

Publications of the Milman Parry Collection
of Oral Literature No. 3

OLD NORSE MYTHOLOGY —
COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES

OLD NORSE MYTHOLOGY— COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES

Edited by Pernille Hermann,
Stephen A. Mitchell, and Jens Peter Schjødt
with Amber J. Rose

Published by
THE MILMAN PARRY COLLECTION OF ORAL LITERATURE
Harvard University

Distributed by
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, Massachusetts & London, England
2017

Old Norse Mythology—Comparative Perspectives

Published by The Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature, Harvard University

Distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts & London, England

Copyright © 2017 The Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature

All rights reserved

The Ilex Foundation (ilexfoundation.org) and the Center for Hellenic Studies (chs.harvard.edu) provided generous financial and production support for the publication of this book.

EDITORIAL TEAM OF THE MILMAN PARRY COLLECTION

Managing Editors: Stephen Mitchell and Gregory Nagy

Executive Editors: Casey Dué and David Elmer

PRODUCTION TEAM OF THE CENTER FOR HELLENIC STUDIES

Production Manager for Publications: Jill Curry Robbins

Web Producer: Noel Spencer

Cover Design: Joni Godlove

Production: Kristin Murphy Romano

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Hermann, Pernille, editor.

Title: Old Norse mythology--comparative perspectives / edited by Pernille Hermann, Stephen A. Mitchell, Jens Peter Schjødt, with Amber J. Rose.

Description: Cambridge, MA : Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature, 2017. | Series: Publications of the Milman Parry collection of oral literature ; no. 3 | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017030125 | ISBN 9780674975699 (alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Mythology, Norse. | Scandinavia--Religion--History.

Classification: LCC BL860 .O55 2017 | DDC 293/.13--dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2017030125>

Table of Contents

<i>Series Foreword</i>	vii
by David Elmer, Casey Dué, Gregory Nagy, and Stephen Mitchell	
<i>Foreword</i>	ix
by Joseph Harris	
<i>Preface: Situating Old Norse Mythology in Comparative Contexts</i>	xiii
by Pernille Hermann, Stephen Mitchell, and Jens Peter Schjødt	
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xix

Part One. THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL COMPARISONS

JENS PETER SCHJØDT Pre-Christian Religions of the North and the Need for Comparativism: Reflections on Why, How, and with What We Can Compare	3
PERNILLE HERMANN Methodological Challenges to the Study of Old Norse Myths: The Orality and Literacy Debate Reframed . . . 29	
KATE HESLOP Framing the Hero: Medium and Metalepsis in Old Norse Heroic Narrative.	53
JONAS WELLENDORF The Æsir and Their Idols	89

Part Two. LOCAL AND NEIGHBORING TRADITIONS

TERRY GUNNELL Blótgýðjur, Goðar, Mimi, Incest, and Wagons: Oral Memories of the Religion(s) of the Vanir	113
TORUN ZACHRISSON Volund Was Here: A Myth Archaeologically Anchored in Viking Age Scania	139
OLOF SUNDQVIST The Temple, the Tree, and the Well: A <i>Topos</i> or Cosmic Symbolism at Cultic Sites in Pre-Christian Northern Europe?	163
THOMAS A. DUBOIS The Mythic Sun: An Areal Perspective	191
JOHN LINDOW Comparing Balto-Finnic and Nordic Mythologies . .	223

Table of Contents

Part Three. GLOBAL TRADITIONS

RICHARD COLE	Snorri and the Jews	243
MATHIAS NORDVIG	Creation from Fire in Snorri's <i>Edda</i> : The Tenets of a Vernacular Theory of Geothermal Activity in Old Norse Myth	269
STEPHEN A. MITCHELL	Óðinn, Charms, and Necromancy: <i>Hávamál</i> 157 in Its Nordic and European Contexts	289
JOSEPH FALAKY NAGY	Vermin Gone Bad in Medieval Scandinavian, Persian, and Irish Traditions	323
EMILY LYLE	Baldr and Iraj: Murdered and Avenged	341
MICHAEL WITZEL	Ymir in India, China—and Beyond	363
<i>Index</i>		381

Snorri and the Jews

Richard Cole
University of Notre Dame

Abstract: This essay considers the mythological writing of Snorri Sturluson (d. 1241) in its most temporally proximal comparative context: the intellectual culture of thirteenth century Christian Europe, specifically one particular area of the High Medieval imagination: Christian narratives about Jews. Particular attention is paid to Snorri's use of anti-Jewish typology in his depiction of Loki and the *Muspellssynir* "The Sons of Muspell" (the agents of the apocalypse who break loose at the end of the world). The essay argues that Snorri's configuration of Loki's status amongst the *Æsir* might well have been drawn from contemporary thinking about the status of the Jew amongst Christians: both were considered outsiders, whose presence was tolerated because they were thought to have special abilities, even while they were widely held to be untrustworthy and deleterious to society. Loki's apocalyptic comrades, the *Muspellssynir*, obviously originate in the eddic poem *Völuspá*, but I argue that Snorri's account of them is strongly colored by the medieval motif of the "Red Jews", menacing Jewish warriors who would break out of their subterranean tomb during the Last Days and ride forth into Christendom with warlike intent.

For medieval Scandinavians, it was a religion that belonged to the past. Perhaps it had once offered spiritual truths, but that was before the coming of Christianity, a belief system which had swept it aside and utterly superseded the old ways. People had believed in it only because Christ had not yet come to them. That, in itself, was blameless, but once the Good News had been spread, only the most stubborn and malevolent mind would refuse to convert to the one true faith. Nonetheless, it had left behind a precious trove of worthy narratives, tales of heroic deeds, and beautiful poetry. A good medieval Christian could certainly appreciate that, but he ought to feel nothing but disdain for any remaining

adherents of this backwards creed. In the literature of the thirteenth century, its followers were frequently depicted as witches, troublemakers, and ne'er-do-wells; relics of a bygone age, waiting either for conversion or the righteous violence of the pious. These are perceptions reasonably attached to paganism, as it would have been understood by thirteenth-century intellectuals such as Snorri Sturluson. In this study, however, we will consider the valence of such attitudes to Judaism, the “superseded” religion upon whose abjection the foundations of medieval Christian identity were built.¹

Hostility towards Jews was an unpleasant and recurrent feature of thirteenth-century European life.² The continent’s Jewish population, numbering perhaps some 450,000 (Baron 2007: 389), were subjected to rhetorical attacks by Christian preachers, repressive laws, and occasional outbreaks of violence. To frame this chronology of persecution within the life and times of Snorri Sturluson, we might begin by noting that *Snorra Edda* was written just a few years after the ruling of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. This edict included the infamous proclamation that Jews and Muslims “utriusque sexus in omni christianorum provincia et omni tempore qualitate habitus publice ab aliis populis distinguantur” (*Decreta* p. 266) (of both sexes in all Christian provinces and at all times shall be differentiated from other peoples in the public’s eyes by the manner of their dress). The ruling ultimately led to the enforced wearing of yellow badges or hats in many countries. As I have pointed out previously (Cole 2014: 239), Snorri’s lifetime saw blood libel accusations and massacres against the Jews in Bristol, Bury St. Edmonds, Fulda, London, Oxford, Winchester and York. By the time Snorri died in 1241, England had been driven into disorder by anti-Jewish pogroms following the coronation of Richard the Lionheart in 1189; crusading mobs had slain over 2,500 Jews in northern France; and Pope Gregory IX had put the Talmud on trial in Paris (Mentgen 2005: 155; Yuval 1998: 113–16).

My aim in this paper, then, is to situate Snorri in what is arguably his most proximal comparative context: that of intellectual culture in the thirteenth

¹ Indeed, in a sense there is more Old Norse writing concerning these “worthy narratives” from the Bible than there are reproductions of pagan narratives. *Stjórn*, *Gyðinga saga*, and the Old Testament *exempla* from *Konungs Skuggsjá*, for example, dwarf *Snorra Edda* and the Eddic poems. For an argument connecting all three of the former to one author, Brandr Jónsson, see Ian Kirby (1986: 169–81), although cf. Wolf (1990). Studies of Snorri’s attitudes towards paganism are numerous, but the reader may profitably be directed to Wanner (2008: esp. 140–61) and Faulkes (1983).

² The initial description of medieval Europe as a “persecuting society” was provided by R. I. Moore. He pays particular attention to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the second edition of his book, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society* (2006: 144–71).

century.³ Specifically, I will focus on the meditations on Judaism, and often anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism, which pervaded that culture. During this period serious thinkers could hardly avoid engagement with the questions prompted by the ongoing interaction between Christianity and Judaism. Even if they only treated the topic tangentially, the place of the Jews as characters in the Gospels, popular accusations of Jewish perfidy, the pervasive typological associations of “the Jew” in Christian exegesis, and awareness of Christianity’s historical beginnings as a Jewish sect meant that most of the important writers of the thirteenth century made use of the Jewish *topos*. We might cite any number of examples here: Albertus Magnus (fl. 1245), William of Auvergne, (fl. 1228) and Robert Grosseteste (fl. 1220s) are all demonstrative of this trend (Liebeschütz 2007a: 591, 2007b: 64; on Grosseteste, his anti-Judaism and his problematic Hebraism, see McEvoy 2000: 120–32; Friedman 1934; cf. Roth 1951: 121, 126–27).

Snorra Edda obviously does not feature any Jewish characters proper, but, to employ a distinction coined by Jeffrey Jerome Cohen in his study of Margery Kempe (Cohen 2006, 2003: 185), there are several figures who are “Jew-ish”. That is to say, they are not intended to be direct comments upon the Jews or their religion, but they do freely make use of the potent typological armory of anti-Judaism.⁴ I use the word “typology” here in a sense that encompasses both its literary and exegetical meanings. The most obvious typological project in Christian narrative is the foreshadowing of Christ projected back into the Old Testament, an endeavour that began with the authors of the New Testament and which was enthusiastically continued by the church. Romans 5: 14 is an early example, and the one that gives us the word “type”: “Nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam’s transgression, who is the figure of him that was to come” (Koiné: τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος; Vulgate: *forma futuri*). Importantly, the business of figurative interpretation was also applied to non-Biblical texts and concepts. As Eric Auerbach put it concerning the case of Dante Alighieri’s (d. 1321) *Divina Commedia*:

Not only the world of the Christian religion, but also the ancient world is included in Dante’s figural system; the Roman empire of Augustus is for Dante a figure of God’s eternal empire, and the prominent part Virgil plays in Dante’s work is based on this assumption. Dante is not the first

³ Of course, this is not a novel proposal. See, for example, Fidjestøl (1997: 343–50) or Faulkes (1993: 59–76).

⁴ I have deployed Cohen’s category of “Jew-ishness” before, although I would now reconsider the previous suggestions of Hebraist influence in the case of *Mǫkkurkálfi* offered there: Cole 2014: 257–58.

to subject all the material of human history to the figural conception [i.e. typological reading]; biblical history, Jewish and Christian, came to be seen as universal human history, and all pagan historical material had to be inserted and adapted to this framework. (Auerbach 1952: 6)

Typology in this sense becomes the pursuit of what St. Augustine called “obscura quaedam figura rerum” (the obscured figure of the thing) (*Enarrationes* col. 1788). For the typologically-minded reader, all narrative elements can be aligned with a predictive type, drawn from the rich *dramatis personae* of Christian tradition. The identity of this type will then serve as a predictor for the qualities and behaviors of the character to whom it has been appended. For instance, the Roman Empire is aligned with the Kingdom of Heaven, and therefore becomes a state charged with safeguarding spiritual perfection. Rahab becomes aligned with Ecclesia (Auerbach 1952: 3–4), and thus the scarlet rope she hangs from her window becomes a symbol of Christ’s blood: the sacrifice that saves Ecclesia just as the rope saves the harlot of Jericho. For the purposes of this study, we will focus on the manipulation of one type, namely the Jew(s) as perceived by thirteenth-century Christendom, and its potential influence upon Snorri Sturluson’s *Edda*, a literary product of that age. Snorri borrows from a given tradition where its imagery inspires or the typological allusion is particularly striking, but it should be stressed that I do not believe he was dealing in allegory *per se*. This is especially true in the case of Snorri’s use of the anti-Jewish tradition. Snorri did not intend to enter into anti-Jewish polemic, much as the more astute in his audience might have drawn that inference. Rather, amongst a myriad of other, more innocent influences, he was inspired by contemporary ideas about Jews and Judaism, and he then deployed those ideas, liberated from their original frame of reference, in the fantasy world of his *Edda*.

Praise for the Jews in the Codex Wormianus

While there are no Jewish personalities in the *Edda*, the Jews as a collective do make an explicit appearance in one particular recension, namely the Codex Wormianus from the middle of the fourteenth century. There, in the prologue, we find the following elaboration on the device of euhemerism:

Enn sem nofnín fiölgðuðuz. þa tyndiz með þui sanleikrinn. Ok af fyrstu uillu þa blotaði huerr maðr epterkomandí sinn formeistara dyr eða fugla loptin ok himintunglín ok ymisliga dauðlega lutí þar til er þessi uilla gekk um allan heím ok sua uandlegha tyndu þeir sannleiknum at æingi uissi skapara sinn. utan þeir æfnir menn sem toluðu ebreska tungu þa sem gekk firi stöpul smíðina (Wormianus p. 3)

(And as the names [for God] multiplied, the true one was lost. And from the initial heresy every man and his descendants worshipped as their master animals or birds, the sky and the heavenly bodies and various inanimate objects until this heresy went all around the world, and so they habitually lost the truth, so that no-one knew his Creator, except for those men who had spoken the Hebrew language preceding the construction of the tower [of Babel])

Coming from an interpolation found solely in the Codex Wormianus, this episode is surely “Eddic” even if it probably is not “Snorric”. Nonetheless, it is enlightening for our understanding of (one particular) *Edda*’s connections to the Christian conception of the Jews. There is a reminder here of the antiquity of Judaism, and implicit therein is a nod to St. Augustine’s paradigm of “Jew as Witness” (Cohen 1999: 23–65). That is to say, this apparently casual remark stresses to the reader that the Jews had been the guardians of God’s law even while Scandinavians and the other gentile nations had been distracted into worshipping “inanimate objects” (*dauðligar hlutir*). There is almost a tone of esteem for Jews in the narrative voice, versus a mocking admonishment towards pagans. It is significant that the Jews are not referred to by any of their usual names in Old Norse, e.g. *gyðingr* or *júði*. The somewhat oblique appellation of “men who had spoken the Hebrew language” seems to anticipate any negative connotations which might have accompanied the word “Jew”. The separation of the Jews from their language was a common psychological mechanism in medieval Christianity which accommodated anti-Judaism with reverence for one of the languages of scripture. Christian Hebraists who revered the Hebrew language were still capable of anti-Jewish moments, e.g., St. Jerome, who attacked Jewish ritual clothing (Signer 2004: esp. 26; Itzkowitz 2007: 563–72). We can observe this “doublethink” elsewhere in Old Norse literature. For example, in the *Messuskýringar* (commentaries on the symbolism of liturgy) we find the statement: “Því er á inu vinstra horni altaris miðhlutr messu sunginn, at nú standa aðrar þjóðir undir trú. Enn þeir eru nú mjök útan brautar gyðingarnir” (pp. 47–48, my standardization) (This is why the Mass is sung on the left side of the altar, so that other nations might submit to faith. But those Jews are now strayed far from the path). This is in no way at odds with the commentator’s previous joyous assertion that: “ina æðztu tungu er ebreska” (pp. 45–46) (the highest language is Hebrew). That being said, there is no reason to suppose that the author was attempting such anti-Jewish intellectual gymnastics in the prologue of the Codex Wormianus. It might be an aside, but his intent is clear. To summarize it colloquially: “you may not like the Jews, but they were a great deal closer to God than we were, back when we were worshipping Óðinn, rocks,

puddles or who-knows-what-other-*dauðligar-hlutir*". The Codex Wormianus thus attests an *Edda* tempered with a degree of warmth towards Jews.

Loki the Jew?

Snorri himself, as opposed to the Wormianus scribe, tends to borrow from the more dramatic, hostile perception of Jews. The example of Snorri's putative anti-Judiasm that has probably received the most attention concerns the role of Christian typology in Snorri's account of Baldr's death and abortive resurrection. It is worth noting as an aside that elsewhere scholars have also investigated parallels and perhaps even borrowings from medieval Jewish literature in *Snorra Edda* (see Bugge 1881–1898: 45; Turville-Petre 1964: 119; O'Donoghue 2005: 90–91; Cole 2014), although space does not allow for further discussion of this trend here. Baldr's Christ-like credentials are well known, which begs the question: which character in Snorri's narrative then represents the people whom medieval Christians widely saw as Christ's killers, the Jews? Noting the long-standing characterization of "Synagoga" as blind, Arthur Mosher proposed that Höðr must have been intended to refer to the Jews, with Loki, as the orchestrating power, acting as a cipher for Satan (Mosher 1983: 313–14). Mosher's overtly Christological interpretation of this episode has not been universally accepted (e.g., Liberman 2004: 24–25). His hypothesis can perhaps be modified and enhanced with some concomitant examples of the tropes he discusses. To my knowledge, Jews are described as blind five times in the surviving Old Norse corpus, including one reference in the *Old Icelandic Homily Book* (*Mariu saga* pp. 890–93, 963–65; *HMS* 1 pp. 302–08, 308–11; *Homiliubók* pp. 57–58). In addition to these textual attestations, one pictorial depiction of the blind Synagoga survives from the Old Norse-speaking period on an altar panel from Kinsarvik, Norway (see Figure 1). Moreover, the Gospel motif of the Jews as unwitting instruments for Satan's plan to kill Christ also features in *Niðrstigningar saga*, the Old Norse translation of the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus*, which Christopher Abram (2006: 13, 2011: 220) has argued may have inspired Snorri elsewhere in the *Edda*, specifically his account of Hermóðr's *Helreið* (ride to Hel). In *Niðrstigningar saga* it is written that the Devil "æggiat gyþing[a] lyþ fiandscaþar við hann" (*HMS* 2 p. 16; cf. pp. 3–4, 19) (incited the Jewish nation to enmity against Him).

I therefore agree that it is not unreasonable to adduce that Snorri would have been familiar with the trope. But Mosher's argument is open to criticism on two fronts. Firstly, it implies that *Snorra Edda* is a sort of *roman à clef*, where each character is a façade for one discrete referent. As I have elsewhere argued concerning the similarity between Surtr, the *Dökkálfar*, and *blámenn* (Cole 2015b), such narrow literalism is not how Snorri's mind worked. Behind

a single character may lie a genealogy including any number of influences—”authentically” pagan or otherwise—and a single influence may manifest itself in many different characters simultaneously. Secondly, Mosher does not draw on the most tangible and credible source of typology for Snorri’s writing, namely the kind of preaching material now best exemplified by the *Old Icelandic Homily Book*. Abram, who also argues for the presence of incognito Jews in Snorri’s work, says this on the matter:



Figure 1. Blind Synagoga with St. Paul, Antependium from Kinsarvik Church, Norway, c. 1200. Image courtesy of Norsk Folkemuseum. Interestingly, many of the published images of this altar frontal are cropped in such a way as to remove her.

In [Gregory the Great's (590–604)] eighth homily on the Gospels, [...] [he] specifies that not quite *everything* acknowledged Christ's divinity by their sorrow at his death. Gregory enumerates the ways in which the different elements of creation—including the rocks, sea and sun—perceived Christ as Lord [...] But, continues Gregory, the Jews who turned away from Christ were harder hearted even than rocks, refusing “to acknowledge him whom [...] the elements proclaimed to be God either by their signs or by being broken” [...] When combined with the relatively well-known idea that all creation wept at Christ's death, Gregory's homily may lead us to suspect that at some point in the transmission of the Baldr myth it has been susceptible to Christian influence. Gregory's homilies were known in Iceland and translated into Old Norse, and they provided an important source for the types of sermon that Snorri might have heard preached each Sunday in church. (Abram 2011: 219–20)

Abram's argument is fortified when we confirm that the relevant excerpt from the Gregorian homily he describes is indeed attested in an Old Icelandic sermon on the Apparition of Christ:

En oss er þeckandi a ðallom tócnom þeim er sýnd ero báþe at bornom drótnu oc deyianda. hve mikil illzca hever veret i hiortom neqverra gyþinga er hvártke kendosc þeir við gvp fyr spár ne fyr iarteiner. þuiat allar hofþskepnor vótþoþo komet hafa scapera sín. J þui kendo himnarnar guþ. er þeir sendio stiornona. Hafet kende hann. þuiat þat spratt eige vndan fótom hans þa er hann geck yver þat. Jorþen kende hann. þuiat hon skalf at honom deyianda. Sólen kende hann. þuiat hon gerþe eigi skína. Steínar kendo hann. þuiat þeir sprungo a tíþ dauþa hans. Helvíte kende hann. þuiat þat varþ aftr at selia þa dauþa men es þat helt áþr. En þóat allar hofþskepnor váttape hann guþ vera. þa villdo ǫllvngis eige hiorto ótrúra gyþinga trúa hann guþ vera. oc harþare steinom villdo þau eige kliúfasc til iþronar. oc vilia eige íáta þeim er allar skepnor skilia guþ vera. (*Homilíubók* p. 58, my emphasis)

(It is known to us in all wonders, those which were seen both at the Lord's birth and death, how much evil has been in the hearts of some Jews, who neither acknowledge God for prophecies nor for miracles. Because *all the elements affirmed that their creator had come. The heavens acknowledged God, for they sent the stars. The sea acknowledged Him, because it did not part under his feet when he walked over it. The earth acknowledged Him, because it shook upon his death. The sun acknowledged Him, because it*

did not shine. The stones acknowledged Him, because they cracked at the time of His death. Hell acknowledged Him, because it came again to deliver back those dead men, whom previously it held. But even though all of the elements attested that He was God, then the hearts of the faithless Jews would by no means believe Him to be God, and harder than stones they would not be cracked for [their] repentance, and would not yield to Him, whom all of creation understands to be God.)

Considered alongside Snorri's own words, the influence from this scene on the *Edda* becomes quite transparent:

Því næst sendu Æsir um allan heim orindreka at biðja at Baldr væri grátinn ór Helju. *En allir gerðu þat, menninir ok kykvendin ok jörðin ok steinararnir ok tré ok allr málmr, svá sem þú munt sét hafa at þessir hlutir gráta þá er þeir koma ór frosti ok í hita. Þá er sendimenn fóru heim ok höfðu vel rekit sín eyrindi, finna þeir í helli nokkvorum hvar gýgr sat. Hon nefndisk Þökk. Þeir biðja hana gráta Baldr ór Helju. Hon segir:*

“Þökk mun gráta / þurru tárur / Baldrs bálfarar. / Kyks né dauðs / nautka ek karls sonar: / haldi Hel því er hefir”.

En þess geta menn at þar hafi verit Loki Laufeyjarson er flest hefir illt gert með Ásum. (*Gylfaginning* pp. 47–48, my emphasis)

(The next thing that happened, the Æsir sent word around the whole world, asking for Baldr to be wept out of Hel. *And everyone did so, humans and animals and the earth and the stones and trees and every kind of metal-work, as you will have seen that these things weep when they are brought out of the cold and into the warm.* Then when the messengers came home and had almost completed their task, they find a giantess sitting in a certain cave. She was called Þökk. They ask her to weep for Baldr, to get him out of Hel. She says:

“Þökk will cry / dry tears / at Baldr's funeral. / Living nor dead, / I did not delight in the old man's son [Baldr] / May Hel keep what she has.”

But most people think this was really Loki, son of Laufey, who committed the most evil against the Æsir.)

Besides the allusion to Gregory's homily, there are other factors in Snorri's account contributing to Loki's Jew-ishness. There appears to be a subtle irony in the choice of Loki's alter ego. Þökk means “thanks” or “gratefulness”. Richard

Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfusson assert that this is a coincidence, and that Þökk's name must originally have a different root (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874: 756). But for typological purposes, this double meaning is quite appropriate. After all, from a medieval Christian perspective, it was gratefulness that was sorely lacking when Christ revealed himself to the Jews. As Christians told the history of the early Church, the Jews had been given a great gift, yet they had rejected it. In the end, it was the gentiles who would show appreciation, and so form the Church. As the *Old Icelandic Homily Book* says: “iorsala lýþr oc gyþingar georþesc vinstre handar men. þat ero recningar fyr ótrú sína. en hann valþc epter písl sóma heógre handar men sér af heiþnom monnom ór norþre” (*Homilíubók* p. 37) (the people of Jerusalem and the Jews were made left-hand-men [i.e. enemies], that is a sign of their faithlessness, and after his crucifixion he chose for the honor of his right-hand-men heathen peoples from the North).

Furthermore, there is something very Jew-ish in Loki's function amongst the Æsir. Loki in Ásgarðr and the Jew in Western Christendom are both positions predicated on the notion of “being in service”. From Augustine describing the Jews as book-carrying servants for Christian students, to Emperor Frederick II's designation of Jews as *servi camere nostre* “servants of our chamber”, to the possessive servitude exhibited in the Anglo-Norman *Judei Nostri*, the doctrine of the “Jew in Christian Service” permeated medieval thinking about Jews (Rowe 2004: 16; Krummel 2011: 28–36; Abulafia 2011). But in both cases, the servant is held in contempt, perceived as antisocial and disloyal. Like the Jew amongst Christians, Loki is an ethnic Other, because his father Fárbaumi belongs to the race of the *jǫtnar* (giants).⁵ And in both cases, the cunning, magic-wielding outsider is tolerated only because of his unique qualities. If Loki only insulted and tricked the gods, and did not at all assist them when they fell into unfortunate predicaments, his presence in Ásgarðr would surely not be sustained. The parallel also extends perfectly to the way “the Jew” and Loki are treated. Both are righteously abused for the profit of their masters. Robert Grosseteste, a contemporary of Snorri, succinctly articulated the consensus regarding the status of the Jew within Christendom:

⁵ The relationship could even be conceived of in postcolonial terms. Miriamne Krummel reads the “Red Jews” motif in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* as an anxiety that the Christian oppression of the Jews will be inverted during the apocalypse (Krummel 2011: 80–87). Ragnarøkr will also see the Æsir fall prey to the giants they have oppressed for so long, led by Loki, a half-giant in their midst.

[...] et justæ pœnæ inflictio est ut terram laboriose operetur, quæ etsi ex operatione illius populi fructificet, non tamen fert illi fructus suos, sed principibus sub quibus captivatur. (*Epistolæ* p. 35)⁶

([...] it is the infliction of a just punishment that this people labour hard at tilling ground that, although it produces abundantly from their efforts, nevertheless bears its fruits not for them, but for the princes under whom they are held captive (*Letters* pp. 67–68))

This is a metaphor which could just as well be applied to Loki under the Æsir.

The Sons of Muspell and the Red Jews: Two Harbingers of the Apocalypse

Loki's Jew-ish credentials are further enhanced when we consider his fate at the end of the world. When the Æsir suspect his role in Baldr's death, their vengeance is grisly in the extreme. There is a brief allusion to the fact that Loki has been bound in stanza 14 of *Baldrs draumr*: “er lauss Loki líðr ór þöndom” (Poetic Edda p. 279) (when Loki gets free from his bonds). Some details are also given in the prose epilogue to *Lokasenna* in the Codex Regius, which corresponds quite closely to the description provided by Snorri. *Snorra Edda*, however, is our chief source for the details of the scene. As Hár explains to Gangleri:

“Nú var Loki tekinn griðalaus ok farit með hann í helli nokkvorn. Þá tóku þeir þrjár hellur ok settu á egg ok lustu rauf á hellunni hverri. Þá váru teknir synir Loka Váli ok Nari eða Narfi. Brugðu Æsir Vála í vargs líki ok reif hann í sundr Narfa bróður sinn. Þá tóku Æsir þarma hans ok bundu Loka með yfir þá þrjá steina - einn undir herðum annarr undir lendum, þriði undir knésfótum - ok urðu þau þönd at járnri. Þá tók Skaði eitrorem ok festi upp yfir hann svá at eitrit skyldi drjúpa ór orminum í andlit honum. En Sigyn kona hans stendr hjá honum ok heldr mundlaugu undir eitrdropa. En þá er full er mundlaugin þá gengr hon ok slær

⁶ The anti-Semitic image of the Jew as a duplicitous servant, making cloying pledges and boasting indispensable special skills even while he undermines his master's society, is also brilliantly exemplified by the words Thomas of Monmouth (fl. c. 1149) puts into the mouth of an imaginary Jewish lawyer: “Nos iudei tui sumus, tui quotennes tributarii, tuisque crebro necessariis necessitatibus, tibi siquidem semper fideles regnoque tuo non inutiles” (*The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich* p. 100) (We are your Jews, your yearly payers of tribute, and to you we are necessary whenever you are in need, for we are always true to you and not at all useless to your realm (my translation)). That the William of Norwich legend was apparently known in Iceland and Norway, and that Archbishop Eysteinn (d. 1188) would have been in Bury during the alleged martyrdom of Robert of Bury, are the matter for a separate study.

út eitrinu, en meðan drýpr eitrit í andlit honum. Þá kippisk hann svá hart við at jörð öll skelfr. Þat kallið þér landskjálpta. Þar liggr hann í böndum til ragnarøkr”. (*Gylfaginning* p. 49)

(“Now, without mercy, Loki was taken and brought to a certain cave. Then they took three slabs and turned them on their edges and drilled a hole in each. Then the sons of Loki were taken, Váli and Nari or Narfi. The Æsir transformed Váli into the shape of a wolf and he tore his brother Narfi to shreds. Then the Æsir took his entrails and bound Loki with them over the three stones—one under his shoulders, the second under his hips, the third under his knees, and they turned those bonds into iron. Then Skaði took a poisonous serpent and secured it above him so that the poison would drip out of its mouth onto his face. And Sigyn, his wife, stands by him and holds a cup under the dripping poison. But when the cup is full then she goes and throws the poison away, and in the meantime the poison drips onto his face. Then he thrashes so hard that the whole earth shakes. That’s what you call an earthquake. He lies there in his bonds until Ragnarøkkr”).

And when Ragnarøkkr⁷ comes, this is what happens:

Í þessum gný klofnar himinninn ok ríða þaðan Muspells synir. Surtr ríðr fyrst ok fyrir honum ok eptir bæði eldr brennanndi. Sverð hans er gott mjök. Af því skínn bjartara en af sólu. En er þeir ríða Bifröst þá brotnar hon sem fyrr er sagt. Muspells megir sækja fram á þann völl er Vígríðr heitir. Þar kemr ok þá Fenrisúlfr ok Miðgarðsormr. Þar er ok þá Loki kominn ok Hrymr ok með honum allir hrímþursar, en Loka fylgja allir Heljar sinnar. En Muspells synir hafa einir sér fylking; er sú björt mjök. (*Gylfaginning* p. 50)

(In this clamor, the sky splits in two and the sons of Muspell ride forth. Surtr rides out first, before and after him there is burning fire. His sword is very great. The shine from it is brighter than the sun. And as they ride on Bifröst, then it breaks as previously said. The troops of Muspell head forth to the field which is called Vígríðr. Fenrisúlfr and Miðgarðsormr also arrive. Loki has also arrived, and Hrymr, and with

⁷ I use the spelling Ragnarøkkr throughout as it is specifically Snorri’s version of events, as depicted in chapters 50–51 of *Gylfaginning*, to which I am referring. On this problem, see Haraldur Bernharðsson (2007). I am particularly grateful to one of my anonymous peer reviewers for recommending this source.

him all the Ice Giants, and all the champions of Hel follow Loki. And the sons of Muspell have a *fylking* all to themselves. It shines a great deal.)⁸

Snorri quotes stanza 51 of *Völuspá* as his source here:

Kjöll ferr austan
koma munu Muspells
og lög lýðir,
en Loki stýrir.
Þar ró fíflmegir
með freka allir
þeim er bróðir
Býleists í fōr (*Gylfaginning* p. 51; cf. Poetic Edda p. 12)

(A ship journeys from the East
[the sons] of Muspell are coming
across the waves
There are the monstrous brood
with all the wolves
Those are the brothers
of Býleist, on their way)

But Snorri's description of the imprisonment and counter-attack of the Muspellssynir also has much in common with another popular medieval narrative. "The Red Jews" is a motif, seeming to emanate most forcefully from German-speaking Europe in the twelfth century (e.g. Gow 1995: esp. 91-95), in which a nation of Jews are imprisoned in a remote area, often in a mountain tomb somewhere around the Caucasus. Upon their release in the build-up to the apocalypse, the Red Jews will attack Christendom, resulting in an apocalyptic bloodshed that will bring on the End of Days. There are many variants to the legend—sometimes the Red Jews are identified with Gog and Magog, sometimes the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel. Sometimes, as in *The Travels of John Mandeville* (c. 1350s), they will seek out the Jewish Diaspora, and act as a globally coordinated threat. Sometimes they are directly answerable to the Anti-Christ or they ride

⁸ It may be noted that Snorri's conclusion of his account of the Muspellssynir on the march with the words *er sú björt mjök* (It shines a great deal) or more closely (It is very bright) is remarkably similar to the description of the Red Jews on the march in *Der Göttweiger Trojanerkrieg* (1280): *Ir helm waren hartte glantz* (Their helmets had a frightful gleam) (*Der Göttweiger Trojanerkrieg* p. 273). However, as the Middle High German account is much later than *Snorra Edda* there can be no possibility of direct influence. The most we can say about this resemblance is that it is indicative of the similar mental images both the Muspellssynir and the Red Jews were conjuring during the thirteenth century.

with the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse. Elsewhere, they are in league with the forces of Islam (Gow 1995). The first textual witness to a group of people actually referred to as “Red Jews” is *Der Jüngere Titurel* (c. 1272) but the motif is undoubtedly dependent on much earlier material from Alexander romances, going back as far as the tenth century *Historia de Preliis Alexandri Magni* (Gow 1995: 70–76). Precursor groups to the Red Jews appear in St. Jerome’s *Commentariorum in Hiezechielem* (c. 380), Lamprecht’s *Alexander* (c. 1130), and the *Historia Scholastica* (1160s) amongst other Latin and German sources (see Gow 1995: 300–1, 305–6, 308). The Red Jews proper are not attested in the West Norse corpus, although an antecedent tradition does appear in the Old Norse *Elucidarius* (c. 1200)⁹:

Anti christus man berast i babílon híní miclu or kýni dan fra port kono [...] Oll tacn hans ero lýgín. Hann man endr nya hína fornu iorsala borg, þat er íherusalem. oc lata sic þar gofga sem guð. Við honum monu gýðingar taka fegensamlega. oc koma til hans or ollum heímí. En þeir monu snuast til tru af kenníngum enocs oc elias. Oc taka mioc sua aller harðar píníngar fyrir guðs nafne. (*Elucidarius* p. 84)

(The Anti-Christ will be born in Greater Babylon to a woman of easy virtue from the tribe of Dan [...] All his miracles are false. He will rebuild the ancient *Jórsalaborg*, that is to say, Jerusalem, and have himself worshipped there as God. The Jews will receive him eagerly, and they will come to him from all over the world. But they will be converted to the faith by the teachings of Enoch and Elijah. And they will receive very harsh punishments in the name of God.)

There is no suggestion here that the Jews have been contained, or that they will embark on a premeditated annihilation of Christendom. Crucially, though, there is the notion that the Jews will unite all over the world, and that they will act in a coordinated fashion in the service of the Anti-Christ until Enoch and Elijah show them the errors of their ways. These “proto-Red Jews” are a noteworthy example of the kind of thinking about Jews that was circulating in the Old Norse world. As shall be seen, it appears that Snorri had access to a more mature version of the Red Jews legend, which he then allowed to color his perception (or depiction) of the Muspellssynir: e.g., both Snorri’s “sons of Muspell” and the Red Jews are held underground until the end of times, both ride on horseback, etc. If we are in search of a strain of the Red Jews tradition

⁹ I am grateful to Arngrímur Vídalín for pointing out to me that this tradition was still current in the early fourteenth century, as it is repeated in *Hauksbók* (pp. 170–71).

which is more analogous to the apocalyptic agents of *Snorra Edda*, we must look beyond Icelandic sources.

As the continental material concerning the Red Jews is so diverse, any decision over which particular source to quote as exemplary will be more or less arbitrary. Therefore, I have opted to compare Snorri's *Muspellssynir* with the tradition as it appears in Old Swedish.¹⁰ Doubtless, there can be no suggestion of direct transmission between the two, as the Swedish *Konung Alexander* (c. 1380) is over a century younger than *Snorra Edda*. However, the particular Latin text of which it is substantially a translation, the *Historia de Preliis Alexandri Magni*, dates from the tenth century. The Old Swedish account thus has the advantage of having a strong connection to one of the oldest known ancestors of the Red Jews. Furthermore, owing to the linguistic affinity between Old Swedish and Old Norse it can also give us a hint at what a rendering of the Red Jews tale might have looked like in Snorri's own language—not that there necessarily was a written vernacular version. The tale could well have been told by foreign guests or cosmopolitan scholars at the Norwegian court of King Hákon Hákonarson, for example. We know that people in that very circle were discussing—and evaluating the plausibility of—another Orientalist fantasy, namely the *Letter of Prester John*. Written at the court of King Hákon for the king-in-waiting, Magnús Hákonarson, *Konungs skuggsjá* (c. 1250s) refers to “þá bok er gior var a indija landi [...] þar sie margt vndarlíga j sagt” (*Konungs skuggsjá* p. 13; see also Larrington 2004: 96–97) (that book which was made in India [...] in which many wondrous things are said). Indeed, it ought to be noted that some versions of the *Letter* actually contained references to the Red Jews (Gow 1995: 307, 309–10). Obviously we are in the realm of the deeply speculative here, but it does not seem unthinkable that a discussion similar to the one hinted at in *Konungs skuggsjá* might also have taken place concerning the Red Jews.

[Old Swedish]

han foor tháðhan ower sitiam
 óster borter ij wárlina fram
 enkte land laa thiit wt mere
 ther man wiste aff sighia flere
 han fan ther folk wárra án trull
 th3 hafðhe tho ráð mánniskio hull
 ráðhelikith ok mykith oreent
 them gat ángin opa seet

¹⁰ An overview of this tradition in East Norse more broadly is provided by Jonathan Adams (2013: 75–77). On *Konung Alexander* and the sources of the *Historia* see Mitchell (1996: 37–38), Zingerlie (1977) and Gow (1995: 77).

the hafdho syyn à swa grym
at ànghin thordhe se a them
th3 lifdhe alt widh trulla sidh
àngin mánnskia fik ther fridh
th3 aat folk m3 huld ok krop
inbyrdhis hwart annath op
ok alla handa creatwr
hàst ok wargh foghil ok diwr
hwath som fódhis a iordh àller wàdher
th3 àta the alt saman mádher

.....
the plàgha enkte thera iordha
the àtar them op a thera bordhe
hwath man kan hálzt lifwande nàmpna

.....
orena gerninga margha handa
sa alexander aff them ganga
ther lofflika àra skriffwa
th3 àr alt ont th3 the drifwa
Ródhe iudha mon th3 heta
swa finder han àn hwa them wil leta
tha alexander hafdhe thetta seet
badhe hòrt ok widha leet
at thetta folk dreff tholik last
han thánkte ij sinom hoghe rast
vtan thetta folk forgaar
al wàrlin àpter dôme faar
ok smittas ij tholik gerning snódh
all wàrlin hafwer thàs stora nódh
om th3 skal ganga sin fram gang
àpter thera sidh tha smittas mang
ok lifwa ij thera àpter dôme
th3 ware bàtra at man them góme
Alexander fan et ful got raadh
th3 folkith han saman drifwa badh
ij en flok badhe mán ok qwinna
swa then mera som then minnda
swa at enkte ater bleff

nor ij wǫrlina alla them dreff
swa langan wǫgh rǫt ij nor
at thiit ǫngin fara thǫr
Thȝ war alexanders idhelik bǫn
til gudh som allom gifwer lǫn
at wǫrlin skulle ekki smittas
aff tholikt lifwerne ekki hittas

.....
han badh swa lǫnge gudh hǫrdhe han
gudh giordhe vnder the ǫra san
ey stort fore alexanders saka
vtan mǫnniskio helso til maka
han bǫdh tvem berghom the standa ǫn
ganga til saman badhin ij sǫn
the waro hǫgh ok mykith lang
gingo saman vtan alt bang

.....
ther ǫr stort rwm innan til
som et ganȝt land iak thȝ sighia wil

.....
bǫrghin ǫra alt kringom brant
som annar mwr thȝ ǫr sǫnt
the ǫra som andre mwrwǫggia hǫghia
ther kan ǫngin ǫp fore ǫghia
the rǫdha iudha ǫra ther inne
badhe flere ok swa minne (*Konung Alexander* 130–33)

[English]
(He goes from there over Scythia.
Away, far to the East of the world.
There was no land out there any more
that anyone knew of. Many say
there he found a people worse than
trolls
Although they had human skin
angry and most unclean
No one could bear to look upon them
They had such an ugly appearance

that no one dared to look upon them
they all lived in the manner of trolls.
No human there could find any peace.
They ate people with skin and body
including each other
and all kinds of creatures,
horses and wolves, birds and beasts,
whatever lives on earth or sea,
they ate it all in the same way

.....
they do not tend to their land.
On their tables, they eat up
whatever living thing you can name.
The committing of many impure deeds [spells?]
Alexander saw them do.
There, it is written in law
that everything they do is evil.
They are called "Red Jews"
so he seeks them, and wants to see them.
When Alexander had seen that,
both heard it and clearly observed,
that this people behaved in such a way
he thinks in his booming voice
all the world will be judged
unless this people are destroyed
and will be smote by such sordid actions.
The whole world is in great need.
If things were to go their own way
according to their custom many would be smitten
and live ever after in their power.
It would be better if one could hide them away
Alexander had a great idea.
He had that people rounded up
in one group, both men and women,
the short and the tall,
so that not one was left behind at all.
He had them driven north in the world,
such a long way north,

that no one would dare to go there.
It was Alexander's pious prayer
to God who rewards all
that the world would not be smitten
and never encounter such a way of life

.....
he prayed so long that God heard him.
God did it, it's true,
not for Alexander's sake alone
but for the good of all humankind.
He commanded two mountains—they still stand—
to come together as one.
They were tall and very long.
They went together without any noise

.....
Inside there is a lot of space
like a huge country, I should say

.....
the mountains are steep all around
like another wall, it's true.
They are like other tall walls.
No one can climb it.
The Red Jews are in there,
both short and tall.)

There are several striking affinities between the coming of the Muspellssynir according to Snorri and the Red Jews according to the Alexander romances. Both are imprisoned underground: Loki in a cave, the Red Jews in the mountains. Both engage in cannibalism. The Red Jews “aat folk mǫ huld ok krop / inbyrdhis hwart annath op” (eat people and their flesh and blood / they'll even munch each other up). Similarly, according to Snorri, Loki's son Váli eats his brother, Narfi. The release of either the Red Jews or the Muspellssynir is a precursor to the apocalypse. Alexander, as a Christianized king in the medieval tradition, can pray to the one true God and prevent it from happening. Snorri's tragically flawed pagan deities, on the other hand, must vainly await their doom. Indeed, concerning one important detail, *Snorra Edda* is closer to the Red Jews motif than it is to *Völuspá*. In the eddic poem, the Muspellssynir approach over water with a ship, a *kjóll*. But in *Snorra Edda*, despite the citation of the original



Figure 2. *Der Antichrist*, fol. 14v (1480).
Image courtesy of Die Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

poem, the accompanying prose clearly states that they ride on horseback towards Ásgarðr. This suggests that the image of the Muspellssynir conjured by Snorri's mind's eye probably resembled something like the example provided in Figure 2, rather than the nautical setting that would have been drawn from *Völuspá* alone.

If one did not know the actual context for this image (and did not know how relatively few artistic depictions there are of Old Norse myth from the Middle Ages versus, say, Christian devotional art), one might very well describe these horse-mounted warriors and their malevolent leader as the Sons of Muspell and Loki, as depicted by Snorri: “ríða þaðan Muspells synir” (the Sons of Muspell ride forth) (*Gyfaginning*, p. 50). Of course, it is actually a depiction of the Red Jews from *Der Antichrist*, fol. 14v (1480). The queen of the Amazons is also amongst the horde. A similar image can also be found in Ms. Germ 2mo 129, fol. 15v (c. 1320). Otherwise, the earliest surviving pictorial representation pertaining to the Red Jews shows the entombed Gog and Magog eating human flesh, from the *Ebstorf World Map* (1235). See Gow 1995: 383–390.

	<i>Muspellssynir in Völuspá</i>	<i>Muspellsynir in Snorra Edda</i>	<i>The Red Jews</i>
Appear at the apocalypse?	Yes	Yes	Yes
How will they arrive at the apocalypse?	Sea, by boat (<i>kjóll</i>)	By land, on horseback (<i>at ríða</i>), and on foot	By land, on horseback, and on foot
Where are they prior to the apocalypse?	Muspell, more specific whereabouts unknown	Underground, inside a cave	Underground, inside a mountain
Depicted as a military force?	Uncertain, described as <i>fíflmegir</i> , ‘monstrous men’, perhaps intended here as ‘monstrous brood’ rather than ‘monstrous troops’. However, the point seems obscure.	Yes. They march in a <i>fylking</i> , a medieval defensive formation. They are also referred to as the <i>Muspells megir</i> , ‘men of Muspell’, perhaps intended here in the sense of ‘troops of Muspell’ (but cf. <i>fíflmegir</i>).	Frequently, as in e.g. the Gottweiger <i>Trojanerkrieg</i> late 1200s): “Dar ringe gantz / Ir ringe gantz / Ir helm waren hartte glantz” (Gow 1995: 193) [There under [their armor] they wore huge steel rings / their helmets had a fearful gleam]

As is so often the case with Snorri’s work, the sons of Muspell are not drawn exclusively from any one tradition. *Völuspá* clearly provided the basic structure upon which Snorri could build his own narrative of Ragnarøkr. But Snorri does seem to be permitting his ancient, pagan materials to draw color from the potent images of the high medieval cultural canon in which he was immersed. Snorri was not insulated from the intellectual climate to which he was contributing, and thus could no more avoid being influenced by the powerful typologies of anti-Judaism than he could avoid any other aspect of the medieval Christian *Weltanschauung*. Indeed, the emphasis on the “sons of Muspell” as a descent group based on lineage makes them feel more like a contemporary ethnic group than a venerable cosmological fixture.¹¹ As if to highlight the originality of the

¹¹ On the notion of descent and race in the Middle Ages, see Robert Bartlett (2001). On the importance of lineage for understanding Jewishness in Old Norse literature, see Richard Cole (2015a: 239–68).

thirteenth-century eddic hybrid he has created, it is only Snorri (and the singular example of stanza 48 in *Lokasenna*) who employs the name “Muspellssynir” to refer to these agents of the apocalypse. In *Völuspá*, they are elliptically named *Muspells*, lit. “Of Muspell”. One might rather optimistically attribute the uniqueness of Snorri’s appellation by proposing that he is the only surviving witness of a naming tradition which was already at least two centuries old by the time he wrote it down, having apparently survived in oral record from some time around Iceland’s official conversion in the year 1000 until the 1220s. More soberly, we might consider Snorri’s own era and consider if there were any group in the thought of that period whose presence was associated with the apocalypse and who were known as *synir*, (sons of). Readers will note the similarity between the phrases *Muspells synir* and *Isræls synir*, the term frequently used in thirteenth century works—such as *Stjórn*—to refer to the Jews. Both are based on the formula of geographical location + *synir*. They are also phonologically similar. In Snorri’s days the /els syni:r/ of *Muspells synir* would have made a half rhyme with the /ε:ls syni:r/ of *Isræls synir*. Admittedly, the proposition that there are resonances of anti-Jewish imagery in *Snorra Edda* may be unpalatable, but it is a crucial to considering Snorri in his comparative context. Much as scholars may employ *Snorra Edda* to recover details of the pagan past, it is also necessary to acknowledge Snorri’s Christian present. Thinking about the Jews was an inalienable aspect of that experience.

Works Cited

Primary Sources

Decreta

Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta. Ed. J. Alberigo et al. Bologna: 1973.

Der Antichrist

Der Antichrist und Die fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem jüngsten Gericht. Faksimile der ersten typographischen Ausgabe eines unbekannten Straßburger Druckers, um 1480. Hamburg: 1979.

Der Göttheimer Trojanerkrieg

Pseudo-Wolfram von Eschenbach. *Der Göttheimer Trojanerkrieg*. Ed. Alfred Koppitz. Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, 29. Berlin: 1926.

Elucidarius

The Old Norse Elucidarius. Ed. Evelyn Scherabon Firchow. Columbia: 1992.

Enarrationes

St. Augustine of Hippo. *Enarrationes in Psalmos*. Ed. J. P. Migne. Patrologia Latina, 37. Paris: 1845.

Epistolae

Robert Grossteste. *Roberti Grosseteste Episcopi Quondam Lincolniensis Epistolæ*. Ed. Henry Richards Luard. *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, 25. London: 1861.

TRANSLATION

The Letters of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln. Transl. F. A. C. Mantello and Joseph Goering. Toronto: 2010.

Gylfaginning: see *Snorra Edda*

Hauksbók

Hauksbók. Udgiven efter de Arnamagnæanske håndskrifter no. 371, 544 og 675, 4o. 1. Ed. Finnur Jónsson. Copenhagen: 1892.

Heilagra Manna Sögur [= HMS]

Heilagra Manna Sögur, fortællinger og legender om hellige mænd og kvinder. 2 vols. Ed. C.R. Unger. Christiania: 1877.

Homiliu-Bók

Homiliu-Bók. *Isländska Homilier efter en Handskrift från Tolfte Århundradet*. Ed. Theodor Wisén. Lund: 1872.

Konung Alexander

Konung Alexander. *En Medeltids Dikt från Latinet Vänd i Svenska Rim*. Ed. G.E. Klemming. Stockholm: 1862.

Konungs Skuggsjá

Konungs Skuggsjá. Ed. Ludvig Holm-Olsen. *Norrøne tekster*, 1. Oslo: 1983.

Letters: see *Epistolae*

The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich

Thomas of Monmouth. *The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich*. Ed. and Transl. Augustus Jessopp and Montague Rhodes James. Cambridge: 1896.

Mariú saga

Mariu Saga. *Legender om Jomfru Maria og hendes jertegn, efter gamle haandskrifter*. Ed. C.R. Unger. Christiania: 1871.

Richard Cole

Messuskýringar

Messuskýringar. Liturgisk Symbolik frå Den Norsk-Islandske Kyrkja i Millomalderen. Vol. 1. Ed. Oluf Kolsrud. Oslo: 1952.

Poetic Edda

Edda: Die Lieder des Codex Regius nebst verwandten Denkmälern. Vol. 1. Ed. Gustav Neckel & Hans Kuhn. Heidelberg: 1983.

Snorra Edda

Snorri Sturluson. *Edda. Prologue and Gylfaginning.* Ed. Anthony Faulkes. London: 1988.

Stjórn

Stjórn. Tekst etter håndskriftene. 2 vols. Ed. Reidar Astås. *Norrøne tekster*, 8. Oslo: 2009.

Wormianus

Edda Snorra Sturlusonar. Codex Wormianus AM 242, fol. Ed. Finnur Jónsson. Copenhagen: 1924.

Secondary Sources

Abram, Christopher. 2006. "Snorri's Invention of Hermóðr's *helreið*." In *The Fantastic in Old Norse / Icelandic, Sagas and the British Isles: Preprints of the Thirteenth International Saga Conference*. Ed. John McKinnell, David Ashurst, and Donata Kick. Durham. Pp. 22–31.

———. 2011. *Myths of the Pagan North: The Gods of the Norsemen*. London.

Abulafia, Anna Sapir. 2011. *Christian-Jewish Relations, 1000–1300. Jews in the Service of Medieval Christendom*. London.

Adams, Jonathan. 2013. *Lessons in Contempt: Poul Ræff's Publication in 1516 of Johannes Pfefferkorn's The Confession of the Jews*. Odense.

Auerbach, Eric. 1952. "Typological Symbolism in Medieval Literature." *Yale French Studies* 9: 3–10.

Berenbaum, Michael, and Fred Skolnik, eds. 2007. *Encyclopedia Judaica*. 22 vols. Detroit.

Baron, Salo W. 2007. "Population." In Berenbaum and Skolnik 2007 16: 381–400.

Bartlett, Robert. 2001. "Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Ethnicity." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31(1): 39–56.

Bugge, Sophus. 1881–1898. *Studier over de nordiske Gude- og heltesagns Oprindelse*. Christiania.

Cleasby, Richard, and Gudbrand Vigfusson. 1874. *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*. Oxford.

- Cohen, Jeffrey Jerome. 2003. *Medieval Identity Machines*. Minneapolis.
- . 2006. “Was Margery Kempe Jewish?” In *The Middle*. Blog. April 21. <http://www.inthemedievalmiddle.com/2006/04/was-margery-kempe-jewish.html> (accessed on March 1, 2015).
- Cohen, Jeremy. 1999. *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity*. Los Angeles.
- Cole, Richard. 2014. “The French Connection, or Þórr versus the Golem.” *Medieval Encounters* 20(3): 238–60.
- . 2015a. “Kyn / Fólk / Þjóð / Ætt: Proto-Racial Thinking and its Application to Jews in Old Norse Literature.” In *Fear and Loathing in the North: Jews and Muslims in Medieval Scandinavia and the Baltic Region*. Ed. Cordelia Heß and Jonathan Adams. Berlin. Pp. 239–68.
- . 2015b. “Racial Thinking in Old Norse Literature: The Case of the *Blámaðr*.” *Saga-Book* 39: 21–40.
- Faulkes, Anthony. 1983. “Pagan Sympathy: Attitudes to Heathendom in the Prologue to *Snorra Edda*.” In *Edda: A Collection of Essays*. Ed. R. J. Glendinning and Haraldur Bessason. Winnipeg.
- . 1993. “The Sources of *Skáldskaparmál*: Snorri’s Intellectual Background.” In *Snorri Sturluson: Kolloquium anlässlich der 750: Wiederkehr seines Todestages*. Ed. Alois Wolf. Tübingen. Pp. 59–76.
- Fidjestøl, Bjarne. 1997. “Snorri Sturluson—European Humanist and Rhetorician.” In *Selected Papers*. Ed. Odd Einar Haugen and Else Mundal. Transl. Peter Foote. Odense. Pp. 343–50.
- Friedman, Lee M. 1934. *Robert Grosseteste and the Jews*. Cambridge, MA.
- Gow, Andrew Colin. 1995. *The Red Jews: Antisemitism in an Apocalyptic Age 1200–1600*. Leiden.
- Haraldur Bernharðsson. 2007. “Old Icelandic *ragnarök* and *ragnarøkkr*.” In *Verba docenti: Studies in historical and Indo-European linguistics presented to Jay H. Jasanoff*. Ed. Alan J. Nussbaum. Ann Arbor. Pp. 25–38.
- Holm-Olsen, Ludvig, and Kjell Heggelund. 1974. *Fra Runene til Norske Selskab*. Vol. 1 of *Norges Litteratur Historie*. Oslo.
- Itzkowitz, Joel B. 2007. “Jews, Indians, Phylacteries: Jerome on Matthew 23.5.” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 15(4): 563–72.
- Kirby, Ian. 1986. *Bible Translation in Old Norse*. Geneva.
- Krummel, Miriamne Ara. 2011. *Crafting Jewishness in Medieval England. Legally Absent, Virtually Present*. New York.
- Larrington, Carolyne. 2004. ““Undruðusk þá, sem fyrir var’: Wonder, Vínland and Medieval Travel Narratives.” *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 14: 91–114.
- Lieberman, Anatoly. 2004. “Some Controversial Aspects of the Myth of Baldr.” *Alvíssmál* 11: 17–54.

- Liebeschutz, Hans. 2007a. "Albertus Magnus." In Berenbaum and Skolnik 2007 1: 591.
- . 2007b. "William of Auvergne." In Berenbaum and Skolnik 2007 21: 64.
- McEvoy, James. 2000. *Robert Grosseteste*. Oxford.
- Mentgen, Gerd. 2005. "Crusades." In vol. 1 of *Antisemitism: A Historical Encyclopedia of Prejudice and Persecution*. Ed. Richard S. Levy. Oxford. Pp. 152–55.
- Mitchell, Stephen A. 1996. "The Middle Ages." In *A History of Swedish Literature*. Ed. Lars G. Warme. Lincoln, NE. Pp. 1–57.
- Moore, R.I. 2006. *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe 950–1250*. New York.
- Mosher, Arthur D. 1983. "The Story of Baldr's Death: the Inadequacy of Myth in the Light of Christian Faith." *Scandinavian Studies* 55 (4): 305–15.
- O'Donoghue, Heather. 2005. "What has Baldr to do with Lamech? The Lethal Shot of a Blind Man in Old Norse Myth and Jewish Exegetical Traditions." *Medium Ævum* 72: 82–107.
- Roth, Cecil. 1951. *The Jews of Medieval Oxford*. Oxford.
- Rowe, Nina. 2004. *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century*. Cambridge.
- Signer, Michael A. 2004. "Polemics and Exegesis: The Varieties of Twelfth Century Christian Hebraism." In *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe*. Ed. Allison Coudert. Philadelphia. Pp. 21–32.
- Turville-Petre, E. O. G. 1964. *Myth and Religion of the North: the Religion of Ancient Scandinavia*. London.
- Wanner, Kevin J. 2008. *Snorri Sturluson and the Edda: The Conversion of Cultural Capital in Medieval Scandinavia*. Toronto.
- Wolf, Kirsten. 1990. "Brandr Jónsson and Stjórn." *Scandinavian Studies* 62 (2): 163–88.
- Yuval, Israel Jacob. 1998. "Jewish Messianic Expectations towards 1240 and Christian Reactions." In *Toward the Millennium: Messianic Expectations from the Bible to Waco*. Ed. Peter Schäfer and Mark R. Cohen. 105–21. Leiden.
- Zingerlie, Oswald. 1977. *Die Quellen zum Alexander des Rudolf von Ems*. New York.

Index

[Note: Entries beginning with ‘Þ’ are grouped at the end of this index.]

- Abbo of Fleury, 304
Adalvard the Younger (bishop of Sigtuna), 167
Adam of Bremen, 128–130, 163–182
Æsir (*æsir*), 42, 90, 102, 113–14, 121–22, 124, 127–28, 130, 194, 196, 227, 229, 233, 243, 251–54, 272, 291–92
Afghanistan, 364, 369
Albertus Magnus (fl. 1245), 245
Alexander of Lamprecht der Pfaffe (ca. 1130), 256
Alken Enge, Jutland, Denmark, 294
alliteration, 199–200, 226
Alvíssmál, 74, 193–94, 215
Alþing, 128
Analogy, 8, 70, 233, 269, 276, 280–81, 284
Annales Regii, 271
anthropology, anthropologist(s), 10, 30, 36; anthropological parallels, xvi
Antichrist, Der (1480), 262
anti-metalepsis, 67, 79, 81
Anund Jacob (Swedish king), 167
archaeology, archaeologist(s), 6, 8, 30, 95, 122, 129–30, 139–40, 143, 147, 149, 169, 172, 177–81, 215–16, 218, 226, 273–74, 280, 289, 294, 302
archetype, 5, 22
Ardeshir (Persian king), 330, 334, 337
Ariovistus (Germanic leader), 18
art, artist(s), 54, 63, 67, 70, 79, 262
artifact(s), artifactual, 6, 40, 54–55, 68, 179, 181, 217
Asdiwal, myth of, 10
Áslaug, 325, 331, 333, 337
Assmann, Jan, 17, 79, 344
Astaroð, 93
Atlakviða, 75
Atlamál, 75
Auðr hin djúpúðga (Auðr the Deep-Minded), 344–45
Aurgelmir, 282–84
Australian aboriginals, myths of, 274
Austrfararvísur, 115
Austrian populations, 364, 372
avenger, 233, 341, 348, 349–50, 352–53, 355–57
Avestan, 369
axial age, 17; religions, 18
Ælfric. See *Marcarius and the Magicians*, *Saul and the Witch of Endor*
Baldr/Balderus, 45, 140, 228, 229, 233, 248, 250–51, 253, 276, 342, 347–54, 357,
Baldrs draumar, 291, 293, 298, 309, 349, 353

Index

- Balkans, 148
Barthólómeus saga postula, 93
 Bellah, Robert, 17–21
Bergbúa þáttur, 280
bergbúi ‘mountain-dweller’, 283
 Bergelmir, 283
 Bestla, 347
 Bible passages: I Chronicles, 168;
 (Deutero-)Isaiah, 91; Exodus, 91;
 Genesis, xiv, 194, 370; Jeremiah,
 91–92; Mark, 303; Matthew, 303,
 333; Psalms, 91–92; Romans,
 245; I Samuel, 303; Wisdom of
 Solomon, 91
 “Biejjie-baernien sångoe Jeahnaj
 eatnamisnie” (North Sámi
 ‘Beaivvi bártnei soagnju
 Jiehtanasaid máilmmis’) (The
 Sons of the Sun in the Land of
 the Giants), 207–8
 “Biejjie-neijten sealadimmie” (North
 Sámi ‘Beaivvi Niedda jápmin’)
 (The Death of the Daughter of
 the Sun), 208
 birds, 64, 68–70, 142, 148, 205, 247;
 augural, 353
bizarrerie (ativism reflecting older
 mythic layer), 364, 369
blót (sacrifice), 93, 94, 98, 100–102,
 117, 119–20, 122, 124, 128, 177,
 246. *See also* sacrifice.
blótgyðjur ‘sacrifice priestess’, 117, 122
blóttre ‘sacrificial tree’, 177
 boar(s), 118, 147
 bones, 144, 145, 149–50, 177, 293, 364,
 366, 368, 371, 376
 book-prose theory, 29, 31, 33, 35
 book-prose vs free-prose debate,
 31–46
 Borre style, 142
 bracteate(s), 70, 71, 140, 145, 216
 Bragi Boddason, 120, 232
 bridal quest (motif R225), 203–5, 208
 Brunhilde (queen), 175
 bull, 121
Bundahis (Pahlavi cosmological text),
 354–55
 Byzantine Empire, 143, 151
Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae
 (Ordinances concerning Saxony),
 175
Celebremus karissimi, 305
 central place(s), 126, 143, 151, 155,
 178, 179
 Ch’i (son of legendary first Hsia king),
 375
 Charlemagne, 175; campaign of,
 against the pagan Saxons, 176
 charm(s), charm magic, 204, 208,
 226–227, 289–290, 292–294, 299,
 302, 308–9, 330, 336
 Charon’s obol, 289, 302, 305–6
 China, 18, 271, 350, 364, 371, 372,
 374–376
 Christianization, 8, 90, 94, 99, 105,
 143, 217–218, 244, 264, 305
Chronica Slavorum of Helmold of
 Bosau, 181
 I Chronicles. *See under* Bible passages.
 Cian, 326–328, 330, 334, 335–336
 Clermont runic casket (also known as
 the Franks casket), 78, 152
cnuimh (‘worm’ in Irish, variant of
 cruimh), 326, 330
Commentariorum in Hiezechielem of St.
 Jerome, 256,
 communication, 29, 38, 40, 42, 115;
 between ‘this’ world and the
 ‘other’ world(s), 11; oral, 42, 44;
 strategies, 17; with the dead, x
 comparativism(s), 4–5, 10, 14, 341;
 iconographic method of, 70;
 méthode comparative, vii; Mircea
 Eliade’s views on, 4–5; and struc-
 tural models as heuristic tools
 for reconstructing traditions, 4

- comparison(s), 3–19, 23, 54, 78; of Baldr's death and Iraj's, 341–357; of Balto-Finnic poetry and West Germanic poetry, 225–226; of Finnic and Nordic mythology, 192–219, 224–235; of Hawaiian and Nordic mythology, 19–23; of Ilmarinen and the Wayland tradition, 232; of Old Uppsala and West Slavic materials, 163–82; of pictorial representations of Volund, 155; of Vanir gods to other gods, 115, 130; of volcanic activity and Old Norse literature, 273–281; of 'worms', 334
- composition-in-performance, 32
- Conán (the son of the Liath Luachra), 326–329, 334–336
- Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta* (Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils), 244
- Concilium Germanicarum*, 175
- Concilium Turonense*, 175
- contextualization of performance practices, 36
- conversion. *See* Christianization
- cosmic: birth, 348; egg, 371; elements, 168; hall, 182; knowledge, 230; model, 182; pillar, 176–178; references, 167; symbolism, 168, 173, 177, 180; travel, 204, 206; well, 174
- creation myth(s). *See* myth(s).
- cross(es), 66, 155, 193, 206, 213; Halton and Leeds, 69; Kirk Andreas, Isle of Man, 79, 81
- cult, cultic, 7, 94, 217–218; activities, 166; feasting, 169, 179; figures, 89–90, 95, 97, 100–101, 103, 105; functions, 172; hall(s), 172, 178; houses (*hof*, *horgar*), 143–148, 155, 177, 179, 182; image(s), 176; practices, 91, 94, 102; site(s), 166–167, 169, 173, 175, 176, 178, 181–82; spring(s), 178; tree(s), 176–178; well(s), 178. *See also* ritual
- cultural diffusion, 199–200, 215; memory, 53; studies, 30
- dainas*: Latvian, 204, 209–210, 212, 214
- Dala-Guðbrandr, 95
- Dante Alighieri (d. 1321), 245
- De Bello Gothico* (Gothic War) of Procopius, 150
- De Lapidibus* (On Stones) of Marbod of Rennes, 307
- dead, the, 14, 69, 144, 205, 234, 290, 291, 293–294, 299–300, 303, 305–310, 344, 345
- decapitation, 303–4
- Decreta*. *See* *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*
- Dejbjerg, Jutland, Denmark, 125
- demon(s), 92–94, 97–98, 175, 275, 370
- demon-king, 350
- Denmark, Danish, 60–61, 71, 78, 90, 99, 116, 125, 129, 143, 149, 167, 172, 181, 302, 304, 307, 330, 332, 353
- Derrida, Jacques, 54
- descent, 21, 149, 263, 337, 369
- Descriptio insularum aquilonis* (Description of the Islands of the North), Book 4 of *Gesta Hammaburgensis*, 164
- (Deutero-)Isaiah. *See under* Bible passages
- devils. *See* demons
- diachronism, 342, 357; diachronic and synchronic approaches, 44–46
- dialogic poems, 34, 126
- Diarmaid, 324, 326–29, 334–36
- diegetic level, 79; extradiegetic narrator, 71; extra- and intradiegetic worlds, 67
- Dievs (Latvian sky god), 210
- diffusion, 29, 199–200, 215, 218

Index

- Dinkard* (Pahlavi Zoroastran text), 354
 Dioscuri (twin brothers of Greco-Roman mythology), 215–16
 direct speech, 73–76
dísablót, 128
Dísarsalr, 128
 discourse: as concept, 15, 23; religious, 6, 90, 94; meta-discourse, 54; Óðinn-discourse, 15–16; textual discourse, 73; Þórr-discourse, 15
Divina Commedi (Divine Comedy) of Dante Alighieri, 245
draugadróttinn ‘Lord of Ghouls’, 292
 drinking, ceremonial, 143, 171
dróttkvætt, 33, 280
 earth-egg creation myth. *See under* cosmic
 earthquake(s), 254, 276
 East Anglia, England, 140, 304
 Ecclesia, 246
 edda. *See* eddic poems and *Snorra edda*
 eddic poems, 30, 31, 32–34, 40–41, 73, 120, 122, 130, 215, 225–26; aesthetics of, 32; composition-in-performance of, 32; dating of, 32; improvisation of, 33; medieval collection of (i.e., Codex Regius of the Elder edda, *Poetic edda*), 33, 41, 44, 53–54, 69, 79, 118, 227, 230, 234, 253, 255, 365, 367, 368; memorization of, 33; oral background of, 33; provenance of, 32. *See also* titles of individual poems
 Egill (Volund’s brother), 142, 148, 153
 Egill Skalla-Grímsson, 227
Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar, 227
 Egyptians, 18, 306; Egyptian art, frames on, 55; Egyptian literature, 72
einherjar (slain human heroes), 171
Eiríks saga rauða, 299
Eiríksmál, 126
ekphrasis, 40
 Eldgjá, 270
 Eliade, Mircea, 4–5, 9, 11, 23, 168
 Elijah, 256
 Ella (king of England), 333, 337
Elucidarius, 256
 emergence myth. *See under* myth(s)
Enarrationes in Psalmos (Expositions on the Psalms) of St. Augustine, 246
 Endor, witch of, 303
 Enlightenment, the, 91
 Enoch, 256
Enuma Elis (Babylonian creation myth), 371
 epic(s): 200, 202, 228, 355; Estonian, 199; Finnish, 199, 224–25; heroic, 79, 374; Indian, 374; Persian, 341, 345, 352, 355
Epitome of Roman History of Florus, 294n11
 estate(s), royal. *See* central place(s)
 ethnopoetics, 34
 euhemerism, 246
Everriculum fermenti veteris of Erik Pontoppidan, 90
 evolution of religion. *See* religion
 Exodus. *See under* Bible passages
 Eyjafjallajökull (volcano), 270
Eyrbyggja saga, 118, 120, 292
 Eyvindr skáldaspillir Finnsson, 356
 Fáfnir, 56, 64, 66–68
 Fáfnismál, 127
 famine, 171, 271–72
 Feldber. *See under* sanctuary
 Fenian cycle, 324
 Feraydun, 341, 346, 350–53, 354, 357
 Ferdowsi, Abolqasem, 341
 Ferryman’s Fee, 290, 305–6, 308
 fettering, 230, 353–55; of Loki and Zaddak, 353–55
 feud(s), 146, 348–50, 357
fian (band of heroes), 326, 328
 figurative interpretation, 245

- Finland, 151, 192, 199–200, 202–3, 205, 215, 223–27, 229–30, 232–35
- Finnish Literature Society (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura), 199
- fire(s), 69, 73, 96, 99, 120, 126, 146, 172, 193–94, 230, 231, 254, 269–72, 275–77, 280, 283–84, 296–97, 328, 350, 365, 373
- Fjölfnir, 356
- folk songs, 192, 199–205, 209–12, 215, 224–28, 230
- folklore, 6, 30, 35–36, 217, 273
- folktale(s), 7, 231
- Fourth Lateran Council, 244
- frame: as ‘non-physical boundary’, 54; as physical border (*parergon*), 54, 58
- frame narrative, 54; open, 56, 63; portal, 60–61; unframed, 58, 80
- Franks casket. *See* Clermont runic casket
- Frazer, Sir James George, 5, 23, 125
- Frederick II (emperor), 252
- free-prose theory, 29, 31, 33
- Freyfaxi (horse in *Hrafnkels saga*), 117
- Freyja, 115, 118, 121, 122, 127, 140, 298; as *blótgýðja* (sacrificial priestess), 117, 122
- Freyr, 21, 94, 98, 115–27, 140, 165, 168, 170, 177, 234–35, 356; Freyr kings as ‘peace kings’, 21; *Freysgoðar* (Hrafnkell Hallfreðarson; Þórðr Özurarson), 116
- Frigg, 122, 127, 347
- Frösön church, Jämtland (earlier called *Hoffs kirkio*), 177–78
- gallows, 295–97, 301; placement of, 296
- Ganander, Christfrid, 224, 230–32
- Gangleri (pseudonym for Gylfi, Swedish king), 41–42, 253, 276
- Garz (temple site), 180
- Gautreks saga*, 296
- Geertz, Clifford, 10
- Geirrøðr, 231
- Genesis. *See under* Bible passages
- genetic comparativism. *See* comparativism
- Genette, Gérard, 71–72
- Gennep, Arnold van, 125
- Geometric Period. *See* Greek Geometric period
- geothermal activity, 269–70, 273–77, 281, 284
- Gerðr, 126–27, 356
- Gesta Danorum* of Saxo Grammaticus, 30, 45, 113, 127, 298, 302, 309, 323, 341
- gesta episcoporum* (‘the deeds of bishops’): genre of, 164
- Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* (History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen) of Adam of Bremen, 128, 163–173; Leiden manuscript (Cod. Voss. Lat. 4^o 123), 164. *See also* Adam of Bremen
- gesture(s), 42; hand, 42–44; in *Codex Upsaliensis*, 43–44
- Getica* of Jordanes, 150
- ghouls, 292–93
- Ginnungagap, 277–78, 280, 365–66
- Gísla saga Súrssonar, 34, 113, 116
- Glaðsheimr, 170
- Glomac (possible sacrificial site), 181
- goðar*, 116–17; *blótgoðar*, 122
- Goðormr (god of the Danes), 94
- Gospel of Nichodemus* (apocryphal gospel), 248
- Gotlandic picture stones. *See under* runestones and picture stones
- Göttweiger Trojanerkrieg, Der*, 263
- Grænlendinga saga, 299

Index

- Gráinne (daughter of Cormac, the high-king of Ireland), 324, 326, 329, 335
- Grani (Sigurðr's horse), 66, 68–69, 71
- Greco-Roman philosophical tradition, 91
- Greek Geometric period (ca. 900–700 BCE), 56
- Gregory I (pope, also known as 'the Great'), 175, 250–51
- Gregory IX (pope), 244
- Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar*, 298
- Gríma, 331
- Grímnismál*, 73, 117, 120, 126, 127, 170–71, 173, 197, 215, 281–82, 297, 368
- Grógaldur*, 291, 298
- Groß Raden (possible sanctuary site), 180
- Gudme, Fyn, Denmark, 172
- Gudmund (Norwegian idol), 89–90, 104
- Guðrúnarhvöt*, 75–76
- Guðrúnarkviða I*, 69, 75
- guldgubber*, 70
- Gunnarr Gjúkason, 338; in the snake pit, 140
- Gunnarr helmingr, 98
- Gunnars þáttr helmings*, 21, 115, 117, 126, 127
- Guta saga*, 124
- Gutzkow (temple site), 180
- Gylfaginning*, 42, 102, 103, 127, 150, 170–71, 173, 194, 197, 232, 234, 281–82, 284, 291, 341
- Hadingus, 15–16, 298
- Haftvåd, 329–30, 334, 336–37
- hagiographic texts, 92, 94–95, 101
- Haithabu (also Hedeby), 18
- Hákon Hákonarson (king), 257
- Hákon Sigurðarson (earl, often referred to as Jarl Hákon), 99–100
- Hákonar saga góða*, 119
- Hákonarmál*, 126
- Háleygjatal* of Eyvindr skáldaspillir Finnsson, 356
- Hálfs saga ok Hálfsrekka*, 296
- Hallbjörn hali (poet), 300
- Hallmundarkviða*, 270, 273, 280–81, 283
- Hamðismál*, 75
- Hár, 41–42, 232, 253, 276, 277
- Haraldr hárfagri (king), 151
- Haralds Biezais, 209, 211
- Harthgrepa, 298–99, 309
- Hatti texts, 375
- haugbúi*, *haugbúar* 'mound-dweller(s)', 297–98, 300–301, 309
- Hauks þáttr Hábrókar*, 125
- Hauksbók*, 116
- Hávamál*, 74, 174, 289, 291, 294–97, 299, 302, 303, 307–10
- Hawaii, 19; traditional Hawaiian society, 19–22
- Hebrew Bible, 72, 370
- Hegge, Norway: one-eyed figure from church in, 300
- Heimdallr, 35, 226
- Heimskringla*. *See individual saga titles*
- Hekla, 270–71, 279
- Helgakviða Hjörvarðssonar*, 118
- Helgakviða Hundingsbana I*, 74, 75
- Helgö, Lake Mälaren, Sweden, 148, 151, 172, 178
- Helmold of Bosau (author of *Chronica Slavorum*), 180–81
- Hephaistos (Greek god), 152
- Herder, Johann Gottfried von, 199, 224
- Hermóðr, 248
- Hermóðr's *Helreið*, 248
- hero, 54, 67, 69, 202–5, 209, 227, 301, 324–26, 337, 355; astral hero, 214; culture hero, 204
- heroic legend, 53, 54, 56, 78, 80; heroic narrative, 53–54, 68, 76–77, 79; 'heroic Edda', 79;

- Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks*, 118, 177
 Hevaa, Kaprio, Ingria, 201
 hierophany, 5
Historia de Preliis Alexandri Magni
 (History of the Battles of
 Alexander the Great) of Leo
 Neapolitaniensis, 256, 257
Historia Scholastica of Peter Comestor,
 256
 history of religions, 4–5, 10, 13
 Hittite myths, 375
 Hqðr, 229, 347, 350, 353–54, 356; as
 a Jewish reference, 248; Hqðr/
 Høtherus, 348
 Hœnir, 291
hørgar, 94, 121–22
 hofeiðr ‘hof-oath’, 119
hofgyðjur, 122; Þuriðr ‘hofgyðja’,
 116–17; Steinvör ‘hofgyðja’, 117
 Hólar, Iceland, 39
 horse(s), 103, 117–18, 120, 166, 196,
 211, 212, 215, 260, 293; in relation
 to the Vanir, 117; Freyfaxi, 117
 Hrafnkell Hallfreðarson (‘Freysgoði’),
 116
Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða, 113, 116–17,
 118
 Husaby, Västergötland, Sweden, 305
 Hushang (legendary king in the
Shahnameh), 346
 Hvergelmir, 173–74, 276–77, 281–83
Hymiskviða, 74, 102, 281
Hyndluljóð, 118, 121–22, 291, 298
 Iceland, 7, 39, 43, 78, 100, 102, 103,
 116, 118, 122, 125, 130, 155,
 168, 218, 225, 227, 234, 250,
 264, 269–84, 295, 308, 349, 363,
 374, Icelanders, 115–119, 284,
 Icelandic chieftain, 30; Icelandic
 oral tradition, 113; Icelandic
 place names, 117, 119; Icelandic
 sagas (See sagas); Icelandic settle-
 ment, 7, 116, 119, 125, 272, 344;
 Icelandic skalds, 30, 195
 iconographic methods, 53, 70, 79
 iconography, Christian, 303; rune-
 stone, 63
 idols(s), 89–101, 103–5, 171, 180; idol-
 atry, 91–95, 101, 104
 Illerup Ådal, Jutland, Denmark, 18
 Ilmarinen (god of the heavens), 202,
 228, 231–32, 235
 image(s), 38, 40–42, 45, 56, 90–91,
 92, 98, 100, 124, 125, 171, 174,
 176, 192, 193–94, 196–98, 200,
 203, 205–6, 208–9, 213–17, 246,
 262–64, 270, 273–74, 276–84, 289,
 295, 297, 300, 302–3, 333
 India, 35, 257, 364, 369, 374, 375;
 Indian hymn, 368; Indian Yama,
 370
Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum
 (Index of Superstitions and
 Pagan Practices), 175
 Indo-Europeans, 4, 14, 202, 227,
 324, 342, 344, 347, 353, 356–57,
 363–64, 368, 370, 372, 374, 375,
 376–77
 Ingi Steinkelsson (Swedish king), 177
 initiation, 151, 152, 155, 296
 inquit, 73, 75, 76
 Iraj (legendary character in the
Shahnameh), 341, 346, 350–52, 355
 Iran, 369
 Ireland, 324, 326
 Irish analogs, 331; *derbfine*, 344; tradi-
 tion, 324, 325–26, 335; *cnuimh*/
cruimh, 330
 Irminsul, 176, 178
 Isaiah, (Deutero-)Isaiah. See under
 Bible passages.
 Isis (Egyptian goddess), 218
 Isle of Man. See Man, Isle of
Ívarr inn beinlaussi, 332–33
 Jacobus de Voragine, 304
 Jafnhár, 41, 42, 102

Index

- Jamshid (legendary king), 346, 350, 352–53, 355
 Järfälla, Sweden, 304
 Järrestad, Scania, 179
 Jeremiah. *See under* Bible passages
 Jews, 243–64; blood libel against, 244; *gyðingr*, 247; Judaism and anti-Judaism, 244–47, 263; *júði*, 247; massacres of, 244; pogroms against, 244; ‘Red Jews’, 253–63; special clothing or badges, 244; ‘Synogaga’ as blind, 248
 Jokkmokk, Sweden, 207
Jóns saga ins helga, 39
 Jordanes, 150
jötunn, *jotnar* ‘giant(s)’, 229, 233, 252, 277, 280, 282–84, 366
 Joukavainen (giant), 230–31
 Judaism. *See* Jews
Judei Nostri (Anglo-Norman text), 252
Jüngere Titurel, *Der* of Albrecht von Scharfenburg, 256
Kalevala, *Old* (*Kalevala taikka wanhoja karjalan runoja suomen muinosista ajoista*), 227–28
Kalevala, 192–93, 199, 224, 228–34; meter, 192
Kalevipoeg, 199
Kárr inn gamli (mound-dweller), 298
Kárljóð, 74
 Kashmir, 369–70
 Katla (volcano), 271–73
 Kayumars, 346
kefli ‘rune stick’, 299, 302, 308, 309
 Kiimašjärvi, 204
 Kingu (Mesopotamian god), 371
 Kinsarvik Church, Norway: antepedion, 248–49
 Kirk Andreas cross fragments, 79–80
Kjalnesinga saga, 120
 Klamath tribe, 274
Konung Alexander, 257–61
Konungs skuggsjá, 257, 276, 279
 Kráka (Crow), 325, 331–33, 337
 Kristnitökuhraun, 273
 Ku (Hawaiian god), 20–21
 Kuhn, Thomas, 9
Kumlúa þátrr, 298
 Kun (of Hsia dynasty), 375
 Kuutar, moon as a female deity in some Balto-Finnic songs, 204
 Kvikkjokk, Sweden, 207
 Laki (volcano), 270, 271–72, 279
 Lamprecht der Pfaffe, 256
landnám (settlement period), 113, 218, 271–72, 275
Landnámabók, 113, 116–18, 125, 130, 271, 275
 landscape(s), 113, 122–26, 149, 172, 210, 270–71; as expressions of cosmology, 167, 169
 lapidary tradition, 307–8
 Lateran Council, Fourth. *See* Fourth Lateran Council
 Latvia, x, 181, 192, 213; *dainas* (see under *dainas*); Latvian tradition(s), 192, 194, 197, 204, 209–14
 lava, 270–84
 laws, 79, 169, 244, 260, 275, 304, 308; Icelandic, *Grágás*, 295–96; Icelandic, *Úlfjótsslög* (Law of Úlfjótr), 119–20; Langobardic, *Leges Langobardorum* (Lombard Laws), 175; Norwegian, *Eiðsifabingslög*; *Kristinn réttir hinn forni* (Law of Eiðsivaþing: Older Christian Law), 100; Norwegian, *Frostaþingslög* (Law of Frostaþing), 308; Norwegian, *Gulaþingslög* (Law of Gulaþing), 124; Swedish, *Upplandslagen* (Law of Uppland), 128; Swedish, *Västgötalagen* (Westgötha laws), viii
 law-speaker(s), 43
 Leach, Edmund, 10

- Legenda aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, 304
- Legendary Saga of St Óláfr*, 95
- Leges Langobardorum*. *See under* Laws: Langobardic
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 10–11, 14
- Liber Miraculorum* (Book of Miracles) of Herbert of Clairvaux, 273
- lightning, 90, 165, 271
- líkneski* ‘likeness’, 90–91, 98
- Líkneskjusmíð*, 90
- literacy, xi, 30–46, 199; alphabetic, 40, 45
- Liutprand (king), 175
- Liutprandi Leges*. *See under* Laws: Langobardic
- ljóð* ‘charm’, 290
- ljóðaháttr* meter, 34, 116
- Ljóðatal*, 289
- Lokasenna*, 73, 253, 264, 347
- Loki, 35, 229, 243, 253–55, 261–62, 276, 347, 349–50, 353–55; represented as a Jew, 248–53
- Lönnrot, Elias, 192, 199, 224–25, 227, 233
- Lono (Hawaiian god), 20–21
- Lord, Albert B., 32
- Luakini ritual cycle, 20–21
- Lucius Annaeus Florus. *See under* *Epitome of Roman History*
- lyng-ormr* ‘heather-snake’, 330
- Lytir, 99, 125
- magic, 11–12, 15, 125, 127, 208, 224, 252, 290, 292–93, 298–99, 307–10, 326, 331, 350, 370, 375. *See also* charm(s), charm magic
- magician(s), 12, 299, 309, 352
- Magnúss saga berfætts*, 296
- Makahiki ritual cycle, 20–21
- Man, Isle of, 67, 79–80; Manx carving, 68
- Mandi (Nuristani god), 370
- manor(s), manorial residence(s). *See* central place(s)
- Manuchehr (legendary king in the *Shahnameh*), 351–53, 355
- manuscript(s), medieval, 32, 35, 41, 164, 234; art, 63; as arenas for communication, 40, 44; Carolingian, 63; Ottonian, 63; production of in Sweden, 78; verbal and visual representation in, 43
- manuscript(s), individual: AM 242 fol., *Codex Wormianus* (*Prose edda*), 246–48; AM 748 4^{to} *Fragments of the Elder and the Younger Edda*, 234; Cod. Voss. Lat. 4^o 123, Leiden manuscript of *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* of Adam of Bremen, 164; DG 11 4^{to} *Codex Upsaliensis* (*Prose edda*), 42–44; Ny. kgl. Samling 66, 8^{vo} *Gamle danske urte-bøger, stenbøger og kogebøger*, 307; Ups C 528, *Codex Bildstenianus* (*Ett fornsvenskt legendarium*), 304; **Vatnshyrna* manuscript, 280
- Maori traditions, 372–73
- Marbod, Bishop of Rennes, 307
- Marcarius and the Magicians, Saul and the Witch of Endor* of Ælfric, 303
- Margery Kempe, 245
- Mariú saga*, 100, 248
- Mark. *See under* Bible passages
- Matthew. *See under* Bible passages
- medium, media, xvi, 30, 34, 39, 40–45, 53, 56, 68, 71–78, 81, 274; differences in, 34, 44–45, 78; and mediation, 40, 53, 68; ‘medium theory’, 53, 54, 76, 81; strategies, 42–43; studies, 30

Index

- memory, 38, 66, 81, 343; collective, 45; communicative, 130, 344; cultural, 53; function of in oral and written cultures, 38; and image(s), 38; toast '*minni*', 120
- Merovingian France, 147–48, 151, 172, 177–78, 181
- Messuskýringar* (commentaries on the symbolism of liturgy), 247
- metalepsis, 57, 71–72
- Metamorphoses* of Ovid, 276
- Midas (king), and the Donkey's Ears, 327
- Middle East, 271, 324, 329
- Midgard serpent (Old Norse *Miðgarðsormr*), 140, 254
- Mikael Agricola ('father of Finnish literature'), 223–32
- Mímir/Mímr/Mími, 148, 235, 291–92, 303
- modeling: as external memory device, 343; heuristic value of, 343–57
- models: scholarly or scientific, 7–9
- Mòkkurkálfi, 103–4, 245
- Molda-Gnúpr, 271
- mortuary practices and beliefs, 294, 302–3
- Moses, 168, 245
- mound dweller(s). See *haugúi*, *haug-búar*
- Mount Mazama, 274, 281
- Mount Sinai, 168
- multiformity, 324
- Mundilfœri, 195–96
- murder, 91, 341, 350–51; -and-revenge theme, 344–48, 350–53, 354–57; triad, 343, 347; weapon, 329
- Muspell, Muspellzheimr, 194, 196, 243, 253–56, 262–64, 277, 301, 366–67
- myth(s): of Adam and Eve, xiv, 101, 245; of Cain and Abel, 370; creation, 269–70, 276–77, 280–82, 284, 363–77; of Ho-wori and Ho-deri, 370–71; of Jacob and Esau, 370; mythic, 191–219; Nordic solar, x, 203–4, 212–16; performance and non-verbal aspects of, 45–46; of primordial giant being dismembered, 196–97, 282, 369–75; of sun as bird-egg, 200–202, 215, 230–31, 371, 373, 376; of sun as deified earthling consigned to the sky, 191; of sun as female, 191, 195, 198, 204, 209, 212, 214; of sun as unpersonified flame or disk, 191, 193, 196, 198, 213, 217; of sun perennially chased by wolves, 191; of sun's movement in Bronze Age, 215; Snorri's terms for, 193; verbal dimension of, 30
- myth-ritual configurations of temple, tree, and well, 169
- mythic oaks, 181, 204
- mythological relationship, genetic, 4, 14, 16, 23, 323, 342
- mythologies: Austric, 371, 373–74; Austro-Thai, 371; Balto-Finnic, 205, 224–25, 234–35; Chinese, 4, 364, 375; Finnish, x, 223, 226, 228, 232; Greek, 274, 303; Hawaiian, 19–22; Hittite, 104, 375; Indian, 372, 374–75; Indo-European, xv, 14, 104, 357, 377; Indo-Iranian, 364, 369; Iranian, x, 342; Japanese, 373; Laurasian, 4, 14, 363–64; Maori, 372; Nuristani, 369–70; Roman, 153
- narratology, 71; narratological levels, relationship between, 79
- necromancy (*necromantia*, *nás orð* 'corpse-words'), 290–91, 293, 309; confusion with *nigromantia*, 290
- Neoplatonism, 269, 282, 284;

- Neoplatonic dualism, 277
 New Philology, 40
 Niðungr (king; also Niðhad), 148, 153
 Niflheimr, 276–77, 281–82
 Njorðr, 115–16, 119, 120–23, 126; and Skaði, now-lost *ljóðaháttr* poem about, 116
 noose, 289–90, 296
 Nordic-Baltic peoples, intercultural relations of, 217
 Norway, 56, 68, 89–90, 94, 98, 113, 115, 119, 125, 130, 147, 149, 248–49, 278, 300–302, 308, 356
 Nuori-Juokawainen, 230
 Nuristan, 369
 oath(s), 96, 100–101, 118–20; *hofeiðr*, 119; *lýrittareidr*, 100–101; *sónargöltr*, 118
 Oddrúnargrátr, 752
 Odensbrunn (Óðinn's well), Uppsala, Tuna in Vendel (also Onsbrönn), 175
 Odin. *See* Óðinn
 Óðinn, 11–15, 97, 115, 118, 122–23, 127, 130, 232–33, 235, 247, 282, 347–50, 357, 369; cognomina for (e.g., *hangatýr*, *hangaguð*, *hangadróttinn*, *heimþinguðr hanga*), 299–300; and creation, 196–97, 231; and Germanic Mercury-Wodan, 15; as 'god of the Saxons', 94; idol/image of depicted, 140–41, 155, 165, 170–71, 193; as 'Lord of Ghouls', 293–98; and magic, 289–310; as master of verse, 230; and *Mímis brunnr* (Mímir's well), 174, 291–92; 'Óðinn-discourse', 15–16; 'Óðinn kings' as 'war kings', 21; as progenitor of kings and chieftains, 21, 234; and Rindr, 356; self-sacrifice on Yggdrasill, 21–22, 102, 368; as shaman, 11–15; and Väinämöinen compared, 230–31; with Þórr and Týr as a divine trilogy, 228–29
 Ögmundar þáttir dytts ok Gunnars helminga, 21, 98, 115, 117, 126
 Oisín (son of Fionn), 327–28, 335
 Ólafr Geirstaðaálfr (king), 123
 Óláfr Tryggvason (missionary king of Norway), 97–99, 124
 Óláfr Haraldsson (saint and king of Norway), 94–95
 Ólafs saga helga, 115, 122, 128
 Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta, 117, 123, 124
 Ólafs þáttir Geirstaðaálfs, 123
 Old Icelandic Homily Book, 248–49, 252
 Old Kalevala. *See* Kalevala, Old
 Olof Skötkonung (Swedish king), 305
 oral: art forms, 31; background of sagas and poems, 31, 33, 44; -derived texts, 32–33, 35; literature, 34, 207; poetry, 33, 76, 227; 'remediation' of oral poetry in written medium, 76–78; tradition, 29, 31, 32, 114, 115, 120, 122–23, 125, 129–30, 224, 227, 230, 233, 325
 orality and literacy debate, 29–45
 ormr, Old Norse, 'snake', 'dragon' (cognate with Irish *cnuimh*/*cruimh*, Persian *kerm*, and English worm), 330
 Oseberg, Norway, 125, 130
 Othinus, 348–50, 356. *See also* Óðinn
 Ovid. *See* *Metamorphoses*
 pagan revival: among the Wends (1134), 180
 Päivätär (sun as a female deity in some Balto-Finnic songs), 204–5
 Päivölä songs, 204
 Paltamo, Finland, 202
 Pangu (P'an ku), 363–64, 371, 374
 Parchim (possible sanctuary site), 180

Index

- Parry, Milman, 32
- Passio Sancti Eadmundi* of Abbo of Fleury, 304–5
- performance, 29–30, 32, 34–36, 54, 68, 76, 226, 309; of myth, 38–45, 126.
See also under myth(s)
- performance practices, conxtextualization of. *See* contextualization of performance practices
- Persia, 337, 350–51. *See also* Iran
- petroglyph(s): Bronze Age, 215
- philology, 30, 36–37
- Phoenicians, 152, 306
- picture stones. *See* runestones and picture stones
- place names, 115–19, 124, 172, 216.
See also individual toponyms
- Poetic Edda*. *See* eddic poems; and names of individual poems
- Polynesian traditions, 377
- pre-Christian: Scandinavia, 14–16, 22–23, 29, 39, 95, 127, 129, 163, 168, 176–77, 180–81, 192, 293; Baltic mythology, 209; cultic practices, 102, 115; deities, 102; Icelanders, 273; oral formula, 102; Sámi beliefs, 206–7
- Prester John, 257
- primordial giant: emerging from chaos (Ymir, Puruṣa), 376; emerging from primordial egg (Polynesia/China), 376; of stone, 375–76; universe created from body of slain (motif A642), 196–97, 282, 369–75
- processional roads, 125–26, 130, 179
- Procopius, 150
- prophecy, 70, 92, 102–3, 149, 290, 299, 303; summoned, prophesying dead (motif M301.14), 293, 299
- Prose Edda*. *See* *Snorra edda*
- protagonist(s), 34, 76, 331, 344, 348, 352–53
- Psalms. *See under* Bible passages
- Puruṣa, 363–65, 371, 374, 376–77
- Radogosc (temple site), 180
- Ragnarøk, 197, 212, 227
- Ragnarr loðbrók, 99, 103, 323–25, 330–38
- Ragnars kvæði* (Faroese ballad), 323
- Ragnars saga loðbrókar*, 99, 323, 330
- Rākṣasa (demon), 370
- Ralsiek (possible sanctuary site), 180
- Ramsund. *See under* runestones and picture stones
- Randalín, 325, 331, 333–34, 337–38
- reception of materials, 37, 39, 205, 234
- reconstructing myths and religions, xv, 3–11, 15–17, 23, 35–36, 191, 364
- Red Jews, 252–63; identified with the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, 255–56; identified with Gog and Magog, 255; identified with the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel, 255;
- religion(s), 4–23, 30, 79, 113, 115, 126, 129–30, 166–69, 177, 180, 225, 227, 244–45, 291, 304; ‘archaic’, 18; ‘axial’, 18; ‘different’, 6; Old Norse, 4–7, 9, 11, 16–17, 23, 180; Robert Bellah on evolution of, 17–22; ‘tribal’, 18
- Remus, 153, 353, 370, 374
- renewal of ritual structures. *See under* ritual structures
- Ṛgveda*, 364, 368–69, 375
- Richard the Lionheart (king), 244
- riddle(s), 224, 332, 349
- Rígsþula*, 21
- Rindr/Rinda, 233, 348–349, 356
- ritual(s), 7, 9–12, 15, 17, 19–22, 40, 113, 118–22, 125–30, 143–47,

- 152, 155, 166, 169, 171–72, 175,
178–82, 206–10, 214, 216–18, 247,
293–97, 306, 308, 373–75; cycles,
20; landscapes, 169; pagan, 7, 175
- ritual structures: renewal of, 146–47
- Robert Grosseteste (fl. 1220s), 245,
252
- Romans (book of the Bible). *See under*
Bible passages
- Romulus, 153, 353, 370
- Rösaring, Uppland, Sweden, 125
- royal burial(s), 129, 166, 177; court,
148; dynasties, 153, 218, 323, 355;
ideology, 234, 347; lineage, 20,
140, 149, 151–52, 217, 234, 328,
347, 353; manor, 151, 178
- Rudolf of Fulda, 176
- runestones and picture stones, 53–81,
139–40, 154–55, 193, 212, 215–16,
297; Denmark, Ålum (Ålum 3, DR
96), 58; Denmark, Hunnestad 3
(DR 284), 60; Denmark, Jelling 2
(Dr 42), 61, 78; Norway, Alstad,
59, 65; Norway, Dynna, 59, 65;
Norway, Eggja, 59; Norway, Vang,
59; Sweden, Altuna (U 1161),
58, 139; Sweden, Ardre VIII,
154; Sweden, Årsunda (Gs 9),
139; Sweden, Drävle (U 1163),
140; Sweden, Gök (Sö 327), 53,
59, 66–71, 78–81, 139; Sweden,
Krogsta (U 1125), 58; Sweden,
Lärbro Stora Hammars I stone,
55, 297, 300; Sweden, Ledberg
(Ög 181), 140; Sweden, Möjbro (U
877), 58; Sweden, Ockelbo (Gs 19),
139–40; Sweden, Österfärnebo
(Gs 2), 139; Sweden, Prästgården
(U 855), 64; Sweden, Ramsund
(Sö 101), 53, 59, 65–71, 78, 80,
139; Sweden, Sanda stone, 216;
Sweden, Stora Runhällen (U
1164), 62, 63; Sweden, Tjängvide I
(G 110), 140; Sweden, Västerljung
(Sö 40), 140; Sweden, Vittinge (U
1175), 139
- sacrifice, 93, 97–103, 118, 120, 122–24,
127–28. *See also* blót (sacrifice)
- Sæmingr (first of the Hlaðajarl line of
earls in Norway), 356
- Saga Heiðreks konungs ins vitra*. *See*
Heiðreks saga
- sagas, 30–31, 33, 36–37, 95, 114, 117,
120, 122, 130, 275; *fornaldarsögur*,
30, 80. *See also* titles of individual
sagas
- saint(s): cephalophoric, 303, 308;
decapitated, 303; severed head of,
speaks so that searchers can find
it (motif V229.25), 304–5; statues
of, 90, 105
- saints (individual): Saint Augustine,
246, 252; Saint Boniface, 175;
Saint Denis, 304; Saint Edmund,
304–5; Saint Erik, 178; Saint
Jerome, 247; Saint John the
Baptist, 303, 305; Saint Jón of
Hólar, 90; Saint Óláfr, 94–96; Saint
Sigfrid, 305
- Salm, 346, 350–52, 355
- Sámi (also Saami), x, 4, 11, 15,
149–51, 102, 191–92, 197, 205–9,
211, 214–18, 224, 376; ethnic
markers of, 149; *noaidi* (shaman),
206; reputation as smiths, 150;
shamanic drums, 206; as *skrid-
fenni*, 150
- I Samuel. *See under* Bible passages
- sanctuaries, possible Slavic sites:
Feldber, 180; Groß Raden, 180;
Parchim, 180; Ralsiek, 180; Wolin,
180; Wroklaw, 180
- Sanskrit, 342, 364
- Saul and the Witch of Endor*, 303

Index

- Saxo Grammaticus, 15, 31, 127–30,
279, 291, 296, 298–300, 303, 308,
323, 341, 348–50, 353–56
- Schweindorf, East Frisia, 152
- sculpture, 56, 63, 67, 71, 90, 141
- seiðr*, 114, 122
- Sgáthán, 327, 335–36
- Shahnameh* (Book of Kings) of
Ferdowsi, 324, 329–30, 324, 326,
337, 341, 345–46, 350–55
- shamanism, 11–15, 192, 223, 234, 368
- Shingu (Kii Peninsula), 375
- Sictona. *See* Sigtuna
- Sigrdrífumál*, 127, 291
- Sigtuna (Sictona), 78, 164–65, 167
- Sigurðarkviða in skamma*, 75
- Sigurðr Fáfnisbani, 54, 67–71, 75–81
- Sigurðr Hlaðajarl, 119
- Sigyn, 253–54, 276
- singing contest, 230
- Skaði, 116, 121, 253–54, 356
- Skáldatal*, 43
- skald(s), 6, 43–44, 100, 195, 232, 234,
300
- skaldic poetry, 30, 33–35, 40, 76, 78,
104, 126, 234
- Skáldskaparmál*, 103, 127, 193–95, 234
- Skedemosse, Öland, Sweden, 118
- Skírnismál*, 73, 116, 126–27, 211, 356
- Skjöld, god of the Scanians, 94
- Skrýmir, 232
- Sleipnir, 140
- Snorra edda* (Snorri's *Edda*. Also
called *The Younger Edda* and *The
Prose Edda*), 30–31, 42, 44, 75,
104, 244–45, 248, 253, 257, 261,
263–64, 269, 273, 276–77, 280,
281. *See also* *Gylfaginning* and
Skáldskaparmál
- Snorri Sturluson, 30, 31, 45, 113–15,
122–23, 126–30, 151, 170–74,
192–98, 218, 243–57, 261–64,
269–70, 272, 276–77, 281–84, 342,
348–51, 356
- Soikkola, Finland, 203
- solar myths. *See* myth(s).
- Solomon, Wisdom of. *See under* Bible
passages
- Sonatorrek*, 227
- song traditions: Balto-Finnic,
199–200, 202; Karelian, 202;
Latvian, 194, 209; Russian
Orthodox, 205; Scandinavian
ballad, 192, 200
- soul traveling, 14
- source(s): archaeological, 6, 95, 114,
122, 127–30, 95, 139–50, 169,
172, 177–82, 215–18, 226, 273–74,
280, 289, 294–95, 302–6; -critical
perspective, xv, 3, 6, 16, 23, 33;
'indigenous' vs 'foreign', 6–7;
textual, 29, 70, 164, 302. *See also*
titles of individual works
- Speculum lapidum* (The Mirror of
Stones) of Camillus Leonardi, 307
- Spitiura, 369–70
- Starcatherus, 21
- Steinvör 'hofgyðja', 117
- Stjórn*, 101, 264
- Sturlunga saga*, 115
- Styrmir Kárason (prior of the
Augustinian house of Viðey), 94
- sun. *See* myth(s)
- Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot* (Ancient
Songs of the Finnish People), 199,
224
- Surtr, 248, 254, 272, 282–83
- Sutton Hoo, East Anglia: boat burial,
140; helmet, 140
- Sveinn Ástriðarson, Danish king, 167

- Sveins þáttur ok Finns*, 95
 Svǫl, 197–98
 Sweden, 65–67, 77–79, 98, 113–118,
 123–30, 139–41, 144, 148–51, 155,
 172, 177–79, 226, 302, 348
 symbolism, 10, 168, 173, 177, 180–82,
 247
 Synagoga, 248–49
 Szczecin (temple site), 180
 Ta'aroa (Tahiti creator god), 371, 373
 Tacitus, Cornelius (author of *Germania*),
 21, 97, 118, 124, 294, 369
 Tågaberg, Scania, 304
 Tähemörsja (The Star Bride), 205, 209
 Tahmures, 346, 353
 Talmud, 244
 Tantalos, 33, 46
 Telemark, Norway, 90, 68
 temple(s), 20, 96–99, 102, 117–18,
 144, 147, 150, 153, 163–73, 180;
 literary evidence for pre-Chris-
 tian Slavic, 180; and sacrifices at
 Uppsala as described by Adam of
 Bremen, 163–73; Slavic configu-
 rations of temple, tree, and well,
 180. *See also names of individual*
 Slavic temple sites
 tephra, 271, 275, 281
 Teutoburg forest, 293–94
 text-context, 35–38; -image rela-
 tionships, 42; textualization
 (*Verschriftlichung*), 78–79
 thick description, 10, 34
 Thietmar of Merseburg (author of
 Chronik), 181
 Tikopia, 19
 Tissø, Zealand, Denmark, 178–79
 tongue, 294, 299–302, 305–10; 'objects'
 (*See Charon's obol*)
 topography, cultic, 163–82
topos, topoi, 78, 163, 167, 181, 245, 294
 Torslunda, Öland, 140
 Torsmyra, 'bog dedicated to the god
 Þórr', 179
Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne
 (Pursuit of Diarmaid and
 Gráinne), 324
Translatio S. Alexandri (Transfer of [the
 Relics of] St. Alexander) of Rudolf
 of Fulda, 176
 transmission: of myths and narra-
 tives, 29, 37, 39–40, 45, 54, 68,
 250, 257, 324, 332, 342; oral, 76;
 written, 68; written and oral, 73
 treasure, 275–76, 331; buried, 275;
 motif, 68–69
 tree(s), 70, 94, 101, 163–82, 203–4, 207,
 211, 216, 251, 289–97, 326, 329,
 343, 368–69
trémaðr 'tree-man', 91, 99, 332, 337
treuddar, triangular-shaped stone
 settings, 178
 Triglav temple at Szczecin. *See*
 Szczecin, temple(s)
 tripartite structure, Dumézilian, 14,
 343, 365
 Troy, 42
 Trundholm sun chariot, 196, 215
 Tu Shan (Chinese legendary figure),
 375
 Tur (Iranian legendary figure), 346,
 350–52, 355
 typological comparativism. *See under*
 comparativism(s)
 Týr, 178, 228, 232; hand of, in Fenrir's
 mouth, 140
 Ukko (god of thunder and/or the
 sky), 202, 232
 Ullikummi (giant of stone), 104, 375
 universe: created from body of slain
 giant (motif A642). *See primor-*
 dial giant
 Upelluri (primordial stone giant), 375
 Uppåkra, Scania, 139–49, 154–55

Index

- Uppsala, 21, 122–25, 127, 129–30, 149, 151, 163–82, 207, 234, 297, 356, as cultic center, 21, 122, 124, 125, 127, 129–30, 164–82, 234, 297, 356; as economic and political center, 123, 128, 151, 234
- Urðr, well of (*Urðar brunnr*), 164, 167, 174, 368
- Útgarðar, 232
- Vaðgelmir, 283
- Vafþrúðnismál*, 74, 120, 126, 230, 231, 281–84
- Väinämöinen (god of the waters), 202–3, 227–28, 230–35, *valgaldr* ‘corpse-magic’, 293, 309
- Valhöll, 69, 163, 167, 170–74, 234, 298
- Váli, 253–54, 261, 348–50, 355
- valkyrjur* (valkyries), 171, 232
- Vanir deities, 14, 113–30, 291; and the *álfar*, 117, 124; association with Uppland, Sweden; and female ritual specialists, 116–17; incestuous activities of the Vanir, 129; and the landscape, 124; ‘obituary’ by R. Simek, 113; ‘otherness’ of, 114; and place names, 116; ritual activities connected to, 118–19, 130
- Vápnfirðinga saga*, 117
- Varuna, Vedic, 15
- Varus (Roman general), 18
- Vatnajökull, 271
- Växjö, Småland, Sweden, 305
- Vé, 196, 347, 367
- Velent. *See* Volund
- Venerable Bede, the, 8
- vengeance, 253, 341, 351. *See also* avenger
- verbal aspects, 30, 34, 42, 79, 227, 231, 234; and visual representations in manuscripts, complementarity of, 43
- vermin (including worms, small serpents, and maggots), 60, 61, 90, 216, 324–37, 372
- Viaticum*, 306–8
- Viðarr, 140
- Víga-Glúms saga*, 116, 118
- Víkarr, 296
- Vili, 196, 347, 367
- Virgil, 245
- Virgin Mary, the, 90, 204, 212
- Vita Anskarii auctore Rimberto* (Life of St. Ansgar of Rimbert), 181
- Vita Prieflingensis* (Prüfening Life), 180
- Vitastā (Jhelum) River, 370
- volcanic activity, volcanism, 269–84; Icelandic types, 270
- Völsunga saga* (also *Vǫlsunga saga*), 67–69, 332, 338
- Vǫlsungakviða*, 74
- Volund (also Velent, Vǫlundr, Völundr, Wayland, Weland), 69, 74–75, 139–55, 232
- Vǫlundarkviða*, 74, 75, 139, 141–42, 149, 151, 154–55, 232
- Vǫlundr, Völundr. *See* Volund
- volundu*, Anglo-Frisian runic inscription, 152
- Vǫluspá*, 74, 121–22, 126, 150, 174, 195, 225, 227, 231, 244, 255, 261–64, 272–73, 282, 291, 298, 353, 365–67
- vǫlva* ‘seeress’, 293, 298, 309
- wagons, 114, 212; journeys by, and their connections to the Vanir, 125
- Wayland. *See* Volund
- Weland. *See* Volund
- well(s), 163, 167, 173–76, 178–80, 182. *See also* Óðinn: *Mímis brunnr*; Urðr, well of
- Widukind of Corvey, 176
- Wielent. *See* Volund
- William of Auvergne (fl. 1228), 245

- Wisdom of Solomon. *See under* Bible passages
 witch of Endor, 290, 303
 Wolgast (temple site), 180
 Wolin (sanctuary/temple site), 180
 worldview, 10; Christian, 217; pagan, 6–7, 39, 115, 274, 284; religious, 7; Slavic, 181
 Wroclaw (possible sanctuary site), 180
 Yama (Vedic mythic figure), 346, 356, 369–71
 Yggdrasill, 163, 167, 173–74, 178, 368
 Yima (Iranian mythic figure), 369–71
 Ymir, 197, 282, 284, 364–77
Ynglinga saga, 113, 117, 122–23, 127–29, 150–51, 230, 291–92, 300, 347, 356
 Ynglings, 168
Younger Edda, the. *See Snorra edda*
 Yü (first king of the Hsia dynasty), 375
 Zahhak (Iranian legendary figure), 346, 350, 352–55
Þiðreks saga af Bern, 142
 Þjazi, 232
 Þóra, 330–31, 333–34
 Þórðr gellir, 344–45
 Þórðr Özurarson, as ‘Freysgoðar’, 116
 Þorgarðr (wooden man), 99–100
 Þorgerðr Hǫrgabrúðr, 100
 Þorleifr jarlsskáld, 100, 300
Þorleifs þáttr jarlsskálds, 99, 300
 Þórr, 15, 90, 94–99, 103–104, 114, 115, 116, 118, 119, 122, 128, 130, 139, 165, 170, 179, 193, 228, 231–32, 235, 242, 348–49, 376; as god of the Englishmen, 94; and Hrugnir, 103; idol of, 90, 95–99, 165, 170; and Ilmarinen, 228, 231–34; and the Miðgarðsormr, 76, 140; and Mjöllnir, 95, 232
Þorsteins þáttr bæjarmagns, 281
Þorsteins þáttr uxafóts, 298, 301–2, 309
 Þrándheimr, 117–19, 123–24
 Þriði, 41, 42, 253
 Þrúðgelmir, 283
Þrymskviða, 74, 127, 226
 Þuriðr ‘hofgyðja’, 116–17