

Baldr and Lemminkäinen

**Approaching the Evolution of
Mythological Narrative through the
Activating Power of Expression**

**A Case Study in Germanic and Finno-Karelian
Cultural Contact and Exchange**

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I, Frog, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Frog.

Abstract

The orientation of this study is to explore what the sources for each narrative tradition can (and cannot) tell us about their respective histories, in order to reach a point at which it becomes possible to discuss a relationship between them and the significance of that relationship. This is not intended as an exhaustive study of every element of each source or every aspect of each tradition. It will present a basic introduction to sources for each tradition (§3-4) followed by a basic context for approaching the possibility of a cultural exchange (§5-7). The *APE* and its “powers” are introduced with specific examples from both traditions (§8-13). This will be followed by sections on the activation and manipulation of “identities” from the level of cultural figures to textual and extra-textual entities (§14-16) followed by relationships of traditions to individuals and social groups who perform them, and the impact which this has on the evolution of tradition as a social process (§17-18). The study will then address more specific issues in relationships between source and application in the medieval and iconographic representations of the Baldr-Cycle where so little comparative material is available to provide a context (§19). This will move into issues of persistence and change in the broader tradition, opening the discussion of intertextual reference and the evolution of traditions (§20-22). The Baldr-Cycle and *Lemminkäisen virsi* will each be reviewed (§23-24). It will be shown that *Lemminkäisen virsi* most likely emerged as a direct adaptation of a version of the Baldr-Cycle as a consequence of contacts with Germanic culture in the first millennium of the present era, probably during the Viking Age. Lemminkäinen appears to have been established as a cultural figure at that time, and the adaptation was most likely intended to impact how Lemminkäinen was regarded as a cultural figure. The value of the Baldr-Cycle in this application appears attributable to existing features in the tradition ecology which allowed its motif-complexes to generate significant and relevant meanings (§25). This study is a case study approaching the evolution of mythological narrative as a historical process occurring through a conjunction of individual applications and social processes. This case study demonstrates the value of the *APE* and offers insight into the history of cultural contact and exchange in the Circum-Baltic region.

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PART I: THE TRADITIONS

Chapter 1: Introduction

In his lectures on Finnish mythology, M.A. Castrén (1853:313) compared the trinity of *Kalevala*'s Väinämöinen, Ilmarinen and Lemminkäinen with the Germanic trinity of Óðinn, Þórr and Týr, respectively:

In addition, Lemminkäinen is reminiscent of Baldr through his death, since just as he was shot with the sprig of mistletoe by the blind Höðr, so was the Lempi[Beloved] Son slain by the blind shepherd of Pohjola with a weapon that was to all appearances quite innocent – a closed reed.”

A superficial overview of the two traditions indicates a number of points which invite comparison and thus provide a point of departure:

1. Baldr and Lemminkäinen are both “murdered gods”.
2. Death is predicted
3. The weapon is a “plant”
4. The plant-weapon is a projectile
5. The adversary is a “blind shooter”
6. Both narratives repeatedly apply “All-but-One” motifs
7. The death is associated with water
8. The mother of the victim organizes his recovery
9. The recovery attempt requires a journey to the realm of the dead

Castrén's brief survey of typological comparisons between *Kalevala* and Germanic mythology concluded with a warning: “Indeed, we will not pursue these comparisons further, as the path is slippery and easily leads into error” (*ibid.*). Castrén's lectures are based not on the oral poems, but on Elias Lönnrot's *Kalevala* – i.e. Lönnrot's mythology (Haavio 1952:26; Hautala 1968:48-50; cf. Pentikäinen 1999). His treatment is itself a warning about the interpretations and assumptions of scholarship concerning the relative value of varied and sundry sources.

This dissertation approaches the relationship between these two traditions. It focuses on the history of the cultural activity¹ of the identities of mythic figures and constellations of motif-complexes² organized into narratives around these figures. *The Activating Power of Expression (APE)* provides a consistent analytical framework for the treatment of individual sources from both traditions, using these sources for the generation of understandings of the “tradition” and “traditions” (§8.2) which they reflect, and approaching the history and evolution of these traditions as social processes. The *APE* has been developed through a fusion of theoretical approaches to folklore and semiotics in order to meet the need for a consistent framework appropriate to the treatment of diverse sources which reflect a common (and potentially highly diversified) tradition. It was developed to be capable of encompassing reference and allusion, and also for approaching variation, change and evolution of each tradition into diverse forms. As a consequence, the *APE* emerges as a theoretical framework for the description and analysis of the rhetoric of cultural expression.

The *APE* contains a strong structuralist aspect. Following Saussure’s (1916) model for linguistics, the significance of any sign constitutes a relationship between a signifier and

¹ “Cultural activity” is used to refer generally to the full spectrum of emergence of a tradition-phenomenon in a socio-cultural environment. The term is used as a practical means of encompassing the many and diverse appearances of Väinämöinen across multiple epics in contexts from ritual to incantation and the degree to which he appears in other genres, as well as conventional discourse surrounding generic performance (e.g. expository discussions and interpretations such as might be associated with initiation to the tradition), as well as legends in circulation (such as the anticipation of Väinämöinen’s return) and even forms of reference and allusion which may not be clearly associated with any specific narrative, such as the appearance of “Väinämöinen” in idiomatic expressions and astral constellations (Haavio 1952:220-29). Similarly, the cultural activity of the Baldr-Cycle extends from narrative presentation and reference in eddic poetry and skaldic verse to iconographic depictions and later into written traditions of Latin and vernacular literature.

² The term “motif” was originally intuitively defined and has suffered under diverse and inconsistent usage. Thompson’s (1955:7) remarkably vague description may serve as an example: “Certain items in narrative keep on being used by story-tellers; they are the stuff out of which tales are made. *It makes no difference exactly what they are like; if they are actually useful in the construction of tales, they are considered to be motifs*” (my emphasis). The term “motif-complex” is preferred in this context to refer to larger complex static or sequential compositional elements often referred to elsewhere as “motifs” – e.g. in a motif-index. I prefer to reserve “motif” for the smallest meaningful compositional unit on the level of content. Hence “red” may be a motif, if it is considered meaningful on the level of content (as opposed to its use on the level of surface texture as a word summoned for alliteration, parallelism, circumlocution, metrical filler, or as a rhetorical stylistic flourish). I also consider some motifs to be composite and indivisible unities which can fulfil the function of their individual constituent motifs within a motif-complex – e.g. a “swan-maiden” implicitly incorporates “woman” as a motif; a “swan-maiden” cannot be a “swan-maiden” without encompassing the motif “woman” in its definition; a “swan-maiden” can function as a “woman” in a motif-complex but a “woman” cannot necessarily reciprocally function as a “swan-maiden”.

a signified, and that sign develops fields of meaning in relation to other signs in the system. Synchronic linguistics must therefore always take the system into account. The synchronic treatment must also be distinguished from diachronic change. Components or their features can change within the language, and those changes can in turn have repercussions which resound through the language as a system – quite simply, the system before and after is not necessarily the same. Saussure proposed a binary distinction between *langue*, “language” as a system, and *parole*, “speech” as manifested by speakers of a language. Saussure was primarily interested in *parole* insofar as it reflected *langue* imperfectly and changes emerging in *parole* could become established on the level of the abstract social system of *langue*. He outlined a basic dialectical process describing how *langue* is both expressed and learned through *parole*, which therefore admits the evolution of *langue*. He gave particular emphasis to the relationship of the evolution of *langue* through *parole* to other social processes and even acknowledged distinctions by speech community (however poorly defined). A century ago, Saussure’s approach was revolutionary. Academic discourse has progressed and evolved, and now Saussure’s *langue–parole* model and the description of how it functions appear as insightful as it does primitive.

Saussure’s work has a central position in the history of semiotics as a discipline and in structuralist approaches more generally. Saussure’s *langue* emerges as a hypostasis of the abstracted social phenomenon: “*Langue* exists in the community as a sum of impressions deposited in each brain, almost like a dictionary distributed among individuals of which all copies are identical.”³ He standardizes the fractal quality of language, which is a function of emphasis on the system at a high level of abstraction; this is common to many structuralist approaches (e.g. Propp 1958, Lévi-Strauss 1963, Barthes 1975). Emphasis on the system, outlining and defining its constituent elements and rules for their combination, leads to approaching meaning as a product of the system without concern for contexts and usage (which would qualify as *parole*). Meanings become treated from an objectivist perspective, which can be loosely described as the

³ Saussure 1916[1967]:38: “La langue existe dans la collectivité sous la forme d’une somme d’empreintes déposées dans chaque cerveau, à peu près comme un dictionnaire dont tous les exemplaires, identiques, seraient répartis entre les individus.”

degree to which expressions can be assessed in terms of correct or incorrect formulations according to the rules of the system, and also whether the interpretation of that expression can be assessed in terms of truth-value when translated through the appropriate lexicon and grammar. “Meaning” is therefore assessed with mathematical precision through strategies inclined to sterilize. These approaches are extremely useful in certain contexts, as are objectivist approaches to meaning. Although structuralist approaches very often distinguish the strategy of signification from the content which is signified, they are inclined to overlook the fact that the signification strategy and also an organizational schema can itself function iconically as a meaning-bearing signifier (cf. Hymes 1986:59; Sebeok 1994:28-31,81-92), which is a significant factor that the *APE* is intended to accommodate. Where structuralist approaches seek to define a system, the *APE* provides a means of assessing how and why systems generate meanings in application, and indeed why they should be applied at all. Where objectivist approaches to meaning are concerned with signs and propositional information, the *APE* is concerned with signification as a process in expression and activation in reception which extends to values, implications, associations in spectrums of probability, and also aspects of relative “force” or “weight” – how and why corresponding propositional content of expression can be more aesthetically or rhetorically “compelling” when communicated in one way rather than another. Central to the *APE* is simply developing a framework for analyzing and discussing these phenomena, which the basic structures of the English language is only prepared to address in metaphorical terms.

The Bakhtin circle⁴ made a significant movement in attempting to breach some of these issues. The Bakhtinian approach was a response to Saussure’s structuralist ideal and the issue that objectivist semantics “cannot be the *whole story*” (Johnson 1987:4) in meaning generation. They rejected the unified *langue* of Saussure and proposed diversified in

⁴ There is a conventional inclination to consider works published by Vološinov (1973) and Medvedev (Medvedev & Bakhtin 1978) as works written by Bakhtin. This is related to these authors and other individuals participating in a group of which Bakhtin was considered the authority and head and the use of (partially) overlapping terms and theory. An inevitable factor in this discussion is the degree to which Bakhtin is considered a monolith and questions of whether certain terms and concepts may have originated in the group discussion through the contribution of individuals other than Bakhtin. One factor in Bakhtin’s monolithic status may be that he survived Stalin’s reign, whereas Vološinov and Medvedev were not so lucky. I find it more reasonable to approach them as individuals in an intellectual community.

systems of “languages”, concentrating on the “utterance” as a unit of expression in the context of discourse (cf. Speech-Act Theory: Austin 1962, Searle 1969). They became centrally concerned with juxtapositions in between speakers in discourse and also in typologies of language and typologies of semiotic systems more generally (Vološinov 1973, Medvedev & Bakhtin 1978, Bakhtin 1981, 1986). They gave attention to what the “way of speaking” (cf. Hymes 1986) imports into a discourse and how it can be manipulated.⁵ The Bakhtin circle was born in Russia, more or less as Stalin stepped into power, hence it is no surprise that these “languages” are primarily approached in terms of socio-economic groups and laden with their associated ideologies. These “languages” are an imperfect attempt to approach the “registers” of modern linguistics – i.e. language as it is used in particular communicative contexts (which extend to users, their interrelations, and modes of expression: see §9.2). Nonetheless, several of the ideas addressed by the *APE* are anticipated in the Bakhtin circle, particularly in issues of contexts and sequences of contexts in the generation of meanings, and relationships between expressions by one individual and earlier expressions, echoing through matrix of interrelationships of content on the one hand and form on the other.

Kristeva (see 1980:36-63) carried her interpretation of the ideas of Bakhtin into the circle of *Tel Quel*, assuring his position in Post-Structuralism. She coined the term “intertextuality” as a means of addressing the stratified voices in language. Like structuralists, she was less concerned with the “utterance” – the application in time – than with the system of the phenomenon, which betrayed the displacement of the author from the written product in the reception of literature as chronology was displaced by the potentialities of an eternity in a library (cf. Barthes 1977:142-148). Significantly, Kristeva later rejected the term “intertextuality” owing to the perhaps inevitable confusion that it referred to specific cases of referentiality between specific texts. She proposed “transposition” as an alternative which was more accurate for a description of code-switching for the generation of meanings within a coherent framework (Kristeva

⁵ Thus Bakhtin (e.g. 1981) gave tremendous attention to parody and considered the verisimilitude of the novel to be the highest artistic form, owing to strategies of importing bodies of information and association about fictional characters metonymically by attributing them with a “language” identified with certain social roles or classes.

1984:59-60). In the *APE*, the term “intertextuality” is not used in this pseudo-Bakhtinian sense:⁶ it is reserved for the refined sense of reference to specific “texts” (however flexible in reproduction and reference) which are socially acknowledged as having a unique identity (texts which could be identified by a proper noun – e.g. referring to the Baldr-Cycle or Lemminkäinen’s adventures within the framework of another narrative or genre).

Kristeva’s term has been carried into folklore by Tarkka (1993, 2004; cf. Zumthor 1990). Tarkka’s approach is extremely useful for developing an understanding of the “textual universe” of kalevalaic poetry (Tarkka 1993), particularly where we are faced with a corpus primarily comprised of archival texts and networks of relationships spanning across genres. Like structuralist approaches, it is oriented toward providing an overview of the system which can then function reciprocally for approaching individual texts. In the context of an oral tradition, this usage of the term “intertextuality” moves farther away from relationships between unique texts and focuses on semiotic elements within and associated with the poetic system are the manipulation of these elements at a social level. This approach is a means of analyzing a corpus in order to generate a sort of “dictionary” of these semiotic elements. However, rather than attempting reductive definitions as fixed elements, emphasis is on meaning generation in relation to broader patterns of application: in other words it is concerned with systems of association and potential implications. Although the terminology is absent, this approach follows the dichotomy of Saussure’s *langue* in inclining toward a hypostatic ideal of the “textual universe” and *parole* as its unique manifestations. Moreover, this approach maintains a deceptive impression that the research method for approaching networks of relations across a corpus of texts reflects a corresponding process on the level of application and reception.

The *APE* is centrally concerned with the relationship between the individual and the social process, and, in Saussure’s terms, between *langue* as a social phenomenon and

⁶ For an overview of “intertextuality” as a term (with its alternatives) in academic discourse, see Allan 2000.

parole on the level of individual applications. Saussure's unified system of *langue* becomes increasingly problematic when contextually dependent differences in language use and meaning enter into the discussion. The attempt of Bakhtin and the Bakhtin circle to divide Saussure's unified *langue* into diverse "languages" only stratified this issue. When we move to systems of more complex semiotic units, the horizons of one of Saussure's speech communities rapidly begins to feel claustrophobic – or even completely inappropriate, as in cases where an individual is functioning with a highly idiosyncratic approach to the system (§17.3). The *APE* places emphasis on "internalization" as a process of acquiring a knowledge and understanding of a particular social phenomenon and developing a competence in that social phenomenon through exposure to, and participation in its cultural activity. On the one hand, this provides a framework for understanding the relationship between the individual's unique understanding of the tradition and its semiotics in relation to the social phenomenon. On the other hand, it redefines the post-structuralist approach to relationships between semiotically significant elements across multiple "texts" from the analyst's perspective on the corpus to the individual's development of an understanding of these elements and their use. In other words, rather than referential relations to all other uses, the individual makes a transition from understanding a semiotic element in "one, two, three... many" specific applications and performance contexts to a recognition of the element as semiotically meaningful and associated with contexts of application (not unlike a word or idiomatic expression in conventional language). Applications of the element then make a transition from usage in relation to a specific model (or models) to usage based on an abstract internalized understanding of the meaningfulness of the element. Reception similarly makes the transition from interpretation in relation to "one, two, three" specific models of comparison to the activation of the internalized understanding of the element as a referent. In simplified terms, applications are approached as generated on the basis of an internalized understanding with an intention of either activating a corresponding internalized understanding in the audience, or communicating that understanding (or portion thereof) to the audience. The process of internalization limits the *APE* in both space and time, as well as allowing for varying degrees of competence or its lack (§8.3). Sources reflect applications of individual knowledge and understanding in a particular

context and can be directly related to the anticipated internalized understanding which they are intended to activate in (or communicate to) an intended audience. The audience is anticipated to interpret relationships between the received application and internalized understanding to assess quality, efficacy (e.g. in magic) and/or meaning-generation (Lotman 1990, Foley 1991, Tarkka 2005).

Unlike Bakhtinian approaches to utterances which are shot through with histories of resounding voices or post-structuralist priorities on spectrums of possible meanings moving into “texts” talking to “texts”, the *APE* takes into consideration hierarchies of relations between “texts”, hierarchies within systems and also between semiotic systems (cf. Lotman & Uspenskii 1976, Lotman 1990; cf. Sebeok 1994), as well as the significance of patterns of proximity and authority of these variegated voices in relation to the individual – factors easily overlooked in approaches to patterns exhibited by a corpus on a statistical basis. This aspect of the *APE* is developed through performer and performance-centred approaches to folklore (e.g. Siikala 1990, Honko 1998, Bauman 2003) with a sensitivity to ethnopoetics (e.g. Hymes 1981, Tedlock 1986), but the approach is extended from individual performance to the social process. The particular focus of this project necessitated exploring the relationship of the individual to the social process of transmission, and how that social process emerges as an historical process, addressing what can and cannot be said about that process in systems of probabilities.

The interest in historical processes requires making it possible to distinguish numerous aspects of a tradition and developing an understanding of “how” they are meaningful. Saussure (1916:109) emphasized that change in a sign is not simply a change in either the signifier or the signified, but a change in the relationship between them. When addressing more complex and stratified process of signification, we are faced with constellations of elements which are all subject to different patterns of development at different rates and in divergent directions simultaneously. A meter and even a formula, for example, may prove more stable and enduring than the language, as may mythic images represented at another stratum of signification through that language. At the same time, that mythic image may function effectively across a number of additional modes of

expression (verbal, iconographic, performative), and it becomes necessary to be able to distinguish what constellations of elements are being activated, what happens when certain elements emerge or disappear, or how changes in language or the applications of a poetic system impact the semiotic systems of motifs and schemas which they are used to represent and communicate.

Whereas in the *APE*, “intertextuality” is reserved for reference to one “text” with a socially acknowledged unique identity within or otherwise through another “text” which is not a manifestation of that entity *per se*, “indexicality” provides an efficient means of addressing the development of meanings, values, implications and associations based on more general patterns of application within a conventionalized system. In the mid-nineteen century, Peirce (1940:98-119) introduced the “index” in his threefold typology of signs as “symbols”, “icons” and “indices”, later refining this typology to describe aspects of signs, of which one or another may be dominant although all aspects may be present (see further Sebeok 1994). Whereas symbols are associated with the signifier arbitrarily (or rather through conventions of social habit, e.g. words) and icons (later distinguished as “images”, “diagrams” and “metaphors”) exhibit a “topological similarity between a signifier and its denotata” (Sebeok 1994:28), an index emerges as a consequence of regularity in appearance or application between elements, the classic example being the indexical association of smoke and fire: the appearance of one implies the other (Peirce 1940: 107-111). Indexicality is the foundation of Bakhtin’s (1981; cf. Kristeva 1980) approach to uses of typologies of language in the novel as a device for characterizing the speaker: typologies of language and language use associated with a particular ethnic or socio-economic group develops an index according to that association to the degree of the regularity of that association (as opposed to other associations); the degree to which the index becomes primarily or exclusively associated with that group allows the typology of language to reciprocally activate the conventional users metonymically in other contexts according to that index.

Very importantly, an index often functions as a determinant on the value of the symbol within the fractal continua of its potential semantic significance – i.e. one element either

immediately present in the signification process (e.g. metre, voice), or otherwise active in the context of discourse, functions as an indicator for how another element should be understood. For example, the word “formula” has a specific meaning which is common to a broad range of applications, but the application of this term in the context of a discussion of oral poetics has developed a specialized set of applications. The contiguity of these applications generates an indexical relationship between the term “formula” and the subject “oral poetics”. Use of the term in the context of “oral poetics” as a subject activates this index, importing a highly refined sense into the communication. The refined sense imported according to this index differs from the sense imported into a discussion about chemistry, romance novels or baby food.

The accumulation of elements in an expression or discourse may also function indexically in relation to one another in a reciprocal manner, leading to the construction of a whole greater than the sum of its parts. This can be considered a form of dialogic functioning of indexes which may extend across a number of elements (and also be dependent on some of these elements functioning in a determinant capacity). Patterns of dialogic functioning among multiple elements are essential the process of activating recognizable motif-complexes, which, once activated and consciously or unconsciously recognized, allow the conventional motif-complex to assume its own indexical function, importing the systems of association and implications into the application. This aspect of indexicality is essential for the accumulation of elements which activate a remote “text” in an intertextual reference.

The *APE* is particularly influenced by Foley’s (1992; 1995) theory of *word power*, which posits “tradition” as an “enabling referent” in approaching the semiotics of associative systems bound to typologies of language and typologies of language applications. Like Saussure and Bakhtin, Foley stands in a groundbreaking position, founding the theory of *word power*. *Word power* (§9) has been significantly refined to differentiate it from other “powers” activated through expression, all following Foley’s basic metaphor model:

sound power (§10), *image power* (§11),⁷ and *narrative power* (§12).⁸ These “powers” constitute the cultural loads which “traditions” and their constituent elements develop as social resources through regular patterns of application within a tradition ecology (§4.1.2) – i.e. through indexicality. These terms provide a means of referring to different aspects of “what” is imported in an application through the systems of association. These powers also offer a means of addressing aspects of rhetorical “force” or “impact” carried by aspects of the tradition which tends to slip through the cracks of most other approaches which are more often concerned with semantic aspects of rhetoric.

The distinction of “powers” applied in constellations makes it possible to address differences between applications of, for example, the same narrative in an oral-poetic system and a non-verbal iconographic representation. It also facilitates addressing change and variation in the loads or “powers” within different geographical and historical horizons. The relationship of internalization to exposure provides a basis for making generalizations about referents and their cultural activity as social phenomena through the comparison of sources. This can then be projected onto the evolution of traditions as an historical process, by approaching the process as occurring through the interaction of individuals using and manipulating traditions as social resources, emphasizing social and historical contexts.

The present study has an extremely large scope, addressing two radically different traditions and corpora, what can be said about their histories and processes of development, and their relationship to one another, organized within the presentation of the theoretical framework. Focus is not on “reconstruction”, but on the history of constellations of motifs forming episodes, and the history of episodes in relation to narrative entities. This reveals that the constellations and organizations of these elements

⁷ Honko (1998:96-97; 2003:113) proposed but never explored *image power* as an alternative to Foley’s *word power*. Within the *APE* these are approached as distinct and complimentary.

⁸ Frankfurter (1995) proposed “narrating power” in a study of specifically magical associations which narrative elements develop, but did not expand this to the semiotics of culturally loaded elements more generally.

is subject to adaptation and renewal,⁹ leading discussions of the history of these traditions into increasingly abstract systems of indexical relationships. The discussions of such histories are necessarily theoretical where there are no documented sources for comparison. The *APE* provides a framework for approaching and interpreting the available data, but it emphasizes the human factor – individuals interpret and apply “traditions” as referents according to a subjective understanding – as opposed to many 20th century approaches to the history of traditions in which the individual was simply the cause of corruptions and an obstacle on the road to reconstruction. Approaching these traditions rapidly moves into probabilities rather “proofs”. The farther back the history of these traditions is considered, the more theoretical that consideration becomes, and the more the constellations of episodes and systems of motifs themselves become recede from concrete patterns actualized in performances into probabilities. Some of these emerge as much more probable (e.g. the Baldr-figure is slain) in networks associated with episodes, but it is the proposition of this system that not all of the elements of varying probabilities were necessarily present, and correspondingly the proposition that there was a “Baldr-Cycle” does not mean that all of the potential episodes/narratives associated with it belonged to that cycle in every period or that the specific constituents can be ascertained with inviolable certainty. What makes the present comparison interesting is that even if we lack concrete examples from the earliest periods, it is possible to move to obtain a point at which it is possible to correlate systems of probabilities and examine how those appear to relate to the history of each culture and its traditions, as well as what insights those correlations may offer into processes of development – both persistence and evolution – as aspects of social processes relevant to the communities in which they the traditions were maintained.

⁹ “Renewal” is a process through which a compositional element is replaced by a corresponding element which is more understandable, currently conventional, or perhaps simply interesting. For example, lexical renewal may be a consequence of a term changing meaning or becoming obscure in a conventional saying or formula (Watkins 1995:10); motif-renewal may correspondingly occur on the level of content in relation to changing technologies and cultural practices (Miles 2006:28); renewal on the level of surface texture for larger verbal compositional units is discussed in §4.2.5; an example of renewal on the level of an embedded narrative *historiola* is found in §9.5.2; an example of renewal on the level of a motif-complex as a recurrent pattern is presented in §21.3. Renewal may also occur at still higher levels, such as for example the performance of one epic in a ritual context rather than another or the performance of a Christian ritual in a certain context rather than a non-Christian ritual. In treating “renewal”, the concern is the social acceptance in the replacement or displacement of one conventional unit for an alternative unit which becomes conventional in an equivalent capacity within the larger structure.

Chapter 2: The Basic Narratives

2.1. *Lemminkäisen virsi* – The Narrative

Lemminkäisen virsi (LV) consistently presents a simple linear narrative sequence of a single adventure with several episodes. This will be approached in terms of a “core corpus” of 414 variants (§4.1). LV is not inclined to incorporating additional episodes. A drinking-feast is held at Päivölä described with the parallel expression *Päivölän pidot / jumaliston[jumalisten] juominki* – “a feast of Päivölä (“Sun-Place”) / a drinking-feast of the group of gods[of the godly-ones/gods-DIMINUTIVE]”. Everyone is invited except for Lemminkäinen. Lemminkäinen decides to go anyway. He engages with his mother in a dialogue in which she prophesies a series of “deaths”. Lemminkäinen dismisses these threats and may explain how he will pass each danger. She prepares him for the journey by giving him armour. Lemminkäinen overcomes three dangers with skills in magic. He enters the hall and the host or hostess engages him in a hostile dialogue. Lemminkäinen is served beer mixed with serpents and frogs and uses magic to successfully drink the beer, often cursing the cup-bearer. This is followed by a conflict with the host. The forms of conflict are a contest of magic and/or sword duel in which Lemminkäinen is victorious, and causing Lemminkäinen’s death by magic, which may specify a plant-weapon. When a plant-weapon is explicit, Lemminkäinen laments not learning a defence from his mother. Lemminkäinen’s mother is made aware of the death through an omen and recovers her son from Death’s River, or Lemminkäinen flees from the successful duel to an isle of women.

The focus of this study is the Death and Resurrection. Although this is central to LV’s cultural activity in modern culture, both as an inspiration for music, art and literature and also for academic research, it was less popular within the oral tradition: it persisted in only two regions (Viena and Northern Karelia). Although collectors networked concerning where singers could still be found and pursued their families for generations,

Figure 1. Outline of major themes of Lemminkäisen virsi

Act 1:

1. Feast
2. Departure Dialogue
3. Journey

Act 2:

4. Reception
5. Serpent-Beer
6. Conflict
 - 6.ia. Singing Contest
 - 6.ii. Duel
 - 6.ib. Death

Act 3a:

- 7a. Escape Dialogue
- 8a. Isle of Women

Act 3b:

- 7b. Resurrection

the Death/Resurrection was almost never recorded after 1900.¹⁰ *LV* was performed as a sequential whole. There is no indication that the Death/Resurrection was ever conventionally performed as an independent song (although see §4.3.9-11):¹¹ a performance of *LV* had to proceed through a number of narrative sequences, episodes, or *major themes*, before reaching the Death/Resurrection, and there were a number of conventional points prior to the Death/Resurrection with which the song could conclude and the Isle of Women could function as an alternative sequence which was normally exclusive of the Death/Resurrection. In the period of collection, the dangers of the Journey and the Arrival and/or the Serpent-Beer appear generally the most essential or most interesting elements in *LV* performances.

2.2. The Baldr-Cycle: The Narrative

Sources for the Baldr-Cycle are remarkably few and their presentations are not consistent. The Baldr-Cycle appears to have consisted of a network of major themes and interconnected narrative sequences. The death of Baldr appears as a nexus within the mythological system. It appears more prominently as a point of reference in narrative activity in documented sources. As a cultural figure, Baldr drops into the background

¹⁰ Only once in the “core corpus”: VII1.826, recorded 1903. It is also found in SKS Cajander VK 8:1 – Jyrki Sissonen, Ilomantsi, Merkijärvi, 1940, and SKS Hautala 1054 – Hilippä Mallonen (ca. 100 years old), Suistamo, Leppäsyryjä, 1939 (§7.3.5).

¹¹ I2.730 and VII1.826 present an alternate organization of the adventure beginning with the Resurrection.

and his parents Óðinn and Frigg as well as the adversaries Höðr and Loki appear as central actors in the cycle. The core of the narrative appears to be that Baldr is immune to injury. He is slain by Höðr with a special weapon. The weapon must be acquired from a remote location by Baldr's adversary. This slaying is treated as the key event in the coming of Ragnarök, the destruction of the world after which it will rise again from the primal sea. This narrative core is incorporated into two radically different narrative sequences, both of which present Baldr's dreams as an instigating event.

2.2.1. Frigg – Baldr – Loki

According to Snorri Sturluson (see §19.3), Frigg responds to Baldr's dreams by extracting oaths from all things not to harm Baldr. The mysterious plant called *mistilteinn* is the only exception. The gods gather and entertain themselves by throwing things at Baldr. Loki apparently comes and is angered when Baldr is not injured. He changes shape, Frigg unwittingly informs him about *mistilteinn*, and he fetches it from a remote location. He presents it to Höðr, who is blind (only in Snorri; other sources indicate Höðr fetches *mistilteinn* or the weapon from the remote location himself). Following Baldr's death, Frigg gets Hermóðr to make a journey to Hel (the name of Death, as well as of her realm) in order to request Baldr's return. All of the gods attend Baldr's funeral as well as representatives of other classes of being. Hel agrees to return Baldr on the condition that all things weep for him. The attempted recovery fails when Loki in the form of a giantess Þökk ("Thanks") refuses to weep. Loki is pursued and magically bound by all of the gods. At Ragnarök (the ethnic apocalypse), Loki becomes free and sails with an army to battle the gods. Baldr returns to the world with his slayer Höðr, but only after the land sinks back into the primal sea and rises again following Ragnarök. Within this narrative sequence, Frigg is a central figure coordinating the action, and the action involves the community of the gods as a collective. With the exception of the funeral itself, Óðinn does not appear to have a significant place in this narrative material.

2.2.2. Óðinn – Baldr – Höðr – Váli

The other narrative sequence is very specifically attached to Óðinn. In response to Baldr's dreams, Óðinn makes a journey to Hel in order to consult a dead *völva* ("seeress"). His actions appear to be oriented toward determining an avenger and whether the sequence of events will lead to Ragnarök (Frog 2006). Following the Baldr-slaying, Óðinn sets out to seduce the giantess Rindr. As per the *völva's* prophecy, Rindr gives birth to Váli who slays Höðr. Óðinn's consultation with the *völva* appears to be independent of the community or any other mythic figures, as does the seduction of Rindr and revenge against Höðr. Óðinn's consultation with the *völva* not only affirms his role as a cultural figure, but also appears to contradict the essential presupposition of Frigg's preventative measures by assuming that Baldr's death cannot be avoided.

Figure 2. Outline of major themes of the Baldr-Cycle

1. Baldr's Dreams
 - 2a. Frigg takes preventative measures
 - 2b. Óðinn consults a *völva*
3. Obtaining the secret weakness
 4. (Obtaining the weapon)
 5. The Slaying
 6. Funeral
- 7a. Recovery attempt
- 7b. Breeding an avenger
- 8a. Failed attempt
- 8b. "Váli" slays Höðr
9. Loki is bound
10. Ragnarök

2.2.3. Conflict in the Hall

In *Lokasenna*, the insult-exchange of Loki, Loki appears variously as an invited and uninvited guest at the drinking-feast of Ægir, god of the sea. Loki is said to kill a servant and engages in insult exchanges with all of the gods, inciting violence and aggression against himself. When Frigg claims that Loki could never get away with this if Baldr were present, Loki claims *ec því ræð, er þú ríða sérat síðan Baldr at sölum*, "I am the reason that you will no longer see Baldr ride to the halls" (*Ls* 27-28). He is driven from

the hall and the narrative moves to a prose account of Loki's binding by all of the gods without further clarification. *Lokasenna's* relevance to the Baldr-Cycle is not explicit. Intertextual applications in of the Baldr-Cycle in mytho-heroic narratives exhibit the manipulation of the conflict in the hall and the binding in the activation of the Baldr-slaying. The confrontation in the hall preserved as *Lokasenna* will be shown to be relevant to the Baldr-slaying.

2.3. The Deaths of Baldr and Lemminkäinen

Figures 3 and 4 provide an overview of points of comparison as a point of departure to more detailed discussion. Detailed analysis reveals that not all of these points are relevant while additional points not listed here are significant.

Figure 3. Initial overview of points of comparison (“*” indicates the point is uncertain)

1. Prediction of death
 - a. Lemminkäinen’s mother names the deaths he will face on his journey
 - b. Baldr has dreams anticipating his death¹²
2. Preventative measures
 - a. Lemminkäinen’s mother warns her son and provides him with magical defences (shirt, magic knowledge)
 - b. *Frigg is responsible for Baldr’s imperviousness
3. The weapon
 - a. Plant-weapon
 - i. Baldr is slain with *mistilteinn*
 - ii. Lemminkäinen is slain with an *umpiputki*
 - b. Projectile
 - i. Thrown at Baldr
 - ii. “Sung” at Lemminkäinen
 - c. *“All-but-one” motif
 - i. All but *mistilteinn* take an oath
 - ii. Lemminkäinen can protect himself against any danger except an *umpiputki*
4. The slayer
 - a. *Is “blind”
 - b. *“All-but-one” motif
 - i. All Æsir throw things at Baldr except Höðr
 - ii. Lemminkäinen sings all present except the slayer
5. Death and water
 - a. The victim’s corpse ends up in water
 - i. Baldr’s funeral-pyre goes out to sea/his burial mound is associated with visions of a flood/his death anticipates the destruction and rebirth of the world in flood
 - ii. Lemminkäinen’s body is in the river of the dead
6. The recovery attempt
 - a. The victim’s mother organizes the recovery
 - i. Baldr’s mother makes a deal with Hermóðr
 - ii. Lemminkäinen’s mother goes herself
 - b. The recovery attempt requires a journey to the realm of the dead
 - i. Hermóðr travels to Hel’s (i.e. Death’s) realm
 - ii. Lemminkäinen’s mother travels to Tuoni’s (i.e. Death’s) river
 - c. *Dialogue for the dead
 - i. Hermóðr enters a dialogue with Hel/Death who is in charge of the hall where Baldr is
 - ii. Lemminkäinen’s mother engages the slayer who is in charge of the hall where Lemminkäinen is slain

¹² The strong tradition of prophetic dreams and their interpretation in Norse culture (Turville-Petre 1958) makes it reasonable to consider Frigg, as the woman in the kin-group, may have interpreted these dreams.

Figure 4. Additional points of comparison with Lokasenna

1. The feast
 - a. Of the sea-god
 - i. Ægir is the sea god or hypostasis of the sea
 - ii. Ahti or Ahti Saarelainen (Island-Dweller) is the name associated with the host of Päivölä; Ahti is the name of a sea god of western Finns
 - b. Mythic beer-brewing
 - i. Ægir's brewing is a mythic event
 - ii. Beer-brewing is central to *LV* and associated with incantation *historiolae* variously for the mythic origins of beer or sowing grains associated with beer
 - c. The drinking-feast of the gods
 - i. Ægir's feast hosts the community of the Æsir-gods
 - ii. The feast of Päivölä is the *jumaliston/jumalisten juominki*, the godly ones'/pantheon's drinking-feast
2. *"All-but-one" motif
 - a. The uninvited guest
 - i. Lemminkäinen is the uninvited guest
 - ii. Loki appears to be consciously uninvited
 - b. Singing all but one
 - i. Lemminkäinen "sings" gold to "All-but-One" figure present
 - ii. Loki toasts all of the gods except the poet-god Bragi
 - iii. Loki overcomes all of the gods verbally except Þórr, who drives him from the hall
3. Verbal conflict
 - a. Lemminkäinen has a verbal confrontation with the guests escalating to verbal conflicts in magic
 - b. Loki engages all of the gods in insult exchanges – *níð*, associated with verbal magic
4. The disruptive guest kills a servant
 - a. Loki kills the excellent servant
 - b. Lemminkäinen curses the cup-bearer

Chapter 3: Sources for the Baldr-Cycle

Sources for the Baldr-Cycle derive almost exclusively from Scandinavia and Iceland. The most significant sources for the cycle are the prose accounts of Snorri Sturluson, presenting the narrative as explicitly pagan myth, and Saxo Grammaticus, presenting myth as history. Only one poem from the cycle is preserved (*Baldrs draumar*), and this describes an adventure of Óðinn on which he receives a series of prophecies informing him of the slaying, the identity of the slayer and the avenger. Like most sources, even this poem only refers to the central events of the cycle rather than presenting them as a narrative. Snorri and Saxo become central to discussions of the Baldr-Cycle by presenting narrative frameworks in relation to which other sources can be interpreted.

3.1. Snorri Sturluson's *Edda*

Snorri Sturluson (1178-1241) was a politically powerful and respected Icelander raised and educated at Oddi, the most significant cultural centre in Iceland at that time.¹³ The only extended account of the Baldr-Cycle as a “mythological” narrative is preserved in the *Gylfaginning* section of Snorri's *Edda*, probably composed shortly after 1220 (Clunies Ross 2005:157). *Edda* is a vernacular four-part treatise on the art of poetry consisting of a Prologue, asserting a euhemerized history of pagan gods; *Gylfaginning*, an overview of the cosmogony, topography, genealogies and eschatology of the ethnic mythology in a dialogue framework between Gylfi and “Óðinn” (divided into three figures), concluding with a passage which appears to affirm the Prologue, and that these “gods” were deceitful and un-Christian sorcerers who actively and consciously used mythology as a social and political tool for the maintenance of their own power (Faulkes 1982:54-55); *Skáldskaparmál*, a treatise on the poetic register and circumlocutions which is filled with numerous narrative passages and hundreds of poetic quotations for

¹³ The scholarship surrounding Snorri and his *Edda* is enormous. For a recent bibliography, see Wanner 2008. For an overview of the text and manuscript tradition, see Faulkes introductions in Faulkes 1982, 1998 and 1999. On Snorri, see the classic study by Nordal 1973. Earlier scholarship on *Gylfaginning* and its content is detailed in Lorenz 1984. On *Skáldskaparmál*, see Clunies Ross 1987. On the position of *Edda* in the evolution of vernacular pedagogy, poetics and uses of poetry in the manuscript tradition, see Nordal 2001, 2009, Clunies Ross 2005.

examples and explications of these circumlocutions; and *Háttatal*, a treatment of metrics in which the political agenda of the work becomes more explicit – the 102 stanzas composed as examples constitute a praise poem for the rulers of Norway.

Snorri’s patterns of poetic quotation indicate that his knowledge of vernacular poetry and mythological subjects was far more extensive than what he chose to document (Frog 2009b). However, his prose presentations exhibit inclinations toward the value of this material for composing and interpreting “courtly” poetry and humorous entertainment.¹⁴ He “knew” traditions from a contemporary perspective, but he was also manipulating them with great freedom according to the priorities of his work. The referential system of poetic circumlocutions and its patterns of association became established in a pre-Christian cultural milieu, and Snorri’s treatise emphasizes that the poetic system remained embedded in that referential system (Clunies Ross 2005:114-115, 134-138). His work affirms that an education in these traditions is essential to developing competence in that poetic system, which is the work’s focus (Frog 2009b).

Snorri had probably internalized his core understanding of the poetic system by his adolescence, including the significance of mythology as part of an education in vernacular poetry (Frog 2009b). Pálsson (1997:134) is probably correct that Snorri learned his gods at Oddi, slightly less than 200 years after the legal conversion of Iceland in 999/1000. The conversion caused an abrupt drop in “pagan” references and circumlocutions in poetic compositions. The writing of *Edda* was followed by an equally abrupt rise in their use which appears to be a direct social response to the work (de Vries 1934; Fidjestøl 1993; 1999:270-93; cf. Clover 1978:69n). Codicological evidence seems to imply that the documentation of “complete” oral poems was a development which followed a gradual rise in poetic quotation and pedagogy within the manuscript tradition, a process which only seems to have come into full bloom with Snorri’s works (cf. Quinn 1997; Harris 1985; Nordal 2009). Frank (1981b) shows Snorri’s work led to reinterpretations of mythological narratives. Mitchell (1991) stresses *Edda*’s significance

¹⁴ Wanner 2008:141-142; Frog 2009b. Snorri explicitly states that his work is both for education and entertainment in *Skáldskaparmál* (Faulkes 1998.I:5).

as an authority and reference for the *fornaldarsaga* tradition. Van Wezel (2006:1042) proposes *Edda* had a more general impact related to the accumulation of mythological material in the manuscript transmission of some *fornaldarsögur* (cf. Mitchell 1991:62-63; Hall 2005:22-23). *Edda* appears to have had a significant impact on the cultural activity of mythology across genres and modes of expression. *Bósa saga* even appears to make a meta-textual reference to “Edda” through the name of the maiden stolen by the hero.¹⁵

Snorri’s selection and adaptation of narrative episodes and elements from the Baldr-Cycle is addressed in §19.3. When it came to narrative presentation, Snorri was, first and foremost, a storyteller (Aðalsteinsson 1998:57-80). He shows a general inclination to humour and disparaging the old gods. He freely scatters material associated with a single cycle throughout his work without explicitly indicating relationships between them. For example, he quotes a stanza recognized from *Lokasenna* as a source in *Gylfaginning* only commenting that it was said by Óðinn to Loki (Faulkes 1982:21) and describing the narrative framework of Ægir’s feast to explain a kenning in *Skáldskaparmál* without connecting it to the verse (§3.3.1.6). Snorri’s work reflects “tradition” through its manipulation – he is “using” it, applying it for the generation of meanings within a specific framework. There appears to be a pattern of selecting or adapting material to generate parallels with Christian traditions, and it is unlikely that his division of Óðinn into three figures for *Gylfaginning*’s narrative frame generates an accidental parallel between this Trinity-Óðinn and the Christian Trinity when this false pagan god deceives Gylfi with his illusions. Snorri appears to manipulate the Baldr-Cycle to emphasize the fall of these pagan gods.

¹⁵ Proposed by van Wezel 2006:1042. “Edda” was not a personal name (Lind 1905-1915:208) and the author may not have been familiar with the noun *edda*, “great-grandmother”, which was already archaic and falling out of use in Snorri’s time (Lieberman 1996:63-70). “Edda” only appears as a proper name in the allegorical eddic poem *Rígsþula*, but there are no corresponding associations with genealogies or descendants of any kind in *Bósa saga* making “Great-Grandmother” unlikely. The kidnapping of “Edda” by the hero occurs in a probable intertextual reference to the Rape of Iðunn, which is the opening narrative of *Skáldskaparmál* (see §7.3.3). Manipulating *Edda* as a referent would be consistent with the broad spectrum of referents manipulated in this unusual saga for the generation of parody (see further Naumann 1983, Ólason 1994, Tómasson 2005, Gallo 2004).

3.2. Saxo Grammaticus's *Gesta Danorum*

Saxo wrote a history of the Danes in Latin shortly before Snorri's time. The Baldr-Cycle was adapted and integrated into Book III, and the bound Loki appears in Book VIII. These books were apparently composed in the 13th century, before Saxo's death in 1216 (Herrmann 1922:1). His account is independent of Snorri's. He wrote in Denmark where secular and religious authorities were both immediately present and these were also his patrons and audiences (see Herrmann 1922:35ff.). Saxo adapted and transformed mythological narrative material into "history". Balderus[Baldr] is villainized and Høtherus[Höðr] is transformed into a heroic courtly figure. Saxo transfers attributes and motifs associated with Baldr to Høtherus, nearly inverting their values as cultural figures while the fundamental structures of the narrative appear essentially the same as traditions recorded in Iceland.¹⁶ The introduction and adaptation of "pagan" mythology into a Latin history by a Christian author for a Christian audience attests to the rhetorical significance of the cultural figures and the narratives which are manipulated. The rhetorical significance of the adaptations is dependent on recognizing the figures and narratives about them as referents which enable meaning to be generated through the relationship between the adaptation and the tradition as referent (Bakhtin 1981; Lotman 1990, Tsur 1992a; see also Foley 1991, 1995, 1998).

Saxo (1931:4-5) claims that he has used runic inscriptions, local songs, and interviews with Icelanders as sources for his history. Early scholarship spoke of a *Haðar saga*, "Saga of Höðr", which Saxo had available in a written vernacular, or which he learned from interviews with said Icelanders (Olrik 1892-1894, Neckel 1920, Herrmann 1922). Olrik (1892-1894) considered Saxo's account to be a fusion of Norwegian (West Norse) mythological narrative and Danish (East Norse) traditions about Baldr and Höðr as mytho-historical kings. Kauffmann (1902) followed Olrik's division and further divided the Danish traditions into two distinct regional traditions. The question of separate traditions of mythological and mytho-historical narratives will be returned to in §19. Saxo exhibits knowledge of a remarkable range of mythological narrative material

¹⁶ See especially Kauffmann 1902; Dumézil 1961-1962; 1973:171-191; Renaud 1999. These transfers and duplications are discussed in §19.4 and §21.6.

adapted into different contexts of his “history”, and he applies narrative structures and strategies of exhibited in the mytho-heroic *fornaldarsögur* (Herrmann 1922:*passim*)¹⁷ as well as poetry not preserved elsewhere.¹⁸ His register and style in Latin are heavily inflected (both florid and weighted with Classical rhetoric) as a rhetorical device (§9) to draw his narratives in relation to the classics of Latin histories.¹⁹

Baldr may have had relevance as a figure in Danish royal genealogies.²⁰ Later Danish folklore preserved a tradition of a mythic conflict between Baldr and Höðr as kings in which Höðr slew Baldr.²¹ The positive regard with which “Baldr” is held in these traditions makes it unlikely that they derive directly from Saxo’s work.²² The Baldr-Cycle was active as a referent in Saxo’s time; Baldr as a mythic or mytho-heroic figure and narratives associated with him were probably immediately relevant to royal histories.

Saxo has subjected traditional narrative material to tremendous adaptation and revision. He appears to both fuse and divide narratives resulting in redundancies and reduplications. He develops the Baldr-Cycle into a “battle for Denmark” (Herrmann 1922:202) between mortal Høtherus and a demi-god Balderus with his army of pagan gods. He both transfers motifs from Baldr to Höðr and also adapts it to a euhemerized framework (Høtherus is mortal; Balderus is a demi-god son of Othinnus) of the Latin historical tradition, infused with the patterns and semiotics of vernacular mytho-heroic narrative traditions which in Iceland evolved into the *fornaldarsaga* tradition.

¹⁷ As Jensson 2009 emphasizes, Saxo appears to be at the forefront of *fornaldarsögur* as a written genre rather than producing his work within the framework of an established written form; Saxo’s work and the roughly contemporary Latin antecedent of *Yngvars saga víðförla* (if written by Oddr Snorrason: cf. Phepstead 2006) might be appropriately considered the first written *fornaldarsögur*.

¹⁸ See Friis-Jensson 1987, 2009. Jensson (2009:89) reminds us that the modern distinction between West Norse and East Norse would not be distinguished by Saxo, while his translations of vernacular poetry into Latin verse leave no indication of where a modern linguist would classify a particular poem.

¹⁹ Kauffmann 1902:66-74; Herrmann 1922:204-208; Friis-Jensson 1975, 1987; cf. Bugge (1881-1889:100ff.), who interpreted these features as indications of Saxo basing his narrative content on sources in Latin.

²⁰ Schier 1992, 1995; cf. North 1997a on Baldr’s emergence in Anglo-Saxon genealogies under Scandinavian influence.

²¹ See Kauffmann (1902:89-92) for an overview of these sources.

²² The prominence of Saxo’s work in modern scholarship does not appear to have been matched by a corresponding reception by his near-contemporaries (see Jantzen 1900:xv-xix). Saxo’s work may stand at the forefront of the emergence of the written *fornaldarsaga* tradition (Jensson 2009:*esp.*90), but its apparent lack of popularity makes it seem unlikely that it impacted vernacular *fornaldarsaga* traditions directly.

3.3. Medieval Scandinavian Poetic Sources

The poetic traditions of medieval Scandinavia are conventionally divided into two classes, “eddic” and “skaldic”. This is an etic²³ distinction imposed on the documented poetic corpus. The vernacular system of metres, registers and prosodies appears to have formed a coherent and dynamic system. The terms “eddic” and “skaldic” are not suited to critical analysis, but the distinction retains practical value for discussion (Clunies Ross 2005:6-28; Frog 2009b; 2009c:229-231). “Skaldic” poetry consists of a group of genres of poetry and situational verse²⁴ associated with the identity of the poet/speaker as “author” and with specific contexts of composition or performance. “Eddic” poetry consists of another group of genres which are associated with cultural knowledge and/or popular entertainments and which are not associated with specific authorship.

3.3.1. Eddic Sources

Our knowledge of eddic poetry is remarkably limited, with only one documented version of each mythological poem passed along a manuscript stemma with the exception of quotations by Snorri and two variants of *Völuspá*. Two collections of eddic poems have been preserved, as well as a few additional poems in other manuscripts or quoted in other

²³ “Etic” is a term for descriptions and accounts of data or cultural systems which are imposed from an objective perspective. The term was developed by Pike (1954) and was introduced into folklore studies by Dundes (1962). It emerged as a term intended to distinguish approaches which can be applied neutrally across cultures and objectively imposed on the data (e.g. folk-tale types) from “emic” approaches, which are culture-specific approaches developed on the basis of criteria relevant to the tradition and the people who use it. The degree of cultural sensitivity in the deployment of “emic” and “etic” varies. I find it more useful to treat the terms as descriptive of “outsider” (etic) and “insider” (emic) perspectives, hence although the binary classification of “eddic” and “skaldic” poetries is culture-specific and only meaningful in relation to specific traditions, I nonetheless treat this distinction as “etic” because it is an artificial and academic construct objectively imposed on the sources rather than accurately reflecting how these traditions were distinguished and understood by the people who used them. It is useful to be aware that these terms have sometimes been used carelessly and they have not always been used consistently across the past half-century; there are cases in which scholars have actually inverted their values. For an overview of the terms and their history, see Headland’s introduction to *Emics and Etics: The Insider/Outsider Debate* (1990).

²⁴ On situational verse as an oral phenomenon, see Frog 2009c:224-227; cf. Foley 2002:213-215. On its manifestations and adaptations in documented narrative sources, see Poole 1991, Whaley 1993, O’Donoghue 2005.

works such as *Edda*.²⁵ The Codex Regius manuscript (ca. 1270), which presents an organized selection of both mythological and heroic poems, many of which are accompanied by prose introductions, conclusions or intermediate passages. Six leaves of another collection were preserved in AM 748 4to (ca.1300), where they were brought together with a copy of Snorri's *Skáldskaparmal*. These leaves are not all sequential. They reflect six poems and accompanying prose which belong to the same stemma as copies in the Codex Regius manuscript as well as the only medieval manuscript copy of *Baldurs draumar*. There appears to have been an interest in collections of eddic poems by the end of the 13th century.

There is no information about the applications of these poems and a single variant makes it difficult or impossible to discern whether or to what extent the individual text reflects a conventional form of the poem (and its narrative framework occasionally documented in prose). Furthermore, if it is a conventional form, it is unclear to what degree it reflects a localized adaptation or a widespread tradition. The poetry was not Oral-Formulaic.²⁶ Variations in manuscript sources which appear to be attributable to independent documentations from the oral tradition imply conventions of highly crystallized²⁷

²⁵ See further Bugge 1867, Sijmons & Gering 1906, Wessén 1945, 1946, Lindblad 1954, Harris 1985, Gunnell 2005. All eddic poems are cited according to Neckel & Kuhn 1963 stanza and line divisions unless otherwise specified.

²⁶ On Oral-Formulaic Theory see Lord 1960; on comparisons with eddic poetry, see Mellor 1999, 2008, Haymes 2004, Thorvaldsen 2006.

²⁷ "Crystallization" is a process used to describe relative scales of fixity in form on levels relevant to the tradition in question. This process has been observed, for example, in narrators of prose legends, who appear to develop increasingly consistent structural organization of material and corresponding systems of consistent verbal expressions (see §4.2.4) through repeated performances (Siikala 2000; Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1996). Crystallization is particularly valuable as a means of approaching more flexible oral traditional systems in which crystallization interacts with the individual's competence in schemas and language underlying performative practices, which is relevant to the process of learning new material and also types of variation between performances (Harvilahti 2000). Crystallization is also relevant to the tradition of skaldic verse: some variation in the tradition is inevitable and the metrical rigour which maintains the stability of the four-line half-stanza as a compositional unit is not relevant to the stability of the organization of half-stanzas into a poem (cf. Frank 1978:162; Frog 2009b:273-274). Even in circumstances where learning verses was an active and rigorous process, "memorization" is itself a process of "crystallizing" a verbatim text in the memory: "memorization" assumes a single model rather than multiple and variable models, and this relationship to an external exemplar leads any variation or developments in the acquired crystallized form to be implicitly viewed as "mistakes" in relation to the original "memorized" exemplar. Even if skaldic verse was actively taught, it is unreasonable to imagine the oral tradition to be wholly without variation, particularly when even manuscript transmission exhibits variation.

transmission similar to kalevalaic poetry.²⁸ Eddic poetry appears to diverge from other traditions of Germanic heroic poetry in this respect and it may be directly related to the emergence and evolution of skaldic poetics with their highly crystallized conventions of reproduction within a larger coherent system of oral poetry (Frog 2009b:273-274).

Focusing on the Codex Regius, Lindblad (1954) has shown that these collections evolved in manuscript transmission from earlier collections and copies of copies of poems. Lindblad attempted to reconstruct the earliest documentation of each poem through the conservation of palaeographic features through sequential copies. The farther back Lindblad attempts to trace the history of manuscript transmission, the more speculative it becomes. Within the present study, it is noteworthy that he argues that the two mythological eddic poems, *Vafþrúðnismál* and *Grímnismál*, were available in writing when Snorri was working on his *Edda*. The date of documentation is not necessarily indicative of the quality of the source. Within the context of the present study, it is more significant to remain aware that the majority of these poems appear to have been documented after Snorri's *Edda*, which clearly impacted the cultural activity of mythological material. They were documented with a technology of writing imported with the Church and very probably in centres of learning where *Edda* was exerting its influence, and we should not underestimate the possibility that Snorri's *Edda* may have influenced poems in the oral tradition or the forms they took in documentation.

3.3.1.1. *Baldrs draumar*

Baldrs draumar is the only extant poem reasonably considered part of the Baldr-Cycle. It describes Óðinn's journey to the underworld in response to Baldr's dreams and an exchange of prophetic dialogue with the dead *völva*. The poem is remarkably short (14 stanzas). Most paper manuscripts (2nd half of the 17th century and later) contain additional stanzas.²⁹ These include a series of stanzas describing the oath-taking orchestrated by Frigg. The register of these verses differs from other eddic poetry and

²⁸ See comparisons in Frog 2009b:273. Highly crystallized transmission would explain the integration of coherent sections of one poem within another as in *Hávamál* and *Hyndluljóð* (cf. also Frog 2008b:6-8 on *Völundarqviða*). Crystallization in kalevalaic poetry is addressed in §4.

²⁹ Bugge 1867:138-139; on the manuscripts see Bugge 1867:xlivff.

other stanzas of the poem (Bugge 1867:140). The extensive use of cross-alliteration is indicative of late composition of these stanzas (cf. de Vries 1928:268-272; Gering 1924; Aðalsteinsson 2009, forthcoming). The oath-taking may be directly adapted from Snorri's account, just as later *rímur* were adapted from manuscript narratives including those found in *Edda* (Þórólfsson 1934:305ff.).

3.3.1.2. *Völuspá*

The poem *Völuspá* is a monologue of a *völva*'s prophecy addressed to Óðinn in a larger audience (see Tolley 2009:475-476). It is preserved in the Codex Regius collection (*Völuspá* R) and an independent variant in the Hauksbók (*Völuspá* H).³⁰ *Völuspá* R refers to the Baldr-Cycle in summary as the final mythological "event" preceding a depiction of the (unpleasant) otherworld topography and Ragnarök. Twelve long-lines (*Vsp* 31-33) present Baldr's ("Óðinn's son's") death, slayer, instrument, avenger and Frigg's weeping. This is immediately followed by 4 long-lines (*Vsp* 35) describing the bound Loki and his wife Sigyn. The 16 long lines preceding this section (*Vsp* 28-30) describe Óðinn's consultation with a *völva*, and are often interpreted as the *völva* describing the interview-situation of *Völuspá* itself. *Völuspá* H does not include any of these stanzas except a variant form of the binding of Loki (*Vsp* 34+35.6-8) immediately following the Æsir-Vanir war. Close verbal similarities between the account of the revenge-cycle in *Völuspá* R and *Baldrs draumar* appear to indicate an interrelationship in the oral tradition. This whole section of stanzas (*Vsp* 28-33) may represent the narrative of *Baldrs draumar* as a mythic event. *Baldrs draumar* similarly concludes with the image of Loki bound and his freedom at Ragnarök. The number of lines committed to Baldr's death in R attests to its significance. Within the structure of the poem, Baldr's death marks the end of the cosmogony, preceding the "present" cosmography and introducing the eschatology.

Both *Völuspá* R and H identify Óðinn's death at Ragnarök as Frigg's *harmr annarr*, "second sorrow". Both also refer to the return of Baldr and Höðr with the rebirth of the world. *Völuspá* H reflects a broader tradition of the poem in which the Baldr-slaying had

³⁰ This text appears to have been added after Haukr's death in 1334. On the manuscript, see Jónsson 1892, Karlsson 1964. On Haukr's orientation in collecting and organizing material which *Völuspá* appears to compliment, see Jakobsson 2007.

significance comparable to R. *Völuspá* is an Odinic wisdom poem which emphasizes the relationship between Óðinn and Baldr, the Baldr-Höðr-Váli revenge-cycle, and indexical relationships between the deaths of Baldr and Óðinn. It also emphasizes a relationship between Baldr's death and Ragnarök. *Völuspá* H concludes the rebirth of the world with the coming of a mythic judge which appears to reflect the Christian Christ.

3.3.1.3. *Völuspá inn skamma*

Völuspá in skamma is only preserved as a series of stanzas on mythic genealogical information integrated into *Hyndluljóð* 29-44, preserved in Flateyjarbók.³¹ It may have been an Odinic wisdom poem (Frog 2009b:274-276). The first integrated stanza provides a highly abbreviated reference to the Baldr-Höðr-Váli revenge-cycle. The passage quoted culminates in Ragnarök with allusion to a Christ-like figure that will appear.

3.3.1.4. *Vafþrúðnismál*

Vafþrúðnismál 51 claims that Váli and Viðarr, the respective avengers of Óðinn and Baldr will return to the new world following Ragnarök. *Vafþrúðnismál* 54 presents what Óðinn whispered to Baldr on the pyre as the ultimate piece of occult knowledge, with which he defeats the giant in the wisdom competition. This is also Óðinn's winning riddle in the competition with Heiðrekr in *Heiðreks saga*, where it activates *Vafþrúðnismál* as an intertextual referent (cf. Schück 1918:52). This Odinic wisdom poem affirms an indexical relationship between the deaths of Baldr and Óðinn and reveals the event as a source of Óðinn's power and authority.

3.3.1.5. *Grímnismál*

Baldr's dwelling Breiðablik, "Broad-Glance", is presented as a significant location in the otherworld topography (*Gm* 12). Schier (1992) argues for independent knowledge of this location as associated with Baldr in sources documented in (East Norse) Denmark. Höðr, Váli³² and Rindr exhibit no corresponding relationship to the topography. The prose

³¹ Mid-late 14th century. On this manuscript see Vigfússon & Unger 1860-1868, Rowe 2005.

³² In *Gm* 6, the place-name *valascjalf* is often interpreted as "Válaskjálfr", "Váli's Shelf", along with its appearance in Snorri's *Edda* (e.g. Gering & Sijmons 1927:189; Neckel & Kuhn 1963). This interpretation invites an association with Váli although the *Gm* text seems to attribute the hall to Freyr and the Snorri

frame and content of *Grímnismál* present Óðinn and Frigg as protagonists. Frigg's presence as a figure in the narrative is highly unusual. This will be addressed as an intertextual adaptation of the Baldr-Cycle in §21.4.

3.3.1.6. *Lokasenna*

Lokasenna is a dialogue poem with a prose frame; these are not in accord. The prose frame exhibits direct influence from Snorri's work.³³ Snorri describes the drinking-feast in Ægir's hall in *Skáldskaparmál* (Faulkes 1998:40-41): Loki engages in the *senna* and killed one of Ægir's two miraculous servants. Genealogies were a priority of Snorri: Ægir's wife (Rán) and daughters are mentioned, and that the gods learned of Rán's net with which she gathers the dead from the sea. The narrative explains the kenning "fire of the sea" for gold, which Snorri asserts derives the *lýsigull*, "lustre-gold", which lights Ægir's hall. The *Lokasenna* prose corresponds very closely in content, but not verbally. Clunies Ross (1987:139-150) shows that the term *lýsigull* and the motif of lighting a hall with a mineral most probably derive from the learned Latin lapidary tradition, and she further argues that Snorri has inserted them into Ægir's feast to explicate a common kenning, both asserting and affirming the practical relationship between poetic circumlocution and mythological narrative. The *Lokasenna* prose mentions Ægir was also called Gýmir, following Snorri (Faulkes 1998:37), although "Gýmir" only occurs in the *Lokasenna* poem as the name of Gerðr's father (*Ls* 42), not Ægir. Differences between *Skáldskaparmál* and the *Lokasenna* introductory prose (such as who attends the feast) are easily attributed to an adaptation of the prose to the content of the poem, but the author of the *Lokasenna* prose had a fuller conception of the narrative event than Snorri

assigns it to Óðinn (Faulkes 1982:20) except in U (Grape et al.1977.II:11). However, it is transcribed as two words in U, in contrast to *hliðskjálfr* (in the same sentence), which is said to be located there and the place where Óðinn sits (i.e. Óðinn's association with the location is explicit). However, there is nothing to connect it to Váli. Simek (1996:152,346,348,359) draws comparison with the potentially cultic place-name Viskjöll (*Viðarsskjálfr) found in Norway (see also Tolley 2009:545-547). There does however seem to be a discontinuity in drawing parallels between place-names in the mythic topography and historical cultic place-names unless the cultic place-name can be shown to be drawn from a location in the mythic topography. This seems more important when the use of the god's name in the place-name of his mythic otherworld residence would seem to manifest a redundancy, and to my knowledge would be unprecedented (cf. Gering 1903:1373-1382). A more probable interpretation is "Valaskjálfr", "Shelf of the Slain" whether as a proper name or as a description, *vala skjálfr*, of Valhöll, "Slain-Hall" (e.g. Jónsson 1932:65).

³³ On the basis of linguistic-orthographic and palaeographic evidence, Lindblad (1954:286) argues that the prose was added to an earlier poetic text ca. 1250.

presents, including the statement that *Par var griðastaðr mikill*, “That was a place of great sanctuary”, and that Loki was driven from the feast for the servant-slaying. *Lokasenna* is symptomatic of Snorri’s impact on tradition – “becoming” tradition on the one hand, while offering insights into concepts and associations which were competing with Snorri’s authority on the other. The prose conclusion of *Lokasenna* provides a brief account of the binding of Loki. The degree of verbal correspondence with *Snorra Edda* implies that it is a summary or paraphrase of the latter (cf. Wessén 1946; Gunnell 1995:227-228). The author must have known that Snorri associated the binding with the death of Baldr, and also that Snorri presented Ægir’s feast in an unrelated context. The author’s assertion that Nari and Narfi are the names of Loki’s two sons in the binding, rejecting Snorri’s assertion that these are variants of a single name and “Váli” was Loki’s other son (see §24.4.6.3.3), indicates that Snorri’s authority was not absolute.

3.3.1.7. *Grógaldr*

Grógaldr is only preserved in paper manuscripts (Bugge 1867) and may be comparatively late. It is similar to the *völva* poems except that it is the hero-son summoning his dead mother and she supplies him with an index of incantations required to overcome the dangers on his journey. In *Grógaldr* 6, one incantation is said to have been sung by Rindr to someone called Rani. Rani is either an unknown figure (assuming that this is the same Rindr) or may be an otherwise unattested name for Váli.

3.3.2. Skaldic Sources

Skaldic compositions are considered situationally specific compositions attributable to an individual poet which may then enter into the oral tradition where they were subject to extremely conservative reproduction, although some were also composed by manuscript authors and inserted in their prose narratives. Many of these compositions are verbally complex and make extensive use of circumlocutions (kennings and heiti) which make them difficult to interpret. Skaldic verses do not appear oriented to communicating narrative, and stanzas and helmings (4-line half-stanzas) are often eloquent, artful, potentially rich in associations, but low in literal content (cf. Clunies Ross 2005:74). Narratives are often referred to, but when narratives are represented in a stanza or

extended composition the poets appear to anticipate that the audience is already familiar with the tradition: there is little or no connecting tissue between the images and motifs, and emphasis normally appears to be on form and how content is represented rather than communicating narrative content (see Lindow 1982). Often a significant amount of the communication may be dependent on the relationship between the narrative content and the structures and circumlocutions in which it is presented (see §16.4). When skaldic situational verse or skaldic poems are approached as sources for mythological narratives, it must be remembered that they are not conventional representations of the narrative, they are representations made in relation to the conventional narrative material. They then enter into the oral tradition as distinct textual entities and continue to circulate, and may participate in the development of those conventional narratives as social phenomena.

3.3.2.1. Ekphrasis Poetry

Two skaldic sources constitute ekphrasis poetry – poems which describe, reflect or interpret visual images occurring in another mode of expression. *Laxdæla saga* states that *Húsdrápa* was composed by Úlfr Uggason for Óláfr Höskuldsson about images carved on the beams of a hall shortly before the legal Christianization of Iceland (Kålund 1889-1891:100). This is generally accepted as an ekphrasis composition. It is unclear whether these carvings had magical or ritual significance. The poetic text has only been preserved in a number of helmings and stanzas scattered through *Skáldskaparmál*. Baldr’s funeral was one of several mythological narratives of cosmological proportions appearing in the poem. Snorri’s patterns of quotation anticipate some familiarity with the poetry (Frog 2009b:271); the author of *Laxdæla saga* considered it interesting and familiar enough to warrant mention without even first-stanza quotation.³⁴ The preserved stanzas describe the procession to the funeral with a half-stanza on setting the funeralship in motion. Baldr is referred to exclusively through “Óðinn’s son’-kennings.³⁵

³⁴ On first-stanza quotation in saga prose, see Quinn 1997. In spite of the length of this saga, there are only five verse quotations ranging from only 2-8 lines in length; three of these are in the *fornyrðislag* metre, and none are in *dróttkvætt* metre: it is not surprising that the mention of the poem is included without quotation.

³⁵ The genitive string *sylgs heilags tafns*, “of the gulp of the holy victim (of battle)” [‘blood’] (*Húsdrápa* 10), is normally interpreted as a locative referring to approaching Baldr on the pyre. This is based on an inappropriate analogy with other half-stanzas (*Húsdrápa* 10 may be the second helming of *Húsdrápa* 9) and a desire to read *tafn* as “sacrifice” which does not work in the poetic register (Lindow 1997b:74). I

According to *Orkneyinga saga*, an “improvisational”³⁶ ekphrasis stanza was composed by Oddi litli in the mid-12th century in relation to a tapestry image. This stanza was composed in response to a challenge by Rögnvaldr jarl. Both Rögnvaldr’s challenging stanza (Nordal 1913-1916:222; Jónsson 1912-1915.AI:508) and Oddi’s response (Nordal 1913-1916:223; Jónsson 1912-1915.AI:529) contain the expression *á tjaldi*, “on the tapestry”, making ekphrasis explicit in the stanza compositions.³⁷ Rögnvaldr stipulates that Oddi should not repeat any word in his composition (Nordal 1913-1916:222). The repetition appears to disqualify Oddi’s stanza, which seems both a surprising and anticlimactic outcome to the duel.³⁸ The repeated phrase, “on the tapestry”, is potentially the most blatant possible repetition of a “word”³⁹ from Rögnvaldr’s stanza and it occurs in corresponding metrical positions – the position which determines the *aðalhending* (full internal-rhyme) for the line of the couplet. Kristjánsdóttir (2009) addresses this phenomenon in *Gísla saga*, arguing that it reflects conventions of an oral tradition of verbal duelling.⁴⁰ It is therefore possible that the saga author stipulated the avoidance of repetition in order to affirm Rögnvaldr jarl rather than Oddi litli as the victor of the challenge.⁴¹ The stanza incorporates a kenning which utilizes the attempt to recover

follow Kraus (1934) in reading this as part of an extended kenning for Óðinn, with an elegant ambiguity in the relationship between the genitives and the valkyries and ravens in the relevant lines.

³⁶ On improvisation in skaldic verse, see Frog 2009c; cf. Grove 2008:94-119.

³⁷ Jesch (2006:438) includes this stanza in her list of potential references to Orcadian mythological traditions. Oddi is said to be one of two visiting Icelandic poets. A later paper manuscript adds that he is specifically from Breiðfirðir (see Nordal 1913-1916:222n, 223) without adding supplementary information on the other poet, with the potential implication that he was recognized as a figure beyond the manuscript text. This could explain why an anecdote of the remarkable poet Rögnvaldr’s challenge to Oddi could survive for documentation in a saga written in Iceland, particularly if the anecdote exhibited Oddi’s skill as a poet. However, it is not clear that Oddi litli’s circumlocution should be considered to reflect Orcadian mythology *per se*, except insofar as it can be taken to reflect Oddi litli’s assumptions about conventional Orcadian knowledge of and interest in vernacular mythological narrative traditions.

³⁸ According to Poole (2007: 247), the “stipulation that Oddi must not repeat words used by Rögnvaldr [is] a fair indication in itself that this *Begleitprosa* was devised *ex post facto* and can scarcely shed light on the circumstances in which ekphrasis might have been composed.” Oddi’s stanza in fact contains multiple verbal elements from Rögnvaldr’s stanza (§16.4).

³⁹ On “word” as a unit of utterance see Foley 2002:11-21; Stepanova, E.2009:21-24; cf. Saussure 1916[1967]:144-146.

⁴⁰ Kristjánsdóttir focuses on the repetition of *aðalhending* rather than the repeated verbal element, which I consider more prominent in elocution and more significant in reception. The repetition of the verbal element in this way may be an ideal means of linking to the challenging verse among a range of strategies (see also Grove 2008:94-119).

⁴¹ On the politics of poetic quotation and attribution in saga prose, see Nordal 2001.

Baldr as a referent. §16.4 addresses the possibility that the stanza is explicating or interpreting the image as related to the Baldr-Cycle.

3.3.2.2. Parodies of Sorrow

Málsháttakvæði (Jónsson 1912-1915.AII:130-136) appears to have been composed in the Orkneys at the beginning of the 13th century (see Frank 2004:4 and works there cited). It is a lampoon in the form of a jumbled palimpsest of traditional knowledge. Stanza 9 of the preserved poem refers to Baldr as Frigg's (rather than Óðinn's) son, Hermóðr's journey, and a two-fold mention of weeping which appears to reflect the Recovery Attempt and its failure (§16.4.4). The number of lines devoted to the reference attests to its interest and value as a referent. A *lausavísa* in *Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar* (Jónsson 1912-1915.AI:595; Helgadóttir 1987:10-11) is similarly a "mirthful transfer of the Baldr myth to local circumstances" (Helgadóttir 1987:95). The verse is anonymous. Events in the saga are set in the 12th century but the verse is said "about" events rather than attributed to figures who were present, and it belongs to a small group of satirical verses which appear introduced purely for entertainment value (Helgadóttir 1987:xxxvi-xxxvii). Helgadóttir (1987:lxxxix-xci) dates the saga to ca. 1230-1260, which appears to place it slightly later than *Edda*. This is of interest as the only source which supports certain aspects of Snorri's Baldr-Cycle, complicated by verbal correspondence between the verse and Snorri's prose (§19.3).

3.3.2.3. Reference and Circumlocution

Skaldic verse is highly referential. Kormákr Ögmundarson (ca.930-970) refers to the seduction of Rindr for the birth of the avenger as a *hieros gamos* myth as a 5-syllable statement in a praise poem to a king (*Sigurðardrápa* 3.4; see §16.3). Other skaldic poems may have intended to activate the Baldr-Cycle more abstractly or subtly. *Hákonarmál* 14 and *Eiríksmál* 1 (which appears modelled on it) have been suggested to draw comparison between the arrival in Valhöll of the dead king celebrated in each poem and the return of Baldr from Hel.⁴² Olsen (1924:162) argues for a reference in word-play

⁴² See Neckel 1920:55-60; Olsen 1924:155-158; Schneider 1947:333-337; Lindow 1997b:104-105; Abram 2003:69-93. See also Herrmann 1922:230.

in Sigvatr Þórðarson's *Erfidrápa Óláfs helga* 27. However, the more brief and subtle the reference appears, the more difficult it is to assume intent.

The system of poetic circumlocutions reveals that Baldr⁴³ and Höðr⁴⁴ functioned as masculine god-names. Váli is only encountered once in this capacity.⁴⁵ Nanna⁴⁶ and Rindr⁴⁷ functioned as goddess/valkyrja names in kenning formation.⁴⁸ Kenning applications reveal that the names were associated with gods rather than heroes within the poetic register. However, the name of the god may be selected to fulfil formal requirements of alliteration and internal rhyme rather than actively attempting to activate the specific mythic figure as a referent making the value of many specific kennings equivocal (Lieberman 2004:20). Baldr's name is problematic because *baldr* was also used as a synonym for "lord" in the poetic register; it is often ambiguous whether the name or the noun is being used and therefore whether any significance is implied in the kenning formation.⁴⁹ The significance of *baldr* as a poetic synonym for "lord" in relation to the history of the cultural activity of Baldr as a mythic figure is dependent on how their etymological relationship is interpreted (discussed §14.3). Kennings used to refer to these figures are extremely limited. This is largely attributable to the limitation of poetic sources in which these figures appear, and the emphasis placed on Óðinn as father of Baldr through the circumlocutions in *Húsdrápa* (§3.3.2.1).

3.4. Iconography

The Hunnestad Stone (Skåne, Sweden, ca. 1000) depicts a monstrous figure riding a wolf with serpent-reins. Within the context of a burial monument, this is compared to the

⁴³ Meissner 1921:260; Egilsson & Jónsson 1931:33.

⁴⁴ Meissner 1921:261; Egilsson & Jónsson 1931:309.

⁴⁵ Meissner 1921:263; Egilsson & Jónsson 1931:597.

⁴⁶ Meissner 1921:407; Egilsson & Jónsson 1931:432

⁴⁷ Meissner 1921:407; Egilsson & Jónsson 1931:466-467.

⁴⁸ Additional examples can be found scattered in Meissner 1927 as his work is organized by referent rather than constituent element in the kennings: these only reflect uses as heiti in "man"- and "woman"-kennings.

⁴⁹ Kauffmann 1902:39-41; Lieberman 2004:25 suggests *nanna* may have had corresponding roots, meaning "woman".

giantess who launches Baldr's funeral ship according to *Húsdrápa* and Snorri.⁵⁰ The image of Loki bound and his wife Sigyn holding a cup above him, catching the dripping serpent-venom which would otherwise drip in his face, appears to be carved into the Gosforth cross (Bailey 1980:126-129). This appears to be one of several images associated with Ragnarök on Christian monuments (Turville-Petre 1976, Bailey 1980, McKinnell 2001). It parallels the Christian emphasis which is found in adaptations of the *völva*-poems and the Baldr-Cycle. Ekphrasis poetry refers to carvings in house-beams and tapestry images. It is clear that the Baldr-Cycle had centuries of history in iconographic representation. The limited evidence of these applications may be directly related to conventions of medium and application. In other words, what survived (mostly stone and metal) is significantly dependent on the medium of iconographic representation, and the application influenced both the medium and also which elements or episodes were selected or conventional for representation.

3.4.1. Three-God-Bracteates

The most important iconographic representations related to the Baldr-Cycle are the Three-God-Bracteates. Bracteates were small image-bearing artefacts (those which have been preserved are predominantly gold) produced in the 5th and 6th centuries.⁵¹ They emerged as a phenomenon in response to Roman coins and medallions and their iconography (§11.2).⁵² The Three-God-Bracteates appear to present a “text” of the narrative sequence surrounding Baldr's death (§19.5).⁵³ They survive in eight complete

⁵⁰ See McKinnell 2005:113-118; cf. Meissner 1921:124-125. Glosecki (1986, 2007) asserts: “Equip the hypostatic personification with any kind of prop, and the narrative has already begun” (Glosecki 2007:53), arguing that “such cult-related images amount to evidence of orality, since the icon with setting and prop presupposes ‘verbal illustration’ that once accompanied the ‘graphic plot’” (*ibid.*:53-54).

⁵¹ See Axboe 2004, who has developed a system for relative dating bracteates. Unfortunately the Three-God-Bracteates and their detail-elements were left out of this extensive analysis (*ibid.*:59).

⁵² In 2007, 978 impressions from 609 models were known, which constituted the complete corpus of bracteates (Nedoma 2009:803). See further Hauck et al. 1985-1989, Axboe 2004, Pesch 2007. The vast majority of bracteates are unique. According to Wicker (1998:254): “as many as fourteen duplicates from the same die are known... However, two to six examples from a single die occur much more frequently” in cases of duplicates. Wicker discusses this in terms of the material from which the dies were made, from which it seems that for the majority of strategies employed, it would be rare to be able to produce ten pieces from a single die, and it might only be effective for one or two (*ibid.*:254-255).

⁵³ “Text” is here taken in the broad sense proposed by Bakhtin (1986:103) as “any coherent complex of signs”.

models and one fragment.⁵⁴ They indicate that some form of the narrative was subject to cultural activity and provided a referent as narrative model (implied in evidence of this application in ON, AS and OHG). They are indicative of an immediate practical application of that narrative: this was not simply a “story” associated with belief-content and social identity – it was used in some way which effected or could affect the immediate physical and/or social world. The Three-God-Bracteates are exceptional in the number of anthropomorphic figures represented and dense concentration of motifs: significance appears to be placed on an extended narrative sequence as opposed to one figure or a single mythic “event”.⁵⁵ The antecedent of the Baldr-Cycle represented on the bracteates clearly held an exceptional position *as a narrative sequence*. The bracteate applications give reason to believe that the narrative was of sufficient value and status that it could be adapted into another cultural context although the nature of its significance in that period is unknown.

3.5. Saga Literature and Mytho-Heroic Narratives

The manuscript tradition of the sagas began to emerge at the end of the 12th century. Óðinn is the only figure associated with the Baldr-Cycle who plays a significant role in the saga literature, where he orchestrates action and/or fate. *Sögubrot af nokkurum konungum* is a fragmentary text preserved in a single manuscript (FN II:vi). It contains a curious dialogue exchange in which figures in the narrative are compared to a god with a qualifying aspect; these include Baldr, *er öll regin grétu*, “for whom all the gods wept, and Hermóðr, *er bezt var hugaðr*, who was most courageous” (FN II:120-121). *Friðþjólf's saga frækna* (FN II:249-270) contains an account of a Baldr temple and cult which is a manipulation of Baldr as little more than a recognizable pagan god.⁵⁶ However, a number of narratives apply Baldr-Cycle narratives intertextually, drawing on it both as a model and source for motifs.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Although nine variants may seem insignificant in a corpus of 978, this is ca. twice the percentage of variants (including fragments) of *LV* in the published corpus of *SKVR*.

⁵⁵ Cf. IK.190a, on which a man's hand is in the mouth of a wolf/dog, readily interpreted as representing the god Týr of Icelandic sources, or as representing the “event” of Týr having his hand bitten off by Fenrisúlfr (cf. Axboe 1991:194-195).

⁵⁶ See Power 1984; Lindow 1997b:132-133.

⁵⁷ Distinct from Magerøy's (1991[1985]) use of “Baldr” to describe a type of figure occurring in saga narratives with no direct relationship to Baldr as a cultural figure.

The Baldr-Cycle assumes a function in the generation of meaning by being activated for the audience as a referent in relationship to which the explicit text can be interpreted and understood. This is no different than Biblical narratives applied as referents in literature and modern cinema today.⁵⁸ The referent model appears most strongly present in mytho-heroic sagas rather than sagas of the historical period (roughly beginning with the settlement of Iceland in the late 9th century). This seems attributable to the higher tolerance of fantastic elements and culturally loaded narrative patterns (cf. Power 1984; Buchholz 1980:esp.62). Five central examples are presented for comparison in §21, one of which is *Grímnismál* addressed above (§3.3.1.5). Saxo's handling of the Baldr-Cycle as "history" is addressed in the same context.

3.5.1. *Heiðreks saga*

Heiðreks saga (§21.2) is preserved in two variants (*Heiðreks R* and *H*) belonging to a common manuscript stemma. *Heiðreks H* was copied by Haukr Erlendsson, the owner of Hauksbók, and Haukr made certain significant revisions to the text (see Hall 2005). Both variants contain an application of the Baldr-Cycle. *Heiðreks R* presents a slaying paralleling Snorri's "blind shooter", and Haukr adapts his exemplar to change this slaying to a sword-weapon paralleling Saxo's account (Helgason 1924:34-38). The significance of this change is emphasized by his additional introduction of a sword named *Mistilteinn* (Helgason 1924:5), which is otherwise only found as a sword-name in one other saga. *Heiðreks saga* offers potential insight into variation in the tradition, and competition between versions of the narrative.

3.5.2. The Sigurðr-Cycle

The Sigurðr-Cycle was subject to a tremendous range of cultural activity.⁵⁹ §21.3 treats Otr's Ransom. This narrative presents Óðinn and Loki as protagonists, making the Baldr-Cycle more easily and immediately recognizable as a referent. §21.3 will address

⁵⁸ Cf. Tulinus's (2002:90-92) discussion of "typologies". Biblical narratives prove valuable as a point of reference because what is activated is rarely a fixed and static authoritative text as found in a Bible: it is an understanding of the narrative which has been internalized through a full spectrum of its cultural activity and does not necessarily require the audience to have even read the relevant text of the Bible.

⁵⁹ The central sources for the Norse Cycle discussed here are the eddic poems *Reginismál*, *Fáfnismál* and *Sigrdrífumál*, Snorri's summary (Faulkes 1998:45-48) and the 13th century composition *Völsunga saga*.

the Death of Sigfrid and the Middle High German *Nibelungenlied*. The Sigurðr-Cycle is extremely important as it presents the possibility of continuity in the Baldr-Cycle as a referent from the Migration Period.

3.5.3. Starkaðr's Sacrifice of Víkarr

Starkaðr's sacrifice of king Víkarr (§21.5) appears to be generated from the Baldr-Cycle as a referent. It is also significant because it is found both in Saxo's (1931:152-153) history and *Gautreks saga* (Ranisch 1900:28-32), and it therefore provides a specific example of Saxo's response to fantastic motifs which can be compared to his adaptation of the Baldr-Cycle.

3.5.4. *Griplur* and *Hrómundar saga Gripssonar*

The earliest manuscripts of *Hrómundar saga* are not older than the 17th century. These are dependent on the *rímur* cycle *Griplur* (Andrews 1911). There is also a related Scandinavian ballad tradition which appears to have evolved independently of *Griplur* (Andrews 1912), or perhaps from a poetic antecedent of *Griplur*.⁶⁰ The *rímur*-cycle *Griplur* is loaded with references to mytho-heroic sagas and poems (Andrews 1913; Þórólfsson 1934:353-363; Jesch 1984:91-95). The adventures of Hrómundr Gripson (§21.7) are of extreme interest for two reasons. Firstly, the handling of the Baldr-Cycle as a referent appears less interested in the generation of specific meanings and more interested in it as a source of raw material to make the account more "mythic" in a general sense. Secondly, Hrómundr's magic sword is named *Mistilteinn*, and the version of the Baldr-Cycle exhibits striking correspondences to the versions of Saxo and *Heiðreks H*.

3.6. Fringes of the Practical Corpus

The sources for the Baldr-Cycle introduced thus far present numerous issues on an individual basis. However, they present explicit references to the Baldr-Cycle or a

⁶⁰ The *rímur*-cycle is unusual because it is a highly referential fusion of a range of material including eddic poems. It invites comparison with *Þrymsqviða* as a referential fusion of material which seems to have been adapted independently into *rímur* and ballad traditions (discussed in §16.4.2) – i.e. there may have been a burlesque eddic poem composed around Hrómundr Gripsson.

sufficient number of correspondences to warrant discussion as relevant and potentially informative when examined in relation to one another and the broader contexts of the extensive information we have related to traditions in Norway, Denmark and Iceland. In contrast, the potential references in *Hákonarmál*, *Eiríksmál* and Sigvatr Þórðarson's *Erfidrápa Óláfs helga* (§3.3.2.3) have the potential to affirm the significance and broader cultural activity of the Baldr-Cycle, but these artful allusions are in fact so ambiguous that recognizing them as references to the Baldr-Cycle from a modern standpoint is wholly dependent on our interpretation of the Baldr-Cycle and its cultural activity through other sources. A corresponding problem emerges in the interpretation of narrative material presented in the skaldic poem *Ynglingatal* and the corresponding *Ynglinga saga*: these could potentially reflect East Norse or specifically Swedish heroic analogues of the local form of the Baldr-Cycle.⁶¹ In this case, the ambiguity of the potential reference is compounded by the uncertainty of what the Baldr-Cycle may or may not have been in this cultural area. The more extensive material presented by Saxo and Snorri and the extensive corpus of medieval Norse literature and poetry make it possible to develop a common framework for approaching individual sources and their potential relationships to traditions which they reflect, but it is not clear how this framework might or might not be relevant to a potential “Swedish” form of the cycle, particularly when it is not clear that the narratives in question make such a reference.

3.6.1. The Rök Inscription and the Mythology of Death

Harris (1994, 1999b, 2006, 2007, 2009a, 2009b, forthcoming) has argued that a central aspect of the cultural activity of the Baldr-Cycle was as a myth concerned with death (cf. de Vries 1955). In addition to the Baldr-Cycle's potential relevance as a referent for memorial poems such as *Hákonarmál*, *Eiríksmál* and Sigvatr's *Erfidrápa*, Harris argues that it is a central mythic model applied by Egill Skalla-Grímsson in *Sonatorrek*, where he laments the deaths of his own sons. Harris further argues that the series of riddles on the inscription on the Rök Stone culminate in a reference to a local understanding of the

⁶¹ This is most possible for the Alrekr and Eiríkr episode, in which one slew the other or both slew each other using horse bridles rather than weapons (Jónsson 1912-1915.A.I:9; Aðalbjarnarson 1941:39-40). See Detter 1894:501-502; Lindow 1997b:139-140; Harris 2006:79,92-93; 2009a:32-33,38. The problem of these accounts is compounded by the Swedish genealogy being apparently recrafted by a Norwegian poet in *Ynglingatal* (see Sundqvist 2002), and the later saga being composed (potentially) by Snorri Sturluson.

Baldr-Cycle. Harris’s argument is both interesting and compelling. His approach offers a means for understanding potential allusions to the Baldr-Cycle as a general pattern. However, the interpretation of *Sonatorrek*’s relationship to the Baldr-Cycle is dependent on the interpretation of the Baldr-Cycle and ideas about its cultural activity, and the manipulation of the Baldr-Cycle as a referent must be considered too dependent on interpretation for *Sonatorrek* to function reciprocally as a source for the Baldr-Cycle before the nature of the cycle has been assessed.

Harris’s approach to the Rök Stone inscription has the potential to be more concretely identified with the Baldr-Cycle (cf. von Friesen 1920:58ff.). This text, consisting of ca. 750 runes without accompanying iconographic depictions, would be the earliest written representation of the Baldr-Cycle, dated to the first half of the ninth century (Harris 2009a:11), putting it roughly half way between the bracteates and the accounts of Snorri and Saxo. Harris makes a compelling argument that the inscription consists of an initial dedication by a father for his “death-doomed” son, followed by two sections belonging to the heroic sphere and a third belonging to the mythic sphere, each of which consists of two questions/hints followed by a solution, although the actual interpretation is more challenging.⁶² Harris (2006:495) reads and translates the third section as follows:

Sagum mögminni þat: hvar Inguld/inga vari guldinn at kvanaR husli?
 Sagum mögminni: [h]vaim se burin nið/R drængi?
 Vilinn es þat + knua knatt/i iatun. Vilinn es þat + nýti. / Sagum mögminni: Þor /
 ol nirðR, / sefi via vari.

I pronounce this hint for the lad: Who among the descendants of Ing-Valdr was compensated for through the sacrifice of a woman?
 I pronounce a (further) hint for the lad: To whom was a son born for a gallant young man?
 Vilinn it is, whom the ‘enemy’ slew. Vilinn it is: may he enjoy (this). I pronounce the heir-memorial: At ninety, the Kinsman, respecter of shrines, engendered Þórr.

⁶² Harris (*esp.* 2006, 2009a) emphasizes the increasing difficulty posed by each section. He also draws parallels to examples of the strategy of juxtaposing heroic and mythological material while maintaining a distinction between them in both iconography and early literature (Harris 2009a:21; 2009b:470).

Harris (2006:83-84; 2009b:472) argues that “the sacrifice of a woman” refers to the rape of Rindr in order to engender an avenger for Baldr. It is possible that Rindr’s name is reflected in a local place-name (cf. von Friesen 1920:61). The second “hint” would then refer to Óðinn, to whom the avenger was born for “the gallant young man” Baldr. The name Vilinn is similar to ON Vili, a name for one of Óðinn’s brothers; if this is a mythological figure, “Vilinn” would almost certainly be a variant of the name “Vili”.⁶³ Harris (2006:82) identifies Vilinn as a name for Baldr which fits in with the pattern of *v*-alliteration associated with Óðinn’s kin. He also draws attention to the use of the common personal name component *Vil-* in *Vil-baldr*, which, according to Lind (1905-1915:108-109), is the only example of Baldr’s name (or the corresponding noun) used either alone or in a compound for a personal name for anyone other than the god. Harris (2009b) discusses in detail the term *iatun*, or its more familiar form *jötunn*, “giant”, which could be used figuratively for “enemy”, leaving it ambiguous whether reference is literal or figurative, and whether it refers to Höðr, Loki, or someone else. The verb for the slaying, *knua*, is a *hapax legomenon*, which appears to be related to the ON noun *knúi*, “knuckle” (Harris 2006:63,68-69; 2009b:482). The conclusion of the inscription leads to identifying the unnamed kinsman as Óðinn,⁶⁴ father of Þórr. The engendering of Þórr as the avenger would be consistent with Þórr’s role as a “giant”-slayer, and Þórr is elsewhere known as Óðinn’s son by Jörð, “Earth”, closely associated with Rindr in the mythology (Harris 2009a:472).

This interpretation offers a strong correspondence to the Baldr-slaying and revenge-cycle which is significantly augmented by Harris’s arguments for the role of the Baldr-Cycle in approaching and dealing with death and mourning; it offers significant parallels to *Sonatorrek*. Although the names of figures involved are not otherwise associated with the Baldr-Slaying, “Vili” is attested elsewhere as a name for one of Óðinn’s immediate kin, and Þórr is similarly attested as Óðinn’s son by a goddess similar if not identical to Rindr. Harris’s proposal that this inscription may reflect an East Norse or specifically

⁶³ On the suffix *-inn* in ON male divine names, see Lönnroth 1977:45; de Vries 1931:33-38. According to Lind (1905-1915:1110), Vili was an unusual name outside of the mythology, and “Vilinn” is not attested elsewhere as a personal name; this would be consistent with it being the name of a god.

⁶⁴ This would seem to require interpreting the “ninety” as a circumlocution for “very old” rather than any measurement of Óðinn’s age in years.

Swedish tradition is interesting, but it also emphasizes how little context we have for interpreting the inscription and its relevance.⁶⁵ Moreover, this is an interpretation of a difficult and indeed unique runic text which appears consciously designed to challenge a reader. It will remain outside of the central discussion of this study because it is uncertain what the passage is referring to – an account of the Baldr-Cycle, an application of the same basic story-pattern in a myth about the origin of Þórr, or perhaps part of a euhemerized genealogy. It is nonetheless interesting to observe that the first narrative section may be concerned with the sword Miming or Mimmingr as the treasure associated with Theodoric of Bern taken twelve times from different men (Lönnroth 1977:57; Harris 2009a:32) because this sword and the account of its theft from a supernatural being is adapted by Saxo for the sword used in the Baldr-slaying (§21.6.1).

3.6.2. The Problem of *Beowulf*

The Old English epic *Beowulf* contains a much-debated analogue of the Baldr-slaying and the revenge-cycle in lines 2432-2489. The passage describes how Herebeald was slain by Hæðcyn (cf. Baldr and Höðr: §10.3.1) in some sort of hunting accident with a bow, which Harris (2006:80) points out is nonetheless portrayed with terms indicating conflict and hostility. The grief of the father is given emphasis and he apparently dies of sorrow (as Baldr's wife Nanna does, according to Snorri: Faulkes 1982:46), and there follows an account of a special avenger and revenge cycle (§21.2.4).⁶⁶ The account appears to be a variety of euhemerization of the Baldr-Cycle. It is relevant and interesting as a source, but the uniqueness of *Beowulf* in the OE corpus leaves it something of a black swan, not unlike the Rök Stone inscription.

Beowulf is preserved in a single manuscript copy dated to the beginning of the eleventh century (Fulk et al. 2008:xxvii), or approximately two centuries before Saxo wrote his

⁶⁵ Cf. Lönnroth (1977:49): “it is useless to speculate about the exact content of this story or about the exact relationship between Vilin and Vili, Thor and Váli, Frigg and the Earth Goddess, etc. Names come and go in Norse mythology; stories are transformed as they are placed in new social contexts. For this reason it is more important to consider the structural typology than the individual motifs or names.”

⁶⁶ See further Lindow 1997b:141-144; North 1997b; O'Donoghue 2003:83-85; Orchard 2003:116-119; Harris 2006:79-81

Gesta or Snorri wrote *Edda*. This is a copy of an earlier written copy of unknown date.⁶⁷ It is the longest OE poem, a heroic epic, but we lack a framework for approaching OE epic as a genre, and in fact we are unable to fully assess the degree to which it accurately reflects generic conventions. The vernacular heroic framework and epic mode of expression are clearly fused with an emerging Christian ideology and worldview, and the composition is clearly manipulating material according to priorities of the work as a whole, even if the exact priorities remain mysterious (Orchard 2003). It also contains a number of referential manipulations of what appear to be mythological narratives (§10.3.1), but there is almost no evidence of vernacular OE forms of such mythological narrative traditions: the references can only be assessed through comparison with ON sources. The same is true to a slightly lesser degree with references to the heroic sphere. Moreover, the acknowledgement of mythological lore in the poem does not necessarily resolve the question of whether the traditions (inevitably euhemerized) reflect an Anglo-Saxon vernacular heritage or Scandinavian cultural contact closer to the era of the manuscript copy (cf. Frank 1981a, North 1997b, Harris 2006). Conversely, the hero Beowulf and the account of his great feats appear to reflect a range of models and referents (very probably including Þórr), yet there is no evidence that either the hero “Beowulf”⁶⁸ nor his opponents Grendel and Grendel’s mother were conventionally established traditional figures – at least as the figures encountered in the poem (Dronke 1969, Orchard 2003, Falk et al. 2008).

I am inclined to consider *Beowulf* the work of a highly skilled vernacular oral poet,⁶⁹ who composed it in relation to the process of writing the work (whether writing it himself or via an amanuensis), and that this poet drew on a diverse range of traditional material.

⁶⁷ According to Kiernan (1981:171): “The MS is certainly a copy, for the scribal errors are, for the most part, manifestly copying errors”. Dating the poem’s first documentation has been blurred with questions of the date of its “original” composition. Although it is common to date the poem to shortly prior to the Viking Age, ca. 700-750 (Fulk et al. 2008:clxxix), Fulk et al. (2008:clxxx) point out that “[i]n the present state of scholarship, the lack of scholarly consensus would in fact appear to depend less on the volume of evidence available than on scholarly disagreement about the relative weight to be attached to the varieties of evidence.”

⁶⁸ A relationship of Beowulf to the mythic Beow as a referent would be consistent with other names in the work (§10.3.1).

⁶⁹ In a recent statistical analysis, Golston (2009) has shown that *Beowulf* exhibits an exceptional degree of awareness of the subtleties of the metrics employed. This has implications for the relationship of composition/dictation and documentation, which would necessarily have to be verbatim.

However, I am inclined to doubt that the traditional material was necessarily handled any more traditionally by this poet than by Snorri or Saxo. I am highly sceptical concerning the possibility that the work was ever subject to oral transmission as a coherent entity, although the poet may have worked out the complex narrative in song before committing it (or having it committed) to writing (cf. §17.3). Although we are clearly faced with an “oral” poet, I am inclined to discuss the poet/singer in this case as an “author” in order to emphasize his potentially unique adaptation of “tradition” which was potentially constructed specifically for the written mode of expression and “reading”.⁷⁰ As in the case of Saxo, the manipulation of mythological referents is a strong indication that these were a current, recognizable and interesting part of the cultural knowledge of both the poet and his intended audience(s). The problem is that we have no points of reference for what those traditions might be, and our only valid points of reference for how such traditions might be being manipulated are either internal to the *Beowulf* text itself, or through comparisons with products generated in other cultures. Comparisons with corresponding material from Old Norse sources imply that the poet has manipulated names and only retained a minimum of recognizable motifs, which means that we can use our understanding of ON material to approach the corresponding material in *Beowulf*, but there is no way to judge the significance of any variation as symptomatic of the poet’s conception of the mythological referent without additional points of reference. I am inclined to consider the mythological traditions reflected in *Beowulf* to be part of the Anglo-Saxon heritage relevant to a (predominantly) Anglo-Saxon audience, but even that cannot be satisfactorily demonstrated.

3.7. Navigating the Sources

The accounts of Snorri and Saxo are both extremely problematic. All of the sources considered here can be approached in terms of applications of knowledge and understanding of the Baldr-Cycle, even if that knowledge or understanding is weak or confused. In later chapters, different elements of these various sources will be addressed

⁷⁰ The possibility that the *Beowulf* poet was influenced by Virgil and the *Aeneid* is a possibility which is difficult to support without clear textual correspondence (cf. Jäkel 1970; Orchard 2003:132-137), but it would offer insights into why the poem would be composed in a written form, and it could also potentially be related to *Beowulf*’s otherwise unattested long epic form.

and compared in order to assess what can be said considering the understanding behind these sources, and what that reveals about the tradition. This will be done with the introduction of the theoretical framework. Individual elements and sources will be addressed and discussed as examples in the process of introducing that theoretical framework. Additional relevant material will also be introduced in this process. The Old High German Second Merseburg Charm, written in a ninth century manuscript by a tenth century hand (Fuller 1980:162), will be addressed in §14.3, addressing whether *baldor* is a name or a noun/epithet in this incantation, as well as discussing the cultural activity of this *historiola* in which *baldor's/Baldor's* horse is injured and healed. The network of discussions will build up to comparisons on the level of intertextual applications of larger structures in the mytho-heroic sagas. These intertextual applications present a dynamic framework in which to assess both the accounts of Snorri and Saxo, and also the many other references to the cycle and its episodes. Very importantly, this will make it possible to develop a historical perspective for understanding the relationship to the Migration Period Three-God-Bracteates, what elements appear most central to the cultural activity of the cycle, and what elements are or are not reasonable to compare with *LV*.

Chapter 4: Sources for *Lemminkäisen virsi*

4.1. Corpus and Corpora

LV will be addressed in terms of a delineated “core corpus” of 414 “variants” appearing in the critical editions *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot*, “Old Songs of the People of Finland” (*SKVR*) and *Eesti Rahvalaulud*, “Estonian Folksongs” (*ERL*) see (§7). *SKVR* variants are indicated by volume in Roman numerals as part in Arabic numerals (when appropriate) with item number and line numbers separated by periods (e.g. I2.701.1-4) so that they are easily distinguishable from page-number citations. Citations from other collections include an abbreviation from the volume. The “core corpus” is defined according to the classifications of these collections which are considered to accurately reflect the documented material available to the editors. The exceptions are Savo, where the *LV* variants are classed as other (related) narrative poems, and Ingria, where both those variants indexed as “Kaukomoinen” and “Lemminkäinen” are included. This provides a delimited “random”⁷¹ data-set for statistical comparisons, providing a point of reference in numerically concrete terms.

Figure 5. *Lemminkäisen virsi* variants by region

Region	Variants Collected
Viena	190
Kainuu	12
Aunus	64
Border Karelia	79
Northern Karelia	20
Southern Savo	6
Northern Savo	1
Karelian Isthmus	2
Unclassified	1
Ingria	25
Estonia	14
Total	414

⁷¹ Not all items classed as *LV* in these collections are associated with the narrative sequence discussed here, such as short songs or fragments related to the *Vellamo's Maiden* adventure (e.g. I2.761, I2.770, I2.807, I2.822). Many of the variants are ambiguous as to how they should be classified, hence it should not be surprising when certain poems in *SKVR* are treated as variants of *LV* within the discussion but not included in the statistics of the core corpus. This strategy for defining the core corpus is intended to present the relevant material within the context of *LV's* broader cultural activity and the process of collection without bias toward the specific comparisons of the present study.

For practical reasons, “variant” is used to refer to a text as a manuscript artefact which in many cases is only a fragmentary reflection of a particular performance. “Variants” in *SKVR* which represent only the *LV*-section of a longer poem have been considered in relationship to the full poem. The vast majority of these variants were documented between 1832-1915: the earliest was documented before 1786; the latest in 1946. Almost all of the intensive collection during WWII stands outside the core corpus. *LV* was primarily documented in four regions: Viena,⁷² Aunus, Border Karelia, and parts of Northern Karelia. The disproportionate number of Viena variants largely reflects the intensive collection activity in that region (cf. Siikala 2002b), but also the exceptional activity of epic there. *SKVR* II-4, Viena, began being published in 1908, and a consequence of defining the core corpus according to published volumes is that the latest variant from this region was recorded in 1918. *LV* continued to be collected in the second half of the 20th century. A significant amount of poetry from Ingria, Estonia and Setumaa is considered relevant or related to *LV* but not included in the core corpus as they are not variants of *LV* any more than the account of *Heiðreks R* is a variant of the Baldr-Cycle *per se*.

Variants are contextualized in relation to knowledge about performers, collectors, specific performance contexts and socio-economic conditions more generally. *SKVR* presents over 86,000 collected poems and fragments across a full spectrum of genres and subjects. It is representative of the more than 150,000 kalevalaic poems in the folklore archives of the Finnish Literature Society. These include ca. 100 additional variants of *LV*. Kalevalaic poetry is only a small portion of the more than 5,000,000 folklore items indexed in the archives. This is augmented by additional variants preserved in other archives accessible through Soviet, Russian and Karelian publications. The corpus or corpus of corpora becomes vast and amorphous (hence the delineated “core corpus” for statistical considerations), but it makes it possible to assess both individual variants and

⁷² Viena is normally translated as “White Sea” and otherwise referred to as “Archangel” Karelia because it was the western-most portion of the Arkanglesk’ municipal district from 1719 (Kirkinen 1998:39). The term is left untranslated here in order to avoid ambiguities in its relationship to the White Sea or any confusion with the Arkanglesk’ municipality from which many *byliny* were collected.

regional patterns within a “thick corpus” – situating an individual “animal” in relation to ecotype and species within the ecosystem of the tradition ecology.

4.1.1. A “Thick Corpus”

Form, content and application combine in a context for the generation of meaning (§8ff.). Form, content and the significance of constituent elements, application and context are not necessarily conventional, or they may only be conventional with a very limited horizon:

It is impossible to accept one performance as the only representative one. Every performance is a compromise, an optimal reaction to a confluence of various factors. It must be understood against the spectrum of several performances in similar and different contexts. Only then will the assessment of the importance of one particular performance become informative. (Honko 2000b:15)

Honko (2000b) argues for the development of “thick corpora” in approaching variation in performance analysis. This means going beyond developing a body of variants of a single textual entity to contextualizing those variants in a “thick corpus” of material related to contexts of performance, and related to the cultural activity of particular phenomena within the tradition ecology more generally – from metre and genre to motif and line. A “thick corpus” becomes essential for developing an understanding of a tradition and the semiotics involved in its application (cf. Lotman 1990, Siikala 2002a, Tarkka 2005, Frog 2008a, 2009a, forthcoming b, Heinonen forthcoming).

4.1.2. Tradition Ecology and Semiosphere

The Historical-Geographic Method approached transmission as a “river” in a linear process of diffusion and corruption. Von Sydow rejected this, proposing concepts of both active and passive repertoires of individuals,⁷³ conduits of transmission (von Sydow 1948:12), and a biological metaphor for discussing individual folklore phenomena (*ibid.*:11; cf. *ibid.*:44-59). The biological metaphor for individual phenomena has since

⁷³ The active repertoire is what an individual can use and apply; the passive repertoire is what an individual knows and can recognize and respond to but lacks the competence which enables active performance. “A carrier of traditions is thus active only as regards part of his stock, being passive in so far as perhaps the major part is concerned” (von Sydow 1948:15).

been developed into the much more dynamic metaphor of “tradition ecology”, approaching folklore phenomena as a complex system of systems all of which are in interaction following the metaphor of an ecosystem.⁷⁴ Lotman (1990) expands this metaphor to the “semiosphere” (cf. “biosphere”) as the comprehensive network of semiotic systems, their participants and semiotic activity. “Semiosphere” is a complementary concept which is extremely useful when focus is shifted from form, content and applications of folklore phenomena to their semiotics in meaning-generation, and the significance of their constituent elements in cultural activity.

4.1.3. *Lemminkäisen virsi* in the Genre System

Sources for the Baldr-Cycle included a range of modes of expression and many different genres. Each genre will handle a given subject or theme differently, considering different aspects and dimensions, expressing different attitudes or emphases as well as different omissions: “If we consider the conception of “death” in omens, laments, belief-legends, proverbs, stories, ballads etc., we soon find at least as many conceptions of death as we have genres” (Honko 1979:68-69; 1981a:26; 1981b:38-39). Genres function as flexible social resources (Briggs & Bauman 1992, Tarkka 2005). Neither they nor their contents exist in a vacuum – they exist, evolve and are defined and interpreted both in relation to one another and through one another within the complex system (cf. Muana 1998:47-51; Tarkka 2005). A characteristic intertextual strategy of epic genres is embedding or otherwise reflecting a range of oral traditions as speech-acts without violating the conventions of the narrative genre in which they appear (cf. Bauman 2004:15-33; Tarkka 2005). Such intertextual strategies affect the evolution of these various genres and their relations to one another.

LV was subject to conventions of conservative reproduction and transmission which clearly establish it in the genre of kalevalaic mytho-heroic epic (for a working definition of “epic” see §18.1). It only survived in regions where mytho-heroic poetry survived more generally. This basic observation differentiates it from other genres or classes of

⁷⁴ Following Honko 1979; 1981a; 1981b; 1985; for an overview of the concept see Kamppinen 1989:37-46.

kalevalaic narrative poetry,⁷⁵ with implications for the relationships between epic and individual and social identities. Conventions of epic reproduction were extremely conservative across all regions.⁷⁶ *LV* can be described as the most “popular” of the mytho-heroic poems in terms of how many people performed it and how it was regarded in regions where the poem was collected (cf. Inha 1999:21). In kalevalaic poetry, it is important to be conscious of genres as both conventions bound by the horizons of individuals who use them, and also as flexible strategies which can be actively applied. The conventions were in a continuous process of development for centuries leading to distinct regional conventions of genre and genre-systems. The ability to adapt and apply different generic strategies is significant because Kalevala-metre was the dominant mode of expression for an exceptionally broad range of genres (Kuusi 1994a:41; Frog & Stepanova forthcoming). This facilitated inter-generic strategies (Tarkka 2005) and it facilitated applying an alternative generic strategy to a conventionally established poem, such as performing *LV* as a “lyric” rather than “epic”.

4.1.4. Collectors, Collection and Texts: What Are “Variants” in the Corpus?

Collectors were “outsiders” who learned how to collect poetry not by instruction or even necessarily by example, but by simply by going out and “doing” it. Instructions for collection were not put forward until 1891 (see Hautala 1968, Siikala 2002c; Tarkka 2005:32ff.; Stark 2006:116ff.). Mytho-heroic poetry was often found among Old Believers, a conservative form of Orthodox Christianity which resisted the reforms of Patriarch Nikon.⁷⁷ Collectors were viewed by them as “pagan”, or even “Swedish pagans”, and potentially infectious.⁷⁸ Singers might view poems, genres or singing as “sinful”, or be unwilling to perform because it was socially unacceptable in their community (Siikala 2002b:32-33; Tarkka 2005:41-42). Epic poetry was associated strongly with *tietäjät*, the ethnic ritual specialist and wielder incantations (§7.4), and collectors met resistance and problems related to fears about losing or transferring

⁷⁵ Compare the persistence of the farcical *Prymsqvīða* narrative (§16.4.2).

⁷⁶ Even in Ingria where conventions were most flexible, epic appears to have maintained an exceptional status in reproduction (cf. Timonen 2000:653, 2004:287)

⁷⁷ For an overview of the Old Believers in English, see Pentikäinen 1978:100-120

⁷⁸ Tarkka 2004:23. E.g. M.A. Castrén had difficulty getting food in one village of Old Believers because it was believed he would contaminate their dishes and utensils (Pentikäinen 1999:125). On the fluid boundary between spiritual and physical “health” see Stark 2002, 2006.

magical power in the interview (Siikala 2002c, Tarkka 2005).⁷⁹ Each individual developed his or her own relationship to the traditions and each household or village community held singing in different social regard (§8.3, §17). The poetry and its language were foreign to the collectors and had to be learned.⁸⁰ The core corpus reflects a full spectrum of these issues. A basic understanding of the corpus is essential for approaching the data.

Kalevala has a very important relationship to the corpus. Lönnrot collected the most *LV* variants prior to the publication of the first edition of *Kalevala (Old Kalevala)*. This publication stimulated a tremendous collection effort. Collectors treated epic as the most desirable genre for documentation (Siikala 2002c; 2003:4-5). The position of *LV* and Lemminkäinen in *Kalevala* not only ensured its status as a song worthy of documentation, it also led to *LV* being actively sought and collectors would inquire after it specifically. In some cases it is clear that *LV* was specifically requested or the singer was asked directly if s/he knew the song of Lemminkäinen's Death/Resurrection. Consequently, many performances simply terminated when memory failed, or dissolve into a prose summary of the content. Although this supplies us with many more variants of *LV* than we would otherwise have, many of these may derive from people who were either not skilled in epic, or were simply not particularly interested in performing it.⁸¹

The collector's conceptions of "quality" and "value" often did not correspond to the conceptions of the singing communities. Their biases affected whom they interviewed, but there is rarely any indication of the relative skill of the singer attached to what was documented, or whether the singer was skilled in one genre or group of genres but not in others. As a corpus, the variants reflect what people (*das Volk*) knew and were able to

⁷⁹ Roper (2008:182) reports encountering a similar phenomenon among the Setu in 1996: "we were in the unusual situation for folklorists of arriving too early, while the belief system was still intact." This can also be compared to strategies in performances intended for cultural tourism in which the shaman omits an essential element from the ritual, such as a head-dress, and the performance is considered "harmless" as a display without magical consequence.

⁸⁰ The *Kalevala* was largely inaccessible to the contemporary literati, who had to wait for the first translation (into Swedish – Haavio 1952:22).

⁸¹ In 1879, Iivana Iknattainen followed 303 lines of *LV* with the statement, "Sitä olis vielä, kyllä minä kuullut" – "Sure, there's still more that I've heard" (I2.772).

recall in the awkward circumstance of being asked to sing a particular song by a strange foreigner. The proportion of *LV* variants to the broader corpus does not necessarily reflect its cultural activity in relation to other songs, or epic in relation to other genres.

A tremendous number of variants present only fragmentary texts. Early documentation was done by hand (normally with a fountain pen) requiring a significant amount of effort for the documentation of a whole poem. D.E.D. Europaeus, for example, was sometimes listening to several performances of *LV* in a single day.⁸² Forty-seven of the variants/items in Figure 5 are transcriptions by Europaeus's in 1845 and 1846. Many of these are quite literally field notes. Virtanen (1968:55) points out that “a researcher can usually say without difficulty to which song particular lines belong” (cf. Tarkka 2005:65-67). Collectors used this as a strategy in notation, not only using abbreviations but indicating whole sequences with a line or group of lines. Some transcriptions seem to skip through the sung poem like a stone (e.g. I1.35). The preserved texts often exhibit no interest in documenting a “whole” performance and may only note a particular line or lines, often for the purpose of noting an unusual word, line, motif or its associations, or the organization of a narrative whole. These fragmentary sources offer indications of what was performed, but they are ambiguous concerning what was *not* performed. It is often unclear whether a fragmentary-looking or truncated transcription is due to the singer or the documentation. Priority was on poetic text rather than narrative content: the absence of a concluding episode may be due to either the singer or collector stopping because the poetic text could no longer be remembered, although it may have been possible to continue in prose.

Much of the collection prior to 1850 was generally oriented toward or in response to the *Kalevala* or Lönnrot's other projects. For example, neither Castrén nor Cajan documented variants which they felt had already been published in *Kalevala*. In many cases they only took brief notes with specific reference to *Kalevala*'s song number or song and line number (Kaukonen 1979:98-99, 140-141; Tarkka 2005:56-61). This period

⁸² On his third collection journey, which lasted a year, Europaeus collected 1,300 kalevalaic poems, 55 laments, in addition to proverbs, riddles and tales (Salminen 1906:27,230-231).

of collection in particular was oriented toward the exceptional (especially the exceptional associated with “quality”). Variants which were felt to have already been sufficiently documented might be noted with only a few lines, if they were noted at all. The songs were understood as the voice of *das Volk*: collectors were interested in lines and songs, with little or no consideration for who sang them or their applications. Many singers are never identified, nor is any indication given of their skills, although familiarity with the documentation strategies of the individual collector may offer some insight (cf. Salminen 1906).

The barrier of dialect and poetic register, and the challenge of transcription make the competence of the collector an additional factor which is significant, particularly in the documentation of whole poems. Rapid transcription was an acquired skill which was accompanied by developed systems of abbreviations. Early collectors did not necessarily distinguish between sung and dictated performance. As in many traditions,⁸³ dictated versions are generally shorter in kalevalaic poetry. In several variants a dictated form becomes evident through the introduction of pronouns, variation in inflections of tense or case and enunciation which make lines unmetrical (cf. Supplement 2; Salminen 1934:200-203). This may advance into a more general inclination toward prose. The length of the performance may also become shorter in the shift of emphasis from “song” to the communication of content (see §15), eliminating parallelism, minimizing multiforms, and reducing dialogues. However, it should be emphasized that the impacts of dictated versus sung performance on the product is highly dependent on the individual singer and context, and there may also be differences according to region.

The halting dictations facilitated documenting whole poems, but they could also result in the singer becoming confused or frustrated. Many performances also exhibit a pattern of becoming increasingly abbreviated toward the end, which may be a symptom of losing interest in the performance/dictation. A performer’s priorities and assumptions about the knowledge and understanding of the poetic tradition and the contents of its narratives could also impact the form and mode of performance, for example simplifying the

⁸³ See Honko 1998:81-88, 105, 134; for an exception, see Reichl 2007.

presentation and inserting extra-metrical explicatory information in order to make it more accessible to the collector.⁸⁴ The bull-in-a-china-shop strategies of collection could also result in chaotic performances by otherwise skilled singers. For example, Borenius interviewed Hökkä-Petri and Onuhrie Lesonen in Venehjärvi in both 1871 and 1877. The 1871 performances of both singers appear both confused and weak; the 1877 performances are both fully developed and approximately twice as long.⁸⁵ The quality of an individual “text’-variant is not necessarily indicative of the knowledge and skill of the performer.

The volume of the corpus and range of supplementary information available makes it possible to construct a “thick corpus”. It is possible to develop an understanding of *LV* within the tradition ecology and the relationship of individual variants to local and regional traditions. This emphasizes that the “best” singers are not necessarily the most “traditional” (§17) and that no single variant can be considered representative of the *LV* tradition as a whole. It also sets the lack of variants of eddic poems in sharp relief.

4.2. Conservatism in Kalevalaic Poetry

The narrative of *LV* was transmitted almost exclusively in Kalevala-metric verse: the core corpus of 414 variants is concerned with the collected variants of *a single song*. This stands in contrast sources for the Baldr-Cycle where we have 2 variants of *Völuspá*, one of *Baldrs draumar*, one of *Völuspá inn skamma* (adapted into *Hyndluljóð*), references and adaptations in skaldic verse, a half-stanza quotation in *Edda*, but no narrative poems which present the adventures of Baldr, Höðr, the Recovery Attempt or the revenge-cycles. If four hundred independent poetic variants of a **Song of Baldr* or **Song of Höðr* were preserved, Snorri’s *Edda* would probably be considered inappropriate to use as a source in an analytical discussion just as *Kalevala* is not appropriate as a source for *LV*. Approaching the *LV* variants is not simply a comparison of names, motifs and their inter-

⁸⁴ Kati Heinonen has shown that explicatory insertions may be so brief that they appear as unmetrical lines in archival documents (“Collected Performance?” unpublished paper presented at a Workshop with John Miles Foley, Finnish Literature Society, Finland, 24.11.2006).

⁸⁵ Hökkä-Petri: 1871, I2.789, 93 lines concluding with The Duel; 1877 I2.789a, 65 lines documented interlinearly to I2.789 (including two dangers in the Act1.2 dialogue not mentioned in 1871) and I2.789b, 17 line continuation following the duel (Act3a.7). Onuhrie Lesonen: 1871, I2.791, 130 lines; 1877, I2.791a, 268 lines (opening with Act1.1 (48 lines) rather than Act1.2 as in 1871). See further §17.1.

relationships in the generation of narrative. Honko (1981a:31) claims that “all expressions of culture which are repeated must be regarded as identity-bearing, focal and equally⁸⁶ important in the tradition of the group.” In kalevalaic poetry, this begins at the level of the line, and the relationships between variants and their history is most clearly exhibited on the basic level of the song’s verbal construction.

4.2.1. Kalevala-Metre

Kalevala-metre is a stichic trochaic tetrameter characterized by alliteration and mutual equivalence in parallel lines. It is found across all but the most outlying Finnic cultural groups, where it was the dominant mode of expression for an exceptionally broad range of genres. The metre is syllabic-counting with rules governing the placement of lexically stressed long and short syllables. In the northern regions (Finland and Karelia), only the opening lift allows flexibility of syllable length and number of syllables. Flexibility increases through regions to the south, moving through Ingria and Estonia; among the Setu (in southern Estonia) the flexibility is sufficient that it has been considered accentual verse. This metre is generally considered to be rooted in the common Proto-Finnic period (ca. 1000/500 BC-AD 1), and mythological narrative material considered to be rooted in earlier periods was recorded in this metre in all regions – notably songs of the world-creation and of the felling of the Great Oak. It is also possible that the metre is a somewhat later development which rose to remarkable authority as it spread across language communities. (See further Frog & Stepanova forthcoming.)

4.2.2. The Line

A line of kalevalaic poetry normally consists of 2-4 words. Syllabic length determines where stressed syllables should fall within a foot. The syllabic counting metre with restrictions on syllable placement inhibits lexical variation in reproduction. Finnic languages are highly inflected. Metrical constraints restrict morphological variation which changes the number of syllables or length of the stressed syllable (Harvilahti 1992:141-147; Abondolo 2001:88-89). Alliteration can also be considered a factor in

⁸⁶ “Equally” is an overstatement, but it is valid to postulate a presumption of semioticity in the application.

stability, though governed by more flexible conventions.⁸⁷ Reichl (2007:87) proposes that “[t]he stronger various constraints are, the more stable the oral transmission is.” This should be qualified as: “the more stable the oral transmission *can be*” – stability on the level of the line and on more complex levels of composition belong to the systems of conventions within the poetic system. These are always to some degree dependent on the competence and attitudes of the individual singer who functions within and in relation to an understanding of that system. Like alliteration, variation is subject to generic conventions in kalevalaic poetry.

Kalevalaic poetry is not Oral-Formulaic.⁸⁸ Tarkka (2005:65) reformulates Virtanen’s claim (above): “a researcher can usually say without difficulty to which song particular lines *can* belong” – e.g. we recognize that “to be or not to be” belongs to Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*, but it can also appear in other contexts and need not necessarily be either applied or received as an intertextual reference. The regularity of song-specific binding between line and motif provided the foundation of the Historical-Geographical or Finnish School of folklore with its manuscript-stemma model of folklore transmission and “corruption” (Kuusi 1994b:54-55). Lines are sufficiently stable and restricted in deployment to develop referential identity within the tradition (cf. Kuusi 1954b:45-46 on epic lines deployed as proverbs). This is a foundation of Tarkka’s (2005) research on intertextual and inter-generic applications for meaning-generation (as opposed to “corruption”). The persistence of the line or formula as a stable entity and its referential value will be addressed repeatedly in the discussion of the history of *LV*.

4.2.3. From Line to Couplet

Parallelism results in conventionally established line-pairings which exhibit minimal variation in transmission. The following couplets present extremely stable units of composition. They are all associated with *LV*. The first couplet is subject to the most variation. This variant lacks alliteration within the lines, and in this case the absence of the aspirate required for metricality in **luotanehe* and **pantanehe* is most probably

⁸⁷ On alliteration and lexical variation at the level of the line in performance, see Lauerma 2004:76-79.

⁸⁸ On Oral-Formulaic Theory see Lord 1960; on kalevalaic poetry in relation to Oral-Formulaic Theory, see Harvilahti 1992a, 1992b; Tarkka 2005:56-67.

attributable to the collector (I.K. Inha). This couplet commonly occurs as parallel expressions within a single line, e.g. *rikka moahan, ruoka suuhu* (I2.820.13), or the single line may follow on the couplet. Variants are presented in Supplement 1.

Ruuhka maahan luotanee, Ruoka suuhun pantanee!	Let the waste into the earth Let food into the mouth be put!
Joi oluen onneksensa, Meje mussan mieleksensä.	[He] drank the beer to his luck/happiness Black mead to his mind/disposition
Tuopin tuoja tuonelah, Kannun kantaja manalla. (I2.821.149-154)	The mug's bringer to Tuonela [Land of the Dead] The can's carrier by death

4.2.4. From Couplet to Multiform

Honko & Honko (1998; Honko 1998:100-116; 2003:114-122) define “multiform” as a flexible system of verbal associations, including both formulae and individual lexical items, which functions on the level of texture in composition rather than content. “Multiform” was developed to describe an individual’s compositional strategies. I have developed this to describe compositional strategies which are communicated in the process of transmission (Frog 2009c).

The stability of the kalevalaic line inclines the multiform to consist of a series of whole-line formulae among which additional lines can be interspersed (cf. Frog 2009a:22). The binding of line to specific context inclines the kalevalaic multiform (as a social phenomenon) to develop an exclusive relationship between form and content.⁸⁹ The individual can manipulate this phenomenon for different functions or transfer it to new applications.

Multiforms exhibit different degrees of flexibility. One of the most stable multiforms in *LV* normally introduces the Beer-Brewing (alliteration in bold; variants in Supplement 2):

⁸⁹ In contrast to multiforms of Siri epic (Honko & Honko 1998) or skaldic *dróttkvætt* (Frog 2009c).

<p>Šavu šoarella palavi tuli niemen tutkamešša pieñi ois šovan šavukši šuari paimošēn palokši (I2.771.1-4)</p>	<p>Smoke on the island burns fire on the peninsula's tip small [it] is for the smoke of war great for the fire of a shepherd</p>
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The couplets of §4.2.3 present a more loosely structured multiform, easily expanded with introductions to direct speech. Other multiforms surround a single crystallized couplet. It is unnecessary to explore more flexible multiforms in detail. Kalevalaic multiforms present extremely stable compositional units. These may be subject to expansion and contraction, but the degree of expansion is limited. Narrative expansion and contraction is more often accomplished through repetition, omission, or the inclusion or exclusion of whole narrative sequences. The compositional units within those sequences remain stable on the level of line and multiform.

4.2.5. Stable and Variable Elements

Gil'ferding (1894:24) described variation in the *bylina* tradition on the level of the individual performer. He found that central compositional units of visual or narrative motif-complexes exhibited “verbatim” stability while transitions between these units were highly flexible. He observes that the stable compositional elements (formulae, lines, multiforms) remained stable even among “weak” singers. His “weak” singers exhibited significantly more variation in the organization of lines into multiforms, multiforms and narrative themes into a song, and also in the “transitional” elements with which these were united. However, even these singers maintained essential features of these elements and the indexical relationships between line/multiform and theme and narrative song. The same pattern emerges in *LV*, with a much higher degree of crystallization on the various levels of compositional units (cf. Vesterholt 1973; Harvilahti 1985:106ff.).⁹⁰ Gil'ferding (1894:31ff.) emphasizes that the individual learns and develops a distinct understanding of a *bylina* in which the relationships between stable elements crystallize through repeat performance (cf. Siikala 1990; Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1996:176-184,190-199), and although regional aspects of the singing tradition

⁹⁰ The degree of stability on the level of couplet and conservative multiform discussed in §4.2.4-5 can be seen in Supplements 1-2.

are clearly evident, there is a significant range of variation between individual singers. This range of variation appears much more limited in *LV*, which exhibits remarkable continuities by region and conduit of transmission – with the exception of episodes which stand outside the narrative’s central social cultural activity.

The smaller the compositional unit (lexeme, formula, line, motif, multiform, motif-complex, episode), the more stable it appears in transmission. Just as “lexical renewal” may occur on the level of verbal formulae (Watkins 1995:10), motif-renewal (Miles 2006:28), multiform-renewal or the renewal of a full motif-complex may also occur. This occurs when variation on the level of the individual impacts others and develops into a new conventional form. Kuusi (1963; 1994a:37-49) observed that stylistic features and narrative strategies persist in transmission, developing a relative dating system on that basis. Although the system of relative dating may be problematic, patterns of renewal in *LV* exhibit constraints which maintain these features up to the renewal of the motif-complex or whole episode.⁹¹ An overview of organizational strategies reveals that the sequence of larger narrative episodes remains highly conventional: variation is primarily on the level of inclusion or omission. Within episodes, the organization of smaller narrative units and individual multiforms is subject to significantly more flexibility. Stability of episodes and their organization appears directly related to their cultural activity. Variation increases in material which appears less prominent in the broader cultural activity of the narrative. Motifs and motif complexes, however, appear to retain strong associations with the narrative: there is a tendency for motifs and episodes which have lost their stability or significance to be reintegrated into the evolving whole, although they may also be assumed by other narratives.

4.3. Regional Variation

Kalevalaic poetry exhibits clear regional patterns both in terms of transmission traditions and the form, applications and content of specific songs. Whereas each source for the Baldr-Cycle is largely unique and could be introduced independently, sources for *LV*

⁹¹ E.g. Lemminkäinen’s preparations for his journey are always in the form of a dialogue with his mother; the elimination of the dialogue requires the elimination of the preparations except in prose summary.

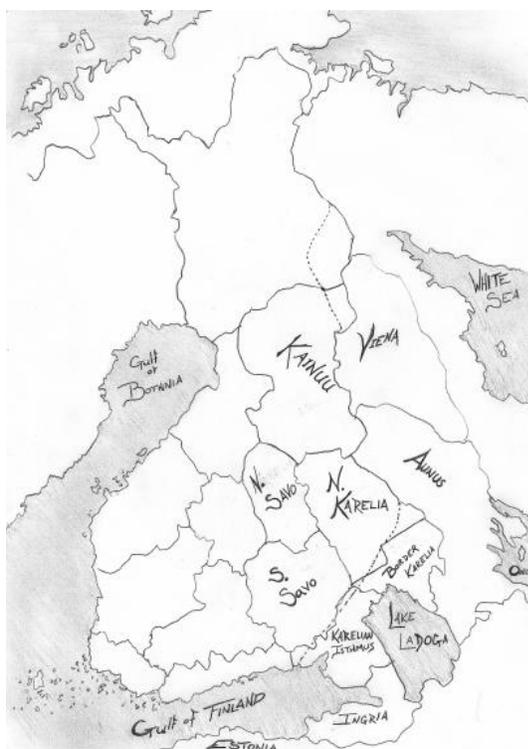
must be introduced according to their regional traditions. The dangers encountered by Lemminkäinen on his Journey provide an easy point of reference for differences according to region because the Journey was central to the cultural activity of *LV*, and in most regions the dangers were essential to that journey (detailed in Supplement 3). Variants are grouped according to “redactions” in the sense of groups of variants which are more closely related to one another than to others, with considerations of both larger structures and on the level of smaller compositional units. This is not intended as a detailed reconstructive redaction analysis as outlined by Krohn (1918b), or adapted by Hautala (1945) or Kuusi (1949). The purpose is not to resolve all variants and variation within the frame-work of “redactions”. “Redaction” is simply a practical term for referring to a group of variants which are characterized by constituent elements and characteristics indicative of a direct genetic relationship or significant adaptation.

This study focuses on the possibility of a relationship between *LV* and the Baldr-Cycle which requires developing a historical perspective concerning the variants. This requires a degree of detail in presenting the sources in order to develop a sense of the cultural activity of *LV* in the period of collection, laying the foundations for approaching its development into these documented forms. No such survey of *LV* has been produced since Krohn (1903-1910, 1924-1928).

4.3.1. Viena

Viena is considered the most conservative region for kalevalaic epic (cf. Virtanen 1968), but the region is characterized by its diversity. Krohn (1918b I:38) observed: “When we examine the Kalevala-related songs of Viena more closely, with the variants of each song organized by location, then it is easy to observe that nearly each village has its own particular way of singing.” Conservatism is characteristic within the family or kin group, in other words, diversity is variation “from village to village and family to family” (Tarkka 2005:163). Migrations into the region from Savo, Ostrobothnia and Kainuu, particularly in the 17th century resulted in multiple redactions in close contact (cf. Kuusi 1949; Siikala 2002b:40-41; Pöllä 1995, 1999). Conservatism within the region must be understood in specific terms of the diversity of redactions in close contact and interaction,

and also the relationship between redaction and identity within the systems of social networks which maintained distinctions between redactions, and in some cases this emerges in the ability to perform and attribute variant passages of a single song (e.g. I1.100; see further §17). Conservatism does not mean that poems remained unchanged. Siikala (2002b) proposes that the confluence of regional traditions resulting from migrations stimulated narrative activity with a generative effect on oral traditions. This is particularly evident in the diversity of dangers on Lemminkäinen’s journey and the propensity of these dangers to accumulate within presentations of the journey (Supplement 3).



A significant question in *LV* research is whether the sources reflect a fusion of two or more similar narratives. *Kaukomieli/Kaukomoinen/Kauko* (§14.4.1.2) is considered the protagonist of a narrative assimilated by *LV*. This name survived as a name of a protagonist in *Viena*, but there is no evidence that he was associated with a narrative similar to but distinct from *LV*. A (very) few singers distinguished Lemminkäinen and *Kaukomieli* as cultural figures with distinct narratives (detailed in Supplement 4). These singers consistently identify “Lemminkäinen” as the figure who dies, but the separation of material into distinct narratives indicates separate attempts to either resolve or take

advantage of diverse variants of *LV* in circulation (cf. §17.3). Figure 6 summarizes the episodes with which *LV* concludes in Viena. The data emphasizes that the Isle of Women was a more popular sequence, and it reveals that other singers sought to resolve *LV* material in circulation by generating a coherent narrative sequence.

The Isle of Women adventure was adapted to other heroes in cycles of adventures unrelated to Lemminkäinen (I2.764; I2.804; I2.818; I2.790). The adventure on the Isle of Women was also commonly associated with *The Sister's Corruption*⁹² with a common continuation into *The Song of Kullervo* on the return from the Isle of Women (also found in three *LV* variants: I2.704, I2.705, I2.724, classed here as “miscellaneous”; variants which conclude in the Escape Dialogue are classed with “Isle of Women” endings).

Figure 6. Concluding episodes in Viena

Episode	Variants Collected
Uncertain ⁹³	37
Arrival in Päivölä	-
Beer	13 ⁹⁴
Duel	27
Death/Resurrection	20 (5 preceded by Isle of Women)
Isle of Women	60 ⁹⁵ (2 preceded by Death/Resurrection)
Miscellaneous ⁹⁶	33 ⁹⁷ (1 learned Death from <i>Kalevala</i>)

The Isle of Women was significantly more common than the Death/Resurrection. The majority of variants with the Death/Resurrection were only recorded in the earliest phases

⁹² Recorded in variants of *The Sister's Corruption*:

Period	Variants
1835-1839	3
1845	1
1871-1894	22

⁹³ Many fragments are completely ambiguous. This category also includes variants in which it is clear that the “narrative” has not reached a conclusion in the eyes of the performer (e.g. due to failing memory) or because the collector stopped recording although the performance may have continued in verse or in a prose summary.

⁹⁴ I4.2167 integrates the Duel into the beer-brewing.

⁹⁵ Although I2.789a and I2.789b are indexed as separate items they are counted as a single coherent performance.

⁹⁶ These are adaptations of *LV* or portions thereof adapted into other narratives (e.g. adventures of Väinämöinen) or adaptations of *LV* or its material into lyric or incantation genres.

⁹⁷ Three of these can be considered full performances of *LV* followed by one or more additional adventures.

of collection discussed with Figure 7, below. No variants of the Death were documented in this region in the 20th century although collectors often sought descendants of the great singers of the 19th century.⁹⁸ *VIIITK.2*, recorded in the Tunguda Region⁹⁹ in 1956, presents a near-exception. It concludes *Šinne mäni ainuo poiga/šuarella kuolomaa*, “Thus went the only boy/to die on the island” (*VIIITK.2.118-119*). This variant maintains the single motif of “death” but no additional narrative indication of a Death/Resurrection sequence. It implies a fusion of the Death/Resurrection with the Isle of Women sequences. Death/Resurrection exhibits radical variation across Viena and it was clearly dropping out of circulation although *LV* continued to be sung.¹⁰⁰ Vassilei Malinen concluded with the Isle of Women and stated that he did not know the song of Lemminkäinen’s death (I2.810) although his brother Jyrki (below) performed it (cf. Niemi 1921:1152).

Five singers performed Death/Resurrection variants in which Lemminkäinen sings gold to all present except one figure. This was recorded from three singers: Arhippa Perttunen (I2.758: 1834, 1836), Martiska Karjalainen (I2.815: 1834) and an unattributed variant recorded by Lönnrot in 1834 (I2.828 in which the gold is exchanged for “gifts”). Arhippa’s son Miihkali performed the gold-singing, but integrated it into his father’s Kaukomoinen narrative (I2.764: 1871, 1877). He did not sing the Death/Resurrection as part of *LV*, but he sang the corresponding material as a (unique!) discrete entity describing an unsuccessful recovery of Väinämöinen from the sea (I1.59: see §4.3.9.6) as well as a discreet performance of his father’s resurrection omen (I2.1183: see §26.1.3). Vihtoori Lesonen (I2.1025) also performed this narrative sequence learned from the *Kalevala* but concluded without singing Lemminkäinen’s Death.

The Death of these variants includes the *umpiputki* plant-weapon (I2.828 has “iron arrows”; see §9.5.2). The plant-weapon is also found in Jyrki Ontreinen’s *LV* (I2.801;

⁹⁸ This includes variants outside the core corpus.

⁹⁹ This region is east of Viena. The earliest collectors did not record any epic poetry in this region and it was therefore generally ignored. See Stepanova 2000.

¹⁰⁰ The two variants of *LV* which were learned from the *Kalevala* (I2.1020; I2.1025) incorporate the Death/Resurrection material implying continued interest, but I2.1025, performed by Vihtoori Lesonen, concludes before the death itself. This may indicate a waning in interest, noting that Vihtoori was a *tietäjä* (see below) and performed the display of Lemminkäinen’s power in overcoming adversaries with magic.

I2.802b) and a variant collected from the same village by Lönnrot in 1833 (I2.795): these clearly belong to the same family of redactions. The latter variant presents the Singing Contest, the Duel, and then the Death/Resurrection; Jyrki attributes the Duel to Kaukomoinen in one poem and the Singing Contest to Lemminkäinen, concluding with his Death, in another. Both incorporate the plant-weapon, although there is a significant range of variation between them. Jyrki (I2.801, I2.801a, I2.802b) is the only other singer to conclude with the Death (without the Resurrection) in Viena. Together, these will be considered the *Umpiputki*-redaction. The families associated with this redaction migrated from the west of the region (Pöllä 1995; Kuusi 1949).

This redaction exhibits the couplet *siit' oli hukka Lemminkäistä/tuho poikoa pätöistä*, “that was the doom of Lemminkäinen/destruction of the able lad” (I2.801.81-82), prominent in Northern Karelia (Supplement 5). A variant of this couplet occurs in Huotari Lukkanen’s *LV* (I2.793a.174-175), implying contact with variants of the death and resurrection of Lemminkäinen. The only other adaptation of this couplet outside of the Death/Resurrection is in a performance of *The Song of Kojonen’s Son* by a woman in Jyväskylä.¹⁰¹ Like Huotari Lukkanen, this use is associated with a danger on the road: *üksi on susi Lemminkäihä, tuhat poikova pätöveä* (I2.839.114-115), “one is the wolf Lemminkäinen, one thousand able boys”. This variant includes the death-omen (I2.839.148-156) although the hero does not die and the Duel mysteriously concludes with the mother-in-law dying “into the sea”. This is a variant of *LV* according to the core corpus, but it is a unique fusion of material which seems to stumble from *The Song of Kojonen’s Son* into a multiform associated with the Fiery Eagle danger, which emerges as the Departure Dialogue.¹⁰² This appears characteristic of this singer’s epic performances, observing that she makes a similarly abrupt transition in the *Courtship Competition* from the courting hero’s approach to the maiden’s home into the Flight Dialogue and Isle of Women (I1.507).¹⁰³ This singer exhibits knowledge of these traditions and crafts them into entertaining (if bizarre) narratives, and the narratives she knew are all associated

¹⁰¹ Niemi (1921:1107) identifies this somewhat tentatively as Iro Ohvokainen.

¹⁰² See I1.569.63-82; I2.839 only presents the material conventionally identified with *LV*.

¹⁰³ Cf. I1.237, which is a conventional performance of *The Song of Aino* (more consistent with the singer’s repertoire of wedding verses. See also I1.237.

with courtship, associating them with wedding verses which appear to be more in her area of expertise. This unique representation of Lemminkäinen as a “wolf” may reflect an undeveloped knowledge of what, following Stepanova (2009) we might describe as the *context specific register* of epic: *hukka* is used in *LV* in the meaning of ‘destruction’, but outside of the poetic register, it means *susi*, “wolf”, in Karelian.¹⁰⁴ Nonetheless, even if she was not skilled in epic or saw these as little more than cheerful entertainment, her performances exhibit experience with some form of the *Umpiputki*-redaction.

The singing of “All-but-One” was adapted into the Island of Women in the Sirkeinen-family redaction in Uhtua (Krohn 1905:108). Kaukomieli has sex with all of the women except one old widow. She curses him on his departure and he dies at sea. This is followed by the omen, search and recovery by his mother (I2.834; I2.840; I2.845; I2.847).¹⁰⁵ This will be termed the Sex-Death-redaction. This redaction appears extremely isolated, but I2.795 follows the sex of the Isle of Women with the plant-weapon death (adversary unnamed), and I2.784 (Lönnrot, 1834, Tollonjoki) concludes with the lines *lepytteli saaren neiot/jäi yksi lepyttämättä* (I2.784.110-111), “was satisfying the maidens of the island / one remained unsatisfied”.

Lemminkäinen is also sung to death (I2.722; I2.722a; I2.733; I2.771). Soava Trohkimainen (I2.730) performed a variant which opened with the Resurrection without an account of the Death and followed this with Lemminkäinen’s adventure (Supplement 4). I2.835, I2.836 and I2.836a are notes by Cajan on the Resurrection from what appear to be two performances. These are considered the conclusions of songs. I2.711 concludes with the Duel, but is unclear whether Lemminkäinen is the victor or the victim. In I2.705, Lemminkäinen goes to Tuoni’s (Death’s) River to hide. In I2.774, Kaukomoinen claims Lemminkäinen (!) would catch him if he hid in the liver of a fish. I2.775 is a unique account of Lemminkäinen becoming a king of the sea following his escape into a fish. These variants can be compared with Lemminkäinen ending up in the river of death for the recovery attempt or ending up in or as a fish, which Arhippa

¹⁰⁴ *KKS* I:326. This curious fusion of Lemminkäinen with the wolf is perhaps less surprising when in the register of laments and wedding verses *susi*, “wolf”, is a circumlocution for the groom.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Kuusi’s (1949:33-36) *H*-redaction of the Sampo-Cycle.

Perttunen (I2.758) claims was caught and eaten by Swedes (see §22.4.1). These may all be developments from the tradition of Lemminkäinen’s Death/Resurrection as it waned in cultural activity.

The resurrection material is clearly identified with Lemminkäinen over “Kaukomieli” and the Resurrection Attempt was clearly associated with the Death, only absent in Jyrki Ontreinen’s performances (and *VITK.2*). The Death is clearly associated with magic. Figure 7 shows the periods in which variants with the Death/Resurrection were collected.

Figure 7. Dates and singers of Death/Resurrection in Viena

Period	Variants	Number of Singers
1832-1834	12	10
1871-1879	8	6
1886	1	* ¹⁰⁶
1892-1894	2	2

The 1871-1879 variants include Jyrki Ontreinen’s performances and two of the Sex-Death-redaction variants. The 1892-1894 variants are a third Sex-Death-redaction variant and I2.1020, learned from *Kalevala*. Arhippa Perttunen’s (I2.758) son Miihkali (I2.766) did not perform the Death/Resurrection and concluded with the Isle of Women. Martiska Karjalainen’s (I2.815) son Maksima (I2.817) similarly performed the Duel rather than the Death/Resurrection performed by his father. The Death/Resurrection does not appear to have been used in the generation of “new” narrative songs.¹⁰⁷ Incantation and lyric adaptations similarly focus on the journey and the beer. The recovery attempt only explicitly fails in performances by Arhippa Perttunen, who was a form-breaker.¹⁰⁸ The attempt otherwise always appears to succeed.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ The singer was first recorded in 1872.

¹⁰⁷ E.g. I2.826 names the protagonist Iivana, concluding with the Duel, in which he kills Väinämöinen. See also the discussion on I2.839 above.

¹⁰⁸ “Form-breaker” is a term used by Dégh (1995:44-45) to refer to a performer who actively deviates from conventions of tradition. See §17.1,

¹⁰⁹ Success is often implied rather than explicit. When implicit variants are brought into comparison with others from the same redaction (cf. I2.722/I2.722a and I2.733) and these are further placed within the patterns of the region there is no indication of a convention of Lemminkäinen remaining dead. Arhippa’s performance stands in contrast to these as much as his son’s use of the same multiforms to assert that the recovery of Väinämöinen from the sea failed (I1.59).

LV is connected to several other narratives. *Beer's Origin* is commonly integrated into the Beer-Brewing motif. *The Great Ox* is often incorporated as the description of the ox sung by Lemminkäinen in the Singing Competition.¹¹⁰ Some accounts of the Resurrection exhibit connections to the *Visiting Vipunen*. *Visiting Vipunen* begins the narrative in I2.809 and I2.849, where it is explicitly associated with learning how to get to Päivölä, and Ilmarinen goes to the Isle of Women following *Visiting Vipunen* in I2.790. *Visiting Tuonela* is integrated into the Beer Brewing (I2.759b; I2.774; I2.760; cf. XIII.69). *Fishing for Vellamo's Maiden* was also associated with Lemminkäinen as a cultural figure. In research, this song became associated with *LV* as a cycle primarily through the authority of Arhippa Perttunen (I2.758, I2.758b).¹¹¹ *LV* may also turn the Isle of Women into a Sampo-poem connecting it to fertility.¹¹² Lemminkäinen is ploughing a field when he learns of the feast – when such information is included.¹¹³

The lack of contextualizing information makes the nature of some variants uncertain, such as I2.755, I2.827, I2.854 which could be incantations or lyric songs related to *LV*. One incantation variant is associated with weddings (I2.776). Tarkka (1990:249-250) points out that lines, symbols and motifs associated with *LV* were applied in incantations dealing with transition rituals related to birth and marriage. The Serpent-Fence appears particularly significant in this respect.

4.3.2. Kainuu

Kainuu is adjacent to Viena on the Finnish side of the border. The variants exhibit tremendous diversity, including unique variations on the dangers of the Journey. I2.745

¹¹⁰ See especially I2.749, in which *The Great Ox* dominates the conclusion, and I2.754, in which it is simply attached to *LV* without transition.

¹¹¹ This results in certain *Vellamo's Maiden* poems being classed as *LV*: e.g. I2.761, I2.770, I2.807, I2.814, I2.822; I2.818 opens with *Vellamo's Maiden* and presumably through associations with sexual relations and sailing, passes directly into the Isle of Women. The only singer besides Arhippa to associate this material directly with *LV* is Soava Trohkimainen (I2.729.1-8: see further Supplement 4).

¹¹² I2.778, I2.803, I2.809, I2.853; cf. I2.820, I2.833; some redactions of the Sampo-Cycle exhibit corresponding interference from *LV* (Kuusi 1949:§553).

¹¹³ Cf. Krohn 1924-1928:85. This is sometimes connected to the “danger” of ploughing the Serpent-Field found in a few variants (see Supplement 3). Reference to ploughing the Serpent-Field may also otherwise be introduced (cf. I2.744.208-209).

Figure 8. Concluding episodes in Kainuu

Episode	Variants Collected
Uncertain	3
Arrival in Päivölä	-
Beer	-
Duel	4
Death/Resurrection	-
Isle of Women	3
Misc.	2 ¹¹⁴

incorporates *LV* material into a larger cycle, preceding it with *The Singing Contest*. XIII.69 opens with *Visiting Tuonela* and exhibits striking similarities to corresponding variants in Viena (associated with families from the west). Changes in the cultural activity appear to have opened *LV* to dramatic revisions such as replacing the mythic dangers of the Journey with the journey of *Väinämöinen's Knee-Wound* (XIII.107).

4.3.3. Aunus

Figure 9. Concluding episodes Aunus

Episode	Variants Collected
Uncertain	12
Arrival in Päivölä	-
Beer	11 (3 preceded by Duel)
Duel	9
Death/Resurrection	-
Isle of Women	19
Misc.	13

Aunus is separated from Viena by the wedge-like area of Seesjärvi, which appeared to lack surviving epic traditions and was avoided by collectors (Konkka & Konkka 1980:3-4). Aunus variants reveal a significant range of variation in the handling of narrative material. Courtship or bridal-quest is introduced as the reason for Lemminkäinen's journey although it has no bearing on the progression of the narrative or its conclusion. Variants of *Courting Hiisi's Maiden* also incorporate *LV* material. In several cases, *LV* appears to be handled as a folktale, for example:

¹¹⁴ XIII.69 may also be included here (cf. I2.774).

*Oli akalla kolme poikie
nuorin poik' oli Lemminkäine
Lemminkäin' on lieto poika
(II.193.1-3)*

An old woman had three sons
the youngest son was Lemminkäinen
Lemminkäinen was a *lieto* boy

This variant climaxes in Lemminkäinen encountering and slaying his brothers (II.193.81-86). Almost twenty years later, the same singer opened the song with Lemminkäinen going to see his mother and the brother-slaying is absent (II.193b). Over half a decade after that, he opened with the Departure Dialogue adapted to a request for permission to seek a bride (II.193a). Elements of *LV* sometimes appear in incantations in this region (cf. II.186, II.187, II.191), but variation in narrative presentation appears to be associated with *LV*'s position as a *Märchen*-like narrative in most communities. Siikala (2002b:28) associates this with informal performance in the home (cf. Kuusi 1949, Rausmaa 1964). *Beer's Origin* is not introduced into the beer-brewing episode, and incantation material does not play a significant role in overcoming dangers on the journey.

The handling of the narrative whole was often subject to flexibility, but central multiforms of the region exhibit striking conformity and consistency. This is most pronounced in the dangers on the Journey, which were conventionally the Fiery Eagle, Fiery Grave, and the Serpent-Fence. This contrasts sharply with the range of dangers in Viena variants and how these were manipulated where the narrative structures otherwise generally exhibit far more stability. Lemminkäinen's death was not recorded in Aunus, although the omen of the bloody comb occurs combined with an omen signalling the birth of Christ (II.376) and II.199.71-82 mentions the one unsexed maiden on the Isle of Women.

4.3.4. Border/Ladoga Karelia

The majority of the Border-Karelian variants divide into three groups. The first group concludes with the arrival at Päivölä and equate this to becoming a great *tietäjä*. These variants are concentrated in Suistamo and will be referred to generally as the *Tietäjä*-redaction. The second group is associated primarily with the Shemeikka family in which

Figure 10. Concluding episodes in Border Karelia

Episode	Variants Collected
Uncertain	25
Arrival in Päivölä	26
Beer	12
Duel	7 (3 Lemminkäinen dies)
Death/Resurrection	0
Isle of Women	4 (departure only ¹¹⁵)
Misc.	5

Lemminkäinen is received by Väinö. Most of these conclude with the Beer. These will be referred to as the Väinö-Host-redaction. There is also a small group of variants in which Lemminkäinen dies in the Duel (VIII.773, VIII.799, VIII.799a, VIII.800¹¹⁶). VIII.791 may have some relation to this redaction but the narrative ends abruptly when Lemminkäinen is eaten by the Fiery Eagle (see §15.2.1). These will be referred to as the Border-Duel-Death redaction. The bridal quest associations are less prominent than in Aunus and only one variant continues into *Courting Hiisi's Maiden*. There is no resurrection attempt in the core corpus. Jouko Hautala recorded a variant in 1939 which concluded with the Resurrection.¹¹⁷ The song is short and the beginning of the narrative exhibits a conflation of lyric material. Lemminkäinen dies in the Duel. There is no omen. Lemminkäinen's corpse is recovered with the magic rake, and the resurrection succeeds with Lemminkäinen becoming better than before (cf. I2.835). This variant cannot be readily classed with any known redaction, which may in part be due to the handling of the narrative by the singer, although it appears to belong to the tradition of Lemminkäinen's death in the Duel. This variant appears to indicate an independent survival of a tradition of the Resurrection Attempt following the Duel-Death in the region.

¹¹⁵ VIII.812.140-143 describes Lemminkäinen's return to his mother following the Duel. VIII.821/VIII.821a introduces *The Sister's Corruption* into the journey, resulting in Lemminkäinen's need to go into hiding or take flight (cf. VIII.820). VIII.780b anomalously presents the Isle of Women adventure, but it is a published summary rather than field notes, follows the sequence of *Kalevala*, and variants recorded by other collectors from the attributed singer follow regional conventions (VIII.780, VIII.780a).

¹¹⁶ This variant breaks off at the introduction of the Duel (VIII.800.102-103).

¹¹⁷ SKS Hautala 1054 – Hilippä Mallonen (ca. 100 years old), Suistamo, Leppäsyryjä, 1939,

The dangers of the Journey are consistently the Fiery Grave, the Serpent, and the Serpent-Fence with few variations. The Border-Duel-Death-redaction presents the Fiery Eagle rather than the Serpent on the Road. Non-fantastic dangers of a *hako*, “log”, or *mäki*, “hill” also emerge (Supplement 3).

Lemminkäinen becomes identified as *piilo poika*, “*piilo lad*”, in this region. *Piilo* appears to mean “hidden” or “hiding” (Turunen 1981:250). The description of Lemminkäinen as *piilo poika* is presented as an explanation for why he is the only person not invited to the feast. This is attributed to his sexual escapades on the River Jordan and includes lines associated with the Isle of Women, which was otherwise not recorded in this region in *LV* or other poems.¹¹⁸

LV strongly associated with incantations in this region. VIII.786 and VIII.818 are variants of Lemminkäinen’s Journey performed for the protection of the wedding party. VIII.761, VIII.766 and VIII.787 open as narrative and shift into wedding incantations (cf. VIII.788, VII5.4849; see also VII4.2028, VII4.2862). The Border-Duel-Death-redaction opened with sowing incantations (see §14.4.1.3).

4.3.5. Northern Karelia

Figure 10. Concluding episodes in Northern Karelia

Episode	Variants Collected
Uncertain	3
Arrival in Päivölä	-
Beer	-
Duel	2 (Deaths)
Singing Competition	1
Death/Resurrection	10
Isle of Women	-
Misc.	4

Lemminkäinen’s Death is most prominent among Northern Karelian variants. Lemminkäinen is *pillo poika*, “mischievous lad”, rather than *piilo poika*. *The Sister’s*

¹¹⁸ *The Sister’s Corruption* presents a return to mother and a dialogue clearly related to *LV’s* Escape Dialogue (Lemminkäinen may even appear as a protagonist – e.g. VIII.892) but the Isle of Women is not introduced (VIII.890-897).

Corruption appears as a reason Lemminkäinen is not invited (VIII.835, VIII.836). The Death and associated conflict are only glossed. The Duel only appears when it functions as a means of slaying Lemminkäinen. The dangers on Lemminkäinen's Journey are often explicitly “sung” – i.e. magical dangers sent by an adversary (*tietäjä/noita*). They exhibit remarkable variation (Supplement 3) and the mother's Recovery Attempt incorporates non-fantastic dangers of a *hako*, “log”, and *kivi*, “stone” (§22.2).

The only example of the singing contest in either Northern¹¹⁹ or Border Karelia¹²⁰ is VIII.839, sung by Simana Huohvanainen to Europaeus in Northern Karelia in 1845 as a separate song. It inverts the exchange so that Lemminkäinen invariably loses. The song concludes with a complaint by Lemminkäinen about not acquiring information from his mother, corresponding to Lemminkäinen's complaint when he dies from the *umpiputki* (§9.5.2). Simana also sang VIII.838, which opens with the sowing incantation and then in the Arrival presents the Great Hall, which otherwise replaces the sowing incantation in this region (also II.194). This variant breaks off and is classed as “uncertain”. Outside of the core corpus, Simana performed a slaying of Lemminkäinen as a disconnected conclusion to *Courting Hiisi's Maiden* (VIII.436.297-305) in which the victim is unidentified but the adversary is Keltahattu as in VIII.839. This slaying and the slayer's response correspond directly to VIII.841.156-163 where he is called Märkähattu. Simana Huohvanainen is the only singer in this region who does not follow the Death with a Resurrection Attempt. These are the only variants of Death by the sword, and VIII.841 is the only variant to introduce the Beer into the arrival sequence. These variants do not exhibit discernable parallels on the level of individual lines or line-sequences with the Border-Duel-Death-redaction or SKS Hautala 1054. These will be termed the Northern-Duel-Death-redaction.

Outside of the Northern-Duel-Death-redaction, Lemminkäinen is explicitly or implicitly “sung” to death. Juhana Kainulainen (VIII.823) presents *LV* as a *Courting Hiisi's Maiden* narrative, in which Lemminkäinen is slain while attempting to shoot a swan in

¹¹⁹ The *lampi*, “pond”, of the Singing Contest was adapted into dangers of the Journey (Supplement 3).

¹²⁰ VIII.805 shifts to *The Singing Competition* between Väinämöinen and Joukahainen but Lemminkäinen vanishes from the song.

Tuonela.¹²¹ Juhana Kainulainen describes the transformation of Lemminkäinen's mother into a bird and the Resurrection concludes with the Serpent-Bear and curse on the cup-bearer. VIII.829 is a 5-line fragment related to the recovery attempt. The majority of the variants of the death are or appear to be associated with the Sissonen family. These will be termed the Northern-Singing-Death-redaction. In VIII.835 the attempt explicitly fails, with a unique monologue by Lemminkäinen of unprecedented length. In VIII.826 and VIII.840, it explicitly succeeds. VIII.841 concludes with Lemminkäinen's mother lecturing him for not listening to her, which resulted in him being sung to death. VIII.832 and VIII.834 conclude with Lemminkäinen's mother learning where he can be found and the others conclude with the recovery of his corpse leaving it unclear whether this was understood to result in success or failure in the Resurrection Attempt.

4.3.6. Savo

Almost no epic songs were recorded in Savo. In Southern Savo, VII.1 is an incantation of uncertain significance; VII.7 was a spontaneous application of three lines of *LV* as situational verse in an unknown context.¹²² VII.2, VII.3 and VII.4 constitute a redaction which differs radically from those of other regions. The protagonist is Jesus, hence this will be termed the Jesus-redaction. It is a bridal quest although no courtship takes place. A central element in Lemminkäinen's preparations for departure found in all other regions is asking his mother to bring his *sotisopa*, "war-shirt", a term which appears almost exclusively in *Lemminkäisen virsi* in kalevalaic poetry (cf. SKVR VII.2.2710). This multiform most often appears as a crystallized couplet around which additional lines and couplets congregate in dialogue exchange. Only a very few multiforms are applied in this narrative function. The motif belongs to the semiotics of a *tietäjä's* magical protection (see Siikala 2002a:289-294) and some multiforms used in *LV* are strongly associated with the incantation tradition (cf. Siikala 2002a:105). The Savo redaction does not present "armour": Jesus requests his mother to wash his shirt in *mustan käärmeihen verellä*, "the blood of a/the black serpent" (VII.2.3, VII.3.3, VII.4.9), a powerful magical precaution (cf. Frog 2008a:151-153). The mother-dialogue is

¹²¹ On this motif, see Timonen 2004:44.

¹²² On situational verse see Frog 2009c:227-229; cf. Foley 2002:213-215.

minimal; emphasis is on Jesus' horse (cf. XV.73, SKS Hautala 1054). The Jesus-redaction does not present dangers on the journey. Jesus sings everyone present rather than engaging in individual conflict. VII.2 was performed as an incantation to protect the wedding party. VII.3 and VII.4 may have also been applied as incantations. VII.9 presents Judas as the protagonist. Rather than singing or conflict, it concludes with Beer.

VII.8 was the only variant collected in Northern Savo. It states that both Lemminkäinen and Väinämöinen went courting to Pohjola (corresponding to an opening to the *Courtship Competition*) and continues as *LV*. It concludes with the Duel.

4.3.7. Karelian Isthmus

This region is defined by the old Finnish border on the isthmus, beyond which is Northern Ingria. Although there is a small pocket of evidence that the tradition of Lemminkäinen's *Visiting Vipunen* was known in this region, only two fragments of the Duel were recorded from *LV*: one couplet recorded in 1889 (XIII1.363) and a single line noted by Lönnrot in 1837 (XIII1.364). It is unclear what these reflect in terms of performance.

4.3.8. Overview of Finno-Karelian Regions

LV was not found in the majority of Finland. Each region exhibits priorities which affect the narrative presentation. The Jesus-redaction of Savo places all of the emphasis on preparations for departure and overcoming all adversaries on arrival, eliminating dangers on the Journey. This appears directly related to its application as a magical protection against individuals who would harm a wedding party. The Journey also appears to have waned in Northern Karelia where there is tremendous variation in the dangers and this variation is explicitly associated with magical "attacks" while the priority of the narrative shifts to the Resurrection Attempt. Significant variation in the dangers is also found in the few Kainuu variants where the tradition was waning. These are all the regions in Finland proper. Savo, Northern and Border Karelia all exhibit strong associations between *LV* and wedding magic. Aunus variants are also associated with bridal quests, although in all regions, the formulae of the location imply that he is going to someone

else's wedding. Magic is essential to *LV*: the hero overcomes obstacles through innate magical power and/or verbal magic.

The less central an element to the priorities within a region, the greater the variation exhibited across variants and the more inclined it appears to be to processes of renewal. This observation corresponds to the finding in linguistics that frequency in word-use can be used to predict rates of lexical evolution and renewal in the Indo-European language family (Pagel et al. 2007). *Piilo poika*, "hiding lad", appears to be a specific regional development related to changing attitudes to the value and significance of the Isle of Women which otherwise dropped out of circulation in Northern and Border Karelia. The sexual escapades from the Isle of Women as an explanation for "why" Lemminkäinen is not invited are morally charged, and *piilo* appears to have been carried with the adaptation of the episode (Lemminkäinen goes into hiding on the Isle of Women). Kuusi (1963:322) associates the development of accusations of sexual transgression with the impact of medieval Christianity. The development implies that the Isle of Women was strongly associated with *LV* before this moral shift in attitudes to the Isle of Women. This moral shift would explain the Isle of Women's disappearance from these regions. The variation exhibited in the Death/Resurrection of Lemminkäinen appears indicative of its low priority in and prior to the period of collection (allowing the range of variation to establish distinct redactions). Traditions in Viena exhibit both the most conservative and dynamic variation within a region. This region reveals a change in interest through which the Death/Resurrection ceased to be transmitted and material associated with the Death/Resurrection was adapted and applied in unusual ways, such as a unique death of Väinämöinen and the appearance of the omen although the protagonist sends his adversary into water rather than ending up there himself.

4.3.9. Ingria

On the Karelian Isthmus and in regions to the south, the trochaic tetrameter became almost exclusively a women's tradition, while men preferred metres and genres adapted from other cultures (Harvilahti 1992:14; Virtanen 1987:18; Frog & Stepanova forthcoming; Heinonen forthcoming). Kalevalaic incantations were of much less

significance and the institution of the *tietäjä* seems to have been forgotten.¹²³ Ritual performance became primarily an extension of Christian traditions (cf. Heinonen forthcoming). The values associated with epic changed, and epic was channelled into common conduits of transmission with other genres without ritual or magic priorities, resulting in the Ingrian “lyric-epic” form (Siikala 1990b:14-19; Harvilahti 1992:18; Frog & Stepanova forthcoming; Heinonen forthcoming). Ingria presents the most flexible region of Northern-Finnic kalevalaic traditions, both on the level of the metrical line and on the level of reproduction and transmission (Harvilahti 1992; Frog & Stepanova forthcoming; Heinonen forthcoming). Mythic figures waned in authority and cultural activity, regularly replaced by “I”, a maiden, or Jesus. “Fantastic” elements were translated through the changing semiotics of genres, becoming more similar to the semiotics of the Scandinavian ballad and folktale: fantastic elements are eliminated or de-emphasized; magical feats or abilities of the protagonist are transferred to magical objects (Siikala 1990a:15-19).

Ingria constitutes a relatively small but dynamic region populated by Votes, Izhorians, Slavs and Ingrian-Finns who migrated primarily from Savo and the Karelian Isthmus into the region in the 17th century and earlier. Votes are linguistically closest to Estonian; Izhorians, linguistically closest to Karelian: Izhorians were originally thought to have migrated into the region from Karelia in ca. 1000, although it is now uncertain whether they migrated into the region in that period or have a much longer history in the region. Votes are first mentioned in the early 11th century, Izhorians in 1228.¹²⁴ Ingrian-Finns became the dominant population, migrating into the region from Savo and the Karelian Isthmus in the 16th and 17th centuries. Kalevalaic poetry of Ingria is of exceptional interest because the poetic system and its genres are a regional phenomenon across linguistic-cultural groups (Frog & Stepanova forthcoming). Early scholarship such as Kaarle Krohn (1903-1910, 1924-1928) and Aante Aarne (1920) saw no need to distinguish the traditions of Ingrian-Finns and Izhorians, as though the poetic system was symptomatic of an essentially homogeneous cultural area. These groups were indeed

¹²³ The incantation traditions of Ingria appear to have only been addressed in relation to the incantation traditions of other regions, rather than being subject to specific research. See also Salminen 1931:532-533.

¹²⁴ For an overview see Nenola-Kallio 1982:13-16; Nenola 2002:11-16, 54-58.

living in close contact and continuous interaction (cf. Salminen 1917:15-16), yet poetry associated with ritual activities and narrative poetry associated with belief and social identity remained distinct or even exclusive to the linguistic-cultural group.¹²⁵

It should be emphasized that this does *not* mean that traditions associated with ritual and belief did *never* pass between these groups. For example, the proximity and cultural diversity of villages in the Narvusi district led to an exceptional amount of fusion and exchange. Nenola (1981:141) discusses the practice of ritual laments by Lutherans in the Narvusi/Kosemkina parish, which is a clear case of cultural exchange considering that lamentation traditions only survived to documentation in Orthodox cultural areas.¹²⁶ Salminen's research in kalevalaic poetry shows that Narvusi is exceptional in that the singing traditions of Ingrian-Finns and Izhorians can in many respects be scarcely distinguished after three centuries of such intensive contact, and yet certain distinctions were maintained (e.g. Salminen 1929a:75). He draws attention to a singer presenting two versions of the *Song of Creation* to Vihtori Alava in succession in 1892 as an example of this dynamic knowledge: "Singers of Narvus were indeed aware that 'vellaset', Russian Orthodox people, sang [the *Song of Creation*] in a different way than Lutheran Finns" (Salminen 1929a:60; cf. III.2.2174, III.2.2175). This is directly comparable to the persistence of distinctive forms and features among kin-groups in Viena (§4.3.1), but this example emphasizes that the maintenance of this distinction between the linguistically closer (Lutheran) Ingrian-Finns and (Orthodox) Izhorians was augmented by religious affiliation. Mutual awareness and even knowledge of traditions is not surprising,¹²⁷ but there does appear to have been an awareness of "our" versus "others'" traditions with

¹²⁵ On wedding verses see Salminen 1917:415-418; cf. Nenola *ibid.* on lament poetry; on narrative poetry handling mythological and epic subjects see Salminen 1929a, 1929b.

¹²⁶ See Nenola 2002, Frog & Stepanova forthcoming. Eila Stepanova has recently emphasized the potential history of lament traditions among Finnic cultural groups in her discussion of features shared with Lithuanian lament traditions in contrast to Slavic lament traditions with which both were in context ("Reflections of Religion, Mythology and Worldview in Laments", presented at the conference, Baltic Worldview: From Mythology to Folklore, Vilnius, Lithuania, July 8-10, 2009; conference proceedings planned for publication).

¹²⁷ Mishra 2007 presents the interesting example of a barber of one cultural-linguistic group in India who was able to sing in the accompanying role of epic performance of another cultural-linguistic group.

certain groups of songs and practices,¹²⁸ and the acceptance and propagation of traditions which bore an “ours”–“theirs” distinction was clearly the exception rather than the rule. It is therefore reasonable to consider Izhorian material associated with broader Finno-Karelian epic traditions though not associated with Ingrian-Finns or contrasting with Izhorian-Finn traditions to have evolved from an Izhorian heritage with roots which predate the migrations of Ingrian-Finns into the region, and that the contrast between the traditions of these groups encountered in the corpus is symptomatic of the history of these groups interactions.¹²⁹ Moreover, the persistence of epic and mythological material in the traditions of Izhorians is consistent with the persistence of corresponding traditions in other Orthodox cultural areas, in contrast to in Lutheran communities. However, the development of traditions in Ingria require some degree of comparison for their relevance to be made apparent.

Comparison presents the complication that the name “Lemminkäinen” is not found as a name in the region with the exception of V1.118 collected in Northern Ingria (geographically on the Karelian Isthmus), which is remarkably obscure.¹³⁰ In Viistinä, an

¹²⁸ This is directly comparable to the approaches of the Bakhtin circle to typologies of language as inextricably associated with “ideologies” being imported with expression – with all of the political overtones with which the term was impregnated by Marxism and brought to fruition by Stalin (Vološinov 1973, Medvedev & Bakhtin 1978, Bakhtin 1981, 1986). See Lotman & Uspensky 1978:218-229 on issues of contrastive relations of the semiotics of one culture in relation to others. See Feyerabend 1975, Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Lakoff & Turner 1986, Lotman 1990, Sebeok 1992 for more general issues relating to relationships between linguistic patterns of representation and the conceptual systems in a cultural milieu.

¹²⁹ There is always the possibility that certain epic songs passed from Ingrian-Finn’s to Izhorians and were only preserved among the latter, but it seems unreasonable to propose that all or even most of this material was imported by the Ingrian-Finns. Not only is material related to mythological epic encountered through Estonia and among the (Orthodox) Setu in the south (and hence Izhorians were on a Southern periphery in relation to Finno-Karelian languages and cultures to which they are closely related, but they are in the midst of a broader Finnic cultural area where it is unreasonable to postulate that they were an oasis without vernacular epic, particularly as these were Orthodox communities where such traditions clearly survived in parallel with Christianity, as opposed to in Lutheran areas where epic disappeared far more rapidly), there also is an implied contradiction in an assertion that traditions which were maintained for the most part as culturally distinct was first exchanged as though the distinction was not relevant, raising questions of why it should later become so, and that this exchange was from a cultural group which rapidly stopped maintaining these traditions to a group which nonetheless perceived them as interesting and valuable while they had few or none of their own, and only at the conclusion of this process were they perceived not as common traditions, but culturally distinct to the degree that they were metonymically associated with the religious-cultural groups which propagated them.

¹³⁰ The song opens with a couplet of Tarnalainen/Lemminkäinen being killed (“cut down”) and the hero of the song remaining alone in the womb of his good mother. V1.1077, also Northern Ingria (on the Isthmus) has “Lemmikkine” in *Visiting Vipunen* learned from a Finn and thus should not be considered part of the Ingrian pool of traditions. See also §10.3.2.

Izhorian village on the southern shore of the Gulf of Finland, “Lemminkäinen’s Hill” is preserved as a local place-name.¹³¹ Like *SKVR* classifications of other regions, several variants classed as *LV* in Ingria are questionable, reflecting only elements or motifs related to Lemminkäinen or *LV*. Several additional songs which exhibit some relationship to *LV* are also introduced here as significant for comparison in considering the history of the cultural activity of episodes, motif-complexes and multiforms for later discussion.

4.3.9.1. *Lemminkäisen virsi* among Ingrian-Finns

Three variants of *LV* were collected among Ingrian-Finns.¹³² The hero (Kalervikko/Antrus) goes to visit *siso lehen lemmykkäine*, “his sister, little-beloved” (§10.3.2). Fantastic qualities of dangers on the Journey are de-emphasized and the hero is not attributed with magical power – he is attributed with a magic sword. His sister invites him to sit, and his sword warns him about each location.¹³³ The Serpent Beer is presented and the hero responds by slaying his sister and her husband with a sword. Kuusi (*FFPE*:540) points out one multiform and some linguistic evidence which is indicative of Estonian influence. The paucity of variants may be related to the contrast between fantastic elements and æsthetic sensibilities of the mode of expression (cf. Alexander 1973:105-106), and the appeal of a “wicked sister/hostess” against a male protagonist in a women’s tradition.

4.3.9.2. *Lemminkäisen virsi* among Izhorians

The protagonist of the Izhorian *LV* is “Kauko”. The song about “Kauko” is found almost exclusively among Orthodox Ingrians (Izhorians and Votes) rather than Lutheran (Ingrian-Finns) populations (III1.466 is the notable exception), and it is not found in southern Karelia (Salminen 1929b:179-180). The poem may open with *Beer’s Origin* in which Kauko assumes the role of magically created animals found in other regions (Krohn 1924-28.II.15-22; Salminen 1929b:171-172). During the ensuing drinking,

¹³¹ Various documented as *Lemmigim/Lemmikkäizem/Lemmikähäm mättähäd* (Nirvi 1971:260).

¹³² III1.670, III2.2247; a fragment from the Journey is preserved as III2.2197

¹³³ Conflict over an undesirable seat occurs especially in Northern Karelia immediately preceding the slaying.

another figure spills beer on Kauko's cloak. Kauko challenges the man to a knife-fight and kills him. The narrative proceeds to the Departure Dialogue and Isle of Women. *Beer's Origin* is only strongly associated with *LV* in Viena, but it is a widespread poem and is not exclusively associated with this song in Ingria. Spilled beer as the grounds for the challenge is only found in the Ingrian variants. The duel challenge and duel itself do not correspond to the Duel of *LV*.

4.3.9.3. The Duel Multiforms

Multiforms associated with the challenge and slaying in the Duel are among the most stable and persistent in *LV*. In Ingria, these multiforms are not found in *LV* variants; they appear almost exclusively in *Iivana Kojonen's Son* (addressed in §22.3).

4.3.9.4. Invitations and *Jumaliston juominki*, “The Drinking-Feast of the Gods’

The multiform associated with invitations to the drinking feast only exceptionally occurs in the Izhorian *LV* (III1.466).¹³⁴ The line *kutsun suntit, kutsun santit* corresponds to *kutsu rujot, kutsu rammat*, “invite the crippled, invite the lame”, familiar from *LV*. Krohn (1903-1910:534) identifies *suntti* and *santti* as Estonian *sunt, sant*.¹³⁵ All others have *kuret*, “storks”, and *käret*, “storks” (Estonian), and these include the parallel line, *kutsuma kuusesta jumalat/jumalan*, “I invite gods/God from the spruce”. III1.466 is the only Kauko variant collected from an Ingrian-Finn village, the only variant in which he is an uninvited guest, and the only variant of the invitations in which the uninvited guest explicitly attends the feast. III1.589 and III1.1055 call the uninvited *kupjas/kubjas*, “foreman” (Estonian), III2.1610, III2.1619, III.1620 and III2.1971 call him *kupoi/kuppoi*. III2.2314 and III2.2316 lack the uninvited guest motif but include beer-brewing. Krohn's comparisons with an Estonian song about a drinking-feast of birds are compelling, and Salminen (1929b:171-172) stresses that the beer-brewing of this song also gets integrated into the Izhorian *LV*. The “gods/God from the spruce” is not found in the Estonian song, nor can the Estonian song account for the *sunt-sant* line (cf. Tedre 1969:227-228). These will be addressed in §9.4.1.1.

¹³⁴ *Contra* Krohn 1903-1910, 1924-1928.

¹³⁵ Cf. III1.1055, VII1.832.21; see also Aarne 1920:50.

4.3.9.5. Lemminkäinen's Dangers and *Päivän päästö*

In Ingria, *Päivän päästö*, “Freeing the Sun and Moon”, was found almost exclusively among Izhorians (Salminen 1929a:53-54; 1929b:194-199). Aarne (1920:5-12) divided variants into two major redactions.¹³⁶ His A-redaction adapts *LV* for “the journey to”; his B-redaction adapts the Sampo-Cycle for “the journey from”. Both transfer innate magical power to magical objects. In Aarne’s A-redaction, the magic is accomplished by three forms of alcoholic beverage (beer, mead, hard liquor). The obstacles are non-fantastic counterparts of dangers on Lemminkäinen’s Journey (§22.2, Supplement 3). Kuusi (1979:173-174) emphasizes the correspondence of the multiform rather than motif. The magic alcohol fulfils the function of Lemminkäinen’s song to overcome the obstacles on the Journey. The successful journey leads the protagonist to Pohjola, Hiitola or Väinölä, where an old woman is encountered who either provides information on the location of the dead “Väinö”, who is interviewed for the location of the sun and the moon, or the old woman provides this information directly. The interview with the dead Väinö is found in only two variants (IV2.1839, IV3.4157): *jumalaisen ainoi poikoi/nosti Väinöin istumaan*, “the only son of the god-DIMINUTIVE (or “the godly one”)/raised Väinö into a sitting position”. It is the only Ingrian variant of *Visiting Vipunen* (Salminen 1929a:65-66; Kuusi 1979:172-173). The encounter with the old women occurs in 14 variants (see Niemi 1920:60-62). The dialogue variously provides information about the location of Väinö/Vipunen or the location of the Sun and Moon. It is directly comparable to Lemminkäinen’s mother’s dialogue with the Mistress of Päivölä¹³⁷ or Märkähattu.¹³⁸

4.3.9.6. The Death of Lemminkäinen and the Magic Rake

The narrative pattern of *The Brother Who Died on a Ship* is similar to the Death/Resurrection of Lemminkäinen (cf. Vehmas 1966, Kuusi 1966b). Kuusi approached Ingrian lyric-epic on the same terms as Viena traditions and argued that it is a composite, ballad-like poem (Kuusi 1966a). The narrative describes a sister who sets out

¹³⁶ See further Salminen 1929b:194-199; Setälä 1932a:esp.140; Kuusi 1979, Frog forthcoming a.

¹³⁷ I2.771.273-290, I2.815.93-109, I2.835.1-4.

¹³⁸ VIII.829.1-5, VIII.830.119-133, VIII.832.90-102, VIII.834.18-24, VIII.835.213-240, VIII.836.223-242, VIII.836a.202-218, VIII.840.141-159, VIII.841.172-190.

in search of her brother. Her brother is dead. In a number of variants, she visits a smith and has an iron rake made and rakes the sea. On recovering her brother, she may attempt to resurrect him. Any attempt invariably fails. The brother speaks from the dead. “Mother” (*emo, mammo*) may appear as the semantic equivalent of “sister” in the death-speech (cf. V3.80.42-43). The poem emphasizes a series of warnings about the use of sea water which appear to trace back to Slavic ballad traditions (Oinas 1969:137-150). Kuusi (1966a:185) considered “dying into water, the dialogue between the finder and the deceased, and possibly the raking theme” the most noteworthy points of comparison with *LV*. The visit to the smith for a magic rake is found almost exclusively in regions where Lemminkäinen’s Resurrection Attempt was found, and in Ingria (data supplied in Supplement 6).

Figure 11a. Applications of the Magic Rake

	Väinämöinen	Kantele	Lemminkäinen	Brother	Creation	fragment	other
Viena	8	31	10				3
N-Karelia			8				
Isthmus		1		6	14	2	1
N&E Ingria				9	23		1
C Ingria				2	10+2		2
W Ingria				2	19		

Figure 11a indicates that the motif-complex’s appearance is not random. The use of the motif-complex in the Ingrian World-Creation shows that it was associated with events of cosmological proportions. *The Brother Who Died on a Ship* is the only other song with which the motif-complex is associated. This association is found across redactions of the narrative which can even be classified as separate songs (Kuusi 1966a; Oinas 1969:140). Only in Ingria is the motif-complex used in the World-Creation: it is a localized development requiring the attribution of anthropomorphic qualities to the Bird of Creation (e.g. speech; tool usage). Although the World-Egg could easily be associated with a “son”, the recovery of its parts results in the establishment of the heavenly bodies. In contrast, the recovery of the brother produces a corpse and an injunction against drinking the sea-water tainted by death. Two variants (V1.406, V1.1349) present a command for resurrection (*Nous ylös!*) which fails. This would be understandable as an

adaptation of *LV* in which the motif-complex was already established, whereas it appears incongruous if considered an adaptation from the World-Creation.

In Eastern and Northern Ingria and on the Karelian Isthmus, the song presents the brother's death when he is combing/brushing his hair, the comb/brush falling into the sea and he falls or descends after it (Kuusi 1966a; Oinas 1969:139-140). The comb/brush is the primary death-omen indicating Lemminkäinen's death to his mother. Kaukonen (1977) shows that actively leaving the omen is most probably attributable to Slavic influences, but the comb/brush as an omen appears unique to *LV*. The comb/brush omen occurs both in the form of an object actively left behind by Lemminkäinen, and also as the mother's own brush which bleeds when she begins combing her hair (independent of the Slavic death-omen paradigm). The association of the death of the brother with combing/brushing his hair may be associated with the death of Lemminkäinen.¹³⁹ The dialogue from a Slavic-rooted model has a priority in the song and notably requires that the brother remain dead.

The recovery of Lemminkäinen with a rake dominates Recovery Attempt variants. It appears in 18 of the 27 relevant variants and fragments in the core corpus, only 4 of which might be taken to reflect its absence in the Recovery. The use in *LV* is also subject to a range of variation not found in other contexts: significantly, the smith is often not mentioned and in I2.815.110-111, Lemminkäinen's mother "sang" the rake (into being) rather than "made" it or having it made by a smith.

The Magic Rake is only associated with *The Pike-Bone Kantele* in Viena and one variant from the Karelian Isthmus. The relationship of the motif-complex to *The Pike-Bone Kantele* requires some clarification.

Figure 11b. *The Magic Rake in Viena*

	Väinämöinen weeping	Väinämöinen dead	Kantele (Sampo)	Kantele (Creation)	Kantele (discrete)
Viena	7	1	17	2	12

¹³⁹ Cf. the Estonian *Harja otsimine*: Hurt 1926-1932:liii-liv.

The motif-complex appears seven times in Sampo-Cycle variants as the Mistress of Pohjola's response to Väinämöinen weeping to recover him from the sea. These appear to have developed through adaptations of the application in *LV*. One is Miihkali Perttunen's song of the failed recovery of Väinämöinen addressed above. 17 occurrences of the motif-complex introduce *The Pike-Bone Kantele* following Väinämöinen's successful completion of the Sampo. These applications can be directly associated with the transfer of Making of the Sampo from the smith Ilmarinen (who is visited to make the rake) to Väinämöinen (Frog forthcoming a). The introduction of the smithing sequence appears to be a Viena-specific development, where raking Lemminkäinen from Death's River became associated with recovering Väinämöinen from the sea of creation. Presumably it was analogously transferred to *The Pike-Bone Kantele* in the same process when Väinämöinen assumed Ilmarinen's role of forging the Sampo. Väinämöinen goes immediately to visit the smith on returning from Pohjola, but rather than delivering the smith to forge the Sampo,¹⁴⁰ the magic rake provided a transition to another popular narrative which affirmed Väinämöinen's power and authority. This would explain the use of the episode in *The Pike-Bone Kantele* variants performed as an independent song. Both adaptations appear to maintain a system of indexical relationships in the adaptation of a usage from another context.

The adaptation of the motif-complex into the Sampo-Cycle supports its significance in the earlier cultural activity of *LV*. This motif-complex's distribution makes it possible that it was also known on the Karelian Isthmus and perhaps in Ingria. This motif-complex of the magic rake and its acquisition appears restricted to Finno-Karelian and Ingrian traditions and the patterns of correspondence extend from motif-complex to line and multiform. It therefore seems probable that its use in *The Brother Who Died on a Ship* is an adaptation of or evolution from the Death/Resurrection of Lemminkäinen.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ The narratives of the Sampo-Cycle are summarized and discussed in §7.2-3.

¹⁴¹ In this sense, "evolution" could constitute fusions with other songs with which it was indexically associated, or providing a framework of compelling compositional elements in the adaptation of a "new" song (perhaps related to the Slavic tradition discussed by Oinas). It is equally possible or more probable that as the tradition waned in its cultural activity, elements which were considered valuable or compelling were infused into another song with which it was indexically associated, and that this adaptation and its

The appearance of the rake motif-complex in the World-Creation may also be adapted from the Death/Resurrection of Lemminkäinen as the journey was adapted to *Päivän päästö*. These adaptations of *LV* in Ingrian songs of mythological content suggest that *LV* was also a narrative of cosmological proportions.

4.3.10. Lemminkäinen in Estonia

Transformations of mytho-heroic traditions in the Estonian trochaic tetrameter present a very limited and problematic corpus. Finnic mythological material clearly persisted, but the transformations were often tremendous. Non-Christian mythic figures and their narratives rarely persisted to documentation. In addition to the *LV* “variants” (which may simply reflect a different Lemminkäinen epic), several additional songs relevant to discussion are also introduced here.

4.3.10.1. *Osmi haigus – Osmi’s Illness*

Osmi’s Illness is the Lemminkäinen-poem recorded in Estonia in three redactions (following Kuusi 1954a¹⁴²). The variants are remarkably short, presenting a condensed cycle in which Lemminkäinen’s father or parents fall into a prolonged illness, and Lemminkäinen sets out on a journey to catch the special fish which will heal him/them. It is considered a fusion of *LV*, *Visiting Vipunen* and *Vellamo’s Maiden*, which emerges at the conclusion of Kuusi’s Lemminkäinen-redaction (Kuusi 1954:296-297). It is therefore counted among variants of *LV*, although its relationship to the Finno-Karelian *LV* is much more open to question.

4.3.10.2. Drinking-Feast of Birds

“Gods” are not part of the Estonian songs. These Estonian songs may present a slightly more developed narrative than Ingrian variants (see §4.3.9.4, §9.4.1.1).

application in the World-Creation provided the framework for how the rake-episode was applied and understood.

¹⁴² Krohn (1903-1910:466-468; 1924-1928 V:166-167), Hurt (1926-1932 II:ix-xi) and Loooris (1951:399-400) divide them into two redactions.

4.3.10.3. *Jeesuse näljasurm – Jesus’ Death by Starvation*

The degree to which mythological narrative material underwent transformations in Estonia warrants mentioning *Jesus’ Death by Starvation*: Jesus comes to the home of Mary/building of the Holy Cross at Christmas and requests food for his horses and food and drink for himself. Each request is refused and Jesus dies. This conflict between Jesus and Mary is unprecedented in Christian legends. It parallels Lemminkäinen arriving as an uninvited guest who is refused hospitality resulting in his death. Development from *LV* through the replacement of vernacular mythic figures with Christian ones could explain Jesus as the uninvited and unwanted guest and Mary as the hostile hostess.¹⁴³

4.3.11. *Setumaa*

Estonia is not a homogenous cultural area, and even the poetic system exhibits radical differences in the southern regions (Frog & Stepanova forthcoming). The Setu cultural area in Southeastern Estonia was converted to Orthodox Christianity. The singing traditions were radically different in this region and more material developed from mythological subjects was recorded, but no variants of *LV*.

¹⁴³ In the Bible, John 2:1-12 presents the wedding in Cana at which Jesus and his disciples want wine and Mary informs them that there is none (John 2:2). Jesus rebukes her, pointing out that it is not his time to die (John 2:3); Mary informs the servants to do whatever Jesus says (John 2:4) and Jesus performs the miracle of changing water into wine. If this were interpreted as a conflict between Mary and Jesus, it could import the implication that the refusal of wine was in some manner associated with the day of Jesus’ death – i.e. Jesus dies at the House of the Cross because Mary refuses to give him wine. However, it is not clear how or why this song would develop in relation to the John 2:1-12, in which Mary is not the hostess, states that there is no wine present rather than refusing hospitality, and complies with Jesus’ every request following the rebuke. Moreover, the Bible’s sequence of events is organized to culminate in the magical act of transforming water into wine as an affirmation of Jesus’ magical power, which seems to be the opposite of what happens here. Certain corresponding motifs between the Cana wedding and *LV* invite the possibility that this song emerged in a mapping of the Bible legend across the narrative schema of *LV*. In other words, one possible explanation for the song is that a narrative song similar to *LV* was interpreted through the Cana wedding according to associations of: *a*) the wedding feast context; *b*) a female figure gives a negative response to *c*) the young male protagonist’s request for alcohol; *d*) the protagonist responds verbally and *e*) proceeds to perform a miraculous magical act *f*) making drinkable alcohol; *g*) the young male protagonist is doomed to die; *h*) that death is somehow connected to the conflict surrounding the alcohol; *i*) and he is (potentially) resurrected from death. In such a mapping, Jesus would be identified with the (now) uninvited protagonist, Mary with the hostile hostess, and the refusal of alcohol skips the miracle/magic of the alcohol and subsequent conflict entirely, so that the identification of the lack of alcohol with fated death in John 2:4 allows the refusal to be identified with the death, and thus Cana makes the circuit from identification with Päivölä to identification with the location of death on the Cross. Such considerations are speculative, particularly considering that the wedding feast and beer/wine magic are not present in this song. I am thankful to Richard North for bringing the Cana wedding to my attention as a potential parallel.

4.3.11.1. *Vend veehädas – The Brother Lost in the Water*

The brother goes to plough the field and his sister comes to bring him something to eat but finds only his hat. His hat informs her that the Water has taken her brother. She sets out to find him. He is in the sea, but this is combined with the Finnic otherworld topography:

Mine' iks sa Tooni nurmõ pääle, Manalaistõ maie pääle, Tuo iks mere veere pääle, Kalajärve kaalalõ, Sääl om iks sino vello, Sino kallis imekana (SL.253.137-142)	Go to the meadows of Toon, to the land of the Mana people, to the shores of the sea, to the shores of the lake full of fish, there you will find your brother, your dear brother (Arukask 1999:90)
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The recovery itself exhibits a significant range of variation from Ingrian traditions (the raking is not present). It is most often, though not always successful.

4.3.11.2. *Päevapoeg – The Sun's Son*

The Sun's Son is an adversary familiar from *LV*. This song presents a common Estonian narrative theme of the lone maiden who encounters a stranger; the stranger attempts to rape her and she variously flees, kills him or herself (Honko et al. 1993:767-768). Killing the Sun's Son receives thanks from the parents in *SL.79*. It is unclear whether the name of the adversary has any relation to the Duel of *LV*.

4.3.11.3. *Neiu veri – The Maiden's Blood*

A maiden is fetching water. Her brother is overcome with rage and throws a stone. Blood runs from her head through her hair and emphasis is on the growth resulting from her blood falling on the earth. It combines the blind shooter with blood running through the hair (the omen of *LV*) in a narrative of mythic proportions associated with fertility.

4.3.11.4. *Sõahain ja kooluhain – War-Plant and Death-Plant*

Apparently only documented in only one variant, a brother and sister come across two "war-plants". The brother wishes to pick them but the sister convinces him not to. They

come across two “death-plants” and her brother picks them in spite of her warnings. He takes them home, sticks them in his bed and becomes ill. The brother tells his sister: *joose sa jumalde lävele/Marijide paja ala*, “run to the doorstep of the gods/under the window of Maries” (SL.158.78-79) and ask for help. The attempt succeeds and her brother recovers. The brother’s condition is similar to the condition of the father in *Osmi’s Illness* and the sister journeys to the otherworld in order to secure his recovery. The instrument(?) is also a plant, noting that Lemminkäinen laments not learning from his mother how to defend himself against the *umpiputki* just as the brother fails to heed his sister.

4.3.12. Lemminkäisen virsi in Finnic Traditions

Motifs and motif-complexes of lesser priority in *LV* appear adapted to other narrative contexts. Dégh (1995:97, 125-127, 218-219) has emphasized that narrative elements which are found compelling continue to be adapted to new contexts and applications even when the narratives or whole genres with which they are associated move toward extinction. Motif-complexes associated with the Death/Resurrection appear to have been changing their associations in Viena. In Ingria, the corresponding motif-complexes and complete episodes appear scattered among other narratives.

Osmi’s Illness has been considered imported through Finno-Karelian traditions (see Kuusi 1954a). This is mainly due to the paired names Lemingäne-Utregane (see §14.4.1.4) in the Lemminkäinen-Redaction and Osmi-Kalev (Kuusi 1954a:299-300). It lacks lexical and formulaic correspondences with *LV* through which “borrowed” poems are normally identified: in this respect it is more similar to poems associated with the common Finnic heritage, such as the World-Creation (Puhvel 1971) and *The Great Oak* (Franssila 1900). If it was transmitted to Estonian from Finno-Karelian or Izhorian traditions, this must have taken place in a much earlier period. There is also the possibility that Finno-Karelian and/or Izhorian groups interacted with Estonians, stimulating narrative activity in this region in a manner not unlike what appears to have happened in Viena, or in interactions of Ingrian-Finns and Izhorians in Ingria. This would explain Estonian features which appear in Izhorian and Ingrian-Finnish songs, but

it leaves it highly questionable whether the Estonian traditions had typologically similar and even related material which evolved into a vernacular *LV*, or an established *LV* which interacted with the traditions it encountered.

The Estonian *LV* is more remarkable as a fusion of Lemminkäinen narratives which would presumably have formed a cycle. *Visiting Vipunen* appears strongly associated with the Resurrection but not *LV* as a Cycle. A drinking-feast scenario of the uninvited guest was clearly known in Estonia, and in Ingria, “gods” are being invited as well. It seems reasonable that the comic Estonian song about the drinking feast of birds has developed in relation to epic material (probably as a conscious parody) rather than vice versa or accidentally emerging with lines and motif-complexes corresponding to *LV*. This makes the question of a relationship between *Jesus’ Death by Starvation* more interesting. If the Ingrian song *The Brother who Died on a Ship* has developed from *LV*, the Setu *The Brother Lost in Water* may also be associated with the Death/Resurrection. This would explain the otherwise random transition from ploughing a field (like Lemminkäinen in Viena), to drowning in the sea at the realm of the dead. In this case the entire sequence of *LV* from the departure to the feast to Lemminkäinen’s death would have been eclipsed by exclusive concentration on the female protagonist or on that single episode of the cycle. This similarly increases the possibility of some relationship between *LV* and *The Maiden’s Blood* and/or *War-Plant and Death-Plant* though the significance might remain obscure, and the possibility that at a much earlier period, *LV* (or its antecedent) was known across Finnic regions of Kalevalaic poetry.

PART II: THE PROBLEM

Chapter 5: The History of Comparison

Comparative research in kalevalaic poetry often runs astray by selecting (sometimes unique) lines or variants against more common, widespread forms, without justification (Kuusi 1994b). This has been a recurrent problem in scholarship on *LV*, often attributable to “leading” sources to a conclusion (e.g. Haavio 1959, 1965, 1967:232-264), lack of perspective within the corpus (e.g. Rahimova 1998a, 1998b) or investing unconventional singers such as Arhippa Perttunen with exceptional authority (e.g. Krohn 1903-1910, 1924-1928). In contrast, sources for the Baldr-Cycle are so limited that Snorri’s account is often accepted with little or no reservation (e.g. Dumézil 1959) and Clunies Ross (1994:202n) very probably scarcely scratches the surface with her modest statement that “one suspects that the oral tradition was much more pluralistic than we, with our relatively few surviving, written versions of Norse myth, are able to be.” Comparisons between Germanic and kalevalaic mythologies generally encounter the problem that scholars (with the exception of Kaarle Krohn) have a developed understanding of only one tradition, while the understanding of the other is largely superficial, with little or no perspective on how to approach its sources (Frog forthcoming a). The relationship between the deaths of Baldr and Lemminkäinen belongs to the academic discourse surrounding each tradition, but has received only limited focused treatment.

Sigl (2001) proposes that Castrén’s (1853:313) “slippery path” of comparison is attributable to Lönnrot’s shaping of material in *Kalevala* – i.e. comparison is rooted in *Kalevala* rather than “tradition”. Lönnrot was extremely interested in comparative mythology,¹⁴⁴ but he never mentioned Baldr or the Baldr-Cycle,¹⁴⁵ nor was it mentioned

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Lönnrot’s 1839 article “Alkuluomisesta”, “On the *Ur*-Creation”, in which he compares the Väinämöinen-World-Creation with mythologies of India, Persia, Egypt, and the Chippewa (Lönnrot 1990-1993 II:557-560).

by Grimm in his influential 1845[1865] lecture on Finnish mythology (Kaukonen 1963). Lönnrot's narrative is the result of sequential developments and active expansions in the accumulation of motifs from compelling singers across two decades and five versions of his epic.¹⁴⁶ The Lemminkäinen-Baldr association was not necessarily obvious. Grimm (1865:104) compared Lemminkäinen to Heimdallr. Bugge (1881-1886:196n) thought the similarity more likely coincidental. Julius Krohn (1885:342) concluded that the deaths and resurrection attempts of Lemminkäinen and Baldr originated without knowledge of each other. It was Comparetti (1898:243-244) who claimed that *LV* was indebted to the Germanic tradition as outlined by Bugge and carried this to the world (cf. Kauffmann 1902:242-244).

Krohn (1905; 1903-1910:581-584, 800-802, 828; 1922:121-126; 1924-1928.I:73-74, II) divided *LV* into three separate songs about Lemminkäinen, Kaukomieli, and Jesus (*pätöinen poika*, “able lad”) which were mixed together. He subscribed to the belief that the poems had an historical basis, reconstructing Kaukomieli and Lemminkäinen as “historical” figures (cf. Lönnrot 1990-1993), and followed the general trend of attributing the origins of the greater part of northern mythologies to Christian influences. Krohn's division was based on the generation of separate songs in Viena (§4.3.1), approaching Ingrian-Finn and Izhorian traditions as belonging to a coherent tradition community due to regional proximity (§4.3.9.1-2). Krohn was deeply influenced by Bugge's (1881-1889) arguments for Christian legends as the basis of the Baldr-Cycle.¹⁴⁷ He argues that the deaths of *pätöinen poika*-Lemminkäinen and Baldr are independent developments from the conjunction of two medieval Christian legends: the legend about the origins of wood of the Cross from a cabbage-stalk found in the *Toledóth Jeschu*¹⁴⁸ and the legend of

¹⁴⁵ Lönnrot wrote three articles on Lemminkäinen between 1836-1839 (Lönnrot 1990-1993 II:69-76, 87-93, 392-401).

¹⁴⁶ See Niemi 1898, Kaukonen 1939-1945, 1978; see also Anttila 1931-1935.

¹⁴⁷ On Krohn's orientation toward creating historical and folkloric connections between Finland and Germanic Scandinavia, see Žirmunskij 2004.

¹⁴⁸ Schlichting 1982:§250; see further Krauss 1902:225-226; cf. Bugge 1881-1889:45-49. The *Toledóth Jeschu* is a medieval collection of narratives about the life and death of Jesus in Hebrew. It can be described as a Jewish response to Christianity through a collection of reinterpretations of Christian legends. There is evidence that some form of the *Toledóth Jeschu* was in circulation in the 9th century, but only in the mid-13th century are there responses to the work indicative of its cultural activity; it is not clear that the narratives were generally available in Latin translation (Schlichting 1982:2-3).

Roman soldier Longinus's blindness being healed by the blood of Christ after he wounds Jesus in the side which became established in the incantation tradition as a *historiola*.¹⁴⁹ Krohn's attempt to separate the two possible event-sequences of *LV* evolved into a separation of two "historical" figures from the mythic Baldr-Christian-Lemminkäinen. His argument became widely accepted (cf. Olrik 1907; von der Leyen 1924:134-135) although it is based unreservedly on Snorri Sturluson's account and there is no evidence of a Christian legend of a blind shooter (Longinus-figure) with a plant-weapon (Cross) which each culture could adapt into a non-Christian mythological framework.

Mansikka (1908) followed Krohn but suggested that Christian traditions may have impacted established vernacular narratives in each culture, and Kuusi (1963:321-323; *FFPE*:538-539) accepted Krohn's basic argument when approached *LV* through the strata of development within his relative dating system (§6.3.2). Siikala (2002a) rejected Krohn's division of "historical" Lemminkäinen and Christian *pätöinen poika* but did not address the relationship between the deaths of Lemminkäinen and Baldr. She (2002a:307-319) compares Lemminkäinen's preparations and journey with *Svipdagsmál* (*Grógaldr*+*Fjölsvinnsmál*) and Freyr traditions. She suggests a basis in an interrelated system of fertility cults, of which she views *Skírnismál* as a potential "script" of a ritual drama (cf. Phillpotts 1920, Gunnell 1995).

Neckel (1920:182) suggested in passing that both narratives may have common roots in a fertility myth rather than Christian tradition (cf. Haavio 1965; see §23.5, §24.8). Schröder (1953:174-183; 1962:356) argues that *LV* is developed from the Baldr-Cycle and reflects a form closer to its roots in a fertility cult than Germanic sources. Turville-Petre (1964:117-118) accepts the influence but emphasizes that *LV* is not a variant of the Baldr-Cycle. De Vries (1955:53n) points out that Baldr is not resurrected: this places him in contrast to Lemminkäinen and (most) dying fertility gods (cf. Lindow 1997b:30-31). There remains an inclination to associate Baldr and/or the Baldr-Cycle with fertility, not necessarily tracing it back to the Mediterranean (e.g. Schier 1995; Lindow 1997b:83-84; North 1997a, Liberman 2004).

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Bugge 1881-1889:35-39; Roper 2006:112-113. See also §21.9.1.

De Vries (1956-1957:§487) rejected Krohn's comparison as oversimplified, and set it aside "provisionally" as an interesting but uninformative parallel.¹⁵⁰ He mentioned the Lemminkäinen tradition in several contexts (e.g. de Vries 1933a:192, 216; 1955:47, 53; 1996-1957:§482-483, §487), but his initiation-rite interpretation of the Baldr-Cycle (de Vries 1955) overshadowed other discussions. This interpretation was received enthusiastically. Fromm (1963) used it as the key for understanding the death of Lemminkäinen just as Schröder had argued that *LV* provided the key to understanding the Baldr-Cycle. De Vries's initiation-theory suffers critical flaws (Lindow 1995; 1997b:34-35; Schjødt 2003:265-269), and therefore Fromm's comparison inevitably runs aground, but he reviews numerous points of comparison. The other side of the article in which de Vries introduced his theory of initiation was a broader interpretation of the death of Baldr as the prime death (de Vries 1955:47-48; 1956-1957:§490; cf. Motz 1991; Harris esp. 2009b:483). Honko (1959b:53) acknowledges de Vries in this interpretation, but points out that he has overlooked the significance of the "blind shooter". Honko treats the deaths of Baldr and Lemminkäinen (only addressed by de Vries as a fertility figure) as belonging to a common tradition of Northern European "blind shooter" myths about the introduction of death into the world (1959a:135-141; 1959b). However, Honko (1965:48-49) also stresses the stratified development of *LV* and that it cannot be approached as a version of the Baldr-Cycle.

Lindow (1997a) rejects any attempt to understand the two stories as related because there is no revenge sequence associated with Lemminkäinen. For Lindow, it is not possible to conceive of the Baldr-Cycle without the revenge sequence, and de Vries's tentative dismissal became conclusive: "neither's story can help illuminate the other" (Lindow 1997a:43-44). This declaration came in the same year as Lindow's (1997b) monograph on the Baldr-Cycle, in which he argues the centrality of revenge to the Baldr-Cycle, stressing that he is only discussing the Baldr-Cycle in its (more or less) "contemporary" cultural activity. His comparison with *LV* carries this interpretation to a demand of 100%

¹⁵⁰ De Vries appears generally critical of any relationship between Finnic and Germanic mythological narratives (cf. Hansen 1995:6).

motif correspondence between the narratives without tolerance for variation (cf. Sigl 2001). Moreover, he demands the same priorities and interpretations in each culture (cf. Fromm 1967) – i.e. that the Baldr-Cycle could not be found interesting and compelling without emphasis on the revenge-cycle (almost completely irrelevant in Finno-Karelian epic) and the revenge-cycle must have been central to the Norse Baldr-Cycle at the point when any suggested exchange occurred.

Kuusi, Honko and Siikala (cf. Mansikka, Turville-Petre) focused on *LV* as a complex fusion of many strata of adaptations and developments spanning a period of 1000-2000 years. Much of the following discussion will be concerned with understanding variation, transmission and the evolution of narrative within and across tradition ecologies. This is essential because Sigl's proposal is symptomatic of the widespread problem of taking variation in the corpus at a superficial level and reducing it to chaos. Similarly, motifs may be atomized and shown to be individually "traditional" on such a widespread basis that no comparison seems possible (cf. Harvilahti & Rahimova 1999, Thorvaldsen 2008). Ironically, neither corpus could endure the same approach, which emphasizes how heavily Germanic scholarship in particular relies on names for identifying related narratives – were it not for the names, it is doubtful that Snorri's and Saxo's accounts would ever warrant more than superficial comparison. More common in Germanic scholarship is an all-or-nothing approach, as though *LV* should exhibit closer correspondence to Snorri's account of the Baldr Cycle than Saxo's does – or more correctly that the *Song of Lemminkäinen* should be a Finnish translation of the **Song of Baldr*, and moreover that this translation should exhibit the same priorities of relevance (e.g. a revenge-cycle) and interpretation (e.g. initiation ritual) as its Old Norse (Icelandic) archetype. Rather than attempting to assess a relationship between these two traditions, these approaches treat one tradition as a variant of the other to be interpreted on the same terms. They reduce the question "Is the Death/Resurrection Attempt of Lemminkäinen related to that of Baldr?" to "Is Lemminkäinen Baldr?"

Lemminkäinen is not Baldr. Let us move on.

Chapter 6: Is a Relationship Reasonable to Consider?

6.1. Persistence *versus* Origin

The ability for mythological narratives to persist over centuries is a basic premise of Indo-European studies (cf. Lincoln 1981, 1986, Watkins 1995, West 2007). Studies of Indo-European mythology are facilitated by continuities in language and poetic system. West (2007:5-25) emphasizes the stratified nature of mythologies, and that mythological material persists from the various strata of a linguistic-cultural group's history simultaneously.¹⁵¹ Once a narrative obtains the status of "myth" in a tradition ecology, its persistence becomes dependent on its cultural activity within that ecology rather than on its culture of origin: "myth" lives, is defined and applied in the "present" of its cultural activity irrespective of its history or origin. *LV* and the Baldr-Cycle each belong to the ethnic mythology of its respective culture. There is no indication that the narrative was first established in either or both cultures in a non-epic genre and was subsequently infused with belief content (elevated to "myth"). If there is a relationship between these narratives due to cultural contact, it is reasonable to assume that in the "present" of crossing the linguistic-cultural threshold, the narrative was transmitted in conjunction with authority relevant to belief associations.

6.2. The Baldr-Cycle

6.2.1. *Terminus ante quem* for Exchange

Some narratives manipulating Germanic mythological subjects clearly persisted in circulation following the Christianization for several centuries. The Christianization process was associated with domestic legal action which restricted social and ritual applications of mythological narrative (Vésteinsson 2000, Sanmark 2004; cf. Foote 1993:137). The cultural activity of the Baldr-Cycle among Christian authors and carved on Christian artefacts appears oriented to associations with a fall of paganism (§3).

¹⁵¹ Cf. Harvilahti's (2003: 90ff.) "etnocultural substrate", which he uses "to refer to archaic features long preserved in tradition".

“Mythological” narratives which found popularity and persisted as Christianity became established are clearly oriented to farcical humiliations of the gods.¹⁵² The social pressures of the Christianization process make it unlikely that the Baldr-Cycle could significantly impact Finno-Karelian belief-traditions after ca.1100-1200 if authority and belief associations are required. This presents a probable *terminus ante quem*.

6.2.2. Back to Bracteates

There is no reason to believe that the Baldr-Cycle belongs to the Indo-European heritage.¹⁵³ It appears to be a Germanic phenomenon, or possibly to belong more generally to Northern Europe.¹⁵⁴ Baldr’s death provided a significant point of reference within that mythological system, particularly in relation to Óðinn as a cultural figure and narratives of Odinic heroes. Its cultural activity extended to AS *Beowulf* (§10.3.1, §21.2.4) and possibly the MHG *Nibelungenlied* (§21.8). Iconographic depictions appear to indicate its significance in the Migration Period, the era which appears to stand at the heart of most traditions encountered across Germanic cultures, and particularly with the narrative material such as that found in the *Nibelungenlied*, *Beowulf*, etc., which appear to reflect or to have assimilated historical figures and events from this period.¹⁵⁵

6.2.3. Baldr and the Migration Period

The Migration Period involved enormous and radical cultural changes in Germanic Scandinavia. This is particularly evident in the archaeological record. For example, in the use of specially minted bracteates as “Charon’s *obol*” in Gotland burials – i.e. in a

¹⁵² The theft of Þórr’s hammer evolved into the ballad through the *rímur Þrymlur* from the eddic poem *Þrymsqviða* (Bugge & Moe 1887), a burlesque poem making fun of Þórr generated from traditional elements in 13th century Iceland (§16.3); the *rímur Lokrur* developed directly from Snorri’s farcical account of Þórr’s visit to Útgarða-Loki; *Skíða ríma* is a Christian’s comical visionary experience of a visit to Valhöll.

¹⁵³ *Contra* Dumézil 1959, who fabricates a “whole” Baldr-Cycle from comparisons with disparate sources (Lindow 1997b:37) and accepts Snorri’s text unreservedly. On the problems of comparison, see further West 2007:19ff.

¹⁵⁴ North (1997a) argues that Baldr is a purely Scandinavian phenomenon (see §14.3); cf. Gade’s (2000:64) statement that “poetry with a mythological [as opposed to heroic] content appears to be a unique Scandinavian creation and has no counterpart in Germanic poetic traditions,” although the mythological poetry appears to be rooted in Indo-European traditions (cf. Watkins 1995, West 2007).

¹⁵⁵ See e.g. Malone 1925, Byock 1990, Fulk et al. 2008:li-lxvii; cf. Heusler 1909, Reichl 2000:*esp.*178-180; for corresponding epic traditions manifested across multiple rooted in a common historical kernel, see Reichl 2007:22-50.

cultural environment where coins were not minted for currency (Axboe 1991:188-89), or the changes in horse sacrifices and burial which appear to be rooted in cultural influences from the Huns (see Görman 1993; cf. Simpson 1967, Tolley 2009:104-109) implying changes in conceptions of access to and interaction with the supernatural world, and changes in the cultural activity of the horse in particular. Bracteates emerged as part of this broad pattern of revolutionary changes. They were clearly a response to Roman coins, and may have been a response to and assumption of strategies of the propagandistic representations of the emperor through the assertion and manipulation of ethnic mythological subjects oriented toward magical and ritual concerns (Hauck 1970, 1985, Axboe 1991, 1998, McKinnell & Simek 2004:69-84).

It is an often overlooked fact that the Roman impact on the Nordic societies from the middle of the fourth century was a Christian one. The Christian influence in the North is not, as usually assumed, a phenomenon that followed in the wake of the ninth century Viking raids. The phase of transition and acculturation between the pre-Christian and Christian world is not a brief period of a couple of hundred years, but a process more than six hundred years long. This means on the one hand that Christian ideas were indirectly brought to Scandinavia through the close relations between these two areas, but on the other hand that non-Roman and non-Christian mentality influenced the Christian world. (Fabech 1999:459)

The Three-God-Bracteates lack “text”¹⁵⁶ and can only be interpreted through later written sources. Although the bracteates may indicate the persistence of the narrative of the cycle (the central concern here), the identities of the figures participating in the cycle (or their names at that time) are not certain. The name “Baldr” presents certain difficulties (see §14.3). The earliest sources stand outside ON and seem to indicate it was an epithet or secondary name. The only god whose name the epithet can clearly be associated with is the mysterious “Phol” of the Second Merseburg Charm. Genzmer (1948) argued that Phol is identical to the god Freyr, and North (1997a) has put forward an intricate argument that Baldr is a specifically Scandinavian phenomenon: North proposes that Baldr developed as the fourth century interpretation of the Arian Christ, interpreted through the contemporary understanding of Freyr (posited as the contemporary ethnic “dying god”) – i.e. “baldr” was an epithet for Freyr which became established as a

¹⁵⁶ IK.51.2 and IK.51.3 bear the runic inscription *undR*: see §19.5

distinct mythic figure when Baldr-Freyr and his cult were carried back to Scandinavia. North does not discuss the narrative of Baldr's death within this process; he focuses predominantly on etymologies and parallels between Freyr and Baldr which can be found in medieval sources. Even if the specific process of origins argued by North is questioned, the possibility that "Baldr" arrived or rose to significance in Scandinavia in the Migration Period warrants consideration, particularly as the earliest evidence of the Baldr-Cycle appears in the form of Migration Period bracteates.

Óðinn appears to have superseded Týr (cognate with "Zeus") as the main god on the continent by or during the beginning of the present era (de Vries 1956-1957:§360-361). Óðinn's name exhibits a long history in Scandinavia (de Vries 1956-1957:§377) but the Migration Period appears to be associated with his widespread ascendance to becoming a dominant figure (cf. de Vries 1933b:190-216; Helm 1913-1953.II2:251ff.; North 1997a:78-79; Hultgård 2009). Óðinn's position in this process of cultural change is emphasized by his connection with the bracteate tradition. Hauck's (e.g. 1970) arguments for the interpretation of Óðinn as the healing-god on the Type-C bracteates is finding increasing acceptance (cf. Simek 1996:44, 244). The most frequent of these appear to reflect the god healing a crippled horse, as in the Second Merseburg Charm, and may include the runic inscription *hauaR*, OI *Hár*, "High One", unequivocally an Óðinn-name in later sources.¹⁵⁷ Although Hauck has perhaps somewhat overzealously been inclined to interpret the bracteate corpus in terms of this central unifying and (overly) consistent mythological pattern,¹⁵⁸ he produces potential examples of several additional Óðinn names which significantly support his argument even if not all of these names can be interpreted with certainty.¹⁵⁹ In the Second Merseburg Charm, Óðinn heals

¹⁵⁷ Hauck 1970:266. For a brief overview of issues surrounding this reading, see Nedoma 2009:806-807; the central question of reading *hauaR* or a proposed *horaz* is addressed in Hauck 1998:317-319.

¹⁵⁸ For a respectful criticism, see Palomé 1994.

¹⁵⁹ Hauck 1998:317-319. Palomé (1994:97-98) points out that the names of gods do not seem to appear on bracteates, which does seem striking within the corpus. Palomé proposes that this may be attributable to naming taboos. This point is both valid and interesting, but it does not overthrow Hauck's interpretation of *hauaR* as "High One", or other names as Óðinn names: in the period in question, these may have been *noa*-words, circumlocutions which were acceptable means of reference or even reverence but which did not have the magical consequence of alerting or summoning the mythic being. This possibility could offer insight into the sheer number of names actively in use as alternative names for Óðinn.

balder Phol's horse.¹⁶⁰ There may be a connection between the gold bracteates as magical items and/or symbols of authority and power and the rise or arrival of Óðinn as a cultural figure (cf. Axboe 1991).

The prominence of the horse in the bracteate tradition appears to indicate the significance of the horse to the bracteate users, and the changing significance and associations of the horse within the semiotic system of Germanic groups during this period.¹⁶¹ Baldr's death and the narratives associated with it are very clearly associated with Óðinn, Óðinn's power, narratives about Óðinn demonstrating his power, and adapted for narratives about Odinic heroes: by the time manuscript sources of the Baldr-Cycle begin to appear, the narrative is clearly attached to Óðinn and Óðinn-related traditions. The appearance of some form of the Baldr-Cycle on the Three-God-Bracteates adapts the narrative to a new application and mode of representation. The new application associates it with the systems of radical cultural changes which were taking place and influences which were arriving from the continent. The same process is also associated with an apparent rise in authority of Óðinn as a cultural figure, who is both intimately involved in the Baldr-Cycle and affirmed by it. It is possible that the Baldr-Cycle as reflected on the Three-God-Bracteates represents a tradition which was a relatively recent development in the region rather than the conservative persistence of a narrative with a long and established history in Scandinavia.

The Three-God-Bracteates attest to the significance of a system of motifs in an application, but the lack of additional contemporary material for comparison leaves them ambiguous with regard to meaning and intent. If the Baldr-Cycle became established in Germanic Scandinavia during the Migration Period, this does not mean that roughly corresponding mythological narrative material was not already established in the cultural milieu with which it interacted. The history of the narrative tradition prior to its use in the Three-God-Bracteates moves into ambiguous obscurity (see §25). This presents a potential *terminus post quem*.

¹⁶⁰ For a review of the later cultural activity of this *historiola* see Christiansen 1914.

¹⁶¹ Hunnish influences (above) participated in this process, but that does not mean they were identical to those reflected on bracteates.

6.2.4. “When’s, “Where’s and “Who’s as Historical Perspectives

The purpose of this study is not to reconstruct the “original” form of the mythological narrative: mythological narratives “live” and evolve in their cultural activity and conventional discourse. The more specifically we wish to define the form, significance and applications of a mythological narrative, the more specifically we must define “when”, “where” and “for whom”. Individual sources reflect the “when”, “where” and “for whom” in specific applications within the broader tradition ecology, offering indications of which features were significant and how they were used, providing insights into the traditions we wish to uncover. These should not be confused with the “tradition” itself.

6.3. The History of the Death of Lemminkäinen

Concentrated collection of *LV* began in the 1820’s. A direct relationship to the Baldr-Cycle would require that the narrative was already in circulation for a minimum of six hundred years. This can be compared to the ca. 700-800 years between the Three-God-Bracteates and *Edda*. In the case of *LV*, the question is the degree to which the documented sources offer insights into that history.

6.3.1. The Corpus as Evidence of Historical Development

We are faced with a narrative textual entity with a recognized identity (§15). Sources reflect the maintenance of that identity through the history of the transmission process. Attempts to trace the history of individual Finno-Karelian songs gradually blur into the general obscurity of being “old” or “very old” because there is no objective point of historical reference. Population movements can be traced in fairly concrete terms for one or two hundred years, and this can be compared to the development of the tradition within families in relation to the history of their movements from other regions.¹⁶² Viena is exceptionally interesting in this regard: even the lexis of the poetry in individual families remained marked by the history of their migrations for centuries (Siikala 2002b:27; Kuusi 1949:306).

¹⁶² Pöllä’s (1995, 1999) extensive research of historical records is a valuable resource in this regard.

Now that research has unearthed more information about the history of settlement in Finland and Viena Karelia, the conclusions drawn by Krohn no longer seem so erroneous as they did during the attack on the geographical-historical method. Krohn's conjectures as to the background to the Viena poems more or less correspond to today's knowledge of the history of settlement. There is, however, no resorting to the research approach of Krohn. Tracing the routes taken by individual poems poses a methodological problem, should anyone even be interested in attempting it. (Siikala 2002b:27)

Processes of adaptation and renewal defy Krohn's reconstructions: the farther back in time a tradition is traced or projected, the more abstract our understanding of it necessarily becomes. Chronologies in the history of individual poems rapidly run out of foot-holds. Kuusi's (1949) doctoral dissertation on the Sampo-Cycle presents a detailed discussion of the variants in relation first to family histories, gradually shifting to general population migrations, and eventually reaches three rather abstract redactions which must have been established by ca. 1200 A.D. From this he postulates more generally that the cycle must have emerged and become established sometime during the period of ca. 400-1100 A.D. The only point of historical reference which feels at all substantial is the appearance of a single variant (VII5.10) collected among the culturally isolated Forest-Finns of central Sweden, who migrated from the Savo region in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Finno-Karelian epic exhibits clear regional patterns, but with very few exceptions (e.g. the Forest-Finns of Sweden) these regions are contiguous and defined socially and/or politically more than geographically. Ingria assumes a special significance as a more remote region along the southwest corner of the Gulf of Finland. Transmission traditions in Ingria are associated with village-based communities rather than the kin-group traditions of Viena. The metre, poetics, how poetry is used and who uses it clearly follow (as in Viena) a regional pattern of development indicative of contact between linguistic-cultural groups and their awareness of one another, but songs associated with ritual practice and social identity remain distinct between linguistic-cultural groups (§4.3.9). The flexibility in production and reproduction in the region with its clear directions of development makes the history of specific constituent elements of an epic song problematic. However, the persistence of "epic" songs as linguistic-culturally distinct or

exclusive implies that the mytho-heroic epic songs (including *LV*) were established in one or both cultures when the Ingrian-Finns arrived, and that at that time these songs had an established role in the maintenance of social identities (see §18.1). The distinct Ingrian-Finnish and Izhorian forms of *LV* indicate it had distinct forms in each cultural group and was associated with that group's social identity by the beginning of the 17th century. The same is clearly evident in Viena, where different forms of *LV* were in close contact and these corresponded sufficiently to be mutually recognizable as contrasting forms of the same narrative, which was not the case with the Ingrian-Finn and Izhorian redactions (see §15). There is evidence that *LV* was established in regionally distinct conventional forms from Ingria to the White Sea in the 16th century. The maintenance of distinct forms of the song by migrant families/populations in relation to other groups is indicative of maintaining individual and social identities through the assertion of one form or set of distinctive features of the song as associated with one “in-group” in relation to others.

It is reasonable to postulate that the conventions of reproduction were not less conservative at the time of these various migrations. *LV* as a distinct and socially recognized song-text must have a history which allowed it to become established as an epic song associated with, and in some sense defining the “in-group” as opposed to the “other” across all of these regions. It must also allow for the development of the distinct conventional regional forms. This includes, for example, the dissolution of the Isle of Women from the southern Finno-Karelian regions (and Ingrian-Finns), while remaining prominent among Izhorians and in Viena. The association of this narrative with group identities, and the resistance exhibited by groups to adopt the narrative from one another (plainly apparent in Ingria) makes it reasonable to propose a long history to the narrative, and to suggest that if it were introduced and assimilated as a narrative associated with social identities, its established distribution implies that this occurred as part of a larger pattern of radical social and cultural change. It is clearly not a Christian legend and Lemminkäinen is not a Christian hero, making it improbable that *LV* emerged through the Christianization process.¹⁶³ This and the geographical remoteness of the Izhorians make

¹⁶³ This is not to say that the Christianization process may not have impacted *LV* and the significance of its complexes of motifs.

it probable that *LV* was established in this linguistic-cultural group before the 13th century.

Finno-Karelian epic (including *LV*) material exhibits clear connections to the “west” on levels extending from Germanic loan words and grammatical constructions to various motifs and their uses (cf. Krohn 1924-1928, Kuusi 1949, 1963, Siikala 2002a). Several early scholars argued that epic poems originated in Western Finland (see Siikala 2002b:27). From an archaeologist’s standpoint, Uino (1997) suggests that the early Germanic impacts in Karelian traditions are more likely attributable to population movements from western Finland during the first millennium, rather than being primarily dependent on direct contact and cultural exchange. Little to no evidence of mytho-heroic epic material was documented in the majority of Lutheran Finland. Finland is split by an ancient cultural divide on a Northwest-Southeast axis. It appears to correspond to Mikael Agricola’s (1510-1557) distinction between people of Häme and Karelians. The threshold is clearly evident in linguistic, folkloric and genetic evidence – Western Finns are genetically more similar to Scandinavians while eastern Finns are more Finno-Ugric, with very little distinction from Karelians.¹⁶⁴ We lack evidence of epic from the clearly definable cultural areas which were subject to the longest and most intensive interaction with Germanic cultures.

6.3.2. Strata in the History of Traditions

It is essential to recognize that *LV* is manifested in the corpus as a single unified and linear epic sequence, but the constituent elements of that unified sequence do not necessarily share a single common history. Tradition evolves through change and adaptation. The elevation of emerging adaptations and changes to the status of convention establishes regional variation and its horizons. This is an historical process which takes place within a the “present” of a tradition ecology and semiosphere. Within the corpus of kalevalaic poetry, Kuusi (1963; 1994a:37-49) observed patterns of association between stylistic features and subjects, contents, valuations, etc., through

¹⁶⁴ Kittles et al. 1998; Zerjal et al. 1997; Lahermo et al. 1999; Hedman et al. 2004; Lappalainen et al. 2006; Lappalainen et al. 2008.

which he developed a relative system for dating kalevalaic poetry according to five stylistic periods. He situated Lemminkäinen's Journey in the oldest discernable strata of the tradition, the conventional narrative framework of dialogue-encounters preparing for the journey and the conflicts in the hall in the pre-Christian Iron Age, and that the Death and Resurrection Attempt in the period of "barbaric Christianity". The maintenance of the stylistic features on the level of episodes discussed by Kuusi emerges in the corpus of *LV*, and the transfer, exchange and adaptation of epic episodes is observable in the corpus. Although the historical significance of constellations of features is open to question, Kuusi's work emphasizes that kalevalaic epics may present coherent and conventional entities, but the evolution of these songs is extremely stratified through patterns of adaptation and renewal. Moreover, even if we consider the formulation of a "new" epic, the episodes and multiforms of that emerging textual entity may incorporate, adapt and develop elements already established within the tradition ecology.

Chapter 7: One among Many

7.1. The Context of Exchange

The relationship between *Lemminkäisen virsi* and the Baldr-Cycle must be approached within the broader context of relationships between Finnic and Germanic mythologies and belief-systems. Although we may be able to *terminus ante quem* for exchange, a *terminus post quem* is far more problematic.

7.1.1. The Problem of a Common Cultural stratum

Finnic and Germanic cultures have radically different linguistic-cultural foundations, but they share a common assimilated stratum of the (Indo-European) Battle Axe or Corded Ware Culture which spread into the Circum-Baltic region (cf. Meinander 1984; Carpelan & Parpola 2001). This has been considered the foundation development of distinctly Scandinavian Germanic culture due to the apparent population continuity from that time (cf. Turville-Petre 1964:4), while its fusion with the established culture in Finland is often considered the essential point in the genesis of specifically “Finnic” culture (Meinander 1984; cf. DuBois 1999:14). The effects of this process and its impact on narrative traditions are completely unknown.

7.1.2. Circum-Baltic Mythology and Narrative Exchange

Finnic cultures are centred around the Gulf of Finland. This area can be viewed as the nexus of the encounters between Germanic, Baltic and Slavic groups. Koptjevskaja-Tamm and Wälchli (2001:622) stress that the Circum-Baltic region “has never been united, but has always been an extremely dynamic area, constantly redivided among spheres of dominance – economical, political, religious and cultural.” The theft of the thunder-instrument from the thunder-god (tale type 1148b) emerges as a Circum-Baltic mythological narrative which is found in Norse, Sámi, Finnish, Karelian, Estonian, Setu, Latvian and Lithuanian traditions (Uther 2004). The mythological narrative may have been much more widely known;¹⁶⁵ its concentrated persistence in the Circum-Baltic

¹⁶⁵ See Hansen (1995; 2002:305-314) on evidence in Classical Greek; cf. Masing 1977; Tolley 2009:162n..

region across diverse linguistic-cultural groups can only be attributable to discourse between these cultures, and when this narrative is placed in the broader context of relationships between conceptions and beliefs about the thunder god in these cultures, it becomes doubtful that the narrative can be attributed to origin in any one culture.¹⁶⁶ Narratives associated with mythology and belief were clearly capable of crossing linguistic-cultural thresholds, and may have done so both repeatedly and reciprocally.

7.2. The World-Creation Song

Traditions related to the creation and organization of the world appear to be some of the most persistent in any culture (see §18.2). The Finnic World-Creation describes how a bird seeks a place to land, builds a nest, and the creation of the world results from the breaking of one or more of these eggs. In Finno-Karelian traditions, Väinämöinen's rise as a tradition dominant¹⁶⁷ resulted in imposing him as a figure in the creation of the world. Following the instigating event of the Shooting of Väinämöinen (§7.3.2), Väinämöinen floats on the primal sea. When the Bird of Creation comes seeking a place to build its nest, Väinämöinen raises his knee/shoulder as the first land. The bird builds its nest and lays several eggs. Väinämöinen's movement is often responsible for causing one of these to break. The heavenly bodies are created from the egg, and afterward Väinämöinen shapes the sea floor and shorelines.¹⁶⁸ The Väinämöinen-World-Creation is a Finno-Karelian phenomenon, not found south of the Gulf of Finland.

Creation myths undergo an *accumulation of information* due to their tremendous rhetorical authority and the systems of cultural activity in which they are applied:

¹⁶⁶ See Balys (1939) for the most comprehensive presentation of sources and assessment; see also Olrik 1905, 1906; Krohn 1922:202-207; de Vries 1933a:99-124; Loozits 1932; Andersen 1939. The etymological relationship between Þórr's mother's name and Perkunas is ambiguous (Biezais 1972:92ff.; West 2007:239-242; Tolley 2009:162n) whereas Þórr's companion Þjálfi appears to have been transmitted over linguistic-cultural boundaries (Toporov 1970; cf. Biezais 1972:130-131).

¹⁶⁷ Tradition dominants are cultural figures or other identities or roles which exhibit a centrality in a tradition, allowing them to become identified with new material being introduced into a cultural environment as a function of their cultural activity. This may extend to replacing existing figures or identities in established material and to new material developing around them (Eskeröd 1947:79-81; Honko 1981a:23-24; 1981b:35-36). For example, Jesus and the Devil became significant tradition dominants with the rise of Christianity, and emerged as protagonists and antagonists in a broad range of narrative material which was already conventionally established, as well as becoming interesting in the generation of new narratives. The "witch" is a corresponding role or typological identity which rose to a tradition dominant in medieval Europe without necessary dependence on a single socially acknowledged personal identity corresponding to "Jesus" or "Satan".

¹⁶⁸ See Haavio 1952:45-63; Kuusi 1949:148-170; 1963:67-70; Puhvel 1971.

elements, interpretations and applications are introduced and become conventional as a process of augmenting and adapting their significance and authority (§14). The introduction of an anthropomorphic being into the Finnic World-Creation and the identification of the first land with his body constitute an *accumulation of information* indicating a radical development or revision of the creation myth on a basic conceptual level. The first land is created out of Väinämöinen's body: this stands in contrast to all other Finnic and Finno-Ugric material to which the Finno-Karelian creation is compared.¹⁶⁹ The creation of the world from a murdered (and dismembered) anthropomorphic being is generally considered the oldest layer of the Indo-European creation traditions (see §20.2.1). It is reasonable to assume that this motif entered the Finnish-Karelian creation tradition through Indo-European contact.

The Germanic (or Scandinavian Germanic) creation myth also underwent an *accumulation of information*, introducing the primal sea as the giant's blood, with a diver motif for raising the giant's flesh as the first land, as well as the incorporation of "smithing" in the creation of order (*Vsp* 3-4, 7; Faulkes 1982:11-12; Krohn 1922:172; cf. Gunnell 2006:321). These motifs place the Germanic and Finno-Karelian creations in closer relation to one another. The Shooting of Väinämöinen, and descriptions of Väinämöinen adrift on the primal sea, shaping the sea floor, carry striking "Germanisms" not used in Karelian vernacular language (Krohn 1924-1928.IV:9-12; Kuusi 1949:esp.303-307; Siikala 2002b:39), implying Germanic influence. This narrative assumed tremendous significance for the incantation tradition and Väinämöinen provided the cultural model for the institution of the *tietäjä*. Both the tradition of metrical incantations and the *tietäjä*-institution were developed under the ægis of Germanic cultural contact and Germanic models for interaction with the mythic world (§7.4). The Väinämöinen-World-Creation became the opening sequence of the Sampo-Cycle, which clearly developed through Germanic models (§7.3). It is probable that Väinämöinen's role in the World-Creation developed directly from Germanic models as part of the

¹⁶⁹ Frog forthcoming a; this holds true even if Julius Krohn's (1885) argument for an ancient dualist creation of bird and "god" who performs the creation from the egg but is never physically the land itself (cf. Holmberg 1927:313-22; Haavio 1952:51-52; Siikala 2002c:24).

process of asserting the power, significance and authority of Väinämöinen as a cultural figure (§14.4.2, §25.3).

7.3. The Sampo-Cycle

A number of mytho-heroic poems appear to be embedded in the cultural milieu of “Viking” culture, of which *LV* is only one (Kuusi 1963:216-272). The Sampo-Cycle provides an example of another mytho-heroic poem which has been subject to Germanic influences and which will become relevant to later discussion. Kuusi (1949) argues that the narratives of the cycle developed roughly between the beginning of the Germanic Migration Period and the end of the Viking Age. The epic cycle maintained ritual applications longest in Viena, where it was performed in conjunction with incantations for fertility and the protection of crops against frost (see Kuusi 1949, Anttonen 2000; Tarkka 2005:160-175; Frog forthcoming a). The Sampo-Cycle is a Finno-Karelian phenomenon which was also earlier known in Ingria (Setälä 1932a, Kuusi 1949, 1979, Frog forthcoming a), but does not appear to have been part of the traditions outside of these regions. It is comprised of three core narrative sequences: the Väinämöinen-World-Creation, the Making of the Sampo, and the Theft of the Sampo.

7.3.1. The Theft of the Sampo

The third is the Theft of the Sampo, modelled on a Viking-like sea-raid which is closely associated with Germanic mytho-heroic narrative patterns outlined by Lid (1949). The Sampo itself was regularly associated with a mill (Kuusi 1949:142-148) and has been compared extensively with the stolen Norse mill Grotti.¹⁷⁰ Whatever their individual origins, both become part of a special family of northern aetiological accounts of the sea’s saltiness through the loss of a magic mill (Aarne 1909:81-82). This is most likely attributable to an *accumulation of information*. Neither mythic mill is associated with this aetiology in all accounts. The sea-raid is orchestrated and dominated by Väinämöinen as a cultural figure. This is related to his role as a maintainer of cultural order. A significant factor in the narrative’s development also appears to be the assertion

¹⁷⁰ E.g. Grimm 1865:88-89; Krohn 1918b.II:206-207; 1924-28:73-74; Setälä 1932a:131-141; Harva 1943:80-100; Haavio 1967:187-189, 204-205; Tolley 1995; 2009:295-303.

of Väinämöinen as the superior authoritative figure over the mythic smith Ilmarinen (Frog forthcoming a). This narrative has been significantly shaped through intertextual applications of the Väinämöinen-World-Creation which will be addressed in §20.2.2.2.

7.3.2. The World-Creation and the Sampo-Cycle

The opening narrative of the Sampo-Cycle was the Väinämöinen-World-Creation. This creation opened with an account of Väinämöinen fashioning a blue elk/pea-stalk horse and setting out on a journey without motivation or destination. A “blind-shooter” shoots Väinämöinen’s steed and Väinämöinen plunges into the primal sea. He drifts “as a log” for a period of years before the bird of creation appears and the world is created. (Kuusi 1949:149-162.) The Finno-Karelian World-Creation was subject to a range of cultural activity. Its most prominent applications were as an incantation *historiola* and as part of the Sampo-Cycle, conventionally the beginning (Tarkka 2005:160-175; Frog forthcoming). Väinämöinen was central to the Sampo-Cycle and his position in the World-Creation reflects his rise in authority as a cultural figure (Frog forthcoming a).

7.3.3. The Creation of the Sampo and Väinämöinen’s Ransom

The second narrative sequence of the Sampo-Cycle is the Creation of the Sampo. *Sampo* as a term has an Indo-Iranian or Proto-Baltic origin¹⁷¹ and appears connected to mythic images of the *axis mundi*.¹⁷² The account of mythic smith Ilmarinen fashioning the Sampo is embedded in the Sampo-Cycle; this account may be significantly older than the Sampo-Cycle where Ilmarinen is maintained as the creator of the Sampo but subordinated to Väinämöinen as the dominant and orchestrating cultural figure. Väinämöinen also became asserted as the figure who creates the Sampo (§4.3.9.6). The Creation of the Sampo was assimilated to *The Courtship Competition* in the more southern Finno-Karelian regions (Kuusi 1949; 1994a:53-65; Rausmaa 1964, Frog forthcoming a). A corresponding development was observed with *LV* in these regions (§4.3.8). In the more conservative Viena tradition, Väinämöinen’s Ransom was preserved connecting the World-Creation to the Creation of the Sampo by Ilmarinen.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Joki 1973:118-19; Koivulehto 1979:281; 1999:230, 232; Tolley 2009:297-298; Frog forthcoming a.

¹⁷² Cf. Krohn 1918b; Setälä 1932a; Harva 1943; Haavio 1967; Anttonen 2000; Tolley 2009:297-299.

At the conclusion of the World-Creation, Väinämöinen continues to drift until he washes ashore in Pohjola, a chthonic location (Siikala 2002a:160-162). In contrast to the tremendous power attributed to Väinämöinen in the World-Creation (e.g. shaping the sea floor) and in the Theft of the Sampo, he is completely helpless and begins to weep. The Mistress of Pohjola hears this and searches out the source. Väinämöinen explains that he wants to return to his own lands. She asks if he can make the Sampo, promising her daughter to the one who can. He acknowledges that he cannot make the Sampo, and a bargain is struck in which Väinämöinen agrees to send Ilmarinen to Pohjola in exchange for being returned to his homeland. When Väinämöinen returns, he sings a magic tree with a gold-breasted martin in its top. He suggests Ilmarinen climb the tree to catch this martin, and once Ilmarinen is in the tree, Väinämöinen sings and the wind (*ahava*) takes the smith into its boat or sleigh and carries him to Pohjola, providing the transition to Ilmarinen's reception and the creation of the Sampo itself. (Kuusi 1949:173-180) The deception of the tree appears to be restricted to this one narrative context in the whole of the Finno-Karelian pool of traditions.

This narrative sequence appears to be adapted directly from Loki's deception of Iðunn to send her into the hands of the giant Þjazi. The narrative is preserved in the late 9th century poem *Haustlöng* 2-13 (North 1997a; Faulkes 1998:30-33) and Snorri's prose account (Faulkes 1998:1-2). The only other appearance of the deception of the tree in ON literature is in *Bósa saga* (Jiriczek 1893:52-54) which appears to make conscious intertextual reference to Snorri's *Edda* (van Wezel 2006:*esp.*:1041) and utilizes the deception of the tree to make an intertextual reference to the Theft of Iðunn (Frog forthcoming a). The Theft of Iðunn opens with an account of the three figures Óðinn, Loki and Hœnir travelling together, associated with the early stages of the creation and organization of the world (§21.3). They encounter the giant Þjazi; Loki becomes "stuck" to the giant and is tortured until he begs for mercy. Like Väinämöinen, Loki ends up miserable in a remote otherworld location where he is at the mercy of a powerful chthonic being. Like the Mistress of Pohjola, the giant wants a particular object associated with fertility and life, and requires the member of the in-group community in

the exchange: Þjazi demands the goddess Iðunn and her apples of life/youth in exchange for Loki's freedom. Loki is allowed to return to the land of the gods, just as Väinämöinen is sent home. Loki deceives Iðunn with a claim that he has found a tree with wonderful apples and leads her out of Ásgarðr to compare its apples to her own. This corresponds directly to Väinämöinen's deception to draw out Ilmarinen by singing a tree and gold-breasted martin. The giant Þjazi, in the form of an eagle, grabs Iðunn and carries her to the otherworld location as Ilmarinen is carried from the tree to Pohjola in the *ahava*-wind's boat or sleigh. The narrative sequence of Ilmarinen creating the Sampo has no correspondence in the Theft of Iðunn, but just as Väinämöinen organizes the raid on the Sampo, Loki accomplishes the recovery of Iðunn.

In both of these narratives, the protagonist is miserable and helpless in an otherworld location where he is at the mercy of another mythic being. The second mythic being is a ruler or authority of the otherworld location and associated with chthonic forces. The protagonist asks to be released or returned to his own realm. The adversary desires an object associated with life and fertility (Sampo/apples). The adversary demands the member of the protagonist's community who is associated with the desired object in exchange for the protagonist's return home. The protagonist agrees and holds to his agreement after gaining his freedom without impending threats or further compulsion. The protagonist uses a trick to send the member of his community to the otherworld location. This is the "deception of the tree": he creates or claims there is an exceptionally desirable object in a tree and lures the victim to that location. When this member of the protagonist's community complies, a third party removes him or her to the otherworld location by flight. Following this deed, the protagonist organizes and accomplishes the recovery of the lost object from the otherworld location. This motif-complex of the narrative sequence is identical and it fulfils the same function in a larger story pattern of each tradition. The larger story pattern of each tradition exhibits more general similarities addressed in §25.3. Both are mythological narratives rather than deriving from diverse genres. Each is the only context in which the deception of the tree is found in its respective culture (see §20.1 on persistence). The range of Germanic influences throughout the Sampo-Cycle make it extremely probable that this has evolved from a

Germanic model adapted to incorporate the established corresponding ethnic mythic object, the Sampo (Frog forthcoming a).

It should be stressed that the relationship exhibited between Väinämöinen's Ransom with its deception of the tree and the corresponding episode of the Rape of Iðunn does not mean that the Sampo-Cycle *as a whole* constitutes some form of translation or adaptation of the Theft of Iðunn *as a whole*. The correspondence and relationship is only reliably indicated at the level of the episode, which in this case might be more properly be described as a pairing of two encounters which encompass certain events and form a sequence. In this case, the pair can be compared to Hymes's (1981:esp.171) "scenes", which he defines in terms of the two primary criteria of *a*) relationships between the participants and *b*) unity of content. The first "scene" would therefore be the interaction between the protagonist and the chthonic being, and the second would be the interaction between the protagonist and the member of the in-group community. The additional parallels extending beyond the motif-complex of that core sequence, both to the prior episode or motifs associated with the creation of the world and the subsequent sequence in which the protagonist initiates the recovery may be purely typological in nature. As in the case of variations and developments of *LV*, this example emphasizes the stability of the episode in narrative transmission. If viewed as "scenes", one aspect of their persistence is a maintenance of their relationships to one another.¹⁷³ Moreover, these "scenes" exhibit the same functions within the respective larger narrative structures in which they participate.¹⁷⁴ Rather than reflecting the adaptation of the comprehensive narrative structure as such, this appears to reflect an adaptation and subsequent persistence of systems of indexical relationships which both correlate with how the

¹⁷³ These particular "scenes" fall very closely in line with Thompson's (1955:7) remarkably vague description of "motifs", although they appear application-specific within their respective cultures.

¹⁷⁴ "Function" can be taken roughly in the sense of Propp (1958) here, or Dundes's (1962) "motifemes"; a "motifeme" is essentially a Proppian function as a narrative slot which can be filled by different "motifs", and the set of viable "motifs" (in the sense of Thompson) which can fill that slot to some degree interchangeably are "allomotifs". Rather than a range of "allomotifs" (as dangers on the Journey) available for the "motifeme" as an element of narrative structure, the episodes under discussion can be described in Dundes's terms as binding "allomotif" and "motifeme", or rather a constellation of each and their indexical relations with correspondence on the various levels of the constellation of "motifemes", "allomotifs", and a system of indexical relationships which connect it to preceding and subsequent episodes in the larger narrative structure.

episode is related to those other episodes and also how it functions within the structure of the larger narrative whole.

7.3.4. Remarks on the Significance of the Väinämöinen-World-Creation

The narrative material associated with Väinämöinen offers extremely significant examples of Germanic impacts on the Finno-Karelian mythological traditions. In the following section, this will be expanded in a discussion of the institution of the *tietäjä* as a ritual specialist. The discussion of Väinämöinen's relationship to the institution of the *tietäjä* will provide a foundation for approaching the relation of Väinämöinen and Lemminkäinen as cultural figures later on, in §14.4.2. These figures will be shown to stand in an oppositional relation to one another following an essentially structuralist pattern of development (cf. Saussure 1916[1967]:155-169), although unlike Lévi-Strauss's (1963:202-228) structural approach to mythology, this opposition does not emerge on the level of the individual narrative but rather on the level of the system as a whole. This discussion will involve a treatment of relationships between the Väinämöinen-World-Creation and the Death/Resurrection of *LV*, both of which appear associated with the Northern European "blind shooter" tradition (Honko 1959b). The puzzle of the relationship of the "blind shooter" in Germanic and Celtic traditions, and in Europe more generally, will be addressed in §21.9.1. The Väinämöinen traditions just discussed will finally become significant to the concluding comparisons of *LV* and its relationship to the Baldr-Cycle (§25). The closing discussion will address the probability that *LV* was developed in relation to some form of the Baldr-Cycle, and argue that this development was most probably a consequence of the ability of the Baldr-Cycle-equivalent of the period to resonate with the Väinämöinen-World-Creation, allowing it to become both interesting and useful for a generation of meanings within the vernacular semiotic system. The treatment of the ability of the Baldr-Cycle to generate meanings in relation to the Väinämöinen-World-Creation raises questions of the possibility of a relationship between these "blind-shooter" traditions. The association of the Väinämöinen-World-Creation, as a "blind shooter" myth, with the deception of the tree, related to the Rape of Iðunn will then become relevant to opening questions (which it is perhaps impossible to resolve conclusively to any degree) of whether all of these

traditions belong to a much more dynamic mythological system which may have reflections in Baltic and Slavic traditions (§25.3).

7.4. Germanic Models and the Institution of the *Tietäjä*

The institution of the *tietäjä* (plural *tietäjät*) has been excellently explored by Siikala (2002a). The relationship of the *tietäjä* to kalevalaic epic must be addressed in any consideration of the historical evolution of mythological narrative because *tietäjät* were socially acknowledged as authorities in epic transmission. Epic also communicated mythic models for magical practice and magical practitioners. It communicated information about the mythic world and epic narrative was manipulated directly as incantation *historiolae* or performed fulfilling the function of incantations in ritual contexts, making such epic narratives essential tools of the *tietäjä*. When considering Germanic influences on epic narrative traditions, the importance of understanding the relationships between epic and the *tietäjä*-institution increases because both the institution of the *tietäjä* and the tradition of metrical incantations appear to have emerged through Germanic influence and Germanic models. Some Germanic influences are therefore anticipated in the mythological narratives used by *tietäjät* in magical performance and those manipulated for the communication and affirmation of the *tietäjä* as an institution and social identity.

7.4.1. The *Tietäjä*

The *tietäjä* is a variety of ritual specialist who interacts with the otherworld primarily through incantations. This institution is a Finno-Karelian phenomenon not found in Ingria, although changes which took place in the tradition ecology of Ingria may have eradicated evidence of it (§4.9). Siikala's extensive examination of the institution of the *tietäjä* follows in a sense on her extensive study of traditions of Sub-Arctic and Central Asian shamanism, assessing how the traditions of Finno-Karelians relate to those of other Finno-Ugric and Altaic peoples.¹⁷⁵ Her approach to *tietäjä* traditions extends from a fully

¹⁷⁵ See esp. Siikala 1978. The title of Siikala's (2002a) monograph, *Mythic Images and Shamanism: A Perspective on Kalevala Poetry*, and that of its earlier Finnish version, *Suomalainen Šamanismi: Mielikuvien Historiaa* (1992), "Finnish Shamanism: A History of Mental Images", make this association extremely clear.

developed overview of both kalevalaic poetry generally and also non-poetic material associated with magic and the *tietäjä* institution more specifically (the vast majority of which remains unpublished). This is developed into analyses of how different aspects of the tradition function and interrelate, and how they vary and change. The study is continuously built outward into comparisons and contrasts with Sámi, Germanic, Baltic and Slavic traditions in relation to the development of different forms of Christianity in the Finno-Karelian region, guiding readers through the labyrinth of scholarship as she assesses how these processes of cultural interactions and developments are reflected in the historical and archaeological records.

Siikala argues that the institution of the *tietäjä* emerged in the first millennium of the present era (although the process may have already begun earlier) as a reflex to the radical cultural changes which were taking place during a period when Germanic cultural influences were dominant. She focuses on the Viking Age and the centuries shortly prior to it on the basis of the concentration of loan-words related to ethnic beliefs and magical activity, the cultural relevance of motifs, and archaeological evidence, observing that the institution may have begun to emerge much earlier. It should be stressed that Siikala is not saying that the *tietäjä* is a Germanic tradition, nor is she asserting a single coherent infusion of Germanic culture and traditions, but rather that traditions were subject to an ebb and flow of cultural contact and exchange which had been ongoing to various degrees since the emergence of “Finnic” and “Germanic” linguistic-cultural groups. Rather than a sort of translation and transplantation of traditions, Siikala’s discussion describes a far more dynamic historical process within a complex dialectical or dialogic matrix of cultural interaction.

According to Koivulehto (1984:202), the influence of Germanic languages “began sometime before the year 1000 B.C.,” and has been ongoing from that period “apparently without great interruption”.¹⁷⁶ He emphasizes that these are not simply words for cultural

¹⁷⁶ For an approachable survey of early Germanic loans in Finnish, see Hofstra 1985. Cf. also the the list of Germanic words appearing in the index of *Suomen kielen etymologinen sanakirja* (SKES:2176-2248), noting that the comprehensiveness of this work increased as the work progressed, and there are rather remarkably few entries for the first third of the Finnish lexicon, covered in ca. 250 pages.

practices and technologies, but include e.g. words for the body, such as *otsa*, “forehead”, *kupeet*, “loins”, *lantio/lanteet*, “hip/hips”, *hartia*, “shoulder”, *maha*, “belly, stomach”. A significant number of examples – e.g. *kansa*, “people, folk” (cf. Gothic *hansa*, “troop, crowd”, also OE *hōs*, OHG *hansa*: Kylstra et al. 1992.II:38-39) – are striking not only for their position in the Finnish and Karelian lexicons, but also because cognates are not attested in ON. Other examples are striking because the Germanic term assumes an authority over the earlier Finnic equivalent, as *äiti*, “mother” (cf. Gothic *aiþei*, ON *eiða* [only in poetry]) did over the simplex *emo*, which shifted to use for animals rather than people.¹⁷⁷ The scope and magnitude of Germanic impact led Juntune (1994:91) to the rather weighty proposal: “one might say that Finnish is a germanicized Finno-Ugric language.”

The Germanic impact on magical and ritual activity emerges clearly in the lexicon: e.g. *runo*, “song in kalevalaic verse, poem”, and an archaic agentive usage for “a singer of *runot*” (cognate ON *rún*);¹⁷⁸ *arpa*, “lot” with connotations of magic or fate;¹⁷⁹ *lumota*, “to bewitch” (cognate Norwegian dialect *kluma*, “to make speechless, to lame” [Proto-Norse **klumōn*]; cf. Norwegian *klums*, “as turned to stone, (as) spellbound”);¹⁸⁰ *manata*, “exorcise [using words], curse, summon before the law” (cognate OE *manian*, “to

¹⁷⁷ This can be compared to the hierarchy of registers in English associated with a contrast between etymologies rooted in Germanic or Latinate vocabularies.

¹⁷⁸ *SKES*:863-865; *SSA*.III:104; cf. Gothic *rūna*, “secret”, OI *rún*, “secret knowledge, spell, mark of the runic alphabet”. The agentive form is only preserved in the poetic register as a parallel term for *laulaja*, “singer”, and *tietäjä*, and among the Vermland Finns (Toivonen 1944:189-190). In the Vermland Finnish dialect, the only meaning of *runoi* is “*noita, tietäjä*” (*ibid.*), and they also maintain a verb *runoa*, covering the semantic field of “sorcery, spell-casting and cursing” (*SKES*:864; Siikala 2002a:279-280).

¹⁷⁹ *SKES*:24-25; *SSA*.I:83; Kylstra et al. 1992.I:36-37; cf. ON *arfr*, “inheritance”, *ör* (GEN *örv-ar*), “arrow”. An agentive form appears to underlie the plural noun *ap̄yū[arbui]* in a letter written by Archbishop Makari in 1553, where he complains that these pagan *ap̄yū* are wielders of magic and children are first taken to them to be given a name before being taken to a priest for baptism (see Kirkinen 1970:130-131, where it is translated as “*arpoja*”, “one who casts lots; diviner”; cf. Siikala 2002a:80). The form appears to be either a Slavic plural inflection of **arba*, a pronunciation of *arpa* familiar from the Aunus region, or potentially an agentive form **arpoi* (cf. agentive *runo/runoi* above) without inflection in the Slavic text. In either case, the agentive warrants comparison with *runo/runoi*. This usage of *ap̄yū* is paralleled by Mari[Cheremis] *arbuj*, “pagan priest, shaman” (relationship uncertain) which could potentially reflect a larger isogloss in which geographically intermediate languages have gone extinct (cf. Tolley 2009:31) and could relate to the lexeme entering as a loan very early, potentially during the Bronze Age (cf. Siikala 2002a:130).

¹⁸⁰ Kylstra et al. 1992.II:225.

remind”),¹⁸¹ *luote*, “incantation” associated with “shamanic” unconscious trance states (cognate ON *blót*, “pagan sacrificial ritual”);¹⁸² *uhri*, “sacrifice” (cognate ON *offr*, “sacrifice”);¹⁸³ *lunto*, “fate, nature, instinct, wish, luck, magical power” (cognate ON *lyndi*, “temperament”);¹⁸⁴ *haltija*, “local or warder spirit”, which blurred with supernatural beings summoned in magic (nomen agentis from a verb cognate with ON *halda*, “to hold, keep, possess”; cf. ON *vörðr*, “guardian spirit”),¹⁸⁵ and have been reshaped in modern conceptions through identification with the “elves” of J.R.R. Tolkien (cf. Gunnell 2006:322). The specific period of individual lexemes entering the language is often difficult to assess. Etymologies provide a somewhat illusory security,¹⁸⁶ as many individual etymologies may be questioned and debated,¹⁸⁷ and it is still more difficult to discern whether the semantic development of such terms may have also been reshaped in this process.¹⁸⁸ However, the etymological evidence as a body is clearly indicative of intimate cultural contact and exchange in multilingual environments.

¹⁸¹ SSA.II:146; Kylstra et al. 1992.II:249; cf. SKES:332-333. Siikala (2002a:92) translates the substantive noun *manaus* as “invocation”, observing that they “approach their subject using direct speech.”

¹⁸² SKES:313; SSA.II:110; Kylstra et al. 1992.II:129-130; the derivation from **blōta*, ON *blót* (see Haavio 1952:76-77, 118-120), as well as its cognates among the Sámi, as verbal performance accompanying ritual sacrifice incantations has been challenged as a vernacular heritage from shamanic traditions (Pentikäinen 2004:446-449; see §14.4.2), but the corresponding loanword *lovi*, “notch, cleft, hole”, used in the idiomatic expression, *longeta loveen*, “to fall into an unconscious trance”, which is specifically associated with shamanic activity (Siikala 2002a:260-263; Frog 2009a:15-16; Kylstra et al. 1992.II:220-221; SSA.II:98; cf. SKES:305; cf. also *huuma*, ‘ecstasy, senseless state’: Kylstra et al. 1992.I:129) problematizes any attempt to separate the question of linguistic impact from heritage associated with “shamanic” activity. This difficulty is compounded by our limited knowledge of early Germanic magical and ritual practices: for example, our understanding of the semantic field of *blót* may be shaped in part by an impoverished understanding of the relationships between sacrifice, the surrounding ritual, accompanying oral performance or speech-acts, and typologies of possession trance (cf. Gunnell 1995; Tolley 2009).

¹⁸³ SKES:1517; SSA.III:367.

¹⁸⁴ SSA.II:104; Kylstra et al. 1992.II:227-228.

¹⁸⁵ SKES:52-53; SSA.I:134; Kylstra et al. 1992.I:72,74-75; Siikala 2002a:251-253; Tolley2009:244-245.

¹⁸⁶ This is largely owing to our faith in etymology as a “science” naturalized to a mythic status of authority for the determination and codification of “truths” which are far more frail and tenuous than we would prefer to admit (see further Barthes 1972, Feyerabend 1993).

¹⁸⁷ This is emphasized by a number of cases in which an etymological relationship is extremely possible, but so early that the evidence is completely ambiguous, as in the case of *kalma*, “death, corpse, illness” (cf. OE *cwealm*: Kylstra et al. 1992.II:24-25). In a few cases, there is also the possibility of the reverse influence: see for example Kylstra et al. (1992.II:25) on *kalma 2*, “grave(mound)”, which exhibits a potential correspondence in a runic inscription in Sweden and recent dialect word *kalm*, “stone mound”, but the Germanic term is not otherwise attested.

¹⁸⁸ For example, Harris (2009b:489-492) has recently addressed the strata of Finnish cognates with ON *jötunn*, “giant”. He points out that the Finnish *etana*, “snail, bad or ugly person”, appears to share the semantic field of the Germanic cognates in its poetic or metaphorical usages as a derogatory term meaning “enemy, bad or hostile person” (Kylstra et al. 1992.I:57). Harris’s discussion opens the question of whether

When approaching motifs and structures in incantations we rarely have the advantage of etymological evidence in the linguistic sense, although the process of comparison is similar. However, the first point to take into consideration is that the incantation tradition itself as a primary means for interacting with the unseen world is not Finno-Ugric, nor shared with the Sámi, nor regionally with Balts, nor even with Estonians – it is not Finnic, but rather Northern Finnic, or specifically Finno-Karelian. This stands in contrast to other Finno-Ugric cultures which maintained forms of “shamanism”, and also in contrast to evidence that some form of “shamanism” was earlier practiced among Finno-Karelians (below). The use of incantations as a primary means of interaction with the unseen world is therefore difficult to attribute to either the cultural heritage of Finnic peoples or other areal aspects of cultural contact. Nonetheless, it is the exception rather than the rule to find specific etymologies arguably relevant to a particular motif even as a proper name,¹⁸⁹ although the changing technologies associated with the Iron Age and changes in the cultural milieu carried with them are intimately tied to changes which took place in motifs and narrative elements in the mythological traditions.¹⁹⁰

Honko (1959a:127-129; 1960:67-71) observed a parallel or connection between “soul-loss” as an explanatory cause of illness and cultural environments which maintain ecstatic techniques associated with shamanism.¹⁹¹ This is not surprising when the strategies used for reciprocal communication with the unseen world in “shamanism” are often

the recorded value of *etana* was reshaped through later Germanic contact rather than entering the language in its metaphorical usage.

¹⁸⁹ An exception would be the fishing for Leviathan/Miðgarðsormr narrative in which the base-word of the monster’s name is “Tursas”, cf. ON *þurs*, “giant” (Setälä 1932b, 1932c).

¹⁹⁰ Smithing in particular has received attention in this regard: see Sarmela 1994, Hakamies 1999, Anttonen 2000. It is worth bearing in mind that, for example, an account of smithing the heavens without leaving a mark with the hammer cannot be relevant or meaningful in a context where smithing is not known. Similarly, systems of magical associations surrounding “iron” can be reasonably considered to have emerged or been introduced and evolved since the rise of this metal’s cultural presence and activity. The word, *rauta*, “iron”, is a Germanic loan from the term for “bog ore”, cf. ON *rauði* (Juntune 1994:90; *SKES*:750-751; *SSA*.III:57). This invites comparison with *Iron’s Origin*, in which the mythic smith Ilmarinen is central and includes practical information for how to recognize the presence of bog ore for the creation of the first iron. Although the *historiola* is clearly dependent on the introduction of technologies for iron production, it is ambiguous whether the mythic origin of the substance was introduced with that technology, emerged independently, or perhaps reflects a much more stratified synthesis of traditions related to iron from around the Circum-Baltic, following on centuries of interaction.

¹⁹¹ “Soul-loss” is the loss of a vital element or force from within the body which must be recovered or replaced (Bäckman & Hultkrantz 1978:15-16; Siikala 2002a:92).

characterized by the movement of spirits/souls between worlds and in and out of bodies (cf. Siikala 1978). “Soul-loss” is an explanatory concept for illness with a remarkably widespread distribution and stereotypical form (Honko 1959a:27-29; 1960:67-71; Siikala 2002a:85). However, Honko (1960: 71-72) points out that motifs associated with “soul-loss” are reflected in Finno-Karelian narrative genres of folklore but do not participate in explanations for illness (cf. Sarmela 1994:125-128). In Karelia, conceptions of illness were developed through notions of the bounded space of the body penetrated by foreign elements or forces associated with other beings, and conceptions of foreign elements sticking to the body: “bodily disorder and illness were seen to originate *outside* the body rather than from within it” (Stark 2006: 158). The *tietäjä* does not embark on soul-journeys, nor do his spirit helpers. On the contrary, he verbally dons armour, summons weapons and support – potentially even a legion of the dead – and engages the immediately present illness agent in battle. It is important to realize that in addition to “soul-loss”, “shamanic” cultures also maintained conceptions of penetrated bodies and cured with exorcism strategies comparable to the *tietäjä*’s (Siikala 2002a:92). Correspondingly, the verbal manipulation of and interactions with inhabitants of the unseen world are not so different from shamanic traditions in which the shaman does not lose consciousness and verbally presents the activities of a spirit helper – at least not *on the verbal level of representational actualization and interaction* (cf. Siikala 1978). In other words, soul journeys with penetrable bodies and incantations with impenetrable bodies are not of necessity mutually exclusive.¹⁹² This issue will be returned to in §14.4.2. For the present it is sufficient to observe that the incantations which make the *tietäjä* tradition distinct are associated with a system of illness diagnostics which excludes “soul-loss” in spite of continuous close contacts with the Sámi, noting that this exclusion does not appear to have been maintained as strictly in more southerly areas where the European “soul-mouse” is found (see Sarmela 1994:125). In other words, the rise of incantations does not simply appear to be the emergence of a new tool in the arsenal of the ritual specialist, it appears associated with a distinct conceptual system.

¹⁹² The *tietäjä* concentrates his activities around an immediately present illness agent, but it should be observed that he also demands and compels the assistance of powerful supernatural beings in remote otherworld locations of the unseen world, such as Ukko (the thunder god), Väinämöinen, Jesus, the Virgin Mary, the mistress of pains, and so forth.

Siikala's treatment of motifs and their backgrounds considers both incantation and epic, which unfold the mythic, unseen world, the narrative world maintained by the poetic system (cf. Tarkka 1993, 2005). She stresses that the first millennium of the present era was a period of tremendous social and cultural change. For example, she argues that the transition to increasingly agrarian settlements radically impacted the relationship of populations to the landscape,¹⁹³ and that Germanic cultural traditions provided models for conceptions of local realms of the dead (as distinct from remote otherworld locations to reach which shamans undertake soul-journeys), much as they provided models for burial practices in the archaeological record. These traditions seem either to have carried with them or provided viable conditions for the development of traditions of necromancy reflected in both magical practice and mythological narrative (*Visiting Vipunen, Lemminkäisen Virsi*), with correspondences to interviews with dead *völur* in Norse traditions (*Völuspá, Baldrs draumar, Hyndluljóð*) as well as evidence of battle magic (Siikala 2002a:esp.121-194, 307-310; Tolley 2009; cf. Price 2002). The relationships between these, and the range of other motifs discussed by Siikala, appear generally typological in their documented manifestations. She emphasizes their evolution and expansion within the Finno-Karelian cultural milieu, and just as the lexicon exhibits heavily stratified layers of cultural impacts, adaptations and revisions, so to the motifs persisting and manipulated in the poetic and ritual traditions.

The general milieu of a significant amount of mythological epic material has long been associated with the Viking Age largely on the basis of typological comparisons with the corresponding cultural milieu (e.g. Lid 1949, Kuusi 1963). Siikala's investigation treats these levels of the comparison, but is more concerned with the emergence and development of the deep structures and associations which exhibit various and dynamic manifestations, as for example in her discussions of motifs associated with battle and warfare which are intimately bound up with the *tietäjä*'s incantations and rituals. She observes that the verbal "armour" which the *tietäjä* summons as a means of making his body impenetrable in his battle with illness, stands in contrast to the shaman who dons his

¹⁹³ Although cultivation and associated animal husbandry was first introduced into coastal regions as early as ca. 1500 B.C., it remained restricted to coastal area around the Gulf of Finland, the Baltic Sea and also Lake Ladoga. It only gradually spread inland during the Viking Age and Late Iron Age. (Sarmela 1987)

costume for a journey to the otherworld, and the system of images and complexes of motifs betray a cultural context in which battle and warfare was not only relevant, but associated sufficiently with the *tietäjä* institution to provide the framework for his incantations and interactions with the unseen world (Siikala 2002a:348). The role of Ukko, the thunder god (gradually blurring into the Christian God), in supplying weapons, armour and support is compared to the role of Þórr, both in narrative roles of confronting giants, and in presenting aid and support in healing incantations and other magic (Siikala 2002a:203-208).¹⁹⁴ Siikala points out that the type of trance used by the *tietäjä* seems to parallel descriptions of *berserkr* warriors,¹⁹⁵ with the interesting suggestion that if these mysterious Germanic figures went into battle without armour, they may have donned similar “imaginary battle gear” (Siikala 2002a:248); it might be noted that the magically impenetrable body appears to have been a key feature in Germanic battle magic (§9.3.2.1). In itself, this comparison is typological, yet Siikala produces parallels for the Finno-Karelian magical precautionary measures in Germanic (non-metrical) incantations used to prepare for legal conflict (Siikala 2002a:289-292).¹⁹⁶ She observes that, “[b]attle metaphors required a set of oppositions for their frame of reference, and were well adapted to a milieu in which the prevailing explanatory model for misfortune was malevolent sorcery” (Siikala 2002a:348). The lexicon indicates a Germanic impact on Finno-Karelian culture in these areas,¹⁹⁷ but Siikala’s concern is that the institution of the *tietäjä* and the incantations and rite techniques associated with it are symptomatic of a comprehensive revision of the conceptual system and patterns of mythological thinking,¹⁹⁸ and that “[t]he mythical tradition is continuous over the long term and it takes time for a strong tradition layer such as [this] to become established” (Siikala 2002a:326).

¹⁹⁴ This typological parallel belongs to the system of Circum-Baltic thunder-god traditions (cf. Tolley 2009; §7.1.2), but it raises questions concerning the history of the thunder god’s role in relation to magical practice, and the evolution of the thunder god more generally in the Circum-Baltic region.

¹⁹⁵ On typologies of trance-states and their applications in traditions of “classic” shamanism, see Siikala 1978.

¹⁹⁶ Ergo the magical precautionary strategy, which also appears to have been adapted into Slavic traditions from the Germanic (Mansikka 1909:146-168), may reflect only one (context-specific) aspect of the motifs in Germanic magical practices, even if it certainly does not follow by necessity that there is a direct relation between the magical “imaginary” armour of the incantations and the magical impenetrability of *berserkir*.

¹⁹⁷ E.g. *miekka*, “sword”, cf. ON *mækir* (Kylstra et al. 1992.II:262), *keihäs*, “spear”, cf. ON *geirr*, (Kylstra et al. 1992.II:72-73).

¹⁹⁸ On the significance of metaphorical patterns in expression for the conceptual system of the individual, see Lakoff & Turner 1986.

The *tietäjä* was, however, only one of several ritual specialists (e.g. lamenters, Church priests) who were integral to society.¹⁹⁹ Each ritual specialist had particular social functions and fields of authority, and more than one form of ritual specialist could have established functions within a larger ritual complex (Frog forthcoming a). Ritual specialists internalized their understandings of the mythic world according to different hierarchies of authority among traditions and genres in relation to priorities of application, making them to some degree institution-specific (cf. Bell 1992: *esp.*134; Siikala 1998a:94). The *tietäjä* was inclined to develop competence in the poetic system and genres associated with his craft, and the rite techniques in which they were applied. He was also inclined to develop a more detailed and comprehensive understanding of the mythic world than other members of his community in relation to the demands for this knowledge and understanding in practical magical applications (cf. Siikala 2002b:34; Honko 1998:20-116). On the one hand, this is a natural consequence of concentrated usage and application-based adaptations which accompany the fulfilment of this social role: the *tietäjä*'s relationship to kalevalaic poetry – and more specifically to the mythic narratives, figures, images and patterns of epic and incantation inevitably sensitize him to the networks of relationships reflected through the poetic tradition (Converse 1964:209-210).

The *tietäjä* is distinct from shamanic ritual specialists, which are otherwise strongly represented among Finno-Ugric and Sub-Arctic cultures (Siikala 1978), because of his primary dependence on incantations and rite techniques requiring incantations for interacting with the unseen world as opposed to making soul-journeys himself or through the proxy of a helping-spirit. The *tietäjä* relied primarily on his own knowledge, and knowledge of origins in particular, rather than on helping spirits (Siikala 2002a:330, 345, 349). The authority of knowledge of origins is communicated in *The Singing Competition*: Väinämöinen proves his authority by his first-hand knowledge of the

¹⁹⁹ There is an abundance of terms for magical practitioners and healers of different sorts which were in use: see Siikala 2002a:79-80. The relationships between these social roles appears extremely fluid, and it may be worth mentioning that Väinämöinen appears to have been perceived as a cultural model not just for the *tietäjä*, but also for roles which were associated with the institution of the *tietäjä* or fulfilled similar social functions (cf. SKS Inha 89, Kuivaisjärvi 1894, collected from Sihippa Inninen: *Väinämöinen oli ensimmäinen maailmassa, joka oli patvaskoja*, “Väinämöinen was the first in the world to act as a patvaska.”)

creation of the world, and only thereafter performs magical songs (see further Tarkka 2005:175-182). This singing competition can be directly compared to the social entertainments of singing contests in Karelia, in which the winner was determined by the number of songs which he knew rather than on criteria of length or aesthetics of narrative or voice (Tarkka 2005:40-44). “*Tietäjä*” means “knower”, or “one who knows”,²⁰⁰ and his authority in epic transmission would almost certainly be augmented by the social recognition of his “secret” knowledge of incantations and rite techniques, which Stark (2002:83; 2006:177-180) views as a form of cultural capital.

A very significant consequence of this relationship to kalevalaic poetry is that the *tietäjä* is the member of a community most likely to develop a most broad, comprehensive and abstract conception of the mythological system communicated through that poetry. This naturally inclines them to the uppermost strata in what Converse (1964:215) has described as hierarchically ordered “levels of conceptualization” of a belief system (the “ideologues” and “near-ideologues” in his terminology: *ibid.*:216). In other words, the social role of the *tietäjä* is the most likely role to produce individuals who are capable of maintaining and consciously adapting elements associated with incantation, epic and associated ritual activity as elements and expressions related to a larger system as a whole.²⁰¹ The authority of the *tietäjä* is in part based on his (secret) knowledge and

²⁰⁰ Cf. Doty (2000:55-56): “Mythic narratives are a form of *knowing* (note the Indo-European cognates from the Proto-Indo-European stem **gno-*: know/cunning/ken/cognition/narrative/gnosis). The knowing is not just that of the rational, ideational aspects of human consciousness, but that of the sensual-aesthetic, moral, and emotional as well.”

²⁰¹ As Bell (1992:186) puts it: “coherent and sacred systems of beliefs will occur among a relatively small class who specialize in them and will not readily drift down to be shared by the society as a whole.” Lower strata on the hierarchy appear dependent on these authorities, and the beliefs on which they draw become those relevant to increasingly narrow concerns (i.e. on the level of interest groups, personal interest) with less awareness or consideration of relationships (or contradictions) between beliefs – indeed, it is a common assumption that most people actually care about a coherent system, but this seems misdirected; those who care seem by and large to rely on others for the system (Converse’s “ideologues by proxy”) while the majority appear inclined to develop isolated investments in beliefs which are practical and immediately relevant to daily life (Converse 1964; cf. Kamppinen 1989; Feyerabend 1993:177-186). Bell’s (1992) study of the social significance of ritual and participation in ritual traditions is generally relevant to myth and epic as well: they “afford a great diversity of interpretation in exchange for little more than consent to the form of the activities. This minimal consent actually contrasts with the degree of conviction frequently required in more day-to-day activities as, for example, the spontaneous sincerity that must be conveyed in many forms of conversation.” (Bell 1992:186.) The social phenomenon and its significance as e.g. emblematic of community membership and participation (or even emblematic of the community as a

understanding of “correct” performance and authority of his occult knowledge (cf. Bell 1992:130-140). This leads to an authority in the social role allowing the *tietäjä* to provide the model in these areas of specialization for other members of the community (cf. Converse 1964:214ff.). The *tietäjä* emerges as a “conduit of authority” for epic transmission as well as incantation and associated rite techniques. When this is considered in relation to the *tietäjä*'s inclination to develop a broad and abstract understanding of the mythic world, the mythological system and strategies for interacting with unseen forces, these systems are most likely to be centrally (although not exclusively) maintained and adapted as an historical process in relation to the *tietäjä* as a social institution, and therefore from the perspective and priorities of the *tietäjä*. This has particular implications for persistence, adaptation and change in the traditions associated with this institution in changing cultural contexts.²⁰²

As in shamanic traditions, this knowledge was transmitted through narrative and song, both in epic and in incantations themselves (Siikala 2002a:330-331). The practical value of mythological knowledge for magical performance inclines to more active interest in and accumulation of this information (Siikala 1990a; Siikala 2002b:34). The *tietäjä* organizes and manipulates this information in images, motifs and mythological narrative elements and episodes integrated into incantations. These provide verbal representations of power, the knowledge which gives that power, and representations of relevant events or activities in the mythic or invisible world which he may activate, effect, or command directly (Siikala 1986; 2002a:71-120; Frog 2008a, 2009a, forthcoming b):

The aspiring *tietäjä* did not merely learn illness diagnostics, incantation formulas and magic procedures by heart, he internalized and organized knowledge

whole) can be recognized and function at one level of belief without subscription to or concern for “belief” in underlying mythologies and ideologies.

²⁰² Converse's (1964:208) property of “centrality” within a belief system offers a means of approaching this process. Converse (1964:208) observes that when two “idea-elements” are brought into discord through changes in a belief system, “the element more likely to change is defined as less central to the belief system than the element that, so to speak, has its stability ensured by the change in the first element.” In other words, adaptation and change as an historical process can be expected to exhibit centrality for those elements which are most central to the *tietäjä* institution, with the priorities of centrality shifting as the relevant traditions moved away from the *tietäjä* as a conduit of authority (e.g. in Aunus and Ingria).

concerning the other world, its denizens and topography as an organic part of his world view. (Siikala 2002a:84)

The conservative mythological narrative poetry provided authoritative textual entities (§15) in the communication of knowledge of the mythic world and mythic history. Many of these formed a specialized tradition among *tietäjät*, presenting mythic models for *tietäjät* as cultural figures and for magical activity (Siikala 2002a:302). “Shamanic” themes appear prominently in Väinämöinen epics, but the focus is on knowledge and its acquisition rather than the significance of the mythic world (Siikala 2002a:321-322). The significance of mythological epic in magical performance is emphasized by the intimate indexical and intertextual relationships between these genres (Tarkka 2005, Siikala 2002a; 2002b:34-35). The emphasis on incantation *historiolae* in regions where epic and the institution of the *tietäjä* survived most strongly (Brummer 1908, Krohn 1917, 1924, Siikala 2002a) is further testament to the significance of narrative to this institution, as are applications of mythological narratives and portions thereof as incantation *historiolae*, and epic songs fulfilling the function of an incantation in larger rite contexts (Virtanen 1968:28; Siikala 2002a:311; 2002b:35; Frog forthcoming b). The history of mythological narrative, incantation and the institution of the *tietäjä* were clearly interconnected. It is therefore necessary to approach the history, origins and evolution of mythological narrative poems in relation to the history of the *tietäjä*-institution.

7.4.2. Tietäjä and Noita

Noita is the ethnic term which originally referred to the shamanic figure that went into an unconscious trance and on soul journeys, later used for any malignant and powerful user of magic, most often an adversary of a *tietäjä* or the in-group society, and began to be used as a vernacular term for “witch” in the later medieval period (Haavio 1967:313-14; Sarmela 1994:121-122; Pentikäinen 1999:159-160; Siikala 2002a:20). Claiming descent from a *noita* or claims (i.e. narratives) of learning magic from a *noita* maintained rhetorical authority through associations with powerful magical knowledge (Haavio 1967:326; Virtanen 1968:8-9; Siikala 2002b:34; see also Haavio 1943). The institution of the *noita* can only be generally reconstructed through a broad range of comparative evidence (cf. Siikala 2002a). The different words for *noita* and *tietäjä* appears to indicate

that these institutions were distinguished and existed (at some point) in parallel. The villainization of the term *noita* may indicate that these were competing institutions. This would be anticipated insofar as they had overlapping social functions²⁰³ – but this is by no means clear. The *noita* appears to have used song both in rite performance and in poetic epic as a means of communicating knowledge of the mythic world. It is probable that *noita* epic genres were communicated in kalevalaic poetry and the emerging institution of the *tietäjä* drew on these traditions as it rose to dominance. The transition from *noita* to *tietäjä* as the dominant or exclusive institution indicates a radical shift in conventions of appropriate and effective means of interacting with the mythic world, and more particularly in cultural priorities and attitudes associated with applications of word, image and narrative in that interaction. These changes are particularly significant for changes in the significance and applications in the cultural activity of epic.

7.4.3. The Rise of Incantations

“Of all cultural expressions, magic passes most rapidly from people to people.”
(Grattan & Singer 1952:9)

The evolution of the institution of the *tietäjä* is bound to the evolution of the incantation tradition which provided his primary tool of interaction with the unseen world in rite performance. Krohn (1901) observed that incantations were not essential to shamanistic practices. Metrical incantations are far less significant in Estonian traditions (Roper 2008) and Krohn (1901) showed that correspondences between Estonian and Finno-Karelian incantations were not attributable to a heritage from the common Finnic period; these were most likely adapted or translated from Finnish models. These initial findings have found support in later research.²⁰⁴ Finno-Karelian incantation traditions received tremendous influences from Germanic models, ranging from individual motifs to larger structures (Brummer 1908, Mansikka 1909, Kuusi 1963, Siikala 2002a, Frog 2008a). The scope and magnitude of these influences is not surprising if there were no pre-existing tradition of corresponding incantations established in the tradition ecology, or

²⁰³ For an example of competing institutions see Siikala 1998b.

²⁰⁴ Roper 2008; the history of some of these incantations are more ambiguous because of their contexts of preservation (e.g. as popular magic among shepherds) and distribution across linguistic-cultural groups (cf. Kõiva 1996:59-60).

none which offered a potentially primary medium for interaction with the mythic world (cf. Siikala 2002a:335-349). This indicates intimate familiarity with, and the tremendous authority of the source culture's models in the period of influence (cf. Uino 1997).

This process did not occur in a vacuum: there was an established tradition ecology and semiosphere. Germanic models were adapted into that tradition ecology, sometimes requiring translation into the vernacular semiosphere. Numerous features distinguish Finno-Karelian incantations from incantation traditions in the rest of Europe. These features and structures appear to reflect variously the integration of Germanic models into a conceptual system where the *noita's* conceptions of the mythic world were dominant, and the assumption of culturally loaded material from the epic traditions of the *noita* (Siikala 2002a).

Germanic influences on *tietäjä* traditions are clearly rooted in the pre-Christian mythological and conceptual systems. It is impossible to determine when the institution of the *tietäjä* originated: the traditions may trace back to the first centuries of the present era when populations along the coast of Finland were in active contact with Germanic Scandinavia, participating in a broader system of peer-polity interaction.²⁰⁵ Wickholm and Raninen (2006:154-55) discuss the application of burial semiotics adopted from Germanic groups in coastal regions and the persistence of these semiotics even in the wake of radical changes in burial conventions after other evidence of Germanic contact waned from the archaeological record. Other aspects of magical and ritual activity may have become established as part of this dynamic process, particularly as contacts with Germanic cultures increased toward the Viking Age (cf. Siikala 2002a:344). The exact circumstances of this process cannot be reconstructed, and it was most likely continuous, spanning centuries.

The birth of the institution of the *tietäjä* is not identical to its origin. The incantation tradition appears to have reached a height of innovative activity during the Christian

²⁰⁵ For "peer polity interaction" (Renfrew 1986) as an approach to understanding Germanic Scandinavia in this period, see Storli (2000:93-96); for relationships in coastal Finland in a relevant framework, see Wickholm & Raninen (2006:154-55).

Middle Ages (Siikala 2002a:339). This appears to reflect a corresponding rise of the *tietäjä* as a social institution. The influences exerted by the incursion of both the Catholic and Orthodox Churches and Christianity significantly impacted the tradition ecology, importing new material, conceptions and institutions which could be both borrowed and reacted against (cf. Siikala 2002a:342). This seems to have acted as a catalyst in affecting cultural attitudes toward uses of speech-acts in interactions with the unseen world, and very probably played a role in the villainization of the institution of the *noita*. The relationship between incantation and epic on the one hand, and between the institution of the *tietäjä* and epic narrative models on the other, form a triangle with the *tietäjä* as the wielder of incantations. This triangle of interrelationships raises questions concerning the range of narrative material imported in conjunction with the evolution of the incantation traditions and *tietäjä*-institution, and the degree to which the interests and priorities of the *tietäjä* as an authoritative social institution may have impacted both the process of selection in what material did and did not survive in transmission, and also the evolution of narrative material which did persist in the poetic tradition. It is noteworthy that the most prominent mytho-heroic epic poetry exhibits striking connections to Western Finland and Germanic culture.

7.5. Cultural Contact and Exchange

The cultural contact implicit in these examples is necessarily multi-lingual. It indicates that the “foreign” tradition was not only recognized and known, but also desirable and interesting. It is placed in contrast to the “domestic” traditions, conceptions, and strategies for interacting with the mythic world. It must be stressed that strategies were not simply adopted as surface structures: there was a comprehensive reconfiguration of the conceptual system down to the foundation beliefs about the creation of the world. These changes appear to have been voluntary and desirable and adopted in the process of adapting to radical social and cultural changes which demanded changing those strategies. Assertions of radical revisions to traditions such as imposing Väinämöinen as an agent in the World-Creation is anticipated to have encountered resistance. That resistance would itself reinforce social identities for both those who embraced these emerging traditions, and those who rejected them (§18).

PART III: PRINCIPLES OF *THE ACTIVATING POWER OF EXPRESSION*

Chapter 8: Tradition and the Individual

8.1. Introduction to The Activating Power of Expression

The Activating Power of Expression (APE) is a theoretical framework for the description and analysis of the rhetoric of cultural expression. A basic principle of the *APE* is that although cultural expression is a social phenomenon, it begins and ends with the individual in application and reception. The *APE* therefore focuses on the individual as the foundation for approaching social phenomena and broader cultural patterns. Exposure to and participation in social phenomena (including language) becomes a process through which they can be “learned” and internalized. The subjective internalized understanding of the individual provides the basis for applications. All applications can therefore be taken to reflect aspects of the internalized understanding.

A second basic principle of the *APE* is that all forms of cultural expression can develop loaded systems of values, associations and implications to the degree that they have regular patterns of application within a cultural group or particular performative or communicative context. Regular patterns of application lead to the assumption or anticipation of values, associations or implications on the basis of the history of past experience with the phenomenon and its relationships to other phenomena. Registers, metres, genres, structures for the organization of information, motif-complexes, individual motifs, formulae and even individual lexical items can become “loaded” with complexes of information, implications or associations. This process is not limited to verbal aspects of communication. It also occurs (most commonly) in visual and aural

fields. Each element becomes capable of carrying a culturally loaded package when it is applied among an in-group or in the appropriate context so that what is received may be “much *richer* than the text itself” (van Dijk 1980:241, his emphasis). This occurs both on the level of strategies of representation or communication and on the level of content. Following Foley (1995), the load can be described in terms of “powers”. These “powers” function in four primary fields:

1. *word power*
2. *sound power*
3. *image power*
4. *narrative power*

These provide the four primary mediums of cultural expression and communication: verbal, aural, visual, and systems of sequential progression. The *APE* provides a framework for describing, discussing, and analyzing the process of applying, manipulating and interpreting these “powers”. The powers activated in expression derive from a conjunction of expression as an enabling event and “tradition” as an enabling referent (Foley 1995:213): expression constitutes an event through which it becomes possible to activate one or several culturally loaded “powers” that have developed through the contextual patterns of application established by tradition; tradition provides the referent in relation to which the load can be accessed and interpreted. Elements and strategies are manipulated within the “fractal continua” of the semiotic system (Abondolo 2001:2-3). The activation of powers through expression is a largely intuitive and unconscious process.²⁰⁶ When approaching these systems, *indexicality* provides a practical analytical tool for the assessment of powers being applied and manipulated, and for assessing the probability of their activation. This also allows us to distinguish between the analysis of elements on the basis of their appearance across multiple “texts” and intertextuality in the sense of activating a remote textual or extra-textual entity. The powers activated in expression offer a means of addressing and distinguishing the element from the load, which is essential in treating synchronic and diachronic variation and change.

²⁰⁶ On the analytical problem of approaching these subjective processes, see Searle 1969:4-15.

8.2. Tradition: A Definition

Traditions are usually identified and defined according to their manifestations in performance or other application and/or any supplementary evidence available. For oral traditions, this normally means that we accumulate documentations of numerous performances. Whether these are “librettos” (Honko 2000:13-14) or more dynamic forms of documentation, this variety of “text” is always a form of “delimited articulated hypostasis” (Lotman 1990:11). These delimited articulated hypostases – “texts” – are compared for the identification of patterns of common features contrasted with differences (“variation”). This provides the basis for our definition or understanding of the particular tradition, its geographical distribution and patterns of synchronic and diachronic variation and change. This process is directly comparable to the identification and definition of folktale “types”, which Dégh & Vázsonyi (1975:207) have described as “a hypothetical abstraction deduced statistically from the variants.” The development of such a hypothetical abstraction is a necessary process in research (Lotman 1990:218), but when generating this abstraction and when addressing individual “texts”, it is important to recognize that our sources derive from expressions by individuals or groups of individuals (e.g. group singing), and each expression (including comments in interview contexts and medieval manuscript marginalia) is a manifestation and application of the internalized knowledge and understandings of an individual or of individuals who make up the groups.

Applications are both generated and received (if successful) through the enabling referent of tradition. In this process, “tradition” is not “a hypothetical abstraction deduced statistically from the variants” – it is the internalized understanding of specific individuals. Not all applications attempt accurate reproduction of the referent, nor can we assume that the performer and audience have fully corresponding internalized understandings of a tradition (cf. Lotman 1990:11-19).

8.3. Internalization

Internalization is a process which is dependent on exposure to the cultural activity of the particular phenomenon. Traditions are learned and internalized as constellations of forms

(or strategies of representation), contents and applications, within the semiosphere. It is through exposure to and participation in the cultural activity of and surrounding traditions within these systems that an individual develops competence in a tradition (Honko 2000a:20; Hymes 2001), whether as an active or a passive tradition bearer (von Sydow 1948:11-12). Exposure always takes place in a particular place and in a particular “present”. This very simple observation is significant when we consider differences in form, content and applications of the hypothetical abstractions of a “tradition” on a regional basis and in transmission over time. Contemporary conventions of forms, contents and applications persist and develop in the cultural activity of networks of individuals. Regional variation develops through cycles of exposure and application in which conventions gradually and/or actively change. Contemporary conventions cannot be assumed to be identical to those of earlier periods or of other contemporary communities which share genetically related traditions.

Internalization is a subjective process which develops through a unique sequence of personal experiences. It continues across the life of the individual, both in terms of internalizing new material, and developing or adapting existing material. Personality and identity play a significant role in the process of developing relationships to the spectrum of material in the pool of traditions, and what Siikala (1990a) terms “tradition-orientation”. Proximity and authority – the primary cultural activity to which the individual is exposed and the relative significance of performers or performances within that cultural activity to the individual – are primary factors in this process of internalization. Not all voices in a tradition community carry equal weight (Honko 1962:126), nor do all tradition bearers within a community carry the same weight for every individual. Proximity and authority, and the individual’s attitudes toward them, account for distinctive features which mark epic traditions in different families of Viena (Tarkka 2005:44-45), while to the south, kin-group appears secondary to region or location (Kuusi 1949:14-15).

Chapter 9: *Word Power*

9.1. *Word Power*

“It is a truism, but one frequently ignored in research, that how something is said is part of what is said.” (Hymes 1986:59)

Foley (1992; 1995; cf. Foley 1991) developed the theory of *word power* on the same principles as the sociological process which Lifton (1961:429-30) termed “loading the language”. *Word power* is developed to describe the rhetoric and aesthetics of oral traditions. It focuses on poetic traditions with regularly repeating metrical systems. Foley provides a well-articulated account of and approach to the semiotics of associative systems bound to typologies of language (and their lexis) and typologies of language applications. His theory provides a model for other powers activated through expression, but it must be refined slightly in order to differentiate *word power* from other powers activated through expression.

9.2. *Refining Register*

Register is a linguistic term for language as it is used in particular communicative contexts (Halliday 1979, Nootboom 1997). Register-acquisition is integral to language acquisition. A five-year-old child is already able to differentiate and imitate registers related to age, gender, social role, and relationships between parties (Andersen 1986). The register of a genre or poetic system is bound to its social and generic functions. To that degree, it defines the roles of the participants in relation to function rather than through the social roles and relationships which stand outside that function: the communicative context of the genre or poetic system takes precedence as a determinant of the register, although it may be influenced by additional factors including assumptions about the target audience’s competence in that generic or poetic register. Regular patterns of application of words, expressions and formulae allow them to develop “loaded” systems of values, associations and implications within that context (cf. van Dijk 1980). *Word power* is intrinsically bound to performance. The loaded systems of associations extend beyond the “text” to the context of performance and individuals

involved. The cultural loading of typologies of language and typologies of language applications extends to the patterns of their application, including who uses them, in what contexts, under what circumstances, with what intent, and with what effects.

Register and metre are distinct within *word power*, although metre may function as a “determinant” in relation to which the lexis and formulae of a register develop (Halliday 1979:61-62). The metre of kalevalaic poetry is culturally loaded, while registers associated with particular genres may be manipulated within a coherent kalevalaic composition (Tarkka 2005, Frog 2009c).²⁰⁷ When a register or its lexicon of words and formulae develops sufficiently to become a distinct and distinguishing attribute of a genre, poetic system or social function, the register can be applied as an attribute to activate it metonymically.²⁰⁸ Larger structural units move from *word power* into *narrative power*, although whether this transition occurs at the level of the line, couplet or stanza is dependent on the conventions of the tradition, and may be affected by whether these are approached from an emic²⁰⁹ or etic perspective (cf. Honko & Honko 1998).

9.3. Indexicality, Propositions and the Generation of Meaning

Indexicality provides a means of assessing a cultural load of particular elements. Combinations of elements can be manipulated for the generation of meanings in communication. These can be analyzed in terms of *propositions*. This is most easily explained through the model of the proverb. The proverb presents an excellent example for explicating several aspects of this process because its compositional elements are so restricted and inclined toward crystallization, and its semiotics are often clear. A proposition can be considered an expression which can be loosely defined in terms of as an expression which can be assessed in terms of some form of truth-value. Hence, “Blue

²⁰⁷ Compare also E.Stepanova’s (2009) distinction of an essential register and context-dependent register in Karelian laments, which provides the possibility of approaching the common register displayed across genres, from those which are associated with either particular genres, or particular themes which are associated across genres.

²⁰⁸ E.g. the register of “law” in skaldic verse (Foote 1987); the exclusive generic indexical associations of “once upon a time” formulae lead to the effect that “[t]he world of the tale opens with one sentence” (Virtaranta 1971:367) when it is applied in *any* context.

²⁰⁹ “Emic” is a term denoting an internally valid and meaningful approach to a tradition as opposed to that which is “etic”, or externally and objectively imposed and artificial to the tradition in question. See §3.3n.

Väinämöinen” may be a nonsensical juxtaposition, but under such contextual conditions that it is interpreted as having sense, it functions as a proposition, for example in relation to the question, “Who did you see at the pub?” The expression “Väinämöinen” would then assume a clear propositional value, while “blue Väinämöinen” incorporates the propositional information, “Väinämöinen is/was blue”. If interpreted literally, the proposition can be considered false (unless he was very cold), whereas metaphorically, it is perhaps a more reasonable possibility that Väinämöinen was depressed, and it is not so difficult to imagine him, sullen in a dark corner of a pub, drowning the sorrows of lost love, in which case all of the various aspects of propositional information (Väinämöinen was “depressed”; Väinämöinen was at the pub; I saw Väinämöinen) could be true, and in this simple model, we can describe “blue Väinämöinen” as a proposition under appropriate contextual conditions owing to its assessability in terms of truth-value.

The proverb “if wishes were horses, [then] beggars would ride” functions as a proposition in expression. This proposition describes a relationship between the two propositions “wishes are horses” (subjunctive mood) and “beggars ride” (counter-factual conditional). *Explicit propositions* are expressions or utterances and therefore become capable of activating a referent.²¹⁰

<i>(explicit) proposition 1</i>	<i>(explicit) proposition 2</i>
If wishes were horses	beggars would ride

Proverbs develop independent identity within a tradition as crystallized expressions. They become loaded with a refined semiotic value as an entity according to their patterns of application within a community. The restricted application of propositions loads them with *word power* identified with the proverb whole. This indexical load is sufficient to activate the whole proverb as a verbal and semiotic entity:

<i>(explicit) proposition 1</i>	<i>(implicit) proposition 2</i>
If wishes were horses...	[...beggars would ride]

²¹⁰ Although the referent may function largely or wholly on an unconscious level, allows it to be assessed according to, e.g., conventionality of form, content or application, truth-value, well-formedness

If *explicit proposition 1* is sufficiently loaded with *word power* to activate the proverb whole as a verbal entity, *proposition 2* is activated as an *implicit proposition* and the audience is stimulated to participate in the verbal action by completing the proverb mentally. This promotes the extension of mental participation to interpreting the context of application and the generation of significance or meaning.²¹¹ This process also occurs in proverb alteration, in which *explicit proposition 3* is an unconventional variation:

<i>(explicit) proposition 1</i>	<i>(negated implicit) proposition 2</i>
	[...beggars would ride]
If wishes were horses	<i>(explicit) proposition 3</i>
	we would all be eating steak

Explicit proposition 1 activates *implicit proposition 2*. This is a function of the load of *word power* associated with *explicit proposition 1*. Were the following only stimulated or activated as probable or simply possible on more relative spectrum, it would function as an *imminent proposition*. An *imminent proposition* is a proposition which may be consciously or unconsciously activated as potentially rather than necessarily associated with the *word power* of an expression. In the present example, *implicit proposition 2* would become an *explicit proposition* through articulation, but in this case *explicit proposition 1* is followed by *explicit proposition 3* which is exclusive of *proposition 2*. *Proposition 2* becomes a *negated implicit proposition*: *proposition 3* is interpreted in relation to both the *negated proposition* and the proverb's semiotic whole; the exclusion of *proposition 2* from articulation becomes integral to the generation of meaning.

9.4. Persistence and Conservatism in a Poetic System

The powers activated through expression are most evident when they are manipulated for rhetorical or æsthetic effects or when they “fail” in an application (cf. Tsur 1992a:10-12). The conventions associated with a genre or poetic system are intrinsically bound to the powers activated through expression. These conventions instil the various structures of

²¹¹ On “mental performance” see Tsur 1992a:29-41.

expectation²¹² in relation to which the powers are manipulated in the generation of meanings (and quality). Powers activated through expression are dependent on the recognition of the intended referent, which is in turn dependent on the internalization of those conventions. Once the referent becomes active, the manner and degree of deviation from the referent will be interpreted to determine whether it is æsthetic in value and intent (cf. Frog 2009b:277; Kjartansson 2009:256), or just a mistake. This is particularly evident in magical applications, where imperfect reproduction may prevent or alter effects on the immediate or invisible worlds.

9.4.1. The Maintenance of a Poetic System

Word power (or the avoidance of its lack) underlies conservatism in the reproduction of a poetic system. The persistence of a poetic system attests to a continuity in its value and significance within a cultural milieu. Conventions in contemporary composition may not be identical to conventions maintained in the reproduction of poetry of earlier periods (Tarkka 2005:127n; an example is found in §19.3.2.2.1n). Persistence should be understood as “resistance to change” owing to social cultural activity that results in a continuity of identity.

²¹² Ross (1975) proposed the term ‘structures of expectation’ for culturally dependent non-syntactic understanding of linguistic patterning used in both the process of encoding experiences and other information in language and in decoding narrative information communicated by others. In other words, ‘structures of expectation’ provide frameworks for generating inferences which provide the connecting tissue between statements in order to construct a coherent whole from the composite of communicated elements, including the hierarchies of semiotic significance among those elements which constitute a communication. These may occur at the level of relationships between a main and subordinate clause, a relationship between sentences, relationships between parts in a large narrative schema, or between whole narratives (cf. the juxtaposition of narratives in skaldic verse). It should be emphasized that structures of expectation are related to propositional information inferred through other propositional information: structures of expectation are not concerned with the packages of values, implications and associations associated with, e.g. *narrative power*. Structures of expectation can be considered a set of rules for encoding and decoding complex or stratified constellations of semiotic expressions. They stand in complementary relation to powers activated through expression: the powers activated through expression relate to the conventional “force” behind the structures of expectation – the degree to which it is anticipated to be fulfilled, from possible to inevitable – and the powers present a means of describing the values, meanings, implications and associations which can become conventionally attached to these conventional patterns and also to variations on those patterns.

9.4.1.1. Crippled, Lame and Blind

The Invitations of *LV* are sent out to *rujot*, *rammat* and *verisokeat*, the “cripples”, “lame” and “blood-blind” across all regions. *Historiolae* describing the origins of magic shot present three figures: one crafts the “shot”, one draws the bow, and the third is the shooter. The three figures are *rujo*, *rampa* and *verisokea* – “cripple”, “lame” and “blood-blind” (see Franssila 1900:esp.462-72). The restricted applications of this combination imply that in *LV* this was not a conventional merism for “everyone” in contrast to Lemminkäinen. Restricted application presents an indexical relationship which is indicative of a development of *word power* being applied from one context in another although this became conventionally established in the new context.²¹³ The *rujo-rampa-verisokea* sequence function(ed) as an indexically loaded series of *explicit propositions* apparently intended to import the *historiola* of the “blind shooter” into the communication as an *implicit proposition* for the generation of meaning.²¹⁴ Rather than helpless invalids, within the register this combination anticipates that the drinking-feast will be attended by powerful and hazardous magical figures. It can be compared with the hall of singers and sorcerers overcome by Lemminkäinen in the Savo Jesus-redaction, or could anticipate his death by “magic shot” in the Viena *Umpiputki*-redaction.²¹⁵

Estonian translations of *rujot* and *rammat* appear in the corresponding context of the Ingrian drinking-feast of birds (§4.3.9.4). There is no corresponding motif related to the crippled or lame in the Estonian songs, nor any association with the “blind shooter”. The Estonian terms appear to be a specifically Ingrian development in the adaptation of the farcical song. This adaptation may reflect a persistence of the motif in Ingria through interference with the Estonian song (§24.4).

²¹³ In Viena, the *LV* multiform of invitations developed a load with positive connotations and appears for invitations in wedding verses (cf. I3.1541, I3.1544, I3.1546, I3.1551, I3.1552), and they appear as the rowers peopling Väinämöinen’s boat in I1.442).

²¹⁴ The reverse development seems unlikely as the figures invited are not attributed with either magic or hostility.

²¹⁵ The slayer is only blind in Arhippa Perttunen’s account (I2.758.206, 228:*umpisilmä*); cf. Krohn 1905:108.

9.4.2. Translation and Cultural Change

Within a cultural milieu, conventions of *word power* are subject to change. The Finnic trochaic tetrameter was the dominant mode of poetic expression across a tremendous range of genres. At some point, this mode of expression superseded the “unfixed” metres associated with laments and yoiks (Frog & Stepanova forthcoming). This is indicative of changing conventions in the *word power* of different modes of expression. It is reasonable to assume that some Finnic myths were “translated” (Lotman 1990:15) into this rising mode of expression (e.g. the World-Creation). Rausmaa (1964, 1967, 1968) discusses the Karelian preference for translating prose narrative into kalevalaic verse during the period of collection as opposed to reciting kalevalaic narratives in prose. This was particularly true of narratives with elements or episodes associated with kalevalaic epic and appears related to the rise in “folktale” elements introduced into kalevalaic epics during this period (cf. Kuusi 1949). This stands in contrast to the preference for the translation of verse into prose narrative in the medieval Icelandic manuscript tradition (cf. Finch 1962-1965; Frog 2009b:274-276). The evidence appears to express hierarchies in modes of communication (cf. Lotman 1990:47-48) although it must be remembered that hierarchies in modes of expression are dependent on application (§16.1).

9.4.3. Continuity and Cultural Contact

The *APE* is culturally bound. The *word power* of a poetic system invariably requires some form of translation when crossing linguistic-cultural thresholds. The translation is dependent on the established semiosphere in each culture and the distances between them (cf. Vargyas 1983:137). The heavy dependence of the Finno-Karelian incantation tradition on Germanic models implies that Germanic strategies of *word power* were translated into this poetic system. When the medieval European ballad entered into the Finnic cultural area, it was completely assimilated to the conventional poetic system, losing its characteristic features of melody, metre, rhyme and stanzaic structure. In Lutheran Finland, the rise of alternative singing traditions displaced kalevalaic poetry and led to the rise of the æsthetic value of rhyme, just as in Ingria and regions further south,

kalevalaic poetry gradually became predominantly “women’s poetry”.²¹⁶ (Frog & Stepanova forthcoming.)

9.5. Word and Line

9.5.1. *Pätöinen poika* – The Able Son

Pätöinen poika is a verbal expression of restricted applications which always occurs at the end of a metrical line. It appears in the couplet *siit’ oli hukka Lemminkäistä/tuho poikoa pätöistä*, “that was the ruin for Lemminkäinen/destruction for the able son” (data detailed in Supplement 5). It is associated with the death-omen multiform and may emerge in Lemminkäinen’s Death itself. Krohn (1905:105) proposed that *pätöinen poika*, “able lad/son”, was a circumlocution for Christ. The formula is also used with reference to the Master/Son of Päivölä in a peculiar multiform found only in the Duel in Viena, in which Lemminkäinen suggests his decapitated head be used as an “eternal seat” (not found with the Death/Resurrection). The parallel expression for *pätöinen poika* in this multiform is *kultainen omena*, “golden apple”, which Krohn (1903-1910:576-577) argued was further evidence of a circumlocution for Christ though transferred to a different victim (addressed in §10.2.1). Outside of *LV*, it appears in variations on the crystallized line *polvehen/polvestä pojan pätöisen*, “into/from the knee of the able lad”.²¹⁷ This line’s application is restricted to (almost) exclusively to *Väinämöinen’s Knee-Wound* in the context of the reception of the wound itself. It can be considered to carry an indexical load of a specific highly referent, as can *tuho poikoa pätöistä*, indexically bound to the death of Lemminkäinen. Applications within the register of kalevalaic poetry indicate that *pätöinen poika* carries a load of *word power* associated with the victim of a fatal or life-threatening injury rather than being used for a literal meaning. These applications exhibit an indexical rather than intertextual relationship (i.e. based on an intention to activate an application in a different narrative context), with no indication of an association with Christ as a mythic figure.

²¹⁶ Cf. Bakhtin (1986:65): “There is not a single new phenomenon that can enter the system of language without having traversed the long and complicated path of generic-stylistic testing and modification.”

²¹⁷ Note that both lines are metrically correct although *poika* is in a different metrical position: partitive *poiko-a* opens with a long syllable on the lift while genitive *po-jan* opens with a short syllable appropriate to a fall.

9.5.2. *Umpiputki* and *Veson/Vesoma*

In Viena, Lemminkäinen is slain with an *umpiputki/veson*. The adversary *laulo vesuman veestä/umpi-putken lainnehesta*, “sang a/the *veson* out from the water/ a/the *umpiputki* from the wave” (I2.801.78-79). *Umpi-putki*, “a pipe/tube without outlet”, was defined by Lönnrot (1958.II:823) as “tillslutet rör”, a “closed reed” (cf. Ganander 1940.III:220). Krohn (1905:109-110) considered *vesiputki*, “water-tube”, equivalent to *umpiputki*.²¹⁸ He found an instance of *vesiputki* used for *cicuta virosa* (cowbane/northern water hemlock) in Ilomantsi and a corresponding use of *umpiputki* in the neighbouring parish of Nurmes (Northern Karelia), with instructions for its use as a magical weapon.²¹⁹ However, *vesiputki* appears in Ingrian poems as an edible plant (e.g. III3.2721.10). *Veson/vesun* (oblique *vesome-/vesume-*), “water-instrument”, is more obscure, and the term *vesuma*, which replaces it, appears to be symptomatic of a *hapax* (cf. Krohn 1905:109-110).

Arhippa Perttunen describes “water-serpents” sung from the wave (I2.758.229-230) whereafter Lemminkäinen laments that he did not ask his mother how to secure himself against injuries from a *vesu/umpiputki* (I2.758.236-237). Krohn (1905:110-111) points out that *vesu* was used as a term for “water-snake” in Finnish Karelia. The snake belonged to the semiotics of magical attacks and could be “sent” by an adversary (cf. Stark 2006:247-248). Regarding *vesun* as *vesu* (as semiotic if not verbal equivalents) would explain Arhippa’s revision of the instrument at a textual level,²²⁰ and could be connected to the earlier migration of his family to Viena (Pöllä 1995:130-131).

Umpiputki also appears in a few incantations relating the Spear’s Origins as a parallel term for *keiho*, “spear” (e.g. VII3.392.17-20, VII4.2729.34-38, VII4.2739.70-73). It is clearly a projectile and weapon in this sense. In I2.828.163-164, *rauta-piilet*, “iron arrows”, are “shot” to slay Lemminkäinen rather than singing a mythic *umpiputki/veson*; *rauta-piilet* appear with *umpiputket* as a parallel term in VII5.4 (cf. also the “fiery arrow”

²¹⁸ Lönnrot (1958-II:937) considered *vesiputki* equivalent to *vesitorvi*, “vattenrör” (*ibid.*:938).

²¹⁹ Cf. Turunen 1981:358; KKS.VI:566-567; Piela 2006:312-314.

²²⁰ Cf. the “translation” of *hukka*, “destruction” (but more commonly “wolf” in other contexts) to *susi*, “wolf”, in I2.839, as discussed in §4.3.1.

in I2.849.214-222). In Northern Savo, the *umpiputki/veson* pairing appears as a harmful instrument which the incantation is intended to cure (VI1.3525.1-3):

Vesumella miestä vesti	With a/the vesun a/the man was cut
umpiputkella urosta	with a/the umpiputki a/the hero
umpiputken aineella	with the substance of the umpiputki

Vesun is such a rare term that its use as a parallel with *umpiputki* must be connected with uses in *LV*. A survey of uses of *putki* in kalevalaic verse indicates that the line *umpiputken aine[h]ella* has developed from *umpiputken laineh-INFL*. The injury of the incantation is clearly associated with Lemminkäinen's death. *Umpiputki* also appears in Savo as a circumlocution for "rifle" (cf. VI1.138.55-60, VI2.5064.1-3; also I2.1056.106). It is again a weapon comparable to "magic shot" stripped of fantastic qualities.

In Viena, the instrument is sung "out from the waves" in I2.758.229-231, I2.801.78-79, I2.802b.44 and I2.815.70-71. I2.815.101-102 has *veestä vesomen laulon/umpiputki lainehille*, "out from the water I sang a/the veson/ an/the umpiputki onto the waves". Singing "onto" rather than "out of" appears in I2.795.29-30. It may be related to the obscurity of the instrument.²²¹ The significance of the term and its referent are internalized through the spectrum of its cultural activity, inclusive of conventional discourse. In Viena, *umpiputki* developed a unique application as a form of armour, within which a *tietäjä* is secure against magic shot.²²² This may be described as a "shirt", or the *tietäjä* may "pour" himself into it. It is supplied by Ukko in heaven. This unusual use of *umpiputki* may be a fusion of the term's associations with powerful and dangerous magic and representations of serpents lying in *putket*.²²³

In Ilomantsi, *LV* survived with the Death/Resurrection but not the weapon. However, lines corresponding to *laulo vesuman veestä/umpi-putken lainnehesta* are found with *vesu: ei tieä vesun vikoa/veest' oli vesusen synty/vesuputken lainehistä*, "[he/she] did not

²²¹ Jyrki Kettunen sang this line as a parallel term for the obscure *unervo* (I1.403.78), for Väinämöinen's (magic) ship being launched "onto the waves", which parallels the usage in VIII.676.58-60 (above), where the *putki* equates to a boat.

²²² E.g. I4.502.56-62, I4.508.70-79, I4.1869.58-66; Siikala 2002a:205, 284-286

²²³ Cf. also XV.235.10-14.

know *vesu*'s harm/from water was *vesunen*'s [*vesu*+ DIMINUTIVE] origin/*vesu-putki*'s from the waves" (VIII.315.26-28). *Putki* is not uncommon in kalevalaic verse, but this is the only other line-family in which *laine* follows it to complete the line, increasing the probability of a relationship. These lines were performed by Simana Sissonen in 1845 to Europaeus in a multiform which requires brief discussion. The multiform (below) opens with the Mistress of the North "creating" a hero (noting the similarity of the verb *suveta* to *suka*, "brush", and *sukia*, "to brush", related to Lemminkäinen's death-omen), the three line expression which states that the harm of *vesu* was unknown followed by a couplet stating (rather than narrating) its origin, followed by a couplet describing the creation of a bird/birds from a brain/skull of an (apparently) dead man. The relationship of *vesu/vesuputki* lines to the *vesun/umpiputki* couplet makes it reasonable to consider this statement about "not knowing" relevant for comparison with Lemminkäinen's lament in *LV* sung by Arhippa Perttunen (I2.758.237-237; I2.758b.21-22) and also encountered in Ilomantsi variants.²²⁴ *LV* also offers a possibility of connection with a corpse or the head/skull (Supplement 5.2). Lemminkäinen's resurrection is also described as creating, building or getting a man to come from the corpse (I2.795.32-34; I2.815.116; I2.835.5-8; VIII.840.171-178). Simana presented this passage within *Väinämöinen's Knee-Wound* between the second and third repetitions of Väinämöinen shouting before continuing on to the *Great Oak* and the healing resolution. Simana performed the same sequence again for Ahlqvist in 1846, where the third line of this triplet appears to be a nonsensical variation (*vesu putkilainehestä*, "vesu from the tube-waves"),²²⁵ which could imply that the lexical significance of the elements in the line was not understood. This performance extends immediately into a version of the Theft of the Sampo. Simana Sissonen also sang versions of *LV* to both collectors (VIII.836, VIII.836a)²²⁶ which present the local version of the *pätöinen poika*, "able son", couplet (§9.5.1; Supplement 5). Although the context implies relevance, that relevance is obscure.

²²⁴ Following the only variant of the Singing Competition, which Lemminkäinen loses, in VIII.839.21-26; present as a rebuke from his mother in VIII.841.202-208.

²²⁵ Marked with "!" in the manuscript (VIII.680.43).

²²⁶ Cf. VII.835, which appears to be mistakenly attributed to Simana.

Europaeus recorded passages from a performance by Simana's sister Iro, which opens with *Visiting Vipunen* (identified with Lemminkäinen: *Poika virsikäs Vipunen / luottehekas Lemminkäinen*, “Lad, verse-rich Vipunen/magic-song-rich Lemminkäinen”: VIII.674.1-2); the multiform is documented as a segment, followed by a series of passages related to the escape with the Sampo (or its local equivalent). Europaeus glosses *vesunen* as *rauta*, “iron” (VIII.674.9n), which seems to have derived from direct inquiry. Iro's son Jaakko Jeskanen performed what may have been the same form of the song to Borenius in 1877 (VIII.675), although the multiform receives (uniquely) an additional line, indicating that it is related to healing Väinämöinen, implying an interpretation consistent with Europaeus's gloss of *vesunen* as “iron”.²²⁷ The theft of a sampo-equivalent follows directly almost as a consequence (VIII.675), unlike Simana's version.²²⁸ Jaakko also performed a version of *LV* with a line from the *pätöinen poika* couplet (VIII.830). Jaakko's brother Vasilei performed the same narrative sequence (VIII.676).²²⁹ Vasilei a nonsense-word *veso* rather than *vesu* (VIII.676.58-60) and concludes the multiform without the final couplet, following which Väinämöinen goes to Pohjola and the sequence of the Theft of the Sampo ensues.²³⁰

(Simana Sissonen)
 Tuop' oli Pohjolan emäntä
 olipa tei'ensä käviä
 mittaelli matkojansa
 laulelevi virsissä hän²³¹

That was the Mistress of Pohjola
 was going along her ways
 measured her journeys
 singing in her verses

(Iro's sons)
 Pohjon akk ol ikkunassa
 ikkunass oli katsomassa
 [jo] tulou veno punane
 satahanka halkoaupi²³²

The Mistress of Pohjola was at the window
 at the window [she] was looking
 [already] comes a red ship
 the hundred-oarlock splitting

²²⁷ This led Niemi to identify the multiform as an *Iron's Origin incantation/historiola* (VIII.1189).

²²⁸ Rather than a sampo, Jaakko presents *riistat*, wild game or “catch” of birds or fish (cf. VII.675.90 and note) and he explained the song as a myth about the distribution of game on land and sea. This may be a development related to the final couplet describing an origin of birds.

²²⁹ Performed for Krohn in 1884; Lemminkäinen is not named in a parallel line with Vipunen.

²³⁰ A performance of *LV* was not recorded from Vasilei.

²³¹ VIII.315.21-24. VIII.680.36-39 exhibits minimal variation, the only one which has semantic impact being an agentive *mittelijä*, “measurer”, in the corresponding position of the verb *mittaelli*, “measured”.

²³² VIII.675.63-66. Vasilei (VIII.676.53-56) sang all lines in the present tense, of which the only notable difference is that [jo] *tulou* is *tuloopi*. Europaeus did not record this multiform from Iro; his documentation begins immediately with the line of action without indication of the agent.

²³³ loi miehen, uron sukesi	Created a man, a hero grew
ei tieä vesun ²³⁴ vikoa[vikoja ²³⁵]	did not know <i>vesu</i> 's harm[s]
veest' oli vesusen synty ²³⁶	form water was <i>vesunen</i> 's origin
vesuputken lainehista ²³⁷	<i>vesuputki</i> 's from the waves
allin aivoista hyvistä[syvistä ²³⁸]	the long-tailed duck's from good[deep] brains
pääskyn pienen pää[n]sisästä ²³⁹	the little swallow's from in the head
[pääramusta ²⁴⁰]	[from the head-scrap]
[sillä tukki rauan hoavan ²⁴¹]	[with it the wound of iron was blocked up]

The line concerning “not knowing” is exceptional for an “origin”. Its appearance in Jyrki Sissonen’s performance of this narrative sequence to Borenius in 1877, where it is clearly attributed to the Mistress of the North as direct speech without the accompanying multiform – *et tiää teräksen syntyä*, “you do not know the origin of steel” (VIII.682.39). Unlike Iro and Jaakko, Jyrki did not identify Vipunen with Lemminkäinen (though he did perform *LV*: VIII.840). This statement by the Mistress of Pohjola is followed closely by an *Iron’s Origin* historiola for the healing of Väinämöinen’s knee-wound. This implies that the compact multiform encountered in this tightly interconnected group of variants is related to an interpretation of the multiform as an “origin” of magical significance, and the preference for a more conventional origin of iron may be attributable to the obscure *vesu/vesunen/vesuputki* and the multiform in which it appeared. This appears associated with “iron”, possibly through or in tandem with the association of *umpiputki* with a spear or gun (i.e. weapon) elsewhere in the poetry. The *word power* of lines associated with Lemminkäinen’s death were apparently transferred to a new context, or the *narrative power* of Lemminkäinen’s death itself gave rise to an “origin” of the *umpiputki/vesuputki* – rather remarkably in epic narrative rather than in incantation as encountered in Savo.

The instrument of Lemminkäinen’s death was only preserved as such in Viena. In Northern Karelia, Lemminkäinen was simply “sung” (into Death’s River). The weapon

²³³ Following Simana’s VIII.315.25-30 performance; VIII.676.57-60 does not present the final couplet.

²³⁴ VIII.676: *veso* throughout

²³⁵ VIII.674.8; VIII.675.68

²³⁶ VIII.674.9: *syntynt*; VIII.675.69; VIII.676.59: *syntynt* past participle.

²³⁷ VIII.680.43: *putkilainehesta*

²³⁸ VIII.674.11; VIII.675.71

²³⁹ VIII.680.45: *pääsiasta*

²⁴⁰ VIII.674.12; VIII.675.72

²⁴¹ VIII.675.73

appears to have been sufficiently known in this region and in Savo for the *veson/umpiputki* pairing and specific lines related to *LV* to be adapted for their *word power* and associated *narrative power*. Lemminkäinen's deaths by magic and/or projectiles are semantically consistent within the semiosphere. The range of variation which Sigl (2001) treated as chaotic is attributable to variation and adaptation on the level of interpretation of *veson/umpiputki* or its elimination from the magical act. *Umpiputki* appears to have a water-plant as a referent and evolved in different directions through its indexical associations. The original identity of the plant is uncertain, and perhaps insignificant.

9.5.3. *Corneae hastae*

Saxo Grammaticus describes the adventures of Thorkillus to the otherworld in Book VIII of *Gesta Danorum*. Saxo's (1931:245-246) Loki is completely passive but immediately identifiable with the image of Loki bound as found in Icelandic sources (Faulkes 1982:49; *Vsp* 34-35; *Ls* prose). Saxo (1931:245) claims that the hairs of Loki's beard are as large and tough as *corneae hastae*, "cornel-wood spears". Thorkillus and his companions pool their strength to pluck one of these hairs as substantial evidence of their journey. Plucking this hair releases a terrible odour which is life-threatening and causes all of the serpents in the cave to attack: almost everyone dies from the venom. The later presentation of this glorious object inadvertently kills people present while Saxo claims the narrative of the adventure caused the death of Thorkillus' lord (Saxo 1931:246-247).²⁴²

Loki's binding is potentially associated with the death of Baldr. Thorkillus tears out a hair with effort similar to Snorri's statement that Loki *sleit upp*, "tore up", *mistilteinn* (Faulkes 1982:45). *Mistilteinn* appears as one branch among many in the sources (like hairs in the beard; cf. *Vsp* 32.1-4; Faulkes 1982:45). Saxo equates the hair directly with a spear. The adjective *corneus* occurs only in two other contexts in Saxo's work, both of which clearly mean "horn-shaped" – curved and conical like the horn of a bull (Blatt

²⁴² Parallels to tale-type AT461, "Three Hairs from the Devil's Beard", are largely restricted to a journey to the otherworld and the acquisition of a hair from a monstrous being (not required of Thorkillus). See Herrmann 1922:598-599.

1935-1957:196). Saxo only uses the noun *hasta* in the sense of “spear” (Blatt 1935-1957:369), for which a curved, conical object is inappropriate. Saxo could have understood this adjective as related to “horn” (if only in its *rigor*, “toughness”), but it is more probable that Saxo has derived this adjective as a Classical Latin literature and poetry where *corneus* is an adjective meaning “of the wood of a cornel tree” used both as a modifier for “spear” (e.g. Virgil *Aeneid* V.557; *Georgicon* II.447-448) and more commonly as a substantive adjective, “cornel-wood [spear]” (e.g. Virgil *Aeneid* IX.698; Ovid *Metamorphosis* XII.451).²⁴³ Friis-Jensson (1975, 1987) has demonstrated that Saxo was both aware of the works of these poets and drew on them as authorities in his *Gesta*. Saxo’s *cornea hasta* may belong to his manipulation of register as a rhetorical strategy in writing his history (Kauffmann 1902:66-74; §3.2). In the absence of “cornel-wood”, Saxo’s internalized understanding of *cornea hasta* would probably roughly equate to “a heroic spear of Classical proportions”. This use appears to be an application of *word power* within Saxo’s broader rhetorical strategy which derives from Saxo’s understanding of the Classical register. Saxo would thus be comparing the hair to an exceptional spear. Comparison with Snorri’s account and Saxo’s own emphasis on the retrieval of the weapon used to slay Baldr, present the possibility that Saxo was “translating” *mistilteinn* into the *word power* available to him in Latin.

9.5.4. *Mistilteinn* and *Hróðrbarmr*

Mistilteinn is the plant used to slay Baldr in *Völuspá R* and Snorri’s *Edda*. Scholarship has been haunted by an insistence on interpreting *mistilteinn* according to modern usage, in spite of the fact that these descriptions do not correspond to *viscum album*, “mistletoe”. Consequently, tremendous effort has been expended to explain how and why “mistletoe” could fulfil the role of *mistilteinn* in these sources; e.g. Turville-Petre (1964:116) declared, “The Icelanders did not know this plant, and they could believe that a deadly shaft was made from it,” which seems to give voice to popular opinion (cf. Lindow 1997:60-61), I remain sceptical: if “mistletoe” were sacred and/or magically powerful as it emerges in later folklore, where it assumes value in Christian traditions – notably in a

²⁴³ This does not mean that Saxo did not interpret the term as in some way associated with “horn”, but rather that he interpreted the “spear of horn” in accordance with the traditions of Latin poetry without necessarily reconciling

positive rather than negative sense (see Hoffmann-Krayer & Bächtold-Stäubli 1927-1942:s.v.) – it seems probable that examples would have found their way back to Iceland in conjunction with commerce and adventure, possibly even as a prestige import item.

Lieberman (2004:26ff.) shows that the complex *mistil-teinn* is an exceptional formation in ON and almost certainly related to the corresponding Anglo-Saxon *misteltan*, “mistletoe”. *Mistil-teinn* is the only Old Norse compound ending in *-teinn* preserved in prose which is not a sword-name (Lieberman 2004:28), and furthermore in modern Scandinavian plant-lore, the suffix *-ten* appears to belong to the learned rather than popular register (Rooth 1961:137). It is clear that *mistilteinn* was not a popular term for “mistletoe” (which does not grow in central or northern Scandinavia). *Mistilteinn* is only found referring to the instrument which slays Baldr or as a sword name in ON, and Lieberman stresses that where it is in popular use in modern Scandinavia, the term is used to refer to other winter-green plants, such as ivy. In medieval Iceland, the noun *mistilteinn* appears to have been indexically associated with the Baldr-Cycle; its referent may have been interpreted exclusively in terms of the instrument of Baldr’s death.

Lieberman proposes that *mistilteinn* replaced an earlier plant such as *þistill*, “thistle”, which is clearly associated with magical properties. The simplex *mistill* appears in magic runic inscriptions of the *þistill-mistill-kistill* formula, “thistle-*mistill*-little casket”, dating back to at least the 9th century, with a parodic adaptation appearing in Iceland as late as the 14th (McKinnell & Simek 2004:134). The meaning of *mistill* is uncertain; the suffix *-il-o-* is associated with plant-names such as *þistill* (RGA XX:97). The simplex is found still earlier in Anglo-Saxon, but only in glosses. Glosses for *viscus*, “mistletoe”, appear related to *Æneid* VI.205, the description of wrenching free of the Golden Bough for *Æneas*’s journey to the otherworld (RGA XX:96), making them awkwardly dependent on interpretation.²⁴⁴ AS *mistel* was also used to gloss *ocimum*, “basil” (RGA XX:97; Bosworth & Toller 1898:692). The simplex apparently dropped out of use in both AS

²⁴⁴ Saxo’s (1931:30) corresponding narrative of Hadingus’s journey to the otherworld guided by a witch appears to be influenced by *Æneid* VI (Ellis Davidson & Fisher 1980:35-36), but the woman carries *cicutæ*, “hemlock”, rather than “mistletoe”. This is Saxo’s only use of *cacuta* (Blatt 1935-1957:130) leaving its referent ambiguous.

and ON. This process may have opened the lexeme to variation corresponding to that found in *umpiputki* and *veson* (§9.5.2). *Mistill* appears to have had a plant as a referent, but the specific plant is uncertain. Moreover, there is the very real possibility that the meaning of the complex formation *mistil-teinn*, “mistill-stick”, originally referred to an object designated as a *teinn* which was constituted of *mistill*, whether that *teinn* was worked into a special form or simply “raw” in the sense of a *teinn* broken from *mistill*.

It is unclear whether *mistilteinn* as a compound bears any relation to the obscure “-teinn” called *gambanteinn* appearing in *Skírnismál* 32 and *Hárbarðsljóð* 20. In *Skírnismál*, Skírnir goes to a *hrár viðr*, “fresh tree, sapling”, to get a *gambanteinn*, which is at least similar to acquisitions of the *mistilteinn*. The element *gamban-* is obscure but seems to have some association with value, and none with botany (Cleasby & Vigfússon 1896:189). Its use in *gamban-teinn* appears to express the magical power of the *teinn* (von See et al. 1997:203). Van Hamel (1932) presents examples of *gambanteinn*’s usage in later folklore where it is provided with the same function in magic, but is described as a *gambanteinn eða reyrspoti*, a “*gambanteinn* or reed” (van Hamel 1932:138). Although the *gambanteinn* receives relatively little attention in discussions of *mistilteinn*, the latter’s use in the Baldr-slaying very often leads to discussions of parallels in the *reyrspoti*, “reed”, which functions magically as a spear associated with Óðinn in other sources (§21.5).²⁴⁵ Like *mistilteinn*, this designation *gambanteinn* may be more strongly associated with function rather than botany, even if the degree of correspondence in the functions of these instruments remains obscure.

²⁴⁵ Detter (1894:501-502) made an interesting, if speculative, contribution to this discussion by introducing the Dutch vernacular term for mistletoe, *maretak/marentakken* followed by a cascade of similar terms in Danish, Norwegian and Swedish which are not for “mistletoe”, but for other outgrowths on trees in which the first element is resonant with *mar-* and the second can be associated with a twig, shoot or grass. The contribution is of value in moving from the referent to broader perspectives on language and language usage, even if this had the goal of arguing that the killing in *Ynglinga saga* with horse bridles (Aðalbjarnarson 1941:39-40) and its corresponding verse in *Ynglingatal* (Jónsson 1912-1915.A.I:9) are based on a confusion of some term similar to *maretak/marentakken* being interpreted as “horse tack”. The kenning in *Ynglingatal* is *hnakkmars höfuðfetlar*, “saddle-horse’s head-straps”, which does not seem to imply a plant. Cf. the use of horse-whips by swan maidens in a dream in *Segligr Con Culainn*, which leave the hero in a helpless (and in some sense sexually subjugated) state similar to the effects of Freyr’s vision of Gerðr in *Skírnismál* (see Hall 2007:137ff.). There is no reason to associate the horse whips with plants, although their use seems typologically similar to the implied significance of *gambanteinn*.

Höðr berr hávan hróðrbarm þinig, “Höðr bears the high glory-*barmr* from there” (*Bd* 9.1-2) has been variously interpreted to mean “Höðr kills Baldr” and “Höðr fetches *mistilteinn*” (e.g. Gering & Sijmons 1927:343; Dronke 1997:158). *Hróðrbarmr* is a *hapax legomenon*. The second element is problematic and has been edited to *baðmr*, “[blossoming] branch” (e.g. Sijmons 1906). This facilitates reading the object as either a plant or a kenning (“praise-tree”=“man”). A degree of interchangeability as poetic terms is seen in *ættbaðmr* and *ættbarmr*, “lineage”, exchanged in manuscript transmission (Faulkes 1998.II:349). *Barmr* is most probably related to *barmi*, “brother”, belonging to the poetic register, giving “glory-brother” directly comparable to *hróðrbarn*, “glory-child” (Faulkes 1998:44). *Hróðrbarmr* would therefore be appropriate for Baldr. Lindow objects to the plant-reading because *hróðrbaðmr* seems inappropriate for a botanical term,²⁴⁶ but “praise-branch” could be a circumlocution related to the plant, instrument or specific weapon.²⁴⁷

This line is placed in the mouth of a *völva* outside of the realm of Hel. The close correspondences between *Baldrs draumar* and *Völuspá* R accounts of the Baldr-Cycle imply they are related (Dronke 1997:158). In *Völuspá*, *mistilteinn* is *völlum hæri*, “higher than the fields”, comparable to the use of the corresponding adjective in *hár hróðrbarmr*. The adverb *þinig*, “from there”, is comparable to the statement in *Völuspá* that Höðr retrieves *mistilteinn* from a remote location. If *hróðrbarmr* is interpreted as “Baldr”, *þinig*, “there”, refers to the world of the living and “to bear from there” relative to the *völva* rather peculiarly means to “kill”. This interpretation results in a repetition of the same information twice in the stanza. If the referent is interpreted as *mistilteinn*, *Bd* 9 follows the same structure as the prophetic responses of *Bd* 7 and 11: the first long line presents one piece of information, followed by another in the central long lines, closing with the *völva*’s refrain in the final long line. This patterning of information implies that the line was associated with something other than Baldr – presumably *mistilteinn*. The line could however remain extremely stable in transmission (cf. Frog 2009b:273) while

²⁴⁶ *Mistilteinn* as a complex presents a similar problem: the complex is indexically identified with sword-names and appears as such in two sagas (§21.2.3).

²⁴⁷ Snorri associates throwing things at Baldr with his *frami*, “glory” (Faulkes 1982:45) and Saxo presents the retrieval of the *cornea hasta* as an event worthy of glory and respect (Saxo 1931:246-247).

the (hypothetical) exchange of *baðmr* for *barmr*, functioning as poetic synonyms in other contexts, could be indicative of reinterpreting the referent as Baldr rather than the weapon, or be the result of lexical renewal on a conventional basis.

9.6. *Griðastaðr mikill*

Snorri states that when Höðr slew Baldr: *en engi mátti hefna, þar var svá mikill griðastaðr*, “yet none might take revenge, there was a place of such great sanctuary” (Faulkes 1982:46). Lindow (1997b:131-134) argues Snorri’s use of the term *griðastaðr* for the location where the gods are at *þing*, “legal[ritual?] assembly”, is a fusion of legal usage attested in Norway (but not Iceland) with Christian concepts of the Church as a place of sanctuary. The Norwegian legal term refers to a (secular) place or time associated with the Crown where/when there were higher fines for transgressions against personal security. Snorri first introduces the term in his account of the binding of Fenrisúlfr (Faulkes 1982:27-29). Following the narration of the births and respective banishments of Loki’s three malignant offspring (Miðgarðsormr, Fenrisúlfr, Hel), Gylfi asks why Fenrisúlfr was not slain if he was prophesied to do such harm (slaying Óðinn). Hár explains: *Svá mikils virðu goðin vé sín ok griðastaði at eigi vildu þau saurga þá með blóði úlfsins*, “The gods placed such value on their vé and place of sanctuary that they were not to soil them with the blood of the wolf.” The separation of the explanation from the narrative through question-and-answer dialogue places emphasis on this piece of information, implying it was significant to the narrative, and perhaps to the cosmology.²⁴⁸ The explanation is more peculiar because Snorri describes how the Æsir took Fenrisúlfr to a special location for the binding: the island of Lyngvi (“Heathery”) in the lake Ámsvartnir (“Blood-Black”). The *griðastaðr* would then be part of their plan, although the name of the island does not sound like a sanctified vé. The prose introduction to *Lokasenna* draws directly on *Skáldskaparmál*’s account of Ægir’s feast (§3.3.1.6) but adds *Þar var griðastaðr mikill*, “That place was a place of great sanctuary”. This appears to be directly associated with the concluding prose on the binding of Loki. Snorri’s application of this explanation for why Höðr is allowed to escape appears to belong to the

²⁴⁸ Miðgarðsormr will slay Þórr and Hel will keep Baldr, but slaying them is not at issue. They are banished, not bound.

same conception. Whatever the term's origin, it appears indexically bound to mythic binding episodes, which would explain its unexpected appearance in the binding of Fenrisúlfr, *Lokasenna* and implying that it was somehow associated with Snorri's internalized understanding of the Baldr-slaying, observing that his account ignores Höðr as a secondary figure and concentrates almost exclusively on Loki who is bound.

Chapter 10: *Sound Power*

10.1. *Sound Power*

Sound power functions according to the same principles as *word power*. It functions on the level of acoustic elements both being performed (e.g. melody)²⁴⁹ and represented within performance. It may be applied to import associations for the development of meanings, or to introduce *implicit* or *immanent propositions* relevant to the texture or development of a presentation (cf. Lotman 1990:56). *Sound power* is intimately associated with *word power*.²⁵⁰ *Sound power* also plays a significant but easily overlooked role in the mnemonics of oral poetry (recently stressed by Huttu-Hiltunen 2008; cf. Rubin 1995).

10.2. Persistence and Conservatism

10.2.1. *Kulta(i)nen/Kulla(i)nen*

Kultainen omena is used as a parallel expression for *pätöinen poika* as the owner of the head/skull which Lemminkäinen chops off in Viena. Krohn (1903-1910:576-577) argued this use derives from a circumlocution for Christ in a poem about Mary's search for her lost son. However, *kulta(i)nen* and *kulla(i)nen* appear differentiated within the poetic register. *Kulla(i)nen* is consistently transcribed in circumlocutions for the missing son of Mary while *kulta(i)nen* is transcribed in *LV* and uses of the circumlocution in wedding verses (data in Supplement 7). Within the poetic register, *sound power* appears capable of maintaining a variation presumably attributable to dialect as a distinct lexical item.

10.2.2. *Piilo/Pillo*

Even when a line is poorly understood or incomprehensible, *sound power* becomes evident in attempts to maintain the acoustic integrity of its identity. There are countless examples of non-sensical lines which are the result of variation on the level of the

²⁴⁹ On melody in relation to register see Nooteboom 1997:3-14.

²⁵⁰ On "mental performance" vs. articulated oral performance of verbal text see Tsur 1992a:29-41; on rhetorical power and meaning in acoustic patterning in poetics see Tsur 1992b, Abondolo 2001.

phoneme.²⁵¹ In Northern and Border Karelia, the Isle of Women dropped out of circulation and was adapted to explain Lemminkäinen’s exclusion from the invitations. In Border Karelia, this appears to be the origin of the circumlocution *piilo poika* for Lemminkäinen (§4.3.8). In Northern Karelia *piilo* became *pillo*, a hapax most likely understood as something like “mischievous” (cf. *pillojaan on piilemassa*, “his wicked deeds [*pillat* not *pillot*] are hidden”).²⁵² This is implied in the regional variant of the line *tuho poikoa pätöstä*, “destruction of the able son”, as *pillo poikoa pahoa*, “wicked mischievous lad” (Supplement 5).

10.3. Persistence and Adaptation

10.3.1. Hæðcyn and Herebeald

In addition to material associated with widespread Germanic mytho-heroic traditions, *Beowulf* contains a rich network of material which is presented in the poem as mytho-heroic history, and yet which is associated with the mythological sphere in Norse sources. Such parallels extend to Beowulf himself, his battle with the dragon, and the overall scope of the poem which appears to extend to allusions to Ragnarök.²⁵³ A significant aspect of this relationship to the mythological sphere is the relationship of names: the names in *Beowulf* are not the names of the “gods”; they are names which belong to or are otherwise appropriate for the heroic sphere – hence the hero’s name is *Beo-wulf* rather than *Beow*.²⁵⁴ This interplay is also apparent in the interplay of *Beowulf*’s Hama in the theft of the *Brosinga mene*, “necklace of the Brosings” (*Beowulf* 1199), from or for the Gothic king Eormanric: this appears to project the mythological narrative of the theft of the *Brísinga men* and *Heim-dallr* into the heroic sphere, where the interlacing of names weaves “myth” into “history”.²⁵⁵

²⁵¹ E.g. *vesu putkilaimhestä* (§9.5.2). On *voces magicae* see Versnel 2002.

²⁵² E.g. VIII.792.31: this line is a Border-Karelian phenomenon; a variant (*pillojani piilemähän*, “my wicked deeds to hide”) is found twice in Northern Karelia VII2.994.30, VII3.4553.4. See also Ruopila 1967:79-80.

²⁵³ See Dronke 1969; Orchard 2003:98-129; Fulk et al. 2008:xlfff.

²⁵⁴ Cf. Harris 1999a; Fulk et al. 2008:xlviiii-li. Saxo, for example, utilizes the same strategy in his *Gesta*, as when his hero “Thor-killus” visits the realm of “Geruthus” and bears whiteness to Þórr’s triumph over the giant Geirrøðr and his kin (Saxo 1931:239-242).

²⁵⁵ This example has a history of being discussed as belonging to the heroic rather than the mythological sphere since labyrinthine arguments emerging in the mid-nineteenth century sought to identify the coveted object and its thief with the mytho-historical Hama/Heimir and the theft of the hoard of the Harlungs (see

The *Beowulf* poet presents a variant of the Baldr-Cycle which is clearly situated in the mytho-heroic sphere and not a representation of the narrative as “myth”. The names of the protagonists, *Hæð-cyn* and *Here-beald* readily associate them with Höðr and Baldr of the Norse tradition. The element *hæð-* appears to be derived from **habu-* (Fulk et al. 2008:468), which would make the initial name element an etymological equivalent to ON *Höð-r* (Malone 1936:160; cf. Björkman 1920:51-54). However, the *-beald* element of *Herebeald* is etymologically equivalent to ON *bald-r*, distinct from the name Baldr and

Damico 1983 for an overview of the history of the argument; see von See et al. 1997 for an example of its persistence, and Tolley 2009:389-403 for an example of carefully treading around it). Hama’s name appears to correspond etymologically to the first element of *Heim-dallr* (Dronke 1969:324; although cf. Björkman 1920:56). Hama is also otherwise attested as a heroic figure (for sources and discussion see Damico 1983; von See et al. 1997:544-545; Tolley 2009:390). The argument is dependent on interpreting the etymology of the name *Brisingr/Brosing* as a reference to the inhabitants of a place-name Breisach, which is not without issue at the phonetic level (Tolley 2009:390), while the ON root *brísa* means “shine, glitter” – or would no doubt have been understood that way – and *Brisingr* functions in a poetic equivalence class with words for “fire” (Tolley 2009:399), hence it could easily be a vernacular formation based on a quality or association of the necklace itself. The argument also requires the comparison of several unrelated sources in order to identify the theft of the hoard of the Harlungs with the location Breisach, raising questions concerning how seriously we should take the proposed importance of this location’s name for the heroic legend. It is also not clear why the necklace should receive the name of a particular location rather than of the Harlungs, if it were associated with their hoard. There is the complication that a necklace as a treasured artefact is nowhere else associated with either Hama or Eormanric (Damico 1983:225). This is striking among the references preserved if it is argued that this necklace and feat of the theft was of such esteem that it was elevated to a mythological narrative played out among the gods in Norse. The additional problem is that the points of comparison between the *Beowulf* reference and other narrative material concerning Hama and the treasure of the Harlungs consists of two names (Hama, Eormanric) and the motif of a theft. The presentation of the central object of the treasure or its metonym as a necklace seems anomalous unless that necklace was attributed with some exceptional mythic status (cf. the ring *Andvaranautr* in the *Sigurðr*-Cycle): a necklace, in contrast to a ring (or even a cup), is not semiotically central in the tradition as generally associated with wealth or inheritance. A mythological intertextual referent would provide such a status. Damico (1983:224,227) makes the important point that the reference in *Beowulf* is presented in the immediate context of a comparison with the necklace worn by queen *Wealhtheow* in order to emphasize the splendour of the latter. Within the strategies employed by the author of *Beowulf*, I find it far more probable that the author, or the tradition on which he draws, has utilized mythological models and material, infusing the figure of Hama with the *narrative power* of a *Heimdallr* myth, and thereby infusing the treasure stolen with layers of meaning and significance – rather than turning to the *Beowulf* poet on this one point as accurately representing a heroic tradition which Norse tradition elevated to an account surrounding the necklace of *Freyja* while preserving no evidence of the heroic narrative presented in *Beowulf*. Within the immediate context, this generates a comparison between queen *Wealhtheow*’s necklace and that of *Freyja* with additional implications for *Wealhtheow* herself. Within the larger compositional strategy of the poem, the mythological narrative is apparently intended to be activated as a referent relevant to the episode as an *implicit proposition*. The reference in *Beowulf* presents a system of motifs which anticipate the theft of the cup from the dragon’s hoard by a servant who has fallen out of favour and incurs the dragon’s wrath. This presents a (potentially) stratified system of intertextual references, or, perhaps more accurately, the introduction of the mythological referent as an *implicit proposition* in the Hama-episode allows retrospective reference to that episode to import that *implicit proposition*, and if the mythological narrative is perceived as a hierarchically dominant semiotic model for approaching the sequence, the Hama-episode would appear to have a central function in providing foundations for how the theft from the dragon can be approached and understood, pregnant with associations and meanings.

corresponding ON noun *baldr-*, OE *bealdor-*, hence the name means “Army-Bold” rather than “Army-Baldr” (Fulk et al. 2008:469). Björkman (1920:63) suggests that Baldr may stand behind Herebeald, but that the OE cognate with Baldr was not used in name formation. The author presents the event in an historical framework with no indication that he is attempting to represent a mythological narrative. This led to assertions that if it is heroic/historical, that it is not related to the mythological tradition, and even the question of whether the Baldr-slaying was “originally” a mythological narrative, or a heroic narrative (similar to Saxo’s account) elevated to the mythological sphere (cf. Fulk et al. 2008:xlvii-xlviii; Lindow 1997b:28-38).

The names used in *Beowulf* are not the names of “gods”, they are names which resonate with the names of gods. The author of *Beowulf* appears to be attempting to manipulate *sound power* by presenting names appropriate for human heroes which were phonetically similar to names of Höðr and Baldr. The names function as *explicit propositions* within a constellation of narrative elements. As such, the names themselves are not particularly likely to draw direct identification with Baldr or Höðr to the fore. When the accumulation of indexical features is sufficient to activate the Baldr-Cycle as an *imminent proposition* or system of *immanent propositions* (i.e. that there may be a relevance and relationship to the application), *Hæð-cyn* and *Here-beald* become capable of activating the names of the mythic figures through their *sound power*, generating a form of identity between the heroes and the mythic figures in relation to which they can be interpreted and understood. However, this strategy is not founded on etymologies or historical reconstructions, but on the “sound” of the names.

10.3.2. *Lieto Lemminkäinen/Lehen lemmykkäine*

Lemminkäinen’s name was not preserved in Ingria (§14.4.1.1). In Ingrian-Finnish variants of *LV* we find *siso lehen lemmykkäine*, “sister little-beloved”. The “sound” of Lemminkäinen’s name persisted with the poem. Its *sound power* was sufficient that even when understood as an otherwise unique adjective rather than a proper noun, it was given a place in the changing shape of the poem.

Chapter 11: *Image Power*

11.1. *Image Power*

Like verbal systems associated with *word power*, the cultural activity of images allows them to become loaded with *image power* (cf. Honko 1998:96-97; 2003:113) according to their patterns of application in relation to context. Frankfurter (1995:475) stresses that applications of motif-complexes always “function in a present that only requires that they be recognizable,” and their cultural loads may not be identical to that of their history or origin. According to Anttonen (2000:166), “[i]t is not the assumed origin of a symbol that determines its use and meaning, but the mental horizons of individuals and the socio-cultural context in which it occurs.” Like the lexis of *word power*, the cultural load of images may show variance across genres or modes of expression, and develop an inter-related network of loads. This appears to be extremely significant in the cultural activity of mythic images (cf. Siikala 2002a; Frog 2009a).

The dangers encountered by Lemminkäinen on his Journey are adaptations and applications of mythic images (Supplement 3). The danger of the Fiery Eagle is not identical to the world-tree, although it may reflect an archaic conception of the world-tree image related to shamanic journeys (Siikala 2002a:310-314; 2002c:23-24). The world-tree mythic image appears to have been applied in order to infuse the danger with its *image power*, generating a relationship or (partial) identity between the danger and the world-tree, through which the danger assumed cosmological proportions. The specific danger then crystallized within the pool of traditions. In the period of collection, this mythic image and its motif-complex did not maintain specific indexical associations with a particular world-tree or world-tree narrative. However, it continued to participate in the extremely dynamic network of inter-related images or an image-complex with a network of aspects of *image power* spread across narratives and genres (Frog 2008a). It is useful to observe that the distinct forms of such an image may have strong or exclusive indexical associations with particular applications.

The activation of a mental image or mythic image loaded with *image power* is not dependent on particular words for it to become recognizable (Honko 1998:96-97; 2003:113; Rubin 1995:39-63). *Image power* is retained when the same image is represented in different registers (§16.4), languages (§9.5.3), and when it is expressed iconographically (§19.5) or through the semiotics of performative action (Frog 2009a). *Image power* can be activated as soon as the image becomes recognizable: it is not necessary for all details or elements of an image to be reflected in a representation for the activation of *image power* to be effective. Once the image is activated, unarticulated motifs may become *implicit propositions* in the communication carried by the *image power* in addition to its contextual semiotic load, much as branches and leaves may be implicit in the activation of the image of a tree (cf. Lotman 1990:56). The activation of complex mythic images may carry the activation of a comprehensive motif-complex implicit in its *image power*.

11.2. *Image Power* and the Emergence of Bracteates

Image power is most apparent in modes of non-verbal representation and communication. Iconographic representations of narrative material appear to have played a significant role in Germanic Scandinavian culture at least since the Migration Period. Like oral traditions, strategies of iconographic representation can be divided into genres and may even be attributed with “registers” of visual motifs (cf. Axboe 2004). These are bound by conventional strategies which load them with *image power*. In §7.4.3 it was suggested that the magnitude of Germanic influences on the incantation tradition was not surprising if there was no pre-existing tradition of corresponding incantations established in the tradition ecology which could efficiently fulfil the same functions. A corresponding process can be observed in the emergence of bracteates. These emerged in response to Roman coins and their iconography, but the majority of motifs and motif-systems adapted from Roman models stem from the first half of the 4th century (Axboe 2004:207-208). This carries the implication that foreign models were most significant in the emergence of bracteates until a “vernacular register” of bracteate iconography was established and became self-sustaining.

Images and the iconographic system were assimilated into the existing tradition ecology and semiosphere. The significance of iconographic elements appears to have been redefined and applied for vernacular purposes. The Three-God-Bracteates have been identified with the “Victory crowns a victor” scene from the reverse side of Roman coins since the beginning of bracteate-studies, but it has proven impossible to identify a specific model for this bracteate-image (Axboe 2004:211). The “first” Three-God-Bracteate was clearly an innovation from an implied Roman model, but the model appears to have only provided a basic template which was radically revised to accommodate the motif-systems of a vernacular narrative (cf. Supplement 9). These represent a collection of *explicit propositions* probably reflecting a compromise between the model and intended vernacular referent. These *explicit propositions* are intended to activate the vernacular referent through a complex system of indexical relationships. The *explicit propositions* are anticipated to activate a number of *implicit propositions* as well as *immanent propositions*. *Negated propositions* may also be present in the communication. Variation among the Three-God-Bracteates clearly derives from adaptations and manipulations of Three-God-Bracteates as established vernacular models, implying established conventions of vernacular interpretations for both individual elements and the whole (§19.5).

Chapter 12: *Narrative Power*

12.1. *Narrative Power*

Narrative motifs, motif-complexes and themes also develop cultural loads according to regular patterns of contextual application within a tradition ecology and broader semiosphere.²⁵⁶ Siikala (1990:188) points out that the meanings of narratives, the values and attitudes which they express, change more quickly than the motifs of which they are comprised. *Narrative power* can be retained when it is transferred to new contexts and new applications. This is clearly the case in incantation *historiolae* (see Frankfurter 1995). Just as *word power* encompasses everything from register to organizational structures of metre and prosody, *narrative power* extends to strategies for the sequential organization and presentation of motifs and information. These include rite sequences as conventionally organized and established systems which follow sequential principles corresponding to narrative (Frog forthcoming b, cf. Blackburn 1988). *Narrative power* is bound to presuppositions of coherence and the organization of “significant” elements in the generation and interpretation of sequential structures, including experience (van Dijk 1980; Lotman 1990:121-144; Stark 2006:100-115). The conventional organization of these structures becomes recognizable and develops a cultural load, which may relate to their established ability to be magically (e.g. a healing rite) or rhetorically (e.g. a ghost story) effective or compelling. The *APE* is cumulative: *immanent propositions* may become *explicit*, *implicit* or *negated propositions* in the process of sequential progression.²⁵⁷ *Narrative power* may also be manipulated through the activation of the recognizable structure to generate tensions or conflicts with the “structures of expectation” (Ross 1975, Siikala 1990a:16).

²⁵⁶ These loads are so prominent in Apache traditions that wielding *narrative power* is described through the semiotics of hunting: stories are “arrows” which individuals “shoot” at one another (Basso 1996:37ff.).

²⁵⁷ Glosecki’s (2007:59) proposal that “however threadbare the mythic image may be, it is nonetheless poised over a plotline” emphasizes that images are on the one hand distinguishable from sequential structures, and also that particular constellations of motifs are capable of stimulating or activating sequential structures according to the indexical relationships between elements presented.

Semiotic studies of narrative since Propp have been inclined to concentrate on defining and describing the “lexicon”, “syntax” and “grammar” of individual narrative genres, but syntagmatic analysis does not reflect the meaning and relevance of the structures, elements and their interrelationships which it describes (Suojanen 1993:105). *Narrative power* provides an analytical term for the description and discussion of cultural loads which these carry and how they are manipulated in application. This can then be used to address their relevance and the generation of meaning in communication.

12.2. The Second Merseburg Charm and Mythological Narrative

Narrative power underlies applications of narrative for magical effect. The Old High German Merseburg Charms were recorded in the 10th century on a blank page of Merseburg Domstiftsbibliothek Codex 136, and have “attracted disproportionate interest” because of the unusual references to ethnic mythic beings in an OHG text (Murdoch 2004:252). The Second Merseburg Charm (quoted in §14.3) consists of eight long lines: five lines present a *historiola* in which *balder-Phol*’s horse is injured and Wodan[Óðinn] heals it, followed by three lines of healing words. The narrative is given prominence over the healing words.

Hauck (1970) argues that the *historiola* is also depicted on bracteates (cf. Frankfurter 1995:460), while the healing words may belong to the common Indo-European heritage (Watkins 1995:519-536). This mythological narrative exhibits a remarkable history of continuity from its first appearance in a manuscript to variants collected in the 20th century (Christiansen 1915). Frankfurter (1995) emphasizes that manipulations of *narrative power* in incantations only require that narrative elements be recognizable as culturally loaded with “power” for them to be effective. *Historiolae* need not refer to a more complete mythological narrative, although it participates and develops in that broader system of mythological narratives and their cultural activity. *Väinämöinen*’s *Knee-Wound*, for example, is also a blood-charm *historiola*. Its cultural activity is almost exclusively in healing incantations, but it is found occasionally in other contexts (Tarkka 2005:150). These applications of mythological narrative oriented to magical applications are not intended to “tell” the story or explicate it: they are functionally oriented selective

applications of elements. *Väinämöinen's Knee-Wound* and the Second Merseburg Charm were both able to persist independent of associations with a specific “myth” – or rather, the *historiola* was the “myth”. This could be incorporated into a larger cycle (e.g. I2.634) or be performed as an independent narrative (e.g. I2.298). The episode could reflect a single persisting episode of an earlier stratum of the mythology in an application-based context (cf. §11.1). However, the episode itself may have been introduced as a powerfully loaded mythic event with significant value in magic, as Krohn (1924:19-21) argued that *Väinämöinen's Knee-Wound* developed from Christian *historiola*. Most probably it fluctuated in its relationships to other mythological narratives over time, much as variants of the Second Merseburg Charm *historiola* could be associated with a specific journey of Christ.²⁵⁸ Mansikka (1909:249-250) pointed out that variants could associate the injury of the steed directly with the death of Christ, which was then proposed as the model for the steed's injury (see Christiansen 1914:204). However, the Icelandic saga literature reveals the motif of a fall from a horse to be a fateful omen which may specifically have been a death-omen for the rider.²⁵⁹

12.3. The Flood of the Creation and Destruction

In the Christian *historiola* which he considers the model for *Väinämöinen's Knee-Wound*, Krohn (1924:18-19) emphasizes the flood of blood which covers every “hill and high mountain” as a medieval Christian development and identifies the blood of Christ's wound with the purging flood of Noah. Hugh Keenan has discussed the typological association of Anglo-Saxon representations of the Christian apocalypse with the Flood.²⁶⁰ Waves and water covering the land appear to be one of the most essential and compelling mythic image associated with Ragnarök (Olrik 1922:22-36; Frog 2006:262-263). Anticipation of this flood at the end of the world would also explain the semiotics of Germanic ship burials in which ships are moored and prepared for departure with the

²⁵⁸ Cf. Krohn 1905:128ff.; see further §25.3.1, Christiansen 1914.

²⁵⁹ E.g. *Reginismál* 24; in *Grænlandinga saga* (Sveinsson & Þórðarson 1935:249), the stumbling horse throws the rider and he refuses to participate in the journey; in *Njáls saga* (Sveinsson 1954:182), Gunnarr's horse stumbles and he falls, inciting events leading directly to his death (for discussion as a literary adaptation associating the fall with pride, see Hamer 2008:141ff.). Hamer (2008:182) points out that examples of a rider's loss of control elsewhere in *Njáls saga* are directly attributable to hostile magic.

²⁶⁰ Keenan's 1968 PhD dissertation, “The Apocalyptic Vision in Old English Poetry”, has only been available to me in Foley's (1995:201) summary.

dead in positions of sleep, apparently anticipating both waking/resurrection and departure.²⁶¹ The flood of Ragnarök in *Völuspá* clearly draws on the *narrative power* of the world-creation from the corpse of Ymir, generating an identity between them. The *image power* of this event was carried into Finno-Karelian traditions, generating the Väinämöinen-World-Creation (§7.2, §25.3). The identification of the apocalypse with a flood is not an accidental fusion of Christian traditions through an arbitrary preoccupation with floods: it appears to be an adaptation of *image power* and *narrative power* of the Germanic flood of Ymir's blood from the "first wound" and the apocalyptic vision of destruction of the world through the corresponding flood at Ragnarök. This emerges as evidence of the maintenance of *image power* and *narrative power* which retained sufficient significance and authority to be adapted and translated through radical changes in various and diverse tradition ecologies.

²⁶¹ Herschend 2001:61-94; on Norse semiotics of death/sleep-resurrection/waking see further Frog 2008b:22-24.

Chapter 13: Conjoined Powers in Application

The powers of the *APE* are only rarely activated in isolation. *Word power* is normally activated aurally or visually whereby the mode of communication may incorporate *sound power* or *image power*. *Narrative power* is very often communicated through language, and images may be communicated with narrative as well as being accompanied by visual aspects of performance. Recognizing *word power*, *the power of sound*, *image power* and *narrative power* within a single documented expression does not mean that it is appropriate to attempt to distinguish where one ends and the next begins. They combine to form an expressive whole in which they augment one another and become interdependent. Attempting to separate them is like attempting to distinguish the flour and yeast from the water and salt in a loaf of bread.

These powers also develop in relation to one another and can activate one another. The opening line of a multiform may stimulate additional lines as *immanent propositions* through its *word power*. If the patterns of application are extremely regular, the line may activate the *image power* or *narrative power* of that which it is regularly used to represent or communicate. The *APE* is cumulative. Sequential performance functions as a series of *explicit propositions* which develop an indexical framework in relation to which subsequent referents may be activated and may reflexively demand a reassessment or reinterpretation of preceding *explicit propositions* (cf. Tsur 1992a:esp.10-12). *Explicit propositions* activate *implicit propositions*, stimulate *immanent propositions* and *negate propositions*; *explicit propositions* have often already been activated or stimulated as *implicit* or *immanent propositions*.

PART IV: IDENTITIES AND *THE ACTIVATING POWER OF EXPRESSION*

Chapter 14: Identities in Tradition

14.1. Name and Identity

Within the pool of traditions, a number of socially acknowledged identities persist through their cultural activity although (from a modern perspective) they have no objective existence in the immediate world. Within the oral cultures treated here, there is no reason to believe that Päivölä was any less “real” than the River Jordan,²⁶² or that Lemminkäinen was any less “real” than the Virgin Mary. The individual develops an internalized understanding of these identities through the spectrum of their cultural activity and they become heavily loaded by tradition.

14.2. Tradition Dominants

Tradition dominants are cultural figures (or other identities) that are inclined to become identified with new material being introduced into a tradition ecology as a function of their cultural activity. This may extend to replacing existing figures or identities in established material and to new material developing around them (Eskeröd 1947:79-81; Honko 1981a:23-24; 1981b:35-36). Honko discusses tradition dominants in terms of phases of productive and non-productive motif attraction (Honko 1981a, 24; 1981b, 36-37). Productive motif attraction means that the tradition dominant is transferred into a broad range of contexts and applications. In this phase, the context is more likely to be adapted to conform to conceptions of the figure’s conventional identity (cf. §7.2-3). Non-productive motif attraction describes phases in which the tradition dominant only

²⁶² On manipulations of place-names indexically loaded with *narrative power*, see Basso (1996:71ff.).

assimilates material which is indexically associated with conventionally established functions, narratives or conceptions of the figure.²⁶³ This leads to an *accumulation of information* (§7.2) surrounding a cultural figure or identity. In this process, other figures may undergo a corresponding *loss of information*, through which the indexical associations are transferred from one figure to another. This process is not restricted to full narratives: it also occurs on the level of episodes and motifs. Evidence of this process offers indications of the relationships of cultural figures to one another within communities. It must be stressed that cultural figures are not merely abstract identities; they and are asserted in relation to one another within the tradition ecology.

14.3. Baldr, Phol and Hercules

The Germanic mythological system is characterized by pluralities of names and epithets for individual figures. Tradition dominants therefore become capable of assuming or exchanging different names. The earliest example of *Baldr/baldr* as a vernacular term is in a 3rd or 4th century Latin Utrecht votive inscription:

[vota Erc]ouleo Macusano Baldruo Lobbono solverunt decuriones Vabusoae deo Lobbono Borvoboendoae vota solverunt animo libentes
(Gutenbrunner 1936:219, punctuation removed)

Offerings to Hercules Magusanus, to [the?] *b/Baldruus* the *lobbonus*, made the Decurions; to[of?] Vabusoae, to the *lobbonus* god, to[of?] Borvoboendoae, offerings made with pleasure the glad ones.

It is unclear whether *baldruus* is an adjective (North 1997a:126-131) or a proper name (Gutenbrunner 1936:63-69). The appearance of *deus lobbonus* in the second half of the inscription may tip the scales slightly in favour of *baldruus lobbonus* and *deus lobbonus* as both equivalent to *ercouleus macusano*. In this case, *baldruus* would function as a noun equivalent to “god” or its later uses as a synonym for “lord”, or it is a proper noun.

²⁶³ E.g. Väinämöinen appears to have been imposed in *LV* (§4.3.1) and *Visiting Vipunen* (§14.4.2) through transposing his name (often in full-line expressions). In Savo (§4.3.6), Jesus was imposed on *LV*, and the corresponding assertion of Judas very probably was a comic parody (cf. Siikala 2002b:28).

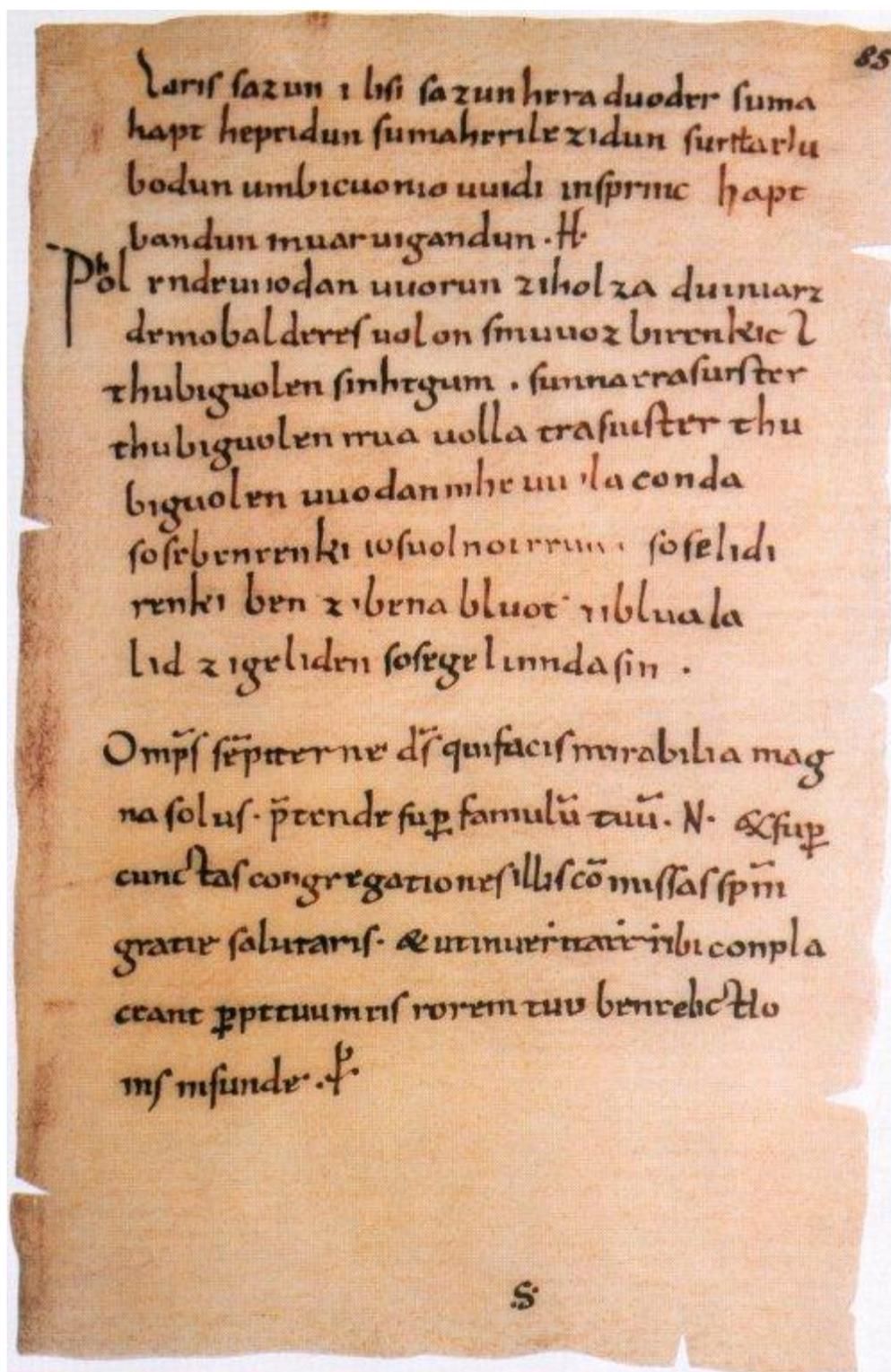


Figure 12. Merseburg Domstiftsbibliothek Codex 136, 85 recto.²⁶⁴

²⁶⁴ http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d0/Merseburger_Zauberspr%C3%BCche.jpg, in the public domain.

The etymology of Baldr/*baldr* as name and noun is much disputed.²⁶⁵ North (1997a:124ff.) argues that AS *baldor* was used exclusively as a noun with no evidence of use in naming traditions prior to potential Scandinavian influence. Kuhn (1951) shows that the “noun” belonged exclusively to the poetic register, and that *baldor* appears exclusively in nominative singular with a substantive attribute – potentially as a base-word in a kenning (Kuhn 1951:39). Outside of ON and AS, cognates only appear in the OHG Second Merseburg Charm, and the Utrecht inscription. Its restricted applications are indicative of conservative use and persistence within the poetic register of both AS and ON, and possibly also OHG (cf. §9.5.1; Lönnroth 1981; Schulte 2009:11-12; Frog 2009c:233-243). North (1997a:126) observes that AS *baldor* is most often used with reference to figures “expected to die before their time”. This gives the impression that *baldor* was (at some point) attached exclusively to a specific identity with particular associations. If *baldr/baldor* was an epithet, it does not appear to have been commonly used and may have been exclusively applied (cf. *lieto*, §14.4.1.1). Otherwise it functioned as a proper name for a figure that dropped out of AS and OHG cultural activity.²⁶⁶

In the Second Merseburg Charm, “Phol” is clearly given exceptional emphasis. It is the first word in the text and is transcribed entirely in the margin, setting it apart from the two other texts transcribed on the page (Figure 12), and reproduced in the translation below (“/” indicates metrical line-breaks):

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

²⁶⁵ Cf. de Vries 1961:24; Lindow 1997b:27-28; Turville-Petre (1964:117) observes that “scholars tend to base their conclusions about the origins of the name on their views of the fundamental character of the god.”

²⁶⁶ Cf. Frog (2008b:2-5) on *völundr* as name and noun; Marquardt (1938) for discussion of valkyrja-names behind AS battle-kennings.

Phol and Óðinn went to [the] woods/then
 when became for the *balder's* foal its foot sprained }
 then sang yet Sinhtgunt · Sunna her sister/
 then sang yet Frigg Volla²⁶⁷ her sister / then
 sang yet Óðinn thus he well knew [how]/
 so that bone-sprain *so that blood-sprain* so that limb
 sprain/bone to bone blood to blood/
 limb to limb should be stuck together

Balder does not participate in alliteration (which places emphasis on the horse) and is accompanied by a demonstrative pronoun; it apparently refers back to Phol as Óðinn performs the healing (de Vries 1956-1957:§452).²⁶⁸ Phol (equivalent to *Fol/*Vol: see Genzmer 1948:60-62) is considered to be a masculine counterpart to Volla. Volla is the etymological equivalent of OI Fulla, Frigg's handmaiden. Neckel (1920:103-106) observed parallels between Baldr and Freyr. He considered the alliterating *beztr*, "best", to be an epithet of Baldr (cf. Faulkes 1982:23) and compared it to Loki's reference to Freyr as *beztr allra ballríða*, "best of all bold-riders" (*Ls* 37). Lindquist (1923:54-58) built on Neckel's discussion and proposed amending Phol/*Fol to *Fro/Freyr, pointing out that the ling-line *reið bani Belja/Blóðughófa*, "Beli's bane [Freyr] rode Bloody-Hoof" in *Kálfsvísa* (Faulkes 1998:89), and the lines in *Þorgrímspula*, in which *Blóðughófi* is ridden by Atriði (Faulkes 1998:89). However, it is not clear whether the horse is called "Bloody-Hoof" because it has been injured or because it has trampled corpses in battle, and Atriði/Atríðr is otherwise an Óðinn-name (*Gm* 48; Faulkes 1982:22). Óðinn and Freyr were both tradition dominants, and it is not surprising that they competed for this and other attributes.²⁶⁹ Genzmer (1948) compared *balder*-Phol and Freyr, but maintained a distinction between the names, proposing that they were identical or closely related figures across both Scandinavian and continental Germanic traditions (cf. Schröder 1953; de Vries 1956-1957:§453; North 1997a:128). North (1997a:220ff.) considers Phol equivalent to Freyr and puts forward the most extensive comparisons of Freyr and Baldr. He argues that Baldr emerged as an interpretation of the Arian Christ through the ethnic dying god Freyr, asserting that *baldr* was an epithet of this early Freyr which became

²⁶⁷ "Sunna her sister" and "Volla her sister" are in a dative possessor relation to Sinhtgunt and Frigg.

²⁶⁸ Nothing in this *historiola* is beyond dispute. Helm (1913-1953 II2:273-275) rejects "Phol" as a name for a mythic figure and claims *balder* refers back to Óðinn.

²⁶⁹ E.g. Skíðblaðnir (Simek 1996:289).

associated with the specific identity of this emerging figure. He makes the interesting contribution that in the Utrecht inscription, *lobbonus*, cognate with “love”, is predominantly associated with love/sex through its other cognates, with the exception of OI *lyf*, “magic plant” (Gutenbrunner 1936:65-66; North 1997b:127), and interprets this as most appropriately associated with Freyr. He then draws on the dedication of one of the Utrecht inscriptions referring to the same(?) god as *deus eques*, “the horseman god” (Gutenbrunner 1936:210), which returns to the comparison to Freyr as *beztr allra ballríða* and riding in the Second Merseburg Charm *historiola*.

A key factor in identifying *balder*-Phol with Freyr is that each belongs to a divine pair: Phol/**Vol* and Volla; Freyr and Freyja. However, identifying Volla with Freyja is extremely problematic. Fulla, the etymological cognate of Volla, is clearly distinct from Freyja and her relationship to Frigg (as servant rather than sister) is essential to her identity. Freyja lacks a corresponding relationship to Frigg. It is therefore unclear why Volla should be identified with Freyja when her name with its relationship to Frigg survived in OI as a separate figure. Genzmer (1948:71-72) stresses that *Fylle*, cognate with Phol, occurs as the name of the protagonist in a late Swedish variant of the Second Merseburg Charm *historiola* (Christiansen 1914:50). This implies that a name cognate with Phol also survived in ON, or at least in East Norse, although perhaps not in Iceland. Unlike most major mythic figures of the pantheon, Baldr is only known by one name. Narrative activity surrounding him appears to have focused on other figures who functioned as protagonists while in the extant material, Baldr emerges as a passive figure. North’s review of the material leaves the impression that Baldr is more strongly associated with “riding” than Freyr (also emphasized in the funeral in *Húsdrápa*: Lindow 1997b:73), but the evidence is scarce. Baldr’s position as a nexus of narrative activity and mythological history implies that at some point he was a more significant figure who underwent a significant *loss of information*. This could include the attribute of a horse *Blóðughófi*. Liberman (2004:40) draws attention to the fact that Snorri never names Baldr’s horse, in spite of his penchant for listing names, and his mentioning twice that Baldr’s horse was burned with him. If Snorri felt the same horse’s name was more strongly associated with a different mythic figure, it might explain this absence. It is very

possible that Phol was a name for the figure which became Baldr, in which case Baldr and Fulla may have been some form of divine pair.

A significant obstacle in identifying Freyr as Phol is that there is no evidence that Freyr had associations with magical practices and magical performance, either in medieval or later traditions (unlike Óðinn and Þórr: cf. McKinnell & Simek 2004).²⁷⁰ Freyr never appears in narratives with Óðinn unless he is one among “all” of the gods. This cannot simply be attributed to competitions and conflicts between Freyr-worshippers and Óðinn-worshippers. Presentations of Óðinn and Þórr in adversarial narrative roles appear to reflect similar patterns of conflict and competition between cults and the figures as tradition dominants.²⁷¹ These patterns appear to reflect aspects of the narrative activity of

²⁷⁰ It is possible to argue that Skírnir’s associations with magical practice in *Skírnismál* are an indication that Freyr is associated with magic. Although Skírnir is associated with Freyr, Skírnir’s ability to act is clearly contrasted with Freyr’s passivity in the narrative, and it is only Skírnir who is attributed with magical power in the poem, that ability to act is directly associated with his ability to perform magic, and it is that ability to act which leads to Freyr’s dependence on Skírnir as an intermediary. This implies a contrast in which Freyr does not have a corresponding ability to act successfully, and that he lacks magical ability. Freyr is separated from the magical performance in this narrative, and Skírnir’s ability to perform magic cannot be taken as an indication that Freyr was associated with magic or magical practice any more than a magical attribute or magical helper is an indication than an associated mortal hero is associated with magic. The proposal that Skírnir was simply a hypostasis of Freyr (e.g. Näsström 1999:67) seems rather problematic. Snorri’s assertion that Freyr is without his sword at Ragnarök because he has given it to Skírnir in order to obtain Gerðr (Faulkes 1982:31,50) appears rooted in conceptions of the eschatology (i.e. that Freyr did not have his sword) and seems paradoxical if Skírnir is only another form of Freyr. Snorri also mention that Óðinn sent Skírnir to the otherworld (Faulkes 1982:28). Although this could be an invention on the part of Snorri to accomplish his narrative ends, it nonetheless implies that Skírnir was not seen as equivalent to Freyr any more than Fulla was seen as a hypostasis of Frigg or Þjálfí was a hypostasis of Þórr. Bonnetain (2006) puts forward the interesting argument that Skírnir may have been a specific aspect of Freyr sent forth in the manner of a *gandr* or a separable soul which implies something akin to *seiðr* performance. However, Skírnir is sent to Freyr by one of Freyr’s parents rather than being summoned, and proposes the undertaken action rather than being asked or commanded, and the sword remains potentially problematic (cf. also Tolley’s [2009] critical assessment of shamanic features in Norse traditions); it is also possible that the narrative preserves archaic features associated with shamanic activity as a narrative pattern (not unlike *LV*) rather than having any association with separable souls. This pattern is also found in the Sigurðr-Cycle, in which Gunnarr becomes fixated on Brynhildr and Sigurðr assumes Gunnarr’s form, accomplishes the journey to the otherworld, obtains the bride for his friend, and the ensuing calamities are in fact all dependent on the fact that Gunnarr could not accomplish the deed himself, and Sigurðr was not his hypostasis. There is nothing in this account to connect Freyr as a cultural figure with magical practice, and we should not underestimate the possibility that bride-acquisition from outside the community may have demanded an intermediary spokesman (i.e. it may have been inappropriate for Freyr to seek Gerðr himself), and any such undertaking required someone who could both protect and support the proposition of marriage with magic, as remained prominent in Karelia (i.e. Gerðr could only be approached by someone capable of magic, irrespective of Freyr’s general associations with magical practice or lack thereof).

²⁷¹ De Vries 1956-1957:§361-442,esp.§440; Simek 1996:319-320; cf. Aðalsteinsson 1999:esp.173. Snorri similarly appears inclined to emphasize Óðinn (god of poetry) as a dominant figure (e.g. Faulkes 1982:27-

these various figures. The narrative of the Second Merseburg Charm is an Óðinn-narrative: Phol fulfils the function of a passive victim who becomes the centre of activity that involves the divine community.²⁷² Óðinn (and in one example Phol), rather than Freyr, remained associated with the *historiola* for centuries after Baldr dropped out of cultural activity.²⁷³ The *historiola* emphasizes Phol as a figure, but narrative emphasis is on Óðinn as an agent, and it affirms Óðinn's power to heal the horse. If Óðinn was already associated with the *historiola* in the innovative magical applications of the Migration Period bracteates (§3.4.1), it is possible that the charm itself arrived with him. Whether or not Phol is viewed as historically connected with Freyr, the incantation appears to be rooted in the Óðinn-tradition. Neither Phol/*Fol nor Baldr alliterate with the Óðinn/Wodan kin-group. Phol is clearly significant as a cultural figure, but this figure appears to be used to assert and affirm the power and authority of Óðinn. If a similar pattern is postulated in Scandinavian traditions, increased emphasis on Óðinn as a cultural figure over *balder*-Phol could explain the evolution of Phol into a “son” and the corresponding shift of *balder*-Phol's counterpart Volla to the handmaiden rather than sister of Frigg on what may have been a broadly regional basis.

14.4. Names in Kalevalaic Poetry

The conservatism of kalevalaic poetry maintains indexical associations between name and poem or narrative. Variants of *LV* which open with an unconventional protagonist often return to the conventional name of the protagonist later in the poem or use it at least once (e.g. I2.772, II.186). Names may also retain an association with the poem but be transferred to another figure, such as the “wolf” Lemminkäinen in I2.839 or *siso lehen lemmykkäine* in Ingria (§4.3.9.1).

28) and portray Þórr as a comic brute (e.g. Faulkes 1982:37-43). Palomé (1985:46) points out that this conflict could be a specifically Scandinavian development as it is not reflected in other Germanic cultural areas.

²⁷² Freyr and Þórr are both notably absent whereas Sunna and Volla are drawn into the discourse through their associations with active figures.

²⁷³ The reduction of Óðinn to both owner and healer of the horse can also potentially be compared to Väinämöinen's displacement of Ilmarinen in the creation of the Sampo (§7.3.3, §4.3.9.6).

14.4.1. Lemminkäinen, Kaukomieli and Ahti

Lemminkäinen is the uncontested protagonist of *LV* in Aunus, Border and Northern Karelia. The name of the protagonist varies in Viena. Väinämöinen may assume the role (e.g. I2.732, I2.733) although Väinämöinen is more often attributed with one or more episodes or narrative elements from *LV* in a larger narrative framework. There are several cases in which another figure is identified as the protagonist in only one or two variants. The narrative or episodes may also be adapted into the first person (these primarily appear to be lyrics, incantations, or are fragments, the significance of which is uncertain). A few variants present Ahti Saarelainen as the protagonist (I2.757, I2.767, I2.786, I2.791; with variation in I2.773). Nine singers in Uhtua presented Kaukomieli as the protagonist, where the Death/Resurrection was freely attributed to him. Kaukomieli was a prominent protagonist in Vuonninen. Outside of these villages, Kaukomieli appeared in the place of Lemminkäinen for nine singers (two more in Kainuu), one of whom claims Lemminkäinen would catch Kaukomoinen if he hid inside the liver of a fish (I2.774). Another presented Lemminkäinen as the protagonist more than 40 years later (I2.793). Two variants present Kaukomoinen as the protagonist with switching back to Lemminkäinen (I2.771, I2.809). Ahti Saarelainen (“Island-Dweller”) appears as the protagonist for four singers (I2.757, I2.767, I2.786, I2.791) while a fifth switches between Ahti and Lemminkäinen (I2.773).

14.4.1.1. Lemminkäinen

Lemminkäinen’s name is derived from *lempi*, a word associated with endearment.²⁷⁴ It may have had implications of sexuality (cf. Stark 2006:428-444). The widespread epithet *lieto*, “soft”, is normally used with reference to earth which is easy to dig or till, but otherwise never with reference to people (Ruoppila 1967:96-97). This may be an antonym of Väinämöinen’s epithet *vaka*, “sturdy, stable” (§14.4.2), and/or may have some relationship to ploughing in *LV* (§24.8). The description of Lemminkäinen as “young” is found in both Finno-Karelian and Estonian traditions. The *piilo/pillo* epithet appears to be a regional development associated with changes in the *narrative power* of

²⁷⁴ Krohn (1915:312) proposed a derivation from *Fleming*, “a man from medieval Belgium”, with a diminutive suffix (*-inen*). For Haavio’s (1965) speculations, see Supplement 9.

the Isle of Women (§10.2.2). Lemminkäinen dropped out of circulation in Ingria (§4.3.9) but *Lemmikkäizem mättähäd* as an Izhorian place-name implies the name had significance there at an earlier period. Krohn (1915:312) points out that *lehi/lehe/lei* could be an epithet in the Estonian line *lehi härra Lemmingine*, “*lehi* lord Lemminkäinen”, although it can also be interpreted as a verb. He suggests it could be related to Ingrian *lehen lemmykkäine* and/or the *lieto* epithet (cf. §9.5.4). Estonian *LV* variants pair Osmi and Lemminkäinen (see Kuusi 1954a:299-300). Ozmori appears as the adversary in I2.719. Osmotar, “Osmo-maiden/-daughter” is the most common name of the brewer of the beer.

14.4.1.2. Kauko/-mieli/-moinen

Kauko means “far” or “distant”; *mieli* means “mind” or disposition; *-moinen* is a diminutive (cf. Väinä-möinen). *Kaukomely* is documented as an historical name in Southwestern Finland in the first quarter of the 15th century (Krohn 1915:313).²⁷⁵ *Kaukomieli* survived as a cultural figure in Viena and Kainuu, clearly associated with *LV* in the role of protagonist, or as a parallel name or figure presented alongside Ahti (Saarelainen). *Kaukomieli/Kaukomoinen* appears as a parallel name for Lemminkäinen in remarkably few variants: they were conventionally approached as separate figures whereas *Kaukomieli* and Ahti more often appear in parallel constructions. XV.73 (documented prior to 1786) presents *Kaukomieli* as the protagonist, but its provenance is uncertain (in the few Southern Savo variants documented a few decades later, Jesus and Judas are protagonists). In Border Karelia, “Kauko, smith of Estonia,” appears in *The Pike-Bone Kantele*.²⁷⁶ In Ingria, only the simplex “Kauko” is encountered.²⁷⁷ In Viena, *Kauko/Kapo* commonly occurs as a simplex paired with Ahti and *veitikkä* in such wise that the three names may variously appear as distinct figures or a single figure. They may be presented together as three invited guests (cf. §9.4.1.1) as opposed to Lemminkäinen, the uninvited guest. *Kaukomieli*’s cultural activity appears almost wholly restricted to *LV* and *LV* related songs.

²⁷⁵ According to Haavio (1967:367), the name *Caughelemme*, “Kauko-lempi”, appears in a 13th century Livonian document, but its significance is obscure.

²⁷⁶ VIII.545, VIII.547, VIII.552, VIII.553.

²⁷⁷ In Votic, *kaukamoinen* means “guest” or “stranger” (Krohn 1915, 313).

14.4.1.3. Ahti Saarelainen

Ahti was the name of a water-divinity. Michael Agricola identifies Ahti as a god of Häme as opposed to Karelia,²⁷⁸ which appears to reflect the cultural divide addressed in §6.3.2. Ahti was the sometimes-father of *Vellamo's Maiden*, and has a prominent position in the incantation tradition as a water-god. It is conventional to distinguish this Ahti from “Ahti Saarelainen”. “Ahti Saarelainen” is only used in *LV*, in the (rare) *Ahti and Kyllikki* variants form Aunus, where it formed part of a Cycle with *LV*,²⁷⁹ and in a few additional contexts also associated with *LV*. This “second” Ahti is a personal name associated with Viking-themes. Honko (1965:19, 84) points out that “Ahti” must have been adapted to use as a personal name very early: the fluid relation between the god and heroic figure is exemplified in *Ahti's Voyage*, which is associated with the (rare) *Origin of Frost* and the freezing of Ahti/the sea. The latter songs provided the foundation for differentiating “Ahti” the sea-god from “Ahti Saarelainen”, the Viking-hero.

In Viena, Ahti or “Ahti Island-Dweller” occasionally appears as the protagonist in *LV*, but much more often appears as the adversary (as opposed to an unnamed “Mistress” and/or “Master of Päivölä”). Pairings with Kauko/Kapo and *veitikkä* are associated with *Vellamo's Maiden* material considered variants of *LV* (§4.3.1). Ahti's *aita*, “fence”, emerges in several contexts as a barrier or obstacle, and *veitikkä* may be used in the parallel line; these are most often presented as the object on which Väinämöinen breaks his sleigh, becoming linked with his collision with the sleigh of Joukahainen.²⁸⁰ In Viena, there are also a very few examples associated with forest in which *ahti* may be used as a noun (cf. I4.738), and one in which he ploughs as a parallel name for Sämpsä Pellervöinen (I4.100). In Aunus, he appears in *LV*, *Ahti and Kyllikki*, and in an incantation in which Ahti ploughs a field as a parallel to Sämpsä (II.636). Variation in the name (Antti/Ahto/*ukko*) implies waning significance in the region. In Border Karelia, Väinämöinen is the conventional adversary; Ahti only appears in one incantation, again ploughing (VII3.233). In Northern Karelia, the conventional adversary of *LV* was the

²⁷⁸ See Krohn 1932:21, 65-66; Honko 1965:84; Haavio 1967:87-101

²⁷⁹ Cf. II.220b; SKS Borenius 5:695, Repola, 1872, Simana Olekseinen

²⁸⁰ E.g. II.352, II.358, II.366[continuing I2.774], I4.134, I4.250, I4.251; with *veitikkä* in the parallel line: II.359, II.363/II.363a, II.368, II.372, II.692, I4.764, I7.770, I4.1702.

Märkähattu, “Wet-Hat”, who slays Lemminkäinen in the Northern-Singing-Death-redaction (§4.3.5). Ahti appears in several incantations, variously associated with ploughing (sometimes as a parallel name for Sämpsä – e.g. VII3.1329.29-30) and one *Origin of Frost* incantation. This pattern is also found in (Northern) Savo. Ahti makes scattered appearances in Central and Western Ingria in connection with incantation material. He is paired with Kauko in IV1.1328 (Central Ingria), where Kauko is normally paired with “Auko”. In Izhorian feast-conflict, Kauko’s adversary is *veitikkä*.

14.4.1.4. *Veitikkä*

Krohn (1915:309-310) “reconstructs” the name “Vetrikkä” from *veitikkä/veitikki* and identifies it with Estonian Utregane (§4.3.12). This Utregane>*Vetrikkä<*veitikkä* etymology is speculative, particularly considering *veitikkä* is a noun meaning “rogue”. *Veitikkä verevä poika* (*veitikki verevä neiti*), “rogue ruddy[bloody] lad” (“Veitikki ruddy maid”), occur fairly regularly in Viena and twice in Aunus. In Viena, *veitikkä* appears as the third figure or parallel term with Ahti and Kauko. In the Sex-Death-redactions (§4.3.1), *veitikkä/veitikki* occurs as the adversary of Kaukomieli. It is never used as a parallel term for Lemminkäinen although it may be for Kaukomieli and Ahti. It may be a parallel term for any of these figures in other contexts. In Aunus, it is found exclusively in *LV* where it is applied to the adversary (not Ahti: II.194, II.223, II.223a). In Northern Karelia, *veitikkä* occurs as a parallel term for Ahti in *The Origin of Frost*. This parallel usage is occasionally encountered in other regions where *LV* was scarcely preserved or not found at all. In Ingria, *veitikkä* occurs almost exclusively as the adversary of Kauko in *LV* (§4.3.9.2) and as a parallel term for the protagonist of *The Sister’s Corruption* (clearly associated with Lemminkäinen in other regions).

14.4.1.5. Names in *Lemminkäisen Virsi*

Lemminkäinen, Kauko, Ahti and *veitikkä* are all clearly associated with *LV*. Lemminkäinen was most probably the longstanding protagonist as the uninvited guest who makes the Journey and overcomes obstacles. In Ingria, Kauko is the disruptive figure at the feast. Krohn (1903-1910; 1924-1928.II) considers Kauko an invited guest. This is encountered occasionally in Viena but is not supported by the Ingrian material

(§4.3.9.4). Lemminkäinen exhibits strong associations with the Death/Resurrection (§4.3). Kauko(-mieli) is indexically associated with *LV* but his relationship to the narrative exhibits variation: he is a guest, often invited, and more likely to flee to the Isle of Women. It is not clear that Lemminkäinen and Kauko were competing tradition dominants outside of Viena, and Kauko appears to be a satellite figure associated specifically with *LV*. Considering that all of the major episodes exhibit a long history of indexical associations with *LV*, it is possible that Lemminkäinen and Kauko were associated with separate episodes, and that in an earlier period, the narrative cycle was more complex. Lemminkäinen and Kaukomieli would then have vied as tradition dominants as the cycle was refined to focus on a single protagonist in a linear sequence with increasing exclusivity (cf. §7.3).

The Viking-like hero Ahti exhibits associations with the sea and sea-god-Ahti (Honko 1965:19, 84). As a god, Ahti is a regional phenomenon: this cultural figure appears to have been carried into Karelian regions as a cultural figure and only survives prominently as such in Viena Karelia. The significance of this cultural figure within a community is dependent on his cultural activity. In the majority of Karelia, “Ahti” would be understood in terms of his participation in *LV* without reference to “god-Ahti”. Hero-Ahti may be god-Ahti carried in narrative frameworks to regions where god-Ahti was not established as a cultural figure. The appearance of Ahti as a parallel name for Sämpsä may be a development dependent on his cultural activity in *LV*. In Viena and Setumaa, the victim-hero is introduced ploughing fields. In Border and Northern Karelia, *LV* opens with a ploughing incantation associated with the preparation of the beer at the feast. This follows the same pattern as uses of *Beer’s Origins*²⁸¹ further north, while maintaining a corresponding ploughing motif, also associated with the opening of *LV*. The host of the feast was displaced from *LV* in these regions by Väinämöinen and Märkähattu, “Wet-Hat”, who slays Lemminkäinen in the Northern-Singing-Death-redaction (§4.3.5). In Northern Karelia, Märkähattu is identified as a *paimen*, “shepherd”, as opposed to an *isäntä*, “master”. “Shepherd” appears to be the lowest male social station in the Finno-Karelian poetic register. This figure appears to reflect a *loss of information* which

²⁸¹ “Ploughing” had wider associations with beer: Honko 1965:55-56, 64-65, 76-78.

reduced the adversary to the host, as the only figure with whom Lemminkäinen interacts at the feast. Ahti's identification as a mythic ploughman almost exclusively in Northern Karelia and Savo may have evolved from an indexical association with ploughing incantations generated through *LV* in contrast to his identity as a sea-god (or sea-farer). Ahti was very likely associated with *LV* as a host/adversary in all Finno-Karelian regions.

The identity of *veitikkä*, "rogue", is more obscure. *Veitikkä*, fluctuated between applications as an independent figure and an epithet for Ahti, Kauko or Lemminkäinen. It exhibits a persistence in indexical associations with *LV* and satellite associations with its figures. In Ingria, *veitikkä* appears to have replaced Ahti as the host. There may be some relationship between this figure and Märkähattu, who is clearly of low social standing and whose "name" may similarly be a description (cf. VIII.389 and VII.436.297-305 in which Märkähattu is called Keltahattu, "Yellow-Hat").

The cultural activity of individual figures rose and fell within *LV*. These figures *accumulated information* from one another as well as competed for authority with one another and other cultural figures. The complete *loss of information* of a cultural figure resulted in his extinction as an identity. In Northern Karelia, Ahti seems to have undergone a near-complete *loss of information*, but not before a sufficient *accumulation of information* established an indexical association with ploughing of magical or mythic proportions which allowed survival in a different context. Kauko's emergence as a smith in Border Karelia is more obscure and may be related to variation in the Isle of Women episode exhibited in Viena, associating it with the Sampo-Cycle (§4.3.1).

14.4.2. Manipulating Identities: Väinämöinen versus Lemminkäinen

Väinämöinen was the most prominent (non-Christian) Finno-Karelian mythic figure. His rise as a tradition dominant and relationship to narrative were addressed in §7.2-4. His cultural activity was clearly associated with the institution of the *tietäjä*, for which he supplied a cultural model as well as being a mythic figure called on in incantations. Väinämöinen was known exclusively in Finno-Karelian regions and in Ingria (where his name is encountered only very rarely). His cultural activity is regularly associated with

other mythic figures with whom he interacts in both epic and *historiola*. This interaction is often directly associated with assertions of his authority in relation to other figures and his role as maintainer of cultural order (Haavio 1952, Siikala 2000, 2002a, Tarkka 2005:149-155). Väinämöinen's distribution corresponds to the distribution of the *tietäjä*-institution and related incantation tradition. His emergence as a cultural figure appears connected to the emergence of the *tietäjä*-institution and tradition of metrical incantations.

The rise of the *tietäjä*-institution occurred in relation to the “shamanic” *noita*-institution (§7.4.2). Haavio (1952:234) asserted that “the early Väinämöinen poets lived in a shamanic cultural environment.” This assertion is based on the stratum of “shamanic” epic material which Siikala has treated in detail, showing that the motif-complexes and narrative material underwent a radical shift in emphasis from the significance of the otherworld locations to the knowledge (“words”) which the hero acquires for use in verbal incantations (Siikala 2002a:321-322; §7.4.1). This shift is accompanied by a corresponding emphasis on first-hand knowledge of origins which were extremely significant in this tradition of verbal magic (Siikala 2002a; Tarkka 2005:175-182), which can be directly related to the imposition of Väinämöinen as the central figure in the World-Creation (§7.2). Haavio's assertion should accordingly be revised to: “early Väinämöinen poets lived in a cultural environment where shamanic epic held rhetorical authority in the affirmation of cultural figures”.²⁸² The *narrative power* associated with *noita*-shamanism within the established tradition ecology appears to have played a significant role in shaping Finno-Karelian epic associated with the *tietäjä*-institution.

Harva (1935:186) stresses that *LV*, with its dangerous Journey, stands out as belonging to a totally different cultural milieu from other epic poems. Lemminkäinen is the cultural figure most strongly associated with “shamanic” features in epic. Kuusi (1963:51-60) argues that Lemminkäinen was the earlier “shamanic” hero, who preceded the rise of Väinämöinen (see also Siikala 2002a). There is no overlap in the mythic figures with

²⁸² Cf. Siikala 2002a:318; for a corresponding persistence of narrative affirmation in through the semiotics of shamanism in a changing cultural environment where “shamanism” was no longer respected in practice, see Il'ina 2008.

whom Lemminkäinen and Väinämöinen interact.²⁸³ The *narrative power* of Lemminkäinen’s Journey developed relevance for incantations but Lemminkäinen is not addressed or manipulated in incantations as a cultural figure. Väinämöinen’s position as a tradition dominant allowed him to displace Lemminkäinen as the protagonist in, for example, *Visiting Vipunen* (Kuusi 1963:254; Siikala 2002a:301-302; cf. Kuusi 1954a:304-306), assuming the song’s *narrative power*.²⁸⁴ Competition between Lemminkäinen and Väinämöinen as cultural figures emphasizes that Lemminkäinen was not only the uninvited guest – he was a mythic “other” who stood outside the community of mythic figures more generally. An active and apparently conscious contrast between these figures appears to have evolved in the traditions surrounding them (cf. Grimm 1865:104).

Table 13. *Contrasting characteristics of Lemminkäinen and Väinämöinen*

Lemminkäinen	Väinämöinen
Young	Old
<i>lieto</i> , “soft earth[minded?]”	<i>vaka</i> , “sturdy, stable”
Rejects mother’s advice	Dispenser of wisdom
Outsider	Represents in-group
Socially disruptive	Maintains cultural order
Destructive (murderer)	Producer of cultural artefacts

In contrast to Väinämöinen-epic, there is no acquisition of “knowledge”, and the emphasis is on power wielded by Lemminkäinen which enables him to make the journey, and the significance and power of the otherworld location itself (Siikala 2002a:310-314; 2002c:23-24). In *Visiting Vipunen*, Lemminkäinen is often *luottehikas Lemminkäinen*, “Lemminkäinen, rich in *luotteet*”. The term *luote* is especially associated with exceptional magical knowledge (Tarkka 2005:83). Pentikäinen (2004:446-449) argues that *luote* and its Sámi cognates belong to the Finnic heritage of shamanism, and that the term is associated with Lemminkäinen as a shamanic figure. A loan from Proto-Germanic **blōta-* or Proto-Norse **blōta*, “rite, sacrifice” has also been proposed.²⁸⁵ In

²⁸³ Lemminkäinen and Väinämöinen only participate in the same narratives in cases where one figure has clearly been asserted in a narrative of the other on a very localized basis (cf. §4.3.4).

²⁸⁴ Lemminkäinen may visit Vipunen for information rather than incantations (e.g. I2.849; §25.8.2)

²⁸⁵ For discussion see Kylstra et al. 1991.II:229-230.

either case, the term appears particularly associated with “shamanic” magical practices in the register of kalevalaic poetry (Haavio 1952:76-77, 118-120).

Lemminkäinen’s Singing Contest reflects a battle of shamanic helping spirits. Lemminkäinen also overcomes dangers on the Journey by singing animals and weather with corresponding semiotics of “shamanism”, although these are variously displaced in different regions with incantation performance and summoning Ukko/God for aid (Supplement 3). Lemminkäinen’s Singing Contest contrasts with Väinämöinen’s *Singing Competition* with Joukahainen. The latter is a display of knowledge which culminates in Väinämöinen asserting first-hand knowledge of the creation; only then does he magically “sing” Joukahainen, although directly rather than with helping-spirits (see Siikala 2002a:270-73). Pentikäinen (1989:294ff.; 1999:196-199; cf. 1995:136ff.) has emphasized that Lemminkäinen undertakes adventures to the astral sphere (Päivölä and the cosmic hunting drama of *Hiisi’s Elk*) in addition to the underworld. Väinämöinen’s journey to Tuonela survived mainly in Viena, where it appears to have been performed as an incantation for gathering items used in healing from the forest (II.368).²⁸⁶ It is noteworthy that when performed as an independent song, it concluded with an explicit statement that no other living person had made the journey or an admonition that the living should not attempt it.²⁸⁷ *LV* not only displays associations with a different cultural milieu than other epic songs, it also reflects a radically different movement between spheres that is similar to Sub-Arctic shamanic traditions, but not associated with other Finno-Karelian mythic figures. Whereas Väinämöinen’s adventures reflect the activities and priorities of the *tietäjä*, manipulator of knowledge and incantations, Lemminkäinen appears to reflect the power and activities of the *noita*, the “other”.

Lemminkäinen seems to have been established in the tradition ecology during the process of Väinämöinen’s rise as a cultural figure. *LV* appears to have developed around Lemminkäinen as a cultural figure. Lemminkäinen exhibits the characteristics of a

²⁸⁶ It is only found fused with other songs in Aunus (see II.75-82), is scarcely attested at all in Border or Northern Karelia (cf. VIII.342), and not found at all in Ingria.

²⁸⁷ Cf. II.352, II.357, II.360, II.361, II.362, II.363, II.370, I2.372, I2.375; many of the variants are fragmentary or fused with other songs (i.e. *Visiting Tuoni* becomes one adventure in a larger sequence).

mythic model of a magic practitioner, but his authority as a magic practitioner belongs more to a *noita* than a *tietäjä*. Lemminkäinen was not assimilated as a model for the *tietäjä* (except later on a localized basis), but his identity was apparently significant enough to warrant manipulation and adaptation. It is therefore probable that Lemminkäinen belonged to the mytho-heroic sphere of Finnic traditions prior to the rise of the institution of the *tietäjä* and this underlies his associations with shamanic adventures which are not oriented to the priorities of the *tietäjä*. If the institutions of the *tietäjä* and the *noita* were in competition, the portrayal of Lemminkäinen may reflect the manipulation of a cultural figure loaded with associations with the established traditions of the *noita*. If Lemminkäinen were established as the primary *noita*-figure of that very early period, it would explain the persistence of his name in Estonian traditions where there was no *tietäjä*-institution. It would also explain the rhetorical significance of asserting Lemminkäinen as a socially disruptive figure within the *tietäjä* tradition – a powerful, dangerous and irresponsible “other” in contrast to Väinämöinen, eternal *tietäjä*, the maintainer of cultural order.

This does not mean that *LV* is a *noita*-epic. It means that the semiotics of shamanism were still a living feature of the tradition ecology, and they were interesting and valuable for rhetorical applications when *LV* took shape as a whole. Lemminkäinen appears to have developed as or into an antithesis of Väinämöinen. The adventure to Päivölä appears to reflect conceptions of shamanic journeys to the astral sphere, but Päivölä bears characteristics of a chthonic location (Pentikäinen 1999:199). The dangers encountered by Lemminkäinen appear to be applications of *image power* associated with shamanism and thresholds of cosmological proportions (Supplement 3). These adaptations appear to be manipulations of *image power* for the generation of the adventure rather than reflecting specific features of the journeys made by *noidat* as other-world intermediaries: Lemminkäinen does not “ascend” the world-tree; a world-tree image simply infuses the danger of the Fiery Eagle with cosmological proportions and is passed on his road (§11.1). The Serpent-Fence falls into the pattern of magical defences utilized by shamans

in other cultures, but it is also firmly embedded in the tradition of the *tietäjä*.²⁸⁸ Both the overcoming of dangers on the Journey and the Singing Contest present “singing” animals in a manner which reflects conceptions of shamanic helping spirits. On the Journey, these fill the unexpectedly disposable function of being eaten rather than engaging in conflict (Supplement 3), and in the Singing Contest, the opponent sings a *lampi*, “pond” – not a helping-spirit – which is drunk by an ox (see §25.3). The “shamanic” features in *LV* do not appear to be expressions of a shamanic culture *an sich*, but of the *tietäjä*-culture’s conceptions of *noita*-culture in an application of *narrative power* associated with those conceptions.

The history of individual cultural figures and the narratives associated with them requires considering their relationships to one another and their relation to the history of cultural activity in which they are applied and manipulated. Lemminkäinen was clearly manipulated to represent an anti-social figure, and more specifically an anti-*tietäjä* figure. It appears that Lemminkäinen was significantly more charged in an earlier period as an “outsider” or “other” (hence not participating freely in narratives with other cultural figures). Lemminkäinen’s adventure evolved in different regions to reflect different priorities, such as adapting Lemminkäinen’s means of overcoming dangers on the Journey to incantations or the aid of God. Magical applications of *LV* and the Journey for protection on hazardous journeys may belong to this process. In Border Karelia, *LV* developed into a *tietäjä*-initiation narrative in the *Tietäjä*-redaction (§4.3.4). This extremely isolated development reflects changes in *image power* and *narrative power* through which the contrast between semiotics of *tietäjä*-magic and *noita*-magic was no longer significant.

²⁸⁸ Siikala 2002a:esp.223-228; cf. Tarkka 1990:249-250; Sarmela’s (1994:120) proposal that the image of the fence is attributable to the agrarian cultural milieu is oversimplified. Although the word *aita* is associated with delimiting space and cultivating and could be a Germanic loan (see Kylstra et al. 1991.I:17-18), the shamanic uses are not bound to agrarian cultural environments: although the image is necessarily dependent on conceptions of an erectable barrier, it does not follow that a knowledge and understanding of constructing such a barrier (real or imagined) or even a surrounding barrier is dependent on an agriculturally base social system. However, Sarmela’s assertion draws attention to the fact that the conception of the *aita* reflected in epic and incantations was almost certainly shaped by the forms of fences used within the Finno-Karelian cultural milieu (cf. Honko 2003:113).

Chapter 15: Textual Entities

15.1. Textual Entities

The similarities between the texts [of Karakalpak oral epic] cannot be explained as having arisen from a common stock of formulas, motifs and themes. Nor can they be explained as “influences” as in the case of written literature.

(Reichl 2007:93)

Reichl found that the similarities between different versions of a single epic can only be explained as the result of continuity in the patterns of internalization within the process of transmission over time: comparison revealed that the variants belonged to “a specific epic, which has specifically worded poetic passages and has been transmitted as a specific entity” (*ibid.*). This continuity is necessarily characterized by some degree of recognition that the text in performance should be qualified by a certain number of indexically appropriate features with acceptable ranges of variation (which may be proportionate to the length of performance).²⁸⁹ Phenomena which have developed socially acknowledged identities as “texts” will be referred to as “textual entities”.

At the atomic level, proverbs and individual formulae can be considered textual entities which can be specifically activated as referents (§4.2). Multiforms, narrative episodes and comprehensive narrative cycles can all be approached as textual entities on different levels. Honko (1998:93-99) introduced the term “mental text” for the idiolectal internalized form of an epic poem which provides the basis for production in performance. The textual entity of a poem is similar to the mental text, but it is a hypothetical abstraction used to address the understanding of the conventional form of a generic performance of the narrative with its acceptable ranges of variation. The textual entity provides the model (in addition to the idiolectal “mental text”) against which individual performances are assessed and interpreted within the broader conventional discourse. This entity and its constituent elements develop cultural loads according to their patterns of application within a community or a culture more generally.

²⁸⁹ Cf. Saussure 1916[1967]:151: “Toutes les fois que les mêmes conditions sont réalisées, on obtient les mêmes entités”, “Whenever the same conditions are realized, the same entities are achieved”.

Continuity in the transmission of the textual entity does not mean that it does not change in the process of reproduction. Continuity in the mode of expression subjects the textual entity to continuous maintenance in relation to a conventionally established framework. Elements may be subject to variation, addition, omission and renewal, but the poetic system as a mode of communication provides a framework in relationship to which individual songs are internalized. Individuals fluent in the mode of expression require less exposure to individual songs or unusual multiforms and narrative segments in order to acquire and learn to apply them (Harvilahti 2000). In the *bylina* tradition, Gil'ferding's (1894:24) observed that stable compositional elements remained stable even in performances by "weak" singers. In repeated performances, Gil'ferding's "weak" singers exhibited significantly more variation in the organization of lines into multiforms, multiforms and narrative themes into a song, and also in his "transitional" elements with which these were united. However, even these "weak" singers maintained essential features of these compositional elements. They also maintained the indexical relationships between line and theme or multiform, and between multiform/theme and narrative song. Corresponding patterns of stability are found in kalevalaic epic, where individual lines and multiforms were subject to significantly higher degrees of crystallization and consistency across singers on a much wider scale (§4.2).

Kuusi (1975:59) asserted that "[i]t is characteristic of redactions that they repel one another: the same person, in so far as he has an active command of a tradition, does not make use of two different redactions for the same folklore phenomenon and it can be shown cartographically that, in stable peasant society at least, variant groups covered particular areas with clearly defined boundaries." This assertion is most true on the level of fairly atomic units such as the proverb, in which each *explicit proposition* relegates variation to a *negated proposition*. In genres of extended composition, lines and motif complexes can be adapted and incorporated into a larger structure, such as presenting five dangers on Lemminkäinen's Journey or resolving the Death/Resurrection and the Isle of Women into a coherent narrative sequence. The multiform associated with Lemminkäinen's request for his "war-shirt" has a prominent and consistent position in *LVI*

(§4.3.1). The motif of the shirt is related to “armour” within the semiotics of magical protection, connecting Lemminkäinen’s request indexically to armour for magical protection in incantations (§4.3.6). The latter elements may enter into *LV* dialogue as complimentary multiforms (e.g. I2.811.92-94,136-138,142-144,145-152) or be fused into a coherent multiform (e.g. I2.781.85-90,101-106,126-135), and less often replace the conventional “war-shirt” request (e.g. VIII.790.49-57).

Internalized systems of association are subjective (Frog 2008a:148-155; 2009a): the request for the war-shirt may be correspondingly interpreted as nothing more than preparations for a journey. It then becomes the semantic equivalent of packing food (e.g. I2.821.19-23,48-53,74-79) which we find in other contexts, such as the Flight Dialogue (e.g. I2.816.226-231). For some singers, these two multiforms could constitute alternative poetic expressions for relating the same semantic content – that the only difference between packing food and putting on the war-shirt is on the level of the texture of a composition. Interpretations change faster than motifs, particularly in genres associated with conservative patterns of reproduction on the verbal level. In some cases, renewal on the level of the multiform or multiform application may be a delayed reflection of changes in interpretations of a motif or motif complex which have already become established on the level of content. The process of internalization involves exposure to these forms of variation and interpreting their value in relation to “tradition” as a referent. The same process allows stringing together all of these different elements in order to extend a composition (or more specific effects). They are not mutually exclusive compositional elements *unless they are thus interpreted* (cf. Supplement 4). Kuusi’s assertion is overstated, but it highlights issues related to local and regional conventions. Heinonen (forthcoming) discusses this issue in relation to an Ingrian singer’s statement: “The dialect of songs was different [in another village]” – “dialect” not of language, but of singing.

15.2. *Lemminkäisen virsi*

Internalization is based on exposure: the textual entity of *LV* would necessarily be internalized differently in different regions. This includes the hierarchies of relevant and

significant semiotic elements within a performance (cf. Lotman 1990:58). The activation of the textual entity does not require 100% correspondence to the internalized understanding. Thresholds for activation are achieved through the accumulation of indexically associated elements in reception. This process is subjective, as is the interpretation of the significance of *implicit propositions* of the activated referent in relation to the *explicit propositions* of performance.

15.2.1. A Comic Death

In Border Karelian communities (§4.3.4), the internalized understanding of *LV* as a textual entity is anticipated to be fairly uniform on the basis of the degree of continuity in variants collected in that region and their constellations into redactions. When VII1.791 reaches the third danger of the Fiery Eagle, the description of the Fiery Eagle is followed abruptly by the line *se on syöpi Lemminkäisen*, “it ate Lemminkäinen” (VII1.791.139). Four lines tell of the arrival of guests, and the song concludes: *Juokame tätä olutta/tämän Päivölän pioissa/jumalisten juomingissa*, “Let us drink this beer/at the feast of Päivölä/at the drinking-feast of the godly-ones/gods- DIMINUTIVE” (VII1.791.144-146). The *explicit proposition* of Lemminkäinen’s death abruptly revises the series of *implicit* and *immanent propositions* regarding Lemminkäinen’s arrival to *negated propositions*. Rather than Lemminkäinen disrupting the feast (*negated immanent proposition*), “we” are invited to drink (*explicit proposition*). This strategy is dependent on an internalized understanding which will allow the “tradition” to be manipulated as a referent. The *narrative power* is clear in the degree of contrast to convention. However much variation is exhibited throughout the corpus, Lemminkäinen *always successfully accomplishes the Journey* (even in intertextual applications) – with this singular exception. Asserting that Lemminkäinen was eaten by the Fiery Eagle and that “we” should drink is comparable to claiming that Jesus threw himself down from the temple when tempted by the Devil, followed by a hortative address to enjoy the bread and wine of the Last Supper. Within the hierarchies of semiotic elements, this is easily identified as significant variation for an audience and apprehended with a “presumption of semioticity” (Lotman 1990:128) – i.e. it is meaningful. It is only in relation to the referent that the conclusion of this variant has a comic (or possibly offensive) effect (cf. Tsur 1992a:10-12).

The corpus of *LV* variants allows us to observe changes in *narrative power* taking place in different regions. These changes includes the value and priorities of different episodes, such as the omen of the Death/Resurrection (§25.8.1), the load of moral associations in the Isle of Women (§§4.3.8), and more fundamental changes in the *narrative power* of the epic genre (§4.3.3; cf. Siikala 2002c:28-29), or the semiotic system in which narrative was transmitted, as in the handling of fantastic elements within the Ingrian lyric-epic form (§4.3.9). In all of these cases, we observe the persistence and evolution of *LV* as a “textual entity”. The cultural value and authority of the narrative is attested by the degree to which it and its elements were adapted and applied in a range of contexts and applications within the changing tradition ecologies of diverse regions – even in VIII.791 above.

15.2.2. Textual Entities and Redaction Identities

Textual entities of a poem are (usually) dependent on activating the identity of verbal text through *word power*. (*Image power* fulfils a corresponding function in iconography.) The tradition ecology of medieval Iceland allowed for the transmission and manipulation of multiple songs/poems treating the same mythological material, and for these songs to retain distinct textual identities. This is clearly the case for “skaldic” poetry and may also have been the case for eddic poetry (Frog 2009c). Words, motifs and cultural figures are brought into constellations which accomplish this activation: the more indexically specific the elements within the tradition ecology, the more easily the referent is activated. These represent diverse textual entities manipulating or communicating a common narrative extra-textual entity (see §16). A researcher’s bird’s-eye perspective of *LV* makes both Ingrian-Finn and Izhorian variants of *LV* (§4.3.9.1-2) readily identifiable as belonging to the widespread *LV*-tradition. However, these two forms of *LV* contain almost no corresponding elements: their relationship can only be identified from an etic perspective and there is no reason to believe they were identified as variations on a common narrative by their users (cf. Dégh & Vázsonyi 1975:esp.239; Dégh 1995:201). In Border Karelia (§4.3.4), redactions of *LV* were so few, and so similar and conventional, that many Viena variants in which Kaukomieli is the protagonist would most likely be understood as similar but unrelated narratives. In contrast, Border

Karelian variants would certainly activate *LV* as a referent for a Viena audience, where the networks of conservative kin-group transmission would incline an individual to be exposed to a significant range of variants and redactions through social contact (§4.3.1). In Viena, variation in the protagonist is repeatedly encountered and can be considered semiotically relevant to the audience. The assertion of Väinämöinen as protagonist in *LV* would be received in relation to the anticipated protagonist, and also in relation to the understanding of Väinämöinen as a cultural figure. The assertion of Iivana is conversely an assertion which demotes the narrative from “mytho-heroic” to an “Ivan-tale”, a fairytale.

The same conventions which allow conservative kin-group transmission in Viena imply awareness and maintenance of the differences between kin-group redactions in close contact.²⁹⁰ Within the horizons of internalized understandings of a textual entity, variant renditions of the textual entity should be considered not only recognizable, but also potentially distinctive: the individual could internalize relationships between different forms of variation and individuals in their own and other communities – different “dialects of singing”. A textual entity of kalevalaic poetry should not be oversimplified. Kuusi’s assertion that “redactions repel one another” can be considered correct insofar as each individual is unlikely to perform multiple redactions of subjectively identified textual entities. This does not mean that the performer did not develop an internalized understanding of “dialects” of the textual entity associated with other kin-groups, particularly with regard to semiotically relevant elements. We anticipate this knowledge to be passive, but Maksima Martiskainen sang the Deception of the Tree as performed by the (deceased) Mirona as a sort of appendix to his own performance of the Sampo-Cycle (II.100.130-145), from which it differed.²⁹¹ We should not underestimate that “dialects”

²⁹⁰ See Dégh & Vázsonyi (1975:231-232; Dégh 1995:194) on *sub-conduit* and *micro-conduit* transmission.

²⁹¹ Collected by Genetz in 1872. Maksima appears to have concluded his performance with Väinämöinen’s return from Pohjola and visit to Ilmarinen’s smithy, where he commands the smith to depart. The intermediate text between this conclusion and the appendix attributed to a deceased singer provides the impression that he is responding to a direct question, and Genetz was hoping for a continuation of the cycle into the Making of the Sampo and the Theft of the Sampo. The fact that Maksima quotes a deceased singer’s variant may be significant and have some bearings on conceptions of “ownership” or the identity index of certain typologies of variant – this may have been a means of avoiding encroaching on the verbal territory of other living singers.

could provide a valid referent for a communication, much as we might assume airs or mock an accent (cf. Weiss 1946:353). Correspondingly, Viena performers who presented *LV* in redactions about two separate protagonists were attempting to reconcile (or taking advantage of) variation in the tradition by asserting distinct textual entities. (These are briefly presented in Supplement 4.)

Chapter 16: Extra-Textual Entities

16.1. Extra-Textual Entities

Narratives can develop socially acknowledged identities which are maintained across genres or modes of expression. Snorri's prose, the skaldic stanzas of *Húsdrápa* and the verses of *Völuspá* are all understood to represent or reflect the "same" narrative or portions thereof. The individual develops an internalized understanding of these narratives, their significance and the contexts in which they are applied or referred to according to the full range of their cultural activity. Textual entities are bound by strategies of representation whereas the cultural activity of a narrative is not bound by a particular genre or mode of communication. The genre and function of an application may significantly affect the selection and emphases of elements presented (cf. Blackburn 1988:49) or even radically deviate from conventional conceptions of the narrative's content (cf. Blackburn 1988:142-43). A narrative which develops a socially acknowledged identity beyond an individual textual entity or textual entities (i.e. conventional representations of one narrative in multiple modes of communication) is best described as an extra-textual entity.

Extra-textual entities are reflected in and manipulated through textual-entities as well as descriptions or representations which may not have established conventions. They expand to include the broad range of references to which culturally significant narratives become subject, and the conventional discourse surrounding them. The hierarchies of authority between modes of representation and the extra-textual entity (cf. Lotman 1990:47-50, 138; Siikala 2004:4) are dependent on the tradition ecology contemporary to the "present" of application and reception, respectively. For example, eddic poetry appears to have been more central to the communication of mythological narrative material than skaldic poetry which referred to it (Frog 2009c). These hierarchies were also subject to evolution within the tradition ecology. It is unclear whether eddic poetry was depreciated as a narrative mode following the Christianization, whereas skaldic verse maintained a social status as "court poetry" (at least for communities in Iceland: Mitchell

2001). Interpretations of artful and allusive skaldic verse by renowned poets may have become more authoritative than conventional and conservative eddic narratives – particularly in communities where skaldic arts were integrated into the pedagogy of centres of literate learning (cf. Quinn 1994, Nordal 2001, 2009). As a literary work, Snorri’s *Edda* both revised conventional interpretations and the *narrative power* of mythological material in referential applications and became an authority for mythological narrative material (§3.1).

The cultural activity of *LV* was largely restricted to the specific textual entities of *LV* redactions. The priority of some performers was clearly on the textual entity of the song rather than the content which it reflected. This becomes evident when failure to recall the progression of a poetic text corresponds to an inability to recall any additional narrative content (e.g. Stepanova 2009:76-78), in contrast to failure to recall the progression of the textual entity but an ability to summarize its content (e.g. I2.840).

16.2. Reference and Conventional Discourse

We can anticipate that the summaries recounting the content of an epic textual entity (cf. Tarkka 2005:52) may more strongly reflect the extra-textual entity than the genre-bound representation – depending on the application. Intertextual references may be made either in relation to textual or extra-textual entities, or may be relevant to both (cf. Frog 2009b:276-277). It is unnecessary to present “complete” accounts of narratives to members of communities who already know them, and within such communities, this familiar material may be used referentially in the discourse of daily interactions.²⁹² Intertextual reference in kalevalaic poetry may be extremely fluid because of the common metre across genres (§4.2.1). A significant amount of Old Norse mythology is preserved in references, allusions and summaries (including ornate skaldic presentations) within larger compositions – all of which appear to anticipate the activation of a textual or extra-textual entity as a referent.²⁹³ These applications attest to the significance of intertextual

²⁹² Lehtipuro 1992: 173; for an example of *LV* material, see VII.7; see also Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1996: 138-157.

²⁹³ A high proportion of extant eddic mythological poems present indexes of mythological information within a narrative frame, where the priority of the poetic composition appears to be on the index of

strategies within the poetic system, and imply that intertextual strategies were both familiar and anticipated as a strategy in poetic genres and poetic discourse, even if the changing hierarchies of authority between genres remain obscure. Whereas the cultural activity of *LV* clearly revolved around a single (if fractal) textual entity, ON mythological narratives are found represented iconographically on stones, buildings and personal items, in tapestries and metalwork. Within the extant poetry, more mythological narratives are referred to than narrated for their own sakes. The references themselves are often ambiguous; in some cases, there is the possibility that the referent is being manipulated, made consciously misleading by taking advantage of an ambiguity.²⁹⁴ All of these references participate in the cultural activity of a narrative, and it is reasonable to assume that ambiguous references, if they were interesting, warranted additional conventional discourse communicating explicatory information in addition to, for example, the names of skaldic poets and the contexts of composition and/or performance of specific verses (cf. Gade 2000, Frog 2009b, 2009c).²⁹⁵

Mythological narratives can be said to “live” in the conventional discourse of a community. Internalized textual and extra-textual entities are not simply models for production and reception. The application of these entities is based not only on the

references and/or summaries rather than on the narrative framework in which they appear (in some poems these constitute easily exchangeable atomic compositional units: see Frog 2009b:275). Several of these refer to Baldr or some episode of the Baldr-Cycle (*Völuspá*, *Vafþrúðnismál*, *Grímnismál*, *Lokasenna*, *Hyndluljóð*, possibly *Svipdagsmál*). In skaldic poetry, reference was an essential part of the system of poetic circumlocutions, but a poet could also represent an immediate event in terms of a mythic event, as in Þjóðólfr Arnórsson’s verses on a fight between a blacksmith and a tanner in terms of Þórr’s battle with the giant Geirröðr and Sigurðr’s battle with the dragon Fáfnir (Jónsson 1912-1915.AI:380; cf. Clunies Ross 2005:115-116). The syntactic complexity of skaldic compositions permits juxtapositions through interwoven statements, leaving the audience to interpret the relation between them, as in a poem about king Haraldr harðráði by Illugi Bryndælaskáld, in which the two lines of each coherent syntactic statement about Haraldr surrounded two lines about the mythic Sigurðr the Dragon-Slayer (Jónsson 1912-1915.AI:384). These rhetorical strategies require both familiarity with the referent and the strategies of *word power* and *narrative power* being deployed for them to be rhetorically compelling and appropriately interpreted (cf. Hymes 1986:64; Frog 2009c:227).

²⁹⁴ This is particularly true of mythological references in the insult-exchanges of *Lokasenna* (cf. McKinnell 1986-1989).

²⁹⁵ This sort of surrounding discourse could also communicate priorities about what is not or should not be in a composition, such as a legend of the dead king Óláfr inn Helgi communicating in a dream that Sigvatr Þórðarson should exchange reference to the (pagan) Sigurðr-Cycle with reference to a Christian tradition in his memorial poem *Erfidrápa* (see Turville-Petre 1976:83-84).

internalized understanding of the individual, but the anticipated internalized understanding of the intended audience for activation or communication.²⁹⁶

16.3. Minimal Activation

The cumulative nature of indexicality makes it possible to activate a referent through a minimal constellation of words, motifs and/or identities. A rudimentary example is found in *Sigurðardrápa* 3.4:²⁹⁷ *seið Yggr til Rindar*, “performing *seiðr*-magic, Yggr[Óðinn] got to Rindr” (Jónsson 1912-1915.AI:79). This example has been chosen because it is not only relevant to the Baldr-Cycle in content and for comparison with the stanza of Oddi litli in the following section, but it is also useful as an example of minimal activation because the reference is conventionally undisputed in the scholarship. Although presented in the framework of an explication, this explication is concerned with exploring *why* the minimal activation is considered undisputed.

The expression *seið Yggr til Rindar* exhibits four constituent elements: two cultural figures, an action, and an orientation of the consequences of that action. Yggr, “the terrible”, is an alternative name for Óðinn. Óðinn is the subject of the proposition and performs *seiðr*. The indexical system of associations between Óðinn and *seiðr*-performance are very complex (see Price 2002). Rather than associating Óðinn with a specific narrative, narrative theme or motif-complex, *seiðr*-performance appears (at least potentially) as a more general attribute of the god. Rindr and Óðinn share an indexical relationship associated with the revenge-sequence of the Baldr-Cycle as the parents of the avenger. This is the only documented context in which these two figures are indexically connected, although it is not clear how extensive or complex the narratives surrounding this relationship may have been. The indexical relationships of the three elements – Óðinn, Rindr and *seiðr* – significantly narrows the field of possible relationships, although the limited knowledge we have surrounding this narrative leaves it open to question whether there were multiple contexts in which Óðinn may have practiced *seiðr*

²⁹⁶ This is particularly evident in cases of initiation to a tradition (cf. Lehtipuro 1992:173-174).

²⁹⁷ The first metrical position in the line is the verb *bindr*, “binds” (rhyming with *Rindar*), belonging to a separate syntactic statement. It is uncertain whether this juxtaposition is relevant to the *hieros gamos* associations.

in relation to Rindr – for all we know, he may have been performing incantations overseeing the birth of Baldr’s avenger (for which reference to Óðinn as “the terrible” might not necessarily be considered inappropriate).²⁹⁸ Rather than an object, the proposition indicates that Rindr provided the orientation or consequences of the action (i.e. Óðinn “got” Rindr, or “got to” her through his performance of *seiðr*). The use of magic to get or seduce a woman is associated with Óðinn elsewhere,²⁹⁹ and this indexical relation appears to further narrow the indexical system to the single event of Óðinn entering a relationship with Rindr utilizing *seiðr*-magic, and the reference to him as Yggr (as opposed to other monosyllabic Óðinn names which could have fulfilled the metrical requirements, such as Gestr, “the guest”), appears to emphasize Óðinn’s power in this action and the challenge posed by the task.

This interpretation corresponds sufficiently with the account of Saxo (1931:70-72).³⁰⁰ The references to the Óðinn-Rindr union,³⁰¹ the general use of “Rindr” in the same manner as a goddess-name in poetic circumlocutions (cf. Meissner 1921:407), and the special association of “Rindr” with circumlocutions for “Earth” (*ibid.*:87) all attest to the cultural activity of Rindr and the narrative as a referent, with particular emphasis on the union or the engendered product of that union. It is reasonable to assume that the reference was intended to be recognizable and therefore probable that this narrative was immediately activated for an audience through the applications of two names and a verb.

²⁹⁸ Cf. Tolley 2009:140,160n, where it is pointed out that magic associated with childbirth is not explicitly described as *seiðr*. However, the context of skaldic verse could easily render such a technical distinction moot.

²⁹⁹ The means of seduction is normally not specified, although it is associated directly with the *gambanteinn* in *Hrbl* 20 (§9.5.4). See further von See et al. 1997:200-203; McKinnell 2005. Although the index (insofar as it can be assessed from the sources) appears to imply that *seiðr* was used as a means of compelling Rindr to comply with the sexual act, it is at least possible that the performance was associated with reaching an otherwise compliant Rindr in an inaccessible location (cf. Gunnlöð in Hnitbjörg, who is in a remote location but in Snorri’s account, at least, there is no indication that she resisted Óðinn’s advances: Faulkes 1998:3-4).

³⁰⁰ Saxo does not describe the process as *seiðr* performance, which was a “pagan” practice associated with gender transgression and unmanliness. Instead, he describes how Óðinn disguising himself as a woman (gender transgression) who is a healer (alternative to magic practitioner), reducing the seduction to a deception and rape without fantastic elements. On the much-discussed gender-transgression associations of *seiðr*, see especially Price 2002, Heide 2006, Tolley 2009; on related issues of gender more generally, see Meulengracht Sørensen 1983.

³⁰¹ The only narrative account is in Saxo’s (1931:70-72) account of the rape of Rinda by Othinnus; Snorri refers to Rindr as Váli’s mother without reference to the rape (Faulkes 1982:26,30; 1998:19) but quotes *Sigurðardrápa* 3 twice (Faulkes 1998:9,25); and *Bd* 11.

The referent activated is anticipated to be the extra-textual entity of the narrative rather than a specific poem or representation in generic form.

In this case, identities of cultural figures are applied, facilitating the activation of a specific referent. Hypothetically, the use of circumlocution and metaphor in skaldic composition makes it possible to interpret the passage in other ways. “Rindr” functions as a poetic equivalent for any goddess, hence reference could be to a different seduction by Óðinn. More generally, both “Óðinn” and “Rindr” function as equivalents for “man” and “woman”, and the metaphorical dimension of skaldic verse opens the proposition *seið Yggr til Rindar* to the interpretation, “a man seduced a woman with poetry”.³⁰²

This issue is particularly relevant in contexts where cultural figures associated with the extra-textual entity are not named or their names are activated through another means, such as via circumlocution or *sound power* (§10.3.1). Interpretation presupposes semioticity (Lotman 1990:128). That semioticity is approached through the framework of the mode and genre of expression (§4.1.3), which in this case would be essential to the interpretation of non-literal meaning through circumlocution and metaphor. However, even in the event that this statement referred to a literal and immediate seduction, the activation of the referent remains to some degree anticipated and relevant to interpretation according to conventions of skaldic composition – i.e. such a poet would be generating a relationship between his own seduction, and that of the god of poetry.

Pre-conversion (ca.1000) and post-Snorri (ca.1240) skaldic verse regularly applies intertextual reference to mytho-heroic and mythological subjects to a sufficient extent that it is reasonable to assume that intertextual references to mytho-heroic and

³⁰² Although *seiðr* performance can be approached as in an equivalence class with other verbal art and therefore appropriate in such a metaphorical usage, Clunies Ross (2005:40-44,61-65, cf. also 19-21) also points out that both insult poetry and love poetry appear to have been considered magically potent and potentially dangerous, making such a usage unsurprising. The use of “Yggr” would, however, have highly aggressive connotations, in which case this would imply a triumphal conquest over the woman as a denigrated object. Celebration of sexual conquest in verse could be artful and subtle (cf. Sigurðsson 2004), or more brusque, as on the Bergen rune stick N.B39: *Smiðr sarð Vígdísi/af snædubeinum*, “Smiðr fucked Vígdís/of the Snelde-Legs [folk]” (Skaldic Project database, <http://skaldic.arts.usyd.edu.au/db.php?table=mss&id=15037>).

mythological subjects would be anticipated by a contemporary audience as a conventional device in the mode of expression (cf. §3.1). Within *Sigurðardrápa*, brief statements referring to mythological subjects are also part of the compositional strategy of each stanza.³⁰³ *Sigurðardrápa* is a praise-poem for a king. Within such poetry, references to unions between a god and a goddess identifiable with the earth are more common. This application generates a comparison between the *hieros gamos* myth and the king's relationship to his land (Clunies Ross 1987:120) even if the Óðinn-Rindr union was not itself considered a *hieros gamos* myth (cf. Steinsland 1991:265-267).

16.4. Activations of Hermóðr's Hel-Ride

16.4.1. Oddi Litli's Ekphrasis Stanza

Orkneyinga saga (Nordal 1913-1916:222-223) reports that in the mid-12th century, Oddi litli Glúmsson was challenged to improvise a stanza (cf. Gade 1995:22; Frog 2009c) about an image in a tapestry without repeating a single word of the challenger's stanza within the hall of the host. The saga prose offers no indication of the image on the tapestry nor makes any attempt to interpret the referent of the stanzas (cf. Poole 2006:152). This stanza presents a minimal activation of the Baldr-Cycle similar to that discussed in §16.3, although with greater ambiguity:

Stendr ok hyggr at höggva herðilútr með sverði bandálfr beiði Rindar Baldrs við dyr á tjaldi	Stands and is ready to strike stoop-shouldered with a sword bond-elf of the requesting-Rindr of Baldr at the door on the tapestry
fírum mun hann hjörvi hætr – nú er mál at sættisk hlæðendr hleypiskíða hlunns – áðr geigr sé unninn ³⁰⁴	to men will he become, with the sword, dangerous – now it is time for [them] to settle that-to-be-loaded of the running-skis of the rollers – before serious injury would be won

³⁰³ Snorri refers to this technique as *hjástælt*, “abutted”: the first syllable of the final line of a four-line helming belongs to the statement of the preceding three lines; the remaining five syllables constitute a separate syntactic statement, which Snorri notes should be *forn minni*, “ancient lore” (Faulkes 1999:10). The present example therefore appears in the helming as (Faulkes 1998:9,85, without notation):

Eykr með ennidúki	Faulkes (1987:68) translates: “The land-getter, who binds the mast-top
jarðhljótr día fjarðar	straight, honours the provider of the deities’ fiord [the mead of poetry,
breyti hún sá er beinan	whose provider is the poet] with a head-band. Yggr [Odin] won Rind by
bindr – seið Yggr til Rindar	spells.”

³⁰⁴ Jónsson (1912-1915.AI:529) revises *band ælfr beidir rindi* (Flateyjarbók) and *bandalfur beiði rindi* (Ups.Univ.Bibl.R:702) to *brandalfur böðvar Rindar* without exemplar. Cf. Nordal 1913-1916:223. For a detailed discussion of these texts and their context, see Poole 2006, 2007..

The kenning *bandálfr beiði-Rindar Baldrs*, “the elf [man] of an obligation of the Rindr [goddess] who requests Baldr” is a complex kenning which refers to the Baldr-cycle. Rindr functions as a *heiti*, equivalent to a goddess or woman. “Baldr” can correspondingly represent a male figure. However, the Rindr who requests Baldr, from what we know of the mythology, would have to be his wife Nanna, implying unconventional marriage, or Hel, who keeps Baldr with no indication of “request”, and his mother Frigg, whose relationship to the Baldr cycle is essentially connected to the “request” that he be returned from Hel, and (according to Snorri) requests for all things to weep (on the problem of oath-requests, see §19.3). The latter interpretation seems natural, noting in addition that the near-contemporary poem *Málsháttakvæði* composed in the Orkneys also concerns itself with this sequence of the narrative explicitly (§16.4.4).³⁰⁵ “Frigg” can itself function as a *heiti* for goddess or woman. *Álfr*, in *bandálfr *Friggjar*, “the elf of the obligation/agreement of Frigg/a woman” is a *heiti* which can function as an equivalent to any (male) god or man, hence the whole kenning can simply be reduced to “man with a commitment” or simply “man”.³⁰⁶

Skaldic ekphrasis poetry (and presumably the iconography it reflects) presents mythological and mytho-heroic subjects. Iconographic representation anticipates a referent of significance, and the ekphrasis stanza anticipates an appropriately significant referent. It is reasonable to anticipate a referent of mythic proportions or historically

³⁰⁵ Cf. Jesch 2006. Poole (2006:151-152) rejects these possibilities because “none of these identifications help us to interpret the verse.” He proposes a more strained interpretation that the request is not *for* but *from* Baldr, suggesting that the request is for Baldr’s favour and protection, asserting that Baldr was a patron deity of the Danes who had a warder function. I am extremely sceptical of the attribution of a warder-function to Baldr when the most characteristic feature of this god is his complete removal from this world *in illo tempore* with no possibility of return until the rebirth of the world at Ragnarök.

³⁰⁶ This reading demands an emendation of the accusative or dative form *Rindi* to a genitive *Rindar* in the text. If this is left unemended, the woman would appear to be the (accusative) object of the verb *höggva*, or *beiði* becomes a subjunctive verb of the embedded statement, *bandálfr beiði Rindi Baldrs*, “let the bond-elf request Baldr for the Rindr[-DAT]”, inviting an interpretation of Rindr as Frigg, or “let the bond-elf request Baldr from the Rindr[-ACC]”, inviting an interpretation of Rindr as Hel, implying immanent action in both cases (cf. Poole 2007 on immanent action in the stanza). Poole (2006, 2007) prefers the accusative reading “with the actual lethal blow just out of frame” (2007:257). This means that the man is ready to strike a woman, whom he sees as requesting aid from Baldr, and rather than a “bond”, Poole prefers the less common “bandages”, as characterizing the man. If a reading of *Rindi* is asserted as correct, it nonetheless appears most reasonable to interpret this as a reference or circumlocution related to the Baldr-Cycle, which would thus appear to be a juxtaposition of Hermóðr with the subject of the rest of the stanza. One reason for considering the whole as a kenning is the structural parallel between the two helmings, discussed below, where an explanation for the manuscript form *Rindi* is proposed.

specific relevance. The challenging stanza is similarly impoverished with regard to content,³⁰⁷ and its interpretation therefore becomes awkwardly dependent on Oddi litli's stanza,³⁰⁸ which relies on an assumption that both poets interpret the image the same way.

³⁰⁷ The first helming states that the man is old, and appears to describe something about lowering his sword onto his shoulder or possibly sheathing it to “ride” there, although e.g. Poole (2006:147; 2007:246) follows Jónsson (1912-1915.BI:481-482) in revising *um* (in the first line of all manuscripts) to *of* (paralleling *ofan* in line 4) so that the sword is moving from the shoulder. This helming also states that the figure is “farther”, although relative to what is unclear. The second helming states that he does not approach plural adversarial figures who anger him, and includes the detail that he is *beinrangr*, “leg-wrong”, the significance of which is uncertain (Poole [2006:147] translates this as “crooked-legged”). Rögvaldr's stanza reads as follows (Nordal 1913-1916:222; Jónsson 1912-1915.AI:508, spelling standardized):

Lætr um öxl sá er útar	[He] lets on/over his shoulder, he who farther out
alldrönn stendr [maðr] á tjaldi	age-plundered, stands[<i>alt.</i> man] on the tapestry
sig[r]-Freyr Svölnis vára	victory-Freyr[warrior] of Svölnir[Óðinn] of[GEN/for:ACC] springs
slíðrvönd ofan ríða	fearful-wand[sword] from above ride
eigi mun þó at ægis[MS ægir/ögir]	[He] will not, although Ægir's/the sea's
örbeiðanda reiðisk	at the arrow-requesting/hastily-requesting ones becomes angry
blíkruðr böðvar jökla	glance-tree[glance of the sea=gold; gold-tree=man] of battle of icicles
beinrangr frammar ganga.	twist-legged forward go.

“The age-plundered[old] victory-Freyr of Óðinn[warrior], he of springs[years=old] who stands farther out on the tapestry, lets the fearful-wand[sword] [down]from above to ride on his shoulder [refrains from conflict to which he is inclined?]. The twist-legged one will not go forward although the tree of the glance of the sea[man] becomes angry at the hastily-requesting ones of icicles of battle [icicles of battle=swords; hasty-sword-requesting-ones=warriors].” There are so many genitives involved that the kennings are not certain, and may be intended to offer aesthetically pleasing double-readings. The play on distance makes the *ör-* prefix interpretable in its common meaning of “arrow” with implications of provocation over a distance, offering the interpretation: “The twist-legged one will not go forward although the tree of the glance of the sea[man] of battle[warrior] becomes angry at the arrow-requesting-ones of icicles [giants=enemies].” In the poetry, *jökull* is rare in kennings outside of compounds, and it is most often encountered in kennings for “silver” or “sword” (see Egilsson & Jónsson 1931:331). The extreme stylization of the stanza and the complexity of the kennings presents the possibility that stratified interpretation may be intended, and that part of its art may be rooted in playing against expectations (cf. Frog 2009c:236; Poole 1993:82).

³⁰⁸ Poole (2006, 2007) offers a very interesting interpretation of the stanzas as describing an image of the old warrior as Starkaðr in the confrontation of Ingjaldr and his Saxon bride. This interpretation takes Starkaðr's significance as a cultural figure associated with Denmark as a point of departure, emphasizing Starkaðr's extreme age. Unfortunately, extreme age is not indexically exclusive to Starkaðr; Starkaðr is only one of many Odinic heroes and kings who are reported to live to extreme age. Poole associates both being *beinrangr* and *herðilútr*, “stoop-shouldered”, with infirmity in extreme age, although this is also far from limited in its associations (cf. king Aun, who sacrificed his sons for long life [Aðalbjarnarson 1941:49], or even Haraldr hárfagri [Aðalbjarnarson 1941:146]; note also that Völundr is the only figure for whom lameness is clearly attested as a central trait). A *primary* indexical association of the motif with Starkaðr appears to be a potentially accidental consequence of what extended narrative material survived, whereas other potentially relevant narratives are preserved in briefer accounts. Poole's argument is centrally dependent on the interpretation of Oddi litli's stanza, and more specifically on two points in the kenning discussed in this section. The first is the kenning for woman *beiði-Rindr Baldrs*, which is treated as a reference to a specific Starkaðr-narrative as the foreign queen, postulating that she requests aid and support *from* Baldr as the patron of Denmark, as opposed to the more natural reading of asking *for* Baldr. This appears contrary to Baldr's irrecoverable removal to Hel for the duration of the present world order as the most central aspect of his cultural activity: his ability to function as a patron deity does not seem compatible with his inability to communicate with the other gods beyond the boundary of Hel's realm. The second central point is interpreting *bandálfr* as “bandage-elf[man]” to generate a unique kenning for

In an improvisational competition, the interpretation of the image could easily become a factor in the quality of the composition, particularly if the image was not familiar.³⁰⁹ Hermóðr (according to Snorri) agrees to attempt to recover Baldr from Hel for Frigg in exchange for *allar ástir hennar ok hylli*, “all her loves and friendship” (Faulkes 1982:46). He can readily be interpreted as the “obligation-elf” of Frigg as concerns an agreement to attempt to recover Baldr from Hel, and this “obligation” is directly associated with the narrative referent of the kenning for Frigg as “Baldr’s requesting-Rindr”. *Málsháttakvæði*, composed only a few decades later and apparently also in the Orkneys (see Frank 2006), states that “Hermóðr wanted to prolong the life” of “Frigg’s son” (§16.4.4). The principle features correspond to Snorri’s account and it seems probable that Oddi litli’s kenning develops from a similar account.

16.4.2. Sexual Favours and *Brymsqviða*

Lindow (1997b:101-102) points out that the plural *ástir*, “loves”, may have physical connotations. Saxo (1931:25) refers to Frigga having sexual relations with a servant, following which Othinnus withdrew from society and another figure temporarily took his place.³¹⁰ A reflection of a poetic source behind Snorri’s prose³¹¹ may be revealed through comparison with *Brymsqviða*, a mythological burlesque (Clunies Ross 1994:108-111) which draws heavily on the *word power* of other poems and *image power* and *narrative*

Starkaðr related to his many wounds, which are given emphasis (by Poole) to the degree that bandages can be considered a personal attribute. This is possible, but it remains dependent on the interpretation of the underlying narrative as grounds for proposing an unusual use of *band* in the kenning.

³⁰⁹ This might be compared to Þjóðólfr Arnórsson’s verses on a fight between a blacksmith and a tanner, in which he interprets the scene of conflict twice, once in terms of the battle between Sigurðr and the dragon Fáfnir, and the other in terms of the battle between Þórr and the giant Geirrðr (Jónsson 1912-1915.AI:380; cf. Clunies Ross 2005:115-116). Hines (2007:235-237) has recently emphasized that there may have been an intimate relationship between iconographic representations and the exploration of narrative represented in systems of conventional visual motifs, “images that have a life of their own, as it were, and can be reused, reidentified, reinterpreted, rather like toy figures or toy animals redeployed in new stories by children” (*ibid.*:235). Considering the ability of these ekphrasis compositions to circulate independent of the visual representations which they may (or indeed may not) reflect, we should not underestimate the possibility that poets could actively reinterpret representations, placing emphasis on their art rather than on the object which they have been challenged to reflect.

³¹⁰ Snorri (*Ynglinga saga*: Aðalbjarnarson 1941:12) and *Lokasenna* (26) refer to Frigg’s sexual activities with Óðinn’s brothers in his absence.

³¹¹ Snorri’s pattern of verse quotation in *Edda* does not allow verse attribution to Frigg in addition to Þökk (Faulkes 1982:48) in his Baldr-Cycle: see Frog 2009b:274-276.

power of ethnic mythology.³¹² *Prymsqviða* describes the theft of the thunder-instrument, which was a Circum-Baltic narrative (§7.1.2), but that does not mean *Prymsqviða* is a traditional account of that narrative.³¹³ In *Prymsqviða*, Þórr is emasculated by the theft of his hammer, reducing him to gender transgression – he must dress as the most sexual goddess Freyja to participate in a wedding with a giant (Clunies Ross 1994:108-111). In contrast to *Prymsqviða*'s density of indexical relationships to other poems and references to various mythological traditions, there is no evidence of this narrative in any other source (including *Edda*)³¹⁴ – most remarkably it is not mentioned in insults levelled against Þórr in *Lokasenna* or *Hárbarðsljóð*. Noreen (1926:80) points out that the poet has very possibly invented the name “Þrymr” for the adversary. This giant’s unnamed sister is attributed with lines corresponding to those of Frigg. She appears to have been introduced into the composition for the sole purpose of speaking these lines, increasing the probability that her speech is part of the narrative strategy and loaded with *word power* intended to elicit amusement:

Frigg... spurði hverr... eignask **vildi allar ástir hennar ok hylli...**
(Faulkes 1982:46)

Frigg... asked who... desired to win for himself all her loves and friendship....

Láttu þér af höndum hringa rauða	Let from your hands red rings
ef þú öðlaz vill ástir mínar	if you desire to win for yourself my loves
ástir mínar alla hylli (<i>Þkv</i> 29.5-10)	my loves, all friendship

The verbal similarity has been observed by several scholars.³¹⁵ *Ástir ok hylli* are only paired in these two sources (von See et al. 1997:568): it does not appear to be a conventional pairing.³¹⁶ The uniqueness of the pairing contrasts with the extensive used

³¹² See de Vries 1928, Hallberg 1954, Jakobsen 1984; Magerøy 1991. Cf. Thorvaldsen 2008.

³¹³ On Þórr’s visit to Geirrøðr as a narrative about the theft of the thunder-instrument, see de Vries 1933a:56-65.

³¹⁴ McKinnell (2001:334, 339) interprets some parallels between *Prymsqviða* and *Edda* as indications that Snorri knew *Prymsqviða*.

³¹⁵ E.g. Jakobsen (1984:79) argues that *Prymsqviða* draws directly on *Edda*; von See et al. (1997:526) notes, without commitment, the possibility that Snorri may have known the poem and drawn elements from it.

³¹⁶ In contrast to, e.g. *ár ok friðr, jörð ok upphiminn*, or *mátt ok megin*.

of *ást* which assumed a significant position in Christian poetry in particular, and the general use of *hylli* which is associations with the grace or goodwill of gods more generally.³¹⁷ The verbal correspondence in the offer is augmented by the synonyms *eignast* and *öðlast* (functioning identically in vowel-alliteration).

The giantess's request for "red rings" in exchange for *ástir* and *hylli* warrants comparison with Hermóðr's acceptance of Frigg's offer for her *ástir* and *hylli* for which he returns with the ring Draupnir rather than Baldr. It is unlikely that a brief expression embedded in Snorri's long prose passage would be sufficiently loaded with *word power* to be activated by *Þrymsqviða*. In contrast, the lines require the introduction of an additional (unnamed) character in *Þrymsqviða*, there is no response to the request (verbal or otherwise) and the potentially loaded expression constitutes the last speech-act in the poem. *Þkv* 14 exhibits an unparalleled 6 lines of verbatim correspondence with *Baldrs draumar* 1. As the opening sequence of *Baldrs draumar*, these may have been more heavily loaded with *word power* for the identity of the textual entity (cf. Quinn 1997). The Baldr-Cycle may have already been active as a referent (see Jakobsen 1984). It seems more probable that both Snorri and the *Þrymsqviða* poet are manipulating the same traditional referent in different ways. When the phallic hammer is placed in Þórr's lap, he smashes the skull of this giantess and all others present. The stimulation of an identity between this giantess and Frigg, and between Þórr and "Hermóðr" through *word power* is presumably intended to elicit humour when Hermóðr-Þórr's phallus is turned on Frigg-giantess, killing her in a parody of *ástir*, "loves", in the very physical sense. The verbal correspondences coupled with *Þrymsqviða*'s indexical relationships with other poetic

³¹⁷ E.g. *Gm* 42, quoted §21.4.1. A potential parallel does occur in a magical runic inscription from 13th century Norway (N B493), which reads (with regularized spelling):

Byrli minn	unn mér	My cup-bearer[<i>darling</i>],	Love me!
Ann ek þér	af ástum ok	I love you	with my loves and
af öllum huga		with all my thoughts.	

(Skaldic Project, <http://skaldic.arts.usyd.edu.au/db.php?table=mss&id=15088>)

The implications are clearly romantic/sexual rather than platonic in the use of *ástir*, and *hugr* might be considered similar to *hylli* (and notably not participating in alliteration), but the underlying image schema (see Johnson 1987) of the account is different: there is "loving from *ástir*" rather than "giving *ástir* to" or "possession of *ástir* by" the other individual. *Hugsvinnsmál* 107 (the vernacular translation/adaptation of *Dicta catonis*: see Gering 1907 [were it is stanza 102], Bauer 2009) presents a singular *ást* and *hylli* in a stanza together, but this appears accidental (*hugr* is found there as well) as they are not parallel terms around a conjunction but in a causal relation associated with different verbs (Jónsson 1912-1915.AII:189).

sources presents a high probability that *Prymsqviða* refers to a poem which Snorri has also adapted.³¹⁸

16.4.3. Narrative Reference in Oddi's Ekphrasis Stanza?

Bandálfr beiði-Rindar appears to be an adaptation of a whole line model from another poem:³¹⁹ *bands man ek beiði-Rindi*, “I remember the requesting-Rindr of the bond” (Jónsson 1912-1915.I:81). This is a full-line embedded syntactic statement in Kormákr's *lausavísa* 4.³²⁰ A whole-line model implies that the poet drew on an association between this line and his own verse, particularly when the full-line model constitutes a complete syntactic statement. The element *beiði-* provided Oddi means for connecting his verse with the challenging stanza's *ör-beiðanda* with a different form of the same verb. It also seems worth noting that *man* or the contraction *man-k*, in Kormákr's line presents a near homonym for ON *mann*, “man”, for which *álfr*, “elf”, in the corresponding metrical position of Oddi's stanza functions as an equivalent within the poetic register. These factors make it seem probable that Oddi was very consciously shaping his composition in relation to Kormákr's coherent syntactic statement, and recognition of this intertextual play by the author of the saga, who was very clearly interested in and knowledgeable of skaldic verse, would explain a mistranscription of **Rindar* as *Rindi* (see Jónsson 1912-1915.AI:529), as interference from Kormákr's verse.

In Kormákr's line (following the theme of the stanza), the requested “bond” is clearly romantic/sexual. The adaptation of the line leads to the implication that the “bond” of the “elf” of Oddi litli's “requesting-Rindr” is correspondingly romantic/sexual in nature.³²¹ Oddi maintains the relationship of the “obligation/bond” to the figure in the second metrical position in the line (elf/“I”) but connects the “request” with “Baldr” rather than

³¹⁸ This could even be the poem from which Snorri quotes Þökk's verse (Faulkes 1982:48). An adaptation of *ljóðaháttir* lines could relate to the repetition of *ástir mínar*.

³¹⁹ As an economic strategy in composition, see Frog 2009c:esp.237.

³²⁰ Poole (1997:44-45) draws attention to the density of lexical correspondences between Kormákr's *lausavísa* and *Sigurðardrápa* 3 in which we find *bindr – seið Yggr til Rindar*, and also to the parallel in this stanza (Poole 2007:250). “Rindr” is only found in line-initial or line-final positions in *dróttkvætt* and always participates in internal-rhyme (x8+1*hrynhent*) or in alliteration (x1). These three lines are the only three occurrences of a *bVnd-Rind-INFL* internal rhyme.

³²¹ See Jakobson's (1981:esp.27) “principle of equivalence”.

with the “obligation/bond” of romantic/sexual commitment. Kormákr’s line may also have been intended to be activated as an intertextual referent³²² which augmented the activation of the Baldr-Cycle as an extra-textual entity. Oddi may be interpreting the figure with the sword on the tapestry as Hermóðr – articulating “Hermóðr stands... on the tapestry” rather than “A man stands... on the tapestry”.

The only other kenning in the stanza is *hlæðendr hleypiskíða hlunns*, “that which is to be loaded of the racing-skis of the rollers”. It fills metrical positions corresponding to the Hermóðr-kenning of the first helming, stimulating comparison between them (see Jakobsen 1981:esp.27). Just as the first kenning may be reduced to “man”, this kenning may be reduced to “men”. The kenning occurs in an embedded syntactic statement which can be reduced to, “it is time for the men to make a (legal) settlement”, or “make peace with one another”. Once the Baldr-Cycle becomes activate as a referent (implicit in the interpretation of the previous kenning), it stimulates indexical comparisons with additional elements in the stanza as a compositional whole. Both helmings describe a man with a sword. When this man is identified as Hermóðr through his attempt to recover Baldr for Frigg, the kenning in the corresponding metrical positions invites a related interpretation. Its appearance in an embedded syntactic statement makes it ambiguous whether it reflects a “scene” on the tapestry or a remote event related to but not present in the tapestry description.³²³ It is, however, reasonable to assume that the elements brought together in the stanza were intended to be interpreted as a compositional whole.

Accounts of Ragnarök in Snorri (Faulkes 1982:50-52) and *Völuspá* (*Vsp* 50-53) describe the adversaries of the gods sailing to the battle in ships, including the dead of Hel’s realm. The gerundive *hlæðendr*, “that which is to be loaded”, in the kenning, implies future rather than present action for the “load” – the “men” of the ship launched on the rollers. The metrical juxtaposition of this kenning with the Hermóðr-kenning as the only

³²² Interference from this referent in documentation would explain the form *Rindi* rather than *Rindar* in manuscript copies of Oddi litli’s stanza (Jónsson (1967.AI:529).

³²³ Poole (2006, 2007) draws on the expression, *sá er útan*, “he who is farther out”, to propose that the figure central to the stanza is at the edge of a large scene.

two kennings in the stanza implies that a relationship is being generated between them related to how they are to be interpreted. This presents the interesting possibility that the “men” who are to become the load of the ship are the adversaries of Ragnarök (one of the most active and interesting aspects of the vernacular mythology within the Christian cultural milieu), or more specifically the dead of Hel’s realm presented in the counter-position to Hermóðr.³²⁴ In this case, the embedded syntactic statement about the need to come to a settlement refers to the need to come to a “settlement” over the death of Baldr to avoid the conflict of Ragnarök.

16.4.4. *Málsháttakvæði*

The form and emphasis of the Baldr-Cycle in the Orkneys is uncertain. *Málsháttakvæði* appears to have been composed in the Orkneys at the beginning of the 13th century (see Frank 2004:4 and works there cited). The poem makes rapid references to a significant number of heroic and mythological narratives for a range of comic effects through tongue-in-cheek presentations and incongruous juxtapositions.³²⁵ Stanza 9 reads:

Friggjar þótti svipr at syni,
sá var taldr ór miklu kyni,
Hermóðr vildi auka aldr,
Éljúðnir vann sólginn Baldr,
öll grétu þau eptir hann,
aukit var þeim hlátrar bann,
heyrinkunn er frá hönum saga,
hvat þarf ek of slíkt at jaga.

(Jónsson 1912-1915.AII:132)

Frigg’s son seemed a sudden loss
he was counted as coming from great kin
Hermóðr wanted to prolong his age
Éljúðnir [Hel’s hall] succeeded in swallowing Baldr
they all wept for him
prolonged was for them a ban of laughter
oft-heard it is about him the story
what need have I of such to jabber.

³²⁴ Although it is tantalizing to imagine hypothetical images on a hypothetical tapestry, shield or roof-beam, it is not clear what or how many scenes such a tapestry as reflected in these stanzas contained, if we accept Poole’s proposal that the figure described in the ekphrasis was at the outside of the main image. If we postulate a single scene depicted rather than multiple images (potentially from diverse narratives) we are faced with the question of what was depicted on the rest of the tapestry, and indeed, why a figure who was visually liminal to the scene was chosen for the basis of the ekphrasis challenge, or alternately why the figure most central to the image appears most liminal to the visual field. We should not underestimate the possibility that the “game” of the challenge may have been something akin to choosing the most insignificant or uninteresting figure on a tapestry and that both poets should compose a verse on that figure (potentially *making* that figure significant). Nonetheless, it is interesting that in relation to this interpretation, Rögnvaldr’s kenning *örbeiðanda jökla*, “arrow-requesting-ones [men] of icicles [giants, fiends, enemies]”, could easily be appropriate for the inhabitants of Hel’s hall and perhaps the legions of the dead preparing for Ragnarök more generally.

³²⁵ See Frank 2004 for discussion.

The tongue-in-cheek presentation of the stanza demands familiarity with the referent to be appreciated: the audience is anticipated to be familiar with the underlying narrative because without that familiarity the narrative would not be a relevant subject for the lampoon. *Málsháttakvæði* is thematically concerned with the misery of love (Frank 2004:8-9). The emphasis given to the Baldr-Cycle by devoting a whole stanza to it appears related to this theme as a depiction of grief of cosmological proportions – which can be dismissed in rhyming Baldr’s *saga* with *jaga*, “to move to and fro, e.g. as a door on its hinges”, metaphorically “to harp on one string” (Cleasby & Vigfússon 1896:322; Frank 2004:11-12). A similar application is found in the *lausavísa* preserved in *Hrafnis saga Sveinbjarnarsonar*:

Hvatvetna grét	–hefk þat fregit–	Everything wept	–that’s what I heard–
–býsn þótti þat–	Baldr ór Helju	–a wonder it seemed–	Baldr out of Hel
þó hefr hæra	þás höfuð færði	yet more loudly,	when he brought the head,
Þórmóðr þotit	– þat’s ólogit ³²⁶	did Þórmóðr howl	–that’s no lie

Málsháttakvæði 10 begins *Sitt mein þykkir sárast hveim*, “To each his own pain seems sorest”, which takes on a particularly ironic twist following the greatest sorrow suffered by the pagan gods. *Málsháttakvæði* 10 is potentially relevant to Oddi litli’s mention of need for reconciliation because it discusses arranging reconciliation, the possible need to introduce a mediator trusted by both parties, and the refusal of either party to assume his own responsibility first. There is no clear narrative referent and it is unclear whether this would be understood in relation to the preceding referent of the Baldr-Cycle: there is not sufficient evidence of the cultural activity of the Baldr-Cycle in the Orkneys to anticipate the extra-textual entity.

16.4.5. Hermóðr at the Door

It seems far more probable that Oddi litli was interpreting the figure in the tapestry as Hermóðr in his attempt to recover Baldr from the otherworld rather than “a man” without identity, and that his juxtaposition of circumlocutions between helmings is related to the generation of meanings in the interpretation through an interrelationship of these

³²⁶ *gjört var*, “was done”, appears for *grét*, “wept”, in some manuscripts (Jónsson 1912-1915.AI:595).

elements rather than an accidental correlation in a random conflation of irrelevant motifs. In his challenging stanza, jarl Rögnvaldr interprets the figure on the tapestry as old, and potentially as decrepit and incapable.³²⁷ This is incongruous with images anticipated worthy and interesting for iconographic representation and contrasts sharply with Oddi litli's poetic response. A recognizable "pagan" mythic image would present an explanation for this contrast.

The last line of the first helming is ambiguous whether Hermóðr or the tapestry is *við dyr*, "at the door".³²⁸ In the context of Hermóðr's journey, it may reflect the "door" to Hel's hall. Norse conceptions of the realm of the dead (in epic) exclude the opening of its doors or gates. Snorri claims that Hermóðr was carried over the gates on Óðinn's horse (Faulkes 1982:47), which could be related to impacts from Christian visionary literature (Abram 2003:139ff.). Other (living) travellers to Hel's realm remain outside the wall, though Saxo (1931:30) describes casting a decapitated cock over the barrier which the traveller cannot leap (see Tolley 2009:343-344, 362-363), and looking over a door-frame allowed visions of the other-world in magical practice (Price 2002:168). The second helming presents the Hermóðr-figure prepared to commit to violence in the event that the "men" who will become the "load of the ship" cannot reach a "settlement", noting that Hermóðr's counterpart in *Beowulf* emphasizes his violent and cruel nature.³²⁹

If these are the dead who will sail to the battle of Ragnarök, *við dyr* would reflect the powerful image of a barrier separating the journeying figure from the dead – and Baldr, perhaps similar to representations on the Three-God-Bracteates (§19.5.3).

³²⁷ Rögnvaldr emphasizes the sword going down in the first helming (whether this is from a raised position and drooping or being sheathed on some sort of a sling, there is no implication of it being drawn and made ready), mentions the figure's liminality and twice mentions his age. The second helming reinforces the impression that the sword is being moved in a manner which indicates passivity or resignation by mentioning that the man is angry at the ones "requesting arrows", which can be viewed as taunting him from a distance, and this anger is framed in the assertion that he will not move forward, describing him as "leg-wrong", which could be the equivalent of calling him crippled, lame and helpless. Rögnvaldr is clearly not emphasizing any heroic aspects of this figure, and may be actively disparaging the figure by presenting him in a negative light.

³²⁸ Poole (2006:153; 2007:247) takes it as self-evident that the door is part of the depiction.

³²⁹ See Orchard 2003:110-114. Although Hermóðr is never described as being old, the length of the period during which he continued to be a harmful force in the world of his people following his banishment receives emphasis and presents the possibility that he became an aged and outcast Óðinn-hero rather than a more positive Óðinn-hero who dies young.

16.5. Translation

In many cases, translation into another mode of expression can be considered more dependent on internalized extra-textual entities than on textual entities as form- and texture-based in a generically associated semiotic framework. Translation requires the selection of indexically loaded elements intended to activate the referent and the application of those elements in a framework with established or developing systems of powers. Oddi's ekphrasis stanza develops a network of associations extending outward from a single static image of "Hermóðr" according to the strategies of intertextual circumlocutions and the juxtaposition of embedded syntactic statements. *Málsháttakvæði* 9, focused on "grief" as thematically relevant to the poem, handles heavily loaded elements in a self-consciously careless and dismissive fashion (cf. §15.2.1). Snorri presents an extended account of the Baldr-Cycle which focuses on the roles of Frigg and Loki, dismissing Höðr and the birth of Váli. All of these poets may have been familiar with textual entities representing conservative versions of the Baldr-Cycle. Snorri's use of *ástir ok hylli* may reflect a poetic source which was sufficiently loaded with narrative power to provide an interesting referent for *Brymsqviða*. None of these applications are oriented toward offering conservative representations of the narrative; they are most likely drawn from the broader contemporary form(s) of the narrative's extra-textual entity (Frog 2009b:276-277). Without knowledge of the referent, it can only be vaguely perceived as a probable system of figures and motifs in a network of indexical relations.

Skaldic compositions present extreme examples, which is exemplified in the case of Oddi litli's stanza where the art and significance of the composition is stimulation of interpretation for the activation of the referent, in contrast to *Málsháttakvæði* 9, in which the rapid cascade of identities and motifs clearly activate the referent in order to dismiss the cosmological event as idle chatter, and the *lausavísa* in *Hrafns saga*, which activates a much more specific episode in a similar manner for its humorous juxtaposition with an historical event. These compositions also emphasize the significance of continuity in transmission, such as we arguably have in the case of *LV*. Continuity is far more questionable in eddic sources where we have no measure for the process of renewal. The same problem presents itself with the bracteates, which translated a narrative, anticipated

to have been predominantly oral in transmission, into a new mode of expression. Elements attributed with significance may be transferred directly into the new genre or mode of expression with the anticipation that their loads will be carried from one framework into another, such as the motifs loaded with *image power* in the Three-God-Bracteates, *narrative power* in *Málsháttakvæði*, or *word power* in *Brymsqviða*. They may be translated more comprehensively into the systems of powers of the genre in question, as in the manipulation and juxtaposition of motifs through kennings and the potential intertextual reference to Kormákr's verse in Oddi's stanza. A similar process can be observed in the history of the *Brymsqviða* narrative, which appears to have emerged as a parody which found popularity in a Christian cultural milieu, being translated from eddic poem into *rímur*, and from *rímur* into ballad, maintaining its identity and integrity variously as a textual and extra-textual entity as it evolved within a changing tradition ecologies and semiospheres, translated into new poetic systems with new generic frameworks (Bugge & Moe 1887; cf. Holzapfel 1980).

Chapter 17: Tradition and Identity

17.1. Tradition and the Individual

Each individual develops a subjective relationship to traditions and their contents. Honko (2000a:20) stresses that, “[t]he availability of what could be learned is overwhelming compared to what is eventually internalized by an individual.” Siikala (1990a:113ff.) coined the term “tradition orientation” for traditions which an individual is inclined to internalize and cultivate. Through the observation of individuals’ priorities, attitudes and conscious and unconscious strategies in when, how and why these traditions should be applied, she develops typologies of performer. Siikala places significant emphasis on the performer’s “self” in relation to social interaction and the performer’s ego-distance, the relative distance between the performer’s identity with its conceptions of “self” and that which s/he performs. Snorri can be considered a model of an active narrator who places a distance between himself and tradition:

For him folklore has a value that is primarily instrumental in social intercourse. Successful narrations improve his reputation as a storyteller and he himself values his listeners’ recognition. ... Belief and local lore acquires the nature of an anecdote.... Avoiding views expressing the narrator’s worldview, adopting a secular attitude, this non-moralising narrative conceals the narrator’s value hierarchy. The narrator neither explains nor comments, letting the product speak for itself. Since the telling and the context are felt to be more important than the message, the narrator’s values are reflected both in his choice of words and in his treatment of motifs, above all in his overall tradition orientation. (Siikala 1990a:146)

This can be contrasted with Saxo, who takes his material personally – he is offended by “paganism” and the “other” more generally. He actively attempts to wield *narrative power* against ethnic cultural figures, subjugating narrative to the priorities of messages about morality, ethics, paganism and social norms. His attitudes and valuations often become explicit.³³⁰

³³⁰ Cf. Siikala 1990a:151ff.

In kalevalaic epic, Siikala (2002b) differentiates between the “*tietäjä*-habitus” and the “singer-habitus” as a general distinction between singers whose priorities are on manipulating the visible and invisible worlds through magic, and those more strongly oriented toward entertainment.³³¹ Performers who separated Lemminkäinen and Kaukomoinen into two narratives (Supplement 4) all clearly had singer-habiti. This is a significant factor in understanding variation in the sources, and the disinclination to collect epic from *tietäjät*. Borenius interviewed Hökkä-Petri and Onuhrie Lesonen in Venehjärvi in both 1871 and 1877 (introduced §4.1). The 1871 performances of both singers appear confused and weak although both are long enough to easily provide complete and well-developed variants. The 1877 performances are both fully developed and approximately twice as long. This is partially attributable to the unusual performance situation for the singers (§4.1), but the nature of the variation and shortening can be directly related to the fact that both singers had *tietäjä*-habiti. The primary value of mytho-heroic epic was not social intercourse, and their 1871 performances are clearly not oriented toward “telling a good story” to an unfamiliar listener: the singers skip across the lines and multiforms like stones. Different attitudes to *word power*, *image power* and *narrative power* significantly impact how the variant is truncated. Singers with *tietäjä*-habiti appear to assume the activation of coherent multiforms, images and narrative

³³¹ The concept of “habitus” was developed by Bourdieu (1977:72): “The structures constitutive of a particular type of environment (e.g. the material conditions of existence characteristic of class condition) produce *habitus*, systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively ‘regulated’ and ‘regular’ without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor.” Bourdieu’s emphasis is clearly oriented toward class and gender and the differences in generative strategies for action and interpretation – and more generally ideologies and worldviews – which emerge in a single community. Siikala’s adaptation appears to transfer the conception of Bourdieu related to class to social roles according to Role Theory (on Role Theory, see Biddle 1979; for a similar approach to “classic” shamanism and the relationships of the ritual specialist to tradition through Role Theory, see Siikala 1978). Siikala therefore approaches the relationship developed by the individual to the genre system and tradition ecology as a function and process bound up with conventions of the social role (e.g. “singer”, “*tietäjä*”), which in the case of the *tietäjä* functions socially as an institution. According to Bourdieu (1977:85): “The habitus is the product of the work of inculcation and appropriation necessary in order for those products of collective history, the objective structures (e.g. of language, economy, etc.) to succeed in reproducing themselves more or less completely, in the form of durable dispositions, in the organisms (which one can, if one wishes, call individuals) lastingly subjected to the same conditionings, and hence placed in the same material conditions of existence.” This is clearly as relevant to the *tietäjä* as a social institution as to a social class in other contexts.

segments through minimal applications because – at least for them – these minimal applications were capable of activating larger structures. These minimal applications appear chaotic because the powers activated through expression assert (for the performer) a tremendous number of *implicit propositions* which are not all made *explicit*. The attitude toward the textual entity results in radically different standards for performance.

17.2. Tradition, Experience and Identity

Traditions do not only present a medium in interactions with others and/or the world – they also provide models for anticipating, interpreting, understanding and communicating experience, models for identity, action, and how action functions (Siikala 1990a, Dégh 1969, 1995; Honko 2000a:18-28; Stark 2006:100-115; Lotman 1990:217-44; Frog 2009a, forthcoming b). The cultural activity of traditions and their content offers models for gaining respect or authority within a community, and participation in that cultural activity develops the identity of the individual in relation to others. This process occurs both on the level of interpersonal relations, and also through identification with a groups or types of individuals who utilize the same traditions in a corresponding manner: Sapir’s (1986:16) adage, “He talks like us” is equivalent to saying “He is one of us,” is readily expanded to the full spectrum of action. The same action also distinguishes the individual from other groups or classes of individual, shifting priority from generating identity with the “us” to an identity with “them”, or more abstractly to an identity with the “other”. An application is developed in relation to presuppositions about the audience and conventional associations of particular phenomena (including register: §9.2). Applications transpose Sapir’s adage and project an identity onto the audience: “He is spoken to like one of them” becomes equivalent to saying “He is one of them” (Lotman 1990:64). This emphasizes the need to acknowledge that traditions are internalized in relation to the people who use them, their applications and social functions, all of which participate in loading the powers which can be activated in expression.

17.3. The Individual Voice and Authority

Proximity and authority are primary factors in this process of internalization (§8.3), and not all voices in a tradition community carry equal weight (Honko 1962:126). The

maintenance of tradition is a social phenomenon. Applications are made within the “present” of the tradition ecology. These applications are often oriented to a relatively small if not immediate audience. For example, the presentation of mythological and mytho-heroic material by Snorri and Saxo is oriented to relatively narrow audiences specifically associated with reading as a mode of expression, a mode of expression intimately connected to the Christian Church. Both of these authors can be considered “form-breakers” (Dégh 1995:44-45), or performers who actively deviated from conventions of tradition. They are form-breakers both in how they handle vernacular mythological subjects communicated through the oral tradition and also in how they approach and adapt manuscript genres, giving rise to unparalleled works.

Variants of *LV* present a number of form-breakers of different sorts and degrees. Arhippa Perttunen is particularly prominent among them. He developed separate narratives about Lemminkäinen and Kaukomieli, attributing the latter with the Journey and adapting material from different songs for Lemminkäinen’s Departure Dialogue and Journey (Supplement 4). Arhippa was a confident and competent singer with a “singer-habitus” (Siikala 2002b:35). For Arhippa, the singing tradition was heavily loaded with heritage associations and apparently with particular associations with his family, affirming a relationship between his own identity as a singer and that of his father; he also complained of the changes in the tradition ecology, and that his son would never become a competent singer – he was the last.³³² He was also devoutly Christian and, according to Castrén (1852-1870.I:89): “he held the whole shamanic tradition to be a sinful and godless thing.” Arhippa’s position as a form-breaker can be understood in direct relation to the priority and significance of competence in the poetic tradition for his personal and social identity, and integrating the songs themselves into his deeply Christian worldview. Although he had a singer-habitus, his songs are characterized by the semiotics of shamanism and lines and motifs associated with incantations – which he considered “sinful and godless” in other contexts. These features appear rooted in his family’s tradition. Whereas a *tietäjä* was inclined to systematize knowledge of the mythic world

³³² Lönnrot 1990-1993.V:175; 1908-1911.II:210; cf. Niemi 1921:1077-1080, 1154-1155; Pentikäinen 1999:102-103; Tarkka 2005:41.

for practical purposes (§7.4.1), Arhippa followed a similar strategy. He systematized his knowledge but imposed his own world-view on the traditions and their interpretations, asserting his own authority as a tradition-bearer. The result is a highly idiosyncratic mythology: Lemminkäinen's Journey is accomplished through shamanic transformations, his Resurrection fails, and he becomes a fish and is eaten by a Swede (I2.758). Arhippa's Väinämöinen-World-Creation eliminates the Bird of Creation and displaces Väinämöinen from performing the creative act – Väinämöinen calls on "God" to raise the first earth from the primal sea (I1.54). Arhippa's "mythology of one" simultaneously attests to the value and significance he placed on these traditions in internalizing and performing them, and also to a narrower ego-distance in the desire or need to adapt them to his world-view. His tradition orientation led to his competence, confidence and coherence with a "singer-habitus", and his proud desire to perform and share these traditions (although not incantations) with an interested audience. The selection and adaptation of material which he performed (and performance itself) both reflected and affirmed his identity, and also his worldview.

The singer which Arhippa became and the Christian interpretations and sensibilities which run through his songs appear directly related to Lönnrot's romantic response to Arhippa as the archetype of a traditional singer. Haavio (1943:32-43) later dubbed him the "Song-King". Pentikäinen (1999:104) observes: "It is typical of this mythologizing process that there was much more interest in finding good prototypes of singers than in the material they actually sang." In spite of Arhippa's unique relationship to tradition, his variants and mythology maintained an authoritative position in academic discourse for over a century – conveniently ignoring elements which were contradictory to argument (e.g. Krohn 1903-1910, 1924-1928) – not least as an authority demonstrating that Lemminkäinen's Resurrection failed in the most archaic form of the myth. The form-breaker's variants "became" models for tradition as they were transferred and adapted to a new cultural milieu. This can be directly compared to the impact of Snorri's *Edda* in medieval Iceland, which impacted both oral and literate traditions (§3.1), and more generally functioned as a bridge and/or catalyst in adapting mythological narrative traditions to an increasingly (self-defined) Christian cultural milieu. The sensibilities of

the remote 19th century Finnish literati and later academic world belonged to a completely different cultural milieu, to a tradition ecology which encompassed Homer, Virgil and Jacob Grimm. Arhippa's acclaim in this cultural milieu contrasts sharply with his apparent impact in his immediate environment.

Arhippa's "mythology of one" never became established as conventional outside of *Kalevala*. His son Miihkali clearly learned his songs and singing style but he had a much different tradition orientation. Arhippa embraced the mytho-heroic traditions. His criticisms of Miihkali were unwarranted: he was later hailed as the "Homer of Pohjola" (Inha 1999; Haavio 1943:91). Converse (1964) stresses that only a small group of individuals within a society develop an ability to develop the sort of abstract overview of the system as is reflected in Arhippa's poetry, but that even fewer can synthesize a diverse range of materials in a tradition into a coherent system which is found compelling and adopted by others on the social level. The "mythology of one" has no doubt been a recurrent phenomenon throughout the history of the tradition.

Honko (1998:60) points out that Miihkali was not a form-breaker like his father: his songs "are conservative and closer to the mainstream tradition." Inha emphasized that Miihkali considered the songs sinful and he would pray and sigh in front of the icons after performing for collectors (Inha 1999:378; Haavio 1943:104). Miihkali appears to have performed out of a feeling of obligation to help support his household after going blind (Kennerly 1966:277); many of his narratives give the impression of compromise between his father's form-breaking narratives and his understanding of convention. This process of compromise between the proximity and authority of his father in the internalization process and conventions within the broader cultural activity of the poetry resulted in certain remarkably unconventional elements (cf. Supplement 5). This appears attributable to his relationship to the (sinful) songs and their content, which in recorded variants may have had less to do with a deep understanding of the songs and their content than an inclination to present something closer to what he assumed collectors wanted to hear. Examples such as the adaptation of his father's account of the irrecoverability of Lemminkäinen as a separate song about Väinämöinen (II.59) may reflect the same sort of

strategy of capitalizing on the range of material circulating in the tradition as is encountered in his father's separate song about Lemminkäinen and Kaukomieli (Supplement 4). This may again be more of a reflection of orienting performance to collectors. However, considering the possibility that Miihkali felt these traditions were sinful, this particular example should not be underestimated as potential response to the belief that Väinämöinen, who departed from the world in *Väinämöinen's Judgement*, would one day return.

The *Tietäjä*-redaction (§4.3.4), the Jesus-redaction (§4.3.6) and the Sex-Death-redaction (§4.3.1) are all examples of radical changes which have taken place in the tradition, but these required not only being internalized, but also being adopted and applied by others to develop into a social rather than idiosyncratic phenomena. This should not be mistaken for Andersen's (1923) Law of Self-Correction (see Dégh 1995:173-176). Significant changes to semiotically relevant elements can be reasonably accepted as intentional, but that intentionality is in relation to the internalized understanding of the individual – Miihkali's unconventional manipulations of material appear to be less attributable to generating meaning than attempting to navigate the rift between his father's unconventional performances, his own understanding of convention and the interests of collectors. Adaptations may begin with the individual, and that individual's performances participate in the cultural activity of the narrative or other phenomenon, but the networks of other individuals function as filters in reception as their own applications moderate variation on the level of social phenomena: the variation must be found significant, interesting, practical or otherwise compelling (even if only for generating an identity with the performer of the variant) in order for it to develop into a social phenomenon (Honko 1981a, 1981b).

Chapter 18: Tradition and Social Group

18.1. “Epic” – A Working Definition

Honko (1998:28) puts forward the following definition of “epic”:

Epics are great narratives about exemplars, originally performed by specialised singers as superstories which excel in length, power of expression and significance of content over other narratives and function as a source of identity representations in the traditional community or group receiving the epic.

He discusses the diversity of manners in which epics function as social exemplars and stresses that specialization in performance does not exclude other conduits of transmission (*ibid.*:20-29). He emphasizes that the length of the individual performance variant does not qualify an epic, but that there must be a long format in circulation – in contrast to kalevalaic narrative, *byliny*, and individual eddic poems: “not only their short format but also their ideals of tersely progressing narrative discourse differ from the “broadly narrative” epics prone to delay and the elaboration of detail” (Honko 1998:36). “Epic” is used here for these shorter northern genres because they appear as the narrative format for the social equivalent of “epic” within Germanic Scandinavian,³³³ Finno-Karelian, and Slavic traditions: “length” and terseness of style are considered functions of “epic” genres in these cultures.

18.2. Epic as Mythic Narrative in Cultural Activity

The social significance of epic is essential to its cultural activity. Epic recounts events of mythic proportions which provide models for identities, relationships, and patterns in relationship to which both personal experience and the visible and invisible worlds are understood – what Lotman (1990:152-153) considered a “text-forming mechanism” (cf. Meletinskij 1998, 2004). It provides “truths” of mythic proportions and its centrality in the semiosphere inclines it to stability as a nexus within a broad network of interrelated

³³³ On Icelandic sagas as prose epics, see Honko’s (1998:32) response to Clover (1986). The relationship between the long prose form and changes in the tradition ecology of medieval Iceland (with particular regard to changing attitudes toward poetic narrative genres) is a question for future research.

cultural activity (Doty 2000). Traditions related to the creation and organization of the world appear to be among the most persistent in any culture: they are often at the foundations of how the world (physical, supernatural, social) is understood – at the foundations of the belief system itself. Aspects of cultural belief systems permeate language and most, if not all forms of cultural expression. Language and other forms of cultural expression may stand in a dependent relationship to these belief systems, but they are participating in a discourse with these belief systems and perpetuating their communication in a complex network of multi-conduit transmission.³³⁴

Tarkka (2005:162ff.) stresses that multiple creation myths may co-exist in a pool of traditions simultaneously. This does not mean that they all bear equal weight and authority in terms of how the world's creation was understood, nor are they necessarily integrated into a coherent system, but rather that they may fulfil different generic and rhetorical functions which maintain their value for subsequent applications (cf. IV1.1349). Their patterns of persistence cannot be attributed to “belief” in a strict sense, which is itself communicated and generated through complex systems of multi-conduit transmission in the process of internalization (cf. Kamppinen 1989:17-22; Tarkka 2005:92-95). These traditions provide foundations for the understanding of the world and its organization. Rather than providing a “premise” for all other mythic and historical events in a logical sense, the explanations they offer communicate an ultimate expression of power and authority in the creation of the world itself, infusing them with astounding rhetorical authority and laying foundations for the semiotic system in which powers activated through expression are applied and received (Lotman 1990:151-70). This centrality in the semiotic system implies epic has a very high position in a hierarchy of genres: epic provides an essential network of referents within the semiosphere. Referents which epic provides are among the most heavily loaded within a tradition ecology (exemplified in performances intended to have magical effects). Relationships between “epic” and “truth” (or “anti-truth” in the case of Saxo) incline toward a reduction of the ego-distance of the performer.

³³⁴ Cf. Doty 2000; Hoppál 1998b:156-58; 2002, Frog 2008a, 2009a, 2009b; on multi-conduit transmission, see Dégh & Vázsonyi 1975.

18.3. Epic and Social Identity

The position of epic within a semiosphere of a social group or culture makes it reasonable to speak of epic as an attribute of that group. Epic as a textual or extra-textual entity may develop an indexically loaded identity (e.g. the Bible) through its applications. This may occur at the level of redactions (cf. §15.2.2), as when competing groups apply a textual entity's *narrative power* for the affirmation of one cultural figure over another (§14.4.2). Tarkka (2005:179-82) shows that the proximity of the performer's ego and way of life to cultural figures and narrative content can lead to significant adaptations and manipulations of epic material. She takes the example of a smith who was a form-breaker, asserting the smith Ilmarinen over Väinämöinen in the Sampo-Cycle. The example is interesting because it develops from tendencies within the family's redaction who were associated with smithing more generally (Frog forthcoming a).

Just as Miihkali considered singing sinful, performing the songs at all could have repercussions as a socially unacceptable or sinful act (Tarkka 2005:41-42), which inclines toward breaking down the process of transmission and the extinction of those phenomena from the tradition ecology (cf. §4.3.8). The process of social moderation of performance and variation discussed in §17.3 can also be generalized from the level of single individuals in an immediate community to the process of epic transmission over a period of hundreds of years. Variation passes from specific details to general patterns of development. This emphasizes the relationship of the institution of the *tietäjä* as the conduit of authority for epic transmission, because that institution becomes a primary factor in moderating continuity and variation as a social phenomenon, and that process of moderation is oriented toward the priorities and applications of *tietäjät* in the maintenance of the community and community identity both in relation to other communities and as the representative and intermediary of the community in interactions with the invisible world (§7.4).

18.3.1. Stable Cultural Environments

Within a stable cultural environment, the cultural activity of phenomena within the tradition ecology is anticipated to remain fairly consistent, as are their cultural loads and

those of their constituent elements (see Dégh 1995:93-118): new traditions and modes of expression are not being introduced from alternative tradition ecologies; social and economic circumstances are not inciting revaluations of *word power* and *image power*; contexts for performance and conventions of application are anticipated to be maintained. The more central elements are within the semiosphere, the more inclined they are to develop cultural loads in the internalization process of younger generations. This process develops their value as referents in application and communication, in addition to conventional contexts of use. Elements associated with conservative patterns of application are inclined to conservative maintenance so long as that conservatism maintains relevance in their (central) applications. Individual elements may continue to be refined or to develop, but the indexical interweaving of elements within the system inclines them to be resistant to change.

In Scandinavia, the period from the Migration Period to the Viking Age is anticipated to be fairly stable; the Viking Age brought with it a gradual rise in mobility and interactions across tradition communities leading to the settlement of Iceland and the conversion to Christianity (see Fitzhugh & Ward 2000). Karelia was by contrast extremely remote and provided a significantly more stable cultural environment. The radical cultural changes associated with the Finno-Karelian Iron Age and the rise of agriculture were followed by a more gradual filtration of Christianity northward.³³⁵ Although Christianity had a long history in the region, it remained geographically, linguistically and culturally remote from Christian authority, which penetrated southern regions earlier than those further north (Kirkinen 1970; Tšernjakova 1994; cf. Haavio 1952b). The reforms of Nikon (1650) stimulated many Old Believers (resisting reforms) to flee into the wildernesses of Karelia and Siberia. The fall of the monastery fortress of Solovetski in 1676 to the collaborating of Church and State can be considered to mark the imposition of religious authority in Karelia (see Pentikäinen 1978:100ff.), much as the year 1000 provides a (misleadingly) concrete date for the Christianization of Iceland. This was approximately 150 years before the first major collection efforts by Sjögren in 1823-25 (Siikala 2003:13).

³³⁵ This may be compared to the filtration of Christian influences into Scandinavia from the Migration Period (cf. Fabech 1999).

18.3.2. Confluence, Contact and Migration

Siikala (2002b) proposes that the confluence of cultures in Viena had a stimulating effect on epic traditions in the region. Narrative activity is clearly precipitated by the introduction of outsiders into a community and the formation of temporary communities surrounding collective activity (Gil'ferding 1894; Dégh 1969, 1995). This constitutes the assertion and affirmation of individual and group identities within a community and/or in relation to a community. The identities of individuals arriving in Viena were established through action, artefact and interpersonal activity, including narratives. This activity would add significance to applications of performance related to individual and group identities which could easily become competitive and result in hostilities between families (cf. Tarkka 2005:106-111,204-235). Migrations clearly resulted in infusions of new traditions and material into the pool of traditions and also resulted in the establishment of multiple redactions of the same narratives which persisted in relation to one another in close proximity, presumably associated with the group identities of the performers (§15.2.2, §17.3).

A corresponding phenomenon is anticipated to have occurred in Iceland as part of the settlement process. Individuals tended to settle in areas where they had familiar connections. Some groups with more compatible beliefs established kinship networks after their arrival (Ellis 1968:88-90). However, different cults also found themselves in close proximity and conflict (cf. *Víga-Glúms saga*). We recognize that expressions of pagan identities developed in response to the presence of Christianity, but this process of confronting ideologies and developing expressions in terms of the “other” had already been underway for centuries.³³⁶ Settlers in Iceland had an immediate need to assert individual and group identities, and in the literature, belief and ritual practice function as both a means of expression and a tool in interaction (cf. North 2000). However, Old Norse religions were intimately tied to the landscape.³³⁷ Narrative appears to have

³³⁶ Cf. Herschend (2001:61-94) for examples from Migration Period Scandinavia; Price (2002:271-272) for a Sámi man buried in the clothing of a Germanic Viking Age woman.

³³⁷ On burial mounds and legal rights see Sundqvist 2002:153-155; on ancestral mountains, see Nordland 1969; for examples of creating new relationships with the landscape, see e.g. Benediktsson 1968:138-140; Artelius & Lundqvist 2005.

provided a medium for establishing land-rights in this landscape without a history.³³⁸ The official Christianization took place little more than a century following the initial settlement. This process of dislocation and the need to assert individual and social identities in a rapidly changing cultural environment may have stimulated an increase in narrative activity surrounding family histories (cf. Lotman 1990:144-146,191-202) which may be related to the profusion of saga literature related to these histories.

Regions where kalevalaic epic survived until collection are adjacent to and were in contact with regions where the *bylina*-tradition survived. Kaukonen (1984:10-11) viewed this as a unique cultural area in which the epic traditions of these two cultures were in close contact (cf. Pentikäinen 1999:123-124; Siikala 2002a:323-24, 335). Ahola (2001) suggests that this region may have been a nexus for cultural contacts between Germanic, Finnic and Slavic groups, giving rise to a common “unruly warrior” tradition (cf. Ahola 2000). It has been observed that *byliny* survived more generally in regions where immigrant groups encountered other cultural groups with their own epic traditions, suggesting that this may have loaded *byliny* with value and relevance for social and cultural identity in these regions (Bailey & Ivanova 1998:xxxvii). Harvilahti (1985:159-161) points out that although other Slavic narrative songs entered into Finnic oral traditions, there is not one instance of a heroic *bylina* in kalevalaic traditions, stressing that heroic epic is an ethno-centric phenomenon, significantly impacting when, how and why it can cross linguistic-cultural thresholds. Kalevalaic and *bylina* epic narratives remained culture-specific, although there was some exchange of motifs and motif-complexes (Mansikka 1946:184-186; Oinas 1969:8-9).

18.3.3. Cultural Change and the Fall of Epic

“The emergent cultural characteristics of the poetry depended on the status and significance of epic in the performing community.” (Siikala 2002b:28)

The fewer associations epic had with belief traditions, ritual and magic performance applications, the more regularly fantastic elements were either lacking or blended with motifs from folktales. In these communities, narrative applications shifted focus to

³³⁸ A number of examples have been collected in Cochrane 2006.

adventure and humour as entertainment rather than the maintenance of the social identities and the ritual life of the community. Issues surrounding the emergence and introduction of “new” alternative singing traditions into a cultural milieu were mentioned in §9.4.3. It is improbable that traditions, such as the European ballad, could displace epic without additional radical changes in the tradition ecology which enabled the displacement or replacement of their social functions.

Oral epic traditions gradually went extinct across the majority of Europe during the Middle Ages. During the same period we find the emergence of the register and semiotics of the European *Märchen* (Dégh 1995:93-118) and European ballad traditions (Vargyas 1983:110-23), which have maintained a continuity into the present day. These (and other) genres appear to have emerged in direct relation to the demise of epic genres, and to have assimilated narrative material and motif-complexes from epic genres in that process.³³⁹ This is directly comparable to the development of the Ingrian “lyric-epic” tradition (§4.3.9)³⁴⁰ and both changing and emerging genres in saga literature – particularly those which appear to selectively draw on loan-words and motifs associated with knights and chivalry to activate associations with “exotic” foreign literature and which “translate” foreign models into the semiotics of familiar genres (vernacular *image power* and *narrative power*), adapting their priorities and content to be relevant and interesting to a Norse audience.³⁴¹ Mytho-heroic sagas and mythological narratives in particular place priority on humour and action/adventure as entertainment: the *narrative power* of epic appears to have grown destitute of “truths” for the in-group; it retains a tremendous cultural load through the momentum of its cultural activity (it is readily recognizable, and recognizable as *having been* significant) but it appears predominantly associated with an “other”, whether the ignorant, illiterate, pagans or the people of the past (cf. Lotman 1990:45-47; Bauman & Briggs 2007).

³³⁹ Cf. Bugge & Moe 1887, Andrews 1912, Ólason 1982, Vargyas 1983, Johnsson 1991.

³⁴⁰ Cf. also Lintrop 1999.

³⁴¹ Cf. Naumann 1978, 1983; Mitchell 1991; Ólason 1994; on the emergence of the *rímur*, see Þórólfsson 1934; Ólason 1982:52-82

Vargyas (1983:110-123) offers a very insightful contrast of ballad and epic as genres in relation to narrative priorities and functions in application.³⁴² These contrasts are generally relevant across other genres as well: rather than providing a “source of identity representations in the traditional community or group receiving the epic” (Honko 1998:28), these genres cater to the individual ego. They focus on an individual’s psychological and social stresses within the larger cultural group (most often concerned literally or symbolically with the individual and the family or the individual and marriage/courtship) rather than events which affect the larger cultural group or are of mythic or even cosmological proportions. These narratives have socializing functions within the community and across communities as genres of performance, but the individual narratives are not oriented to the maintenance of community identities and/or ritual life within those communities. This is emphasized by the ease with which these genres, in contrast to epic, transit boundaries of language and culture.

The emergence (or specific evolution) of these genres is associated with radical social and cultural changes, and changes in both the conceptual system and strategies for constructing and maintaining community identities. Vernacular epic was displaced in functions relating to community identity and the communication of “truths” of mythic proportions. *Märchen* or the ballad do not appear to have displaced vernacular epic, although they may have participated in the process and assumed some of its functions. Christian epics of the Bible and Apocrypha appear to have played a primary role in displacing vernacular epic traditions from their social functions of communicating mythic “truths” and constructing and maintaining community identities. The radical social and cultural changes which took place in conjunction with the Christianization process were intimately tied to reorganizing community identities and ritual activities around these “new” epic traditions, constructing oppositions to traditions of the “pagan” other. This same process divested vernacular epics of mythic truth-value radically altering their significance in rhetorical strategies and applications, shifting them into the realm of popular entertainment and/or attributes of the “other” (cf. Bauman & Briggs 2007:esp.3).

³⁴² Vargyas’s work suffers from a burden of misplaced ideology with a conviction that “epic” was a genre of the aristocracy.

PART V: APPLICATIONS OF *THE ACTIVATING POWER OF EXPRESSION*

Chapter 19: “Source” as Application

19.1. Source and Application: Representations of Extra-Textual Entities

The selection and emphases of elements of an extra-textual entity presented may be significantly impacted by genre and function and even radically deviate from conventional conceptions of its content (§16). When addressing *LV* in performance and reception on the level of the individual, it is possible to develop a “thick corpus” in relation to which individual variants can be assessed and understood (§17). This can be developed into broader generalization about the evolution of traditions as social processes. When we shift from the corpus of *LV* variants to the medieval Icelandic corpus, the issues become manifold.

19.2. The Baldr-Cycle in Poetic Sources

Óðinn-poems appear to emphasize the Baldr-Höðr-Váli revenge-cycle.³⁴³ This appears to be part of the selective process associated with application. Among these sources, Frigg’s weeping appears in *Völuspá R* (*Vsp* 33), but the introduction of this element anticipates the death of Óðinn as Frigg’s “second sorrow”: Frigg’s sorrow appears to be mentioned in this poem exclusively for the affirmation of a relationship between the deaths of Baldr and Óðinn. The Óðinn poems are all concerned with Ragnarök, apparently as the outcome of the Baldr-Slaying. The *Húsdrápa* funeral description also emphasizes Óðinn’s relationship with Baldr as does the mention of Draupnir burned with Baldr in *Skírnismál*. References to the Óðinn-Rindr union can be considered to refer to

³⁴³ *Baldrs draumar*, *Völuspá*, *Völuspá inn skamma*, *Vafþrúðnismál*

the Baldr-Höðr-Váli revenge-cycle, although they may also be application-based kennings (§16.3). If *Grógaldr* 6 is accepted as a reference to the relationship between Rindr and Váli, the indexical associations of the reference (a mother teaching her protective son magic) has only been preserved owing to its relationship to the context in which it is preserved – it is as interesting as it is accidental. *Lokasenna* emphasizes the Frigg-Baldr relationship rather than the Óðinn-Baldr relationship. *Málsháttakvæði* 9, Oddi litli’s ekphrasis stanza and the anonymous *Hrafnis saga* stanza all foreground the Frigg-Baldr-(Loki) cycle in remarkably different contexts. Skaldic examples may also all be considered accidental: they were circumstantially relevant to the particular composition on a “random” subject.

19.3. Snorri’s Baldr-Cycle

Edda is the product of a single individual in a unique application. Snorri’s patterns of poetic citation indicate an extensive knowledge of poetry on mythological subjects (Frog 2009b). His prose is more likely to reflect his internalized understanding of the extra-textual entity filtered through his narrative strategies and priorities than directly reflect individual conservative poetic textual entities (*ibid.*:276-277). Snorri’s manipulations and emphasis on narrative quality are implied in the apparent three-part narrative structure:

Figure 14. The structure of Snorri’s Baldr-Cycle narrative

Act 1: Baldr’s murder	(<i>problem</i>)
a. Baldr’s dreams / oaths	(<i>problem</i>)
b. Loki’s annoyance / <i>mistilteinn</i>	(<i>consequence/response</i>)
c. Murder	(<i>resolution attempt</i>)
Act 2: Society and death	(<i>consequence/response</i>)
a. Public funeral	(<i>problem</i>)
b. Hermóðr’s ride	(<i>consequence/response</i>)
c. Communal grieving	(<i>resolution attempt</i>)
Act 3: Revenge on Loki	(<i>resolution attempt</i>)
a. Loki hides	(<i>problem</i>)
b. Loki’s capture	(<i>consequence/response</i>)
c. Loki bound	(<i>resolution attempt</i>)

If this model is correct, there are regular shifts in scene between fixed locations and journeys to retrieve or acquire someone/thing (Loki–*mistilteinn*; Hermóðr–Baldr; the Æsir–Loki), and regular shifts in focus between the individual and the social group (community : Loki; community : Hermóðr; community : Loki). Snorri refers to additional mythological information relevant to Baldr and the Baldr-Cycle – most prominently the Baldr-Höðr-Váli revenge cycle – but appears only to have incorporated material relevant to his strategies and priorities.

19.3.1. Throwing Things at Baldr

Snorri is not simply “telling” the Baldr-Cycle, he is manipulating the selection, combination and presentation of material. The response to Baldr’s dreams is the acquisition of oaths that nothing will harm Baldr. Thereafter, when the gods gather at *þing* their *skemtun*, “entertainment”, is throwing things at Baldr. A *þing* was an assembly with legal and ritual connotations: the gods assemble to take council in crisis situations (*Vsp* 6,9,23,25, *Bd* 1, *Þkv* 14) and/or daily to make judgement (in *Grímnismál* 30; Faulkes 1982:17-18). It is also found projected into the heroic sphere (*Gautreks saga*: Ranisch 1900:28-29). The scene of mock-combat has been compared to the daily fighting and resurrection of Óðinn’s chosen slain (von der Leyen 1899:20; Lindow 1997b:51). This daily battle appears to be an application of *image power* and *narrative power* from the cosmological battle of Ragnarök. This reproduction of the mythic cycle on a daily basis is also found in the daily battle of *Hjaðningavíg*.³⁴⁴ It is paralleled by the daily emergence and sinking of the island of Gotland (mirroring the creation, sinking and rebirth of the world)³⁴⁵ until it is settled with fire in *Guta saga* (Peel 1999:2,17; cf. *ibid.*:xvii-xx).³⁴⁶ There is a discontinuity in the comparison of these daily battles with

³⁴⁴ Lindow 1997b:51,74-75,171-172; cf. Rowe 2002 which offers a review of potential Celtic analogues with which the daily

³⁴⁵ *Vsp* 4,57,59; Faulkes 1982:11-12, 53; on the same representation in *Vm* 48-51 see Frog 2006; cf. also Tolley (2009:396-397) on the *Guta saga* example.

³⁴⁶ These examples appear to reflect a pattern of Germanic mythological thinking associated which maps an identity across perceived cycles of time, which were very probably mounted in a hierarchical relation within the conceptual system – i.e. the loosing of monsters and destruction and rebirth of the world (following or described as the *fimbulvetr*, “mythic winter”: *Vm* 44; Faulkes 1982:49; cf. Simek 1996:83) was hierarchically dominant within the semiotics of mythological thinking, and the cycles of the year and the day, allowing corresponding patterns to be reflected on these additional levels (on mythological thinking see Cassirer 1925, Eliade 1991[1954], Lotman & Uspenskii 1976). Although the significance of

throwing things at Baldr daily. Baldr does not fight and is completely passive. He does not die daily and is not resurrected following the conflict (until Ragnarök).

Snorri states that the daily event which resulted in Baldr not being harmed was considered a *mikill frami*, “great honour”, by everyone (Faulkes 1982:45), although Baldr does nothing. This account is unparalleled, and Baldr’s passivity appears contradictory to cultural conceptions of “testing” heroic qualities: Baldr does not exercise his immunity against any adversary or challenge – his immunity is tested by the gods rather like testing armour on a firing range rather than in battle. Dumézil (1973:180-183) argues that Saxo knew the bombardment motif from the Baldr-Cycle and attributed it to Høtherus, when Høtherus waits out the storm of weapons until his enemies have depleted them (Saxo 1931:64-65). This is a battle (occurring once rather than daily) and Høtherus is consequently victorious. The reference to Böðvarr Bjarki as *Baldr þeygi*, “silent Baldr”, in *Bjarkamál*, apparently refers to Bjarki in a trance-like state until he is disturbed by his companion Hjalti (see Faulkes 1998:189 and note). This could also be relevant to the motif of unperturbed passivity. Imperviousness and bombardment may be motifs associated with the Baldr-Cycle, but that does not mean that Snorri has applied them in their traditional context. When provoking Höðr, Loki tells him to *veita Baldri sæmð sem aðrir menn*, to “show respect to Baldr like other men” – by throwing something at him (Faulkes 1982:46). Snorri’s presentation is not oriented to showing that Baldr is great and powerful. His depiction emphasizes the Æsir demonstrating or “testing” the effectiveness of their preventative measures – their ability to circumvent a prophesied event. The Æsir are presented as “testing” their own power as a communal activity on a daily basis. Snorri appears to use Baldr’s imperviousness as a metonym for the power and authority of the Æsir as gods gathering for judgement at *þing*. Baldr’s death becomes symptomatic of their lack of power, and in response to his death they can neither speak nor physically move his body (Faulkes 1982:46). Baldr’s death is generally attested as

the solstice as a period has faded almost entirely in this regard (cf. Gunnell 1995:97ff. on mumming rituals), modern culture continued to maintain conceptions of the “witching hour”, in which the renewal of the daily cycle is correlated with the most hazardous moment of that cycle and related to supernatural forces threatening the “natural” order of the world.

indexically associated with Ragnarök. Snorri's presentation manipulates motifs to show that the fall of the "pagan" gods was the inevitable result of their vulnerability.

Lindow (1997:51) points out that *skemtun* is more often associated with verbal than physical entertainment. He emphasizes that weapons were forbidden at *þing* and is "inclined to regard the image as a product of Snorri's imagination." Snorri's account appears to invert both the assembly as a location where violence was prohibited (although Baldr is not harmed and it is not clear that "weapons" are in use). Perhaps more significantly, Snorri eliminates speech-acts which would otherwise be central to activities at *þing*. This curious play is further emphasized by the *Æsir*'s loss of the ability to speak with Baldr's death (Faulkes 1982:46), considering that this implies an inability to take legal action in the context of a conventional human legal assembly, and an inability to control or even influence the created world on the mythic level. The physical bombardment as *skemtun* is comparable to Gylfi's innocent question: *Eða hvat er skemtun einherjanna þá er þeir drekka eigi?* – "Or what is the entertainment of the *einherjar* then when they are not drinking?" (Faulkes 1982:34). *Skemtun* anticipates "stories" (such as those being read in *Edda*) or "poetry" (the subject of the treaties), yet the *skemtun* of the *einherjar* is to engage in physical battle with one another every day – a pattern reflected as a curse which can only be ended through Christianity in *Hjaðningavíg* – rather than verbal entertainments. Snorri also uses *skemtun* for the entertainment offered by his *Edda* (Faulkes 1998:5) and for the entertainment which Gylfi receives from Gefjun (Faulkes 1982:7), where Snorri may be manipulating the *narrative power* of a myth of sexual exchange in relation to an innocent *skemtun* which could be interpreted as "storytelling" (Clunies Ross 1978). Snorri stresses Baldr's eloquence although Baldr is never attributed with either direct or indirect speech. Snorri was both a politician and a scholar: "entertainments" oriented exclusively toward physical activity and violence may be intended as parody, particularly when Baldr's death is framed at the divine equivalent of a legal assembly. If the location of Baldr's death can be shown to be an invention of Snorri, the description of its circumstances would appear to be largely a rhetorical construct.

19.3.2. Oaths, Weeping and the “All-but-One” Motif

Harris (1985:76) suggests Snorri may have known *Baldrs draumar*. Both Snorri and *Baldrs draumar* open their narratives with Baldr’s dreams and the gods holding council, although *Baldrs draumar 2* presents Óðinn abruptly departing to consult the *völva* in the otherworld without reference to the gods at *þing*. *Prymsqviða 14* applies on the same stanza model as *Baldrs draumar 1* and exhibits later verbal correspondence with Snorri’s account of Frigg’s request for someone to undertake the recovery attempt (§16.4.2). Limited sources leave which poem(s) this stanza was conventionally associated open to question, and whether Snorri or the *Prymsqviða*-poet knew it from *Baldrs draumar* or a poem about Frigg (cf. Frog 2009b:274-276; Harvilahti 1992).

Ok var þat gert at beiða griða Baldri fyrir alls konar háska (Faulkes 1982:45)

and it was decided to ask *grið* [plural] for Baldr against all kinds of dangers.

The term *grið* means a homestead, and can refer to either shelter received there or service offered there, and more abstractly it means “assurance of non-aggression”. The decision of the Æsir places Frigg as the actor. The oath-taking leads to *mistilteinn* – too young to take an oath – as the weapon in an “All-but-One” motif. This provides the foundation for *mistilteinn* as the instrument of Baldr’s death. Snorri also associates the “All-but-One” motif explicitly with Þökk-Loki, as the only figure who will not weep for Baldr. The motif is implied for Höðr as the one figure not participating in throwing things at Baldr.

19.3.2.1. Innocent Objects and Genre Transgression

A mother’s magical defence of her son is not unusual in ON; it appears to centre around making the son immune to weapons (with magic or impenetrable armour). The impenetrable body is a commonly encountered magical defence.³⁴⁷ Saxo (1931:64) attributes this form of imperviousness to Baldr, claiming that his “holy body” cannot be penetrated by “iron”. In these circumstances, the enchanted figure/supernatural being can then only be “penetrated” by enchanted objects (e.g. Faulkes 1998:43) or injured by blunt

³⁴⁷ Cf. Stark 2006 on the penetrability of bodies in Finno-Karelian tradition; Siikala 2002a on *tietäjä* incantations for an impenetrable body as immunity to weapons

objects without penetration (e.g. Grimstad 2000:235). Frigg's actions contrast with these strategies: her actions focus not on Baldr, but on things which are not Baldr:

Ok Frigg tók svardaga til þess at eira skyldu Baldri eldr ok vatn, járn ok alls konar málmr, steinar, jörðin, viðirnir, sóttirnar, dýrin, fuglarnir, eitr, ormar
(Faulkes 1982:45)

And Frigg took oaths for this, that fire and water, iron and all sorts of metals, stones, earth, the trees, the illnesses, the animals, the birds, venom, serpents should not do harm to Baldr.

The list does not include anthropomorphic beings. None of these things are normally attributed with the capacity for speech,³⁴⁸ and they never participate in legally binding agreements. In ON mythological and mytho-heroic narratives, inanimate objects only exhibit animate behaviour in cases of supernatural beings in inanimate form³⁴⁹ or where it is attributable to quality of craftsmanship in fabricated items,³⁵⁰ with no examples of these expressing will or decision-making ability. Stones and trees do not speak in any documented ON genre. Snorri's account appears to derive from a genre in which it is acceptable for the inanimate to be portrayed as animate, implying a native genre outside all other mythological and heroic sources, or that it has developed from a foreign tradition wherein a different set of semiotics applies. The application of this material without adaptation to conventional narrative semiotics results in a recognizable "genre transgression". Although intertextual loans and inter-generic strategies are integral to epic genres, this narrative strategy will not normally compromise the essential system of the genre in which it is used (Honko 1998; Tarkka 2005). Snorri's competence as a narrator and willingness to manipulate sources (§3.1) implies that this "genre transgression" belongs to a conscious strategy intended to activate the *narrative power* of a contemporary referent.

³⁴⁸ Birds are attributed with an interpretable language in the Sigurðr-Cycle (*Fáfnismál* 32-38; Faulkes 1998:46-47; Grimstad 2000:145), but this may reflect conceptions of the nature of birds rather than general abilities of animals to speak. See §20.2.2.1; cf. Frog 2008b:esp.25.

³⁴⁹ E.g. Alr in the Sif's hair-episode (Faulkes 1998:43).

³⁵⁰ E.g. Frey's sword (Faulkes 1982:31).

Snorri's index of objects does not include any fabricated items, nor are fabricated items included in descriptions of objects being thrown at Baldr. "Weapons" are only mentioned in Loki's interview with Frigg:

“Eigi munu vápn eða viðir granda Baldri. Eiða hefi ek þegit af öllum þeim.”
(Faulkes 1982:45)

“Neither weapons nor [pieces of/types of] wood will injure Baldr. I have gotten oaths from all of them”

Höðr states that he is not throwing things at Baldr because he is *vápnlaus*, “weaponless”. The only objects mentioned being thrown at Baldr are *grjót*, “stones”, and *mistilteinn*, which would seem to make being “weaponless” irrelevant. “Weapons” do not actually appear to be pertinent to the scene or the narrative: emphasis is on organic objects and elements. The weapon-reference is only found in the dialogue with Loki where it appears related to the motif of Höðr's blindness. This dialogue is where we would most anticipate evidence of Snorri's handiwork if he were integrating otherwise unrelated material into his account of Baldr's murder. It raises the question of whether “weapons” were relevant to the source or account that he was adapting at all.³⁵¹

19.3.2.2. “All of Creation” and the “Quick and the Dead”

The semiotics of the oath-taking sequence are repeated in the attempt to weep Baldr out of Hel. Hel offers the condition that if *allir hlutir í heiminum, kykvir ok dauðir*, “all things in the world, quick and dead”, weep for Baldr, he will be returned to the Æsir. This statement has two components.

19.3.2.2.1. *Allir hlutir*

Allir hlutir, “all things” (or “all pieces/parts/shares”), appears repeatedly in the Prologue to *Edda* with reference to everything in the created world, as in the opening sentence:

³⁵¹ Detter (1894) emphasizes the fact that sources for the Baldr-Cycle and its many potential analogues are characterized by the weapon either being a sword associatable with *Mistilteinn* or an instrument which is either not conventionally a weapon (e.g. bridles in *Ynglingatal*) or not being used as a “weapon” (e.g. using a bow for hunting in *Beowulf*), which becomes an essential factor for his discussion of potential analogues.

Almáttigr Guð skapaði himin ok jörð ok alla hluti er þeim fylgja, ok síðarst menn....
(Faulkes 1982:3)

Almighty God created heaven and earth and all things which belong to them, and last of all men....

Snorri states that *menninir ok kykvendin ok jörðin ok steinarnir ok tré ok allr málmr*, “men and the living things and the earth and the stones and trees and all metals”, wept for Baldr. Krohn (1922:125) draws attention to the Anglo-Saxon parallel *weop eall gesceaft*, “all that had been created wept”, in the *Dream of the Rood*.³⁵² In 12th and 13th century Iceland, the *Dream of the Rood* would be understood as the monologue of a talking tree. It attributes a form of animism contrasting with the basic conceptual system reflected in Old Icelandic literary activity as well as forms of animism asserted in Snorri’s Prologue and in his categorization of kennings and heiti.³⁵³ The animism of the *Dream of the Rood* is unusual in Old English vernacular literature and otherwise seems limited to riddles (Payne 1976).³⁵⁴ There is no discernable reason to believe Snorri had any direct contact with this poem, a translation thereof, or compositions which had been influenced by it.³⁵⁵ If Snorri was thinking in terms of “all things of God’s creation” underlying both oaths and

³⁵² Dickins & Ross (1934:27-28) assert: “The striking similarity of the Norse story of the lament for Baldr, for whom all things wept save only the giantess Þökk, cannot be due to chance.” See also Turville-Petre 1964:119-120; Swanton 1970: 119ff.. The question of whether the account in *The Dream of the Rood* has been shaped by some earlier, potentially Anglo-Saxon form of the Baldr-Cycle is interesting, but it is worth bearing in mind that prior to Dickins & Ross, Classical influences were argued (e.g. Cook 1905:31-32), and the romantic idea of a connection with an ancient “indigenous” cultural heritage (implied in the Baldr-Cycle as an analogue) is an inevitable part of the discourse surrounding it. If there were influences from some form of the Baldr-Cycle, the impression that the use of prosopopoeia in the poem was exceptional (if not unique outside of riddles) in vernacular poetry at the time of its composition implies that this hypothetical version of the weeping episode did not involve plants and stones.

³⁵³ E.g. “earth” is animate, but rocks and stones are parts (*hlutir*) of the earth (Faulkes 1982:3; cf. Clunies Ross 1987).

³⁵⁴ Influences from Classical traditions are also possible. However, the point of interest in this context is that this aspect of the *Dream of the Rood* exhibits no indication of associations with vernacular narrative traditions which could be considered to indicate that talking stones or trees may have been part of the vernacular mythological or mytho-heroic traditions.

³⁵⁵ *The Dream of the Rood* is preserved in a runic inscription on the Ruthwell Cross. The Ruthwell Cross is dated to the late 7th or early 8th century, although the inscription may have been added later (see Swanton 1970:9-38 for discussion). A version of the poem is also preserved in the Vercelli Book, a manuscript from sometime around the year 1000 (Swanton 1970:1-9), which appears to be independent of the runic text and thus an oral tradition (in some form) seems to stand behind one if not both of them. The significant Anglo-Saxon presence in the process of the Christianization of Scandinavia in the period when *The Dream of the Rood* was copied into the Vercelli Book (Sanmark 2004:75ff.) – more than two centuries before Snorri was writing – makes it possible that some form of this song was carried into Old Norse cultural areas, although there is no indication that it took root there.

weeping, this could explain the absence of fabricated items from either list, and perhaps also why elves, Æsir and other inhabitants of the mythic world are not included.

Málsháttakvæði 9.5 says *öll grétu þau eptir hann*, “they all wept for him”, *þau* implying a group of beings rather than all of creation. In the *lausavísa* from *Hrafns saga*, lines 1 and 4 form the statement: *Hvatvetna grét...Baldr ór Helju*, “Everything wept... Baldr out of Hel”. This corresponds verbally to the request for Þökk to weep in Snorri: *Þeir biðja hana gráta Baldr ór Helju*, “They asked her to weep Baldr out of Hel”. It is possible that both accounts adapt a full-line model of verse.³⁵⁶ The term *hvat-vetna* looks like a parallel to Snorri’s account, in which case it would be emphatic, literally, “everything whatsoever”, or “absolutely everything”. This would imply it was part of the parody of the verse which could derive from Snorri’s conception. However, Cleasby & Vigfússon (1896:297,700) propose that *vetna* may be a genitive plural of *vættr*, “[land]-spirit” (Tolley 2009:242-246), and the within this family of words, *hvat-vetna* may have been interpretable according to a literal meaning of “every land-spirit”. The stanzas added between *Baldrs draumar* 1-2 in late manuscripts present an oath-extraction episode.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁶ *Biðja* would need to be line initial to participate in alliteration.

³⁵⁷ These stanzas appear as supplementary stanzas *a-d* in Bugge’s edition (1867:138). Alliterating syllables have been placed in bold, with some exceptions. The exception are *angrs-ok* [b.5-6], *at-ei* [c.3-4], *at* [c.6], although see Snorri on this phenomenon in skaldic verse (Faulkes 1999:8), *allar-ok* [c.7-8], *at-of* [d.7-8]. These may have been consciously deployed and received as alliteration, particularly when alliteration in a.7 is carried exclusively by the conjunction *ef*, which according to the study of Lehmann & Dillard (1954:32) is never encountered in alliteration in the classic corpus of eddic poetry. With the exception of lines a.1 and b.2, the first syllable of every line participates in alliteration, possibly reflecting changes in how the metre was performed and aesthetic priorities of a period nearer *rímur* poetry (cf. Aðalsteinsson 2009):

a.	Mjök var hapti	höfugr blundr	Heavy sleep was greatly beset
	heillir í svefni	horfnar sýndust	The dreams seen in sleep by the beholders bewitched
	spurðu jólnar	spár framvísar	They ask the giants, the fore-wise of prophesies
	ef þat myndi	angrs vita	if it might signify a calamity
b.	Fréttir sögðu,	at feigr væri	They reported that doomed was
	Ullar sefi	einna þekkastr	Ullr’s kinsman, of each the most pleasant
	fékk þat angrs	Frigg ok Sváfni	This was a calamity to Frigg and Sváfni[Óðinn]
	rögnum öðrum	ráð sér festu	to the other gods; they fixed on a plan
c.	Út skyldi senda	allar vættir	They would send [to request from] all land-spirits
	griða at beiða	granda ei Baldri	to request oaths not to harm Baldr
	vann alls konar	eið at vægja	One worked to get oaths from all sorts [of <i>vættir</i>]
	Frigg tók allar	festar ok særi	Frigg took all pacts and oaths
d.	Valföðr uggir,	van sé tekit	Valföðr[Óðinn] suspects something wanting in what was done
	hamingjur ætlar	horfnar mundu	He thinks that the <i>hamingjur</i> have disappeared
	æsi kallar	afráðs krefr	He calls the Æsir, craves council*
	málstefnu at	mart of ræðist	at the conference, much is planned.

* *áfráð* means “tribute” or “loss”. Cleasby & Vigfússon (1896:8) consider this unique usage a “mistake”.

The manuscripts are all extremely late (second half of the 17th century and later). The insertion constitutes an embedded Frigg-narrative within the Óðinn-narrative *Baldrs draumar* (Bugge 1867:138). The over-alliteration of these verses is indicative of late composition (Aðalsteinsson 2009, forthcoming). The text exhibits tremendous verbal similarity to Snorri's text (Bugge 1867:139), but rather than Snorri's rocks and trees, Frigg appears to request oaths from *allar vattir*, "all [land]-spirits".³⁵⁸ The miscellany of objects taking oaths may be Snorri's own development – and one layer of that development may include a pun on *hvatvetna*.

19.3.2.2.2. *Kykvir ok dauðir*

The second component is *kykvir ok dauðir* "[the] quick and [the] dead". It appears awkwardly in the mouth of Hel (ruler of the dead) to refer to all things outside her realm (Faulkes 1982:47), with no other indication that the dead must weep. This Christian merism means roughly "all souls". It was not used in vernacular genres of ON literature, making it probable that it was loaded with *word power* (if only importing "Christianity" into a discourse). A 13th century Icelandic audience would most likely be familiar with its use in the Apostles' Creed rather than passages within the Bible:

³⁵⁸ The line (c.2) is grammatically ambiguous concerning whether it is the object of the verb *senda* ("They would send all of the land-spirits") or *beiða* ("ask all of the spirits"). The latter is considered more probable. The *vattir* have no place in the mythological sphere, however, the passage also presents Óðinn's concern that the *hamingjur*, "spirits of good fortune" or "spirits of family luck" (Tolley 2009:227-229), have fled. *Hamingjur* appear in a usage consistent with human society. *Vattir* are attached to localities in the world rather than mobile, and it is therefore conceptually more consistent for them to be the things interviewed in the world rather than being sent out as an legion of messengers for the gods (there is no evidence that any class of beings was ever deployed in the manner implied by such a reading). The enjambment and word order of the phrase are then more similar to skaldic than classic eddic verse, but this is not necessarily surprising for the poem, or for this particular passage. On the one hand, the last line of b is syntactically split from the rest of that stanza and attached to c, which indicates that we should not anticipate "classic" eddic compositional strategies. On the other hand, the syntax may be a consequence of placing emphasis on acoustic patterning (as in skaldic verse): if we consider *allar-ok* in lines c.7-8 as alliterating, the stanza exhibits an alternation of framing and cross alliteration (patterned *abb:a*, *ab:ab*, *ab:ba*, *ab:ab* – noting that the relationship between alliteration in the stanza and stress is unusual for early eddic verse). This would also explain the secondary alliteration confined to line c.1, observing that there is also a possible use of *skothending* in *ut-vattir* (cf. also *gríða-beiða* in c.5 and possibly *vann-konur* in c.7, the penultimate syllable determining the *skothending* in each case, as in skaldic verse). Alternately, the composition could be oriented completely to stylistic devices and entertainment, divorcing content from any associations with popular conceptions of *vattir* and be intended to reflect consciously Snorri's account (cf. *Lokrur*, a *rímur* based on *Edda*). Realistically, the text was probably received in different ways in performance context. Nonetheless, the use of alliteration in the stanza and possible conscious use of *skothending* make it reasonable to consider that *vattir* may have been considered in more or less conventional terms and the word order recognizable and as a consequence of stylistic choices.

Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, Creatorem caeli et terrae,
 et in Iesum Christum, Filium Eius unicum, Dominum nostrum,
 qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine,
 passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus,
 descendit ad íferos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
 ascendit ad caelos, sedet ad dexteram Patris omnipotentis,
 inde venturus est iudicare **vivos et mortuos**.

Credo in Spiritum Sanctum,
 sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem,
 remissionem peccatorum,
 carnis resurrectionem,
 vitam aeternam.
 Amen.

I believe in God the Father, all-powerful, creator of heaven and earth
 and in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord,
 who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary
 suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died and was buried,
 [He] descended to Hell, on the third day rose again from death,
 ascended to heaven, sits at the right [hand] of God, all-powerful,
 From thence he will come to judge the **quick and the dead**.

I believe in the Holy Spirit
 the holy Church, catholic, the communion of saints,
 forgiveness of sins
 the resurrection of the body
 life eternal.
 Amen.

In the *Old Icelandic Homily Book*, the Latin line is glossed: *þaðan mun hann koma at dæma kykva ok dauða* (Wisén 1872:149 with regularized spelling). Snorri does not mention the “dead” weeping for Baldr; the phrase appears to mean “things alive and things not alive (e.g. stones, trees)” or “things animate and things inanimate”. However he understood the phrase, its *word power* appears intended to draw the Baldr-Cycle into comparison with Christian traditions and Christian narratives. It is probable that his presentation of the Baldr-Cycle is developed in relation to textual and extra-textual entities associated with Christian myths and legends in addition to his knowledge of the Baldr-Cycle. The use of the expression *kykvir ok dauðir* may be intended to activate the *narrative power* associated with the Christian resurrection and “judgement” which will follow, or even stimulate the line *inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos* – observing that Baldr is not in “heaven” at the right hand of his father, but stuck in the underworld at

the right hand of Hel, awaiting his resurrection following Ragnarök. It is therefore very possible that Snorri was not only conscious of his curious genre transgression in attributing oaths and weeping to trees, metals and stones, but that this has been actively incorporated from narrative traditions associated with Christianity and the death and resurrection of Jesus in order to prompt comparisons between them.³⁵⁹

19.3.2.3. Young *Mistilteinn* and Three-Year-Old Egill?

According to Snorri, Frigg did not extract an oath from *mistilteinn* because, *Sá þótti mér ungr at krefja eiðsins*, “It seemed to me too young to demand an oath from” (Faulkes 1982:45). It is difficult to ascribe this “All-but-One” motif to one of Snorri’s Christian models. The “All-but-One” motif may already have been relevant to the plant-weapon as the one object which the mother failed to secure her son against (cf. Siikala 2002a:308-314). Snorri’s adaptation attributes *mistilteinn* with anthropomorphic qualities, which includes “youth” as qualifying an ability to assume responsibility for an oath. The “All-but-One” motif is not common in OI sources, allowing it to develop an indexical load. Within Baldr-related material, it exhibits associations with the uninvited guest (see §23.3.4). Lemminkäinen is also an uninvited guest, for whom “youth” is a characteristic attribute. Snorri’s explanation that *mistilteinn* was excluded from oath-taking could be a fusion of a model attributing speech and legal status to *mistilteinn* with an “All-but-One” motif to which “youth” was relevant. *Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar* presents a potential analogue in which the uninvited guest is “too young”.

Egils saga may have been written by Snorri (see Tulinius 2002:234-237). The relevant episode (Einarsson 2003:42-44) claims that when Egill was three winters old, his father, Skalla-Grímr, and family were invited to a feast. Skalla-Grímr gathered the members of his household into a following. Egill asked to join them, and his father’s responded:

“Ekki skaltu fara... því at þú kannt ekki fyrir þér at vera í fjölmenni þar er drykkjur eru miklar, er þú þikir ekki góðr viðskiptis, at þú sért ódrukkinn.”
(Einarsson 2003:43)

³⁵⁹ For examples of medieval humour based on the Apostle’s Creed and similar texts, see Ilvonen 1914.

“You cannot go... because you don’t know how to behave in a large company where there is lots of drinking, and you don’t seem good to deal with even when you are sober.”

Egill takes this badly, takes a horse and goes anyway. The way is difficult and unfamiliar. He keeps his father’s party in sight in order to avoid becoming lost, although when he arrives, the feast is already underway and everyone is already drinking. This is inconsistent with Egill remaining close enough to the travelling party to see them. The host Yngvarr receives him well and sits him across from his father and brother. Egill participates in the feast and composes *dróttkvætt* verses which win him praise.

A historical basis for this adventure of baby-Egill is improbable. The correspondences of the uninvited guest who is young, does not know the way, and the difficult journey to a drinking-feast may all be applications of *narrative power* from a vernacular model. The indexical associations of mead and poetry in ON emphasize that the application is used to frame the exceptional “first compositions” of baby-Egill, establishing his significance as a poet. Egill was not only an exceptional poet, but also well-versed in magic. His adventure becomes a form of initiation strikingly similar to *LV*,³⁶⁰ and Tulinus

³⁶⁰ If we consider the indexical relationship between alcoholic drink and poetry as associated with the mythic sphere, then this account corresponds with Schjødt’s (2008:58-84) definition insofar as the association of drinking and composing poetry constitutes a pattern of acquiring “numinous knowledge” as part and parcel of the implicit change in social status relative to other members of the community. I would be hesitant to describe *LV* as an initiation of Lemminkäinen except in specific cases where a transformational element is introduced (e.g. the *Tietäjä*-redaction: §4.3.4), and I would certainly not describe it as a “ritual”. Schjødt’s approach has the advantage of approaching the narrative sequential schema as a pattern which develops value and significance in a culture and can import that *narrative power* into performative contexts, allowing it to be actualized in some sense through a process of mapping the sequential schema over a pattern of action. This allows a maintenance of the distinction between narrative and ritual. *LV* is a narrative which provided a schema for becoming a *tietäjä*, even if we do not know what sort of ritual performance may have been associated with it (or even that it was actualized as such at all). The description of baby-Egill’s adventure as an “initiation” into the art of poetry is not intended to imply that Egill’s actions reflect a ritual practice of initiation. Irrespective of whether there is some anecdotal historical kernel underlying the narrative, the account appears to be employing a narrative schema which is culturally significant and which can be readily interpreted by the audience as Egill’s initiation into drinking, poetry, heroic activity and adult society at a legendary age. The audience recognizes this as an initiation *ex post facto* (cf. Harris *esp.* 1994 & 2007 on interpretations of deaths as ritual or sacrificial *ex post facto* in Norse culture). This approach to baby-Egill’s adventure considers the narrative to reflect a schema of mythic proportions and very probably a pattern associated with a recognizable mythological narrative, affirming and reinforcing the significance of the model rather than providing a model itself. Schjødt does not address this example, focusing on select Óðinn myths and certain warrior heroes rather than poets and poetry. Tolley (2009:423-427) offers an overview of Norse initiations into poetry, obtaining skill in poetry as a form of numinous knowledge through visionary experiences in sleep – in contrast to the lack of

(2002:231-232) suggests that the Baldr-Cycle was manipulated as an intertextual referent elsewhere in this saga (cf. Einarsson 2003:91-93). The “youth” of *mistilteinn* may potentially be related to the source of *narrative power* behind the adventure of baby-Egill. This presents the possibility that *a*) the account was associated with the specific telling of the Baldr-Cycle by Snorri as a motif-complex centred on an uninvited guest; *b*) that it was interacting with the Baldr-Cycle on the social level in the oral tradition; or *c*) that the potential narrative pattern was more directly associated with the Baldr-Cycle on a long-term and widespread basis. These possibilities will be addressed in §23.3.4.

19.3.3. Hermóðr’s Hel-Ride

Snorri asserts that Hermóðr undertakes the Retrieval Attempt for Frigg. Hermóðr is particularly associated with Óðinn. He appears more strongly associated with the heroic sphere than with the Æsir and mythology (Lindow 1997b:101-116). Motifs applied on his journey correspond to Christian visionary literature with indications of direct influence (Abram 2003:139-189; 2006). *Málsháttakvæði* 9 and Oddi litli’s stanza both attest to Hermóðr’s undertaking (if not its means). *Hákonarmál* 14 mentions Hermóðr within a potential reference to a return of Baldr (§3.3.2.3). *Sögubrot af nokkurum konungum* classes Hermóðr as a the “most courageous” god (*FN* II:120-121). Olsen (1924:162) argues for a referential word-play on Hermóðr traversing the river Gjöll in Sigvatr Þórðarson’s *Erfiðrápa* 27, which would associate the narrative with a pilgrimage to Rome before the year 1000.

Snorri uniquely asserts that Hermóðr entered Hel’s realm (§16.4.5). Saxo’s (1931:30) Virgilian narrative of Hadingus’s journey to the otherworld guided by a witch with a sprig of hemlock emphasizes this by poking fun at the witch’s inability to jump the barrier. The narrative pattern is closer to Skírnir’s journey to obtain Gerðr for Freyr, including leaping the otherworld barrier on a borrowed steed, and the (proposed) exchange of the ring Draupnir (Neckel 1920; Lindow 1997b:113-115). This pattern is

evidence of corresponding initiations into magical practices associated with *seiðr*. These accounts concentrate on the activities undertaken by the poet and the resulting poetic skill which may reflect some form of actual practice. In contrast, the adventure of baby-Egill appears to reflect a mythic narrative model more similar to *LV* rather than activities such as circling the wedding party with an axe or scythe accompanying *LV*’s use as an incantation in the ritual description of VII.818.

also paralleled by Sigurðr's encounter with Sigrdrífa/Brynhildr (§23.4.4). Hermóðr's role in the Baldr-Cycle could be a relatively "recent" development, manipulating *narrative power* from other mythic narratives.

19.4. Saxo's History

Saxo's manipulations of mythological narratives assume they will be capable of activating the *narrative power* of mythological and mytho-heroic traditions as enabling referents. Høtherus becomes a courtly heroic figure and Balderus is a depraved villain. Nanna, Baldr's wife burned on his pyre in *Edda* (Faulkes 1982:46), is the focus of Saxo's initial conflict and won by Høtherus. The conflict evolves into a war between Høtherus's mortal armies and Balderus' army of the gods, who are eventually defeated and humiliated, while the initial conflict over Nanna vanishes from the narrative: the narrative becomes a battle between men led by Høtherus and gods led by Balderus for control of Denmark (Kauffmann 1903:80). Saxo exhibits a maintenance of the indexical systems of motifs associated with the Baldr-Cycle as found in Snorri, but the two sources are not consistent concerning which figure is associated with individual motifs (Dumézil 1961-1962; 1973:171-192; Renaud 1999). In §3.2 it was suggested that this was a conscious inversion of Baldr as a Danish cultural figure associated with genealogies.

Saxo appears generally inclined to reduce fantastic elements to his semiotics of "historical" narrative. The dragon slain by Ragnarr loðbrók (*FN* I:99-102) is replaced by a bound wolf and bear (Saxo 1931:252; cf. Frog 2008b:23). Óðinn's seduction of Rindr by *seiðr* (§16.3) transfers indexical associations of *seiðr*-magic with gender transgression (Price 2002) to Othinnus disguising himself as a healer-woman, tying the ill Rinda to her bed under the pretence of cure and raping her (Saxo 1931:71-72). In the slaying of Wicarus by Starcatherus, Saxo (1931:152-153) explicitly rejects the fantastic transformation of the withy noose to iron (see §21.5). He exhibits familiarity with the narrative strategies of mytho-heroic *fornaldarsögur* and appears to have manipulated those strategies within his framework of generating a "Latin epic history" of Denmark (Olrik 1892-1894, Kauffmann 1903, Herrmann 1922).

He exhibits knowledge of an association between Loki and the acquisition of the plant-weapon (§9.5.3) but presents the Baldr-slaying with a sword (Saxo 1931:69). Saxo appears to load his narratives with as much *image power* and *narrative power* as possible (cf. Frog 2009a): the magic sword which is the only object able to harm Balderus and Balderus's imperviousness both disappear from the narrative as soon as the sword is acquired – the sword is acquired with a magic ring, and Saxo shifts emphasis to the ring (which also disappears fairly immediately) as a motivation for the following adventure (Saxo 1931:63-65). Baldr's "holy body" is impervious to iron (§19.3.2.1), but as this motif vanishes, Høtherus is attributed with a tunic correspondingly resistant to iron (Saxo 1931:66). Saxo appears less interested in consistency and coherence than in keeping his referents active. His referents are not restricted to the Baldr-Cycle, and Kauffmann (1903:70ff.) suggests that Saxo was actively attempting to generate intertextual relationships with other narratives in his history (cf. Olrik 1892-1894, Herrmann 1922). This clouds the question of whether particular motifs were introduced to activate the Baldr-Cycle or simply infused into the narrative at convenient points to make it more pregnant with "pagan mythology".

19.4.1. The Example of Balderus's Dreams

Balderus catches sight of Nanna bathing and becomes obsessed with her (Saxo 1931:63). There is no known Germanic parallel for the bathing-scene (Herrmann 1922:218), which is likely adapted from David seeing Bathsheba (Samuel 11:2). Later, Saxo (1931:67) claims that Balderus has been tormented by "phantoms" (*larvae*) of Nanna which have left him in an incapacitated state. This is comparable to Freyr seeing Gerðr's white hands from the *Hliðskjálf*, leaving him in a passive and miserable condition (*Skm* 4-7; Faulkes 1982:31; Dumézil 1973:187-190). Hall (2007:129-156) draws the Freyr narrative into relation to broader traditions of magical seduction including *Serglige Con Culainn*, "The Wasting Sickness of Cú Chulaind" and *Aislinge Óenguso*, "The Dream of Óengus". In the former, Cú Chulaind is assaulted by magical swan-maidens in a dream and is incapacitated until he is united with them; the latter presents an encounter with a swan-maiden in a dream and completely incapacitated until he is united with the swan-maiden. These narratives can be approached as swan-maiden narratives related to seasonal

change, in which the incapacitated or passive state of the male corresponds to the absence of the swans during winter (Frog 2008b:12). It is not clear whether Saxo introduces this dream-obsession through general indexical associations with dreams or because the Baldr-Nanna relationship was connected to such a narrative. The latter might offer an insight into a common narrative pattern applied in Hermóðr's Hel-Ride and Skírnir's journey.

Saxo presents a separate dream of Balderus *after* he is stabbed by Høtherus: Proserpina³⁶¹ appears and informs him that he will be in her arms in three days time. This is the only source which actually provides “content” for Baldr's dreams. Both dreams present visions of a woman with sexual associations (cf. Faulkes 1982:47). The latter dream presents a reversal of the former: desire for Nanna is exchanged for possession by Hel. The Irish swan-maiden narratives resolve the incapacity of the victim by accompanying the maiden to her otherworld realm.³⁶² Their relationship to either Freyr or Baldr traditions is obscure and they could have an extremely long history in both cultures. The identification of Hel and Baldr's death with this narrative pattern could be rooted in an adaptation of *narrative power* associated with the annual cycle for projection onto Ragnarök as a cycle of time.

19.5. Three-God-Bracteates

The Three-God-Bracteates reflect an adaptation of the extra-textual entity of the Baldr-Cycle into a new mode of expression.³⁶³ These can be approached as developing a conventional (iconographic) textual entity subject to revision and adaptation in relation to the extra-textual entity internalized through the cycle's broader cultural activity. Representations on the Three-God-Bracteates are organized around three figures: two males and one female (on IK.66 see §19.5.4.1). The central figure always faces the female figure. His hand is upraised with an angular object except in IK.20 where he receives the branch from the female figure and holds the ring in his opposite hand. The

³⁶¹ Translating *Hel*, “Death”; on the semantic fields of *hel/Hel*, see Abram 2003:8-50.

³⁶² Temporarily in *Serglige Con Culainn*; see also Frog 2008b.

³⁶³ Bracteates are numbered according to the catalogue of Hauck et al. 1985-1989. The images of the Three-God-Bracteates (except fragment IK51.2) are presented together in Pesch 2007:102-103; on the distribution of the finds see Pesch 2007:100-101.

female figure holds the ring except in IK.20 and IK.595 where she holds or possibly casts an arrow/spear at the central figure. IK.20 and IK.595 are distinguished by the female figure holding the branch/projectile, the absence of wings on the female figure (cf. IK.66), and the absence of a bird flying over the central figure from the male figure to the female figure. IK.51.1 and IK.595 depict a branch-object protruding from the central figure's navel. In IK.39, IK.51.1, IK.51.3 and IK.165 the "branch" may be coming out of the back of the female figure's neck, the significance of which is uncertain. Unless the branch extends from the belly of the central figure, the ring is extended to that position, except in IK.20, where this image-field is filled by a power-triangle.³⁶⁴

The central and female figures are separated by a barrier rising from a platform on IK.20, IK.39, IK.51.1, IK.66 and IK.165. IK.40 replaces the barrier with nine circles that appear to fall from the ring.³⁶⁵ This invites interpretation as Draupnir which drops eight rings of equal weight – i.e. "becoming" nine – every ninth night.³⁶⁶ In later sources, this ring is placed on Baldr's pyre by Óðinn and returns from Hel (*Skm* 21-22; Faulkes 1982:47; cf. Faulkes 1998:17). IK.51.3 eliminates the platform and the "barrier" forks at the bottom as the circles do on IK.40. The "barrier" rises or falls from the ring on IK.51.3 and fragment IK.51.2 (which only preserves the upper field of the image) rather than being vertical. These may adapt the visual motif of the "platform-barrier" to the same conception as in IK.40. In IK.595 the "branch" extends from the belly of the central figure and turns abruptly downward after the pattern of the barrier. IK.51.2 and IK.51.3 include the runic inscription *undR* above the female figure, the significance of which is uncertain.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁴ The exact significance of this image is obscure. See Lindqvist 1941-1942.I:94; Nylén & Lamm 1988.

³⁶⁵ The circles are clearly defined, some with spacing; circles are not used to form lines on IK.40 as on IK.39 and IK.165.

³⁶⁶ Faulkes 1982:47; Faulkes 1998:40; cf. *ibid.*:40 and the kenning *Draupnis dýrsveiti*, "expensive-sweat of Draupnir" [gold] in *Bjarkamál* (*ibid.*:60).

³⁶⁷ McKinnell & Simek 2004:84. Nedoma 2009 presents a detailed treatment of this inscription and the problems in its interpretation. He proposes the reading *undz*, "shoot, sprout", which he points out is not without difficulty and requires both an interpretation of the image as the Baldr-Cycle narrative and also the referent of the inscription as the plant-weapon. A series of four runic symbols appears in a corresponding position on IK.39. These symbols have been interpreted as "his", referring to Baldr's ownership of the horse (injured in the Second Merseburg Charm, but not present in the iconographic representation), and as "intoxicating drink" (see Nedoma 2009:807n). The appearance of a second group of runes and rune-like symbols filling space behind the second male figure on this bracteates make it uncertain whether the runes

The object held in the upraised hand of the central figure is uncertain. In IK.40, IK.51.3, IK.66, and IK.165 the central figure's other hand touches the arm of the non-central male figure. In IK.595 an axe has developed in this position. IK.51.3 presents a small object in the hand of each man. IK.39 and IK.165 present an object in the hand of the second male figure. IK.51.1 may interpret this object as a ring in the hand of the central figure while the other male figure holds an "object" which may have evolved into Viking Age iconography associated with Þórr's hammer (see Perkins 2001). An axe also appears in the other hand of this figure in IK.20. The second male figure is invariably characterized with the attribute of a spear.

19.5.1. The Problem of Interpretation

The motif-complexes represented on bracteates reveal associations with those found in mythological narratives in much later sources. A representation of mythological narrative material appears consistent with magical and ritual applications of bracteates. A concentration of motifs associated with a single narrative as a complex whole attest to the significance of that whole. Development from a foreign model (§11.2) and conservatism of visual patterns on these bracteate imply stability in form through adaptations of those forms which may reflect significant changes in emphasis or interpretation (e.g. the exchange of falling circles for the barrier). It is reasonable to anticipate that the narrative sequence reflected on the Three-God-Bracteates was a mythological narrative and a narrative of sufficient significance to be applied for its *narrative power* in this mode of expression. Hauck (e.g. 1970, 1998) has championed an interpretation according to the Baldr-Cycle, but Hauck's interpretation of the representation is problematized by his full acceptance of Snorri's account as the model narrative, and reliance on de Vries's interpretation of the Baldr-Cycle as an initiation ritual (Palomé 1994:101-102).

The plant-weapon appears indexically exclusive to the Baldr-Cycle in medieval sources. The ring Draupnir is associated with the journey of Baldr to Hel and the ring's return. IK.40 promotes this identification. The Baldr-Cycle clearly was or became an Óðinn-

are "readable" in that way at all. There are two symbols on IK.165 that are clearly not letters of the runic alphabet and appear to be echoes of runes on a model – perhaps generations earlier – where we find *undR* on IK.51.2 and IK.51.3. Comparison with IK.165 makes it possible that the "runes" on IK.39 are random.

tradition. The spear is unequivocally the weapon of Óðinn in later traditions (cf. Helm 1913-1953 II:266-267; de Vries 1956-1957:§381; Price 2002); there is no reason to believe that this had changed since the period of the bracteates. The position of the Baldr-Cycle as a nexus within the mythological system as well as indications that it was subject to significantly more cultural activity prior to the era of documentation make it probable that these motifs were prominent in the narrative and more likely to maintain an indexical relationship in narrative transmission. It seems reasonable that this is a reflection of an early form of the Baldr-Cycle narrative, although the names of the figures are obscure. The bracteates present constellations of appropriate motifs, but we do not know the strategies employed by the producers and interpreters of these artefacts in order to fluently interpret the narrative they are intended to represent (cf. Lefèvre 2000): any interpretation must remain speculative, although the bracteates may provide evidence for the persistence of the complexes of motifs as a mythological narrative more generally.

19.5.2. Óðinn

The male figure with the spear can be interpreted as Óðinn. The spear's point is down in all bracteates. It remains distinct from the unworked branch protruding from the belly of the central figure. There is no indication that the second male figure is an adversary (*contra* Sigl 2001:412-413), although there may have been variation in how this figure was interpreted (e.g. IK.20). The physical contact with the central figure indicates a relationship; the circle may indicate exchange. This circle is like those falling from the ring in IK.40: it could be the passing of Draupnir to Baldr on the pyre, but the image is ambiguous.³⁶⁸ The ring is in the hand of the central figure in IK.20; possibly in IK.51.1.

19.5.3. The “Platform” and “Barrier”

The significance of the platform is unclear. Hauck's (1970; 1985:146) identification of the platform as an altar and the barrier as a sacred pillar is speculation. Hauck (1970:410)

³⁶⁸ Hauck (1998:335) proposes that this object is an image of a bracteates, which is not unreasonable as it is very possible that a bracteate could fulfil a semiotic function corresponding to a ring in later periods. The use of specially minted bracteates as Charon's *obols* in Götland burials (Axboe 1991:188-89) indicates that there was some concept of providing the dead with such an object, as well as raising the question of whether these bracteates-*obols* were intended for paying a ferryman of the dead or had some other significance.

follows the interpretations of de Vries (1955) and Fromm (1963) of the Baldr-Cycle as an initiation-rite narrative, based on Snorri's account (cf. Bonnetain 2006). Hauck's interpretation leads to the image as a depiction of a ritual performance of the myth whereas Snorri's narrative would anticipate the sacred pillar to be the world-tree itself (Faulkes 1982:17-18). The central figure is on the platform in IK.39, IK.51.1, IK.66 and IK.165; the female figure in IK.20. This may simply indicate a defined space and have been subject to reinterpretation. The vertical line interpreted as a "barrier": it clearly delimits the space described by the platform; it separates the central and female figures; the ring (plant in IK.20) is always passed over this line. In IK.40, the barrier has been reinterpreted as falling from the ring and the platform is absent. IK.51.2 and IK.51.3 appear to reinterpret the barrier as having a similar relationship to the ring. If the central figure is interpreted as Baldr at the scene of his death, the barrier is readily interpreted as the wall of Hel's realm, which is prominent within the tradition (§19.3.3), and the recovery of the ring from the far side of that barrier appears to have held significance.

19.5.4. The Female Figure

The female figure has been variously interpreted as Hel or Loki. She is associated with the branch on all Three-God-Bracteates except IK.40 and IK.66 (implied on fragment IK.51.2).³⁶⁹ Representations of this figure can be divided into two types: the bird-maiden and the projectile-possessor. The consistent association with the branch invites an identity between these two types; the branch may be an identity-attribute relevant to the narrative similar to Óðinn's spear.

19.5.4.1. Bird-Maiden

Bonnetain (2006:112) emphasizes that the "female" figure is winged and argues that this is Loki in a feather-garment. The winged form speaks against identifying the figure as Hel (cf. Simek 1996:28,44). Conversely, Loki is never associated with the ring (although see §21.3). The ring in the hand of the woman, bird-form, and the bird flying over the

³⁶⁹ Cf. Hauck's (1970:184, Abb.33a) earlier interpretation of IK.51.1, which avoided the double appearance of the branch.

central figure only occur in combination, implying that the motifs are inter-related.³⁷⁰ The bird flies from behind the central figure, wrapping in front of the Óðinn figure or emerging from his mouth: this is reasonable to associate with the flight of the bird-maiden. As the bird-maiden holds the ring over the barrier, it is reasonable to suggest that the flight reflects the recovery attempt and the acquisition of the ring which is brought back from Hel's realm in later sources.

The feather-garment appears to have been an established feature of Germanic mythological traditions,³⁷¹ but its applications appear highly restricted (see Frog 2008b:8-12). In ON mythology, the garment is only worn by Loki and used on journeys to otherworld locations. He borrows the garment from Frigg or Freyja.³⁷² It is not a Loki-attribute – Loki is elsewhere attributed with flying shoes (Faulkes 1998:43). The attribution of the garment to a goddess implies that it was associated with one or both of these figures,³⁷³ most probably in narrative applications which were either not documented or did not persist to documentation.

Loki's use of the garment is unmotivated (Faulkes 1998:24), to gather information (*Pkv*) and to recover Iðunn and the apples of life from the otherworld (Faulkes 1998:2,33). In the third case, he returns with only a “nut” (containing Iðunn) potentially comparable to the return with the ring. Loki is generally associated with being compelled to bring about resolutions to crisis situations which he has created, but these crisis situations are not associated with the hostility attributed to him in the Baldr-Cycle or *Lokasenna*. If the feather-garment were predominantly used by Loki in Loki-narratives, it seems improbable that he would not have assumed the attribute as a tradition dominant over

³⁷⁰ IK.66 replaces the bird-maiden with a sword-bearing transvestite; the bird can be said to be present on the exemplar, but seems to have been reduced to an abstract shape.

³⁷¹ There is one clear instance on female figures in *guldgubber* (Hupfaut 2003:122); *fjaðarhamr* is associated with artifice, devils and Völundr in Anglo-Saxon (McKinnell 2001:334; Ruggerini 2006:221-225); attributed to an angel's flight in *Heliand* 5796-5802 (Ruggerini 2006:212-213); on applications in ballads, see Bugge & Moe 1897:107ff.; Ruggerini 2006:225-228.

³⁷² From Frigg, *valshamr* (Faulkes 1998:24); from Freyja *valshamr* (Faulkes 1998:2) and/or *fjaðarhamr* in *Þrymsqviða* (c.f. McKinnell 2001:334). On the complex associations between these figures and their parallel attributes, see Ásdísardóttir 2007. In *Haustlöng* 12.4, Loki uses a *hauks flugbjálfi*, “hawk's flight-skin”, without a specified owner.

³⁷³ The feather garment was not a conventional valkyrja-attribute, although this has become a common assumption on the basis of *Vkv* and the recent folktale tradition: see Dronke 1997:256; Frog 2008b:8-12.

several centuries, and less likely that Loki was earlier uncontested owner of the feather-garment which he later had to borrow from a female figure.

Snorri states that *drottning valhams*, “mistress of the falcon-form”, is a circumlocution for Frigg rather than Freyja. Frigg’s intimate relationship to the Baldr-Cycle makes her the most probable candidate for the female figure. Frigg’s waning cultural activity – in contrast to Freyja (cf. Turville-Petre 1964:188-189) – could explain why this attribute would be transferred from Frigg to Freyja (*contra* Ásdísardóttir 2007:194-199).³⁷⁴ Frigg’s use of the garment in a narrative central to the semiosphere would explain the motif of Loki borrowing it as an application of *narrative power*.

IK.66 appears to assert a different figure for the recovery attempt. The adaptation is accomplished through minimal effects on the visual fields. This male figure and the vagueness of the bird may indicate an alternate narrative of the recovery attempt: the male figure with the sword may be Hermóðr or his antecedent (cf. §16.4.3).³⁷⁵

19.5.4.2. Projectile-Possessor

IK.20 adapts the model of the ring-transfer to present the female figure on the platform extending a branch and the central figure holds the ring. The conservatism of the adapted

³⁷⁴ It may also be observed that Freyja is associated with a myth of a search for her lost husband (rather than son) which also maintains weeping as a prominent motif, weeping tears of gold as she searches the world for him. This myth is only mentioned in passing by Snorri (Faulkes 1982:29), and there is not enough information to offer more than speculation concerning its background (cf. Tolley 2009:450). The issue is more complex because Óðr may be an alternative name for Óðinn, although that may be oversimplifying matters (Simek 1993:249-250). Whereas the absence may be associated with Óðinn, the search and tears seem potentially similar to the Baldr-Cycle. This presents the possibility that Freyja was associated with a narrative which conformed to a similar pattern as the recovery attempt associated with Baldr. Although Snorri makes no mention of the manner in which Freyja undertakes this search, it is at least possible that the parallel searches for Baldr and Óðr were developed from a common narrative system of motifs, or that they interacted in the process of transmission leading to the association of the feather-garment with both searches. It is also a distinct possibility that, if Frigg was displaced from a role in the recovery attempt employing the feather-garment, then the potentially compelling motif-complex may have become open to adaptation and transformation in relation to other cultural figures and narrative material. In this case, Freyja may have become associated with the motif-complex as part of her rise as a tradition dominant.

³⁷⁵ Julius Krohn (1885:342) suggested that the component *-móðr* in *Her-móðr*, “warrior-anger”, may be rooted in *móðir*, “mother” (i.e. *her-móðir*, “warrior-mother”), and that this figure may have replaced Frigg as the one who attempts to retrieve Baldr from the world of the dead (cf. Krohn 1903-1910:584-585). On *-móðr*, see Abram 2003:176-177; cf. §10.3.

image makes it unclear whether the chronology of images has also changed. The female figure does not seem to be passing the ring to the central figure in other depictions, and holding hand to mouth is common in bracteate iconography, so it is not clear that the branch is being exchanged between these figures.³⁷⁶ The significance of the branch as an attribute may be because the branch as a weapon was acquired from the female figure who makes the resurrection attempt in bird-form. IK.595 presents the object more explicitly as a projectile which she may be throwing at the central figure, although the branch is already present in the victim, leaving the chronology of images unclear. IK.595 exhibits a number of unusual developments (crossed legs on both male figures, an axe in the hand of the central figure, a fusion of images of the branch from the abdomen and barrier).

19.5.5. A Fish in the Ointment?

IK.20 and IK.51.1 clearly depict some type of fish-like animals. Corresponding forms appear on IK.40 and IK.51.3 (cf. IK.595, which may also include an echo of the platform). IK.20, IK.40 and IK.51.3 all appear to present a very limited number of elements in the composition. This implies that the image had significance, even if the significance is obscure.

³⁷⁶ Hauck's (1985:148ff.) comparison with IK.86 is interesting, but the latter image may represent the world-tree and a mythic marriage.

Chapter 20: Persistence and Change

20.1. Persistence and Change

As Gil'ferding (1894:24) observed, crystallized elements may undergo variation in organization, but they remain essential to the tradition of reproduction and application. Transitional elements are essential to the organization and presentation of crystallized elements. They may be described as the connecting tissue in the adaptation and manipulation of culturally loaded elements for the generation of meanings. Narrative exhibits the greatest stability at the level of the episode, although the sequence of episodes may change and individual episodes may be replaced, removed or interposed (Jason 2000:25; Goldberg 1997:226-38; cf. Dégh 1995:44-45). Elements more central to the identity of a narrative in application and/or which are applied with emphasis on functions within the narrative framework exhibit greater continuity than those with functions which are directed outside of the narrative. Elements directed to fulfil rhetorical functions outside of the narrative in communication or effect the visible or invisible worlds in magical applications appear to be more inclined to adaptation. Core elements of a narrative become more inclined to continuity in transmission. Openings or introductions provide priorities and orientation for reception. This inclines them variously to the crystallization of cuing devices for conventional applications and to greater susceptibility to variation, renewal or omission in processes of adaptation. Endings or conclusions are often oriented to the priorities of application and are similarly subject to greater variation. Narratives in a cycle exhibit stability in organization insofar as that organization is a function of logical progression (Frog forthcoming a): Lemminkäinen's Journey follows the Departure Dialogue, the Journey precedes the Arrival, but episodes within the hall vary in organization, and although the Death became established at a number of points in the cycle sequence following the Arrival, the Resurrection follows (rather than precedes) the Death.

Indexicality is central to the maintenance and development of narrative traditions. Even renewal inclines to some form of semiotic or functional equivalence, although the

significance of elements or their general interpretation may be radically different in the generation of meanings. Narratives/episodes within a cycle fluctuate in organization, but indexicality maintains the network of narratives established within a cycle. These can be divided into “core” narratives, which are essential to the progression of the cycle, and extraneous adventures which may be incorporated into the cycle, often indexically identified through a common protagonist.³⁷⁷ The elements which make up these narratives appear to develop and maintain indexical systems of *word power*, *image power* and/or *narrative power* within the identity of a particular narrative. These networks of association appear to persist even in radical adaptations, such as Saxo’s manipulation of the Baldr-Cycle. This phenomenon appears to evolve from the necessity that a referent be recognizable for it to be activated in conjunction with the cumulative nature of *APE* in the application of indexically loaded elements, which allows for a corresponding accumulation of powers activated through expression without demanding a strict organization for the activation of a textual or extra-textual entity.

20.2. Death, Creation and Intertextuality

The Baldr-Cycle does not appear to belong to the Proto-Indo-European heritage nor *LV* to the Proto-Finno-Ugric heritage, although elements of each narrative may have archaic roots in its respective culture.

20.2.1. Baldr, Ymir, Creation and Destruction

The death of Baldr is indexically associated with Ragnarök. This factor is not only significant to its persistence within the changing tradition ecology, but also for its survival in adaptations by Christian authors who manipulate that indexical load in relation to the fall of “paganism”. The *image power* of the water covering the lands or flooding was indexically bound to the apocalypse in Germanic cultures (§12.3). The destruction in flood leads to intertextual applications of *image power* and *narrative power* associated with the first creation of the world in the world’s rebirth following Ragnarök. The image of the land rising from the primal sea is augmented by additional parallels, such as between the creation of the first man and woman from trees (*Vsp* 17-18; Faulkes

³⁷⁷ This is a prominent feature of the Sampo-Cycle: see Kuusi 1949, Frog forthcoming a.

1982:13) and the last man and woman's survival of Ragnarök in trees (*Vm* 45; Faulkes 1982:13), and the surviving gods reclaiming/inheriting the habitations and objects associated with the first creation (*Vsp* 60-64; Faulkes 1982:53-54). These cyclic conceptions also appear reflected through the *narrative power* underlying the daily battles of the *einherjar* and the daily sinking and rising of Gotland (§19.3.1). Baldr's death emerges at the nexus of this world-cycle. *Völuspá* generates an indexical association between Baldr's death and Óðinn's at Ragnarök (*Vsp* 33; §19.2). *Vaffbrúðnismál* emphasizes corresponding relationships in the description of Viðarr and Váli, the avengers of Óðinn and Baldr, settling the reborn world (*Vm* 51; Faulkes 1982:54), whereas *Völuspá* presents Baldr's return from Hel as part of that rebirth (*Vsp* 62; Faulkes 1982:53). Baldr's return may also be the intended referent of *Hákonarmál* 14 (§19.3.3). *Baldrs draumar* concludes the *völva*-interview on the Baldr-Höðr-Váli sequence with a wave-riddle corresponding to that posed by Óðinn in *Vaffbrúðnismál* 48 in the context of information about Ragnarök. This question appears indicative of a direct connection between the Baldr-Cycle and Ragnarök as a consequence (Frog 2006), and may also underlie the art of Oddi litli's ekphrasis stanza (§16.4).

The accumulation of indexical relationships between the initial creation and the post-Ragnarök rebirth of the world stimulates comparison between additional parallels and interpreting their relationships. Saxo appears to conflate the battle of Ragnarök (and the corresponding "first war in the world", between the Æsir and Vanir) with the circumstances of the Baldr-Slaying. Following Balderus's death, Saxo (1931:69-70) incorporates a narrative of an attempt to break into Balderus's burial mound resulting in the vision of Baldr's mound in the midst of a flood overrunning the surrounding plains. This appears intended to activate the *image power* of the flood of Ragnarök and possibly the earth rising from the primal sea.³⁷⁸ Steinsland (1991:260-270) argues that the genealogical framework of *Völuspá inn skamma* is intended to draw the Baldr-slaying into relation to the slaying of Ymir which established the world-order of the creation.

³⁷⁸ See Frog 2006. Olrik (1892-1894.I:164ff.) argues that this was developed from local legends surrounding mound-breakers' encounters with effusions of water trapped between layers of clay. Olrik does not consider the rhetorical significance of apocalyptic *image power* in the flood which sweeps over everything on the plain (cf. Olrik 1921:22-36) or its indexical relationship to Baldr as a cultural figure.

Relationships between the Baldr-slaying and the rebirth of the world, indexically associated with the creation, accumulate to stimulate comparison between the Baldr-slaying (anticipating its destruction and rebirth) and the slaying of Ymir (resulting in the initial flood and world-creation).³⁷⁹

The death of Ymir was powerfully loaded as the first killing in the world and brought about the world's creation. The creation of the world from a murdered (and dismembered) anthropomorphic being is generally considered the oldest layer of the Indo-European creation traditions. Lincoln (1975; 1986:1-64) shows a high probability that at the earliest traceable stratum, **Manu*, "Man", slew **Yemo*, "Twin".³⁸⁰ Ymir is the etymological descendent of the latter name. "Mannus" appears in chapter 2 of Tacitus's *Germania* as the son of "Tuisto" and proto-ancestor whose descendents established three cultural groups (Schweizer-Sidler 1890:6-7). Lincoln (1986:47-49) shows that "Tuisto" ("Doubled-One"), Tacitus's father of "Mannus", is etymologically the semantic equivalent of Ymir/**Yemo*, implying a development from fratricide to patricide. Norse Ymir is slain by Óðinn and his two brothers (sons of Burr) according to Snorri,³⁸¹ and ON sources do not mention a "Mannus"-figure. The position of Óðinn in the creation is likely related to his rise as a tradition dominant and the assumption of *narrative power* associated with other cultural figures (cf. Väinämöinen in §7.2). The Baldr-slaying may have drawn on the *narrative power* of the Ymir-slaying in the formulation of the cycle.³⁸² The representations of the branch-weapon in the naval of the Baldr-victim on the Three-God-Bracteates may then have activated the mythic image of an *omphalos*/world tree,

³⁷⁹ Cf. Stjernfelt 1990; Clunies Ross 1994; Lindow 1997b:164-181

³⁸⁰ West's (2007:356-359) argument that **Yemo* originally referred to his "twin" nature as a single hermaphroditic being (**Manu* being his descendant) seems problematic on a rudimentary conceptual level.

³⁸¹ Faulkes 1982:11-12; *Vsp* 4 specifies their role in creating the world from Ymir's corpse without specifying the slayer; *Vþm* 21 and *Gm* 40 present similar stanzas which describe the creation from the corpse with passive constructions and *Gm* 41 continues this creation attributing the act to "gods".

³⁸² Cf. the Romulus-Remus slaying (Lincoln 1977:137-139). This would be natural in patterns of mythological thinking (Lotman & Uspenskii 1976, Eliade 1991[1954]), Doty 2000). As Davis (2007:40) puts it: "The deep structures of mythic plots defines the way things happen in the world." It would seem only natural that the killing of Baldr would in some sense develop as a reflection or even hypostasis of the first killing-act, just as the cycle of the world in destruction and rebirth exhibits reflections on the level of the year and the day. The probability of this hierarchical relationship between the proto-murder of the giant and the slaying of Baldr is enhanced by the fact that wherever we might propose the emergence of the Baldr-Cycle in the chronology of Germanic cultural history, it appears that the giant-slaying was already established at that time and exhibits continuity parallel to the Baldr-Cycle from that undefined period until its documentation.

particularly when the created world is visualized as a tumulus emerging from the primal sea on which this tree presumably stands (see Harva 1922, Frog 2008a, Tolley 2009).

Lincoln (1981; 1991:21-48) shows that the Indo-European slaying of **Yemo* is associated with his establishment as the ruler of the underworld/realm of the dead. Germanic conceptions assert a female figure as “death” (cf. Tolley 2009:470-471): Baldr does not become a ruler of the dead or that realm, but his situation in the world of the dead becomes a power-attribute of Óðinn, and he appears to become the consort of “Death” (§19.4.1). Baldr’s situation could easily have developed through applications associated with earlier conceptions of Ymir/**Yemo*. Intertextual applications of the Ymir/**Yemo* narrative as a referent may have shaped other models (e.g. Christian: cf. North 1997a) through which the Baldr-Cycle emerged or developed.

20.2.2. Lemminkäinen, Väinämöinen and the Blind Shooter

20.2.2.1. Lemminkäinen’s Mother as Bird-Maiden

VIII.823.63-70 describes Lemminkäinen’s mother taking the form of a bird to undertake the Resurrection Attempt. The transformation is accomplished by adapting household items for wings and tail. This is the only account of this transformation. Lemminkäinen may also transform into a bird to pass the Fiery Eagle on the Journey (Supplement 3). I2.815.83-84 also states that his mother “flies” in search of her son. VIII.835.207-212 participates in the regional redaction of the mother’s journey with obstacles (Supplement 3) and claims that she “flew” to the river of the dead (VIII.835.241-47). The use of *emolintu*, “mother-bird”, in I2.771.285,290 appears to have developed from the same conception.³⁸³ The mother’s search for her dead son in the form of a bird corresponds to the semiotics of Finnic laments in which women would call for wings to fly to the realm of the dead.³⁸⁴ The bird-form as a medium of journey to the realm of the dead accords with the fundamental Finnic identification of birds as visiting souls of the dead (Haavio 1950; Söderholm 1980; Honko 2003:108-109).

³⁸³ The Resurrection introduces a fusion of material leading to a bridal quest. The use of *emolintu*, “mother-bird” (rather than the anticipated *lempilintu* “dear-bird”) for the courted maiden contradicts the semiotics of maiden-circumlocutions (Eila Stepanova, p.c.) and the term is not found in any other kalevalaic poem.

³⁸⁴ Eila Stepanova p.c.

20.2.2.2. Bird-Form and Intertextuality

The transformation of VIII.823 corresponds to the transformation of the Mistress of Pohjola into a magic bird from the wreckage of her ship in the pursuit of the stolen Sampo (Kuusi 1949:200-204). The indexical association between these applications does not necessarily lead to the intertextual activation of either transformation by the other: both appear intended to activate the Bird of Creation as a common referent.

20.2.2.2.1. The Mistress of Pohjola

When the Sampo is freed from its location and taken away in Väinämöinen's ship, the population of Pohjola (whom he magically put to sleep) awake and pursue in their own ship. Väinämöinen throws a piece of tinder/hone over his shoulder and this becomes a reef/skerry on which the pursuing ship breaks apart. The Mistress of Pohjola transforms herself, the shattered ship and crew into a giant bird which lands on Väinämöinen's ship and takes hold of the Sampo. Väinämöinen (or another figure) strikes the bird with a sword or oar. The Sampo breaks apart, falling into the sea, and the "bright" or "ornamented cover", is carried away. (Kuusi 1949:194-211.)

Indexical associations between Väinämöinen and many motifs and/or motif-complexes are most often largely or wholly restricted to applications with reference to a particular narrative or episode. The conjunction of *explicit propositions* presenting Väinämöinen as an agent and the emergence of land from the sea are able to stimulate the corresponding conjunction when Väinämöinen raises his own body as the first land in the Väinämöinen-World-Creation (§7.2). This presents an *imminent proposition* in the communication. The accumulation of shattered object (ship), creation-through-destruction (transformation into a magic bird) and the magic bird rising from this complex readily shifts the stimulated *immanent propositions* to *implicit propositions*: the Väinämöinen-World-Creation is activated as an intertextual referent, infusing the sequence with *narrative power*. The pattern is repeated when the magic bird lands on Väinämöinen's ship (knee) and catches hold of the Sampo, and Väinämöinen (agent) strikes at the bird causing the Sampo (world-egg) to break apart, and the magic bird flies to the north (whence flew the Bird of Creation) with the Sampo's ornamented cover (associated with the heavens and

heavenly lights). The Väinämöinen-World-Creation was regularly presented as the opening of the Sampo-Cycle, facilitating its activation as an intertextual referent. The generation of an identity between the Sampo and the world-egg loads the mythic artefact with the power of creation. The battle for the Sampo assumes cosmological proportions and appears to have developed and maintained an identity of the Mistress of Pohjola as an anti-bird-of-creation who threatens to reverse or nullify the creation of the world by rescinding the Sampo/world-egg (Frog forthcoming a).

20.2.2.2.2. Lemminkäinen's Mother

Correspondences between the Death/Resurrection of *LV* and the Väinämöinen-World-Creation led Julius Krohn (1883:385-86) to propose that the Death of Lemminkäinen provided a model for the Shooting of Väinämöinen opening the Väinämöinen-World-Creation (cf. Krohn 1924-1928.IV:125-26). These are both “blind shooter” narratives (Honko 1959; 1967:135-41). Each shooter maintains a distinct identity, yet indexical systems associated with each narrative connect them (independently) with incantations for magic shot. The Shooting of Väinämöinen receives connections and “infusions” of lines from this tradition (Kuusi 1949:150-156). The Väinämöinen-World-Creation could also be used to introduce the *historiola* on the origin of magic shot (cf. Frog 2008a, forthcoming b). The figures in the invitations of *LV* probably emerged as an intertextual application of a magic shot *historiola* (§9.4.4.1). Just as Lemminkäinen ends up in Tuoni's River, Väinämöinen falls into the primal sea. Following the creation, Väinämöinen ends up in a helpless state in a chthonic otherworld identifiable with “death”.³⁸⁵ Like Lemminkäinen, Väinämöinen is sought by a female figure. The indexical association of these accounts is related to the attribution of the Mistress of Pohjola using the magic rake to recover Väinämöinen (in Viena) as an *accumulation of information* from *LV* (§4.3.9.6). Within this system of indexical relations which precede and follow the World-Creation, the bird-transformation of Lemminkäinen's mother emerges as an application of *image power* of the Bird of Creation, which in VIII.823 applies the same strategy as the Mistress of Pohjola in the Sampo-Cycle to generate a positive identity with the Bird of Creation rather than its antithesis.

³⁸⁵ This identification with death may be made explicit: cf. I1.78.100; I1.108.51

VIII.823 may be a localized or even unique development. Scattered associations of flight and bird-form transformations may indicate a waning cultural activity of this motif in the tradition (cf. I2.771). Ingrian applications of the magic rake motif-complex present a clear identification of the agent recovering Lemminkäinen's body from the river of the dead with the bird of creation (§4.3.9.6). This presents the possibility of a long history of maintenance of intertextual applications of *image power* and *narrative power* associating Lemminkäinen's mother with the Bird of Creation within a system of generating an intertextual relationship between the death of Lemminkäinen and the Väinämöinen-World-Creation. This system of associations appears intended to stimulate the World-Creation as an *imminent* or *implicit* system of propositions in relation to which the death and resurrection-attempt of Lemminkäinen was intended to be understood, although it does not appear that this intertextual relationship was generally significant to the cycle in the period it was collected, that it was being maintained on a social level, in which case its activation on an individual basis becomes less likely.

Chapter 21: Intertextuality and the Baldr-Cycle

21.1. The Baldr-Cycle and Heroic Narratives

Intertextual applications of the Baldr-Cycle as a referent are activated through the accumulation of heavily indexically loaded elements and facilitated by contexts in which intertextual activation may be anticipated. In this chapter, emphasis is placed on contexts where conscious activation becomes probable, and particularly cases in which there is evidence of the potential maintenance of a relationship between reference and referent in transmission. It must be stressed that activation is subjective: it does not occur in every case of reception, and it is not necessarily even activated at a conscious level. Intertextuality can be better understood as manipulations of culturally loaded elements and constellations of elements, of which the powers intended to be activated are developed through a hierarchically dominant textual or extra-textual entity which provides the central model for meaning-generation.³⁸⁶ This is in contrast to powers which are developed more evenly across the cultural activity of the elements or constellations of elements. Practically speaking, these may be extremes on a spectrum, and the associations developed within the hierarchies of relationships between manifestations and applications may change as part of an historical process.

For example, the death of Jesus provided a hierarchically dominant model for “martyrdom”. A pattern of mythological thinking appears to underlie early Christian traditions related to martyrdom, through which every act of Christian martyrdom was in some sense a re-enactment of the martyrdom of Jesus, and not only drew on the *narrative power* of that hierarchically dominant model, but was in some sense viewed as a hypostasis of the mythic event – hence participation in that mythic event (martyrdom) qualified participants for divine status (sainthood). Narratives about martyrdom

³⁸⁶ This pattern of intertextuality may easily fluctuate between relational meaning, what Lotman & Uspenskii (1976) describe as “metaphorical”, in the sense of the model providing a schema against which the specific application can be mapped, generating comparison, and identity arising through a pattern of mythological thinking which perceives or processes the specific application as a hypostasis of the hierarchically dominant model (see also Cassirer 1925, Eliade 1991[1954], Doty 2000). Lotman & Uspenskii (1976:7) emphasize that this is a matter of subjective processing rather than objectively manifested “text”.

supported and maintained the mythic model, and at the same time they also functioned as models for how that mythic model could be reflected in and relevant to individual experience, developing conventional strategies for interacting with the hierarchically dominant referent (cf. §20.2.2). These referential strategies became capable of assuming, so to speak, a life of their own in diverse tradition ecologies, adapted and applied in varying contexts without necessarily reflecting the hierarchically dominant martyrdom of Jesus. In modern culture, the Crucifixion is scarcely discerned any longer as even a shadow behind, e.g. martyrdoms “for love” or “for art” which have become so commonplace. These are maintained in generic frameworks such as genres of novel and the cinema in which the cultural load of *narrative power* is related to the broad activity of the pattern in that framework being internalized as a schema rather than dependence on a single hierarchically dominant referent such as the self-sacrifice of Jesus.

In this chapter, the hierarchically dominant extra-textual entity of interest is the Baldr-Cycle. The examples under discussion all participate in the cultural activity of loaded elements and constellations of elements, and therefore have the ability to impact the loads of constituent elements and their constellations. However, the applications discussed here appear oriented in relation to the Baldr-Cycle to a far greater degree than in relation to one another or conventional strategies which may be heavily loaded with *image power* and *narrative power* without a hierarchically dominant entity as a referent. The examples discussed here are selected because the referent is relatively close to the surface as in *Beowulf* (§3.6.2, §10.3.1), and in some of these examples there is evidence of the historical maintenance of the relationship between the textual or extra-textual entity of the mytho-heroic narrative, and the Baldr-Cycle as a mythological referent.³⁸⁷

21.2. Heiðreks saga

The slaying of Angantýr by his brother Heiðrekr exhibits an intertextual application of *narrative power*. The two manuscripts of the narrative diverge from one another to offer

³⁸⁷ The historical maintenance of intertextual relationships (for them to be successful) would seem to imply that it was either explicitly essential to the narrative tradition (which seems unlikely) or that this aspect of the tradition was maintained by some form of performance specialist, as appears to be essential to oral epic traditions in other cultures (see Honko 1998:20-29).

separate accounts of the slaying. *Heiðreks R* presents the “blind shooter” killing; *Heiðreks H* prefers a magic sword.

21.2.1. *Heiðreks R*

The manuscript leaf which contained the beginning of this episode has been lost from *Heiðreks R*. The correspondence of text of *Heiðreks H* with *Heiðreks R* immediately preceding and following the lacuna makes it reasonable to consider the lost material equivalent to *Heiðreks H* (Helgason 1924:32-34), which informs us that everyone loved Angantýr (consistent with Snorri’s Baldr). Angantýr is contrasted with his disruptive brother Heiðrekr. The first component of Heiðrekr’s name, *Heið-*, exhibits a striking phonetic similarity to the name Höðr (cf. §10.3.1), and the etymology of Höðr’s name (§23.4.5.3.1) corresponds to Heiðrekr’s disruptive activity.³⁸⁸ They are the sons of Hervör and Hröfundr, son of Guðmundr of Glassisvallir. Hröfundr holds a feast to which he invites everyone important except Heiðrekr in an explicit “All-but-One” motif (cf. §19.3.2.3, §23.3.4). Heiðrekr learns of the feast and goes anyway, arriving in a foul mood. Angantýr invites Heiðrekr to sit with him. The lacuna in *Heiðreks R* ends here. (Helgason 1924:34.)

Angantýr goes out three times. Each time Heiðrekr provokes increasing hostility between two men, and Angantýr restores peace when he returns. The third time, Heiðrekr’s *fortala*, “guiding talk”, leads one man to kill the other. (Helgason 1924:34-35.) Heiðrekr’s verbal incitements are directly comparable to Loki’s in *Lokasenna*, Loki’s general characterization by Snorri (Faulkes 1982:26-27), and the kenning *Baldrs ráðbani*, “Baldr’s slayer by counsel” (Faulkes 1998:20). Angantýr’s repeated and transient resolutions of the conflict warrant comparison with Snorri’s perplexing statements that Baldr is *fegrst talaðr*, “most beautifully spoken”, *líknsamastr*, “most merciful”, *en sú náttúra fylgir honum at eingi má haldask dómr hans*, “and that nature is attached to him

³⁸⁸ Malone (1936:158-161) discusses the relationship of this narrative to the Baldr-Cycle, taking up the etymological inconsistency between the vowels of the first syllables in OE Hæðoric and ON Heiðrekr. Malone argues that the OE name would correspond to ON *Höð-rekr, and on the basis of comparison with the analogue to the Baldr-slaying in *Heiðreks saga*, he suggests that the Heiðrekr is a later development and a form in which the etymological equivalent of Höðr functioned as an initial element was the earlier form.

that no judgement of his can hold” (Faulkes 1982:23).³⁸⁹ Dumézil (1973:178-179, 183-184; cf. Lindow 1997b:63-64) has argued that this system of motifs was attributed to Høtherus by Saxo. The resulting killing warrants comparison with the killing of one of Ægir’s two servants by Loki (*Ls* prose; Faulkes 1998:41).

Hröfundr learns of this and tells Heiðrekr to leave (as Loki is driven from Ægir’s hall). The two brothers exit the hall together and Heiðrekr departs. After he has gone a little way, he feels he still hasn’t done enough harm (cf. Loki’s return) and throws a big stone at where he hears two men talking (“blind shooter”). He goes back and finds Angantýr lying dead. Heiðrekr immediately goes before his father and announces the killing. Hröfundr outlaws Heiðrekr, suggesting death would be better (cf. *gríðastaðr mikill*, §9.6). (Helgason 1924:35-36.) Saxo refers to Loki bound as Ugarthilocus,³⁹⁰ corresponding to Snorri’s “Útgarða-Loki”, which it is possible to interpret as “Outlaw-Loki” (see Liberman 1992:101).

Heiðrekr’s return to the hall presents a display of verbal conflict and exchange. Heiðrekr confesses his deed, his father outlaws him, and no one dares stand up in his defence. Heiðrekr’s mother asks Hröfundr to give their son good advice on parting. Hröfundr gives a series of prophetic pieces of advice which Heiðrekr receives poorly (as Loki refuses to be placated in *Lokasenna*?). Heiðrekr’s mother goes out with him and gives him a mark of gold and the sword Tyrfingr. Heiðrekr departs on a journey with a series of encounters corresponding to the advice given by his father. Heiðrekr actively and consciously rejects this advice, doing the opposite, and becomes a great king. (Helgason 1924:37ff.)

³⁸⁹ Manuscript W reads *hallask* for *haldask*, which changes the meaning to “and that nature is attached to him that no judgement of his can be overturned”. As *haldask* is found in U as well as R and T, *hallask* seems most reasonably attributable to a scribal error through a loss of a stroke on the “d”, or a simple misreading (as opposed to the reverse in R and U as well as T). The change is so minor that if it is attributed to a conscious “correction”, this may simply reflect a scribe finding *haldask* as perplexing in this position as it has been found by modern scholarship, and providing (what seemed to him) a better sense. There is no reason to believe that this reflects a conscious revision on the basis of a fuller knowledge of the tradition than we have available.

³⁹⁰ Liberman (1992:101) has drawn attention to the fact that Saxo the “t” in *Utgarthilocus is an editorial emendation to the manuscript, which leads to the possible translation “No-Place-Loki”. This is in spite of his use of “Utgarthia” (Saxo 1931:260) which appears to be a place of exile or an abstract term for “outside the community” where outlaws dwell.

Following the death of Heiðrekr, the sword Tyrfingr is discovered by his son when he happens to see men fishing and the sword is used to cut the head off of the fish (Helgason 1924:84-85). The heirloom sword Tyrfingr was recovered from the burial mound of Heiðrekr's grandfather (also Angantýr) by his mother. It is worth noting that the famous battle in which Heiðrekr's grandfather and all of his brothers died was widely told, and in the three other main sources for the tradition (Saxo's *Gesta*, *Örvar-Odds saga*, *Hyndluljóð*), "Tyrfingr" is always the name of one of these brothers rather than of a sword (von See et al. 2000:753).

21.2.2. *Heiðreks H*

Heiðreks H introduces a curse on the sword Tyrfingr (Helgason 1924:3). Heiðrekr's slaying of his brother with this sword is considered a development intended to emphasize the sword's curse (Reifegerste 1989:159-160), which brings unity to the saga (Tulinus 2002:73-114). Hall (2005:22-23) proposes an intertextual strategy related to the mythological narrative of *Grímnismál* related to adaptations surrounding this sword. *Heiðreks H* and *R* diverge at the first killing. *Heiðreks H* states that Hröfundr outlaws Heiðrekr for the *ráðbani* killing, and his mother gives him the sword Tyrfingr when he leaves the hall with Angantýr. Heiðrekr declares that the sword is better than a great kingdom, contrasts the sword given by his mother to the outlawry given by his father, and states he shall do what seems worst to his father. He draws the sword, goes into a berserk rage (presumably under the compulsion of the curse), and strikes Angantýr. He then flees into the forest (cf. Loki in *Lokasenna*) and Hröfundr learns independently of the event. (Helgason 1924:35-36.) *Heiðreks H* includes a funeral feast, *ok var Angantýr hverjum manni harmdauði*, "and Angantýr proved a grievous death to every man" (Helgason 1924:36). Heiðrekr remains in the woods until he determines that he can achieve greatness like his ancestors. He returns and asks his mother to ask his father for advice, which she does (Helgason 1924:36-38), at which point *Heiðreks H* and *R* reconverge (although see Hall 2005:23n).

21.2.3. Competing Versions of Baldr's Death?

The exchange of the “blind shooter” slaying for the sword-slaying is directly associated with the curse on the sword (Reifegerste 1989, Hall 2005). This curse and the slaying appear to be connected to a more dynamic narrative pattern found in Norse mytho-heroic sagas argued by Schück (1918:19-56; cf. Malone 1925:773-780; Andrews 1927:159; cf. Malone 1936:160). In this narrative pattern, a brother-slaying curse is placed on a sword by its supernatural crafter(s) and the owner/father is buried with the sword in order to protect his sons from the curse. The mother ignorantly retrieves the sword, gives it to one of her sons, and the brother-slaying is fulfilled.

The change in *Heiðreks* H could be dismissed as applying the mytho-heroic paradigm without conscious relation to the Baldr-Cycle, were it not for the introduction of *Mistilteinn* as a sword-name. The sword *Mistilteinn* is attributed to Sæmingr, who is introduced among the brothers of Angantýr and Hvararðr:

Angantýr hafði Tyrfing, en Sæmingr Mistiltein, Hvararðr Brotta, ok allir höfðu þeir ágæt hólmgöngusverð. (Helgason 1924:5)

Angantýr had [the sword] Tyrfingr and Sæmingr *Mistilteinn*, Hvararðr Brotta, and they all had excellent duelling-swords.

Angantýr (ancestor of Heiðrekr and Angantýr) and Hvararðr are the central adversaries of the famous Battle of Sámsey. Sæmingr and the sword *Mistilteinn* are given exceptional prominence by being introduced between these two figures and their swords while the names of the swords of the other nine brothers do not merit mention. Neither Sæmingr nor *Mistilteinn* are mentioned in *Heiðreks* R, or other accounts of this famous battle. I propose that Haukr has incorporated Sæmingr and *Mistilteinn* into the saga in order to activate the *narrative power* indexically associated with this weapon to imply comparable power or authority to the swords Brotti/Hrotti and – more specifically – Tyrfingr. The introduction of the sword *Mistilteinn* implies that it is associated with the adaptations made to the Angantýr-slaying and belonged to the model from which the revised slaying was drawn. There is the possibility that this narrative pattern discussed by Schück is rooted in an intertextual application of *narrative power* associated with the Baldr-Cycle

(see Lindow 1997b:138-141), potentially preserving an archaic feature of the mother as the acquirer or possessor of the weapon which appears to be reflected in the Three-God-Bracteates (§19.5.4). Whether or not the mytho-heroic narrative paradigm was historically rooted in an intertextual application of the Baldr-Cycle, it seems probable that Haukr drew on a form in which the intertextual relationship was prominent, or a variant of the Baldr-Cycle in which *Mistilteinn* was understood as a sword (as in Saxo's account). In either case, the change implies that the "blind shooter" slaying activated the Baldr-Cycle as a referent, and this referent was rejected and replaced by an equivalent. This would be consistent with the increase in mythological information introduced into *Heiðreks H* (Andrews 1923; Hall 2005; cf. Mitchell 1991). The introduction of the funeral and Angantýr's death as a "grievous tragedy" may be additional applications of *narrative power*.

21.2.4. Angantýr – Ongenþeow

The name Angantýr appears almost exclusively in connection to the narratives of this saga,³⁹¹ where it is found for three generations of hero, and in *Hyndluljóð*, where it is the name of the opponent of Óttarr, who is also attributed with descent from the line of this family (von See et al. 2000:750-755). The name Angantýr is identified with the correspondingly rare Ongenþeow in *Beowulf*,³⁹² where Ongenþeow is identified as the father of Ohtere, identified with Óttarr (e.g. von See et al. 2000:750-755). According to Malone (1936:180), the identification of the name Ongenþeow "with ON *Angantýr* makes phonological difficulties, although the equivalence of the OE and ON name-forms cannot be doubted." Malone's certainty stands on correlations between the names and legendary traditions with which they are associated (cf. Björkman 1920:86-99), and Malone (1936:160) draws attention to a corresponding problem with the correlation of OE Hæðoric and ON Heiðrekr.

³⁹¹ Lind 1905-1915:29. The few other contexts are notably mytho-heroic sagas, and moreover sagas where it is reasonable to question the degree to which the names appearing are "invented" within the literary sphere of a scriptorium, potentially applying the name Angantýr in relation to its use in this genealogy (e.g. for a brother of Hrómundr Gripsson, which also refers explicitly to this famous family elsewhere).

³⁹² For an overview of the occurrences and potential cognates with Ongenþeow, see Björkman 1920:86-99.

In *Beowulf* 2482-2489, Ongenþeow is the Swedish king who slays Hæðcyn following the death of Herebeald. Their third brother, Hygelac, orchestrates vengeance for Hæðcyn on Ongenþeow through an additional figure, which Lindow (1997b:141-144) argues belongs to the adaptation of *narrative power* from the revenge-sequence of the Baldr-Cycle. This stands outside of material otherwise relevant for comparison between the heroic Angantýr of Norse tradition. The integration of the OE correspondent of the unusual name Angantýr is unlikely to be coincidence. According to Björkman (1920:91ff.), *ongen-/angan-* only persisted as a name-element, the meaning of which required reconstruction (some sort of poking object or weapon), while the ON homonym *angan*, “sweet fragrance, beloved”, is a development unique in ON (from the verb *anga*, “to emit a sweet smell”). In other words, *angan* became exclusively a name element in other Germanic languages and very possibly lost lexical meaning outside of that function. *Peow* meant “servant”, hence behind *Ongen-peow* is a potential meaning of something like “Spear-Servant”, although the loss of independent semantic value by *ongen-* may be related to its extremely limited usage. The ON equivalent would be the unattested **Angan-þér* rather than *Angan-týr*, “Beloved-God”.³⁹³ If the name is considered to have evolved in each language, the OE form became a name without specific meaning on level of its initial lexeme, while the ON form retained or developed an immediately interpretable form, which Much proposed was actually a circumlocution, by-name or otherwise a reference to Baldr.³⁹⁴ The latter interpretation is particularly striking considering Malone’s (1936:160) observation that the OE form of Heiðrekr would be the (potential) etymological equivalent of **Höð-rekr*, in which case the Baldr-Höðr relationship between slain and slayer would be extremely close to the surface, if not explicit.³⁹⁵ Unless we take the appearance of Ongenþeow (otherwise attached to Heiðrekr’s genealogy) in the Baldr-slaying analogue of *Beowulf* as a coincidence, the author’s familiarity with the corresponding account of the Angantýr-Heiðrekr slaying as intertextually connected with the Baldr-slaying would offer an explanation for the

³⁹³ It is interesting to observe that *angan* in *Angan-týr* is semantically synonymous with *lempi* in *Lemmin-käinen*.

³⁹⁴ Quoted in Björkman 1920:97. *Vsp* 53 presents the kenning *angan Friggjar*, “beloved of Frigg”, for Óðinn when identifying his death’s with Baldr’s as Frigg’s “second sorrow”. It is possible that *angan* carried additional associations with Baldr both here and in the name “Angan-týr”.

³⁹⁵ It must be pointed out, of course, that OE and ON would then each maintain an explicit identification of only one figure, while the other was subject to evolution.

integration of Ongenþeow as an extra figure in the revenge-cycle. This would then imply a continuity going back several centuries.

21.3. Otr's Ransom and Andvaranautr

Otr's Ransom describes the origins of the cursed ring Andvaranautr, the ring of the Sigurðr-Cycle. The narrative is preserved in *Reginismál*, *Edda* and *Völsunga saga*. Loki, Óðinn and Hœnir are travelling together when they see an otter which has caught a salmon dozing at a *fors*, “waterfall, course of rapids”. The motif of Loki, Óðinn and Hœnir out travelling is loaded with *narrative power* associating these events with the creation and organization of the world (de Vries 1933a:27-55).

21.3.1. Blind Shooter

Loki kills the otter with a stone. This is considered a lucky shot, getting both the otter and the salmon. The gods arrive at the hall of a giant called Hreiðmarr, and they show him their prize. Hreiðmarr reveals that this otter was his son Otr (“Otter”). Loki was the victim of *sjónhverfing* (visually deceptive magic) and did not see his victim for who he was, comparable to Heiðrekr as the “blind-shooter” with the stone (§21.2.1). The gods are captured. Snorri states explicitly that they are bound (Faulkes 1998:45). The hall is central to the activity. The killing occurs outside the hall (associated with water) and acknowledgement of the killing results in binding rather than a revenge-killing. The capture and/or torture of Loki leading to compelled action occurs in a number of narratives, most often for the resolution of crisis situations for which he is considered responsible. Otr's Ransom is unique as the only instance in which Loki *and* other gods are captured. It is only here and in the Baldr-Cycle that he is captured for a killing. The compensation for the killing is that Otr's skin should be stuffed with gold and totally covered with gold.

21.3.2. Pike-Andvari and Salmon-Loki

Andvari is a dwarf who lives (uniquely) in the form of a pike in Andvarafors, “Andvari's *fors*”. Loki sets out to capture this pike-dwarf in order to secure the ransom. *Reginismál* (prose) and *Völsunga saga* (Grimstad 2000:126) state that Otr was slain at Andvarafors.

Loki visits Rán to borrow the net with which she gathers the dead from the sea, and he uses this to capture pike-Andvari. Snorri (Faulkes 1998:45) states that Andvarafors is in *Svartálfheimr*, “Black-Elf-World”. *Svartálfheimr* may be his own invention in the process of systematizing the mythology (Holtmark 1964:37-38; Bonnetain 2006:36-43). He describes Loki capturing Andvari with his bare hands. Snorri claims Loki invented the first net following the Baldr-slaying while avoiding capture in the form of a salmon, and that Þórr caught him in his hands while he leapt over this net, which gives salmon their distinctive shape (Faulkes 1982:48-49). Snorri’s description of catching Andvari appears to have been impacted by his account of Loki’s capture in salmon-form (cf. Liberman 1992:117-119). Snorri had a fondness for aetiological myths (cf. Holtmark 1964:78-81). His claim that Kvasir unriddled the design of Loki’s net for his capture indicates that Snorri was manipulating material because Kvasir appears to be Snorri’s own invention.³⁹⁶ There is no reason to believe that this aetiological myth was attached to the capture of Loki prior to Snorri’s work.

³⁹⁶ Schjødt accepts Kvasir as an established mythic figure who can be viewed “as a personification of intoxicating drink” (Schjødt 2008:142) but similarly rejects Kvasir’s participation in this account as an invention of Snorri’s: “That Kvasir simply cannot be alive at this point in mythic history is a conclusive indication that Snorri’s information here must be a subsequent rationalization” (Schjødt 2008:167), suggesting that the aetiological character of the account supports the impression that the whole episode concerning the invention of the net has been adapted into the context – cf. de Vries 1933a:155: “Loki as inventor of the net is a motive absolutely unparalleled in Northern mythology: he never invents an implement useful to mankind.” I am more sceptical. The argument that Kvasir is more or less completely the invention of Snorri (Mogk 1923:21-33) or a fusion of obscure circumlocutions and references, some of which were misunderstood (Frank [1981b] shows that *kvasir* most probably meant the “dregs” or matter which was left after pressing fruit to extract its juices, and which is also cognate with words for fermented beverages; cf. Clunies Ross [1987:111-117], who finds Frank’s account consistent with Snorri’s handling of material elsewhere in *Skáldskaparmál*) may be overstated. There is a distinct possibility that a tradition of ‘talking beer’ was known in the Germanic tradition considering that Snorri’s account potentially shares features with Finnic songs/incantations for *Beer’s Origins*, and the Finnic traditions exhibit a clear continuity in motifs in the corresponding Baltic and Mordvian traditions, particularly involving dialogue with the beer or its ingredients (Kuusi 1963:138-146; Vento 1989). There may very well have been traditions related to *kvasir* being attributed with anthropomorphic characteristics and the power of speech, but that does not mean that it necessarily belonged to the network of mythological narratives associated with the war between the Æsir and Vanir or the origin of the Mead of Poetry (which Snorri presents it as linking together: Faulkes 1998:3-5), nor even that *kvasir* was a proper name. I suspect that Frank (1981b) was largely correct, but that Snorri’s strategies were shaped by additional conventional cultural knowledge (very possibly adapted with pretensions of humorous effect – potentially a synthesis *ad absurdum* of familiar traditions associated with divergent contexts: cf. Abram 2009), with a high probability that material drawn on for “Kvasir” as a mythological figure belong at least in part to what at some period was very likely a Circum-Baltic tradition related to the successful brewing of alcohol – noting that all of these cultures share a special family of cognate words for “beer” (e.g. Old Norse *öl*, Finnish *olut*, Lithuanian *alus*, Russian *ol*).

It appears that Snorri recognized a relationship between the capture of Loki and the capture of Andvari, in which the latter appears hierarchically dependent on the *narrative power* of the former. This would suggest that Loki's capture was otherwise associated with Rán's net (see further van Hamel 1929:206-211). Snorri states that the Æsir first learned of Rán's net at Ægir's feast (Faulkes 1998:41) – a net which Loki did not invent. *Lokasenna* follows the *senna* in Ægir's hall with Loki's capture in the shape of a salmon. Loki's salmon-form would be appropriate for flight from the hall of the sea-god. It would also explain why Snorri found it relevant to introduce Rán's net at Ægir's feast, and why Loki is afraid to swim out to sea in order to escape the net of the gods (Faulkes 1982:48). The capture of Andvari appears not only to have drawn on the *narrative power* of the capture of Loki, but that relationship was maintained as an active and conscious aspect of the narrative tradition.

21.3.3. Andvaranautr and Draupnir

Loki compels Andvari to surrender his treasure. Andvari possesses a wealth-generating ring which becomes indexically identified with Draupnir. The net of Rán (*Reginismál*, *Völsunga saga*) associates Loki's journey with an acquisition of the dead,³⁹⁷ while Snorri's *Svartálfheimr* implies a chthonic otherworld location. Andvari attempts to retain the ring, Loki takes it anyway, and the pike-dwarf curses it. Loki returns to the hall with this ring (and treasure), and Óðinn immediately claims the ring. This sequence of motifs and culturally loaded figures may have stimulated the journey to recover Baldr and return with Draupnir as a system of *immanent* if not *implicit propositions*. The transfer of the ring from Loki to Óðinn fulfils the much more significant function of activating the *image power* of Óðinn placing the ring on Baldr's pyre: Óðinn determines to keep the ring, but when Otr's skin is stuffed and covered with gold, a few hairs remain exposed – Óðinn is required to remit "his" wealth-producing ring as the last object placed on Otr's ransom.

³⁹⁷ Rán's net is used to pull dead men from the sea according to Snorri (Faulkes 1998:41; cf. *Sonatorrek* 9), whose introduction is the qualification of the attribute of Rán, possibly because of its potential value in skaldic verse. Snorri presents this information at the conclusion of his summary of the conflict of *Lokasenna* in Ægir's hall without indicating how or why the Æsir learning of Rán's net might be relevant to the narrative surrounding the *senna*.

21.3.4. Within the Old Norse Sigurðr-Cycle

Otr's Ransom is comprehensively infused with *image power* and *narrative power* from the Baldr-Cycle much as the Theft of the Sampo was infused with the World-Creation (§20.2.2.1). The presence of Óðinn and Loki as mythic figures appears to have played a significant role in maintaining the intertextual relationships between narratives by presenting these names as *explicit propositions* in conjunction with a high density of indexically loaded motifs. The organization of episodes activated referentially does not correspond to their organization in the Baldr-Cycle, nor do the roles of figures necessarily correspond to their roles in the Baldr-Cycle (e.g. Óðinn is bound; Loki catches the fish and retrieves the ring) but that does not diminish their *narrative power*. The application functions to infuse the ring of the Sigurðr-Cycle with associations. The accumulation of associations are then able to remain active in the stimulation of *immanent propositions* potentially opened to interpretation in the ensuing sequence of revenge-killings: Fáfñir slays his father Hreiðmarr (cf. §20.2.1) and his brother Reginn sends his foster-son Sigurðr (outside the immediate kin-group, like Váli)³⁹⁸ to slay dragon-Fáfñir when he goes to drink. Sigurðr then travels to the house or fortification of Sigrdrífa-Brynhildr which in *Völsunga saga* blazes like fire to the heavens³⁹⁹ where he finds the maiden in a death-like state, awakens her, transfers the ring to her, and departs without her. The possible relationship of this narrative to the attempt to recover Baldr from Hell is addressed in §23.4.3.

21.4. *Grímnismál*

The introductory prose of *Grímnismál* describes the fostering of Geirrøðr and his brother Agnarr by Óðinn and Frigg, respectively. When the boys are sent home, Óðinn says something secretly to Geirrøðr, his foster-son, and when the lads reach the shore of their father's land, Geirrøðr leaps off the boat, curses his brother to go where an evil thing (*smyl* – a *hapax legomenon*) will take him, and the ship leaves with Agnarr. Geirrøðr goes home and becomes king, and Agnarr has children in a cave with a troll-woman.

³⁹⁸ Cf. Lindow 1997b:135-157. Sigurðr could belong to the maternal line of Reginn's and Fáfñir's sister Lyngheiðr (Sijmons & Gering 1931:171-172).

³⁹⁹ Grimstad 2000:146. Snorri only mentions the fire on the return to acquire Brynhildr for Gunnarr (Faulkes 1998:47; Grimstad 2000:170-175).

Óðinn's act of saying something in secret to his "son" before departure on a boat presents a system of indexically associated motifs in conjunction with Óðinn as a cultural figure capable of activating the *image power* and *narrative power* of Baldr's funeral, and stimulates the activation of additional propositions for the generation of meanings. The referent of the Geirrøðr's "curse" may be Þökk's verse or some otherwise unrecorded speech-act from Baldr's funeral. Agnarr's departure from the land of his father in the magically launched ship activates the departure of Baldr on his funeral ship. Agnarr is not physically "dead", but he is transferred irrecoverably to an otherworld location where he becomes the consort of a female supernatural being, apparently reflecting Baldr as the consort of Hel.

Óðinn and Frigg observe their respective fosterlings and Óðinn comments disparagingly on Agnarr's situation with the giantess in contrast to king Geirrøðr's. Frigg accuses Geirrøðr of being a stingy host, provoking Óðinn to test his hospitality. Frigg sabotages this visit by sending Fulla to inform Geirrøðr that Óðinn, disguised as Grímnir, is a dangerous sorcerer. Óðinn's arrival results in his capture and binding as in Otr's Ransom. Frigg's plot succeeds in making Grímnir-Óðinn into the one figure to whom Geirrøðr would not respond hospitably, making him comparable to Loki and Heiðrekr as the uninvited guest. When Óðinn arrives, Geirrøðr has him bound and tortured to make him speak. Frigg's revenge for the condition of her "son" Angantýr stimulates the binding of Loki for the death of Baldr as a referent.

21.4.1. Ægir's Feast in *Grímnismál*

Óðinn is bound between two fires. After eight days of silence, Geirrøðr's son Agnarr brings him beer, and Óðinn begins to speak. This monologue constitutes the 54-stanza text of the poem. There is a clear relationship between drinking beer, poetic speech and knowledge of the occult (Doht 1974:168-226; Schjødt 2008:108-172; Tolley 2009:434-450). This example of the uninvited guest-poet corresponds to baby-Egill as well as Lemminkäinen (whose poetry is explicitly associated with magic). Stanza 45 clearly introduces the drinking-feast in Ægir's hall into the discourse. The relevant passage also

offers insights into the significance of Ægir's drinking-feast and warrants specific address.

Grímnismál 1-3 refer to the narrative context of Agnarr presenting beer to Óðinn. These are paralleled by 51-53 at the end of the poem, in which Geirrøðr is declared to be *ölr*, “drunk”, and is cursed by Óðinn. Stanzas 4-35 provides a tour of the mythic world, beginning with the various halls in Ásgarðr, moving on to Valhöll and activities which surround it, and then to Yggdrasill's Ash. Stanza 36 shifts momentarily to the first person. It is a valkyrja-*þula*. The first two valkyrja-names are followed by *vil ek at mér horn beri*, “I desire that [they] carry the/a horn to me”. The rest of the valkyrja names are said to bring beer to the *einherjar*. This stanza provides a transition to the survey of heavenly bodies (37-39) and the creation of the world from the giant Ymir (40-41). The subsequent four stanzas (42-45) have proven difficult to interpret. Stanzas 43-44 have been considered interpolations (e.g. Sijmons & Gering 1927:208). Snorri attributes *Gm* 44 to the Æsir as a body rather than to Óðinn and *Gm* 43 is the only stanza of a poem associated with *Gylfaginning* quoted in *Skáldskaparmál* (see Frog 2009b:274-276). The formula introducing the quotation of *Gm* 44 indicates that it was known from a poem other than *Völuspá*, *Grímnismál* or *Vafþrúðnismál*.⁴⁰⁰ Stanza 42 describes the opening of worlds to the Æsir. This is generally considered to be connected to *Gm* 45 which presents a statement in the first person:

Svipom hefi ek nú ypt fyr sigtíva sonom
við þat skal vilbiörg vaka

öllom ásom þat skal inn koma
Ægis bekki á
Ægis drekko at

⁴⁰⁰ *Svá er hér sagt i orðum sjálfra Ásanna* (Faulkes 1982:34), “So it is said here in the words of the Æsir themselves” (this and the rest of the prose passage between the *Vm* 41 and **Gm* 44 quotations has been replaced by *ok enn segir* in U). The word *sjálf* in the introduction to verse quotation appears used exclusively to qualify an attribution for authenticating verse which stood outside Snorri's three central authorities, the other examples being Following R: *Svá sem hér er sagt at Óðinn mælir sjálf* við þann Ás er *Loki heitir* (Faulkes 1988:26), “So as it is said here that Óðinn himself spoke with that Ás who is called Loki”; *ok enn segir hann sjálf* í *Heimdallargaldr* (Faulkes 1988:26), “and yet he [Heimdallr] himself says in *Heimdallargaldr*” (compare U: *ok enn segir í sjálfum Heimdallargaldr*, “and yet is said in *Heimdallargaldr* itself”). See Frog 2009b:275 for detailed discussion.

Glances/apparitions have I now raised in front of/for the sons of the gods
with it shall wish-aid be awake

all of the Æsir it shall make come in
onto Ægir's bench
to Ægir's drink.

The noun *svipr* (DAT PL *svipum*) can mean either to look at something swiftly or that which is seen momentarily or uncertainly (Cleasby & Vigfússon 1896:611-612). It seems unlikely that Óðinn is signalling the Æsir to come to his aid with rapid eye-movements. The Æsir are not present in Geirrøðr's hall, nor do they appear. Óðinn's action prompts them to attend Ægir's drinking-feast. He has either raised images before the Æsir, or the *svipar* could perhaps be at the feast itself, in the event that Snorri's account of magical illumination of Ægir's hall (§3.3.1.6) had some basis in *sjónhverfing*, which appears associated with the pattern of reciprocal feasting he describes between Ægir and the Æsir.⁴⁰¹ *Vilbjörg* is a *hapax legomenon*. The interpretation “desired or wished-for aid or rescue” has been considered questionable or unsatisfactory. It is interesting to observe that if the verb were plural rather than singular,⁴⁰² *vilbjörg* would be interpreted as the plural “Vilbjörg”, “Wish-Sea-Cliffs” – a place-name appropriate for Ægir's hall or its location and comparable to “Hnitbjörg”, “Fused-Sea-Cliffs”, the location where Óðinn acquired the Mead of Poetry (Faulkes 1998:3-4; cf. *ibid.*:11; Frog 2008a:152-153). However the ambiguities are interpreted, it is clear that Óðinn has somehow incited the Æsir to attend a drinking-feast in the hall of Ægir, and within the stanza, the truncated *ljóðaháttr/galdralag* lines imply some relationship between *við þat skal vilbjörg vaka* and *Ægis bekki á / Ægis drekku at*, whether the attendance of Ægir's feast generates the *vilbjörg* as “aid” or **Vilbjörg* is the location of Ægir's benches which comes alive for the drinking-feast (cf. Jakobson 1981:esp.27). In either case, the

⁴⁰¹ The Æsir first deceive Ægir (Faulkes 1998:1,40), observing that this provides a narrative framework opening his dialogue format, which is then referred to directly as the instigating event of Ægir's reciprocal feast. This directly parallels the deceptions of Gylfi in the prose frame of *Gylfaginning* (Faulkes 1982:7-8,54), who has first hosted one of the Æsir, and is central to Þórr's adventure as a guest of Útgarða-Loki (*ibid.*:37-43). The description of Ægir's feast in which everything serves itself is consistent with *sjónhverfing*.

⁴⁰² *skulu* rather than *skal* would be metrically acceptable, and could allow variation in transmission.

drinking-feast of Ægir is associated with tremendous power. This power appears to be introduced in stanza 42:

Ullr hylli hefr ok allra goða
hverr er tekr fyrstr á funa;

þvíat opnir heimar verða um ása sonum,
þá er hefia af hvera.

Of Ullr the blessing has and of all gods
the cauldron which is the first to touch the flame

because open the worlds become around the sons of the Æsir
then when cauldrons are lifted off

Hverr (*Gm* 42.3) is often interpreted as “whoever”, most probably referring to Agnarr who approaches Óðinn bound between two flames with beer. Cauldrons are neither mentioned nor relevant in Geirrøðr’s hall. Consequently, the second helming appears as an obscure piece of gnomic wisdom (cf. Sijmons & Gering 1927:208). The first half of the stanza can as easily be understood to refer to placing cauldrons on the fire and the second half to their removal. Cauldrons were significant to Ægir’s feast. The word *hverr* is used for Ægir’s abundant cauldrons in *Hymisqviða* 1. The adventure of *Hymisqviða* is developed around Þórr’s quest to acquire a cauldron large enough to brew beer for the drinking-feast of the gods. The First Grammarian quotes a line describing Þórr’s return with this *hverr* as an example of a minimal pair (Sigurðsson 1966:42; Frog 2009b:272n). “The cauldron first to touch the fire” at Ægir’s feast was (presumably) the kettle fetched by Þórr. If this stanza is associated with Ægir’s feast referred to in stanza 45, the opening of the worlds around the Æsir would be associated with serving beer “when the cauldrons are lifted off” the flame. This association of beer with the opening of worlds would accord with the general associations of beer with magic, power, and occult knowledge. It can be directly compared with Óðinn’s overview of the mythic topography when drinking the beer in *Grímnismál*, the acquisition of a drink of mead from the giant Mímir as one of his primary sources of power (see Simpson 1963-1964), and his acquisition of the Mead of Poetry from Hnitbjörg – so significant to the semiotics of poetry (see Frank 1981b) – which Óðinn returned with to Ásgarðr and shared with the Æsir.

Gm 43-44 are a *pula* of “bests” in the world. Snorri’s attribution of *Gm* 44 to “the Æsir themselves” (Faulkes 1982:34) implies a poem in which the Æsir iterate this information. The integration of this list of “bests” between *Gm* 42 and *Gm* 45 associates them with the feast in Ægir’s hall. The content of the stanzas would be consistent with the revelation offered by the “opening of worlds” to the Æsir at Ægir’s feast. The appearance of these stanzas in *Grímnismál* could be explained as an application of the *word power* of the revelatory experience itself as an intertextual strategy within the description of instigating the feast of Ægir. The appearance of the feast of Ægir in this poem implies that it was not a single mythic event, but a repeating or ongoing event essential to the natural order of the world.

The incitement of the feast is followed by the first *pula* of Óðinn-identities (46-50).⁴⁰³ The final stanza of this *pula* is set apart by presenting only two names, both of which Óðinn claims to have used when Sökkmímir, “Deep-Mímir”. The identity of Sökkmímir cannot be interpreted with certainty, but may be identical to Mímir, the giant or being from whom Óðinn acquired a drink of mead and lost his eye in the process (Simpson 1963-1964:esp.43,52; Frog 2008a:151-153; Schjødtt 2008:108-134; Tolley 2009:381-383,441-443). The emphasis placed on beer and power in *Grímnismál* would make such a reference appropriate: Óðinn speaks when he receives beer from Agnarr; he switches to the first person when referring to the valkyries bringing beer; the drinking-feast in Ægir’s hall is highlighted as central to the power of the Æsir; the poem concludes with the declaration that Geirrøðr is “drunk”, at which point Geirrøðr’s sword slips from its sheath as he stands up and he falls on it – apparently as a magical consequence of Óðinn’s speech-act.

21.4.2. Prose and Poem

The activation of Ægir’s drinking-feast as a referent of such significance places Óðinn’s circumstances, drinking, and magical response in relation to that drinking-feast, drawing attention to the fact that the relevant stanzas and Óðinn’s revelation of his identity are

⁴⁰³ This considers *Gm* 54, which follows the three stanzas of the narrative frame (51-53), and in which Óðinn explicitly names himself, a separate *pula*. Jackson (1995:31) considers *Gm* 51-53 a rhetorical interruption.

followed by a formulaic expression for Geirrøðr's intoxication which is levelled against Loki three times in *Lokasenna* (21,29,47; cf. Frog 2009b:273). The degree to which this formula was loaded with indexically specific *word power* is uncertain due to the lack of comparative material, but *Grímnismál* precedes it with the activation of Ægir's drinking-feast as an *explicit proposition* and Loki's binding as the revenge for trapping Baldr (Agnarr) as the consort of Hel (a troll-woman) has established him as a relevant intertextual referent to the narrative. Just as Óðinn's son Viðarr brings Loki beer in *Lokasenna*, Geirrøðr's son brings Óðinn beer in *Grímnismál*, and Óðinn begins to speak when he is brought beer much as Loki correspondingly initiates the *senna*. The prose and poem of *Grímnismál* are in a complementary relationship of intertextual relations: the prose activates Baldr's funeral, stimulating the Baldr-Cycle as a network of *immanent propositions*, augmented by the accumulation of *explicit propositions* within the poetic text which exhibit a relationship between the binding for the Baldr-Slaying and Loki's *senna* in Ægir's hall. As in Otr's Ransom, the high density of indexically loaded motifs accompanied by relevant cultural figures accumulate to activate the *narrative power* of the Baldr-Cycle, although their specific organization exhibits flexibility.

21.5. Starkaðr and the Sacrifice of King Víkarr

The sacrifice of king Víkarr by Starkaðr is preserved in both an Icelandic *fornaldarsaga* and adapted by Saxo in his history. The Víkarr-sacrifice is different from other contexts because it applies the motif-complexes of the Baldr-Cycle in a narrative of ritual sacrifice (see especially de Vries 1955, Kragerud 1974).

21.5.1. The *Gautreks saga* Variant

Víkarr has set out with Starkaðr and a large army. Waylaid by unfavourable winds, divination is used to determine that Óðinn requires a sacrifice before they will be able to continue. Everyone draws lots and Víkarr is selected to be the victim. Starkaðr's foster-father rows off with Starkaðr that night to a mysterious gathering of a large body of people. There are twelve chairs, one of which is empty and this is taken by Starkaðr's foster-father. The scene reveals itself as a *þing* of the gods. The fate of Starkaðr in particular is determined in a confrontation of Óðinn and Þórr conferring positive and

negative fates. Óðinn provides Starkaðr with a spear which will appear as a *reyrsproti*, “reed-stalk” (Ranisch 1900:29) and a plan for a mock-sacrifice to make it appear Víkarr will not actually die. A slender branch of an evergreen tree is selected for the pseudo-hanging and *kálfsþarmar*, “intestines of a calf”, will serve as the false noose. The reed serves for the spear to mark the victim. When the public ritual is performed, the reed becomes a spear, the branch becomes strong and raises the king up, and the calf-intestines become strong *viðja*, withy (*ibid.*:30).

21.5.2. Saxo’s Variant

Saxo (1931:153) offers a briefer account of the same event in which storms are again the instigating event. Lots are cast, and a king is required for sacrifice. Starcatherus pretends to make a mock-sacrifice with a noose of *vimena*, “pliant twigs” (i.e. withy). These succeed as a noose, and Starcatherus kills Wicarus with his sword while he hangs. Saxo states that he cannot subscribe to the version of the story which describes how the *vimena* became an iron noose (*ferrei laquei*). This statement invites the possibility that Saxo exchanged the reed-spear for a more realistic sword, particularly as he seems to have known a version of the Baldr-Cycle with the plant-weapon (§9.5.3).

21.5.3. Motif-Constellations

Neckel (1920:242) considered the Víkarr-sacrifice a *Nachbildung* of Baldr’s death. Bugge (1899:166-167) proposed that Starkaðr was from **stark-höðr*, which he interprets as “strong war-like bard” and Kragerud (1974:117) stresses that Starkaðr was nearly blind, similar to Snorri’s account, but also comparable to the *sjónhverfing* of Otr’s Ransom and the “blind shooter”-motif of *Heiðreks* R. The Víkarr-sacrifice includes both the assembly of the gods and the killing within a public assembly, otherwise only found in Snorri. The appearance in the assembly is directly attributable to the function of the event as a public sacrifice. The plant-weapon is thrust rather than thrown. This may be attributable to the context of the sacrifice following analogies of marking Óðinn-victims with a spear (de Vries 1956-1957:§381) as semiotically relevant. The plant-weapon’s transformation appears in conjunction with the transformations of intestine to withy or withy to iron in the noose. This transformation participates in the pattern of harmless-

looking bonds which become unbreakable through magical transformation.⁴⁰⁴ The use of intestines is connected indexically to the binding of Loki through the magical transformation of the intestines of his son (Faulkes 1982:49; *Ls* prose). The account also presents a clear plan devised by Óðinn, corresponding to Snorri's description of Loki as *ráðbani*, executed by Starkaðr (as by Höðr). Óðinn, like Snorri's Loki, provides the plant-weapon. The loading of *image power* and *narrative power* draw the Víkarr-sacrifice into direct comparison with the slaying of Baldr. The application appears intended to augment the magnitude of the first of Starkaðr's three shameful deeds. The appearance of this narrative in both Saxo and an Icelandic saga suggests a maintenance of the intertextual relationship in the oral tradition, although Saxo's rejection of fantastic elements leaves this open to question.

The *reyrsproti* is also introduced in *Styrbjarnar þáttur Svíakappa* in which a disguised Óðinn provides the spear to a king instructing him to throw it over the enemy host (Vigfússon & Unger 1860-1868.II:72). The spear-cast constitutes an application of *image power* from Óðinn casting the first spear in the Æsir-Vanir war (*Vsp* 24). The *reyrsproti* magically turns into a spear, the enemy's army goes blind, and a mountain falls on them (Kragerud 1974; Price 2002:355). Van Hamel (1932) has also shown that the mysterious *gambanteinn*, which also exhibits parallels to *mistilteinn* (§9.5.4), was associated with Óðinn and interpreted as a *reyrsproti* in later folklore. This presents the possibility that the plant-weapon is generally "Odinic". It could suggest that Óðinn was the earlier slayer of Baldr (Turville-Petre 1964:118-119), but the development of its indexical associations is obscure.

21.6. Saxo's Baldr-Slaying

21.6.1. The Sword of Mimingus, *Satyros silvarum*

When Balderus has become fixated on Nanna and determines to kill Høtherus, Høtherus encounters a group of valkyrja-like maidens (Saxo 1931:63-64; Herrmann 1922:218-219). These maidens inform Høtherus of Balderus's obsession. They tell him not to

⁴⁰⁴ Also found in the fetter of Fenrisúlfr (Faulkes 1982:28-29) and probably underlie the *swoncre seonobende*, "supple sinew-bonds", of *Deor* (Maurus 1902:9; cf. Frog 2008b).

engage Balderus in combat because he is a demi-god and abruptly disappear with their hall.⁴⁰⁵ This encounter motivates Høtherus to complain to his foster-father, Gewarus. Gewarus provides information on the location and means of acquiring the only sword which can harm Balderus. Gewarus's role is similar to Snorri's Loki as *ráðbani*; the information is comparable to that acquired from Frigg (Dumézil 1973:185); Gewarus does not acquire and provide the instrument.

The sword is possessed by Mimingus, *satyrus silvarum*, “satyr of the woods”. Saxo's account appears to be one of several adaptations of the narrative preserved in *Völundarqviða*, in which a king (or hero) acquires a magic sword and ring from a supernatural being (Frog 2008b:37-44). This narrative emerges as a fusion of the compelling narrative of the smith Völundr/Wayland's revenge, belonging to the Germanic heroic tradition, and the capture and subjugation of a supernatural being.⁴⁰⁶ The narrative appears particularly associated with challenging pagan gods and dominating the forces of nature (Frog 2008b:38-41). The name “Mimingus” appears transferred from the name of the famous sword crafted by Völundr (Frog 2008b:2-5,27-29,38,41-44). Saxo does not name the sword. His apparent knowledge of a plant-weapon tradition (§9.5.3) indicates that the sword-weapon is a “choice” consistent with his inclination to reduce fantastic elements in “historical” accounts. This quest for the sword has also been compared to Svipdagr's quest for the sword *Lævateinn*, “poison-twig”, crafted by Loptr[Loki] before the gates of Hel according to *Fjölsvinnsmál* 26 (e.g. Kauffmann 1903:119-120). Bugge (1867) treats *Grógaldr* and *Fjölsvinnsmál* as parts of a coherent narrative cycle (*Svipdagsmál*), which is of potential interest if these narratives were manipulating the Baldr-Cycle as a referent.

21.6.2. The “Death” of Høtherus

Dumézil (1961-1962; 1973:183-185) argues that the transfer of motifs and motif-complexes associated with Baldr to Höðr led Saxo to attribute Høtherus with a “death”

⁴⁰⁵ Snorri presents the motif of the disappearing hall in the *sjónhverfing* on Gylfi's visit to the Æsir (Faulkes 1982:54) and Þórr's visit to Útgarða-Loki (Faulkes 1982:43). Óðinn similarly vanishes from between the fires at the conclusion of *Grímnismál*. Witnessing magical “vanishing” appears extremely rare (cf. Boberg 1966:105,130) and may have carried a very specific indexical load.

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. Olrik 1892-1894.I:146-147.

(Saxo 1931:68). Following his second defeat by the armies of Balderus, Høtherus withdraws from the society of men and goes alone into a remote wilderness, corresponding to Saxo's translation of otherworld journeys into his historical framework (Frog 2008b:28). In his absence, people go to the hill where Høtherus had made decrees and complained. Dumézil associates these complaints with the weeping in response to Baldr's death. Saxo situates these complaints at the *þing*-assembly as a social response. This death-like state concludes when Høtherus encounters the valkyrja-like maidens in a cave which presents several inconsistencies into Saxo's patchwork of episodes.

These valkyrja-like maidens appear to be the same as those responsible for attributing victory in battle who warned Høtherus not to engage Balderus (Saxo 1931:63-64; cf. Herrmann 1922:218-219; Ellis Davidson & Fisher 1980:52). They are identified as the maidens who gave Høtherus the cloak which provides him with an immunity to iron equivalent to Baldr's, although the cloak only appears in Saxo's narrative after the Høtherus-Balderus conflict has become a full-scale war (Saxo 1931:66). Their ability to confer Baldr-equivalent immunity draws them into comparison with Frigg, as does their ability at the conclusion of the encounter to provide the secret of Balderus's power which will enable Høtherus to conquer him (the magic sword is not mentioned). Although the maidens warned Høtherus not to engage Balderus, he complains in his defeated, death-like state, that they are unreliable and things did not turn out as they had promised. They are attributed not only with responsibility for his Baldr-equivalent immunity, but his death-like state is attributable to their failure to guarantee it would not happen, like Frigg's failure to prevent the death of Baldr.

Høtherus actually "laments" (*deflere*) his fate (Saxo 1931:68). The weeping of male figures is very unusual in Norse literature. It was considered a shameful act comparable to gender transgression (Meulengracht Sørensen 1983:20-26). Although this motif contrasts sharply with conventions of representing heroic male figures, "weeping" Baldr free from Hel appears to have been significant and interesting for manipulations a referent (§16.4.4, §19.3.2). Høtherus's weeping complaint is followed immediately by his return to the inhabited world (in contrast to the failed recovery of Baldr). Høtherus

“accidentally” encounters these maidens, but the consequence of the encounter (Høtherus’s return from “death”) appears intended to activate the attempt to recover Baldr as a referent. Rather than a male Hermóðr-figure (such as Gewarus), the return involves an encounter with the maidens responsible for Høtherus’s immunity, the (failed) prevention of his death-like state and the secret of Balderus’s undefeatability, associating them with Frigg within the intertextual framework.

21.6.3. Saxo’s Baldr-Slaying and *Inusitatae cuiusdam suavitatis edulia*

The maidens inform Høtherus that he can defeat Balderus if he succeeds in acquiring the *inusitatae cuiusdam suavitatis edulia*, “edible things of a rare variety of sweetness”, which have been contrived to increase Balderus’s might (Saxo 1931:68). Høtherus goes to war with the gods again. He cannot sleep following the first day of battle and sneaks into the enemy camp. He discovers that three nymphs have just left with Baldr’s dinner. Høtherus tracks them to their *tecta*, “dwellings” in the dew.⁴⁰⁷ Høtherus becomes the uninvited guest. He claims that he is a minstrel and performs. His disguise and dialogic deception for the acquisition of the magic substance is comparable to Loki’s deception of Frigg for the acquisition of *mistilteinn* (Faulkes 1982:45). Saxo describes three serpents with venom dripping from their open jaws on Baldr’s food, which he associates with its potency. This is the substance which Høtherus seeks.

Saxo (1931:110-111) applies the same motifs of magical cuisine in more detail in his account⁴⁰⁸ of Ericus Disertus (*inn málspaki*, “the Wisely-Spoken”). Ericus and his companion Rollerus partake of this magic food which infuses them with strength, knowledge, the ability to understand the language of animals, and eloquence. There is no corresponding use of serpent venom as a positive or delicious substance or ingredient in the medieval Norse corpus, nor is “venom” ever a power-giving substance. “Venom” or poison is associated with heroic tests which demonstrate the power, intellect or immunity of the hero. In *Völsunga saga*, Sinfjötli succeeds in making bread from serpent-infested flour but his father Sigmundr will not allow him to eat it because Sinfjötli is only immune

⁴⁰⁷ *Tecta* could be a translation of *salir*, “rooms, hall(s)”, as most often appears for Frigg’s dwelling Fensalir (*Vsp* 33; Faulkes 1982:45; 1998:30; cf. the singular Fensalr: Faulkes 1982:29).

⁴⁰⁸ Herrmann (1922:1) proposes that this was written after the Høtherus-Balderus adventures.

to poison against his skin; Sigmundr can eat the bread because he immune to poison both against his skin and when ingesting it (Grimstad 2000:94). Sinfjötli is later killed by ingesting poison: his step-mother repeatedly serves him poison beer, which his father drinks for him until, “because he was drunk”, he tells Sinfjötli to strain it through his beard: Sinfjötli drinks and immediately dies (Grimstad 2000:112). A corresponding strategy of filtering poison is found in *Þorsteins þátr bæjarmagns*, in which Þorsteinn advises Guðmundr to filter the poison beer through his magic shirt rather than drinking it (*FN* III:410-412). The poison is a danger which the hero must overcome.

Saxo may develop this account from the *image power* of Sigyn catching the venom dripping from the mouth of the serpent hanging above the bound Loki (Ellis Davidson & Fisher 1980:55, 147). This image was sufficiently loaded and interesting to be presented in the image of Loki bound on the Gosforth cross (Bailey 1980:126-129). Sigyn is cognate with Sigune of Wolfram von Eschenbach’s *Parzival* and *Titirel* (Krohn 1922:153; Liberman 1992:115-116), where she is presented as a vigilant Christian hermit guarding the corpse of Schionatulander (much as Loki becomes completely passive). Understanding the language of birds is the consequence of Sigurðr tasting the heart of the dragon Fáfnir (*Fm* 31-44; Faulkes 1998:46-47; Grimstad 2000:145), and warrants comparison as “food” rather than drink (Herrmann 1922:231-233). Saxo (1931:110) emphasizes the acquisition of exceptional eloquence by Ericus “the Wisely-Spoken” by eating this food, which invites comparison with the Mead of Poetry and Ægir’s mead (§21.4.1). It corresponds closely to the Serpent-Beer in *LV*, which (like Germanic heroes) Lemminkäinen must overcome in order to enjoy. Saxo may be generating a fusion of the venom-dripping serpents, the heart of Fáfnir and the Mead of Poetry/Ægir’s mead, filling the scene with loaded motifs (cf. Frog 2009a).

One of the nymphs is tempted to offer Høtherus this wonderful food. The oldest nymph stops her because they should not empower Balderus’s adversary. Høtherus claims that he is only a friend of Høtherus, not Høtherus himself. This appears to describe an “All-but-One” motif: the magic food is permitted to everyone except Høtherus. A *lacuna* in the text leaves it ambiguous whether Høtherus obtains the food, but it seems probable that

he does so, considering that the valkyrja-like maidens stated expressly that this would empower him to defeat Balderus, instigating the action, and Balderus is struck his death-blow immediately following Høtherus's departure. The nymphs also give Høtherus a belt which will guarantee his victory. Saxo appears to be infusing as many power-motifs into the narrative as he can generate. Høtherus goes back the way he had come, meets Balderus on the way, gives him a thrust with his sword and throws him to the ground. Høtherus strikes Balderus knowingly and with intent, but the encounter itself is accidental making the death-blow spontaneous. The encounter itself is almost paradoxical: Høtherus follows the nymphs when they leave Balderus's camp with the magic food, and then Høtherus encounters Balderus on his return to the camp when the latter is apparently coming from the camp to visit the maidens and eat the food.

Høtherus leaves Balderus *seminecis*, "half-dead" (Saxo 1931:69). There is no narrative embellishment to the blow, there appear to be no witnesses, and Høtherus is only said to give one thrust with the sword and leave. There is no indication of resistance on the part of Balderus, and the immediate departure of Høtherus may reflect fleeing the scene. The war continues and Balderus has the dream-vision of Proserpina/Hel (§19.4.1). Saxo's choice of the "half-death" of Balderus could reflect the conception that the death was not permanent in the mythological narrative until the recovery attempt failed.

21.7. Hrómundr Gripsson and Mistilteinn

The *rímur* cycle *Griplur* manipulates a great deal of material from the Baldr-Cycle, but this is done in the manner of parody. Although *Griplur* is capable of offering some insights into indexical relations, it is not a significant source for their significance and organization. Only Hrómundr's adventures and *Heiðreks* H present *Mistilteinn* as a sword-name. Olrik (1892-1894 I:152-153, II:26-27) drew attention to the association between the names Bildr in this narrative with Baldr, and his brother Vóli/Váli with Váli (cf. §10.3.1). Earlier comparisons of Hrómundr's adventures with the Baldr-Cycle⁴⁰⁹ encountered the problem of significant incongruities. Hrómundr's acquisition of the sword *Mistilteinn* is easily compared to Høtherus's acquisition of the sword of

⁴⁰⁹ See Kauffmann 1903:74-78; Herrmann 1922:234-236; Rooth 1961:129ff., Jesch 1984.

Mimingus. This appears more significant because Hrómundr's acquisition of the sword draws on *image power* recognizable from the capture of Völundr from *Völundarqviða* (Frog 2008b:38-44), which makes it appear independent of Saxo's adaptation of corresponding narrative material which utilizes a different set of motifs and associations. However, Bildr is not slain with this sword – he simply disappears during the great battle. Vóli does not “avenge” Bildr – he magically “blows” the sword Mistilteinn from Hrómundr's hand (it disappears through a hole in the ice), after which Hrómundr kills him. Hrómundr initially refuses to enter the battle because of bad dreams (like Baldr?) but does so immediately when his eight brothers are slain (like Váli?). He gets disembowelled in the battle and withdraws from society to heal (Baldr's death?) until his host catches a fish which swallowed his lost sword (see §23.4.5.2).

Identities and motifs are manipulated with great liberty and applications defy most specific correlations of indexical relationships beyond the specific application. Bildr and Vóli/Váli are villains whose only relationship to the Baldr-Cycle appears to be in name. Mistilteinn's acquisition appears to draw on the *narrative power* of a model, but the sword itself has no relation to a special slaying. Hrómundr seems attributed with any motifs which make him appear more powerful and heroic. The Baldr-Cycle is only one of several textual and extra-textual entities manipulated in the narrative.⁴¹⁰ Specific referents intermittently emerge, but their relevance appears limited primarily or completely to an immediate comic effect (cf. §16.4.2) or simply raw material in narrative generation. Rather than activating specific referents for the generation of meanings through correlations of *explicit* and *implicit propositions*, the result is often a variety of *interference* (see Rubin 1995:146-174) which stimulates a number of specific *immanent propositions* which may never be realized as semiotically significant, or even necessarily become fully conscious. They appear primarily used for humour and to generally augment the narrative with a “mythic” atmosphere.⁴¹¹ However, the perspective of the scholarship is oriented to a period several centuries prior to the documentation of *Griplur*, and it is not clear that the Baldr-Cycle was any longer active to any degree in the

⁴¹⁰ See Andrews 1913; Þórólfsson 1934:353-363; Jesch 1984:91-95.

⁴¹¹ Cf. *Bósa saga* as a parody of *fornaldarsögur*: Ólason 1994, van Wezel 2006.

application and reception of the song. *Griplur*, and the saga developed from it, more likely reflect the conservative persistence of conventional forms which developed in relation to an intertextual reference which was no longer active.

The central interest of this source is that it appears to independently draw on the same Baldr-[Höðr?]-Váli tradition in which *mistilteinn* is a sword. The *rímur* states that Þráinn acquired Mistilteinn from Sæmingr: *Sæmingr kóngur í Sámsey hét*, “Sæmingr was the name of a king of Sámsey” (Jónsson 1905-1912:378). Sæmingr is the mysterious name introduced as the owner of Mistilteinn in *Heiðreks H*’s Battle of Sámsey (§21.2.3). Andrews (1913:605) suggests that this Sæmingr is related to a king who was the son of Óðinn and Skaði (Aðalbjarnarson 1941:20-22) of whom almost nothing is known. *Griplur* or its antecedent could have drawn directly on *Heiðreks H* for this name and the name of the sword (Andrews 1913:605), and the lost sword Tyrfingr was also recovered in conjunction with catching a fish (Helgason 1924:84-85). Sæmingr and Mistilteinn are only mentioned in passing in *Heiðreks H*, where Sæmingr is not a king, making it less likely that these elements were drawn from the saga while Baldr, Váli and the sword-acquisition narrative were drawn from a tradition nearer that adapted by Saxo. The brother-slaying in *Heiðreks H* appears to adapt a narrative paradigm applied in other mytho-heroic narratives (§21.2.2-3) appropriate for Odinic heroes. It seems more probable that a narrative about Sæmingr (*Sámr+ingr*) associated with a *Sámsey*, “Sámr’s Island, and a sword named Mistilteinn was drawn on independently in both works for its *narrative power*. The sword-name implies that such a narrative would make use of the Baldr-slaying as a referent, which may have provided its appeal in both cases. It is possible that this narrative made use of names from the Baldr-Cycle, or which could activate names from the Baldr-Cycle through their *sound power* (cf. Neckel 1920:90-95; Gras 1932:295-297).

21.8. The Death of Sigfrid

In §21.3.4, it was proposed that the intertextual application of the Baldr-Cycle in Otr’s Ransom established an indexical framework for approaching the relationship between the Sigurðr-Cycle and the mythological narrative. Neckel emphasizes that the death of

Sigfrid, the “beloved and guiltless hero” (Neckel 1920:26), in the *Nibelungenlied* XVI,⁴¹² is closer to the Baldr-Slaying than his ON counterpart Sigurðr. Sigfrid is made impervious to weapons and injury. Rather than only one weapon which can harm him, only one place on his body is vulnerable. Like Baldr, this weakness is related to a plant – the leaf of a linden tree which covered a spot on his back when he hardened his skin with dragon’s blood (*Nibelungenlied* 899-902). Sigfrid (and also Sigurðr) is presented as an outsider superior to all present in the community where he arrives, and he is then murdered by a member of that community (notably not its king or most positive heroic member). Hagen gets Sigfrid’s wife to supply the secret of this vulnerability, marking the place on his clothes, much as Loki deceives Frigg into betraying the secret and location of *mistilteinn*. The night before the slaying, Sigfrid’s wife has dreams anticipating his death (*Nibelungenlied* 920-925). The slaying is staged on a hunt, just as a hunt is the context of the accidental killing in *Beowulf* (§10.3.1), and Loki believes he is “hunting” an otter when he unwittingly kills Otr. On the day of his death, Sigfrid wears otter fur (*Nibelungenlied* 954). The term *ludem*, “otter”, is unusual⁴¹³ and could be related to the Otr who was killed and skinned in Otr’s Ransom,⁴¹⁴ which would anticipate Sigfrid as a victim. Among the many types of fur ornamenting him, the only other fur mentioned is the panther-fur covering his quiver (*Nibelungenlied* 953). It appears to be named because it is semiotically significant to generating an identity between Sigfrid and prey on the hunt, as Sigfrid is later described as running like a panther to the spring where he is killed (*Nibelungenlied* 976). The otter-fur would be correspondingly loaded with *image power* activating *narrative power* in a tradition ecology where Otr’s Ransom (or its equivalent) was still active. *Ludem* in *Nibelungenlied* 954 could also present the conservation of a motif from an intertextual reference for which the referent had dropped out of cultural activity.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹² The *Nibelungenlied* is cited according to Bartsch – de Boor 1956.

⁴¹³ Bartsch & de Boor (1956:159) suggest *Fischotter*, the European otter (*lutra lutra*).

⁴¹⁴ I am grateful to Kaaren Grimstad for pointing this out to me; it is part of her research on the Otr-episode which is in preparation for publication.

⁴¹⁵ The word *ludem* is so unusual that it most likely reflects either conservatism in the motif or conservatism in the poetic register more generally.

On the hunt, Sigurðr shows his prowess by overcoming and binding a bear which is later unleashed in the camp (*Nibelungenlied* 947-962). This heroic feat is also found in Norse traditions and appears related to the narrative material assimilated by the Völundr-legend (Frog 2008b:esp.27-29), in which a supernatural being is bound by a king who enslaves rather than slays him. There is no hall: the hunting party feasts in a meadow. Alcohol is not a coveted source of power refused to the guest. Instead, Hagen plots that there is no alcohol at the feast at all. When Sigfrid complains, Hagen suggests the whole party go to a spring (*Nibelungenlied* 963-971). He prompts a footrace between Sigfrid and Gunther to the spring, for which they strip themselves of weapons and armour. Sigfrid is first to the spring, and when he bends to drink, Hagen slays him with the spear (*ger*) from behind. There is great grief surrounding Sigfrid's death and a Christian burial. Neckel (1920:59) suggests a relation between the role of Sigfrid's father and Óðinn. The ring/treasure is taken by Hagen and sunk in the Rhine – i.e. in water.

Hagen is aware of his victim and has intent, but like Otr eating *blundandi*, “dozing” (*Reginismál*, Faulkes 1998:45; Grimstad 2000:126), at the waterfall, Sigfrid does not see his slayer. Comparison with Otr is more significant because in the Sigurðr-Cycle, the slaying of Otr provides a model for subsequent killings related to the cursed ring, culminating in the death of Sigurðr. Otr is *blundandi* when he is slain, following which Hreiðmarr, Reginn and Sigurðr are each slain in their sleep. Although the slaying of Hreiðmarr and Sigurðr might be interpreted as cowardly and shameful, Sigurðr's slaying of Reginn is described as an heroic act comparable to the slaying of the dragon Fáfnir.⁴¹⁶ The exception to this pattern is the slaying which is most central to the identity of the hero in the cycle and intertextual reference: the dragon Fáfnir is slain without seeing the concealed Sigurðr when drinking from a spring. This slaying is directly comparable to the murder of Sigfrid by Hagen.

The intense concentration of motifs from the Baldr-Cycle surrounding the death of Sigfrid imply a long history of continuity in the intertextual application of *narrative power* from the Baldr-Cycle. If the motif of otter-skin is historically rooted in an

⁴¹⁶ Faulkes 1998:48; in the prose passage between *Fáfnismál* 39-40, Sigurðr also drinks Reginn's blood.

application of *image power* from Otr's Ransom, this episode would presumably trace back to the Migration Period. The presence of Óðinn and Loki in this episode would fortify its ability to activate the Baldr-Cycle as an intertextual referent. Otr's Ransom would then facilitate the maintenance of intertextual relationships within the broader cycle. If Fáfnir's death varies from the pattern because it is more conservative owing to the cultural activity surrounding it, the pattern of murder in sleep (Otr-Hreiðmarr-Reginn-Sigurðr) would reflect a development through the process of maintenance in intra- and intertextual relationships (cf. Davis 2007:40-41), while the death of Sigfrid would reflect the more archaic pattern. The changes wrought on Continental Germanic traditions through the much earlier process of Christianization can only be estimated at a level of abstraction. Unless the Baldr-Cycle is attributed roots in the narrative paradigm of the Sigurðr-Cycle, it appears that the Baldr-Cycle held sufficient rhetorical authority to impact and the Continental Germanic tradition. The account of the *Nibelungenlied* appears to develop through a dense intertextual application of *narrative power* from the Baldr-Cycle which continued to persist after the Baldr-Cycle had (apparently) dropped out of circulation.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁷ A related dragon-slaying by Sigemund, Sigurðr's father, is presented in *Beowulf* 884-897. Sigemund's slaying requires going *under harne stan* (887), "under a grey/old stone", alone and drives his sword through the monster into the wall, at which point it appears to melt in its own heat, and then takes the treasure on his ship. Although parallels can be drawn with Sigurðr and the slaying of Fáfnir, the conception of both the fiery nature of the monster and the conscious invasion of its dwelling are radically different. It has been suggested that this material was significantly reshaped by conceptions of flying dragons in circulation in Anglo-Saxon England (Rauer 2000:49-51). The degree to which traditional lore appears adapted in *Beowulf* makes it questionable to what degree we should consider this to reflect a conventional form of the tradition, particularly as the poet appears to be "using" the material in an active manner, particularly in generating comparisons between Sigemund and Beowulf as monster-slayers (cf. Orchard 2003:105-114). Considering the discussion of the relationship between the slaying of Otr and subsequent slayings in the Sigurðr-Cycle, it should be observed that the dragon-slaying of Sigemund in *Beowulf* may have been reshaped to corresponding ends. The entry into the lair of the monster alone anticipates Beowulf's lone entry into the lair of Grendel's dam, and "[t]he singular incident of the sword blade dissolving in [her] hot blood recalls the melting of Sigemund's dragon" (Falk et al. 2008:210), while verbal parallels (Orchard 2003:109) and Sigemund's removal of the rich hoard to a ship may foreshadow Wiglaf's removal of the corresponding hoard, at which the bleeding Beowulf then commands "Beowulf's Mound" to be built, which will be seen and remembered from passing ships (*Beowulf* 2724-2808) – a desire with a potentially dread foreboding if there is any echo of Fáfnir's retirement to his mound in the Norse tradition, and indeed the poem concludes with the establishment of the mound and the statement that the hoard taken from the dragon was sealed within it. The conventional tradition underlying Sigemund's battle with the dragon is uncertain, and it can therefore not be taken as evidence either for or against the relationships between the Sigurðr-Cycle and the Baldr-Cycle presented here. This is because the form of the brief reference to Sigemund's dragon-slaying in *Beowulf* may have been comprehensively reshaped for the sake of generating relationships to Beowulf's feats and fate. The application of the Sigemund dragon-slaying in this capacity supports the proposed maintenance of a relationship between the slaying of Otr and subsequent killings in

21.9. *Aided Fergusa maic Roig*

Aided Fergusa maic Roig, “The Death of Fergus mac Roig”, is a medieval vernacular Irish narrative which exhibits a direct correspondence to the Baldr-Cycle.⁴¹⁸ Ailill suggests Fergus go into the lake and engage in swimming or dunking competitions. Fergus’s entry into the lake causes all of the gravel and stones at the bottom of the lake to rise to the top. Medb is overcome with yearning for Fergus and wraps her body around him while he swims around the lake. Ailill is overcome with jealousy and mentions to the blind Lugaid that a hart and doe are amusing themselves in the lake. Lugaid is Fergus’s foster-brother. He suggests killing the deer. We are told that he had never missed his mark, and Ailill proposes he make the throw. Lugaid asks that his face be turned toward them and he be given a spear, Fergus’s breast is exposed and the spear comes out through his back. Lugaid complains that he has slain his guiltless foster-brother, everyone flees the scene, and Fergus casts the spear after Ailill (not Lugaid) before stretching out on a mound and dying. (Meyer 1906:33-36; Carney 1979:14-15.)

Lugaid believes he is making his cast at wild game and is successful, corresponding to Loki’s slaying of Otr. Sigfrid is similarly brought into comparison with wild game in the *Nibelungenlied* and *Beowulf* also presents the Baldr-slaying as a variety of “hunting accident”. Sigfrid and Fáfnir are slain while drinking rather than swimming. The conflict is over a woman, as in Saxo, and the shooter is physically blind, as in Snorri. Lugaid can be considered a “blind shooter” of mythic proportions: he never misses his mark. The figure stimulated to hostility provides the weapon and orients the shooter, who does not realize any harm will come to his foster-brother. This corresponds exactly to Snorri’s account of Loki orienting the blind Höðr’s throw. The location is not in or related to a hall and it is a public social gathering. The figure that orients the throw becomes the target of revenge as opposed to the blind shooter. The correspondence is

the Sigurðr-Cycle as evidence of such an intertextual strategy. However, this does not in itself indicate that the *Beowulf* author was familiar with some specific form of the Otr-episode and its inter-/intra-textual relations in the cycle.

⁴¹⁸ On the main manuscript, Edinburgh XL (NLS. 72.1.40), see MacKechnie 1973.I:192-195. The text of *Aided Fergusa maic Roig* is preserved in the first gathering, dated to the 14th century (MacKechnie 1973.I:193).

closer to Snorri's account than Snorri's account is to any other account or analogue. The narrative is equally unusual in early Irish literature.⁴¹⁹

21.9.1. Lamech and the Blind Shooter

O'Donoghue (2003) has recently refreshed comparison with the parallel of the medieval Jewish legend of blind Lamech, first proposed by Detter (1894:514-515). The narrative offers an explanation for Genesis 4:23-24, in which Lamech informs his wives that he has slain a man, and if Cain will be avenged seven-fold by God, then Lamech shall be avenged seventy-seven-fold. In the legend, Lamech is a descendant of Cain. He is blind, and when hunting in the forest, his son directs him to an animal which Lamech shoots, only to discover that it is Cain. Particularly interesting in this comparison is that Lamech emerges as a "blind huntsman" who believes he is shooting an animal, and is directed in his shot by an assistant who notifies him of the target. O'Donoghue (2003:106) traces Lamech's blindness in written accounts as far back as a fourth century commentary on Genesis by Methodius, Bishop of Tyre (who dismisses it), but the feature of the blind huntsman is not encountered in the majority of the early sources which O'Donoghue considered accessible in Northern Europe at an early period. She finds one written example of the legend on the continent from the ninth century which incorporates the blind huntsman element (O'Donoghue 2003:95), but only in the twelfth century does it surface again, with evidence of interest in the legend beginning to reveal itself in the thirteenth century (O'Donoghue 2003:91-92). O'Donoghue (*ibid.*) suggests that this legend could potentially have impacted the account in *Beowulf*, where the slaying presents the impression of a hunting accident, but is more concerned with its ability to account for the "blindness" of Höðr in Snorri's account.

There is a possibility that the legend of Lamech could have influenced Snorri and perhaps a greater possibility that it could have influenced the more similar *Aided Fergus*, in which Ailill informs Lugaid that his target is wild game and directs him at that target, as with Lugaid and his son. O'Donoghue's suggestion seems extremely speculative that the

⁴¹⁹ Cross (1952) lists several variations of N337, "Accidental Death through Misdirected Weapon", but this is the only example of the blind shooter (N337.1).

Lamech-tradition may also have been at work in shaping the account of *Beowulf* in the use of the bow and context of hunting without mentioning blindness or the assistant and stating explicitly that Hæðcyn *miste mercelses* (*Beowulf* 2439), “missed his mark”, rather than unerringly hitting his target. The Lamech-legend shares with Snorri the mistake of the shooter (implicitly lacking intent), the second figure taking aim, the death of a relative, and the victim is unsuspecting or passive (although Snorri does not appear to acknowledge the latter: Gade 2006). *Aided Fergusa* bears the additional points of correspondence of a hunting scenario in which the one who takes aim informs the shooter that the target is an animal, but rather than being passive, the victim attempts reciprocal violence, notably not against the shooter, but against the one who took aim. There are also certain points of contrast which appear significant. First, Cain is a villain, accursed, and outcast from society in contrast to Baldr and Fergus are both centrally positive figures within their communities. Second, narrative emphasis is on the shooter in the Lamech legend: the slaying itself is secondary to Lamech as the shooter (even if this is viewed as an epilogue to the slaying of Abel by Cain), the assistant appears as little more than his shadow. In contrast, Höðr and Lugaid are both secondary figures who appear in their respective narratives to fulfil the shooter function, and both appear secondary to the significance of the hero’s death (and also the active hero in *Aided Fergusa*). Third, the emphasis of the Lamech legend falls on his personal tragedy as the slayer and is expressed verbally in monologue or dialogue when he returns home – which is not surprising as the narrative can be considered to culminate in a passage or paraphrase from Genesis. In contrast, Höðr vanishes from the scene without a word in Snorri, and although Lugaid complains, this seems secondary to Fergus’s heroic response – a revenge-action directed not at Lugaid but at the figure who directs the shot, much as Snorri follows the revenge taken on Loki while the revenge taken on Höðr is ignored. Finally, the legend of Lamech appears to be centred around an honest confusion by Lamech’s son, who (for one reason or another) does not realize that what he sees is not an animal but a man. Ailill’s manipulation of Lugaid is both conscious and (apparently) motivated by jealousy; Loki is correspondingly conscious – even setting out to obtain a special weapon – and is explicitly hostile although the motivation may appear superficial. A minor additional point is that Lugaid uses a spear, and the *mistilteinn* appears to be

interpreted as a spear-like-weapon in Snorri, whereas Lamech is associated with a bow. In summary, the Lamech legend presents a type of “blind shooter” whose shot is directed by an intimate and subordinate assistant and who shoots and kills a kinsman through a misunderstanding of the target as wild game. The points of comparison with Snorri’s work are interesting and also shared with *Aided Fergusa*. However, these points of comparison are overshadowed by the much more extensive parallels between Snorri’s account and *Aided Fergusa* which extend from the shooter figure (blind, misinformed) to the weapon, the hostile individual who manipulates the shooter, the positive quality of the victim (noting that jealousy is the basis for the initial conflict in Saxo’s account), priorities within the narrative, and the pattern of vengeance directed not at the shooter but at the one who manipulated him.

A significant point in considering the Lamech legend, is why he should be represented as a blind hunter who, it appears, never misses his mark (as is explicit in *Aided Fergusa*). Honko (1959b:49,51) treats Lamech in the broader context of “blind shooter” traditions in Europe, which are themselves part of a much broader tradition (Honko 1959a:135-141; 1959b). The blind shooter is a widespread mythic figure who is involved in events of cosmic proportions.⁴²⁰ This figure has already been introduced to some degree in Finno-Karelian traditions, where a blind shooter participates in the shooting of Väinämöinen and is also related to the shooting of Lemminkäinen (§9.4.1.1, §20.2.2.2.2; see also Oinas 1980, 1981 on the mythic figure Jumi as a blind shooter). Honko develops de Vries’s (1955) proposal that the death of Baldr was a myth concerned with the introduction of death into the world.⁴²¹ The myth of Lamech is liminal to his discussion owing to the fact that Lamech as the blind shooter slays Cain, who introduced death into the world, rather than accomplishing the first killing himself.⁴²² O’Donoghue’s discussion of the

⁴²⁰ It is not at present clear how widespread the blind and malignant shooter is as opposed to other more positive mythic shooters – cf. Honko et al. 1993:104-105,670.

⁴²¹ The present study makes it evident that the motif of “blindness” exhibits variation as a feature in this tradition, and also that Honko’s sweepingly comprehensive interpretation requires review and more detailed assessment of the diverse traditions and their cultural activity.

⁴²² In addition to the Baldr-Cycle and *Aided Fergusa*, Honko gives particular attention to the Longinus legend, in which the blind Longinus has a weapon placed in his hands and is directed to thrust it into Jesus’ side (Honko 1959b:48-51), and the Classical tradition of Atys, whose father Croesus dreams that he will die by a spear and attempts to avoid this fate until Atys convinces his father to allow him to go on a hunt, and

Lamech tradition is extremely valuable for reopening this discussion, and which may be of particular value in understanding the development of the Longinus tradition, in which Jesus is the victim of the guided hand with the spear.⁴²³ However, the thrust of blind Longinus with a spear stands in some respects closer to Snorri's account of the Baldr-Cycle and *Aided Fergusa*, particularly in the status of the victim and hostility toward him in the directed blow. Rather than viewing all of these traditions as disseminations and adaptations of the over-arching influence of the Lamech legend, it seems more reasonable to consider these traditions to be diverse manifestations of a much more widespread and dynamic tradition with a history extending far beyond the scope of the present study.

The Lamech legend cannot account for the parallels between Snorri's account of the Baldr-slaying and *Aided Fergusa*. In the light of such a comparison there seems no reason to assume that Snorri received any influence from the Lamech legend, although there is the possibility that the account of *Aided Fergusa* may have been influenced by it. However, I am sceptical of such influence even on the level of the misrepresentation of Fergus as wild game because a corresponding motif is found in the slaying of Otr, the context of the hunt is similarly present in *Beowulf* and the *Nibelungenlied* (as well as in the Classical slaying of Atys discussed by Honko 1949b:49-53 and Neckel 1920:142ff.), which along with Lamech may belong to a broader pattern of association between the blind shooter who never misses his mark and hunting.⁴²⁴

21.9.2. Snorri's Baldr-Slaying and the *Aided Fergusa*

It is unlikely that either Snorri or the author of *Aided Fergusa* had a written source for the other. The earliest inhabitants of Iceland were Irish monks (Benediktsson 1968:5) and the Celtic population during the initial settlement period appears far greater than implied in early histories (Sigurðsson 1988, Sayers 1994, Pálsson 1996). The cumulative nature

his body-guard Adrastus (rather than Atys's deaf and dumb brother) accidentally kills him with a spear-cast (cf. Honko 1949b:49-53; cf. Neckel 1920:142ff.).

⁴²³ Bugge (1881-1889:36) identifies – perhaps somewhat speculatively – an iconographic representation of the Longinus legend in a manuscript from the ninth century. The special association which this legend had with blood-charms (Roper 2006:112-113) makes it a tradition which may have been in circulation well before being written down, and which could probably cross over linguistic and cultural boundaries (among Christian groups) with relative ease as practical and valued knowledge associated with healing.

⁴²⁴ Patterns of visual deception also extend to the weapon (§19.3, §21.5) and the perpetrator (§21.4, §21.6).

of genetic data is difficult to interpret, but the early male Celtic population in Iceland comprised minimally 10% of the whole and probably more.⁴²⁵ The almost complete absence of Celtic loan-words in Old Norse appears to be indicative of the importance of *word power* in the broadest sense as a signifier of identity.⁴²⁶ Narrative appears to have crossed the language barrier more easily (cf. Sigurðsson 1988). Snorri's burlesque of Þórr's visit to Útgarða-Loki has been long discussed as developed through Celtic narrative material (Bugge 1908:184-193; von Sydow 1910; Power 1985). Snorri may have consciously drawn on the Celtic *Aided Fergusa* tradition in his formulation of the Baldr-Cycle, adapting its system of motifs for the sake of his portrayal of Loki. It is possible that the extra-textual entity of the narrative had already been undergoing revision while conservative conventions of reproduction maintained alternative textual entities in poetic form.

Aided Fergusa appears to derive from the Irish tradition. The narrative complex is applied for the death of a powerful hero as opposed to use in the narrative of the slayer. The attribution of blindness to the slayer could be the translation of an illusion or actual transformation of the victim into less fantastic terms, but the mythic quality of never missing his mark appears indicative of a mythic "blind shooter" of mythic proportions (Honko 1959b). It is not clear whether this narrative was entrenched in the mythological tradition.

21.10. The Baldr-Cycle in Heroic Narratives

Heroic applications of *narrative power* associated with the slaying of the Baldr-Cycle offer insights into the priority, significance and indexical relationships of motifs and episodes in their cultural activity. These applications maintained indexical relationships within the new narrative framework but reorganized them according to the priorities of

⁴²⁵ See Sigurðsson (1988:35-40) for a review of early blood-group and genetic research; Helgason et al. (2000a) estimate a 20-25% initial male population; female DNA is radically more diverse and would appear to indicate that less than 40% of the early female population was Scandinavian in origin with at least as high a percentage of females from the British isles (Helgason et al. 2001). This diversity appears to be largely attributable to the first centuries following the settlement (cf. Helgason et al. 2000b; Arnason 2003 and the response in Helgason et al. 2003; Hallgrímsson et al. 2004).

⁴²⁶ Cf. Kroskirty (1993) on the Tewa who have no loan-words from Hopi after centuries of intimate continuous contact.

the application. Activity and conflict in a hall or feast takes a central role and alcohol appears significant. The slayer was subject to significantly more narrative activity than the victim. The reverse is true in the Sigurðr-Cycle, where Sigfrid/Sigurðr is clearly more significant. This may be attributable to changes in the cultural activity of the Baldr-Cycle and its value as an intertextual referent corresponding to Baldr's waning cultural activity. This possibility is supported by *Aided Fergusa maic Roig*, in which Fergus is the central figure and the blind shooter is secondary.

Lindow (1997b) emphasizes the significance of the revenge-cycle with particular emphasis on the Baldr-Höðr-Váli sequence. Intertextual applications are more inclined to emphasize “binding” associated with Loki (§21.3, §21.4; cf. §21.6.1, §21.8). The binding-motif may be directly associated with the hall, and therefore relevant to the appearance of *gríðastaðr* in *Lokasenna* and the location of death in Snorri (§9.6). The interest in the binding-motif as opposed to a Váli-avenger may be attributable to its being more heavily loaded with associations with Ragnarök.

All of these applications are specifically associated with Óðinn and Odinic heroes. The narrative paradigm which appears associated with the Baldr-Cycle and the killing with the sword discussed by Schück (1918) may have been an independent paradigm which became infused with *narrative power* from the Baldr-Cycle, or it may be historically rooted in intertextual applications of the Baldr-Cycle which developed independent value as an abstract referent – a narrative pattern loaded with *narrative power* without a specific textual or extra-textual entity as a referent. Saxo, *Heiðreks* H and the later Hrómundr-narrative all appear to draw on a common mytho-heroic tradition related to the Baldr-Cycle and the acquisition of a magic sword called Mistilteinn. A similar referent could underlie *Grógaldr* 6 and *Fjölsvinnsmál* 24 in *Svipdagsmál*. Later Danish folklore invites the possibility that there was an established tradition of a mytho-heroic Baldr-Cycle in which Baldr and Höðr were kings (§3.2). The association of the sword with “Sæmingr” makes it somewhat more likely to be associated with royal genealogies, although it also raises the question of whether such a narrative was an interpretation of the Baldr-Cycle or an intertextual application of its *narrative power*.

Chapter 22: Intertextuality and *Lemminkäisen virsi*

22.1. *Lemminkäisen virsi*: Persistence and Intertextuality

The tradition ecology of kalevalaic poetry was much different than that of the Icelandic sagas, not least in that mythological narratives *were* mytho-heroic narratives, and there was no corresponding range of mytho-heroic traditions which interacted with these mythic models in the same way. Several examples of intertextuality and indexicality have been addressed in the preceding sections, as well as issues raised by *LV* within a genre system which allowed different strategies for handling the same textual entity (§4.1.3). Discussion will not expand into prose narrative traditions.⁴²⁷

22.2. Lemminkäinen's Journey

LV's applications as an incantation for overcoming potential obstacles and adversaries which might threaten a wedding party on its journey (§4.3) betray a priority and emphasis on this aspect of the narrative in its cultural activity. This is equally true for the Jesus-redaction (§4.3.6), which eliminates the dangerous journey and places all emphasis on overcoming the magical adversaries of the hall, and Border Karelian incantations which consist of the major theme of Lemminkäinen's Journey outside of a narrative framework (VIII.786, VIII.818). In a small subgroup of the Northern-Singing-Death-redaction, non-fantastic adaptations of dangers on the journey emerge in a reduplication of Lemminkäinen's Journey to Päivölä in his mother's journey to Päivölä in order to learn what happened to him (Supplement 3). This betrays an intertextual adaptation of *narrative power*. The conflict in the hall had significantly waned in cultural activity while the mother's adventure assumed a particular prominence.

In §4.3.9.5, the Izhorian *Päivän päästö*, "Freeing the Sun and Moon", was introduced. This song assumed material from *LV* and the Sampo-Cycle in different redactions. This *accumulation of information* from *LV* exhibits euhemerized dangers corresponding to

⁴²⁷ On relations between prose and poetic narrative traditions, see Rausmaa 1964, 1967, 1968, Tarkka 2005.

those found in the Northern Karelian Recovery Attempt, accompanied by the motif of magic alcohol as the means of overcoming those dangers. This latter motif presumably evolved from the significance of beer and its acquisition by Lemminkäinen in *LV*. The entire narrative sequence, including waking Väinö[Vipunen] to engage in a dialogue (as waking Lemminkäinen), corresponds to the Northern Karelian Recovery Attempt tradition. When addressing this correspondence it is important to recognize that this *accumulation of information* does not constitute a redaction of *LV*: it is an intertextual application which developed into a conventional form of the textual identity of *Päivän päästö* as the referent waned in cultural activity and authority. It is comparable to the manipulation of the Baldr-Cycle as a referent in Otr's Ransom or the death of Sigfrid in the *Nibelungenlied*. It can be considered intertextual in the sense that someone who was familiar with a song or portion of a song corresponding to the Resurrection Attempt drew on it as a strategy for developing and extending *Päivän päästö*: this appears to have been done in relation to a textual entity. There is no way to be certain that this was *LV* itself, but it appears to have been directly related to the Resurrection Attempt. It is uncertain to what degree the model was adapted and revised in this process, how long an intertextual relationship persisted or if, as when a tradition dominant is asserted in a textual entity, displacing another figure, *Päivän päästö* was immediately asserted as the hierarchically dominant textual entity of the verse and narrative passage (cf. IV1.1349). It is clear that this became established, emerging as a conventional form of *Päivän päästö*.

A fusion of *LV* also appears in a lyric narrative song, *Kotona käynyt miniä*, "Daughter-in-Law who Returned Home", found from Border Karelia and down into Northern and Eastern Ingria. It describes a girl (or *minä*, "I") who goes to visit her brother as an uninvited guest. She makes a journey by sleigh. In Border Karelia, she encounters the non-fantastic log-obstacle (Supplement 3). She is brought food and beer. When the beer is emphasized, it reflects lines or multiforms of *LV* (e.g. VII2.1005.60-68, V1.734.105-106) and may even present the Serpent-Beer (e.g. VII2.1016.52-53). The adventure appears to be an adaptation of the narrative sequence of *LV* into a simplified form with an alternate semiotic framework and lyric applications. This song is conventionally established and it is unclear to what degree *LV* remained active and relevant as a referent.

This is a case in which the *narrative power* of *LV* was drawn on in a song's reformulation or evolution, and variations such as the Serpent-Bear are indicative of indexical associations and probably intertextual applications.

The history of the non-fantastic dangers in these diverse applications is beyond reconstruction. The non-fantastic dangers in the subgroup of the Northern-Singing-Death-redaction and the Izhorian *Päivän päästö* redaction exhibit a clear relationship indicative of a genetic relationship. The relevant subgroup of the Northern-Singing-Death-redaction is small and isolated. The only documentation of the Ingrian line *kutsu suntit, kutsu santit* with Estonian correspondents to *kutsu rujot, kutsu rammat*, “invite the crippled, invite the lame” (§4.3.9.5), is in VIII.832.21,⁴²⁸ as one of five(!) unconventional parallel lines (renewal) before reaching Lemminkäinen as an uninvited guest. VIII.832 belongs to the Northern-Singing-Death-redaction subgroup with the dangers encountered by Lemminkäinen's mother. It is highly probable these non-fantastic dangers developed through some form of contact with traditions of Ingria, and that this constitutes a relatively recent development through incidental contact related to work or trade, or perhaps the movement of a single individual or family into Northern Karelia. These non-fantastic dangers provided an interesting or compelling strategy for extending and further emphasizing conventional forms of the Recovery Attempt in an *accumulation of information* (cf. §15.1). It seems more likely that these were integrated into the regional *LV* from an *LV* redaction rather than being encountered in the otherwise unrelated narrative *Päivän päästö* (with its magic beer) and adapted into *LV*. This case emphasizes how dynamic the evolution of these traditions could be, and that patterns of renewal, *accumulation* and *loss of information* were not restricted to interactions between *LV* and other poems – it extended to interactions between redactions of *LV*. This example also emphasizes that although clear regional patterns are evident within the corpus, individuals were still mobile. The adaptation of the *suntti-santti* line is also of interest in this context because it presents the possibility that the invitations were in the *LV* redaction which was encountered.

⁴²⁸ Krohn 1903-1910:534; Aarne 1920:50.

22.3. The Duel in Ingria

Multiforms associated with the challenge and slaying in the Duel are among the most stable and persistent in *LV*. In Ingria, these multiforms are found almost exclusively in *Iivana Kojonen's Son* (data in Supplement 8). Iivana's challenge to his maiden takes the remarkable form of comparing *mielet*, "minds, dispositions", rather than *miekat*, "swords", and *kaanut*, "figures", or *kasvot*, "faces", rather than *kalvat*, "swords". The outcome of this competition is the decapitation of the maiden *niikui naatin nagrihilta*, "like the top from a turnip" utilizing the multiform associated with the duel of *LV*. *Iivana Kojonen's Son* is the only kalevalaic narrative which clearly developed in relation to a *bylina* model (Krohn 1883:480-482; Mansikka 1946:184-186; Oinas 1969:8-9). This localized application of the multiforms in a widespread song (without a direct correspondence in the foreign model) and the adaptation and application of the duel-challenge multiform are grounds to believe that the multiforms were established prior to this adaptation (Krohn 1924-1928.II:28-30). The lines and multiform associated with the decapitation are commonly found in *Iivana Kojonen's Son* in Western Ingria, and transferred to few additional contexts through analogy. Unlike "epic", this song passed over linguistic-cultural thresholds.

Krohn (1924-1928:29-30) points out that *kalpa*, (singular) "sword", would be a *hapax* in Ingrian, which could explain the lexical renewal in the lines of the duel challenge. The changes maintained the acoustic integrity of the lines (*mielet=miekat*; *kalvat=kasvot*) while radically altering their semantic content: rather than a duel of swords, we find a measuring of minds/faces. The shift to a *hapax* in the poetic register cannot explain this revision of semantic value. When this development is approached within the tradition ecology, it is reasonable to assume that this renewal occurred in relation to the recognized multiform and its specific lines as textual entities. The maintenance of the *sound power* of the line facilitates its ability to activate the *word power* of the model: *mielet* would be understood in relationship to *miekat* in the activated referent; *kaanut/kasvot* in relationship to *kalvat* in the activated referent. The multiform application as a larger compositional unit would affirm the significance of the variation in relation to the larger

structure. The application of an indexically loaded multiform is metonymically able to activate the *narrative power* of the song in which it appears.

An issue raised by this application is the significance of the comparison of “minds” and “faces”. As “minds, dispositions” is always the first element, and “faces” is a parallel expression for that element, the contest may have developed as a contest of “wills”.⁴²⁹ In this case the duel-challenge would be transferred from a contest of physical conflict with a male opponent to a much different type of conflict with a female opponent. The isolated and unique development of this application of the multiform is indicative of adapting a model, but at the time of collection, *LV* was no longer in circulation in a form with the Duel: Kauko’s adventure presents not a formal Duel, but a challenge and knife-fight or stabbing.⁴³⁰ This sort of renewal could be attributable to the loss of the formal Duel as an interesting or meaningful conflict. If the Duel was already waning in significance at the time of the adaptation, it is not clear to what degree the application would be interested in activating the referent. Although the conventional form necessarily stands in relation to the adaptation, the challenge and decapitation sequence may have been drawn on as a flexible social resource in the development of the scene and it is unclear how much *narrative power* from the earlier use was inherent in the application, while the dynamic adaptation of such a small compositional structure leaves it uncertain whether the earlier conventional context was *LV*, although its indexical associations with *LV* in other regions and the accumulation of elements which appear directly related to *LV* in Ingria make a corresponding use in Ingria seem probable. The turnip-top decapitation is found in Ingrian variants of *Iivana Kojonen’s Son* on a much wider basis than the multiform of the *mielet/kasvot* challenge. The indexical association between the duel-challenge and the decapitation multiforms across other regions implies that the minds-/faces-challenge was subject to significantly more cultural activity at an earlier period. This could imply that its significance as a meaning-generating element was augmented by or heavily reliant on the *narrative power* of the sword-duel challenge, and as the Duel dropped out of circulation, the significance of comparing minds/faces lost

⁴²⁹ I am grateful to Kati Heinonen for her comments on this adaptation.

⁴³⁰ Similar to maidens who stab a man in defence of their honour; cf. §4.3.11.2.

significance or became obscure, leading to its renewal as well while the description of the turnip-top-decapitation remained interesting.

22.4. Lemminkäisen virsi in Ingria, Estonia and Setumaa

The majority of material relevant for comparison recorded in Ingria, Estonia and Setumaa consists of songs which may have been established responses to some form of *LV* – manipulations of its *narrative power*.

22.4.1. Osmi haigus and the Magic Fish

The Estonian variants of *LV* are extremely brief.⁴³¹ As narratives, they can be compared to the Baldr-stanzas in *Völuspá R.* The plot of the song appears to be developed from *Visiting Vipunen* (§14.4.2), which describes a visit to a dead giant, sorcerer or ancestor to acquire knowledge. The indexical relationship of Lemminkäinen as a cultural figure in both *Visiting Vipunen* and *LV*, each of which contains motifs of waking the dead and engaging him in dialogue, led to their interaction and association in other regions (§4.3). *Osmi haigus* would have fused them completely: Lemminkäinen's father or both parents are dying and Lemminkäinen goes on a journey to catch a fish which will save him/them. This is similar to the pattern of the Setu song *War-Plant and Death-Plant* (§4.3.11.4), in which the sister goes to the home of the gods to cure her dying brother. It is also the same pattern as Lemminkäinen's mother's journey in the *Recovery Attempt*, which was clearly of interest on the south side of the Gulf of Finland, where it is adapted to songs in search of a brother who is lost into water (§4.3.9.6, §4.3.11.1). The rhetorical significance of the *Recovery Attempt* is apparent in Ingria through its impact on *Päivän päästö* (§22.2) and the *World-Creation* (§4.3.9.6).

Lemminkäinen undertakes his journey by horse.⁴³² The object of the journey is associated with *Vellamo's Maiden*, which emerges in the fishing sequence of Kuusi's Lemminkäinen-redaction (Kuusi 1954:296-297). Although the Finno-Karelian and

⁴³¹ A number of variants of *LV* collected in Karelia after ca.1940 are of corresponding length, condensing a performance to less than 20 lines – only 5-10% of esteemed variants recorded a century earlier.

⁴³² Kuusi (1954aa:300) points out that seeking a horse is a widespread motif, but the horse becomes increasingly significant in Northern and Border Karelia and Savo in *LV*, and may have been transferred from Lemminkäinen to Jesus on the Karelian Isthmus and in Ingria (cf. Aarne 1920; Krohn 1924-1928.II).

Estonian songs of the fish-maiden are probably related (Aarne 1923:77ff), it is not clear that the fish-maiden has a history as the “cure” of this narrative (cf. Aarne 1923:66-71). *Vellamo’s Maiden* does not exhibit a strong relation to *LV* elsewhere, although fishing does occur at the end of several variants where it is associated with “death” or the threat of death. Lemminkäinen’s mother advises hiding in the liver of a fish when he is fleeing from the slaying of the Duel.⁴³³ In I2.853, he hides in that location for several years. In a few cases the hiding place is rejected for fear of being eaten. In I2.774, “Kaukomieli” rejects the location because “Lemminkäinen” will catch the fish from the sea (cf. Krohn 1924-1928:45-46). In I2.775, Lemminkäinen passes into the fish after the killing and becomes a king of the sea. Arhippa Perttunen (I2.758) sang that the resurrection attempt failed and Lemminkäinen’s mother threw him back into Tuoni’s River, after which he became a fish and was eaten by a Swede. This appears as a phenomenon in Viena, but the narrative sequence in which it occurs dropped out of cultural activity in Border and Northern Karelia. The location inside a fish is associated with the location of the dead Vipunen’s soul going much farther south, which Haavio (1952:125ff.) discusses in relation to the semiotics of Sámi shamanism. This location is also found in banishment locations in incantations. It is the only banishment location for which Brummer (1908:71) could not find correspondences found elsewhere in Europe and attributed to a heritage from shamanic practices. Although ethnic explanatory models for illness were organized around penetrations of the individual by foreign bodies (Siikala 2002a; Stark 2002, 2006), *Visiting Vipunen* in particular appears to reflect conceptions of the “soul-loss”, which is also appropriate to archaic strata of imagery and semiotics in *LV*. *Osmi haigus* could reflect conceptions of soul-loss conjoined with the location of a fish.

22.5. Intertextuality, Adaptation and the Loss of Information

ON traditions exhibit an established convention of intertextual applications and manipulations of the Baldr-Cycle as an extra-textual entity. This may have some relationship to the tremendous number of mytho-heroic figures who were subject to narrative activity, and also to the manipulation of narrative referents in skaldic poetry. Kalevalaic poetry presents a much narrower collection of mythic figures subject to

⁴³³ I2.757, I2.757a, I2.774, I2.776, I2.811, I2.781, I2.834, I2.845, I2.853.

significant narrative activity with a remarkable degree of narrative-specific indexical loading (§4.1-2). The Väinämöinen-World-Creation was central to the semiosphere and was activated as an intertextual referent (§7.2-3, §14.4.2). In contrast, intertextual applications of *LV* in other narratives appear to have been relatively rare: *LV*, its episodes and *image power* associated with it could be applied and activated in incantations, but it only exceptionally emerges as an intertextual referent in other conventionally established narratives. In §4.3.9.6, the intertextual applications of the Magic Rake were addressed. It was apparent that intertextual applications in Viena were attributable to a *loss of information* by *LV* in the waning cultural activity of the Death/Resurrection Attempt. Approaching the cultural activity of kalevalaic poetry through the *APE*, it was possible to recognize that a corresponding process had occurred with the plant-weapon (§9.5.2), and also with Ahti as a host of the feast (§14.4.1.5), as these passed entirely from *LV*. More dynamic adaptations appear to have emerged in Izhorian *Päivän päästö*, developed from the same narrative pattern from a Recovery Attempt model in an *accumulation of information*, and the intertextual application in *Kotona käynyt miniä*, which is only found in one region where *LV* was still active.

The corpus reveals a general pattern of an inverse relationship between the social significance of *LV* or its episodes as conservative epic and the manipulation of *LV* as an intertextual referent outside of incantations. Adaptations of *LV* as an intertextual referent becoming conventional in other narratives emerges as a symptom of waning significance or centrality of the episode in *LV*. This appears indicative of changes in the *narrative power* of the element or episode which reduces the degree to which the elements were attributed with an exclusive hierarchical association with a single song, and to which they became regarded as either more open to a range of applications as social resources, or could be adapted, asserted and become conventional in other contexts through applications of their *narrative power*, noting that these adaptations appear generally to maintain associations with epic or incantation.

22.6. *Lemminkäisen virsi and Byliny*

The first detailed exploration between *LV* and *byliny* was undertaken by Julius Krohn (1885:298-325), which was primarily typological and with no perspective on the historical evolution of traditions. Oinas points out that comparison between Finnic and Slavic traditions is faced with the problem that Slavic traditions such as *byliny* were documented poorly and almost at random in comparison with Finnic poetry (Oinas 1969:64). Slavic cultural contact only appears to have begun pushing up into southern Finno-Karelian areas in the 11th century, which is best reflected in the archaeological record by Christian artefacts (Uino 1997:188ff.). Harvilahti (1985:157-159) draws attention to the distribution of the *byliny* which are compared with *LV*, suggesting that the distribution and relationships between songs may be related to more complex regional phenomenon (cf. Ahola 2001, 2002). There is the corresponding question of whether earlier Germanic contact (particularly with the Scandinavian Russ) may have impacted Slavic vernacular epic traditions in terms of content, mythic models, or motifs and strategies of representation (cf. Chadwick 1964, Melnikova 2003). Germanic influences are discernable in the incantation tradition (Mansikka 1909), and the royal courts which emerged from that period became the centres for these narrative worlds (cf. Lotman 1990:191-202).

Oinas (1969:11) stresses that points of comparison between *LV* and the *byliny* tradition “are simply individual motifs found scattered in a number of *byliny*.” Rahimova (1998a, 1998b) emphasizes parallels in *byliny* to the Departure Dialogue and the relationship between Lemminkäinen and his mother, stressing her position as a widow (cf. Krohn 1885:302ff.). These fall into broad patterns of motif-applications in the two epic traditions. The “widow” motif seems circumstantial,⁴³⁴ and the dialogue between mother and son also emerges in Germanic traditions. The *bylina* of Djuk was popular and widespread, and was particularly popular in the Olonets region (Trautmann 1935:165). Like Lemminkäinen, he is a haughty son, an outsider, who decides to go to court, and his mother could inform him of dangers he would face on the journey and offer him advice

⁴³⁴ Lemminkäinen’s mother is not referred to as a “widow”; alternately Lemminkäinen may be identified as the son of the dead Vipunen, in *Visiting Vipunen*.

on how to behave.⁴³⁵ The parallels with *LV* immediately wane as Djuk overcomes the dangers through the quality of his horse rather than inherent power. Rather than being received inhospitably, he is dissatisfied with everything and brags about his home. He is then imprisoned until men investigate his story, after which he engages in non-violent competitions. (Ljašchenko 1925; Trautmann 1935:159-169; Bailey & Ivanova 1998:253-256.) Gil'ferding (1894) observed the tendency for *byliny* to be transmitted through social contact with individuals outside of the immediate community, which makes interaction with *LV* less surprising. There may have been some interference between this *bylina* and *LV*, but the correspondences remain general, with the possible exception of the Departure Dialogue (cf. Rahimova 1998:82ff.). The process of interference seems most likely to affect patterns of renewal (cf. *FFPE*:540-541).⁴³⁶

⁴³⁵ Trautmann (1935:165) points out that Djuk only faces three dangers on his journey in Olonets variants.

⁴³⁶ The *bylina* of *Vavilo i skomorokhi* is an exceptional phenomenon within (or perhaps more accurately in relation to) the *bylina* tradition. The probability that it adapts *LV* is addressed in Supplement 9. Although this is extremely interesting as a phenomenon, and as an example of an adaptation of narrative from one tradition ecology into another, it does not offer insight into potential impacts of interaction with the *bylina* tradition on *LV* or insights into more than the recent history of *LV's* cultural activity.

PART VI: BALDR AND LEMMINKÄINEN IN THE HISTORY OF MYTHOLOGIES

Chapter 23: Approaching the Baldr-Cycle

23.1. Introduction

The *APE* provides a coherent framework for approaching the diverse sources for the Baldr-Cycle. By approaching sources as applications of internalized understanding with the anticipation of activating tradition as an enabling referent, it becomes possible to make certain generalizations concerning the referents which are being manipulated insofar as they can be contextualized within the tradition ecology. A significant consequence of this approach is that it leads to a revision of the relative value of sources in the conventional corpus of material discussed in relation to the Baldr-Cycle. This allows a reassessment of central sources, such as Snorri's *Edda*, as an application made in relation to "tradition" as an enabling referent, and sometimes in relation to several discernable traditions manipulated as referents (e.g. §19.3.2.3.2). It also allows the corpus to be expanded to include intertextual references to the mythological narrative. These are both indicative of the cultural activity of the mythological narrative, and offer perspectives on the extra-textual entity. This is particularly important because both Snorri and Saxo offer coherent narrative accounts of the mythological cycle, but these are not attempts to represent the cycle in its conventional form: they are selective application-oriented presentations made in relation to the extra-textual entity, and these applications make conscious changes intended to revalue or reinterpret the significance of the narrative referent in relation to the belief-system with which it was indexically bound. Intertextual applications draw on the *narrative power* of this extra-textual entity without subjecting it to the same ideological filter.

23.2. Anticipated Death and Immunity

Baldr's death was anticipated by dreams according to the poem *Baldrs draumar* 1 (cf. *Brymsqviða* 14: §19.3.2), Snorri's prose (Faulkes 1982:45), and Saxo (§19.4.1) describes dreams of both Nanna and Proserpina. Saxo's initial description of Høtherus's encounter with the valkyrja-like maidens, which anticipate his defeat if he confronts Balderus (§21.6.1), and the later encounter in which he blames them for his death-like state (§21.6.2) could have been developed from the same model, but this is unclear. The dreams of Sigfrid's wife in the *Nibelungenlied* anticipate his death, but the prophetic dreams of women (or interpretations of their husband's dreams) rejected by the husband was a popular narrative device and cannot be considered indicative of historical continuity from adaptations of either Baldr's dreams or prophecies of death.⁴³⁷ The death-prophecy appears less significant in intertextual applications of the narrative.⁴³⁸

The response to Baldr's dreams appears to be community-oriented, but this episode of the cycle exhibits a range of variation: Snorri claims Frigg attempted to avoid the prophetic dreams (§19.3.1); *Baldrs draumar* claims Óðinn began planning an avenger with no attempt to prevent or avoid the slaying (Frog 2006); and Saxo situates the dream of Proserpina between the death-stroke and the actual death of Balderus, so that avoiding the slaying becomes moot (§19.4.1). In §21.1 it was stressed that the beginnings of a narrative may be subject to more variation and adaptation because they provide the orientation for the application. This raises the question of the history of the indexical relationship between Baldr's dreams anticipating his own death and the visionary prophecies of Ragnarök. Snorri's manipulation of the Baldr-Cycle appears to capitalize on this relationship to show that the gods are doomed to fail. This community aspect of the anticipation of death may have been influenced by Baldr's waning protagonist-role in

⁴³⁷ Cf. Boberg 1966, subtypes of motif D1812; Turville-Petre 1958.

⁴³⁸ McKinnell (2000, 2003, 2005:95-108) has researched narratives associated with the figure of the *völva*, which had developed into a narrative figure associated with certain story patterns in medieval Icelandic literature (cf. *berserkr*-warriors below). The story pattern he refers to as "the angry young man" is associated with Odinic heroes who are given a death-prophecy although they do not wish to hear it. In mytho-heroic contexts, the hero takes preventative measures against the prophesied death leading to an exceptionally long life comparable to that of Starkaðr, in which Óðinn grants long life to counter Þórr's prophecy that he will have no children (Ranisch 1900:28-29). These are not associated with the Baldr-slaying and their relationship to the death-prophecy of Baldr is unclear.

narrative activity, and a corresponding rise in either Óðinn's significance in the narrative, orchestrating the action surrounding it (in the Baldr-Höðr-Váli revenge-cycle), and/or a shift in the cultural activity of the Baldr-slaying in relation to Ragnarök, to make the death of Baldr not just a tragedy, but a failure on the part of the gods as a whole.

The only account which presents a clear correlation between the anticipated death and immunity is Snorri. The passivity attributed to Baldr by Snorri plays a significant role in shaping our image of him. In §19.3, it was shown that Snorri's account which attributes immunity to oath-taking objects presents a genre transgression. This genre transgression is directly associated with Christian models, influences or concepts. It appears to be rooted in a tradition of "all created things" weeping at the death of Christ, which was then projected back to the oath-taking in the generation of narrative continuity. Later additions to *Baldrs draumar* appear impacted by Snorri's account, but restrict the oath-taking to *vættir*, "spirits". It is unlikely that Baldr's immunity derives from "all created things" taking oaths. Immunity in Snorri's account is against naturally occurring objects. A similar immunity is presented by Saxo, in which Balderus's "holy body" will not tolerate penetration by iron. This motif is reduplicated in Høtherus's iron-resistant cloak. This form of immunity is more conventional to the heroic sphere (cf. Boberg 1966:D1840), which makes it uncertain whether it reflects an adaptation on the part of Saxo. This is a form of magical protection which mothers may provide for their sons, as Guðrún does for Hamðir and Sörli, who can only be killed by being stoned to death.⁴³⁹ "Feeling for wounds" appears as a Norse magic by which a woman (relative) would magically search for wounds which have not yet occurred, and none being found, the man would be secured against any which might threaten him. Skidmore (1998:82-83, 99) points out that the magic of "feeling for wounds" is never attributed to male magical practitioners, and the same women could also perform active battle magic, such as blunting weapons and driving enemies to madness (cf. Price 2002). *Grógaldr* describes Svipdagr's visit to his dead mother, who teaches him magic which will protect him on his journey. The reference to Rindr giving corresponding advice to Rani[Váli?] may reflect a

⁴³⁹ Faulkes 1998:49-50; Grimstad 2000:230-235; cf. *Hamðismál* where the source of immunity is unspecified.

corresponding motif-complex associated with the Baldr-Cycle. Within the medieval Icelandic tradition ecology, a mother appears to have secured her son against danger by either addressing his body and attributes (e.g. armour) directly, or by teaching him magic. Immunity or magical protection are associated with sending the hero out into the world in preparation for dangers to be encountered, contrary to Snorri's account of Baldr's complete passivity.

Among the intertextual applications, Heiðrekr's mother provides him with the sword Tyrfingr, but his father presents a series of prophetic advice which anticipates the encounters on his journey. This (rejected) advice may have been considered equivalent to receiving occult knowledge (§15.1), or adapted into the corresponding function within the development of the narrative. Frigg's endeavours to magically protect her son do not otherwise appear to have played a significant role in intertextual applications of the Baldr-slaying. This could be partially attributable to the emphasis placed on Höðr-figures rather than on a Baldr-hero. Sigurðr is the notable exception and receives both occult knowledge generally in *Fáfnismál* and magic specifically in *Sigrdrífumál*. Instructions in occult knowledge appears to qualify heroes and kings of mytho-heroic proportions particularly in ON poetry as opposed to prose (cf. *Grímnismál*, *Hyndluljóð/Völuspá inn skamma*; Fleck 1968, 1970). It is noteworthy that *Svipdagismál* is also a poetic narrative. Óðinn's own acquisitions of occult knowledge and magical power – particularly in the runes, the drink of mead from Mímir's spring, and the theft of the Mead of Poetry – appear essential to his qualification as a dominant mythic figure and ruler of the Æsir. The poem *Hávamál* appears to present Óðinn communicating that knowledge. This and other wisdom poems have been suggested to be related to initiation rituals (Gunnell 1995:356). This implies occult knowledge would also be appropriate for qualifying Baldr as a powerful figure.

Within the saga literature, magic-wielding heroic figures such as Egill are extremely rare. Although some information about magic and ritual practice in *Egils saga* could be attributable to interest in and the entertainment of archaisms (cf. Tedlock 1983:174-175), *Egils saga* stands out in the corpus by attributing knowledge and skill in magic to a

positive heroic figure in the “historical” period of settled Iceland. This follows the patterns of Snorri’s interests, if he was the author (§19.3.2.3). Within the literary period, magical *berserkr*-warriors became stock literary figures, variously villains or projected into the mytho-heroic past as the special retinue of particular kings (Simek 1996:35). Whereas Egill erects a *níðstöng*, “insult-pole”, in a magical act against the *landvættir* of his adversary (Einarsson 2003:98), the mytho-heroic Örvar-Oddr performs the corresponding actions against supernatural beings which appear to be representations of *landvættir*, but the saga does not place any relevance or significance in magical effects of the *níðstöng* and Örvar-Oddr shoots flaming arrows, apparently in a parody of magic (*FN* I:298-299). This appears to reflect the same pattern of development observed in Ingrian lyric-epic poetry (§4.3.9) and can be related to the rise of the *Märchen* and ballad in Europe across this period (§18.3.3) which exhibit an inclination to disassociate heroic figures from innate magical or supernatural abilities, transferring these to objectified attributes in the form of artefacts and “helpers”, innate power becoming an attribute of the adversary (cf. Alexander 1973).

Steffensen (1966-1969) observed that the conversion was also accompanied by an immediate disappearance of the use of nicknames with pagan or supernatural connotations, including shifts from *spaki*, “(prophetically)-wise”, *rammi*, “(supernaturally)-powerful”, to *fróði*, “(educationally)-wise”, and *sterki*, “(naturally)-strong” (cf. changes in kenning usage. §3.1). *Bósa saga* appears to integrate the conflicting associations of mythic heroes with magical practice into the rhetoric of its narrative. For example, Bósi refuses to learn magic from his step-mother, saying that he *eigi vilja, at þat væri skrifat í sögu hans, at hann ynni nökkurn hlut með sleitum, þann sem honum skyldi með kallmennzku telja*, “does not want it to be written in his saga that he accomplished anything through deceptions rather than attributing it to his manhood” (Jiriczek 1893:6-7). Later, rather than performing a magical change in form (*hamr*), Bósi cuts the skin (*belgr*) off of a man and wears it as a disguise (Jiriczek 1893:44ff.) as a

grotesque parody of magic.⁴⁴⁰ Even if these developments were largely restricted to emerging written genres, it exhibits a context of changing *narrative power* which makes it less surprising that immunity through innate power would not be a popular intertextually applied feature.

There is very little evidence of this portion of the narrative cycle. It is reasonable to assume that if Baldr's immunity was attributable to actions of Frigg, these actions concerned his person rather than "created things". The emphasis on magical knowledge and power attributed to Óðinn and manipulated in eddic narrative present the possibility that Baldr was attributed with corresponding magical/occult knowledge and that this knowledge provided the source for his immunity (cf. *Sigrdrífumál*, *Svipdagsmál*). The mother also appears to be responsible for Baldr's invulnerability or otherwise able to betray it, as apparently adapted by Saxo (§21.6.3) and essential in Snorri (§19.3.1) and the death of Sigfrid (§21.8). Although the beginning of the cycle is extremely obscure, it is clear that Frigg was somehow central to these unfolding events.

23.3. Location and Circumstances of Death

23.3.1. Ægir's Hall

Snorri's account of the circumstances of Baldr's death appears to be actively developed to show that the "pagan" gods were not in control of "all of creation", presenting Baldr as a metonym of their power and authority whose death anticipates their destruction (§19.3). His description of the mock-violence as *skemtun* at the divine assembly where the gods govern and control creation appears as a parody of verbal activity. The only parallel to this slaying at an assembly is in Starkaðr's sacrifice of Víkarr (§21.5), where *image power* from the Baldr-Cycle has been adapted into the context of a public ritual sacrifice. Snorri's account may also apply *image power* associated with ritual activity which we cannot identify because the relevant tradition was not documented in other contexts. *Aided Fergusa* also presents the social gathering as close to the location of the slaying, but this may be related to the narrative necessity of a circumstance in which the victim,

⁴⁴⁰ Even if the motif was borrowed from romance literature (Naumann 1978:55), there can be no doubt that in the cultural environment of medieval Iceland this uniquely attested motif would be received as a parody of the familiar motif of shape-shifting.

(unwitting) blind shooter and malignant adversary are all present for the deception to succeed. Snorri may have been influenced by this tradition as well, developing it into a ritualistic parody.

Lokasenna asserts some relationship between Ægir's feast and the Baldr-Cycle in contrast to Snorri, in spite of *Edda's* influence on the documented text (§3.3.1.6). The uses of *griðastaðr* in *Lokasenna* and *Edda* imply some form of association between Ægir's hall and the location of Baldr's death as relevant to the binding of Loki (§9.6). *Heiðreks R* applies the *narrative power* of the Baldr-slaying in conjunction with the *narrative power* of the *senna* in Ægir's hall (§21.2.1). *Heiðreks H* transposes one Baldr-slaying for another and the additional changes relating to Heiðrekr's flight into the forest increase correspondence with the prose frame of *Lokasenna*, implying a maintenance of the associations with Ægir's hall (§21.2.2). Neither narrative incorporates the motif of "binding", but the slaying of the Baldr-figure results in Heiðrekr's outlawry. This may be relevant if Loki's epithet "Útgarða" is rooted in a meaning of "Outlaw" (§21.2.1). *Grímnismál* presents a corresponding fusion. It places particular emphasis on the power of alcohol and binding as revenge for slaying Frigg's son (§21.4). Otr's Ransom also makes the hall a location of capture. It becomes the centre for activity of departure and return, emphasizing the funeral and acquisition of the ring rather than beer (§21.3). Both of these narratives subject the slayer to binding in the hall as in a *griðastaðr mikill*. Saxo also places emphasis on a magical location where Baldr eats as the source of his power, and makes the slaying relevant to this location (§21.6.3). In this respect it corresponds directly to Heiðrekr's slaying of Angantýr immediately following his expulsion from the feast (§21.2). In the *Nibelungenlied*, the feast is not in a hall, but on a hunting expedition. This account presents the feast as organized by the host-community which Sigfrid marries into. *Aided Fergusa* presents a similar scene in which the group is gathered near the water where Fergus is slain. Ægir's hall also constitutes a remote otherworld location associated with water (the sea) to which the community of gods travel for the drinking-feast where the otherworld host is responsible for the beer. The association of the location with water is also present in Otr's Ransom (where it is identified with the

location of the captured fish (§21.3) and *Grímnismál*, although the symbolic slaying becomes identical to launching Baldr's funeral-ship (§21.4).

Refusal to offer alcohol is explicit in *Lokasenna* and *Grímnismál*. It is implied in *Heiðreks saga* through the “All-but-One” uninvited-guest motif, and explicit in Saxo's adaptation of Balderus's magic food being refused to Høtherus. The “All-but-One” motif emerges explicitly in *Lokasenna* 11: when Loki receives beer, he toasts all of the gods except the poet-god Bragi. (Baby-Egill's journey to the feast is a variety of initiation with emphasis on the relationship between beer and poetry without the conflict.) In the *Nibelungenlied* (§21.8), this corresponds to a refusal to serve alcohol at all which instigates the journey to the spring: it becomes central to the deception which will result in Sigfrid's death. As in Saxo and *Heiðreks saga*, the slaying immediately follows leaving the feast. In *Grímnismál* (§21.4), the semiotic equivalent of the Baldr-slaying has been developed through *image power* and *narrative power* associated with Baldr's funeral, situating the event immediately prior to Geirrøðr's arrival in the hall. In Otr's Ransom (§21.3), the slaying also occurs prior to the arrival in the host-giant's hall (which becomes the scene of the funeral). These adaptations generate a relationship between the hall, a feast or drinking, and the slaying occurring outside that hall. This supports a relationship between *Lokasenna*, the feast in Ægir's hall and the Baldr-slaying. The discontinuity between the prose frame and poetic text of *Lokasenna* emphasize that there may have been some discontinuity in the sequence of episodes in the Baldr-Cycle – i.e. whether the slaying occurred before the initial arrival or between the departure and return, or perhaps after the departure without a return. It could also reflect changing priorities and associations in the *Lokasenna* narrative, disassociating it from the Baldr-Cycle. This ambiguity does not diminish the significance of the indexical relationships of narrative episodes and locations.

23.3.2. The Weapon

23.3.2.1. The Plant-Weapon

The Three-God-Bracteates represent the plant-weapon, apparently as a projectile (§19.5). This is clearly related to the emergence of *mistilteinn* as the plant-weapon in Iceland,

although it is unclear what plant *mistilteinn* was understood to indicate (§9.5.4). Saxo appears to have known a corresponding tradition relevant to Loki and his binding (§9.5.3). He also presents Høtherus performing a deception in disguise to obtain Balderus's magic food which corresponds to Loki's deception of Frigg to obtain the *mistilteinn* (§21.6.3). A woman is associated with betraying the secret vulnerability caused by the plant in the *Nibelungenlied* (§21.8). A variation on the plant-weapon is also found in the *reyrsproti*, "reed-stalk", which Óðinn gives to Starkaðr and transforms into a spear in the process of the sacrifice. The *reyrsproti* is presented as the semiotic equivalent of Óðinn's spear in the Æsir-Vanir war in *Styrbjarnar þáttur Svíakappa* (Vigfússon & Unger 1860-1868.II:72), where it is specifically provided to the hero by Óðinn and the hero is informed that it is an actual spear which looks like a reed. This stands in contrast to Snorri, Saxo, *Völuspá R* and probably *Völuspá inn skamma* (§9.5.4) making it unclear whether *reyrsproti* in the Víkarr-slaying (§21.5) derives from indexical associations with the specific plant-weapon in Baldr's death or indexical associations with Óðinn's spear as the instrument for marking an Odinic sacrifice (cf. de Vries 1956-1957:§381; Price 2002:355). All of these accounts place emphasis on acquiring the plant-weapon either on a special journey and/or through an intermediary.

Otr's Ransom and *Heiðreks R* present a stone as the weapon. The stone does not require acquisition. It is a naturally occurring object rather than a fabricated weapon. This appears to be the foundation of its semantic equivalence to the plant-weapon, uniting it with the semiotics qualifying the weapon in Snorri's account of the oath-taking. The stone allows the killing to be performed as a spontaneous act without requiring the acquisition journey. Stones also emerge as the weapon which can harm the exceptionally young Hamðir and Sörli after they were magically secured against iron by their mother and have slain their even younger uninvited brother (*Hamðismál*; Faulkes 1998:49-51; Grimstad 2000:230-235). Snorri describes Höðr as blind and unwitting (where intent is transferred to Loki who orchestrates the action). Höðr's ignorance in Snorri is paralleled by Loki's slaying of Otr and Heiðrekr's of Angantýr with a stone. This ignorance is doubtful in *Völuspá* and *Völuspá inn skamma* where Höðr appears to retrieve the plant-weapon himself.

23.3.2.2. The Sword and Other Weapons

The sword Mistilteinn was addressed as an established tradition in §21.7. Like the plant-weapon, the sword must be acquired from a remote or otherworld location. In *Heiðreks saga*, the sword is acquired by Heiðrekr's mother from an ancestral burial mound associated with the narrative pattern discussed by Schück (1918; §21.2). The relationship between the binding of the supernatural being in possession of the sword in Saxo (and *Völundarqviða*) and the binding of Loki is uncertain, particularly when Loptr[Loki] is attributed with making the sword required by Svipdagr in an otherworld location (*Fjölsvinnsmál* 24; cf. Frog 2008b:37ff.). Analogues in *Beowulf* and the *Nibelungenlied* both reduce or eliminate fantastic elements. The weapon is clearly a projectile in *Beowulf*, where the slaying is accidental. In the *Nibelungenlied* the slaying is a conscious plot. The spear is left sticking from the back of Sigfrid, just as it comes through the back of Fergus. It appears to be thrust (as in *Piðriks saga*), but this is not entirely clear. The thrust and weapon are consistent with the semiotics of Odinic sacrifice, as in the case of Víkarr.

23.3.2.3. Concerning the Weapon

Both the plant-weapon and the sword required a journey to a remote location. Both require instructions on the location (Starkaðr is taken by Óðinn to the remote location of the gods at *þing* and Óðinn gives him the weapon on the return journey). The bracteate-image places the plant-weapon in the navel of the victim rather than at the level of the heart or in the back (as in the case of Sigfrid). If this was semiotically significant, it may have been related to the *image power* of the world-tree. The Baldr-slaying may have drawn on the *narrative power* of the slaying of Ymir as part of its strategy to contextualize the killing as a cosmological event, the ramifications of which extend from the first creation to the destruction and rebirth of the world (§20.2.1). The manner of killing Ymir is not recorded. The semiotics of naturally occurring objects in the weapon could potentially have been relevant to such a strategy.

The sword named Mistilteinn appears to belong to the mytho-heroic sphere or possibly a “euhemerized” tradition of the Baldr-Cycle associated with royal histories (§21.9). The

weapons appear to be mutually exclusive semiotic equivalents. The Three-God-Bracteates support the continuity of the plant-weapon from the period of the earliest recorded evidence. It seems probable that the sword-name and mytho-heroic narrative with which it was associated evolved through an intertextual application of *narrative power*. It is interesting to consider that the complex *mistil-teinn* may have emerged from a plant-name *mistill* to form a vernacular sword-name in such an intertextual application, and gradually fused with the plant-name through interference from AS once the referent of *mistill* had been fully obscured (§9.5.4).

23.3.3. The Death

The Baldr-victim's death is characterized by being swift and unexpected. There appears to be a premeditated hostility on the part of some party which may be eliminated in heroic adaptations. It is very possible that heroic adaptations had a reciprocal influence on the mythological narrative resulting in redactions of the tradition in which the weapon was a sword. There may have been variation in both intent on the part of the slayer, and also whether the slayer or a *ráðbani* acquired the weapon. The required acquisition of the weapon implies that slayings made as spontaneous actions outside the hall belong to intertextual strategies which may truncate the narrative distance between indexically related elements. Although the slaying appears indexically bound to activities in the hall, it is unclear whether the acquisition of the special weapon was an episode preceding, following or during the drinking-feast.

23.3.4. The Uninvited Guest

In §19.3, it was proposed that the motif of “youth”, which Snorri attributed to *mistilteinn*, was adapted from an “All-but-One” motif associated (by Snorri) with the Baldr-Cycle. This was part of the process of adapting the Baldr-Cycle to his specific application which projected animate qualities on all “created things”, including *mistilteinn*. It was proposed that this was a fusion of *mistilteinn* as the “one” object which could harm Baldr with an “All-but-One” motif associated with an anthropomorphic being for which “youth” was grounds for exclusion: the uninvited guest. In §19.3.2.3, it was proposed that the narrative of three-year-old Egill's journey to a drinking-feast was an intertextual

application of the *narrative power* of the mythic narrative of the uninvited guest who was excluded for being too “young”. Hamðir and Sörli, who were magically secured against iron by their mother Guðrún, also assert that they are too young for the journey on which they are being sent. Bonnetain (2006:111) stresses that *Vsp* 31.2-3, *blóðgom tívor//Óðins barni*, “of the bloody god/victim//Óðinn’s child”, is extremely unusual in referring to Baldr as a “child” (see de Boor 1930; cf. Meissner 1921). If Baldr were associated with the role of the uninvited guest due to his age, this would present a common foundation for his mother to secure him magically for the adventure.

In *Grímnismál*, Óðinn advises Geirrøðr with a motif associated with the Baldr-Cycle while Frigg does not do the same for her foster-son (§21.4). The opening sentence of the *Grímnismál* prose states the ages of the two brothers: Geirrøðr is the younger, and Óðinn prepares him with magical knowledge which will allow him to assume kingship by using verbal magic on his brother. Heiðrekr receives a weapon from his mother and prophetic advice from his father after the killing. Both the weapon and advice are intended to secure him for dangers of the world as a consequence of the slaying rather than to attend the feast as the uninvited guest. Both of these cases appear to maintain indexical relationships between these motifs although they have been adapted to the formulation of the larger narrative. The *Lokasenna* prose and Snorri (Faulkes 1998:40) seem to consider Loki among the invited guests. *Lokasenna*’s poetic text is ambiguous concerning invitations although Loki does not appear expected, and the “All-but-One” motif emerges in the exclusion of Bragi from the toast to all the gods. “Youth” is not attributable to Loki. These comparisons lead to ambiguity concerning as to whether the uninvited guest was the slayer or the victim. It is possible that Baldr was undergoing a *loss of information* as the Höðr-figure became an increasingly interesting subject for narrative activity, or that Baldr’s journey was a separate narrative concerned with his initiation into exceptional verbal ability. Saxo appears to consider the association between Baldr’s food and eloquence of significance and presents it as an initiation-like source of power for Ericus Disertus, “the wisely-spoken” (§21.6.3). Snorri says Baldr is *fegrst talaðr*, “most beautifully spoken” (Faulkes 1982:23), and appears to make a parody of verbal entertainments in his scene of the Baldr-slaying (§19.3.1). Loki also provokes Frigg (*Ls*

28), claiming responsibility for the fact that she will not see Baldr ride to the hall again. If Baldr were associated with a journey to Ægir's hall as a feat or initiation, this retort would carry tremendous rhetorical force as an application of *narrative power* through the indexical association of the identity and motif. The uninvited guest motif may have varied in whether it was associated with the victim or the slayer.

23.4. Consequences and Recovery Attempt

23.4.1. Learning of the Killing

Snorri's account situates the death of Baldr in the midst of the community gathering. If Baldr was conventionally slain outside of this community circumstance (in a potentially isolated location), it is uncertain what Snorri's adaptation may have displaced. Saxo focuses on Høtherus without mentioning how Balderus's death is discovered. Otr's corpse is displayed in the hall before the Æsir are even aware that murder has been committed. Heiðrekr variously enters the hall and confesses his deed (*Heiðreks R*) and flees into the forest before his brother's body is discovered (*Heiðreks H*). The *Grímnismál* prose provides the impression that Frigg learned of her foster-son's fate from the magical seat where the gods observe the world. Sigfrid's body is simply brought back from the forest with tales of his fate. It is not clear how Óðinn or Frigg conventionally learned of Baldr's death, or whether this was semiotically significant.

23.4.2. Funeral

Baldr's funeral was clearly a "community" event for the Æsir, emphasizing its cosmological proportions. The cultural activity and motifs associated with this event are primarily associated with Óðinn. It is not clear that Frigg was significant to this portion of the narrative. Snorri describes the ship as a pyre launched out to sea. *Húsdrápa* describes the difficulty in moving the ship, but is ambiguous whether it is being moved onto the pyre or launched onto the sea (Lindow 1997b:81). The relationship between Baldr's funeral and other ship-burials is unclear (Neckel 1920:29-31, 229-230; Lindow 1997b:84-87). The burial of Sigurðr is much more similar in terms of the complex of motifs involved, including the woman, horse and other attributes (cf. Neckel 1920:31, 230-231). This could be an extension of applications of *narrative power* from the Baldr-

Cycle in the Sigurðr-Cycle. Saxo (1931:69-70) asserts that Balderus is buried in a mound, but this may be a choice in his selection of motifs from traditions related to his preference for the sword-weapon and associations with mytho-heroic kings. Accounts of the funeral as a communal event place emphasis on Óðinn more than on other figures (including Baldr). It is not clear to what degree Óðinn was been pushed into the funeral and events surrounding it – or potentially that the funeral as a mythological event emerged or developed significance as an affirmation of Óðinn as a rising tradition dominant.

23.4.3. Recovery Attempt

Hermóðr's position in the Recovery Attempt is attested by Snorri, *Málsháttakvæði*, and Oddi litli's ekphrasis stanza. It may also be reflected referentially in *Brymsqviða* and *Hákonarmál* (§16.4). Snorri is clearly influenced by Christian visionary literature (§19.3.3) and Hermóðr is associated primarily with the heroic sphere rather than “gods”, leaving the history and significance of the narrative obscure. The motif-complex of leaping the otherworld barrier on a special horse appears to be associated with otherworld bridal-quest narratives found in *Skírnismál* and Sigurðr's encounter with Sigrdrífa[Brynhildr] followed by his return and acquisition of Brynhildr for his companion Gunnarr. The initial encounter with Sigrdrífa is accompanied by awakening the sleeping maiden by cutting off the armour which covers her like a skin – a resurrection motif. This is followed by an exchange of the ring and instruction in incantations. Sigurðr then departs without the maiden. This adventure belongs to the core sequence of events which establish Sigurðr as a great hero and the ring Andvaranautr in relation to the events culminating in the deaths of Sigurðr and the family into which he marries. This core sequence opens with Otr's Ransom, which establishes the Baldr-Cycle as a relevant referent for interpreting the narrative. The encounter with Sigrdrífa appears to be loaded with the *narrative power* of the Baldr-Cycle. In this case the “failure” of the Retrieval Attempt appears in relation to an otherworld bridal-quest. Just as Hermóðr initially returns without Baldr and everything goes awry, Sigurðr is made to magically forget Sigrdrífa/Brynhildr, marries another woman and returns to acquire Sigrdrífa/Brynhildr for another man (cf. §19.4 on Baldr ending up with Hel rather

than Nanna). This leads to the conflict which results in the destruction of all of the families involved, just as the failure to recover Baldr from Hel leads to Ragnarök.

Saxo concludes Høtherus's death-like state with an encounter with the valkyrja-figures rather than a male figure such as Gewarus (§21.6.2). The Three-God-Bracteates appear to represent the female figure making the Recovery Attempt in bird-form, which appears to reflect the Recovery Attempt by a female relative (§19.5.4). On IK.66, a male transvestite figure with the sword appears in the position of the bird-maiden. This appears to indicate a competing tradition in the recovery attempt already in the Migration Period. It is not clear that Sigurðr's encounter with Sigrdrífa developed in relation to an extra-textual entity of Hermóðr's Hel-Ride. The male-female relation could imply an inversion of the genders of both parties in the referent – i.e. that the female rather than male figure undertook the attempt. A corresponding complex may be observed in *Svipdagsmál*, in which the hero awakens his dead mother acquiring corresponding magical knowledge. One aspect of the Baldr-Cycle's cultural activity may have been its value as a referent for the qualification of young heroes (e.g. Baby-Egill). As an intertextual referent, the sequence of indexically loaded motif-complexes and episodes could be subject to reorganization. Sigurðr's acquisition of magical knowledge from Sigrdrífa/Brynhildr may support the possibility that Baldr's immunity was rooted in magical knowledge acquired from a woman, and that this acquisition of knowledge was associated with his youth and qualification as an exceptionally heroic figure.

23.4.4. Weeping

Weeping appears to be a central motif to the extra-textual entity in ON traditions (§19.2, §19.3.2, §21.6.2). In the *Nibelungenlied* XVII, the weeping of Sigfrid's wife (and handmaids) in the church is so loud that Sigfrid's father can hear it where he sleeps (§21.8), the grief of Herebeald's father is presented with exceptional emphasis (Harris 2006:80), and *Heiðreks* H adds motifs of the funeral and grief (§21.2.2). It was also applied in skaldic parodies (§16.4.4). Harris (1994, 1999b, 2006, 2007, 2009a, 2009b, forthcoming) has argued that the Baldr-Cycle played a central cultural role in (male)

expressions associated with death, mourning and grief, placing particular emphasis on the Rök inscription and Egill's *Sonatorrek*.

23.4.5. Revenge and Reconciliation

23.4.5.1. Location and Binding

The association of the binding with a *griðastaðr* and the prominence of binding as a motif in the hall imply a maintenance of indexical associations between Loki's binding and the Baldr-slaying. The representation of Sigune by Wolfram von Eschenbach may indicate the binding of Loki was known on the continent, although it is ambiguous concerning any connection with Baldr (§21.6.3). The binding of Loki is a community activity. In *Lokasenna*, Baldr's death is presented in the conflict between Loki and Frigg without reference to Óðinn. Óðinn is almost completely absent from accounts of the binding, but in intertextual applications, Óðinn can appear in the role of the bound figure (§21.3, §21.4). It is not clear that Óðinn's rise as a tradition dominant established a distinguished position for him in the binding of Loki (although see Frog 2006).

23.4.5.2. Fishing for Loki

Lokasenna follows Snorri's account of Loki's capture in the form of a salmon. Otr's Ransom applies this episode as an intertextual referent in Loki's capture of the dwarf Andvari trapped in the form of a pike (§21.3.2). This allows the acquisition of the ring. A corresponding episode also appears to be reflected in *Hrómundar saga*, in which a pike has miraculously swallowed the sword Mistilteinn (§21.7). In *Heiðreks R*, the sword Tyrfingr is found when a fish is caught (§21.2.1), but the Baldr-victim is slain with a stone rather than a sword. The recovery of the sword with the fish could simply be adapted for the recovery of a valuable object or heirloom, but the motif complex of a lost object recovered from inside a fish was almost completely unknown in the Norse sources.⁴⁴¹ This contrasts with its popularity in Irish narratives (see Cross 1952:N211.1). This warrants comparison with the mythic capture of the Salmon of Wisdom which has eaten certain nuts in *Macgnímartha Finn*, and in Finno-Karelian traditions, the *historiola* of *Fire's Origin* is similarly concerned with the motif of obtaining the coveted object

⁴⁴¹ Boberg 1966:N211.1 lists only *Hrómundar saga*.

swallowed by a fish incorporating the supernatural community as well as the invention of the net and a pattern of fishing which led to its comparison with the capture of Loki in Snorri's account.⁴⁴² This raises the question of whether Loki's escape in the form of a fish adapted the narrative power of an earlier tradition of capturing a fish which has consumed (or is) a coveted object,⁴⁴³ or if his capture in the form of a fish was earlier associated with the recovery of an object stolen or recovered by Loki (cf. Tolley 2009:394-403). Almqvist (1991:141-154) shows that both early Germanic and Celtic folklore maintained semiotics of a "fish of life" which represented the health or life-force of an individual which could be lost (resulting in death) or eaten by another individual. The representation of Loki as a fish (and pike-Andvari caught in Rán's net) may have had layers of semiotic significance which are lost to us. A fish or multiple fish also appear represented on some Three-God-Bracteates, but their significance is completely obscure. It should be stressed that in the Baldr-Cycle, Loki's salmon-form functions as a transition to Loki's binding.

23.4.5.3. Revenge-Killings

The revenge against Höðr is removed from the community: Óðinn goes outside the community of the gods and impregnates Rindr to give birth to an avenger. Frigg has no involvement in this strand of the cycle and it never returns to the community. The Höðr-figure appears to have become more interesting for narrative activity than Baldr. The cultural activity of both Höðr and Váli appears more or less exclusively in relation to the Baldr-Cycle.

23.4.5.3.1. Höðr: The Slayer

Liberman (2004:23) determines that "*höðr* is an archaic word whose semantic range is beyond reconstruction, but when it was in active use it may... have referred more to enmity than to struggle, so that *Höðr* may have been understood as 'the contentious one', with negative rather than heroic connotations." Höðr-figures generally appear

⁴⁴² See Krohn 1917:125-27; 1924:138-40; see also §21.3.2.

⁴⁴³ Visually, a coat of skin-tight mail cut from Sigdrífa/Brynhildr would give the impression of the scaled skin of a fish, and the woman comes alive when the skin is shed. On the fish-maiden narrative, see Arne 1923.

contentious and his name may have been heavily loaded with *sound power*.⁴⁴⁴ Snorri portrays Höðr as innocent in order to emphasize Loki as the malignant agent, and drops him from the narrative when the slaying is complete. The Höðr-figure always obtains the weapon except here and the *reyrsproti* in the Víkarr slaying (§21.5) – i.e. unless another figure acts as *ráðbani* and orchestrates the action.

23.4.5.3.2. Loki: The Slayer?

Loki is never identified as the figure who performs the killing-stroke, with the exception of the intertextual application in Otr's Ransom (§21.3.1). *Aided Fergusa* presents a dual slayer in which the malignant adversary manipulates a mythic blind shooter (§21.9). Snorri presents the only corresponding example of this pattern, and there is a high probability that he either drew on the Irish narrative directly, or else the Irish narrative pattern was already being integrated into the Icelandic tradition. In all other sources and parallels, only one figure is mentioned or one figure provides information on the weapon and the other obtains it (with the exception of the *reyrsproti*). Intertextual applications incorporate Loki's binding as a referent although his role in the slaying remains ambiguous. Dual roles of Loki and Höðr in the killing may have fluctuated in transmission, and there may have been variants in which each figure eclipsed the other completely. The dual slayer raises the question of why the split role would persist, and whether one figure was a later introduction into the role. Loki was a tradition dominant commonly associated with maliciously or foolishly creating a situation which must be resolved and being compelled to resolve it.⁴⁴⁵

Community appears central to the Baldr-Cycle. The binding of Loki is a community undertaking which immediately anticipates Ragnarök (when Loki breaks free). This event, rather than actions taken against Höðr, exhibits intertextual cultural activity. Loki's binding generates a causal relationship between the death of Baldr and Ragnarök in contrast to indexical parallels between the deaths of Baldr and Óðinn (§20.2.1). Höðr and Baldr will return from Hel to the new world together (*Vsp* 62; Faulkes 1982:53), but

⁴⁴⁴ §10.3.1, §21.2, §21.5; cf. *h*-alliterating names in §21.7, §21.8.

⁴⁴⁵ See de Vries 1933a, Ström 1956, Rooth 1961, Liberman 1992, Bonnetain 2006.

Höðr's relevance to the eschatology appears to fulfil the specific function of asserting a resolution to problems of the old world in the new (i.e. the generation of meanings – see Lindow 1997a:*esp.*170): he is only present because he slew Baldr and Baldr returns.

The Baldr-Cycle was clearly an Óðinn-related tradition in the period of documentation. Höðr assumed a significant position as a model for Odinic heroes in an intertextually capacity. In §21.9, this was contrasted with the Sigurðr-Cycle, in which the Baldr-figure assumed the role of the primary figure. It was suggested that the change in the cultural activity of these figures has some bearing on the rise of Óðinn as a tradition dominant and Óðinn's assumption or subjugation of the *narrative power* associated with the Baldr-Cycle. Óðinn's relationship to the cycle is asserted through his position in the funeral and events directly associated with it, and through the revenge-cycle directed against Höðr.

Frigg appears somehow responsible for the immunity attributed to Baldr, and responsible for the substance or secret which could be used to defeat him (§23.2). She appears to be absent from the funeral and she orchestrates or earlier undertook the recovery attempt. The capture and binding of Loki is a community-oriented event from which Óðinn is largely or completely absent. Loki's liberation at Ragnarök is unrelated to Óðinn (whose adversary is Loki's son Fenrisúlfr). Höðr may have emerged as the slayer in the process of Óðinn's rise as a tradition dominant. Höðr's cultural activity appears restricted to the Baldr-Höðr-Váli revenge-cycle and intertextual applications for the establishment of Odinic heroes. This would explain why this revenge-cycle does not involve community action (or even community consultation): the narrative developed expressly for the assertion and affirmation of Óðinn as a dominant cultural figure.

In intertextual applications, the advisor in the slaying appears to be Óðinn himself (§21.4, §21.5, possibly §21.6.1; cf. the slaying of Hamðir and Sörli §23.2), and Höðr's role does not appear to require Loki as an advisor. If Höðr were introduced into an established tradition of the Baldr-slaying, it is anticipated that he displaced a different cultural figure. If Loki were the “original” slayer, Höðr would have been imposed on the narrative as the

agent displacing Loki to advisor. *Aided Fergusa* presents the possibility that Höðr could have displaced an earlier “blind shooter” potentially comparable to the three-fold shooter of one figure responsible for creating the weapon, one for aiming or drawing the bow, and one for shooting (§9.4.1.1). The blind shooter is so unusual in early Irish literature that it could potentially constitute an archaic survival in *Aided Fergusa*. In either case, Loki’s role and indexical relationship to the slaying would in some sense be maintained, but the introduction of Höðr precipitates a revenge-cycle which is the exclusive domain of Óðinn while Loki’s relationship to the eschatology was maintained.⁴⁴⁶ In heroic adaptations of the cycle as an intertextual referent, the Baldr-Höðr-Váli revenge-cycle is secondary to the cosmological proportions of the *narrative power*, but Óðinn’s role as a cultural figure is maintained as an orchestrator of the fates of heroes, transferring him into the role of advising or orchestrating the Baldr-slaying. The insinuation of Höðr into the slaying as an agent for the affirmation of Óðinn would be directly comparable to the emergence of Hermóðr as the agent who undertakes the recovery attempt. In the case of Hermóðr we are faced with a much more evident example of an Odinic hero displacing a competing cultural figure.

23.4.5.3.3. The Avenger

Three names appear to be used for the avenger of Baldr begotten by Óðinn on Rindr. “Áli/Váli” is used by Snorri, *Völuspá in skamma*, is postulated in *Baldrs draumar* (see Bugge 1867:137), and in the binding of Loki of *Völuspá H (Vsp 34)*. This name participates in the pattern of *v*-alliteration associated with Óðinn’s kin (Óðinn[Wodan]-Vili-Vé-Viðarr). Snorri claims that Loki also had a son by the name of Áli/Váli who was transformed by the Æsir at Loki’s binding (rejected by the scribe of the *Lokasenna* prose: §3.3.1.6). It is unclear which “Váli” is referred to in *Völuspá H*. *Grógaldr 6* presents the name-pair Rindr and “Rani”. If Rani is identical to Váli, alliteration unites mother and son in a narrative framework emphasizing their relationship.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁶ Harris (2006:78,81-82; 2009b) as drawn attention to the use of *jötunn* to refer to the slayer on the Rök stone. If this is considered a mythic analogue, it leaves an interesting ambiguity concerning whether it is literal or figurative, and whether it refers to Höðr or Loki.

⁴⁴⁷ Harris (2006, 2009) has argued that the rape of Rindr is a mythological subject addressed in the Rök inscription, of which the central concern is the replacement of the lost son, emphasizing their relationship.

Saxo provides the name “Bous” for the avenger. This name alliterates with Baldr. It appears to be related to a figure referred to as Bovo or Bovi. Bovo/Bovi appears in ritual activity associated with a straw figure, dance and verses recorded in sources dating back to the 12th and 13th centuries; the name may be associated with Anglo-Saxon Beow and Old Norse Byggvir (Harris 1999a; Gunnell 2001; cf. North 1997a:194-196). This figure appears elsewhere as a descendent of Scyld Scefing, whose ship-funeral in *Beowulf* 26-52 draws comparison with the funeral of Baldr (cf. Lindow 1997b:86-87; see also Tolley 1996; Harris 1999a). This figure appears to have been subject to continued cultural activity associated with seasonal rituals and fertility in Denmark well beyond Saxo’s time, evolving into the later straw *julebukk* (Gunnell 2001).

Variation in the names of the avenger implies that this figure was less semiotically central to the cultural activity of the narrative. “Váli” almost never appears in kenning-formations (Meissner 1921:263; Egilsson & Jónsson 1931:597). The appearance of Áli/Váli as both the son of Óðinn (who performs the revenge on Höðr) and as the son of Loki (who slays his brother) appears to be indicative of fluctuations in this identity. Harris (2006, 2009b) has argued that the Rök inscription presents Þórr as the daughter of Rindr (=Jörð), which implies revenge on the *jötunn*-slayer, but may have more general implications as an origin for Þórr as the mightiest of Óðinn’s sons. Saxo’s identification of the avenger as Bous may indicate a different tradition of the avenger which was associated with fertility and calendar rituals, if it was centrally concerned with revenge at all (cf. Neckel 1920). Bous is the only relative whose name alliterates with “Baldr”.

23.5. Aspects of Cultural Activity

The Baldr-Cycle exhibits significant value for the affirmation and maintenance of Óðinn’s identity as a cultural figure. This was accomplished through direct associations of Óðinn and his attributes with the cycle narratives, generating indexical relationships between the deaths of Baldr and Óðinn, and also through the cycle as an intertextual referent in the generation of narratives about Odinic heroes. There may have been a direct relationship between this narrative and narratives of initiation into poetic skill. Within a Christian cultural milieu, the narrative was rhetorically manipulated to

emphasize and/or justify the fall of paganism in the wake of Christianity. Prior to this it is possible to discern a process of development which appears to have gradually increased Óðinn's relationship to the cycle at the expense of other cultural figures, although these remained indexically connected to the narrative. This process appears to be paralleled by a shift in narrative activity surrounding the Baldr-figure to the Höðr-figure. Associations with ritual sacrifice appear to be introduced by Snorri on the basis of an unknown model, and in Starkaðr's slaying of Víkarr the motif-system may have been introduced to load the killing with the *narrative power* of a heinous act and affirm him as a Höðr-figure. Although the Baldr-Cycle invites the interpretation of a dying god becoming a ruler or authority of the realm of the dead able to govern and confer fertility on the earth, Baldr appears to be subordinated to Hel in the otherworld with no clear indication of associations with fertility or fertility cults except possibly through Bous. The Baldr-Cycle places emphasis on the period prior to resurrection and the apocalyptic vision of the end of world.

Chapter 24: Approaching *Lemminkäisen virsi*

24.1. Introduction

The investigation of *LV* complements the treatment of the Baldr-Cycle. Sources for the Baldr-Cycle consisted of a diverse array of manipulations of the extra-textual entity far more often than specific textual entities of the narrative. In contrast, *LV* presents hundreds of variants which reflect the evolution of a particular textual entity (or textual entities). The *APE* offers a framework which allows these to be treated both on the level of individual application and on the more abstract level of the evolution of the textual entity as a social phenomenon.

24.2. Lemminkäinen's Journey

Lemminkäinen's dangerous Journey is the core of the Finno-Karelian epic. It has been considered to reflect the oldest stratum of the narrative's tradition, embedded in the semiotics of shamanic journeys (Kuusi 1963; Honko 1965:47; Siikala 2002a). In §14.4.2, the Journey to "Päivölä", "Sun-Place", was discussed as a journey to the astral sphere as opposed to the underworld. Non-fantastic dangers developed in several contexts in southern areas, and in the Izhorian *Päivän päästö*, the magical alcohol used to overcome these dangers affirms indexical associations of beer as a source of power in relation to *LV* (§22.2). This beer becomes an objectified magical object which overcomes obstacles rather than conferring innate power or ability. It was argued that this adaptation is rooted in a tradition of the Resurrection Attempt which underwent an *accumulation of information*, augmenting the adventure with dangers in applications of *narrative power* from the Journey. This provides evidence that the dangerous journey was established in Izhorian traditions. It is unattested farther south.

24.3. Prophesied Deaths and Magical Protection

The death-omen was addressed in §4.3.9.6. Although the action of leaving a death-omen to alert his mother appears to have developed from contact with Slavic traditions, the comb/brush with blood/gore may be the mother's own, and appears to be an omen with a

long history with *LV* independent of the Slavic traditions. It was known through Ingria (and possibly Estonia⁴⁴⁸). It is probable that at an earlier stage in the evolution of *LV*, Lemminkäinen's mother was notified of his death by combing blood/gore from her hair without the comb/brush being left by Lemminkäinen.

Lemminkäinen announces his departure and his mother predicts deaths which he will encounter on the road. In Viena, these are used to great rhetorical effect in the dialogue while farther south emphasis shifts from the dialogue to the adventure of the journey itself. Lemminkäinen overcomes these dangers through the use of magic and incantations. The need for the protective shirt and the prophesied deaths on the journey are not found in Ingria or Estonia where the semiotics of poetic narrative did not maintain "singing" and magical practice as a heroic attribute (§4.3.9-12).⁴⁴⁹ The *Setu War-Plant and Death-Plant* is accompanied by the warnings of the sister which succeed in the first case and fail in the latter, but no protective measures are instigated (§4.3.11.4).

Dubois (2003) compared the narrative strategies of *LV* and *Svipdagsmál*, emphasizing that the priority in the dialogue appears to be less concerned with overcoming the dangers than their enumeration. This is particularly prominent in Viena, where all of the dangers may be enumerated and overcome in the Departure Dialogue and the Journey may be omitted entirely. In Aunus, Border and Northern Karelia, the Journey itself is more prominent. These encounters with the dangers on the Journey may be associated with a speech-act in which Lemminkäinen affirms that his mother accurately predicted the danger. §9.5.2 addressed the relationship between the plant-weapon and Lemminkäinen's lament at not having learned how to defend himself from this danger. The plant-weapon clearly waned in its cultural activity. The lament attached to the plant-weapon also persisted into intertextual applications where it developed a function of affirming Väinämöinen. This may reflect the conservative persistence of an earlier emphasis in Lemminkäinen's acquisition of knowledge for overcoming the dangers in the Departure Dialogue. However, Lemminkäinen's development as a cultural figure as

⁴⁴⁸ Cf. *Harja otsimine*: Hurt 1926-1932:liii-liv.

⁴⁴⁹ The Ingrian-Finnish song of *Siso lehen lemmykkäine* attributes the warnings to the hero's sword after he arrives (§4.3.9.1).

young, disruptive and foolhardy in contrast to Väinämöinen (§14.4.2) may have been founded on a refusal to take advice, in which case the lament was maintained as an acknowledgement of his failure to listen and respect his elders (cf. *Heiðrekr* in §21.2).⁴⁵⁰

24.4. The Feast of Päivölä

The drinking-feast of Päivölä is a feast of a *jumalisto*, “collection of gods”, or *jumaliset*, “gods-DIMINUTIVE”/“godly-ones”,⁴⁵¹ and the feast is often associated with a wedding. These were most probably understood as the dead (Harva 1945:225; see Stepanova forthcoming). Conceptions of this feast probably underlie the sayings found in Baltic, Finnic, Sámi and Germanic cultures around the Baltic Sea that when it rains while the sun is shining, God or the dead are celebrating a wedding (Kuusi 1957:52-60, 64-69, 72-77, 294-301). The central aspect of the feast in *LV* is its associations with alcohol. The Estonian “Drinking-Feast of Birds” (§4.3.9.4) may be a parody of the *jumalisten juominki*, “drinking-feast of the godly-ones” developed from the conceptual association of birds with souls of the dead (§20.2.2.1).⁴⁵² Ingrian adaptations of the Estonian song

⁴⁵⁰ It is unclear how this relates to Lemminkäinen’s mother’s advice concerning where to sit in the hall found in a few Viena variants (e.g. I2.773.168-172, I2.774.282-291, I2.801.142-151/I2.801a, I2.810.63-71, I2.811.139-141, I2.816.123-137, I2.831.32-34). The advice given by Djuk’s mother not to be too drunk or brag (Ljaščenko 1925:51) could have been adapted as a model (see §22.5). Although this advice is not part of the Northern Karelian traditions, the seating arrangement appears as a point of conflict in the Northern-Singing-Death-redaction where it may be an instigating event to the slaying.

⁴⁵¹ These differ by a single phoneme in the genitive (*jumaliston/jumalisten*), and some collectors may have “interpreted” the words in transcription (cf. II.198 and II.198a). VIII.782 performed full-line repetition throughout the poem and the collector observed that GEN *jumaliston* could vary with *jumalisten* in repeated lines (e.g. VII.782.61-62). *Jumalisto* appears to be a *hapax* limited to kalevalaic poetry and is not even listed in the six volume dictionary of the Karelian language (*KKS*). *Jumalinen* is comprised of *jumala*, “god”, and the suffix *-inen*, generating a diminutive form (“god-DIMINUTIVE”) or an adjective, “godly”, which can also mean something like “pious”. This term is found almost exclusively in *LV* in the kalevalaic poetry of Finland and Karelia, and it never assumes the alternative form *jumalainen* in *LV*. The alternate form is almost exclusively (and prominently) found in Ingria, as in the line, *jumalaisen ainoi poikoi*, “god’s-DIMINUTIVE only son”, referring to Jesus (e.g. III.1.73.95). Diminutive forms are an essential feature of the lament register (Stepanova 2009) which interacts with the lyric register of kalevalaic poetry (Nenola-Kallio 1982), but it is only connected with epic to a limited degree in the employment of inter-generic strategies for speech acts (e.g. Lemminkäinen’s vocative address to his mother). It seems highly probable that *jumalisto* is the earlier term used in the parallel line, and that as it grew obscure or nonsensical, a subtle phonetic shift allowed a conventionally established line to become more coherently semantically meaningful in a maintenance of its *sound power*. Thus *jumalisto*-GEN found a semantic equivalent in *jumalinen*-GEN-PLURAL, which is a reasonable construction for other poetic registers, and which also opened the expression to different fields of meaning according to which it could be interpreted as “gods”, dead ancestors, or even potentially as “the pious ones”. The interesting point to observe is the term’s apparent continuity of positive connotations.

⁴⁵² The Estonian songs appear oriented toward humour. Their continuities with the Finno-Karelian traditions imply that they have developed as parody of a culturally loaded tradition. There is no indication

(§4.3.9.4) integrate Estonian equivalents of Finno-Karelian “blind shooter” guests (§9.4.1.1) not found in the Estonian variants. They also extend invitations to *kuusesta jumalat* “gods from the spruce”, generating a more direct identity between the Estonian “birds” and Finno-Karelian “gods”. The Ingrian variants appear to be adaptations of the Estonian songs. The appearance of “gods” and “blind shooter” guests is more probably due to interference from vernacular traditions than Estonian models. These would still indicate that the invitations, drinking-feast and uninvited guest were familiar in Ingria. The Estonian song *Jesus’ Death by Starvation* (§4.3.10.3) may reflect a corresponding tradition of the uninvited guest being refused drink and resulting in his death. The Setu song *War-Plant and Death-Plant*, in which the sister travels to the threshold of the house of gods/Maries to cure her brother (§4.3.11.4), can be compared to the mother’s journey to Päivölä in order to gain information on where to find Lemminkäinen (§22.2). Estonian variants of *LV* (§22.4.1) correspond in the narrative pattern of making the journey to cure a dying or dead relative, but the object of the journey is not a location where “gods” are gathered.

Finno-Karelian traditions exhibit an identification of the host as Ahti. This Ahti appears to be rooted in the western-Finnish god of the sea, carried with the song into Karelian regions where this god was unknown (§14.4.1.3, §14.3.1.5). The Izhorian tradition appears related to the Finno-Karelian traditions. It seems probable that Ahti was also associated with the role of the host in Izhorian traditions although the evidence is circumstantial. The Estonian and Setu material is ambiguous on this point.

24.5. Conflict in the Hall

Lemminkäinen is received with hostility in most Finno-Karelian and Ingrian-Finnish traditions (cf. DuBois 2003:237). Dialogue is a standard feature of the Reception, particularly interrogating the guest and refusals of or demands for hospitality. The hostility of the host is also implied in the Estonian song *Jesus’ Death by Starvation* (§4.3.10.3). The Serpent-Bear emerges as an expression of that hostility as well as a

that this tradition had bird-protagonists or that this bird-feast reflects a continuity of tradition with the bird-epic traditions discussed by Meletinskij (1997).

source of power. In Finno-Karelian traditions, Lemminkäinen's curse on the cup-bearer may kill although it is normally ambiguous. When the narrative continues, the Serpent-Beer often appears as an instigating event for the Duel or the Singing Competition (if only by Lemminkäinen's success in drinking). The textual entity of the poem is not normally explicit in this regard, but the pattern is sufficiently consistent in the thick corpus to postulate a conventional association in the extra-textual entity. The Izhorian variants lack the Duel, presenting a knife-fight/-stabbing. The (fantastic) Serpent-Beer is absent and the conflict is initiated by the (male) host spilling the beer on Kauko's cloak (§4.3.9.2). Ingrian-Finnish variants present the Serpent-Beer, but rather than drinking followed by the Duel, the hero simply kills his sister and her husband with his sword (§4.3.9.1).

24.5.1. The Singing Contest

The Singing Contest is only found in Finno-Karelian variants. In Northern Karelia, the Singing Contest is only encountered once, performed as a separate song (§4.3.5) while the *lampi*-motif from the Singing Contest appears to have been adapted the Journey as part of the shift in emphasis to being "sung" against Lemminkäinen (§14.4.2, Supplement 3). The Singing Contest appears to have been waning in its cultural activity, while the Duel continued to exhibit a general appeal. This is particularly observable in Viena. The Singing Contest exhibits remarkable continuity where it was maintained, although in most variants it is truncated to a minimum of lines, or only part of the competition is present. The waning of this Singing Contest in contrast to *The Singing Competition* between Väinämöinen and Joukahainen may be directly related to the semiotics of magical performance in *LV*, rooted in helping-spirits rather than occult knowledge (§14.4.2). The relevance and interest of such a magical contest may have significantly changed as the semiotics of both magic and heroism gradually developed.

In Savo, Jesus-Lemminkäinen arrives and sings everyone present immediately rather than an individual adversary and without initial hostilities. It is unclear whether this has developed from the "All-but-One" motif which determined the slayer (i.e. omitting the slayer entirely). The pattern of overcoming the whole otherworld household is central to

the Finnic, Latvian and Germanic variants of the Theft of the Thunder-Instrument. This narrative was not recorded in Southern Savo, although it was found in Northern Savo and both to the east and west.⁴⁵³ The motif of singing all present may be related to a *loss of information* of the thunder-god destroying or driving off the devil and his household and an *accumulation of information* in *LV* relevant to a priority in application of overcoming magical adversaries.

24.5.2. The Sword-Duel

The Duel appears to have been established in *LV* in all recorded Finno-Karelian regions with the exception of Savo. The Duel is a formal regulated combat. It appears to have been established previously in Ingria, where it was replaced by a knife-fight/-stabbing (§22.3; cf. §4.3.11.2). Continuation from the Duel normally shifts into the Escape Dialogue and the Isle of Women. The Duel-Death-redactions (§4.3.4, §4.3.5) claim Lemminkäinen dies in the Duel. This appears to be the persistence and adaptation of indexical relationships between Lemminkäinen, the Duel and the Death in *LV*.

24.5.3. Lemminkäinen's Death

Finno-Karelian accounts of Lemminkäinen's death exhibit a tremendous range of variation. The distribution and variation implies that Lemminkäinen as a cultural figure maintained an indexical association with "dying", but that the interest in and/or significance of that death was waning. Lemminkäinen is often "sung" to death, but the Singing Contest (in highly truncated form) is only fused with singing Lemminkäinen to death three times (I2.722, I2.802b). This narrative also underwent a *loss of information* indicative of waning significance. In Ingria, the *loss of information* may have been complete among both Izhorians and Ingrian-Finns. The invitations and motif of the uninvited guest is only reflected through adaptations of an Estonian song (§24.4), and the protagonist of these songs does not die (§4.3.9.1-2). The Death became uninteresting or insignificant, while the female relative's Recovery Attempt was adapted into a different song (§4.3.9.5-6). The Estonian *Jesus' Death by Starvation* could reflect the maintenance of Lemminkäinen's Death at the feast (§4.3.10.2). In the Setu *The Brother*

⁴⁵³ See Balys (1939:38-40) for variants.

Lost in the Water, the Death appears to have been eliminated completely, and the narrative is entirely concerned with the recovery attempt (§4.3.11.1), like the corresponding Ingrian songs. The Setu *War-Plant and Death-Plant* presents a plant as the cause for the brother's death in conjunction with the recovery, but the plant is not a "weapon" (§4.3.11.4).

24.5.3.1. The Slayer

The plant-weapon is preserved in the Viena *Umpiputki*-redaction (§4.3.1). This redaction is associated with the protagonist singing gold to all present, manifesting an "All-but-One" motif associated with the slayer. The conflict in the hall underwent a drastic *loss of information* in Northern Karelia. The plant-weapon was adapted to new contexts, and Lemminkäinen was sung to death without clear motivation (§4.3.5, §9.5.2). There is some evidence that Ahti may have been the host in this region in an earlier period (§14.4.1), but in the period of collection the male host may be identified as a *paimen*, "shepherd", as opposed to *isäntä*, "master". This low social status warrants comparison with the one figure left unsung in the *Umpiputki*-redaction, and also the one unsexed widow in the Sex-Death-redaction. The low station of this figure appears to reflect a *loss of information* which reduced the excluded adversary of the "All-but-One" motif to the host, and the only figure with whom Lemminkäinen interacts. The reduction of the plant-weapon to "singing" is associated with this process, as is the rise in dangers on the Journey which are "sung" in conjunction with radical variation in the dangers themselves.

24.5.3.2. Singing "All-but-One"

The singing of gold to "All-but-One" of those present as the introduction to the death was only found among three singers (§4.3.1). In the Savo Jesus-redaction (§4.3.6), Jesus-Lemminkäinen is correspondingly presented singing everyone present, but these are all hostile sorcerers, and Lemminkäinen's singing is destructive rather than giving gifts (§24.5.1). Krohn (1905:108; 1924-1928:109) viewed this as appropriate to his interpretation of *LV* as a Christian narrative.⁴⁵⁴ The singing of gold to all present stands in sharp contrast to all other events in *LV*. Lemminkäinen does not "give" – and even

⁴⁵⁴ Cf. Supplement 9.

Väinämöinen does not “sing” material objects as gifts or rewards. This motif of giving gifts or reward could be a consequence of renewal of the motif-complex. An association with “Christian” ideologies underlying such a renewal may be implied in the corresponding expression of power to overcome adversaries by “Jesus” in Savo. The “All-but-One” motif also appears to have been associated with the slayer in Northern Karelia where Lemminkäinen was portrayed as more of a rogue. It is not clear how the “All-but-One” motif may have functioned as an instigating event for the slaying.

24.5.3.3. The Weapon and Water

The plant-weapon appears to be a variety of water-plant (§9.5.2). It is associated with a lament concerning not learning a defence against it from his mother. There is no explicit “All-but-One” motif, but the plant-weapon appears to be a gap in knowledge gained from Lemminkäinen’s mother (§24.3). This gap implies that the weapon itself is somehow special, or requires special knowledge on the part of the adversary. The plant-weapon does not appear to be procured in the hall. Unlike the exchange in the Singing Contest, the plant-weapon is sung “from” somewhere – specifically from water. The parallel term of the weapon is *veson*, “water-instrument” (§9.5.2). Lemminkäinen ends up in water as a consequence of the weapon’s use.

It should be stressed that Lemminkäinen is lost in the river which separates the realm of the dead from the realm of the living. Although this may be simply interpreted as “he died”, in Finnic traditions, the dead remain in the immediate grave location or go to the realm of the dead, not “into water”.⁴⁵⁵ Lemminkäinen’s disappearance into the river of the dead or the sea is exceptional. His mother appears to require directions for where to look for him. This implies that the death-omen does not indicate that he is in Death’s River. It also implies that the Death is not in the hall.

Lemminkäinen’s death into water appears to be rooted in a literal rather than symbolic representation of his death – i.e. his death was understood to result in his corpse physically ending up in water rather than that ending up “in water” was a natural

⁴⁵⁵ See Siikala 2002a, Stepanova forthcoming

consequence of death. The plant-weapon is also sung/procured from water, implying that these locations are related. The death of Lemminkäinen appears to be developed from a location outside the hall in proximity to water.⁴⁵⁶

24.6. The Isle of Women

Following the slaying in the Duel, Lemminkäinen returns home and initiates the Escape Dialogue, which has clearly been shaped by the Departure Dialogue. The Escape Dialogue incorporates a number of recommended locations which are rejected. Among these locations is hiding inside a fish (§22.4.1). Lemminkäinen then travels to an island where he engages all of the women in sexual congress.⁴⁵⁷ This episode was clearly part of the Lemminkäinen tradition in Finno-Karelian and Ingrian areas.

24.7. Recovery Attempt

The recovery attempt always follows deaths caused by magical means (except by one singer: §4.3.1). In the core corpus, it only follows death by violence in VIII.841, where the Duel is fought against *Märkähattu*, the conventional slayer of Lemminkäinen by magical means in Northern Karelia (§4.3.5). It also follows the Duel-death in SKS Hautala 1054 recorded in Border Karelia (§4.3.4). The Recovery Attempt significantly waned in cultural activity in Finno-Karelian regions. The mother's adventure found corresponding appeal in the women's traditions to the south, where it may be best understood as generating new narratives in the process of its *loss of information*. The cause of death appears generally to have lost semiotic significance, but the death-omen maintained cultural activity. The Recovery Attempt also underwent an *accumulation of information* in the form of dangers on the mother's journey and also became interesting as an inter-textual referent (§24.2-3).

⁴⁵⁶ The death takes place at Tuoni's River in Juhana Kainulainen version (VIII.823). The variants of the death and resurrection are remote except for lines 90-92 on the copper rake. The variant situates the death (unusually) as the conclusion of *Courting Hiisi's Maiden* and the challenge of shooting the swan. The location may be an accidental consequence of adaptation to this framework rather than continuity of tradition.

⁴⁵⁷ The sexual aspect is not necessarily explicit and may be eliminated entirely although the arrival and departure exhibit remarkable consistency.

24.7.1. The Mother's Dialogue in the Hall

In Viena, there are two variants in which Lemminkäinen's mother first travels to the otherworld and engages the slayer in a dialogue (I2.815, I2.835). The dialogue is found in all but one of the Northern Karelian variants of the Recovery Attempt.⁴⁵⁸ This dialogue is also reflected in the Izhorian *Päivän päästö* (§22.2). Dangers encountered by the mother in the Recovery Attempt occur exclusively on the journey to Päivölä but not on the journey to Tuoni's River (cf. VII1.835.207-247).

24.7.2. Recovery from Water

24.7.2.1. The Magic Rake

The recovery is indexically bound to the use of an enormous magical metal rake (§4.3.9.6). The persistence and applications of this motif-complex indicate that it carried a tremendous cultural load: it was somehow extremely important to the Resurrection Attempt in terms of how it was understood and applied within the tradition ecology. How and why such a motif emerged is a mystery. It may be a specifically Finnic or Finno-Karelian-Ingrian phenomenon. The motif is explicitly associated with metal-working (visiting a smith) while the instrument is associated with agriculture. The omen of the mother combing blood/gore from her hair may have had an indexical association with the raking episode: the image of the rake in the sea drawing out Lemminkäinen was anticipated by the comb in the hair drawing out blood and gore.

24.7.2.2. Dialogue

Lemminkäinen and his mother normally engage in a dialogue or monologue when he is resurrected. This has clearly interacted with *Visiting Vipunen* in some redactions/variants. It often communicates the success or failure of the resurrection attempt and that Lemminkäinen would still be dead were it not for his mother. This dialogue is common in Viena in contrast to Northern Karelia, where it only occurs in the 51 line dialogue emphasizing the failure of the attempt (VII1.835.256-306), and in the mother's reprimand of Lemminkäinen for not listening to her (VII1.841.202-208).

⁴⁵⁸ VII1.826, which begins with the resurrection followed by the journey.

24.7.2.3. Outcome

Arhippa is the only singer in Viena who presents the resurrection attempt as a failure. He was both a form-breaker and a devout Christian (in his own terms): resurrection may have overstepped his sensibilities. Only one Northern-Karelian variant explicitly fails: VIII.835, accompanied by a remarkable 51 line dialogue. This failure of the attempt may also be attributable to Christian sensibilities. Other Northern Karelian variants are ambiguous, but there is no indication that these were conventionally interpreted as failing. The 51 line dialogue may reflect a response to conventional assumptions that the resurrection could and did succeed. The Ingrian songs of the search for the brother invariably fail. This is directly related to the taboos concerning sea-water which have been drawn from Slavic songs (§4.3.9.6). The attempt is most often successful in Setumaa. The Death/Resurrection Attempt were clearly of cosmological proportions with deep relationships to the *image power* and *narrative power* of the Väinämöinen-World-Creation. There was no corresponding connection to eschatology as found in the Baldr-Cycle (when the latter's resurrection occurs). The resurrection of Lemminkäinen was most probably conventionally associated with success throughout its discernable history.

24.8. Aspects of Cultural Activity

LV exhibits a range of applications and tremendous popularity. The material from multiple narratives which Krohn posited were combined (§5) all appears associated with *LV* as far back as can be projected (§4). Rather than two separate narratives which were combined in all regions, it is more probable that *LV* was a more complex narrative which has undergone a *loss of information*, with an inclination to reduce and simplify figures and events (§14.4.1.5), such as presenting the shepherd-slayer in the place of the master of Päivölä and the slaying with the water-instrument inside the hall. *LV* appears to have had social functions in maintaining group identities and affirming the *tietäjä* and Väinämöinen in contrast to the *noita* and Lemminkäinen. *LV* became a mythic model for overcoming dangers on a journey, and particularly for the protection of wedding-parties. This appears to have developed through analogy, much as *LV* became a narrative model for becoming a *tietäjä*. These developments may be related to changes in the tradition ecology through which the competition between institutions of the *tietäjä* and *noita* lost

relevance. Similar processes may be involved in emphasizing Lemminkäinen as a wielder of incantations or supported by the power of God in overcoming obstacles on the Journey.

A number of motifs appear to associate *LV* with fertility. Associations with ploughing are repeatedly encountered and the beer-brewing may have corresponding connotations. The “dying god” model invites associations with fertility, but there is no indication that *LV* was associated with fertility rituals or a fertility cult in contrast to the Sampo-Cycle. The intertextual relationship between the Sampo-Cycle and *LV*, and the antithetical relationship between Lemminkäinen and Väinämöinen as cultural figures imply that *LV* did not have overlapping cultural functions. The only clear fertility associations emerge in the Setu song *The Maiden’s Blood*, but its relationship to *LV* is uncertain.

Chapter 25: Perspectives and Relationships

25.1. Foundations

The *APE* has offered a coherent framework for addressing individual sources for both the Baldr-Cycle and *LV* as applications by individuals in specific contexts. This was used to develop an understanding of the traditions as applied and manipulated in the sources. These applications and adaptations made from the perspective of an individual offer insight into the tradition as a social phenomenon within various horizons. The social phenomenon emerges as an organism in the tradition ecology/ecologies. This organism lives and evolves through conventional discourse and applications in relation to other social phenomena in the tradition ecology and semiosphere. The framework of the *APE* made it possible to assess patterns emerging within the corpus as symptoms or consequences of changes within the tradition ecology in the evolution of the tradition as an historical process. This was essential in order to develop a sufficient historical perspective on the evolution of *LV* and the Baldr-Cycle to address the relationship between them.

25.2. Comparison

Both traditions centre narrative action around the location of a drinking-feast of the “gods”. The location “Päivölä” appears to be rooted in *narrative power* associated with conceptions of “shamanic” journeys to the astral sphere applied in *LV* (§14.4.2). Proverbs which associate sun showers with God or the dead celebrating a wedding present the possibility that the drinking-feast of Päivölä is part of a Circum-Baltic phenomenon (§24.2). Kuusi (1957:298-300) proposes that conceptions of drinking in Valhöll as a heavenly realm of the dead are related to this phenomenon. Both Päivölä and Ægir’s hall constitute remote otherworld locations requiring a journey by the protagonists, and both are specifically associated with brewing the beer. Valhöll and Ægir’s hall participate in reciprocal feasting, in which case they may have been viewed as equivalent in some sense, but the drinking in Ægir’s hall appears associated specifically with magical power or the power of the Æsir (§21.4.1). Ahti appears to have been

established as the host of this feast across Finno-Karelian traditions, and the name appears to derive from the Western Finnish vernacular sea-god which was carried in *LV* into Karelian regions where this god was unknown (§14.4.1.3, §14.4.1.5). The presentation of the name of a vernacular sea-god as the host of a feast in the astral “Sun-Place” could be attributed to “translating” the ON drinking-feast of the gods into the vernacular equivalent (*Ægir’s* hall–*Päivölä*) and similarly “translating” the sea-god host into the vernacular equivalent sea god (*Ægir–Ahti*).⁴⁵⁹

Comparisons of the mother’s role prior to departure and the Journey are more ambiguous. *Baldr* may have been associated with the motif of the uninvited guest excluded due to his youth, with associations with initiation (§23.3.4). *Lemminkäinen* is correspondingly “young”, although this appears to be part of depicting him as an antithesis to *Väinämöinen* (§14.4.2) while the reasons for leaving him uninvited are obscure (cf. §4.3.8). “Youth” could be associated with the role of the mother in both traditions. It seems probable that the *Baldr* was magically secured by his mother either by incantations or some more physical security (§23.2). *Lemminkäinen* receives a shirt which can be identified as magical protection from his mother (§15.1). The Departure Dialogue presents a narrative strategy corresponding to *Grógaldr* of iterating combinations of danger and magical response (Dubois 2003; cf. Siikala 2002a:308-314), but a similar dialogue is also attributed to *Djuk* (§22.6), although rather than innate magical power or ability he overcomes the dangers on his journey through the attribute of a special horse (in accordance with preferred strategies in the *bylina* genre: Alexander 1973:105-120; cf. §18.3.3). Although *LV* may present an inversion of this narrative strategy in an application of *narrative power* (§24.3), the sources for this portion of the *Baldr*-Cycle remain very uncertain and *LV* may be adapting a widespread narrative strategy. A similar issue is raised by the potential use of a journey of the uninvited guest as a model for (narrative) initiation to become *fegrst talaðr*, “most beautifully spoken”, like *Baldr* (Faulkes 1982:23), which is only probable (§23.3.4). Applications of *LV* as a narrative

⁴⁵⁹ The etymology of the name “Ahti” is uncertain, but it appears to be associated with the verb *ahtaa*, “to bury; to cram, stuff; to wedge, pack in; to pack into”, and adjective *ahdas*, “constricted, confined, narrow, tight, limited”; cognates in other FU languages imply a long history. There is no reason to see this name as connected with ON “*Ægir*” in any way.

model for becoming a great *tietäjä* in the *Tietäjä*-redaction (§4.3.4) appear to be a localized development related to changing attitudes of the *tietäjä*-institution to Lemminkäinen and *LV* (§14.4.2).

Lemminkäinen's reception as the uninvited guest is accompanied by the refusal of hospitality and demand for beer. This corresponds to the reception of Loki in *Lokasenna* and warrants comparison with Óðinn in *Grímnismál*, both of whom are associated with the slaying (by council) and binding. This is in contrast to the reception of Baby-Egill (§19.3.2.3 – or Saxo's Ericus: §21.6.3), or the anticipated reception of Baldr. Both Loki and Heiðrekr are attributed with killing an incidental figure at the feast. Correspondence with Lemminkäinen's curse on the cup-bearer or the Duel may be accidental. Lemminkäinen's Death is associated with the "All-but-One" motif determining the slayer by exclusion (§24.5.3.2). It is unclear what this figure was excluded from, but the excluded figure always appears to be associated with extremely low social status. *Lokasenna* 11 applies the "All-but-One" motif, excluding the poet-god from his toast, for the instigation of the *senna*. Like Lemminkäinen singing gold to "All-but-One", Loki's toast can be viewed as a positive offering, but Loki's exclusion is clearly a provocation directed at one figure while intended to instigate more general hostility and disruption. Loki's insults can be considered *níð* poetry, verse insults which are associated with hostile magic (Almqvist 1965-1974; Clunies Ross 2005:61-65). He exchanges insults with all of the gods and is considered the victor. The motifs in *LV* and *Lokasenna* correspond, but in *Lokasenna* they are applied by the figure associated with the slayer rather than provoking hostility associated with the killing.

The constellation of motifs associated with the slaying exhibit close correspondence. The slaying of both figures appears to be in a location "outside" of the hall – not in the location of the drinking-feast, but in relation to it. The location of the slaying is somehow associated with water, although this is only preserved through the source of the weapon and location of the corpse in *LV* (§26.6.3.3), and in intertextual applications of the Baldr-Cycle (§23.3.1). The slaying is abrupt and without defence. The weapon is a plant. This plant functions as a projectile. The plant-motif exhibits established

prominence on the Three-God-Bracteates. In both traditions the weapon appears to be exceptional in its ability to harm the victim. In the Baldr-Cycle, the secret which enables the slaying may be betrayed by the mother or female relative (§23.3.2.1). In *LV*, it is failure to listen to or learn from the mother (§24.5.3.3). The victim ends up in water. Baldr's funeral ship appears to be launched (§23.4.2), but even if this is somewhat equivocal, his death is indexically associated with the flood of Ragnarök (§20.2.1). These correspondences both unite the two accounts and set them apart from others.

The recovery attempt is undertaken by the mother. Both mothers may accomplish this in bird-form, although this is only evident on the Three-God-Bracteates for the Baldr-Cycle (§19.5.4, §23.4.3) and appears to have almost entirely dropped out of cultural activity in *LV* (§20.2.2.2). The attempt is accomplished by a journey to the realm of the dead. Lemminkäinen's mother does not enter that realm: she goes to the shore of Tuoni's River. The description of Hermóðr's penetration of Hel's realm stands in contrast to other representation of journeys to her realm (§16.4.5). This raises the question of whether the "barrier" depicted on the Three-God-Bracteates separating the bird-maiden from the victim (§19.5.3) may reflect that the barrier was not penetrated, or perhaps has some relationship to the semiotics of Norse magical practices involving women being lifted over doorways to see into the otherworld (Price 2002:168; Tolley 2009:546). There appears to be a continuity in the recovery attempt. In *LV*, the Recovery Attempt was indexically bound to the Death by magical means so that they were conventionally performed as a coherent sequence rather than separately. Correspondence in the deaths exhibits a high concentration of motifs extending to details such as the plant-weapon, which is loaded with narrative-specific indexical associations in each tradition ecology. Although Päivölä may have been a vernacular equivalent to Ægir's hall as a location of the drinking-feast of the "gods", the introduction of Ahti as a host appears indicative of a "translation" of the identity of Ægir into a vernacular equivalent. The accumulation of these points of comparison leads to a high probability that the Death and Recovery Attempt are related through direct contact and influence. More specifically, it appears that at least these portions of *LV* emerged through the adaptation of Germanic models in Western-Finnish cultural areas where Ahti was regarded as a sea-god. These

correspondences support the probability that less certain parallels may have emerged in relation to the same models. This is particularly true with regard to motifs associated with the reception and conflict in the hall which are directly related to the slayings, observing that the hall as the location appears to have been sufficiently compelling to maintain the identity of the sea-god host. This invites the possibility that the whole narrative sequence from the beer-brewing to Lemminkäinen as the uninvited guest was adapted from a Germanic model. *LV* traditions offer no evidence of a continuation beyond the successful resurrection except in exceptional cases where the resurrection is presented at the beginning of the narrative sequence or is followed by the Isle of Women: there is no revenge-cycle associated with the slayer, although the Isle of Women presents a flight, nor is there evidence of binding as retribution – at least in the forms and episodes that survived. This leaves ambiguous the relationship between Loki’s flight and hiding in the form of a salmon (see §23.4.5.2) with the associated fishing episode and Lemminkäinen hiding in, becoming or capturing a fish (§22.4.1).

LV is not a “variant” of the Baldr-Cycle *per se* – the narrative as a system of motif-complexes appears to have provided a model applied for the generation of a “new” narrative.⁴⁶⁰ The application of the model maintained indexical relationships within the new narrative framework but reorganized them according to the priorities of the application. The same phenomenon is encountered in intertextual applications of the Baldr-Cycle in mytho-heroic narratives (§21.9), but the linguistic-cultural threshold is indicative of entering a different tradition ecology and semiosphere in which the *word power*, *sound power*, *image power* and *narrative power* activated through application is different.⁴⁶¹

In §14.4.2, it was shown that Lemminkäinen was developed as/into an antithesis of Väinämöinen, and that this may be rooted in applications of *narrative power* to bring about a reassessment and reinterpretation of an established cultural figure who may have

⁴⁶⁰ This can be directly compared to the correspondences between *LV* and *Vavilo i skomorokhi* (Supplement 9).

⁴⁶¹ This raises the question of whether the remarkably stable description of the ship’s departure and women weeping for the man under the mast at the end of the Isle of Women (Krohn 1924-1928:47-58) is related to the *image power* and *narrative power* of the weeping and ship-funeral of Baldr.

provided the cultural model for a competing institution of ritual specialist and otherworld intermediary.⁴⁶² In §20.2.2, it was shown that *LV* exhibits applications of *image power* and *narrative power* from the Väinämöinen-World-Creation as an intertextual referent. The relationship of Väinämöinen, the Väinämöinen-World-Creation to the *tietäjä*-institution (§7.2-4) make it probable that *LV* emerged in relation to the Väinämöinen-World-Creation. If the Baldr-Cycle was adapted for an assertion of Lemminkäinen as a representative of the “other” and “anti-culture”, this would explain why Lemminkäinen balks at the dangers in the Departure Dialogue rather than being taught how to overcome them. It also presents the possibility that the aspect of Baldr’s journey which appears associated with initiation into poetry (and magic?) may have participated in shaping Lemminkäinen’s journey in its loading of “shamanic” features. If Päivölä was associated with models for shamanic journeys, *LV* may have emerged as an application of *narrative power* displaying Lemminkäinen’s potential but also his destruction and defeat through overconfidence and anti-social behaviour: rather than a successful initiation, *LV* seems to emphasize that Lemminkäinen is slain and must be taken home by his mother.

25.3. The Väinämöinen-World-Creation and Strata of Myth

The adaptation of *LV* from the Baldr-Cycle is indicative of cultural contact. Specific conditions in the vernacular tradition ecology made the Baldr-Cycle an interesting and viable resource for the generation of meanings. The apparent “translation” of Ægir to the vernacular Ahti implies a significance and maintenance of this model. It appears that part of the significance of the application was its ability to activate the *image power* and *narrative power* of the Väinämöinen-World-Creation.

The same features which *LV* activates in the Väinämöinen-World-Creation stimulate a different set of comparisons with the Baldr-Cycle. The Shooting of Väinämöinen was preserved in the Viena region where its cultural activity was restricted exclusively to the Väinämöinen-World-Creation as an instigating event (Kuusi 1949:336): Väinämöinen fashions a magic horse, goes riding without motivation, and a malignant blind shooter

⁴⁶² Cf. *Prymsqviða* (§19.3); see also *Väinämöinen’s Leave-Taking* as a Christian manipulation of Väinämöinen’s identity (*FFPE*:550).

(Honko 1959a:135-141; 1959b) with an unspecified hostility toward Väinämöinen shoots his horse, or him (Kuusi 1949:150-156). This causes Väinämöinen to fall into the primal sea leading to the emergence of land, just as the Baldr-slaying is associated with the rebirth of the world following Ragnarök (§20.2). The Väinämöinen-World-Creation concludes when Väinämöinen washes ashore and weeps. Weeping and helplessness are incongruous with other representations of Väinämöinen (cf. Siikala 2000:153-154; Krohn 1903-1906:354-56; 1924-1828.V:153-56). Like Baldr, Väinämöinen is at the mercy of a female chthonic being (Hel/Mistress of Pohjola) who is capable of determining whether Väinämöinen can “return home”. This was discussed in relation to the Rape of Iðunn in §7.3.3, but the blind shooter and specific motif of weeping in conjunction with the emergence of land from the primal sea, the “corpse” in water, and possibly the female rather than male (Þjazi) chthonic being warrant consideration of a relationship to the Baldr-Cycle.

It is reasonable to assume that the radical changes implicit in integrating Väinämöinen as an anthropomorphic being into a conventional Finnic World-Creation was not simply founded on a conceptual association, but was associated with narrative traditions associated with the creation. The long-held hostility of the blind shooter and Väinämöinen’s desire to return “home” within an established mythic topography at the conclusion of the creation is more consistent with the Germanic resettlement of the established mythic topography following Ragnarök than the “first” creation. Just as the creation of the Sampo appears embedded in an adaptation of the Rape of Iðunn (§7.3.3), the Finno-Karelian World-Creation appears to have been integrated into a narrative framework which exhibits motif-constellations corresponding to the Baldr-slaying as an instigating event for the *re*-creation of the world.

25.3.1. Väinämöinen and the Second Merseburg Charm

The Shooting of Väinämöinen is a mysterious narrative element, particularly because it is normally not Väinämöinen who is shot, but the magic animal which he has created. The episode exhibits connections to and interaction with incantations for magic shot (§20.2.2.2.2). In applications of the Väinämöinen-World-Creation, it could introduce the

origin of magic shot, creating a narrative continuity between the first creation of the world and the accomplishment of the healing-act itself (Frog forthcoming b; cf. Frog 2008a). In §14.3, Baldr's relationship to the Second Merseburg Charm was introduced. Although the relationship of the *historiola* to any known narrative cycle is uncertain, other blood-charms exhibit applications of *image power* of the apocalyptic flood, while the injury of the steed could be explicitly associated with the death of Jesus in Christian variants (§12.2).⁴⁶³ Swedish variants of this *historiola* present “magic shot” as a cause of the horse's injury (Christiansen 1914:54-56). The association of Baldr with the complex of motifs in the Väinämöinen-World-Creation introduces an index through which the Second Merseburg Charm *historiola* could become connected to this cycle, particularly if the horse's injury were more directly associated with Baldr's death (see §12.2). The complex relationship between epic, incantation and the *tietäjä*-institution, which drew so heavily on Germanic models, presents the possibility that the Shooting of Väinämöinen developed from the narrative of this *historiola*, which would explain why the blind shooter injures the animal rather than the man.⁴⁶⁴ The central difference is that the Baldr-Cycle places emphasis on the interlude between the death and resurrection (in the destruction and rebirth of the world), whereas the Väinämöinen-World-Creation collapses this process into a powerful creative event.

25.3.2. Baldr, Iðunn and a (Potential) Circum-Baltic Phenomenon

The Väinämöinen-World-Creation presents a system of correspondences with the Baldr-Cycle which are different than those associated with Lemminkäinen and notably lack the plant-weapon while associating the victim with riding. The Väinämöinen-World-Creation appears fused with the Rape of Iðunn as a narrative model for the second section of the Sampo-Cycle (§7.3.3). A corresponding integration of these two mythological narratives appears to be reflected in the Lithuanian tale, “The Sun and the Mother of the Winds”, discussed by Greimas (1992:64-111). The tale exhibits a remarkable

⁴⁶³ One Slavic *historiola*-variant states that Jesus received the wound from a “reed” (Mansikka 1909:250; Christiansen 1914:189).

⁴⁶⁴ Krohn (1918.II:85) argues that a man rather than horse was the original victim (cf. Kuusi 1949:155-156). The *historiola* exhibits the victim both with and without the horse (see Christiansen 1914:197ff.).

correspondence to the Rape of Iðunn (Frog forthcoming a).⁴⁶⁵ The narrative culminates in the murder of the male hero and the kidnapping of the female figure (identified with the sun) who is associated with the tree/fruit of life. The apples of the tree wither (as the gods in the absence of Iðunn). Figures travel from the tree of life and retrieve the hero's entrails from the sea, much as Lemminkäinen's corpse is also recovered from water. He is made whole again, just as Lemminkäinen is resurrected. The hero recovers the maiden from the chthonic world and the slaying of bulls brings about the disappearance of seas and the re-emergence of land as in the rebirth of the world after the creation. This narrative does not exhibit the sort of details which connect *LV* and the Baldr-Cycle, but it raises the question of a more widespread Circum-Baltic mythological narrative tradition (§7.1.1-2).

The ox associated with the apocalyptic flood emerges in later Danish folklore (Olrik 1922:26), and Snorri mentions a cow who participated in the creation by licking away ice/rime rather than water (Faulkes 1982:11). The Singing Contest of *LV* applies the semiotics of shamanic helping-spirits (§14.4.2). One of the three exchanges breaks from this pattern: the host sings a *lampi*, "pond", and Lemminkäinen sings an ox which drinks it. A *lampi* is not a helping-spirit. The ox is often augmented by lines or full performances of *The Great Ox*, describing an ox of cosmological proportions.⁴⁶⁶ This exchange may be an application of *image power* of cosmological proportions. The *bylina* of Dobrynja and Marinka presents Dobrynja being turned into an ox by a witch who sets him out to pasture, and a female of his family travels to confront the witch in a manner similar to Lemminkäinen's mother's confrontation with the slayer in Päivölä (§24.7.1). The witch then takes the form of a bird, travelling to recover him and release him from the ox-form though without the motif of water or the apocalyptic flood. *LV* and the

⁴⁶⁵ The maiden of this tale is identified with a sun rather than a fruit. The hero seeks her, and rather than being one of three gods for whom an eagle divides the ox, he divides an ox for three animals, who each give him the power to take their shapes. The only shape which is significant is the shape of the hawk (Loki's bird-form in *Hauslög*), with which he flies to the mother of winds. Rather than the deception of the tree (§7.3.3), he is placed to guard the tree of magic fruit from the three giants who come to take it. He is given three apples and told how to find the maiden in return. He marries the maiden, which makes him her servant (cf. North 1997a:47). On finding one of her hairs caught on a thorn, he places it inside a nut (like Iðunn) and throws it into the sea. This leads to her theft by a chthonic figure who also murders him, at which point the Death/Resurrection motif-complex becomes relevant.

⁴⁶⁶ Cf. also the adaptation in *Vavilo i skomorokhi* which appears adapted from *LV* (Supplement 9).

Baldr-Cycle exist within a broader pattern of traditions which appears to have associated the flood with a cosmic ox, and potentially associated the Death/Resurrection narrative with the Rape of Iðunn. The Väinämöinen-World-Creation may belong to a stratum or tradition rather than fusing the Baldr-Cycle and the Rape of Iðunn independently.

25.3.3. Baldr, Lemminkäinen, and the (Potential) Circum-Baltic Cycle

The Sampo-Cycle is associated with fertility and agricultural rites (§7.3). The Lithuanian narrative exhibits similar associations with fertility and renewal. The application of the *image power* of the mythic ox and apocalyptic flood lead to the possibility that *LV* may have adapted this through a recognized indexical relationship with some form of the cycle, or through whatever cycle either Lemminkäinen or the vernacular drinking-feast of Päivölä was associated earlier. Motifs which associate *LV* with fertility, such as ploughing and *Beer's Origin* could have been adapted from this larger narrative complex: the Baldr-Cycle was introduced into a tradition ecology with an established pool of traditions, and *LV* appears to have emerged in response to established traditions related to Lemminkäinen. This makes it uncertain whether comparisons with Estonian and Setu songs reflect the widespread cultural activity of *LV*, or have evolved independently from an earlier stratum of mythological traditions.

Baldr-Cycle motifs and elements which appear to associate it with fertility present corresponding possibilities. It is unclear whether the Baldr-Cycle emerged by Óðinn being insinuated into an established narrative tradition, or if the Baldr-Cycle initially emerged in a radical revision and fusion of mythological narrative traditions more similar to the emergence of the Sampo-Cycle or *LV*. In either case, features which associate the cycle with fertility may reflect adaptations of *image power* and *narrative power* from an earlier period in which fertility was central to the Baldr-figure's death and the cycle's patterns of application.

LV and the Baldr-Cycle exhibit a pattern of correspondences which indicate that some form of the Baldr-Cycle was known and adapted as a model for the purpose of generating meanings surrounding Lemminkäinen as a cultural figure. More specifically,

Lemminkäinen was cast in relation to Väinämöinen's position in the World-Creation and as a cultural model of a practitioner of magic. Lemminkäinen's earlier associations are uncertain. He seems to have been the cultural model of the *noita*-institution. He may have been associated with the potential Circum-Baltic mythological cycle and fertility. The Sampo-Cycle provides an example of the (potential) Circum-Baltic cycle, and although it belongs to this more widespread pattern, it can be clearly associated with evolving through Germanic models (§7.3). If Lemminkäinen as a cultural figure were associated with a vernacular equivalent of a more wide-spread Circum-Baltic mythological cycle, this would present additional grounds for competition between these cultural figures associated with rival institutions of otherworld intermediary. However, the (potential) Circum-Baltic cycle may derive from an early stratum of Germanic contact which was carried independently into these various cultures. Like the Theft of the Thunder-Instrument (§7.1.2), the (potential) Circum-Baltic cycle may have such a long and complex history involved in the discourse between these cultures that even if its initial origin could be traced back to one culture, its persistence and evolution through the centuries cannot be reduced to any one culture but is dependent on that cross-cultural discourse.

The emphasis on the disruptive guest in *LV* may associate it with a period when Höðr had superseded Baldr as a tradition dominant in the cultural activity of the Baldr-Cycle. The Väinämöinen-World-Creation concentrates on the victim as a positive figure and his relationship to the creation of the world. This could derive from an earlier form of the Baldr-Cycle, or it may derive from a pre-Baldr Germanic cycle, with the possibility that Phol's/Fylle's ride into the forest belonged to this narrative cycle.⁴⁶⁷ It is unclear whether *Aided Fergusa* evolved from an early form of the Baldr-Cycle or a pre-Baldr narrative from which the Baldr-slaying drew *narrative power*. Although both the Baldr-Cycle and *LV* emerged in relation to regional forms of the (potential) Circum-Baltic cycle, *LV* drew directly on the Baldr-Cycle as a model in its formation.

⁴⁶⁷ Cf. Bovi's ride into the forest (Gunnell 2001:37), which might be compared to the feast at Sigurðr's slaying.

25.4. Mythological Narrative and the Strata of Evolution

The *APE* shifts emphasis away from reconstructing *ur*-forms of mythological narratives of absolute form, interpretation and application. It approaches them as social resources which are applied and manipulated on an individual basis within horizons of understanding and awareness. The present study reveals that distinct patterns in the continuity of indexical relationships persist within the process of renewal and adaptation. The *APE* presents a framework for the analysis of these processes and their significance within the evolution of a phenomenon's cultural activity. This makes it possible to address and discuss the stratified nature of mythological narratives in their changing tradition ecologies.

LV is not a "version" of the Baldr-Cycle, but the relationship offers insights into the history of both traditions. It provides an additional point of reference in the exploration of the history of emergence, evolution and broader cultural activity of both narratives. Approaching this relationship through the *APE* makes it possible to avoid reducing the question "Is the Death/Resurrection Attempt of Lemminkäinen related to that of Baldr?" to "Is Lemminkäinen Baldr?" Although *LV* clearly draws on some form of the Baldr-Cycle, this model was applied in a radically different tradition ecology where the powers activated through expression were not the same as those in Germanic culture. The relevance of the Baldr-Cycle was directly related to its ability to activate the Väinämöinen-World-Creation as an intertextual referent. The ability to activate this referent is associated with the emergence of the Väinämöinen-World-Creation from a narrative model which either was an earlier version of the Baldr-Cycle or a pre-Baldr-Cycle narrative.

The *APE* makes it possible to address the diversity of narrative elements, such as the fusion of vernacular and Germanic creation narratives in the Väinämöinen-World-Creation and the layers of shamanic semiotics in *LV*. It provides an approach to how the adaptation and application of the "new" narrative is applied among established traditions for the generation of meanings. It emphasizes that the new (primary) application is not necessarily the same as the model's, and also that the emphases of its applications are

subject to change over time. The *APE* also offers insights into how “new” traditions or conventional strategies of application emerge in relation to the waning cultural activity of a phenomenon, such as an epic, or a particular episode of an epic.

The relationship of *LV* and the Baldr-Cycle to the (potential) Circum-Baltic cycle has only been briefly addressed here. Future research into this cycle will significantly deepen our understanding of the history and development of mythological narratives and their exchange over linguistic-cultural boundaries in Northern Europe. The *APE* presents a practical framework which will improve our ability to analyze and understand folklore phenomena as they transit linguistic-cultural boundaries and evolve in radically different tradition ecologies.

Supplement 1: Couplets

This supplement is intended to facilitate an understanding of variation within a corpus of oral poetry in visual terms. Data is restricted to the core corpus. A few examples of repeat performances by a single singer have not been listed as independent entries when the variant consists of notes in relation to a separate documented variant. The data is drawn from three couplets associated with drinking the Serpent-Beer introduced in §4.2.3:

Ruuhka maahan luotanee, Ruoka suuhun pantanee!	Let the waste into the earth Let food into the mouth be put!
Joi oluen onneksensa, Meje mussan mieleksensä.	[He] drank the beer to his luck/happiness Black mead to his mind/disposition
Tuopin tuoja tuonelah, Kannun kantaja manalla. (I2.821.149-154)	The mug's bringer to Tuonela [Land of the Dead] The can's carrier by death [normally "to Manala"]

The first column presents the volume and item number of the source with line numbers for the lines quoted in the order in which they appear in each subsequent column. General regions have been labelled for the convenience of the reader. Intermittent lines have been omitted except in the case of I2.707.84, where the line is attributed to the magic ox in the Singing Contest rather than to Lemminkäinen. Quotations follow the critical transcriptions of *SKVR*. Clear prose variations such as II.212.26 have also been included. The table makes it possible to visually see patterns of continuity on a regional basis at the level of line and couplet, as well as patterns of regional change and dialectical variations. The example of the three couplets also makes it possible to observe patterns of their use in relation to one another as well as indications of individual couplets evolving into more complex multiforms. It may be observed that cases in which only a single line of one couplet appear are often highly truncated performances.

VIENA			
I2.702.147-148, 164-165, 149-150	Toppa muaha luodanehe, Ruoga suuhu juodanehe.	Juou oluon onneksehi Mehem muššam mieleksehe.	Oluon tuoja Tuonalaha, Kannun kandaja Manalla!
I2.704. 160-161, 158-159		Joi on oluon onneksehe, Mussam mein om mieleksehe.	Tuopin tuoja Tuonelahe, Kannun kandaja Manalla!
I2.705.128-129, 130-131	Ruhka moaha luodanehe, Ruoga suuhu süödänehe,		Tuopin tuoja turbehese, Kannun kandaja Manalla!
I2.706. 154-155, 156-157	Toppa moaha luodanehe, Ruoga suuhu süödänehe,		Tuopin tuoja Tuonelaha, Kannun kandaja Manalla.
I2.707.84, 61		<i>Tuo l[ieto] L[emminkäinen] Laulo härän kultasarven, Se joi lam[ain] onneksehen.</i> ⁴⁶⁸	O lun tuoppi Tuon[elahan].
I2.709.102		Joi oluzen onneksense,	
I2.710.142, 150	Ruhko moaha ruoka suuhu.		Tuopin tuoja Tuonelahe,
I2.711.126,127- 128	Olut šuuhu, ruhka moaha,		Olun tuoja Tuonen tiellä, Kannun kandaja Manalla.
I2.712.127-129, 130-131	Rikka moaha luodanehe, Kalvo moaha koattanehe, Ruoga suuhu süödänehe,		Kannun kandaja Manalla, Tuopin tuoja turbehehe.
I2.713. 162-163, 164-165	Ruh[ka moahan luotanehe], Ruoka suuh[un syötänehe].	Joi olu[en] on[neksehe], Meen must[an] mie[liksehe].	
I2.716.209-210, 213-214, 211-212	Toppa moaha luodanehe, Ruoga suuhu süödänehe,	Joi oluon onnekšehe, Meem mussam mieleksehe.	Tuopin tuoja Tuonelaha, Kannan kandaja Manalla!
I2-717.160-161, 163	Ruhka moaha luodanehe, Ruoga suuhu süödänehe!	Joiba oluon onneksehe,	
I2 718.125-126, 127-128, 130-131	Ruhka muaha luodanehe, Ruoga šuuhu süödänehe.	Join on oluon onnekseñi, Mussam mein om mielekseñi.	toukañ tuojañ Tuonelahe, Mavon kandajam muam Manalla.
I2 719.157-158, 159	Ruhka moaha luodanehe, Ruoga suuhu süödänehe,		Tuopin tuoja turbehehe,
I2.722.162-163		Joi olosen onneksehe, Mejen mussan mieleksehe.	
I2.722a.177-178		Juo olosen onnekseh[en], Mein mussan mielikseh[en].	
I2.724.82-83, 84- 85, 86-87	Rikka moaha luotanehe, Olut suuhu juotanehe!	Joi on oluon onneksehe, Mussan mejen mieleksehe.	Tuopin tuoja tuonelahe, Kannun kantaja manalla!
I2.725.191-192, 193-194	Ruhka moaha luotanehe, Ruoka suuhu syötänehe.	Joi oluen onneksehe, Mejen mussan mieleksehe.	
I2 726.180-181, 182-183	Ruhka maahan luotaneh, Juoma suuhun syötäneh!	Joi oluen onnekseh, Mussan meen mielekseh.	
I2.728.134-138	Ruhka maahan luotanehe, Ruoka suuhun syötänehe Vasemella peukallolla, Sormella nimittömällä Kannan alle pantaneekin.		
I2.728a.133-137	Ruoka suuhun syötänehen, Ruhka maahan tuotanehen Vasemmalla peukalolla, Sormella nimittömällä, Kannun alle pantaneekin.		
I2.738.155	Ruuvat suuhun syöksinehe.		

⁴⁶⁸ “That *lieto* Lemminkäinen/sang a gold-horned ox/it drank the pond [*lampi*] to its luck/happiness”.

I2.740.43-44	Ruhka moaha luotanehe, Ruoka suuhu syötänehe.		
I2.742.173-174, 175	Ruhka moaha luotanehe, Ruoka suuhu syötänehe.	Joi oluon onneksehe.	
I2.744.224-225, 226-227	Ruhka moaha luotanehe, Ruoka suuhu süötänehe!	Joi oloisen onneksehen, Mejem mussam mieleksehen,	
I2.744b.254-255, 261-262, 263-264	Ruhka maahan luotanehen, Ruoka suuhuu syötänehen! Ruhka maahan luotanehen, Ruoka suuhun syötänehen!	Joi oluen onneksehen, Me'en mustan mieleksehen.	
I2.745 = I1.165.117-118		Join olosen onnekseni, Mejen mussan mieliksni.	
I2.746.154-155, 157-158		Joi olosen onnekseh, Mien muššam mielekseh.	Tuopin [tuoja] tuonelah, Kannun kantaja manalla.
I2.748.124-125	Ruoka suuhu süötänehe, Ruhka moaha luotanehe!		
I2.750.40-41, 42- 46	Ruhka m[aahan] luotanehe, Olut s[uuhun] juotanehe.		Sano: Juopu oluen juoja, Kannun kantaja katoos, Tuopin tuoja turpeheh, Kannun kantaja Manalle.
I2.754.184-185, 186-187	Ruuhka moahan luotaneh, Ruoka suuhun syötäneh.	Joi oluen onnekseh, Mejen mussan mielekseh.	
I2.757.278-279		Joi oluen onneksensa, Mejen mustan mieleksehen.	
I2.757a.204-205		Joi oluon onneksehe, Mejen mussan mieleksehe.	
I2.758.186-187, 188-189	Rikka m[aahan] l[uotakohon], Ruoka s[uuhun] pant[akohon]!	Joi olosen onnekse[nsa], Meen mustan mie[leksensä].	
I2.766.165-167, 192-194, 219-221, 168-169, 195-196, 222-223, 151-153, 178-180, 205-207	Ruhka moaha luotanehe, Ruoka šuuhu pantanehe, Ruoka šuuhu, ruhka moaha! Ruhka moaha luotanehe, Ruoka šuuhu pantanehe, Ruhka moaha, ruoka šuuhu. Ruhka moaha luotanehe, Ruoka šuuhu pantanehe, Ruoka šuuhu, ruhka moaha!	Joi oloisen onnekšehe, Mejem muššam mieliksehe. Joi oloisen onnekšehe, Mejem muššam mieliksehe. Joi oloisen onnekšehe, Mejem muššam mieliksehe.	Terveh tuoja, terveh tuoppi; Tuopin tuojat Tuonelahe, Kannun kantajat Manalla! Terveh tuoja, terveh tuoppi; Tuopin tuojat Tuonelahe, Kannun kantajat Manalla! Terveh tuoja, terveh tuoppi; Tuopin tuojat Tuonelahe, Kannun kantajat Manalla!
I2.767.80, 83-84, 81-82	Ruoka šuuhu, rikka moaha,	Juomp' on ološen onnekšeñi, Mejem muššam mielekšeñi.	Tuopiñ tuoja Tuonelah, Kaljun kantaja Manalah!
I2.769.39-40, 62- 63, 64-65	Ruhka moaha luotanehe, Ruoka suuhu süötänehe! Ruhka moaha luotanehe, Ruoka suuhu süötänehe!	Joi olosen onnekšehe, Mejem mussam mileksehe.	
I2.771.215-216		Joi ološen onnekšehe, Mevun muššam mieleksehe.	
I2.772.187-188, 246-247, 255-256		Juon oluon onnekšeñi, Mejem muššam mielekšeñi, Joi olosen onnekšehe, Mej[en] muššam mieleksehe;	Tuopin tuoja Tuonelah, Kannun kantaja Manalla!
I2.773.206-207, 208-209		Joi oluon onnekseh, Mejen mussan mielikseh,	Oluon kantaja Manalla, Tuopin tuoja Tuonelahe.

I2.774.325, 326-327, 329 -330	Rikka maahan, ruoka suuhun!	Joi olosen onneksehen, Me-en mustan mieleksehen.	Tuopin tuoja Tuonelalle, Kaunun kantaja Manallen!
[I2.776.180-181, 182-183	Rikka muaha luotanehe, Ruoka suuhu syötänehe!	Joi oluon onneksehe, Meen mussan mieliksehe.	
I2.786.96-96, 99-100		Joi oloisen onnekseén, Mejen mussan mielekseén,	Tuopin tuoja turpeheseén, Kannun kantaja Manalle.
I2.787.65	Ruohka maahan, ruoka suuhun.		
I2.789.53, 54-55		Jo oloisen onneksehen, Mejen mušša[n] mieleksehe.	Tuopin tuoja turpehesi, Kannun kantaja manalah!
I2.791 &b.78, 79-80	Ruoka suuhu, ruhkamoaha.	Joi olosen onneksehe, Meen mussan mieleksehe.	
I2.791a.209, 210-211	Ruoka šuuhu, ruhka moaha.	Joi ološen onnekšehe, Mejen muššan mieleksehe.	
I2.792.85-86, 87-88	Ruhka moaha luotanehe, Ruoka suuhu syötänehe.	Joi oluen onneksehe, Mejen mussan mieleksehe.	
I2-793.32, 33-34	Ruhka maahan, r[uoka] s[uuhun]!	Joi oluen onnekseen, Meen makian mielikseen.	
I2.793a.268, 271-272, 269-270	Ruhka moah, ruoka suuhu,	Juon oluon onnekseñi, Meen makien mielekseñi.	Tuopin tuoja Tuonelaha, Kannun kantaja Manalla,
I2.794.31-32	Rikka maahan luotaneen, Ruoka suuhun syötäne[e]n.		
I2.798.1-2			Tuopin tuoja Tuonelahan, Oluen kantaja Manalle,
I2.799a.1-2			Tuopin tuojan Tuonelahan, Olven kantajan Manalle
I2.802(&a).197, 198-199, 187-188	Ruoka suuhu, rikka moaha!	Joi oluven onneksehe, Mejem mussam mieleksehe.	Tuoja oluon Tuonelaha, Kannun kantaja Manalla!
I2.803.77-78, 75-76, 81-84	Ruhka moaha luotanehe, Ruoka suuhu süötänehe.	Joi olosen onnekšehe, Mejem muššam mieleksehe:	Tuopin oñ tuoja Tuonelassa, Kannuñ kantaja Manalla. Nato naisista parahe, Navon tüttö neitosista.
I2.805.170, 171-172, 175-176, 173-174	Rikka moaha, ruoka suuhu.	Joi olosen onneksehe, Mejen mussan mieleksehe Joi olosen onneksehe, Mejen mussan mieleksehe	Tuopin tuoja Tuonelaha, Kannun kantaja Manalla!
I2-806.123-124, 164-165, 126-127, 168-169		Juon oluven onnekšeni, Mejem muššam mielekšeni. Joi oluven onnekšeñse, Mejem muššam mieleksehe.	Tuopiñ tuoja Tuonelañ, Kannun kantaja Manalla! Tuopiñ tuoja Tuonelañ, Kannun kantaja Manalla!
I2.808.188-189, 190, 192-193	Ruhk' on moaha luotanehe, Ruoka suuhu syötänehe.	Joi oluvon onneksensa	Tuopin tuoja Tuonelah' on, Oluon tuoja moa-emähä!
I2.809.182, 183-184	Ruoka šuuhu, ruhka moaha!	Joi oluon onnekšehe, Mejem muššam mieleksehe.	
I2.810.100-101		Joi olosen onneksehe, Mejem mussam mieleksese.	
I2.811.236-238, 242-243, 239-240	Olo šuuh oñ juotanehe, Ruhka moaha luotanehe! Olo suuhu, ruhka moaha,	Joi olosen onnekšehe, Mejem muššam mieleksehe.	Olon tuoja Tuonelaha, Kannun kantaja Manalla!
I2.812.80-81, 82-83	Olut suuhun juotanehe, Roska maaha luotanehe		Olun tuoja Tuonelaan, Kannun kantaja maan ala!
I2.816.185, 188-189	Ruoka suuhun, rikka maah[an]	Joi olosen onneks[een], Meen mussan mielekseen.	
I2.817.20			Tuopin tuoja Tuonelahan.

I2.819.136-137, 140-141, 138-139	Ruhka muaha luotanehe. Ruoka suuhu süötänehe,	Joi olosen onneksenša, Mejen mussan mieleksensä.	Tuopin tuoja Tuonelahe, Kannuu kantaja Manalla!
I2.820.13, 14-15	Rikka moahan, ruoka suuhu	Juon olosen onneksen, Meen mustan mieleksen.	
I2.821.149-150, 151-152, 153-154	Ruuhka maahan luotanee, Ruoka suuhun pantanee!	Joi oluen onneksensa, Mejen mussan mieleksensä.	Tuopin tuoja tuonelah, Kannun kantaja manalla.
I2.824 & 824a.96- 97		Joi oluen onneksehe, Mejen mustan mieliksehe.	
I2.827. 16, 11	Ruhka [maahan,ruoka suuhun]	Joi olosen [onneksensa].	
I2.830.113, 114- 115	Ruhka maah[an], r[uoka] s[uuhun],		Tuopin tuoja T[uone]lle, Olven kantaja Manalle!
I2.834.201, 199- 200, 202-203	Ruhka maah[an], ruoka su[uhun].	Juon oluon onnek[seni], Meen mussan miel[ekseni]. Joi oluen on[neksensa], Meen [mussan mieleksensä].	
I2.839 = I1 569.137-138		Elä juo olutt' onneksese, Mett' elä mustoa mieleksese.	
I2.840.221, 224- 225, 222-223	Ruhka moahan, ruoka suuhu.	Joi oluen onneksehe, Mejen mussan mieleksehe.	Tuopin tuoja Tuonelahe, Olun kantaja Manalah!
I2.845.190, 191- 194	Ruhka moaha, ruoka š[uuhu];	Juon oluon onnekseñi, Mejem muššan mielekšeni. Joi ol[uon] onnekseñše, Mejen [muššan] m[ielekse]nše.	
I2.847.253, 251- 252, 254-255	Ruhka moaha, ruoka suuhu!	Juon oluvon onnekseni, Mejen mussan mielekseni. Joi oluvon onnekseh, Mejen mussan mielekseh.	
I2.849.212-213, 195-197		Joi oluen onneksehe, Mesiruaan mieleksehe.	Tuopin tuoja Tuonelahe, Kannun kantajat Manalle, Kun et tiennyt Lemminkäistä.
I2.850.209-210, 204-205, 211-212		Juon olosen onnekseni, Mejen mustan mielekseni,	Tuopin tuoja Tuonelahan, Kannun kantaja Manalle, Tuopin tuoja Tuonelahan, Kannun kantaja Manalle.
I2.853.100-101, 108-109, 106-107	Olo suuhun juotanehe, Ruuhka maahan luotanehe.	Joi olosen onneksehe, Mejen mussan mieleksehe.	Olon tuoja Tuonelahe, Kannun kantaja Manalla.
I2.855.281, 279- 280, 282-283	Ruhka moaha, ruoka šuuhu,	Juon oluvon onnekseñi, Mejem muššam mielekšeni.	Tuopiñ tuoja Tuonelahe, Kannun kantaja Manalla!
I4.2169.62-63		Joi oluen onneksee, Mustan meven mieleksee.	
I4.2170.144-145, 146-147, 192-193		Juop' oluen onneksensa, Me'en mussan mieleksensä:	Oluen tuoja Tuonelahan, Kaljan kantaja Manalla! Jopahan mäni Manalla, Tuopin tuoja Tuonelahan!
KAINUU			
XIII.103.90-91		Joi oluen onnekseen Muin mustan mielekseen.	
XIII.106.14		Joi oluen onnekseen.	
XIII.107.81-82		Joi oluen onnekse[e]n, Meen mustan mielekse[e]n.	

AUNUS			
II.186.90-91	Toppa moahan luotane, Olut peähän juotane.		
II.193.60-61	Toppa moah on luotanehe, Olut peäh on juotanehe!		
II.193a.109-110	Toppa moaha luotane, Olut peähä juotane.		
II.193b.93-94	Toppa maahan luuaan, Ollut päähän luuaan.		
II.194.107-108, 105-106	Toppa maahan luoahan, Topp' on sitti lampahuksi.	Olo päähän juoahan, Mesi musta mieleksi,	
II.196.94-95	Olut peäh on juodaneh Ja toppa moah on luodaneh,		
II-196b.84-85	Toppa maah on luotanehen Ja olut päähä juotanehe.		
II.197.93-95, 92	Toppako maahan luotanehe, Olut päähän juotanehe, Toppa lampahan sitta.	Joi oluen onnekseen.	
II.201.192-193, 194-195	Toppa muahan luotanoo, olut piähän juotanoo.	Joi hiän oluen onnekseh, meen mustan mielekseh.	
II.206.91-92		Joi oluen onneksehen, Meen magian mielekseen.	
II.206a.89-90		joi oluen onnekseh, mein magien mielekseh.	
II.207.119-120	Toppa muahan luotanoo, olut piähän juotanoo.		
II.209.120		Oluen joi onneks täyellää.	
II.212.26		L[emmingäi]nen joi oluen onneksehe.	
II.217.198		Joi on oluun onneksehe.	
II.217a.179-180		Joi_on oluen onnekseen. Eigä totellu.	
II.219.32-33		Joi o[luen onnekseh], Mustan m[ejen] miel[ikseh].	
II.220a.152-153, 155-156		Joi oluen onneksehe, Mein mussan mieleksehe.	Tuonelah oluen tuoja, Kannun kandaja Manalah!
II.220b.209-210, 212-213		Joi oluen onneksehe, Meim mussan mieleksehe.	Tuonella oluen tuoja, K[anu]n kandaja M[ana]lla!
II.222.95-96		Join oluen onneksein, Meen mussan mieleksein.	
II.223.151-152		Joi oluen onnekseh, Meen mussan mielekseh.	
II.224.103-104		Joi oluen onnekseen. [Mussan mielen peähäse.]	
II.226.169-170, 163-165	Ruhka moaha lükätähe, Ruoga suuhu süödänehe.		Tuonella olusen tuoja, Manalla mavon panija!

BORDER KARELIA			
VIII.773.99-100			Tuopin tuojat Tuolelahan[!], Kannun kantajat manalla!
VIII.776.68-69	Olut suuhun juotanee, Toppa maahan lootanee!		
VIII.797.101-102	Toppa maahan luotaneen, Olu-tuoppi juotaneen.		
VIII.799.116-118	Topp' on moahan luotanehe Sormella nimettömällä, Olut otšah juotanehe.		
VIII.799a.119-121	Toppa maahan luotaneen Sormella nimettömällä, Olut otsaan juotanee.		
VIII.800.99-101	Olut otsahan pannaan, Toppa muahan luuvaan Sormella nimettömällä.		
VIII.810.98-99	Olut suuh on juotanee, Toppo moah luotanee!		
VIII.819.185, 187- 190		Joiba oluen onnettomasti.	Jos ei tuodane ostettuo olutta, Kannettane runsahemmal käjel, Kuin ei tuopin kandaja jouvu Tuonel, Ishändä muan alla.
VIII.823.104-105			tuopin tuojan kuoliisen, kannun kantajan manalle.
VIII.841.146-147, 151-152	Toppa maahan luotanehen, olo päähän luotanehen.	Joi olosen onneksensa, meen mustan mieleksehen.	

Supplement 2: Multiform

This supplement is intended to facilitate an understanding of the multiform. Data is restricted to the core corpus. A few examples of repeat performances by a single singer have not been listed as independent entries when the variant consists of notes in relation to a separate documented variant. The data is drawn from the four-line multiform describing the fire on the island introduced in §4.2.4 (see also Rahimova 2002). The pattern of alliteration interwoven through the multiform appears in bold:

Š avu š oarella p alavi	Smoke on the island burns
t uli ń iemen t utkamešša	fire on the peninsula's tip
p ieñi ois š ovan š avukši	small [it] is for the smoke of war
š uuri p aimošen p alokši	great for the fire of a shepherd
(I2.771.1-4)	

Lines integrated into the multiform have been retained for their value in comparison for observing patterns of variation. Morphological variation occasionally emerges as a symptom of dictated rather than sung performance and results in unmetrical lines (e.g. *palaa* as opposed to *palavi* – cf. I2.752.1 and I2.753.1).

The multiform is indexically associated with the beer-brewing and is regularly followed by *X olutta keitti*, “X the beer brewed”.⁴⁶⁹ It occurs only exceptionally when the beer-brewing is not included. It does not appear in variants which do not open with the Feast unless the beer-brewing has been incorporated following Lemminkäinen's arrival in the hall. In Border Karelia it is occasionally replaced by a sowing incantation (see §14.4.1.3 and §14.4.1.5). It is only encountered once in Northern Karelia, where its position is otherwise filled by a description of the unnaturally large hall.

⁴⁶⁹ The most variation is exhibited in Viena, were this line and a family of apparent derivatives may also be the second in a couplet. The variation encountered in Viena can be directly associated with the appearance of beer-brewing incantation material into the narrative sequence.

VIENA	
I2.702.1-4	Savu suaressa palauvi Tuli niemen tutkamessa, Pienehk' on sovañ savuksi. Suuri paimoizem paloksi.
I2.705.1-4	Mi se savu soarella palavi, Tuli niemen tutkamessa? Pien' olis sovan savuksi, Suuri paimosen paloksi.
I2.706.1-4	Savu soaressa palauvi, Tuli niemen tutkamessa, Pienehk' ois sovan savuksi, Suur' ois paimosen paloksi:
I2.707.1-4	Savu soaressa [palavi], Tuli [niemen tutkamessa]. Pienik' on soan [savuksi], Suuri [paimosen paloksi].
I2.709.1-4	Savu soaressa palapi, Tuli niemen tutkamessa; Suuri on sovan savuksi, Pieñi paimozen paloksi.
I2.710.1-4	Savu soaressa palauve, Tuli niemen tutkamolla; Pien' on paimenen paloksi, Suur on sovan savuksi:
I2.711.1-4	Šavu (se) pakšušti palavat, Noki nouzi nuarazešta, Pieñi on šovan šavuksi, Suurise on paimozen paloksi
I2.712.1-4	Savu soarella palauvi, Tuli niemen tutkamessa, Suurehk' on sodituleksi, Pienehk' on paimoin savuikse.
I2.713.1-5	Savu s[aarella palavi], Tuli [niemen tutkamessa], Savu kaiskun kainaloss[a]; Pienehko s[oan] savuk[si], Suu[ri] pai[mosen] pal[oksi].
I2.714.1-4	Savu saarel[la palavi], Tuli nie[men tutkamessa]; Pienehk[ö] so[an savuksi], Suu[ri] paimosen paloksi.
I2.716.1-4	Savu suarella palauve, Tuli niemen tutkamissa, Pieñi ois sovan savuksi, Suuri paimoizem paloksi.
I2.717.10-13	Savu soarella palauve, Tuli niemen tutkamilla, Pieñi ois sovan savuikse, Suuri paimoizen palokše.
I2.719.1-4	Savu soarella palauve, Tuli niemen tutkamissa; Pien' olis sovañ savuksi, Suur' ois paimenem palokši.
I2.720.1-2	Savu saar[ella] palavi, T[uli niemen tutkamessa].
I2.722.1-4	Savu soarella palave, Tuli niemen tutkamessa, Suur' ois paimenen paloksi, Pien' ehk' ois sovan savuksi
I2.722a.3-7	Savu soarella palave, Tuli niemen tutkaimeh[en]. Sanopa lieto [Lemminkäini]: "Pienehkö sovan savuksi, Suuri paimene[n] palokse."
I2.724.1-4	Savu soarella palauve, Tuli niemen tutkamessa, Suuri ois sovan tuleksi, Pieni paimosen paloksi.
I2.725.1-4	Savu soarella palave, Tuli niemen tutkamessa; Pien' on sovan savuksi, Suuri paimenen paloksi.
I2.726.1-5	Savu soarella palaa, Tuli niemen tutkamessa, Kaukoniemen kainalossa; Pieni ois sovan savuksi, Suur' ois paimenien paloiksi.
I2.728.1-4	Savu saarella palaavi, Tuli niemen tutkamessa; Suur' olis paimosen paloxi, Pien' olis soan savuxi.
I2.728a.1-4	Savu saarella palaavi, Tuli niemen tutkamessa, Suur' olis paimosen paloksi, Pien' olis soan savuksi.
I1.737.5-8	Savu palo saaren päässä, Tuli n[iemen] t[utkaimessa]; Pien' oisi soan s[avuxi], Suuri naimolan tulex[i].
I2.738.1-6	Savu saarella p[alavi], Tuli n[iemen] tutkamella; Pien' oisi s[ovan] s[avukse], Suuri paimenen palokse. Saisinko sanan savusta, Mi on saarella savuna.
I2.739.1-4	Tuli merellä palavi, Tuli niemen tutkaimella, Pieni on soan savuksi, Suuri paimenen tuliksi.
I2.741.1-4	Savu soarella palauve, Tuli niemen tutkamissa; Suuri ois sovan savuksi, Pieni paimenen paloksi(!)
I2.742.1-4	Savu suarella palavi, Tuli niemen tutkalmossa. Suur' om paimenen paloksi, Pieni ois sovan savuksi.
I2-743.1-7	Ei tietä mikä palavi, Suur[i] paim[enen] tulex, Pienehk' soan sa[vux]. Hankki Päivölä pit[oja], Mezät puina poltettiin Olosia pantaess[a], Metuja rakettaess[a].
I2.744.1-6	Savu soarella palavi, Tuli niemen tutkamessa. Mi tuola savu palavi, Mi tuolta tuli näküvi? Pienehk' ois sovañ savukse, Suuri paimeneñ tuleksi.
I2.744b.1-4	Savu saarella palavi, Tuli niemen tutkamissa, Pieni oisi so'an savuksi, Suuri paimenen tuleksi.
I2.746.3-8	Šavu šoarella palauvi, Tuli niemen tutkalmolla: Häitä Härköilä pitävi, Suuri joukko juominkie; Pienehk' oñ sovañ savuksi, Suurehk' on paimenen paloksi.
I2.748.1-10	Savu soarella palauve, Tuli niemeñ tutkamissa. Mi tuo savujah one, Ja kuka tulijah one? Siel' om Päivöil'äm pitoiñi, Huvän joukoñ juominkiñi. Sielä laihatki lihouve, Lihavatki luiksi soapi, Siel' om Päivöiläm pitoiñi, Huvän joukon juominkiñi.
I2.751.1-2	Savu soarella pal[avi], Tuli n[iemen] t[utkamessa].
I2.752.1-4	Šavu šoarella palauve, Tuli niemen tutkamešša; Pieñi olis šovañ šavukše, Šuuri paimoisem palokše.
I2.753.1-4	Savu saarella palaa, Tuli niemen tutkamessa; Pien' olis sovan savuksi, Suuri paimosen paloksi.
I2.754.1-4	Savu saarella palaa, Tuli niemen tutkamissa; Pieñi on sovan savuksi, Suur' on paimosen palokse.
I2.757.101-103	Pieni ois sovan savuksi, Suuri paimenen tuleksi, Siinä koti Saarelaisen.
I2.765.1-4	Savu soarella palauve, Tuli niemeñ tutkalmossa, Suur' om paimenteñ tulekse, Pieni oñ sovañ savukse;
I2-766b.1-	Savu soarella palauve. - - -
I2.771.1-4	Šavu šoarella palavi, Tuli niemen tutkamešša, Pieñi ois šovan šavukši, Šuuri paimošēn palokše;
I2.773.1-4	Savu soarella palauve, Tuli niemen tutkamessa; Suuri ois paimosen palokse, Pieni ois sovan savukse.
I2.774.5-8	Salo puita poltettiin, Salo puita, saari maita, Pienetkō soan tuleksi, Suuret paimenen paloksi.
I2.781.4-6	Mipä tuo tuli palavi? Pien' olis soan savukse, Suuri paimosen tulekse.
I2.786.1-4	Savu saarella palaa, Tuli niemen tutkamessa, Pienet ovat sodan tuleksi, Iso vaimon valkiaksi.

I2.802(&a).119-121	Tokat'i tulem palavan: Suur' om paimenen tuleksi, Pienehkä sovan savuksi!
I2.808.62-65	Savu soarella palasi, Tuli nienten tutkamessa, Pieni ois sovan savuikse, Suur' ois vaimon valkiekse.
I2.810.50-54	Tokat'i tulem palavan: Suur' ois paimenen tulekse, Pienehkä sovan savukse: Nüt on Päivöl'ä pivossa, Sala-joukko juominkissa!
I2.811.86-91	Šavu šoarella palavi, Tuli niemen tutkamešša, Šuur' ois paimenen tulekše Pienehk' ois šovan šavukše; Nüt om Päivöl'ä pivossa, Šala-joukko juominkissa.
I2.813.3-7	Kaikki kansa katseloo: Tuoltapa tuli näkyy, Tuoltapa savu näkyypi, Suur' ois paimosen paloksi, Pie[n' ois soan tuleksi].
I2.819.3-6	Savu suarella palavi, Tuli niemen tutkamešša, Suurehk' on sovan šavukši, Pieñi paimosen paloksi.
I2.834.1-5	Savu s[aarella] p[alavi], Tuli n[iemen] tutkelmossa, Suuri s[oon] s[avuksi], P[ieni] p[aimosen] paloksi: Ne on Päivölän savuja.
I2.838.4	Pieni paimosen palox
I2.843.1	Šavu šoarella palauve.
I2.846.1-4	Savu saarella palavi, Tuli niemen tutkaimella; Pieni on sovan savuksi. Suuri paimosen tuleksi.
I2.855.1-4	Šavu šoarella palave, Tuli niemen tutkamišša, Šuuri olis šovañ savukše, Pieñi paimenen tulekše.
I2.856.1-4	Savu soaressa palauve, Tuli niemen tutkamissa, Suur' on paimosen paloksi, Pien' sovan savuksi
I2.857.1	Savu suar[ella] p[alavi].
I4.2166.1-4	Savu soarella palavi, Tuli niemen tutkamessa, Pieni ois' soan savuksi, Suuri paimenen paloksi.
I4.2169.88-91	Savu soarella palaa, Tuli niemen tutkamessa; Suur' ois' paimosen paloksi, Pieni soan savuksi.
I4.2170.8-10	Katsoo kuin savu näkyvi: Suur' ois' paimenen tuleksi, Pieni ois' soan savuksi.
KAINUU	
XIII.102.6-9	S[alo] p[uita] p[oltettihin], S[alo] p[uita], s[aaari] m[aita]. P[ien'] o[is] s[oon] t[tuleksi], S[uuri] p[aimosen] p[aloksi];
XIII.108.1-4	Savu saarella palaa, Tuli niemen tutkaimessa, Pieni ois sovan savuksi, Suuri paimenen tuleksi.
AUNUS	
II.192.1-5	Savu saar[ella] p[alaa], T[uli niemen tutkamessa]. Kenen tuo tuli palavi? Oi ot Ahti Saar[elainen], Toinen Lauri Lappalainen,
II.195.1-3	Kenen tuo tuli palau? Pieni on tuo sovan tuleksi, Suuri on paimosen tuleksi.
II.196.1-4	Savu soarella palaubi, Tuli-niemen tutkamissa. Pieni s'on sovañ savuksi, Suuri paimeneñ tuleksi.
II-196b.1-4	Savu saarella palaa, Tuli niemen tutkamessa, Pieni ois soan savuksi, Suuri paimosen tuloksi.
II.202.1-4	Savu soaressa palavi, Tuli niemen tutkamessa, Suuri on paimosen tuleks', Pieni soan savuks'.
II.205.1	Tuli saarella palaa
II.206.4-7	Savu soaressa palaapi, Tuli niemen tutkamilla, Pieni olis sovan tuleksi, Suuri paimenen savuksi.
II.206a.1-4	Savu suaressa palaa, tuli niemen tutkamilla, pieni ois sovan tuleksi, suuri paimenen savuksi.
II.207.1-5	Savu suarella palavi, tuli niemen tutkamella. Kenen tuo savu palavi? Suuri ois sovan savuksi, pieni vaino valkehiksi.
II.208.1-2	Šavu šoaressa palaubi, Tuli niemen tutkamella,
II.208a.1	Tuli soarella palaa. - - -
II.209.5-8	Savu soaressa palaa, Tuli niemen tutkamella: Suur ois paimente savuksi, Pien ois sovan tuleksi.
II.212.1-4	Savu soarella palaupi, Tuli niemen tutkamessa: Pien olis sovan tuleksi, Suuri paimon valgiaksi.
II.213.1-5	Mikäs tuo tuli palaapi, Tuli niemen tutkamessa, Savu saaren salmen suulla? Pieni ois tuo soan tuleksi, Iso paimenen paloksi.
II.217a.1-6	Mitä tuo tuli palaa, Tuli niemen tutkamessa? Savu soarella palaa; Pien_ois sovan tuleksi, Suur on paimosen tuleksi. Ja se on tuli Soarelaisen.
II.217b(&c).1-6	Mi tuo tuli palaapi, Tuli niemen tutkamessa? Savu soarella palav, Pien' ois se sovan tuleks, Suur' on paimosen tuleks. Se on tuli soarelaisen.
II.218.5-6	Savu saaressa palaapi, Tuli niemen tutkamilla,
II.220.1-5	Mi tuolla tuli pal[avi], Tuli ni[emen] tutk[amessa], Sa[vu] saaren salmen suulla? Pieni ois soan tule[ksi], Suuri paimosen paloksi.
II.220a.1-5	Mi tuo tuli palaupi, Tuli niemen tutkamella, Savu soaren salmen suulla? Pieni ois sovan tuleksi, Suuri paimosen paloksi.
II.220b.50-54	Mi tuo tuli palauppi, Tuli niemen tutkamella, Savu soaren salmen suulla: Pieni on šovan savuksi, Šuuri paimosen paloks[i].

II.222.77-83	Savu soarella palaue, Tuli niemen tutkamessa, Sanosin soan savuksi, Pieni ois soan savuksi; Sanosin paimenen savuksi, Suuri ois paimenen savuksi. Kat'i kangasta kutoopi.
II.223.1-5	Mi tuo tuli palaa Saksan salmilla syvillä, Pimeillä pyörteillä? Suur oli šovan tuleksi, Pieni paimenen paloksi.
II.224.1-4	Savu šoarella palavi, Tuli niemen tutkamessa; Suur ois paimosen paloksi, Pien ois šovan tuleksi.
II.225.1-4	Savu soarella palavi, Tuli niemen tutkamessa, Pien ois sovan tuleksi, Suuri paimosen tuleksi.
II.226.1-3	Mi tuossa tuli palauvi, Tuli niemen tutkamessa, Savu soaren salmeksilla?
BORDER KARELIA	
VIII.762.1-4	Savu soarella palaabə, niemen kynnellä kydööbə suuf on paimosen tulekše, pieñ on soda-valgiokše.
VIII.763.1-4	Savu soarella palaabə, niemen kynnellä kydööbə; suuf on paimosen tulekše, pieñ on soda-valgiokše.
VIII.764.1-2	Savu soarella palaabə, niemen kynnellä kydööbə.
VIII.765.1-5	Savu soarella palaa, Niemen kylgiset kytöö. Kembä siellä roadeloo? Paimosiin tuleksi on suuri, Sotien tuleksi on pieni.
VIII.769.1-3	Savu saarilla pal[avi], T[uli] n[iemen] t[utkaimella], Niemen kyl'ellä kytevi.
VIII.770.1-6	Savu saarel[la] p[alavi], T[uli] niemen tutkaimella]. Sanosin paimojen tulex: Suur [on paimojen tulex]. Sanosin sotisavux: Pieni oisi s[otisavux].
VIII.774.1-4	Savu saarella palaapi, niemen kylki kytäjääpi, suur' on paimojen tuleksi, pieni soti valkeaksi
VIII.775.1-3	Savu soarella palavi, Niemen kylgiset kytöybi, Suur ois paimosen tuleksi.
VIII.776.1-5	Savu soarella palaavi, Tuli niemen tutkamilla, Sanosin sotisavuksi, Pien on sotisavuksi, Suur on paimosen tuleksi.
VIII.777.58-61	Savu saarella palaa, Niemen kylkiset kytöö, Suuri olis paimosen tuleksi, Pieni on sovan valkijaksi.
VIII.778.1-6	Savu suarella palaabi, Niemen kylgiset kydööbi. Kenen tuo tulo palaabi, Kenen valgie vallottaabi? Suur' ois paimoloin tulekse, Pien' on sovan valgiakse:
VIII.779.1-6	Savu saarella palaa, Tulipa niemen tutkamella. Mi on tuo tulonen palo, Mikä valkonen valotti? Suuri on paimosen tulikse, Pieni on sovan valkijaksi.
VIII.780.1-6	Migä tuoll tuli palaabe, Migäbö valge vallottaabe? Savu soarella palaabe, Niemen kylgiset kydööbe: Pien' on sovan valgijakse, Suur' on paimosien tulekse.
VIII.780a.1-6	Migä tuol tuli palaa, Migä se valgee vallottelee? Savu saarella palaa, Niemen kylgiset jyröv, Suur on paimosien tuleks, Pieni on soan valgiaksi.
VIII.781.1	Savu soarella palaabi, - - -
VIII.781a.1-6	Savu soarell on palabi, Niemen kyllet on kytöbi. Migä tuo tuli palaabi, Migä valge vallotta□bi? Suur' on paimenen tulekse, Pieni on sovan valgiakse.
VIII.781b.1-6	Savu saarella palaa, niemen kyllet kytöö. Mikä tuo tuli palaa, mikä valkee vallottoa? Suur on paimenen tuleksi, pien on soan valkeoiksi.
VIII.781c.1-6	Savu suarella palaa, niemen kyllet kytöö; mikä tuo tuli palaa, mikä valkee vallottoa? Suur on paimenen tuleksi, pien on soan valkeoiksi.
VIII.782.1-8	Mikäpä se tuli tuoll palaabe, mikä tuli tuoll palaabe, mikäpä se valkii vallottaabe, mikä valkii vallottaabe? Suuri on paimosen tulikse, suuri paimosen tulikse, pieni on soan valkioikse, pieni soan valkioikse.
VIII.783.1-4	Mikä tuoll savu suarell palaabe, niemen kyllellä kytöö, suuri on paimosen tuleksi, pieni soan valkeoiksi.
VIII.784.1-6	Savubon soarella palaabi, Niemen kyllet on kytööbi. Mi tuolla tuli palaabi, Migä valge vallottaabi? Suuri on paimenen tuleksi, Pieni on soan valgiaksi.
VIII.785.1-5	Savu suarella palaabi, Niemen kylgiset kydööbi, Suur' on paimosen tulekse, Pien' on sovan valgijakse. Kenen tuo tulo palaabi?
VIII.787.1-4	Savu saarella pa[lavi], Tuli [niemen tutkamessa], Suuri paimosen tuliksi, Pieni soan valkiaksi.
VIII.788.1-8	Savu soarella palaabi, Niemen kyllekset kytööbi. - Mib' on tuo tuli palaabi, Mib' on valgia vallottaabi? Suur ois paimosen tuleksi, Pieni ois sovan valgiaksi. Mib' on tuo tuli palaabi, Mib' on valgia vallottaabi?
VIII.789.1-6	Migäs on tuo tulut palaabi, Migäs valgia vallottaabi? Savu on soarella palaabi, Niemen kyl'telle kytööbi. Suur ois paimosen tuleksi, Pieni soan valgeiksi.
VIII.790.1-3	Mi tuolla tuli palavi, niemen kylkiset kytevi? Savut saarella palavat
VIII.792.1-6	Savu saarella palavi, Tuli [niemen tutkaimessa]. Mi tuolla tuli palavi, Mi valkea vallottavi? Suuri paimosen tuleksi, Pieni soan valkiaksi.
VIII.793.1-6	Savub' on soarella palaabi, Niemen kyl'tekset kytööbi. Migä tuo tulo[!] palaabi, Migäbö valgee vallottanoo? Suur' ois paimosen tuleksi, Pien' ois soan valgeakse.
VII.794.1-6	Kenen tuo tuli palaa, Kenen valkie vallottaa? Panisin paimosen tuliksi, Suuri on paimosen tuliksi, (Panisin) sovan valkiaksi, Pieni (on sovan) valkiaksi.
VIII.798.1-4	Tuli suarella paloi, Migä valkia vallotti? Suur ois paimenen tuleksi, pien ois sovan valgiaksi.
VIII.802.1-2	Savu s[aaarella palavi], Tuli [niemen tutkaimessa].

VIII.803.1-6	Savupa soarelle palaabi, Niemembä kylgyvöt kydööbi. Toivoimba paimozen tuleksi, Suur oli paimozen tuleksi. Toivoib on sodisavuksi, Pien' oli sodisavuksi.
VIII.804.1-4	Savubo soarella palaabi, niemen kylgiset kydööbi, suur on paimojen tulekse, pieni on sod'ivalgijoikse.
VIII.805.1-2, 8-9	Savu suarella palaabi, Niemen kylgiset kydööbi. Pien' ois sotisavukse, Suur' ois paimosien tulekse.
VIII.806.1-6	Savu soarella palaabi, Tuli niemen tutkimilla;[!] Sanosin sotisavuksi, Pieni on sotisavuksi; Sanosin paimosen tuleksi, Suur on paimosen tuleksi.
VIII.806b.1-7	Savu saarella palaapi, Tuli niemen tutkamella, Niemen kylkyvät kytööpi; Sanosin soti savuksi, Pieni olis soti savuksi, Sanosin paimosien tuliksi, Suuri olis paimosien tuliksi.
VIII.807.1-3	Savu saar[ella] p[alavi]. - - - Mi tuolla tuli p[alavi], Valkiainen valottavi? - - -
VIII.808.1-7	Savu soarell' on palaabi, Tuli niemen tutkamilla, Niemen kylgyöt kytööbi; Sanosin sotisavuksi, Pien' ois se sotisavuksi, Sanosin paimosen tuleksi, Suur ois paimosen tuleksi.
VIII.810a (&b).1-8	Savu soarella palaabi, Niemen on kyllet kytööbi. Migä tuo savu palaabi? Sanosin sot'isavukse, Pieni on se sot'isavukse, Suur on paimoin valgeakse. Mitäs kutas roattanehe? Mänesimbön katt□šomaha
VIII.811.3-5	Saarella tuli palavi: Suur ois paimosen tuleksi, Pien ois viinan keittäjäksi,
VIII.814.1-5	Savu suarella paloa, tuli niemen tutkamella, pieni on soti savuksi; sanosin paimosen tuleksi, suur on paimosen tuleksi.
VIII.815.3-6	Sanosin sodisavuksi, Pieni on sodisavuksi, Sanosin paimosen tuleksi, Suur on paimosen [tuleksi].
VIII.816.1-5	Savu suarella palaabi, Niemen kyllellä kydööbi. Toivoin paimosen savukse, Suur' on paimosen tulekse, Tuo on savu sotisavu.
VIII.819.11, 13-15	Nähtih suares savu palamas. Suur' olis sodasavukse, Pieni paimosen tulekse. Lähettih tuoda katshomah
VIII.821.1-2	Savu soarella palaa, Tuli niemen tutkamilla.
VIII.821a.1-4	Savu soarella palaa, Tuli niemen tutkaimella, Suur on paimosen tuleksi, Pieni on sotituleksi.
VIII.822.1-4	Savu soarella palaa, Niemen kylkisellä kytee: Panisin paimosien tuleksi, Pieni on soan valgiaksi.
NORTHERN KARELIA	
VIII.833.2-3	Pieni ois sota savuksi, Suurip on paimen[en] paloksi.

Supplement 3: Dangers on Lemminkäinen's Journey

Lemminkäinen's Journey appears to have been central to the song's cultural activity in most regions where it survived. This is considered related to the regional conventions which emerge in the corpus. Individual dangers can be considered atomic compositional units. Individual dangers have no impact on preceding or subsequent narrative action: the structure and organization of the narrative only requires that there are dangers encountered and overcome, not that specific dangers are overcome. Theoretically, this makes individual dangers freely interchangeable. The emergence of patterns of application on a regional basis therefore offers a point of reference into regional conventions.

The dangers are normally presented within the Departure Dialogue, where Lemminkäinen's means of overcoming the danger may be incorporated in his response, or he may make a brief response that this is no threat. This conventional use in the Departure Dialogue may lead to the complete elimination of the Journey as a major theme. The Departure Dialogue may also "become" the Journey without transition.

1. Regions

Viena: This region is characterized by the diversity of dangers in circulation, and the fusion and accumulation of dangers in a single variant. The dangers conventionally remained three. The image of Bound Wolves and Bears often fused with descriptions of the Serpent Fence, treating these as a single obstacle. The Fiery Grave was also fused with other dangers by becoming their location. This is considered an effect of the confluence of multiple regional traditions through migration. All of the main dangers encountered in other regions are encountered in Viena, but the Fiery Grave which is central in Aunus and Border Karelia is rare. Several secondary dangers emerge more exclusively associated with this region, including bound dogs or Mutši, the "Black Dog",

as an alternative to Bound Wolves and Bears, the Stakes on a Hill, the treatment of the Serpent Beer as a danger, and also ploughing the Serpent Field.

Kainuu: The I2 Kainuu variants are clearly associated with the Viena traditions. Radical variations on dangers in Kainuu appear to be related to the waning cultural activity of *LV*.

Savo: The one variant collected in Northern Savo is difficult to assess in terms of regional conventions. The Jesus-redaction of Southern Savo does not include the dangers on the journey, nor does the corresponding account of Judas.

Aunus: The Fiery Eagle, Fiery Grave and Serpent Fence were clearly established as a regional convention. II.180 and II.182 are included in the core corpus owing to their classification in *SKVR*, where they have been included because of the dangers in variants of *Courting Hiisi's Maiden*, but they are not performances of *LV* as a narrative.

Border Karelia: The Fiery Grave, the Serpent on the Road, and the Serpent-Fence appear conventionally established in this region. Variations present associations with redactions. The Border-Duel-Death-redaction (VII1.773, VII1.799, VII1.799a, VII1.800; cf. VII1.791) presents the Fiery Eagle rather than the Serpent on the Road, and the Fiery Grave (*hauta*) takes the *kuoppa*-form (“K” in chart – see below). VII1.761, VII1.766 and VII1.788 all appear to be a redaction of a particular incantation application. VII1.787 also opens as narrative and shifts into wedding incantations. *LV* was strongly associated with incantations in this region. VII1.786 and VII1.818 are variants of Lemminkäinen’s Journey performed for the protection of the wedding party (cf. VII5.4849). An adaptation of Lemminkäinen’s journey is also assumed by the “I” in an incantation for banishing pains, where the obstacles are a *kivi*, “stone”, *hako*, “log”⁴⁷⁰ and “iron fence” (VII4.2028; see also VII4.2862). The obstacle of the log also appears in *Kotona käynyt miniä*. These intertextual applications appear to be related to the emergence of corresponding non-fantastic dangers in *LV*.

⁴⁷⁰ On *kivi-hako* as an associated pairing related to magic and power in kalevalaic poetry see Frog 2008a.

Northern Karelia: This region is characterized by “sung” dangers, emphasizing magical performance by an adversary. Only the variations on the Fiery Grave, the Serpent on the Road, and two applications of Bound Wolves and Bears are not associated with Lemminkäinen being sung by an unspecified adversary. The danger of being sung onto his own Sword is encountered once in Viena (I2.774), but otherwise specific to this region. The dangers of being sung into Tuoni’s (Death’s) River and the Fire are also specific to this region. The appearance of the *lampi* as both a danger (VIII.835) and magical response to the Fire-danger is attributable to an *accumulation of information* from the Singing Contest, which dropped out of cultural activity in this region (§4.3.5). This *accumulation of information* appears directly related to the emphasis placed on the dangers being “sung” by an adversary. Variation in the dangers in this region appears to be symptomatic of shifts in the emphasis of the cultural activity of *LV*.

The Recovery Attempt integrates non-fantastic dangers of a *hako*, “log”, and *kivi*, “stone”, into the mother’s journey to Päivölä for information about her son.⁴⁷¹ Corresponding dangers are encountered in incantations (e.g. VII4.2862) although the *hako*, “log”, also appears alone (e.g. VII5.3270, VII5.4899).

Ingria: Ingrian-Finnish *LV* states that the sister of the protagonist *tietti tervatun veräjän / asetti matoisen aijan*, “had a tarred gate made / set up a serpent-fence” (III1.670.39-40; III2.2247.21-22). III1.670 breaks off when this obstacle-pair is overcome. In III2.2247-29-30 the sister then *laski koirat kahle'ista / hurtat umpi-renkahista*, “loosed the dogs from fetters / hounds from their muzzles”. “Fantastic” qualities are de-emphasized and the hero is not attributed with magical power. There is no clear third obstacle.

Aarne’s (1920) A-redaction of Izhorian *Päivän päästö*, “Freeing the Sun and Moon”, appears to have adapted the *narrative power* of the Recovery Attempt or completely assimilated this episode in an *accumulation of information*. The obstacles are almost always *kivi*, *hako* and often an *oja*, “ditch”.⁴⁷²

⁴⁷¹ VIII.832, VIII.834, VIII.835, VIII.836, VIII.836a.

⁴⁷² Reviewed in Aarne 1920:42-46: see p.42 for variation in the images.

2. Itemized Dangers

Dangers on the Journey are divided into primary and secondary classes. Primary dangers are those considered to have a long continuity as dangers in *LV*. Secondary dangers are considered derivative of primary dangers or to otherwise have emerged and evolved in *LV*.

2.1 Primary Dangers

Of the five primary dangers, the Fiery Eagle and Fiery Grave are considered to have the longest discernable history with the narrative. This is largely due to their distribution. The Fiery Eagle appears to be rooted in the manipulations of the *image power* and *narrative power* of shamanic journeys which appear to be at the foundation of *LV* (§14.4.2). The Fiery Grave appears to be founded in *image power* which has become completely obscure, although it has maintained relevance through the cultural activity of *LV*. The Serpent-Fence may belong to the same stratum and have corresponding foundations in semiotics associated with shamanism. The Serpent on the Road is considered a primary danger, but its applications are more scattered, and this danger is particularly associated with incantations. The Bound Wolves and Bears is somewhat less certain, and there is the possibility that this danger has emerged through the process of loading the dogs guarding Päivölä with *image power* associated with thresholds to the otherworld evolving into a distinct danger.

Fiery Eagle: The Fiery Eagle in the fiery birch on a fiery stone in a fiery course of rapids is an application of the mythic image of the world-tree (Frog 2008a). The image is highly crystallized and may reflect an archaic form of the world-tree image (Siikala 2002a:310-314; 2002c:23-24). The danger is not the world-tree itself: it is an application of *image power* which imports the cosmological proportions of the referent into the power and threat of the danger. It is not associated with incantations in Viena, where its applications appear restricted to *LV* (cf. however I2.569[I2.839]), although it is documented both as an

incantation and in an incantation in Kainuu,⁴⁷³ and also once in Northern Ostrobothnia.⁴⁷⁴ It occurs in a potentially magical wedding song in Aunus,⁴⁷⁵ and also (rarely!) in Savo (VI1.3034), Northern (VII4.2130) and Border Karelia (VII4.2849, VII4.3159, VII5.4888). An unusual adaptation is also found as the opening image of an incantation in Northern Ingria on the isthmus (V2.2609). The application of this image seems as strikingly widespread as it diverse in application and rare in any given region. Lemminkäinen's ability to pass this danger is attributed to transformation into a bird in variants across regions. The attribution of the same means to pass the Fire in Northern Karelia implies both a relationship between these dangers and that the bird-transformation multiform maintained a long history with *LV's Journey*.⁴⁷⁶ This appears to be a motif associated with applications of the semiotics of shamanic journeys in *LV* (§14.4.2). This danger may belong to the earliest stratum of *LV*.

This was the most commonly encountered danger in Viena. It was a conventional danger in Aunus and may have been in Kainuu. It was associated with certain redactions and applications in Border Karelia, where the three conventional dangers differed from those of Aunus by presenting the Serpent on the Road (see below) rather than the Fiery Eagle. It may have been replaced by Fire (see below) in Northern Karelia through a process of renewal.

Fiery Grave: The underlying *image power* of this danger is completely obscure. The term *hauta* is conventionally interpreted as “grave”, but it is not clear that this meaning of the word stands at the basis of the image, although it no doubt interacted with its significance in the internalization process of individuals through the history of its cultural

⁴⁷³ XIII.3573: recorded notes by Lönnrot in the vicinity of Kajaani; XIII.4167: recorded in Suomussalmi (an area where *LV* was not recorded) by Krohn in 1882; the text is familiar from the description of the Fiery Eagle in *LV* and only a “title”, *Fire's Origin*, indicates that this is an incantation.

⁴⁷⁴ XII.6930: recorded in Puhdasjärvi by Marttinen in 1917 with accompanying rite instructions for getting rid of wolves.

⁴⁷⁵ II.1054a, consistent with the appearance of wedding verses associated with a giant eagle in variants of *LV* performed as incantations.

⁴⁷⁶ As a means of passing the Fiery Eagle: I2.702, I2.707, I2.708, I2.711, I2.795, I2.801, I2.808, I2.809, I2.811, I2.812, I2.851, I2.855, I2.856, II.196, II-196b; combined with singing the *lampi* to pass the Fire-danger VIII.836, VIII.836a, VIII.841; in VIII.830 this is introduced as a means of passing the danger of being sung into Tuoni's river, presumably due to the association with water and diving in bird-form while the Fire-danger is presented without the *lampi*-response.

activity. This meaning is only the second listed in *Karjalan kielen sanakirja* (I:190). The first meaning is “kuoppa, syvennys, syväne,” “a hole, hollow, deep place”. In the Border-Duel-Death-redaction, *kuoppa* appears as the term used for the *hauta*. *Kuoppa* is also used in Northern Karelia. Izhorian *Päivän päästö* variants appear to present this as a non-fantastic *oja*, “ditch”, although it is overcome with magical alcohol. The *oja* appears to be adapted from the conception of the obstacle or danger as low area in the ground which may or may not be attributable to digging. The use of the *hauta* as the location of the Serpent on the Road (I2.712), the Stakes without a Head (I2.803), and the Fiery Eagle⁴⁷⁷ are applications of its *image power* to augment another danger which imply that the *hauta* was conceived as covering a large area rather than being a “grave” in the sense of a single individual’s burial-place. In VIII.835, the word *lampi*, “pond”, appears rather than the *kuoppa* (or *hauta*). This term appears to be rooted in the *lampi* of the singing competition which more often appears as the magical response to the Fire-danger.

This is the least frequent primary danger encountered in Viena. It was one of the three conventional dangers in both Aunus and Border Karelia. It is also found in Northern Karelia in addition to its position in the Izhorian *Päivän päästö*. Its relatively infrequent appearance in Viena (and Kainuu) may be related to the popularity of Bound Wolves and Bears as a danger. This raises the question of whether the Fiery Grave was generally more eastern and southern as opposed to Bound Wolves and Bears which are more prominent in Viena, Northern Karelia, and probably reflected in the Ingrian-Finnish variants. This obstacle is overcome using weather-magic but notably not associated with intertextual applications of incantations.

The Serpent on the Road: This serpent is clearly of mythic proportions although its specific attributes are various (cf. Harva 1945:220-221). This image is not prominent elsewhere in kalevalaic poetry; the image of the body of a serpent demarcating the threshold to the otherworld has the potential of being related to the Germanic Miðgarðsormr encircling the world. This danger is encountered in a number of variants in Viena, although it is not among the three most common. Its appearance can be

⁴⁷⁷ I2.845; in II.190 it appears both as the location of the Fiery Eagle’s birch and as a separate danger.

compared to the Serpent-Field as a danger which indicates that overcoming snakes was somehow interesting, and the Serpent on the Road appears with the Serpent-Fence as dangers on the Journey in somewhat less than 50% of Viena variants. The danger was extremely rare in Aunus but conventional in Border Karelia and occasionally encountered in Northern Karelia. It is also the one danger in the earliest documented variant of *LV* (XV.73) which is of uncertain provenance. This danger is regularly overcome by incantations. This emphasis on incantations may be exceptionally prominent in a variant.⁴⁷⁸ When presenting this danger, Jaakko Savinainen commented, “Täs luvettih mavon lumondasanat, mutta mie en malta,” “Snake-charms are recited here, but I don’t have the patience for them,” and continued with the adventure. This danger has been considered to belong to the most archaic stratum of *LV* (Krohn 1924-1928, Harva 1945). However, it is only established as a conventional danger in a region where the incantation tradition and *LV*’s relationship to the *tietäjä*-institution have special prominence. In this region, the three conventional dangers are the same as in Aunus with the exception that the Fiery Eagle is only encountered in redactions associated with incantation performance while the Serpent on the Road is otherwise found in its place. This danger may have evolved through changing associations and applications of *LV*, particularly with conceptions of *LV* as a model for *tietäjä* initiation and Lemminkäinen as a model practitioner of incantations, displacing the danger most strongly associated with the semiotics of shamanism.

Serpent-Fence: The fiery or iron wicket woven of serpents is one of the most significant mythic images associated with magical protection.⁴⁷⁹ It appears to be rooted in the semiotics of magical defences associated with shamanism (Siikala 2002a:esp.223-228). Perhaps through *LV* it has developed from a defence in the invisible world to a barrier between this world and the otherworld in other incantation contexts (cf. Tarkka 1990:249-250).⁴⁸⁰ The Serpent-Fence was one of the three conventional dangers in both Aunus and Border Karelia, as well as in the Finnish-Ingrian *LV*. It was the third most

⁴⁷⁸ For example, Peshi Shemeikka devoted 54 lines to the Serpent on the Road (VIII.809.113-166), compared to 25 to the Serpent-Fence (VIII.809.69-93) and 19 to the Fiery Grave (VIII.809.94-112). Cf. DuBois 1995:127-182.

⁴⁷⁹ Cf. II.1063, in which the description functions as a protective incantation.

⁴⁸⁰ Corresponding images are found in *Vsp* 38 (Siikala 2002a:293).

often encountered danger in Viena, where it was often fused with Bound Wolves and Bears as a single danger. This fusion appears associated with both dangers being interpreted as the marking the threshold of Päivölä as a delimited location as opposed to obstacles on the journey to that location. *Ahdin aita*, “Ahti’s fence” was also used in Viena as the location or object on which Väinämöinen’s sleigh becomes stuck or breaks.

Bound Wolves and Bears: The danger of Bound Wolves and Bears was the second-most common danger encountered in Viena. It is encountered across Kainuu variants and was the most regular danger in Northern Karelia. Northern Karelian variants adapt this danger so that Lemminkäinen is “sung” to death, which is a common feature of “miscellaneous” dangers but not associated with other primary dangers. A non-fantastic adaptation of the danger (Hounds) is also found in the Ingrian-Finnish *LV*. The image of bound wolves and bears belongs to the image-complex (see Frog 2008a) associated with the mythic guardian of the boundary to the otherworld (Siikala 2002a). A corresponding image may have been familiar in Germanic Scandinavia. Saxo (1931:252) replaced the dragon slain by Ragnarr loðbrók (*FN* I:99-102) with a bound wolf and bear. This dragon encircling the maiden’s bower adapts the *image power* of the world-encircling serpent Miðgarðsormr. The exchange of the serpent for a wolf-bear combination could potentially have been motivated by a semiotic equivalence in the *image power* as a danger on the road to the other-world (§19.4). The distribution of this danger in relation to the Serpent-Fence could indicate widespread conventions of each danger which were fused in Viena as a result of migrations. Although this danger could be considered an evolution of the hounds of Päivölä which Lemminkäinen is able to pass without their barking (mentioned in the Arrival dialogue), its origins are obscure. (See Hounds below.)

2.2. Secondary Dangers

Secondary dangers include dangers which have evolved from primary dangers, dangers which have been adapted from other contexts, and non-fantastic dangers. Secondary dangers described here only include those which can be considered established to some degree on a social level. More unusual dangers are addressed in footnotes within the chart.

Hounds: This danger appears to reflect a non-fantastic adaptation of Bound Wolves and Bears, although it could also reflect the development of the hounds of Päivölä (which Lemminkäinen is able to pass without their barking) into an independent danger. However, the non-fantastic hounds could also be mixed or confused with Bound Wolves and Bears.⁴⁸¹ The Hounds or Bound Wolves and Bears were also replaced by Mutši, the “Black Dog”,⁴⁸² on a very limited basis. These are only encountered in Viena and in the Ingrian-Finnish variants. They appear to be regionally specific developments and appear to have emerged independently.

The Stakes without a Head: The threatening image of heads on stakes is addressed in relation to the *bylina* tradition in Supplement 9. This danger is only encountered in Viena, in Kainuu variants grouped with Viena in *SKVR*, and in two variants collected in Aunus, one of which (II.182) is a variant of *Courting Hiisi’s Maiden* rather than *LV*. It is also the only danger appearing in the Northern Savo variant. This danger could have been established in another region and risen in circulation in Viena through the confluence of tradition communities. However, this danger does not appear to have been widely established as a conventional danger.⁴⁸³ The (iron) Serpent-Fence may be described as having “steel stakes” or being “staked with steel” as a descriptive line or parallel expression.⁴⁸⁴ This is independent of the Stakes without a Head. The *teräs-seiväs*, “steel-stake”, combination is not used for the Stakes without a Head.⁴⁸⁵

The Serpent-Bear: The Serpent-Bear appears to be one of the most central and stable challenges faced by Lemminkäinen in *LV*. This challenge is introduced into the Departure Dialogue of a few Viena variants and one in Aunus where it is presented as a

⁴⁸¹ I2.711 combines dogs (*koirat*) and bears; I2.748 and I2.805 combine hounds (*rakit*) and wolves; on I2.815, see note in chart.

⁴⁸² On this motif, see Siikala 2002a:107-108, 134-138.

⁴⁸³ Note that it exhibits popularity as a danger in bridal-quest narratives in Border Karelia in particular.

⁴⁸⁴ E.g. I2.805, I2.811, I2.812, I2.815, I2.821, I2.820, I2.823; I2.834, I2.826; I2.840, I2.845, I2.847, I2.850, II.193, II.194, II.217, II.217a, II.220a, II.220b, II.226, VII1.773, VII1.776, VII1.777, VII1.780, VII1.780a, VII1.781, VII1.781b, VII1.781c, VII1.782, VII1.790, VII1.792, VII1.793, VII1.794, VII1.797, VII1.798, VII1.799a, VII1.800, VII1.806b, VII1.809, VII1.812, VII1.814, VII1.820; cf. I2.819.116, I2. 831.27, I2.850.133, II.209, II.222.18.

⁴⁸⁵ On the use of metrically (as opposed to lexically) stressed syllables to integrate non-alliterating lines such as *teräksill’ on seivässetty*, “with steel staked”, into the alliterative acoustic texture of a poem, see Frog & Stepanova forthcoming. Cf. also Kuusi 1949:229.

danger prophesied for Lemminkäinen's adventure. This danger has clearly emerged through the analogy of the Serpent-Bear as a danger which Lemminkäinen overcomes although unlike the other dangers it in no way inhibits his arrival.

The Serpent-Field: This danger is only encountered in Viena and affiliated Kainuu variants. Ploughing the field of serpents was conventionally associated with bridal-quest challenges and adaptations of this challenge into a danger on Lemminkäinen's journey may be indicative of its popularity.

The Log and Stone: The *hako*, "log", appears in a few variants of *LV* in the place of the Serpent-Fence. There is not sufficient material to assert whether the *hako* is a euhemerization of the Serpent-Fence. The same danger is replaced by the "death-stone" in VIII.761 and VIII.766. It is similarly tempting to propose that the *mäki*, "hill", and its potential semiotic equivalent of the *kivi*, "stone" are non-fantastic adaptations of the Fiery Eagle. This reduction of the Fiery Eagle to a single constituent element of the image is encountered in II.196/II.196a, where only the rapids are preserved, and is evident in the "Fire" danger of Northern Karelia. However, the evidence is ambiguous. The *hako-kivi* combination was a conventional association particularly in incantations. Its applications as a banishment location underlies its development into descriptions of Lemminkäinen's death in Northern Karelia, "into a stone" and "into a log", observing that this is clearly an interaction with the *Singing Contest* in the region, which culminates in Väinämöinen "singing" Joukahainen in a corresponding manner. The stone-log combination participates in the mythic image-complex associated with the world tree – particularly with the fallen world-tree of creation as a location of power within the cosmography (see Frog 2008a). These conventional associations may have led to the evolution of the *hako* and *kivi* as dangers on Lemminkäinen's mother's Recovery Attempt in both Northern Karelia and Izhorian traditions as well as in incantations. This *hako* appears to be the most popular or compelling non-fantastic danger, perhaps because a fallen tree across the road was the most natural non-fantastic obstacle in circulation. The appearance in the Izhorian material of the *oja*, "ditch", as a third non-fantastic danger presents the appeal of a correspondence with the Fiery Grave. However, this certainly cannot be considered

necessarily indicative of the emergence of the *hako-kivi* obstacles in Ingria, although the *oja* presents the appeal of an implied strategy of a constellation of three non-fantastic (or at least simplified) obstacles.

Sword-Danger: The danger of being sung onto one's own sword only appears in one Viena singer's variant (I2.774), where it is one of five dangers. Although this is indicative that the danger was known (by someone) in the region, the appearance of four other dangers in the narrative could be indicative of the performer attempting to incorporate as much as possible in a single performance to impress the collector (cf. Nenola 1982:219-220). This danger is also encountered in Northern Karelia, where it can be related to the regional preference for deaths into which Lemminkäinen is sung. It can also be related to potential motifs of battle magic found in the Duel.⁴⁸⁶

Death's River: The danger of being sung into Tuoni's River appears to have developed from Lemminkäinen's Death in the Northern-Singing-Death-redaction just as the Serpent-Bear developed into a danger in Viena. In this case, Lemminkäinen's actual death is prophesied by his mother.⁴⁸⁷

Fire: The Fire-danger is a large bonfire. It can be compared to the magical proofing of the hero associated with the Departure Dialogue in Viena, in which the hero passes the flames without his beard being singed.⁴⁸⁸ This danger is associated with the singing of an adversary as a magical attack. The response to this danger in all but VIII.830 is singing a *lampi*, "pond", attributable to an accumulation of information from the Singing Contest (§24.6.1). The singing of the *lampi* is associated with passing the danger in the form of a

⁴⁸⁶ Observed by Ahola (2000:75) on the basis of a very limited number of variants. Battle magic is most prominent in variants describing the opponent's sword turning to dust in contrast to Lemminkäinen remaining unharmed when he attempts to strike Lemminkäinen, followed by Lemminkäinen's sword remaining unharmed while the opponent turns to dust when Lemminkäinen strikes (e.g. II.219.179-186).

⁴⁸⁷ In VIII.826, Lemminkäinen claims he will overcome the danger by singing sheep (associated with the Bound Wolves and Bears). This variant opens with Lemminkäinen's Death and the Resurrection and this prophesy and response comes at the conclusion of the short variant in which the latter death and adventure are not presented.

⁴⁸⁸ I2.710, I2.713, I2.748, I2.821, I2.834, I2.847.

diving-bird familiar to passing the Fiery Eagle.⁴⁸⁹ The escape through bird-transformation associates the danger with the Fiery Eagle, from which it may have evolved.

3. The Chart

The first column presents the volume and item# of the source. General regions have been labelled for the convenience of the reader. The occurrence of each danger is marked with an “X” in the appropriate column. Noteworthy variations and dangers classed as “miscellaneous” are presented with a label rather than an “X”. When more than one danger have been combined or treated as a single danger, the danger which appears to be given priority is marked “X*” (normally the danger to which Lemminkäinen responds) and the other danger with “*”. In I2.803, different fusions are differentiated by the number of “*”. If dangers are presented in the Departure Dialogue, no additional indication is presented whether or not they are presented on the Journey. Dangers which appear on the Journey but not in the Departure Dialogue are indicated in parentheses. Dangers which appear multiple times in *either* the Departure Dialogue *or* on the Journey are represented by repeated “X”s.⁴⁹⁰ Under the Fiery Grave, “K” indicates the use of *kuoppa* rather than *hautta* (see above). Under Bound Wolves and Bears, “S” indicates that the death is “sung”.

⁴⁸⁹ In VIII.830, the *lampi* is not the response to the Fire-danger, which appears to have led to the transfer of the diver-bird transformation from the Fire-danger to a means of overcoming the death in Tuoni’s River (which has water in which the bird can dive) although the transformation is not used to overcome or avoid the death.

⁴⁹⁰ VIII.803 and VIII.814 present the Fiery Grave once in the Departure Dialogue and then twice on the Journey.

VIENA									
POEM	Fiery Eagle	Fiery Grave	Serpent on Road	Serpent Fence	Wolves Bears	Hounds	Stakes	Serpent Beer	Misc.
I2.701	X				X		X		
I2.702	X				X		X		
I2.703	X				X		X		
I2.704	X				X		X		
I2.705	X		X		X				
I2.706	X			*	X*		X		
I2.707	X			X	X				
I2.709	X			X	X				
I2.710	X		X	X					
I2.711	X			X	X				
I2.712	X	*	X*		X				
I2.713	X		X		X				
I2.714	X		(X)	(X)					
I2.716	X		X	*	X*				
I2-717	X		X		X				
I2 718	X			X	X				
I2 719	X			X	X				
I2.720				X	X				
I2.721			X						
I2.722	X				X		X		
I2.722a	X				X		X		
I2.724	X	X		X					
I2.725	X		X	*		Mutši*			
I2 726	X		X	*		Mutši*			
I2.728	X	X		X*	*				
I2.728a	X	X		X					
I2.729	X		X	(X*)	X (*)				
I2.731	(X)		(X)		(X)				
I2.732	X				X		X		
I1.735				X					
I2.736				X					
I1.737				X					
I2.738	X		X	X					
I2.740	X			X				X	
I2.741	X		X	*	(X)	Mutši*			
I2.742	X	X		X					
I2.746	X		X	(*)	X (X*)				
I2.748	X		X		X				
I2.749	X		X		X				
I2.750	X		X	X					
I2.752	X		X	X*	*				
I2.754	X		X	X*	*				
I2.757	*				X*		X		S-Field
I2.757a	X				-		X		S-Field
I2.759	X				X		X		
I2.759a					(X)				
I2.766(&a	X		X		X		X		
I2-766b	X		(X)		(X)		X		

POEM	Fiery Eagle	Fiery Grave	Serpent on Road	Serpent Fence	Wolves Bears	Hounds	Stakes	Serpent Beer	Misc.
I2.767	X						X		
I2.769	X				X			X	
I2.771	X				X				Badger-Heads⁴⁹¹
I2.772	X		X		X			X	
I2.773	X		*		X				S-Field*
I2.774	X		X				X		S-Field Sword
I2-777	X		X		X				
I2.781	X				(X)				S-Field
I2.784	X	X	X						
I2.785	X		X		X				
I2.786	X	X			X				
I2.787					X		X		
I2.788(&a	X								
I2.789					X				
I2.789a	X	X			X				
I2.791	X				X	X			
I2.791a	X				X	X			
I2.792	X				X		X		
I2.793a	X				X		X		
I2.794	X								
I2.795	X		X			X			
I2.801&a	X				X		X		
I2.802b				X	X				
I2.803	X	**		*	X*		X**		
I2.805	X			X	X				
I2.806	X			X				X	
I2.808	X			X*	X				*[S-Field]
I2.809	X			X	X				
I2.811	X			X	X				
I2.812	X			X				X	
I2.815	(X)			(X)	(X)	(* ⁴⁹²)			
I2.819	X			X					
I2.820				X	X			X	
I2.821	X			X				X	
I2.823	XXX XX ⁴⁹³			X	X				
I2.824 (&a	(X)		X		X				
I2.826	X			X					Duel
I2.828	X		X		X				
I2.830	X		X		X				

⁴⁹¹ I2.771.103-104: *mäk' on täysi mäkräpäitä/notko noprakkanehiä*, “a hill is full of badger-heads/a hollow with gopher-noses”.

⁴⁹² I2.815.38-56 presents a fusion of the dialogue in the hall concerning slipping past the dogs unnoticed and the bound wolves (bears are not mentioned): once the Serpent-Fence is traversed, the dogs are mentioned, Lemminkäinen makes a speech-act relevant to going past them, and then magically overcomes the wolves.

⁴⁹³ This lyric narrative applies the Fiery Eagle almost in the fashion of a refrain.

POEM	Fiery Eagle	Fiery Grave	Serpent on Road	Serpent Fence	Wolves Bears	Hounds	Stakes	Serpent Beer	Misc.
I2.831	X			X	X				
I2.834	X	X	X	(X)	(X)				
I2.837	X		X						
I2.838	X								
I2.839	XX				'Lemmin käinen'	X		XX	
I2.840	X		X	(X)	X				
I2.841	X			X	X				
I2.845	X*	*	X	(X)	(X)				
I2.847	X	X		* (X)	X*				
I2.849*	X		X		X				
I2.850	X			X		X			
I2.851	X								
I2.852	X			(?)		(! ⁴⁹⁴)			Vipunen ⁴⁹⁵
I2.853	X			X		X			
I2.854	(X)								
I2.855	X			X	X	(X)			
I2.856	X			X	X				
I2.857	X			X	X				
I2.1014		X		(X)					Vipunen ⁴⁹⁶
I4.2166	X		X						Fiery Sauna ⁴⁹⁷
I4.2168	X	X			X				
I4.2169	X			X	X				
I4.2170	X	*		X	X*				
KAINUU									
POEM	Fiery Eagle	Fiery Grave	Serpent on Road	Serpent Fence	Wolves Bears	Hounds	Stakes	Serpent Beer	Misc.
I2.743			(X)	(X)			(X)		
I2.744	X				X*		X		*[S-Field]
I2.744b	X				X*		X		*[S-Field]
XIII.103	Eagle-man ⁴⁹⁸				(X)				(Sauna-man) ⁴⁹⁹
XIII.105	(X)				(X)				
XIII.107				(X)					[⁵⁰⁰]
NORTHERN SAVO									
POEM	Fiery Eagle	Fiery Grave	Serpent on Road	Serpent Fence	Wolves Bears	Hounds	Stakes	Serpent Beer	Misc.
VII.8							(X)		

⁴⁹⁴ See lines 243-247.

⁴⁹⁵ *Se kuuma halsi, niinkuin Vipusen runossa.* Performed by Simanaiñi Sohvonja, who displayed tremendous freedom in her unconventional narrative performances.

⁴⁹⁶ *Emo sano, tulinen halsie, vuorien välissä valkia.* Performed by Simanaiñi Sohvonja.

⁴⁹⁷ The fiery sauna has a fiery "latch".

⁴⁹⁸ A fiery man appears in the Fiery Eagle.

⁴⁹⁹ The fiery sauna contains a fiery man.

⁵⁰⁰ XIII.107.24-67 presents the journey from *Väinämöinen's Knee-Wound* rather than *LV*.

AUNUS									
POEM	Fiery Eagle	Fiery Grave	Serpent on Road	Serpent Fence	Wolves Bears	Hounds	Stakes	Serpent Beer	Misc.
II.179		(X)	(X)						Log
II.180				(X)					
II.182							X		
II.186	(X)	X		X					
II.189	X ⁵⁰¹ [XX]								
II.190	X*	*&X		X					
II.193	X	X		X					
II.193a	X	X		X					
II.193b	X	X		X					
II.194		K	X	X					Old Woman ⁵⁰²
II.196	Icy Rapid ₅₀₃	Fiery Rapid ₅₀₄							
II.196b	Fiery Rapid ₅₀₅	X							
II.197	(X)	(X)		(X)					
II.198		(X)		(X)					
II.198a		(X)		(X)					
II.200	X			X	X				
II.201	X ⁵⁰⁶				X		X		
II.202	(X)	(X)		(X)					
II.204	X	X		X				X	
II.206	(X)	(X)		(X)					
II.206a	X	X		X					
II.207	X	X		X					
II.209	X	X		X					
II.212		X							
II.214				X					
II.215				X					
II.217	X	X		X					
II.217a	X	X		X					
II.219	X	X		X					
II.220		X		X					
II.220a	X	X		X					

⁵⁰¹ II.189.9-11 gives the impression of a short lyric treatment of *LV*. The single death (*surma*) of the Fiery Eagle in a fiery birch on a fiery stone in a fiery rapids is presented as three dangers in rapid succession: *on yksi tuline surmabi/toinen on tuline koskibi/kolmas kokko-lintuseni*, “one is a fiery death indeed/a second a fiery rapids indeed/a third my little eagle-bird”.

⁵⁰² II.194.55-56 (followed by “etc.”) introduce *Pohjon akka*, “the Old Woman of the North” (or perhaps the Serpent Beer?) as a danger in the dialogue; it is considered a “danger” here because the Journey follows from line 57.

⁵⁰³ This danger is passed by transformation into a grouse as is associated with passing the Fiery Eagle – see following note.

⁵⁰⁴ The fiery rapids is associated with the Fiery Eagle but the response to the Fiery Grave is used here.

⁵⁰⁵ The Fiery Eagle is not present but the means of overcoming each danger is conventional in this performance, and the Fiery Grave is present.

⁵⁰⁶ Fiery Eagles, in the plural.

POEM	Fiery Eagle	Fiery Grave	Serpent on Road	Serpent Fence	Wolves Bears	Hounds	Stakes	Serpent Beer	Misc.
II.220b	X	X		X					
II.222	X	X		X					
II.223	X	X		X					
II.224	X	X		X					
II.225		X	X						
II.226	X	X		X					
BORDER KARELIA									
POEM	Fiery Eagle	Fiery Grave	Serpent on Road	Serpent Fence	Wolves Bears	Hounds	Stakes	Serpent Beer	Misc.
VIII.761	† ⁵⁰⁷		X						Death Stone
VIII.765		X	X	X					
VIII.766	† ⁵⁰⁸		X						Death Stone
VIII.769			(X)						
VIII.770			(X)	(X)					
VIII.771			(X)						
VIII.772					X				
VIII.773	X	K		X					
VIII.775		X	X	X					
VIII.776		(X)	(X)	(X)					
VIII.777		X	X	X					
VIII.778		X	X	X					
VIII.779		X	X	X					
VIII.780		X	X	X					
VIII.780a		X	X	X					
VIII.781		X	X	X					
VIII.781a		(X)	(X)	(X)					
VIII.781b		X	X	X					
VIII.781c		X	X	X					
VIII.782		X							
VIII.784		X	X	X					
VIII.785		X	X	X					
VIII.787		(X)	(X)	(X)					
VIII.788	† ⁵⁰⁹		(X)	(X)					
VIII.789		X	X	X					
VIII.790		X	X	X					
VIII.791	Dies 510	X	X						
VIII.792		X	X	X					
VIII.793		X	X	X					

⁵⁰⁷ VII.761.30-42 summons Väinämöinen and applies multiforms of the mythic eagle which can be associated with wedding incantations. The performance of *LV* which concludes in the wedding-eagle rather than an eagle danger is clearly an incantation.

⁵⁰⁸ VIII.766.60-64 presents wedding verses associated with the *image power* of the eagle. Although this could be interpreted as a “confused” conclusion, to the song which slips into imagery arbitrarily related to the eagle, it clearly applies the same strategy as VIII.761.

⁵⁰⁹ VIII.788.62-73 concludes with wedding-verse/incantation. The lines immediately preceding this (VIII.788.59-61) identify it with the general *Tietäjä*-redaction, stating that the journey will qualify the traveller as a great *tietäjä*.

⁵¹⁰ See §15.1.2

POEM	Fiery Eagle	Fiery Grave	Serpent on Road	Serpent Fence	Wolves Bears	Hounds	Stakes	Serpent Beer	Misc.
VII.794		X	X	X					
VII.795		(X)							
VII.796		(X)	(X)	(X)					
VII.797		X ⁵¹¹		X					Hill
VII.798		(X)	(X)	(X)					
VII.799	X	K		X					
VII.799a	X	K		X					
VII.800	X	K ⁵¹²		X					
VII.802		X	X	X					
VII.803		X(X) 513	X						Log
VII.803a		X	X						Log
VII.804		X	X	X					
VII.805		X	X	X					
VII.806		X	(X)	(X)					
VII.806b		X	X	X					
VII.808		X	X	X					
VII.809		X	X	X					
VII.810 (a&b)		X	X	X					
VII.811		(X)	(X)						
VII.812		X/K 514	X	X					
VII.814		X(X) 515	X	X					
VII.815		X	X	X					
VII.816		X	X		X				
VII.817			X						
VII.818		(X)	(X)		(X)				
VII.819		X	X	X					
VII.820			X	X					
VII.821		(X)	(X)						
VII.821a		(X)	(X)		(X)				
VII.822		(X)	(X)	(X)					
VII.823									
VII.824			(X)						
VII.825			(X)		(X)				

⁵¹¹ VII.797.32-33 mentions the “hot stones” without the grave as the death in the Departure Dialogue but the Fiery Grave (*kuoppa*) is presented on the Journey. The “hill” is consistent in both the Departure Dialogue and on the Journey.

⁵¹² VII.800.54-56-33 mentions the “hot stones” as the death in the Departure Dialogue but the Fiery Grave is presented on the Journey.

⁵¹³ The Fiery Grave is encountered twice on the journey: VII.803.94-113 and VII.803.114-135.

⁵¹⁴ Both *hauta* and *kuoppa* appear in VII.812.33-37 and 64-68.

⁵¹⁵ The Fiery Grave is encountered twice on the journey: VII.814.45-58 and VII.814.59-73.

NORTHERN KARELIA									
POEM	Fiery Eagle	Fiery Grave	Serpent on Road	Serpent Fence	Wolves Bears	Hounds	Stakes	Serpent Beer	Misc.
VIII.826									Death's River
VIII.828					(X)				
VIII.830					S				Death's River Fire
VIII.832					S				Death's River
VIII.835		Pond 516	X		X				Death's River
VIII.836		(K)			S				Sword Fire
VIII.836a		(K)	(X)		S				Sword Fire
VIII.838		K							
VIII.840					S				Sword Fire
VIII.841			X		S				Fire
UNKNOWN – Ganander									
POEM	Fiery Eagle	Fiery Grave	Serpent on Road	Serpent Fence	Wolves Bears	Hounds	Stakes	Serpent Beer	Misc.
XV.73			(X)						
INGRIA									
POEM	Fiery Eagle	Fiery Grave	Serpent on Road	Serpent Fence	Wolves Bears	Hounds	Stakes	Serpent Beer	Misc.
III1.670				(X)		(X)			
III2.2197				(X)					
III2.2247				(X)					

⁵¹⁶ The *lampi*, “pond”, occurs filled with “hot stones” in the same manner as the Fiery Grave.

Supplement 4: Separated songs of Lemminkäinen and Kaukomieli in Viena

Some singers in Viena performed separate narratives about Lemminkäinen and Kaukomieli. There are three examples, and a fourth which is only potential as the protagonist of both songs is Väinämöinen.

Soava Trohkimainen performed a conventional form of *LV* with Kaukomieli as a protagonist for Lönnrot in 1832 (I2.729). In the same context, he performed an unconventional form of *LV* with Lemminkäinen as the protagonist (I2.730). The latter song is extremely short, although this appears to be at least partially attributable to Lönnrot's documentation strategy in which some multiforms and sub-themes were indicated with only one line. The Lemminkäinen-song opens with the Death/Resurrection and Lemminkäinen departs to Päivölä following his resurrection. This narrative organization is otherwise only encountered in VIII.826 in Northern Karelia.⁵¹⁷ This variant also contains the expression *polo poikoa pätöistä*, “poor able boy” (I2.730.4), which is unique in Viena. It appears as a parallel expression for Lemminkäinen in the couplet outlined in Supplement 5. Comparison makes it appear that *polo poika* is an adaptation of *pillo poika*, “mischievous lad”, or possibly *piilo poika*, “hiding lad” (see also §10.2.2). The Lemminkäinen-song proceeds immediately to the Duel and Escape Dialogue, with which it concludes. Soava's two songs appear to have contained overlapping multiforms. The Escape Dialogue incorporates the mother's advice on how to behave normally found in the Departure Dialogue (I2.730.30-36). Rather than going to the Isle of Women as is conventional, Lemminkäinen is told to go to the other side of the sea where men drink mead (I2.730.37-45). This unique description appears to have emerged through indexical associations between Lemminkäinen's adventure and a drinking-feast. The Kaukomieli-song is unusual in this respect because it

⁵¹⁷ An unattributed variant recorded by Lönnrot in 1834 (I2.828) follows the Resurrection in a conventional organization with the Isle of Women. This song presents Lemminkäinen as the protagonist.

does not include the Serpent-Bear: the duel is prompted by not serving beer at all. Both figures journey to Päivölä.

Arhippa Perttunen has been discussed as a “form-breaker” (§17.3). His Lemminkäinen-song was first documented by Lönnrot in 1834 (I2.758). Arhippa apparently skipped the sub-theme of leaving the omen for Lemminkäinen’s mother, which was recorded separately (I2.758a). The Lemminkäinen-song opens with a 101 line presentation of *Fishing for Vellamo’s Maiden*. This introduction established the authority of this material associated with *Vellamo’s Maiden* as part of *LV* (§4.3.1). It is otherwise only incorporated into *LV* by Soava, who presents the lines at the opening of his Kaukomieli-song⁵¹⁸ rather than associating them with Lemminkäinen. Arhippa’s Departure Dialogue is uniquely addressed to a sister “Anni” rather than a mother. Both the identity of the sister and the preparations are easily recognizable as adapted from the *Courtship Competition* between Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen in which Ilmarinen prepares for departure (see Kuusi 1949:223ff.). The Departure Dialogue includes only the sub-themes of bathing/sauna and dressing. There are no warnings, prophecies or dangers, and it is not clear where the sub-theme of leaving the death-omen would have been performed. Lönnrot also recorded Arhippa’s Kaukomieli-song in the same interview (I2.759). This opens with the major theme of the Feast, although it is comprised only of an opening couplet stating that the feast was being held and the sub-theme of the invitations. The locations are distinct: Kaukomieli travels to Päivölä, and Lemminkäinen to Vuojela.⁵¹⁹ The Departure Dialogue of the Kaukomieli-song is conventional for *LV* but Arhippa avoids any overlapping themes with the Lemminkäinen-song. The Kaukomieli-song also narrates the journey and its dangers. Arhippa’s Lemminkäinen travels in a series of transformations into animal-forms. The description includes lines associated with *Visiting Tuonela*, but it also extends beyond them including, e.g. transformation into a squirrel (I2.758.130) which is unusual outside of Ingrian lyric and lyric-epic poetry, and which became associated in Arhippa’s immediate vicinity (but not by Arhippa!) with the journey of the girl Annikki to Ilmarinen’s smithy to bring him

⁵¹⁸ Notably, Soava refers to Kaukomieli only as “Kauko” in the relevant lines (I2.729.1-8).

⁵¹⁹ Literally “Bed-Place”. Krohn (1923:34) treats it as identical to Vuojela, arguing that this is Gotland.

news in the *Courtship Competition*.⁵²⁰ This series of transformations culminates in Lemminkäinen's ability to enter the hall unnoticed. The Lemminkäinen-song's Reception is conventional and Lemminkäinen is served the Serpent-Beer. The Kaukomieli-song's Reception is extremely brief with a correspondence in the information that everything has already been eaten and drunk on the level of sub-theme but not on the level of the line (cf. I2.758.161-168 and I2.759.99-102). The Serpent-Beer is absent from Arhippa's Kaukomieli-song. At this point the Lemminkäinen-song separates off into the *Umpiputki*-redaction of the Death/Resurrection Attempt while the Kaukomieli-song proceeds to the Duel and Isle of Women.

Jeussei Timonen is thought to have performed what may have been two separate variants in 1836. These are only preserved in Cajan's brief notes. I2.732 presents the Departure Dialogue and Reception while I2.733 presents the Singing Contest and the Resurrection. The protagonist in both cases is Väinämöinen. These variants are not necessarily indicative of two separate narratives which the singer attributed to Väinämöinen (cf. Simana Huohvanainen's *LV* variants: §4.3.5). It is also possible that the singer considered these to form a coherent narrative sequence which, for reasons unknown, was disrupted or divided in performance, or simply by Cajan in collection.

Jyrki Ontreinen's performances of both a Lemminkäinen-song (I2.801, see also I2.802b) and Kaukomieli-song (I2.802) were first documented by Borenius in 1871. Jyrki's performance is unusual because the death of Lemminkäinen was not recorded earlier in his family.⁵²¹ His father Ontrei Malinen sang Kaukomieli as the protagonist (I2.794). Lönnrot's recording of the performance is a series of notes consisting of 41 lines, the last of which is a multiform from the Duel, although not the combat itself. Jyrki's Lemminkäinen-song is a journey to "Luotoila", "Rock-Island-Place".⁵²² Although his father attributed dangers on the Journey to Kaukomieli, Jyrki reserves these for

⁵²⁰ This was as opposed to the more common flight as a bird or serpent which it potentially replaced (see Kuusi 1949:223).

⁵²¹ I2.795 (unattributed) which presented an account of Lemminkäinen's Death was recorded in his village by Lönnrot in the same year he interviewed Jyrki's father, Ontrei Malinen; Borenius reported that Jyrki's brother Vassilei (I2.810) did not know the song of Lemminkäinen's death.

⁵²² Krohn (1923:34-35) argues that this is a historical archipelago of Southwestern Finland.

Lemminkäinen. Jyrki follows his father in associating the beer-brewing introduction to the song and the Serpent-Beer to Kaukomieli, in contrast to Arhippa. Kaukomieli's adventure is to Päivölä. Jyrki clearly separates sub-themes and multiforms for these two songs so that there is no direct correspondence between them.

It is possible to claim that Lemminkäinen is associated with the Death/Resurrection Attempt, and *when a singer separates the material into songs about different figures*, Kaukomieli is associated with the Isle of Women. However, Soava Trohkimainen presents an unorthodox organization of *LV* in his Lemminkäinen-song, Arhippa Perttunen appears to draw on material associated with other songs in generating his Lemminkäinen-song up to the actual arrival and conflict in the hall. The adaptation of material associated with *Vellamo's Maiden* for an introduction to *LV* by both Soava and Arhippa implies a common index, but they associate this material with different figures. Jyrki contrasts with both of these singers by associating the dangers of the Journey with Lemminkäinen. Arhippa and Jyrki both associate the beer-brewing with Kaukomieli, but associate the Serpent-Beer with different figures. Soava treats both figures as engaging in the Duel and Escape Dialogue. His Lemminkäinen-song is comparable to other variants which attempt to integrate the Death/Resurrection Attempt and Isle of Women into a single narrative sequence (e.g. I2.795 or the Sex-Death-redaction). Arhippa is clearly drawing on material outside of the *LV* tradition in order to provide the opening episodes of the Death/Resurrection Attempt, distinguishing it from his Kaukomieli-song, which his son Miihkali rejected, fusing them into a coherent narrative (I2.766).⁵²³ Jyrki's process of separation not only does not correspond to those of Soava and Arhippa, it also separates material which his father performed as a coherent narrative about Kaukomieli across these two songs. Soava, Arhippa and Jyrki all had singer-habiti (§17.1), and they all appear to have been attempting to reconcile or even take advantage of diverse material in circulation leading to the development of separate songs as opposed to following a common tradition of dividing this material into adventures of Lemminkäinen and Kaukomieli (§15.2.2).

⁵²³ It is interesting to observe that Moisés Piirteinen, also from Latvajärvi, switched to use of the name Kaukomieli in performing the dangers on the Journey when performing a variant of the Death/Resurrection in 1877 (I2.771).

Supplement 5: *Poika pätöinen*

This Supplement presents the cultural activity of the expression *pätöinen poika*. It is divided into four sections. The first presents the variants and variations of applications used to refer to Lemminkäinen. The second presents the much fewer documented applications with reference to Lemminkäinen's victim in the Duel. The third presents its applications related to Väinämöinen. The final section addresses other applications, showing how restricted the expression was in its cultural activity, and therefore implying the degree to which the expression was loaded with *word power*.

1. *Siit'oli hukka Lemminkäistä/tuho poikoa pätöistä*

The *pätöinen poika* formula occurs in the couplet *siit' oli hukka Lemminkäistä/tuho poikoa pätöistä*, “that was the ruin for Lemminkäinen/destruction for the able son”. Variation in the opening foot does not affect the semantic value of the content.⁵²⁴ The stability of the couplet is apparent in the data of Supplement 1 and Supplement 2. These can be considered to provide a context for approaching this couplet, which was documented in connection with the Resurrection Attempt in Viena and Northern Karelia but which is not encountered outside of *LV*. The occurrence of *tuho* in *LV* is sufficiently rare to warrant including all occurrences here as potentially developed from the couplet. The verb *tuhota* also appears with a distribution restricted to the couplet *se on syönyt sata miestä/tuhonnut tuhat urosta*, “it has eaten a hundred men/destroyed a thousand heroes” (e.g. I2.717.43-44) which warrants consideration in the development of item 18 below, in which “Lemminkäinen” is presented as the name of a “wolf” as a danger: “one is the wolf Lemminkäinen/a thousand able lads”, the term for “wolf”, *susi*, being a synonym for *hukka*, “ruin”, in its use in conventional language for “wolf” (§4.3.1). The waning cultural activity of the contexts in which the couplet was applied result in the couplet becoming rare. It participates in the multiform of the death-omen irrespective of what

⁵²⁴ Literally: *siit' oli*, “that was”; *siin' on*, “there is”; *jopa tuli*, “already indeed came”; *silloin*, “then”; *nyt on*, “now is”; *jo on*, “already is”; *jop on*, “already indeed is”; *jo nyt*, “already now”; *jo nyt on*, “already now is”.

omen appears.⁵²⁵ In four cases, it is also/instead used in his death. In two cases (which lack Death/Resurrection – although I2.839 includes the death-omen), it is used in relation to the dangers of the Journey. The three corresponding uses of *tuho* (#19-21) are presented for comparison and contrast: these reflect a similar couplet associated specifically with Väinämöinen in Viena and only occasionally encountered elsewhere in incantations;⁵²⁶ it has been presented with dangers on the Journey in a manner corresponding to #17-18. Examples are organized according to context of appearance and form rather than poem in which they appear:

In the Death

1. siit' oli hukka Lemminkäistä	tuho poikoa pätöistä	(I2.801.81-82)
2. siin' on hukka Lemminkäisen	tuho poikoa pätöstä	(I2.815.74-75)
3. jopa tuli hukka Lemminkäistä	pillo poikoa pahoa	(VII1.835.198-199)
4. sillon hukkuu Lemminkäinen		(VII1.841.87)

In the Omen

5. nyt on hukka Lemminkäistä	tuho poikoa pätöstä	(I2.758.258-259)
6. sillon hukka Lemminkäisen	tuho poikoa pätösen	(I2.758.5-6)
7.	jo on tuho poikani	(I2.828.169)
8. jo on hukka Lemmingäisen	polo poikoa pätöstä/polo lieto Lemmingäistä	(I2.730.3-5)
9. jop on hukka Lemminkäistä	pillo poikoa pahoa	(VII1.835.202-203)
10. jop on hukka Lemminkäistä	pillo poikoa pätöä	(VII1.836.208-209)
11. jo nyt hukka Lemminkäistä	pillo poikoa pätövi	(VII1.836a.190-191)
12. jo nyt on hukkut Lemminkäinen		(VII1.830. 113)
13.	pillo poikoa pahoa	(VII1.832.84:)
14. jo hukkuu Lemminkäinen		(VII1.841.167)
15.	kuin sie tuhoh tulete	(I2.839.149 ⁵²⁷)
16.	silloin mie tuhoh tulene	(I2.839.156)

⁵²⁵ E.g. VII1.841 has a bleeding-sword omen and VII1.832 has a picture.

⁵²⁶ E.g. in the ship-chase and battle for the sampo: I1.42.176-177; I1.54.323-324, I1.58.260-261,283-284; I1.58a.294-295,328-329; I1.60145-146,163-164; I1.61.184-185,201-202,225-226; associated with Väinämöinen drifting on the primal sea: I1.79a.71-72; I1.84.75-76; I1.91.35-36; associated with Väinämöinen's journey to Tuonela: I.92.146-147; I1.357.67-68; I1.358.54-55; I1.362.147-148; I1.370.89-90; I1.372.81-82; I1.378.20-21; I2.1026.294-295; associated with Väinämöinen visiting Vipunen: I1.401.28-29; I1.416.28-29; I1.427.33-34; I1.670.33-34; associated with Väinämöinen's knee-wound: I1.298.16-17,26-27; I1.298a.19-20,28-29,43-44; in a narrative unrelated to Väinämöinen: I2.1072.49-50; in an incantation: I4.478b.1-2; I4.979.22-23; I4.1370.6-7; I4.1371.9-10; I4.1415.38-39; I4.1415a.26-27; I4.1674.24-25; I4.1880.20-21; VII4.1797.4-5; VII4.4-5; XIII1.3593.7-8; XV.82.9-10; XV.400.25-26; cf. VII3.746.148-151.

⁵²⁷ *milläpä mie tijon soanen* (I2.839.150)

In a Danger

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 17. tuho tulla Lemminkäistä | hukka poikoa pätöistä | (I2.793a.174-175) |
| 18. ükski on susi Lemminkäini | tuhat poikova pätöveä | (I2.839.114-115) |

Väinämöinen-Couplet in a Danger

- | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|------------------|
| 19. Jo näki tuhon tulevan | hätäpäivän päälle soavan | (I2.766b.57-58) |
| 20. šielä šiun tuho tulovi | hätäpäivä peällä šoapi | (I2.809.108-109) |
| 21. en tunne tuhon tulevan | hätäpäivän kerkievän | (I2.850.110-111) |

The term *tuho* is not found in the Northern Karelian variants. These variants present *pillo* in the corresponding position generating triple alliteration in the line. In §10.2.2, it was argued that Northern Karelian *pillo*, “mischievous”, is rooted in *piilo*, “hiding”, as found in Border Karelia, where it appears directly related to revised understandings of the Isle of Women episode as associated with moral corruption. This shift in associations can be attributed as the reason that the *pätöinen* element is only reflected in VII1.836/VIII1.836a (and even there not consistently). This element appears to have undergone renewal and been replaced with *paha*, “wicked”, in accordance with other depictions of Lemminkäinen’s character in the region. Item 8 is from Soava Trohkimainen’s Lemminkäinen-song (Supplement 4). The use of *polo*, “poor”, is most probably an adaptation from *pillo* or *piilo*. It is the only application of the form *polo* (as opposed to *poloinen*, which occasionally emerges in lyric-like dialogue exchanges) in a variant of *LV*.

2. Head of the Master of Päivölä

The *pätöinen poika* formula is also used with reference to the Master/Son of Päivölä in the peculiar multiform found only in Viena in which Lemminkäinen suggests his decapitated head be used as an “eternal seat” at the conclusion of the Duel. It appears in the couplet:

tuoss’[se] on pää poian pätösen,	That is the head of the able lad
kullu[otsa] kultasen omenan. ⁵²⁸	The skull[forehead] of the golden apple

⁵²⁸ I2.704.196-199, I2.712.177-178, I2.724.109-110, I2.729.130-134, I2.731.24, I2.742.186-190, cf. I2.786.125, I2.803.108-109.

This is not found in variants which include the Death/Resurrection Attempt. The origin of this application of *pätöinen poika* is clearly adapted from its indexical associations with the unfortunate victim. The parallel expression for *pätöinen poika* in this multiform is *kultainen omena*, “golden apple”. Krohn’s (1903-1910:576-577) comparison of the latter circumlocution with its use in references to the missing son of Mary is addressed in §10.2.1. *Kultainen omena* is common as a circumlocution in wedding verses, and the couplet invites comparison to a well-attested couplet in wedding verses used in question and answer with reference to the father of the groom or the *patvaska*, the representative of the groom and performer of protective magic, who in Viena was normally a *tietäjä*.⁵²⁹ The couplet refers to the head rather than the owner as *pätövä* and draws it into comparison with an *omena*, “apple”:

Kempä [NN] tässä piä pätövä,
Päivän piällini omena?⁵³⁰

Whose [NN] here is the determined head?
the head like an apple of the sun?

Although this or a similar crystallized couplet could have influenced the formation of the couplet on the decapitated head, there is no reason to believe that it would be activated as a referent. A problem with comparison is the use of the noun *kullu*, “skull”, which is clearly rooted in a Germanic loan which did not belong to common speech. In kalevalaic poetry, this noun appears to occur exclusively within this one multiform of *LV*.⁵³¹ It is therefore unlikely that it was simply introduced as a parallel term for “head” in Viena as an organic element of the poetic register. This is a feature which implies emergence in a tradition ecology where Germanic interference was not only viable, but capable of

⁵²⁹ The relationships between these social roles appears extremely fluid, and it may be worth mentioning that Väinämöinen appears to have been perceived as a cultural model not just for the *tietäjä*, but also for roles which were associated with the institution of the *tietäjä* or fulfilled similar social functions. Cf. SKS Inha 89, Kuivaisjärvi 1894, collected from Sihippa Inninen *Väinämöinen oli ensimmäinen maailmassa, joka oli patvaskoja*, “Väinämöinen was the first in the world to act as a *patvaska*.”

⁵³⁰ E.g. I3.1669.43-44; I3.1677.51-54; I3.1678.67-68, 75-76; I3.1681.64-65, 71-72; I3.1682.55-56, 62; I3.1684.32-35; I3.1686.49-50, 53-54; I3.1689.53-54, 62; I3.1690.53-54; I3.1691.37-40; I3.1693.61-62, 66-67; I3.1697.51-52; I3.1699.41-42, 48.49; I3.1700.51-54; I3.1701.53-54; I3.1702.45-46; I3.1704.55-56, 60-61; I3.1708.47-48, 55-56; I3.1710b.1-2, 5.6; I3.1716.65-68; I3.1720.67-68; I3.1723.18-21; I3.1726.65-68; I3.1726.65-68; I3.1734.70-71; I3.1735.145-146; I3.1736.64-67; I3.1738.78-79; I3.1742.68-69, 76.77; I4.2250.65-66, 73-74; 2252ae.1-2; cf. I3.1733.41-44 which has mixed this formula sequence with another; see also I3.1675.73-74; I3.1711.47-48*; I3.1713.10, 14; I3.1735.145-46 in which the *omena* lines are absent.

⁵³¹ I2.712.178, 186; I2.729.134; I2.742.188.

impacting the poetic register – i.e. not Viena. If this couplet has some relationship to wedding verses, it seems probable that this was in a region in Finland, possibly in western Finland, where wedding verses died out much earlier. However, the indexical associations of *pätöinen poika* with an unfortunate victim make it unlikely that this expression was used in the wedding verses themselves.

3. Väinämöinen’s Knee and Satellite Applications

Outside of *LV*, is in variations on the line *polvehen/polvestä pojan pätöisen*, “into/from the knee of the able lad”; its application is restricted to (almost) exclusively to *Väinämöinen’s Knee-Wound* in the context of the reception of the wound itself.⁵³² This line also occurs in a few variants of the Väinämöinen-World-Creation for the location of the eggs laid on his knee.⁵³³ This application appears to derive from its use in *Väinämöinen’s Knee-Wound*. The *historiola* as a magical model for an injury healed by the incantation appears to have led to a few additional applications of the formula in incantations for magic shot⁵³⁴ and with reference to Väinämöinen’s boat, as he receives the wound while carving a boat.⁵³⁵ The line also makes more scattered appearances with reference to Väinämöinen singing or playing the kantele,⁵³⁶ and in *Fire’s Origin*.⁵³⁷ All of these applications are clearly satellite adaptations of the line from *Väinämöinen’s Knee-Wound*.

Arhippa Perttunen referred to the companion of Väinämöinen in *Fire’s Origin* as *pätövä Päivän poika*, “able son of the Sun” (I4.281.117, 124, 138, 148, 163). It is evident that

⁵³² E.g. II.89.75, 80; II.266.65; II.283.8; II.296.8, 13; II.297.16; II.298.8, 13; II.298a.10, 17; II.299.12, 17; II.301.141; II.304.12; II.306.8, 12; II.307.7; II.308.9, 13; II.308a.9, 13; II.309.9, 13; II.310.9; II.315.6; II.330.10; II.341.35, 39; II.420.66; II.670a.10; I2.1023.14; I4.185.128; I4.2144.105; I4.2145.8, 13; I4.2386.2; II.64.9,13; II.68.6 (*posoran*) and the same singer nine years later – II.68a.8 (*porozan*); II.69.8 (*pätörän*); II.72.6; II.73.6; II.74.8 (*pätötes*); VI1.73a.7; VI1.74.8; VI1.76.8; VI1.77.8; VI1.80.9; VII.3064.19; VII.3391.4; VIII.290.7; VIII.293.8; VIII.295.7; VIII.296.7; VIII.323.8; VIII.324.8; VIII.328.6; VIII.329.5; VIII.332.7; VIII.334.6; VIII.391.41; VIII.631.51; IX4.903.6; XII1.19.6; XII1.25.22; XII1.29.9, 15; XII1.33.11; XII1.37.9, 14; XII1.40; XII1.41.6; XII1.43.7; XII1.45.4; XII1.47.5; XII1.50.4; XII1.52.2; XII1.54.3; XII1.55.7; XII1.57.7; XII1.63.37, 42; XII1.64.36, 42; XII1.65.20, 25; XII1.67.6; XII1.4187.7; XII1.4236.2; XII2.8499.19; XIII1.1006.13; cf. VIII.269.11.

⁵³³ II.87.65; II.89.75, 80; II.670.191; Kuusi 1949:126.

⁵³⁴ I4.814.73; I4.830.56; I4.839.126.

⁵³⁵ II.92.76; II.342.47; II.342a.17½; II.494.22; II.647.148; I4.855.35, 39; I4.2150.10, 14, 23.

⁵³⁶ I.e. the kantele is on his knee when he plays: II.117.90; II.618.75, 85; II.661c.30; XII2.6212.144.

⁵³⁷ VII3.626a.38.

Arhippa understood this to be some form of Christian figure, if not Jesus. Arhippa's son Miihkali used this same form of the epithet to refer to Väinämöinen in *LV* (I2.766.236, 254). This warrants comment as it is an application of *pätöinen poika* in *LV*. Miihkali took the unique adaptation of the line performed by his father and applied it in a narrative with which it was conventionally associated (noting that he did not perform Lemminkäinen's death), attributing it to the figure of Väinämöinen with whom it was most strongly associated. Miihkali's compromises with convention resulted in new variations which were as unconventional as his father's.

4. Other Applications

Krohn's (1905:105; 1917:12, 103) identification of *pätöinen poika* with Christ is bound up with his conviction that *Väinämöinen's Knee-Wound* is a *historiola* based on a Christian model, no doubt influenced by Arhippa's "able son of the Sun". Outside of the Väinämöinen material and *LV*, the expression *pätöinen poika* is extremely rare in kalevalaic poetry, and these variations are encountered primarily in Viena. The basic epithet is also used with reference to one who possesses a "cold hall" on a very localized basis.⁵³⁸ Within the *SKVR* corpus, it is once used with reference to an uncertain mythic figure in *Stone's Origin*,⁵³⁹ once when referring to ancient Vipunen's belly,⁵⁴⁰ and once appears to refer to the smith Ilmarinen's knees in *Fire's Origin*.⁵⁴¹ Far to the south it is used once with reference to the knee of the Virgin Mary.⁵⁴² Krohn's (1905:105) example of the couplet *polvilla pojam pätösen/jalan juuressa jumalan*, "on the knees of the able lad/in the root of the leg of [a/the] god" (I4.193.9-10) is misleading. This is the only occurrence of *pätöinen poika* in a parallel line for *jalan juuressa jumalan*,⁵⁴³ and the incantation opens with Ilmarinen without reference to Christ.

⁵³⁸ Possibly Ahti: I4.62.26; I4.65.17; I4.69.9; I4.73.43.

⁵³⁹ I4.50.8.

⁵⁴⁰ I1.634.41.

⁵⁴¹ I4.193.9.

⁵⁴² XIII3.9080.5; this may be compared to the occasional use of *pätövä* as an epithet for female figures in Northern Karelia: VII4.1758.86; VII5.3273.13; VII5.3409.25. Cf. also *Ukko uunilla asuu, pätsillä pätövä herra* and variants – VII4.1962.1,3; VII4.1963.1-2; VII4.1964.22-23; VII.3064.18-19 etc: ulos uunilta Jumala, pätsistä pätövä Herra!

⁵⁴³ Cf. I4.78, I4.185, I4.216, I4.207, I4.319, VII3.157, VII3.722, VII3.733.

Supplement 6: Applications of the Magic Rake

Viena

Väinämöinen, weeping after the creation of the world: I1.1, I1.2, I1.25, I1.36, I1.38, I1.38a, I1.157

Väinämöinen, dead: I1.59

Kantele, following the creation of the Sampo:⁵⁴⁴ I1.4, I1.4a, I1.14, I1.15, I1.17, I1.30, I1.30a, I1.49, I1.86, I1.102, I1.105, I1.106, I1.117,⁵⁴⁵ I1.120, I1.121, I1.122, I1.123

Kantele, following the creation of the world: I1.157, I1.607

Kantele, independently: I1.9, I1.103, I1.587, I1.591, I1.613, I1.614,⁵⁴⁶ I1.614a,⁵⁴⁷ I1.632, I1.661c, I1.664, I4.2160

LV: I2.730, I2.758, I2.758b, I2.815, I2.828, I2.834, I2.845, I2.847, I2.1027,⁵⁴⁸ I4.2192

Other: I1.443,⁵⁴⁹ I1.521,⁵⁵⁰ I4.2163⁵⁵¹

Northern Karelia

LV: VII1.823, VII1.826, VII1.830, VII1.835, VII1.836, VII1.836a, VII1.840, VII1.841

⁵⁴⁴ Kuusi (1949:57-59) identifies all of these except I1.30 and I1.443 as belonging to his *R*-redaction of the Sampo-Cycle.

⁵⁴⁵ This performer consistently omits the creation of the Sampo or any reference to it. The Mistress of Pohjola simply asks why Väinämöinen is weeping, he complains, and goes to the smith's smithy for the rake.

⁵⁴⁶ The *Kantele's Origin* follows directly on *The Voyage* and *Vellamo's Maiden* without transition. It is treated as "independent" here because there is no connection to the preceding adventures (except through associations with fishing) and no indication of belonging to a tradition of conventional organization of episodes into a cycle from which the transition to the magic rake has been omitted.

⁵⁴⁷ See note to I2.614.

⁵⁴⁸ Learned from the *Kalevala*

⁵⁴⁹ In the *Courtship Competition*, Ilmarinen's sister Anni enters his smithy, announces who Ilmarinen with the rake-creation attached as an identity attribute.

⁵⁵⁰ A couplet from the fashioning of the magic rake appears in a short variant of *The Golden Bride*, apparently as an object fashioned before the Golden Bride. Whether or not this is considered a "mistake" on the part of the singer, it is clear that the magic rake has been introduced through its indexical associations as a fantastic product of the smith.

⁵⁵¹ This is a short, 10-line song which opens with the account of Väinämöinen beginning to perform smithing work with his clothes and body familiar from *Visiting Vipunen* and incorporating the magic rake as the product of this work.

Karelian Isthmus

Kantele: XIII1.322⁵⁵²

Recovering the brother from water: XIII1.564, XIII1.566, XIII1.568, XIII1.1201, XIII1.2534, XIII4.10491

World-Creation: XIII1.680, XIII1.681, XIII1.682, XIII1.686, XIII1.691, XIII1.694, XIII1.685, XIII1.696, XIII1.698, XIII1.704, XIII1.706, XIII1.707, XIII1.713, XIII4.10419

Fragments of uncertain context: XIII1.565, XIII1.1505

Other: XIII1.708⁵⁵³

Northern and Eastern Karelia

Recovering the brother from water: V1.405, V1.406, V1.407, V1.934, V1.1349, V3.79, V3.79a, V3.80, V3.80a

World-Creation: V1.519, V1.527, V1.529, V1.531, V1.532, V1.535, V1.536, V1.540, V1.543, V1.544, V1.546, V1.547, V1.549, V1.551, V1.552, V1.555, V1.560, V1.561, V3.81, V3.94, V3.95, V3.96, V3.96a

Other: V1.1310⁵⁵⁴

Central Ingria

Recovering the brother from water: IV1.317, IV1.1071

World-Creation: IV1.223, IV1.318, IV1.325, IV1.405, IV1.482, IV1.1349, IV2.1797, IV2.1813, IV2.2467, IV3.3406; also included are IV1.38 and IV1.187 in which a maiden rather than bird uses the rake to find the sun and moon (the narrative is similar to *Päivän päästö*).

Other: IV3.3750,⁵⁵⁵ IV3.3776⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵² This can be considered an independent *Kantele's Origin*, although it has a lyric opening.

⁵⁵³ The magic rake simply provides an introduction to a short (21 lines) lyric song.

⁵⁵⁴ The magic rake and raking the sea present an opening for a short (23 line) lyric song.

⁵⁵⁵ The request for the smith to create the magic rake concludes this song, which could be said to be about the rake.

⁵⁵⁶ See note to IV3.3750.

Western Ingria

Recovering the brother from water: III1.467, III3.2641

World-Creation: III1.486, III1.584, III1.601, III1.607, III1.609, III1.610, III1.1143,
III1.1144, III1.1148, III2.2288, III2.2336, III2.2360, III2.2377, III2.2557, III2.2573,
III3.3260, III3.3281, III3.3441, XV.691

Other

Miscellaneous uses in incantations: XI.531, XII2.5139, XV.105

Supplement 7: *Kulta(i)nen/Kulla(i)nen*

Kultainen omena, “golden apple”, is a poetic circumlocution associated with wedding verses. This circumlocution appears regularly transcribed as *kulla(i)nen omena* for the missing son of Mary: E.g. I2.1099.70, 80, 86, 95 (108: *kultanen*); I2.1103.234, 244, 269, 279, 284; I2.1109.50, 65, 80, 131 (139: *kultanen*); I2.1116.51, 59, 72 (13: *kultasella kielellän*’); I2.1120.58, 76, 91, 106 (111: *kultanen*); I2.1128.34, 43, 53.

Kulta(i)nen is transcribed in *LV* and in the same circumlocution found commonly in wedding verses. In wedding verses, it is regularly found in the full-line formula *kuulin, kultanen omena*, “I heard, golden apple” (with a degree of morphological variation of the verb) in a question and answer exchange about the groom (described as a dangerous eagle of cosmological proportions): I3.1593.35, 51; I3.1655.30; I3.1489.42; I3.1494.11, 18, 22, 26, 30; I3.1495.16, 21, 29, 34, I3.1496.14, 19; I3.1497.20; I3.1505.28; I3.1506.30, 39, 44, 49, 63; I3.1507b.2; I3.1507c.8; I3.1511.34, 39, 46, 51, 59, 64, 71; I3.1512.20; I3.1517.36, 45; I3.1518.17, 22, 36, 41, 49, 54, 66; I3.1520.2; I3.1522.20; I3.1523.19; I3.1524.17, 22; I3.1527.2, 10, 15, 22, 36; I3.1528.20, 24, 30; I3.1529.6, 12, 18, 25; I3.1534.28, 35, 44, 50; I3.1536.15, 22, 27; I3.1593.35, 51 (also used in 4: *kultasista rinnuksista*; 9: *kultasella kuomenolla*); I3.1645.12; I3.1646.15, 22, 27; I3.1648.102, 112; I3.1652.19, 23, 29 (cf. 139: *tät’ on kullaista kuloista*); I4.2225.16, 21; I4.2228.2.

Supplement 8: The Duel in Ingria

The adapted multiform with comparison of *kasvot*, “faces”, and *mielet*, “minds, dispositions”, rather than *kalvat*, “swords”, and *miekat*, “swords” is found in III1.341, III1.503,⁵⁵⁷ III2.1251, III2.1258, III3.4054, XV.982.

The line *niikui naatin nagrihilta*, “like the top from a turnip”, the couplet or multiform in which it appears associated with the Duel is found more widely in variants of the *Song of Kojonen’s Son*: e.g. III1.343, III1.503, III1.659, III1.1227, III1.1228, III1.1230, III1.1231, III1.1232, III1.1233, III1.1234, III1.1235, III1.1248, III2.1258, III2.1977, III2.2287, III2.2331, III3.3380, III3.3432, III3.4061, IV1.1440, IV2.1931, IV2.1932, IV2.1934, IV2.1936, XV.882, XV.982, XV.985, XV.986, XV.987, XV.989, XV.990, XV.991, XV.992, XV.993, XV.994, XV.996, XV.997, XV.998. It also appears to have been transferred to a few additional contexts through analogy: cf. the exceptions III1.667.25, III2.1255.70, III2.1793.39, III2.1924.59, III3.4046.11, IV1.1036.65, IV2.1929.38.

⁵⁵⁷ Although the theme is otherwise consistent, III1.503.64 reads *mittelemme miekkojamme*, “let us measure our swords”.

Supplement 9: Lemminkäinen and Vavilo

Vavilo i skomorokhi exhibits a remarkable system of correspondences with *LV*. Vavilo is ploughing a field when two *skomorokhi*, “minstrels”, find his mother at home. They go to Vavilo in the field and convince him to accompany them to challenge Tsar Sobaka (“Dog”) and his family to a competition in music. Vavilo does not know how to play the rebec but the minstrels⁵⁵⁸ say they will help him: he gives it a try and finds that the minstrels are holy men. Vavilo returns home with the minstrels and a boiled chicken comes to life, which convinces his mother to let Vavilo go on the adventure. They set out together and have three encounters rather than meeting three dangers. The first two encounters are with men who warn Vavilo of the fence of stakes surrounding Tsar Sobaka’s courtyard, a head on each stake except three for the heads of Vavilo and his companions. Vavilo’s response to these warning is to play music. Each man sees birds, which he kills. Vavilo’s birds are an illusion: the first man discovers that he has killed his own children rather than birds; the second that he had destroyed his wares/livelihood. The third encounter is a female figure who has a positive attitude. Vavilo’s song provides her with wealth rather than harm. The music-contest takes place immediately on the hero’s arrival: Tsar Sobaka plays a flood, which threatens the musicians; Vavilo plays a herd of bulls which drink the waters. Vavilo plays again and the otherworld city burns, he is made king and brings his mother there.

Vavilo’s ploughing when the minstrels arrive looking for him warrants comparison with Lemminkäinen in the field when he hears of the invitations to the feast. Lemminkäinen does not set out to confront the Master of Päivölä, in contrast to Vavilo, and Lemminkäinen is attributed with innate magical power, whereas these minstrel-saints become attributes of Vavilo, disassociating his powers from innate ability and sorcery. *Byliny* only present one sorcerer-hero with innate magical ability (Jakobson 1966a; Bailey & Ivanova 1998:4), and this hero’s associations with magic appear directly related

⁵⁵⁸ Kuz’ma and Dem’jan, cultural figures of unknown relevance to the song (Trautmann 1935:378). The fact that these were earlier patron saints of artisans (Oinas 1985:120) stands in contrast to the meting out of punishments on artisans encountered on the journey. They may be introduced into the narrative to load it with Christian mytho-heroic associations.

to that *bylina*'s lack of popularity (Alexander 1973:105-120). Haavio (1965:363) draws attention to the resurrected chicken, which occurs at a point prior to the hero's departure where a death-omen can be introduced in *LV*. Haavio compares it to Arhippa Perttunen's introduction of an ox resurrected long after being eaten as an omen of the death of Lemminkäinen (I2.758.249-259; cf. I2.1183). However, Arhippa may have drawn this from another song where the resurrected ox is an omen of the birth of Christ (cf. I2.1096.100-107; see also II.376, where it is combined with the comb/brush omen).

Whereas Lemminkäinen faces three fantastic dangers of mythic proportions, Vavilo has three encounters with "people" on his journey. The two initial encounters with men present verbal predictions of a danger which Vavilo will face. In *LV*, the danger of stakes which lack a head has been considered adapted from the *bylina* tradition (Krohn 1885:306-307; Oinas 1969:11). The motif of stakes with heads is widespread (Bolte & Polívka 1913-1932 III:368-369; Haavio 1965:363-364), and also found in e.g. Saxo's (1931:241) description of the otherworld realm of Geirrodus/Geirrøðr. What sets *LV* apart is that the number of stakes without heads is also enumerated, indicating that the adversary is prepared for the hero/heroes and anticipates their death(s) in a prophetic manner. This is also found in *Vavilo*. The figures Vavilo encounters state the danger in a manner corresponding to Lemminkäinen's mother. Whereas Lemminkäinen would either respond to his mother, recounting how he would overcome the danger, or would dismiss the danger and overcome it when it was encountered, Vavilo responds to these men as though they have committed an affront. His response is to play music which creates birds. This is directly comparable to Lemminkäinen transforming into a bird to pass a danger or singing in order to create sheep or a man of alder-wood which the monstrous beings will eat instead of him. Vavilo only creates the illusion of birds which leads the man to variously destroy his own livelihood and family. The third encounter is a woman who wishes Vavilo (and his companions) luck in outplaying the Tsar's whole family. Vavilo plays her a reward of beautiful linen comparable to Lemminkäinen singing gold in some variants of the *Umpiputki*-redaction. Vavilo never faces the danger of the stakes.

Vavilo's journey exhibits a system of indexical relationships with clear correspondences to Lemminkäinen's Departure Dialogue, Journey and Death. Although the motifs and motif-systems carry corresponding indexical relationships on an individual basis, they exhibit differences in organization and application. All of the motifs in Vavilo's journey can be considered to have correspondences in *LV* except those which are dependent on the figures encountered as belonging to non-fantastic human society. The magical performance exchange of Tsar Dog playing a flood and Vavilo responding by playing a herd of bulls corresponds directly to the *lampi*, "pond", which Lemminkäinen's adversary sings in the hall and the ox which Lemminkäinen sings to drink the *lampi*. Tsar Dog's family never enter into the competition (Lemminkäinen may face both the Mistress and the Master of Päivölä). He burns down the kingdom, becomes king and is able to supply for his mother. There is neither the death nor the flight of the hero. The outcome is almost the opposite of *LV*. The sheer density of correspondences in motif-complexes (as opposed to the more general story-pattern with Djuk) makes it difficult to dismiss them as accidental (*contra* Rahimova 1998b:76).

Vavilo's playing is clearly weighted with moralistic implications, visiting punishment or reward on people he encounters according to their responses to him. The playing which burns the city appears to be an application of *image power* from the Christian eschatology: the fires of Judgement. This destruction of the adversary's realm seems somewhat contradictory to becoming king of that realm but it may be considered consistent with the folktale-like adversary "Tsar Dog" (or, "King Wretch": see Oinas 1985:120-121; Rahimova 1998b) and the outcome of the narrative, which is more of a folktale fantasy than anything found in *LV* variants. This gives the impression of a maintenance of indexical systems of relationships which are familiar from *LV* as they were reconfigured to generate a different narrative with different applications and priorities and within the semiotics of another genre. These patterns include the verbal presentation of a danger followed by the magical response, but the verbal warning is encountered on the journey rather than preceding it and functions as a danger meriting the magical rather than explicatory response.

Sokolov (1966:299-301) emphasizes that this narrative is a politically charged apologia for the *skomorokhi*, the persecuted minstrels which it represents as saints (cf. Haavio 1965:362). Vavilo was a well-known cultural figure in the Middle Ages who was an unofficial “kind of patron saint of the guild” of *skomorokhi* according to Oinas (1985:120). However, the only indication of a connection of the Vavilo of the *bylina* with the broader tradition is the musical instrument which he plays (Trautmann 1935:378-179; Oinas 1985:119-120). Haavio (1959, 1965, 1967:240-241) argues that *LV* derives from an obscure pre-classical variant of the Osiris myth from Egypt which was carried through Slavic regions emerging in the *bylina* tradition as *Vavilo i skomorokhi* and then translated into Karelian (followed by Oinas 1969:11-12; 1985; 1987:332-333). Haavio approached the *bylina* as a bridge which showed the route of the narrative’s transmission although other evidence of intermediate links was lacking (Harvilahti & Rahimova 1999:101). He supported this with creative etymological arguments, such as that *piilo* derives from Old Church Slavonic *špilman* (itself a Germanic loan) as an unattested parallel term for OCS *skomorokh*, “minstrel”, and that *lieto* derives from OCS **leto* as an adjective hypothetically associated with *skomorokh*, building up to the assertion that *lemminkäinen* is a Finno-Karelian translation of descriptions of *skomorokh*. He also projected Tsar *Soboka*, “Dog”, back through over two thousand years in transmission across languages and cultures to “Sabakos” in Herodotos’s history, and on to “Šabako” in an obscure ancient text (Haavio 1965).

Rather than a continuity of tradition, this *bylina* has given researchers the impression of an anomalous composite of lore associated with a range of genres (e.g. Trautmann 1935:378-379). Other *byliny* to which *LV* is compared have been documented in a large number of variants with a wide-ranging distribution. *Vavilo i skomorokhi* was only collected from one singer (see Sokolov 1966:300,316-317). She was from the Archangel region.⁵⁵⁹ Metrically, *Vavilo* “diverges completely from the Russian epic tradition” (Oinas 1985:119). “All *bylinas* are composed in *bylina* verse, and that is the only genre entirely composed in this verse,” with the single exception of *Vavilo i skomorokhi*

⁵⁵⁹ *Arkhangelsk*”, to the east and south of the White Sea, not to be confused with Viena, which is sometimes referred to as “Archangel” in English.

(Levinton 2007:86). *Vavilo* is in a syllabic trochaic pentameter. Roman Jakobson (1966b:34-35) has contextualized the metre and melody of this *bylina* in the repertoire of the performer. He compares it to the genre of “spiritual verse” which is relevant to the “holiness” theme of the poem (i.e. the saintly *skomorokhi*: Oinas 1985:119-120). This comparison offers insight into why the *bylina* would be in this unusual metre – or conversely what sort of *word power* the metre would carry, observing the Christian ideology reflected in the song. It does not resolve why the unique *Vavilo i skomorokhi* presents a significantly purer form of the proposed decasyllabic verse than the “spiritual verse” to which it is compared.

Neither the narrative nor the metre of *Vavilo i skomorokhi* are attested as a Slavic tradition let alone as a *bylina* narrative or *bylina* metre. In contrast, *LV* was the most popular kalevalaic epic song. *Vavilo* exhibits an incredible density of material associated with *LV*. In *LV* many of these compelling motifs and motif-complexes are considered “shamanic” features. *Vavilo* appears to de-emphasize the same features and disassociate the protagonist from inherent magical power. It is unlikely that *Vavilo* influenced *LV*. The danger of the stakes presents a motif which is familiar to the *bylina*-tradition, but it is not common in *LV*: it is primarily found in Viena, as is Lemminkäinen’s bird-transformation in order to pass a danger (Supplement 3). The motif of singing beneficial objects is still more unusual, and only documented in Viena (§4.3.1). *Vavilo* seems most probably to have emerged from an encounter or encounters with *LV*, presumably in the region around the White Sea. It is not clear when this occurred, but the peculiar trochaic pentameter of *Vavilo* could be indicative of interference from or a vernacular adaptation of the trochaic tetrameter of kalevalaic verse, fashioned in relation to established metres such as those discussed by Jakobsen (1966b). If this were the explanation for the metre, it would imply that *Vavilo i skomorokhi* was a recent development.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

ANF: Arkiv för nordisk Filologi.

ERL: Eestin Rahvalaulud

FFC: Folklore Fellows Communication. Helsinki.

FFPE: Finnish Folk Poetry: Epic

KKR: Karjalan kansan runot.

KKS: Karjalan kielen sanakirja.

KSV: Kalevalaseuran vuosikirja.

PMLA: Publications of the Modern Language Association.

RGa: Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde.

ERGA: Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde. Berlin.

SFF: Studia Fennica Folkloristica. Helsinki.

SKES: Suomen Kielen Etymologinen Sanakirja.

SL: Setukeste laulud.

SSA: Suomen Sanojen Alkuperä.

SUSA: Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikauskirja. Helsinki.

SUST: Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia. Helsinki.

SKVR: Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot I-XV.

КФНЭ: Карело-финский народный эпос.

УПТК: Устная поэзия тунгудских карел.

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Карело-финский народный эпос: see Jevseev 1994.

Устная поэзия тунгудских карел: see Stepanova 2000.