The art of the list-maker and the *Grímnismál* catalogue of the homes of the gods: a reply to Jan de Vries.

In 1952 Jan de Vries published a carefully-argued article examining in detail the *Grímnismál* catalogue of the homes of the gods, in which he includes strophes 4–16. Setting out the various problems he sees with accepting the text as it stands in the Codex Regius, he concludes (1952, 179–80) that the numbered series of items in strophes 6 to 16 was fitted into the poem by a particularly inept *Bearbeiter*, of whom he remarks:

Die Strophe 6, die teilweise seine eigene Flickarbeit ist, beweist deutlich, dass es ihm an Geschick, an Ursprünglichkeit und an dichterischer Gestaltungskraft mangelte.

De Vries's view of the catalogue is much the same as that held by earlier commentators on the poem (Müllenhoff 1891–1908 V, 159; Boer 1922, II 63–4; Sijmons–Gering I, 188). Although subsequent comment on *Grímnismál* (e.g. Schröder 1958; Fleck 1971; Ralph 1972; Schjødt 1988) has tended to treat the extant poem as a whole and interpolators have gone out of fashion among eddic critics, the text of the catalogue of the homes of the gods has still been regarded as corrupt (Schröder 1958, 350) and the details of de Vries's argument have, in general, gone unchallenged.¹ This article will re-examine the catalogue, attempting to answer the points raised by de Vries in terms of the listing techniques commonly employed in eddic poems.² It will argue that the *Grímnismál* catalogue of the homes of the gods, defined as strophes 4–17 as they appear in the Codex Regius, conforms

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¹ Although Ralph (1972) presents considerable statistical evidence supporting the unity of *Grímnismál*, he does not deal with the problems raised by de Vries concerning the catalogue of the homes of the gods.

² For an explanation of these techniques and of the premises on which the analysis of lists in this article is based, as well as for further examples of the devices discussed here, the reader is referred to Jackson (1995).
to recognisable eddic listing patterns and that those features which de Vries interpreted as evidence of interpolation or corruption of the text are in fact evidence of deliberate design.

In her survey chapter on skaldic poetry published in 1985 Roberta Frank notes (159) that the traditional distinctions between eddic and skaldic verse, including the observations that eddic verse is "uncomplicated" and "natural" as opposed to the complexity and artifice of the skalds, "remain the commonplaces of our scholarship". This is still true. Yet as long ago as 1963 Winfred Lehmann demonstrated that two of the poems in the Codex Regius (Lokasenna and Vǫluntardqvíða) show evidence of a complex construction which includes the counting of strophes and carefully-placed repetition of phrases. Aware that his argument may seem to ascribe "undue artistry" to the eddic poets, he points out that other conventions of the time, specifically burial rites, were highly developed and concludes (1963, 14):

An audience accustomed to such involved rites and to the monstrously complex patterns of skaldic verse might also have been expected to require some complexity in poems which were among their favorites. Structural characteristics of the two Eddic poems examined here indicate that their authors were not unskilled in the composition of verse and that they manipulated inherited features of form for their poetic ends.

Lehmann's arguments have been noted in the general discussion of the application of Oral Theory to Old Icelandic poems (see, for instance, Harris 1985, 113), but they did not lead to any significant exploration of patterning in individual poems. My own conviction that there are complex patterns in eddic lists was arrived at independently of Lehmann, but I believe that the evidence presented here fully vindicates his rather tentatively expressed conclusions.

The problems with the catalogue of the homes of the gods identified by de Vries mostly concern its opening strophes (4–6). First, he sees (1952, 172) a discontinuity or mismatch between the two halves of the introductory strophe (4). He reminds us of the situation at the beginning of the poem when Óðinn, situated between the fires and offered a drink by Agnarr, begins his recitation of mythological information with the words: "Land er heilact, er ec liggia sé / ásom oc álfom nær" (4.1-3).³ Then however (says de Vries), instead of going on

³ Except for Fjólsvinnsmál, which is cited from Guðni Jónsson (1949), quotations from eddic poems are cited from Neckel-Kuhn.
to describe the holy land that he sees, Øðinn gives a list of dwellings of the gods which confirms his mythological knowledge but has no place in the Zusammenhang of Grímnismál. Returning to this problem later in his article (1952, 175) de Vries quotes Neckel who, despite conceding that there is no break in the manuscript, perceives a discontinuity (Lücke) between 4.1–3 and 4.4–6, and Müllenhoff (1891–1908 V, 159) who discards strophes 4.4 to 7. Clearly (says de Vries) Müllenhoff would like the holy land of Øðinn’s vision to refer to the god’s own domain, Glaðsheimr with its hall Valhöll (described in strophes 8–10). De Vries sympathises with this wish and argues at some length (1952, 176–78) that perhaps it is the second half of strophe 6, which names another of Øðinn’s dwellings (Válaskjálf), which should in fact form the second half of strophe 4. However, he does allow (1952, 175) the possibility that strophe 8 should immediately follow 4.3, adding that one thing is certain: 4.4–6 (“enn í Þrúðheimi skal Þórr vera, / unz urum riúfaz regin”) cannot follow 4.1–3 because the en is particularly awkward and the pallid (blaß) mention of Þorr’s dwelling is absolutely inappropriate to the dramatic situation in which Øðinn finds himself. Something here, he concludes, is out of order.

A second problem concerns the numbering of the items, which begins in strophe 6 with the third item (“Bær er så inn þriði”). De Vries (1952, 173–4) takes the failure to number the two items in strophe 5 and the fact that the numbered third item is preceded, not by two place-names as we might expect, but by three (Prúðheimr, Ýdalir, Álfheimr) as evidence that the numbering sequence is out of order (see also Müllenhoff 1891–1908, V 159 and Sijmons–Gering I, 189) and that the beginning of the catalogue is mutilated. A further reason for this conclusion, he suggests, is the different form of these first three “items”: they occupy only half a strophe each, instead of the full strophe occupied by all the subsequent items, and their wording is quite different. De Vries proposes that this evidence allows us to extract the rest of the catalogue (strophes 6–16) and regard it as a later addition. However, even in this separate, interpolated catalogue there are difficulties. De Vries’s third problem (1952, 175) is the phrasing of strophe 6 which is not consistent with the regular form of the rest of the catalogue. There each item begins with a place-name, the numerical formula follows, and then the owner or occupant of the dwelling-site is named. Strophe 6, however, begins with the noun bær (‘farmstead’, ‘landed estate’) and the name itself (Válaskjálf) does not
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appear until the second half of the strophe. The owner is nowhere named. In addition, de Vries finds the expression “Boer er så inn þriði” very awkward (sehr ungelenk). He suggests the possibility that the second half of strophe 6 was originally the first half, and that the beginning of the strophe as it now stands was composed later. At the end of his article (179–80) he concludes that this arrangement, and the composition of 6.1–3, were the work of the later Bearbeiter who, he believes, interpolated strophes 7–16.

It is in these latter ten strophes, containing eight items of the catalogue, that the fourth problem arises: de Vries perceives (1952, 172) an inconsistency in the use of the verbs in the numerical opening formula of each item. In some strophes the verb employed is heita and in others it is vera. He points to Snorri’s Gylfaginning, which quotes five of these items (see Snorri Sturluson 1982, 23–6), consistently employing heita but dropping the numerical formula. De Vries suggests (1952, 172–3) that both these features of Snorri’s text are evidence that he knew a different and better version of the poem, and that the form of the strophes he quotes must be more original (ursprünglicher) than the Codex Regius version. The numerical formula, he thinks (1952, 172–3), cannot have originally belonged to the catalogue, first because it does not participate in the alliteration and this (as he argues in an earlier article, 1934, 19–20, 43) he believes to be a necessary mnemonic feature of such enumeration, and second, because it results in half-lines which are too long for regular ljóðaháttr metre.

A fifth point to be discussed in this article also comes within this ten strophe sequence but is not identified as a problem in de Vries’s article. Two strophes (9 and 10), distinguished by having identical first halves, do not contain items and stand outside the numerical pattern of the sequence. Boer (1922 II, 61; see also Müllenhoff 1891–1908, V 159) believes them to be part of the proposed alte gedicht and leaves them out of his comment (II 63–4) on the catalogue of the homes of the gods. Similarly de Vries does not identify a problem with strophe 17. He does not include this strophe as part of the catalogue; instead, he regards it (1952, 178) as the continuation of the original poem after the interpolated section. Boer however, despite stating (1922 II, 64) that the marked difference in the style of strophe 17 shows that it does not belong with what precedes it, nevertheless includes this strophe as part of the section he labels “das gedicht von den götterwohnungen”. He believes that the content of the strophe which, like the catalogue, concerns a god’s dwelling-place, caused it to be in-
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The question of strophe 17 will be the final question addressed by the present article.

The following analysis of the catalogue of the homes of the gods is based on the Neckel-Kuhn text which will be found, arranged to illustrate the divisions proposed here, on pages 37–8. The reader is referred to these pages for clarification of the design of the catalogue. The following definitions apply:

*list*: an independent series of at least three items related to one another by a common organising principle,

*list section*: part of a list which may be an introductory segment, a concluding segment or a clearly marked division comprising at least three items,

*list pattern*: a distinctive arrangement of items, involving phrasing and/or item length or section length, which occurs independently in at least three eddic lists,

*minimal short item*: an item comprising just one word which may, or may not, be accompanied by a conjunction (e.g. *Nordrí, ok Suóri*).

*standard short item*: an item which occupies a metrical half- or full line (e.g. *Hávamál 88.1, 88.3*).

*extended short item*: an item which occupies a metrical long line (e.g. *Hávamál 89.1–2*).

*short-item list*: a list which is composed entirely, or mostly, of short-items (e.g. *Hávamál 81*) but which may contain some long items used, for example, as a closing device (e.g. *Grímnismál 40–41*).

*short-item catalogue*: a series of structurally independent short-item lists brought together under one organising principle (e.g. the catalogue of dwarfs, *Vélsúspá 10–16*).

*minimal long item*: an item that occupies half of a regular *ljóðaháttr* strophe (e.g. *Hávamál 147*).

*standard long item*: an item which occupies a full *ljóðaháttr* strophe (e.g. *Hávamál 148*).

*extended long item*: an item which takes up more than a regular strophe (e.g. *Hávamál 130, 131*).

*long-item catalogue*: a list which contains only long items (e.g. *Lodd-fáfnismál*).

*sub-list*: a short-item list which forms part of an item in a long-item catalogue (e.g. *Hávamál 131.7–10*).

*item-name*: a name identifying the subject about which the rest of the item gives further information (e.g. “Ýdalir heitir . . .”, “Sig-rúnar þú scalt kunna . . .”).
The introduction (strophe 4)

The word *land*, which opens strophe 4, can be interpreted to mean 'land' in the broad geographical sense of 'territory' or 'region', and this is the meaning de Vries gives it when he expects (1952, 172) that, after the opening lines of strophe 4, Óðinn will go on to describe more fully the holy land which he sees before him. When he returns to the point later in the article (1952, 177) he is quite specific about it: "Das Land, das er vor sich ausgedehnt liegen sieht, muss dann doch die heilige göttliche Welt sein". He and the other critics mentioned above who see a discontinuity between the two halves of the strophe feel let down when, instead of describing this world of the gods, the poet turns to the task of listing the names of their individual dwellings. However, it is also possible to interpret *land* in strophe 4 in a narrower sense. The word occurs twice more in the catalogue: in 12.4 and 17.3. In both of these latter cases *land* refers, not to the whole region inhabited by the gods, but specifically to that area of land which is the domain, or estate, of one particular god: Baldr in the case of strophe 12 and Viðarr in strophe 17. In the latter strophe this interpretation is made clear by the phrasing (*Vidars land*, 17.3) and in strophe 12 the most natural interpretation of the phrase *á því landi* (12.4) is that it refers to the place, Breiðablik, named in the first half of the strophe. This, at least, is how Snorri interprets it (Snorri Sturluson 1982, 23.20–27; for this meaning of *land* see Fritzner 1883–96 II, *land* 2: Jordeiendom, Landeiendom; Cleasby–Vigfusson *land* 4: "land, estate"). It therefore seems likely that *land* has this more specific sense in strophe 4 as well, and that it is intended to refer to the particular domain mentioned in the second half of the strophe, Prúðheimr the home of Þórr. If this is so then the two halves of strophe 4 refer to the same place, as do the two halves of strophe 12, and strophe 4 directly introduces the catalogue which immediately follows it. *Land* gives the general topic of the items (an individual's domain); "í Prúðheimi ... Þórr" introduces the more specific topic (the name of that domain and of the god who occupies it). This interpretation of strophe 4 as a specific introduction to the catalogue is supported by evidence from other eddic lists and will be argued in detail below, but de Vries's broader interpretation of the opening lines of the strophe, which is also the traditional interpretation, cannot be lightly dismissed. Is it possible that the poet intended strophe 4 to perform a double function and to be both a specific introduction to the catalogue and a
more general introduction to a broader vision of the world of the gods?

A more general interpretation of strophe 4 might work as follows. The broader interpretation of land would be supported by the one other occurrence of the word in the poem, in strophe 2.7 (Gotna landi), where land refers to the whole realm of the Goths. Employing land to refer to the whole realm of the gods, strophe 4 would then introduce all the lists which follow, up to strophe 45 when Óðinn’s attention returns to his immediate situation in Geirröðr’s hall. Taken together these lists do indeed describe the world of the gods, as de Vries had expected: beginning with their individual dwellings (strophes 5–17); focusing, as Müllenhoff wanted, on the details of Óðinn’s own hall, Valhöll (8–10, 18–26, 36); moving on to features of the landscape, the spring Hvergelmir, source of all rivers, and the world tree Yggdrasill (26–35); turning to the heavens (37–39) and then, after a digression on the forming of the earth from the body of Ymir (40–41), ending with a list (43–44) of those objects and beings, all part of the world of the gods, which are the best of all their kind. Besides introducing this description of the present order of the world of the gods, strophe 4 would also introduce the concept of future destruction, both of the gods themselves (“urn riúfaz regin”) and, by implication, of the order they represent. This reference to ragna rök is linked to Þórr, son of Óðinn and mightiest of the æsir, whose great strength and giant-slaying hammer help to maintain the status quo, but only for a finite time. As long as Þórr occupies Þrúðheimr ragna rök remains only a future threat. The two themes of Þórr and ragna rök both recur later in this broader vision (strophes 23, 24, 29). If the poet is exploiting the two meanings of land in the first half of the strophe, then he could be exploiting two functions of Þórr in the second half: Þórr’s role in staving off ragna rök would apply to the whole vision and his role as the occupant of Þrúðheimr would apply to the immediately following catalogue.

Some support for a more general introductory function for strophe 4 is provided by another strophe which introduces, not just the immediately following list, but also a series of lists. This is Hávamál 111. I have argued elsewhere (1994, 37–9), that this strophe introduces, not only Loddfáfnismál, which immediately follows it, but also Rúna-tal and Ljóðatal. The larger introductory function of Hávamál 111 is supported by the clear concluding function of strophe 164 which, coming at the end of all three sections (Loddfáfnismál, Rúna-tal and
Ljóðatal), refers directly back to strophe 111 with the statement: “Nú ero Háva mál qveðín, Háva hólló i” (164.1–2). This statement provides both a thematic and, through the exact repetition of the phrase “Háva hólló i”, a verbal frame (on frames, see below pp. 13–15). There is no such frame around the broader vision in Grímnismál. It may be possible to interpret the opening words of Grímnismál 45 (“Svipom hefi ec nú ypt fyr sigtíva somon”) as a thematic reference back to the beginning of strophe 4 (Óðinn has now raised his countenance, looking up from his vision of the holy land towards the gods themselves), but there is no obvious verbal echo to confirm the link. Further, no commentator has suggested that Hávamál 111 relies on ambiguity in the way that Grímnismál 4 would do if it were indeed performing a double introductory function. Such a double function for strophe 4 therefore, although it seems possible, remains to be demonstrated.

We are on much surer ground in interpreting strophe 4 as deliberately composed as an introduction to the catalogue alone. An example of an introductory segment which mentions the topic of the list which immediately follows it is the beginning of the “serpents list” in Grímnismál 34 (“Ormar fleiri liggia undir asci Yggdrasils”). In this case the topic (ormar) is given prominence by being placed at the beginning of the strophe. An alternative arrangement is to include the topic in the first item as happens at the beginning of the Völsippá catalogue of dwarfs (“Par var Mótsognir mæztir um öðinn / dverga allra”, 10.1–3). Here the topic (dvergar) is stressed by being repeated later in the opening strophe (10.7). The “Völsippá valkyries list” (strophe 30) provides an example of a topic given in the introductory segment by a word (valkyrjur) which also opens a verbal frame (see below, pp. 13–14). In all of these cases the topic is introduced by naming the class (serpents, dwarfs, valkyries) to which the items of the list itself will belong. However, it is also possible to introduce a topic indirectly by mentioning a member of the class, rather than by naming the class itself: in other words by mentioning a potential item. This is the method chosen by the Sigrdrifumál poet to introduce the catalogue of runes (strophes 5–13). There, the introductory strophe (5) ends with the line “góðra galdra oc gamanrána”. Each item of the catalogue which follows then begins with the name of another rune-group, sigrinár, płrínar and so on. The topic word, gamanrána, is stressed by being placed at the end of the strophe, a position which also distinguishes it from the item-names themselves, as they all come at the beginning of a strophe. In addition gamanrána is distinguished from
the catalogue item-names by its genitive case, contrasting with their invariable nominative, and because it does not participate with them in the organising principle of the catalogue (those runes which Sigurðr must know), expressed by the repeated verb phrase skalt kunna.

Just as the first word, ormar, in Grímnismál 34 gives the topic of the following list of serpent-names, so the first word of the catalogue of the homes of the gods, land (interpreted in its narrower sense), tells the audience the general topic of the catalogue which will follow. In addition (and perhaps because he is exploiting the double meaning of land) the list-maker has supplemented this introductory device with a more specific introduction in the second half of the strophe. The word Prúðheimr is an example of the same type of introductory device as gamannrūna in the introductory strophe to the Sigrdrífumál catalogue of runes. Like gamannrūna it names a potential item in the catalogue, being a member of the class to which the following items also belong. However, again like gamannrūna, it is distinguished from those items by its position in the strophe, by its dative case and by its exclusion from the organising principle of the list: all but one of the catalogue item-names begin a strophe, all but one are nominative, and all but one are directly included in the organising principle of the catalogue (the names of the homes of the gods), here expressed by repetition of the verbs heita or vera, corresponding to skalt kunna in the Sigrdrífumál catalogue of runes. (The one exception in each case will be further discussed below, p. 19 and p. 24). Although Þórr rather than his home is the grammatical subject, Prúðheimr is mentioned first. This gives a subtle stress to the topic of the following catalogue and establishes the internal order of its items.

Its introductory function is not the only function of strophe 4: it also opens both a verbal and a thematic frame. Eddic list-makers employ a number of devices to maintain the unity of their lists and one of these is to provide a list with a frame. Such a frame may be an exact verbal echo: that is, a word or phrase from the introduction or the opening item, which is repeated in the final item or conclusion. An example occurs in the first list in the short-item catalogue of the heiti of Óðinn (Grimnismál 46-48); another in the “Vpluspā valkyries list” (strophe 30), where a double verbal echo provides an outer and an inner frame; and another in the “third heiti list” (Grimnismál 54), where a verbal echo provides an inner frame while a noun-pronoun grammatical relationship provides an outer one:
When a verbal echo is employed the pattern of the “first heiti list”, where the echo word opens the list and is then repeated somewhere in the conclusion, is the basic pattern. In the “third heiti list” the ek which will be echoed in the conclusion is the second word in the list because of the presence of an outer frame. In both of these lists the list-maker has drawn further attention to the echo word by including it in the second item as well as in the first. The outer frame of the “Völsþapá valkyries list” reverses the basic pattern, mentioning the echo word (valkyrjur) in the introduction and then repeating it as the final word in the conclusion. In the “third heiti list” the final position is occupied by the word (mér) which closes the outer verbal frame. The same arrangement, a frame made up of a noun-pronoun relationship between the first word in the list, rúnar, and the last one, sumar, occurs in the “rune-makers list”, Hávamál 142–143 (see below, p. 256).

Turning back to the catalogue of the homes of the gods, we find a frame provided by a verbal echo on the same basic pattern as is found in the “first heiti list”: the echo word is the first word in the introductory strophe (4) and it occurs again in the concluding one (17):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>strophe 4</th>
<th>strophe 17</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land er heilact, er ec liggia sè</td>
<td>Hrísí vex oc há grasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>êsom oc álfom nær;</td>
<td>Vidars land, víði;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enn í Prúðheimi</td>
<td>enn þar mogr of læžzc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scal Pórr vera,</td>
<td>af mars baki,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unz um riufaz regin.</td>
<td>fraðcn, at hefna fóður.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like valkyrjur in the “Völsþapá valkyries list”, land in the catalogue of the homes of the gods is both the topic word and part of the verbal frame. (The other occurrence of the word land, in strophe 12, will be explained in the discussion of item 7, below p. 34.) Further, like the
"Vþluspá valkyries list" and the "third heiti list", the catalogue employs a double frame. The second frame in this case is a thematic rather than a verbal one. In the second half of the introductory strophe the subject is a son of Óðinn, Þórr, and mention is made of the future destruction of the gods ("um riúfaz regin"). In the concluding strophe reference to another son of Óðinn, Viðarr (whose relationship to Óðinn is brought explicitly to our attention: mogr ... fôdur), and to the future ragna rçk when Viðarr will avenge his father ("at hefna fôdur") brings the catalogue to a close. Like the echo word valkyrjur which closes the outer verbal frame around the "Vþluspá valkyries list" and the pronouns mér and sumar which end the "third heiti list" and the "rune-makers list", the phrase which closes the thematic frame around the catalogue of the homes of the gods ("at hefna fôdur") occupies the final position. Furthermore, as with the inner frame in the "Vþluspá valkyries list", the two framing phrases in the catalogue occupy corresponding positions in the introductory strophe and in the concluding one.

Further evidence that the double frame I have described around the catalogue of the homes of the gods is not a coincidence, but a deliberate use of a known listing technique, is provided by the occurrence of a very similar double frame, involving both a verbal echo and a thematic link, around the catalogue of charms in Hávamál (Ljóðatal, strophes 146–163):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>strophe 146</th>
<th>strophe 163</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liód ec þau kann,</td>
<td>Pat kann ec íþ átiánda,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er kannat þiodans kona</td>
<td>er ec œva kennig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oc mannzcis mogr;</td>
<td>mey né mannz kono —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hialp heitir eitt,</td>
<td>alt er betra,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enn þat þer hialp mun</td>
<td>er einn um kann,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>við spcom oc sorgom</td>
<td>þat fylgir ljóða locom —,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oc sútom gorvöllom.</td>
<td>nema þeiri einni, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verbal echo here follows the basic pattern described above: Liód is the first word in the opening strophe and it occurs again in the closing strophe. Like land it also gives the topic of the catalogue which follows. In addition, the Ljóðatal list-maker has provided an inner thematic frame: the secrecy theme in strophe 146.2–3, which refers to charms which are unknown to prince's wife or man's son, is picked up again in the closing strophe with Óðinn's assertion that he will never teach his eighteenth charm to girl or man's wife. Again, the framing phrases occupy corresponding positions in their respective strophes.
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De Vries has two reasons for believing that 4.4–6 could not originally have followed 4.1–3: that *en* is particularly awkward and that the reference to Þórr’s home is inappropriate to the dramatic situation in which Óðinn finds himself at the beginning of the poem. The latter judgement depends on the broader interpretation of *Grimnismál* and does not apply to the narrower interpretation of strophe 4 offered here. However, as it relates to the place in the poem of the whole catalogue, it will be considered again at the end of this article. As regards the linking conjunction, de Vries does not identify the difficulty that he sees with *en* in strophe 4. Boer (1922 II, 64), however, rejects it on the grounds that Þrúðheimr is not another land, but part of the holy land already mentioned. This suggests that Boer, and possibly also de Vries, interpreted *en* here as having its common meaning “but”, and as having a disjunctive function (see Cleasby–Vigfusson under *en*). However, *en* is frequently used, especially by the *Grimnismál* poet, in situations where the meaning “and” seems more appropriate than “but”. Examples from *Grimnismál* itself are 8.4, 15.4, 26.4, 37.4, 39.4 in all of which positions *en* links together the two halves of a strophe, as it does in strophe 4. Further, all the uses of *en* in “Ymir’s list” (strophes 40–41) and in the list of superlatives (strophe 44) suggest an additive rather than a contrastive sense, and in those places “and” would seem to be at least as appropriate a translation as “but” (for *en* meaning “and” see Neckel–Kuhn II under *enn*; Faulkes 1987 under *en*). Nevertheless, even if we give *en* the meaning “and” here, de Vries’s difficulty is still real. If one interprets, as he does, the first half of the strophe to refer to the world of the gods and the second half to the fact of Þórr’s residence in Þrúðheimr, then the link is undeniably awkward. However, if one interprets the strophe as consistently referring to the domain of Þórr the awkwardness disappears.

All of the features of strophe 4 described here suggest that the strophe was deliberately composed for its position at the head of the catalogue and that its two halves do indeed belong together.

Part one: items 1 and 2 (strophe 5)

De Vries’s objection that three rather than two home-names have been mentioned before numbering begins with item three has already been countered by the claim made above that the phrase “i Þrúðheimi
social Þórr vera" is an introductory device and not an item in the catalogue. The first two items in the catalogue itself are the two in strophe 5, concerning Ýdalir and Álfheimr. This means that the numbering of the remaining items from three to eleven is regular and that there is nothing out of order. However, it is true that these first two items are not explicitly numbered, that they are shorter than all the other items, and that they are differently worded. These features do require an explanation.

Most short-item lists in the Edda make use of an opening device which signals to the audience that a list is beginning. One such device is to employ explicit enumeration (e.g. "Urð héto eina, aðra ... ina þríðio", Völuspá 20.5–8), another is to begin with a distinctive item pair, made up of the first two items, which is set apart in some way from the items which follow. Such an item pair may be formed by repetition (e.g. "Hétomc Grímr, hétomc Gangleri", Grimsmál 46.1–2), by rhyme ("Brestanda boga, brennanda loga", Hávamál 85.1–2) or by parallel grammatical structure ("þond þau né áttó, óð þau né hofðó", Völuspá 18.1–2). Another way of forming an opening pair employs both a unique phrasing pattern and a change in item length, as the following examples show (the numbers to the left are item numbers):

The "first dwarf-name list" (Völuspá 10–12)  
the "Völuspá valkyries list" (Völuspá 30)  
the list of the sons of Jarl (Rígsþula 41)

Introduction

| På gengi regin ǫll ... leggiom. | Sá hon valkyrior ... | saman biuggo þau ... nuto. |
|———|———|———|
| 1 Har var Mötsognir, mæztur um örðinn dverga allra, enn Durinn annarr; | 1 Sculd helt scildi, enn Scogul ǫnnar, | 1 Burr var inn elhti, enn Barn annat, |
| 2 þær manlicon morg um gǫrdó, dvergar, or iordó, sem Durinn sagði. | 3–4 Gunnr, Hildr, Gôndul oc Geirscgul; conclusion | 3–4 Iðð oc Aðal, |
| 5–6 | 5–6 | 5–6 |
| 5–6 Nòri oc Scúri, valkyrior. | 7–8 Níðr oc Níðungr — nám leica —, | 7–8 |
| 8–9 | 11 | 12 |
| 11 Kundr hét einn, | 12 Konr var inn yngsti. | 12 |

All three of these lists have a statement in the first item about the person who is named there and then form the second item on the pattern "en + name + annarr". This phrasing pattern sets the first two items apart from the items which follow. In the "first dwarf-name list"
an informative comment, which interrupts the list, further separates the opening item pair. In addition, in all three lists, the first two items are distinguished from the others by their length. In the “first dwarf-name list” item 1 is an extended short item with an additional half-line and item 2 is a standard short item. In the other two lists both opening items are standard short items. In all three cases the items which follow the opening pair are minimal short items. The list of the sons of Jarl employs longer items again to form another distinctive pair which acts as a closing device (the same device, this time a change from standard short items to a pair of minimal long items, closes “Ymir’s list” in Grímnismál 41).

Long-item catalogues tend to employ listing techniques which are very similar to those found in short-item lists. Several, for instance, begin explicit enumeration as an opening device (e.g. “Þat ræð ec þer íþ fyrsta”, Sigdrifumál 22). An example of one which also employs a distinctive opening pair is Ljóðatal, where the first two items are shorter than the others: item 1 is a minimal long item with an additional half-line and item 2 is a regular, minimal long item; the items which follow (with the exception only of the penultimate item, see below p. 33) are standard or extended long items. This arrangement reverses the list pattern found in the three short-item lists quoted above, but operates on the same principle: their length distinguishes the two opening items from those which follow. The same arrangement is found in the catalogue of the homes of the gods:

the catalogue of the homes of the gods

Ljóðatal (Hávamál 146–163)

introduction
Land er heilact . . . regin.

1 Ýdalir heita, þar er Ullr hefir sér um gorva sali;

2 Álfheim Frey gáfo i árdaga tivar at tannfé.

3 Bær er sá inn þriði, er blið regin siffri þoþbo sali; Válascialf heitir, er velti sér áss i árdaga.

+ 8 more standard long items.

Ljóð ec þau kann . . . mögr;

1 hiálp heitir eitt, enn þat þer hiálpa mun við spcom oc sorgom oc sutom gorvþlom.

2 þat kann ec annat, er þurfo ýta synir, þeir er vilia læcnar lifa.

3 þat kann ec it þriðia, ef mér verðr þorf mikil haptz við mina heiptmogo: egg iar ec deyfi minna andscota, bitað þeim vápn né velir.

+ 13 more standard or extended long items.
Further, in both cases, the opening items are differently phrased from the items in the main body of the catalogue. In *Ljóðatal* the phrasing of the first item is quite different from that of all the other items. The second item introduces the numerical formula (*bat kann ek* + ordinal number) which will be used for all the other items and so links the opening pair with the rest of the catalogue. However, item 2 still differs from the others, substituting "er þurfo yta synir" for the dominant *ef mér ... / ef ek ... / ef mik ...* which follows the formula in the main body of items in *Ljóðatal*. In the catalogue of the homes of the gods items 1 and 2 share one major phrasing difference from the other items: they both lack the numerical formula which appears in items 3 to 11. This lack, which caused de Vries to believe that these two items did not belong with the rest, can be explained as part of the strategy for setting the opening pair apart. Like the use of a formula (*en* + name + *annarr*) to distinguish the opening pair in the short-item lists quoted above, the omission of a formula in the opening items of the catalogue of the homes of the gods supplements the difference in item length.

In the catalogue of the homes of the gods the omission of the numerical formula explains the different phrasing of item 1, which otherwise follows the pattern of the items in the main body of the catalogue: it begins with the item-name (*Ýdalir*) in the nominative case and it employs the verb *heita*. Like the formula (*bat kann ek* + ordinal number) in item 2 of *Ljóðatal*, the phrase *Ýdalir heita* links the opening pair with the rest of the catalogue. However, the lack of the numerical formula does not account for all of the differences in item 2 of the catalogue of the homes of the gods. Item 2 employs unique phrasing which sets it apart from all the other items, including its partner in the opening pair. As a result it is responsible for two of the exceptions mentioned above (p. 13) in the discussion of *Þrúðheimi* as a second introductory device. In item 2 the item-name (*Álfheimr*) appears in the accusative, not the nominative, case and the verb employed is neither *heita* nor *vera*, but *gefa*. These features, especially the change in verb which excludes the item from the organising principle of the list, seem inexplicable and would support de Vries's suspicions about the coherence of the catalogue were it not that an almost identical anomaly occurs in the opening item pair of *Ljóðatal*. In *Ljóðatal* it is the first item which is unique. There the grammatical subject is the name of the charm, *hjálp* (which is thus in the nominative case), and the verb employed is *heita*. In item 2, and in
all the subsequent items in *Ljóðatal*, the grammatical subject is *ek*, the charm itself is unnamed and is referred to by means of a pronoun in the accusative case (*pat*), and the verb employed is *kunna*. This means that in both *Ljóðatal* and the catalogue of the homes of the gods one member of the opening pair employs a different verb and a different grammatical subject from all of the other items. Why one member of an opening item pair should be distinguished in this way is not immediately obvious, but the fact that it also happens in *Ljóðatal* suggests that its occurrence in the catalogue of the homes of the gods is deliberate.

Besides its role as part of the opening pair, item 1 has two additional functions; one of them is to introduce the organising principle of the catalogue. In order to make a list intelligible to the audience, list-makers usually include a statement of the organising principle, and this statement often doubles as an opening device. In the “first heiti list”, for instance, the organising principle (the names of Óðinn), expressed through the verb *heita*, is stated as part of the first item (*hétom Grimr*), repeated in the second item, and then understood for all the items which follow. In the “Völuspá valkyries list” the organising principle (those valkyries whom the *völva* saw ready to ride to the Goths) is contained in a general statement in the introductory segment. In the same way, the organising principle (those charms which Óðinn knows but which humans do not) is stated in a general way in the introduction to *Ljóðatal*, but in this case it is then re-stated (*pat kann ek* ...) for each item after the first one. The introduction to the catalogue of the homes of the gods, which already performs multiple functions, does not contain a general statement of the organising principle. Instead the list-maker has chosen, as in the “first heiti list”, to introduce the organising principle (the names of the homes of the gods) as part of item 1 (*Ýdalir heita*) and then, as in *Ljóðatal*, to re-state it individually for the items which follow. He continues to employ *heita* for each item from 3 to 6. When the naming principle has been firmly established, he is free to substitute *vera* for *heita*, but the function of the verb remains the same.

The second of the additional functions of item 1 is to open a second verbal frame. It will be remembered that one verbal frame was opened in the introductory strophe (4) by the word *land*, which was then echoed in the concluding strophe (17). Similarly, a phrase from item 1 (strophe 5.2–3), is echoed in the final item of the catalogue,
The art of the list-maker and the Grímnismál catalogue

item 11 (16.2–3). Like the framing phrases discussed above, this one too corresponds in position in the two strophes:

| opening item  | 1 | Ydalir heita, bar er Úllr hefir sér um gorva sali; |
| closing item  | 11 | Nóatún ero in ellipto, enn þar Njordr hefir sér um gorva sali; |
| strophe 5     | 2 | Álfheim Frey gáfo i árdaga tivar at tannfél. |

The resulting arrangement, an outer verbal frame provided by the repetition of the topic word, and an inner verbal frame provided by the repetition of a phrase, is exactly the same as that found in the “Völsþpá valkyries list”. As was also the case with land, the phrase “hefir / sér um gerva sali” occurs again in item 7 (12.2–3) and this will be explained later, in the discussion of that item (p. 34).

Part one: item 3 (strophe 6)

De Vries’s problem with inconsistent phrasing applies to strophe 6 as well as to strophe 5. He notes, it will be remembered, that the numerical formula is differently and (he believes) very awkwardly worded, the item-name (Válaskjálf) comes at the beginning of the second half of the strophe instead of at the beginning of the first half, and the owner is not named. Why should item 3 differ so markedly both from the opening pair and from the items which follow? Comparison with Ljóðatal is no help here because in Ljóðatal, as in the “first dwarf-name list”, the “Völsþpá valkyries list” and the list of the sons of Jarl, item 3 establishes the pattern of the main body of subsequent items. To explain the form of the third item of the catalogue of the homes of the gods we must turn to another strategy in the repertoire of eddic list-makers: the division of a list into sections.

In the same way as two linked items form a pair but three or more make a list, so two items set apart from the others within a list form a distinctive pair, but three or more make up a separate list section. A list may be provided with an introduction and/or a conclusion and then have the items themselves divided into two distinct sections. Sometimes these item sections (which I shall designate part one and part two) contain an equal number of items: an example is the “norns list” (Völsþpá 20; see below, p. 27), which has three items in part one and three in part two. More often, however, the two parts are un-
equal. A fairly common list pattern has a triplet of items in part one and a longer series of items in part two, as in the following examples:

the "third heiti list"  
Grimnismál 54  

the list of Menglöð’s maidens  
Fjölsvinnsmál 38  

the "initial void list"  
Völuspá 3

introduction

part one

| 1 | Öðinn ec nú heiti,          | 1 | Hlíf heitir,                |
| 2 | Yggr ec áðan hét,           | 2 | önnur Hlífras,              |
| 3 | hétomc Pundr fyrir þat,     | 3 | þríðja bjöðvarta,          |

part two

| 4–5 | Vacr oc Scilfingr,  | 4–5 | Björt ok Blöð,              |
| 6–7 | Váfúðr oc Hroptatýr,  | 6–7 | Blöð, Fríð,                |
| 8–9 | Gautr oc lácr med göðom,  | 8–9 | Eir ok Aurðóða.            |
| 10–11 | Ofnir oc Sváfnir,  |  |  |

Conclusion

er ec hygg . . . mér.

Two of these lists begin, like Ljóðatal and the catalogue of the homes of the gods, with an opening pair. In the "third heiti list" items 1 and 2 are paired by their parallel structure ("name + ek + adverb + heita") and in the "initial void list" the opening pair comprises two singular nominative nouns linked by né. In addition to the opening pair, and this applies to all three lists, the first three items are linked together: by repetition of the organising principle (ek heiti, ek hét, hétumk), by numbering of some of the items (önnur . . . þríðja) or by a repeated conjunction (né . . . né). In each case, the resulting triplet forms part one of the list. Part one is then distinguished from part two in the same way as the opening item pairs described on pages 17–18 are distinguished from the items which follow them: that is, by a different phrasing pattern and/or a change in item length. In both the "third heiti list" and the list of Menglöð’s maidens, part one contains three standard short items and part two switches to minimal short items. In both lists the change in item length is accompanied (necessarily) by a change in item phrasing, from full sentences or phrases to single names. The "initial void list" employs a different method. There, two sets of changes occur in the third item: in phrasing, from singular nouns (sandr, sér) to a plural phrase (svalar unnir); and in item length, from minimal to standard. The change in item length is then carried over to part two of the list, where items 4–7 are distinguished,
not this time by item length, but by a radical change in the phrasing pattern.

The changes in the third item of the “initial void list” are an example of a device used elsewhere to close eddic lists and list sections, particularly those comprising just three items. This device is a pattern change in the final item. Such a change may be in item phrasing, in item length or, as in the “initial void list”, in both. Examples occur in the sub-lists which end the first item in Ljóðatal and the eighteenth item in Loddfáfnismál, and in an independent list from the first, gnostic section of Hávamál:

Hávamál 146.6–7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hálp heitir eitt ... við</th>
<th>opt ór scorppom belg ... þeim er</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sçcom</td>
<td>2 oc scollir med scrám</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 oc sorgom</td>
<td>1 hangir með hám</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 oc sütom gorvøllom.</td>
<td>3 oc vafir með vilmøgorn.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of these lists begin with a pair, linked by parallel grammatical structure and by rhyme or repetition, and all close with a pattern change in the third item. In all three the items are linked into a triplet, by a conjunction (ok) or by repetition (litilla ... litilla ... litil). In Hávamál 134.10–12 and Hávamál 53.1–3 the phrasing change in the third item makes it slightly longer than items 1 and 2, but it remains a standard short item. The same arrangement is found in part one of the “third heiti list” above. The pattern in Hávamál 146.6–7 is the same as that in part one of the “initial void list”: the third item introduces a change in phrasing and also in item length, from minimal to standard.

Returning to part one of the catalogue of the homes of the gods, we find a pattern very similar to the one described here. The catalogue opens with a pair of minimal long items in strophe 5 followed by a third item, in strophe 6, which differs from the first two both in phrasing and in length but which is linked with them into a triplet. In this case, the third item changes the phrasing by beginning with an added numerical formula, rather than with the item-name (Válskýla), and it occupies a full strophe, making it a standard long item. These changes constitute a closing device and so set the first three items apart as a separate list section. In addition, the first three items of the catalogue are linked together in the same way as the items in part one of the list of Menglóð’s maidens: by explicit enumeration. This time, however, the enumeration involves the third item only. Beginning enumeration in the third item is unusual, but there is a
close parallel in the sub-list (Hávamál 131.5-10) which ends the sixteenth item in Loddfáfnismál:

introduction:

\[ \text{varan bið ec . . . ver þú} \]
\[ 1 \text{ við ol varastr} \]
\[ 2 \text{ oc við annars kono,} \]
\[ 3 \text{ oc við þat ið þríðia, / at þic þiófar né leiki.} \]

Here, as in the catalogue of the homes of the gods, two shorter, unnumbered items are followed by a longer, differently phrased closing item which employs a numerical formula. It is also significant that the numerical formula in this sub-list employs a pronoun (þat) as well as a corresponding noun phrase ("at þic þiófar né leiki"). This usage is very similar to that in the catalogue of the homes of the gods, "Bœr er sá inn þríði", where both a noun and a pronoun are employed, and which de Vries finds so awkward. I have as yet identified no other lists where phrasing like this is combined with numbering of only the third item, but the sample of surviving eddic lists is relatively small and the occurrence of these two does suggest a list pattern along the same lines as the list pattern which employs "en + name + annarr", and which (if we read annarr here as an ordinal number) numbers only the second item.

It will be remembered that in the discussion (p. 13) of Prúðheimi as an introductory device three exceptions to the regular form and position of the item-names in the catalogue were noted. Two of these exceptions occurring in item 2, the accusative case of the item-name (Álfheimr) and the different verb (gefa), have already been discussed. The third exception, the item-name which does not begin a strophe, is Válaskjálf in strophe 6. Its change in position can be explained as part of the pattern change in the final item which closes part one of the catalogue.

It can be argued, then, that strophes 5 and 6 of the catalogue of the homes of the gods follow a list pattern found in other three-item lists and list sections: a pattern established in the first two items is significantly varied in the third, closing item, but all three remain clearly linked into a triplet. If these two strophes are read as part one of the catalogue, then the remaining eight items in strophes 7-16 can be seen to make up part two. They are all standard long items and they all follow a regular phrasing pattern: item-name + heita/vera + ordinal number + information which includes the occupant’s name.
Part two: the division into halves

The fourth problem identified by de Vries is that in some items of the catalogue the verb which follows the item-name is *heita* and in some it is *vera*. In fact, *heita* is introduced in the first item (5.2) and then employed consistently, following immediately after the item-name, in each numbered item up to the sixth in strophe 11. In strophe 12, with the seventh item, the verb changes to *vera* which is then employed consistently up to the end of the numbered series in strophe 16. This means that *heita* occurs five items, and so does *vera*. The pattern is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>part one: opening triplet</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>striphne 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ydalir heita</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Álfheim ... gáfo ... tivar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Välessiál heitir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>part two: first half</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Þócqveccr heitir inn fjórði</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gladsheímr heitir inn fimti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>interrupting strophe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>interrupting strophe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prymheimr heitir inn setti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>part two: second half</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Breidablic ero í siúndo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Himinbiorg ero í átto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fólcvangr er ín niundi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Glitnir er ín tiundi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nóatún ero ín ellipto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The change in the verb divides part two of the catalogue into halves containing, not an equal number of items, but an equal number of strophes. In addition, it will be argued below that the first half of part two is provided with an independent closing device, and that the item which opens the second half, item 7 in strophe 12, has several distinguishing features that set it apart from the others. Both of these features reinforce the division of part two into halves.

Such a pattern for the division of the catalogue is supported by the fact that several short-item lists beginning with a triplet in part one continue with a second section which falls into halves. Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>the “rune-distribution list”</th>
<th>the “initial void list”</th>
<th>the “rune-makers list”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sigdrifomal 18</td>
<td>Vpluspá 3</td>
<td>Hâvamal 142–143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**introduction**

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ár var alda vara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rûnar munt þú finna er</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Elizabeth Jackson

part one

1 Allar vóro af scafnar,
   þær er vóro á ristnar,
2 oc hverfar við inn helga mioð,
3 oc sendar á viða vega.

part two

4 Þær ro með ásom,
5 Þær ro með álfom,

6 sumar með visom vónom,
7 sumar hafa mennzcir menn.

conclusion/closing device

ec reist siálfr sumar.

In all of these lists the items in part two are divided into two pairs, each pair being linked either by repetition (þær ro með ... þær ro með; sumar ... sumar; fyrir ... fyrir) or by a conjunction (né, en). In each case, the second pair (items 6–7) is distinguished from the first pair by a variation in phrasing. This variation is not as drastic as the change which separates part one from part two, but it is sufficient to distinguish the second half of part two from the first half. These three lists also illustrate the ways in which eddic list-makers maintain the unity of their lists by careful linking between the different sections. In the “rune-distribution list”, for instance, the pronouns (þær, sumar) which begin the items in part two refer to the runes which are the topic of this list, and so does allar in item 1. This ensures that there is a clear link between part one and part two as well as between the two halves of part two. In the “initial void list” a link between part one and part two is provided by the return in the second item of part two (né upphiminn) to the structure (né + nominative noun) of the second item of part one. In the “rune-makers list” the link between part one and part two is made by the grammatical dependence of all four items in part two on the verb reist in the last item of part one.

In the catalogue of the homes of the gods the two halves of part two are balanced by having an equal number of strophes rather than an equal number of items. Supplying this balance is one of the functions of the two extra strophes (9 and 10) which are not items, and which therefore interrupt the catalogue. The further functions of these two strophes will be discussed below. I have not yet identified another list where part two is balanced in this way, but several short-

4 For a discussion of the structure of this list see Jackson (1995).
item lists use a similar technique to balance the number of half-lines in two parts of a list. (Half-lines in a short-item list correspond to strophes in a long-item catalogue, as both are the standard unit of item length.) Examples are the “first appropriate-behaviour list” (Hávamál 82) and the “norns list” (Völsuspá 20):

The “first appropriate-behaviour list” employs a proverbial comment (“morg ero dags augo”) which interrupts the list and separates part one from part two in the same way as the informative comment in the “first dwarf-name list” separates the opening item pair from the items which follow. In the case of the “first appropriate-behaviour list”, which has an unequal number of items in each part, this comment creates a balance between the two parts of the list by giving them an equal number of half-lines. The “norns list”, which already has an equal number of items, adds an informative comment (scáro á scíði), which interrupts the sequence of items in part one, to balance the four half-lines in part two. In both lists an extra half-line is required by the metre, respectively málaháttr and fornyðrislag, but the use of a comment which is not an item to provide it supports the claim that the two strophes which are not items are deliberately intended to balance the two halves of part two in the catalogue of the homes of the gods. The “first appropriate-behaviour list”, incidentally, is another list which has a triplet of items in part one followed by a division into halves in part two.

Before moving on to the further analysis of part two, it is necessary to address de Vries’s specific objections to the numerical formula and
to the use of *vera*. It will be remembered that he concludes, from Snorri's omission of the formula and use of *heita* only, that Snorri knew a better version of the poem and that the form of the strophes which he quotes must be more original than the form of the Codex Regius versions. His first reason for rejecting the numerical formula is his belief that enumeration in a list has a clear mnemonic function and that the numeral must participate in the alliteration if it is to fulfil that function. This belief, however, is open to question. It is true that in a list such as the *Sigrdrífumál* catalogue of counsels (strophes 22-37), where the number word alliterates with a key-word in the item itself, a mnemonic function is clear. The numerical formula would help the reciter to recall the content of each item. In other cases such a function is not so clear. For example, in the central catalogue in *Vafþrúðnismál* (strophes 20-43) the number word alliterates with a word in the item content only in the eleventh ("Segðu þat it ellipta, hvar ýtar túnom i", 40.1-2) of the twelve numbered items. In the other items, if the number word alliterates at all, it is with a word in a repeated introductory formula rather than with a distinctive word in the item itself. A similar situation is found in part one of the "norns list", where the ordinal numeral in the third item, *Sculd ina þríðio*, does not participate in the alliteration at all, and both *eina* and *adra* alliterate with Urðr, leaving the third item-name (Verðandi) outside the alliterative pattern. In the *Vafþrúðnismál* catalogue and the "norns list", therefore, the enumeration would be of almost no help to the reciter in recalling the content of the items. Instead, in the "norns list", as in the list of Mengloð's maidens, enumeration serves to link the items of part one together and also to distinguish them from part two. It is part of the strategy for dividing the list into sections. In the *Vafþrúðnismál* catalogue, as in other lists where all (or nearly all) of the items are numbered, the enumeration serves to maintain the unity of the whole list. These dividing and linking functions of enumeration in a list may also be interpreted as mnemonic, but in their case participation of the numeral in the alliterative pattern is not necessary.

De Vries's second reason for rejecting the numerical formula is that it overloads the *ljóðaháttr* metre. Such overloading is common in eddic lists, as are sudden changes in metre (*Hávamál* 87-89, 137, 145) and sections which have no discernible metre at all (*Hávamál* 142-3, 146).

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5 which I interpret here as ordinal numbers, see Cleasby-Vigfusson under *einn* A.2.
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Sigdrifumál 35), and I have argued elsewhere (Jackson, 1995) that, as far as lists are concerned, regularity of metre was not a priority of eddic poets. The catalogue of the homes of the gods, with its recognisable ljóðaháttr strophes, is in fact more regular in this respect than a number of other long-item catalogues, including some (e.g. Sigdrifumál 22–37 and Ljóðatal) which also use a numerical formula, and some (e.g. Sigdrifumál 5–13 and Loddfáfnismál) which do not. Rather than rejecting the integrity of these lists wholesale on metrical grounds alone, it seems preferable to look for reasons why a list-maker may have chosen to include certain features even at the expense of metrical regularity. In the case of the catalogue of the homes of the gods, we can defend the place of the numerical formula on the following grounds. In item three it performs the same function as the enumeration in the “norns list” and the list of Menglpð’s maidens: it links the first three items together to form part one of the list. Further, continuing the enumeration in item 4 and then on through to end of the catalogue maintains the unity of the whole catalogue, creating a strong link, first between part one and part two, and then between the two halves of part two.

As far as the verbs are concerned, we have seen that the Codex Regius version of the catalogue does use heita and vera consistently, and does use the change from one to the other for a specific purpose: to distinguish the second half of part two from the first half. De Vries’s assumption that Snorri’s more uniform strophes are not only more original but also better indicates that for him, as for most modern readers (and perhaps also for Snorri), uniformity in a list is a virtue. But uniformity would not be desirable for an oral poet or his audience; it would merely be boring. A list which is varied (as long as the variations are not random) and which is broken up into linked sections is easier to memorize, and easier to listen to intelligently, than a uniform series of undifferentiated items. For this reason, I would suggest that the dividing and linking functions of both the verb change and the enumeration in the Codex Regius version of the catalogue of the homes of the gods are evidence that it, not Snorri’s version, may be closer to the original.

It is interesting that the other major version of the catalogue, the one found in MS AM 748 I 4to, employs a different pattern in its use of heita and vera from either the Codex Regius version or Snorri’s version, but that it is nevertheless consistent with the listing techniques described here. The version in MS AM 748 I 4to employs heita
in part one and in the first half of part two, except for the penulti­
mate item (item 5, strophe 8) where the verb is *vera*. In the second
half of part two *vera* is employed for all items except, again, the
penultimate one (item 10, strophe 15) where *heit* returns. This
arrangement has two results: the change of verb in the penultimate
item becomes part of a signal and return closing device (see pp. 32–33)
in each half of part two, and the use of the dominant verb from one
half in the penultimate item of the other half is a linking device for
the two halves of part two.

**Part two (first half): items 4–6 (strophen 7–11)**

In the catalogue of the homes of the gods, as in the "initial void list",
the item length of the closing item in part one is carried over into part
two, but a new phrasing pattern is introduced. Items 4 and 5, in
strophen 7 and 8, establish this pattern for the first half of part two.
The items begin with the item-name in the nominative case, followed
by *heitir* and the appropriate ordinal number. The god, or goddess,
who occupies the dwelling site is then named in the second half of the
strophe. As I suggested above, a strong link between part one and part
two is provided by the continuing enumeration, running from item 4
to the end of the catalogue. Another link between part one and the
first half of part two is provided by the continued use of *heit*. For the
two halves of part two, a double link is opened by the phrase *enn þar
Hropt* in item 5. First, this phrase anticipates the wording of the
variant opening formula which will be used in items 7–11. Second,
placed as it is in the penultimate item of the first half of part two, it
looks forward to the phrase *enn þar Forseti* which occupies the same
position in the corresponding penultimate item (10) of the second half
of part two. Having thus established the new pattern and set up the
linking devices in these two regular items, the list-maker suddenly
breaks off and introduces the two strophes which are not items and
which Boer believes (see above, p. 8) must have belonged to the old
*Grimnismál* poem before the catalogue was interpolated. What, be­
sides its balancing function, is the purpose behind this digression?

The great danger inherent in list-making is monotony, and listing
techniques include a number of devices to ensure that a list is varied
and that neither reciter nor audience becomes bored. Most of these
devices involve introducing variations in the established pattern of a
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list, either within or between its different sections. We have already seen, for instance, variations in the length and the phrasing of items which, although their primary purpose may be to act as opening devices, closing devices and so on, also serve to provide variety. Another way of avoiding monotony is to interrupt the list to allow for comment, interjection, description or an advance in the narrative. The Grímnismál poet uses this method to great dramatic effect when he interrupts the short-item catalogue of the heiti of Öðinn (strophes 46–54), with which the poem ends, in order to bring the narrative to its climax. The interruption occurs in strophes 51–53, between the second and third lists in the catalogue. Examples from short-item lists occur in part one of both the “first appropriate behaviour list” and the “norns list” where the comments (“mørg ero dags augo” and scáro á scíði) which provide balance also interrupt the sequence of items. For an example from a long-item catalogue we can turn once more to Ljóðatal, where a comment in strophe 162, between items 17 and 18, similarly interrupts the item sequence:6

Hávamál 162–163

item 17
Pat kann ec íþ siautiánda,
at mic mun seint fírraz
íþ manungu man.

interrupting comment
Liðá Þessa
munðu, Loddfásnir,
leŋi vanr vera;
þó sé þér góð, ef þú getr,
þú þiggr.

item 18
Pat kann ec íþ atiánda,
er ec æva kennig etc.

In the catalogue of the homes of the gods, the listing is interrupted by a digression describing the hall (Valþöll) built at Glaðsheimr, which has just been listed as item 5. In strophes 9 and 10 Öðinn pauses to dwell on the details of his own home before continuing with the task of listing the names of the homes of the other gods.

The digression not only serves to break the monotony of the list, it also gives a special importance to item 5, which is allotted three whole

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6 For further discussion of Hávamál 162 see Jackson 1994, 41–42.
strophen as compared with the single strophe or half strophe given to the homes of the other gods. This focus on Óðinn’s own home is exactly what Müllerhoff and de Vries think would be appropriate, but they expect the list-maker to begin with Valhöll (or perhaps Válaskjálf). Instead, he has chosen to place Valhöll near the middle of the catalogue and to give it importance through the additional strophen of description. The repetition in strophe 10 of the first half of strophe 9 links the two strophen together and sets them apart from the rest of the catalogue. It also functions to emphasise the renown of Valhöll (Mioc er auðkent) and to keep Óðinn’s name (“þeim er til Óðins koma”) firmly in the minds of Geirroör and the rest of the audience within the poem. Óðinn names himself five times in this catalogue (7.4, 8.4, 9.2, 10.2 and 14.6) and in addition refers to himself indirectly, certainly once (þódur 17.6) and probably twice (áss 6.6). This focus on himself in the catalogue which begins the poem anticipates the even sharper focus in the catalogue which will end it and suggests the following possibility: that the catalogue of the homes of the gods, comprising a set-piece catalogue with Óðinn and his home as its focus, was deliberately planned for the position it occupies and was intended to balance the other set-piece catalogue, with Óðinn as its sole topic, at the end of the poem.

We have already seen how strophen 9 and 10 serve to balance the two halves of part two of the catalogue, to provide an interruption which breaks its monotony and to emphasise, perhaps for the poet’s larger purposes, Óðinn’s own home. They also have another function, and that is to act as a signal that this half-section of the catalogue is coming to an end. Two closing devices, a distinctive pair of longer items and a pattern change in the final item, were described above. Another means of providing closure is to employ a signal and return device, where a pattern change or an interruption (or both) near the end of a list or list section signals its approaching end, and a return to the item sequence, and/or the former pattern in the final item or items provides the actual closure. In many cases the list feature which provides the signal has multiple functions: it may also break the monotony of the list, provide a link between sections, or balance two list sections. Thus the interrupting comment scáro á scíði in part one of the “norns list”, which provides both variety and balance, also signals that part one of that list is about to end. A return to the numerical sequence in the third item closes the list section. Similarly, in part two of the “third heiti list” a pattern change in the penultimate item
pair (the addition of an informative tag, med godom) both provides
diversity and signals the approaching end, and a return to the former
listing pattern in the final item pair brings the list to a close. The
Vpluspá list-maker uses a version of the same device to close the
"initial void list". There, a phrasing change from negative (expressed
by the repeated né) to positive (gap var ginnunga) in the penultimate
item signals the approaching end of the list and a return to the nega­
tive (hvergi) in the final item provides the actual closure. In the cata­
logue of the heiti of Óðinn the interruption in strophes 51–53 signals
the approaching end of the catalogue, which is then brought to a close
by a brief resumption of the listing in strophe 54. In Ljóðatal there is a
double signal. First, there is a pattern change in the penultimate item
(item 17, Hávamál 162.1–3) from standard or extended long items to a
minimal long item. Second, this shorter item is accompanied by the
interrupting comment (quoted above) which fills the strophe. To­
gether the pattern change and the interruption signal the approaching
end of the catalogue, which closes with a return to a longer item, the
eighteenth, in strophe 163. In the Codex Regius version of the cata­
ologue of the homes of the gods the interruption provided by strophes
9 and 10 gives the signal, and the return to the item sequence in item
6 (strophe 11) brings the first half of part two to a close.

In the version of the catalogue in MS AM 748 I 4to the first half of
part two is provided, like Ljóðatal, with a double signal. It will be
remembered that in this version there is a phrasing pattern change in
the penultimate item, item 5 (strophe 8), where heita is replaced by
vera. This change in verb gives one signal that the half-section is about
to close. The second signal is the same as in the Codex Regius version:
namely, the interruption provided by strophes 9 and 10. In the MS
AM 748 I 4to version of the catalogue, the return in item 6 (which
closes the first half) involves a return both to the item sequence and
to the dominant verb.

The item which closes the first half of part two, the sixth of the
eleven, marks the mid-point of the catalogue.

Part two (second half): items 7–11 (strophes 12–16)

In item 7 (strophe 12) the formula which opens each item in the main
body of the catalogue undergoes significant changes, signalling the
beginning of the second half of part two. The verb employed after the item-name becomes *vera*, and the phrase "*en par + the occupant’s name*" (which was anticipated in item 5) is added. These changes will be maintained as the dominant pattern in the second half of part two, being altered only in the penultimate item (10, strophe 15) for reasons which will be explained later. As well as opening the second half of part two, item 7 functions as an important link between the different sections of the catalogue, as it participates in all three of the framing devices. First, through the phrase *á því landi* in 12.4, which incorporates the echo word *land*, it participates directly in the outer verbal frame opened in the introductory strophe and closed in the concluding one. In case this relationship should be missed, the list-maker reinforces the echo by beginning his identification of the *land* in item 7 with words (*er ec liggia veit*, 12.5), which are almost the same as those he used in strophe 4 (*er ec liggia sé*, 4.2). It also seems likely that the description of Breiðablik (*er ec liggia veit / fæsta feincstafi*, 12.5–6) is intended to recall Þórr’s home at Prúðheimr (*Land er heilact*, 4.1). Certainly Snorri’s interpretation of strophe 7 to mean that in Breiðablik "má ekki vera óhreint" (Snorri Sturluson 1982, 23.21) suggests a meaning for *liggia ... fæsta feincstafi* which is very close to *heilagr*. Second, although there is no reference to *ragnarok* in item 7, Breiðablik is the home of Baldr who, like Þórr and Viðarr, is a son of Óðinn. This relationship links item 7 to the thematic frame. Third, item 7 participates in the inner verbal frame. Items 1 and 11, it will be remembered, incorporate the phrase "*hefir / sér um gorva sali*" (5.2–3 and 16.2–3) and this phrase is echoed in item 7 (12.2–3). So item 7, coming immediately after the mid-point of the catalogue, acts rather like a central prop maintaining the link between the opening and closing components of each of the three frames.

Items 8 and 9 are regular and follow the pattern introduced in item 7, but in item 10 another change in phrasing is made. The opening formula is split in two, and the second part (*en þar + the occupant’s name*) is moved to the second half of the strophe. This position of the occupant’s name matches that in all of the items in the first half of part two, making a link with the earlier half-section. The link is reinforced by the exact parallels, in both phrasing and position, found in the penultimate items of each half-section: *en þar Hroptr* (item 5, strophe 8.4) and *en þar Forseti* (item 10, strophe 15.4). As well as allowing for this link, the change in phrasing in item 10 forms the signal half of a signal and return closing device. The new position of
"en þar + the occupant's name" signals the approaching end of the catalogue, which is brought to a close with a return to the former pattern (i.e. "en þar + the occupant's name" as part of the opening formula) in the eleventh item in strophe 16.

In the version of the catalogue found in MS AM 748 I 4to, the second half of part two is provided, like the first half, with a double signal. In this case, one signal is the same as the one just described for the Codex Regius version (i.e. the change in position in item 10 of "en þar + the occupant's name"); the second signal is given by the change in the verb in the numerical formula in item 10 from vera back to heita. In the MS AM 748 I 4to version, the return in item 11 involves a return both to the dominant verb of the second half of part two and to the former position of "en þar + the occupant's name". In both versions of the catalogue, the phrase "hefir / sér um gorva sali" in item 11 (16.2-3) closes the inner verbal frame.

The conclusion (strophe 17)

As we saw in the discussion of the introductory strophe (see above, p. 14), strophe 17 is linked to strophe 4 by the repetition of the echo word land, and this repetition closes the outer verbal frame. Another link to strophe 4 is made by the references to Viðarr, Óðinn's son, and to the role he will have in avenging his father (at hefna þódur) at ragna rpk. These references recall those in strophe 4 to Þórr, Óðinn's son, and his role until that time comes ("unz um riúfaz regin"). This link closes the thematic frame. The correspondence between the position of the two phrases, um riúfaz regin at the end of the introductory strophe and at hefna þódur at the end of the concluding one, reinforces the link between them. The position of at hefna þódur, at the very end of the catalogue, is appropriate for a phrase which closes a frame, as the final words in the "Völsulpà valkyries list", the "third heiti list" and the "rune-makers list" all demonstrate. All these features of strophe 17, taken together with the fact that it shares its topic with the rest of the catalogue, support the claim that this strophe was deliberately composed as a conclusion for the catalogue and that it belongs in its present position. The difference in style which Boer notes, and which he thinks (see above, p. 8) means that strophe 17 originated elsewhere, is explained by its function as a conclusion rather than as an item in the catalogue.
The evidence presented here demonstrates that the compositional features which led de Vries to the conclusion that the catalogue is both mutilated and interpolated have parallels in other eddic lists and work together in a way that can only result from deliberate design. There remain to be answered only his claims that the listing of the dwellings of the gods is an inappropriate follow-up to the dramatic opening of the poem and that the catalogue has no place in the Zusammenhang of Grimnismál. With regard to the latter point, there is no break in continuity between the beginning of strophe 4 and the first three strophes of the poem. The first person speaker is maintained (ek, 1.5, 2.2, 4.2) and a vision ("Land er heilact, er ec liggia sé", 4.1–2) is consistent with the sort of ordeal by hunger and fire to which Óðinn has been subjected. De Vries himself, along with Müllenhoff (1891–1908 V, 159) and Sijmons–Gering (1927–31 I, 188), accepts the place of the first half of strophe 4 at the beginning of Grimnismál, and more recent commentators on the poem (e.g. Schjødt 1988, 36) take the fact of Óðinn’s vision for granted. If the opening words of strophe 4 belong where they are, then so must the rest of catalogue. Its unity of structure, demonstrated in this article, includes the whole of strophe 4. To this evidence for the place of the catalogue in Grimnismál I would add the possibilities, suggested above, that strophe 4 may have a double introductory function and that, in its content and its formal structure, the catalogue was designed as a counterweight to the short-item catalogue of the heiti of Óðinn with which the poem ends. Finally, de Vries’s opinion that the content of the catalogue, a list of the homes of the gods, is an inappropriate beginning for Óðinn’s vision in Geirrőðr’s hall is based on a subjective judgement which, in itself, is insufficient grounds for rejection of the evidence of the text, especially as we remain uncertain, both about the poet’s purpose in composing Grimnismál, and about the expectations of the poem’s first audience.

What emerges from the analysis in this article is a complex and elegant catalogue, composed by a list-maker whose talents, and even whose methods and goals, have gone unrecognised by generations of readers. De Vries’s perplexity when faced with the task of making sense of its composition was due entirely to the fact that the art of the eddic list-maker has been forgotten. It is time to re-discover it, to lay to rest de Vries’s sadly deficient Bearbeiter, and to restore to his place a master list-maker who was also, it is surely reasonable to suppose, the poet of Grimnismál.
The catalogue of the homes of the gods: *Grimnismál* 4–17. (the Codex Regius version).

**Introduction**

strope

1. **Land** er heilact,  
   **er ec** liggia sé  
   **ásom oc álfrn nær,**  
   **enn i Prúðheimi**  
   **scal Þórr vera,**  
   **unz um riófaz regin.**  

*Land* opens an outer verbal frame and introduces the general topic of the catalogue, *Prúðheimi* introduces the specific topic, references to Þórr and ragna rók open a thematic frame, *er ec liggia sé* opens a link with item 7.

**Part one**

item

5. **Ýdalir** heita,  
   **þar er Ullr** hefir  
   **sér um gorva sali;**  

**Ýdalir heita** introduces the organising principle and links the opening item pair with the rest of the catalogue; *hefi r sér um gorva sali* opens an inner verbal frame,

2. **Álfheim Frey**  
   **gáfo í árdaga**  
   **tivar at tannfé.**  

a second unnumbered, minimal long item with unique phrasing completes the opening item pair,

6. **Bœr** er sá inn þríði,  
   **er blið regin**  
   **silfri þóchpo sali;**  
   **Valascífl heitir,**  
   **er vélti sér**  
   **áss í árdaga.**  

a numerical formula links the items in part one into a triplet, pattern changes (in phrasing and item length) in the final item close part one.

**Part two (first half)**

7. **Sçcvabecr** heitir inn féórði,  
   **enn þar svalar knego**  
   **unnir yfir glymia;**  
   **þar þau Ô ôinn oc Sága**  
   **drecka um alla daga,**  
   **gloð, or gullnom kerom.**  

Continuing enumeration and use of *heita* link parts one and two; items 4 and 5 establish the pattern of the first half of part two: standard long items with an initial formula (item-name + *heita* + ordinal number) and the occupant’s name in the second half of the strophe,

8. **Glaðsheimr** heitir inn fimti,  
   **þars en gullbiarta**  
   **Valholl við of þrumir;**  
   **enn þar Hroptr**  
   **kýss hverian dag**  
   **vápndauða vera.**  

**enn þar Hroptr** anticipates (in phrasing) the variant formula used in the second half of part two and matches (in phrasing and position) *enn þar Forseti* in the corresponding penultimate item (10) in the second half of part two, so opening a double link,

**Digression concerning Valholl**

9. **Mioc er auðkent,**  
   **þeim er til Ódins koma,**  
   **salkynnir at siá;**  
   **scoþtom er rann rept,**  
   **scioldom er salr þakíðr,**  
   **bryniom um becci strát.**  

two strophes of description, linked by repetition, highlight item 5 and constitute an interruption providing variety and signalling the approaching end of the first half of part two,
Part two (second half)

12 Breidablic ero in siúndo,
enn þar Baldr hefir
sér um gerva sali,
á því landi,
er ec liggia veit,
fæsta feicnstafi.

13 Himinbiorg ero in átto,
enn þar Heimdall
qveda valda véom;
þar vorðr goða
dreccr i væro ranni,
glæðr, inn goða mioð.

14 Fólcvangr er inn niundi,
enn þar Freyia ræðr
sešsa kostom i sal;
hálfan val
hon kys úverian dag,
enn hálfan Óðinn á.

15 Glitnir er inn tiundi,
hann er gulli studdr
oc silfri þaþr íp sama;
enn þar Forseti
byggir flestan dag
oc svæfir allar sakir.

16 Nóatún ero in ellipto,
enn þar Nióðr hefir
sér um gorva sali;
manna þengill,
inn meïnsvaní,
hátimbroðom hörgr ræðr.

Conclusion

17 Hrisi vex
oc há grasi
Viðarr land, við;
enn þar mörgr of læzc
af mars baki,
frœcn, at hefna fóður.

land closes the outer verbal frame,
references to Viðarr and ragna rpk
close the thematic frame.
Bibliography and abbreviations


