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Reallexikon der
Germanischen Altertumskunde

Herausgegeben von
Heinrich Beck, Heiko Steuer,
Dieter Timpe

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Festschrift für Heinrich Beck

Herausgegeben von
Heiko Uecker



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Heinrich Beck

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THEODORE M. ANDERSSON

Composition and Literary Culture in *Piðreks saga*

The first attempt to rationalize the composition of *Piðreks saga* was made by Hans Friese in 1914¹. Friese distinguished four narrative groups, beginning with the core Dietrich legend equivalent to what is found in *Dietrichs Flucht*, *Rabenschlacht*, and the last third of *Alpharts Tod*. The legend told the story of how Dietrich was banished by his uncle Ermrich (Ermanaric) and took refuge at Etzel's court, how Dietrich overcame Ermrich in the Rabenschlacht with the loss of Etzel's two sons, and how he then returned to Etzel's court.

To this core was then added a secondary group of seventeen Dietrich stories: The tale of Samson; Hildibrandr's quest; Heimir's quest and combat with Dietrich; Viðga's quest and combat with Dietrich; Péttleifr's youth, quest, and encounter with Dietrich; Dietrich's combat with Ekka and Fasold; Sistram's rescue; Heimir's exile and return; Dietrich's support of Attila and Erminrekr against Ósantrix and Rimsteinn; Dietrich's banquet; Dietrich's expedition to Bertangaland; Dietrich's support of Attila against Ósantrix and Valdimarr; the death of Fasold and Péttleifr; Dietrich's combat with Elsungr; Dietrich's return to his realm; Heimir's *moniage*, reunion with Dietrich, and death; Dietrich's end. Although many or most of these tales were clustered around Dietrich in tradition, others were originally independent and were not associated with Dietrich before the writing of *Piðreks saga*. They include the weddings of Sigurðr and Gunnarr, the romances of Herbort and Hildir, Apollonius, and Íron, Grímhildir's revenge, Hildibrandr's fight with his son Alibrandr, and Attila's death. The inclusion of Dietrich's battle with a dragon and his marriage to Isolde was ascribed by Friese to the Norwegian author's confusion of Dietrich with the Frankish Wolfdietrich.

Finally, *Piðreks saga* contains a fourth group of stories that are in no way connected with Dietrich: The wooing of Oda by Ósantrix and of Erka by Attila;

1 *Thidrekssaga und Dietrichepos. Untersuchungen zur inneren und äusseren Form*. Palaestra 128 (Berlin 1914), pp. 7-8. The scheme appears in tabular form on p. 9. My own conclusions were reached in Heinrich Beck's seminar in the summer semester of 1987 when he and I exchanged places. Since then I have not found the time to formulate my results, but his sixty-fifth birthday offers a congenial opportunity to reminisce about my pleasant time in Bonn.

the story of Wayland Smith; Sigurðr's youth and murder, the story of Walter and Hildegund. The pivot of the whole complex is the story of Dietrich and his champions, which is preceded by the narrative of his youth, ascent to power, and recruitment of champions. The arrival of each champion is typically prefaced by an *enfance*, and their banding together culminates at Dietrich's great banquet. The banquet is then followed by the series of twelve combats with Ísungr and his sons in Bertangaland.

The centerpiece of the second part is the story of Dietrich's exile and the Rabenschlacht, bracketed on the one hand by the campaigns against Ósantrix and Valdimarr and on the other by the fall of the Burgundians. Dietrich's ultimate return is narrated with two interludes, his own encounter with Elsungr and Hildibrandr's encounter with Alibrandr. The collection concludes with Heimir's *moniage* and Attila's death.

This rough outline of the compositional procedure remains quite adequate, but it stands to be elaborated. The following proposals are not so much descriptive or structural as they are reconstructive of the author's narrative strategies². They speculate on how the author may have gone about hewing and fitting the beams of his disparate narratives so as to join them into a single edifice. The two most substantial, and perhaps least adjustable, beams in his timber yard were the stories of Dietrich's exile and return and the Fall of the Burgundians. The latter was almost surely in written form, and the former may well have been committed to writing as well, but the written or oral status of these tales is not at issue here³. What is important is that they provide the point of departure for the organization of the narrative as a whole. The Fall of the Burgundians may also be the most crucial source of the tragic undertone in *Piðreks saga*.

The composition of *Piðreks saga* is sufficiently complex that it is easy to lose the thread almost immediately. For the sake of surveyability I will therefore simplify my hypothetical "narrative moves" into seven subgroups, although the total number of "moves" (that is, decisions on narrative sequence, or "what story to tell next") might be closer to fifty. My proposed sequence of narrative decisions has of course no historical validity – it merely seeks to isolate some plausible

2 Similar structural analyses were proposed almost simultaneously by Thomas Klein, "Zur Piðreks saga" in *Arbeiten zur Skandinavistik. 6. Arbeitstagung der Skandinavisten des Deutschen Sprachgebiets: 26.9. – 1.10.1983 in Bonn*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Germanistik und Skandinavistik 11, ed. Heinrich Beck (Frankfurt/M etc. 1985), pp. 487-565, and the present writer, "An Interpretation of *Piðreks saga*", in *Structure and Meaning in Old Norse Literature: New Approaches to Textual Analysis and Literary Criticism*, ed. John Lindow, Lars Lönnroth, and Gerd Wolfgang Weber (Odense, 1986), pp. 347-77.

3 I have summarized the problem briefly in *A Preface to the Nibelungenlied* (Stanford, 1987), pp. 105-12.

principles in the author's thinking as he went about connecting a large number of sometimes interrelated but often quite separate stories from various sources. W.P. Ker once defined *Piðreks saga* as an "agglutination of ballads".⁴ We would not now use the term "ballad" so loosely, although there is certainly proto-ballad material among the sources of *Piðreks saga*, but the term "agglutination" remains more appropriate for *Piðreks saga* than for any other Germanic text. What I propose to explore here is the author's agglutinative procedures.

1. The Core Narrative

The most substantial (probably written) sources available to the author were the Fall of the Burgundians (*Ältere Burgundennot*), the Sigurðr story (*Brühildenslied*) and the great defeat of Dietrich (*Rabenschlachtlied*). The form of these sources is not clearer eighty years later than it was in 1914 when Friese wrote. The *Ältere Not* in written form is either rejected, accepted, or problematized.⁵ Most often the question has been posed from the perspective of the *Nibelungenlied* sources. Approached from the vantage point of *Piðreks saga*, the question is how an oral source for the Fall of the Burgundians could have left such a residue of verbatim correspondences between *Piðreks saga* and the *Nibelungenlied*. Some scholars solve the problem by assuming that the *Nibelungenlied* was the written model for *Piðreks saga*, but that supposition fails to explain why substantial sections of the *Nibelungenlied* were omitted from *Piðreks saga*. A common written source (the *Ältere Not*) explains both the verbatim correspondences and the missing portions in *Piðreks saga* (the latter to be understood as innovations in the *Nibelungenlied*). The most likely hypothesis is therefore that the author of *Piðreks saga* had a written version of the Fall of the Burgundians before him.

The story of Sigurðr/Siegfried (*Brühildenslied*) is generally assumed to have existed only in oral form until it was recorded in *Piðreks saga* and the *Nibelungenlied*. A written version is by no means impossible, but cannot be argued as

4 W.P. Ker, *Epic and Romance: Essays on Medieval Literature* (New York, 1957), p. 121.

5 Friedrich Panzer's rejection of the hypothetical poem in *Studien zum Nibelungenliede* (Frankfurt/M., 1945) was very influential for some decades. More recently Werner Hoffmann (*Das Nibelungenlied*, 6th ed. [Stuttgart, 1992], pp. 55-57) has balanced the arguments in favor of the lost source. Hilbert Weddige, *Heldensage und Stammesage. Iring und der Untergang des Thüringerreiches in Historiographie und historischer Dichtung* (Tübingen, 1989), pp. 112-13, follows Roswitha Wisniewski in accepting the *Ältere Not*. More complex models are proposed by Hermann Reichert, *Nibelungenlied und Nibelungensage* (Vienna and Cologne, 1985), pp. 103-10, and Joachim Heinze, *Das Nibelungenlied. Eine Einführung* (Munich and Zurich, 1987), pp. 36-42.

plausibly as in the case of the *Ältre Not*.⁶ The status of Dietrich's defeat at Ravenna in tradition is equally uncertain, but a written source seems likely.⁷ With some probability the author of *Piðreks saga* had substantial written sources on Dietrich at Ravenna and in exile with Etzel somewhere on the Danube (Etzelnbuc in the *Nibelungenlied*), as well as a source of some description on Sigurðr/Siegfried. Those sources may be considered the core of his material, his point of departure for further explorations into heroic legend. He seems to have stuck closely to the narrative originals, judging by the proximity to the *Nibelungenlied*, but he changed the venues radically. Etzel's (Attila's) court was moved from the Danube to Soest, and Dietrich's great battle was moved from Ravenna to Gronsport.⁸ These moves can hardly have been inspired by any but political motives, a desire to shift the location of the chief heroic stories from south to north, to rehistoricize them in north German terms. Such a move seems unlikely unless the author had a definite north German affiliation, which appears to underlie the compilation as a whole. The author's point of departure in the Burgundian, Sigurðr, and Dietrich stories also determined the narrative aesthetic. These were all stories of death and disenchantment, and that is the dominant tone of the compilation fashioned from them. The pattern of high promise and ultimate disaster came to color the narrative throughout.

2. The Core Characters

On the basis of these core narratives the author was confronted with an array of central characters, Sigurðr/Siegfried from the Nibelung story, Viðga from the *Rabenschlachtlied*, and Attila, Hildibrandr, and Piðrekr, all of whom figured both in the Dietrich cycle and in the *Ältre Not*. Somewhat more peripheral in the Dietrich cycle were Heimir and, hardly more than a name, Hornbogi. Most of these characters are provided with fairly elaborate family or dynastic histories and marriage accounts. Why? The model that lay ready at hand was the story of Sigurðr/Siegfried. Whatever the form of the hypothetical *Brünhildenlied*, it must have included some version of the hero's birth, betrothal, and marriage.⁹ These

6 It is generally assumed that the *Brünhildenlied* was transmitted only in oral form, but I posed the possibility of a written transmission in *A Preface to the Nibelungenlied*, pp. 116-17.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 110-11.

8 On Gronsport see William J. Paff, *The Geographical and Ethnic Names in the Piðriks Saga. A Study in Germanic Heroic Legend* ('S-Gravenhage, 1959), pp. 110-11.

9 I have attempted to clarify the shape of the *Brünhildenlied* in *The Legend of Brynhild* (Ithaca [New York], 1980), pp. 151-204.

indications were apparently not full enough to satisfy the author, who therefore elaborated this part of the story extensively by adapting a version of the Crescentia story. That version was to be found either in the *Kaiserchronik* or in an independent version of the Crescentia story antedating the *Kaiserchronik*.¹⁰

What is interesting here is not so much the source of the elaboration as the impulse to elaborate, the introduction of Sigurðr/Siegfried's father Sigmundr into a French dynasty (Tarlungaland for Karlungaland) and his mother Sisibe into a Spanish dynasty. Heroic legend is thus transformed into pseudo-history. The ideological source for this transformation may be the same as the narrative source. If the *Kaiserchronik* provided the Crescentia story, it may also have inspired the conversion of Germanic legend into German dynastic history. But whereas the *Kaiserchronik* is centered in southern Germany (Regensburg), the focus in *Piðreks saga* has shifted northward to Westphalia (Soest). *Piðreks saga* is therefore not so much a duplication of the *Kaiserchronik* as it is a political countermove designed to invest Westphalia with the same kind of historical authentication that Bavaria derived from the *Kaiserchronik*.

This literary context could serve to account for the dynastic elaborations in *Piðreks saga*, but it does not explain the blending of dynastic concerns with the repeated tales of betrothal, elopement, and abduction. In the heroic material the betrothal of Sigurðr/Siegfried, and subsequently Attila/Etzel, to Grímhildr/Kriemhild is the closest model, but it may have been reinforced by the romantic prelude to a heroic story in the *Alexanderlied*, Queen Olympias's seduction by the magician-king Nectanebus.¹¹ Here the elements of dynasty, marriage, and youthful heroism are most palpably intertwined and could have contributed to the persistent interweaving of these elements in *Piðreks saga*.

The family elaborations in *Piðreks saga* could thus have been suggested by hints in the Nibelung legend, the dynastic organization of the *Kaiserchronik*, and the dynastic and romantic prelude to the *Alexanderlied*, but there is a possible further model in a proto-version of Part I of *König Rother*, the prototypical bridal-quest romance of the twelfth century. That proto-version appears to be the immediate model for the story of Ósantrix and Oda in *Piðreks saga* (I.49-70, II.71-83), and Thomas Klein has strengthened the case for believing that the proto-version of *Rother* was composed in some regional and political proximity to the German

10 On this question see Karen Baasch, *Die Crescentialegende in der deutschen Dichtung des Mittelalters*, Germanistische Abhandlungen 20 (Stuttgart, 1968).

11 The episode is told in the Basel version and alluded to in the Strassburg and Vorau versions. See Karl Kinzel, ed., *Lamprechts Alexander nach den drei Texten mit dem Fragment des Alberic von Besançon und den lateinischen Quellen* (Halle a.S., 1884), pp. 3-24 and 30-33.

matrix of *Þiðreks saga*.¹² Ósantrix becomes a foil for Attila, who in *Þiðreks saga* is presented as a Frisian prince bent on the conquest of Hunland. Attila in turn becomes the central figure in a bridal-quest adventure modeled closely on the story of Ósantrix and Oda. That pattern shows clearly how the author worked by analogy, extending a particular narrative scheme from one character to another. Sigurðr's *enfance* is drawn from the *Kaiserchronik* (or a separate Crescentia story), while Attila's bridal quest is drawn from the story of Ósantrix and Oda.

Among the core characters there remain three: Hildibrandr, Viðga, and Þiðrekr. Hildibrandr plays the part of a bachelor companion in arms (despite the later appearance of a son Alibrandr). As a result there is no account of his marriage, although the compiler's facility in devising romantic preludes could certainly have enabled him to invent one. Viðga and Þiðrekr are another matter. They are more important figures and require fuller family and dynastic development. Hence their histories are described at the very outset of the compilation. The saga provides Þiðrekr with two generations of ancestry, beginning with his grandfather Samson, who abducts and marries Hildisvið, daughter of Roðgeirr of Salemi (the putative Roger of Sicily), fights a series of campaigns, and becomes King of Salerno. His son is Þéttmarr, King of Bern (Verona), who marries Odilia and in turn has a son Þiðrekr. Þiðrekr's youthful feats include the killing of the monstrous couple Grímr and Hildir with the aid of his foster father Hildibrandr and the overcoming of Heimir, who then joins his service. Heimir is presented as the son of a "marshall" (horse trainer), Studas, in the service of Brynhildr of Sægarðr. It is difficult to fathom how the author constructed this genealogy, but it has the effect of attaching Heimir to the Nibelung cycle.

Viðga's genealogy, like Þiðrekr's, reaches back two generations to a father Velent and a grandfather Vaði. The genealogy is further extended in the section known as "Vilkina saga", which precedes the story of Vaði and Velent in Mb² and AB, but occurs considerably later in the text of Mb³.¹³ In Mb³ Vilkinus figures as Vaði's father and thus as Viðga's great grandfather. The story of Velent clearly derives from some otherwise undocumented North German variant of the tale found in the Eddic "Völundarkviða".¹⁴ Viðga's genealogy is thus provided by recourse to a heroic legend known to the author of the compilation but not strictly required in a work based largely on the Nibelung and Dietrich tales. Viðga is

12 See Klein's "Zur Þiðreks saga", esp. pp. 506 and 511.

13 Klein argues for the priority of Mb³ in "Zur Þiðreks saga", pp. 512-38.

14 Hermann Schneider, *Germanische Heldensage*, vol. 2, pt. 2 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1934), 84-86, did not believe that there was a German source for "Völundarkviða", but W.E.D. Stephens, "An Examination of the Sources of the Thidrekssaga" (University College, London, M.A.Thesis, 1937), pp. 17-23, argued strongly against that position.

narratively activated in the same way as Heimir – he challenges Þiðrekr only to be coopted by him. This narrative pattern is most probably borrowed from the story of Sigurðr/Siegfried, who rides out to challenge the Burgundian brothers but ultimately takes service with them.

The narrative up to this point appears to be heavily indebted to the Nibelung legend, which provided the overall pattern of family history, service at a distinguished court, bridal quest, and marriage. Only Attila is assigned the full complement of motifs (in "Vilkina saga"). The other players in this section (Heimir, Hildibrandr, Viðga and Þiðrekr) have full genealogical histories but do not marry. Attila, as delineated in "Vilkina saga", is thus an exception in this company of bachelors, and that anomaly might be used as a further argument in the case made by Thomas Klein to the effect that the late positioning of "Vilkina saga" in Mb³ represents the original sequence. Attila belongs in the "marriage sequence". The opening sequence, on the other hand, seems to concentrate on those heroes who do not marry or marry only later: Heimir, Hildibrandr, Viðga, and Þiðrekr. This early narrative compensates for the absence of romantic adventures by offering particularly full family histories for Viðga and Þiðrekr. Viðga's story is appropriated from the legend of Wayland Smith, while Þiðrekr's is fashioned from Italian pseudo-history. The perceived need for family and dynastic history may be derived from the *Kaiserchronik* or the *Alexanderlied*. The pattern of riding out to find adventure and take service at a great court has its most obvious counterpart in the account of Sigurðr/Siegfried's youth in the *Brünhildenslied*. The general drift of the opening sequence is to initiate the assembly of heroes at Þiðrekr's court, beginning with Heimir, Hildibrandr, and Viðga.

3. The Core Companions

The next section follows logically on the preceding one to the extent that it methodically expands the number of champions in Þiðrekr's circle. The new arrivals do not have the same standing as the first three, to whom Hornbogi is added with no significant commentary. They are as follows: Fasold, Sistram, Ömlungr, Þéttleifr, Vildifer, and Herbrandr. They bring Þiðrekr's retinue up to ten in number. There is background information on only four of them, Fasold, Þéttleifr, and Vildifer, rather less on Sistram. Of Ömlungr and Herbrandr we learn nothing at all. Fasold is the brother of Ekka, whom Þiðrekr kills in single combat. That there was an oral story about Ekka, which perhaps included Fasold by extension, is suggested by the *Eckenlied*. Þiðrekr and Fasold kill an elephant in an episode that seems to be based on the *Alexanderlied* and rescue Sistram from the

maw of a dragon. Sistram identifies himself as the son of Jarl Reginbaldr in Fenidi (Venice). Since he appears at Þiðrekr's court in such important company, he may at least have been a name in the oral or written Dietrich tradition.

Þéttleifr (Dietleib) is the subject of a rather full and separable story ("Þéttleifs Þáttur danska"). He is the son of Biturúlfur of Tummaborp in Skåne and his wife Oda, daughter of the Jarl of Saxland. He grows up as a *kolblítr*, but eventually rouses himself to attend two feasts. On the way home he and his father encounter a band of twelve robbers led by Heimir. They kill eleven of the assailants and put Heimir to flight. Þéttleifr next sets out from home with directions to visit his father's old friend Sigurðr at Marsteinn. He provokes a fight with Sigurðr and has a nocturnal adventure with his daughter that includes narrative motifs suggestive of a *protopabliu*.¹⁵ The next day he wins the victory over Sigurðr, identifies himself to his host's delight, and is betrothed to the daughter. From Marsteinn he goes on to Bern to join Þiðrekr, and from there to Rome, where Þiðrekr is attending a banquet hosted by Erminrekr. Having joined Þiðrekr's service without identifying himself, he entertains on such a lavish scale that he must pawn his companions' most precious possessions and finally submit the bill to Erminrekr. Valtari af Vaskasteini challenges him to a contest with their heads at stake, and when Valtari loses, Erminrekr is obliged to ransom him by discharging the bill.

Þéttleifr is something of a Pantagruel, with enormous indolence, capacity for adventure, strength, appetite, and self-assertiveness. Character and tale are so much of a piece and so little derivable from heroic commonplaces or other sections of the text that they must have had some status in tradition, perhaps in an antecedent version of *Biterolf und Dietleib*.¹⁶ Concerning Ömlungr we learn only that he is the son of the otherwise unelaborated Hornbogi, and concerning Herbrandr only that he is widely experienced and knows "almost all languages". Vildifer has no family connections and declares that he comes from Ömlungaland, but he is given a considerable role to play in the warfare that breaks out between King Attila of Hunland and King Ósantrix of Vilkingaland. Attila, who is the popular favorite, seeks the aid of Þiðrekr. Þiðrekr joins in a successful campaign, but Viðga is captured by Ósantrix's nephew Hertnið. Vildifer undertakes to find Viðga and, disguised as a dancing bear, accompanies the minstrel Ísungr to Ósantrix's court. Here he is set upon by dogs, kills a dozen of them, then Ósantrix himself and two giants for good measure. This is an awkward moment because, in

15 Þiðreks saga af Bern, ed. Henrik Bertelsen, *Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur* 34 (Copenhagen, 1908-11), vol. I.229-30. Þéttleifr squeezes her hand as she passes him a goblet, she presses his foot with hers, then pays him a nocturnal visit to the accompaniment of the author's courtly lubricities about her honest intentions.

16 See Stephens, "An Examination", pp. 28-47.

Mb³ at least, Ósantrix is later resurrected, not unlike Melanippus in the *Iliad*, to woo Oda. The other manuscripts avoid the problem by locating the wooing episode in the early part of the text, but that may well be a corrective rather than a true reflection of the original state of the compilation.

We may well ask how the compiler could have backed himself into this contradiction. He surely did not invent the story of Ósantrix's wooing, which seems to be the prototype of Part I of *König Rother*. Nor did he invent Vildifer's adventures entirely, since they appear to be guaranteed for tradition by the fragmentary *Bere Wisselauwe*.¹⁷ But why should both stories be attached to Ósantrix? Thomas Klein has argued (pp. 500-12) that Ósantrix, or the Oserich mentioned in *Biterolf und Dietleib*, figured originally as Attila's father-in-law in south German tradition and was secondarily identified with the king of the Wiltsians in north Germany.¹⁸ A Wiltsian king named Oserich is not recorded, but once Attila had been relocated in Westphalia (Soest), it would be logical to place his enemy and reluctant father-in-law among the Wiltsians to the east. The details of the wooing could be taken over from the proto-*Rother*, which Klein places in the Low German linguistic area. In the present context of Þiðrekr's campaign against Attila's Wiltsian enemy, Ósantrix was therefore the logical antagonist. But questions remain:

1. If Þiðrekr's campaign against a Wiltsian king was to end with the latter's death, why could a king other than Ósantrix not have been selected for the purpose?
2. If the compiler wished to posit a single Wiltsian king as the enemy of Attila and Þiðrekr and as Attila's ultimate father-in-law, why could Ósantrix's life not have been spared in the first encounter? There seems to be no compelling reason to let Ósantrix die prematurely at the hands of Vildifer, even if such a conclusion were suggested by a protoversion of *Bere Wisselauwe*.

We may need to reconsider Klein's decision in favor of the sequence in Mb³. The chief factor in favor of Mb³, also noted by Kralik¹⁹, is that, assuming an early positioning of "Vilkinasaga" in the original, there is no apparent reason why an editor would have moved the wooing story of Ósantrix and Oda to the center of the text after Ósantrix has already been killed by Vildifer. Klein argues that the later position is structurally correct because all the wooing stories (except for Samson's abduction of Hildisvið at the very beginning) are consolidated in one

17 Jan de Vries, "Van Bere Wisselauwe", *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde*, 41 (1922), 143-72.

18 See André Schnyder, *Biterolf und Dietleib*, Sprache und Dichtung 31 (Bern and Stuttgart, 1980), p. 128 (v.1962).

19 Dietrich von Kralik, *Die Überlieferung und Entstehung der Thidrekssaga* (Halle a.S., 1931) p. 11.

place. But it may be the recognition of this structural principle that brought about the repositioning of the wooing story in Mb³. The editor may have noticed the consolidation of the wooing stories and wished to carry through the principle with greater consistency. To be sure, he failed to notice that this change entailed a resuscitation of Ósantrix after he had already been slain by Vildifer, but such an oversight is perhaps easier to attribute to a careless editor than to the original author.

However we resolve this difficult problem, the third step in the compositional process was to add a group of secondary figures to Þiðrekr's circle of companions. That process is then completed in the next section.

4. The Company of Twelve

Before bringing Þiðrekr's circle to full strength, the author digresses to describe the siege of a castle belonging to a certain Rimsteinn, who has withheld tribute from King Erminrekr. Erminrekr asks for Þiðrekr's assistance, and they conduct their siege for two months without success. Eventually Viðga is able to kill Rimsteinn in a *doloneia*-like episode, in which Rimsteinn sallies forth from his castle at night to scout the enemy lines. Heimir belittles Viðga's triumph, and it is only with great difficulty that Þiðrekr is able to make peace between them. Erminrekr puts Rimsteinn's castle under the command of Valtari before the kings return to their respective realms in Rome and Bern.

That the campaign against Rimsteinn is not invented but taken over from prior tradition is suggested by a reference to it in *Biterolf und Dietleib*.²⁰ The introduction of the campaign at this point serves two purposes. Although Erminrekr and Þiðrekr appear only as kinsmen (that Erminrekr is Þiðrekr's uncle emerges from I.23), Þiðrekr's military service on Erminrekr's behalf prepares the way for the later poisoned relationship (II.169-75) and Þiðrekr's flight into exile. The importance assigned to Viðga and Heimir also anticipates their prominent roles in the falling out between Erminrekr and Þiðrekr. Viðga is destined to warn Þiðrekr of Erminrekr's march against him (II.172-73), and Heimir denounces Erminrekr's killing of his nephews under Sifka's baleful influence (II.176).

We may observe at this point that the author is already looking ahead to the great confrontation between Erminrekr and Þiðrekr and the latter's exile at Attila's court in Soest. In other words, even before the great banquet that marks the

20 André Schnyder, *Biterolf und Dietleib*, p. 198 (v. 4771).

apogee of Þiðrekr's power the author begins to prepare the way for his demise and to signal that demise to the reader. It is very much in the spirit of the book to juxtapose rising and declining fortunes and suggest the illusory nature of success.

The author now turns to the final stage in the creation of Þiðrekr's court circle, the arrival of the Niflungs. Just as elaborate genealogies and tales of youthful adventure are provided for the other leading characters (Viðga, Þiðrekr, Heimir, and Þéttleifr), so too Sigurðr's birth and early exploits (dragon-slaying and acquisition of Grani) are accounted for in detail (I.282-319). The story of Aldrian (or Írungr) of Niflungaland and how his wife Oda gave birth to four legitimate children (Gunnarr, Gernoz, Gísler, and Grímhildr) in addition to the demonic Högni, fathered by an elf, is disposed of in a single chapter (I.319-22). There is no explanation at all of prior contacts between Bern and Niflungaland; Þiðrekr merely invites the Niflungs to a banquet without motivation.²¹

Only Gunnarr and Högni attend, because we learn that Gísler is only a child and Guthormr is ill. That brings the invited notables at the feast to exactly twelve: Gunnarr, Högni, Hildibrandr, Hornbogi, Viðga, Ömlungr, Þéttleifr, Fasold, Sistram, Vildifer, Herbrandr, and Heimir. We may suspect that the precise number twelve was of some interest to the author inasmuch as he invents a special (and rapid) reason for excluding Guthormr. Hermann Schneider noted the analogy to the company of the Arthurian round table, but perhaps even closer to home are the "douze pairs de France", who would have been familiar to a north German readership at this time from the German translation of the *Chanson de Roland* undertaken with the patronage of Henry the Lion around 1170.²²

In any event, the number twelve served to suggest the next adventure, which pits Þiðrekr's twelve champions against the eleven sons of King Ísungr of Bertangaland, seconded by Ísungr's incomparable standard-bearer Sigurðr. The story is based on some prototype of the *Rosengarten zu Worms*, but the number twelve probably does not originate in the camp of King Ísungr and Sigurðr.²³ It is more likely to have been suggested by the tally of Þiðrekr's companions. That tally may

21 This and the following chapter are to some extent duplicates, though with curious discrepancies. The father Aldrian in the first chapter is named Írungr in the second, and the unnamed wife of the first becomes Oda in the second. Similarly, the four children of the first chapter are expanded to five in the second: Gunnarr, Guthormr, Gernoz, Gísler, and Grímhildr.

22 Schneider, *Germanische Heldensage*, vol. I (Berlin, 1962), 409. Charlemagne's twelve peers are mentioned prominently at the beginning of the *Rolandslid*. See *Das Rolandslid des Pfaffen Konrad*, ed. Dieter Kartschoke, vol. I (Munich, 1971), pp. 8-10 (vv. 67-86 and 109-32). In the latter passage nine of the twelve peers are named. On Henry the Lion's patronage see Joachim Bumke, *Mäzene im Mittelalter. Die Gönner und Auftraggeber der höfischen Literatur in Deutschland 1150-1300* (Munich, 1979), pp. 86-91.

23 See Stephens, "An Examination", p. 86.

have been taken over from tradition, or it may be inspired by a literary instinct to rival the round table and Charlemagne's twelve peers. In the latter case the number may be considered original in *Piðreks saga* (or a German prototype) and secondary in the various versions of the *Rosengarten zu Worms*.

5. The Marriage Sequence

After the round of single combats in Bertangaland is concluded, the author inserts a series of romantic interludes culminating in marriage. If the placement of "Vilkina saga" in Mb³ is original, the series includes the marriages of Ósantrix/Oda and Attila/Erka, bringing the total to twelve. In this case the number twelve matches the twelve armed encounters of the previous adventure. The symmetry might indicate that the number twelve is a fundamental principle in the narrative and that this principle lends credence to the order of events in Mb³. On the other hand, it could be argued that, if the early placement of "Vilkina saga" in Mb² represents the original order of the narrative, the change in Mb³ was motivated not only by a desire to consolidate all the marriages in one place but also to increase the number of marriages to twelve in order to achieve a symmetry with the preceding narrative on Piðrekr's twelve companions.

What inspired a narrative section on marriages at this juncture? Three factors suggest themselves. In the first place, the sequence of single combats in Bertangaland ends happily with the marriage of Fallborg to King Ísungr. Presumably the underlying German source, reflected in both *Piðreks saga* and the various redactions of *Der Rosengarten zu Worms*, ended in the same way. The marriage finale in this section might thus have suggested a marriage continuation in the next section. Secondly, the adventure in Bertangaland serves to activate Sigurðr in a major role and Gunnarr in a less flattering role – he is overcome and bound by King Ísungr (II.26-27). This sequence thus looks ahead to the Niflung story, and the next phase of that story, as the author knew from the "Brünhildenlied", narrated the marriage of Grímhildr to Sigurðr and Brynhildr to Gunnarr. These conspiring factors made it natural to think of marriage in thematic terms.

Finally, whether "Vilkina saga" was located early or late in the text, it contained the romantic bridal-quest stories of Ósantrix/Oda and Attila/Erka. The first of these is likely to have been taken over from a north German prototype of Part I in *König Rother*, and the story of Attila and Erka may be a purely literary extension of that bridal-quest story type. Ultimately it seems most likely that the bridal quest in the north German proto-*Rother* inspired the idea of introducing romantic interludes in *Piðreks saga*, although the story of Walter and Hildegund presumably

contributed to the pattern as well, most notably in the story of Samson and Hildisvið at the outset of the text.

Similarly romantic is the story of Herburd's wooing of Hildir, with names taken from the Tristan story (Herburd is the son of Þiðrekr's sister Isolde and has a brother Tistram), service and abduction motifs from the story of Walter and Hildegund, and an episode from Pliny (the Apelles story in Book 35, chapter 10 of the *Natural History*). Narratively undeveloped are the marriages of Þiðrekr, Fasold, and Þéttleifr to three daughters of King Drusian of Drekanfils (II.60-61). There follow (in Mb³) the marriages of Ósantrix/Oda, Attila/Erka, and Valtari/Hildigunnr, bringing the total to ten. It is interesting to note that the story of Valtari and Hildigunnr is rehearsed very briefly (II.105-9), perhaps because some of the motival repertory had already been exhausted on the stories of Samson and Hildisvið and Herburd and Hildir.

The remaining stories of Apollonius/Herborg and Íron/Bolfriana exhibit a rather different set of motifs. As the name Apollonius suggests, his story is based on *Apollonius of Tyre*, a connection confirmed by his home in Tiri (near the Rhine!). The residual echo is that King Salomon loves his daughter so much that he refuses to marry her off. He therefore rejects Apollonius's suit. The name Salomon suggests the other main source of motifs, some form of the tale of *Salman und Morolf*. These motifs include a love-inducing ring and elaborate disguises to gain admission to Salomon's court – first as a minstrel and then as the great whore Heppa.

The story of Íron begins as a tale of competitive poaching, with Íron and Apollonius on one side and Salomon on the other, each invading the other's hunting grounds. Only at the end of the story does the romantic moment appear, this time as an adulterous triangle in which Íron falls in love with Bolfriana, the wife of Duke Áki, who is Erminrekr's brother. Áki discovers a love letter and arranges to kill Íron in a scene that has a close analogue in Wirnt von Gravenberg's *Wigalois*.²⁴ After the death of Áki, Bolfriana marries Viðga, who thus acquires obligations similar to those of Erminrekr's deceased brother Áki. The effect of this conclusion to the marriage sequence is to reintroduce Erminrekr and to place Viðga in an intermediate position between his old lord Þiðrekr and his new lord Erminrekr. It is the tension between Þiðrekr and Erminrekr that sets the tone for the next section and culminates in the Battle of Gronsport (Rabenschlacht).

24 See Wolf von Unwerth, "Herzog Iron", *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 38 (1912), 280-313.

6. Dietrich and Ermanaric

It is only in this section that the author finally arrives at the core narrative, Þiðrekr's exile and return, including the events that transpire during his time at Attila's court, notably the fall of the Burgundians. At this point all the preceding adventures shrink to a prelude. The material on Þiðrekr's exile and return corresponds roughly to what is found in the Middle High German *Dietrichs Flucht* and *Rabenschlacht* and probably rests on some form of written tradition, although the shape of that tradition has been much disputed.²⁵ The fall of the Burgundians is based almost certainly on a written version also used in Part II of the *Nibelungenlied*.

Other narratives of more uncertain provenance are also absorbed into this section. The author harnesses the story of Erminrekr's evil counselor Sifka (Sibeche) to motivate the enmity between Erminrekr and Þiðrekr. Erminrekr rapes Sifka's wife Odila, and Sifka takes revenge by contriving the death of his sons, while Odila slanders his nephews Egarð and Áki (the Harlungen), whom Erminrekr proceeds to hang. Finally, Sifka sows strife between Þiðrekr and Erminrekr by inciting the latter to encroach on Þiðrekr's collection of tribute. Viðga warns Þiðrekr of an impending attack and causes him to take refuge first with Röðingeirr at Bakalar (Pöchlarn) and then with Attila at Soest. There are shreds of the Sifka story in a whole array of English, German, and Scandinavian sources, but they are not substantial enough to allow for a reconstruction of the underlying German story.²⁶

At this juncture the author involves Attila and Þiðrekr in a campaign against the Russians under King Ósantrix, who, as we may remind ourselves, must be resurrected for the purpose because he has already been killed by Vildifer. Here he succumbs again, this time to the Huns. He is succeeded by his son Hertnið, who earlier figured as his nephew, but the war is prosecuted by Ósantrix's brother Valdimarr.²⁷ After a long contest with varying fortunes (II.179-218) Þiðrekr kills Valdimarr, and Valdimarr's brother, Jarl Íron, becomes Attila's tributary king in Russia.

25 See Schneider, *Germanische Heldensage*, I, 214-38; Stephens, "An Examination", pp. 124-71; Georges Zink, *Les Légendes héroïques de Dietrich et d'Ermanrich dans les littératures germaniques* (Lyons, 1950), pp. 64-131.

26 See Schneider, *Germanische Heldensage*, I, 238-43; Stephens, "An Examination", pp. 126-45; Roswitha Wisniewski, *Mittelalterliche Dietrichdichtung* (Stuttgart, 1986), pp. 42-43.

27 The fullest, though problematical, treatment of the "Russian wars" in *Þiðreks saga* is by Waldemar Haupt, *Zur niederdeutschen Dietrichsage*, Palaestra 129 (Berlin, 1914), pp. 83-163.

Piðrekr next undertakes to reconquer his lost realm, an enterprise aided by Attila's wife Erka, who assigns her two young sons Erpr and Ortvin with a thousand men to support the mission. Piðrekr and Erminrekr meet at Gronsport and fight a great battle, in which not only Erpr and Ortvin fall but also six of Piðrekr's other chief lieutenants. Viðga elects to fight on Erminrkr's side, albeit reluctantly. When Piðrekr learns of his losses, he is so infuriated that he breathes fire and pursues Viðga the length of the Mosel and into the sea. He then returns disconsolate to Soest, where he is reconciled to Attila and Erka despite the loss of their sons. Two years later Erka falls ill and dies after giving Attila a prophetic warning not to marry into the family of the Niflungs.

That warning serves to connect the account of Piðrekr's exile with the Fall of the Burgundians. The latter narrative begins with Sigurðr's death, but it is almost immediately interrupted by an odd digression that reintroduces King Hertnið of Russia (Vilkinaland). At the end of the Hunno-Russian war Hertnið appeared to have been displaced by Jarl Íron, under Attila's aegis. He now reappears, married to the witch Ostasia, to fight a great battle against King Ísungr and his eleven sons, all of whom are killed by Ostasia's monsters. The depletion of Piðrekr's circle continues as Fasold is killed by Hertnið and Þéttleifr succumbs to a dragon. Casualties among Piðrekr's followers are made to serve as the connecting thread between the story of Ostasia and the Fall of the Burgundians, which is now told at great length and results in the death of still more of Piðrekr's companions, Gunnarr, Högni, Roðingeirr, and so forth.

Here the author reverts once more to the story of Piðrekr's exile and return. Piðrekr grieves but vows to retrieve his realm. Taking leave of Attila, he has an encounter with Jarl Elsungr in an episode derived from a source that also inspired Adventure 26 of the *Nibelungenlied* and a passage in *Die Klage*.²⁸ He learns that Erminrekr is dead and has been succeeded by Sifka. After a digression to allow for the reunion of Hildibrandr with his son Alibrandr, Piðrekr is reinstated in Bern and meets Sifka in battle, where the latter falls at the hands of Alibrandr. Piðrekr is then crowned in Rome.²⁹ At this point the irrepressible Hertnið resurfaces yet

28 I have tried to unravel the connections in "The Encounter between Burgundians and Bavarians in Adventure 26 of the *Nibelungenlied*", *JEGP* 82 (1983), pp. 365-73.

29 After Piðrekr's coronation in Rome we are told (II.357) that he constructed baths called "Piðrekr's Baths" and ordered a statue cast "of his horse Fálki and himself". That there is some connection between this passage and the equestrian statue of Theodorich that Charlemagne had brought from Ravenna to Aachen seems likely. See Walahfrid Strabo's "De imagine Tetrici" in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, vol II, ed, Ernestus Duemmler (Berlin, 1884; rpt. 1964), 370-78. For references to earlier studies and a partial translation see Felix Thürlemann, "Die Bedeutung der Aachener Theoderich-Statue für Karl den Großen (801) und bei Walahfrid Strabo (829). Materialien zu einer Semiotik visueller Objekte im frühen Mittelalter". *Archiv für*

again and falls victim to a flying dragon. Þiðrekr overcomes the dragon in an adventure reminiscent of *Herzog Ernst*, then defeats a band of robbers besieging Hertnið's castle, thus making it possible for him to marry Hertnið's widow Isolde.

The general strategy in this section is to intertwine events associated with Attila's court at Soest, chiefly the Fall of the Burgundians and the warfare between Huns and Russians, with the heroic tale of Dietrich's exile and return. Since these were the fullest and literarily most evolved of the works at the author's disposal, the problems involved in dovetailing them was great, and the author's ingenuity is not to be scorned. Attila, who is associated with both the Burgundians and Dietrich in German legend, is the pivot, but the story of his own marriage, wars, and familial grief is so amply developed that he emerges as far more than a narrative link between the two principal sources of *Þiðreks saga*.

7. The Epilogue

The narrative ends in catastrophe with the death of the remaining protagonists (Attila, Heimir, and Þiðrekr), but these chapters are not so much a tragic finale as they are a last trickle of narrative and an attempt to tie up some loose ends. Attila, who cuts a rather grand figure in *Þiðreks saga*, is starved to death in a cave by Högni's posthumous son Aldrian, in just reprisal for Högni's death. The angle of sympathy thus shifts at the last moment from the perspective of the Dietrich legend to the perspective of the Niflung story. Heimir, who has appeared throughout as something of a heroic athlete or even buffoon, remains more in character. His final adventure is cast as a *moniage*, in which he enters a monastery and defends it against a giant.³⁰ He emerges one last time to reenter Þiðrekr's service. Shortly thereafter he succumbs in his turn to yet another giant, but is avenged by Þiðrekr.

The difficulty in this narrative is not so much that it is boisterous and burdened with giants, but that Heimir has not been sufficiently important in the tale as a whole to earn the penultimate adventure. Þiðrekr's own end is interestingly mysterious but oddly indeterminate. He simply disappears on a black horse during a stag

Kulturgeschichte, 59 (1977), 25-65. If the statue still existed in Aachen in the twelfth century, it is more likely to have been known to a German writer than a Norwegian writer.

30 II.375-89. The monastery is identified as Wadincusan (II.385.21), or Wedinghausen in Amsberg on the Ruhr. Roswitha Wisniewski explored possible historical connections with Wedinghausen in *Die Darstellung des Niflungunterganges in der Thidreks saga. Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung* (Tübingen, 1961), pp. 261-66.

hunt.³¹ It was perhaps the very indeterminacy of the ending that left room for an alternative in the Swedish version. Here Viðga, whose disappearance at Grönsport was similarly inconclusive, was brought back to fight a final combat with Þiðrekr. In this version Viðga falls and Þiðrekr succumbs to his wounds.

The Literary Culture of *Þiðreks saga*

The compositional procedures could be traced in much greater detail than present space allows, but the rough approximation above is sufficient to suggest the nature of the narrative materials from which the compiler worked. These materials might be grouped in three categories: 1. literary (or written) sources, 2. sources of unascertainable form (possibly written, possibly oral), and 3. literary concepts. The most important literary sources in the first category are the following:

1. The Fall of the Burgundians (*Ältère Not*)
2. The First Dietrich Epic
3. A proto-*Rother*
4. Some form of the Crescentia story (either in the *Kaiserchronik* or in independent form)
5. Some form of the *Alexanderlied*

The exact form of the *Ältère Not* and the First Dietrich Epic is subject to some degree of speculative philology, but compared to any of the other sources used by the compiler, they are by far the most substantial and detailed. If they were not written, it would be hard to believe that the author made use of any written sources at all. But he clearly did.

Thomas Klein has made it very likely that he used a proto-form of *König Rother* (Part I) available in Low German literary circles. The Sisibe prelude to the story of Sigurðr, which has no parallel in the heroic legend, cannot be independent of the Crescentia story in the *Kaiserchronik* (ca. 1150) or some earlier version. Dependence on the *Alexanderlied* is less certain, but this text offers striking parallels to two episodes in *Þiðreks saga*. Sigurðr's taming of Grani (I.318) seems too close to Alexander's taming of Bucephalus to be unconnected, and the technique used by Þiðrekr and Fasold to kill an elephant in I.194-95 is perhaps more than merely reminiscent of an elephant killing in the *Alexanderlied*.³² In addition,

31 On these images see Edith Marold, "Dietrich als Sinnbild der Superbia", in *Arbeiten zur Skandinavistik* (as in note 2), pp. 443-86.

32 The taming of Bucephalus is described in the *Alexanderlied*, ed. Kinzel, pp. 51-55. The close parallel to Sigurðr's taming of Grani was pointed out by George T. Gillespie, "Spuren der

the *Alexanderlied* may have served to inspire the general pattern of familial and dynastic history spiced with gallant adventure that is so prevalent in *Þiðreks saga*. Högni's elfish parentage is of course most immediately reminiscent of Queen Olympias's demon lover, but the overall strategy of linking family history, romance, and heroic achievement is perhaps more compelling evidence of influence than any similarity in detail.

These are the sources of the first importance, but there are other texts (or, at least, stories) that seem to have left more casual marks:

1. The *Rolandslied*
2. Some text of the Tristan romance
3. *Apollonius of Tyre*
4. The Apelles story from Pliny's *Natural History*
5. The story of Daedalus and Icarus
6. Some version of *Herzog Ernst*
7. Some version of *Salman und Morolf*
8. A text or story utilized by Wirnt von Gravenberg in his *Wigalois*
9. Some account of Dietrich's equestrian statue ultimately related to Walahfrid Strabo's *De imagine Tetrici*.

An influence from the *Rolandslied* is no more than a suspicion. The circle of champions assembled under festive auspices at Þiðrekr's court could be inspired by the Arthurian round table, and the persistent number twelve could derive from some proto-version of the *Rosengarten zu Worms*, all the more so because it combines combat and romance. On the other hand, the idea that the greatest king has a retinue of precisely twelve leading figures could well have been suggested by the *Rolandslied*, while the number twelve in the *Rosengarten* tradition could be secondary.

Though the link to the *Rolandslied* is tenuous, there is a fair certainty that the author knew the Tristan story because he uses the names Tristan and Isolde in the

Heldendichtung und Ansätze zur Heldenepik in literarischen Texten des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts" in *Studien zur frühmittelhochdeutschen Literatur. Cambridger Colloquium 1971*, ed. L.P. Johnson, H.-H. Steinhoff, and R.A. Wisbey (Berlin, 1974), p. 39. On the theory of elephant killing see the *Strassburger Alexanderlied*, vv. 4341-55 (Kinzel, p. 270). A.T. Hatto describes such medieval elephant lore (without reference to *Þiðreks saga*) in "The Elephants in the Strassburg *Alexander*", *London Medieval Studies*, 1 (1937/39), 399-429; rpt. in *The Medieval Alexander Legend and Romance Epic: Essays in Honour of David J.A. Ross*, ed. Peter Noble, Lucie Polak, and Claire Isoz (Milwood, N.Y., London, and Nendeln, 1982), pp. 85-105. Stanley B. Greenfield connects the technique with Beowulf's killing of the dragon in *A Critical History of Old English Literature* (New York, 1965), p. 33. From *Þiðreks saga* the motif found its way into *Flóres saga konungs ok sona hans* (chapter 19). See Åke Lagerholm, *Drei Lygisögur*, Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek 17 (Halle a.S., 1927), p. 153.

romance of Herburd and Hildir. The name Isolde occurs in other contexts in *Piðreks saga* as well. It does not appear that the author drew extensively on the motival repertory of *Tristan*, but there is one significant correspondence. In I.95-96 Velent fashions a statue in the perfect likeness of Reginn in order to identify the unknown man who has stolen his tools. That idea is taken from the "Hall of Statues" episode in *Tristan*. The episode is not found either in Eilhart's version or in Gottfried von Strassburg's reworking of Thomas, though it survives in Brother Robert's Norse version (chapters 80-81).³³ If it is not an interpolation in the Norwegian text of *Piðreks saga*, it must be explained by familiarity with Thomas's romance. The dating of that text is uncertain, but the period 1160-80 is the prevalent guess.

That *Apollonius of Tyre* stood model for the wooing story of Apollonius and Herborg is assured not only by Apollonius's location in Tiri (II.110) but also by the motif of the infatuated father and correspondingly reluctant father-in-law. The Apollonius novel, unlike the Tristan story, did not strike root in Scandinavia, but there is a fragment of it in Old French and it could have been known in Germany.³⁴ The borrowing into *Piðreks saga* should therefore be assigned to the Continental prototype.

Somewhat similar to the "Hall of Statues" motif is the Apelles story included in the tale of Herburd and Hildir. Herburd draws a grotesque and frightening picture of Piðrekr on the wall in order to dissuade Hildir from the proposed match with him. In the thirty-fifth book of Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* Apelles's rivals send him to Ptolemy's court under false auspices in an attempt to undo him. When asked who invited him, Apelles reveals the identity of his ill-wisher by drawing his face on the wall.³⁵ That anecdote seems to have influenced both Herburd's wall drawing and Velent's identification of his enemy Reginn through the construction of a stunning likeness. There is again no evidence that Pliny's *Natural History* was known in medieval Scandinavia, and the chances are certainly better that it was known on the Continent. Another motif of classical derivation is Velent's flying contraption (I.125-29). Since it appears also in the Eddic "Völundarkviða", it is uncertain when it entered the tradition, but at some point Daedalus

33 The Thomas manuscripts fail for much of this episode, and Bédier was obliged to resort in large part to the saga. See *Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas. Poème du XIIIe siècle*, ed. Joseph Bédier, vol. I (Paris, 1902), 299-325.

34 A. Schulze, "Ein Bruchstück des altfranzösischen Apollonius-romanes", *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 33 (1909), 226-29.

35 See C. Plinius Secundus, *Naturalis Historia*, vol.9, ed. F. Semi (Pisa, 1978), p. 2233, or *Pliny's Natural History: A Selection from Philemon Holland's Translation*, ed. J. Newsome (Oxford, 1964), pp. 279-86.

was the model, and some of the details in *Piðreks saga* are closer to the model than the version in "Völundarkviða"³⁶.

A quite different set of motifs is drawn from the tradition of German minstrel epic (*Spielmannsepik*). The most likely source in demonstrably written form is *Herzog Ernst B*, in which the prologue bears a resemblance to the prologue of *Piðreks saga*.³⁷ If that similarity is judged to be significant, it might suggest that when Piðrekr intervenes to help a lion against a flying dragon in II.361-63 and is then carried off to the creature's nest as food for its young, that episode may echo Herzog Ernst's more notorious griffin adventure.

More motival than episodic are the similarities to *Salman und Morolf*. That tale seems to have provided the name Solomon (instead of Antiochus) for Apollonius's father-in-law. The substitution was appropriate to the extent that the Solomon of *Salman und Morolf* was subject to having his wife abducted, just as the Antiochus of the Apollonius novel had his daughter abducted. More detailed are the motival borrowing of a love-inducing ring and repeated interlopings in disguise.³⁸ Finally, the circumstances of Íron's death after the discovery of his adulterous relationship with Bolfriana hark back to some source also used in *Wigalois*. The motifs do not belong to the stock of minstrel epic, but must derive from some other type of romantic story.

The last clearly literary allusion is the curious mention of a statue of Piðrekr riding his horse Fálki (II.357). The statue is located in Rome, but the passage in *Piðreks saga* must be ultimately inspired by the equestrian statue of Theodoric in Aachen described by Walahfrid Strabo in his difficult poem *De imagine Tetrici*. How that arcane icon would have come to the attention of the author of *Piðreks saga* is uncertain, but a reminiscence of a statue in Aachen, whether it was conveyed literarily or visually, is more likely to have been available in northern Germany than in Norway.

36 See Heinrich Beck, "Der kunstfertige Schmied – ein ikonographisches und narratives Thema des frühen Mittelalters" in *Medieval Iconography and Narrative: A Symposium*, ed. Flemming G. Andersen et al. (Odense, 1980), p. 20, and, for earlier references Kaaren Grimstad, "The Revenge of Völundr" in *Edda. A Collection of Essays*, ed. Robert J. Glendinning and Haraldur Bessason, The University of Manitoba Icelandic Studies 4 ([Winnipeg] 1983), p. 206 (note 19).

37 I pointed out the resemblance in "An Interpretation of *Piðreks saga*" (note 2), pp. 360-61. As I indicated in a postscript to that paper (p. 372), the resemblance had been noted simultaneously by Thomas Klein.

38 For the love-inducing ring see *Spielmannsepen*, vol. II. *Sankt Oswald, Orendel, Salman und Morolf*, ed. Walter Johannes Schröder (Darmstadt, 1976), pp. 284-85 (stanza 99) and p. 368 (stanza 604). The poem includes multiple disguises as minstrel, Jew, pilgrim, cripple, butcher, and merchant.

The literary material referred to in *Piðreks saga* cannot be delimited with any absolute certainty, but the indications describe a rather tight regional and chronological circle. The works that invite consideration are the *Ältère Not*, the First Dietrich Epic, a proto-*Rother* from the Low German linguistic area, the *Alexanderlied*, possibly the *Rolandslied*, Thomas's version of *Tristan*, *Herzog Ernst*, and *Salman und Morolf*. These are characteristically the preclassical works in Middle High German. The composition of *Piðreks saga* thus appears to predate the *Nibelungenlied* and the German versions of *Tristan*. The reliance on the bridal-quest repertory of minstrel epic suggests that it also predates the advent of Arthurian romance in Germany.

The selection of sources that emerges here makes it unlikely that *Piðreks saga* was composed much after 1200. As for the region, the only source likely to have been south German is the *Ältère Not*. If the *Kaiserchronik*, rather than an independent precursor, provided the Crescentia tale, that too would suggest a south German (Bavarian) connection. Otherwise the sources are concentrated in the west German or Rhenish area. There are no Norse literary sources apart from the citation of a half stanza by Hallfreðr in the prologue. If this distribution of sources is anything to judge by, it seems much more likely that the book was put together in Germany than in Norway.

It should also be noted that there is a certain preponderance of literary borrowings in the romantic stories: The Crescentia version of Sigurðr's birth, Velent's seduction of Niðungr's daughter, the marriages of Ósantrix and Oda (perhaps literarily extended to Attila and Erka) and Apollonius and Herborg, and the ill-fated affair of Íron and Bolfriana. This pattern suggests that the romantic stories are pure literary invention based primarily on the proto-*Rother*, the story of Walter and Hildegund, and the motival stock of minstrel epic. Since neither *Rother* nor the other German bridal-quest epics ever made headway in Scandinavia, this set of borrowings and elaborations also points toward composition in Germany.

The heroic stories, on the other hand, seem to be largely traditional and proof against literary intrusions. Some are more clearly profiled than others. The story of Sigurðr follows the *Brünhildenlied* that underlies Part I of the *Nibelungenlied* quite closely. The author was clearly familiar with a version of the legend of Walter and Hildegund, which he uses in part but also draws on to elaborate other romantic interludes. The parallels between the story of Velent and the Eddic "Völundarkviða" show that there must have been a north German story of Wayland Smith known to the author. The encounter between Hildibrandr and Alibrandr reveals a knowledge of the father-son conflict recounted in the *Hildebrandslied* and the *Jüngeres Hildebrandslied*. The author also knows the story of Ermanaric the kin-killer (the story of the Harlungen) and his evil counselor Sifka/Sibeche.

Other stories are less clearly defined, but later medieval texts suggest that they must have been available to the author of *Piðreks saga* in some form. Thus there must have existed traditions connected with Ekka and his brother Fasold, Þéttleifr and his father Biturúlfr (Dietleib and Biterolf), the serial combats of twelve champions (*Rosengarten zu Worms*), and Vildifer (*Bere Wisselauwe*). All of these tales also point toward Germany, with the possible exception of the Velent story, which however cannot have been inspired by the Norse "Völundarkviða" because the discrepancies are too great.

Finally, there are a few literary concepts that were important in determining the composition of the text as a whole. Constitutive for Piðrekr's festive assembly of twelve champions is perhaps the Arthurian round table, although it is uncertain where the author would have encountered that institution. It is in any case not a concept that would have accrued in West Norse, where, as Hermann Reichert has pointed out, the round table is mentioned only once.³⁹ The concept could have been abetted by Charlemagne's twelve peers, in which case the Welf *Rolandslied* seems a more likely source than the later *Karlamagnús saga*.⁴⁰ The pattern of heroic biography, with the ancestry carried back two generations, has its most obvious parallel in the *Alexanderlied*, although the element of dynastic history, which is foreign to heroic poetry, could owe something to chronicle style as well, most notably the *Kaiserchronik*.

Most palpable is the formative influence of the bridal-quest pattern absorbed directly from the proto-*Rother* but transferred from Ósantrix and Oda to several other tales as well. Again, all the conceptual models seem to point to Germany. These models are particularly significant because they are not just episodic motifs but are compositional strands through the whole book. The number twelve underlies three large sections, the assembling of champions, the combats in Bertangaland, and the marriage sequence. The dynastic and bridal-quest patterns are also recurrent and suggest that the composition as a whole was governed by principles applied from the German literature of the period. The pattern of heroic family history could conceivably have been derived from some proto-form of the *fornaldarsaga*, but there is no motival similarity between *Piðreks saga* and *fornaldarsa-*

39 The most obvious French source for a knowledge of the round table is Wace's *Roman de Brut*. See *Le Roman de Brut de Wace*, ed. Ivor Arnold, vol II (Paris, 1940), 513-14 (vv. 9747-60). Hermann Reichert makes his observation in "King Arthur's Round Table. Sociological Implications of Its Reception in Scandinavia" in *Structure and Meaning in Old Norse Literature* (as in note 2), pp. 394-414 (specifically 394-95). The round table appears to be mentioned only in *Erex saga*.

40 *Karlamagnús saga* relates Charlemagne's formation of the twelve peers in chapter 59. See *Karlamagnús saga og kappa hans*, ed. Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, Íslendingasagnautgáfan, vol I (1954; rpt. 1961), 96-97

ga to suggest that alternative.⁴¹ The bridal-quest patterns were in any case only very faintly echoed in the later *forældarsögur* and must be of German provenance as they stand in *Þiðreks saga*.

Summary

I have proposed that the composition of *Þiðreks saga* proceeded, very roughly speaking, in seven steps. The author first joined his most substantial written sources, the Fall of the Burgundians (*Ältre Not*) and the First Dietrich Epic (the story of Dietrich's exile and return), at the same time moving the action from the Danube Valley to Soest in Westphalia. He then provided family histories for the most important characters included in these texts – Sigurðr, Attila, Hildibrandr, Þiðrekr, and Heimir. The third step was to form a circle of twelve companions around Þiðrekr. That involved the establishment of some secondary characters: Fasold, Sistram, Ömlungr, Þéttleifr, Vildifer, and Herbrandr. The fourth step was to add to these six (plus the aforementioned Heimir, Hildibrandr, Hornbogi, and Viðga) an additional pair, Gunnarr and Högni, the major figures in the Fall of the Burgundians. These twelve exult in their strength at a banquet and ride out to accomplish the adventure of twelve single combats in Bertangaland. The fifth step was to account for twelve marriages, a number of them prefaced by elaborate wooing stories modeled in the first instance on the proto-*Rother*. In the sixth section the author returns to the First Dietrich Epic to tell the story of Þiðrekr's exile, the terrible losses suffered particularly at Gronspout (Rabenschlacht), his ultimate return, and coronation. An epilogue accounts for the death of the surviving heroes, Attila, Heimir, and Þiðrekr himself.

The narrative sources for many of these stories were prototypes of the later Dietrich epics, which are difficult to reconstruct in their original form. But there were "literary" sources as well, chiefly the proto-*Rother*, a Crescentia story, the *Alexanderlied*, a version of *Tristan*, *Apollonius of Tyre*, and versions of *Herzog Ernst* and *Salman und Morolf*. These models, as well as the pre-Arthurian bridal-quest patterns, suggest that *Þiðreks saga* was composed in a German literary environment sometime before 1200. Soest, which figures so prominently as the site of Attila's court and the Burgundian cataclysm, remains the most likely point of origin.

41 Richard Hünnerkopf, *Beiträge zur deskriptiven Poetik in den mittelhochdeutschen Volksepen und in der Thidreks saga* (Borna-Leipzig, 1914), affords a good sense of the motival repertory.

OSKAR BANDLE

Skandinavische Inselnamen mit n-Suffix

Etwas vom Interessantesten in der nordischen Ortsnamenforschung stellen die nicht-zusammengesetzten, meist mit Suffixen gebildeten Namen dar. Es sind vor allem Gewässer- und Inselnamen, die im wesentlichen vorhistorischen Schichten angehören und in historischer Zeit nur noch sehr begrenzt produktiv sind. Sie sind deshalb im allgemeinen auf den germanischen Norden beschränkt und bilden hier eine älteste Namensschicht, während die alten zusammengesetzten Ortsnamentypen im allgemeinen kaum über Christi Geburt zurückdatiert werden. Schon vor knapp hundert Jahren sind die nicht-zusammengesetzten Namen stärker ins Blickfeld der skandinavischen Ortsnamenforscher geraten, vor allem durch die bahnbrechenden Arbeiten zu den norw. Fluß- und Fjordnamen¹ von O. Rygh und E. Hellquists Studien über die schwedischen Seenamen², aber trotz verschiedenen wichtigen Beiträgen der neueren Zeit ist die Forschung in diesem Bereich noch lange nicht am Ende angelangt. Nicht zuletzt die Diskussionen auf dem 6. nordischen Namenforscherkongreß in Helsingør 1971³ mit dem Generalthema "Usammensatte naturnavne" zeigte, wieviel da noch zu tun war, und wenn auch seither manche wertvolle Arbeit geleistet worden ist, bleibt doch sowohl an Detailforschung wie an Überblicksdarstellungen noch viel zu wünschen übrig.

Vor allem die Inselnamen sind heute noch verhältnismäßig wenig erforscht, obwohl gerade sie zahlreiche strukturelle Übereinstimmungen mit den Gewässernamen aufweisen. Beide bestehen, abgesehen von den Zusammensetzungen, aus den beiden Kategorien Suffixableitungen (mit weitgehend identischen Suffixen wie *-m*, *-n*, *-s*, *-und* usw.) und Simplexnamen ohne (deutliche) Ableitung, wobei freilich die letztere bei den Inselnamen viel frequenter ist und zum Teil – besonders in der Form von Vergleichsnamen – bis in die neuere Zeit gebildet werden konnte; ja

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- 1 Oluf Rygh, *Norske Elvenavne. Efter offentlig Foranstaltning udgivne med tilføjede Forklaringer af Karl Rygh*. Kristiania 1904; ders., *Norske Fjordnavne*, in: Sproglig-historiske Studier tilegnede Professor C.R. Unger, Kristiania 1896.
 - 2 Elof Hellquist, *Studier över de svenska sjönamnen. Deras härledning och historia* (Svenska Landsmål 20), Stockholm 1903-1906.
 - 3 S. NoB 59/1971 und 60/1972.

Insel- und Gewässernamen zeigen sogar Übereinstimmungen bis in einzelne Lexeme hinein (so vor allem *Ogn*, *Sokn* und vermutlich auch *Drammen*, *Amnö*).⁴

Dementsprechend bestehen auch weitgehende Übereinstimmungen in der Verbreitung der Insel- und Gewässernamentypen, wenn wir einmal von geographisch und kulturgeschichtlich bedingten Unterschieden absehen: alte Inselnamen kommen naturgemäß vor allem an den Küsten vor, während sie bei Binnenseeinseln weitgehend fehlen, Suffixableitungen in Flußnamen finden sich z.B. in Norwegen vor allem in inneren Gebieten (innerer S-Tr. und ostnorwegische Talschaften⁵). Im übrigen sind aber beide Kategorien vor allem in Dänemark, Norwegen und Schweden vertreten, während sie in den skandinavischen Randgebieten mindestens stark zurücktreten: Island hat nur einige wenige und zudem problematische einschlägige Inselnamen und nur eine beschränkte Zahl, zum Teil der direkten Übertragung aus Norwegen verdächtiger Flußnamen mit Suffixen aufzuweisen; in Åland und im übrigen Schwedisch-Finnland (so Nyland) gibt es keine oder nur relativ junge Suffixnamen (auf *-a*, *-are*, *-ing*, *-ung*⁶), und ähnlich verhält es sich auch im nördlichsten Schweden⁷. Dies ist ein deutliches Zeichen dafür, daß die Suffixableitung in der Wikingerzeit bereits im wesentlichen abgeklungen und durch das Zusammensetzungsprinzip abgelöst worden ist, so daß nur noch einige wenige Suffixe wie *-a*, *-are*, *-ing* (*-ung*) in Wikingerzeit und Mittelalter wenigstens bedingt produktiv und auch in den Randgebieten einigermaßen lebendig blieben⁸. Freilich ist natürlich auch mit der Möglichkeit zu rechnen, daß einzelne Suffixnamen später noch analogisch gebildet werden konnten⁹, und besonders für *-n* rechnet man, im Anschluß an Sverdrup, gern mit einem sekundär entstandenen Ortsnamensuffix, das auch noch relativ spät für die Bildung zu Nominalstämmen verwendet werden konnte¹⁰; ein Beispiel hierfür ist vielleicht der Inselname *Vinna*. Den Beginn der Namengebung durch Suffixableitung wird man grundsätzlich bis ins früheste Germ. (eventuell ins Voreinzelsprachliche) zurück datieren können, obwohl genauere Anhaltspunkte im allgemeinen fehlen. Hald¹¹ rechnet

4 Vgl. u.a. P. Hovda an mehreren Orten, z.B. NoB 59/1971: 124 ff.

5 Vgl. Ola Stemshaug in NSL 34 f.

6 Vgl. Ivar Westman, *Nyländska önamn 1-2*, Helsingfors 1935-40, auch Lars Hellberg, *Ortnamnen och den svenska bosättningen på Åland* (SNF 68), Helsingfors 1987.

7 Vgl. bes. Else Britt Lindholm, *Studier över önamnen i Luleå skärgård*, Umeå 1988.

8 Zu den Flußnamen vgl. O. Bandle, *Zur Typologie der germanischen Flußnamen*, in: *Florilegium Nordicum. En bukett nordiska språk- och namnstudier tillägnade Sigurd Fries den 22 april 1984*, Umeå 1984, S. 18-29.

9 Vgl. dazu Magnus Olsen, NK 5: 38 f.

10 Vgl. J. Sverdrup, MM 1910: 147 f.; Th. Andersson, NORN-rapport 18/1980: 9-40, der außer auf Sverdrup auch auf K. Hald, *De danske ønavne*, NoB 59/1971 und das Beispiel *Hampen*, Seename zu dem Namen der rel. spät eingeführten Kulturpflanze, verweist.

11 KLN 12 (1967): 231 f.

für Suffixnamen auf *-ið*, *-n*, *-s*, *-und* schon mit bronzezeitlichem Alter; M. Olsen¹² meint sicher mit Recht, die allermeisten größeren Inseln, die ja für die Schifffahrt eine wesentliche Rolle spielten, müßten ihren Namen schon früh in der ältesten Eisenzeit gehabt haben. Einen wichtigen Terminus ante quem liefert auch die Landhebung z.B. im östlichen Zentralschweden, welche zeigt, daß zahlreiche Orte, die heute im Landesinneren liegen, aber Inselnamen tragen, diese spätestens etwa Mitte des 1. Jahrtausends n. Chr. bekommen haben müssen, ja V. Christensen und J. Kousgård Sørensen¹³ nehmen für eine Reihe von Suffixen (darunter *-na*, *-nō*, *-ni*) an, daß sie schon in urnord. Zeit nicht mehr produktiv gewesen seien.

Die einzelnen Suffixe, mit denen die alten Inselnamen gebildet sind, sind von recht unterschiedlicher Frequenz. Soweit sich heute feststellen läßt, läßt sich etwa folgende Gruppierung nach Häufigkeit vornehmen:

- a) relativ starke Frequenz: *-a* (< *-ōn*, *-iōn*), *-are*, *-ing* (*-ung*), *-n* (inkl. einige Fälle von *-sn*); lt. M. Olsen¹² wäre *-n* sogar das häufigste Inselnamensuffix,
- b) mittlere Häufigkeit: Dentalsuffix *-d*, *-ð*, *-t*; *-g*, *-k*, *-l*; *-s*; *-und*;
- c) relativ schwache Frequenz: *-e* (< *-an*), *-ald*, *-dri-tr*, *-er* (speziell im Gebiet um den Oslofjord, eigentlich ursprüngliche Pl.-Endung, z.B. in *Koster*), *-ir* (< *-ia*), *-m(a)*, *-r*, *-stl-ista*, *-str*.

Inwiefern sich hieraus Schlüsse auf eine altersmäßige Schichtung ableiten lassen, muß dahin gestellt bleiben, doch könnte sich in der Plazierung von *-n* immerhin bestätigen, daß dieses Suffix etwas länger als die anderen produktiv blieb, wie dies auch teilweise Hald¹⁴ postuliert, der auf die Verbreitung von *-n* auch in Namen von sehr kleinen Lokalitäten hinweist (ohne Beispiel!), wogegen vor allem früher oft der besonders altertümliche Charakter von *-n* betont wurde¹⁵.

Gegenüber der bisher gewöhnlich disparaten Behandlung einzelner Namen soll im folgenden der Versuch gemacht werden, einen zusammenfassenden Überblick über das *n*-Suffix in Inselnamen im gesamtandinavischen Rahmen zu geben. Mein Material stammt durchweg aus der einschlägigen Literatur – vor allem aus NSL (Oddvar Nes), Arbeiten zu den dänischen Inselnamen von Kr. Hald sowie aus der wichtigsten schwedischen Ortsnamenliteratur – und ist gewiß mit zahlreichen Mängeln behaftet; es sollte aber trotzdem einmal der Versuch einer gewissen Synthese gemacht werden, wie sie gerade für die ältesten Namensschichten noch weitgehend fehlt.

12 NK 5: 37 ff.

13 *Stednavneforskning 1*, København 1972, S. 177 ff.

14 NoB 60/1972: 79f.

15 Z.B. von Elof Hellquist (Anm. 2), zit. bei I. Lundahl, NoB 38/1950: 38-57.

Die relative Häufigkeit des *n*-Suffixes dürfte mindestens teilweise dadurch zu erklären sein, daß es aus verschiedenen Quellen zusammenfließen konnte¹⁶, wie

- idg. *-no/-nā*, germ. *-na/-nō* vor allem zur Bildung von sachlichen Konkreten, aber auch Abstrakten (zum Teil mit Mittelvokal),
- *-ni* als primäres Suffix vor allem zur Bildung von Verbalabstrakten (germ. *-īni*, *-ēni*, *-ōni*),
- eventuell auch Substantivierung von *no*-Adjektiven und Partizipialendungen auf *-eno*, *-ono*¹⁷.

Wichtig ist aber auch, daß – wie das vor allem Sverdrup herausgearbeitet hat¹⁸ – einerseits mit primären Bildungen auf *-nō*, *-ni* zu ursprünglichen Wurzeln bzw. starken Verben zu rechnen ist, andererseits dann aber auch mit einem sekundären Ortsnamensuffix, mit dem Ableitungen zu schwachen Verben, Substantiven und Adjektiven gebildet werden konnten.

In den einzelnen Namen, deren Ursprung sowieso meist mehr oder weniger unsicher ist, lassen sich die verschiedenen Bildungsweisen allerdings nur bedingt auseinanderhalten. Was sich mit einiger Sicherheit feststellen läßt, ist, daß sich ein Teil der Namen nur mehr oder weniger allgemein an Wurzeln anknüpfen läßt, andere hingegen deutlicher an bestimmte Substantive, Verben (oder Adjektive):

a) Namen, die sich am besten direkt an eine Wurzel anschließen lassen, wobei es sich meistens um eine Verbalwurzel handelt: Beispiele für Verbalwurzeln sind (mit der Grundbedeutung in Klammern) *Alnō* ("schwellen"), *Bokn* (?) ("glänzen" oder "zuteilen"?), *Drammen* ("zerbrechen, zermalmern"), *Fogn* ("schwellen"?), *Fånō* ("weh tun, beschädigen"?), *Hinn(øya)* ("abschneiden, trennen"), *Losna* ("abschneiden, trennen" oder "glänzen"?), *Masnedø* ("zerdrücken"?), *Sjernarøy* ("strömen"), *Strynø/Strøno* (dass.), **Surn* (dass.), *Tustna* ("schwellen"?). Eher auf Nominalwurzeln zurück gehen *Amnō* ("feucht, Wasser") und *Hernar* ("das oberste am Körper").

b) Von Substantiven abgeleitet sind *Alsna* (s. *Adelsō*, zu *al* "Erle"), *Eknō* (: *ek* "Eiche" oder *eke* "Eichenbestand", *Gavnø* (: *gap* "Schlund"), *Mjörn* (: **mer* "Kies"), *Møn?* (: *mo* "Mergel, Kreide"), *Näm dö* (: *näv* "Schnabel"), *Oknō(n)* (eventuell zu aschwed. *ok*, *uk* "Joch"), *Ornō* (: **ōr* "Schutz, Verteidigung"), *Tjörn* (: **þjór* "Anhöhe, Berg"), *Ven* (: aschwed. *hvaðha* "Schaum"), *vikna* (: *vik* "Bucht").

16 Vgl. E. Olson, *De appellativa substantivens bildning i fornsvenskan*, Lund 1916, S. 295 ff.; Alf Torp, *Gamalnorsk ordavledning*, Neudruck Lund 1974, S. 18 ff., auch W. Meid, *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft* 3, Berlin 1967, S. 90 ff.

17 Vgl. I. Lundahl, *NoB* 38/1950: 38-57.

18 *MM* 1910: 147 f.

c) Eine relativ späte Substantivierung eines Adjektivs liegt wohl vor in *Järknön* (: aschwed. **iarkn* "hell, klar, glänzend").

d) Von Verben abgeleitet sind: *Lyngør* (: anord. *lúka* "schließen"), *Ogn(øy)* (: *ægja* "erschrecken"), *Oknö(n)* (vielleicht: **oka*, **uka* "sich vermehren, schwellen").

e) In ein paar Fällen kann allenfalls Ableitung von andern Namen vorliegen: *Bogno* (: Hofname *Boge*), **Laghn?* (**Loghr*, **Laghr* = Name des Store Bælt?), *Vagn-?* (sehr unsicher zu einem Gewässernamen **WagaR*).

Die bekannte Frage, inwiefern die Namen direkt als solche oder über ein entsprechendes Appellativ gebildet wurden, läßt sich natürlich nur bedingt beantworten, doch erscheint in einigen Fällen eine appellativische Zwischenstufe als wahrscheinlich, so bei *Alnö(n)*, *Fosen*, *Fyn?*, *Halsne*, *Mikilnefna*, *Sokn*, *Solna*, **Surn?* und *Vresen*.

In den meisten Fällen ist von starken Femininen als Grundformen auszugehen, so bei *Amnö*, *Bokn*, *Eknö* (?), *Enö*, *Fogn*, *Fosen*, *Fyn* (?), *Gavnø*, (**Hqlsn* ?), *Hernar*, *Hinn(øya)*, *Ven*, *Lyngør*, *Mjörn*, *Møn* (?), *Ogn(øy)*, *Sjernarøy*, *Sokn*, *Solna*, *Stryn(ø)*, **Surn*, *Tjörn*, *Træna*, *Tustna*, *Vanna*, *Vikna*, *Vresen*. Nur in folgenden Fällen liegen schwache Feminina vor: *Alsna* (s. *Adelsö*), *Halsna*, *Losna*, *Strøno*, *Vinna*. Ein ursprüngliches Neutrum wird nur teilweise für *Fyn* erwogen. Eine sichere *sn*-Bildung liegt nur in *Fosen* vor, doch wird von L. Elmevik¹⁹ auch *Losna* dazu gezählt.

Wichtigste Bedeutungskategorie ist das Aussehen im allgemeinen, der Begriff des Anschwellens bzw. des Klumpens (*Fogn*, *Okn(ö)*, *Tustna*) oder auch des Sichzuspitzens (*Mikilnefna*, *Nämdö*), des Krummen (*Vresen*), von Buchten Zerschnittenen (*Vikna*), des Bergigen (*Hernar*, *Tjörn*, *Træna?*, *Tustna?*, auch *Halsne* usw., soweit ein vertikaler Einschnitt zwischen Anhöhen gemeint ist). Recht zahlreiche Namen beziehen sich auch auf starke Strömung in der Nähe der Insel (*Drammen*, *Enö*, *Sjernarøy*, *Sokn*, **Surn*, *Strynø/Strøno*, *Ven*, *Vinna?*), einige auf die Beschaffenheit von Boden oder Vegetation auf der Insel (*Eknö*, *Mjörn*, *Møn?*, *Solna*). Mehreren Namen als zu Nomina agentis gewordenen Nomina actionis liegt die Bedeutung des Abschliessens oder Schützens (gegen das offene Meer) zu Grunde, so *Lyngør*, *Ornö*, *Vanna*.

19 *Nordiska ord på äldre kåk- och kåk(s)-. En etymologisk och ljudhistorisk undersökning*, Lund 1967, S. 152.

Die einzelnen Namen in alphabetischer Reihenfolge:

Adelsö, Insel im Mälaren, *mansionem regiam Alsnu* 1200, *Alsnu* 1270 u.ö., *Alsno* 1280 u.ö., *Alsnö* 1279 usw., *Adelsöe* 1675. Der Anschluß an -ö ging wohl von den obliquen Kasus *Alsnu*, *Alsno* aus. Über die Herleitung herrscht ein ziemlich allgemeiner Konsens: aschwed. **Alsna* = schwache Erweiterung zu **Alsn* < **Alisnō* : **alis* "Erle", neuschwed. *al*²⁰, doch zieht Th. Andersson²¹ die Wurzel *al-* "schwellen, wachsen" vor.

Alnö(n), Insel vor Sundsvall/Med., (till) *Alnø* 14. Jh. (Hälsingelagen), *i Alnø* 1488, später *Alnö* als Name der Gemeinde, *Alnön* als Name der Insel. Die ältere Erklärung mit *al* "Erle" bzw. einem altschwed. **ælin* "von Erlen bestanden" (Sahlgren in NoB 47:36) wird von Andersson²² zu Recht abgelehnt, weil die sekundäre Form *al* des Baumnamens südlich orientiert ist und nordschwed. dafür im wesentlichen *alder* gilt (vgl. Ortsnamen wie *Aldernäset*, *Alderbacken*). Auf Grund der massiven Form der Insel stellt Andersson den Namen zu *al-* "schwellen, wachsen", also zu einer Bedeutung "Anschwellung, Klumpen", urspr. **Alna*, -*u* oder **Aln* mit Erweiterung durch epexegetisches -ö. Im Hinblick auf weitere, aber allerdings nicht sicher hierher gehörige Namen *Alnö* ist vielleicht von einem Appellativ **aln*, Verbalabstraktum mit der Bedeutung "Schwellung", auszugehen.

Amnö in Trögds hd./Uppl., 1299 *Ampnō*, 1318 als "villa" bezeichnet und als Krongut bekannt. Die von C.I. Ståhle²³ vorgeschlagene Herleitung aus **Hampnō* zu *hamn* "Hafen" ist insofern fraglich, als trotz relativ frühen Zeugnissen keine Formen mit *h-* belegt sind (der Schwund von anlautendem *h-* vor Vokal ist allerdings im klassischen Aschwed. "nicht ganz selten"²⁴). Vermutlich ist der Name eine *n-*Ableitung *Am(p)n* und dann identisch mit dem älteren Namen des Gullspångsälven/Västergötl., 1249 *in Ampn*, 1287 *in Amn*, der früher direkt zu lat. *amnis* "Strom" gestellt wurde, lt. Th. Andersson jedoch zu einem Flußnamenelement *am-*, verwandt mit Wörtern für "reiben, hart berühren", gehört²⁵. Das scheint jedoch bedeutungsmäßig problematisch und L. Elmeviks²⁶ Zusammen-

20 Vgl. Sverdrup, MM 1910: 154, E. Wessén, NoB 11/1923: 171 f., G. Franzén. NK 5: 161 f., H. Ståhl, NoB 48/1960: 116 u.a.

21 Tre kulturer 2/1985: 25: "syftande på terrängformationer, som är 'svällande', skjuter upp, växer i höjden, nämligen berg och höglänta öar".

22 Tre kulturer 2/1985: 19-28

23 Carl Ivar Ståhle, *Studier över de svenska ortnamnen på -inge*, Uppsala 1946, S. 178.

24 A. Noreen, *Altschwedische Grammatik*, Halle 1904, S. 241 f.

25 NoB 60/1972: 19 mit Fn. 65; vgl. auch schon K.G. Ljunggren, *Amager och andra namn på Am-*, in: NoB 43/1955: 80-95.

26 OUA 1974: 23-34.

stellung des Flußnamens *Am(p)n* mit jämtl. *Ammer*, südschwed. *Emån* (aschwed. *Æmb*), dt. *Ammer*, zu idg. **mbh-*, **embh-*, **ombh-* "feucht, Wasser" (Pokorny 315 f.) ist deshalb überzeugender. Zu den Parallelen zwischen Insel- und Gewässernamen vgl. o., die Bedeutung des Inselnamens wäre dann wohl etwa "Land am Wasser".

(*Arnö Bond-Arnö* und *Biskops Arnö* im Mälaren, in historischen Belegen seit dem 14. Jh. nur in dieser Form, wird von Hellquist²⁷ als Beispiel für Inselnamen auf *-n* genannt, gehört aber sicher zu schwed. *örn* "Adler", entweder mit Gen.Pl. *Arna-* oder mit Stammform *Arn-*).

Bogno, best. Form schw. Fem. [*boj`no*], Insel in Askøy hd./Hord., muß auf ein anord. **Bugna* f. zurückgehen (keine historischen Belege) und dürfte (lt. NSL 75 und NG XI, 580) vom Hofnamen *Boge* [*bo`ga*] abgeleitet sein, der auf anord. Pl. **Bugir* (**Bugar*) zurückgeführt werden kann (zu **bugr* m. "Biegung, Krümmung"). NG zieht auch ein **bugi* < **bugan* in Betracht; belegt ist aber im appellativen Wortschatz nur der i-St. *bugr*, und da eine Ausgangsform *bogi* lautlich nicht in Frage kommt, scheint *-n* tatsächlich Ableitungssuffix zu sein und nicht zum Stamm zu gehören.

Bokn, an mehreren Orten in Norwegen: 1) *Bokn* hd. mit *Store/Austre* und *Lille/Vestre Bokn* sowie *Boknfjellet*, [*bok`kn*] [*bo`kn*], anord. *Bókn*, *buinn* *Fagrskinna*, *i Bukn* 1427, 1463, *bwckenn* 1534, *Bycn* *Ólafs saga helga*, Gen. *Boknar*. *Buknar*. *Bycnar*, -- 2) Insel in *Finnøy* hd./Rog. [*bo`kn*], -- 3) *Store/Ytre* und *Lille/Indre Bokn* in *Fister* hd./Rog. Die bisherigen Deutungen, die sich vor allem auf 1) beziehen, sind teils sprachlich, teils sachlich unbefriedigend. S. Bugge²⁸ stellt den Namen zu einem germ. Stamm **bōk-n-/*bauk-n-* "Zeichen, Merkmal, Signal" in ahd. *bouhhan*, mhd. *bouchen*, ae. *beacen*, ne. *beacon*, afries. *baken*, mnl. *baken*, mnd. *bake* f.; die Inseln wären so entweder als Seezeichen oder i.S. von Wachtfeuern benannt worden, was lt. NSL 75 für *Vestre Bokn* mit dem 294 m. hohen Berg gut passen würde (vgl. die seemannssprachliche Bezeichnung *Buck van See*). Dagegen macht das Verhältnis *ō/au* Schwierigkeiten: nach Bugge wie auch Pokorny (S. 105) scheint *ō* ursprünglicher zu sein, doch müssen beide für die Entwicklung von *au* zu Notlösungen greifen (lt. Pokorny wäre **baukna-* vielleicht nach dem Vorbild von **taikna-* gebildet). Hjalmar Lindroth²⁹ stellt *Bokn* zu schwed. dial. *boka* "stossen, schlagen", das er nicht als Lehnwort aus mnd. *boken* auffaßt und zu dem er auch den schwed. Inselnamen *Bokarön* zählt. Alle ein-

27 *Etymologisk Ordbok* 1297.

28 ANF 29/1904: 342-345.

29 Fornvännen 1914: 154

schlägigen Wörter und Namen haben jedoch altes kurzes *o*, das für *Bokn* nicht in Frage kommt. I. Modéer³⁰ geht vom Baumnamen *bok* "Buche" aus, doch scheint es fraglich, wieweit wir an den betreffenden Stellen mit dem Vorkommen von Buchen rechnen können. So ist P. Hovda³¹ zuzustimmen, der meint, *Bokn* sei sicher eine *n*-Ableitung, aber eine überzeugende Deutung sei noch nicht gefunden. Nicht ganz auszuschließen wäre aber vielleicht auch die Herleitung aus idg. **bhāghú-s* "Ellbogen und Unterarm" in aisl. *bógr* "Arm, Schulter" (doch scheint idg. *g* zu diesem Stamm sonst nicht belegt zu sein) oder aus idg. **bhag-* "zuteilen, als Anteil bestimmen oder als Anteil, als Portion erhalten", doch scheint *ā/ō* sonst in dieser Wurzel zu fehlen (vgl. Pokorny 108 bzw. 107).

Drammen in Vätte hd./Bohusl., mit Store Drammen und Smådrammarna; *Drammarna*, *Norre Drammen*, *Dram(m)ena* 1702, *Drammar* 1862 (Abschr. eines Originals von 1825). I. Modéer³² sieht in diesem Namen "mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit" den Namen eines gekenterten Schiffs, lt. OGB XX:2, S. 146 wäre er jedoch eine ursprüngliche Parallele zu dem norwegischen Stadtnamen und würde sich auf den für diese Stelle bezeugten starken Wellengang bzw. die Brandung beziehen. Der Stadtname geht als ursprünglicher Fjordname lt. NSL (mit Indrebø, Stadnamn fraa Oslofjorden, 1929) auf *Drafn* = anord. poet. *dröfn* "Welle" zurück; er würde also "den bølgljande" oder "den opprørte, den som har uklårt vatten" bedeuten, der Inselname wäre etwa als "Insel(n) in bewegter See" zu verstehen (zur idg. Wurzel **dhrebh-* "zerbrechen, zermalmern", s. Pokorny 272 f.). Zu erwägen wäre wohl auch Zusammenhang mit schwed.dial. *drämna* "(zu)schlagen", nisl. *drambr* "Knoten", doch ist die Etymologie dieser und anklingender Wörter noch nicht eindeutig geklärt (vgl. **dherebh-* "gerinnen" u.ä. bei Pokorny 257 f.).

Eknö kommt an mehreren Orten an der schwedischen Ostküste vor: 1) in Länna sn./Uppl. (jetzt mit Svartnö zusammengewachsen, s.dies), -- 2) in Blidö sn., -- 3) Eknö, Ekön in Möja (heute Halbinsel Lökaö): *Ekönn* 1607, *Eeköön* 1618, *Äknöö* 1630-40, *Eköön* 1691, *Eknö* 1806 usw., -- 4) in Djurö: *Eknø* 1289, -- 5) auf Värmdön, -- 6) Eknön am Eingang zum Slätbaken/Östergötl., -- 7) Stora und Lilla Eknö (zwei Inseln südlich von Västervik/Smål.). Bei Nr. 3) ist *n* vielleicht sekundär, im übrigen gibt es zwei Deutungen: die besonders früher übliche als *n*-Ableitung zu *ek* "Eiche", allenfalls zu *eke* "Eichenbestand", z.B. bei Wessén³³, und die später von J. Sahlgren lancierte als Zusammensetzung mit Adj. aschwed. **ēkin*

30 *Färdvägar och sjömärken vid Nordens kuster. Namntolkningar*, Uppsala 1936, S. 121.

31 *Norske fiskeméd*, Oslo-Bergen 1961, S. 248, Fn 3.

32 A.a.O. (Anm. 30), S. 56.

33 NoB 11/1923: 172.

"mit Eichen bestanden"³⁴, die von mehreren andern übernommen wurde. Obwohl die Existenz eines aus dem Schwed. nicht direkt überlieferten Adjektivs dieser Art sich gut begründen läßt, ist doch die erste Möglichkeit, die dann mit einem ursprünglichen Appellativ **ēkn* "Eichenbestand" rechnen könnte, weiterhin offen zu halten.

Enø, Insel vor Südwest-Seeland, *Ithænø* 1231 (Valdemars Jordebog), *Ethnøø* 1387, wurde früher als "Insel der Göttin Idunn" erklärt und als Zeuge für einen Kult dieser Göttin in Süd-Seeland aufgefaßt³⁵, wird heute aber, so von Kr. Hald³⁶, eher als *n*-Ableitung adän. **Ithn* zu anord. *iða* "Stromwirbel" bzw. zur entsprechenden Wurzel Idg. **ei-* "gehen" (Pokorny 193 ff.) gestellt.

Fogn, Insel in Finnøy hd./Rog. [*få:'gen*] lt. NSL, [*fågn*] oder [*fång*] lt. NG X, 252, *i Fangn* (lt. NG)/*Faugn* (lt. Hovda, MM 1944: 107) 1457, *i Ffogn* 1477, *i Fongh* 1509, *Songen* (!) 16. Jh., *Fougn* 1626. Der Name wurde von M. Olsen, NG X, 252 als *n*-Ableitung zu anord. *fjúka* "stieben" und *fok* "Gestöber", also im Sinn eines "vindhardt sted" erklärt. Die Deutung, die auch noch von NSL übernommen wurde, scheint sprachlich möglich, da *k* > *g* im 15. Jh. schon recht gut belegt ist³⁷; problematisch scheinen dagegen die älteren Belege mit Diphthong, die recht genau mit der Entwicklung von Skaun, Skogn in N-Tr. übereinstimmen: *Skaun* 1299 usw., *Skaughn*, *Skaugn* 1488, *Skawgn* 1490, *Skowgen* 1519, *Skogen* 1550, *Skognn* 1532. Möglicherweise ist deshalb von **Faun-* auszugehen, und dieses könnte dann zu idg. **pū-*, *peu-*, *pou-* gehören, lt. Pokorny 847 "von der Schallvorstellung der aufgeblasenen Backen; aufblasen, aufgeblasen, angeschwollen, aufgebauscht"; vgl. bes. *n*-Bildungen wie lett. *puns*, *pune*, *punis* "Auswuchs am Baum, Höcker", *paūns*, *paūna* "Schädel, Stirnknochen", auch wohl apreuss. *pounian* "Hinterbacke" u.a.

Fosen, an mehreren Orten in Norwegen als Inselname 1) Fosen [*fo'sn*] [*fo'sna*], Landschaft und Gerichtsbezirk in S-Tr., seit ca. 1500 für die ganze Küstenstrecke von Osen bis Hemne, jetzt zum Teil nur für die Halbinsel (Fosenhalvøya), ursprünglich Name der Insel Storfosna, anord. *Fólksn*, *Fólksn*; *Fosnen*, *Fosner kirkja* 1354, *Foxenn wog* 1559, *Stoer Foesens Sædegaard* 1723 usw., --- 2) Fosna, Fosen, Lille Fosen, alter Name von einer der drei Inseln, auf denen Kristiansund

34 *Eddica et scaldica* 2, Lund 1928, S. 272.

35 Oluf Nielsen, *Blandinger til oplysning om dansk sprog i ældre og nyere tid*, udg. af Universitets-jubilæets danske Samfund 1 (1881): 174; A. Olrik, *Danske Studier* 1910: 23.

36 K. Hald, NoB 59/1971: 78, *Vore Stednavne*², København 1965, S. 208 f. (an beiden Orten mit Hinweis auf Hj. Lindroth); vgl. auch DSL I, 33.

37 Vgl. Marius Hægstad, *Vestnorske Maalføre fyre 1350 II,1: Rygjamaal*, Kristiania 1915, S. 57 f.

gebaut ist, *Fosnen a Nordmør* 1354, *Fozen* 1520, *Lille Fosen* ca. 1590 usw.³⁸, --- 3) *Fosenøy* [fo`snøynæ], Dat. [på fo`sne] in Lindås hd./Hord.; --- 4) *Fosn* in Karmøy hd./Rog.; die Ableitung von anord. *fólgsn* "Versteck", zu **felhan* "verstecken", die für 1) auf den guten Hafen von Storfosna bezogen wird, dürfte auch für die übrigen zutreffen.

Fräkne (härad) in Bohuslän [*frækne, fræğnə, fræɾnə*], *j Friknum* 1317, 1420, *y Freghne* 1526 usw., seit alters Distriktnamen. Nach der Parallele anord. *fríkn* unter den "eyja heiti" der SnE. scheint es sich um einen ursprünglichen Inselnamen zu handeln und dieser Meinung ist auch Hjalmar Lindroth 1918³⁹, aber die Deutung als Inselnamen macht Schwierigkeiten. Sicher ist es eine *n*-Ableitung, aber es gibt kaum eine bedeutungsmäßig passende Wurzel. Andererseits paßt Adj. anord. *frekr* "gierig, streng, hart", das in recht zahlreichen norw. Ortsnamen vorzukommen scheint (*Frekøya, Frekasundet, Frekhaug* u.a.)⁴⁰ recht gut zu einem Fluss- oder Fjordnamen. Lindroth 1939⁴¹ rechnet deshalb mit einem ursprünglichen Fjordnamen **Frekn*, **Friknir*, auch **Frikn* (Name des Ljungskilen) und der Bedeutung "der Harte, Gierige"; es muß aber wohl differenziert werden zwischen einem Fjord- oder Sundnamen **Frekn* und einem Einwohnernamen **Friknir*⁴², so daß die ältesten Belege auf den Einwohnernamen, die späteren Formen auf den zum Landschaftsnamen gewordenen Fjordnamen zurückzuführen wären.

Fyn, anord. *á Fjóni, til Fjóns*, Akk. *á Fjón*, Adam von Bremen ca. 1075: *in Fune, inter Funem, Funis insula*, andere lat. Formen: *Pheonia, Feonia, Phionia, Fionia, Fiunia*, mnd. *Fune, to Fyne, vppe Phyne*, dän. Formen: *i Fyun, i Fiunæ, Fiune* 1241, *i Fywn* 1399, *Fyn* 1412, *Fiun* 1419, *Fiwn, Fiøn* 1420, *Fyn* 1425 usw.⁴³ Die Deutung ist umstritten, aber einige ältere Etymologien können wohl heute als unhaltbar gelten, so diejenigen von O. Nielsen⁴⁴ (< *fæ + vin*) und S. Gutenbrunner⁴⁵ (< **Fīwunī* zu aind. *pīva(n)* "schwellend, fett", also "die fette, fruchtbare Insel"). Am wahrscheinlichsten ist die Deutung von Kr. Hald⁴⁶ als fem. *n*-Ableitung von urgerm. **fehu-* "Vieh", obwohl J. Kousgård Sørensen im Hinblick auf das Genus im Anord. dagegen opponiert und den Namen mit einer Reihe von mindestens teilweise neutralen Appellativen zusammenstellt, wie schwed. *fjun*

38 S. dazu auch A.O. Johnsen, MM 1940: 135-139.

39 *Bohusläns härad- och sockennamn*, 1918, S. 18 f.

40 NG XIII,25; NSL 116.

41 Hj. Lindroth in *Bohusläns kalender* 1939: 115 ff.

42 Vgl. OGB XI, S. IXf.; A. Janzén, NoB 58/1970:16.

43 S. die älteren Formen bei John Kousgård Sørensen, *Danmarks stednavne* 14, København 1969: 1

44 A. a. O. (Anm. 35), S. 182 f.

45 *Festschrift Hermann Hirt* 2, 1936, S. 464.

46 *Vore Stednavne*² S. 211.

"kort, fint og blødt hår eller dun eller luv, støvpartikel, borst, Leontodon", norw. *fjon, fjun* "fnug, enligt strå, støvregn, dun på hagen", ält.dän. *fjon* "dun på plantefrø, fnok usw.", wohl <*feuhna-, verwandt mit *fjúka*. Die Bedeutung wäre "windumbrauster Ort" und der Name wäre wahrscheinlich von Føns (West-Fünen) < 1231 *Fyunnæs* ausgegangen. Demgegenüber macht Th. Andersson⁴⁷ wiederum geltend, die Verbindung des Namens einer so großen Insel mit einem speziellen Ort sei unglaublich und das anord. Neutrum könne auf Entstellung beruhen; die Deutung von Fyn sei aber allerdings als vorläufig unsicher zu betrachten.

Fånö, an zwei Orten im östlichen Zentralschweden: 1) älterer Name von Blidö in Stockholms skärgård: *Finør* Navigatio ex Dania, *Fanø* 1409, *Ffonö* 1535 usw., - 2) in Lötts sn., Trögds hd./Uppl.: *Phanø* 1274. Es ist sehr unsicher, ob hier eine *n*-Ableitung vorliegt; fraglich ist aber auch der Deutungsvorschlag für 2) von H. Ståhl⁴⁸, der das Adj. anord. *fáinn* "gesprenkelt, bunt, farbig" vergleicht (vielleicht nach einer eigenartig gefärbten Felspartie). Andererseits hat Pokorny 792 eine idg. Wurzel **pē(i)-*, *pī-* "weh tun, beschädigen schmähen", zu der auch *n*-Bildungen gehören wie lat. *paene* (*pēne*) "beinahe, fast" (ursprünglich Neutrum eines Adj. **pe-n-is* "beschädigt, mangelhaft"); die Bedeutung wäre in diesem Fall vielleicht "gefährliche Insel".

Gavnø, Insel vor Südwest-Seeland, *Gapnø* 1231, mit Hald⁴⁹ als *n*-Ableitung zu adän. *gap*, neudän. *gab* "Schlund, Öffnung" aufzufassen; vgl. *Karlsgeb* als Name des schmalen Sunds zwischen der Südostspitze von Gavnø und dem seeländischen Festland.

Halsna, Halsne, Halsnøy, mehrfach in Westnorwegen: 1) Halsne, Hof in Fister/Rog., ursprünglich Name der Insel Helsnøy: *Halsen, Halssne, Høllssnæ, Halsne, Halse, Hasne* 16. Jh., *Holsnø, Halsnø* 1563, *Halssnøen* 1602, ursprünglich *Halsna*, obl. **Hølsnu*, -- 2) Halsnøy, Halsnøykloster in Fjelberg/Hord. [*hås`nøyo*] oder auch [*klø'sster*], *i Halsnu* 1307 usw., *i Haulsnu* 1308 usw., *i Houlsnu* 1315, *i Holsnu* 1422 u.ö., *i Hosnu* 1308, *i Holsne* 1466, *Halsnøy* 1392, *Holzno, Holsnø* 1452, noch 1530 *Halsne*, 1538 *Halsne klost(h)er*, ursprünglich ebenfalls *Halsna*, Gen. *Hølsnu*, -- 3) Halsnøya [*håls`snøynæ*] in Alversund/Hord.: *i Holsnu* ca. 1360, *i Hausnunne* 1427, *i Hosnu* 1427, *i Halsønne* 1427 usw., -- 4) Halsnøya in Masfjorden/Hord. [*hålsøyne*]: *Holsne* 1567, *Halsnøen* 1667. Die Namen sind deutlich schwache fem. *n*-Ableitungen zu *hals* (NG XI, 85 zieht allerdings teilweise auch

47 NoB 67/1979: 141 f.

48 *En bok om Trögd*, zit. von Nils-Gustaf Stahre, *Ortnamn i Stockholms skärgård*, Stockholm 1986, S. 47.

49 NoB 59/1971: 71-84.

starkes **Hølsn*, Gen. *Halsnar* in Betracht), das in Inselnamen "Øer, delte i to Dele, der forenes ved en Hals, enten en Sænkning i Øens Høide eller en Sammenknibning af dens Bredde" bezeichnet. In Anbetracht der Häufigkeit des Namens ist ein Appellativ zu erwägen.

Hernar in Øygarden hd./Hord., [*hæd'lane*] Pl. für die Inselgruppe, [*hæd'nøyæ*] Sg. für die Hauptinsel, anord. *Hernar* (jedoch in SnE. Sg. *Hern*, Gen. *Hernar*), *Henne*, *Hennæ*, *Hennwm* 16. Jh., *Hennie* 1563, *Henne* 1567 usw., *Hendøe* 1667, *Hendøen* 1723. Der Name wird seit NG XI, 388 f. (M. Olsen) allgemein zu anord. *hjarsi* "Schädel" und *hjarni* "Hirn" gestellt und gehört zur idg. Wurzel **k̑er-*, *k̑erā-* usw., oft durch *-(e)n*, *-s-*, *-s-(e)-n* erweitert, mit der Grundbedeutung "das Oberste am Körper: Kopf, Horn, Gipfel" (Pokorny 574 ff.), zu der möglicherweise auch *Hennøya*, *Hennøystanda*/Sogn sowie einige schwed. Namen gehören⁵⁰, so *Härnön* (im Mälaren) < *Hernø* 1342, *Hiernø* 1404, mehrere *Härnem* < *Härn-hem* und wohl auch *Härnösand* auf der Insel *Härnön/Ång.*, ferner mit Brechung *Jernberga/Östergötl.* < *Hiærnabærghum* 1405 = *Jernberg/Seel.* < *Hyærnæbyærg-hæ*, *-bierghæ*. Wie diese gebrochenen Formen zeigen, ist wohl von Volkal *-e-* auszugehen, also **Her-n-ō*, aber das Fehlen der Brechung ist doch auffällig und fordert vielleicht ein ursprüngliches **Harniō*, **Harzniō*⁵¹.

Hinn(øya) in Nordl.-Troms, Norwegens größte Insel [*hinŋ'øya*], älter [*hinŋ'na*], anord. *Hinn*, *Hin*, *Hln*, *Hyn*⁵², dazu der Hofname *Hennes* < *Hinnar-nes* ca. 1430. Unsicher ist, wieweit ein paar anklingende Hofnamen hierher gehören: *Hinna* in Stavanger/Rog. [*hin'na*] < *Hindenn* 1563 (NSL 154), *Hindnes* in Lindås/Hord. < *Hjnnaness* 1519 (ebd. und NG XI, 404). Die ältere Deutung von S. Bugge (NG XVI, 355) aus Verwandtschaft mit got. *hinþan* "fangen", danach "Insel, wo man (guten) Fang macht", kann als überholt gelten⁵³, seit Oddvar Nes⁵⁴ *n*-Ableitung zu germ. **hī-*, idg. *(*s*)*k̑ēi-*, *(*s*)*k̑ēis-* "schneiden, trennen, scheiden" (vgl. Pokorny 919 ff.) nachgewiesen hat. Dabei bestehen zwei Ableitungsmöglichkeiten: 1) ursprüngliches *Hinn* < germ. **hiznō* älter **hisnō*, mit *nō*-Suffix zu *(*s*)*k̑ēis-* (vielleicht als Partizip "zerrissen"), --- 2) ursprüngliches *Hin* < **Hinō* als *n*-Erweiterung **sk̑ēi-* > *(*s*)*k̑ēin*. Die erste Möglichkeit ist zu bevor-

50 S. Hj. Lindroth, NoB 3/1915: 64 f.

51 E. Hellquist, *Etymologisk ordbok* (unter *Härnösand*) und Lindroth, a.a.O. scheinen darin allerdings kein Problem zu sehen.

52 Vgl. K. Rygh, NG XVI, 355.

53 Durch nichts stützen läßt sich auch Kemp Malones (Ísl. Tunga 6/1965: 82-85) Identifikation mit dem anord. Inselnamen *Qmō*.

54 MM 1974: 59-62.

zugen, eine Bedeutung "die Gespaltene, Zerschnittene" paßt lt. NSL gut zu den topographischen Verhältnissen⁵⁵.

Järknön in Bråviken/Östergöt., *Jercknöö* 1543, ist nicht sicher eine *n*-Ableitung, jedenfalls ist es keine primäre, da es entweder Zusammensetzung von Adj. aschwed. **iarkn* "ljus, klar, glänsande" + *-ö* oder eine Substantivierung des gleichen Adjektivs, also aschwed. **Iarkna* ist⁵⁶.

(Koxna(n)), kleine Insel in Åland, kann nicht als Namenbildung auf *-n* betrachtet werden, da es direkt auf ein ostschwed. dialektales Appellativ *kåksn(a)* "Landestelle für Boote" zurückgehen dürfte⁵⁷. Stahre, demzufolge die Insel keinen Hafensplatz aufweist, möchte den Namen allerdings zum Verb *koxa* "sehen, schauen" stellen und auf Zeichen für die Schifffahrt beziehen).

***Laghn** ist als Inselname mit *n*-Ableitung sehr unsicher. Hellquist⁵⁸ stellt allerdings das schwed. *Lagnö*, das im Mälargebiet und in Stockholms skärgård vorkommt, zu diesen Bildungen, aber es handelt sich hier (mit Lindroth und Stahre⁵⁹) eher um eine Zusammensetzung mit *lagn* n., *lagna* f. "eine Anzahl gleichzeitig ausgelegter und miteinander verbundener Fischnetze, Stelle, wo man Netze auslegt". Ebenso unsicher ist J.V. Svenssons⁶⁰ These eines zu einem alten Namen des Store Bælt **Løghr*, **Laghr* gebildeten Namens von Langeland: **Laghn*, zu Plinius' *Lagnus*, hätte teils die Form *Lavend* (so 1397), teils in der Zusammensetzung **Laghnland* den späteren Namen *Langeland* (der aber in Wirklichkeit schon Ende des 9. Jh.s als *Langaland* belegt ist) ergeben.

Losna in Solund hd./Sogn o.Fj. [*los`na*], *Losno* ca. 1360, *i Losno* ca. 1391, *i Losnu* 1423, *i Løsnu* 1441, anord. *Losna* f. möglicherweise aus älterem **Losn*, anscheinend derselbe Name wie *Losna* als Bezeichnung einer Erweiterung des Gudbrandsdalslägen. A. Kjær (NG XII, 197), NSL 208 f. und J. Sverdrup⁶¹ stellen die Namen zu Adj. *laus* "lose", Sb. *los* "Lösung, Auflösung". Vb. *lose* "lösen" und *losna* "lose werden", auch dial. *lose* m. "løst liggende Masse, noget

55 Nes' Etymologie wird auch von Inge Særheim gestützt in *Som dei stiger. Landheving og namnetolkning* in: *Frå haug ok heiðni* 9, Stavanger 1983.

56 Vgl. Th. Andersson u.a. in NoB 60/1972: 15, wo auf Sigurd Fries verwiesen wird.

57 Vgl. Nils-Gustaf Stahre, *Stångskäret, Kåksna och Kummelberget. Studier över ortnamn från Stockholms skärgård*, Lund 1952, bes. S. 77; Lennart Elmevik, a.a.O. (Anm. 19), auch Lars Hellberg, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), S. 212.

58 *Etymologisk Ordbok* 1297.

59 Hjalmar Lindroth, *Våra ortnamn och vad de lära oss*, 1923, S. 107; Nils-Gustaf Stahre, a.a.O. (Anm. 48), S. 155.

60 NoB 9/1921: 95 ff.

61 MM 1910: 145.

som truer med at falle ut eller ned", also idg. **leu-s-* "abschneiden, trennen, loslösen" (Pokorny 681 f.), wobei NSL das Namenmotiv auf die Trennung von Losna von der Insel Sula durch einen ein paar hundert Meter breiten Sund bezieht. Möglich ist aber auch die Bedeutung "die Glänzende, Helle" und damit die Ableitung von idg. **leuk-* "leuchten, licht" (Pokorny 687 ff.), wie sie einige schwedische Forscher vorgeschlagen haben: I. Lundahl⁶² vergleicht mit dem schwed. Flußnamen *Ljusnan* (urspr. *Lusn*) sowohl den See- wie den Inselnamen und rechnet mit einem Adjektiv urgerm. **luhsn-*, idg. **luksnos* "hell, glänzend"; bedeutungsmäßig würden Inselnamen wie schwed. *Lysön*, norw. *Lysøen* entsprechen. E. Harding⁶³ denkt an eine Grundlage in zwei suffixablautenden s-Stämmen **luhisno* (> *Lusn*) und **lohasno* (> *Losn-*). Die Annahme einer speziellen *sn*-Ableitung, wie sie Elmevik⁶⁴ andeutet, scheint in beiden Fällen nicht zwingend.

Lyngør [*lyŋ`øer*], Hof und Leuchtturm in Tvedestrand/ A-Agd., anord. *Limgarðssíða, Lungarðssíða, Lungbarðssíða; Ytre og Indre Løngøen* 1670, 1723. Sicher verfehlt ist A.B. Larsens Deutung als "Reisigzaun" (NG VIII, 35), überzeugender diejenige von M. Olsen⁶⁵. Danach geht der Name von zwei Inseln **Lukn*, **Lykn*, heute *Løktene*, die den Sund abschließen, aus (zu *lúka* "schließen"); die daraus gebildete Zusammensetzung mit *-garðr* "Zaun" bezeichnete die ganze Inselgruppe, die Zusammensetzung mit *-síða* schließlich eine ganze Küstenstrecke. It. Asgaut Steinnes⁶⁶ die ganze Strecke von Askeyjarsund bis Portør. Jetzt ist der Name *Lyngør* auf die größte Insel beschränkt.

Masnedø, Insel zwischen Seeland und Falster, Saxo Grammaticus *Masnet(a)*, 1231 *Masneth*, seit dem 17. Jh. mit dem Zusatz *-ø*. Kr. Hald⁶⁷ geht von einem Inselnamen **Masn* aus, der dann mit adän. *ēth* "Übergang zwischen Gewässern (wo man das Boot hinüber trägt)", hier vielleicht mit einer allgemeineren Bedeutung "Überfahrtstelle" zusammengesetzt wurde (die Insel liegt an einer alten Überfahrtstelle nach Falster, heute mit Straßen- und Eisenbahnbrücke). **Masn* ist nicht sicher gedeutet, es muß aber nahe verwandt sein mit norw. See- und Flußnamen *Mesna*, die jedoch auch nicht sicher gedeutet sind⁶⁸. DSL I, 82 denkt an eine Bedeutung "den knudrede", also mit unebener Oberfläche oder zerklüfteten Ufern;

62 NoB 38/1950: 43.

63 NoB 39/1951: 139-141.

64 A.a.O. (Anm. 19), S. 152.

65 *Arendal fra fortid til nutid*, S. 70-77, zit. in NSL 211.

66 MM 1964: 31 f.

67 *Vore Stednavne*² S. 209; NoB 59/1971: 71-84.

68 Vgl. NSL 220.

vgl. adän. *mase* "zerdrücken", ndän. "sich abmühen" (von einer schwierigen Stelle?).

Mikilnefna, Insel im Breiðafjörður/Ís, *Mikilnafna* ca. 1274, 1601, *Mikilnefna* 1702. Þórhallur Vilmundarson⁶⁹ rechnet mit der Möglichkeit eines Noanamens, doch ist kaum einzusehen, wieso gerade diese Insel unter vielen der Umgebung tabu gewesen sein soll. Am ehesten gehört das zweite Glied des Namens zu einem mit *nafn* "Name" homophonen Element, das von M. Tveitane⁷⁰ anhand von zwei Ortsnamen *Namn*, *Namne* in Jämtland sowie einiger Namen in Norwegen (so *Nøkkeland/Østf.* <*Myklanamn*) herausgearbeitet und mit der Bedeutung "etwas Hervorstechendes" (zur Wurzel **nef-* in isl. *nef* "Nase" usw.) versehen wurde. Obwohl es sich dabei um keine Inselnamen handelt, paßt die Bedeutung ebenso gut wie auch die ältesten Belege; die heutige Form wäre dann durch Einfluß von *nefna* f. "Geringfügigkeit" entstanden; vgl. auch *Nämdö*. Allerdings müßte der isl. Name auf die Übertragung eines Appellativs nach Island zurückgehen.

Mjörn, Insel zwischen Tjörn und Orust in Bohuslän, *Miorn* 1388. Der Name wird zwar noch in der 3. Auflage von Hellquists Wörterbuch als "unerklärt" bezeichnet, doch liegen bereits mehrere Deutungsversuche vor. Die Herleitung Lindroths und Lidéns⁷¹ aus **maiγara* = Erweiterung von **maju-* "schmal, zusammengedrängt" dürfte allerdings obsolet sein. Viel eher ist an eine Reihe anklingender Gewässer- und Inselnamen in Schweden, Dänemark und vor allem im östlichen Norwegen zu denken, wo schon M. Olson⁷² Verwandtschaft mit Ablautsverhältnis zwischen *Moss* (ursprünglich Flußname), *Mjær* (Seename bei Moss) und dem Seenamen *Mjøsa* festgestellt hat. NSL stellt diese Namen teils zu einer Wurzel **mer-* "teilen, aufsplintern", teils zu **mer-* "glitzern, scheinen", doch dürfte es sich empfehlen, mit L. Moberg⁷³ alle einschlägigen Namen zu einer einheitlichen Wurzel **mer-* "aufreiben, reiben" (Pokorny 735 f.), u.a. mit aisl. *merja* "schlagen, zerstoßen", und einer daraus entstandenen einheitlichen Bedeutung "Kies, Sand, Steine" zu stellen. Dadurch ergibt sich folgende Reihe : *Mjörn* (Insel) < *Mjörn* < *Mer-n-u*; *Mjörn* (See in Västergötl., mit -n als Artikel) < *Mior*, *Miör* < *Mer-u*; *Mjær* < *Mer-z-a*; *Mjøsa* < *Miors*, *Miørs* < *Mer-s-u*; *Mern* (Gemeinde auf Seeland) < 13. Jh. *Mærn* < *Mer-n-a*; *Merløse* (Bezirk auf Seeland) < 13. Jh. *Myærløs-*, *Miarløssæheret*; *Moss* < *Mors* < *Mur-s*; *Mors* (Insel in Dänemark) < * *Mur-s-*.

69 Grímnir 2/1983: 111 f.

70 NoB 73/1985: 29-41

71 S. Hj. Lindroth, *Kust- och skärgårdsnamn i Göteborgs och Bohus län* 1, 1922.

72 NK 5: 39 mit Hinweis auf S. Bugge.

73 NoB 51/1973: 90-94; vgl. auch Hald, *Vore Stednavne*² S. 213, 215.

Møn, Insel in Dänemark, *Møen* 1135, 1231, in anderen adän. Quellen *Møøen*, Adam von Bremen *Moyland* (= *Mø-*), könnte identisch sein mit dial. *møen* "Dachrücken" (anord. *mønrir*) mit Bezug auf Møns Klint⁷⁴, ist aber möglicherweise auch eine *n*-Ableitung zu *mo* "eine Bodenart, Kreide, Mergel"⁷⁵. Dabei rechnet Hald mit der Möglichkeit eines Zwischenvokals, DSL rekonstruiert ein urord. **Mōwina* (: **mōwa*), doch käme wohl auch **Mō-ni* in Betracht. Eine frühere Deutung **Mō-vin* ist sprachlich nicht ausgeschlossen, aber wegen der allgemeinen Verbreitung der *vin*-Namen ganz unwahrscheinlich.

Nämdö, Insel in Stockholms skärgård, *Neffø* 13 Jh. (*Navigatio ex Dania*), *Nempna* 1476, *Nempnöö* 1484, *Nemdöö* 1539. Dieser Name ist besonders von Stahre⁷⁶ behandelt worden, der den ältesten Beleg als Verschrieb für *Nefnö* betrachtet und die Unzulänglichkeit verschiedener älterer Deutungen hervorhebt (Hesselmans Zusammenstellung mit einem Hofnamen *Nimdh* "beteshage, lövhage, lund", A. Janssons Rückführung auf *nämnd* "samling valda män med myndighet att skipa rätt" und E. Hjärnes Herleitung aus Vb. aschwed. *næmpna* "utbjuda, utkalla", also "ön dit ledungsflottan utbjudes till samling"). Bei sekundärem Charakter von *d* und *-ö* liegt sicher eine *n*-Ableitung zu aschwed. *næf* "Schnabel, Schnauze, Nase", also eine parallele Bildung zu isl. *Mikilnafna*-*nefna* (s.o.) vor.

Ogn(øy), Insel [*ogn`øy*] und Hof [*ogn*] in Bokn/Rog., *Offnen*, *Offne* 1534, *Ogneø* 1626, *Ougnøe* 1723, anord. **Ógn*, dasselbe Wort wie *ógn* "Schrecken", aber vielleicht unabhängig von diesem gebildet zu *ægja* "erschrecken, bedrohen", also "die Schreckeinjagende"⁷⁷. Zur Bildungsweise vgl. im besonderen *Sókn* : *sækja* (s.u.).

Oknö(n), Insel im Mälaren bei Trögd, *Vkn* 1412, entweder zu aschwed. *ok*, *uk* "jugum, Anhöhe"⁷⁸ oder zu einem Verb **oka*, **uka* "sich vermehren, schwellen", im Ablaut zu *auka*, wie es von L. Elmevik⁷⁹ in See- und Flußnamen herausgearbeitet wurde (idg. **ayeg-*, **yoğ-*, **aug-*, **ug-* "vermehren, zunehmen", s. Pokorny 84 f.).

Ornö, Insel in Stockholms skärgård, *Ornæ* 13. Jh. (*Navigatio ex Dania*), *Ornøø* 1476, 1485, mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit eine *n*-Ableitung, da *-ö* erst reaktiv

74 So lt. Knud B. Jensen, NoB 48/1960: 173.

75 S. K. Hald, *Vore stednavne*² S. 210 f., NoB 59/1971: 71-84; DSL I, 84.

76 S. Nils-Gustaf Stahre, a.a.O. (Anm. 48), S. 51 ff.

77 Vgl. P. Hovda, KLN M 12 (1967): 236 f. sowie NG X, 61, wo ein Flußname *Ogn(a)* auf dieselbe Weise erklärt wird. Auch NSL 241 rechnet mit einem primären Inselnamen.

78 So lt. G. Franzén, NK 5: 161 f.

79 NoB 55/1967: 173-185.

spät auftritt und eine Zusammenstellung mit *horn* unter Annahme von *h*-Schwund⁸⁰ mangels Belegen mit *h*- ungläubhaft ist. Die Herleitung in Svensk Uppslagsbok aus *or* "steiniges Terrain" (awestn. *urð*, aschwed. *orp*, auch gotl. *ord*, *drd*)⁸¹ ist sprachlich möglich, stößt aber lt. L. Moberg⁸² auf sachliche Schwierigkeiten. Moberg selbst weist auf *Varnö* als Name des südlichen Teils von Ornö hin und vergleicht ein nord. **ōr* "Schutz, Verteidigung" (mit verwandten Wörtern) < germ. **wōr*- in ahd. *wuori* "Damm" (idg. Wurzel **uer*-, *ueru*-, *urū* "verschließen, bedecken, schützen, retten", Pokorny 1160 ff.) sowie aschwed. *orun*, *oran* "fejð, blodshämnd". Eine von Moberg erwogene Zusammensetzung mit dem letzteren ist sprachlich und sachlich fraglich, wahrscheinlicher die von ihm ebenfalls erwogene Herleitung aus einem ursprünglichen Simplex **Orn* f. mit primär namenbildendem *n* zu *or* "Schutz (gegen das offene Meer)".

(*Oxnö*, zwei Inseln in Stockholms skärgård, *Yxnö*, Insel in Bråviken, enthalten keine *n*-Ableitung, sondern Gen. Pl. aschwed. *yxna* (*uxna*) oder auch *n* als Stammbildungselement von *oxe* "Ochse").

(*Rissne*, runenschwed. *i risnü*, später *Risnø*, *Risenø*, ist keine *n*-Ableitung, sondern eine Zusammensetzung von Adj. **hrtsinn* "småskogig, risig" und -*ō*⁸³).

Sjernarøy [*ʃyd`dnarøyadne*], Insel mit Inselgruppe in Finnøy hd./Rog., *i Siorn* 1361, 1454, *i Syorn* 1380, *Siannar kirkja* ca. 1280, *Sianar sokn* 1390, *Siærne skipreida* 1409, *Siarnarøy* 1447, *i Siernærøya* 1478 usw. Wie die Belege zeigen, ist von einem anord. *Sjorn*, Gen. *Sjarnar* auszugehen. NG X (1915), 303 denkt an Zusammenhang mit schwed. *Siarö*/Uppl. < **Sæ-arn*- "kleine Insel mit See", was nicht zu den sachlichen Gegebenheiten auf der Hauptinsel paßt und sprachlich insofern fraglich ist, als -*arn* bisher in Norwegen kaum sicher nachgewiesen ist. M. Olsen⁸⁴ hält zwar an -*arn* fest, stellt aber das 1. Glied zum Zahlwort 7: urspr. **Siau-rn* < **Sebun-arin* "Siebeninsel", weil in der Gruppe sieben bewohnte Inseln seien. P. Hovda⁸⁵ erwägt Zusammenhang mit germ. **ser*- "strömen" (**Ser-nō* "øya med straumen", aber auch mit anord. *serða* "beschlafen", während er sich sechs Jahre später⁸⁶ ganz für die zweite Möglichkeit entscheidet, weil auf *Sjernarøy* Phallos-Steine als Zeugen eines Vegetationskults gefunden worden seien. Dies wird von E. Vågslid an gleicher Stelle abgelehnt, der stattdessen eine völlig

80 Vgl. Nils-Gustaf Stahre, a.a.O. (Anm. 48), S. 60 f., auch K. Calissendorff, NoB 52/1964: 107.

81 Vgl. auch schwed. dial. *ora* "tät och stenig skogsbacke, stenig vild mark, stor skog".

82 OUÅ 1990: 19-22.

83 Vgl. O. von Friesen, NoB 18/1930: 100.

84 NoB 4/1916: 61-63.

85 *Til norske øynamn*, in: Det Norske Videnskapsakademi, Årbok 1972: 10-19.

86 NoB 66/1978: 66.

abwegige Etymologie vorschlägt: **sý* "Schiff" + **orn-arnar* zu Adj. *orr* "großzügig" ("gjev mild stad, vel særleg om fiskestad ved ei øy der dei hadde bygd båt-*tar*"). Demgegenüber greift Inge Særheim⁸⁷ wieder auf **ser-* "fließen, strömen" zurück, das in zahlreichen idg. Gewässernamen vorkommt⁸⁸. Das dürfte zweifellos richtig sein, obwohl **ser-* sonst germ. nicht belegt zu sein scheint (vgl. Pokorny 909 f.).

Sokn kommt in folgenden zwei Beispielen vor: 1) Sokn [*sok'kn*] in Rennesøy hd./Rog., anord. in *Sóknarsund*; *Soken* 1520, *Sogen*, *Saaken* 1563, *Sonck*, *Sogen* 16. Jh., *Sougenn* 1602 usw., --- 2) Stora/Lilla Socknan [*a*] in Vätte hd./Bohusl., *Sockna* 1862 (Abschrift eines Originals von 1825). Es ist das gleiche Wort, das auch in (norw.) Flußnamen erscheint und formal identisch ist mit anord. *sókn* f. "Suchen, Angriff, Streit" usw., zu *sækja* "suchen, sich an jd. wenden, hingehen, angreifen, überwinden". Der Name bezieht sich auf Wetter und Wind ausgesetzte Lage und/oder starke Strömung⁸⁹.

Solna, an mehreren Orten in der Umgebung von Stockholm: 1) Solna [*sá'lna*], Vorortsgemeinde von Stockholm, ursprüngliche Insel, *Solnø* 1305, --- 2) Solna auf der Insel Möja in Stockholms skärgård [*å*], *Solna* 1747, *Solna qvarn* 1770 ff. usw., --- 3) Solna [*å*] in Knutby sn./Uppl., Name eines Kätnerhauses, --- 4) Sollenkroka [*å*] auf Vindö in Stockholms skärgård, dazu Sollenkroka ö, *Sone-* 1535, *Solne-* 1538, *Sonne-* 1544, *Solne-* 1557, *Solen-* 1636, *Sollen-* 1686, *Solne-* 1695, *Såln-* 1740, *Sålen-* 1758, *Sollen-* 1764, *Sånnkrokön* 1897, *Sångkroka* 1932. Der Name wurde früher gewöhnlich als *n*-Ableitung von *sol* "Sonne" aufgefaßt⁹⁰, doch verträgt sich ein Ansatz **Sōln* nicht mit der heute durchgängigen Aussprache *å*. Eine Alternative für 1) bietet J. Sahlgren⁹¹, der eine ursprüngliche Zusammensetzung **Sollna-ö* zu einem Einwohnernamen **sollar*, Gen. *sollna*, zu dial. *soll* "blandning av bröd och mjölk; hoprörd blandning av flytande och fasta livsmedel; röra", als topographischer Begriff "sumpfiges Gelände", postuliert. Stahre⁹² geht für 2) – 4) von einem Stamm *saul-*, *sul-* in *söla* "beschmutzen" und *solkig* "verschmutzt", also mit der Bedeutung "schlammig, sumpfig", aus und rechnet für 2) und 4) mit einem ursprünglichen *Suln-* (1) und 3) behandelt er nicht näher). Es

87 *Frá haug ok heiðni* 4, 1982, zit. in NoB 71/1983: 175.

88 Vgl. Hans Krahe, *Unsere ältesten Flußnamen*, Wiesbaden 1964, S. 40 f.

89 Vgl. P. Hovda, NoB 59/1971: 138 "Sókn er lág og verhard og i Sóknarsund er det jamt rivande straum".

90 Vgl. E. Hellquist, *Etymologisk Ordbok* 1026, der *Solö/Sörml.* und norw. *Solør* vergleicht; *Svensk Uppslagsbok* 26: 996; G. Franzén, NK 5: 161 f.

91 OUÅ 1961: 22.

92 A.a.O. (Anm. 57), S. 116 f.

kann wohl allgemein von einer *n*-Bildung **Suln* oder **Solln* mit der Bedeutung "Sumpf" ausgegangen werden.

Strynø, Strøno, in zwei Beispielen: 1) Strynø [*stry:n*], Insel in Sunds hd., Svendborg amt: *Strun* 13. Jh. (Kong Valdemars Jordebog), *Stryn* 1480, *Strøn* 1448-81, *Stryen* 1523-24 usw., *Stryen* Ø, adän. *Strȳn* < **Striün*, --- 2) Strøno [*strø:ˈno*], Insel in Os hd./Hord., *Striona* 1427, *i Strøne* (Dat.Sg.) 1519, *Strønnenn* 1563, *Stor Strønne*, *Sørstrønne* 1668 usw., mit Parallelen in mehreren anderen norw. Ortsnamen, z.B. im Distriktsnamen *Stryn*. Früher wurden die beiden Namen gewöhnlich zu ae. *strēōn* "Gewinn" (ebenso wie auch *Strjónsey* > *Stronsay* auf den Orkneys) gestellt und (wie u.a. auch der nordnorwegische Bergname *Strøn(n)a*) gedeutet als "Stelle (Insel usw.), wo guter Fang gemacht wird"⁹³. Dagegen schlug schon O. Nielsen⁹⁴ eine Herleitung des dän. Namens aus idg. **sreu-* "strömen, fließen" (Pokorny 1003) vor, und diese Deutung darf nach dem eindeutigen Nachweis von O. Nes⁹⁵ als gesichert gelten⁹⁶; vgl. auch noch das mehrfach, besonders in Flußnamen bezeugte schwed. *Strö*⁹⁷.

***Surn** an mehreren Orten in Norwegen in Zusammensetzung mit -øy: 1) Sunnøya in Os hd./Hord. [*syˈdnøyo*], *Surnøy* ca. 1360, *Suennøenn* 1563, *Sundøen* 1610 usw., --- 2) Surnøya an zwei Orten in Vikna hd./N-Tr., lt. NG XV, 365 gleicher Name wie 1), aber ohne Aussprache und ältere Belege, --- 3) Surnøya in Træna hd./Nordl., genauere Angaben fehlen. Die wichtigsten Herleitungsmöglichkeiten nennt M. Olsen, NG XI, 211: abgesehen von O. Ryghs Annahme eines ursprünglichen **Surðn*⁹⁸ die Ableitung aus mit dem Vb. *surla* "rieseln, murmeln" verwandtem *Surn* (S. Bugge) und aus Adj. *súrr* "sauer", auch von "Jord, som er raa, skarp, fuld av skarpe Vædsker" (A.Kjær). Letzteres könnte für die niedrige und sumpfige Insel Nr. 1) zutreffen⁹⁹, über 2) und 3) sind die Angaben zu spärlich. Jedenfalls aber wäre für alle drei Namen auch Zugehörigkeit zur Wurzel **ser-* "fließen" zu erwägen¹⁰⁰.

93 S. S. Bugge und M. Olsen in NG XI, 210; XVI, 410; K. Hald, *Vore Stedsnavne*² S. 210; J. Kousgård Sørensen, *Danmarks Stednavne 13*, København 1958, S. 62.

94 *Bidrag til Fortolkning af danske Stednavne*, 1881-87, S. 178. Auch Aage Houken, *Håndbog i danske stednavne*, København 1956, möchte diese Deutung eher bevorzugen.

95 MM 1970: 1-25.

96 S. auch NSL 302; DSL III, 125.

97 S. Th. Andersson, NoB 60/1972: 15 f.

98 Vgl. O. Rygh, *Norske Elvenavne*, 1904, S. 252.

99 Vgl. auch NSL 305.

100 Vgl. O. Nes, MM 1970: 3.

Svartnö, kleine Insel westlich von Furusund in Stockholms skärgård, die lt. Stahre¹⁰¹ mit Eknö zusammengewachsen ist. Genauere Angaben über den Namen fehlen, doch ist das *-n* vermutlich durch Einfluß von *Eknö* zu erklären.

Sviðnur, Insel mit Hof, jetzt Wüstung im Breiðafjörður/ÍS, *Sviðnur* in Jarðabók Árna Magnússonar og Páls Vídalíns 1702-12. Weitere ältere Belege sind mir nicht bekannt, doch muß der Name wohl entweder auf aisl. *sviða* "Speer" (lt. Blöndal heute noch poet.) oder auf *sviða*, das lt. Blöndal nisl. in der Bedeutung "abgebrannte Landstrecke" vorkommt, zurückgehen; allenfalls wäre auch noch nisl. *svið* "Fiskegrund" in Betracht zu ziehen. *-n* dürfte durch Einfluß des benachbarten *Svefneyjar* zu erklären sein.

Tjörn, Insel in Bohuslän, anord. *Pjórn*, Gen. *Pjórnar*. Früher wurden Namen dieser Wurzel (auch norw. *Tjore*, schwed. *Tjurbo* u.dgl.) gewöhnlich zum Tiernamen anord. *þjórr* "Stier" gestellt, meist unter Annahme einer übertragenen Bedeutung "Berg, Anhöhe"¹⁰². Seit Hjalmar Lindroths Aufsatz "Namnet Tjörn och därmed sammanhängande namn"¹⁰³ ist jedoch die Herleitung aus einem **þjórr* "bergshöjd" = ae. *þēor* "Geschwulst" allgemein akzeptiert; der Name nimmt vielleicht speziell Bezug auf Tjörne huvud, jedenfalls bedeutet *Tjörn*, in Übereinstimmung mit den topographischen Verhältnissen, "ön med bergshöjderna (eller bergshöjden)"¹⁰⁴. Zur weiteren Etymologie nimmt Hellquist Verwandtschaft mit lat. **tūro* "Knorren, Pfropfen" in lat. *obtūrāre* "zustopfen", griech. *τύλῆ* "Wulst, Kissen" an, während L. Moberg¹⁰⁵ awestn. *þōri* "fettes Fleischstück" und aschwed. *þōra* als Bezeichnung einer Anhöhe vergleicht und ein Ablautsverhältnis germ. **þeuhra*/**þuhra* postuliert (idg. Wurzel **tēu-*, *təu-*, *teuə-* usw. "schwellen", s. Pokorny 1080 ff.).

Træna [*træ'na*], Insel(gruppe) und Gemeinde in Nordland, *Priðna* SnE., *af Thridnom* ca. 1430, *Tredenn* 16. Jh., *Treen* ca. 1530, *Treenn* 1567, 1614, nach der heutigen Aussprache mit der ursprünglichen starken Form **Priðn*. Der einzige mir bekannte Deutungsvorschlag stammt im wesentlichen von S. Bugge¹⁰⁶; danach wäre **Priðn* eine *n*-Ableitung zu **prið* f. "Einheit von drei" und würde sich auf die drei Berggipfel der größten Insel dieser Gruppe beziehen (*prið*: *priði* wie *fimi*

101 A.a.O. (anm. 57), S. 245.

102 Vgl. M. Olsen, NG X, 184; XI, 399.

103 in: Minneskrift utg. av Filologiska Samfundet i Göteborg 1920: 15-24 (nach einer Anregung von E. Lidén).

104 Vgl. auch Hj. Lindroth, *Kust- och skärgårdsnamn i Göteborgs och Bohus län 1*, 1922, ferner E. Hellquist, *Etymologisk Ordbok* 1198; V. Ekenvall, OGB VII (1992), S. XXII.

105 NoB 39/1951: 31.

106 NG XVI, 161. 408; vgl. auch ANF 20/1904: 349.

: *fimti*). Ursprünglich wäre wohl der Sg. von der Hauptinsel, der Pl. von der ganzen Inselgruppe gebraucht worden, während heute der Sg. *Træna* immer die ganze Gruppe bezeichnet. Zur Bedeutung vergleicht Bugge den Namen *Tviberg* auf Nærø. Eine Alternative zu Bugges Vorschlag wäre allenfalls idg. *(s)ter- usw. "starr, steif sein; starrer, fester Gegenstand, bes. Pflanzenstamm oder -stengel usw." (vgl. Pokorny 1022 ff.); vgl. isl. Adj. *stirðr* und den Inselnamen *Storð*.

Tustna [*tus'na*] lt. NSL 324, [*tu'sstna*] lt. NG XIII, 453, ältere Schreibweise lt. NG *Tusteren*; vgl. 1623 *Toester* auf einer holländischen Seekarte. Die Deutung ist mangels älterer Belege unsicher. Die Herleitung von anord. *púst* f., *pústr* m. "Dreschflegel, Stab" (NG) ist insofern problematisch, als es sich bei diesem Wort um eine Entlehnung aus dem Air. (*súist*) handelt, die wohl erst nach der Produktivitätsperiode des *n*-Suffixes nach dem Nord. kam. Der Versuch von NSL, -*n* aus der Umdeutung vom best. Artikel mask. zum Dativ eines Feminins zu erklären, wirkt kaum überzeugend. Für eine alte *n*-Ableitung bieten sich wohl zwei Anknüpfungspunkte an: entweder anord. Adj. *þurr* "trocken", wobei die Annahme einer *sn*-Ableitung (vgl. NSL) wohl unnötig ist, da idg. **ters-*, *tr̥s-* (Pokorny 1078 f.) direkt zu *tus-* werden konnte (vgl. *Moss* < *Mors*), --- oder eine *s*-Erweiterung von idg. **tēu-* usw. "schwellen" (Pokorny 1083 f.).

Vagn- kommt in mehreren schwed. und norw. Namen vor, doch ist es unsicher, inwiefern es sich um Inselnamen handelt und zu welchem Etymon sie gehören. Vagnhärad (nordöstlich von Nyköping), 1350 *Wanghæradh*, *Waghærædh*, kann lt. Hellquist¹⁰⁷, Svensk Uppslagsbok sowie J.V. Svensson¹⁰⁸ einen Insel- oder Flußnamen enthalten; lt. Svensson wäre dieser eine *n*-Ableitung zu einem Gewässernamen **WagaR* (den Svensson mit Jordanes' *Vagi fluvius* identifiziert), Hellquist denkt an Ableitung von idg. **uogh-* in isl. *veggr*, aschwed. *vægge* "Keil", lit. *vagis* "dass.". Nach L. Hellberg¹⁰⁹ geht jedoch *Vagn-* auf aschwed. Gen.Pl. **Vägna* "Buchtbewohner", zu aschwed. *vagher* "Bucht" mit Bezug auf eine ehemalige Bucht längs der heutigen Trosaån zurück. Weitere einschlägige Namen sind schwed. *Vagn* (Hof in Uppl.), *Vagnaren*, *Vangern* (Seename), *Vagnabäck/-Hall.*, *Vagnsunda* (auf Yxlan in Stockholms skärgård), *Vagnsö/Blek.*¹¹⁰, vielleicht auch *Vaghensön* 1432, *Vångsöön* 16. Jh. als älterer Name von Skeppsholmen in Stockholm¹¹¹; norw. *Vognill* in Oppdal < anord. *Vagnella*, *Vagnilla*.

107 *Etymologisk Ordbok* 1296 f.

108 NoB 5/1917: 117 f.

109 NoB 63/1975: 175.

110 Vgl. dazu B. Ohlsson, *Blekingskusten mellan Mörrums- och Ronnebyån. Namnhistorisk undersökning*, Lund 1939: 149.

111 Vgl. jedoch E. Wadstein, NoB 7/1919: 21-24.

Vanna, zwei Inseln in Nordnorwegen: 1) in Karlsøy hd./Troms [*va'ny̌a*], älter nur belegt in Zusammensetzungen *Vannvåg* < 16. Jh. *Wandeuogh*, *Wandewog*, 1614 *Wanduagh*; *Vannereid* < 1567 *Wandereyd*; *Vanstuen* < 1567 *Vandestoffue*, 1610 *Wandstoffue*, --- 2) bei Værøy in Lofoten/Nordl. [*va'ny̌a*]. Von der heutigen Aussprache aus läßt sich ein anord. **Vørn*, Gen. **Varnar* erschließen. In NG XVII, 166 bzw. XVI, 352 wird der Name nicht erklärt, doch ist er lt. NSL 334 vielleicht identisch mit Sb. *vørn* f. "Verteidigung, Schutz" mit Bezug auf die schützende Lage gegen das offene Meer¹¹²; vgl. den Inselnamen *Vernd/Tysnes*. Es könnte sich aber auch um eine selbständige *n*-Bildung zur Wurzel idg. **uer-* "verschließen, bedecken, schützen, abwehren" (Pokorny 1160 ff.) handeln. Außerdem kämen wohl auch andere Wurzeln in Frage, z.B. 2. **uer-* "erhöhte Stelle" (Pokorny 1151 f.) oder 3. **uer-* "drehen, biegen" (Pokorny 1152 ff.).

Ven, Insel im Öresund, isl. *Hveðn* (mehrmals in älterer und jüngerer Zeit), aschwed. *Huæthen* 1232, *Huethen* 1332, adän. *Hwæthæn* 13 Jh. (Valdemars Jordebog), *Huædhen* 1357, lt. Hellquist¹¹³ früher zu griech. *pétra* "Fels, Klippe" gestellt (Verweis auf K.F. Johansson), was formal unannehmbar ist, dagegen lt. K. Hald¹¹⁴ wahrscheinlich zu aschwed. *hvadha* "Schaum", got. *hvapō* "dass." usw., zu idg. **kmat(h)-* "gären, sauer werden, faulen" (Pokorny 627 f.).

Vikna [*vek'na*], Inselgruppe und Gemeinde in N-Tr. (Namdalen), anord. *Vikna* (SnE.), 1590 *Wigtenn* usw. Der Name geht von starkem Fem. *Vlkn* oder (wegen der heutigen Aussprache) *Vikn* aus und gehört, mit früher Kürzung oder Ablaut, zu *vlk* "Bucht"; die Inseln sind in charakteristischer Weise durch Buchten zerschnitten¹¹⁵. Das häufige *t* (noch in NG XV!) ist sekundär eingeschoben. Eine entsprechende Bildung *Vikne* kommt auch außerhalb der Inselnamen in Haus/Hord. und V. Gausdal/Oppl. vor.

Vinna [*vin'na*], Insel in Sørøysund hd./Finnm., *Stor- og Lill-Vinne* 1744, *Storevin*, *Storvinnen* 1785, *Stor Vinna* 1801, von NSL 345 und NG XVIII, 126 zögernd zu anord. *vinna* "Arbeit" gestellt. NG vergleicht ein *Vinnes* (in Fitjar/Hord. < 1314 *Vinnunes*), "som synes at betyde; Neset som man med Besvær arbeider sig forbi, det veirhaarde Nes", doch kommen auch verschiedene andere Stämme in Betracht, z.B. anord. *viðr* "Wald" oder Adjektiv *viðr* "weit", allenfalls auch *vin* "Weide", doch ist dies aus chronologischen Gründen bei einem so weit nördlich gelegenen Namen eher problematisch.

112 Vgl. P. Hovda, *Til norske øynamn* (Anm. 85).

113 *Etymologisk Ordbok* 1329.

114 NoB 59: 71-84.

115 Vgl. NSL 342; NG XV, 359.

Vresen, Insel östlich von Fyn, *Wrysn* 13. Jh. (Valdemars Jordebog). Es ist von einem adän. **wris-* auszugehen, das lt.Kr. Hald¹¹⁶ zu einer *s*-Erweiterung von idg. **uer-* "drehen" in dän. *vride* "drehen" usw. gehört (Pokorny 1152 ff.), wobei wegen der nahen Verwandtschaft mit ahd. *reisan*, ae. *wrāsn* "Knoten" vielleicht auf ein ursprüngliches Appellativ mit der Bedeutung "den forvredne, den krumme" zu schließen ist.

Abkürzungen

ANF	Arkiv för nordisk filologi
DSL	Dansk Stednavneleksikon I-III
KLNM	Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder
MM	Maal og Minne
Navigatio ex Dania	Itinerarium von Dänemark über die Ostsee nach Estland, in Kong Valdemars Jordebog
NG	Norske Gaardnavne
NK	Nordisk Kultur
NoB	Namn och Bygd
NSL	Norsk stadnamnleksikon, 2. Aufl.
OGB	Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län
OUÅ	Ortnamnssällskapets i Uppsala Årsskrift
Pokorny	Julius Pokorny, Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch 1, Bern und München 1959
SnE	Snorra-Edda
SNF	Studier i nordisk filologi
A-Agd.	Aust-Agder
Finnm.	Finnmarken
Hord.	Hordaland
Nordl.	Nordland
N-Tr.	Nord-Trøndelag
Oppl.	Oppland
Rog.	Rogaland
Sogn o.Fj.	Sogn og Fjordane
S-Tr.	Sør-Trøndelag

116 *Vore Stednavne*² S. 209, NoB 59/1971: 81 f.; vgl. auch DSL III,150 und V. Christensen/J. Kousgård Sørensen, *Stednavneforskning 1*, København 1972, S. 126 f.

Bohusl.	Bohuslän
Hall.	Halland
Med.	Medelpad
Smål.	Småland
Sörml.	Södermanland
Uppl.	Uppland
Västergötl.	Västergötland
Ång.	Ångermanland
Östergötl.	Östergötland
Seel.	Seeland
ÍS	Island

MARGARET CLUNIES ROSS

Þórr's Honour¹

Introduction

I propose to consider here four Old Norse myths about the god Þórr and the women of his household. My purpose is to show, first, how these four apparently disparate myths are in fact variants on the same basic theme and then to explore why, in the imagined world of Old Norse myth, this particular type of narrative is especially connected with Þórr. Then I shall go on to show how it contributes to the general conceptualisation of human society and its rules of conduct that I believe are set forth in the corpus of early Scandinavian myth as it has been preserved in the literature of medieval Iceland.² While I assume here that early Norse society is reflected in its myths, I do not suppose that there is a strictly functionalist relationship (in the anthropological sense) between myth and society, making myth a charter for social action of one kind or another (Malinowski 1948[1925], 64). Old Norse myth is not normative in the Malinowskian sense and I do not think it takes a particular moral line, yet there is no doubt that it is informed by rules of conduct that were either sanctioned or disapproved by the society that created it. In the case of the myths I want to examine here, the social evaluations represented concern questions of honour and dishonour as those qualities are expressed through the behaviour of the individual deity, Þórr, as he

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- 1 I am grateful to the following museums for supplying me with photographs of three Viking Age icons usually interpreted as images of Þórr's hammer and for giving me permission to reproduce them here in Figures 1-3: to Örebro läns museum, Sweden, for a photograph of a silver hammer from Eketorp; to the Antikvarisk-topografiska arkivet of Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm, for a photograph of a silver hammer from Skåne, now in their collection and to Danmarks Nationalmuseum, Copenhagen, for a photograph of a silver hammer from Rømersdal, Bornholm. I should also like to thank Kari Gade, John Lindow, Bernard Martin and Richard Perkins for helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper and Richard Green for advice on ancient Greek herms.
 - 2 I have treated this social dimension to Old Norse myth in greater detail in Clunies Ross forthcoming, where I also adumbrate the ideas that form the basis for this article.

attempts to keep his women safe from the sexual predation of giants and dwarves, and, through him, in the collective honour of the gods as a group.

Although in the myths themselves the interests of humans are usually rather vaguely linked to the gods' concerns, a dispassionate analysis of the corpus of Old Norse myth indicates quite conclusively that the activities ascribed to gods, giants and other supernatural beings are readable in terms of early medieval Scandinavian social structure, particularly that of the society of Iceland from where most of the surviving textual versions have originated. It is clear, in particular, that the myths as we know them assume a world whose social organisation was firmly hierarchical and one in which giants, though acknowledged as important and powerful beings, were always subordinated to the gods and their interests. There are many signs of a pro-Æsir viewpoint in the myths, to be detected in such things as the characteristic physical and mental attributes of classes of supernatural beings, in their physical location, in the role they play in mythic narrative and in the outcomes of mythic encounters. To exemplify the last point, the gods usually outwit their giant rivals in any contest in which both brain and brawn are required. It is highly probable but not ultimately demonstrable that the interests of the Norse gods and the behaviour attributed to them bear some relation to the interests and behaviour of powerful human groups in early Scandinavian society, and many indices demonstrate that these dominant interest-groups comprised high-ranking males in the various Scandinavian communities of the Viking Age and the centuries immediately following. Questions of honour and dishonour explored through the myths examined here are undoubtedly issues that would have been of keen interest to medieval Scandinavians, given the nature of their society.

There is an extensive anthropological literature on the subject of the importance of the concept of honour and its opposite, shame, as expressions of the social evaluation of individuals and groups within small-scale societies where face-to-face personal encounters rather than anonymous means of social ranking determine a person's or a group's relative worth. Many of these studies have been carried out by contemporary anthropologists working in rural Mediterranean communities (Bourdieu 1979; Campbell 1964; Herzfeld 1980; Pitt-Rivers 1965; Peristiany 1965; Peristiany and Pitt-Rivers 1992). Whatever the exact components of the concept in specific societies, honour is characteristically 'the value of a person in his own eyes, but also in the eyes of his society' (Pitt-Rivers 1965, 21). A person's value, as it is established by the efforts of an individual, must also be maintained by that individual, who is constantly under pressure from others who wish to challenge his preeminence and assert their own. Such constant jostling for place presupposes the ceaseless shift of power and dominance between individuals of roughly equal social status. To the extent that individuals in these so-called honour and shame

societies are dependent on their own efforts to assert their worth, their relative ranking vis-à-vis other individuals is insecure and may be challenged. Further, 'when the individual is encapsulated in a social group an aspersion on his honour is an aspersion on the honour of his group' (Peristiany 1965, 11). The capacity of these societies to transfer honour and dishonour from the individual to his closest social group means that matters of honour are very likely to cause public disturbance. In such societies, therefore, it is common for issues of honour to be decided by physical violence between individuals which takes socially sanctioned and regulated forms, such as the duel (Pitt-Rivers 1965, 29). Aggression between individuals is often fomented by verbal challenges and public or semi-public suggestions of a man's cowardice or other unmanly behaviour which he is then obliged to refute if he wants to keep his reputation in good shape. Not only must he vindicate himself but he is obliged to put down the threat of superiority from his challenger which derives in the first instance from the effrontery of the challenge itself and then from its substance.

In honour and shame societies both men and women are considered to possess honour, but it is usually men who are charged with maintaining their own honour and that of their women. There is felt to be an intimate link between a man's honour and that of the women for whom he bears public responsibility so that, if his women are dishonoured, he is himself shamed. Furthermore, female honour is largely defined in terms of approved sexual behaviour. The dynamic of this aspect of male-female relations means that the honour of women depends on their engaging only in socially sanctioned sexual activities; virginity is a sought-after attribute of brides and married women are required to be faithful to their husbands. Hence women's activities are usually closely invigilated by their male kin, whether husbands, fathers or brothers, because a violation of a woman's sexual integrity is thought to reflect directly upon the honour of the man who is her guardian. A family's honour in these circumstances may depend more on the sexual conduct of its women than on any other single factor; women are constrained in their behaviour but also have power as the individuals whose actions have the capacity to maintain or destroy the family's reputation. Concepts relating to the notion of cuckoldry (Blok 1981; Brandes 1981) play in a variety of stereotyped ways on the nexus between the supposed sexual dishonouring of a woman and the direct shaming and weakening of her husband as a consequence of her illicit sexual activities. However, the general evaluation of men in such societies in terms of how well they control other men's access to their women extends more widely than to the figure of the cuckolded husband. A man's control of his sister or his daughter may be at stake as often as his regulation of his wife's sexual behaviour. Ultimately, a man's ability to control the women of his house-

hold is an indication of his manliness in other spheres of life and of his superiority to other men.

There is much evidence that medieval Iceland was an honour and shame society. It was small-scale and individuals were very much dependent on their own efforts to establish their worth in the absence of externally sanctioned marks of social status and hierarchy (Meulengracht Sørensen 1983, 21; Miller 1990, 29-34, 185, 303). Both saga literature and the medieval Icelandic lawcodes, as well as those of Western Norway, indicate that men were extremely sensitive to aspersions cast on their honour and usually responded to them with physical violence or with an act designed to humiliate their challenger. One favourite means of insinuating a man's unmanliness (*ergi*) was through the medium of skaldic poetry, whose obscurity of diction and syntax could be utilised to direct a veiled or not-so-veiled insult at one's rival without oneself incurring the potentially drastic penalties of the law for this particular kind of behaviour, called *níð* (Almqvist 1965 and 1974; Meulengracht Sørensen 1983, 28-32, 60-1 and 70-8). There are many examples of skaldic *níðvísur* preserved in Icelandic literature, and the prose sagas in which they are often embedded indicate their effectiveness in provoking agonistic episodes between rivals bent on asserting their own honour in the face of a shame-provoking challenge (Meulengracht Sørensen 1983; Gade 1989 and 1992). The preoccupation with male honour and its undermining is also to be found in Old Norse myth, to a greater extent than has yet been recognised. Several excellent studies exist of the dynamics of such challenges in the eddic poem *Þrymskviða* (Meulengracht Sørensen 1983, 23-4; Perkins 1988) and individual lines or short passages of both eddic and skaldic verse have been elucidated using this frame of reference (Pipping 1928; Magnus Olsen 1960; Clunies Ross 1973a; Ström 1974; Meulengracht Sørensen 1983; Gade 1989 and 1992). I propose to apply it here to some well-known myths concerning the god Þórr.

The Myths

The myths to be considered here are preserved in eddic and skaldic poetry and in the prose of Snorri Sturluson's *Edda* (c.1225). Snorri was also responsible for the preservation of all the skaldic stanzas relevant to this enquiry. The evidence for the myths survives in texts of very unequal length and detail. The myths are as follows:

1. The attempted abduction of an unnamed daughter of Þórr by a dwarf, Alvíss. Þórr accosts Alvíss as the latter is about to set out for home one evening with Þórr's daughter as his intended bride. It appears that somehow in Þórr's absence

the gods have allowed Alvíss to be betrothed to the girl, a promise that her father loses no time in breaking on grounds of the dwarf's social unsuitability as a marriage partner for a god's daughter

*pursa líki þicci mér á þér vera,
ertattu til brúðar borinn.*

(*Alvíssmál* 2, 4-6, Neckel-Kuhn 1983, 124)

Þórr punishes Alvíss for such presumption by keeping him answering questions about a variety of cosmological and natural phenomena until the sun comes up and turns the dwarf to stone. He is thus able to exact revenge on the offender and recover his daughter. The myth is preserved only in the eddic poem *Alvíssmál*, which is found in the Codex Regius of the Elder Edda, though individual stanzas are quoted in passages of Snorri Sturluson's *Edda*, where the poem is sometimes called *Alsvinnsmál*. The subject-matter here is reminiscent of at least one other myth in which dwarves are depicted as sexually involved with goddesses, the story of how Freyja obtained the *Brlsinga men* from four dwarves after she had slept with each in turn.³

2. The abduction of Þórr's daughter Þrúðr by the giant Hrungrnir. Little is known of the detail of this myth, for its existence is only attested by a compressed reference in a single skaldic kenning which Snorri attributes to the ninth century Norwegian skald Bragi Boddason. It occurs in a *lausavísa* that has conventionally been considered part of the poet's *Ragnarsdrápa*, in which the skald calls attention to a painted shield given to him by a patron named Hrafnkell.⁴ Within the kenning in question, 'sole-leaf of the thief of Þrúðr' (*Þrúðar þjófs ilia blað*), the periphrasis 'thief of Þrúðr' is interpreted by Snorri in *Skáldskaparmál* (Finnur Jónsson 1931, 151) to refer to the giant Hrungrnir. The whole kenning alludes to a combat between Þórr and Hrungrnir (see 3 below) in which the giant was persuaded to stand on his stone shield in order to defend himself from the god who, he was told, would attack him from underground. Though no further details of Hrungrnir's abduction of Þrúðr have come down to us, it seems reasonable to infer, as earlier

3 This myth is only extant in *Sorla þáttr* within the late fourteenth-century compilation *Flateyjarbók* (Guðbrandur Vigfússon and C.R. Unger 1860, I, 275-83).

4 The standard editions of skaldic verse by Finnur Jónsson and E.A. Kock place this half-stanza as the first, introductory verse in *Ragnarsdrápa*, in which the poet announces that he will recite a verse about his patron and the magnificent gift of a painted shield that the latter has bestowed upon him. While there seems little doubt that the verse is a typical introductory half-stanza of this general type, the fact that it is addressed to one Hrafnkell rather than the expected Ragnarr makes its attribution to a *Ragnarsdrápa* problematic; on the general question of the evidence for the reconstruction of Bragi's *Ragnarsdrápa* and other works, see my unpublished Oxford B. Litt. thesis (Clunies Ross 1973b, 22-9).

scholars have done (de Vries 1970, 11, 124; Turville-Petre 1964, 77), that the reason why Þórr fought against Hrungrnir and killed him was to pay him back for abducting and possibly raping his daughter Þrúðr.

3. The single combat between Þórr and Hrungrnir is alluded to in a number of Old Norse poems, and it is likely to have been a widely-known myth in early medieval Scandinavia.⁵ It is also the subject of seven continuously narrated stanzas that form part of the *drápa Haustlǫng*, which Snorri attributes to the Norwegian skald Þjóðólfr of Hvinir, active c. 1000. He quotes these stanzas at the end of his own account of the myth and they are extant in MSS R, W and T of the *Edda* (Finnur Jónsson 1931, 104-5). Þjóðólfr's verses do not indicate why it was that Þórr and Hrungrnir were moved to fight, but they do convey the intensity of their meeting and the fact that Þórr's hammer, Mjöllnir, caused the giant's fall while a piece of Hrungrnir's whetstone stuck in the god's scalp. A woman (called in the poem *Ql-Gefjon*, 'ale-Gefjon' stanza 20, 2) started to remove the fragment by chanting incantations over it. This is as far as *Haustlǫng* goes in narrating the outcome of the mythic action, and one may presume that the poet could rely on his audience to supply both the beginning and the end.

Snorri's prose narrative of this myth (Finnur Jónsson 1931, 100-4; Faulkes 1987, 77-80) gives some details that are not to be found in the *Haustlǫng* stanzas. The chief difference between Snorri's version and that in the poem is that the former motivates the hostility between god and giant, not by any reference to the rape of Þórr's daughter, but by a preliminary narrative that tells how, in Þórr's absence, Óðinn once rode his horse Sleipnir into Giantland and there entered into a wager with Hrungrnir, claiming that his horse was better than any among the giants. The rivalry between the two that then ensued caused Hrungrnir to pursue Óðinn back to Ásgarðr in angry mood. The gods attempted to placate him by inviting him in for a drink, offering him the goblets normally reserved for Þórr. The giant became drunk and boasted then that he would destroy the gods' world and take Freyja and Sif home with him. The Æsir invoked the name of Þórr, who immediately entered the hall in anger with his hammer raised, asking how it had happened that this giant had been invited into Ásgarðr for a drink. Hrungrnir then claimed Óðinn's protection and persuaded Þórr, when the god offered him a fight, that it would be dishonourable for him to kill him while he, Hrungrnir, was unarmed and the guest of the gods. Thus the giant suggested that he and Þórr should meet in single

5 Poetic allusions to the fight and its consequences besides those in Bragi's stanza mentioned in the preceding paragraph and *Haustlǫng* include *Hárbarðsljóð* 14-15 and 53, 4; *Lokasenna* 61, 5 and 63, 4. Bragi Boddason described Þórr in another stanza as *Hrungrnis haussprengir*, 'Hrungrnir's skull-splitter'; the Icelander Kormákr Ögmundarson, composing in the late tenth century, called a shield 'the platform of Hrungrnir's feet' (*stallr Hrungrnis fóta*, Finnur Jónsson 1973 [1908], 73).

combat on the frontier between divine territory and Giantland at a place called Grjótúnagarðar ('Enclosures of Stone Dwellings'). A duel then ensued with the same outcome as in *Haustlǫng* though with many details in the narrative that are not mentioned in the skaldic poem. These will be discussed in the analysis below.

4. Several fragments of text from disparate sources suggest that a myth existed in which Loki, son of a giant father, Fárbauti, and a mother named Laufey, whom most scholars have presumed to be of *Ása ætt*,⁶ had sexual intercourse with Þórr's wife Sif. The evidence comes from the *Skáldskaparmál* section of Snorri's *Edda* in which the question of why gold may be called *Sifjar haddr*, 'Sifs hair' is raised (Finnur Jónsson 1931, 122-5; Faulkes 1987, 96-7), and from brief allusions in two eddic poems, *Hárbarðsljóð* and *Lokasenna*, which almost certainly refer to the same event. In stanza 48 of *Hárbarðsljóð* Hárbarðr (Óðinn) alleges that Sif has a lover at home:

*'Sif á hó heima, hans munda fund vilia,
þann muntu þrec drýgia, þat er þér scyldara.'*
(Neckel-Kuhn 1983, 86)

In *Lokasenna* 54, 4-7 Loki identifies himself as that lover in front of all the gods:

*einn ec veit, svá at ec vita þicciomc,
'hór oc af Hlórríða,
oc var þat sá inn lævlsi Loki.'*
(Neckel-Kuhn 1983, 107)

These allusions and the *Skáldskaparmál* narrative require some explication for their full import to be clear.

Analysis of the Myths

Some time ago Magnus Olsen drew attention to the close verbal similarity between the two poetic passages (1960, 56), noting especially the common occur-

6 As Loki appears among the gods, though frequently hostile to their interests, there is a presumption that he owes his membership of their group to his mother, as we have no reason to doubt Snorri Sturluson's claim that his father was a giant (*Gylfaginning* ed. Faulkes 1982 26, line 36). Hence he is often referred to as Loki Laufeyjarson. Meulengracht Sørensen has ably explained Loki's general hostility to his mother's people as an indication of the primacy of his allegiance to his giant patriline and his consequent categorisation of his matriline as 'hostile and other' (1989 [1977]), 153). This stance leads him and his offspring to assist in the destruction of the gods at Ragnarök.

rence of the noun *hór* (= *hórr*, m.) in the sense of a married woman's lover in *Hárbarðsljóð* 48 and in *Lokasenna* 54 in both cases with reference to Sif. In the *Hárbarðsljóð* case, an agonistic *mannjafnaðr*⁷ is in progress between Óðinn, in the guise of the ferry-man Hárbarðr, and Þórr, who is on his way back to Ásgarðr from the east. The two deities express through their rivalry and competitive verbal exchanges some of the essential contrasts in their natures. In respect of their sexual relationships, Óðinn boasts not only of his sexual promiscuity with giantesses and other women, but also of the fact that he is able to use these relationships to gain access to other desired and useful things. Þórr on the other hand fights giantesses rather than engage with them sexually and sees his general mandate as that of controller of the giant world and protector of divine society. Hence Hárbarðr's allegation that, while Þórr is away from home on giant patrol his wife is busy cuckolding him (*Sif á hó heima*, 'Sif has a lover at home' 48, 1) strikes particularly hard and Þórr reacts vigorously to defend himself and deny the charges. In the immediate context of the poem, too, where Hárbarðr is refusing to ferry Þórr across the river, the accusation of cuckoldry takes on greater force, especially as the ferryman has already softened Þórr up, as far as accusations of sexual dishonour are concerned, by making reference to his dealings with the giant Hrungrnir in stanza 14. If our suspicions about at least one version of the circumstances that led to their duel are correct, the reference to the god's fight with Hrungrnir is more than a simple allusion to one of his well-known exploits. Rather, it carries with it the innuendo that Hrungrnir first humiliated Þórr and made him *ragr* or unmanly by abducting his daughter Þrúðr.

The context of the allusion to Sif's supposed adultery in *Lokasenna* 54 carries the theme of the cuckolding of Þórr further and provides the essential link to associate both these poetic contexts with the story Snorri tells in *Skáldskaparmál* to explain why, in skaldic poetry, gold may be called 'Sif's hair' (*Sifjar haddr*). The point is that in *Lokasenna* 54, as we have seen, Loki identifies himself as Sif's lover, and Þórr's ensuing behaviour suggests he is not lying. Magnus Olsen observed (1960, 47) that what provokes Loki to this admission, which is so damaging both to Sif's and Þórr's reputations, is Sif's action, as self-appointed mistress of the feast, in offering Loki mead in a foaming cup, using a formula which, it has often been noted (cf. most recently McKinnell 1987-8, 255-6), is

7 Clover (1979) has identified the exchange of taunts in *Hárbarðsljóð* between Óðinn and Þórr as one belonging to the genre of *mannjafnaðr* or 'comparison of men', a literary form in which each antagonist brags about his own manly exploits and tries to belittle his opponent's. Clover considers *Hárbarðsljóð* a parody of the *mannjafnaðr* genre. She also presents the allusion to Sif's infidelity as one of the standard topics of the genre (1979, 126), though it has a particular twist in this poem as Hárbarðr the ferryman is Þórr's father Óðinn in disguise.

very similar to the one with which the giantess Gerðr in *Skírnismál* 37 offers a cup of mead to Freyr's messenger Skírnir at the point when she gives in first to his offers and then to his threats that she become the wife of his master Freyr. In all probability, then, we are to read Sif's words and her proffered mead-cup as a gesture of appeasement and incorporation of the outsider and trouble-maker Loki into the circle of gods at Ægir's feast. I suggest that Sif's action here, like Gerðr's, has another meaning and it is this that Loki cannot resist taking up and playing as far as it will go; the offer probably also indicates sexual availability, or the possibility of it on the part of the woman who serves the drink, either in her own person or, metonymically, as a representative of the women of the social group that offers hospitality. This is certainly the case in *Skírnismál* and it is probably also in play in one part of Snorri's account of the events that lead up to the duel between Hrungrnir and Þórr. After Hrungrnir has drained each of the goblets that Þórr normally drank out of (we are not told who offered them to him, but it would have been the task of one of the goddesses), he started to boast and threaten, among other things, to take Freyja and Sif home with him. At that point, the text states, 'Freyja was the only one then who dared to bring him drink' (*en Freyja ein þorir þa at skenkia honvm*, Finnur Jónsson 1931, 101, lines 13-14). Later, when Þórr returns he asks pointedly why Freyja should be serving Hrungrnir *sem at gildi ása*, 'as if at a feast of the gods'. Þórr is appalled that the gods are behaving in friendly fashion to one of their giant enemies and that one of their women, the one that conventionally giants most desire, should be compromising both herself and her menfolk by serving him drink. Perhaps we should understand here also an allusion to Freyja's general reputation for sexual promiscuity in Norse myths.

The imagined world of Old Norse myth shows two opposing social tendencies (Clunies Ross forthcoming, Chapter 3); one, which is by far the more prominent in the surviving texts, is towards differentiation and ranking of social groups in an hierarchical system which the gods control. Other groups, such as giants and dwarves, are then their subordinates and it is necessary for the gods to keep constant watch to detect and put down any insubordination on the part of those they regard as inferior. One arena of constant danger involves the gods' women; here, for reasons that will be discussed in greater detail below, giants continually try to subvert the system of social hierarchy which requires the gods' women to be unavailable to them while their own women remain accessible, at least as mistresses, and in an earlier age, as wives, to the Æsir.⁸ Þórr is that god who,

8 According to Snorri Sturluson's *Edda* (*Gylfaginning* ed. Faulkes 1982, 10-11), the first anthropomorphic beings in the world were giants. Then the nurturing cow Auðumla released a fully-formed

above all others, secures the social and territorial boundaries of the divine world. It is therefore not in his nature to compromise with giants or dwarves, and very much in character for him to take the kind of hard line he is represented as adopting towards Hrungrnir in Snorri's narrative, towards Alvíss in *Alvissmál* and towards Loki in *Lokasenna*. On the other hand, the corpus of Norse myths also shows some tendencies towards appeasement of enemies and incorporation of the gods' subordinates into their society by peaceful means. These include the holding of banquets (as in the imagined circumstances of *Lokasenna* and the first part of Snorri's Hrungrnir myth) and the possibility of marriages between giantesses and Vanir gods (but not Æsir)⁹, such as we find represented in *Skírnismál*. As Meulengracht Sørensen (1988) has pointed out, the frame-narrative of *Lokasenna*, in which the giant Ægir holds a feast for the gods and brews ale for them, a circumstance prepared for in *Hymiskviða*, shows a clear example of the Æsir's desire to incorporate the giants as subordinates into their society by peaceful means. Loki and Pórr frustrate this plan, for reasons to be discussed further below.

To return now to *Lokasenna* 53-4, when Sif makes a gesture of appeasement and incorporation to Loki, he reads it, quite legitimately, as offering him, as an incorporated subordinate, the possibility of sexual relations with Ásynjur in general, if not with herself. Now Loki's own status is anomalous, as we have seen earlier, for his father was a giant and his mother apparently one of the goddesses. He is the product of a relationship the gods do not normally allow, that of one of their own women with a giant, a male member of a subordinate social group. He is both of the gods and not of them. Sif's gesture therefore, though apparently generous, emphasises Loki's otherness and subordinate status, for if there was no doubt of his membership of divine society, why should he be on the periphery as he obviously is in *Lokasenna*? His hostile response to her is therefore explained; he reminds her that he has already achieved the goal that outsider males most desire, sexual relations with one of the gods' women, herself. His message is also for the ears of the male gods and particularly for those of her husband Pórr, who hears it loud and clear. It is what brings him home.¹⁰ As soon as Loki has publicly reveal-

male being, Búri, from the salty blocks of rime she was licking for her food. Búri's son Borr took a wife named Bestla from among the giants. Their three sons were Óðinn, Vili and Vé. Members of Óðinn's generation, who are called Æsir, do not formally marry giantesses, though they may establish sexual relationships with them.

9 For reasons why, see Schjødtt 1991 and Clunies Ross forthcoming, esp. chs. 2-3. In brief, the Æsir block marriages between their own women and all lower-ranking males. As they are themselves at the top of the social hierarchy, their women are only available for marriage within their own group, though male gods may take mistresses from the lower-ranking Vanir or the giants.

10 There has been a great deal of scholarly discussion about why Pórr enters the banquet in *Lokasenna* when he does and what exactly provokes him to take such a tough line with Loki. McKinnell

led that he has cuckolded Þórr, Beyla reports that she hears the mountains shaking and that Þórr is on his way.¹¹ Shortly afterwards he enters, orders Loki to be silent and threatens to kill him with Mjöllnir. Just to remind the audience what is at issue here, the poet introduces two references to Hrungrnir (stanzas 61, 5 and 63, 4), calling Mjöllnir *Hrungrnis bani*, ‘the agent of Hrungrnir’s death’. Ironically this periphrasis is put into Þórr’s mouth on both occasions. Before he eventually leaves the banquet under further threat of physical violence, Loki has twisted the knife in Þórr’s vitals even further. He follows up his first, devastating assault upon Þórr’s honour with mythological instances of the god’s humiliation at the hands of beings that represent natural forces that are not susceptible to social control; he refers to the fact that the wolf Fenrir will overcome Þórr at Ragnarøk (stanza 58), and tells how he cowered in the thumb of Skrymir’s glove and was unable to untie the latter’s food-bag (stanzas 60 and 62) on his way to visit Útgarda-Loki, a supernatural figure whose powers over the natural world surpass those of the Æsir. To a medieval Icelander, to be cuckolded, to be a coward and to be humiliated were all aspects of *ergi* or unmanliness (Meulengracht Sørensen 1983, 20-6).

As far as I am aware, modern mythographers have paid little attention to the story Snorri Sturluson narrates in *Skáldskaparmál* to explain why skalds use the periphrasis *Sifjar haddr* to refer to gold. It is my hypothesis that it deals with the same subject as the poetic allusions we have just considered from *Lokasenna* and *Hárbarðsljóð*. It also reveals Loki’s adultery with Sif and will lead us shortly to a clearer understanding of the narrative of Þórr’s duel with Hrungrnir, for the two myths share common features. The myth about Sif’s hair is part of a section of *Skáldskaparmál* that purports to explain the origin of a series of kennings for gold in skaldic diction.¹² The primary explanation for this rather strange usage is quite short:

Hvi er gvll kallat haddr Sifjar? Loki Lavfeyiarson hafði þat gert til lævisi, at klippa hár allt af Sif. En er ÞóR varð þes varr, toc hann Loka ok mvinðia lemia hvert bein ihonvm, aðr hann svarði þes, at hann skal fa af svartalfvm, at þeir skvlo gera af gvlli Sifiv hadd þaN, er sva skal vaxa sem aNat hár. Eptir þat for Loki til þeira dverga, er heita Ivallda synir, ok gerþv þeir haddinn ok Skiðblaðni ok geirinn, er OpiN atti, er Gvngnir heitir (Finnur Jónsson 1931, 122).

summarises received opinion (1987-8, 256-7), while drawing the wrong conclusion himself, referring to Þórr as stupid and bombastic. However, his provocation was extreme.

11 Beyla, being apparently occupied with domestic duties, is likely to know the truth about Sif’s lover, hence the appropriateness of her awareness of Þórr’s impending return.

12 There are in fact no known instances of skaldic kennings that employ the phrase *Sifjar haddr* or related expressions to refer to gold. However, I assume here that Snorri was not inventing the myth he tells.

Why is gold called Sif's hair? Loki Laufeyarson had done this for love of mischief: he had cut off all Sif's hair. And when Thor found out, he caught Loki and was going to break every one of his bones until he swore that he would get black-elves to make Sif a head of hair out of gold that would grow like any other hair. After this Loki went to some dwarfs called Ivaldi's sons, and they made the head of hair and Skidbladnir and the spear belonging to Odin called Gungnir (Faulkes 1987, 96).

In this brief account, Snorri motivates Loki's action with an appeal to the god's love of mischief, just as, in his narrative of the motivation of Þórr's encounter with the giant Geirrþóðr, he claims that Loki flew to Giantland *at skemta sér*, 'to enjoy himself' (Finnur Jónsson 1931, 105) and then got caught by the giant, something that led eventually to Þórr's involvement in the adventure. One might reasonably question whether such a bland explanation of Loki's actions, given his position in divine society, is sufficient to account for the bizarre nature of his behaviour in cutting off all Sif's hair or for Þórr's strong and immediate reaction to it. One might ask, innocently enough, what circumstances might allow Loki or any other male being to get close enough to Sif to cut off all her hair? The obvious answer is a situation of physical intimacy such as exists between lovers, which would normally be difficult for a married woman, unless, like Sif, her husband was often away from home. This circumstance becomes even more pointed when we remember that a married woman in medieval Iceland usually wore a headdress in public situations, a matter alluded to in the eddic poem *Þrymskviða*, as Richard Perkins (1988) has elucidated in an informative note which documents both the custom and the traditional nature of the headdress itself, the *faldr*, which continued to be worn in Iceland into modern times. It has been proposed by some scholars that the way they wore the hair clearly distinguished married from unmarried women in medieval Scandinavia. Unmarried women wore the hair loose over the neck and shoulders, while married women fastened theirs at the back of the head or on the crown and wore a tall linen headdress to cover it (Shetelig and Falk 1937, 342-3; Foote and Wilson 1980, 174). Clearly, the way a woman wore her hair gave out a strong and unmistakable signal to men about her sexual and marital availability. Indeed, the headcovering itself, as the burlesque of *Þrymskviða* shows unmistakably, was strongly associated with femininity, just as other forms of headcovering were restricted to men and could be the focus of insults and aspersions cast upon a man's virility (Clunies Ross 1992, 111-13).

Short as opposed to long hair also connoted differences in social status in the early medieval Germanic world. Long hair was a mark of high social status in both men and women (Wallace-Hadrill 1962), as many legal codes from Anglo-Saxon England to medieval Scandinavia attest. By contrast, the wearing of short hair (especially among males) was a sign that a man had lost his freedom, that he was a slave. A number of legal codes list hefty fines for those who commit the offence of cutting off a man's hair (cf. Sjöros 1928, 426), presumably as an

affront to his honour, and it may be assumed that cutting off a woman's hair had a similar socially opprobrious meaning as well as the sexually symbolic one foregrounded in my analysis of the myth of Sif's hair.

Hence the inference that one might reasonably draw from the information Snorri gives in the story of Sif's loss of her hair is that Loki and Sif must have enjoyed an intimate, and probably a sexually intimate relationship, so that Þórr's violent anger is perfectly justified in terms of medieval social sanctions that a cuckolded husband could be expected to bring to bear on the man who had wronged him.¹³ This interpretation of what is admittedly a myth-fragment falls into place beside the eddic allusions considered above and is further supported by the common symbolic value that many societies attach to abundant hair on the one hand and its removal on the other, presumably without the consent of its owner. As the anthropologist Edmund Leach has made clear (1959), abundant hair in men is often associated with sexual potency while its absence connotes lack of virility. It would seem from the ethnographic evidence considered above that abundant, free-flowing hair in medieval Scandinavian women connoted marriageability and presumably also fertility, while the bound and covered hair of the married woman connoted the fact that she was 'bound up with' her husband alone and that her fertility was accessible only to him.¹⁴ As the well-known Old Testament story of Samson indicates, removal of hair while the victim is in a passive state of sleep symbolises loss of virility and physical weakness.¹⁵ In the case of Sif and Loki the semiotics are slightly different for the sex-roles are reversed; whereas Delilah cut off Samson's hair at the instigation of the Philistines with the specific purpose of weakening him physically, Loki probably does not intend to weaken Sif herself, as far as one can tell. His intended victim is Þórr, whose honour will be stained by the public disclosure of Sif's intimacy through the evidence of her shorn head. Such a revelation of the cuckolding of the gods' strong-arm man also has the effect of humiliating the Æsir as a group. Hence, Loki's gesture of appeasement to Þórr is

13 If a man caught another *in flagrante delicto* with his wife or other women over whom he had guardianship rights, he was entitled to kill him (*Grágás* K 90, Finsen 1974[1852], 164). It seems that Þórr was not smart enough to catch Loki and Sif in the act; thus his humiliation and public disgrace were the greater and his likelihood of restoring his reputation by decisive action the less.

14 These remarks cast an interesting light on the well-known passage in *Njáls saga* (ch. 77) in which Gunnar's wife Hallgerðr refuses to give him a lock of her hair to repair his bow-string with as he defends himself inside his house against a posse of attackers. It has been argued that the motif of using a woman's hair for such purposes is of non-Scandinavian origin. However its meaning in this Icelandic context depends on an indigenous semiotic code; by refusing her hair to her husband, Hallgerðr effectively declares herself divorced from him; she remembers an occasion in which he hurt and humiliated her by giving her a slap on the face; she now denies him her body and its advantages, to which, as her husband, he should have sole access.

15 *Judges* 16.

to promise to have a group of elves make Sif a golden head of hair that could also grow like normal hair. Its special character would perhaps obviate criticism and shame.

The narrative in *Skáldskaparmál* goes on to an apparently unrelated matter, via the motif of a wager Loki entered into with a dwarf called Brokk on whether he and his brother Eitri could make three precious things as good as those the sons of Ivaldi had made. Three of the gods, Óðinn, Þórr and Freyr, were to judge which of the objects was the best. As Snorri tells it, Loki, taking the form of a fly, tries to distract Brokk and Eitri at their forge so that he will not lose his wager – his head. The fly nibbles at Brokk as he blows the bellows at the forge. The first two times Loki fails to interrupt Brokk's blowing and the dwarves forge a boar with golden bristles followed by the gold ring Draupnir, but the third time, in the process of forging a piece of iron which is to be Mjöllnir, Þórr's own hammer, he bites Brokk's eyelids so that blood drips into his eyes and interrupts his blowing. The result was that the end of the handle turned out rather short '*en þat var lyti a, at forskeptit var heldr skamt*' (Finnur Jónsson 1931, 124, line 11). In spite of this, Mjöllnir is judged by the gods to be the best of the precious things the dwarves produced for them and 'it provided the greatest defence against frost-giants and they decreed that the dwarf had won the stake'. The rest of the narrative goes on to tell of the vengeance that Brokk, assisted by Þórr, executed upon Loki by stitching up his lips so that he could not speak.

This mythic narrative, as Snorri tells it, concludes with the punishment of Loki, just like another myth in which Loki engineers a weakening of the gods' supremacy in the mythological world by bringing about the death of Óðinn's son Baldr. The two myths have certain parallels and Loki's motivation in each case derives from the enmity he feels to his mother's kin among whom he is a subordinate because his patriline lies outside Ásgarðr and among the giants. In both cases he seeks to weaken the dominance of the Æsir as a group, in the Baldr myth by causing the death of their leader's oldest legitimate heir, in the case of the tale of Sif's hair, by impugning Þórr's honour and therefore his capacity to dominate the gods' giant adversaries. His probable cuckolding of Þórr and his public declaration of this act by cutting off Sif's hair has the same effect as his revelation at Ægir's feast that he had had sexual intercourse with her, according to the testimony of *Lokasenna*. This is tantamount to calling the god *ragr*. Hence it is no wonder that Þórr is enraged both in *Lokasenna* and in the story of Sif's hair. Furthermore, in a society in which male dishonour through cuckoldry impugns the cuckolded man's general reputation for virility and courage and that of his social group, Loki's action is dangerous indeed for it amounts to a general threat to the Æsir's supremacy in the mythological world. It is symbolically parallel to the myth told

in the eddic poem *Þrymskviða* where the giant Þrymr's theft of Þórr's hammer while he is asleep renders him *ragr*.

In the sequel to the story of Sif's hair in *Skáldskaparmál* we discover how the gods rehabilitate Þórr's and their own reputation for honour and virility. The fact that Mjöllnir is declared the best of all the precious things the dwarves forged for the gods even though it has a short handle draws attention to its phallic significance and to the virtues it has in spite of its one defect. There is perhaps an indication here that Loki's cuckolding of Þórr had the effect of increasing his vigilance against the giants and whetting his appetite for vengeance, thus in the end performing an involuntary service for the gods. In fact there is a suggestion that the short handle-end may contribute to its effectiveness and handiness in always hitting its target and returning to its owner: 'Then he [Brokk] gave Thor the hammer and said he would be able to strike as heavily as he liked, whatever the target, and the hammer would not fail, and if he threw it at something, it would never miss, and never fly so far that it would not find its way back to his hand, and if he liked, it was so small that it could be kept inside his shirt' (Faulkes 1987, 97).¹⁶ Snorri's description of Mjöllnir's properties could hardly have failed to remind his audience of the phallic shape the hammer often assumed in Viking Age representations, where, in several cases, the shorter the hammer's handle, the more obviously phallic the object. A number of surviving Viking Age amulets representing Þórr's hammer have a very short shaft in proportion to the cross-piece. They include the particularly short-handled Eketorp hammer, a silver amulet from Skåne and another silver hammer from Rømersdal on the island of Bornholm (Figures 1-3).¹⁷

16 'Þa gaf haN Þor hamariN ok sagði, at hann mvndi mega liosta sva stort sem hann vildi, hvat sem fyrir væri, at eigi myndi hamaRinn bila, ok ef hann vypi honvm til, þa mvndi hann aldri missa, ok aldri flivga sva langt, at eigi mvndi hann sækia heim hond, ok ef hann villdi, þa var hann sva litull, at hafa matti iserk ser' (Finnur Jónsson 1931, 124, lines 5-11). Richard Perkins has drawn my attention to the almost boomerang-like shape of the Þórr's hammer from Eketorp in Edsberg parish in Närke, Sweden. For a description, see Figure 1 and footnote 17. On Þórr's hammer amulets in general, see Gräslund 1992, 190.

17 Figure 1 shows a small silver hammer with ring attachment (length 1.55 cm.) from the Eketorp treasure horde (c.960) discovered in 1955 in Edsberg parish, Närke (Örebro läns museum inv. 22.461); Ekelund 1956. The face shown in the illustration is decorated with an incised design: hour-glass? Figure 2 shows a much more ornate silver hammer from Skåne (exact provenance unknown), of c.1000, now in Statens historiska museum (antikvarisktopografiska arkivet), Stockholm, inv. 9822:810. Figure 3 is of a silver hammer with ring attachment from Rømersdal, Bornholm (2nd. half of tenth century), now in Danmarks Nationalmuseum, Copenhagen, inv. 597. Like the Eketorp hammer, this one belonged to a horde which included neck- and arm-rings. If the well-known Icelandic bronze from Eyrarland, near Akureyri, but now inv. 10880 in the National Museum of Iceland really represents a bearded and seated Þórr with his hammer, the hammer clearly doubles as a phallus. This small image shows a three-dimensional figure of a human male,