## AMSTERDAMER BEITRÄGE ZUR ÄLTEREN GERMANISTIK

Band 56

## NÍÐS ÓKVÍÐNUM

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The problem to be discussed concerns the end of Vsp. 56.

gengr fet níu

Fjorgynjar burr

neppr frá naðri

níðs ókvíðnum

The meaning of the words niðs ókvíðnum - according to Dronke the most difficult line of the poem - depends heavily on the interpretation of the first word nio. The Arnamagnaean editions of Edda Snorra Sturlusonar (1848-87) and Edda Sæmundar hins fróða (1787-1828) unanimously render nið with contumelia, as does Sveinbjörn Egilsson (1860: 619) in his lexicon of Old Norse poetic diction. Thus, the phrase frá naðri níðs ókvíðnum is translated without comment as 'ab angve contumelias non metuente' in the 1828 Volume III of Sæmundar Edda, which makes clear that the editors regarded the words naðri niðs ókviðnum as one nominal clause. This syntactical relation was never questioned until 1888, when Finnur Jónsson (1888: 9) proposed to read níðs ókvíðinn, interpreted by him as a reference to Pórr. The interpretation earned him the praise of Sigurður Nordal, who in his Voluspá monograph warmly supported the idea. The emendation would provide the stanza with an elegant framing, and stylistically the idea has something to commend it, but the dative form ókvíðmum occurs in all manuscripts, and the suggestion must be rejected. Now, Latin contumelia means not only 'insult, reproach,' but also 'assault, blows, malice' and the like, and it was perhaps this secondary connotation of the Latin word which led Müllenhoff (19082: 83) into positing a meaning 'Schandtat.' His example was followed by Gering (1903 s.v.) and, more recently, Dronke (1997: 151), who translate 'Freveltat' resp. 'vile act'. These translations have in common that they all depict the serpent as the enactor of the nið. This interpretation has two flaws. First, ON nio is associated with verbal hostility - to the purpose of humiliating your adversary publicly -, and not - at least not directly - with physical violence. Aware of this, Gering (1927: 72) pointed to Old English, where the cognate word nio displays a wide semantic range, including such meanings as 'nequitia, malitia' (Grein 1912 s.v.). In itself, Old English influence is conceivable, and one might be inclined to consider the interpretation favourably, were it not that Gering's explanation suffers from a misinterpretation of ôkviðimn, the other flaw of this line of approach. As pointed out by Björn M. Ölsen (1914: 165), ôkviðimn refers to a state of mind in response to something threatening, and it cannot mean 'nicht scheuen' (Müllenhoff), or 'nicht zurückschrecken vor' (Gering). To view the word as a litotes for 'eager' seems ill-advised, though the device as such does occur in the poem.

More attractive is the idea advanced by Kock (1923: § 7), who, taking ókvíðinn in its ordinary sense 'unafraid', suggests a meaning 'fight, battle' for nið. Unfortunately, ON nið does not occur in this sense, and to maintain it, Kock too must turn to OE nio, for which Grein (1912) lists a meaning pugna. In that case the apposition would be of a positive nature: the wolf/serpent unafraid of (the) battle / who does not fear the fight. I wonder, though, whether we really have to assume Old English influence. An indication that this need not be necessary, may be the nine paces (gengr fet níu) which Porr steps after killing the World Serpent. The feature is significant, because it probably reflects one of the conditions which had to be fulfilled in order to be proclaimed victorious in a duel. The same detail occurs, albeit in a different context, in the Poppo legend, where it is told that Poppo biskup let leggja glóandi járnslá í hond sér ok bar níu fet, svá at allr lýðr sá (Flb. I,113). There can be little doubt therefore that the poet views the encounter as a duel, which may give us the key to a proper understanding of the phrase niðs ókviðnum. In Gísla saga, Holmgongu-Skeggja expresses his contempt for his rival - Kolbjo rn, who fails to turn up for a duel - by directing a nið-ceremony to his absent adversary. Kolbjorn saved his life by staying away, but his conduct made him the subject of a humiliating nið. The World Serpent looses his life in the fight, but he does not back out. So, whatever people think of him, he is no coward, and he does not have to fear any nið being directed against him. It may seem unusual to endow a monster with feelings of honour and pride, but Snorri does the same in his story about the fettering of Fenrir. If the analysis is correct, the words

<sup>1</sup> Kock also compares Old-Saxon *niões ni sehanti*, rendered by him as 'ej frukt-ande (ejentl. ej havande försyn) för strid' but no references are given, and the parallel appears a reconstruction. A meaning battle, fight' for OS *nīd* is not recorded by Sehrt (1925) or Heyne (1866).

serve to enlarge Pórr's triumph, who not only slew an enemy, but one that could not be accused of cowardice Björn M. Olsen (1914: 166) once raised the question who, then, would there be left to praise or blame after all living beings had perished. Nordal replied in response that the answer can be found Vsp. 60, where the serpent is mentioned as a topic of conversation in the reborn new world. The assembly gathered there memorizes the world serpent as máttigr moldpinurr 'mighty earth rope' - no mean commemoration, I would think - which accords well with the idea that the words niðs ókviðnum are used to underscore the serpent's fierceness. The interpretation advanced here is basically the same as the one advocated by Nordal, the difference being that the words don't refer to Porr, but to the serpent - in accordance with manuscript readings. That the words allude to the serpent as an epitheton ornans was suggested already by Detter (1899: 36), who wondered "Bedeutet der Ausdruck so viel wie 'die keine üble Nachrede zu schauen hat, berühmt'?" The answer appears to be in the affirmative. There is more. The interpretation brings to mind the formula manna mæst ónidingr 'the most un-dastard among men,' found on a number of Swedish and Danish rune stones (DR 68, Sm 5, Sm 37 and Ög 77), in which the element nið is likewise combined with the prefixed negation  $\phi$ . This may be coincidence, but the poet's fondness for word-play makes a case for arguing that niðs ókviðnum touches on a commemorative formula of the kind found on the rune stones. I don't want to use this as an argument though, nor is there any need to. As I hope to have shown above, it is perfectly possible to accept the words as we have them without manipulating the preserved text or assuming Old English influence. If not, we have no choice but following Kock in viewing nið as a word for battle, in which case nið might belong to the group of words (such as 41/1 tjor) in the poem which betray influence of Old English semantics.

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