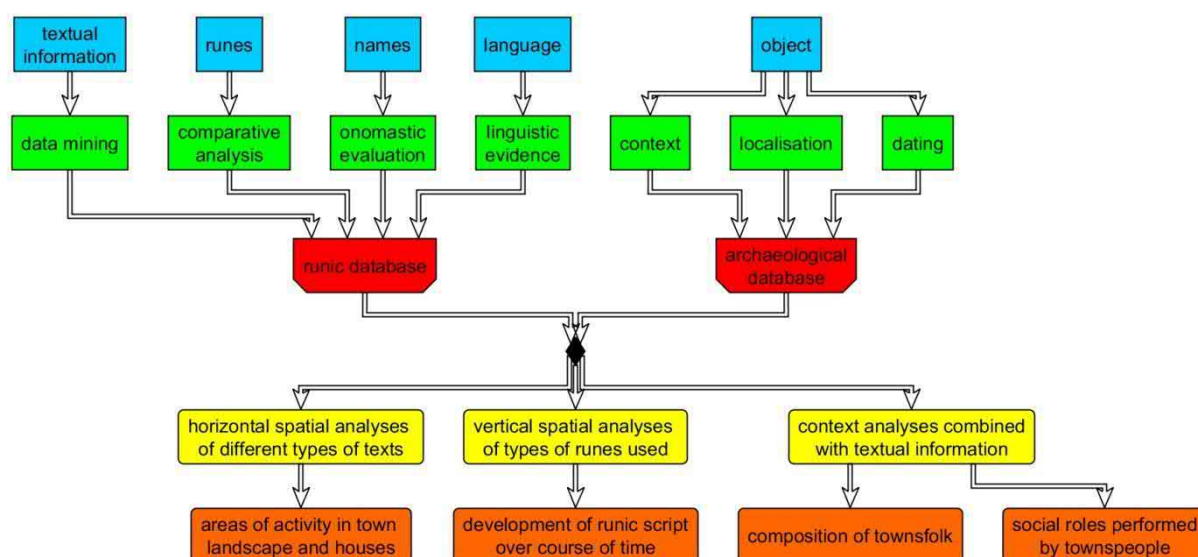
*Figure 1: Possibilities of combining the different approaches to analyse the society behind the runic inscriptions (c) Elisabeth Maria Magin, 2016.*

household items, building structures, items of trade and pottery shards, they also yielded a find type that had hitherto been almost unknown: runic inscriptions on small wooden sticks, carrying messages of various types.

By that time, runic inscriptions, while not unknown from Norway, were still mostly connected to Sweden, where the vast majority of them was carved into stones, commemorating deceased family members or friends. The inscriptions on these stones tend to be formulaic, revealing mostly information pertaining to the deceased and their family. The runic inscriptions from Bergen thus not only stirred great interest amongst scholars, they also caused a shift in our perception of the runic script. Earlier runologists had suggested that runes were mainly used by the ruling classes as a mode of communication. However, the Bergen inscriptions, with their everyday, even vulgar content, put that theory to the test. The inscriptions are also (in regard to the use of runes as a script) comparatively late, dating from 1100 to 1400. Most of the Bergen material boasts neither the monumentality of the runestones nor the kind of formulaic language found on them. Hardly legible and definitely not intelligible runic sequences that may be taken for bored scribbling are found as well as Latin quotes from classical literature, and rather explicit statements about sexual conquests are found

alongside prayers to the Christian god and saints. In fact, the inscriptions from Bergen are rather reminiscent of modern day Facebook or Twitter posts.

However, about 60 years after the first discovery, a large part of the Bergen inscriptions still awaits publication, and general knowledge of the material in both Norway and other countries is mostly limited to specialists.[2] This is unfortunate for several reasons, and in order to change the current state of affairs, a PhD project supervised by Judith Jesch, Chris King (both University of Nottingham) and Gitte Hansen (University of Bergen) has been initiated. Taking an interdisciplinary approach, the project aims to investigate the importance, function, and use of runes and runic writing in medieval Bergen, paying special attention to their development over the course of time. With approximately 680 rune-inscribed objects known, and about half of them deciphered, a database containing information about each single inscription was a logical choice as the basis of investigation. This information is then combined with context information from the archaeological database maintained by the University Museum of Bergen. Various approaches, exemplified in Figure 1, are applied to the material to gain a broad picture of life in medieval Bergen.

197

The examples provided above provide a solid impression of the variety of information that can be gleaned from these inscriptions. They yield four names which are used in an onomastic survey of the material. In a paper presented at the Viking World Conference 2016, it was shown that in comparison to other name corpora dating to approximately the same time (specifically the name corpora represented in the Icelandic and Norwegian Diplomataria as published by Lind 1915, 1931), the Bryggen name corpus contains some peculiarities that are in need of further investigation. Despite an earlier theory by Jan Ragnar Hagland (Hagland 1988a; 1988b; 1989), as a corpus it is closer to general Norwegian tendencies than to the Icelandic corpus; yet some prominent, well-used names from the Diplomatarium Norvegicum appear to be underrepresented in the Bryggen names. Since both Diplomataria contain mainly correspondence and documents written by people with the requisite knowledge and resources, i.e. the upper classes of society, this may give an indication of runes as a means of communication being preferred by the middle and lower classes of society. This thesis is further strengthened by the appearance of names in the Bryggen corpus which are not present at all in one or both of the Diplomataria. However, no large in-depth studies of changing naming customs over the course of the Middle Ages in Norway and Iceland have been conducted as of yet. A diachronic study of name use in Bergen, Norway in general and Iceland will thus necessarily remain exemplary; but since the Bryggen corpus can be dated fairly well, the corpus can provide a scaffolding for future research on a larger scale.

A different approach leaves aside names and instead looks more closely at the content and purpose of each message in itself. Since there is such a wide variety of texts, it seems plausible that certain types of inscription may point to different areas of activity in the town landscape. Due to comparatively good documentation of the excavation area, it is possible to map the exact location of a number of runic inscriptions in the context of a unit, for example a house or a thoroughfare. Although

the wooden sticks featuring these inscriptions are not large – and may easily have been lost in places where they have no business being – it is possible to pick out inscriptions which have very likely been deposited where they were used (cf. Hansen 2005: 51). Initial test runs with Geographical Information Systems (GIS) have proven that it is possible to look at patterns inside the larger excavation area; what remains to be seen is how much such an analysis can contribute to detailed analyses on a house/street level. In the meantime, though, an example of how the mapping of a specific kind of inscription works may suffice.

The type of inscription chosen are the so-called *name tags*, small sticks or pieces of wood bearing only a name and in some cases the verb "owns", sometimes succeeded by the goods owned. They were used by merchants to mark their wares. These inscriptions have been extracted from the runic database by taking the scholarly opinion of their use and purpose as a means of filtering all available runic material. They are subsequently mapped using available coordinates, which produced the map presented in Figure 2.
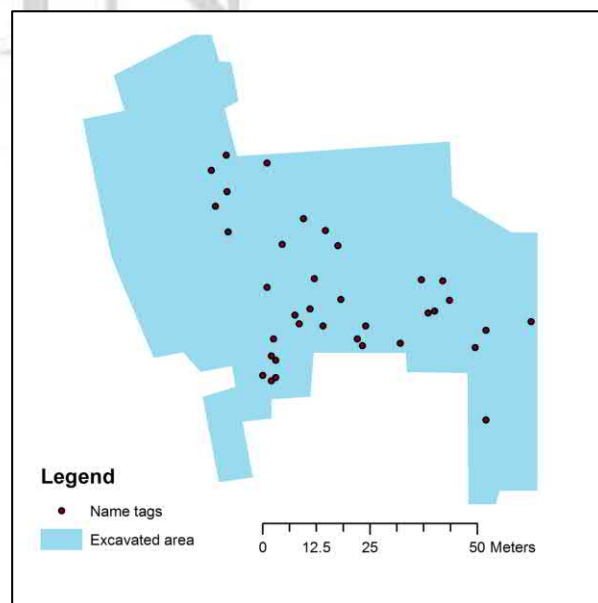


*Figure 2: Occurrence of name tags in the excavation area of the Bryggen Site BRM 0 in Bergen (c) Elisabeth Maria Magin, 2016.*

Although only 36 of the approximately 100 name tags could be mapped during the test runs (this being due to coordinates lacking for the rest), so far the spatial pattern suggests that name tags occur more frequently in the

foremost parts of the excavation area, closer to the waterfront. Since name tags are traditionally connected to trade and tradesmen, this might hint at storerooms for goods located near the waterfront to allow for easy access when loading and unloading cargo, and it stands to reason that traders would prefer to store their goods close to the waterfront rather than further back. This pattern, though, will need to be compared to maps including the as of yet unmapped name tags as well as the dating of each individual name tag. These analyses will require different approaches, though, as GIS mapping is reliant on coordinates. As the project moves into its second year, these key issues (missing coordinate data, *in situ* finds, and varying/missing dating) will need to be addressed. However, the database created for this project has proven to be a vital tool for interpretation, and will continue to be expanded, thus rendering results clearer and more encompassing. It is to be hoped that by the predicted end of this project in 2018 or 2019, it will have helped to shed more light on what function runes had in medieval Bergen while providing new insight into the people who used them.

### Notes

1. Fights for the Norwegian throne started during the Viking Age and continued into the High Middle Ages. Ólafr Hettusveinn, the man mentioned in the second inscription, can (with some caution) be identified as one of the pretenders to the Norwegian throne in the Civil War era between 1130 and 1240.

He was declared king for a short period before another party overthrew him and his followers.

2. Every few years a newspaper article in *Aftenposten*, *Bergens Tidende*, or another Norwegian newspaper calls attention to these extraordinary finds, and they have been featured both in museum exhibitions and TV documentaries. This does not appear to have had any lasting effect on the general public's memory, though. For example, as of September 2016, while the English (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bryggen_inscriptions), French (https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inscriptions_de_Bryggen) and Swedish (https://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Runinskrifterna_fr%C3%A5n_Bryggen_i_Bergen ) Wikipedia extensions host at least a short article on the Bergen finds, the Norwegian Wikipedia does not feature an article on them at all.

### Works Cited

Hagland, Jan Ragnar. 1988a. "Nokre onomastiske sider ved runematerialet fra bygrunnen i Trondheim og Bryggen i Bergen." In *Studia Anthroponymica Scandinavica* 6: 13–25.

Hagland, Jan Ragnar. 1988b. "Runematerialet fra gravingane i Trondheim og Bergen som kjelder til islandshandelens historie i mellomalderen." In *Historisk Tidsskrift* 67: 145-156.

Hagland, Jan Ragnar. 1989. "Islands eldste runetradisjon i lys av nye funn fra Trondheim og Bergen." In *Arkiv for Nordisk Filologi* 104: 89–102.

Hansen, Gitte. 2005. *Bergen c 800 – c 1170: The Emergence of a Town.* The Bryggen Papers. Main Series 6. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

Lind, Erik Henrik. 1915. *Norsk-isländska dopnamn och fingerade namn från medeltiden.* Uppsala: Lundequist.

Lind, Erik Henrik. 1931. *Norsk-isländska dopnamn och fingerade namn från medeltiden. Supplement-Band.* Uppsala: Lundequist.

Samnordisk Runtextdatabas (2014 release). Online: http://www.nordiska.uu.se/forskn/samnord.htm

# Between Unity and Diversity: Articulating Pre-Christian Nordic Religion and its Spaces in the Late Iron Age

Luke John Murphy, Aarhus University

Submitted to the School of Culture and Society at Aarhus University in January 2017, this dissertation seeks to contribute to the ongoing academic discourse regarding unity and diversity within pre-Christian Germanic religion. John McKinnell argued that pre-Christian religion was *Both One and Many* in

1994, Fredrik Svanberg pushed for *Decolonizing the Viking Age* in 2003, and Stefan Brink demonstrated intense regional variation in sacral toponymy in 2007, leading to a groundswell of dissatisfaction with the idea of a single reconstructable pre-Christian religion. These ideas appear to have broken

into the academic mainstream in the last ten years, with articles by Jens Peter Schjødt (2009; 2012) and Andreas Nordberg (2012) in particular prompting conscious debate about unity – or lack thereof – in pre-Christian Nordic religion. The aim of this project is to engage with this debate by examining evidence for variation in the locations of religious praxis and sacrally-charged space in the Germanic Nordic cultural area during the Late Iron Age (ca. 500–1200 AD). The dissertation consists of a portfolio of six articles that employ different approaches to a range of source material concerning a variety of religious contexts. While each article addresses its own independent research questions, a number of running themes and issues underlie the dissertation as a whole: the tension between unity and diversity, spatialisation (the imbuement of objective area with subjective value), variety in the social settings of and diachronic development in sacral space, and the idea that distinct articulations of pre-Christian Nordic religion can be meaningfully identified along different axes.

The first article, "Reasoning Our Way to Privacy: Towards a Methodological Discourse of Viking Studies", is an analysis of methodological approaches commonly employed in studies of historical cultural phenomena, including religion. It aims to contribute to the nascent methodological discourse of the emerging "Viking Studies" field, and outlines and categorises a number of methodological approaches into two loose family groupings of "bottom-up" and "top-down" methods. The former are described as attempts to deduce the cultural categories employed by bearers of a culture, that is, as examples of Max Weber's *Idealtypen* that depart from the concrete and attempt to generalise on that basis (Weber 1904; cf. Frank 1997; Hall 2009: 1–20). An emic case study of *heimolleikr*, a medieval Nordic cultural concept akin to modern Western notions of privacy, is conducted on the basis of philological evidence from medieval manuscripts. Top-down methods are then argued to employ inductive reasoning in their application of external categories to cultural phenomena (e.g. Cole 2015; Shay 2003; cf.

Fitzgerald 1997; Jensen 2003), and their results described as examples of Ferdinand Tönnies' *Normaltypen*, which move from an abstract idea to concrete data (Tönnies 1931; 1979). An example of etic methods is presented in the form of a case study of "Old Norse Privacy", which is then compared to *heimolleikr*: it is proposed that the latter reflects greater stress on interpersonal relationships than is typically the case with privacy, which features a greater concern with the control of access to space. Finally, the polarised nature of the presentation of approaches in the article is once again stressed, and the abductive reality of most scholarship noted.

The second article, "Continuity and Change: Forms of Liminality in the Sacred Social Spaces of the Pre-Christian Nordic World" (Murphy 2016), is a study of the locations at and into which sacral value was imbued in the Nordic region during the Late Iron Age.[1] A range of types of such sites are identified through toponymic evidence (Brink 2007). Following a discussion of spatial theory (Foucault 1986; Hubbard & Kitchin 2011), textual and archaeological evidence for the social space of an etically-proposed grouping of sites including rocky places, wetland, and woodland is examined. The geographic and cosmological location of these places on the border of human settlements, and the subsequent marginalisation of the Other, is discussed (cf. Hastrup 1990). It is concluded that the sacral value of such sites was assigned on the basis of geographic and spatial liminality. A second grouping consisting of architectural sites – *hof*, cult houses, and halls – is then considered, and it is noted that such spaces are cosmologically and socially central (Brink 1996; 1997; Herschend 2009). It is argued that the cosmological Other could not be expected to inhabit such strongly human spaces, and that their sacral value was instead imbued on the basis of religious ritual such as sacral drama (Gunnell 1995; 2011). Finally, it is suggested that in order for a location to be invested as sacral space in the pre-Christian Nordic region it needed to demonstrate "dimensional liminality", a sense of detachment from the human centre of the cosmos.

The third article, "Processes of Religious Change in Late Iron Age Gotland I: Rereading, Spatialisation, and Enculturation" (Murphy 2017), is a study of the changes to – and survivals of – pre-Christian sacral spaces during the eleventh-century Christianisation of the Baltic island of Gotland.[2] It departs from the thirteenth-century *Guta saga* description of how the first churches on the island were constructed by (the possibly fictional) Botair of Akubek (Peel 1999). The saga's justification for the survival of the second church is deconstructed, and the Nordic phenomenon of *vé* investigated. On the basis of textual and archaeological evidence (Zachrisson 2014), it is argued that *vé* were spaces charged with both sacral value and a prohibition of violence, and featured a range of objective barriers and subjective boundaries. Gotlandic evidence for other spaces where violence was forbidden or taboo is considered, and it is proposed that the "vi" of *Guta saga* was a permanent ritual location in which Botair deliberately built a church in an attempt at inculturative Christianisation (cf. Bintley 2015). Such Christianisation is argued to have altered the ontological system within which values were assigned without altering those values. It is therefore concluded that Christianisation was thus a multifaceted process both responsive to and driven by spatial issues.

The fourth article, "Processes of Religious Change in Late Iron Age Gotland II: Centralisation, Enclosure, Privatisation, and Nationalisation", builds upon the preceding work in further deconstructing the process of Christianisation, and seeks evidence for notably Gotlandic features of pre-Christian religion practiced on the island. With reference to the second article (Murphy 2016), it is argued that the cliffs under which Botair's church stood in *Guta saga* may have been the primary location of sacral value on the site. A process of centralisation is thus proposed to have run parallel to the Christianisation of Vi (cf. Fabech 1994). The strengthening of the inside/outside binary and the reduction in experiential access to ritual inherent in the replacement of an open-air space with a building is discussed. Evidence from *Guta saga*, *Guta lag*, and toponymy is used to

suggest that pre-Christian Gotlandic sacral places featured a notably public character. This is suggested to reflect the notably flatter social hierarchy of Late Iron Age Gotland (Siltberg 2012; Yrwing 1978). The effects of the Christianisation are thus argued to have privatised sacral space to a much greater extent than had previously been the case, with concomitant effects on social unit formation. It is suggested that this forced a renegotiation of Gotlandic identity. It is therefore concluded that the Christianisation of Gotland was accompanied by and achieved via concurrent processes of centralisation, enclosure, privatisation, and nationalisation.

The fifth article, "Domestic and Household Religion in the Pre-Archaic North: Pre-Christian Private Praxis", is an examination of evidence for small-scale, locally-focused cult in the Late Iron Age Nordic region. It argues that such cult can meaningfully be described as "pre-Archaic" in Robert Bellah's typological cultural evolutionary paradigm (Bellah 1964; 2011). A paradigm of pre-Archaic domestic, familial, and/or household religions is first established on the basis of comparative studies of antique Near Eastern and Mediterranean religion (Bodel & Olyan 2008; Albertz et al. 2014). A household articulation of pre-Christian Nordic religion is then identified on the basis of textual accounts from medieval Iceland. This cult is proposed to have typically been performed in or near the dwelling; to have been dedicated more often to localised supranatural beings (including ancestral spirits) than to more widely-known deities; to have offered more significant roles for women than other pre-Christian Nordic religion\s; and to have been more common in the late autumn and early winter. It is argued that neither food-based rituals nor the use of iconographic representations of the supranatural allows the drawing of useful differentiations from other pre-Christian Nordic religion\s. The lack of evidence for *rites de passage* explicitly linked to a household-based congregation or domestic setting is also noted, as is the possibility that the picture of pre-Christian Nordic household cult that emerges in this study represents a largely west Norse, late pagan articulation of private religion. It is concluded that this model

of pre-Christian household cult is simultaneously an articulation of both pre-Christian Nordic and pre-Archaic domestic, familial, and/or household religion.

In accordance with the requirements of the School of Culture and Society, Aarhus University, the concluding text of the dissertation also takes the form of an article, entitled "Synthesising the Spaces of Pre-Christian Religion in the Late Iron Age". It offers a summary of the proceeding articles and seeks to establish how the findings of the those articles address the research questions of the dissertation as a whole. The dissertation concludes that pre-Christian Nordic religion was characterised by intense variation along all manner of axes, and that seeking to further our understanding of the interactions between these articulations and their aggregate assemblage will contribute not only to the study of pre-Christian Nordic religion, but also to the wider Study of Religion, Nordic cultural history, and Viking Studies.

### Notes

### Works Cited

Albertz, Rainer, Seth Alpert Nakhai, Saul M. Olyan, and Rüdiger Schmitt (eds.). 2014. *Family and Household Religion: Toward a Synthesis of Old Testament Studies, Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Cultural Studies*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Bellah, Robert N. 1964. "Religious Evolution". *American Sociological Review* 29 (3): 358–374.

Bellah, Robert N. 2011. *Religion in Human Evolution: From the Paleolithic to the Axial Age*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Bintley, Michael D. J. 2015. *Trees in the Religions of Early Medieval England*. Anglo-Saxon Studies 26. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

Bodel, John, & Saul M. Olyan (eds.). 2008. *Household and Family Religion in Antiquity*. The Ancient World: Comparative Histories. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

Brink, Stefan. 1996. "Political and Social Structures in Early Scandinavia: A Settlement-Historical Pre-Study of the Central Place". *Tor* 28: 235–281.

Brink, Stefan. 1997. "Political and Social Structures in Early Scandinavia II: Aspects of Space and Territoriality – The Settlement District". *Tor* 29: 389–437.

Brink, Stefan. 2007. "How Uniform Was the Old Norse Religion?" In *Learning and Understanding in the Old Norse World: Essays in Honour of Margaret Clunies Ross*. Ed. Judy Quinn, Kate Heslop & Tarrin Wills. Turnhout: Brepols. Pp. 105–136.

Cole, Richard. 2015. "Racial Thinking in Old Norse Literature: The Case of the Blámaðr". *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* 39: 21–40.

Fabech, Charlotte. 1994. "Reading Society from the Cultural Landscape: South Scandinavia between Sacral and Political Power". In *The Archaeology of Gudme and Lundeborg: Papers Presented at a Conference at Svendborg, October 1991*. Ed. P.O. Nielsen, K. Randsborg & H. Thrane. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, Universitetsforlag i København. Pp. 169–183.

Fitzgerald, Timothy. 1997. "A Critique of 'Religion' as a Cross-Cultural Category". *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 9(2): 91–110.

Frank, Roberta. 1997. "The Unbearable Lightness of Being a Philologist". *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 96(4): 486–513.

Gunnell, Terry. 1995. *The Origins of Drama in Scandinavia*. Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer.

Gunnell, Terry. 2011. "The Drama of the Poetic Edda: Performance as a Means of Transformation". In *Progranicza Teatralności. Poezja, Poetryka, Praktyka*. Ed. Andrzeja Dąbrówki. Kryspinów: Stowarzyszenie Pro Cultura Litteraria. Pp. 13–40.

Hall, Alaric. 2007. *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England: Matters of Belief, Health, Gender and Identity*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.

Hastrup, Kirsten. 1990. "Cosmology and Society in Medieval Iceland: A Social Anthropological Perspective on World-View." In *Island of Anthropology: Studies in Past and Present Iceland*. Odense: Odense University Press. Pp. 23–43.

Herschend, Frands. 2009. *The Early Iron Age in South Scandinavia: Social Order in Settlement and Landscape*. Uppsala University Occasional Papers in Archaeology 46. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet.

Hubbard, Phil, & Rob Kitchin. 2011. *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*. 2nd edn. Los Angeles: Sage.

Jensen, Jeppe Sinding. 2003. *The Study of Religion in a New Key: Theoretical and Philosophical Soundings in the Comparative and General Study of Religion*. Studies in Religion 3. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.

McKinnell, John. 1994. *Both One and Many: Essays on Change and Variety in Late Norse Heathenism*. Rome: Il Calamo.

Murphy, Luke John. 2016. "Continuity and Change in the Sacred Social Spaces of the Pre-Christian Nordic World." *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 12: 147–182.

Murphy, Luke John. 2017. "Processes of Religious Change in Late-Iron Age Gotland I: Rereading, Spatialisation, and Inculturation." In *Place and*

*Space in the Medieval World*. Ed. Meg Boulton, Heidi Stoner & Jane Hawkes. Routledge Research in Art History 1. London / New York: Routledge. Pp. 32–46.

Nordberg, Andreas. 2012. "Continuity, Change and Regional Variation in Old Norse Religion." In *More than Mythology: Narratives, Ritual Practices and Regional Distribution in Pre-Christian Scandinavian Religions*. Ed. Catharina Raudvere and Jens Peter Schjødt. Lund: Nordic Academic Press. Pp. 119–151.

Peel, Christine, ed. 1999. *Guta Saga: The History of the Gotlanders*. Viking Society for Northern Research Text Series, 12. London: Viking Society for Northern Research.

Schjødt, Jens Peter. 2009. "Diversity and Its Consequences for the Study of Old Norse Religion: What Is It We Are Trying to Reconstruct?". In *Between Paganism and Christianity in the North*. Ed. Leszek Paweł Słupecki & Jakob Morawiec. Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego. Pp. 9–22.

Schjødt, Jens Peter. 2012. "Reflections on Aims and Methods in the Study of Old Norse Religion". In *More than Mythology: Narratives, Ritual Practices and Regional Distribution in Pre-Christian Scandinavian Religions*. Ed. Catharina Raudvere & Jens Peter Schjødt. Lund: Nordic Academic Press. Pp. 263–287.

Shay, Jonathan. 2003. *Achilles in Vietnam: Combat Trauma and the Undoing of Character*. New York: Scribner.

Siltberg, Tryggve. 2012. "The Conception of an Egalitarian Gotlandic Peasant Society". In *The Image of the Baltic: A Festschrift for Nils Blomkvist*. Ed. Michael F. Scholz, Robert Bohn & Carina Johansson. Gotland University Press 10. Visby: Gotland University Press. Pp. 209–228.

Svanberg, Fredrik. 2003. *Death Rituals in South-East Scandinavia AD 800–1000: Decolonizing the Viking Age 2*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Tönnies, Ferdinand. 1931. "Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft". In *Handwörterbuch der Soziologie*. Ed. Alfred Vierkandt. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag. Pp. 180–191.

Tönnies, Ferdinand. 1979. *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundbegriffe der reinen Soziologie*. 8th edn. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Weber, Max. 1904. "Die 'Objektivität' sozial-wissenschaftlicher und sozialpolitischer Erkenntnis". *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* 19: 22–87.

Yrwing, Hugo Nilsson. 1978. *Gotlands medeltid*. Visby: Gotlandskonst.

Zachrisson, Torun. 2014. "De heliga platsernas arkeologi – materill kultur och miljöer i järnålderns mellansverige". In *Den heliga platsen. Handlingar från symposiet den heliga platsen Härnösand 15-18 September 2011*. Ed. Eva Nyman, Jörgen Magnusson & Elzbieta Strezlecka. Skrifter i humaniora vid Mittuniversitet. Sundsvall: Mittuniversitet. Pp. 87–126.

# The Birth of the Iamb in Early Renaissance Low Countries

Mirella De Sisto, Meertens Institute, Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences

Launched in February 2016, "The Birth of the Iamb in Early Renaissance Low Countries" is an ongoing research project at the Meertens Institute of Amsterdam expected to be completed in 2020. The project aims to investigate contact-related language change by way of considering changes in poetry as a reflection of changes occurring in the language itself. The present article constitutes an overview of the project and its areas of investigation.

This research project focuses on the development of iamb in Low Countries poetry. During its Renaissance phase, around the end of the 16th century, Dutch poetry moved from an accentual verse to a foot-based one (Gasparov 1996; Kazartsev 2008) by incorporating iambic meter, a result of the influence of French and Italian poetry. Italian poetry, during the development of Renaissance thought, had revitalized and adapted the classical iambic meter, and French poetry, inspired by the former, had elaborated its own version of the new metrical form. The use of iamb was far from Germanic poetic tradition; hence, its incorporation determined a deep change in Dutch poetry. The aim of this research is to analyse metrical and language change and to determine the role played by lexical borrowings in the two processes. The plan for this study builds on the principle that a large amount of lexical borrowings can lead to structural borrowings and hence structural

changes in the target language (Winford 2003: 53). This principle was combined with the observation of a great number of Romance lexical items that entered Dutch vocabulary during the Renaissance, which are expected to have contributed to the metrical change.

In the following paragraphs, I first provide a description of the context in which the change occurred, secondly I present the starting points of the investigation and, third and finally, I outline the goals of the project.

The Renaissance spread in the Low Countries with a certain delay compared to its birth in Italy and its development in France. Due to this delay, Dutch poets were exposed to works of French and Italian Renaissance poetry, which were already at a mature stage. Moreover, they could access not only the original classical texts in Latin and Ancient Greek, but also their translations in Modern languages. In addition, numerous were the translations of Italian Renaissance works into French.

In terms of poetry, the Italian Renaissance had been characterized by the development of the sonnet and of the *endecasillabo*. The *endecasillabo* is a syllabo-tonic verse, with a tendency towards iambic rhythm, which is composed by ten syllables plus a feminine ending. In this meter the stress pattern is relatively free, made exception for the tenth syllable and the one in fourth or sixth position, which are always stressed (Elwert 1973; Menichetti 1993; Gasparov 1996; Beltrami 2002). The stress on the fourth or sixth syllable depends on the position of some kind of caesura, or rather pause, which, according to Nespor and Vogel (1986: 281), coincides with the end of a phonological phrase.

In France, the poets of la Pléiade (the literary group of which Pierre de Ronsard, Joachim du Bellay and Jean-Antoine de Baïf were members), being inspired by Petrarch's work, promoted the use of the Alexandrine, a twelve-syllable line with an obligatory caesura in the middle. Being a syllabic meter, the alexandrine was composed without considering any internal stress pattern, but, due to word group stress occurring at the right edge of every word group, the sixth and the twelfth syllables always carried stress (Gasparov

1986; Lote 1991; Dinu 1993). Important sources of Renaissance poetry were the classical works from which the term *iamb* derives. A significant difference between classical poetry and the French and Italian development was its basis in a quantitative meter: an iamb consisted of a long syllable preceded by a short one. After several attempts at recreating quantitative meter, it was adapted to modern languages by substituting the concept of "long" with "stressed" and "short" with "unstressed" (Elwert 1973).

With this brief background in place, we can now turn to Low Countries poetry. Before the Renaissance, poetry was mostly composed following an accentual meter, in which a fixed number of stresses were divided by a varying number of unstressed syllables. The only exception seems to be *het leven van Sinte Lutgart* ['The Life of Saint Lutgardis'], a 14th century poem written in iambs, which constitutes, though, an isolated case (Zonneveld 2000). With the blossoming of the Renaissance, many poets decided to renew and heighten their poetry by imitating poetic forms used in the prestigious French intellectual scene, in particular by the poets of la Pléiade, and by imitating the icon of the Renaissance movement, namely the *endecasillabo* of Petrarch.

Yet in order to do so, Dutch poetry needed to undergo some changes and therefore the beginning of the Renaissance in the Low Countries was characterized by the passage from an accentual verse to a foot-based one. This was the way in which a stress-based language could incorporate the iambic foot, used in syllabic, syllabo-tonic and quantitative meter. It resulted in a line composed by a fixed number of iambic feet. Kazartsev divides Dutch Renaissance iambic poetry in two phases: a first phase in which deviations from the template are more common and the verse is freer, and a second phase, in which the sequence of iambic feet became more regular due to theorization by poets (Kazartsev 2008).

However, a geographical distinction has to be made. In fact, there is a linguistic difference between the poets of the south of the Low Countries and the ones of the north, a difference that needs to be considered: the southern poets were mostly bilingual, speaking

both Dutch and French, while the northern ones, despite knowing French, could not be considered bilingual per se. The relevance of this observation lies in the accessibility of the French structure among the two groups of Dutch poets. Clearly, both groups were fluent enough to understand and try to imitate French poetry. But only the southern group could have full insight into its functionality. This difference led to a significant distinction in the initial phase of iambic meter versification: on the one hand, in the south, cases of isosyllabism in the French manner were attested, which consisted of lines with a fixed number of syllables yet with a very free disposition of stresses and an alternation of iambic and anapestic feet (Gasparov 1996: 193; Zonneveld 1998: 206); on the other hand, these instances do not seem to be attested in the north.

The exposure to the prestigious French and Italian Renaissance works led, along with the new meter, to the entrance of many lexical borrowings. As observed above, such an influx of foreign lexical items is expected to have an effect on the structure of the recipient language. Interestingly, a parallel situation was attested in English poetry, which, during its Renaissance phase, incorporated a large amount of French lexical elements. According to Halle and Keyser (1971) and Duffell (2010), it was in fact the great influx of loanwords that, by causing a change in English stress rules, facilitated the spread of iambic meter. To explain, the English stress system underwent a change due to a large number of loanwords from French, a change which consisted of a stressed rule for Romance items becoming part of the stress system. The change in the general stress rule enhanced the potential for English to accommodate iambic foot.

This research project's goal is to investigate the influence of loanwords through two different perspectives. The first perspective considers the role of lexical borrowings in the language as a system. In other words, it focuses on changes, mainly stress-related, that were caused by the large influx of Romance words into the Dutch lexicon. The starting point is the assumption that an account similar to the one that Halle and Keyser (1971) and Duffell

(2010) made regarding stress changes in English can also be made for Dutch. A study of the Romance lexical borrowings attested in a large corpus of Dutch poetry and an analysis of their influence on Dutch language stress will reveal significant insights on how the language changed during that period. In a more general view, it will contribute to the understanding of how language and stress can change under an extensive contact with another language.

The second perspective focuses on differences between the groups of Dutch poets. As observed before, the division is based on the geographical origin of the poets. The two groups reveal two different approaches to French poetry, namely an initial attempt at isosyllabism versus an immediate foot-based approach. A corpus analysis of the two groups and of their different phases is forthcoming. A comparative analysis of the two groups in relation to the Romance source will also be considered. The observation of the possibilities of deviation from the iambic pattern in the different phases and within the two groups leads to the elaboration of a diachronic picture of the process. Moreover, the comparative analysis of the two groups gives a more complete understanding of the different degrees of influence played by the Romance source. In particular, it explores the relationship between the level of linguistic competence of the poets in the source language and the degree to which the source metrical forms can be emulated in the target language.

### Works Cited

Beltrami, Pietro G. 2002. *La metrica italiana.* Il Mulino: Bologna.

Dinu, Mihai. 1993. "Structure accentuelles de l'alexandrin che Racine". In *Langue Française.* 99: 63–74.

Duffell, Martin. 2010. "Syllable and Foot: The Influence of French Metrics on English Verse". In *Études de langue et de littérature médiévales offertes à Peter T. Ricketts à l'occasion de son 70ème anniversaire.* Turnout: Brepols. Pp. 771–586.

Elwert, Theodor W. 1973. *Versificazione italiana dalle origini ai giorni nostri.* Firenze: Le Monnier.

Gasparov, M. L. 1996. *A History of European Versification.* Translated by Smith, G. S. and Tarlinskaja, Marina. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Halle, Morris and Keyser, Samuel. *English Stress: Its Form, Its Growth, and Its Role in Verse.* New York: Harper.

Kazartsev, Eugeny. 2008. "Types of Interaction between Meter and Language in Relation to the Spread of the Syllabo-tonic in European Verse from the End of the 16th Century to the Mid 18th Century". *Glottotheory* 1: 31–37.

Lote, Georges. 1991. *Histoire du verse Française.* Tome I. Aix-en-Provence: Presse universitaires de Provence.

Menichetti, Aldo. 1993. *Metrica italiana.* Antenore: Padova.

Nespor, Marina & Vogel, Irene. 1986. "Prosodic Domains and the Meter of the *Commedia*". In *Prosodic Phonology.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. Pp. 273–298.

Winford, Donald. 2003. *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Zonneveld, Wim. 2000. *Van Affligem en Chaucer: het Leven van Sinte Lutgart als jambisch Gedicht.* Utrecht: Ruygh-Bewerp XII-

Zonneveld, Wim. 1998. Lutgart, Willem and Geoffrey: a Study of 13th Century Dutch Metre. Ms. University of Utrecht.

# MASTER'S THESES

## Bodies Become Stars: Numinous Transformation of Physical Damage in Heathen Cosmology

Ross Downing, University of the Highlands and Islands

This study is borne out of the recognition of a pattern in Old Norse mythology where figures lose a body-part but gain a positive attribute. The classic example is Óðinn, a god who gave his eye for wisdom. The study's introductory section deals with previous attempts by scholars to understand Old Norse cosmology. From a thorough discussion of current methods, models, and theories, I define several parameters that allow for a study of the corpus's complex body of religious stories. Having established a ground for discourse, my analysis section lists a number of major instances of body-damage in the myths and interprets these events in emic terms. My observation is that there are several variations of a transformative pattern of the *physical* to the *spiritual*. There are two main appearances of this motif: First, *fólginn*, an emic concept of physical loss which leads to a change in the soul-types (*hugr*, *hamr*) of the individual and second, transpersonal empowerment, whereby the physical damage of one individual provides power (*megin*) to another individual. Finally, I conclude that there are several possibilities in which this religious language could be expressed in Old Norse cosmology, and that this language fundamentally serves as a means to understand communication between the material and the numinous.

## A Heathen Mecca: Interpreting the International Germanic Contemporary Pagan Response to the Icelandic Temple

Ross Downing, University of the Highlands and Islands

In 2008, *Ásatrúarfélagið*, Iceland's largest Germanic Contemporary Pagan (Heathen) organisation, purchased land to build a partly state-funded temple in Reykjavík. The structure was commonly covered by international media as 'the first Viking temple in 1000 years'. As of January 2017, the temple remains unfinished, but in the last eight years since its announcement, four Heathen temples have been built or purchased and converted by groups in the United States, United Kingdom, Spain, and Denmark. All used the same headline in their promotion. All four groups share a *folkish* (racialist) interpretation of Heathenship which is opposed by *Ásatrúarfélagið* and many other Heathens around the world. A number of events within the Heathen community in the last two years show a growing polarisation and division between Folkish and non-Folkish Heathens. This thesis uses data from interviews with 78 Heathens in North, Central, and South America; Africa; Europe; Australasia; and Asia, and from a questionnaire that received responses from 110 Heathens in the United States. The data shows that many Heathens

perceive Folkish Heathens as in competition with the Icelandic temple. Moreover, the Icelandic temple is a beacon for change and inspiration among Heathens. Nearly all of my 188 informants intend to visit the temple, proving it is a significant turning point for this New Religious Movement, bringing a sense of strengthened confidence and international community. The data also indicates that racialist organisations' own temples are representative of competing religious 'market forces'. This, in turn, has led to non-Folkish Heathens becoming more confident and communicative, and closing ranks against racialist Heathens. This activity indicates that many Heathens believe the temple itself will improve public relations along with their social standing, numbers, and ability to practice publicly, ultimately allowing them to live more open and influential religious lives.

# Weaponry from the 9th to 11th Centuries from Watery Locations in North-Western Poland

Klaudia Karpińska, University of Rzeszów

Since the early twentieth century, numerous early medieval weapons have been found in lakes and rivers in northwestern Poland. These include complete and fragmentarily preserved swords, saxes, axes, battle axes, spears, javelins, and helmets as well as a chainmail. Several of these weapons are decorated with fine and elaborate ornaments. Interestingly, some of these weapon finds were accompanied by everyday objects such as tools and utensils, jewellery, costume elements, horse tack, and riding equipment.

Over many years, numerous researchers have sought to explain the circumstances which might have led to the weapons ending up in lakes and rivers. Two primary explanations for the presence of these weapons are proposed in Polish academic literature. The first explanation sees them as accidental losses and as objects that fell into the water during battles while the second associates them with ritual practices. In my opinion, however, this problem is more complicated than it seems. In my master's thesis, I attempt to analyse and re-interpret all weapon finds from water contexts in a manner never before attempted.

The first chapter (*Introduction*) includes basic information concerning the chronological and territorial scope of the thesis. It contains a detailed description of the regional geography of the five current voivodeships[1]. The chapter additionally provides a chronology of Poland in the early Middle Ages.

Chapter 2 (*A History of Research and Interpretations*) provides an overview of past interpretations of weapons from thirteen lakes[2] and five rivers.[3]

Chapter 3 (*Typological Analysis of Weaponry*) discusses the typology of weapons from waters. It compares dating and the shape of particular weapons from lakes and rivers with the types of military equipment included in Andrzej Nadolski's (1954) and Jan Petersen's (1919) typologies.

The next chapter (*Weapons in Watery Locations*) is divided into three parts (1. *Losses?*; 2. *Traces of Cult?*; and 3. *Weapons in lakes and rivers*) and provides a new analysis and re-interpretation of military equipment from watery locations. The first part places a particular focus on finds from Lake Lednica and explores the possibilities of interpreting weapons from watery locations as accidental losses.[4] The second part of Chapter 4 examines all weapon finds from lakes as potential traces of early medieval Slavic rituals. It also considers the potential sacral function of these objects in the context of medieval textual sources (such as *Chronicon Thietmari*) and accounts from folklore. In the last part of this chapter, finds from lakes and

rivers in northwestern Poland are compared with those from old Denmark and Mecklenburg.

The last chapter (*Conclusions*) includes some concluding remarks and presents future research possibilities. I suggest that the weapons found in watery locations might reflect various events not necessarily of military nature.

This master's thesis also features a detailed catalogue of all weapon finds from watery locations in northwestern Poland and is supplemented by plates presenting selected artefacts mentioned in the thesis.

### *Notes*

1. The thesis describes regions of the current West Pomeranian Voivodeship, Pomeranian Voivodeship, Lubusz Voivodeship, Greater Poland Voivodeship, and Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship.
2. The watery locations (lakes) analysed in the thesis include: Bnin (site no. 1), Bobięcino (site no. 3), Giecz (site no. 2), Gwieździn (site no. 54), Hornówek (site no. 8), Izdebno (site no. 5), Łoniewo (site no. 1), Nętno (site no. 38), Niedźwiedź (site no. 5), Orchowo (unnumbered site), Pszczew (site no. 2), Rybitwy-Ostrów Lednicki (sites no. 3a and 3b), Świeszyno (site no. 48), Trzynik (site no. 12), and Żółte (site no. 33).
3. The thesis examines weapons discovered in the followings rivers: Dziwna, Maskawa (Moskawa), Noteć, Odra, and Rega.
4. Artefacts form Lednica Lake discovered in the context of charred wood and among the remains of bridges are in majority interpreted as the remains of one episode: the invasion of Greater Poland by the Czech Duke Břetislav I in 1038 or 1039. In my thesis, I disagree with this statement. I argue that these finds could be the remains of several different events rather than a single battle.

### *Works Cited*

Nadolski, Andrzej 1954. *Studia nad uzbrojeniem polskim w X, XI i XII wieku*. Łódź: Zakład im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu.

Petersen, Jan 1919. *De norske vikingesverd. En typologisk-kronologisk studie over vikingetidens vaaben*. Kristiania: Dybwad.

## The 11th Annual Aarhus Student Symposium on Viking and Medieval Scandinavian Subjects
### 25th–26th April 2018, Aarhus, Denmark

We are delighted to announce the eleventh annual interdisciplinary Aarhus Student Symposium on Viking and Medieval Scandinavian Subjects. If you are a student with an interest in a topic related to Viking and Medieval Scandinavia – such as Religion, Literature, History, Language, Art, Material Culture, Ideology, Mythology, Reception History, or any other relevant subject – we hereby invite you to submit a proposal for a paper presentation.

Students at all levels, from BA to PhD, are invited to participate. The only requirement is that you are enrolled as a student at a university when the deadline for call for papers expires. The symposium will be in English, and each paper will be 20 minutes long. The Student Symposium is a great opportunity to present your research and interests to a group of academic peers working in the same field as you. Moreover, it is a great opportunity to network and establish contacts with like-minded scholars.

All students who are interested are encouraged to send a short abstract of no more than 250 words in English to the Organising Committee no later than the 26th of January 2018. The abstracts will be reviewed by a selection committee. The committee reserves the right to choose participants according to the Symposium's requirements of quality, internationality, and interdisciplinarity. For further information, please contact the Organising Committee: Simon Nygaard, Mai Nørskov Nielsen, Line Korsholm Lauridsen, and Johan Sandvang Larsen (*studentsymposiumaarhus[at]gmail.com*).

For more information, please visit our website at:
http://vikingoldnorse.au.dk/activities-and-events/student-symposium/
or find us on Facebook:
fb.me/aarhusstudentsymposium.

# Would You Like to Submit to *RMN Newsletter*?

*RMN Newsletter* in an open-access biannual publication that sets out to construct an informational resource and discourse space for researchers of diverse and intersecting disciplines. Its thematic center is the discussion and investigation of cultural phenomena of different eras and the research tools and strategies relevant to retrospective methods. Retrospective methods consider some aspect of culture in one period through evidence from another, later period. Such comparisons range from investigating historical relationships to the utility of analogical parallels, and from comparisons across centuries to developing working models for the more immediate traditions behind limited sources. *RMN Newsletter* welcomes and encourages its readership to engage in this discourse space and it also promotes an awareness that participation will support, maintain and also shape this emergent venue.

The orientation of *RMN Newsletter* is toward presenting information *about* events, people, activities, developments and technologies, and research which is ongoing or has been recently completed. We welcome short-article contributions that are generally oriented to discussion and/or engaging in discourse opened in earlier issues of *RMN Newsletter* or other publications.

The success of this publication as both a resource and discourse space is dependent on the participation of its readership. We also recognize the necessity of opening contact with and being aware of the emerging generation of scholars and welcome summaries of on-going and recently completed MA and PhD research projects.

If you are interested in making information about your own work available or participating in discussion through comments, responses or short-article contributions, please send your contributions in \*.doc, \*docx or \*.rtf format to:
*editor.rmnnewsletter@gmail.com.*

For more information and access to earlier issues of *RMN Newsletter*, please visit our web-page at:
https://www.helsinki.fi/en/beta/retrospective-methods-network.

RMN