

Daniela Hahn, Andreas Schmidt (Hgg.)

Bad Boys and Wicked Women

Antagonists and Troublemakers in Old Norse Literature

Münchener Nordistische Studien
herausgegeben von
Annegret Heitmann und Wilhelm Heizmann

Band 27

Titelbild: Marginal drawing in manuscript AM 132 4to, on p. 12r. Picture provided courtesy of Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi. Photograph by Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation
in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten
sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

Dieses Werk ist urheberrechtlich geschützt.
Die dadurch begründeten Rechte, insbesondere die der Übersetzung, des Nachdrucks,
der Entnahme von Abbildungen, der Wiedergabe auf photomechanischem oder ähnlichem Wege und der Speicherung in Datenverarbeitungsanlagen bleiben –
auch bei nur auszugsweiser Verwendung – vorbehalten.

Copyright © Herbert Utz Verlag GmbH · 2016

ISBN 978-3-8316-4572-5

Printed in EU

Herbert Utz Verlag GmbH, München
089-277791-00 · www.utzverlag.de

UTZ

Herbert Utz Verlag · München

Georg C. Brückmann

Drawing the Thin Grey Line, or How to Give Birth to a Dancing Star

Introduction

Red lines, once drawn, are meant never to be crossed. Grey lines, however, are a different matter altogether, as this paper intends to show. The first part analyses the becoming of order and its implications. The second part explores options of circumventing order and subduing chaos to achieve what would be impossible by any other means as well as the consequences of this. Examples from Old Norse sources will be used to illustrate these concepts.

Drawing the Thin Grey Line

Beyond Good and Evil

*Hier sass ich, wartend, wartend, – doch auf Nichts,
Jenseits von Gut und Böse, bald des Lichts
Geniessend, bald des Schattens, ganz nur Spiel,
Ganz See, ganz Mittag, ganz Zeit ohne Ziel.*

*Da, plötzlich, Freundin! wurde Eins zu Zwei –
– Und Zarathustra gieng an mir vorbei ...¹*

¹Nietzsche: »Sils-Maria«, in: *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft*, p. 333; translation by Kaufmann (transl.) 1974, p. 371.

(Here I sat, waiting – not for anything –
beyond Good and Evil, fancying
Now light, now shadows, all a game,
All lake, all noon, all time without all aim.

Then, suddenly, friend, one turned into two –
And Zarathustra walked into my view.)

The place Nietzsche's lyric persona reminisces about, a place ›beyond good and evil‹, is far removed from this world, not in the physical sense, but on the scale of possibility, because in this world any deed, good or bad in effect, will eventually be judged from a perspective of morality. This is why, in fact, many ›bad guys‹ may also be considered evil, meaning that their actions are not just bad but morally wrong. The dichotomies of ›good‹ as opposed to ›bad‹ and ›good‹ as opposed to ›evil‹, while often correlated, are still of two distinct dimensions. The former is used to classify the outcome of an action, whereas the latter is used as a judgement of moral appropriateness. When contrasted with evil, good may therefore also be labelled as ›morally right‹. Among the different kinds of moral directives, none has incited as much interest as the taboo. James Cook learned about the Polynesian *tapu* when on the Tonga islands in the 1770s and the term was then introduced to the Western world of the 19th century through the posthumous publication of his travelogues.² The anglicised *taboo* became popular very quickly, inspiring different technical terms in various anthropological fields, especially the study of religion and later also psychology.³ This eventually led to a deflation of the term, causing

² Cf. Cook 1821, pp. 348 and 462.

³ For a brief overview, cf. Buckser 1997. For a historic account, cf. Thomas 1911. The works of Freud 1922 and Frazer 1911 have proven most influential to this day,

any partially analogous concept to be subsumed under this category.⁴ On the other hand, reserving use of the term ›taboo‹ for Polynesian phenomena, as Schmidt has suggested, may be a bit too conservative.⁵ Kraft gives a pragmatic definition of ›taboos‹ as ›prohibitions meant to govern social coexistence which, when breached, will eventually lead to exclusion from society‹.⁶ Therefore, that which is prohibited by a taboo is morally wrong, a breach of taboo morally undesirable, and when breaching a taboo one becomes evil. In no society, however, do people abide by the rules at all times. And as we will see, breaching a taboo can yield exceptional and sometimes even desirable results, challenging the idea that a morally undesirable action necessarily leads to something bad. To understand how such rigid labels as morally ›good‹ and ›evil‹ can become flexible so as to allow taboo breaches to be functionalised, however, one must first look at what lies between the black and white poles of the extremes.

despite the latter having been fiercely criticised already during his lifetime (cf. Hutton 1997).

⁴ Cf. Schmidt 2001, p. 161.

⁵ Cf. Schmidt 2001.

⁶ ›Meidungsgebote zwecks Regelung des sozialen Zusammenlebens, deren Übertretung in letzter Konsequenz mit dem Ausschluss aus der Gemeinschaft bedroht ist‹ (Kraft 2004, p. 42; translation my own). An exhaustive definition of taboo would, of course, take into consideration many more factors, including the nature of the associated sanctions. ›The authority for such sanctions remains closely bound with the anonymous; it is embodied in society but variously differentiated according to milieus, strata, stations, and classes, each of which have their specific moral code and administer their determinate set of rules‹ (Waldenfels 1996, p. 43). For the scope of this paper, however, the definition presented above shall suffice.

Between Dog and Wolf

The German philosopher Bernhard Waldenfels opens his studies in *Order in the Twilight* with a preface titled »Between Dog and Wolf«, a literal translation of the French idiomatic expression *entre chien et loup*, corresponding idiomatically to »at dusk, in the twilight«, that is, the time of day when one cannot tell the difference between a dog and a wolf.⁷ But what is it that makes it impossible to tell the difference between a dog and a wolf at dusk? It is the decrease of contrast and sharpness, two concepts that are intimately related: Perceived sharpness depends on acutance, which in turn depends on the edge contrast of the perceived image. In short, sharpness is a function of edge contrast, so the lower the contrast around an edge in the image, that is, the smaller the difference in brightness, the lower the perceived sharpness. If one cannot tell the difference between a dog and a wolf, however, how can one apply any of those labels to that which one sees?

Bringing Order to a Continuum

As Lotman has argued, »a work of art is in principle a reflection of the infinite in the finite [...]. It is the reflection of one reality in another [...].«⁸ We can extend this idea by looking not only at the confines of the text, but also at the fringes of its constituents. When stepping back from the picture, our attention moves away from the local contrast, which is relevant to finer details, and moves towards the whole. Moving as far back as to the vantage point from which we can see all of reality, at least in a typological perspective,

⁷ Cf. Waldenfels 1996, p. xxiv. Variations of this theme have long since penetrated popular culture as well, e.g. »There's a thin grey line / Between the black and the white / It's evidently hard to find at night« (Depeche Mode, »Alone«, *Delta Machine*, 2013).

⁸ Lotman 1977, p. 210.

we may find that reality itself appears as a continuum.⁹ Yet, to discuss reality, we have to employ discrete terms and methods, because those are the only ones available to us. Therefore, the level of detail that a text can resolve is finite. Consequently, we can effectively only model an approximation, in scope, as Lotman has argued, as well as with regard to the resolution of detail.

One may also wonder whether the mental model we derive from a text may be used to extrapolate the mental model of the extra-textual context, i.e. Old Norse social reality. Lotman makes a similar inference:

In modeling an infinite object (reality) by means of a finite text, a work of art substitutes its own space, not for a part (or rather not only for a part), but also for the whole of that reality, the aggregate of all its parts. Each individual text simultaneously models both a particular and a universal object.¹⁰

We shall consider discursive and mental models present in a text to also be part of the exemplary relationships that Lotman identifies. They are equal elements of the text as a work of art to the extent that they concern us here. If we were to draw the conclusion from this that we can never accurately negotiate reality by discursive means, we might wonder why mankind ceaselessly strives for order. For, as Skre points out,

[c]ategorisation is a constant preoccupation of humans, scholars in particular. The uncategorised world is a chaotic mess of individual phenomena and unique events. We cannot possibly cope with the world without simplifying

⁹ This does not necessarily mean, of course, that the whole of reality itself actually *is* a continuum.

¹⁰ Lotmann 1977, p. 211.

the chaos by grouping the endless number of phenomena into fewer categories.¹¹

The principles of order and chaos are most strictly defined in thermodynamics. If we regard the perceived world as a set of subsystems, defining total ›cosmos‹ as the union of all balances, i.e. a system where all subsystems are in local equilibrium, then ›chaos‹ will be the union of all imbalances, i.e. a system where all subsystems are in local non-equilibrium. Thermodynamics further defines entropy as a measure of the number of specific realisations or microstates that may yield a defined state of a system. In other words, entropy is a measure of disorder. Thus, the greater the disorder, the greater the entropy. If we apply our labels of cosmos and chaos, we can say that total cosmos has the lowest entropy, while total chaos has the greatest. Because the transformation from the standard state to the measured state is assumed to be reversible, we can conclude that a state with high entropy – in other words, a ›chaotic state‹ – yields more reverse transformations – or, ›possibilities‹.¹²

It would appear that mankind prefers a stricter local order to a looser total order. It is only when one tries to generalise a local order by deriving an orthodoxy from one's own δόξις, one's way of thinking,¹³ that this model is stretched to its limits. In trying to sharpen the continuum of reality, mankind also generates noise. In this context, the term ›noise‹ is to be understood in the technical sense as used in, e.g. signal processing, meaning an error or undesirable disturbance. In digital image processing, increasing the sensitivity will increase contrast and the amount of visible detail,

¹¹ Skre 2012, p. 47.

¹² Cf. Fermi 1937, pp. 46–76 on entropy and p. 50 in particular for the key definition.

¹³ Cf. Waldenfels 1996, p. 57.

but at the same time it will also expose errors previously masked by the lower contrast. Therefore, just as noise in an image increases together with the contrast, applying a stricter order will increase the number of false negatives.

The Unwitting Orderer

Time and again mankind has ascribed the true order of things to factors outside of their control, more often than not to deities, as exemplified by John Milton's early modern reception of biblical creation:

Confusion heard his voice, and wild uproar
 Stood ruled, stood vast infinitude confined;
 Till at his second bidding darkness fled,
 Light shone, and order from disorder sprung.¹⁴

According to the biblical account, the order of things is decreed by God and brought forth by his word:

In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth. The earth was without form and void, and darkness was over the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God was hovering over the face of the waters. And God said, »Let there be light,« and there was light. [...] And God separated the light from the darkness. God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And there was evening and there was morning, the first day. And God said, »Let there be an expanse in the midst of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters.« And God made the expanse and separated the waters that were under the expanse from the waters that were above the expanse. And

¹⁴ *Paradise Lost* III, line 710.

it was so. And God called the expanse Heaven. And there was evening and there was morning, the second day. And God said, »Let the waters under the heavens be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear.« And it was so. God called the dry land Earth, and the waters that were gathered together he called Seas.¹⁵

Here, God summons all non-living creations from waters that are not dissimilar from the idea of »primordial soup« (первичный бульон) proposed by Oparin.¹⁶ Out of the indistinguishable mass of water He fashions the heavens, land, and sea.¹⁷ Only after this most basic order has been set is the earth fit for mankind to dwell on. It would be wrong to expect mankind to humbly yield to the order of the world they were born into, however, as there has never been a task too grand for them at least to try, in either fiction, as with the Tower of Babel,¹⁸ or in reality, as with the landing on the moon¹⁹ or the transplantation of hearts²⁰ and faces.²¹ With mankind as the κοσμήτωρ or »orderer« of the »chaotic mess of individual phenomena and unique events«,²² we have to consider the human

¹⁵ *English Standard Version Bible with Apocrypha*, Gen 1:1–10. The preserved Old Norse translations of Old Testament material collectively known as *Stjórn*, unfortunately, paraphrase this section in a way that is closer to commentary than the literal Pentateuch account (cf. Unger (ed.) 1862, p. 3).

¹⁶ Cf. Oparin 1924.

¹⁷ The sea, of course, differs from the primordial waters in that it is a clearly defined category, separate »waters above the expanse« raining down from the heavens.

¹⁸ I would argue that in this example, fiction shows only in the fact that mankind achieves something that in reality is unthinkable, if only temporarily. It is not, however, the attempt at something as grand.

¹⁹ 21 July 1969 as part of the Apollo 11 mission.

²⁰ First in 1967 (cf. Tuffs 2008).

²¹ First in 2005 (cf. Austin 2006).

²² Skre 2012, p. 47.

inclination towards dichotomised thinking, the »tendency to arrange the image of the world in sets of binary oppositions«²³ like human ~ animal, male ~ female, and good ~ bad, of which one side usually carries a negative connotation. Strict categories and therefore also dichotomies, however, are fundamentally incompatible with the nature of reality. There will always be phenomena and events that do not match the dichotomised order created by mankind. These phenomena to which the order cannot be applied carry a negative connotation, because they appear to upset the ideal order, and thus they are tabooed. This critical attitude is supported by the implicit assumption that cosmos is only enforced by mankind and not set by them, which is evident also from Cicero's definition of *ordo* as *compositio rerum aptis et accomodatis locis*.²⁴ Furthermore, just as the idea of a watery protomaterial is echoed by both the biblical account and Oparin's primordial soup, the idea of *loci apti et accomodati* would be all too known to those familiar with the *Völuspá*, where it says the following about the dawn of time:

*sól þat né vissi, hvar hon sali átti,
stiornor þat né visso, hvar þær staði áttó,
máni þat né vissi, hvat hann megins átti.*

(Sun did not know where she had mansions,
stars did not know where they had stations,
moon did not know what might he had.)²⁵

At this point, Ýmir has already been slain, his skull serving as the sky, if we interpolate from *Gylfaginning*, but the sun, the moon and

²³ Mundal 1998, p. 1.

²⁴ »The juxtaposition of things in the places suitable and appropriate to them« (Cicero: *De officiis* I, 40).

²⁵ *Völuspá* 5³⁻⁵; translation by Dronke (transl.) 1997.

the stars still have not been assigned their rightful places by Borr's sons Óðinn, Vili, and Vé.²⁶

Separating a Continuum

As for the dichotomy of black ~ white, setting an order means separating one from the other. Spatially speaking, we would have a white space on one side strictly separated from a black space on the other. Assuming that reality is a continuum, however, applying this model will reveal phenomena that we would have to classify as grey. These rogue phenomena stretch out along the boundary between black and white, lowering the acutance and therefore the sharpness, yielding a ›Thin Grey Line‹.

But why then, if mankind strives for total cosmos, for equilibrium in all subsystems, do they transgress the limits of the ›place suitable and appropriate‹ to them? Maybe this is simply a matter of perception, for »[w]ithout constant transgressions, order would remain an empty shell and we could not even speak and deliberate about it.«²⁷ In other words: Without transgressions, we might not even register the limits of these ›places suitable and appropriate‹ to each individual phenomenon. Just as fine lines in a painting help emphasise details like edges in areas of the same colour, transgressions help emphasise the spaces and places within an order. In this way, taboos aid in establishing identity.²⁸

But there is another reason why order is upset over and over again, and it has to do with the Thin Grey Line itself. This line is both an instability factor, because it is an assault on order, as well as a means of tapping into the potential of chaos. Since entropy is defined as the number of possible microstates of a system, chaos

²⁶ Cf. *Gylfaginning* c. 8.

²⁷ Waldenfels 1996, p. xxv.

²⁸ Cf. Brückmann 2015, p. 77 and Kraft 2014, pp. 11–2.

allows a greater number of possibilities than cosmos does. So by importing aspects of chaos into the cosmos, mankind gains new possibilities.²⁹ The following will explore options of realising this chaotic potential by wandering the Thin Grey Line.

How to Give Birth to a Dancing Star

Born to Wander

*Ich sage euch: man muss noch Chaos in sich haben, um einen tanzenden Stern gebären zu können.*³⁰

(I say unto you: one must still have chaos in oneself to be able to give birth to a dancing star.)

This chaos that incites the impetus in Nietzsche's *Übermensch*, the ›beyond-man‹, is the same chaos that wanderers on the Thin Grey Line tap into. To accomplish the impossible, these wanderers have to cross into the world outside of the cosmos, sacrificing at least part of their identity, because »[a] transgression that retained self-mastery would cross no boundaries; it would merely displace them. Boundary-crossing, then, also always means crossing beyond

²⁹ Dragon-slayers are modelled according to this very principle, as Teichert argues (cf. Teichert 2014, pp. 148–9).

³⁰ Nietzsche: *Also sprach Zarathustra* I, »Vorrede«, § 5; translation by Kaufmann (transl.) 1966. Nietzsche's Zarathustra is himself intimately linked to dichotomised thinking, starting with his name. As Nietzsche goes on to explain in *Ecce Homo* (»Warum ich Schicksal bin«, § 3), he named Zarathustra after the founder of Zoroastrianism, because he considers Zoroaster »the first to consider the fight of good and evil the very wheel in the machinery of things«. And since he was the first to derive morality from this, an error in Nietzsche's view, »he must also be the first to recognize it« (translation by Kaufmann (transl.) 1967).

oneself.«³¹ »This radical form of transgression«, however, »cannot obtain its impetus from itself, from self-made plans and decisions, but only from a movement that has already begun.«³² This poses the question of whether there is an inherent quality about those who cross boundaries that sets them apart from others and whether it is only by virtue of this quality that they are able to channel the chaotic potential. An example of this would be Egill's *berserkr*-like traits that come as no surprise when looking at his lineage: Both his grandfather and his father are known for their excessively violent behaviour, and one of his great-grandfathers is named Bjálfi – »fur«. But how do these traits fit into the whole picture of his character? For, if we want to assess whether there is an inherent quality about those who cross boundaries that sets them apart from others, we must consider more than just a single aspect of their personality.³³ What we learn about Egill's character in *Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar* is this: His keen intellect more than makes up for his unpleasant appearance. His strength may not always have been above average, but his temper shows itself in violent outbursts, such as when he kills a boy three or four years his senior with an axe after feeling cheated at *knattleikr*. At the age of twelve, he has become stronger than most other boys.³⁴ Of course, strength and a difficult temper run in the family. His father Skalla-Grímr killed Egill's foster mother Þorgerðr brák for trying to defend Egill against one of his father's fits of violence.³⁵ This is foreshadowed early on, as even when Egill was still a child, »it could soon be seen

³¹ Waldenfels 1996, p. 126.

³² Waldenfels 1996, p. 126.

³³ While the text never explicitly labels Egill or any of his male forebears as *berserkr*, other studies, e.g. Blaney 1972, Larrington 2008, Ármann Jakobsson 2011, and Samson 2011, have identified them as such.

³⁴ Cf. *Egils saga* c. 40.

³⁵ Cf. *Egils saga* c. 40.

that he would be very ugly and like his father.«³⁶ The inherent quality here would be an erratic personality, something that certainly aids in shifting one's *hamr*.

The idea of hereditary otherness is explored further in Old Norse mythology, which is rich in extraordinary beings with strange births. One such example would be Heimdallr, who is said to have nine mothers, as attested by *Húsdrápa*, *Heimdallargaldr*, and *Hyndluljóð*.³⁷ Whether we take this literally or not, there must be some meaning associated with ninefold motherhood, even if it is only used as a metaphor.³⁸ One possibility might be to interpret this as a breach of a sexual taboo or an allusion to it. In the Old Norse world, sexual taboos are the result of a role-oriented dichotomy focussing largely on the opposition of active ~ passive with the former being associated with the male and the latter being associated with the female.³⁹

To cross the line separating the male and the female sphere in life was associated with taboo for men. If a man dressed like a woman, did a woman's work or acted like a

³⁶ [Þ]á mátti flat brátt sjá á honum at hann mundi verða mjök ljótr ok líkr feðr sínum (*Egils saga* c. 31, p. 42; translation my own).

³⁷ *Húsdrápa* 2, *Heimdallargaldr* 2 (found only in *Snorra Edda*, *Gylfaginning* c. 27), *Hyndluljóð* 35–8, 43–4 on Heimdallr with *Hyndluljóð* 35 on his birth in particular (cf. Cöllen 2015, pp. 130–53).

³⁸ Cöllen agrees with Ohlmarks that it would appear »impossible to a sane mind« (cf. Ohlmarks 1937, p. 188) for nine mothers to give birth to one son (cf. Cöllen 2015, pp. 138–9), but maybe this line of argument is not entirely appropriate when discussing mythological tradition. After all, the same could be said about most myths. Regardless of this not particularly convincing detail, however, Cöllen's overall interpretation that Heimdallr is born from the sea, with his nine mothers being nine waves, seems far more appropriate than any »literal« interpretation (cf. Cöllen 2015, pp. 137–49).

³⁹ Cf. Brückmann 2015, p. 73, Meulengracht Sørensen 1983, p. 18, Mundal 1998. Cf. also Ármann Jakobsson 2008.

woman, he could be accused of *ergi*, which meant that he in the eyes of his fellow countrymen did not fulfill his obligations as a man in society. [...] When men are accused of being ›like women‹ the real meaning is ›not like men‹.⁴⁰

Accusations of woman-like behaviour are of a symbolic nature, as Mundal argues – a trenchant manner of expressing that someone is actually ›unmanly‹.⁴¹ And while clothes and everyday tasks may serve this role adequately, »aspects of the female sex role [like] the woman as a bride [...] and] the woman as a childbearing creature«⁴² serve as far more distinctive markers. Furthermore, the term *ergi* (or the related adjectives *argr* and *ragr*) can just as equally be applied to women.⁴³ Ármann Jakobsson thus argues that *ergi* should be translated as »queerness«:

In fact, I think that *ergi* may have more to do with a world view than with sexuality, in that it indicates everything unbecoming, villainous and deviant: incest, bestiality, homosexuality, the blurring of gender role, aggressive female lust, shape-shifting and sorcery.⁴⁴

If role-abiding men and women are the very image of cosmos, then men and women engaging in *ergi* by crossing the boundaries of their sexes and upsetting the dichotomised model of social order are an image of chaos.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Mundal 1998, p. 3.

⁴¹ Cf. Mundal 1998, pp. 3–4 and Meulengracht Sørensen 1983, although Mundal argues that the Old Norse conception of unmanliness is not limited to notions of homosexuality.

⁴² Mundal 1998, p. 4.

⁴³ Cf. Ármann Jakobsson 2008, p. 55.

⁴⁴ Ármann Jakobsson 2008, p. 63.

⁴⁵ Androgyny can be understood as a variation of this theme, cf. Mundal 1998, p. 9.

Another example of an unusual birth from Old Norse literature would be Sinfjötli who Signý begets with her own brother Sigmundr, deceiving him with the *hamr* of a *seiðkona* that she temporarily traded for her own.⁴⁶ Sinfjötli merges both the human and the animalistic, not only when he takes to the woods with Sigmundr like *útleigðarmenn*⁴⁷ or *vargar*⁴⁸ at age ten. There in the woods, they slay two wolf-like creatures and put on the wolf skins that belonged to them, only to transform into actual wolves.⁴⁹ This gradual transformation of the visible – assimilating one’s behaviour, assimilating one’s appearance, and finally becoming the other – only complements what Teichert calls »the preexisting ›wolfish‹ predisposition in their psychological profile and social behaviour.«⁵⁰ Sigmundr and Sinfjötli are *vargar* through and through, both in the concrete (but younger) sense that they are physically wolves as well as in the legal (and older) sense of being condemnable beings, worthy only of a noose.⁵¹ And while in the beginning Sigmundr is still the stronger of the two, as emphasised by him being able to eat from the dough that Sinfjötli had kneaded a serpent into,⁵² the son begins to dominate after his near-death experience.⁵³

In *Gylfaginning* Snorri relates an episode where the Æsir want to cheat the *hrímburs* master builder out of his payment for building a

⁴⁶ Cf. *Völsunga saga* c. 7.

⁴⁷ »Outlaws«.

⁴⁸ Metaphorically »wolves« (although originally »villains, thieves«, cf. Jacoby 1974).

⁴⁹ Cf. *Völsunga saga* c. 8.

⁵⁰ »[D]ie schon vorher vorhandenen ›wölfischen‹ Anlagen in Psychogramm und Sozialverhalten« (Teichert 2014, p. 155; translation my own).

⁵¹ Cf. Kuhn 1954, p. 421 as well as Jacoby 1974.

⁵² Cf. *Völsunga saga* c. 7.

⁵³ Only another influx of chaos saves Sinfjötli from death: Sigmundr uses a leaf provided by a raven, i.e. Óðinn (cf. Teichert 2009, p. 289), as a *deus ex machina* to heal his wound. Teichert, however, highlights the significance of this symbolic rebirth to Sinfjötli’s later dominance (cf. Teichert 2009, p. 291).

wall around Asgard, Loki transforms into a mare and lures away Svaðilfari, the builder's stallion.⁵⁴ Loki as the mare then conceives Sleipnir, the best of all horses,⁵⁵ potentially turning what would be *argt* by itself – shape-shifting into an animal, and on top of that a female one – into a sort of double-*ergi* by practising bestiality.⁵⁶ And if one considers Loki a god (as opposed to a giant),⁵⁷ the three children he begets with the giantess Angrboða⁵⁸ will be among the most powerful of all offspring: Hel, the Midgard Serpent, and finally the wolf Fenrir, to whom even Óðinn succumbs. It is worth pointing out, however, that gods often appear not to be held to the same judgment as humans in regard to morally undesirable actions, as Ármann Jakobsson has noted. This applies to sexually deviant behaviour as well as the ubiquitous cheating in riddle contests.⁵⁹ On the other hand, the fact that the gods get away with something that for humans would be morally wrong does not necessarily mean that for the gods it is morally right.

⁵⁴ Cf. *Gylfaginning* c. 42.

⁵⁵ Cf. *Gylfaginning* c. 15; cf. also Mundal 1998, p. 7.

⁵⁶ Cf. Ármann Jakobsson 2008, p. 61. It is worth noting, though, that this assumes the shape-shifted Loki to only be *like* an animal. This is, of course, a general issue with any interpretation of shape-shifting, also with the examples of *berserkir* presented above: »Does a human literally change into a bear? [...] And what becomes bestial, the body, the mind, or perhaps both?« (Ármann Jakobsson 2011, p. 34). Ármann Jakobsson also points out, however, that this ambiguity might be as old as the stories themselves and that there may have been »a lack of consensus in the Middle Ages as to what these somewhat frightening creatures [*berserkir*] actually were« (Ármann Jakobsson 2011, p. 34).

⁵⁷ Here, the sexual taboo again serves to establish identity based on the dichotomy god ~ giant.

⁵⁸ Cf. *Gylfaginning* c. 34 and *Hynduljóð* 40.

⁵⁹ Ármann Jakobsson 2008, pp. 60–1.

Similarity of Input and Output

Above we have analysed both the nature of chaos and the nature of wanderers, observing that there may be traits in people that make it easier for them to adopt certain kinds of chaotic potential, e.g. because they already do not meet the requirements for appearance of an idealised social order with respect to appearance or behaviour. Now we need to establish whether the nature of the result of realising what chaos has in store – the output – is linked to either the nature of the chaotic potential or the nature of wanderers – the input.

Berserkir and *úlfheðnar* take on a state of temporary alienation, of partial otherness, no longer being *einhamr*, fusing the chaotic other with the cosmotic own. We need not be concerned with whether this change was still interpreted as a physical transformation into an animal during the Viking Age and only later weakened in meaning, as Blaney has argued,⁶⁰ because the mere association with the animalistic, which is a key component of the semantics of *berserkir* and *úlfheðnar*, already points to chaos. Furthermore, the fact that *hamrammr* was used indiscriminately indicates that the ability to change one's *hamr* was ultimately the same for both *berserkir* and *seiðmenn*, although it manifested itself to a varying degree.⁶¹ What meaning *hamr*, and by extension *hamrammr* and other related terms, exactly encompassed is difficult to assess. Dillmann proposes to translate it as »*forme extérieure de*

⁶⁰ Cf. Blaney 1972, p. 63a, via Samson 2011, p. 245. Samson interprets the outward characteristics of *berserkir*, e.g. roaring and screaming, and wearing a shirt made from the pelt of a bear or wolf, as a means of projecting outwards one's other nature (cf. Samson 2011, p. 246). Others see true shape-shifting in the transformations Egill and his father Skalla-Grímr undergo (cf. e.g. Larrington 2008, pp. 155–6).

⁶¹ Cf. Samson 2011, pp. 245–6.

l'âme«. ⁶² To *Egils saga* at least, the exterior shape seems to be less relevant than the psychological aspect. ⁶³ More specifically, in the context of *berserksgangr*, *hamr* terms essentially refer to the wild rage typical of *berserkr*. The *Islendingasögur* and *Konungasögur* traditions clearly differentiate between magicians, who appear to be capable of complete transformations, and beast warriors, who only express their wildness through ecstatic violence. ⁶⁴ As an example, let us look at the *hólmganga* between Egill and Atli:

lét Egill laust sverðit ok skjöldinn ok hljóp at Atla ok greip hann höndum. Kenndi þá aflsmunar ok fell Atli á bak aþr, en Egill greyfðisk at niðr ok beit í sundr í honum barkann; lét Atli þar líf sitt. ⁶⁵

(Egill let go of his sword and shield and leapt at Atli and grabbed him by the hands. Then his greater strength showed and Atli fell on his back, but Egill leant over and bit asunder his throat; there Atli lost his life.)

This is not a typical depiction ⁶⁶ of *berserksgangr*, as Egill's actions are extreme, but precise, e.g. when he kills his playmate Grímr. ⁶⁷ Then again, Egill is never called a *berserkr*, nor does he show all of the prototypical traits. He is neither the beast-warrior-type, nor the scourge-of-the-people-type that Ljótr inn bleiki personifies, the *berserkr ok hólmgongumaðr* ⁶⁸ Egill defeats as an adult. ⁶⁹ Still, we

⁶² Dillmann 2006, p. 245; »Exterior form of the soul«.

⁶³ Cf. Dillmann 2006, p. 252.

⁶⁴ Cf. Samson 2011, pp. 257–8.

⁶⁵ *Egils saga* c. 67, p. 123; translation my own.

⁶⁶ Cf. Samson 2011, pp. 227–42.

⁶⁷ Cf. *Egils saga* c. 40. His actions are not, however, accurate, as that would imply them to be morally right.

⁶⁸ *Egils saga* c. 66, p. 118.

would not normally expect this kind of behaviour in humans. Egill channels powers from the animalistic, temporarily becoming part animal. In this case, the input and output are of the same nature. Those begotten in spite of sexual taboos, on the other hand, do not seem to echo these breaches. Neither Heimdallr, nor Sinfjötli, nor any of Loki's offspring show deviant sexual behaviour. Thus, here the input and output are dissimilar.

The Temporary Nature of Boundary-Crossing

*Wer mit Ungeheuern kämpft, mag zusehn, dass er nicht dabei zum Ungeheuer wird. Und wenn du lange in einen Abgrund blickst, blickt der Abgrund auch in dich hinein.*⁷⁰

(Whoever fights monsters should see to it that in the process he does not become a monster. And when you look long into an abyss, the abyss also looks into you.)

Crossing boundaries and tapping into chaotic potential on a regular basis, however, carries a number of risks with it, among them the risk of becoming accustomed to this practice and thereby also to another order. Just as one's own δόξις, one's way of thinking, can solidify into an orthodoxy »without abandoning the status of the ›natural attitude«⁷¹ a πράξις, one's conduct, can solidify into an ›ortho-practice«. This is one reason why the liberating effect of transgression depends on it remaining temporary.⁷²

⁶⁹ Cf. *Egils saga* c. 66.

⁷⁰ Nietzsche: *Jenseits von Gut und Böse*, aphorism 146; translation by Kaufmann (transl.) 1966,1.

⁷¹ Waldenfels 1996, p. 57.

⁷² Cf. also Waldenfels 1996, p. xxv.

As Waldenfels also points out, »the threshold [is] a place neither comfortable nor without dangers.«⁷³ The Thin Grey Line is a hostile environment where no one can endure. Again looking at the example of *berserksgangr*, the ecstatic strength achieved through this feat only lasts for a short time and is followed by a period of weariness, as seen in *Egils saga*:

Svá er sagt at þeim mönnum væri farit er hamrammir eru eða þeim er berserksgangr var á, at meðan þat var framit þá váru þeir svá sterkir at ekki helzk við þeim, en fyrst er af var gengit þá váru þeir ómáttkari en at vanða. Kveld-Úlfr var ok svá at þá er af honum gekk hamremmin, þá kenndi hann mæði af sókn þeiri er hann hafði veitt ok var hann þá af öllu saman ómáttugr svá at hann lagðisk í rekkju.⁷⁴

(It is said that it happened to those men who could change their character or to those who went berserk that, while this was exercised, they were so strong that nothing would withstand them, and once this state had passed, they were left weaker than usual. Kveld-Úlfr was that way, too, so that when the change of character left him, he would feel a weariness from this fight that he had taken out, and he was then altogether exhausted, so that he would lie down in bed.)

This weariness is one example of why the Thin Grey Line is an uncomfortable place. But more importantly it is a dangerous place, because tapping into chaos is a deal with the devil. »Chaos lurks behind [each breakthrough of the extraordinary]; the boundaries are

⁷³ Waldenfels 1996, p. 129.

⁷⁴ *Egils saga* c. 27, p. 37; translation my own.

blurred; in the extreme case, the loss of the world and of oneself becomes imminent.«⁷⁵

This »loss of the world and of oneself«⁷⁶ can not only happen through the establishment of a new order, by solidifying a *πρᾶξις* into an »ortho-practice« (as we have seen before), but also by being overwhelmed, by being unable to cope with what comes from chaos, as can be seen from the examples of Sinfjötli and Sigmundr in *Völsunga saga*:⁷⁷ Sigmundr and Sinfjötli promise each other to call the other for help, should one of them ever face more than seven opponents in battle at once. Sigmundr keeps this promise, but Sinfjötli does not. When confronted about this later, Sinfjötli reacts in a condescending manner, provoking Sigmundr to attack him. Sigmundr eventually surrenders to the chaotic influence of the wolfish, and bites his son's throat.⁷⁸ He regains self-control, however, and it would appear that father and son had learned to bridle and harness their animalistic power. But even after shedding the wolf skin, Sinfjötli keeps his »antisocial and immoral disposition«,⁷⁹ failing to fully leave his wolfish persona behind. What is more, he and Sigmundr allow their pasts to catch up with them:

⁷⁵ Waldenfels 1996, p. 126.

⁷⁶ Waldenfels 1996, p. 126.

⁷⁷ We might find another case in *Friðþjófs saga* where two *fjolkunnigar konur*, a short while after having attempted a spell to sink Friðþjófr's ship (c. 3), fall from their *seiðhjallr* and presumably die (c. 4). In *Göngu-Hrólfs saga* (c. 28), twelve *seiðmenn* attempt a spell against Göngu-Hrólfr and his men. The dwarf Mjondull, however, thwarts them in this by going under the scaffold and carving powerful counter-spells. The *seiðmenn* eventually become confused, smashing the scaffold and running out of the house and into different directions, some running into a swamp or the sea, others even jumping off cliffs.

⁷⁸ Cf. *Völsunga saga* c. 8 and Teichert 2009, pp. 288–9.

⁷⁹ »[A]ntisoziale und amoralische Gesinnung« (Teichert 2014, p. 156; translation my own).

[D]er Werwolfötter Sigmund und der Schlangentötter Sinfjötli verwandeln sich auch physisch in Ungeheuer, nachdem sie den durch jahrelanges wahrhaft asoziales Hausen in der Wildnis und diverse Mordtaten, darunter auch zwei Kindsmorde auf dem Konto Sigmunds, den Weg der psychischen Metamorphose längst gegangen sind.⁸⁰

(The werwolf-slayer Sigmund and the serpent-slayer Sinfjötli also transform into monsters physically after having long since tread the path of mental metamorphosis through their truly antisocial way of dwelling in the wilderness for years and various murderous deeds, among them even two cases of infanticide on Sigmund's side.)

Here, tapping into chaotic potential does not just result in weariness. Rather, chaos takes over and the abyss swallows him who looked into it. Just as Nietzsche and Waldenfels point out, Sigmundr and Sinfjötli become the monsters they fight and lose themselves, overwhelmed by chaos. McClelland, in his study on vampires and vampire-slayers, suggests that »both the vampire and the slayer are cut from the same cloth; they are homozygotic«,⁸¹ an idea that Ármann Jakobsson extends to the Old Norse tradition by example of Grettir who is »hired to rid Forsœludalur of its ›meinvætt«, only to replace it with his own far more destructive self.«⁸² In that sense, wanderers like Sigmundr and Sinfjötli might not actually run the risk of becoming someone else but rather that of becoming a different self, a self that shows through in the traits that facilitate their crossing of boundaries.

⁸⁰ Teichert 2014, p. 155; translation my own.

⁸¹ McClelland 2006, p. 184.

⁸² Ármann Jakobsson 2009, p. 312.

Conclusion

We have reviewed the implications of the human inclination towards dichotomised thinking for concepts of order and found that the authority behind such orders is often attributed to outside factors, e.g. deities, with mankind only as the enforcer, thereby obviating the need to justify an orthodoxy or ortho-practice.

Transgression may happen for different reasons, e.g. to make the limits of the established order visible. But more importantly, it sometimes serves to facilitate what would be impossible by means allowed within the order: By thinking or acting outside the rigid binary grid, new possibilities open up. In this way, taboo breaches are employed to explain exceptional abilities, as well as to further the plot in a variety of Old Norse texts.

Bibliography

Primary sources

- Cicero: *De officiis* → Winterbottom, Michael (ed.) 1994.
Egils saga → Bjarni Einarsson (ed.) 2003.
Friðþjófs saga → Larsson, Ludvig (ed.) 1901.
Göngu-Hrólfs saga → Rafn, Christian C. (ed.) 1830, pp. 237–364.
Gylfaginning → Faulkes, Anthony (ed.) 2005, pp. 3–55.
Húsdrápa → Finnur Jónsson (ed.) 1912, pp. 136–138.
Hyndluljóð → Neckel, Gustav / Kuhn, Hans (eds.) 1983, pp. 288–296.
 Nietzsche: *Also sprach Zarathustra* → Nietzsche, Friedrich 1968,1 [1886].
 Nietzsche: *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft* → Nietzsche, Friedrich 1973 [1882], pp. 11–335.
 Nietzsche: *Ecce homo* → Nietzsche, Friedrich 1969 [1888], pp. 253–372.
 Nietzsche: *Jenseits von Gut und Böse* → Nietzsche, Friedrich 1968,2 [1886], pp. 1–255.
Paradise Lost → Milton, John 2005.
Völsunga saga → Ebel, Uwe (ed.) 1997.
Völuspá → Neckel, Gustav / Kuhn, Hans (eds.) 1983, pp. 1–16.

Secondary sources

- Ármann Jakobsson 2008: »The Trollish Acts of Þorgrímur the Witch: The Meanings of *troll* and *ergi* in Medieval Iceland«, in: *Saga-Book* 32, pp. 39–68.
 Ármann Jakobsson 2009: »The Fearless Vampire Killers: A Note about the Icelandic *Draugr* and Demonic Contamination in *Grettis saga*«, in: *Folklore* 120, pp. 307–316.
 Ármann Jakobsson 2011: »Beast and Man: Realism and the Occult in *Egils saga*«, in: *Scandinavian Studies* 83, pp. 29–44.
 Austin, Naomi 2006: »My Face Transplant Saved Me«, BBC News, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/health/6058696.stm> (retrieved 11/03/2016) .
 Bjarni Einarsson (ed.) 2003: *Egils saga*, London.
 Blaney, Benjamin 1972: *The berserkr. His Origin and Development in Old Norse Literature*. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Colorado Boulder.
 Brückmann, Georg C. 2015: »Das Phänomen des Tabus als heidnisch-christliche Invariante«, in: Georg C. Brückmann et al. (eds.), *Cultural Contacts and Cultural Identity. Proceedings from the Munich Interdisciplinary Conference for Doctoral Students, October 9th–11th, 2013* (Münchener Nordistische Studien 19), Munich, pp. 69–78.
 Buckser, Andrew S. 1997: »taboo«, in: Thomas Barfield (ed.), *The Dictionary of Anthropology*, Oxford/Malden, p. 464.
 Collen, Sebastian 2015: *Heimdallr – der rätselhafte Gott. Eine philologische und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 94), Berlin/Boston.
 Cook, James 1821: *The Three Voyages of James Cook Round the World 5: Being the First of the Third Voyage*, London.

- Dillmann, François-Xavier 2006: *Les magiciens dans l'Islande ancienne. Études sur la représentation de la magie islandaise et de ses agents dans les sources littéraires norroises* (Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi 92), Uppsala.
- Dronke, Ursula (ed. and transl.) 1997: *The Poetic Edda 2: Mythological Poems*, Oxford.
- Ebel, Uwe (ed.) 1997: *Ragnars saga loðbrókar – Völsunga saga 1: Völsunga saga* (Texte des Skandinavischen Mittelalters 3), Metelen/Steinfurt.
- English Standard Version Bible with Apocrypha*, 2012, Oxford.
- Faulkes, Anthony (ed.) 2005: »Gylfaginning«, in: *Snorri Sturluson. Edda: Prologue and Gylfaginning*. Second edition, London, pp. 3–55.
- Fermi, Enrico 1937: *Thermodynamics*, New York.
- Finnur Jónsson (ed.) 1912: *Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtning A 1*, Copenhagen/Christiania.
- Frazer, James G. 1911: *The Golden Bough. A Study in Magic and Religion 2: Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*. Third edition, London.
- Freud, Sigmund 1922: *Totem und Tabu. Einige Übereinstimmungen im Seelenleben der Wilden und der Neurotiker*, Leipzig et al.
- Hutton, Ronald 1997: »Frazer, Sir James (1854–1941)«, in: Thomas Barfield (ed.), *The Dictionary of Anthropology*, Oxford/Malden, pp. 206–208.
- Jacoby, Michael 1974: wargus, vargr, »Verbrecher«, »Wolf«. *Eine sprach- und rechtsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Germanistica Upsaliensia 12), Uppsala.
- Kaufmann, Walter (transl.) 1966,1: *Friedrich Nietzsche: Beyond Good and Evil. Prelude to a Philosophy of the Future*, New York.
- Kaufmann, Walter (transl.) 1966,2: *Friedrich Nietzsche: Thus Spoke Zarathustra. A Book for All and None*, New York.
- Kaufmann, Walter (transl.) 1967: »Ecce Homo. How One Becomes What One Is«, in: Walter Kaufmann / Reginald J. Hollingdale (transl.), *Friedrich Nietzsche: On the Genealogy of Morals and Ecce Homo*, New York, pp. 215–235.
- Kaufmann, Walter (transl.) 1974: *Friedrich Nietzsche: The Gay Science. With a Prelude in Rhymes and an Appendix of Songs*, New York.
- Kraft, Hartmut 2004: *Tabu. Magie und soziale Wirklichkeit*, Düsseldorf/Zürich.
- Kuhn, Hans 1954: »Gaut«, in: Benno von Wiese / Karl-Heinz Brock (eds.), *Festschrift für Jost Trier zu seinem 60. Geburtstag am 15. Dezember 1954*, Meisenheim/Glan, S. 417–433.
- Larrington, Carolyne 2008: »Awkward Adolescents: Male Maturation in Norse Literature«, in: Shannon Lewis-Simpson (ed.), *Youth and Age in the Medieval North* (The Northern World. North Europe and the Baltic c. 400–1700 AD. Peoples, Economies, and Cultures 42), Leiden/Boston, pp. 151–166.
- Larsson, Ludvig (ed.) 1901: *Friðþjófs saga ins frækna* (Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek 9), Halle (Saale).

- Lotmann, Jurij M. 1977: *The Structure of the Artistic Text* (Michigan Slavic Contributions 7). Translated by Ronald Vroon and Gail Lenhoff, Michigan [Originally in Russian, 1970].
- McClelland, Bruce A. 2006: *Slayers and their Vampires. A Cultural History of Killing the Death*, Ann Arbor.
- Meulengracht Sørensen, Preben 1983: *The Unmanly Man. Concepts of sexual defamation in early Northern society* (The Viking Collection. Studies in Northern Civilisation 1). Translated by Joan Turville-Petre, Odense.
- Milton, John 2005: *Paradise Lost. Authoritative Text, Sources and Backgrounds, Criticism* (Norton Critical Edition). Edited by Gordon Teskey, New York et al. [Originally in 1667].
- Mundal, Else 1998: »Androgyny as an image of chaos in Old Norse mythology«, in: *Maal og Minne* 1998, pp. 1–9.
- Neckel, Gustav / Kuhn, Hans (eds.) 1983: *Edda. Die Lieder des Codex Regius nebst verwandten Denkmälern 1: Text. Edited by Gustav Neckel. 5th, improved edition by Hans Kuhn* (Germanische Bibliothek, 4. Reihe. Texte), Heidelberg.
- Nietzsche, Friedrich 1968,1: *Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe 6,1: Also sprach Zarathustra. Ein Buch für Alle und Keinen (1883 – 1885)*. Edited by Giorgio Colli et al., Berlin et al.
- Nietzsche, Friedrich 1968,2: *Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe 6,2: Jenseits von Gut und Böse. Zur Genealogie der Moral (1886 – 1887)*. Edited by Giorgio Colli et al., Berlin et al.
- Nietzsche, Friedrich 1969: *Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe 6,3: Der Fall Wagner. Götzen-Dämmerung. – Nachgelassene Schriften (August 1888 – Anfang Januar 1889): Der Antichrist. Ecce homo. Dionysos-Dithyramben. – Nietzsche contra Wagner*. Edited by Giorgio Colli et al., Berlin et al.
- Nietzsche, Friedrich 1973: *Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe 5,2: Idyllen aus Messina. Die fröhliche Wissenschaft. Nachgelassene Fragmente Frühjahr 1881 – Sommer 1882*. Edited by Giorgio Colli et al., Berlin et al.
- Ohlmarks, Åke 1937: *Heimdalls Horn und Odins Auge. Studien zur nordischen und vergleichenden Religionsgeschichte 1: Heimdallr und das Horn*, Lund/Copenhagen.
- Oparin, Alexander I. 1924: *Произхождение жизни [Proizhoždenie žizni]*, Moscow.
- Rafn, Carl C. (ed.) 1830: *Fornaldar sögur Norðrlanda 3*, Copenhagen.
- Samson, Vincent 2011: *Les Berserkir. Les guerriers-fauves dans la Scandinavie ancienne, de l'âge de Vendel aux Vikings (VIe – XIe siècle)* (Histoire et civilisations), Villeneuve d'Ascq.
- Schmidt, Axel 2001: »Tabu«, in: Hubert Cancik et al. (eds.), *Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe 5*, Stuttgart et al., pp. 160–162.
- Skre, Dagfinn 2012: »Markets, towns and currencies in Scandinavia ca. AD 200–1000«, in: Rodger Hodges / Sauro Gelichi (eds.), *From One Sea to Another. Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages. Proceedings of the International Conference, Comacchio, 27th–29th March 2009*, Turnhout, pp. 47–63.

- Teichert, Matthias 2009: »*Þeir Sigmundur fóru í hamina*. Die Werwolf-Erzählung in Kap. 8 der ›Völsunga Saga‹«, in: *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und Literatur* 138, pp. 281–295.
- Teichert, Matthias 2014: »Der monströse Heros oder Wenn der ungeheure Held zum Ungeheuer wird. Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte des Figuren-Typus ›Drachenkämpfer‹ in der altnordischen und altenglischen Literatur«, in: Victor Millet / Heike Sahm (eds.), *Narration and Hero. Recounting the Deeds of Heroes in Literature and Art of the Early Medieval Period* (Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 87), Berlin/Boston, pp. 143–173.
- Thomas, Northcote W. 1911: »Taboo«, in: *Encyclopædia Britannica* 26. 11th edition, pp. 337–341.
- Tuffs, Annette 2008: »Dokumentarfilm ›Hidden Heart‹: Die wahre Geschichte der ersten Herztransplantation«, in: *Deutsches Ärzteblatt* 105.42, p. A2228.
- Unger, Carl R. (ed.) 1862: *Stjorn. Gammelnorsk Bibelhistorie fra Verdens Skabelse til det babyloniske Fangenskab*, Christiania.
- Waldenfels, Bernhard 1996: *Order in the Twilight*. Translated by David Parent, Athens [Originally in German, 1987].
- Winterbottom, Michael (ed.) 1994: *Marcus T. Cicero: De officiis* (Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis/Oxford classical texts), Oxford/New York.