Part II: The Æsir–Vanir War (or Peace)

In a myth, the tribes of deities – the Æsir and the Vanir – fight each other. In the Æsir–Vanir War, both sides experience both success and adversity. Finally, they decide to make peace. As a part of the peace agreement, hostages are exchanged. From the Vanir come Njǫrðr, Freyr, Freyja and (in one version) Kvasir to the Æsir, and the Æsir sends Hœnir and Mímir to the Vanir.

Because the giving and taking of hostages are mentioned in this myth, it could be said to have a function on the cosmological level. However, the myth is reproduced in various medieval redactions and it appears in two different versions that may not be compatible. The hostages are only mentioned as a central part of the peace agreement in one version.

Below, an interpretation of the versions of the myth in the various medieval redactions of the *Poetic Edda*, the *Snorra Edda* and the *Heimskringla* is made. The details here are important as well as answering the question: what is the central message of each version? Ultimately the myth of the Æsir–Vanir War has been altered and reworked in relation to the time when it was first fixed in writing.

Vǫluspá

The oldest known source for the myth of the war is the skaldic poem *Vǫluspá* in the *Poetic Edda*, stanzas 21–24. In the Old Norse literature, the Eddic poems about the deities constitute a special genre.[1] But the *Vǫluspá* could contain some unique characteristics for the North Germanic regions.

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The *Vǫluspá* is found in the *Poetic Edda*, which is preserved in the manuscript *Codex Regius*, written around 1275, in the *Hauksbók* (Book of Haukr), written in Iceland and Norway at the beginning of the 14th century, and in the Icelandic *Flateyjarbók* (late 14th century). Another important manuscript is AM 748 I 4 to, dated to the beginning of the 14th century.

In the *Vǫluspá*, the history of the world is narrated by a seeress, a *vǫlva*, through images. The images refer to different myths, of which some are known from other sources, some of them are unknown to us. The traditions may therefore have originated during different periods of time, something which is common with traditions that are orally transmitted.

There is a theory that it is primarily the Icelandic writers – the medieval editors – who created this story. But that theory does not currently have so many followers.[2] Recently, the *Vǫluspá* has been dated to the first half of the 11th century by the Scandinavianist John McKinnell.[3] The Germanist Kurt Schier – who builds on an idea by Helmut de Boor – argues that the poem was composed in Norway as early as in the ninth century as a tribute to the heathen earls of Lade and as 'anti propaganda' against the Christian rulers in Vestfold.[4]

The overall content of the *Vǫluspá* visualizes a mythical and cosmic space. The *vǫlva* depicts the creation and the fall of the world and the time in between. The end of the world is called Ragnarök (OI *ragnarǫkr*), the 'fate of the gods'. The myth can therefore be related to eschatological and apocalyptic ideas.[5] It is also a cosmological myth and explains how the world order is maintained. During her divination, the *vǫlva* reveals events from primeval times, but also from the future. The plot has a causal perspective: one event or activity causes another.

The *vǫlva* describes the existence of the gods during the early days as 'happy', but in the end the bliss of the gods is shadowed by the arrival of the feminine being Gullveig, which leads to the war between the Æsir and the Vanir. The events can be summarized as follows, partly after Folke Ström:[6]

(1) (Stanza 21) The prelude to the war. Gullveig, which could mean 'golden thirst' or 'gold wish', arrives to the Æsir. She seems, according to the poem, to be sent from the Vanir.

The Æsir try to kill Gullveig. She is burned three times, but is reborn every time.

(2) (Stanza 22) Gullveig returns under the name Heid (*Heiðr*) and brings evil *seiðr*, 'sorcery'. The greed is awakened among the gods.

(3) (Stanzas 23–24) The Æsir hold a meeting to discuss whether they should pay fines for the killing of Gullveig. However, the first war in the world begins. Odin throws his spear over the head of the Vanir as a sign of this.

(4) (Stanza 24) The Vanir are victorious, possibly because of their sorcery skills. They shatter the shield wall of the Æsir or manage to come inside their defensive wall.[7]

Then the *Vǫluspá*s version of the myth of the Æsir–Vanir War is ended. We are not further informed about the peace agreement and the hostage exchange between the Æsir and the Vanir as described in other sources.

Several interpreters of the *Vǫluspá* agree that the events described in connection with the war between the Æsir and the Vanir constitute a turning point: it leads forward towards Ragnarök.[8] The war is described as the world's first battle between peoples (*þat var enn fólcvíg fyrst í heimi*). There are also events that indicate that the war is prototypical: when Odin throws his spear over the Vanir it is a ritual action. The myth can thus be related to a cosmological period. In the beginning of the Æsir–Vanir War, greed is awakened and a sudden murder occurs. One can compare with the end of *Vǫluspá* (45), which tells how moral decay escalates and that there is 'violence in the world' (*hart er í heimi*), 'adultery' (*hórdómr*), 'axe time' (*sceggǫld*), and shields that are broken.[9] But the *Vǫluspá* does not mention the peace conditions between the Æsir and the Vanir. In order to understand that part of the events, we are dependent on other sources, most of which are of a later date or have been under the influence of the medieval period when they were written down. Different versions of the peace process are described in these texts.

Snorra Edda

In the version of the myth of the Æsir–Vanir War in the *Snorra Edda*, it is a part of the story of the creation of the skaldic mead (or the 'Mead of Poetry'). Researchers like the philologist and historian of religions Georges Dumézil and the historian of religions Folke Ström regarded this version of the myth as central to the understanding of the peace process.[10] In this chapter it is argued that the connection to the peace in this version of the myth is weak and that it should be interpreted as a myth of the origin of the skaldic mead.

In his *Edda*, Snorri Sturluson has systematized and explained the world of the Old Norse deities. He does so by referring to and clarifying older skaldic and eddic poems, as well as other text sources. For example, he cites a version of the *Poetic Edda* that partly differs from the version of the manuscript *Codex Regius* (ca. 1270), which contains most of the eddic poems. In addition, he may have built on oral tradition, but it also possible that Snorri brought in literary material that was popular in the scholarly circles of the continent.[11] Snorri also created his own coherent prose versions of the old traditions. As a possible consequence, the myth of the war can be depicted with entirely different motives than in the *Poetic Edda*. The *Snorra Edda* has this prelude to the myth of the creation of the skaldic mead:[12]

> And Ægir went on: 'How did this craft that you call poetry originate?'
> Bragi replied: 'The origin of it was that the gods had a dispute with the people called Vanir, and they appointed a peace-conference and made a truce by this procedure, that both sides went up to a vat and spat their spittle into it. But when they dispersed, the gods kept this symbol of truce and decided not to let it be wasted, and out of it made a man. His name was Kvasir, he was so wise that no one could ask him any question to which he did not know the answer. He travelled widely through the world teaching people knowledge, and when he arrived as a guest to some dwarfs, Fialar and Galar, they called him to a private discussion with them and killed him. They poured his blood into two vats and a pot, and the latter was called Odrerir, but the vats were called Son and Bodn. They mixed honey with the blood and it turned into the mead whoever drinks from which becomes a poet or scholar. The dwarfs told the Æsir that Kvasir had suffocated in intelligence because there was no one there educated enough to be able to ask him questions. […]']'[13]
>
> (Transl. Anthony Faulkes)

Later Galar and Fjalar invite the giant Gilling and his wife. For reasons that are not mentioned they kill both the giants. Suttungr, son of Gilling, avenges his parents by putting the dwarves on a rock in the sea. To redeem themselves, the dwarves offer Suttungr the skaldic mead. Suttungr brings the mead to a mountain and his daughter Gunnlöð stands as guard. But Odin slips into the mountain in the shape of a snake. He persuades Gunnlöð to give him three sips but empties all the vats. He shifts shape into an eagle and fly away. Suttungr chases him, but Odin manages to escape to Asgard; however, he spits out the mead during his flight, thus giving it to the skalds.

The introduction of the paragraph can be described as a study section. The book, *Skáldskaparmál*, 'the language of poetry', in the *Snorra Edda* is primarily intended as a textbook for skalds. Therefore, this introduction in the *Skáldskaparmál* is presented as a dialogue between the deities Ægir (or Hlér) and Bragi. Since the aim of the *Snorra Edda* was to educate skalds, the depictions of the myths can have been subordinated to this purpose. It was the skaldic poetry itself that was important, citing sources in a correct way. Snorri himself may have embroidered the text and added elements from his contemporary scholarly circles. This may apply to all parts of the *Snorra Edda*. However, much indicates that some of the prose stories in the *Skáldskaparmál* are based on older traditions, because Snorri refers to the circumlocutions called 'kennings' in the poems. These are alliterative compounds of old age that survived in the poems. He also mentions the names of the skalds in some cases.

Some interpreters argue that the story about the skaldic mead goes back to ancient Indo-European traditions.[14] This idea can be based on the description of the manufacturing process: honey mixed with yeast turns into mead. The saliva was used in an ancient brewing method. The saliva contains the enzyme alpha-amylase, which is a starch. By chewing berries and then spitting them out, yeast was added to the brew.[15] The fact that alcoholic drinks had a ritual significance in Indo-European cultures can be traced through name etymologies. According to the Germanist and historian of religions Jan de Vries, there is a possible, though dubious, etymology of the name Kvasir: Icl. *kvasa* (verb) 'to exhaust, to make powerless' < Old Icelandic *kvasu*, 'kvass'; cf. Danish *kvas(s)e*, 'squeeze juice', Middle Low German *quetschen*, 'squeeze', < Proto-Germanic **Kvasāiaz*.[16]

So far there is a possible connection to Indo-European cultures with the brewing of the mead. But how could a ritual that actually seems to describe the creation of an alcoholic drink be linked to the peace process? Ström suggested that the saliva 'of different peoples came into use in acts of friendship. As a symbolic act, the blend of the spit of both parties has the character of a social bound.'[17] Ström does not give any further explanation to whom he refers to as 'peoples'. As a source, he relies on an article by the historian of religions Rudolf Stübe about Kvasir and 'the magical use of spit'. Stübe reports many different uses of saliva, although he does not explain the difference between the spitting as a ritual action and the use of spit as a medical cure. Actually according to Stübe, the alcohol itself binds people together into peace agreements, not the spitting as a ritual action.[18]

Alcohol is also the factor that Dumézil considered to be crucial to peace. He believed that the Hindu myth of the being Mada, the personified alcoholic drink, which was created in the war between the Nasatyas (or the Ashvins) and Indra (*Mahābhārata* III), has parallels in the myth of the creation of Kvasir.[19] It is noteworthy that Mada was originally produced as a weapon before being finally transformed into alcoholic beverages under peaceful conditions, something that has nothing to do with the spitting.[20] Dumézil's interpretation postulates a division of the functions of the deities, something which cannot be read in the prose story of *Skáldskaparmál*. A given circumstance in the comparative model of Dumézil is that the versions of the medieval editors correlate with each other. The Scandinavianist François-Xavier Dillmann has in contrast argued that the different versions of the Æsir–Vanir War are 'incompatible'.[21]

Spitting has several functions in many cultures, not only Indo-European and it could be crucial to distinguish between the spitting as action and the saliva as ritual component.[22] Spitting and saliva can be included in many aspects of religions: in creation acts as well as in healing rituals or curses.[23]

Previously, it was common practice for researchers to look for parallels in other cultures. That is also the case with some interpretations of the myth of the skaldic mead. For example, the Egyptologist and philologist E.A. Wallis Budge referred to a study of the Luwo (or Jur) people in present South Sudan by the botanist and ethnologist Georg August Schweinfurth. Schweinfurth described how spitting was a sign of belonging, faithfulness, and friendship.[24] This is, however, a completely different culture than the Old Scandinavian without any kind of relationship between them. As a single component, the spitting does not necessarily have anything to do with the settlement of battles between groupings as in the Æsir–Vanir War.[25]

According to the above-mentioned interpretations, it is as transformed alcoholic drink that the role of Kvasir is to be understood in the context of the peace between the Æsir and the Vanir. Ritual drinking and toasts was, by all means, an important element in peace processes. But the step from the spitting to the transformed skaldic mead goes through several steps before it is finished. Fjalar and Galar have a not insignificant part in the creation when they add the so important honey to the mead.

When the skaldic mead finally reaches the Æsir through Odin, there is no longer any peace to settle. One can compare this with an idea from the historian of religions Ulf Drobin that Odin can be seen as the god who exemplarily takes part of the mead in various myths.[26]

Thus the version Snorri reproduces should be understood as a myth of origin of the brewing of an alcoholic drink that transforms into the skaldic mead. When the gods spit, a yeast component is delivered to the brew. Actually, the process is repeated in this version when Odin spits out the skaldic mead, which is confirmed by the kenning *arnar kjapta órð*, 'the seed of the eagle nib'.[27] The action has a parallel in the legendary saga *Hálfs saga ok Hálfsrekka*. In this story, Freyja and Odin aid two women who are competing about who can brew the best beer. Odin spits in the brew of one of the women and it swells up.[28]

As a peace pledge, the spitting is weakly linked to the traditions of peace and war. Snorri could also be said to make an interpretation of the material he compiles. The word he uses for the pledge of peace (i.e. the spitting), *griðamark* (n.), does not occur in any runic text in skaldic or eddic poetry, only in the *Skáldskaparmál*. There are no poetical compounds at all alluding to the conclusion of peace between the Æsir and the Vanir.

In this section, it is argued that spitting and saliva as a cultural phenomenon had many different meanings in different cultures and as an individual component cannot be linked to the peace between the Æsir and the Vanir. The giving and taking of hostages, on the other hand, is more specifically linked to peace processes, where the purpose is to regulate another grouping. The hostage is of more central importance in the peace process than in the version of the *Ynglinga saga*.

Ynglinga saga

The first book in the *Heimskringla*, the *Ynglinga saga*, is a historical survey of the grouping called the Ynglings (or the *Ynglingar*) in Uppsala and their origins.[29] In the *Ynglinga saga*, Snorri presents another version of the myth of the Æsir–Vanir War that is much more informative about the peace than the version in the *Snorra Edda*:[30]

> Óðinn went with an army against the Vanir, but they put up a good fight and defended their land, and victory went alternately to both sides. They each raided the other's land and did damage. But when both sides grew weary of this, they arranged a meeting of reconciliation between them and made peace and gave each other hostages. The Vanir put forward their noblest men, Njǫrðr the Wealthy and his son Freyr, and the Æsir in return the one called Hœnir, and they claimed that he was very suitable to be a ruler. He was a large and most handsome man. With him the Æsir sent the one called Mímir, a very clever man, and in return the Vanir put forward the wisest in their company. He was called Kvasir. [13] But when Hœnir came to Vanaheimr he was at once made a lord. Mímir always told him what to do. But when Hœnir was present at councils or meetings where Mímir was not nearby, and any problem came before him, he always answered the same way: 'Let others decide.' Then the Vanir suspected that the Æsir must have cheated them in the exchange of men. Then they took Mímir

and beheaded him and sent his head to the Æsir. Óðinn took the head and smeared it with herbs that prevented it from decaying, and recited spells over it and imbued it with magic power so that it spoke to him and told him many secret things. Njǫrðr and Freyr Óðinn appointed as sacrificial priests, and they were gods among the Æsir. Njǫrðr's daughter was Freyja. She was a sacrificial priestess. She was the first to teach the Æsir black magic, which was customary among the Vanir. When Njǫrðr was among the Vanir he had been married to his sister, for that was the law there. Their children were Freyr and Freyja. But it was forbidden among the Æsir to cohabit with such close kin.[31]

(Transl. Alison Finlay & Anthony Faulkes)

In this account there are literary influences that can be derived from literature of antiquity and the Middle Ages, a fact that must considered before an interpretation of the *Ynglinga saga* can be made.[32] Because of these continental literary influences, the historian of religions Gabriel Turville-Petre suggested that the version of *Skáldskaparmál*, with its references to skaldic poetry, would be closer to an original myth than the version in the *Ynglinga saga*.[33] For some historian of religions, this does not have to be a major problem. Schjødt reports for example, that Snorri probably did not reflect on the consequences of the discrepancies between the two versions of the myth as his goal was to preserve the basic structure of both versions.[34] Snorri's sources and the different versions of the myth should then be reviewed and compared with contemporary sources as far as possible. Snorri has compiled several different traditions and he has known several different versions of the myth. He may also have had some sources at his disposal that are unknown to us.

The purpose of the *Heimskringla*, including the *Ynglinga saga*, is to create a story about the medieval Norwegian ruling dynasty beginning with Ynglings in Uppsala. Snorri's main source is the skaldic poem *Ynglingatal,* which is attributed to the skald Þjóðolfr of Hvinir. The dating is much debated, but recently, the Scandinavianist Edith Marold has convincingly argued for a dating to the ninth century.[35]

The introduction of the *Ynglinga saga* is historically and geographically speculative. It depicts how the Æsir emigrate from

Asia and the battle between the Æsir and the Vanir is set in an area called Vanaland or Vanaheimr, more specifically at the river of Tanakvisl (Don), or Vanakvisl, floating into the Black Sea (*Ynglinga saga*, ch. 1–2). Snorri is here inspired by continental literary influences, which can be seen in alliterations such as Æsir and Asia, Vanir and Vanakvisl, places Snorri probably had little knowledge about, but which were used as reference points in contemporary historical descriptions.[36]

Other literary elements can be seen in the euhemeristic perspective that Snorri uses when depicting the Æsir with a human origin. The Æsir are described as mortal rulers with cultic functions. When Odin, the leaders of the Æsir, sends his men to battle or as messengers, he blesses them.[37] His men call upon him and think he can aid them in battle. Thus Snorri describes Odin as a mortal man who is worshiped as a god, thereby distancing himself from 'heathenism'.

In an earlier research tradition, the emigration of the Æsir was interpreted to be historical. The myth of the Æsir–Vanir War has been conceived as a war between an older megalithic culture (in Scandinavia: the Funnelbeaker culture, c. 4300 BC–2800 BC) and an immigrant Battle Axe culture (c. 3000 BC–1000 BC).[38] However, later structuralist research was more restrained in terms of the historical perspective. Under the influence of Dumézil, the war between the Æsir and the Vanir has been interpreted as reflecting a mythical division into a warlike social grouping (the Æsir) and a more peaceful farming and business fraction (the Vanir). Later researchers have dissociated themselves from Dumézil's theory, although it still has its followers.[39]

The historian of literature Margaret Clunies Ross (1994) has a structuralist approach: she claims that ancient Scandinavian myths reflect conflict lines between classes during the Age of the Sturlungs (c. 1180–1264) in medieval Iceland. Her point of departure regarding the myth of the war in the version of the *Heimskringla* is that it is based on a medieval map (*mappa mundi*) where the Old Asgard (Troy) is near the center of the world (*nær miðri verǫldunni*), that is, Jerusalem. Through this placement, and that the Vanir become the first people to be defeated, the superiority of the Æsir is proven. This reflects, according to Clunies Ross, the superiority of some dominating Icelandic groupings.[40]

The text of the *Ynglinga saga* does not support the idea that the Æsir defeats the Vanir. As it is stated in Chapter 4: "Óðinn went with an army against the Vanir, but they put up a good fight and defended their land, and both sides were victorious." Rather, Snorri describes a subsequent peacemeeting between equal parties.

The structuralist interpretations made by Dumézil and his followers are crucial for my own understanding. I also understand Chapter 4 as a reflection of an older myth. Snorri had a model for his text that was originally orally transmitted by skalds. But it is not necessary to compare with Vedic or ancient myths to understand the role of the hostages, with some examples of such parallels, even if the comparative perspective can be useful in some cases.

The myth version in the *Ynglinga saga* can primarily be related to Snorri's own sources as well as other Old Norse texts; it can also be compared to ritual traditions that still existed at the time of Snorri. Below, I will present this source material and how it can be understood in relation to the different elements in Chapter 4. First, I list the events in the chapter in sequences:

(1) The outbreak of the war: Odin marches against the Vanir with an army. The war is a struggle between equal opponents, both sides experience victories and losses. Finally, the two sides are settled at a meeting. They decide to exchange hostages. The Vanir send the wealthy Njörðr, his son Freyr, and his daughter Freyja. The Æsir, in return, give the handsome Hœnir, whom they call 'very suitable to be a ruler'.

(2) The Æsir provide another hostage, the wise Mímir, while they in return receive the wisest of the Vanir, Kvasir. Hœnir is made chieftain of the Vanir. Mímir becomes Hœnir's adviser, but when he is not present at the assembly, Hœnir says that others should advise. The Vanir suspect that the Æsir try to fool them. The Vanir cut off the head of Mímir and send it to the Æsir.

(3) Odin takes Mímir's head and awakes it by embalming it with herbs and the singing of charms. The head can then reveal hidden things to Odin.

(4) Njörðr and Freyr are appointed to *blotgoði*s, 'sacrificial priests',[41] and they are *diar*, 'gods', together with the other deities. Freyja teaches the Æsir the practice of *sejðr*.

(5) Earlier, when Njörðr lived among the Vanir, his sister was his wife, and with her he had the children Freyr and Freyja. But marriages between siblings are forbidden among the Æsir.

Sequence 1 can be related to the cause of the war and the depiction of the war in the *Vǫluspá*, one of Snorri's sources.[42] Snorri had access to the Eddic poem *Vafþrúðnismál*,[43] which is considered to be one of the older of the Eddic poems. In the stanzas 38–39 of the *Vafþrúðnismál,* we are informed that Njörðr was given as hostage to the gods (*seldo at gíslingo goðom*), i.e. the Æsir:

Óðinn qvað	Othin said:
38 'Segðu þat iþ tíunda, allz þú tíva rǫc	'Say as the tenth, since the sacred gods' fates
ǫll, Vafþrúðnír, vitir,	thou, Vafthrúðnír, dost wot:
hvaðan Niǫrðr um kom með ása sonom;	whence came wise Njorth among holy gods–
hofom oc hǫrgom hann raeðr hunnmǫrgom,	[temples and fanes full many hath he–]
oc varðað hann ásom alinn.'	yet was not begot among gods?'
Vafþrúðnir qvað:	Vafthrúðnír said:
39 'Í Vanaheimi scópo hann vís regin	'In Vanaheim Vanir begat him,
oc seldo at gíslingo goðom;	and gave him as hostage to gods;
í aldar rǫc hann mun aptr koma	at the world's last weird he will wend again
heim með vísom vǫnom.'[44]	home to the wise Vanir.'
	(Transl. Lee M. Hollander)[45]

In the *Vafþrúðnismál*, the war between the Æsir and the Vanir is not mentioned, nor do the Vanir receive any hostage in exchange. Instead, stanza 39 describes a giving of one individual as hostage only. The verb *selja*, 'send', and the preposition *at*, 'to', indicate that a hostage was sent and received by the gods as a collective (*ása synir*). The hostage is sent by *vís regin*, 'the wise powers'. *Regin* is a diffuse expression for 'powers', but it is specified by the compound *vísir Vanir*, 'the wise Vanir'. The plural forms indicate that there are groups involved and it is consistent with the ancient hostage form between collectives. It is very important (stanza 39) that Njörðr returns to Vanaheimr after Ragnarök. This is the only information that connects the theme with the hostage to the larger eschatological and apocalyptic themes of the *Vǫluspá*.

An interesting analysis of stanza 39 has been made by the folklorists Frog and Jonathan Roper. According to them the stanza could certainly be interpreted that Njörðr was given as hostage to the gods and that he will return to Vanaheimr with the wise Vanir. However, following an idea by Lotte Motz and, later, Rudolf Simek,[46] that the function of the word Vanir is synonymus with 'gods and elves' in general, and not as a single group of deities, Frog and Roper mean that Njörðr: 'will die along with most other gods (and elves?) during the ethnic apocalypse – *ragna rǫc* ["doom of the *regin*"] – and together they (the vanir) will return "home" to Vanaheimr'.[47] But this latter interpretation does not consider the function of the hostageship of Njörðr. A hostage must be given and it is the result of an agreement between opposing sides. If the Vanir did not give Njörðr as hostage, then who did? The hostage giving actually suggests that there was a division of groups of deities rather than the opposite. Nontheless, the words of Vanir and Vanaheimr could be disambiguous in the skaldic and eddic poetry and may have been misinterpreted by Snorri.

Another source that Snorri probably had access to, the Eddic poem *Lokasénna* (stanzas 34–35), indicates that Njörðr was sent to the Æsir as hostage: *vart austr heðan gíls um sendr at goðom,* 'was sent eastward to the gods as a hostage given'.[48] Here neither the Æsir–Vanir War is mentioned, nor does Njörðr return to Vanaheimr after Ragnarök. In the *Gylfaginning* – the first book in the *Snorra Edda* – however, it is mentioned that Njörðr was given in exchange for Hœnir in order to secure the peace between the Æsir and the Vanir. This may indicate that Snorri had sources in addition to what has been preserved in the *Codex Regius*.

Sequence 2 is difficult to understand compared to other sources. Hœnir's role is so complex that we shall return to this in a later article. The information about the Vanir's dissatisfaction with Hœnir and violent action against Mímir is not reproduced elsewhere. That Kvasir comes from the Vanir to the Æsir is only reported in the *Ynglinga saga*. Probably, as I mentioned earlier, Kvasir belongs to another myth. It may be that *Snorri* simply used this character to embroider the text.[49]

In sequence 3, the information about Mímir's talking head can be derived to the *Vǫluspá* (Stanza 46).[50] However, the episode when Odin awakens Mímir's head is unknown in other Old Norse sources. Recently, the philologist Annette Lassen has explained the presence of Mímir's talking head as a *topos* and suggested that Snorri were inspired by speaking bronze heads which was a topic in medieval literature.[51] At the same time, it can be argued that Snorri describes the necromantic act (the awakening) with domestic terminology. The verb *magna* (of the noun *magn*, 'force, strength'), 'to grow, strengthen' occurs (in the *galdr* or other songs of sorcery), during the awakening (or summoning) of *draugr*, 'ghosts'.[52] Mímir's head is not included in this text in the same apocalyptic scenery as in the *Vǫluspá* (stanza 46), which refers to the demise of the gods. Nor in the *Snorra Edda* is that picture given. In such cases, the myth may originally have depicted the situation in times of peace, and therefore be prototypical, since the theme in Chapter 4 is an ideal peace.

Sequence 4 may be based on older information that can be traced through etymologies. The Old Icelandic word *díar* (pl.) is considered to be derived from the Old Irish word *día* < Proto-Celtic *dīyo-*.[53] Perhaps the word *guþ*, 'god', was too sensitive to Snorri in his euhemeristic perspective and he replaced it with an older poetic word for 'gods'. Snorri consistently uses the word *díar* (or *hofgoðar*) to describe the Æsir in his historiographical, narrative style: the style where they are portrayed as humans. When he mentions the Æsir as 'gods', he emphasizes that they were worshiped as gods and not that they were gods.

In the *Vafþrúðnísmál* (stanza 38), it is said that Njörðr was the custodian of many *hof*s (cultic buildings) and *hǫrgr*s (stone altars, cult places, or stone settings).[54] This is in line with the traditional tasks of the *goði*s in Old Scandinavian society. The information that Freyja teaches the gods the art of *seiðr* is similar to the fact that Gullveig/Heid brings 'evil sorcery' to the gods in the *Vǫluspá*. It is therefore believed that Freyja and Gullveig are identical.[55]

In sequence 5, Njörðr's incestual relation with his sister can be confirmed by the Eddic poem *Lokasenna* (stanza 35). But in the place name material there is also support for this information. Several historians of religions, and some place name researchers, argue that Njörðr and the goddess *Njärd (> Lat. *Nerthus*) belong together, which can be seen in theophoric place names, e.g. Nälsta, Spånga parish, in the province of Uppland, and Mjärdevi, Slaka parish in the province of Uppland.[56]

To summarize: some parts of Chapter 4 of the *Ynglinga saga* are not only based on other sources with continuity back in time but: they also reflect traditions from times of peace and war in Snorri's own age, such as the giving and taking of hostage. Nevertheless, this is a compilation made by Snorri and, at best, a reflection of an older myth. Some pieces of information comply with the version of the *Snorra Edda*, or can be confirmed by other sources such as Eddic poetry. An example of this may occur in the stanzas 34–35 in *Lokasenna*, where it is implied that Njörðr was sent 'eastwards' as hostage.[57] These stanzas, however, are difficult to interpret.

When someone, as a stranger, came to a new collective, one had to try to be accepted through active actions, as reflected in the (beneficial) functions supplied to the Æsir through the addition of deities like Njörðr, Freyr and Freyja. At a cosmological level, it may be possible to explain different roles of beings, which were defined (possibly redefined) when they entered into a new collective of deities (or were added to a new pantheon). This is a phenomenon which also occurs in other archaic religions. I will below give examples of how this may also occur with other beings who are hostages through an analysis of Chapter 4 of the *Ynglinga saga* on both the literary and the mythical levels.

Comparative perspectives

As Snorri presents the end of the war in the *Ynglinga saga*, both parties are assumed to have opportunities for good peace conditions. In this context, the handling of the hostages appears to be institutionalized, even if no details are given about what happened after the actual exchange.

In Snorri's version of the myth, the apocalyptic depiction of the *Vǫluspá* is missing. Perhaps Snorri's version may be based on oral material, and the original purpose of which was to describe a prototypical peace. The result of the hostage exchange can be seen as ideal. Both sides are assumed to benefit from the exchange; the implied amoral act of the Æsir can also be seen in other narratives, especially when Odin acts in a fraudulent manner (for example, in the myth about the skaldic mead).

When the Vanir execute Mímir – perhaps a separate addition by Snorri – the limitations of the rights of the hostages are described. Behind this, there may be a moral: one side uses cunning to get the most out of the peace agreement without losing on the settlement. In this confrontation, it appears that the knowledge that accompanies the hostages is an important factor.

The structuralist interpretations of this version often focused on the functions of the deities and their positions in an ordered pantheon. Gabriel Turville-Petre's interpretation – inspired by Dumézil – was that the story is a creation myth that explains why the Vanir and the Æsir could live in peace and friendship. It would also explain why and how people with different interests and aspirations can live in harmony.[58] The historian of religions Torbjörg Östvold thought that the myth reflects an assimilation where a god is transferred from an old functional sphere to a new one.[59] According to Schjødt, the hostage exchange allows for the exchange of 'knowing objects' (like the head of Mímir) that both sides have access to; it is an example of successful integration where the different functions of the gods are arranged.[60]

The concept of function, however, suggests fixed positions for the deities, something that has been debated within research.[61] Instead, I would like to describe it as a transfer of knowledge made possible by the hostage exchange.

The fact that foreign deities are brought into another pantheon is not an unusual phenomenon in myths and there are parallels in nearby cultural areas (to Scandinavia).[62] Gabriel Turville-Petre compared, for example, the Æsir–Vanir War with the Old Irish legend of the battle of Mag Tured (Old Irish *Magh Tuireadh*). In the second battle of Mag Tured, the gods, the *Túatha Dé Danann*, defeat another tribe of gods, *Fomhoire*. Bres ('the beautiful') Mac Elatha, who according to this tradition originates from Fomhoire, is elected ruler of the *Túatha Dé Danann*.[63]

Under the rule of Bres, Ireland falls into decay, which leads to insurgency. Bres joins the hostile tribe, the *Fomhoire*. But the *Túatha Dé Danann* finally succeeds, in alliance with Lugh, whose attributes are similar to those of Odin, defeating the *Fomhoire,* and Bres is captured. Bres tries to buy his life with the offer that if he is set free the cows of Ireland will never run out of milk and the harvest will grow every quarter of the year. The offer is rejected, but in exchange for advice on plowing, sowing, and harvest, Bres will keep his life.[64]

Comparisons between the Æsir–Vanir War and the second battle of Mag Tuiread can be misleading because in the latter case it is not a peace between equally strong opponents. The *Fomhoire* and the *Túatha Dé Danann* do not live in harmony. However, the principle that new knowledge is added to the community is an interesting parallel.

The importance of the hostage to glorify a ruler tradition could also be found in another Irish legend. The Irish High King (Old Irish *ard rí*) Niall Noígíallach was probably a real person (fourth century),[65] but the stories around him could also be said to be mythical.

According to the legend he was named Noígíallach, 'the nine hostages', because he had taken hostages from the surrounding Irish tribes. Níall's hostage takings cannot be related to an equal peace, but reflects the practice of allowing certain areas to provide hostages.[66] The role of hostages in the legendary stories of Níall was to represent submission. For the medieval writer, there may also have been an effort to demonstrate the geographical extent of the Irish realm.

Níall also captured people from the disintegrating Roman Empire, including Saint Patrick (or *Succat*) who later was responsible for the Christianization of Ireland. St. Patrick's knowledge of Christianity did not reach Ireland until later, but the information reveals the importance of associating an important symbol of Ireland with one of its most famous kings.[67]

The legend provides the kingship with a symbolic capital in the form of significant persons. The medieval editors who compiled these stories may have wanted to create a prerequisite for the rulers. A number of important features and skills are provided to them in the story. This may have served as an ideological basis in the regulation of their own society (as an instrument of propaganda). A similar agenda can be found in the works of Snorri. When he constructs the meeting of the Æsir and the Vanir as a hostage exchange, it is to explain the long history of the Ynglings and their connections to antiquity. Thus, the names of the Norwegian kings can be added to the Æsir, like Odin, and to Njörðr and Frey. In this way he can rely on other Icelandic and Norwegian literary traditions that claim genealogical origins back to Odin and Freyr. On the other hand, as a mythical reflection, it is possible to understand the purpose of a hostage on a cosmological level in the form of the transfer of knowledge between different gods.

Concluding remarks

The myth of the Æsir–Vanir War depicts a war between the Æsir and the Vanir habits that ends with a peace where hostages are exchanged. Nevertheless, the myth of the war exists in two different versions that are partly incompatible.

In the version of the eddic poem *Vǫluspá*, the war – and the causes of the war – are mentioned, but not the accompanying peace. The war in the poem is introduced into a clearly eschatological and apocalyptic setting and can be understood at a cosmological level.

In *Snorra Edda*'s version, it is described how the gods jointly spit into a vat, which has been interpreted as a ritual and part of a prototypical peace process. It is here argued that this is a misinterpretation and instead should be understood as a myth of origin: the creation of the mead of poetry. In Chapter 4 of the *Ynglinga saga* is the actual description of the hostage exchange between the Æsir and the Vanir. This myth version is heavily influenced by literary phenomena such as euhemerism, but this myth version was also built on different traditions, some of them very old. The purpose of the hostage exchange – as it is described in Chapter 4 – is to add the names of Vanir deities to the pantheon of the Æsir, which may be a stroke of the pen by Snorri as well as an old tradition. The actual giving of hostages, however, cannot simply be dismissed as a literary phenomenon, because it is mentioned in skaldic poetry, and these sources need to be considered in their own contexts.

Notes to Part II

1. Cf. Mundal 2013.

2. See Gísli Sigurðsson 2007: 533.

3. McKinnell 2008: 9.

4. Schier 1981: 415 ff.; cf. Steinsland 1999: 37 f.

5. The eschatological and apocalyptic ideas in the *Vǫluspá* have led to a discussion about the degree of Christian influence. For example, diffusion theories have been presented. The folklorist Axel Olrik (1902) claimed influence from Germanic, Latin, and Celtic cultures as well as from Christianity, while the philologist Richard Reitzenstein (1924) vowed for Gothic and Iranian influence from Manichaeism. Other researchers, such as the philologist and historian of religions Georges Dumézil (1966), explained them as a more direct influence from Indo-European cultures. See also Steinsland 1999: 31 ff. Modern interpreters have attempted to single out Christian motifs and influences (e.g. John McKinnell 2013, Petúr Petúrson 2013). Christopher Abram (2011: 86), on the other hand, indicates that the poet was heathen but with the purpose of describing the end of the world, i.e. 'the downfall of paganism' and thus the limitation of the old religion. According to Anders Hultgård, an influence of Christian tradition is not likely because there are major differences and that similarities with Iranian eschatology can hardly 'have arisen through an Iranian influence'. Instead, he states that it is about 'two independent eschatological traditions, the Scandinavian and the Iranian' (Hultgård 2016: 235).

6. Ström 1997: 102.

7. *Edda* ([ed.] Neckel & Kuhn): 5 f. (stanzas 21–22); 6 (stanzas 23–24).

8. *Edda* ([ed.] Neckel & Kuhn): 10 (45); see Gísli Sigurðsson 2007: 533.

9. For a comparison between *Vǫluspá* 45 and the medieval Book of Revelation, see McKinnell 2008: 23.

10. Dumézil 1966: 32; Ström 1997: 104; cf. Schjødt 1991; 2008: 108–172.

11. There are also different manuscript traditions where the authors themselves may have added information.

12. Ok enn mælir Ægir: 'Hvaðan af hefir hafizk sú íþrótt er þér kallið skáldskap?'
Bragi svarar: 'Þat váru upphǫf til þess at guðin hǫfðu ósætt við þat fólk er vanir heita. En þeir lǫgðu með sér friðstefnu ok settu grið á þá lund at þeir gengu hvárirtveggiu til ein kers ok spýttu í hráka *sínum. En at skilnaði þá toku goðin ok vildu eigi láta týnask þat griðamark ok skǫpuðu þar ór mann. Sá heitir Kvasir; han er svá vitr at engi spyrr hann þeira hluta er eigi kann hann órlausn. Hann fór víða um heim at kenna mǫnnum frœði, ok þá er hann kom at heimboði til dverga nǫkkvorra, Fialars ok Galars, þá kǫlluðu þeir hann með sér á einmæli ok drápu hann, létu renna blóð hans í tvau ker ok einn ketil, ok heitir sá Óðreyrir, en kerin *heita Són ok Boðn. Þeir blendi hunangi við blóðit, ok varð þar af mjǫðr sá er hverr er af drekkr verðr skáld eða frœðamaðr. Dvergarnir sǫgðu ásum at Kvasir hefði kafnat í maviti firir því at engi var þar svá fróðr at spyrja kynni hann fróðleiks [...].'
Edda (b) ([ed.] Faulkes): 3 (ch. 57).
In the *Uppsala Edda* there is neither the introductory section or the prose story about the Mead of Suttungr, except as a brief introductory commentary in the *Skáldskaparmál* (*Uppsala Edda* [(ed.) Heimir Pálsson]: 224 ff. [ch. 37]) on theories describing the poetry and a reference in a quote of the scale Stentor (*Steinþór*).

13. *Edda* ([ed. and transl.] Faulkes): 61 f.

14. Dumézil 1966; Ström 1997: 104; Simek 1993: 184 f.

15. Ström 1997.

16. de Vries 1961: 336; cf. Bezlaj 1982: 116.

17. Ström 1997: 104.

18. Stübe 1924: 500 f.

19. Dumézil 1966: 33.

20. Dumézil (1966: 33 ff.) is aware of this difference but refers to the fact that different traditions arose after the Indo-European split.

21. Dillmann 2001: 41.

22. Rudolf Stübe (1924: 503 ff.) points out parallels in Finnish, African, and American rituals.

23. In ancient Egyptian mythology, it was the god Ten whose saliva gave rise to the gods Shu and Tefnut (Budge 1973: 204). In Islam, descendants of the Prophet Muhammad are perceived to cure people by spit (Budge 1973: 204). In Hindu traditions, animal saliva is believed to have a special effect in healing rituals (Abott 1984: 36). For Hindus, spitting can also be of significance to curses when someone is to emphasize another's misfortune (Abott 1984: 35). In Swedish traditions, the tradition is found to spit three times if a black cat runs across the road. See Bengt af Klintberg *Svenska trollformler* 1988 (1965): 65ff., 77.

24. In Budge 1973: 204.

25. For example, spitting appears as an apotropic (protective) action against jinns in Cairo, which is described by the anthropologist Barbara Drieskens (2008: 15 f.). In Islam, spitting also occurs during exorcism and as a medication against evilness or obsession (Dols 1992: 253, 257, 269).

26. Drobin 1991: 131.

27. Näsström 2001: 131.

28. *Hálfs saga ok Hálfsrekka* ([ed.] Andrews): 70 f. (ch. 1, stanzas 3–6).

29. *Íslendingabók, Ættartala* ([(ed.) Jakob Benediktsson]: 27), which is attributed to Ari Þorgilsson 'the wise'. Ari presents a list of kings where he links his own family to the Ynglings. He begins his list with

Yngvi Tyrkjakonungr, number 2 is *Njǫrðr Svíakonungr,* and number 3 Freyr. The Ynglings are also mentioned by other Icelandic writers.

30. IV. KAPÍTULI
Óðinn fór með hér á hendur Vǫnum, en þeir urðu vel við ok vǫrðu land sitt, ok hǫfðu ýmsir sigr. Herjuðu hvárir land annarra ok gerðu skaða. En er þat leiddisk hvárum tveggjum, lǫgðu þeri milli sín sættarstefnu ok gerðu frið ok seldusk gíslar. Fengu Vanir sína ina ágæztu menn, Njǫrð inn auðga ok son hans, Frey, en Æsir þar í mótt þann, er Hœnir hét, ok kǫlluðu hann allvel til hǫfðingja fallinn. Hann var mikill maðr ok inn vænsti. Með honum sendu Æsir þann, er Mímir hét, inn vitrasti maðr, en Vanir fengu þar í mót þann, er spakastr var í þeira flokki. Sá hét Kvasir. En er Hœnir kom í Vanaheim, þá var hann þegar hǫfðingi gǫrr. Mímir kenndi honum ráð ǫll. En er Hœnir var staddr á þingum eða stefnum, svá at Mímir var eigi nær, ok kœmi nǫkkur vandamál fyrir hann, þá svaraði hann æ inu sama – „ráði aðrir," kvað hann. Þá grunaði Vani at Æsir myndi hafa falsat þá í mannaskiptinu. Þá tóku þeir Mími ok hálshjoggu ok sendu hǫfuðit Ásum. Óðinn tók hǫfuðit ok smurði urtum þeim, er eigi mátti fúna, ok kvað þar yfir galdra ok magnaði svá, at þat mælti við hann ok sagði honum marga leynda hluti. Njǫrð ok Frey setti Óðinn blótgoða ok váru þeir díar með Ásum. Dóttir Njarðar var Freyja. Hon var blótgyðja. Hon kenndi fyrst með Ásum seið, sem Vǫnum var títt. Þá er Njǫrðr var með Vǫnum, þá hafði hann átta systur sína, því at þat váru þar lǫg. Váru þeira bǫrn Freyr ok Freyja. En þat var bannat með Ásum at byggva svá náit at frændsemi.
Ynglinga saga, *Heimskringla* I ([ed.] Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson): 12 f. (ch. 4).

31. Alison Finlay & Anthony Faulkes 3–4 (ch. 4).

32. Because the introduction of the *Heimskringla* differs from *Snorra Edda*, researchers believe that Snorri did not write both of them. In the various manuscript versions, additions could have been made by the medieval editors. See *Saxo og Snorre* 2010 for this discussion.

33. Turville-Petre 1964: 157.

34. Schjødt 2008: 158; cf. Dillmann 2001: 41.

35. Marold 2012: 5 f.

36. For example, Geoffrey of Monmouth claims King Arthur's descent from Troy in the *Historia Regum Britanniae* (see Mortensen 2010: 126).

37. *Ynglinga saga, Heimskringla* I ([ed.] Bjarni Aðalbjarnsson): 11 (ch. 2).

38. Salin 1903: 139; Höckert 1926: 295, 299 ff.; Lindqvist 1936: 260–281.

39. E.g. de Vries (1957) 1970: 213; Östvold 1969: 202; N.Å. Nielsen 1976: 315); DuBois 1999: 56; Schjødt 2008: 383.

40. Clunies Ross 1994: 55, 58, 116 f.

41. Regarding the concept of 'priest', see Sundqvist 2007: 22 ff. From the perspectives of a historian of religions it is problematic to use the term 'priest' because it designates a religious specialist within a codified hierarchical institution. No such characteristic is visible in the text material regarding the *goði*s. Sundqvist suggests the more neutral concept 'cult functionary' (Sundqvist 2007: 22 ff.).

42. Parts of the *Vǫluspá* are quoted in the *Snorra Edda* (a) ([ed.] Faulkes): 9 (ch. 4), 12 (ch. 8), 14 f. (ch. 13–14), 17 (ch. 15), 20 (ch. 18), 35 (ch. 42), 49 (ch. 50), 51 (ch. 51).

43. Snorri quotes two stanzas of the *Vafþrúðnismál* (30–31) in *Snorra Edda* (a) ([ed.] Faulkes): 10 (ch. 5).

44. *Edda* ([ed.] Neckel & Kuhn): 52.

45. *The Poetic Edda* ([ed. and transl.] Hollander): 49.

46. See Simek 2010.

47. Frog & Roper 2011: 33.

48. *Edda* ([ed.] Neckel & Kuhn): 103.

49. In the *Gylfaginning*, Edda (a) ([ed.] Faulkes): 48 (ch. 50), Snorri mentions Kvasir in the myth of Baldr, although he should actually be deceased. Kvasir appear as the one who figures out the secret of the charred net (*Heimskringla*), but he should have been transformed into the skaldic mead at this stage. According to Schjødt (2008: 167), either Snorri simply needed a character and he 'forgot' that Kvasir

was already dead or – an explanation which Schjødt thinks is more likely – the myth of the net really does not belong to the story about the death of Baldr but for some reason was placed there.

50. In the *Vǫluspá*, it is mentioned that *Mím*(*r*)'s speaking head advises Odin. It is a matter of debate whether the nameform *Mím(r)* refers to Mímir. The Germanist and philologist Rudolf Simek (1993: 217) points out that Snorri considered the names to be identical. The compound *Míms höfuð* ('Mím's head') is also found in the Eddic poem *Sigrdrífomál* (*Edda* [(ed.) Neckel & Kuhn]: 192 [stanza 14]).

51. Lassen believes that the episode about Mímir's head may have been influenced by a story by the English 11th-century historian William of Malmesbury. In his *Gesta regum Anglorum*, it is mentioned how Gerbert of Aurillac (the Pope Sylvester II), who lived in the late 10th century, devoted himself to 'occult' actions with a speaking bronze head (*Gesta regum Anglorum* [(ed.) Mynors et al.]: 292 f. [text], 293 f. [transl.] [ch. 172]). The talking bronze head also occurs in Robert Green's *The Honorable History of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, c. 1589 (Lassen 2010: 224 ff.). However, it can be argued that in the text of William (*Gesta regum Anglorum* [(ed.) Mynors et al.]: 294 [text], 295 [transl.] [ch. 172]) is a matter of the talking head of a statue (*statuae caput*) and it is not mentioned whether it would be of bronze. In the case of speaking bronze- and brassheads as literary phenomena, it appears to be common only during the Renaissance (McCorduck 2004: xxiv, 8, 12). It may well be that Snorri knew of William of Malmesbury because the latter was a famous historian and mentions several Norwegian kings. On the other hand, the size of the medieval bookshelf in Scandinavia and Iceland is unclear. Some scholars tend to assume that the Icelandic writers had access to a number of specific learned works, which, for example, can be compared with the Scandinavianist Carl Edlund Anderson's analysis of the *Beowulf* poem where he mentions that a historian (Lars Hemmingsen) assumed that the writers in Denmark in the 1100s and 1200s had access to works by so divergent writers as Adam of Bremen, Henry of Huntingdon, Dudo, William of Jumiéges, Paulus Diaconus, Jordanes, Procopius, and Malchus (C.E. Anderson 1999: 112; cf. Hemmingsen 1989: 57 f.).

52. de Vries 1961: 375; Janson 2008: 199. The denomination is found in the Icelandic sagas and later tales such as the *Þorgeirsbola* (http://www.snerpa.is/net/thjod/thorgeir.htm). The Sparlösa Runestone (Vg 119) provides the noun *makin(i)*, which, according to an interpretation, can be understood as 'sorcery' (Norden 1961: 256 ff.). Odin's connection to the *draugr* can be seen in the name *Draugadróttinn*, 'Lord of the undead'.

53. The word *día* occurs in a skadlic poem by Kormakr Ǫgmundarson from the 10th century (*Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning* A 1 ([ed.] Finnur Jónson): 79 (stanza 1).

54. This is also confirmed by the *Grímnismál* (*Edda* [(ed.) Neckel & Kuhn]: 60 [stanza 16]), which mentions that Njörðr is the custodian of the *hargr*.

55. *Edda* ([ed.] Neckel & Kuhn): 4 (stanza 22); Turville Petre 1964: 159; Näsström 1995: 63; Nordberg 2003: 100.

56. See Näsström 1995: 53 ff. and Vikstrand 2001: 95 ff., 101 f. Vikstrand reports that the place names as individual sources cannot confirm that the *Njärd*-names refer to a female god. Cf. Elmevik (2013), who claims that no Scandinavian, feminine, theophoric place names can be confirmed in the place-name material.

57. *Edda* ([ed.] Neckel & Kuhn): 103 (stanzas 34–35).

58. Dumézil 1966: 31 ff.; 1970: 70 ff.; Turville-Petre 1964: 161 f.

59. Östvold 1969: 200.

60. Schjødt 2008: 384 ff., 394.

61. Cf. E. I. Haugen 1967: 858 ff.

62. Saxo Grammaticus (*Gesta Danorum* [(ed.) Friis-Jensen]: ch. 1.7.2) reports of the stranger Mithothyn who takes Odin's place as leader of the gods when he is gone. The phenomenon may also have occurred in a myth tradition from Estonia. Tharapita – a god associated with the island of Saaremaa – migrated from the province of Virumaa in northeastern Estonia (see Part V).

63. Turville-Petre 1964: 161; *Keltiske myter* ([ed.] Rekdal): 1–44.

64. Berresford 1999: 23 f., 27 ff.

65. *Medieval Ireland* ([ed.] Duffy): 353.

66. See Part V.

67. Patrick and Níall may not even have been contemporary. However, Patrick is supposed to have baptised Eochaid, the son of Níall (MacKillop 1998: 10, 305 f).