

LODDFÁFNISMÁL

In printing this thesis it has not been deemed necessary to include the introductory chapters on the Eddic poems, their age, birthplace, manuscript sources, style, meter, etc.

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LODDFÁFNISMÁL

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I.

HÁVAMÁL.

Hávamál is one of the grandest poems in the Edda, and one of the most remarkable that have been preserved from the pre-classical period of any race. Like *Völuspá*, it contains elements of supreme loftiness and the most mysterious profundity. It also has elements approaching the commonplace and vulgar. But thanks to its peculiarity of embracing all phases of life and thought, it not only gives the highest conceptions of the Old Northern genius but brings before us, in striking originality, the man himself, of this early period, in his every day garments, in his every day life. Hávamál is a code of religious mysteries, a compendium of practical wisdom, but a key to the history of Northern civilization as well. The original manner in which the highest god introduces himself as a sufferer, an evil doing, erring creature, and a dupe, lends a freshness and a psychological interest to the poem, or poems, as rare as they are effective.

By Eddic scholars Hávamál was early designated as forming a whole, by itself, a collection of several Odin songs united into one, for the purpose of giving a code of practical wisdom of life, for the use of man. Although the several parts, or songs, vary in age, it is now agreed that they must all have been written within the years 875 and 925. If the metaphysical parts of its contents tempted the collector of *Codex Regius* to unite Hávamál with *Völuspá*, modern scholars have, on account of its large store of practical philosophy, placed it together with another poem, apparently belonging to the heroic songs, *Sigrdrífumál*, which also abounds in advice of practical wisdom, the group thus formed being called the 'Ethical Songs of the Edda.'

Müllenhoff was the first to discover that Hávamál consists of more than two poems. He divides it into six independent parts, pointing out, besides, interpolations in the various divisions¹: 1) "Spruchgedicht," s. 1-78, 80; 2) "Odin's beispiel I," s. 79, 81-102; 3) "Odin's beispiel II," s. 103-110; 4) "Loddáfáfnismál," s. 111-137, 164; 5) "Rúnatal," s. 138-145; 6) "Ljóðatal," s. 146-163.

¹Deutsche Altertumskunde, Vol. V.

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The difference between the divisions made by Vigfusson¹ and Müllenhoff is not essential, although the former rearranges the strophes in an ingenious, yet too fanciful way. But on the question as to which of these divisions, or poems, the title *Hávamál* belongs, they differ materially. Vigfusson accredits it to the main part of what he calls the Old Ritual, s. 111, 138-164 (corresponding to Müllenhoff's *Rúnatal* and *Ljóðatal*), with addition of s. 111. Müllenhoff, on the other hand, thinks that *Loddfáfnismál*, to which he adds s. 164, is entitled to the name of *Hávamál*. It is important to observe the fact that Vigfusson, for his theory, borrows the first strophe of Müllenhoff's *Hávamál*, and the latter, for his theory, borrows the last strophe of the former's *Hávamál*, from which it becomes evident that both consider the strophes in question as the opening and closing ones of the original *Hávamál*.

F. Jónsson² thinks that the first division (s. 1-78, 80) is the original *Hávamál*, because, in the first place, it is the longest of the poems in the *Háva* collection; and further, it is found at the head of the poems, and finally, the explanation that it forms Odin's speech seems the most plausible. Moreover, Jónsson thinks it more natural to suppose that several poems, in which Odin is the speaker, have been added, in the course of years, to one original poem, than that several have clustered around the original poem as a center or kernel. To take for granted that all the divisions or poems are Odin's speech, as does Jónsson, is not necessary, although such was apparently the collector's opinion.

To give a short analysis of the contents of the six poems, let us commence with the first, s. 1-78, which Müllenhoff calls "Spruchgedicht." A stranger from afar comes to the house, he goes in, greets the host; after having uttered a few words in scrutinizing the interior, as to its safety, he tells that he has traveled over the mountain and suffered a good deal, and asks for food and comfort. Then he begins his speech of advice which forms the rest of the poem. He recommends watchfulness, hospitality, good manners, carefulness, independence, common sense, moderation in eating and drinking, silence and prudence, valor in war. He gives a number of rules for social intercourse: be sure to know thy neighbors; be not shy of the drinking horn

¹Corpus poeticum boreale I.

²Oldnordisk Literatur Historie I.

better be silent than speak foolishly; go early to bed; laugh not at others; go not fasting to the banquet; laugh not at an unknown guest. He speaks of friendship thus: "It is a far way to an ill friend, even though he lives on one's road; but to a good friend there is a short cut, even though he live far off; remain as guest not too long at one place; at home is best, but keep thy weapons ready wherever thou be." Friendship is, in this part of the collection, treated chiefly as a relation of mutual utility, less of mutual love. "I never met with a man so open-handed and so free with his food but that boon was boon to him; nor so prodigal as not to look for return if he had a chance." He speaks of wisdom deeply and well: "A wise man is seldom glad in his mind, when he is too wise." It is best not to know one's destiny in advance. The one who desires to take another man's property or life must rise early. Better be quick than dead. The living man may get a cow, the halt may ride a horse, the handless may drive a herd, the deaf may fight and prosper; better be blind than buried. A son, though late born, after his father's death, is better than no son. The keynote of the leading theme is one of bitterness and fierceness. The bits of advice given are in the nature of morals, but not of a Christian standard. They teach smartness. Life is depicted as a ceaseless battle in which everybody must be on his guard, prepared to receive and to deal out blows. The redeeming feature is the appreciation of the sterling individual and of a good posthumous reputation. A man is a man in his own house. "Though thou hast but two goats and a hut of hurdles, yet that is better than begging. One's own home is best, though it is but a cottage. His heart bleeds who must beg for every meal. Chattels die; kinsmen pass away; one dies oneself; but good report never dies from the man that gained it."¹

The contents of the first poem, leaving the interpolations aside, are consistent and congruous. The situation, as given in the opening lines, resembles the one in which we find Odin in *Grímnismál*. Among the Teutons, Odin is represented as the wandering god, who gives advice to men. The advice in *Hávamál* proves the speaker to possess the sum of all human knowledge and to be a being of still higher knowledge, consequently a god. Odin is the father of all earth dwellers and also the wisest among the gods.

The interpolations are s. 15, 16, 48, 49, 66, 67, 78-83; some of

¹Corp. poet. bor. I.

them are, apparently, quite old and seem to have been added in order to make the original poem fuller and conforming with the one which follows.

The poem is considered to date from the period 900-925.

Hávamál II and III are fragments of Odin's love adventures, perhaps portions of a greater poem dealing with the same subject.

The former is found nowhere but in the Codex Regius. Its moral is not to trust woman: "many a good maid if thou knowest her well, turns out to be false to man." But man is not better: "we are finest in speech when we are lowest in mind." Odin speaks of his adventure with the daughter of Billing. He found the sun-white daughter of Billing sleeping on her bed. "Come then Odin in the glooming, if thou wilt speak with the maiden." He was sure to win her; but when he came again, all the armed household was awake with burning lights and flaming torches. And towards morning, when he came for the second time, and all were asleep, he found the maiden's hound tied to her bed. The episode, as given in these strophes, is considered complete. The interpolations, s. 85-87, 88-90, are enumerations of things not to be trusted, while s. 92, 94, 95 are variations suggested by the theme of the story.

Hávamál III is the popular story of how Odin came into possession of the holy mead, beguiling Suttung and his daughter Gunnlöð. Odin relates this incident in his own life, to prove the power and blessing of eloquence, introducing the episode by a strophe of advice that one should be cheerful at home and merry with the guests, genial, of good manners, and talkative. The greatest of fools is he who speaks nothing. "I sought the old jötun; now I am back. It was not by holding my tongue that I won my way there. Gunnlöð gave me to drink of the precious mead while I was seated in a golden chair; I gave her back evil reward for her true heart and love." Odin became the betrothed of the maiden; they exchanged rings, and Óðrerir, the precious mead of inspiration, was the wedding drink. But Odin stole away the mead by letting the auger Rati gnaw a way through the rock for him. The poem ends in a subjective outburst by the author (s. 110), "I think Odin had taken his oath on the ring; but why trust his faith? He cheated Suttung out of his mead, and made Gunnlöð weep."

In regard to the age and place of origin of this poem, nothing is

known with a certainty. But as it resembles *Hávamál* II in style and language, it seems probable that both date from the same period. As above stated, perhaps once they formed portions of one and the same greater poem of Odin's love adventures.

By leaving *Hávamál* IV (s. 111-137) aside for the moment, we come to *Hávamál* V (s. 138-145). All the strophes in this division, except 140, have this in common, that they speak of the runes, their origin and use. They do not form one homogeneous whole, but are fragments of various poems, in various meters. Müllenhoff calls this division *Rúnatal*. The first fragment consists of s. 138, 139, 141. These strophes, the contents of which are very mysterious, are Odin's speech in which he tells how, and through what self-sacrifice, he has obtained possession of the runes, saved them for the benefit of himself and of the world. "I know that I was hanging on the windy tree nine whole nights, wounded with the spear, offered to Odin, myself to myself, on the tree the roots of which no man knoweth. They gave me no loaf, they offered no horn to me. I peered down, I caught the mysteries up with a cry, then I fell down again. Then I commenced to thrive, and to be wise, and to grow and prosper, word led me from word to word, work led me from work to work." S. 140 treats of Odin's songs, *Ijóð*, and has no connection with his runes. "I learned nine songs of might from Bölþorn's son, Bestla's father, and I got the draughts of the precious mead, obtained from Óðrerir." S. 142 is not regular, as far as the latter half is concerned, being a mixture of lines from various strophes. S. 143 contains the names of those who cut, or painted, runes among different races. S. 144 deals with the cutting, painting, interpretation and testing of runes. S. 145 speaks of runes and sacrifices. Several of these strophes are very interesting. S. 142 mentions the runes painted by the great sage and poet (*fimbulþulr*). S. 144 has: "Thus graved *Þundr* before the origin or men, when he arose and when he returned." The remarkable strophes 138, 139 and 141 belong to what is most mysterious and metaphysical in Northern mythology and have given rise to several interpretations¹.

Bugge's interpretation is that the strophes give a mystic and purposely mystifying description of the death and suffering of Jesus, the son of God, on the cross and his mission as a sacrifice to save the

¹Rosenberg: *Nordboernes Aandsliv* I.

world, following step by step, expression by expression, the early Christian traditions¹. Bugge thinks the whole rests upon impressions which the Norsemen carried with them from Christian Britain, where such apocryphal books of the Bible as the Gospel of Nicodemus, or *Acta Pilati*, were read and familiarly known. The only trait which Bugge considers original is the number nine, which is the number held holy in the ancient North. The idea of the highest god hanging on a tree (the gallows) he judges to be inconceivable by Northern minds, except through inspiration from foreign sources. Bugge demonstrates that the original meaning of *meiðr*, the word used for tree, is not that of a living tree, but that of a pole or post, identifying it with the Sanscrit *methi-s*, of the same meaning, which is derived from *mi-nō-ti*, "to place something upright, with one end fastened to the ground." Thus Bugge makes *meiðr*, in the expression of the *Hávamál* strophe in question, "*ek hecc vindga meiði á*," correspond to the Latin word *lignum* in the Biblical expression, "*pendet in ligno*."

B. Thorpe, in a note to his translation of *Hávamál*², says: "The idea of Odin hanging on a tree would seem to have been suggested by what we read of the grove at Upsala or Sigtuna, in which the victims offered to that deity were suspended from the trees. In the guise of an unknown wanderer Odin may be supposed to have been captured and thus offered to himself. It no doubt refers to some lost legend."

Hávamál VI is called *Ljóðatal* by Müllenhoff. He makes it begin with s. 146 and end with s. 160, while Jónsson shows that s. 161-3 are excluded by Müllenhoff without justification. It opens with the words: "I know songs such as no king's daughter, nor son of man knows." From this it appears, without doubt, that Odin is the speaker, who continues: "Help, the first is called; it will help thee with all suits and sorrows, and all kinds of sickness." Then follow seventeen songs: for healing, deadening the enemies' swords, breaking fetters, staying shafts, turning spells against the spellbinder, saving burning houses, quieting hatred, stilling wind on the waves, leading witches astray from their course, protecting the warriors, restoring hanged men to life, making a young hero invulnerable, knowing how to tell the names of all gods and elves, knowing *Þjóðrerir's* song (touching an unknown myth), winning a woman's love. The seventeenth song (s. 162) is of more than ordinary length and contains a

¹Studier I.

²Edda Sæmundar I, 51.

repetition of the preceding one; thus it proves to be an interpolation. In it *Loddfáfnir* is addressed, whence Rosenberg, and others, thought that both *Hávamál* V and VI belonged to *Loddfáfnismál*. In the eighteenth song, Odin alludes to what he will never communicate, neither to man nor woman, except to one who is his wife, or sister.

As regards the age of *Ljóðatal*, it probably dates from the same period as *Hávamál* I, II, III, and V, i. e., from the earliest part of the 10th century.

The last strophe in the *Háva* collection is s. 164. "Now the lay of the High One has been sung in the hall of the High One, of great use to the children of men, of no use to the sons of giants. Hail to him who spoke it. Hail to him who knows it. Joy to him who learned it. Hail to them who have listened to it." That this strophe could form the close to *Hávamál* I, II, III, or V, no one has ever ventured to claim. Müllenhoff claims it for his *Hávamál* (IV), and Vigfusson for his (V and VI), as seen above. But the strophes of *Hávamál* IV are all marked by the occurrence of the forms "thee" and "thou," and Jónsson demonstrates that it is impossible to accept as a closing strophe one that is addressed to all listeners in general when the speaker of the poem itself, as in *Hávamál* IV, throughout, addresses one individual hearer. Nor does s. 164 seem a fitting close to Vigfusson's *Hávamál* (V and VI), since it evidently contains reminiscences of several of the preceding divisions, by no means least of *Hávamál* IV. For this reason it appears most natural to suppose that it is a late addition, made for the purpose of giving a formal close to the whole collection, perhaps the invention of the collector himself.

LODDFÁFNISMÁL.

Hávamál IV is generally called *Loddfáfnismál*. This title does not occur in *Codex Regius*, but only in later paper manuscripts. It is not a correct title, for the poem is not the speech of *Loddfáfnir*, and is composed in "ljóðaháttir," not in "málaháttir." The text is given below after S. Bugge's excellent edition¹ (the strophe numbers of which are used throughout this thesis), with B. Thorpe's translation slightly modified.

- | | | |
|--------|---|---|
| s. 111 | Mál er at þylia
þular stóli a
Urþar brunni at;
sa ec oc þagþac
sa ec oc hugðac,
hlydda ec a manna mál;
of runar heyrda ec dǫma,
ne um rádom þaugdo
Hava haullo at,
Háva hollo i,
heyrdá ec segia sva: | Time 'tis to discourse
from the speaker's chair
by the well of Urd;
I silent sat,
I saw and meditated,
I listened to men's words;
of runes I heard discourse,
nor of counsel were they silent
at the High One's hall,
in the High One's hall,
I thus heard say: |
| s. 112 | Ráðomc þer, Loddfafnir!
en þu ráð nemir,
níóta mundo ef þu nemr,
þer muno góð ef þu getr:
nótt þú risat,
nema á níósn ser
eþa þu leitir þer innan ut | I counsel thee, Loddfafnir,
to take advice;
thou wilt profit
if thou takest it:
rise not at night,
unless to explore,
or art compelled to go out. |
| s. 113 | Radomc þer, ² [staðar.
fiolkunnigri kono
scalatu i faðmi sofa,
sva at hon lyki þic lidom. | I counsel thee,
in an enchantress's embrace
thou mayest not sleep,
so that in her arms she clasp |
| s. 114 | Hon sva gorir,
at þu gáir eigi
þings ne þioðans máls;
mat þu villat
ne manzkiss gaman,
ferr þu sorgafullr at sofa. | She will be the cause [thee-
that thou carest not
for Thing or prince's words;
food thou wilt shun
and human joys;
sorrowful wilt thou go to sleep. |

¹Norræn Fornkvæði.

²In every strophe commencing "Ráðomc" the first four lines of s. 112 are repeated.

- s. 115 Raðomc þer,
annars kono
teygðo þer aldregi
eyraruno at.
- s. 116 Raðomc þer,
a fialli eþa firði
ef þic fara tídir,
fastu at virði vel.
- s. 117 Raðomc þer,
illan mann
lattu aldregi
ohaupp at þer vita;
þviat af illom manne
fǫr þu aldregi
giold ens góða hugar.
- s. 118 Ofarla bíta
ec sa einom hal
orð illrar kono;
flaraþ tunga
varþ hanom at fiorlagi
oc þeygi um sanna sauc.
- s. 119 Raðomc þer,
veitztu ef þu vin át
þannz þu vel trúir,
farþu at finna opt;
þviat hrísi vegs
oc hávo grasi
vegr er vǫtki treyþr.
- s. 120 Raðomc þer,
goðan mann teygðo þer
at gamanrunom
oc nem licnargaldr, meþan
þu lifir.
- s. 121 Raðomc þer,
vin þinom
ver þu aldregi
fyrrí at flaumslitom;
sorg etr hiarta,
ef þu segia ne náir
eínhveriom allan hug.
- s. 122 Raðomc þer,
orþom scipta
þu scalt aldregi
viþ osvinna apa;
- s. 123 Þviat af illom manne
mundo aldregi
- I counsel thee,
another's wife
entice thou never
to secret converse.
- I counsel thee,
by fell or firth
if thou have to travel,
provide thee well with food.
- I counsel thee,
a bad man
let thou never
know thy misfortunes;
for from a bad man
thou never wilt obtain
a return for thy good will.
- I saw mortally
wound a man
a wicked woman's words;
a false tongue
caused his death,
and most unrighteously.
- I counsel thee, [friend,
if thou knowest thou hast a
whom thou well canst trust,
go oft to visit him;
for with brushwood overgrown
and with high grass,
is the way that no one treads.
- I counsel thee,
a good man attract to thee
in pleasant converse
and salutary speech learn while
thou livest.
- I counsel thee,
with thy friend
be thou never
first to quarrel;
care gnaws the heart,
if thou to no one canst
thy whole mind disclose.
- I counsel thee,
words thou never
shouldst exchange
with a witless fool;
for from an ill man
thou wilt never get

- | | | |
|--------|---|---|
| | goðs laun um geta ;
enn goðr maðr
mun þic gorva mega
licnfastan at lofi. | a return for good ;
but a good man will
bring thee favor
by his praise. |
| s. 124 | Sífiom er þa blandat,
hverr er segia reþr
einom allan hug ;
alt er betra
en se brigðom at vera,
era sa vinr auðrom er vilt
eit segir. | There is a mingling of affection,
where one can tell
another all his mind ;
everything is better
than being with the deceitful ;
he is not another's friend who
ever says as he says. |
| s. 125 | Raðomc þer,
þrimr orðom senna
scalatu þer við verra mann ;
opt inn betri bilar
þa er inn verri vegr. | I counsel thee,
even in three words
quarrel not with a worse man ;
often the better yields,
when the worse strikes. |
| s. 126 | Raðomc þer,
scósmíðr þu verir
ne sceptismíðr,
nema þu sialfom þer ser ;
scór er scapaðr illa
eða scapt se rangt
þa er þer bauls beðit. | I counsel thee,
be not a shoemaker,
nor a shaftmaker,
unless for thyself it be ;
for a shoe if ill made,
or a shaft if crooked,
will call down evil on thee. |
| s. 127 | Raðomc þer,
hvars þu baul kant,
qveþu þer baulvi at
or gefat þinom fiandom frið. | I counsel thee, [est,
wherever of injury thou know-
regard that injury as thy own,
and give to thy foes no peace. |
| s. 128 | Raðomc þer,
illo feginn
verþu aldregi,
en lát þer at goðo getið. | I counsel thee,
glad at evil
be thou never ; [pleasure.
but let the good give thee |
| s. 129 | Raðomc þer,
upp líta
scallatu i orrosto
-gialti glikir
verþa gumna synir-
síðr þitt um heilli halir. | I counsel thee,
in a battle
look not up,
(like swine
the sons of men then become)
that men may not fascinate |
| s. 130 | Raðomc þer,
ef þu vilt þer goda kono
qveþia at gammanrúnom
oc fa faugnuð af,
faugro scaldu heita
oc lata fast vera ;
leiþiz mange gott ef getr. | I counsel thee, [thee.
if thou wilt induce a good wo-
to pleasant converse, [man
thou must promise fair
and hold to it ;
no one turns from good
if it can be got. |
| s. 131 | Raðomc þer,
varan bid ec þic vera | I counsel thee,
I enjoin thee to be wary ; |

- oc eigi ofvaran,
 ver þu við aul varastr
 oc við annars konu
 oc við þat iþ þriðia,
 at þiofar ne leiki.
- s. 132 Raðomc þer,
 at háði ne hlátre
 hafðu aldregi
 gest ne ganganda.
- s. 133 Opt vito oggria
 þeir er sitia inni fyr,
 hvers þeir 'ro kyns er koma;
 erat maþr sva goþr,
 at galli ne fylgi,
 ne sva illr, at einuge duge.
- s. 134 Raðomc þer,
 at három þul
 hlęþu aldregi,
 opt er gott þat er gamlir
 qveþa;
 opt or scarpom belg
 scilin orð coma,
 þeim er hangir meþ háam
 oc skollir meþ scrám
 oc váfir meþ vilmogom.
- s. 135 Raðomc þer,
 gest þu ne gevia
 ne a grind hrękir,
 get þu váloþom vel.
- s. 136 Ramt er þat tre
 er riþa scal
 aullom at upploki;
 báug þu gef,
 eþa þat biðia mun þer
 lęs hvers a liðo.
- s. 137 Raðomc þer,
 hvars þu aul dreckir,
 kios þu þer iarðar megin,
 þviat iorð teer við aulþri,
 enn eldr vid sóttom,
 eik við abbindi,
 ax við fiolkyngi,
 haull við hýrógi,
 heiptom scal mána qveþia,
 beiti við bitsóttom
- but not over-wary;
 at drinking be thou most wary,
 and with another's wife, and
 thirdly
 that thieves delude thee not.
 I counsel thee,
 with insult or derision
 treat thou never
 a guest or wayfarer.
 They often little know,
 who sit within,
 of what race they are who
 no one is so good [come;
 that no failing attends him,
 nor so bad as to be good for
 I counsel thee, [nothing.
 at a hoary speaker
 laugh thou never;
 oft is good that which the aged
 utter.
 oft from a shriveled hide
 discreet words issue;
 from those whose skin is pen-
 and covered with scars [dent
 and who go tottering among
 I counsel thee, [the vile.
 rail not at a guest,
 nor from thy gate thrust him,
 treat well the indigent.
 Strong is the bar
 that must be raised
 to admit all.
 Do thou give a penny,
 or they will call down on thee
 every ill in thy limbs.
 I counsel thee,
 wherever thou beer drinkest,
 invoke to thee the power of
 earth;
 for earth is good against drink,
 fire for distempers,
 the oak for constipation,
 a corn-ear for sorcery,
 a hall for domestic strife,
 in bitter hates invoke the moon,
 the biter for bite injuries is good,

enn við baulvi rúnar,	but runes against calamity;
fold skal við floði taca.	fluid let the earth absorb.

Leaving s. 111 aside for later consideration, the rest of the poem forms a whole that is well arranged and logical, the sense or order not being seriously disturbed by the occurring interpolations. Only the strophes commencing "Ráðomc þer" are considered original. Besides s. 114, 118, 123-4, 133, 136, Jónsson judges also s. 130, 135 and 137 to be interpolations, although containing the regular refrain. This poem is more didactic and less reflective than Hávamál I, also in places where both of them travel over the same ground. The spirit of Loddfáfnismál is less dark, less bitter, and less egotistical, breathing more of love of mankind than Hávamál I. The moral standard is higher, "beware of evil and do good." Friendship is here more a relation of love than one of selfishness. Love is spoken of in a nobler tone. "Seduce not the wife of another man." The counsel to keep promises given to a woman, stands in direct opposition to the advice given by Odin in Hávamál I. The speaker is nobler and milder than Odin, although less interesting, and he appears to be much older. He counsels Loddfáfnir never to laugh at a hoary speaker (at három þul) as if he himself belonged to the same category. There is nothing of Odin's haughty disdain of men and morals apparent in the placid lines of Loddfáfnismál, nothing of the wise but passionate god who was originally the personification of the whirlwind and who became the supreme god of the Northmen, during the stormy Viking period.

On account of the word þulr which seems to be used in the original sense of sage and speaker, Jónsson is led to suppose that Loddfáfnismál belongs to the latter part, perhaps the third quarter, of the ninth century, being the oldest of Eddic poems in existence and a production of the old original þulir, composed on the Scandinavian continent.

The old-fashioned simplicity, of both form and contents, speaks for its high age. But the supposition that Odin is the speaker seems less probable. It is based entirely on s. 111. That the speaker in s. 111 is a god and that this god is Odin seems certain. But that s. 111 belongs to Loddfáfnismál may well be questioned. We think that it does not belong there. The lines of s. 111 are very unlike those of the rest of Loddfáfnismál. The former are rough, rugged, impressive,

while the latter are simple, easy flowing and for the most part regular. S. 111 forms a grand introduction to a poem, impressing through no other grandeur than the one suggested by its simplicity, deep earnestness, and high age. There is nothing in *Loddfáfnismál* which calls for such an exceptional and important situation, as an introduction. The introduction rather obscures than explains the poem, and there are other strophes in *Hávamál* with which it corresponds much better and in which the spirited, impetuous god is the speaker.

Müllenhoff counts s. 111 as the opening lines of *Loddfáfnismál*, but soon discovers that s. 111 is "written by the same rough hand" as the grand mystic strophes 138-141. He thinks that s. 111 and *Rúnatal* both have been written, or brought together, in order to connect *Loddfáfnismál* with *Ljóðatal*. S. 111, he characterizes as rough and as violating the meter.

Bugge has, in his own brilliant manner, made clear and more than probable that s. 111 stands in direct connection with the strophes of Odin's mystic offering, the offering of himself to himself, s. 138-141. Putting these together, we have an introduction, the roughly drawn but grand outlines of which, with its important situation, stand in true proportion to the great and mystic subject of the fragmentary poem, opening *Rúnatal*. Bugge still counts s. 111 as connected with *Loddfáfnismál*, because he thinks the mystic speech of *Rúnatal* and the songs of power in *Ljóðatal* are addressed to *Loddfáfnir* (compare s. 162; "These songs, *Loddfáfnir*, thou wilt long have lacked.")

Vigfusson, who like Jónsson discards s. 162 as an interpolation, entirely separates s. 111 from *Loddfáfnismál*, making it fill its proper place as the introduction to *Rúnatal*:

Mál er at þyfia
þular stóli a
Urðar brunni at;
sa ec oc þagðac,
sa ec oc hugðac,
hlydda ec a manna mál.
Of runar heyrða ec dōma
ne um ráðum þaugðo
Hava haullo at,
Háva hollo i,
heyrða ec segia svá:
Veit ec, at ec hécc
vindga meiði a

neftir allar nio
geiri unðaðr
oc gefinn Oðni,
sialfr sialfom mer,
etc.

Müllenhoff who has won great and well deserved distinction as a commentator on *Völuspá* and who has been so successful in his division of *Hávamál* into original poems of different subjects, and states of completeness, has offered a theory concerning *Loddfáfnismál* which is not at all acceptable to the majority of scholars. According to Müllenhoff, *Loddfáfnir* is a professional fiddler, singer and speaker, whose personal circumstances we learn through counsel given to him by Odin, *Loddfáfnir* being the speaker (also in s. 111) who relates what has been told him at the well of *Urð*. Jónsson ridicules the idea that any one else than the gods could be present at the well of *Urð*, where the gods hold their court of judgment. Bugge thinks it impossible to imagine that a professional fiddler, in order to save himself from personal insults and injury, would place such words in Odin's mouth as these: "I counsel thee, *Loddfáfnir*, at a hoary speaker laugh thou never," when *Loddfáfnir* himself is the hoary speaker; for Odin would then counsel *Loddfáfnir* not to laugh at—his own self.

Vigfusson thinks that the name *Loddfáfnir*, met with only in *Hávamál* IV, is obviously wrong and suggests *Hoddfáfnir*, the Treasure Snake. He imagines the serpent as giving and not receiving counsel, comparing this idea to the dying *Fáfnir* giving sage advice to *Sigurd*. It would then originally have run: "O counsel me thou Hoard-Serpent," and the frame, he thinks, might once have been the same in the *Völsung* poem. Bugge calls attention to the fact that the *L* of the name *Loddfáfnir* alliterates with *ljóða* in s. 162, for which reason it should not be allowed to change the name to *Hoddfáfnir*. But since this is the only place where *Loddfáfnir* alliterates and we have, with Vigfusson and Jónsson, discarded s. 162 as an interpolation, we cannot accept Bugge's evidence for the correctness of the name as absolutely binding.

III.

IDENTITY OF LODDFÁFNIR: BUGGE'S THEORY.

On the identity of Loddfáfnir, two of the greatest scholars of the Scandinavian North, the Norwegian Sophus Bugge, and the Swede Viktor Rydberg, have offered theories which testify to the learning and the originality of their respective authors, as well as to their radically different views.

The only point on which these two theories agree is the conception of Loddfáfnir as a mytho-poetic personage. The name is not an historical Northern name, but evidently of poetic origin.

Bugge's opinion¹ is that only a Christian mythic tradition can dispel the darkness that rests on the mythic personality of Loddfáfnir. As has been stated above, Bugge tries to prove that several mythic conceptions among the heathen Norsemen have, through intermediate channels, their ultimate source in the *Acta Pilati* or the so called Gospel of Nicodemus. This apocryphal work tells, on the basis of the four canonical Gospels, of the judgment, crucifixion, death and resurrection of Jesus, the evangelical story being embellished with a mass of additional details. The work was originally written in Greek. A later Greek edition which dates from the second half of the fifth century, differs from the older one therein that it has a lengthy addition to the original story in which two men speak of Christ's descent to Hades. This addition is found in all manuscripts now extant which contain *Acta Pilati* in Latin. This work had, during the middle ages, an exceptionally great circulation, and was translated into many languages. In England it was well known from the eighth century, and Bugge thinks it was considered a genuine gospel, outside of the circles of the strictest theologians, furnishing the material to several religious poems written by Anglo-Saxons.

Bugge calls special attention to one part of the Gospel of Nicodemus which appears in the first Latin edition of the story of Christ's descent to Hades. There the following is told. Christ was not alone at his resurrection, but, while in Hades, had called to life many of the dead, among whom were Carinus and Leucius, the sons of Simeon.

¹Studier I.

The Jews found the two brothers in Arimathia and brought them to the synagogue in Jerusalem. They were asked to tell of their resurrection from the dead. They demanded writing materials and each wrote down what he had experienced. After Carinus and Leucius had finished their writings, these were turned over to the priests, and were found to correspond letter by letter.

Bugge, who believes *Loddfáfnismál*, *Rúnatal*, and *Ljóðatal*, to have originally been one poem, is of the opinion that *Loddfáfnir*, of the heathen poem, is a mytho-poetic personality created through the influence of communications regarding Carinus and Leucius.

When *Loddfáfnir* tells of the wonderful power of Odin, who was hanging on the windy tree and fell down from it, Bugge thinks this corresponds to the divine glory of Christ crucified and descending to hell. Bugge is not of the opinion that the heathen poet has studied the Latin work; but he supposes that the clergymen of the British Isles, in the eighth and ninth centuries, as a rule, knew the essentials of the story of Carinus and Leucius and that the majority of monks were able to communicate these, if only in a scant and imperfect form. Such communications, Bugge conjectures, may easily have been heard by heathen Norsemen in Scotland or Ireland to whom the ideal purport, associations and sceneries must have been entirely unknown. Bugge thinks it but natural that worshippers of the Æsir could not appropriate and preserve such a mythical story, without connecting it with their highest god. Many links have fallen out, and what remains of the foreign matter Bugge finds preserved in *Hávamál* IV, V, VI, treated in the bold, forcible manner characteristic of the Northern genius.

Bugge finds a number of correspondences between *Loddfáfnismál* and the story of Carinus and Leucius, but they are all taken from s. 111. The remaining correspondences between *Hávamál* and the story of the Gospel of Nicodemus are found in *Rúnatal* and *Ljóðatal*.

Bugge demonstrates, very ingeniously, that Carinus (Charinus) and Leucius are one and the same person; they act and speak as one; and he finds that their names are a confusion of Leukios Kharinos, the name of an author of the latter part of the fourth century who wrote pseudo-apostolic gospels. This Leukios Kharinos, Bugge thinks, has appeared as author of the original work of "Christ's Descent to Hades." Bugge finds it but natural that Carinus and Leu-

cius are blended again into one and the same person by the Northern poet, when keeping in view their peculiarity of acting and speaking as one.

In the name *Loddfáfnir*, Bugge discovers a poetic translation of the two foreign names. The first link in the compound, *lodd-*, he puts in connection with the verb *loða*, pret. *lodda*, "to cleave to," "to cling to," "to fasten to." The second link, *fáfnir*, he takes as meaning the "one who embraces." This Bugge considers demonstrated by the fact that the name of the serpent which Sigurd Völ-sung kills has also the form *Faðmir*. It is an indirect derivative of *feðma*, "to embrace," as *draupnir* { *dreyfa*. The name *Loddfáfnir*, according to its composition, is consequently a poetic designation for a man "who embraces firmly," "who keeps (another) firmly embraced." Bugge points out that for the meaning of the name there is no explanation or direct connection in the mythic relation in which he judges it to appear in *Hávamál*. This is one reason why he thinks it a Northern reproduction of a foreign name.

The author of pseudo-apostolic gospels seems to have had the Greek name *Leukios Kharinos*, and not the Latin *Leucius Carinus*, but Bugge thinks it very likely that the uncritical and half-learned authors in the British Isles who in the eighth or ninth centuries read the Latin work or heard of the two men, with Christ in Hades, might have accepted their names as Latin. In place of *Leucius*, several manuscripts of the Latin work have *Lentius* or *Lenthius*, and Bugge shows that as *Lentius* and *Lenthius* the name occurred in the English manuscripts. Bugge thinks that *Lentius* was supposed to be a derivation of the Latin *lentus* which sometimes has the meaning "clinging," "clinging." By this word Bugge finds the first part of *Loddfáfnir* explained, as a translation. He further conjectures that the name *Carinus* was thought to be a derivation of *carus*, with the meaning of "loved person" or "dearest one" and considers this conception but natural, because in mediæval Latin many new adjectives and nouns in *-inus* were formed from older adjectives. As a parallel, he gives the Italian *carino mio*, "my dear." The very circumstance that the name *Lentius* appeared in connection with *Carinus*, Bugge thinks may have given rise to the idea of *Lentius* as some one "who embraces firmly." According to Bugge, *Loddfáfnir* is then a poetic translation of *Lentius Carinus*.

Bugge's theory is in a high degree brilliant and ingenious. Yet we cannot accept it, principally because, as already pointed out, the correspondences, detected by Bugge, between Loddfáfnismál and the story of Carinus and Leucius are all found in s. 111, which in all probability does not belong to the poem, and in which Loddfáfnir's name does not occur. When the contents of Loddfáfnismál proper give no clue to any connection with the story of Carinus and Leucius, the temptation to accept the risky theory of the name Loddfáfnir, as a translation of Lentius Carinus, becomes small, indeed.

The explanation of the meaning of the name Loddfáfnir as one "who firmly embraces" or "who keeps (another) firmly embraced" seems very acceptable, as given by Bugge, and if we can find some direct connection between the meaning of the name and the contents of the poem, we will accept it.

Lodd-, the first part of the compound, is especially interesting. Without doubt, it is connected with the verb *loða*, pret. *lodd*, "to cleave to," "to cling to." As Old Norse examples of the meaning of the verb *loða* Bugge quotes: *loddu þau saman* (they were sticking together) and *hon lodd á hringinum* (she held fast to the ring). Bugge thinks that *dd* in *lodd* has an origin similar to that of the New Icelandic *lodd*, a shaggy dog, the Norwegian dialect word *lodge*, a hair sock, and the Swedish (Dalecarlian) dialect word *ludda*, a coarse slipper. As still better examples may be quoted the Swedish (Scanian) dialect words *lodd*, a careless woman, and *loddig*, sticky. The original meaning of both of them is to be connected with the Swedish verb (*vid*)*låda*, *låda vid*, "to cleave to." The Scanian *lodd* seems to be identical with the Old Norse *lodd* (*Snorra Edda* II, 489, 29), which Egilsson renders as *femina*¹. The meaning "careless woman," of the word in the Scanian dialect, implies one to whose person something cleaves, *låder* (dust, hurds, etc.) An illustration of the use of this word may be given in the following odd formula of incantation, taken from the mouths of the people in the southern part of the province of Scania:

En, två, tre loddor till Per Mats;
den fjerde med Hanna Johans;
daskan och bomeralla
och raggen alla.

"One, two, three sluts at Per Matson's house, the fourth one Hanna, Johanson's wife," etc.

¹Lexicon poet. antiq. linguæ septent.

IDENTITY OF LODDFÁFNIR: RYDBERG'S THEORY.

The purpose of Viktor Rydberg's monumental work on Teutonic mythology is to gather and sift all Teutonic myths and myth-fragments, in order to prove their mutual relationship, and the common Indo-European relation, or origin, of a great number of them. To the heavenly twins Baldr and Höðr correspond, according to Rydberg, the two gods and brothers Urvakhshaja and Kereçâspa of the Irano-Indian myth. In proportion as the Teutons became Christians, and the formidable old pile of myths crumbled, fragments were, one by one, extricated out of its ruins, which served as foundation stones for the hero saga and the legend. Rydberg quotes the Beowulf epic as a proof of the fact that this process had already advanced quite far in Christian England during the eighth century. Within the Scandinavian literature, episodes from the myth of Baldr have been used as subject matter for poems and historical legends. In the heroic poem of Helgi Hjörvarðsson the central figure is Baldr, transformed into a hero. Together with him Höðr appears, under the name of Heðinn. Helgi and Heðinn are brothers. The leading theme of the poem is that Helgi and Heðinn love the same maiden and, on that account, fall out with each other, as do Baldr and Höðr for a similar reason. To make clear the identity of the names Heðinn and Höðr, Rydberg gives the different forms of the latter's declension: nom. Höðr, gen. Haðar, dat. Heði. Rydberg considers the poem of Helgi Hjörvarðsson a very good illustration of the manner in which a mythic episode was transformed into a heroic saga. It is Rydberg's opinion that the Baldr myth has also furnished material for the saga of Sigurd Fáfnisbani, at least such traits of it as concern Höðr. With this opinion he connects his theory of Loddfáfnismál¹.

According to Rydberg, the latter part of Hávamál, such as we know it, consists of an ethical poem, with Odin as the speaker, giving counsel to a youth, called Loddfáfnir. Rydberg accepts s. 111 as an introduction in which Loddfáfnir himself tells that he has received from Odin the advice which follows. He has received his instruction

¹Undersökningari Germ. Mythologi, II.

in Valhall (Hava haullo at). When he recounts it, he is not in Valhall but in the speaker's chair, at the well of Urð (þular stoli á, Urðar brunni at). The mythic personage who carries the strange name, or surname, Loddfáfnir, must have been one of the inhabitants of Asgard, reasons Rydberg, and have been in close communion with Odin, since the poet introduces him as receiving from Odin in Valhall the counsel destined to guide him through life. From the expression "ef þu nemr, ef þu getr," and words in the (interpolated) s. 162, "ljóþa þessa man þu Loddfáfnir lengi vanr vera," Rydberg judges that among the advice given must be some hints at events in the future, and that some of these are neglected by the youth Loddfáfnir.

Rydberg admits that Loddfáfnismál is encumbered by a large number of interpolations, crediting a coarse joker with s. 112, line 6, the same, he thinks, who has added the tiresome refrain, "Ráðome þer, Loddfáfnir, etc." Among strophes and parts of strophes, as to the genuineness of which there can be no doubt, he looks for allusions to what the myth has had to tell of Loddfáfnir. He quotes s. 113-115, 117, 118, 121, 126, 131, 134, as important from this point of view.

"Odin's" advice to the young Loddfáfnir is summed up by Rydberg in the following manner:

1st, Not to sleep in an enchantress' embrace. If he does not follow this counsel, such disgust of life will possess him that he cares little for the most important matters, loses his appetite and acquaintances, and goes sorrowful to sleep;

2nd, Never to win the secret confidence of another's wife. Loddfáfnir is counseled to be exceedingly cautious at ale-feasts, and in his actions towards another's wife;

3rd, To remember that a wicked woman's tongue may cause a man's death;

4th, Never to sever the ties of faithful friendship;

5th, Not to confide in a bad man, giving him part in one's sorrows and trials; for he pays back confidence with evil;

6th, Not to spurn the advice of aged men;

7th, To make shafts for arrow and spear, for his own use, if he can. He who makes such things for another, or uses those belonging to another, causes anger to follow.

Collecting the information thus gathered, in regard to Loddfáfnir, Rydberg comes to the following conclusions: 1) That Loddfáfnir

was a dweller in Valhall, in his youth, and received from Odin paternal counsel which he, later in his life, for some time neglected; 2) that he was bewitched by an enchantress and, through her, became unhappy; 3) that he was unwary at an ale-feast, and that he desired another's wife; 4) that he abandoned a true friend and, instead, confided in a false one who repaid his confidence with evil; 5) that he received, but neglected, the advice of aged men; 6) that a wicked woman's tongue, perhaps the enchantress spoken of previously, caused the death of a blameless man; 7) that a missile, crookedly shafted, and not made by the one who threw, or shot it, played a part in Loddfáfnir's history; 8) that Loddfáfnir left Asgard for the lower regions of Hól.

Rydberg shows that all these points occur in the myth of Höðr, and is convinced that Loddfáfnir and Höðr are identical.

Then he proceeds to explain the strange epithet Loddfáfnir. Fáfáfnir is the name of a giant monster in a serpent's disguise. Sigurd kills Fáfáfnir Reidmarsson, who watches over the treasures in a serpent's or dragon's form; Ragnar kills the serpent Gráfáfáfnir. Rhetorically, the word is used for serpent in general. Rydberg supposes that it is a derivation of the Indo-European root *pap*, with the original meaning of "swollen," "pouring." Loddfáfnir thus is thought to mean Slow-Fáfáfnir, a serpent or dragon moving slowly.

The reason why a god or a hero should receive such an epithet is given by Rydberg, as follows: If he kills a monster of this order, he is not only called its slayer (Sigurðr Fáfáfnisbani), but he could also inherit its name. Thus the hero Heimr received his name from a serpent or dragon, named Heimr, which he had killed. The reason for such a transmission of names Rydberg finds in Fáfáfnismál, where in a prose insertion in the poem we read: "Sigurð concealed his name (from the dying Fáfáfnir), because there was in former days a belief that words of a person destined to die had great power, if he cursed his enemy by his name." If the dying one questioned the name of his slayer in order to curse him, the latter could turn the curse back on the curser, by calling himself by a name alluding to the questioner. Thus Rydberg explains how poets may have called Höðr Loddfáfnir or Fáfáfnir, because he killed a dragon of that name. He adds that Höðr has been described as a huntsman. It is while hunting that Saxo's Hotherus is bewitched. The big game which the warlike gods,

or demigods, encounter are, in the Teutonic as well as the Vedic and Iranian mythologies, giant creatures and demons of various animal forms. From such a demon, killed by Höðr while hunting, Rydberg conjectures that he must have received the epithet of Loddfáfnir.

The latter part of Rydberg's chapter on Höðr-Loddfáfnir is devoted to an investigation of the relation in which the saga of Sigurð Fáfnisbani's youth stands to the myth of Höðr-Loddfáfnir. He speaks first of Fáfnismál. Rydberg thinks that while the hero of Loddfáfnismál tells the good counsel of practical wisdom given him, in the poem preserved, he must, in another one, now lost to the greater part, have appeared as a teacher of mythological secrets. He further claims that two strophes of Fáfnismál which speak of the *nornir* who select mothers for the children and of the events of Ragnarök originally belong to this lost poem. The unknown person who gave Fáfnismál its present form, Rydberg supposes to have known these two strophes of the old mythological poem and to have known them to be put in the mouth of a mythic being called Loddfáfnir or Fáfnir. From the name he then might have been led to believe that the wise counsellor was the dragon Fáfnir, and interpolated the strophes in question, as a part of the conversation between Sigurd and the dying Fáfnir. Sigurd's answer to Fáfnir's question about his name: *gaufugt dyr ek heiti*, Rydberg translates "I am called Slow-animal." Since Rydberg interprets Loddfáfnir as meaning "Slow-Fáfnir," it seems evident to him that the one epithet alludes to the other, the one being the prototype of the other. *Gaufugt* he derives from *gaufa*, "to be slow," and compares it with *loddari* and English "loiterer."

Then Rydberg turns his attention to *Sigrdrífumál* on which he gives a highly interesting dissertation, showing that the meeting between Sigurd and the valkyria Sigrdrífa has no direct connection with Sigurd's future, and trying to prove that a large portion of the advice given by Sigrdrífa has no bearing on the episodes of Sigurd's life. On the other hand, he shows that Sigrdrífa herself and her counsel have direct connection with the myth of Höðr. Rydberg thinks that the author or editor of *Fáfnismál* is responsible for having revised *Sigrdrífumál* and connected it with the cycle of songs about Sigurd. He thinks this editor was the first one to give the hero, who awakens Sigrdrífa, Sigurd's name, while his actual name was Höðr-Loddfáfnir,

the editor thinking of the two poems of *Loddfáfnir* when he gave *Fáfnismál* its present form. Rydberg may be right when he asserts that Höðr is the hero who finds *Sigrdrífa* and that the saga of *Sigurd Fáfnisbani's* early adventures has borrowed from the myth of Höðr. But his comparisons of parallel points in *Sigrdrífumál* and *Loddfáfnismál* lose a great deal in interest and value, because evident interpolations in both poems are not critically considered.

The principal reason why we cannot accept Rydberg's theory is the same as in the case of Bugge's. It is based chiefly on s. 111, which has no connection with *Loddfáfnismál* proper. Furthermore, Rydberg, from the interpolated s. 162, which like wise does not belong to the old *Loddfáfnismál*, comes to the conclusion that *Loddfáfnir* neglected the counsel given, a conclusion which he afterwards uses freely.

In summing up the points of advice, Rydberg quotes the contents of the interpolated s. 114 and s. 118, but as these are apparently quite old and only offer variations and additional details to the respective strophes preceding, this fact is of minor importance.

Next let us consider the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the counsel. Conclusions 1 and 8 must be discarded with the discarded strophes 111 and 162. Conclusion 5 is right, so far as it is evident from the poem that *Loddfáfnir* received counsel from a hoary sage, s. 134, but that he neglected his advice is the faulty part of the conclusion, based on the interpolated s. 162. Conclusion 7, as based on s. 126, is altogether too far reaching; s. 126 counsels *Loddfáfnir* not to be "a shoemaker or a shaftmaker, except for himself; for a badly made shoe or a crooked shaft will bring him ill thanks." This seems a counsel of the simplest and most trivial generality; shoes and shafts being mentioned throughout as of equal importance, and agrees not at all with Rydberg's conclusion as pointing to a great and singular event ("that a missile, crookedly shafted and not made by the one who threw or shot it, played a part in *Loddfáfnir's* history.") The conclusions made by Rydberg are quite important, for, if correct, they would directly connect *Loddfáfnismál* with the myth of *Baldr* and *Höðr*. With conclusions 1, 5, 7, and 8, the strongest supports of Rydberg's theory have fallen, as far as the contents of the poem are concerned. The remaining conclusions (2, 3, 4 and 6) will be taken up later.

The weakest point of Rydberg's theory is the one which has a bearing on the meaning of the name or epithet *Loddfáfnir*, and its connection with the contents, or the hero, of the poem. Rydberg offers "Slow-serpent," "Slow-Fáfnir," as a translation of the name. Between the name and the contents of the poem he has found no connection. In applying the name to Höðr, Rydberg has been forced to make the conjecture that the hero must have met a demon in animal form, while out hunting; killing the monster, he has inherited its name. But in regard to this meeting, the monster, its slaying, and its name, both Norwegian-Icelandic and Swedish-Danish sources are silent. Höðr and the name *Loddfáfnir* are connected in Rydberg's theory only. Rydberg's translation of the name *Loddfáfnir* as *Slow-Fáfnir*, is perhaps not altogether incompatible with Bugge's etymology, as far as the former component is concerned. For as the original sense of *loða*, *lodd* is "to cleave to," "to cling fast," it seems that "to be slow" may be accepted as a secondary meaning: to cleave to } to be slow (in leaving). When Rydberg translates *gaufugt dyr* (in *Fáfnismál*) as meaning "slow animal," he deviates from the course of all other scholars who have ventured a translation of it, "noble," "valiant," etc., being the adjectives used. Rydberg considers *gaufugt* a derivation of *gaufa*, "to be slow," while all others accept it as *göfugt* } *göfga*, "to honor," "to adore." In the oldest Icelandic manuscripts preserved, *göfga* and several related words appear frequently, while *gaufa* and the noun *gauf*, the only related word, are nowhere found in these sources¹.

Notwithstanding the great ingenuity of the theories offered by Bugge and Rydberg, they have their defects, as we have seen. In order to discover the identity of *Loddfáfnir*, they both go far outside of what has been supposed to be the arena of ideas and subjects of the Eddic poems. An attempt to find a satisfactory solution at lesser distance, in more intimate connection with the other poems of the Edda, may therefore seem legitimate.

¹L. Larsson: *Ordförrådet i de äldsta isländska handskrifterna*.

IDENTITY OF LODDFÁFNIR: GRÍPIR AND SIGURD.

Before attempting to give a new solution of the question of Loddfáfnir's identity and to define the proper position of Loddfáfnismál, within the collection of Eddic poems, let us gather the results obtained through the preceding review of opinions and theories.

We find that Loddfáfnismál (Hávamál IV) is estimated to be from twenty-five to fifty years older than the other poems of the Háva collection. An old sage and speaker, Þulr, is giving counsel to a youth called Loddfáfnir. We could not accept Odin as being this old sage, for his wisdom is of a different order, the moral standards of his counsel are different. Nothing indicates that the speaker is a god. The youth is supposed to be a mytho-poetic personage, and his name or epithet of poetic origin. Bugge offers as a translation of Loddfáfnir "one who embraces firmly," "who keeps (another) firmly embraced." Rydberg makes it appear likely that the counsel contains hints at Loddfáfnir's future destiny, although nothing in the poem makes it apparent that he did not follow, or attempt to follow, the good counsel given him. If we are able to find such hints in the poem which clearly point to events in the life of a person known to us, through the Eddic poems, and the name finds explanation as being fittingly given to this same personage, we consider the question of Loddfáfnir's identity solved.

The situation such as given in Loddfáfnismál, is found in another Eddic poem, Grípisspá. This poem has also been called "Sigurðarkviða Fáfnisbana hin fyrsta," but neither title occurs in Codex Regius. It stands first of the poems about Sigurd in Codex Regius and gives, in dialogue form, a prophetic outlook over the principal incidents in his life. In reality, it is a look backward, as it is one of the most recent poems of the Edda, nearly the only one about which it can be said, with any degree of certainty, that it was written in Iceland (between 1150-1200). Its regular strophes and verses, and its smoothly-flowing language, testify to its recent origin. The episodes of Sigurd's life on which it touches are given in a form which makes it

evident that the author was acquainted with the majority of Eddic poems, not only those about Sigurd, but also the Helgi poems and others. The author knew a written collection of Eddic poems, and this is a conclusive proof of the late origin of the poem. Müllenhoff and Simrock think that Grípir is an invention of the moment, to suit the author and his objects. Jónsson thinks that Grípir always has been connected with Eylimi and Hiördís, as the son of the former and the brother of the latter. Jónsson also considers it plausible that older poems, now lost, about Grípir and his meeting with Sigurd, his nephew, have existed.

Our aim will be to prove that *Loddfáfnismál* is a poem or fragment of a poem, dealing with the meeting of Grípir and Sigurd, and that *Loddfáfnir* is a name given to Sigurd.

The author of Grípisspá is not a poet of great genius or originality. He handles the language and meter well and gives a sympathetic picture of Sigurd, but he is not an inventor of beautiful images or episodes. What he tells, he tells plainly, and almost all of it is known to us, through other Eddic poems. That he should be the inventor of the situation as given, the framework of the poem, does not appear likely. The prose introduction tells us that Grípir was the name of the son of Eylimi, the brother of Hiördís. He ruled over lands and was of all men wisest, and prescient of the future (*allra manna vitrastr oc framvís*). Compare *Völsunga Saga*: “* * * Grípir, því at hann var framvís ok vissi fyrir orlög manna.” To call the wise, prescient Grípir a þulr would not be inappropriate. His dignity as a king does not make it unbecoming for him to be a þulr, or to be thus called. Odin is called *fimbulþulr*. The speaker of *Loddfáfnismál* is a þulr. Sigurd comes to Grípir in order to learn his future destiny, which his uncle tells him, although more and more unwillingly, the farther he sees into the future. Compare *Völsunga Saga*: “Sigurðr leitar eptir, hversu ganga man ævi hans; en hann var þó lengi fyrir ok sagði þo loksins við ákaflega þæn Sigurðar oll forlög hans, eftir því sem eptir gekk síðan.” We must not necessarily think that the last poem of the meeting between Sigurd and Grípir had given such full and detailed information about the youth's destiny as told in Grípisspá and *Völsunga Saga*. That clairvoyancy was known and much in vogue among the Icelanders of the classical period, we see from *Færeyinga Saga*, and *Gunnlaugs Saga Ormstungu*. But if such

was the case in the pre-classical period, is doubtful. Odin says in *Hávamál* s. 56:

orlaug sin viti
engi maþr fyrir,
þeim er sorgalausastr sevi.

This seems to indicate that the highest god did not like any one to obtain "tests of clairvoyancy" except he himself. The reluctance with which *Grípir*, of *Grípisspá*, gives evidence of his prescience may point to the fact that the *Grípir* of the earlier poems was less communicative, on topics of future events, than his late successor.

There exist in all of the Scandinavian countries ballads about *Sigurd*, dating from the middle ages. When telling the tale of the great hero's life, these also mention *Sigurd's* visit to his uncle. The Norwegian ballad of *Sigurd Svein*, found in M. B. Landstad's *Norske Folkeviser*, 111-127, gives the name of the uncle as *Greipe*. The editor says: "*Sigurd* comes to seek counsel of his uncle, who tells him of his future destiny." Speaking of these Danish-Swedish-Norwegian ballads, C. Rosenberg says: "Besides (*Grípisspá*) there may also have been another poem, belonging to the older order of songs, telling of the young full-grown hero's visit to his uncle, probably also containing counsel and warnings, administered to him on this occasion."

From these quotations, we gather that Rosenberg, like *Jónsson*, supposes the existence of an older poem, now lost, telling of the *Grípir* incident, and that he, with Landstad, thinks that *Grípir* at the meeting gave counsel to *Sigurd*.

In turning to the points of counsel which the speaker of *Loddfáfnismál* gives to *Loddfáfnir*, in order to ascertain whether among them are any which *Grípir* may properly have given to *Sigurd*, we will first consider those which, according to *Rydberg*, give hints at the future destiny of the youth. Of these, the following lines of s. 113 are the first:

Fíolkunnigri konu
scalatu í faðmi sofa,
sva at hon lyki þik lídom.

Rydberg thinks that in the story of *Sigurd Fáfnisbani's* life there is no episode on which this warning may have a bearing. Yet one of the most important events in *Sigurd's* life is when after having, in *Gunnar's* disguise, won *Brynhild* for his friend he sleeps with "the

enchantress" Brynhild, placing his naked sword between them in the bed. That "enchantress" (fiolkunnigri konu) is too strong a word to point to Brynhild, we cannot find. Gunnar and Gudrun use quite as strong epithets to her personally as that of witch, or enchantress, even Sigurd speaking of her as "bringing about all evil." Brynhild is mentioned as being prescient and skilled in the art of sorcery. It may be observed that the older the Eddic poems are, the harder, the more cruel Brynhild is depicted, the latest poems trying to exonerate her from all blame and guilt. But even the sage of the late Grípisspá cannot mention her without calling her "the hard-minded maiden," *harþugdict man* (s. 27). Here, we may give Bugge's translation of the name *Loddfáfnir* a preliminary test. By using it, s. 113 runs: "I counsel thee, thou who firmly embraces! * * * in the embrace of a sorceress mayest thou not sleep, so that with her limbs she clasp thee."

S. 114 is the next strophe quoted by Rydberg, who in the contents of this strophe does not see any connection with Sigurd's fate:

Hon sva gorir,
at þu gáir eigi
þings ne þioðans máls;
mat þu villat
ne manzkiss gaman,
ferr þu sorgafullr at sofa.

We have discarded this strophe as an interpolation offering only variations and additional details to the strophe preceding. Yet it is old in form and may have come in from another parallel poem, treating of Grípir's and Sigurd's meeting. Accepting Rosenberg's view that Sigurd, immediately after having won Brynhild for Gunnar and at the exchange of rings, recognized her as his own first love and consort, there is no wonder that he "cared not for the assemblage, or the prince's words, shunning food and human joys and going sorrowful to sleep." This is also Grípir's opinion, for after having spoken of Budle's hard-minded maiden (s. 27) whom Sigurd is to win, he continues (s. 29) (Thorpe's translation):

Hon firrir þic	She will thee bereave
flesto gamni,	of almost every joy,
faugr aliti,	the fair-faced
fostra Heimis;	foster-child of Heimir;
svefn þu ne sefr,	thou wilt not sleep,

ne um sacar dǫmir,	nor of affairs discourse,
gáraþu manna,	nor men regard;
nema þu mey ser.	only this maiden thou wilt see.

S. 29 of Grípisspá is evidently s. 114 of Hávamál, rearranged and reconstructed. Yet it cannot have been the editor of Codex Regius who has borrowed from Hávamál this strophe and rearranged it for Grípisspá. He would then have recognized the true importance of Loddfáfnismál and have placed it among the Völsung poems. The author of Grípisspá must be the one who has seen an older poem, parallel to Loddfáfnismál, a strophe of which also, much earlier, has been added to Loddfáfnismál from the same source. In this connection may be stated Jónsson's opinion that the written collection of Eddic poems which formed the basis for Grípisspá cannot have been Codex Regius. In the latter collection, Jónsson demonstrates, Reginsmál was originally a direct continuation of Frá dauða Sinfjötla, Grípisspá being inserted later.

The next point quoted by Rydberg is from s. 115:

Annars kono
teygðo þer aldregi
eyraruno at.

Rydberg remarks that Sigurd never enticed another's wife, with the supposition that the youth did not follow the sage counsel. But we have seen Sigurd seek his uncle to ask counsel and knowledge of future events. The old seer has told him not to embrace as wife the sorceress who is going to rob him of the joys of life. Continuing his chain of thought, he cautions the youth not to entice Gunnar's wife to secret converse, although she be his own first love and rightful consort. The youth follows the good counsel (s. 113 and s. 114), and becomes the exemplary friend and husband we know, through the poems and sagas. To s. 114, compare the counsel of Grípisspá s. 45:

Minnir þic eiþa,	Thou wilt the oaths remember,
máttu þegia þo,	and must silence keep,
antu Gudruno	and let Gudrún enjoy
godra raþa.	a happy union.

Then follows in Rydberg's quotation s. 118:

Ofarla bíta
ec sa einom hal
orð illrar kono;
flaraþ tunga

varþ hanom at fiorlagi
oc þeygi um sanna sauc.

Rydberg thinks this is a prophecy of how an evil woman's words sting a man so deeply that they unjustly cause another man's death, and that this woman perhaps is the same as the one spoken of in s. 113-114. We have pointed out s. 118 as an interpolation, not having the ordinary refrain, and for the same reason which holds good in regard to s. 114. But in contents, it seems to stand in intimate connection with s. 113-114, being undoubtedly borrowed from the same source as s. 114. In s. 118 is given a picture of a future event, Brynhild causing Sigurd's death. Grípisspá tells us how this was effected, Brynhild making Gunnar believe that Sigurd did not keep his oaths, as a friend to him:

s. 47. Mun hon Gunnari	She to Gunnar will
gorva segia,	plainly declare,
at þu eigi vel	that thou didst not well
eipom þyrmþir,	the oaths observe,
þa er itr konungr	when the noble king,
af aullom hug	Guikis heir,
Giuca arfi	with his whole soul,
a gram truþi.	in thee confided.

With Grípisspá Völsunga Saga agrees on this point. There we find the conversation between Brynhild and Gunnar before the death of Sigurd, probably based on poems now lost.

Rydberg then quotes s. 121:

Vin þinom
ver þu aldregi
fyrri at flaumslitom;
sorg etr hiarta,
ef þu segia ne náir
eínliveriom allan hug.

Rydberg thinks this an advice not to sever the ties of faithful friendship, and he is right. We do not see how it could mean anything else, or have any other bearing. The preceding strophes, 119 and 120, speak also of friendship in a most beautiful strain, particularly s. 119, forming with s. 120-121 an eloquent little chapter on friendship in the true Northern spirit. When Rydberg concludes from s. 121 that Loddfáfnir deserted a true friend, and instead, confided in a false one who betrayed him, we think he does so, without any support whatsoever from the text of our poem. On the contrary, we think that

Sigurd-Loddfáfnir most faithfully followed the advice given him, sacrificing to his friendship and sense of honor his own happiness and welfare. All the questions which Sigurd puts to his uncle, in Gríppisspá, betray his fear and horror of becoming a traitor to wife and friend, and all the wisdom and prescience of Grípir are required to set his mind at ease.

Of Rydberg's quotation and opinion of s. 126, we have spoken above. We cannot find in it any hint at the future of Sigurd-Loddfáfnir, but simply an advice to "mind his own business" and not to meddle with the affairs of others, an advice which Sigurd followed to the letter, with the sole exception of his fatal mission to go a-wooing for another.

Rydberg quotes s. 131 in an abbreviated form:

Ver þu víþ aul varastr
oc víþ annars kono.

From these lines, Rydberg concludes that Loddfáfnir was unwary at drinking and coveting another's wife. Rydberg says that in the life of Sigurd Fáfnisbani we learn nothing of him as coveting another's wife, but that the warning has full bearing on Höðr-Heðinn, who, at a feast, makes the promise to marry another's sweetheart. We do not think Rydberg is justified in making such close connection between the two points quoted. S. 131 is in itself a chapter on wariness. The adviser speaks first in general, enjoining Loddfáfnir to be wary but not over-wary.

Varan bíð ee þic vera
oc eigi ofvaran.

Then he proceeds to specify three instances in which his disciple should be most wary:

Ver þu víþ aul varastr
oc víþ annars kono
oc víþ þat íþ þriðia,
at þiofar ne leiki,

i. e., in regard to: 1st, ale-feasts; 2nd, another's wife, and 3rd, thieves, that they may not fool him. We consider these three points of great importance to the young hero Sigurd-Loddfáfnir. It was at an ale-feast that the cruel sorceress Grimhild, in the Northern Völsung literature the mother of Gunnar and Guðrún, rose and presented a horn to Sigurd, after emptying which Sigurd forgot both his love and his vows to Brynhild.

The second point has a bearing on the same subject as has s. 115, the speaker cautioning Sigurd-Loddfáfnir not to entice Gunnar's wife to secret converse, although she be his own first love. The fact that this caution is repeated here, as one of the three most important things to be avoided, places special emphasis on it.

The third point is co-ordinated with the other two, "þat it þriðia," and must consequently be of equal importance. Point 1 touches on the event, which forms the turning-point in Sigurd's destiny, changing its brightness and happiness into a sombre tragedy. Point 2 emphasizes the essential part of Sigurd's conduct after this fatal change, thanks to which the tragedy obtains its true grandeur, Sigurd shaping for himself the most honorable part therein. Point 3 must touch on the event which brings the tragedy to a fitting close, if it shall be justly considered of equal importance. The close of the tragedy is Sigurd's death—Brynhild's ride to Hól and Guðrún's lament being the epilogues. Sigurd was the greatest of heroes. That he, far superior in moral qualities to his friends and maligners, should meet a hero superior to himself in physical strength, was not conforming to the conceptions of which he was the creation. Sigurd must fall through cunning and treachery. In the reports of his death, the Eddic poems differ. According to the third poem of Sigurd Fáfnisbani, s. 21-23, he was killed in bed by the young Guthorm, stealing upon him but cut asunder himself by Sigurd's sword, which the dying hero threw after him. *Völsunga Saga* tells us that the sword had been tied to the bed, which accounts for the fact that Sigurd was not immediately ready to defend himself against the intruder. According to *Brot af Sigurdarkviðu*, s. 5-7, Sigurd was killed south of the Rhine. According to *Guðrúnarkviða önnur*, s. 4-8, Grani came running to the assembly splashed with blood and without Sigurd. At the close of *Brot af Sigurdarkviða*, a prose appendix gives a review of the question, ending thus: "enn þat segia allir einnig, at þeir svico hann í trygð oc vógo at hanom liggianda oc obunom." ("But they all agree therein that they broke faith with him and attacked him while lying down and unprepared.")

We think that the warning to be most wary in regard to "thieves that they fool thee not" has reference to Sigurd's death, caused by Högni and Guthorm who stole upon him "while lying down and unprepared." If we shall be able to find any other reference to Sigurd's

death in our poem, this will strengthen our theory. As *Loddfáfnismál* is judged to be the oldest of Eddic poems, it would seem most natural to suppose that it would show acquaintance with the oldest version of the story of Sigurd's death.

Besides the poems above quoted, there is still another one which touches on Sigurd's death, *Hamðismál*. Although the latest poem in *Codex Regius*, *Hamðismál* is considered to be one of the oldest, if not the oldest, heroic poem in the whole collection. In s. 6 and 7 *Hamðir* reminds *Guðrún* of her sorrow and despair at her husband's death, "when they awaked Sigurd from sleep." "On the bed thou satst, and the murderers laughed." "Thy bedclothes swam in thy husband's blood." In turning to *Loddfáfnismál*, in order to find some additional point containing an allusion to Sigurd's death, our attention is drawn to the very first strophe, s. 112:

nótt þú risat,
nema á niósn ser
eða þu leitir þer innan ut staðar.

In the last of these lines which Müllenhoff reasonably thinks to have reference to "ein Bedürfniss sich draussen ein plätzchen zu suchen" he recognizes the joking fiddler who, according to his theory, is the speaker. We have seen that *Rydberg* thinks the line to be the coarse joke of an interpolator. Also *Jónsson* thinks it to be written in a humorous vein. We cannot see why the line in question should not have been put down and meant in the greatest and plainest earnest. *Loddfáfnismál* is not one of the humorous poems and cannot be thus accepted, except from the view of such a highly artificial theory as Müllenhoff's. Things which we consider trivial or improper, peoples and poets of older times looked upon in a very different light. The Northern saga literature yields to the enquirer a great number of illustrations of the most minute description, in which matters important and matters trivial, things proper and things improper to mention, are treated in the same dignified yet unassuming epic serenity.

This warning of s. 112 not to "rise at night, unless to explore or compelled to go out," must have reference to sneak-thieves or murderers. We have seen that s. 131 gives the warning against thieves as one of the three important things for *Loddfáfnir* to beware of. Further we have seen that point 2 of s. 131 emphasizes the advice of

s. 115. In a similar manner point 3 of the same strophe emphasizes the advice of s. 112. We have seen that point 3 of s. 131 refers to Sigurd's death; consequently s. 112 must also do so.

In accepting s. 112 as having reference to Sigurd's death, we find that it follows the version of Hamðismál, according to which Sigurd is slain in his bed at night (nótt þú risat). Also s. 131, point 3, agrees with Hamðismál's version of more than one murderer, þiófar being the plural form. Thus the oldest ethical poem of the Edda agrees with its oldest epic poem, when referring to Sigurd's death.

The distinction of being called an ethical poem, Loddáfáfnismál deserves in a high degree; for although it gives hints at future events in the life of Sigurd-Loddáfáfnir, it dwells principally on the moral character of the hero, preaching self-respect in every phase and relation of life, a perfect code of honor in the best sense of the word. If Loddáfáfnir would enquire for the reason of any advice given, the answer for one and for all of them would be: "for honor's sake," directly or indirectly.

That there are hints at the future destiny of Loddáfáfnir contained in Loddáfáfnismál, and that these hints point to events in Sigurd's life, is in our opinion evident. Their conformity with the counsel given by the valkyria to Sigurd in Sigdrífumál is to be considered a conclusive proof of the identity of Sigurd and Loddáfáfnir.

Suppose a contemporary poet, or as it is believed to be in this particular case, one of a century later, were to give another version of the same counsel, and hints of the future, contained in Loddáfáfnismál, why might this second version not run like the following strophes of Sigdrífumál (chiefly after Thorpe):

- s. 22 This I thee counsel first:
that towards thy kin
thou bear thee blameless;
take no hasty vengeance,
although they raise up strife,
that, it is said, benefits the dead.
- s. 23 This I thee counsel secondly:
that no oath thou swear,
if it be not true;
cruel bonds follow broken faith:
accursed is the faith-breaker.

- s. 26 This I thee counsel fourthly:
if a wicked sorceress
dwells by the way,
to go on is better
than there to lodge,
though night may overtake thee.
- s. 30 Feasts and carousing
to many men have been
a heart-felt sorrow,
to some their death,
to some calamity;
many are the griefs of men!
- s. 32 This I thee counsel eighthly
that thou guard thee against evil,
and eschew deceit,
entice no maiden,
nor wife of man
to wantonness incite.

Only the strophes commencing "This I thee counsel" are considered genuine, and the others interpolated, as in *Hávamál* IV and VI, inserted to explain further the original ones. The rune-strophes in *Sigrdrífumál*, Jónsson thinks, have nothing to do with the original poem. Yet they may, at least a few of them, have belonged to another parallel poem with the same subject, standing in the same relation to *Sigrdrífumál* as *Háva* s. 114 and s. 118 to the rest of *Loddfáfnismál*. We will quote two of these rune-strophes, which point directly to important incidents in Sigurd's life and stand in as close conformity to the contents of the counsel of *Loddfáfnismál* as to *Sigrdrífumál* proper.

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|--|---|
| <p>s. 7 Aulrunar scaltu kunna,
ef þu vill annars qven

vælit þic i trygd, ef þu truir;

a horni scal þer rista

oc a handar baki
oc merkia a nagli Naup.</p> | <p>s. 7 Beer runes thou must know
if thou wilt not that another's
wife
thy trust betray, if thou in
her confide,
on the horn must they be
graven
and on the hand's back,
and Need on the nail bescored.</p> |
| <p>s. 8 Full scal signa
oc við fari sia
oc verpa lauki i laug;
þa ec þat veit,</p> | <p>s. 8 A cup must be blessed,
and against peril guarded,
and garlick in the liquor cast;
then I know</p> |

at þer verþr aldri
meinblandinn miöþr.

thou wilt never have
mead with treachery mingled.

Jónsson eloquently defends the intimate relations between *Sigrdrífumál* and the *Völsung* poems, against the attack of Müllenhoff. In some of the hints at the future, which in our view apply to *Brynhild*, Jónsson sees allusions to *Grimhild* and *Guðrún*. The difference is not an essential one, as of the three women who shaped Sigurd's destiny, two may be called "his wife," two "another's wife," and two "a sorceress." The perils which Sigurd is cautioned to avoid remain the same, whether these originate with his first or his second wife, or with the mother of the latter; it is in a three-cornered fight that Sigurd succumbs. Jónsson calls attention to the fact that s. 24 of *Sigrdrífumál* speaks of a combat of words with a fool, and that this may refer to a quarrel in the assembly (*þing*) which Sigurd may have been engaged in. It reminds Jónsson of the (later) version of Sigurd's death according to which he was killed in (or going to) the assembly. We would suggest that this episode in Sigurd's life is original and may have caused the latter version of his death. We will give parallel quotations to prove that not only *Sigrdrífumál* proper, but also *Loddfáfnismál*, touches on this contest with a witless fool.

Sigrdrífumál:

s. 24 þat reþ ec þer þriþja,
at þu þingi a
deilit við heimsca hali;
þviat osvifr maþr
leþr opt qveþin
verri orþ, enn viti.

This I thee counsel thirdly:
that in the assembly thou
contend not with a fool;
for an unwise man
oft utters words
worse than he knows of.

Hávamál:

s. 122 Raðome þer, Loddfáfnir, etc.,
orþom scipta
þu scalt aldregi
við osvinna apa.

I counsel thee, Loddfáfnir,
words thou never
shouldst exchange
with a witless fool.

The conclusion at which we arrive is that *Loddfáfnismál* is a poem or fragment of a poem dealing with the meeting of *Grípir* and *Sigurd*, in which *Grípir* gives counsel to his nephew and hints at important future events in his life.

IDENTITY OF LODDFÁFNIR: LODDFÁFNIR
SIGURD'S SURNAME.

In order to prove the identity of Loddfáfnir we must be able to show that the name or epithet Loddfáfnir belongs properly to Sigurd Fáfnisbani.

At the time of the meeting between Sigurd and Grípir, the youth had not yet slain the dragon Fáfnir. To suppose that Sigurd's uncle would call him by a name directly applying to a heroic deed not yet accomplished, seems unlikely. We should rather expect to find the epithet used by Grípir connected with some experience which the youth has already had. According to the ballad of Sigurd Svein, the young man does not even know his father's name and seeks Greipe to find it out. That Sigurd has not taken revenge for the death of his father, at that time, appears from Grípisspá, the first prophecy which his uncle utters touching on this his first future deed of heroism (s. 9):

Fyrst muntu, fylcir!
faudur um hefna.

First wilt thou, prince!
avenge thy father.

But Grípisspá, in the form in which it has reached us, appears as if based on some earlier poem in which Sigurd was represented as not knowing, or not being called by, his real name.

Grípisspá is such a late poem that we have reason to expect it to be logical and symmetrical in construction. And so it is in an unusual degree, certainly for Eddic poems. Only on one point it shows inconsistency and contradicts itself, viz., concerning Sigurd's name. In s. 3, Geitir, the man who guards Grípir's hall, questions Sigurd as to his name, and Sigurd replies:

Sigurþr ec heiti,
borinn Sigmundi,
enn Hiördís er
hilmis möjr.

Sigurd I am named,
born of Sigmund,
and Hiördís is
the chieftain's mother.

This reply of Sigurd's must be an interpolation, or the poet must have come across, in the older poem, something too difficult for his comprehension, and inserted a reply which stands in contrast to the

following. For in s. 4, Geitir goes to Grípir and tells him that an unknown man has arrived:

Her er maþr uti
okuþr kominn,
hann er itarligr
at álitu.

Here is a man without,
a stranger, come;
of aspect he
is most distinguished.

If Sigurd had told Geitir his name, why should the latter not in his turn tell it to the king, after obtaining it for such purpose? By the name Geitir would have recognized Sigurd as a nephew of his own master and he would not have announced him as a distinguished stranger. S. 5 describes Grípir as going to meet the stranger, whom he immediately recognizes and calls by name:

Þiggðu her, Sigurþr!
væri sǫmra fyrr.

Welcome, Sigurd!
better had it been earlier.

Bugge has noticed the absurdity of the contents in their present form, and suggests that between s. 4 and 5 a strophe must have been dropped in which Grípir asks for the name of the stranger and receives Geitir's reply with the words of Sigurd, of s. 3. But this does not remove the difficulty, for the warder and trusted servant must have known the name of the king's brother-in-law and was not liable to announce the royal nephew as an entire stranger, even if the youth was to him personally unknown.

It is more natural to suppose that the Sigurd, of the original poem, has as an answer to the question as to his identity some name equally puzzling to Geitir as to the poet of Grípisspá. In place of Sigurd's original answer, the Grípisspá poet has inserted half a strophe in s. 3; but he has failed to carry out his "improvement" of the text. Throughout the following strophes, Geitir has not understood Sigurd's answer. He may yet have repeated it. In this case, there is a strophe missing between s. 4 and 5. Or he has not repeated it to the king. In that case the original sequence of these two strophes is preserved. That there is a contradiction between the contents of s. 3 and 4 is evident, and that s. 4 stands in closer conformity with the supposed original poem than s. 3 we also consider evident.

As Sigurd, at the time, is a youth who has not yet performed any famous deed, and perhaps also is ignorant of his father's name—the ballad of *Sigurd Svein* says he is, and Geitir does not announce his and his parents' name to Grípir—his surname, if he has any, must re-

fer, not to the heroic deed of avenging his father's death, or to the famous slaying of the dragon, but to something connected with his birth or childhood.

Turning to *Fáfnismál*, we shall find that Sigurd is fond, both of concealing his own name and of using surnames, connected with his birth and childhood. *Fáfnismál* dates from a time shortly previous to the year 1000, perhaps written down just at a time when the older poetry was dying out of men's memories, supplanted by a newer poetic school.¹

The poem opens with a prose introduction, telling how Sigurd and his instructor, Regin, find Fáfñir hoarding his treasures and how Sigurd becomes his slayer. S. 1 tells how the dying Fáfñir asks his slayer whose son he is and what man's child. Then follows a prose sentence stating that Sigurd concealed his name, because it was the belief in former days, that the words of dying persons were of great power if they cursed an enemy by his name. After this prose sentence follows Sigurd's answer to Fáfñir's question, s. 2:

Gaufugt dyr ec heiti,	Noble deer I am called,
en ec gengit hefc	but I came into the world
inn moþurlausi mogr;	a motherless child;
fauður ec ácka	nor have I a father
sem fira synir,	like the sons of men:
geng ec einn saman.	alone I wander.

The translation is principally Thorpe's, but the interpretation of *gaufugt dyr* as meaning "noble deer," is Vigfusson's. What has led Vigfusson to give the word *dýr*, "animal," the specified meaning of "deer," he does not tell, but adds the following remarks: "The clue to this pun is now lost. Lines are here missing telling how Sigurd was cut out of his mother's womb, a birth of miracle which the *Völsunga Saga* wrongly attributes to king *Völsung*." Vigfusson seems to have overlooked the fact that *Völsunga Saga*, in one place, introduces Sigurd in the disguise of a deer: "I dreamt," said Guðrún, "that I saw a great deer and it was superior to all other animals." After telling the whole dream to Brynhild, the latter interpreted it: "Sigurd will come to thee," etc. Why Sigurd appears as a deer, *Þidriks Saga* tells us. It was a hind that first fostered the new born Sigurd. "Nu kom þar at æin hind oc tecr barnit i munn

¹Corp. poet bor. I. Oldn. Lit. Hist. I.

ser," "hindin man hava fostrað barnit." The clue to the pun, we think, is here given and the conclusion justified that Sigurd, with the epithet *gaufugt dyr* applied to himself, refers to a peculiarity connected with his early childhood. But the epithet *gaufugt dyr* would be no pun at all if it had not a double meaning.

The ordinary meaning of the words "noble animal," or in a narrower sense "noble deer," as we have seen, refers to the extraordinary manner in which Sigurd was fostered and nursed by a hind. Rydberg, it will be remembered, explains *gaufugt dyr* as meaning "slow-animal," an epithet which Sigurd uses in order to turn the curse against the curser. The epithet "slow animal" would then allude to Fáfñir, although by Sigurd cunningly applied to himself. If we accept Vigfusson's translation as the original and correct one, there is nothing that prevents us from accepting Rydberg's translation as a secondary meaning, a probably quite allowable play on words, *gaufugt* for *göfugt*, which both in Codex Regius would be spelled *gaufugt*. The only objection, perhaps, would be that the epithet ought rather to apply to Sigurd than to Fáfñir. If reasons are found to make it probable that Sigurd with the epithet "slow animal" or "slow deer" could refer also to himself, Rydberg's translation as a secondary meaning is acceptable.

In the remaining line of s. 2, Sigurd speaks of his birth and his family. He, the unborn, "came into the world a motherless child." "I had no father like the sons of men," for his father was killed before Sigurd was born. "Alone I wander;" he was fostered by a hind in the forest without parents, brothers, or comrades. Vigfusson thinks that some lines here are missing, telling how Sigurd was cut out of his mother's womb. In this supposition he may or may not be right. In either case, it seems likely that Sigurd with the epithet "*gaufugt dyr*," if it has a double meaning, would refer not only to an extraordinary rearing and childhood, but to his miraculous birth as well.

Völsunga Saga, which wrongly attributes the miraculous birth to Sigurd's grandfather, tells that Völsung's mother for six winters was in a state of pregnancy before the child was cut out of her breast. If this long state of pregnancy, of some lost mythical signification, was originally connected with Sigurd's birth, we have not been able to verify. But nevertheless this miraculous birth was "slow" enough to entitle Sigurd to the epithet of "slow creature," or

—fostered by a hind as he was—of “slow deer.” But if nothing at all had been known of Sigurd’s miraculous birth, he would still be entitled to the epithet “slow deer,” not being swift enough to keep pace with his foster-mother.

From s. 3, it appears as if Sigurd has not yet told the dragon anything definite in regard to his birth, for Fáfñir asks him:

Veiztu ef fauþur, ne áttað	If thou hast no father,
sem fira synir,	like the sons of men,
af hverio vartu undri alinn?	by what wonder art thou begotten?

After these lines there is, without doubt, a lacuna in Codex Regius, although not so marked. S. 4 contains Sigurd’s reply:

Ëtterni mitt	My race, I tell thee,
qvæþ ec þer okunnit vera,	is to thee unknown,
oc mic sialfan iþ sama;	and myself also.
Sigurþr ec heiti,	Sigurd is my name,
Sigmundur het minn faþir,	Sigmund was my father,
er hefð þic vapnom vegit.	with weapons I have assailed thee.

The first three lines are probably authentic, not so the three which follow. Sigurd is unborn and conceals his name, so these lines must be an interpolation. They resemble very much the last four lines of s. 3 of Grípisspá spoken of above, “Sigurþr ec heiti,” etc., and Vigfusson stamps them as an interpolation for exactly the same reason for which we deemed the four lines of Grípisspá interpolated: they stand in contradiction to the surrounding strophes. In both cases Sigurd conceals his name. In both cases he has probably used an epithet strange, if not incomprehensible, to the questioner. We believe that the strange epithet in both cases has been the same, and that this epithet was Loddfáfñir.

Rydberg’s translation of Loddfáfñir is “slow fáfñir,” “slow serpent.” If Sigurd intended to answer Fáfñir’s question with a pun, as Vigfusson supposes, there was a fine opportunity for him to allude both to his own name and Fáfñir’s, yet concealing his own, as Rydberg thinks. But still we must accept Bugge’s translation as the original meaning of the name Loddfáfñir. The epithet of “one who embraces firmly” or “who keeps another firmly embraced” fits Sigurd to perfection. One who remains with his pregnant mother for six winters may well be called the “one who embraces firmly,” and the original meaning of loða, “to cleave to,” is found here preserved.

Even if the six winters of pregnancy be a detail, added much later, the original trait remains, that Sigurd was cut out alive from his dead or dying mother's breast, and the epithet of the "firm embracer" still applies to him. If we were to leave entirely aside Sigurd's marvelous birth, still the story of his four-footed foster-mother of the forest remains. We imagine that the young "slow deer" had to "cleave to" her, "firmly embracing" her, if he was to follow her through marshes and brushwoods.

Having explained why we think Loddfáfnir an epithet in the highest degree, and for various reasons, applicable to the young Sigurd, we will explain why we think that Sigurd has used this epithet in regard to himself in Grípisspá (or its prototypes) and in Fáfñismál. Grípisspá, we have seen, is entirely built on Eddic poems, preserved and lost ones. The original poem of the meeting between Sigurd and Grípir, which formed the basis for Grípisspá, may be lost, but in Loddfáfnismál we find a parallel poem with the same subject. Loddfáfnismál calls Sigurd by the name of Loddfáfnir in every strophe throughout the whole poem. To suppose that this be the name Sigurd has given the warder to announce to the king, may therefore not appear to be a wild conjecture. The name applies to Sigurd's mythic birth and is unintelligible to the warder.

From the Eddic poem Alvíssmál, a dialogue between Thor and the dwarf Alvíss, we learn that the beings of the different worlds have different designations for the same things, and that to master the various vocabularies of the Æsir, the Vanir, the Jötnar, the Álfar, is a proof of great wisdom. That Grípir, "of all men wisest and prescient," "the hoary þulr," a favorite of the gods, at once would understand the symbolic meaning of the mythic name, Loddfáfnir, even if he had not heard it before applied to his nephew, is as evident as that it would be unintelligible to his unlearned servant and gate warder. Fáfñir, who belongs to a less favored class of beings than the sons of the Æsir, originally probably a Jötun, is still cunning, prescient and wise, even if not in such an eminent degree as the dwarf Alvíss. Fáfñir understands the symbolic meaning of Loddfáfnir.

In order to make clear Fáfñir's conception of its meaning, we must resume the analysis of Fáfñismál.

We have discarded the last three lines of s. 4 as an interpolation.

In their place, or that of the lacuna after s. 3, must originally have stood some lines in which Sigurd calls himself by the name Loddfáfnir and refers to the fact that his father was killed in war and his mother made a prisoner while he was still unborn, growing under his mother's breast. From s. 5 we conclude that Sigurd has given his name as Loddfáfnir:

Hverr þic hvatti?	Who incited thee?
Hvi hvetiaz lezt	Why hast thou suffered
mino fiorvi at fara?	thyself to be incited
inn fráneygi sveinn!	to take my life?
þu attir fauður bitran,	Youth of the sparkling eyes!
obornum sciór a sceiþ.	thou]hadst a crue father—
	* * * * *

Thorpe is unable to translate the last line, and so are Vigfusson and Lünig.¹ Others, for example P. A. Gödecke,² give only fanciful translations. Bugge, in his text, given above, has accepted R. Rask's reading but in a note takes this back and thinks that the original text of Codex Regius ought to have been kept, still at the same time venturing the conjecture of a new reading: *er borno, m sciott a sceiþ?* M. B. Richert has given special attention to the line in question, which he thinks is one of the most obscure places in the whole Edda.³ Richert gives a short review of the interpretations attempted by others, Munch, Möbius, Egilsson, Grundtvig, etc. He mentions also the various propositions, in the way of amending the text, but comes to the conclusion that it is in this, as in most cases, best to accept the reading of the venerable old manuscript, without any change. In Codex Regius the line reads: *a borno sciór a sceiþ*. Accepting this as it is written, Richert translates: "The hereditary trait is rapidly made visible." Reading *á* and *borno* as separate words, he translates: "on the child," etc. Reading the latter *a* as a negation of *sciór*, *sciór-a*, Richert translates: "on the child one cannot detect any swiftness."

We accept the last one of Richert's readings and translations, because it seems most natural that Fáfñir would try to belittle Sigurd, even if Sigurd's father thereby is indirectly praised by him. In

¹Die Edda. ²Edda.

³Försök till belysning af mörkare o. oförstådda ställen i den poetiska eddan.

Völsunga Saga, Fáfnir praises Sigurd's father directly, but there is nothing found corresponding to the difficult line.

With this reading of Richert's, it appears that Fáfnir has understood the name Loddfáfnir as meaning "slow creature," (*i. e.*, slow in leaving, cleaving to, the mother.) He answers: "On the child one cannot detect any swiftness."

From s. 5 we concluded that Sigurd has given his name as Loddfáfnir. S. 6 contains nothing of importance, Sigurd speaking in generalities of courage and heroism. Then follows s. 7, which clearly points to the fact that some of the lost lines must have contained Sigurd's report of how his father was killed in war and his mother made a prisoner while the boy was still unborn, growing under his mother's breast. Fáfnir says:

Veit ec, ef þu vaxa nępir	I know if thou hadst chanced
fyr þinna vina briosti;	to grow in the lap of friends,
sej maþr þic reidan vega;	one would have seen thee fierce in fight;
nu ertu haptr	now thou art a captive
oc hernuminn,	taken in war, and 'tis said,
e qveþa bandingia bifaz.	slaves ever tremble.

This translation of Thorpe's of *vaxa fyr þinna vina briosti* as "to grow in the lap of friends" is absolutely correct, and Vigfusson is wrong when he translates "to grow up for the face of thy friends," for the expression "*bera fyrir briosti*" is a typical one, meaning "to carry under one's heart," "to be pregnant." Fáfnir has understood Sigurd's words alluding to his miraculous birth and the ill fate of his parents, but he ridicules them: "If thou hadst been able to grow under the heart (*i. e.*, in the womb) of thy friends, there is no wonder thou art fierce, but still thou art a captive (thy mother being a captive and thou born a slave) and taken in war." Compare Völsunga Saga: "This boy, when he saw light, was great of stature, as one might expect." Compare also the conversation in Völsunga Saga between Brynhild and Guðrún where Brynhild says of Sigurd: "Thy husband was king Híalprek's thrall."

S. 8 proves that Fáfnir has been plainly told of Sigurd's remarkable birth, and the sad fate of his parents. Otherwise, Sigurd's answer would appear nonsensical. Now it is clear, Sigurd drawing the distinctions minutely:

Dvi bregþr þu nu mer, Fáfñir!	Why, Fáfñir! dost thou upbraid me
at til fiarri siac	that I am far from
minom feþr-munom;	my paternal home;
eigi em ec haptr,	I am not a captive,
þott ec vëra hernumi;	although in war I was taken;
þu fant, at ec lauss lifi.	thou hast found that I am free.

Sigurd says: "I am not a captive, although taken in war, while unborn, and still under my mother's breast." That the expressions haptr and hernumi would refer to Sigurd's struggle with the dragon is absurd to suppose. They are expressions which have reference to actual warfare.

The rest of Fáfñismál contains nothing which throws any light on the meaning of the epithet Loddfáfñir or the identity of its bearer, with the single exception of a question which Sigurd puts to Fáfñir in the "advice section," s. 12-15. These strophes in which Sigurd questions Fáfñir "as being wise declared," Müllenhoff supposes to have been interpolated. Jónsson, however, raises objections. He thinks them so snugly fitting in that they must be genuine, although he cannot explain the connections between Sigurd's questions and the saga of the hero's life. We are inclined to suppose, with Müllenhoff, that these strophes are interpolated, perhaps like many of the strophes in Sigdrífumál originally belonging to some now lost poems of mythic contents. This, we have seen, is also Rydberg's opinion. Expressions such as, "Reþ ec þer nu, Sigurþr! enn þu ráþ nemir," in Fáfñismál s. 20, and "þat reþ ec þer iþ fyrsta," "annat," etc., in s. 22-24, 26, 28, 29, 31-33, 35, 37 of Sigdrífumál, remind us of Loddfáfñismál. They seem to indicate that when Fáfñismál and Sigdrífumál were written, these lost poems of mythic contents had already been connected with a poem or poems describing the meeting of Sigurd-Loddfáfñir and Grípir. In such a connection we find Loddfáfñismál in the Háva collection. Fáfñir and Sigdrífa, in their roles as advisers, have their prototype in Grípir. That Regin in Fáfñismál, s. 34, is referred to by one of the speaking birds as inno hára þul may or may not be in casual resemblance to Loddfáfñir's adviser.

Since older poems of Sigurd-Loddfáfñir formed the basis of whole sections of Fáfñismál and Sigdrífumál, it is not surprising that one of the questions which Sigurd puts to the "adviser" Fáfñir stands

in direct connection with Sigurd's life and sphere of ideas, although the "advice section" is an interpolation.

We speak of s. 12, in which Sigurd asks:

Segdu mer, Fafnir!	Tell me, Fáfmir!
allz þic froþan qveþa	as thou art wise declared,
oc vel mart vita:	and many things to know:
hveriar 'ro þær nornir,	who those Norns are,
er nauðgaunglar 'ro	who help in time of need,
oc kiosa mǫþr fra maugom?	and from babes loose the mothers.

The subject of the Norns who act in this particular function must be of special interest to Sigurd, the youth of miraculous birth (i. e., Loddfáfmir). Codex Regius has *mǫþr fra maugom*, while already *Völsunga Saga* has *maugr fra medrum*. Grimm proposed *maug fra mǫþrom*. But is it necessary to change the original reading in this case? The original meaning of *kiósa* is "to choose." According to *Völsunga Saga*, Sigurd asks who the Norns are that choose the children from the mothers. According to Codex Regius, Sigurd asks who the Norns are that choose the mothers from the children. The Norns have power over life and death. The question, as above stated, involves the choosing of life in the former case, and of death in the latter. According to Codex Regius, Sigurd asks who those cruel Norns are that let the mothers die when giving life to their children. It is the same question which Richard Wagner's Siegfried asks himself in such a pathetic manner:

Sterben die Menschenmütter
an ihren Söhnen
alle dahin?

Völsunga Saga attributes the trait of Sigurd's miraculous birth to the story of his grandfather's life, and for that reason its author does not understand Sigurd's question, changing it in aforesaid manner.

In age and contents, *Loddfáfnismál* is worthy of being counted among what Vigfusson calls the poems of Old Heroic Teaching.¹ Our poem forms a prologue to the Old Play of the *Völsungs* which F. Niedner,² with Vigfusson, thinks preserved, although in a fragmentary state, as *Reginismál*, *Fáfñismál* and *Sigrdrífumál*. The Play of the *Völsungs* is dramatic in form. *Grípis-spá*, the author of which has been credited with no marked degree of

¹Corp. poet. bor. I. ²Zeitschrift f. Deut. Altertum, XDI.

originality, is a dramatic poem. Its prototype, a written poem of an Eddic collection now lost and in contents parallel to *Loddfáfnismál*, must also have been of dramatic form. In *Grípisspá*, Sigurd puts questions to his uncle which, incessantly repeated and in their wording very little varied, seem like an echo of the tiresome refrain of *Loddfáfnismál*, "Ráðomc þer," etc. Perhaps the questions put by Sigurd-Loddfáfnir in the lost poem were as monotonous and stereotyped as said refrain. We have accepted the interpolated ss. 114 and 118 of *Hávamál* (IV) as originally belonging to the lost *Loddfáfnir* poem. These strophes in *ljóðahátt*r are perfect and complete, showing no trace of any lost refrain. This seems to indicate that the strophes of question and those of answer have interchanged in this lost poem as they do in its late imitation, *Grípisspá*.

Whether or not *Loddfáfnismál* originally was of dramatic form, we shall not venture to decide. It might seem a plausible explanation of the incorrect title that it was derived from a dramatic poem dealing with the meeting of Sigurd-Loddfáfnir and Grípir. "*Loddfáfnismál*," *i. e.*, *Loddfáfnir's* speech or dialogue would not be an altogether inappropriate title for the lost *Loddfáfnir* poem. But since all other Eddic poems of teaching and advice carry the name of the respective teachers, *Hávamál*, *Fáfnismál*, *Reginismál*, etc., it seems more probable that the title "*Loddfáfnismál*," which is not found in *Codex Regius*, was invented in a later period when the identity of *Loddfáfnir* and the meaning of his name were forgotten.

To our theory of *Loddfáfnismál* we have nothing to add. It involves no criticism of the general theories of Rydberg and Bugge, as to Indo-European origin of, or Christian influences on, the mythic and mytho-heroic subjects of the Eddas. We have not been concerned with tracing the mythic sources of the particular poem in question. We have only tried to place *Loddfáfnismál* where it belongs in the cycle of Eddic poems. We have recognized it as the oldest ethical poem, belonging to the early period when the *Völsung* traditions had yet their original authentic form. It deals with a period of Sigurd's life on which scholars agree that older poems must have been written.

Loddfáfnismál is a venerable monument from the pre-Viking period. By separating it from *Hávamál*, the collection of Odin poems increases in congruity and consistency. That impressive monument from the Viking age thus gains in harmony of proportions and outlines. *m)*