

## Guðrúnarbrögð and the Saxon Lay of Grimhild's Perfidy

In two recent articles T. M. Andersson has attempted to reconstruct the contents of the collateral source of the *Niflunga saga* in *Piðreks saga* and to distinguish it from Heusler's "Ältere Not."<sup>1</sup> He agrees with Heinrich Hempel that this secondary source was a short Saxon lay and not the chronicle from Soest proposed by Roswitha Wisniewski.<sup>2</sup> Andersson found external evidence for the existence of the lay and independent indication of its contents in Saxo Grammaticus' story of the singer who attempted to warn Knud Lavard of the ambush prepared for him in the year 1131.

Further external evidence for the existence of the Saxon lay is perhaps to be found in *Norna-Gests þáttr* where Gestr entertains Ólafr Tryggvason's court with a poem called *Guðrúnarbrögð*:

Hætta þeir nú sínu tali, tekr Gestr hǫrpu sína ok slær vel ok lengi um kveldit, svá at ǫllum þykkir unað í á at heyra, ok slær þó Gunnarsslag

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1. "The Epic Source of Niflunga Saga and the Nibelungenlied," *ANF* 88 (1973), 1-54; the references here are to the second article: "*Niflunga saga* in the Light of German and Danish Materials," *MScan* 7 (1974), 22-30.

2. Hempel, *Nibelungenstudien I. Nibelungenlied, Thidrekssaga und Balladen*, Germanische Bibliothek, Abteilung Untersuchungen und Texte 22 (Heidelberg, 1926); Wisniewski, *Die Darstellung des Niflungununterganges in der Thidrekssaga. Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung*, Hermaea 9 (Tübingen, 1961); Wisniewski (pp. 302-08) affirms the lost Saxon lay, which she calls "Grimhilds Verrat" after Saxo, but makes it a source of the "Ältere Not" rather than the saga. Cf. also items 7, 13, and 14 in Hempel's *Kleine Schriften*, ed. H. M. Heinrichs (Heidelberg, 1966). I wish to thank Prof. Heinrichs for a helpful critique of this note.

bezt, ok at lyktum slær hann Guðrúnarbrögð in fornu, þau höfðu menn eigi fyrr heyrt; ok eptir þat sváfu menn af um nóttina.<sup>3</sup>

*Guðrúnarbrögð* may be a translation of the “title” of the Saxon lay known to Saxo and the compiler of the *Niflunga saga*; *bragð*, plural *brögð*, has to do with tricks and especially with deceit, and this answers well to Saxo’s “cantor” who, “speciosissimi carminis contextu notissimam Grimildæ erga fratres perfidiam de industria memorare adorsus, famosæ fraudis exemplo similium ei metum ingenerare tentabat.”<sup>4</sup> Saxo’s allusion to the song specifies not merely revenge against the brothers but *perfidia*, and Andersson has argued that this must imply deceit and specifically a treacherous invitation. The *brögð* referred to could be this initial motif of the reconstructed Saxon lay or perhaps equally well the tricks which Grimhild later uses to dispatch her brothers (Andersson’s points 4 and 5, p. 29). If *Grimildæ perfidia notissima* reflects in some sort the same familiar designation (“title”) for the same song as *Guðrúnarbrögð in fornu*, it may be that Saxo has heightened slightly the moral sense in harmony with his general approach to his material. The point is not lost even if *brögð* is not claimed as a close equivalent of Saxo’s *perfidia* and his phrase is regarded as only a description, not a “title”; however, in Saxo’s usage *perfidia* usually indicates not a mere attitude or potentiality but concrete acts of treachery.<sup>5</sup>

Supporting this interpretation of the passage from *Norna-Gests þátr* is the striking fact that the audience of Norwegians at Ólaf’s court had never before heard the lay even though it is designated “in fornu”; naturally they were familiar with the Scandinavian version (revenge for the brothers), rather than the German version (revenge on the brothers). The fact that *Guðrúnarbrögð in fornu* was not known to the Norwegian audience also argues against the possibility that

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3. *Die prosaische Edda im Auszuge nebst Völsunga-saga und Nornagests-þátr, mit ausführlichem Glossar*, ed. Ernst Wilken, 2nd ed. rev., 2 vols., Bibliothek der ältesten deutschen Literatur-Denkmäler, XI-XII (Paderborn, 1912-13), I, 239-40.

4. Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, ed. C. Knabe and P. Herrmann, rev. J. Olrik and H. Ræder (Copenhagen, 1931), p. 355 (Book XIII, Ch. VI, Par. 7).

5. See Franz Blatt, ed., *Saxonis Gesta Danorum*, II (Copenhagen, 1957), s.v. *perfidia* for a (representative, not complete) collection of occurrences; Blatt’s gloss: “facinus vel dictum infidum, fraus, infidelitas.”

the *brögð* referred to might be Guðrún's revenge on Atli. The South Germanic origin of *Guðrúnarbrögð* is further supported by the fact that Gestr himself is a Dane (from Grœningr) who has spent a great deal of his supernaturally long life in South Germanic lands, and the Southern version is obviously more appropriate to this devoted follower and personal friend of Sigurðr Fáfnisbani who would be imagined as telling about the revenge for his lord.<sup>6</sup>

What objections may be raised to this interpretation? *Norna-Gests þáttr* is late (usually dated about 1300), and Finnur Jónsson dismisses both *Gunnarsslagr* and *Guðrúnarbrögð* as invented names.<sup>7</sup> However, there is no positive reason for believing these names invented, and the detail about not having heard *Guðrúnarbrögð* before would be gratuitous if the author of the þáttr had not had something particular in mind. Nora Chadwick was certainly mistaken in her translation of the passage: "What he rendered best was *The Harping of Gunnar*; and last of all he played the ancient *Wiles of Guthrun*, neither of which [my italics] they had heard before."<sup>8</sup> The plural in *þau höfðu menn eigi fyrr heyrt* refers only to the *brögð*; and in fact the passage may be interpreted as opposing pleasure-giving familiar pieces, the best of which was *Gunnarsslagr* (*slær vel ok lengi um kveldit, svá at öllum þykkir unað í á at heyra, ok slær þó Gunnarsslag bezt*), to the foreign *Guðrúnarbrögð*. There may be an artistic reason for this arrangement: the central strategy of this "short story" is the gradual revelation of Gestr's mysterious history. In the second chapter he demurs when the retainers are admiring the ring Hnituðr; this leads to a wager that Gestr can produce better gold, which in turn leads to Gestr's life story and the included heroic legends beginning in Chapter III. Here at the end of Chapter II the mystery and anticipation are at their highest; so it is fitting that Gestr's performances in the last lines of the chapter should end with allusion to a song unknown to his audience and hinting unsettlingly of Gestr's superior

6. Esp. Wilken, pp. 241–42, 250, 253, 259; for the consistency and artistic care my argument assumes, cf. the þáttr author's comments on the lack of (stone) halls in the Norway of Ólafur's time (p. 238) and on the political geography of Europe (esp. p. 244).

7. *Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturs historie*, 2nd ed., II (Copenhagen, 1923), 839–40.

8. *Stories and Ballads of the Far Past*, tr. with introduction and notes by N. Kershaw [Chadwick] (Cambridge, 1921), p. 19.

knowledge and experience and his connection with the glamorous South Germanic region.

Mrs Chadwick thought *Guðrúnarbrögð* might possibly be identical with *Guðrúnarkviða II* because another possible interpretation of *brögð* would be “deeds, adventures,” which could fit almost any Guðrún poem, and because *Guðrúnarkviða II* is referred to in the *Poetic Edda* (“Frá dauða Sigurðar”) as *Guðrúnarkviða in forna*.<sup>9</sup> However, “the ancient” is a designation carried by other poems as well (e.g. *Hamðismál*, *Bjarkamál*) and may be an honorific (cf. *Bragi inn gamli*); *brögð* in the plural seems most frequently to carry a sense of deceit or cunning,<sup>10</sup> and in the present context the standard interpretations (without reference to Saxo and the Saxon lay, of course) have carried this sense.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, *Norna-Gests þáttr* definitely alludes to *Guðrúnarkviða II* further along as *Guðrúnarræða* in a passage apparently lifted from “Frá dauða Sigurðar”;<sup>12</sup> in other words, *Guðrúnarræða* was the þáttr author’s title for the poem that the *Poetic Edda* calls *Guðrúnarkviða in forna*, and there is no reason for him to use two different titles for the same work. In fact, it is just possible that he changed to *Guðrúnarræða* here in order to avoid confusion with the Guðrún poem he had previously subtitled *in fornu*. In any case it would be pointless to refer to *Guðrúnarkviða II* as a poem that King Ólafr’s Norwegian court had never heard before.

9. p. 222 (note); cf. Pálmi Pálsson, “Górúnargaldr,” ANF 23 (1907), 97–99.

10. Cleasby-Vigfusson, s.v. *bragð*, II, 2 and 3 (“a *trick*, *scheme*, *device* ... chiefly in pl. ... but also sing.”), ß (“with a notion of deceit, a *trick*, *crafty scheme* ... In Swed. ‘bragder’ means an *exploit*, *action*, whilst the Icel. implies some notion of subtlety or craft; yet cp. phrases as *stór brögð*, *great exploits* ...”); Fritznér, s.v. *bragd*, 2 (“Gjærning, Foretagende”), 3 (“List, Kneb, kløgtigt Paafund, hvormed man søger at opnaa, udrette noget”), cf. *bragðadrykkur* (“Drik som er beredet i svigefuld Hensigt”). Cf. also Finnur Jónsson, *Orðbog til ... rímur* ... (Copenhagen, 1926–27), s.v. *bragð* (“bedrift ... i pl. heltebedrifter ... slet handling, skarnstreg ... list, underfundighed ...”); M. A. Jacobsen and Chr. Matras, *Føroyisk-Donsk orðabók*, 2nd ed. rev. (Tórshavn, 1961), s.v. *bragð/bragd* (“manddomsstykke, bedrift ... kneb, puds ...”); and *Svabos glossar til færøske visehaandskrifter*, ed. Chr. Matras (Copenhagen, 1943), s.v. *bragd*.

11. Cf. “wiles” in Chadwick’s main text (p. 19) and *Volsunga- und Ragnars-Saga nebst der Geschichte von Nornagest*, tr. F. H. von der Hagen, 2nd ed. rev. Anton Edzardi, *Altdeutsche und altnordische Heldensagen*, III. Bd. (Stuttgart, 1880): “Schwerlich eines der erhaltenen Gudrunlieder, sondern ein Lied, welches Gudrun’s Rache für den Tod ihrer Brüder zum Gegenstand hatte. Eigentlich Steht im Text: die alten ‘Gudruns-Listen’” (p. 353, n.); Wilken, II, 256: “ein altes uns verlorenes episches Lied (vgl. *bragð* n. = List, Anschlag).”

12. Wilken, I, 253 text and n. 11; II, 256.

The most serious objection that may be raised against the proposals in this note is that if the *Guðrúnarbrögð* were the Saxon lay of *perfidia* it would have used the Southern name Grimhildr instead of Guðrún; the objection is especially important since the name Grimhildr for Guðrún's mother does not occur in *Norna-Gests þátr*. Nevertheless, I would argue that the North Germanic name could be used here partly because of the confusion that would be created by allusion to "Grimhildr" in a tradition where that name was applied regularly to Guðrún's mother, as in the textually closely allied *Völsunga saga* and *Poetic Edda*. (Compare the relationship between the names Sigdrífa and Brynhildr in the *Edda* and in *Völsunga saga*.) However, one other piece of external evidence, though notoriously hard to interpret, may be introduced to counter this onomastic objection. The portion of the Faroese ballad cycle of the Nibelungs that relates the fall of the Burgundians, *Högna táttur*, may also contain allusions to the *Guðrúnarbrögð*; for example:

Artala kongur í Húnalandi,  
bróti úr bragdartátti;  
festi Guðruna Júkadóttur,  
ið Sjúrdur snari átti.<sup>13</sup>

Artála kongur í Húnalandi  
(sigist í bragda tátti)  
festi frúnna Guðrunu,  
ið Sjúrdur frægi átti (H, 18; I, 205).

Hans Christian Lyngbye, Wilhelm Grimm, P. E. Müller, and Max Vogler have taken this *bragdar táttur* or *bragda táttur* to be the name of a lost poem, and Müller and Vogler equated it with the *Guðrúnarbrögð* of *Norna-Gests þátr*, observing that the *bragdar/bragda táttur*

13. *Føroya kvæði: Corpus Carminum Færoensium*, compiled by Sv. Grundtvig and J. Bloch, ed. N. Djurhuus and Chr. Matras, I (Copenhagen, 1951–63), p. 22 (= Sjúrdar kvæði, version A, st. 1); further references give version letter, stanza number, volume and page number; the thirteen occurrences of the phrase in *Högna táttur*'s versions are A, 1, 5 (I, 22), Ba, 1 (I, 50), Bb, 1, 5 (I, 76–77), C, 255, 261 (I, 99), D, 1, 6 (I, 127), E, 25 (I, 153), G, 271, 277 (I, 182–83), H, 18 (I, 205); there are seven occurrences in *Brynhildar táttur*'s versions: A, 4 (I, 8), Ba, 7 (I, 41), Bb, 8 (I, 64), C, 105 (I, 91), D, 8 (I, 114), G, 112 (I, 174), H, 6 (I, 196).

must have treated of a trick and concerned Atli and Guðrún.<sup>14</sup> But in the present context the striking thing about *Högna táttur* is that not only does it allude to a *bragdar/bragda táttur* but also here the Northern name Guðrún is combined with the Southern role of revenge on the brothers accomplished through the deceitful invitation and the later tricks—just as in our conception of *Guðrúnarbrögð*.

The question of the relationship of *Högna táttur* to the Danish ballad of *Grimilds Hævn*, *Den hvenske Krønike*, *Piðreks saga*, and the “Ältere Not” is still open after more than a century and a half, but Heusler, Hempel, and Schneider<sup>15</sup> all agree on the necessity of two sources for *Högna táttur*: (1) a Scandinavian ballad (which is the common source of *Högna táttur*, *Grimilds Hævn*, and the chronicle), and (2) the *Piðreks saga* directly. Hempel derives the first, the *\*Urballade*, from a *\*sächsisches Lied* which is the second source of *Niflunga saga*. It seems plausible to me to assume that the allusions to a *bragdar/bragda táttur* are to the *\*Urballade* or more generally the tradition of the *\*sächsisches Lied*, while the actual extant *Högna táttur* represents a *remaniement* after the establishment of the influence of *Piðreks saga*. It is true that de Boor<sup>16</sup> dismissed this phrase as a tag without significance, and one might add two more objections to my proposal: first, the phrase usually occurs in the singular and second, it also appears in *Brynhildar táttur*. But if the phrase were a formula like “Árla um morgunin,” it should occur more widely than in these two oldest songs, and the comments of Müller and other students<sup>17</sup>

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14. *Færöiske Qvæder om Sigurd Fofnersbane og hans Æt. Med et Anhang*, samlede og oversatte af Hans Christian Lyngbye, Sognepræst i Gjesing, med en Indledning af P. E. Müller, Dr. og Prof. i Theol. . . (Randers, 1822); Lyngbye's notes and Müller's introduction are available to me only through Vogler's paraphrase in *Sjúrðar kvæði. Die färöischen Lieder von Sigurd ... I. Regin smiður*, ed. Max Vogler (Paderborn, 1877), pp. 24–26; Grimm's opinion appears in his marginal notations in a copy of Lyngbye (reported by Vogler, p. 25).

15. Heusler, “Die deutsche Quelle der Ballade von Kremolds Rache,” *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie*, Berlin (1921), pp. 445–69; Hempel, esp. pp. 34–37; Hermann Schneider, *Germanische Heldensage*, I (Berlin, 1962), 110–13 (Schneider accepts Hempel's Saxon lay as the second source of *Piðreks saga*, p. 107, but is unclear about the relation between this lay and the ballad tradition); further references in agreement, Hempel, pp. 35–36.

16. Helmut de Boor, *Die färöischen Lieder des Nibelungenzyklus* (Heidelberg, 1918), p. 179.

17. Vogler, p. 25 (reporting Lyngbye and Müller); cf. *Sigurd the Dragon-Slayer: a Faroese Ballad-Cycle*, tr. E. M. Smith-Dampier (Oxford, 1934), p. 93, st. 18: “In Bragdar tale 'tis told.”

indicate that *bragdar/bragda táttur* was not really understood in the modern ballad tradition. The only plausible explanation that has been offered is implicit in Müller's equation of the phrase with the poem mentioned in *Norna-Gests þátrr*: it must be a source citation that became frozen and meaningless in the memorial transmission of *Högna táttur*;<sup>18</sup> its appearance in *Brynhildar táttur* may indicate some early imitation or influence which similarly survived as a petrified phrase. R. C. Boer's study of the ballad, which, however, derives *Högna táttur* entirely from *Piðreks saga*, gives *bragdar/bragda táttur* full semantic value but equates it with other source allusions (e.g., "sum sögan sigir frá"; H, 200; I, 212) as references to *Piðreks saga*.<sup>19</sup> However, the theory of two (successive) sources seems superior and neatly accounts for the incompatibility of allusion to a poetic and also a prose source. Possibly, then, we have references to a Saxon lay of the twelfth century (*Grimildae perfidia*), a thirteenth-century North Germanic translation of it (*Guðrúnarbrögð*), and a Scandinavian ballad version of perhaps the thirteenth or fourteenth century (*bragdar/bragda táttur*).<sup>20</sup>

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18. I refer especially to the work of Prof. Patricia Conroy (a paper read before the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Studies, Washington, D.C., May 1974; Ph.D. diss. University of California, Berkeley).

19. R. C. Boer, "Das Högnlied und seine verwandten," *ANF* 20 (1904), 162, 167; cf. B. Döring, "Die Quellen der Niflungasaga in der Darstellung der Thidreks saga und der von diesen abhängigen Fassungen," *ZDP* 2 (1870), 283 (multiple source allusions and multiple sources), and cf. 269–70.

20. Prof. Andersson points out by letter that *bragð* occurs in the context of the deceitful invitation in *Atlamál* 2, 7–8: "[Atli] af bragði boð sendi, / at kvæmi brátt mágar" (ed. U. Dronke [Oxford, 1969]); Dronke, H. Gering (*Vollständiges Wörterbuch ...* [Halle, 1903]), and Finnur Jónsson (*Lexicon poeticum ...* [Copenhagen, 1931]) interpret "on the instant," but G. Neckel (*Edda ...*, II Kommentierendes Glossar [Heidelberg, 1927]) gives "aus listiger absicht heraus" (3rd ed. rev. Hans Kuhn [1968] adds question mark). One might speculate (developing a suggestion in Andersson's letter) that *af bragði* is here "with wiliness" and that the phrase in this context reflects the language of the Saxon lay, which is widely believed on independent grounds to have influenced *Atlamál* (Andersson, p. 28; Wisniewski, pp. 302–08; Mohr [cited below], pp. 266–74; cf. Dronke, pp. 100–05), that poem having shifted the *bragð* from Guðrún to Atli. This is an interesting possibility though in prose (see Dronke, pp. 106–07, on the relation of the language of *Atlamál* to prose) and in its other Eddic occurrence (*Grottasöngur* 19) *af bragði* clearly means "instantly"; the collocation of *brátt* and *bragðz/af bragði* in *Atlamál* 2, 7–8 and 37, 5–6 would seem to support "instantly" although F. Detter and R. Heinzel, *Sæmundar Edda* (Leipzig, 1903) cite the collocation with *brátt* in st. 2 as evidence in favor of "listig, ver-rätherisch" (their interpretation of *bragdz* in st. 37, their 40, is not clear to me). Cf. also *Atlakviða* 15, 6–7: "hvat muntu ríkr, vinna / við Húna harmbrögðum."

A final difficulty is posed by the relation of harp and poem in the allusion to *Guðrúnarbrögð*. Early references, especially West Germanic, show that some poetry (whether sung, chanted, or recited) was accompanied by the harp or lyre; but Scandinavian sources associating harping with poetry are rare and problematic,<sup>21</sup> and in *Norna-Gests þáttr* the verb *slá* suggests harping alone, not a harped accompaniment to a lay as I have assumed. Opinions differ sharply on the general questions involved here,<sup>22</sup> but even if *Gunnarslagr* and *Guðrúnarbrögð* were considered tunes only by the fourteenth-century author of the *þáttr*, they reflect the earlier existence of the poems whose names they bear.<sup>23</sup> It does seem possible that the name *Gunnarslagr* was from the beginning applied only to the tune Gunnarr was supposed to have played in the snake-pit,<sup>24</sup> and not

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21. Much evidence is assembled in Finnur Jónsson, "Das Harfenspiel des Nordens in der alten Zeit," *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 9 (1908), 530–37. Finnur Jónsson's conclusions are based chiefly on the silence of Icelandic sources and would not seem to carry much weight for the Saxon-Danish area.

22. Finnur Jónsson, "Harfenspiel"; Jón Helgason, "Norges og Islands digtning," *Litteraturhistorie. B. Norge og Island*, ed. Sigurður Nordal, *Nordisk Kultur* 8: B (Stockholm, 1953), pp. 21–22; Andreas Heusler, *Die altgermanische Dichtung*, 2nd ed. rev. (Darmstadt, 1957), pp. 37–40; H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, I (Cambridge, 1932), 568–91; Stefán Einarsson, "Harp Song, Heroic Poetry (Chadwicks), Greek and Germanic Alternate Singing," *Budkavlen* 42 (1963), 13–28 (and Stefán Einarsson's other articles cited there); Otto Andersson, "Nordisk musikkultur i äldsta tider," *Musik og musikinstrumenter*, ed. O. Andersson, *Nordisk Kultur* 25 (Stockholm, 1934), pp. 10–23; Dietrich Hofmann, "Die Frage des musikalischen Vortrags der altgermanischen Stabreimdichtung in philologischer Sicht. Mit 11 Notenbeispiele," *ZDA* 92 (1963), 83–121; Ewald Jammers, "Der Vortrag des altgermanischen Stabreimverses in musikwissenschaftlicher Sicht," *ZDA* 93 (1964), 1–13; Dietrich Hofmann and Ewald Jammers, "Zur Frage des Vortrags der altgermanischer Stabreimdichtung," *ZDA* 94 (1965), 185–95; Lars Lönnroth, "Hjálmar's Death-Song and the Delivery of Eddic Poetry," *Speculum* 46 (1971), 1–20. I agree with the Chadwicks, pp. 577, 588–89 and Eugen Mogk, who interpreted "er singt zu der Harfe den *Gunnarslag* und die *Guðrúnarbrögð*" (*Geschichte der norwegisch-isländischen Literatur*, 2nd ed. rev., Strassburg, 1904, p. 822).

23. *Bósa saga* (cited by Finnur Jónsson, "Harfenspiel") presents an example similar to *Gunnarslagr*: there *Hjarrandabljöð* would seem to reflect a genuine old tradition. The whole problem of tune and text bears comparison with the Breton lay.

24. As it happens there actually is a *Gunnars slagr* printed in the Arnarnagæan edition of the *Sæmundar Edda* (II [Copenhagen, 1818], 1000–10) and in Rask's edition (Stockholm, 1818), pp. 274–77; it seems to be the work of the learned Icelander Séra Gunnar Pálsson, one of the editors of the Copenhagen edition (Rask, p. 274, n.; Sophus Bugge, *Sæmundar Edda* [Christiania, 1867], p. xlix). It is of interest, though hardly strong evidence, that he interpreted the *þáttr*'s reference as to a poem (and cf. Arnarnagæan ed., II, 1000, n.); similarly the Chadwicks guessed that *Gunnarslagr* might be the same as *Oddrúnargrátr* or one of the Atli poems (*Growth*, I, 576).

to a lament such as King Gelimer of the Vandals wished to sing to the accompaniment of a harp on a similar occasion. But a name like *Guðrúnarbrögð in fornu* could hardly have arisen as the name of a tune without words.

The literary-historical milieu required by these lost poems is a transitional one with a mixture of traditions and forms: South Germanic revenge on the brothers carries the Northern name of the heroine in *Högná tǫttur* and presumably in *bragdar/bragða tǫttur* and *Guðrúnarbrögð*; in Danish ballad tradition a *Grimilds Hævn* exists side by side with a *Frøendehævn*, though the latter eventually lost explicit connection with the Burgundians; the collateral source of *Piðreks saga*, the Saxon lay, did not yet have the subsidiary characters from the epic, Dietrich, Rüdiger, and others.<sup>25</sup> *Guðrúnarbrögð* seems, then, to fit easily into the transitional North German-Danish milieu evoked by Wolfgang Mohr's important work and most recently by E. E. Metzner.<sup>26</sup>

Further external evidence for the currency of the lay and its "title" turned up after the completion of this article: (1) Der Marner (fl. 1230–67), lists part of his repertoire: "Sing ich dien liuten mîniu liet, / sô wil der erste daz / wie Dietrich von Berne schiet / ... / Der fünfte wen Kriemhilt verriet ..." (*Der Marner*, ed. Philipp Strauch [*Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Cultur-geschichte der germanischen Völker*, XIV], Strassburg, 1876: XV, 14, II.261–67); (2) Hugo von Trimberg (c. 1230–1313) gives a similar list of poems: "Der niunde wil Kriemhilden mort / Der zehende der Nibelunge hort" (*Der Renner*, ed. G. Ehrismann [*Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, CCXLVIII], Tübingen, 1909, II, 283). Hugo's reference is not independent evidence because it is an imitation of the Marner's passage, but his nominalization of "wen K. verriet" suggests the kind of title found in *Guðrúnarbrögð* (MHG *mort* = treacherous killing,

25. On Dietrich, Hempel, pp. 100–04, 108–09, but cf. Andersson, p. 29; on the Danish ballads, *DgF*, I, 24–55 (nos. 4–5), and cf. *DgF*, IV, 586–600; mixture of names can, of course, arise independently as in the A Ms. of *Piðreks saga* (ed. H. Bertelsen [Copenhagen, 1905–11]).

26. Mohr, "Entstehungsgeschichte und Heimat der jüngeren Eddalieder südgermanischen Stoffes," *ZDA* 75 (1938), 217–80; Metzner, *Zur frühesten Geschichte der europäischen Balladendichtung. Der Tanz in Kölbick*, Frankfurter Beiträge zur Germanistik, Bd. 14 (Frankfurt, 1972).

*Verrat*). The Marner’s editor Strauch compares Saxo’s *Grimildae perfidia* and shows (a conclusion going back to Grimm) that the Marner must have still known the story of the Nibelungs in separate lays, not as a single epic (pp. 34–36); surprisingly the Marner’s allusion has not been mentioned in connection with the Saxon lay by Wisniewski, Hempel, or Heusler. The Marner was a Swabian (and Hugo an East Franconian), but this has no significance here since he travelled widely and was familiar enough with Saxony to be criticized and mourned by a Saxon poet.