WHEN DOES THE MUSIC HISTORY OF THE NORDIC COUNTRIES BEGIN?

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Premises

The strongest image for teaching us how modern technology has provided a new approach to the study of human beings and their activities, is the "earthrise" experienced and photographed by the astronauts on the moon in July of 1969. The sight of earth rising over the moon's horizon could not help but lead to a heightened appreciation and awareness of one-ness among the people now inhabiting the planet. Among the results were that fields of inquiry that for some time had explored ethnic studies on the premise that on this earth existed groups of people with ancient living patterns from which we could learn about ourselves and our origins, took on a greater sense of urgency. In a sense, the quest for modern man during the previous century led to the discovery of ancient man.

The present study is about looking for the musical roots of Nordic cultures by examining and comparing evidence from their own deep past, as well as from other ethnic groups that have preserved ancient musical practices into the near present.

Introduction

The direct purpose of the article is to establish the earliest skald, or bard, – the Odinskald – as the performing creator of Old Norse oral tradition and thus, in a wider sense, the progenitor of Nordic music.

The age of the Odinskald emerges with the earliest traces of Nordic culture as a part of the pan-Germanic culture (pre-4th cent.) and is a vital part of its development into an independent Antique Norse (5th-8th cent.) and then Old Norse (9th cent. to 10th cent.) culture. It ends with the cultural schism on the advent of Christianity. Christianization spelled the end of the skaldic roles that were associated with the old religion, but some of their functions flourished at the increasingly powerful courts, in particu-

¹ Allan Karker: *Politikens Sproghistorie*, 1996, 92 pp. For language periodization, see p.29.

lar those of historian and genealogist. The anonymous Odinskalds were thus gradually replaced by the renowned courtskalds whose names and works have come down to us primarily through the medieval Icelandic literary tradition.

The term Odinskald is based on Nordic mythology according to which the head god, Odin, was the first skald and expressed himself in verses.² The activities of the Odinskald are thus in a pre-Christian and pre-literary environment and can be detected only as echoes in written sources and archeological finds.

The Sources

The sources of the oral tradition are wide-ranging. In survey form they can be arranged as follows:

Sources originating on Old Norse territory:

- Medieval manuscripts, in part anonymous, in part, as mentioned, by Icelandic authors, notably Snorri Sturluson, and in part by Danish latinists with Saxo as the key contributor.
- About 5000 runic inscriptions known throughout the area.
- Archeology has not only provided many of the runes, but has also contributed towards explaining the meaning of the visual symbols of Norse cultural tradition. In addition, aided by an array of modern methods, archeology can provide a practical chronology for the evolution of that culture.³

Sources originating outside of the Old Norse area, mainly in the form of writings falling into two categories:

 Poetry and chronicles based on oral tradition among the closely related peoples in Anglo-Saxon England, and in Normandy during its Nordic age. The most important documents are Beowulf

² Snorri Sturluson: *Heimskringla* Part Two, Sagas of the Norse Kings, translated by Samuel Laing, London 1961, "The Ynglinga Saga," Chapter 6, p.1: [Odin] "spoke everything in rhyme, such as now composed, which we call skaldcraft."

³ Lotte Hedeager: *Skygger af en anden virkelighed* (Shadows of another reality), 1997, 138pp. See the section entitled "Den Nordiske Dyrestil" (The Nordic style of animal ornamentation), p.78ff.

from the former and Dudo's history of the Norman dukes from the latter.

 Written descriptions in the works of ethnically non-related authors, mainly Latin authors in the literature of Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

These are the sources to be examined for traces of the Odinskald's creativity. It is well to keep in mind that there is a paradox involved in the process of trying to approach the living cultural expression of an era long past by analyzing the fixed written cultural expression that became its bane. It is literally a search for last breaths. The very act of transfer of an oral tradition into writing represents a dilemma, because that which has been preserved is only one ingredient out of several. The parts that involve sound and movement, i.e. the articulations, accompaniment, the gestures, and the entire manner of performance, are missing. What we have before us are the dead imprints of a live and spirited activity.

There are, therefore, good reasons for turning to what might be called "parallel sources." These are the oral traditions which have been alive in other pre-literary societies either at the present time or recently enough to have been subjected to scientific methods of study. From these we can learn how oral tradition actually functions, what it can accomplish, and how its techniques are applied during performance. These cultures exist in isolation as they disappear like mists before the sun on contact with a written culture. Since these cultures, with a few exceptions, are found outside of Europe, they were prior to mid-20th century considered periferal to Nordic studies. There is, however, within the European area an example of an oral tradition that could be studied before it disappeared. It existed among southern Slavs on the Balkan Peninsula, which, after the end of Turkish sovereignty as a result of World War I, became the object of a movement to end illiteracy. At the last moment, i.e. during the 1930s, two American researchers, Milman Parry and his student Albert Lord, succeeded in collecting recordings, interviews, and notes on the last stages of this tradition and its performers. The results of this research were published in Lord's book, The Singer of Tales. The great merit of this study is that it documents how the performer learns a large repertoire, the performance practice, and the mnemonic techniques that insure sta-

⁴ Albert Lord: The Singer of Tales, Atheneum 1960.

bility. We shall return to this study later, but note that it has certain limitations for use as a model for Norse applications. By the time it was studied, it functioned primarily as entertainment, while the many-sided Norse oral tradition was an integral part of social institutions.

In order to add to our understanding of Norse oral tradition the need is for a parallel source in which the oral tradition is society's chief means of communication in its multiple expressions in religion, history, education, etc. Such a situation must be found outside of Europe. As one of the positive products of the Information Age during the last half century or so, we now have at our fingertips a large body of studies among pre-literary societies in Africa, Asia, Australia, Oceania, and South America – simply on a global basis. New areas of study have moved from being peripheral in their fields to being considered independent branches, often with a strong component of cross-disciplinary studies.

The Ethnic Model

One such field is ethnomusicology. It concerns the study of music traditions generally considered, though not necessarily, to be primarily outside of the so-called "western" areas of the world. By means of the results achieved by this branch of studies, coupled with video- and audio technology, we have opportunities for experiencing the fundamentality of artistic functions in pre-literary societies on a global basis. It turns out that we encounter recurring creative roles and mnemonic principles adapted to local needs, regardless of their geographic position. These roles and technical principles will hereafter be referred to as *the ethnic model*.

In the attempt to find a connection between the Norse oral tradition and its ethnic parallel sources it is, therefore, an axiom that for the present study Norse culture must be considered pre-European. In this respect "European" refers not to the geographical location, but to the culture that saw its beginnings with a handshake in Rome between Pope Leo III and Holy Roman Emperor Charlemagne on Christmas Day year 800. This

⁵ See for example Richard Attenborough's *Behind the Mask*, segment "The Tribal Eye," which offers a view into the life of the Dogon people of Mali. Ethnomusicologist Mantle Hood has produced *Atumpan*, a film that provides a perspective on the importance of music in an Ashanti tribe in Ghana. The National Geographic Society has a video on the waning moments of the Gagadju tribe as a part of Australian aborigine culture.

culture represented, in other words, the amalgamation of spiritual and educational power on the one hand and temporal power on the other.

The Singer of Tales

We now return to the Singer of Tales and its study of an oral tradition in the southern Balkans. The following is a brief profile of the oral singer and his art as it appears in Albert Lord's book of the same title. It is in the form of free paraphrase by means of a number of selected quotations.6

The first step is to understand the word 'oral.' It does not mean rote learning and the subsequent ability to render a poem unchanged to the listener. The word 'improvisation' could be considered, but it is not free improvisation – it takes place within a certain frame of reference. Oral transmission should not be understood as a chain of oral renditions that quickly distance themselves from the original. Oral tradition means a specialized and unique process in which the oral apprenticeship, oral composition, and oral tradition fuse into one art form. We are warned not to think of 'folk poetry,' because "folk" do not compose, they have just been illiterate longer. The origins always appear to have been aristocratic because oral tradition has its roots in ceremonies, rites, and celebrations. For the literary poet there is a certain interval between the composition of the poem and its oral performance. Such an interval does not exist for the singer of tales because composition and performance are part of the same moment. He is thus creator of tradition, not just its carrier. Well into our [20th] century the performance of epic tradition has been the main entertainment of the male population in villages and small cities in southern Yugoslavia. Since the singer of tales composes the song as he progresses it is surprising that he can sing from ten to twenty ten-syllable lines a minute. It means that there is an underlying structure that can be

⁶ Lord 1960 (Jfn. 4). The quotations are from the chapters one through five: Introduction; Singers: Performance and Training; The Formula; The Theme; Songs and the Song. Each chapter is illustrated by analyzed examples from the Milman Parry collection of field recordings.

taught, and Albert Lord divides this learning process into three phases.

The first stage is a listening period in which the singer absorbs the subject matter of the songs, particularly salient lines, and the many rhythms. Here the foundation is laid for the future singer of tales as he learns the names of the heroes and distant places while he, at the same time, is being taught a sense of the "thought rhythm" of the poems.

The second stage begins when the apprentice sings on his own with or without accompaniment on the one-stringed *gusle* or the two-stringed *tambura*. Now he has to express himself in lines of ten syllables with a small pause after every fourth. This line rhythm is repeated over and over again – he has to learn to think in the inflexible pattern. In this process he has to use the formulas and themes by imitation, perhaps of a particularly important teacher, but also possibly of many different tellers of tales. He also learns to play the five tones of the *gusle* which does not appear to be especially challenging.⁷ The main tones of the melody are ornamented in heterophony. In the short pauses after every three lines, echo and more ornamention are added.

The final learning phase arrives when the beginner can entertain an audience with a complete song. From here on progress is measured by additions to the repertory and improvements in the songs already learned. This process will never stop and the teller of tales becomes increasingly free in his expression as more formulas become part of his technique without requiring special thought. It is clear that the old singers are best, even though their voices perhaps have lost some of their glory. Parry's definition of formula is a recurring group of words the repetitions of which occur in similar metric circumstances and express an essential idea. The formula is the offspring of the marriage of thought and sung verse. Formulas thus form a poetic grammar superimposed on the grammar of the words. The skilled teller of tales is, consequently, as free in his grammar as we are in the ordinary one, and it is a natural way

⁷ Lord 1960 (Jfn. 4), p. 33.

for learning the poetic language. Expression is the speciality of the singer, originality is foreign to him.

In oral tradition the same incidents and descriptions recur from country to country. Themes are the groups of ideas regularly used in telling a tale in the formulaic style of traditional song. The youthful bard listens countless times to the gathering of an army or a large number of wedding guests (the two are often synonymous). He hears how the chieftain writes letters to other chiefs; he comes to know the names of these leaders of the past and of the places they dwelt; he knows what preparations are made to receive the assembling host and how each contingent arrives; he hears what its heroes are wearing and what horses they are riding and in what order they appear, etc. The theme, though it be verbal, is not a fixed set of words, but a grouping of ideas. Although the themes lead naturally from one to another to form a song which exists as a whole in the singer's mind, the units within this whole, the themes, have a semi-independent life of their own. The theme in oral poetry exists at one and the same time in and for itself and for the whole song.

The singer of tales sits in front of his audience equipped with formulas, themes, compositional technique, and, above all, a plan which he has learned in the same way as everything in his profession. While we think of form as something fixed, recorded, or in writing, the song itself is the core of the matter for him. The choice of words can be varied within the structural framework, but the fundamental idea of the themes can not be changed because that would be the same as falsifying the story. He builds the performance, the song as we see it, on the stable skeleton of the narration, the song as he sees it.

Oral Culture

It might be worth considering for a moment that everything of importance in a literate culture involves writing, such as letters, signatures, banknotes, tax returns, newspapers, teaching manuals, etc. and in this way retrievable records are established. An oral culture is heavily dependent on articulated words, and sound consequently plays a part in all social relationships. It is thus a wide-ranging subject. In the present context, the

focus will be limited to aspects relating to artistic activity. However, in an oral culture "creativity in the arts of the muses" also covers everything of importance because versified language is one of the main ingredients in the poetic apparatus that keeps the messages stable. Without this stability, oral cultures could not survive because their social groups function on the basis of the ability of the creative oral singer to declaim or sing the accumulated knowledge correctly. That is common intellectual ground in oral societies, be it religion, genealogies of rulers, history, wisdom, etc.

It is thus a hallmark of an oral culture that it encompasses a number of specialized roles for its performing practitioners. There are examples of encyclopedic singers who are responsible for much of the lore of their tribes. They belong in smaller groups in simple economies. The level of specialization of the roles of the oral singer usually keeps pace with the level of specialization in other social respects. Since our earlier survey of sources and their contents indicated a high level of specialization in Norse culture, we have to search for an ethnic model of a corresponding level of specialization. This demand can be met by several groups located around the world, as it were.⁹

The most universally defined roles are those of historian and genealogist. The reasons are that their performances are at the highest level of society and because the contents of their songs secure the legitimacy of kings and nobles in their positions based on renowned deeds and family origins. *Griots* in West Africa, *kaumatuas* among the Maoris of New Zealand, and songmen in Arnhemland of Australia, all are examples of these roles. Oral singers also perform regularly in the roles of pedagogues, royal counsellors, chiefs-of-protocol, lawsayers, shamans, sooth-sayers, dirge singers, etc.

Word Music

At the heart of these global roles that are spread all over the planet is a set of techniques which enable them to perform their indispensable cultural functions. The common goal is the stablity of the messages in the songs that together form a body of lore in which they reinforce each other. Stability is achieved by patterns of repetition in word sounds and

⁸ The arts of the muses, as understood in Greek mythology.

⁹ See Chart I in the Appendix, The Roles of Oral Singers in Pre-literate Societies.

¹⁰ See Chart II in the Appendix, The Techniques of the Oral Singer.

word rhythms. These elements are arranged in strata of sound associations and thought rhythms until they together form large "image-murals" with structural plans that the creative singer easily can reproduce. The relative tonal contents of the word sounds in performance come on a sliding scale from normal speech to singing.11 But it is important to underline that the tones are not organized as a simple acoustical "string of pearls" as in a scale, and that the rhythms are not reduced to binary and ternary divisions. The base materials of the singer-of-tales consist of 1) rhythms of accented and unaccented syllables, 2) repetitions of resonating vowels and consonants in assonances and alliterations, and 3) voice modulation. These three elements correspond to the rhythm, harmony, and melody of later developments in music.

The term wordmusic applies to this type of expression in sound because it employs the same components found in all other music, only that they are found within the sound resources of a language. Formal expansion in wordmusic evolves from verse lines to strophes to large epics. The technical tools in this process are formulas, rigmaroles, substructures in large poems, poetic symbols (kenninger), instrumental support, and, under certain circumstances, dance steps. The singer-of-tales is always close to, or fully engrossed, in theatricality. He intensifies the attentiveness of his listeners by his voice inflections, gestures, mimicry, and use of direct speech in the roles of his story.

All these indications of the art of the oral singer are like echoes of his performances. They leave their traces first in the minds of the listeners, then in recordings and notes among researchers from literary societies, and in the end they become transferred to writing. Illustrations of the oral singer techniques are Inuit poets' use of alliteration, the Tutsi singers' rigmarole of soldiers' names, the Burundi singers' proverbs, the Sri Lankan Vedda singers' formulas, etc.

The Odin Skald

In the ancient Nordic culture, the head god Odin is at the core of everything and his power is so pervasive that it is an Odin culture through and through. Odin is allknowing, allseeing, and he can communicate in all possible ways with animal voices or human voices, living or dead. He pos-

¹¹ James Anderson Winn: Unsuspected Eloquence, New Haven and London, 1981, "The Poet as Singer," p.1 ff.

sesses the secrets of the rune symbols, he guides the fortunes of war and all human fates. He knows the magic songs and he can exercise the power of the "sejd" – the supernatural power. Where there is spirit and ecstasy – there is Odin.

The manyfold roles in the ethnic model converge in the Old Norse situation on the personal presence of Odin in the shape of a man. From him radiate his many powers to all his skalds, who exercise them as singers-oftales in the many functions recounted earlier.

By means of the ethnic model we can build an understanding of the Odinskald in performance, his sounds, his techniques. In the Norse world the wordmusic is borne on patterns of rhyme and rhythm as in fornyndislag (the old lore meter) and ljódaháttr (song meter) which can be traced back through the entire Norse Era on rune verse lines. The melodic element is in the performance practice which, in the spirit of Odin, was theatrical and inspired. We can form an idea of this for ourselves beause Snorri Sturluson in his Skaldskaparmál (manual of skaldcraft), which mainly consists of didactic poetic models, lists a number of voice modulations for performances. A few of these have been selected for inclusion here: 'speechmanner', 'eloquence', 'quarreling', 'babbling', 'conversation', 'singing', 'weeping', 'prattle', 'bragging', 'howling', 'yelling', 'wheezing', 'whispering', etc. 12

When the Odinskald took the floor in order to recreate song declamations, his first words often were attention imperatives like: "Listen!", "Wake up!", "Tell us now!" They could also be questions: "Who is it?" or variations of "Once upon a time." The foregoing examples are all from the *Poetic Edda.*¹³ In certain song-poems of the latter, there is a prose introduction which is considered to have been improvised. As shown in the Albert Lord model, a large part of the art of the oral singer, the skald in ancient Scandinavia, consists of joining formulas – modules of expression – on the spur of the moment. The Poetic Edda carefully indicates that this characteristic became a part of the transfer into writing as well. In oral performance these 'expression modules' required a large vocabulary of readily retrievable synonyms from memory. Indeed, parts of Snorri's

¹² Snorri Sturluson: The Prose Edda, Arthur Gilchrist Broden translator, The American Scandinavian Foundation, New York, 1916. See Chapter LXXII, p.239.

¹³ The Poetic Edda, Translated with an Introduction and Explanatory Notes by Lee M. Hollander, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1962, 343pp. This anonymous collection of Old Norse poetry is the main source in Icelandic literature on this topic and is thought to have been collected ab. 1100 AD.

Skaldskaparmál (13th century) consist precisely of these. Another mnemonic device consists of arranging messages in numerical order as for example in *Hávamál* (Odin's sayings) in the Poetic Edda: "the third I know...the fourth I know....etc. Also in this song/poem we find verse meters used for proverbs, the kernels of wisdom, which functioned as one of the most important methods in education.

Outright rigmaroles also form a part of the Odinskald's technique and repertoire, especially when names are listed as for example in the Edda's list of Dwarves.

The initial "attention formula," mentioned above, is also indicative of the play-script nature of the written version. The lengthy orations reported in direct speech in quotation marks are elaborations of this relationship.14 As improvisations recreated at the moment of enunciation, they would have the power to grip a pre-literate audience. The effect is akin to that of operatic arias, perhaps especially those of the Baroque era in which large parts, including cadenzas and ornamention, were improvised. As in the operatic metaphor, these soliloquies and duets fall into certain categories. In the Poetic Edda we can identify bragging songs, derision songs, debate songs, etc. In Saxo15 and Beowulf there are numerous examples of "Swan songs,"- someone's last words. It brings to mind Saxo's tragedy of Hagbart and Signe (Denmark's Romeo and Juliet), and in Beowulf the hero permits himself several of these "last song" laments.

Conclusions

While it is unlikely that the wordmusic of the Odinskald will ever be heard again in the Nordic countries in its original form, we can surely come much closer to his art by experimentation with the traces of it that have come down to us. First, individuals with a strong combination of theatrical sensibilities and demonstrated abilities in reacting to sound cues and word rhythms would have to be identified. The next step would be to master the learning process of acquiring the stories and making the verse techniques a matter for personal absorption. As results develop, they will have to be compared to practices in the ethnic models. The art of the new Odinskalds will also have to be subjected to studies in musical phonetics for possible performance clues. We do, after all, possess a considerable

¹⁴ Common in both Saxo and Beowulf.

¹⁵ See Louis Christensen: Echoes of Skaldic Music in Saxo, Fund og Forskning (Discovery and Research), Vol.38, 1999, p.7-64.

body of material that establishes common traits with regard to social roles and verse techniques, both within the Nordic and its adjacent areas, and in the ethnic model (see the charts with surveys of roles and techniques in the appendix).

The existing studies in oral tradition already provide a foundation for confidence in the essential timelessness of the core messages it disseminates. It means for example that the long genealogies, such as the early parts of *Skjoldungesaga* (Saxo)¹⁶ and *Ynglingatal* (Sturluson),¹⁷ as well as the essential messages of the didactic song-declamations of the *Poetic Edda*, can be considered to antedate Old Norse culture and belong in Antique Norse culture, and, in some cases, possibly even belong to the pan-Germanic culture prior to the 4th century.

An immersion in the Antique and Old Norse cultures in this spirit can finally bestow an "art of the muses" on these cultures commensurate with their accomplishments in seamanship, crafts, and social structures with special regards to law. With the Odinskald as wordmusician, future studies can hopefully lead us to a more holistic understanding of the Nordic foundation cultures. The probability that we may never reach a total reexperience of what the voice of the Odinskald sounded like, should not prevent us from accepting him as the progenitor of Nordic music.

Appendices

The following two charts indicate some common characteristics of oral traditions that functioned as social institutions prior to being committed to writing. They are each divided between those originating in "ethnic models" and those originating in Norse culture from which the categories were chosen.

Chart One, The Roles of Oral Singers in pre-literate cultures, is a survey of such roles. Any one of these may not be so typical in a particular area of the world that they may catch the attention of the reference authors used in the making of the chart, nor may they show up in some of the Norse sources. As a result, it is to be expected that the chart should show some open squares.

¹⁶ Saxo Grammaticus, The History of the Danes, Books I-IX, edited by Hilda Ellis Davidson, translated by Peter Fisher, D.S. Brewer, Cambridge, 1998. See p.39.

¹⁷ See fn.2.

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Chart Two, Techniques of Oral Singers in Pre-literate Cultures, is a survey of techniques employed by oral performers in order to achieve stability in their song/poems. As in the chart above, not every technique is typical in every tradition so that the chart contains open squares.

In both charts the sources of information are indicated according to the following code:

- Be = Beowulf, edited by C.L. Wrenn, London, 1953. Line-number
- = C.M. Bowra: Primitive Song, New York, 1962. Page numbers. Bo
- Di = Mamadou Diallo, Essai sur la musique traditionelle au Mali, Direction Générale de la Culture (PPC), Paris, n.d., 83pp. Page numbers given.
- Ga = The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, vol. 1, Africa, Ruth Stone ed., New York and London. Volume and page number. = The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, vol. 9, Australia and the Pacific Islands, Adrienne L. Kepler and J.W. Love, eds., New York and London. Volume and page number given.
- = Sven B.F. Jansson: Runinskrifter i Sverige, 3rd printing, Stock-Ja holm 1984, 201pp. Page numbers given.
- = William Malm: Music Cultures of the Pacific, the Near East, and Asia, 3rd ed., New Jersey, 1996. Page numbers given.
- = Erik Moltke: Runes in Denmark, Copenhagen, 1985, 554pp. Mo Rune number given.
- NGD = New Grove's Dictionary, Edition 2000. Volume and page given.
- = J.H. Kwabena Nketia: The Music of Africa, W.W.Norton, New York and London, 1974, 278pp. Page numbers given.
- Sa = Saxos Danmarks Historie I og II (Saxo's History of Denmark), translated by Peter Zeeberg, Copenhagen, 2000. Numbers indicate book, chapter, and paragraph.
- Va Jan Vansina: Oral Tradition as History, Wisconsin 1985, 285pp. Page numbers given.

The Roles of Oral Singers in Pre-literate Cultures a survey.

	Africa	Australia, Oceania	Asia	Runes	Saxo	Poetic Edda	Beowulf
Historian	<i>Grints</i> ,Di79 Baba, Yoruba, Va95	Manikay songmen, Australia NGD, 2,198	Ko-jiki. Emperor Mommu Va58	Jelling. Mo41	Ancestors skilled in poetry, Pr.,1,3	Helgakvíðu Hundings- bana I	Royal Scop sings old lay 1066
Genealogist	Fang. 30 generations, Val17. Le Mabalma, Di78	Matatetan, Marquesas, Ga 9, 892		Hillersjö, Ja102	Skjoldunge saga	Hyndluljóð Grottasongr	Scyldings, 53-63
Educator	Xhosa Mothers, Va47	South Australia, NGD(95) 725	Beyt. Kurdish NGD 14, 38		Erik 5,3,14	Hávamál	
Counsellor	<i>Abiiru</i> , Rwanda, Va47	Maradij songmen, Australia NGD, 2,200			Erik 5,2,2		Wulfgar 333 Wiglaf 2631
Lawsayer	Akan, Va3	Music and law, Maori Ga 9, 942		Oklunda, Ja41	Frode's laws, 5,5,1-6		
Shaman	Le Fausa, dedicated to ancestor, Di78	Rainmaking stopping, Australia NGD(95)717	Main puteri, Malaysia, NGD, 15, 665	Gorley, Mo239	Hild, 5,9,1	Gregaldr	Wise Geatish men, 201
Dirgesinger		Corroborer NGD(95), 717		Bällsta, Ja125		Guðrúnar Kvíða I Oddrúnar grattr	Geatish maiden 3150
Messenger	Akam, Va 38		Arahasan of Persia, sends bard to Europe in 1289.NGD 12, 482		Royal entourage as herolds 5,1,6		Coast guard 237

The Techniques of Oral Singers in Pre-literate Cultures a survey.

	Africa	Australia, Oceania	Asia	Runes	Saxo	Poetic Edda	Beowulf
Verses and other mnemonic devices	Somali poets conscious of alliteration, Va70	Fixed number of moras, vowels, Polynesia Ga 9, 324	Alliteration, assonance, rhyme, Mongolia, NGD 12, 483	Rök has formyr∂islag Ja33	"short poem that many can say from memory" 2,8,8	Extensive use of fornyrðislag and ljóðahattr	Variants of fornyr∂islag
Genres	Ibi sigo, Rwanda, dynastic Va79	Paatere genealogies Ma25	Tand epic, Mongolia NGD 16, 926	Bällsta, þing stone, Ja125	Hagbard and Signe, love song, 7, 7, 9	Gröttasöngr Grinding song	Dirge by Geatish maiden 3150
Kennings	Burundi, Va88	North Australia, NGD(95) 720		Tjurkô Bracteate, Mo119	"one-eyed man"≠Odin 1,6,7	"roller- horse"=ship Hymnis- kviða, 20	"the whale's way"= the sea, 10
Formulas	Kuba slogans, Va51	Djangawul cycle, Arnhemind, Bo48	Arab sha'ir, NGD, 1, 535	Fuþark as formula, Mo24	"spoke in verse in the vernacular", entry, 1,4,3	Repeat 20 times, Starting 121, Hávamál	"asked in formal speech", Entry, 239
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