

The Hild-story (Hjaðningavíg) as a Saga-motif.

Reference has frequently been made to the influence of older mythical and legendary matter on the Icelandic sagas and numerous examples have been cited;¹ it may however still be worth taking one well-known story and examining a number of saga-episodes that might be regarded as reflecting it or being shaped by it, and the story chosen for the present study is the Hjaðningavíg, or, as I prefer to call it with a rather different emphasis, the Hild-story. This story has been much discussed in the past, particularly by scholars concerned to trace its origins;² I do not wish to comment here on theories concerning the origins of the story, except to note that opinion has been divided between those who see it primarily as a legend of abduction (the Hild-story) and those who see it rather as a myth of the unending battle (Hjaðningavíg), the former group perhaps consisting especially of those who have approached the story by way of the medieval German poem Kudrun, and the latter of those whose primary interest is in the earliest Icelandic versions of the story. My concern here is with the imprint left by the story on later Icelandic writing, and in this connection it is the Hild-story rather than the Hjaðningavíg that provided a model. Writers of generally realistic works, whether of history or of fiction, would naturally draw on the legendary and heroic aspects of the material, finding the mythical and supernatural aspects less usable.

There are four Icelandic texts that refer to the Hild-story: the first two are skaldic poems, the Ragnarsdrápa of Bragi the Old (traditionally ascribed to the mid-ninth century) and the Háttalykill of Rognvaldr jarl kali (mid-twelfth century); the others are in prose, Snorri's Skáldskaparmál (early thirteenth century) and the Sprla þáttur (c.1400?).³ Chronologically in between these last two are the closely related version in Saxo's Gesta Danorum, and the version independently developed from the same basic material in the German poem Kudrun (thirteenth century). All these texts are well known and have been the subject of much discussion; I need not therefore deal with them in detail, especially as it would be tempting to digress into matters (like the problem of Hjarrandi) that have no bearing on my argument. Summarizing the issues briefly, one can say that the two poems are in close agreement, though each provides details that are not in the other: Bragi

refers to Heðinn as a landless man and locates the battle on an island, and Rognvaldr states that Heðinn abducted Hildr; all these points seem to me essential to the story, and there is no reason to believe that the version of the story known to Rognvaldr differed in any substantial way from that known to Bragi. In the two prose versions the mythical aspect (Hildr as a valkyrie) is reduced and there is greater emphasis on the legendary and heroic aspects of the story; the opposing factions are clearly identified and the events are given a specific location, but while Snorri and Sgrla þáttur agree in setting the action in the northern world by naming Há-ey (the island of Hoy in the Orkneys), Saxo gives it a Baltic location on Hithinsó (Hiddensee), which may be more archaic, though this does not affect the present discussion.⁴ The version in Sgrla þáttur has numerous special features, but though these are of great intrinsic interest as showing how the mythical material is transformed into a Christian attack on paganism (Hildr's valkyrie-role is taken over by Gøndul, who is identified as an agent of Odin), they too are irrelevant to my argument.

From these texts one may deduce the general form of the Hild-story, and it may be analysed into a number of separate motifs: the abduction or elopement, the flight to an island, the conflict and settlement, and the names and status of the two central figures.

a) The abduction.

All five Scandinavian versions relate the abduction of Hildr by Heðinn, and Sgrla þáttur is the only one that represents Hildr as voicing any objection to it (this is in accord with the demythologizing of Hildr in the þáttur). In the poems Hildr's role is to stir up conflict,⁵ and we may deduce that the abduction was a means used to this end (i.e. that she consented to it or even provoked it). In Snorri there is something of an inconsistency: Heðinn seizes Hildr as war-booty, but instead of resenting this and seeking revenge, she is represented as trying to make peace between Heðinn and her father, so that the abduction acquires something of the nature of an elopement: this aspect appears in Kudrun and is also characteristic of the saga-episodes discussed below.

b) The flight to an island.

An island is mentioned by Bragi but not named; Snorri and Sgrla þáttur

name it as Há-ey, and this northern location is relevant to two of the sagas discussed below. That the flight to an island (whether or not encouraged by the Norse tradition of the hólmganga) was an important archaic element in the story is confirmed by its occurrence in Kudrun.⁶

c) The conflict and offers of settlement.

In the poems Hildr undermines the offers of settlement so as to provoke strife; in Snorri Hogni cannot accept the offers because he has drawn his sword and battle is unavoidable (a different kind of supernatural intervention); in Sgrla þátr Heðinn has committed an offence, the murder of Hogni's wife, for which no settlement is possible; in all these cases the eternal battle ensues. In Kudrun, however, where there is no eternal battle, Hétel and Hagen reach a settlement and are reconciled; it is this demythologised pattern that recurs in the sagas discussed below. Unfortunately, the motif of conflict and settlement is not distinctive in identifying episodes shaped by the Hild-story (nearly all sagas are tales involving conflict and offers of settlement), so this motif must be eliminated from the discussion.

d) The names and status of the central figures.

To specify this more precisely, my concern is with the names Hildr and Heðinn, and with the status and rank of Heðinn, for his name and status are closely linked. In the earliest version, Bragi's poem, we hear that Heðinn is landa vanr, a landless man, but the later versions of Snorri and Saxo make him a king. These statements are not necessarily contradictory, but in indicating a social distinction between Hogni (the man with a kingdom) and Heðinn (the man - whether or not a king - without a kingdom) Bragi gives the situation a special element of tension that we are familiar with in numerous later ballads and folk-tales of the poor man who wins a king's (or rich man's) daughter. One may note in passing that Kudrun preserves this element in an odd form: Hétel is a powerful king, but the wooing and abduction of Hilde are delegated to a man of lower status, Horant, though this unheroic action is left unexplained.

If we are to think of the abductor as a landless man, one who for some reason does not hold a recognized position in heroic society, the name Heðinn may give a clue to such an anomalous status if we take it as indicating a berserk, or one whose nature in some way marks him off from normal humanity.

To justify this statement, and incidentally to throw some light on the significance of the name Hildir, a digression on some aspects of Old Norse names may be helpful.

Old Norse names, like those in other Germanic languages, generally consist of one or of two morphemes; examples of the one-morpheme type are Hildir, 'battle', and Heðinn, 'pelt, animal-skin' (objections to the latter interpretation are dealt with below). The holder of a two-morpheme name may on occasion be referred to by the second element of his name, though when this is done it is usually to make some point about the meaning of the name: i.e. it involves some kind of word-play. For example, in Snorri's summary of the Sigurðr-legend (Skáldskaparmál ch.39) we read, þá vaknaði hon ok nefndisk Hildir; hon er kölluð Brynhildir ok var valkyrja: thus Snorri alerts us to the fact that Sigurðr is awakening hildir, 'strife'. Any name compounded with -hildir as the second element may thus be abridged as Hildir and may carry associations of hildir, 'strife, battle' or of the mythical Hildir.⁷ A memorable example of name-abridgement of this kind occurs in Njáls saga ch. 119, when Njál's family and friends are seeking the support of various chieftains, who nearly all refuse because of the doomed appearance of one member of the company. We are subsequently told (ch.120) that everyone know Skarpheðinn without having to look at him - kenndu hann allir ósenn - but in ch.119 one chieftain after another asks who he is; to most of them Skarpheðinn gives his name in its usual form, but to Snorri goði he replies, Heðinn heiti ek en sumir kalla mik Skarpheðinn gllu nafni ('I am named Heðinn, but some call me by my complete name, which is Skarpheðinn'). Here again we have an example of name-abridgement that involves word-play: the implication is that Skarpheðinn is well known under his usual name and appearance, but he gives a changed form of his name to parallel the change in his appearance caused by his impending fate: his transformed appearance may be likened to an outward covering or skin-garment, i.e. a heðinn, 'pelt, animal skin'. The single element heðinn would also perhaps call to mind another (and, I believe, commoner) personal name compounded on this element, Úlfheðinn, which also exists as a noun, 'wolf-skin', whose structure and usage correspond closely to berserkr; in fact these two words are often associated, as for example in the Haraldskvæði of Þorbjörn hornklofi, stanza 8, Grenjuðu berserkir enjuðu úlfheðnar ('berserks bellowed, wolf-skins

howled'). This poem refers to the famous champions who helped Harald Fine-hair to conquer Norway, and they are also mentioned in family-sagas in similar terms: e.g. þeir berserkir er ulfheðnir voru kallaðir, þeir höfðu vargstakka fyrir brynjur (Vatnsdæla saga ch.9: 'those berserks who were called "wolf-skins", they had wolf-cloaks instead of armour'; cf. Grettis saga ch.2). Skarpheðinn Njálsson is represented as having some of the characteristics of a berserk: he seems to be invincible, virtually invulnerable in battle, and he is more given to violence than any other member of his family; he tends to stand apart from his brothers, sardonically grinning, if not actually baring his teeth in customary berserk-fashion. That his name is a reminder of his úlfheðinn characteristics is possibly hinted at when he refers to himself as Heðinn.⁸

The name Heðinn may of course be of quite different origin from the Icelandic word heðinn, but there was no way for medieval Icelanders to know this, and the name was presumably identified with the word, no doubt encouraged by the fact that the word actually occurs in names of the Ulfheðinn type. The association between the names Heðinn and Ulfheðinn was thus inevitable, and it is unnecessary to postulate that the Heðinn of the Hild-story was originally named Ulfheðinn.⁹ It is easier and more plausible to suggest that in Icelandic versions of the Hild-story Heðinn was represented as having certain úlfheðinn characteristics, and that this is allied to Bragi's reference to him as landa vanr; later versions of the story make him a king, but he still prefers to acquire Hildr by abduction or elopement rather than by negotiation, and we may recall that the abduction of women is an offence frequently held against berserks in the family-sagas. The Hild-story, whatever its ultimate origins and form, thus seems to have taken in the Norse world the aspects of a myth of Odin and his protégés, for Odin was the god not only of valkyries and those who incite to violence, but also of berserks and of landless men in general,¹⁰ and in the interaction of Hildr and Heðinn we have a demonstration of Odin's power. We should thus see Heðinn as embodying characteristics that might appear in later writings in a range of possible forms: as úlfheðinn he may be represented as a berserk or viking, or the wolf aspect of his name may be developed in the form of various kinds of wolf-imagery, or in representing him as an outlaw, since in both Norse and English tradition words for 'wolf' are applied to outlaws;¹¹

alternatively the Heðinn-figure may appear simply as a man whose lower rank and social station make a proposal of marriage unacceptable, so that abduction or elopement is forced upon him; outlawry or exile may result from the abduction instead of preceding it, but this may be a development in which the data of the legend are rationalized in a more realistic setting.

The distinctive features of the early Icelandic versions of the Hild-story are shown in Table I (p. 13 below); if Saxo's version were added, this would confirm the importance of the motif of flight to an island, but would not otherwise affect the situation. Of the three motifs (abduction - flight to an island - names and status) all are present in Snorri and Sorla þáttr, but only two appear in each of the poems (the second and third in Bragi, the first and third in Rognvaldr). When it comes to considering the influence of the story on saga-writing, I have been guided in the first place by a general impression of whether or not it is reasonable to regard a given episode as reflecting the Hild-story: the sagas contain numerous tales of abduction, numerous accounts of flights to (or fights on) islands, and numerous figures whose names associate them with Hildir or Heðinn or whose status is in some respect comparable; but unless an episode satisfied my general sense of reasonable comparability it was rejected from consideration. There remain five episodes that seem generally comparable, and which on analysis prove in each case to contain at least two of the distinctive motifs deduced above.

1. Færeyinga saga.¹²

The saga relates how the cousins Sigmund and Þórir flee as boys to Norway and find refuge in a remote valley with a bóndi and his family. Liestøl has already pointed out that this portion of the saga includes an archaic motif in that the bóndi is at first represented as having troll-like characteristics.¹³ There is in fact a more conspicuous fornaldarsaga-motif in this portion of the saga: the boys kill a dangerous bear and prop up its body so as to deceive the bóndi, who strikes at it with his spear: the episode is strikingly like the monster-slaying in Hrólf's saga kraka.¹⁴ We may thus be prepared to find other legendary motifs in this portion of the saga, and in fact the account given by the bóndi of his former life has several points in common with the Hild-story.

The bóndi, who gives his name as Úlfr, tells how a bóndi named Steingrímur had a son Þorkell, who wished to marry Ragnhildr, a girl of higher rank, daughter of the sýslumaður Þóralfr. Þóralfr rejected his proposal of marriage, so Þorkell abducted her and took her to his home; his father refused to be associated with the abduction, so Þorkell, with twelve of his men, took her into the woods. Þóralfr pursued them and there was a fight in which many were killed; Þóralfr's more numerous party wins the day, and Ragnhildr is taken home by her father, who is, however, mortally wounded. Þóralfr dies and Þorkell is outlawed and has to stay in hiding; shortly after, however, he abducts Ragnhildr from her home a second time, and they elope together to the mountains - and (the narrative shifts into the first person) here we have lived for the past eighteen years.

In this episode we have (i) the abduction or elopement (actually a double abduction: such duplication of material, which occurs in other examples discussed below, is a common feature of oral narrative and its medieval literary derivatives); but (ii) there is no island, a remote mountain-valley taking its place; the decisive factor, however, is (iii) the names and status of the main characters: the girl has a -hildr name (Ragnhildr), and the abductor is a man of lower rank who is outlawed, and in exile takes the appropriate name of Úlfr (referring to his position as an outlaw and to his úlfheðinn characteristics). The killing of the girl's father may perhaps be thought to have a remote parallel in the killing of Kudrun's father Hetel on Wülpensand, but it is probably more reasonable to see here contamination from a different story of abduction, namely the tale that subsequently appears in the Danish ballad of Ribold og Guldborg.¹⁵

It is not surprising that traditional material like this should appear in this section of Færeyinga saga in the context of other similar material. Nor is it unexpected if such material appears in the earlier part of Heimskringla, which narrates events very remote in time and draws on legendary material; but in Hálfðanar saga svarta, from which my next example comes, we are on the brink of history, and the shaping of the record according to archaic patterns is noteworthy.

2. Hálfðanar saga svarta, ch.5.¹⁶

Hálfðan, a rising young minor king in Norway, had a wife Ragnhildr who

died when they were both young. The king of the neighbouring kingdom of Hringarfki, Sigurðr hjört, was killed by a berserk named Haki, who then abducted his daughter Ragnhildr and took her to his home; Haki had been so seriously wounded in the fight with Sigurðr that he was unable to take advantage of his possession of Ragnhildr, who was then abducted in turn (or rescued, depending on how you look at it) by a troop of Hálfðan's men led by a man named Hárekr gandr; on seeing his loss, Haki killed himself (an odd incident) and Ragnhildr became Hálfðan's second wife of that name and, incidentally, the mother of Harald Finehair.

One might deduce from this that Hálfðan had only one wife named Ragnhildr, and that her name, compounded on -hildr, was a sufficient reason for ascribing to her a fate reminiscent of the Hild-story. Her first abductor is said to be a berserk, but it is particularly striking that her second abduction is by a man of lower rank, who acts, like Horant in Kudrun, on behalf of a king; even more striking is the fact that Hálfðan's agent has the nickname gandr, which, in addition to its common meaning of 'magic staff' is occasionally used as a poetic synonym for 'wolf'.¹⁷

There is no clear dividing-line between the plausible and the implausible in the analysis of this kind of material, and my next example is obviously uncertain and may be an unadorned record of actual historical events.

3. Orkneyinga saga, ch.93.¹⁸

Much of the material in Orkneyinga saga cannot be checked from other sources, but it does not show obvious signs of extensive literary patterning, and it may in general be fairly reliable as a historical record (in marked contrast to Færeyinga saga, which looks like a family-saga that has strayed away from Iceland). It is therefore with some doubt that one questions the historicity of the following episode.

Erlendr the Young wished to marry Margrét, mother of Haraldr, earl of Orkney, but his proposal was rejected; he therefore abducted her and carried her north to Shetland, where they took refuge on the island of Morsey, sheltering in the stone tower of Morseyjarborg (the Broch of Mousa). Earl Haraldr arrived and besieged them there, but a settlement was reached and

Erlendr married Margrét and gave his support to Haraldr.

In this episode there is nothing in the names of the participants to suggest any kind of patterning after a legendary model; the two relevant factors are the abduction by a man of lower rank (though of a mother instead of a daughter) and the flight to a remote island. It may carry some weight that the island of Mousa in Shetland recalls in a general way the location of the Hild-story on Hoy in Orkney, but the whole episode remains historically plausible and one would not doubt its historicity if it were not for the fact that the story has a sequel in Egils saga.

4. Egils saga, ch.32-33.¹⁹

Björn Brynjólfsson, who had been a viking, asks for the hand of Þóra hláðhond but her brother Þórir refuses; Björn abducts her in her brother's absence and takes her home; his father Brynjólf refuses to allow them to marry and sends his friend Þórir an offer of settlement. Þórir refuses settlement until his sister is returned, which Björn will not agree to. Björn undertakes to go off on a voyage, but before sailing he takes leave of his mother, who is looking after Þóra; with his mother's connivance he abducts Þóra a second time, and they sail to Shetland and land on Mousa; here they get married and spend the winter in the Broch of Mousa. News reaches them that Björn has been outlawed, so in the spring they sail to Iceland and settle there with the help of Skalla-Grímr, an old friend of Þórir; when Skalla-Grímr finds out that they are runaways he arranges a settlement between Björn and Þórir.

Here too we have an episode that bears only a partial resemblance to the Hild-story: the names do not suggest any connection (I cannot attach any weight to the name Björn as a link with berserkr or Bjarnheðinn), though Björn's status as a viking may recall the description of Heðinn as sækonungr in Sgrla þáttr; principally we have the abduction, the flight to an island and the outlawry. The striking feature of the story, of course, is the fact that, like the episode in Orkneyinga saga, it names the island of Mousa (here in the form Mósey) and refers to the Broch of Mousa as a place of refuge. It is probable that the author of Egils saga borrowed this detail from Orkneyinga saga,²⁰ and this raises the question as to why he should have thought the detail was worth borrowing; no certain answer is possible, but it looks as if

he found the Shetland island of Mousa reminiscent of the Orkney island of Hoy in a story of abduction, and repeated the detail because of its legendary associations. This might particularly be the case if, as has often been conjectured, the author of Egils saga were Snorri Sturluson, to whom we owe the first extant mention of Orkney in connection with the Hild-story. Certainly the fact that the author of Egils saga refers to Mousa in a story of abduction lends strength to the possibility that the episode in Orkneyinga saga had recognizable legendary associations, though how far the author of Orkneyinga saga was aware of this must remain in doubt.

It may be felt that in these last two cases there is some uncertainty as to whether there was any deliberate imitation of the legendary motif. My last example is also rather uncertain, but however we interpret it, it is especially striking because it comes from a konunga saga dealing with relatively recent events, yet we have a clear case of falsification of the historical facts, apparently in order to make them more interesting - i.e. more like a work of fiction, if not a heroic legend.

5. Knýtlinga saga, ch.78.²¹

The relevant portion of history is well attested in Danish sources, and to evaluate the saga-account one must first recall the historical facts. King Erik the Good ('Ejegod', died 1103) married Bodil (Saxo: Botilda), the daughter of a Danish nobleman, and she bore to Erik his only legitimate son, the famous Knud Lavard. After reigning eight years Erik went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land accompanied by his queen, and died of illness on the way there in Cyprus; the queen continued alone and she too died of illness in the Holy Land.

What the Icelandic saga makes of Erik and his queen is something quite remarkable. The Wendish tribes of the south Baltic coastal region, we are told, had been spasmodically under Danish rule for about a century and this area was regarded by Danish kings as part of their territory; while Eiríkr (to use the saga form of his name) was on an earlier pilgrimage to Rome, however, Wendland was conquered by Heinrekr keisari (the German emperor Heinrich IV) who, according to Knýtlinga saga, put in charge of the newly won territory a free-lance Danish leader named Björn. Since the position was

dangerous, the Kaiser had to bribe Björn by giving him in marriage Bóthildr, who is said to be the Kaiser's half-sister (having the same mother, her father being a Danish nobleman). Eiríkr, back from Rome, raised an army to reconquer Wendland; he won a decisive victory and Björn was killed; Bóthildr was taken prisoner and led back to Denmark as spoils of war. In Denmark she bore to Eiríkr a son, who was named after the king's elder brother, Knútr inn helgi; she was then told that she had received board and lodging long enough in Denmark, and was sent home to her German family, but was not allowed to take her son; she was well received by the Kaiser, and we hear nothing more of her in the saga, which goes on to relate Eiríkr's pilgrimage and death in Cyprus without mentioning any queen.

Here we have the odd situation of a perfectly normal royal marriage being turned into an abduction; no doubt it makes a good story, but one might have expected the writer to have some stronger motivation than mere sensationalism. The saga was written at a time when the cult of Knud Lavard was well established, and the account of his death is written with the respect due to a Christian martyr; yet the author has told a story that deprives the hero of his legitimate birth, making him the son of a concubine. There seems to be only one motive for this startling transformation of what must have been well known history, and it lies in the queen's name, Bóthildr: since she has a -hildr name, she has to be given a Hildr-like fate to match it. This may seem a slender basis for alleging the creation of such a fiction, but in support of it one must note that the sage-writer shares a phrase with Snorri's account of the Hild-story:

Skáldskaparmái ch.47

Konungr sá, er Hogni nefndr, átti dóttur
er Hildr hét; hana tok at herfangi
konungr sá, er Heðinn hét Hjarrandason.

Knýtlinga saga ch.78

Eiríkr konungr hafði tekit
at herfangi frú Bóthildi,
systur Heinreks keisara.

The saga-author's transformation of history here is very strange, and until a more plausible explanation is forthcoming, we must accept that the facts were changed to make them accord with a legendary pattern.²²

Whether or not there are other saga-episodes that may have been shaped by the Hild-story I do not know; I have deliberately omitted from consideration the fornaldarsögur and lygisögur since these are obviously

based on traditional legendary and mythical material. My concern has been with the historical and family-sagas, and the examples I have discussed may perhaps be seen as having been shaped by the association of ideas: when a writer has to relate a story containing one of the motifs of the Hild-story, the other motifs may be brought in to support it. In the case of the episodes from Hálfðanar saga and Knýtlinga saga it looks as if the initial impulse may have come from the -hildir names: given the figure of Ragnhildr, Snorri (or more probably one or more of his sources — such transformation could well have occurred during the process of oral transmission) added the motif of abduction at the hands of a berserkr and gandr, while the author of Knýtlinga saga made Bóthildr the centre of a story of abduction. In the case of Orkneyinga saga the degree of reshaping is difficult to assess since we do not know whether the source included both the abduction and the flight to an island, but Egils saga shows the development of material from Orkneyinga saga by an author who was aware of its legendary potential and who built it up into a full tale of abduction by a viking-outlaw and flight to an island. In the case of Færeyinga saga there is no obvious starting point: the episode looks as if it were conceived in toto on the model of the Hild-story, though replacing the motif of flight to an island with material drawn from a different abduction-story. The analysis of the five saga episodes is summarized in Table II.

It has long been recognized that the authors of much medieval vernacular narrative worked with what one might describe as prefabricated units, whether on the level of formulas and set phrases or of themes and conventional episodes; that there are recurrent themes and situations in Icelandic sagas is obvious enough, but a special interest would attach to any such material that reflected the survival of archaic legendary patterns. The evidence here presented is clearly limited and to some extent uncertain: one may hope for further studies to clarify the situation.

TABLE I

(i) Bragi, <u>Ragnarsdrápa</u>		i holmi	Hildir (with valkyrie characteristics) Heðinn, landa vanr
(ii) Rognvaldr, <u>Háttalykill</u>	Heðinn réð Mildri at nema		Hildir (with valkyrie characteristics) Heðinn
(iii) Snorri, <u>Skáldskaparmál</u>	hana tók at herfangi	til Orkneyja ... þar sem heitir Há-ey	Hildir, daughter of king Heðinn, king
(iv) <u>Sörla</u> <u>Þáttr</u>	at nema Mildri j burta ek hefir hertekit dottur þína	at eyju þeirri er Ha heitir	Hildir, daughter of king Heðinn, gerðizst sækonungr ok heriade

TABLE II

1. <u>Þereyinga</u> <u>saga</u>	(a) tekr hana upp j fang ser ok berr hana vt (b) tekr nu R. j burt j annan tíma	(a fioll ok eydimerkr)	Ragnhildir, daughter of sýslumaðr (þorkell) Úlfr, útlagi
2. <u>Hálfðanar</u> <u>saga svartar</u>	(a) tók í brot R. (b) tóku í brot Ragnhildi		Ragnhildir, daughter of king (Haki) berserkr (Hárekr) gandr
3. <u>Orkneyinga</u> <u>saga</u>	nam hana á brot	flutti hana norðr í Hjalt- land ok settisk í Morseyjarborg	(Margrét, mother of jarl) (Erlendr ungi)
4. <u>Egils saga</u> <u>Skallagrímssonar</u>	(a) Björn nam þóru á brott (b) leiddu þeir hana í brott	at Hjaltlandi ... við Mósey	(þóra, daughter of hersir) Björn, var stundum í víking ... var útlægr gorr
5. <u>Knýtlinga</u> <u>saga</u>	hafði tekit at herfangi		Bóthildir, systur Heinreks keisara (Eiríkr konungr)

FOOTNOTES

1) An important treatment of the subject, with references to earlier writings, is in T. Andersson, The Icelandic Family Saga (Cambridge, Mass. 1967) esp. pp.65-93; K. Liestøl, The Origin of the Icelandic Family Saga (Oslo, 1930) pp.163 ff. cites much relevant material.

2) See KLNM s.v. Hjaðningavígr and the works there cited; later studies that may be added to this are K. Malone, 'An Anglo-Latin Version of the Hjaðningavígr', Speculum 39 (1964) 35-44; M. Chesnutt, 'An unsolved problem in ON-Icelandic literary history', Medieval Scandinavia 1 (1968) 122-134 and N. Lukman, 'An Irish source and some Icelandic fornaldarsögur', Medieval Scandinavia 10 (1977) 41-57. Malone's survey of the basic Icelandic sources is particularly useful.

3) For the skaldic material I have used Malone's reprint of the relevant texts from Finnur Jonsson, Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtning (see note 2 above), supplemented by reference to E.A. Kock, Den norsk-isländska Skaldediktningen (Lund, 1946). For Skáldskaparmál I refer to Snorri Sturluson, Edda, ed. Finnur Jónsson (Copenhagen, 1900), pp.118-9. For Sgrla þáttr I refer to Flateyjarbók, ed. C.R. Unger and G. Vigfússon (Christiania, 1860-8) 1.278-283; and for Saxo to Saxonis Gesta Danorum, ed. Olrik and Ræder (Copenhagen, 1931) pp.133-4.

4) See Malone (note 2 above) pp.40-44 on this topic, and earlier studies cited there. An early association of Hiddensee with the Hild-story is indicated not only by the etymology of the name, Heðins-ey (though this is not necessarily to claim that the island is named after the legendary hero), but also by the reference to Heðinsey in Helgakviða Hundingsbana in fyrri, stanza 22: see Edda, ed. G. Neckel (Heidelberg, 1962) p.133; the possible connection between the Eddaic lays of Helgi and the Hild-story is clearly important for any discussion of the origins of the story, but it is not relevant to the present discussion.

5) Hildir is of course a valkyrie name: see Völuspá 30, Sá hon valkyrior Gunnr, Hildir, Gøndul ... , and þulur IV. aaa.1-2, Oðins meyjar/Hildir ok Gøndul; gunnr and hildir both mean 'war, battle' and the bearers of these names personify the powers that carry men off to death; the name of Gøndul,

who has the valkyrie-role in Sorla þátr, may derive from gandr, 'magic staff'—see J. de Vries, Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte (Berlin, 1956) I.297-8—but may also involve the sense 'wolf' discussed below.

6) In the German poem it is Kudrun, not Hilde, who is taken to the island of Wülpensand (cf. Bragi's reference to the battle á sandi), but that Wülpensand was originally the scene of the battle over Hilde is indicated by a reference in Lamprecht's Alexander: see R. Wisniewski, Kudrun (Stuttgart, 1963) p.12. The name Wülpensand, whatever its actual etymology—on which see A. Bach, Deutsche Namenkunde (Heidelberg, 1952-6) I.180, II.307 and 328—may also be of interest in connection with the wolf-imagery mentioned below.

7) See for example Egils saga einhendar, ed. Lagerholm (Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek 17: Halle, 1927), ch.1-2, where we hear of a king with two daughters named Hildir, who are subsequently distinguished by their full names: Hann átti tvær dótr; hét hvartveggi Hildir ... en eldri Hildir ... var kǫlluð Brynhildir ... Hildir en yngri ... var ... Bekkhildir kǫlluð; both were of course abducted. One may also note how -hildir names are confused in some MSS: in one group of MSS of Gísla saga Vésteinn's wife is Gunnhildir and Bjartmar's daughter is Hildir, but another MS-group reverses the names: see Íslensk Fornrit 6 (1943) pp.15-16 and 37-38; in Fóstbræðra saga Þorsteinn's daughter appears in one MS as Þórhildir and in another as Hildir: see ibid. p.124 and note 2.

8) A related piece of word-play occurs in Njáls saga ch.91 when Skarphéðinn says of the troublemaker Hrapp, en gjöldum honum rauðan belg fyrir grán, 'we will give him a red skin instead of a grey one'; the rauðan belg is of course a skin covered in blood—see Brennu-Njáls saga, ed. Einar Olafur Sveinsson, Íslensk Fornrit 12 (1954) p.228, note 7 (all references are to this edition)—but the grán is presumably a wolf-skin (see þulur IV.ee.1, grádyri, 'wolf', and compare the OE Battle of Brunanburh 64-5, þæt græge deor/wulf on wealde), referring to Hrapp's status as an outlaw (vargr: see note 11 below) and perhaps to his ulfheðinn (berserkr) characteristics as a man of violence.

9) On the etymology of the name Heðinn see A. Janzén, Personnamn (Nordisk Kultur VII, Stockholm, 1947), pp.105, 136 and 183 (note 561) and J. de Vries,

Altnordisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch (Leiden, 1962) s.v. heðinn and Hjaðningar; see also Bach, Deutsche Namenkunde I.215; it seems to be generally accepted that the name Heðinn, like Hogni and Hjarrandi, is of continental Germanic origin. On Ulfheðinn as the original form of Heðinn see Widsith ed. K. Malone (London, 1937) p.162, citing R. Much's review of Panzer, Hilde-Gudrun, in Archiv 108 (1902) 410.

10) See E.O.G. Turville-Petre, Myth and Religion of the North (London, 1964) p.68, and H.R. Ellis Davidson, Gods and Myths of Northern Europe (Harmondsworth, 1964) pp.66-67.

11) See Fritzner, Ordbog, s.v. vargr 3. 'fredløs Person' = skogarmaðr. In English wolf in the sense of 'outlaw' is first attested only in 1375, but that this meaning goes back to Anglo-Saxon times is indicated by the use of wulfes heafod in this sense in Anglo-Saxon laws (see OED s.v. wolf 4(b) and wolf's-head).

12) I refer to the text of Færeyinga saga as it appears in Flateyjarbók interpolated into Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar, ch.107: see Flateyjarbók I.134-6. One may note that Sorla þátrr is also interpolated into Óláfs saga in this MS: see note 3 above.

13) See K. Liestøl (note 1 above) pp.163 ff.

14) Flateyjarbók I.133: cf. Hrólfs saga kraka, ed. D. Slay (Edit.Arnmag., Ser.B, Vol.1; Copenhagen, 1960) pp.78-81. At a later point in Færeyinga saga (Flateyjarbók I.555) the phrase manngiarnliga mun ydr mer þikia fara may possibly be a reminiscence of þrymskviða stanza 13.7-8 (Edda ed.Neckel p.113).

15) Danmarks gamle Folkeviser, ed. S. Grundtvig (Copenhagen, 1853-), no.82 c.f. the Scottish ballad Earl Brand (The Douglas Tragedy): English and Scottish Popular Ballads, ed. F.J. Child (New York, 1882; repr. 1957) no.7. The Danish ballad of Hildebrand og Hilde (DGF no.83) could likewise be regarded as a blend of the Hild-story and the folk-tale in which the girl's father and brothers are killed.

16) Heimskringla, ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnason (Íslensk Fornrit 26,1941)I.86-9.

17) See Heimskringla I.88, note 5. The poem cited under gandr in Lexicon Poeticum is perhaps of marginal relevance to the present discussion: it is

alleged to have been spoken when Gǫngu-Hrólfur was banished; its repeated use of wolf-imagery was presumably prompted by the coincidence of the name Hrólfur (from *Hroð-ulfr) and the theme of outlawry, and the poem is ascribed to the exile's mother Hildir. See Heimskringla I. 123-4 and footnotes.

18) Orkneyinga saga, ed. Finnbogi Guðmundsson (Íslensk Fornrit 34, 1963) pp.249-50.

19) Egils saga Skallagrímssonar, ed. Sigurðr Nordal (Íslensk Fornrit 2, 1933) pp.83-87.

20) See Orkneyinga saga p.249, note 4.

21) Sögur Danakonunga, ed. C. af Petersens and E. Olson (SUGNL 46, Copenhagen, 1919-25) pp.185-6.

22) The saga account of how Bóthildr was sent back home to her family is also odd and may have been influenced by the fate of another Danish princess a century later: Ingeborg (Engelborg), daughter of Valdemar the Great, was married to Philip II of France, who, for reasons that are not clear, tried to have the marriage annulled and to send her back to Denmark. I have not yet been able to investigate Danish accounts of the incident, which became an international cause célèbre in the years after 1200, but English chroniclers frequently name the queen not as Ingeborg but as Botilda: see for example Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series, ⁵¹ London, 1870-1), III.224 and IV.86, 138 and 146-8; Flowers of History of Roger de Wendover, ed. H.G. Hewlett (Rolls Series 84, 1886) has Ingelburga (I.230) beside Botilda (I.295).

