

# LOST BUT NOT FORGOTTEN

The Saga of Hrómundur and Its Manuscript Transmission

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Katarzyna Anna Kapitan

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## Foreword

This work would not have been possible without the enormous help and support of many people whom I sincerely want to thank. My journey with *Hrómundar saga* began a decade ago as I developed my doctoral project proposal while still a postgraduate student at the University of Iceland. Some years later, I defended my doctoral thesis at the University of Copenhagen and undertook the ambitious task of preparing a text-critical edition of three different versions of the story for digital and print publication. Little did I know of the obstacles ahead! Working on various projects at different institutions in three countries during the pandemic, the saga of Hrómundur transformed from a labour of love into a labour of academic activism. Embracing the motivational slogan ‘be the change you want to see’, I chose to make my work openly accessible at the lowest possible cost. I decided against seeking funding to publish my book through a commercial academic publisher, as this route does not support infrastructure for sharing XML-based digital editions and restricts access to publicly funded research by placing it behind paywalls, enforcing embargoes, and setting high retail prices. To ensure accessibility, I decided to make the book open access and forego any royalties from physical book sales. I recognise the implications of my decision, as the volume did not benefit from professional typesetting, indexing, and copy-editing, which certainly led to shortcomings that can potentially hinder some readers in assessing the content and research findings presented here. Nevertheless, I believe it is a trade-off worth making for the sake of accessibility and open access.

As is natural with a work so long in the making, some of the material included here has already been presented elsewhere. Sections 1.1 and 1.2 contain material that appeared in ‘When a King of

Norway Became a King of Russia: Transmission and Reception of *Hrómundar saga Greipssonar* in Scholarly Networks of Early Modern Scandinavia' (*Scandinavian Studies* 94:3). Section 3.3 contains material published as a book chapter 'Manuscripts Derived from Printed Editions in the Transmission History of *Hrómundar saga Greipssonar*' in *Hidden Harmonies*. Material from Chapter 4 has been published as 'Afterlife of a Lost Saga: A Hitherto Unknown Adaptation of the Lost Saga of Hrómundur Gripsson' (*Saga-Book* 45).

The completion of this project would not have been possible without the financial support from the Carlsberg Foundation, which funded my two postdoctoral fellowships (grant numbers CF18-500 and CF20-225). Similarly, my current fellowship at the Voltaire Foundation and the Division of Humanities, University of Oxford allowed me to finalise the project and use my research allowance to support the infrastructure maintenance and development work behind the digital editions.

Most importantly, I want to acknowledge the tremendous generosity of the community of manuscript scholars and digital humanists from which I have immensely benefited. Many colleagues at multiple institutions deserve thanks, as mentioned in the acknowledgements of my thesis. Some close colleagues, however, deserve my special thanks: Philip Lavender, Sheryl McDonald, Seán Vrieland, and N. Kivilcim Yavuz. As parts of my thesis evolved into a monograph and the newly completed text-critical edition became an integral part of it, I received valuable comments from Shaun Hughes, Natalie Van Deusen, and Beeke Stegmann, to whom I owe my sincere gratitude. I also extend thanks to Emma Huber and Henrike Lähnemann for their support and advice during the final stages of this project. Finally, I am also grateful to many other colleagues who were there for me to exchange ideas, or simply share a glass to celebrate successes and drown sorrows, notably my fellow JRFs at Linacre College. The final result is much improved by the contributions of these individuals, but any remaining errors are solely my responsibility.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my family and friends, especially my dearest husband, Böðvar.

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**Part I**

**Manuscript Transmission**



## Introduction

The story of Hrómundur, son of Gripur (or Greipur) – a legendary hero from Norway, who, according to the account of *Landnámabók*, was one of the forefathers of the first Icelandic settlers – exists in many literary manifestations. These manifestations, or adaptations, were created in different periods of time, in different literary styles and genres, and in different languages. With over nine hundred years of transmission and adaptation history, the medieval story of Hrómundur may well be lost, but it is certainly not forgotten. Its adaptation history spans from the year 1119, when the saga was supposedly recited at the famous wedding feast at Reykhólar, to the year 2020, when a musical adaptation of the story was performed by the Faroese Viking metal band Týr together with the Symphony Orchestra of the Faroe Islands.

Throughout the centuries, the story of Hrómundur has gained a special position in the history of Icelandic literature, intriguing early modern antiquarians, lay scholars, and modern researchers. The prose version of the story is traditionally classified as a *fornaldarsaga* in Icelandic scholarship, or simply as a legendary saga in English scholarship. It appears within this corpus alongside *Völsunga saga*, which has a famous counterpart in the Middle High German epic poem *Nibelungenlied*, and *Hrólfs saga kraka*, which in turn narrates material related to the Anglo-Saxon poems *Beowulf* and *Widsith*.<sup>1</sup> The corpus of *fornaldarsögur*, stories of ancient Nordic heroes, is traditionally associated with Rafn's publication of *Fornaldar sögur Nordrlanda eptir gömlum handritum*, but as recently demonstrated

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1. Gísli Brynjúlfsson, 'Old Engelsk og Oldnordisk'; Olson, 'The Relation of the *Hrólfs saga kraka* and the *Bjarkarímur* to *Beowulf*'; Finch, *Völsunga Saga: The Saga of the Volsungs*; Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir, 'The Origin and Development of the *Fornaldarsögur* as Illustrated by *Völsunga saga*'; Lansing, 'Post-medieval Production, Dissemination and Reception of *Hrólfs saga kraka*'.

by Lavender, its origins draw widely from the scholarly activity of earlier scholars, such as Erik Julius Björner (1696–1750) and Peter Erasmus Müller (1776–1834).<sup>2</sup>

Unlike *Völsunga* or *Hrólf's saga*, *Hrómundar saga Gr(e)ipssonar* (henceforth *HsG*) owes its popularity not to well-known counterparts outside of Scandinavia but to the references within the Old Norse–Icelandic literary corpus.<sup>3</sup> It is known from the famous passage in *Þorgils saga og Haflíða* (*ÞsH*), a part of the *Sturlunga* compil-

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2. Lavender, 'The Secret Prehistory of the *Fornaldarsögur*', Björner, *Nordiska kämpa dater*, Müller, *Sagabibliothek*, Rafn, *Fornaldar sögur Norðrlanda eptir gömlum handritum*. For an introduction to the legendary sagas, see Tulinius, 'Sagas of Icelandic Prehistory'; Driscoll, 'A New Edition of *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, Some Basic Questions'; Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir, *Handan Hindarfjalls*. There were various attempts to sub-categorise *fornaldarsögur*, for example, Reuschel, *Untersuchungen über Stoff und Stil der Fornaldarsaga*; Hermann Pálsson, 'Fornaldarsögur'; re-define the corpus, for example, Quinn, 'Interrogating Genre in the *Fornaldarsögur*: Round-Table Discussion'; but also to group selected legendary sagas and romances on different criteria, for example, Kalinke, *Bridal-Quest Romance in Medieval Iceland*; Tulinius, 'Kynjasögur úr fortíð og framandi löndum'. The term *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, however, still functions as a *terminus technicus* and *HsG* is usually included in this corpus.

3. In the present study, the story of Hrómundur is referenced under the title of *Hrómundar saga Gr(e)ipssonar*, with an 'e' borrowed from Holtsmark, 'Helgediktin-gen'. This decision was made because all known manuscripts of the seventeenth-century saga call Hrómundur's father Greipur not Gripur, thus the saga is called 'Hrómundar saga Greipssonar'. In recent literature, the saga is known by the title 'Hrómundar saga Gripssonar', and this title was used in the popular edition of the saga by Guðni Jónsson (Guðni Jónsson, *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*). It is clear from the material available to us today that the name of our hero was not fixed. If we are ready to connect the name of our hero with the Norwegian ancestor of the first settlers, we should take into account, for example, the evidence of *Landnámabók* which mentions 'Hrómundur Gripsson' (see Finnur Jónsson, *Landnámabók*, 6, 131). Also, all editions of *Þorgils saga og Haflíða* (*ÞsH*), which contains one of the oldest references to Hrómundur, agree on 'Gripsson', but none of the medieval manuscripts of *ÞsH* actually preserves the passage in which *HsG* is mentioned. *Króksfjarðarbók* (AM 122 a fol.) and *Reykjarfjarðarbók* (AM 122 b fol.) are both defective in this part (see Brown, *Þorgils saga ok Haflíða*, liii). The text of *ÞsH* is edited from the post-medieval manuscripts, some of which preserve the name 'Greipur' (e.g. BL Add. 11127, f. 7v 'Greypssonar'), others 'Gripur' (e.g. AM 114 fol., f. 9r: 'Grýpsijnie') (see Guðbrandur Vigfússon, *Sturlunga saga Including The Islendinga Saga of Lawman Sturla Thordsson and Other Works*, 19; Kálund, *Sturlunga Saga efter membranen Króksfjarðarbók udfyllt efter Reykjarfjarðarbók*, 22). The manuscripts of the *rimur*, with the exception of Acc. 22, however, agree that the name of Hrómundur's father was 'Gripur' not 'Greipur'. The title of the *rimur*, *Griplur*, speaks in favour of the name being 'Gripur'.

ation,<sup>4</sup> which mentions the story of Hrómundur in its account of the events that took place in 1119. According to *ÞsH*, some story about Hrómundur was recited to entertain guests attending a wedding feast in Reykhólar in the north-western part of Iceland:

Hrólfr af Skálmarnesi sagði sögu frá Hrø[n]g[vi]ði víkingi ok frá Óláfi liðmannakonungi ok haugbroti Þráins berserks ok Hrómundi Gripssyni, ok margar vísur með. En þessarri sögu var skemt Sverri konungi, ok kallaði hann slíkar lygisögur skemtiligastar. Ok þó kunnu menn at telja ættir sínar til Hrómundar Gripssonar. Þessa sögu hafði Hrólfr sjálf samansetta.<sup>5</sup>

Hrólfr from Skálmarnes told a saga about Hrøngviður the viking and about Ólafur liðmannakonungur and the mound-breaking of Þráinn the berserk and Hrómundur Gripsson, with many verses in it. This story was used to entertain King Sverrir and he considered such lying sagas the most amusing. And even though men can trace their genealogies to Hrómundur Gripsson. This saga was composed by Hrólfr himself.<sup>6</sup>

Because of its assumed medieval origins, *HsG* and related materials received a remarkable amount of scholarly attention and earned a unique position in the history of Icelandic literature as

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4. Kálund, *Sturlunga Saga efter membranen Króksfjarðarbók udfylld efter Reykjarfjarðarbók*; Brown, *Porgils saga ok Hafliða*; Halldór Hermannsson, *The Saga of Thorgils and Hafliði*.

5. Brown, *Porgils saga ok Hafliða*, 17–18. Since the two oldest manuscripts of *Sturlunga saga*, AM 122 a fol. and AM 122 b fol., are both defective in this part of the text, this passage has been reconstructed from other manuscripts derived from the two. My examination of the texts appearing closest to the top of Kálund's stemma (Kálund, 'Om håndskrifter af Sturlunga saga og dennes enkelte bestanddele', 283) reveals that only the manuscripts derived from AM 122 b fol. contain the final sentence of this passage, in which Hrólfr is identified as the saga's author (BL Add. 11127, f. 7v and AM 440 4to, 12v); the manuscripts derived from AM 122 a fol. do not contain this sentence (AM 114 fol., f. 9r and AM 115 fol., f. 12r). This was already indicated in the 1817 edition (see Bjarni Þorsteinsson et al., *Sturlunga-Saga Edr Islendinga-saga Hin Mikla*, I:23), where the sentence appears as an addition in the variant apparatus, cf. Guðbrandur Vigfússon, *Sturlunga saga Including The Islendinga Saga of Lawman Sturla Thordsson and Other Works*, I:19; Kálund, *Sturlunga Saga efter membranen Króksfjarðarbók udfylld efter Reykjarfjarðarbók*, I:22; Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir and Þórður Ingi Guðjónsson, *Sturlunga saga eða Islendinga sagan mikla*, I:32.

6. Cf. Foote, 'Sagnaskemtan: Reykhólar 1119', 226.

the oldest *fornaldarsaga* to be mentioned by name.<sup>7</sup> It even has an entry in major reference works on medieval literature and culture, such as *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia* (1993) and *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* (1982–89), in which there are no references to other post-medieval *rímur*-based legendary sagas. In his history of Icelandic literature, Finnur Jónsson writes about *HsG*: ‘Alt i alt hører denne saga til de interessanteste og mest betydelige’ (All in all, this saga belongs to the most interesting and the most important ones).<sup>8</sup> Since then, *HsG* has been frequently referenced in the discussion of the origins of the legendary sagas, oral and written forms of the sagas’ transmission, and indirectly in the discussion of the credibility of the legendary sagas,<sup>9</sup> making it probably the best-known example of lost Old Norse-Icelandic sagas.<sup>10</sup>

\**HsG* is considered lost because it is generally believed to have existed in the Middle Ages, but no medieval account of the prose saga has survived.<sup>11</sup> In general, lost literature can be understood

7. Stefán Einarsson, *A History of Icelandic Literature*, 157–158; Stefán Einarsson, *Íslensk bókmenntasaga 874–1960*, 195–196.

8. Finnur Jónsson, *Den islandske Litteraturs Historie, tilligemed den oldnordiske*, 334. From here onwards, all translations from Icelandic, Danish, German, and Latin are my own unless otherwise specified. In the case of this citation, it is probably worth noting, that Finnur Jónsson, in his *Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturs historie*, revised his opinion regarding *HsG* by omitting the ‘mest betydelige’ part of the statement; see Finnur Jónsson, *Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturs historie*, II:802–803.

9. Heusler, *Die Anfänge der isländischen Saga*; Liestøl, ‘Til spørsmålet om dei eldste isländske danskvæde’; Einar Ól. Sveinsson, ‘Ritdómur um Þorgils sögu ok Hafiða, útg. Ursula Brown’; Jón Helgason, ‘Norges og Islands digtning’; Foote, ‘Sagnaskemtan: Reykhólar 1119’; Sverrir Tómasson, *Formálar íslenskra sagnaritara á miðöldum: Ramnsókn bókmenntahefðar*; Tulinius, ‘Kynjasögur úr fortíð og framandi löndum’; Tulinius, ‘Sagas of Icelandic Prehistory’; Úlfar Bragason, ‘Ok þó kumma menn at telja ættir sínar til Hrómundar Gripssonar: Sagnaskemmtun á Reykhólum og Sturlunguhöfundur’; Úlfar Bragason, ‘Sagas of Contemporary History (Sturlunga Saga): Texts and Research’; O’Connor, ‘History or Fiction? Truth-claims and Defensive Narrators in Icelandic Romance-Sagas’; O’Connor, ‘Truth and Lies in the *fornaldarsögur*. The Prologue to *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*’.

10. Mitchell, *Heroic Sagas and Ballads*, 185; Driscoll, ‘A New Edition of Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda, Some Basic Questions’, 5.

11. \**HsG* is used to distinguish the lost medieval story from its post-medieval adaptations, and the story of Hrómundur in more general terms, referred to as *HsG*.

broadly as literature which might never have had a written existence and circulated only in oral form, or, in a more narrow sense, as written literature which did not survive in manuscript form.<sup>12</sup> \*HsG is by no means a unique example of a lost medieval work. Due to external forces, among them library fires and widespread recycling of writing support, many medieval manuscripts are lost, and with them, a fair amount of medieval stories are lost beyond retrieval. Recent estimates focusing on the extent of loss of medieval narrative fiction suggest that over 20% of chivalric and heroic narratives in Old Norse–Icelandic got lost over the centuries.<sup>13</sup> Mitchell, in his *Heroic Sagas and Ballads*, lists thirteen probable lost legendary sagas, and HsG is one of them.<sup>14</sup>

It is impossible to prove whether \*HsG had a written manifestation in the Middle Ages, but there are multiple references to Hrómundur Gr(e)ipsson in other medieval works, including, *Landnámabók*, *Flóamanna saga*, *Hálfðanar saga Eysteinnssonar*, *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*, *Hversu Noregur byggðist (Frá Fornjóti og hans ættmönnum)*, and *Göngu-Hrólfss saga*. Therefore, we can safely assume that a story, or an ‘immanent saga’, about the events narrated in HsG existed already in the Middle Ages.<sup>15</sup>

Similar material to that of HsG is utilised in the Scandinavian ballads, in Danish *Rigen Rambolt og Aller hin stærke*, *Ungen Ramild*<sup>16</sup>

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12. Wilson, *The Lost Literature of Medieval England*; Jesch, ‘The Lost Literature of Medieval Iceland: Sagas of Icelanders’.

13. Kestemont et al., ‘Forgotten Books: The Application of Unseen Species Models to the Survival of Culture’.

14. Mitchell, *Heroic Sagas and Ballads*, 185. The subject of lost sagas has been gaining scholarly interest in recent years. Of the sagas listed by Mitchell, four sagas have received scholarly attention: *Ásmundar saga Flagðagæfu* (Jesch, ‘Ásmundar Saga Flagðagæfu’); *Úlfhams saga* (Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir, *Úlfhams saga*); *Huldar saga* (Driscoll, ‘Pleasure and Pastime: The Manuscripts of Guðbrandur Sturlaugsson á Hvítadal’); and *Illuga saga eldhússgöða* (Lavender, ‘*Illuga saga* as *fornaldarsaga*, *riddarasaga* and *Íslendingasaga*: Generic Fluidity in the Late Development of Sagas and *rímur*’).

15. For immanent sagas, see Clover, ‘The Long Prose Form’, 23–24; Butler, ‘The Mysterious Death of Þorsteinn Kuggason: Authorial Imagination and Saga Narrative’.

16. Grundtvig, *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, 358–374.

and *Ramund*,<sup>17</sup> Norwegian *Ramund den unge*,<sup>18</sup> and Swedish *Ramunder*.<sup>19</sup> It is possible that the source of these ballads lies in the lost \*HsG, referred to in *PsH*.<sup>20</sup> The most recent adaptation of the story can be found in a song *Ramund hin unge* released on the album *Eric the Red* in 2003 by the Faroese Viking metal band Týr.<sup>21</sup> The song is based on the Danish ballad *Ramund* and is sung in the so-called ‘gøtudanskt’, Danish pronounced with a thick Faroese accent.<sup>22</sup>

The Icelandic tradition of the story of *Hrómundur* includes a medieval metric manifestation of the story called *Griplur*, or *Hrómundar rímur Gripssonar*,<sup>23</sup> a seventeenth-century prose manifestation of the story called *Hrómundar saga Greipssonar* (17HsG),<sup>24</sup> a post-medieval metric adaptation called *Hrómundar kvæði Gripssonar*,<sup>25</sup> a nineteenth-century prose manifestation also called *Hrómundar saga Greipssonar* (19HsG),<sup>26</sup> and a nineteenth-century versification called *Hrómundar rímur Greipssonar*, or *Rímur af Hrómundi Greipssyni*.<sup>27</sup> Of these, only *Griplur* and the seventeenth-century saga have been previously edited. The *rímur* of *Hrómundur* have been edited twice by Finnur Jónsson in 1896

17. Nyerup and Rahbek, *Udvalgte danske Viser fra Middelalderen, efter A. S. Vedels og P. Syvs trykte Udgaver og efter haandskrevne Samlinger*, 334–340.

18. Landstad, *Norske Følgeviser*, 189–195.

19. Arwidsson, *Svenska fornsånger, en samling af kämpavisor, folk-visor, lekar och dansar, samt barn- och vall-sånger*, 114–120.

20. Andrews, ‘Studies in the Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda (Continued)’; Björn K. Þórolfsson, *Rímur fyrir 1600*, 354–363; Brown, *Þorgils saga ok Hafliða*; Foote, ‘Sagnaskemtan: Reykhólar 1119’.

21. Kapitan, ‘From Oral Prosimetrum to Viking Metal’.

22. Jógvan í Lon Jacobsen, ‘Føroyskt - Færøsk’, 44.

23. Kölbinger, *Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Geschichte der Romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters*; Björn K. Þórolfsson, *Rímur fyrir 1600*; Finnur Jónsson, *Fernir fornúslenskir rímnaflokkar*; Finnur Sigmundsson, *Rímnatal*; Simek and Hermann Pálsson, *Lexikon der altnordischen Literatur, die mittelalterliche Literatur Norwegens und Islands*, 130; Kapitan, ‘Medieval Poetry in Post-medieval Manuscripts: New Perspectives on the Transmission History of *Griplur*’.

24. Simek and Hermann Pálsson, *Lexikon der altnordischen Literatur, die mittelalterliche Literatur Norwegens und Islands*, 196.

25. Andrews, ‘Studies in the Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda’, 540–544; Jón Helgason, *Gamall kveðskapur*, 173–179.

26. Kapitan, ‘Afterlife of a Lost Saga: A Hitherto Unknown Adaptation of the Lost Saga of *Hrómundur Gripsson*’.

27. Finnur Sigmundsson, *Rímnatal*, I:262.

and 1905–22.<sup>28</sup> Meanwhile, *17HsG* appeared in multiple editions and translations.

The earliest edition of *17HsG* appeared in 1737, when Erik Julius Björner (1696–1750), a Swedish scholar and philologist,<sup>29</sup> included it in his *Nordiska kämpa dater*.<sup>30</sup> This edition presents the Icelandic text of Papp. fol. nr 67, held in the Royal Library (Kungliga biblioteket) in Stockholm (P67) accompanied by Latin and Swedish translations.<sup>31</sup> There is no variant apparatus or critical commentary and editorial changes are very limited. The noteworthy exception is the division of the saga into ten chapters, even though the text of *17HsG* in P67 is divided into five chapters.

Almost a hundred years later, in 1829–30, Carl Christian Rafn (1795–1864), a Danish philologist,<sup>32</sup> published his collection of legendary sagas called *Fornaldar sögur Norðrlanda eptir gömlum handritum*, in which *17HsG* appears in the second volume. The main text of the edition follows AM 587 b 4to (A587), held today in the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies (Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum) in Reykjavík. The text is accompanied by a very sparse variant apparatus including the readings from Björner's edition and AM 345 4to (A345), another manuscript held in Stofnun Árna Magnússonar. In his brief introduction, Rafn discusses the relationships between witnesses of the saga known to him. It is worth mentioning that Rafn did not know about AM 601 b 4to (A601), also held in Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, which preserves the best text of the saga and which serves as the basis for my edition of *17HsG*.

The text of Rafn's edition served as the basis for all the popular editions. These include the 1886–91 edition by Valdimar Ásmundarson (1852–1902),<sup>33</sup> the 1943–44 edition by Bjarni

28. Finnur Jónsson, *Fernir forníslenskir rímnaflakkar*; Finnur Jónsson, *Rímnasafn*.

29. Hofberg, *Svenskt biografiskt handlexikon*, I:103.

30. Björner, *Nordiska kämpa dater*.

31. For a detailed discussion of Björner's edition, see Busch, 'Grossmachtstatus und Sagainterpretation - die schwedischen Vorzeitsagaeditionen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts'. See also Arwidsson, *Förteckning öfver Kongl. Bibliothekets i Stockholm Isländska Handskrifter*, 92.

32. Bricka, *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, XIII:351.

33. Valdimar Ásmundarson, *Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda*, II:325–336.

Vilhjálmsson (1915–1987) and Guðni Jónsson (1901–1974),<sup>34</sup> and the 1954–59 edition by Guðni Jónsson alone.<sup>35</sup> All of them standardise the orthography and punctuation of the text but do not introduce any changes to Rafn’s text. The notable exception is the 1943–44 edition, where the title changed from *Hrómundar saga Greipssonar* and *Saga af Hrómundi Greipssyni* to *Hrómundar saga Gripssonar*, which influenced how the saga is referred to in later scholarship. In Guðni Jónsson’s edition from 1954–59, the subsequent chapters of the saga received short titles reflecting their contents.<sup>36</sup> Guðni Jónsson’s edition was later digitised for *Netútgáfan* and published online in 2000.<sup>37</sup>

The earliest published translations of the saga are Björner’s (1737) Latin and Swedish translations, which appeared alongside the Icelandic text.<sup>38</sup> Much later, the saga was translated into Danish by Rafn and published in 1821–26, and again in 1829–30 with minor revisions.<sup>39</sup> The earliest English translation was published in 1921 by Kershaw in her overview *Stories and Ballads of the Far Past*. Since then, multiple English translations, of varied value, have appeared, as well as recent translations into German, Norwegian and Spanish.<sup>40</sup>

Meanwhile, little effort has been put in recent scholarship to examine the textual transmission of the saga in extant manuscripts or

34. Guðni Jónsson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, II:271–286.

35. Guðni Jónsson, *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, II:405–422.

36. Björner’s edition was the first one to introduce the chapter headings, but they were provided only for the Swedish and Latin translations, not for the Icelandic text.

37. Currently, this text is available on *Snerpa*, archived on 4/04/2023 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20230404022020/https://www.snerpa.is/net/forn/hrom.htm>.

38. Björner’s publication is roughly contemporary with the Swedish translations preserved in Papp. fol. nr 98 and in Säfstaholmssamlingen I Papp. 6.

39. *17HsG* is one of eight *fornaldarsögur* which until recently used to exist in Danish exclusively in Rafn’s translations (Lassen, ‘The *fornaldarsögur* in Danish Translation: From Carl Christian Rafn to the Present’, 347–349). A new Danish translation by Rolf Stavnem has recently appeared as a part of the *Oldtidssagaerne* collection.

40. A complete list of translations is available in the *Stories for all time* catalogue, archived on 8/06/2023 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20230608094645/https://fasnl.net/bibliography/21>.

to prepare a modern critical edition.<sup>41</sup> This is despite the fact that *17HsG* became part of the curriculum in Icelandic language and literature, *Íslenska 303*, in one of the secondary schools in Reykjavík, where it was chosen as representative of the corpus of *fornaldarsögur*.<sup>42</sup> While this fate is not uncommon for many legendary sagas, the state of research has been criticised by Jürg Glauser and Stephen Tranter already some thirty years ago. They observed that the state of scholarship in Old Norse–Icelandic studies regarding the transmission history of, for example, *fornaldarsögur* and *riddarasögur* is below desirable:

[I]t must seem strange to note that such important basic research as editions of texts, examinations of transmission, genre delineations, analyses of production and reception and presentations of the texts within their social, historical and cultural contexts is, where the important groups of fourteenth- to sixteenth-century texts are concerned, more or less completely lacking.<sup>43</sup>

Glauser and Tranter have additionally pointed out that the most urgent priority is for critical editions of, among other sagas, *Ketils saga hængs*, *Gríms saga loðinkinna*, *Áns saga bogsveigis*, *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*, and our favourite, *HsG*.

It is noteworthy that while there has been a number of impressive studies into the transmission and reception of some of the *fornaldarsögur*,<sup>44</sup> there has been far less activity on the editorial arena.

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41. It can be noted that Jón Helgason was clearly interested in the saga and the *rímur* and was collecting variants from various witnesses, probably in order to determine on which *rímur* manuscript the prose saga was based. I did not have a chance to study Jón Helgason's notes in detail, but it seems clear to me that he had to be working on *HsG* at some point in the 1970s, as there is a note dated to 6 June 1976 from the director of the manuscript department of Landsbókasafn, Grímur M. Helgason (1927–1989), that accompany the photographs of Lbs 1370 8vo, one of the manuscripts of *Griplur*.

42. The text of *HsG* assigned at Fjölbrautaskólinn við Ármúla use to be available on the webpage <http://www4.fu.is/deildir/Islenka/303/Hromundarsaga.html> (last accessed 28/08/2018), but it is currently unavailable online (7/01/2024).

43. Glauser and Tranter, 'Romances, Rímur, Chapbooks. Problems of Popular Literature in Late Medieval and Early Modern Scandinavia', 38.

44. There have been studies into some of the sagas mentioned on Glauser and Tranter's list, among them *Hálfðanar saga Brönufostra* (Jóhannes Bjarni Sigtryggsson, 'Hálfðanar saga Brönufostra (a- og b-gerð)'), *Áns saga bogsveigis* (Hughes, 'The

Of the sagas mentioned by Glauser and Tranter, to date only *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* has been the subject of a detailed study of its transmission, culminating in a published edition.<sup>45</sup>

This study responds to these calls for new research on the aforementioned sagas by picking up the exciting story of Hrómundur, son of Greipur (Gripur), which has entertained audiences for nearly a millennium. This study not only provides unique insights into the transmission, reception, and adaptation of the story of Hrómundur in prose but also makes its all known prose manifestations in Icelandic available to the scholarly audience for the first time in a text-critical edition accompanied by an interactive digital representation. The edition is based on research involving all known and publicly available manuscripts preserving the saga, as well as drawing on extensive research into the *rímur* tradition. Here, I present the saga of Hrómundur at three stages of its development:

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Literary Antecedents of *Áns saga bogsveigis*’; Hughes, ‘*Áns saga Bogsveigis*: The Saga of Án Bow-Bender’), *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* (Lethbridge, ‘The Place of *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* in Eggertsbók, a Late Medieval Icelandic Saga-book’). Sagas which do not appear explicitly on the list have also been the subject of study, for example, *Hrólfs saga kraka* (Lansing, ‘Post-medieval Production, Dissemination and Reception of *Hrólfs saga kraka*’), *Sörla saga sterka* (Hufnagel, ‘*Sörla saga sterka*: Studies in the Transmission of a Fornaldarsaga’), and *Hervarar saga og Heiðreks* (Love, *The Reception of Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks from the Middle Ages to the Seventeenth Century*). Glauser himself was responsible for a substantial contribution to the change in the state of the art on the transmission history of Scandinavian literature, with the research project *Transmission in den skandinavischen Literaturen der Frühen Neuzeit*, which resulted in a number of publications by scholars either affiliated or influenced by the project: Sabel and Glauser, *Text und Zeit: Wiederholung, Variante und Serie als Konstituenten literarischer Transmission*; A. K. Richter, *Transmissionsgeschichten: Untersuchungen zur dänischen und schwedischen Erzählprosa in der frühen Neuzeit*; Glauser and Richter, *Text - Reihe - Transmission, Unfestigkeit als Phänomen skandinavischer Erzählprosa 1500-1800*; Glauser and Kramarz-Bein, *Rittersagas: Übersetzung, Überlieferung, Transmission*; Seidel, *Textvarianz und Textstabilität: Studien zur Transmission der Ívens saga, Erex saga und Parcevals saga*. Among smaller case studies and essays, we can mention some of the studies in Ármann Jakobsson, Lassen and Ney, *Fornaldarsagornas struktur och ideologi*; Ney, Ármann Jakobsson and Lassen, *Fornaldarsagaerne, myter og virkelighed*; Lassen, Ney and Ármann Jakobsson, *The Legendary Sagas: Origins and Development*; and Driscoll et al., *The Legendary Legacy*.

45. Lavender, ‘Whatever Happened to *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*?: Origin, Transmission and Reception of a *Fornaldarsaga*’; Lavender, *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra: The Saga of Illugi, Gríður’s Foster-son*; Lavender, *Long Lives of Short Sagas: The Irrepressibility of Narrative and the Case of Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*.

the seventeenth-century saga (17HsG), the eighteenth-century version of the same saga (18HsG), and the nineteenth-century saga (19HsG).<sup>46</sup>

## Plot summary

*HsG*, as we know it from modern editions of 17HsG and to a large extent also from *Griplur*, tells the story of its eponymous hero, who gains enormous fame thanks to his extraordinary bravery and exceptional achievements. The saga begins with the introduction of some of the main characters, starting with King Ólafur and his retainers, Kári and Örnúlfur. Then, Greipur and his wife, Gunnlöð, are introduced, along with their nine sons, including Hrómundur who is the most exceptional of them all. Lastly, Ólafur's advisors, the evil brothers Vóli and Bildur, are mentioned.

One day, King Ólafur sets out on a raiding trip, during which a great sea battle takes place. His men confront a horde of *blámen*n, led by Hröngviður, who sailed on a beautifully decorated ship and carried his indispensable sword called Brynþvari. As a result of this encounter, both Kári and Örnúlfur die at Hröngviður's hand, and Hrómundur decides to avenge them. He kills Hröngviður and many of his men with a wooden club, after which his opponents surrender. After the battle, Hrómundur finds Helgi, Hröngviður's brother, on one of the ships and not only spares his life but also ensures he is healed, despite Helgi's promise to avenge his brother's death at the earliest convenience.

The next adventure involves Ólafur's troops raiding one of the islands of Suðureyjar, where a man named Máni resides (possibly the Isle of Man, as 19HsG suggests). They learn from him about Þráinn the berserk, the former king of Valland, who is buried in a mound along with his great treasures. They receive directions on how to find Þráinn's burial mound and set out on a quest to steal his treasure. Upon their arrival, Hrómundur is the only one among

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46. For a study of the relationships among all known manifestations of the story, including the *rímur* tradition, see Kapitan, 'Hrómundur in Prose and Verse'. For a study of the relationships among all known witnesses of the *rímur*, see Kapitan, 'Medieval Poetry in Post-medieval Manuscripts: New Perspectives on the Transmission History of Griplur'.

Ólafur's men who dares to enter the burial mound and confront the mound-dweller. Their encounter culminates in Hrómundur slaying Þráinn, burning his body, and Ólafur's men taking all the great treasures, of which Hrómundur keeps only a ring, a necklace, and a sword named Mistilteinn.

Afterwards, Ólafur and his men return home and Hrómundur becomes very popular due to his bravery. He generously gives a ring to a man named Hrókur, but out of jealousy, Vóli kills Hrókur and steals his ring (note that in *Griplur* and *19HsG*, Hrókur is a dog who is killed by the evil brothers). Here, Ólafur's sisters, Svanhvít and Dagný, are introduced. Hrómundur and Svanhvít see each other frequently, while the evil brothers Vóli and Bildur plot against Hrómundur. Hrómundur falls out of the king's favour and is forced to flee the kingdom and stays with his father. Meanwhile, two Swedish kings, both called Halldingur (or Haddingur in *Griplur*), challenge Ólafur to a battle on the frozen lake Vænir. Now, Ólafur wants Hrómundur to join his army, but Hrómundur rejects the invitation. Eventually, Svanhvít convinces him to go and gives him a shield that is supposed to protect him.

When Hrómundur and his brothers arrive at the battlefield, Bildur has already been killed, while Vóli's whereabouts are unknown. The following morning, Hrómundur refuses to go to the battle because he had a bad dream. His brothers, however, decide to go anyway. Helgi, Hröngviður's brother, is in the battle fighting on the Swedish side. He is accompanied by his shape-shifting mistress, Kára (or Lára in Rafn's edition), who flies over the battlefield in the shape of a swan, uttering magic howls that render men defenceless. Thanks to her help, Helgi kills all of Hrómundur's brothers. When Hrómundur learns of his brothers' deaths, he joins the battle and fights Helgi. During their fierce combat, Helgi unintentionally kills Kára, and without her magical support, Hrómundur succeeds in killing him. Afterwards, suddenly, Vóli emerges on the battlefield and confronts Hrómundur, who manages to kill Vóli, but during the fight loses his sword Mistilteinn in the lake. He is badly wounded and regrets his losses, blaming himself for not heeding Svanhvít's advice.

Meanwhile, Svanhvít and her sister are somehow summoned to come and sew Hrómundur's wounds and they ask Hagall and

his wife to take care of Hrómundur. One day, Hagall finds Hrómundur's sword inside a fish he catches and returns it to Hrómundur. Soon after, Halldingur finds out from his advisor, Blindur, that Hrómundur is responsible for Helgi's death and is hiding in his kingdom. The king orders Blindur to find Hrómundur, but the task proves quite difficult due to Hagall and his wife's efforts to hide Hrómundur.

The following winter, Blindur experiences a series of prophetic dreams. He shares these dreams with King Halldingur, asking him to interpret their meaning. Despite their obvious ominous nature, the king misinterprets all of them, except the final dream foreseeing the death of both Blindur and Halldingur. Meanwhile, Hrómundur fully recovers at Hagall's place, and when Ólafur and his army raid Sweden, Hrómundur joins them. They storm the stronghold of King Halldingur, and Hrómundur kills him in revenge for his brothers' deaths. Afterwards, Blindur is hanged, thus fulfilling his prophetic dreams. Hrómundur marries Svanhvít, and they live happily ever after.

How closely the lost medieval \*HsG resembled the story as we know it today is impossible to tell. According to *Porgils saga og Haflíða* (*PsH*), as quoted above, one of the stories told at the wedding feast in 1119 was about Hröngviður, King Ólafur, breaking into Þráinn's burial mound, and Hrómundur Gr(e)ipsson, so it dealt with some characters and events known from the saga, as known from modern editions. As seen in the brief summary of *17HsG* presented above, some episodes are not mentioned in *PsH*. Among these, for example, are the episodes with Helgi hinn frækni and Blindur's dreams, which might be later additions.<sup>47</sup> At the same time, it is difficult to expect such a brief mention of the story to be exhaustive in regard to the main episodes of the saga. Nevertheless, both Helgi and his mistress Kára, as well as Blindur and his prophetic dreams were part of the story of Hrómundur already in the second half of the fourteenth century when the *rímur* of Hró-

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47. Kölbing, *Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Geschichte der Romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters*, 185; Andrews, 'Studies in the Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda (Continued)', 396–397; Björn K. Þórolfsson, *Rímur fyrir 1600*, 354; Holtmark, 'Helgediktingen', 314–318; Jesch, 'Hrómundur Gripsson Revisited', 96–97.

mundur, *Griplur*, were composed.<sup>48</sup> It is this set of *rímur* that served as a basis for 17HsG and, to a certain extent, 19HsG.<sup>49</sup>

## Manuscripts

The prose adaptations of *Hrómundar saga* are preserved in forty manuscripts, including translations and excerpts. Of these, thirty-five preserve the Icelandic text, but one of these manuscripts is in a private collection and was not available for examination. Therefore, this study is based on thirty-four manuscripts which are held in public repositories.<sup>50</sup>

All the manuscripts are written on paper and date from the late seventeenth to the nineteenth century. Most of them are held in Icelandic repositories: in the National and University Library of Iceland (Landsbókasafn Íslands) in Reykjavík (18), the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies (Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum) in Reykjavík (5), and the archives of Akureyri and Eyjafjarðarsýsla (Héraðsskjalasafn Akureyrarbæjar og Eyjafjarðarsýslu) in Akureyri (1). The remaining ten manuscripts are held outside Iceland: in the British Library in London, UK (4), the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz) in Berlin, Germany (2), the Royal Library (Det Kongelige Bibliotek) in Copenhagen, Denmark (2), the Arnamagnæan Institute (Den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling) in Copenhagen, Denmark (1), and the National Library of Sweden (Kungliga biblioteket) in Stockholm (1). The complete list of manuscripts is as follows:

- British Library, London
  - BL Add. 4859 (B4859)
  - BL Add. 4875 (B4875)

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48. Kapitan, 'Medieval Poetry in Post-medieval Manuscripts: New Perspectives on the Transmission History of Griplur'.

49. Kapitan, 'Hrómundur in Prose and Verse'.

50. Thanks to the financial support from the Department of Nordic Studies and Linguistics, University of Copenhagen, Julie von Müllen Fond and Niels Bohr Fonder awarded by Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Svend Grundtvigs og Axel Orlriks legat, Letterstedtska Föreningen, I was able to personally examine all manuscripts. I am extremely grateful to all the foundations and organisations that supported my research.

- BL Add. 11108 (B11108)
- BL Add. 11109 (B11109)
- Den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling, Copenhagen
  - Acc. 61 (Acc61)
- Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen
  - Kall 614 4to (K614)
  - Thott 1768 4to (T1768)
- Héraðsskjalasafn Akureyrarbæjar og Eyjafjarðarsýslu, Akureyri
  - G 52/1 (G52)
- Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm
  - Papp. fol. nr 67 (P67)
- Landsbókasafn Íslands, Reykjavík
  - Lbs 222 fol. (L222)
  - Lbs 381 fol. (L381)
  - Lbs 633 fol. (L633)
  - Lbs 679 4to (L679)
  - Lbs 840 4to (L840)
  - Lbs 1217 4to (L1217)
  - Lbs 1572 4to (L1572)
  - Lbs 1767 4to (L1767)
  - Lbs 2316 4to (L2316)
  - Lbs 2943 4to (L2943)
  - Lbs 3164 4to (L3164)
  - Lbs 4825 4to (L4825)
  - Lbs 2404 8vo (L2404)
  - Lbs 3795 8vo (L3795)
  - Lbs 4460 8vo (L4460)
  - ÍB 43 fol. (I43)
  - JS 634 4to (J634)
  - JS 102 8vo (J102)
- Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin
  - Ms Germ qu. 27 (M27)
  - Ms Germ qu. 936 (M936)
- Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, Reykjavík
  - AM 193 e fol. (A193)
  - AM 395 fol. (A395)
  - AM 345 4to (A345)

- AM 587 b 4to (A587)
- AM 601 b 4to (A601)

Four of these manuscripts preserve the younger saga (*19HsG*) and are discussed in Chapter 4. The remaining thirty manuscripts contain the seventeenth-century saga (*17HsG*), which are discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. Two of these thirty, however, preserve a version of the story, which due to extensive changes in the text, has been edited here separately, as the eighteenth-century version (*18HsG*). They are discussed in Section 3.2.

# Chapter 1

## Searching for the saga of Hrómundur

### 1.1 Historical background

Because of its medieval origins and the historical relevance of Hrómundur as a forefather of the first settlers of Iceland, *Hrómundar saga* (*HsG*) has attracted a fair amount of scholarly attention over the past four centuries. The composition of the prose saga itself was probably a result of the antiquarian interest in the story recited at the wedding feast in 1119 among the learned men of Scandinavia, such as Þormóður Torfason (1636–1719) (*Torfæus*), a prolific historiographer of the kingdom of Denmark–Norway, and Árni Magnússon, the famous book collector and professor of Philosophy and Danish Antiquities at the University of Copenhagen.<sup>1</sup> The oldest extant version of the story about Hrómundur in prose, the seventeenth-century saga (*17HsG*), was based on the medieval *rímur* and composed in the second half of the seventeenth century. The man responsible for this prose composition was Jón Eggertsson (ca. 1643–1689), an Icelandic scribe, poet, and book collector for the Swedish Society of Antiquities, *Antikvitetskollegium*.<sup>2</sup>

At the time when the Kingdom of Denmark–Norway and the Kingdom of Sweden were engaged in a series of bloody wars over

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1. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, I:62–63, V:190–191.

2. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:85–87; Bjarni Einarsson, *Munnmælasögur 17. aldar*, xlii; Jón Helgason, *Gamall kveðskapur*, 176; Jón Helgason, ‘Athugarnir Árna Magnússonar um fornsögur’, 41; Jucknies, *Der Horizont eines Schreibers, Jón Eggertsson (1643–89) und seine Handschriften*.

the *dominium maris baltici*,<sup>3</sup> the historical and antiquarian interest in Old Norse-Icelandic literature in Scandinavia begun to grow. Until the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Danish scholars re-discovered the Icelandic sources, Old Norse-Icelandic literature was largely forgotten in Denmark and arguably also neglected in Iceland. As Margrét Eggertsdóttir recently summarised, the impulse for the rise of Icelandic interest in their heritage came from Denmark:

At that time Icelanders became increasingly interested in their own history and cultural inheritance, not least their old manuscripts. Their interest may be traced to the influence of Danish scholars who, touched by the spirit of humanism, had come to understand the value of Icelandic vellums as sources, and the need to have these texts transcribed and published, complete with translations and commentaries.<sup>4</sup>

In Denmark, this period is characterised by the intensified search for historical sources for the history of Denmark. As Ellen Jørgensen concluded, the seventeenth century was:

en Periode der karakteriseres ved Stofindsamling i stor Stil, ved dristige nye Anslag og en Kritik, der voxer frem af de Modsigelser, der aabenbarer sig i Kildematerialet. Det 17. Aarhundrede er en Landnamstid for historisk Forskning ligesom for Filosofi og Naturvidenskab. [...] Stofindsamlingen gjaldt i første Række de litterære Kilder til Danmarks Historie. [...] Blandt de litterære Kilder var der een Gruppe, som Historikerne satte stort Haab til – de islandske Skrifter, der maatte give sikre og sande Efterretninger om vor ældre Historie.<sup>5</sup>

(a period which is characterised by the collection of materials in a grand style, with bold new approaches and a criticism that grows out of the contradictions that reveal themselves in the source material. The seventeenth century is a land taking period for historical research, as well as for philosophy and

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3. Kirby, *Northern Europe in the Early Modern Period: The Baltic World 1492–1772*; Lisk, *The Struggle for Supremacy in the Baltic 1600–1725*.

4. Margrét Eggertsdóttir, *Icelandic Baroque: Poetic Art and Erudition in the Works of Hallgrímur Pétursson*, 68.

5. E. Jørgensen, *Historieforskning og historieskrivning i Danmark indtil aar 1800*, 117–118.

natural science. The collection of material included, first and foremost, the literary sources for Denmark's history. Among the literary sources, there was one group, regarding which historians had great hope – the Icelandic writings, which were expected to provide secure and true information concerning our [Danish] older history.)

It is not my aim here to provide an exhaustive overview of the history of Danish historiography, or of the role Old Norse-Icelandic literature played in this period, nor of the competition between Sweden and Denmark for these sources, as detailed overviews already exist.<sup>6</sup> It is, however, necessary to show the general socio-political background of the creation of *17HsG*.

When *Hrómundar saga* appeared in Denmark in the second half of the seventeenth century, the Old Norse-Icelandic sources had been on the Danish historiographical and antiquarian radar for almost a century. The first known official letter concerning the collection of antiquarian materials in Iceland was issued on 17 April 1596 by Christian IV (1577–1648), king of Denmark and Norway between 1588 and 1648. In this letter, the king encourages Icelanders to make available to Arngrímur Jónsson (1568–1648) various materials that may be relevant for Niels Krag's (1550–1602) work as the royal historiographer.<sup>7</sup> After that point many Danish scholars looked to Iceland in their searches for sources, but not many could make good use of them, as knowledge of the Old Norse-Icelandic language among Danes was limited.

This lack of general knowledge of the language led to the establishment of the position of royal translator, introduced by Frederik III (1609–1670), the king of Denmark and Norway from 1648 until 1670. The monarch, who instituted absolute monarchy in Denmark-Norway in 1660, became a great patron of research

6. E. Jørgensen, *Historieforskning og historieskrivning i Danmark indtil aar 1800*; Skovgaard-Petersen, 'The Literary Feud between Denmark and Sweden in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century and the Development of Danish Historical Scholarship'; Skovgaard-Petersen, 'Saxo, Snorre og den nationale historieforskning i 1600-tallet'; Gottskålk Jensson, '*Hypothesis Islandica*, or Concerning the Initially Supportive but Ultimately Subversive Impact of the Rediscovery of Medieval Icelandic Literature on the Evaluation of Saxo Grammaticus as a Historical Authority during the Heyday of Danish Antiquarianism'; Lavender, *Long Lives of Short Sagas: The Irrepressibility of Narrative and the Case of Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*.

7. Laursen, *Kancelliets Brevbøger vedrørende Danmarks indre forhold i uddrag*, 616.

into the past of these two countries. This research was supposed to confirm that both Denmark and Norway not only had a splendid past but also, more importantly, that they were ancient hereditary monarchies.<sup>8</sup> Frederik III appointed an Icelander, Þórarinn Eiríksson (d. 1659), as the royal translator of Nordic antiquities, ‘kongelig translator af nordiske antikviteter’,<sup>9</sup> and sent him to Iceland in 1656 to collect sources. Þórarinn’s service was not especially fruitful in translations or directly in new acquisitions, since he died soon after his appointment, in 1659.

Shortly after Þórarinn’s appointment, however, Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson (1605–1675) sent three parchment manuscripts as a gift to Frederik III: a thirteenth-century manuscript of *Grágas* (today Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, GKS 1157 fol.), the fourteenth-century manuscript of kings’ sagas now known as *Flateyjarbók* (today Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, GKS 1005 fol.), and a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century manuscript of two legendary sagas, *Ragnars saga loðbrókar* and *Völsunga saga* (today Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, NKS 1824 b 4to).<sup>10</sup>

In a letter dated to 10 July 1656, Brynjólfur wrote to Villum Lange (1624–1682), tutor of the crown prince Christian, that he was sending these manuscripts to Denmark with the intention that they would be studied, edited, and translated and by that made widely disseminated in Europe. As we can read from his letter, Brynjólfur was opposed to the mere storing of Icelandic manuscripts in foreign libraries and had a clear vision of how the future publications should look like, as well as who should be entrusted with the task:

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8. Skovgaard-Petersen, ‘The First Post-Medieval History of Norway in Latin: The *Historia Rerum Norvegicarum* (Copenhagen 1711) by Tormod Torfæus’; Skovgaard-Petersen, ‘Saxo, Snorre og den nationale historieforskning i 1600-tallet’; E. Jørgensen, *Historieforskning og historieskrivning i Danmark indtil aar 1800*, 144.

9. Kålund, *Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske håndskrifter i Det store kongelige bibliotek og i Universitetsbiblioteket*, xxxvii.

10. Undervisningsministeriet, *Betænkning vedrørende de i Danmark beroende Islandske Håndskrifter og Museumgenstande*, 11; Kålund, *Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske håndskrifter i Det store kongelige bibliotek og i Universitetsbiblioteket*, xxxviii, xlii–xliii.

Tum negotium convertendi homini Islando commendabitur vel Danice, vel si magis placeat Latine, atque iterum edantur per columellas, quarum una originem ostendat, altera translationem atque sic elaboratæ antiquitates in Europam universam, auspiciis septentrionis monarchæ magni prodibunt, immortalis regis statoris et servatoris sui gloria. [...] At in bibliothecas externas codices mutos compingere, ubi nullo unquam intelliguntur, [...] id vero antiquitates non conservare sed extingvere est.<sup>11</sup>

(The work of translating [Old Norse-Icelandic texts] into Danish, or, if that's more pleasing, into Latin, shall be entrusted to an Icelander, and they should be published in columns, of which one presents the original and the other one translation, and in such a way prepared antiquities will go out in the whole Europe under the auspices of the great monarch of the North, to the eternal fame of their protector and preserver. [...] But to shut away mute manuscripts in foreign libraries, where they will never be understood by anyone [...] is in fact not to preserve the antiquities but to destroy them.)

After Þórarinn Eiríksson's death in 1659, another Icelander, Þormóður Torfason, better known under his Latinised name Thormodus Torfæus, was appointed by the king to translate Icelandic sagas into Danish. One of the manuscripts Frederik III had previously received from Brynjólfur Sveinsson, Flateyjarbók, was the basis for the biggest assignment that young Torfæus received: the Danish translation of all the texts preserved in this manuscript. Torfæus' translation, dated to 1661, is preserved in a magnificent manuscript consisting of four volumes: Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1015 fol.<sup>12</sup> His translational work was not, however, limited to the kings' sagas, as there are manuscripts preserving his Danish translations of legendary sagas as well, for instance, the impressive volume of over 470 leaves, Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1019 fol., which contains among other texts *Hrólf's saga kraka*, *Bósa saga og Herraud's*, and *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*.

11. Jón Helgason, *Úr bréfabókum Brynjólfs biskups Sveinssonar*, 72; see also: Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, 'To the Letter: Philology as a Core Component of Old Norse Studies', 7.

12. Petersen, 'Wulfstans kodex og Schumachers liste: Om den ældste fortegnelse over håndskrifter i det kongelige bibliotek', 26, 51.

Torfæus' work on the translation of Flateyjarbók must have pleased the monarch, as the following year he was appointed as the royal antiquarian and travelled to Iceland to collect manuscripts for the king. His journey proved successful, since he came back with some of the most important medieval Icelandic manuscripts, including the thirteenth-century codex of kings' sagas known today as *Morkinskinna* (Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1009 fol.), the thirteenth-century codex known today as the *Codex Regius* of the Elder Edda (Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, GKS 2365 4to), as well as a fifteenth-century codex containing, among other texts, several legendary sagas (Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, GKS 2845 4to).<sup>13</sup> The contents of these volumes reflect the scholarly interest at the end of the seventeenth century in certain types of Old Norse literature, particularly kings' sagas and legendary sagas.

During his work as a royal translator of Old Norse texts, Torfæus became aware of the differences between the royal genealogies as they are presented by Saxo Grammaticus in his *Gesta danorum* and their Old Norse alternatives. The king commissioned him to write an account of these differences, which became *Series dynastarum et regum Daniæ*, first completed in manuscript form in 1664 and published in a highly revised form in 1702.<sup>14</sup> After the completion of this volume, Torfæus, for some unknown reason, lost his privileged position at the Danish court, and one can only speculate what influence the controversial contents of the *Series dynastarum* might have had on his position. After all, even almost forty years later, when Árni Magnússon was discussing the publication of the volume with Torfæus, he considered its contents problematic and thought that it could be banned.<sup>15</sup> In a letter from 2 October 1700, Árni wrote to Torfæus about the expected reception of the volume by the Danish audience:

ad þeim þætti otilheyriligt, ad vær Dansker skyldum giefra  
öðrum occasion til ad mistrua Saxoni. Kom mier því i hug,

13. Undervisningsministeriet, *Betænkning vedrørende de i Danmark beroende Islandske Håndskrifter og Museumgenstande*, 21; Kålund, *Katalog over de oldnorske-islandske håndskrifter i Det store kongelige bibliotek og i Universitetsbiblioteket*, xli.

14. Torfæus, *Series Dynastarum et Regum Daniæ*.

15. Már Jónsson, *Arnas Magnæus Philologus (1663-1730)*, 128.

ad so kynni falla, [...], ad hans edition þá forbodin yrði, iafn-  
vel þó bókin censurerud síe.<sup>16</sup>

(they would consider it inappropriate that we Danes should  
give others pretext to disbelieve Saxo. It crossed my mind,  
that it could happen, that your publication would be banned,  
even though it is censored.)

Whether the contents of *Series dynastarum* had anything to do with the winding course of Torfæus' scholarly career remains a matter of speculation, especially since already three years later, in 1667, he received another appointment as the royal antiquarian. His office was, however, not renewed after Frederik III's death, and he had to wait to regain his office until much later. In 1682, he was appointed the historiographer of the kingdom of Norway 'Historiographus for Kongeriget Norge' with the main assignment to write a complete history of Norway in Latin.<sup>17</sup>

It was under the auspices of Christian V (1646–1699) that Torfæus was able to continue his scholarly enterprise. Christian V took the Danish throne after his father and was the king of Denmark and Norway from 1670 until 1699. He continued his father's ideological program of emphasizing the hereditary character of Danish and Norwegian monarchies and was thus also highly interested in Old Norse-Icelandic material.<sup>18</sup> It is easy to imagine that the Scanian war (1675–79) pushed intellectual activities to the background, as it was not until 1681 that another Icelander appeared in the Danish scholarly landscape in the role of royal antiquarian. This was Hannes Þorleifsson (d. 1682), who was appointed on 7 June 1681 and in the following year sent to Iceland to collect manuscripts. His main assignments were summarised in six points listed in the letter of his appointment. They included preparing selected manuscripts for publication with commentaries; obtaining old and rare manuscripts ('gamle og rare Manuscripter') for the royal library; and writing a complete history of Iceland. In the same letter,

16. Kålund, *Arne Magnusson: Brevveksling med Torfæus*, 311.

17. Bricka, *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, XVII:256.

18. Gottskålk Jenson, 'Hypothesis Islandica, or Concerning the Initially Supportive but Ultimately Subversive Impact of the Rediscovery of Medieval Icelandic Literature on the Evaluation of Saxo Grammaticus as a Historical Authority during the Heyday of Danish Antiquarianism', 40.

Icelanders were encouraged to make their manuscripts available to Hannes.<sup>19</sup>

The antiquarian activities on the other side of the Øresund were no less intensive. In fact, the earliest editions of the legendary sagas originate in Sweden, not in Denmark. Olof Verelius (1618–1682), with the help of an Icelander, Jón Jónsson from Rúgstaðir (1636–1679), published an edition and a Swedish translation of *Gautreks saga* in 1664, followed by a series of other sagas. Only a few years later, in 1667, the Swedish Society of Antiquities (*Antikvitetskollegium*) was established, and, as will be discussed later, the appearance of *HsG* can be associated with the activities of this institution. One of the explicit objectives of the *Antikvitetskollegium* was to collect historical documents that could deliver information regarding Swedish history, including ‘gamble Jsslandska och norske manuskripter’ (old Icelandic and Norwegian manuscripts).<sup>20</sup>

The establishment of the *Antikvitetskollegium* and the intensification of Swedish interest in Old Norse sources preserved in Iceland probably played a not insignificant role in assuring the reappointment of Torfæus into the royal service of the Danish-Norwegian king. Torfæus wrote an application to the king in which he emphasised the scale of collecting and editorial activities in Sweden:

hos de Svenske var derimod oprettet et Antiquitets Collegium, forsynet med frit Bogtrykkerie, og en anseelig Indkomst om Aaret. De havde faaet en Islænder, som de rigelig underholdte. De opsøgte og tilhandlede dem alt hvad de kunde overkomme af vore gamle Sager; og havde allerede ved disses hielp faaet udgivne adskillige Skrifter.<sup>21</sup>

(on the contrary, the Swedes have established a Society of Antiquities, provided with free printing [publishing], and a considerable yearly income. They have hired an Icelander, whom they have amply supported. They sought after and acquired for them all they could find of our old sagas, and have already, with their aid, gotten several writings published.)

19. Ólafur Halldórsson et al., *Lovsamling for Island*, I:381–383.

20. Jucknies, *Der Horizont eines Schreibers, Jón Eggertsson (1643–89) und seine Handschriften*, 31; Schüick, *Kgl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitets akademien: dess förhistoria och historia*, II:15–17.

21. Jón Eiríksson (John Erichsen), ‘Thormod Torfesens Biographie’, 266–267.

The competition for Old Norse-Icelandic sources was in full swing when two men, acting on behalf of the competing monarchies, spent time in Iceland collecting manuscripts in the very same year, 1682: the newly appointed royal antiquarian Hannes Þorleifsson on behalf of Denmark and Jón Eggertsson on behalf of the Swedish *Antikvitetskollegium*.<sup>22</sup> While Jón Eggertsson managed to obtain a considerable collection of manuscripts, which he sent to Stockholm, Hannes Þorleifsson's endeavours did not bring new acquisitions to the royal collection, as he, together with the manuscripts he collected, never made it back to Copenhagen.<sup>23</sup> After Hannes Þorleifsson's death, Christian V appointed Thomas Bartholin (1659–1690) as the royal antiquarian, and under his direct influence, the king issued a Royal Decree in 1685, which banned the sale of Icelandic manuscripts abroad.<sup>24</sup> The ban can be seen as a response to the manuscript collecting activities in Iceland of Jón Eggertsson on behalf of the Swedes, which, as Kålund put it, 'matte anses for i høj grad upatriotisk' (may be considered to a high degree unpatriotic).<sup>25</sup>

Thomas Bartholin's letter of appointment issued on 23 February 1683 makes it explicit that Icelandic materials would play a significant role in his scholarly enterprise, as he was required to:

til Trykken at fuldbringe og færdiggjøre, saavel de ældste, nyttigste og rareste Skrifter, danske og islandske Sager og Monumenter angaaende, med tilbørlig Udtolkning og Forklaring, som og ellers det Værk, han om alle de gamle Danskes Sæder og Skikke, samt Love og Manerer haver begyndt.<sup>26</sup>

22. Bjarni Einarsson, *Mummælásögur 17. aldar*, xlii; Bjarni Einarsson, 'Om Jón Eggertsson, Antikvitetskollegiets islandske agent. Et trehundredeårsminde'; Jón Helgason, *Gamall kveðskapur*, 176; Jucknies, *Der Horizont eines Schreibers, Jón Eggertsson (1643-89) und seine Handschriften*, 93–96.

23. Már Jónsson, *Arnas Magnæus Philologus (1663-1730)*, 42–43; Aðalgeir Kristjánsson, 'Upphaf handritasöfnunar Árna Magnússonar', 378.

24. Kålund, *Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske håndskrifter i Det store kongelige bibliotek og i Universitetsbiblioteket*, xxix; Aðalgeir Kristjánsson, 'Upphaf handritasöfnunar Árna Magnússonar', 377–378.

25. Kålund, *Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske håndskrifter i Det store kongelige bibliotek og i Universitetsbiblioteket*, xxix.

26. Werlauff and Jón Ólafsson, 'Biographiske Efterretninger om Arne Magnussen; ved Jon Olafssen fra Grunnavig. Med Indledning, Anmærkninger og Tillæg af E.C. Werlauff', 54.

(complete and prepare for printing the oldest, most useful, and rarest writings, concerning the Danish and Icelandic sagas and monuments, with proper translation and interpretation, as well as this work which he has started about all the old customs and habits, alongside laws and manners of the Danes.)

That same year Bartholin met an Icelander, Árni Magnússon, recently enrolled at the University of Copenhagen, whom he hired as his assistant to translate Old Norse texts. Bartholin was also in contact with Jón Eggertsson, who at that time was imprisoned in Copenhagen, and obtained from him some manuscripts. After 1685, Bartholin also stayed in contact with Torfæus, with whom he was discussing various matters of his research.<sup>27</sup> All these men played an important role in the early dissemination of *HsG*, which will be discussed in the following section.

## 1.2 Researching the saga before 1800

Scholarly interest in Old Norse-Icelandic literature flourished throughout the seventeenth century both in Denmark and Sweden. While the most scholarly attention was directed towards the Eddas and the kings' sagas, the legendary sagas, such as *HsG*, also became increasingly sought after. From extant scholarly correspondence, we know that at least in Denmark at the end of the seventeenth century, there was scholarly interest in the story of *Hrómundur*. In 1684, Torfæus, who at that time was the royal historiographer tasked with writing a history of Norway, wrote a letter to his acquaintance in Iceland, Reverend Torfi Jónsson (1617–1689), pastor of Gaulverjabær and a nephew of Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson. In this letter, Torfæus stated that he needed access to several sagas, which could be useful in his study of royal genealogies. One of the sagas he mentioned is a saga of *Hrómundur Greipsson*, which he had never seen: 'þvi þarft eg öbrigdannlega sógur af Haralde Hilledtón, Amlooda, [...] og af Hromunde Greipssyne sem eg hefe helldur alldreí sied' (Therefore I need reliable sagas of

27. Már Jónsson, *Arnas Magnæus Philologus (1663–1730)*, 52; Aðalgeir Kristjánsson, 'Upphaf handritasöfnunar Árna Magnússonar', 380.

Haraldur hilditǫnn, Amlóði, [...] and of Hrómundur Greipsson, which I have also never seen) (AM 285 b IV fol., f. 13v).

Even though Torfæus lists *HsG* in his *Series dynastarum*, as published in 1702,<sup>28</sup> and mentions Hrómundur in his *Historia Rerum Norvegicarum*,<sup>29</sup> it is not certain at which point he actually received a manuscript copy of the saga. His knowledge of the story of Hrómundur, demonstrated in *Historia Rerum Norvegicarum*, where he lists Hrómundur as a grandson of Hrókur the black in Book IV, chapters 2 and 14, might have come exclusively from secondary sources. Torfæus was after all very well versed in Icelandic sources, as attested in the same letter:

Enn i Gaungu Hrólfs Historiu sem ätte ad wera sonur Sturlaugs (allt ef það er sä same Sturlaugur) stendur ad Olafur sonur Gaungu Rolfs, sem atte ad wera Kongur i Danmörk, hefde hafft hiä sier Hromund Greipßon, Enn nær Hromundur Greipsson war, weit eg wel, því hann var langafe Jngolfs, sem Ißland frst bidge, og dottur sonur Hroks swarta, sem war Eirn af Hälfs Reckum (AM 285 b IV fol., f. 12v)

(But in the saga of Göngu-Hrólfr, who was supposed to be a son of Sturlaugur (if this is the same Sturlaugur), it is written that Ólafur, son of Göngu-Hrólfr, who was supposed to be a king in Denmark, had with him Hrómundur Greipsson. And I know very well when Hrómundur Greipsson was [alive], because he was a great-grandfather of Ingólfur, who was the first to settle Iceland, and a maternal grandson of Hrókur the Black, who was one of Hálfur's champions.)

None of these pieces of information about Hrómundur had to come directly from *17HsG*. The information about Ólafur being king of Denmark, and his relationship to Göngu-Hrólfr could be based on *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*,<sup>30</sup> while the information about Hrómundur being a great-grandfather of Ingólfur could have come from *Landnámabók*,<sup>31</sup> or secondarily from *Flóamanna*

28. Torfæus, *Series Dynastarum et Regum Daniae*, 6.

29. Torfæus, *Historia Rerum Norvegicarum*; Torfæus, *Norges Historie*.

30. Rafn, *Fornaldar sögur Nordrlanda eptir gömlum handritum*, III:363.

31. Finnur Jónsson, *Landnámabók*, 6.

saga.<sup>32</sup> Finally, *Hrómundur's* relationship to *Hrókur the Black* is also mentioned in *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*.<sup>33</sup> Because of this intertextual context in which *Hrómundur Greipsson* appears, *Torfæus* could have equally well included *Hrómundur* in his genealogies without having access to any actual copy of *HsG*.

At some point, however, *Torfæus* must have received a manuscript containing the prose version of the story, as there are two manuscripts preserving *17HsG* with marginalia written in his hand. Both manuscripts are today part of the *Arnarnagnæan* collection and are held in Reykjavík, AM 193 e fol. and AM 587 b 4to (see manuscript descriptions in Chapter 2). In both manuscripts, *Torfæus* comments on the genealogies of the saga characters. One emphasises the similarities between various sagas, while the other highlights the differences. From these marginal notes, it is clear – and not really surprising – that *Torfæus*, as the royal historiographer, was mainly interested in the genealogies of Danish and Norwegian dynasties. What is worth observing, however, is that *17HsG* serves as a source of historical information almost simultaneously with the appearance of the very first manuscripts of the saga. This happens around the same time as *Torfæus* is given the assignment of writing the history of Norway and when he writes to *Torfi Jónsson* that he has never seen this saga.

While *Hrómundar saga* is preserved in over thirty manuscripts, none of them can be dated further back in time than the second half of the seventeenth century. Textual analysis reveals that all extant texts of *17HsG*, as preserved in these manuscripts, are descended from a single manuscript, AM 601 b 4to, which is written in *Jón Eggertsson's* hand (see discussion in Chapter 2). This is the same infamous *Jón Eggertsson* mentioned in the previous section, who was collecting manuscripts in Iceland in 1682 for the Swedish *Antikvitetskollegium*. Moreover, it has been previously suggested that *Jón Eggertsson* was the author of *17HsG*.<sup>34</sup> Given the important role of *Jón Eggertsson* in the creation of the saga, it seems very likely that the reappearance of the long-lost saga in Denmark had something

32. Finnur Jónsson, *Flóamannasaga*, 2.

33. Rafn, *Fornaldar sögur Norðurlanda eptir gömlum handritum*, II:59.

34. Bjarni Einarsson, 'Om *Jón Eggertsson*, Antikvitetskollegiets islandske agent. Et trehundredeårsminde'; Jucknies, *Der Horizont eines Schreibers, Jón Eggertsson (1643-89) und seine Handschriften*.

to do with the antiquarian and historical interest in Old Norse-Icelandic sources, which was so characteristic of this period. As the following section will demonstrate, the activity of Jón Eggertsson can be seen as a response to this contemporary interest.

Even though theoretically the possibility cannot be excluded that Jón gained access to some manuscript preserving *17HsG* during his stay in Iceland in 1682 and decided to copy it, it seems unlikely given the circumstances. After his journey to Iceland, Jón prepared a report of his expenses for the *Antikvitetskollegium*. This report includes a list of manuscripts he brought with him, and on this list, there is a manuscript which contained six sets of *rímur*. It is described as follows:

Een bog, indeholder Riimer, gammel, 1. Remunds Rimer 24. 2. Vilhialms Rimur 20. 3. Eigill Skallagryms Sonar R. 40. 4. Hromundar Greips Sonar R. 6. 5. Bragda Ølvers Rymur 6. 6. Skotlands Rymur. 2. R:dr.<sup>35</sup>

(A book containing *rímur*, old: 1. *Rímur af Remundi Rígarðssyni* 24, 2. *Rímur af Vilhjálmi sjóð* 20, 3. *Egils rímur Skallagrímssonar* 40, 4. *Hrómundar rímur Greipssonar* 6, 5. *Bragða-Ölvis rímur* 6, 6. *Skotlandsrímur*. 2 rixdollars.)

From this description, it is clear that Jón obtained a volume, which I refer to as \*JE 27 4to,<sup>36</sup> which contained *Hrómundar rímur Greipssonar*, i.e. the metric version of the story, rather than the prose version. \*JE 27 4to is now lost, and it cannot be excluded that it perished in the fire of Stockholm castle in 1697, as many other manuscripts did.<sup>37</sup> Between 1684 and 1687, Jón Eggertsson was imprisoned in Copenhagen, where he was copying various texts for his Swedish customers, but also kept regular contact with Dan-

35. Klemming, *Ur en anteknares samlingar*, 42.

36. My naming practice of former codices is inspired by that introduced by Beeke Stegmann in her 'Árni Magnússon's Rearrangement of Paper Manuscripts'; I add an asterisk in front of the siglum to make a disambiguation of former codices easier.

37. Kålund, *Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske håndskrifter i Det store kongelige bibliotek og i Universitetsbiblioteket*, xxxiv.

ish scholars, including Thomas Bartholin and Árni Magnússon.<sup>38</sup> Given the antiquarian interest of people such as Torfæus in stories like *HsG*, it seems highly possible that Jón Eggertsson converted the *rímur* that he obtained in 1682 into prose, in order to meet this contemporary antiquarian need.

From the perspective of the transmission history of *17HsG*, it is important to observe that \*JE 27 4to contained, among other sets of *rímur*, *Bragða-Ölvis rímur*, which appeared in the manuscript immediately after *Hrómundar rímur*. AM 601 b 4to, on the other hand, preserves not only the best text of *17HsG*, but also, according to Hooper, the best text of the prosification of *Bragða-Ölvis rímur*, known as *Bragða-Ölvis saga*.<sup>39</sup> It would be an unlikely coincidence for two prosifications of two poems, which appear together in a single *rímur* manuscript, to also appear in a single saga manuscript. Given the timing and circumstances, it seems highly probable that Jón Eggertsson was responsible for converting both sets of *rímur* into prose. Árni Magnússon, in fact, was convinced that Jón Eggertsson had something to do with *17HsG*, when he called it in his notes an ‘imposture’ or fabrication, which was widely repeated in the later scholarship.

Saga af Hrómundi Greipssýni er einskis verd. Þormóður Torfason in Epistola quadam mihi scripta, ad skilia sú sem eg hafdi sent honum. Et verum est, impostura enim est, Jons Eggertssonar.<sup>40</sup>

Hrómundar saga Greipssonar is of no value. Þormóður Torfason in a letter written to me, meaning this [saga] that I had

38. Jón Eggertsson was imprisoned in April 1684. The reasons for this are unclear, as the legal records of the city of Copenhagen for this period are lost. In his lifetime, Jón was accused of various things, including witchcraft, travelling abroad without valid documents, tax fraud, etc. In January 1685, he was found guilty of tax fraud. In his correspondence with the *Antikvitetskollegium*, however, Jón pointed towards his service for the Swedish society as the cause of his misfortune. Gödel, *Formnorsk-isländsk litteratur i Sverige I: Till Antikvitetskollegiets inrättande*, 201–207; Bjarni Einarsson, *Munnaelasögur 17. aldar*, xxvi–xxvii; Jucknies, *Der Horizont eines Schreibers, Jón Eggertsson (1643–89) und seine Handschriften*; Már Jónsson, *Arnas Magnæus Philologus (1663–1730)*, 52, 75.

39. Hooper, ‘*Bragða-Ölvis saga* Now First Edited’; Hooper, ‘*Bragða Ölvis saga* and *rímur*’.

40. Jón Helgason, ‘Athugarnir Árna Magnússonar um fornsögur’, 41.

sent to him. And it is true. It is with certainty an imposture of Jón Eggertsson.<sup>41</sup>

From this note, we learn not only that Árni Magnússon considered *17HsG* a fabrication, but also that it was worthless for Torfæus. This statement is especially relevant in the context of the marginalia in Torfæus' hand which accompany *17HsG* in his manuscripts, as well as his scholarly correspondence regarding this saga. It seems that Torfæus first asked Torfi Jónsson about *HsG* because he believed it would be useful in his research into Danish and Norwegian genealogies, then got hold of the saga and commented in the margins about the genealogical similarities and discrepancies with other sagas, and finally came to the conclusion that *17HsG* was worthless, most likely referring to its value as a historical source.

As has been suggested elsewhere, Jón Eggertsson might have written AM 601 b 4to while he was imprisoned in Copenhagen, where he may have had limited access to resources, and this could explain why the paper on which the sagas are written is repurposed from some book of accounts.<sup>42</sup> At the same time, as Jón Eggertsson states in his report to the Swedes, there was a shortage of paper in Iceland at the time when he was there collecting manuscripts and perhaps this is the real reason why he reused sheets of paper to write down *HsG* and *Bragða-Ölvis saga*. As Jón Eggertsson writes in his report about one of the manuscripts he delivered: 'Er æj eller Reenskrefuen, fordj der var defect paa papiir udj Iissland, dend Thid' (Not rewritten cleanly because at that time there was a lack of paper in Iceland).<sup>43</sup> This does not need to be completely true, as among Torfæus's correspondence, we can find indication that paper was accessible in Iceland around the same time. In 1684, Torfæus instructs his acquaintance in Iceland, a certain Sigurður Jónsson of Eyrarbakki to provide paper and pay to scribes willing to copy some texts for him, as he writes 'bid hann vilie leggja til pappir, og betala peninga þeim sem vilia skrifa þessar Historiur firir mig' (AM 285 b IV fol., f. 15r).

41. Kapitan and Stegmann, 'Writing, Correcting and Annotating AM 601 b 4to: Material and Multispectral Analysis', 135.

42. Kapitan and Stegmann.

43. Klemming, *Ur en antecknares samlingar*, 40.

But if Jón wrote AM 601 b 4to in Iceland we have to ask why it was not included in his report and why it was not sent to Stockholm with all the other volumes he collected? Bjarni Einarsson speculated that Jón only sent part of the manuscripts he collected in Iceland to Stockholm and kept some manuscripts ‘som pant’ (as collateral).<sup>44</sup> At the same time, he does not exclude the possibility that Jón continued to collect and copy manuscripts in Copenhagen and that is where additional volumes sent to Stockholm at a later date originate from. The second explanation seems more probable, since there appears to be no direct benefit for Jón in sending a few dozen manuscripts to Stockholm and keeping just a few as insurance.

How the transmission history of *17HsG* developed in the early years of its existence is not absolutely clear. But considering the network of people involved in the production of the earliest manuscripts, we can put forward a possible hypothesis regarding its circulation. Regardless of whether *17HsG* was actually written by Jón Eggertsson while he was imprisoned in Copenhagen, the oldest manuscript of the saga written in his hand (AM 601 b 4to) came at some point into the possession of Árni Magnússon, as it contains extensive marginalia in both men’s hands. As previously mentioned, Árni Magnússon was in contact with Jón Eggertsson during the latter’s imprisonment and the two men were on good terms. It is therefore easy to imagine that AM 601 b 4to came to Árni directly from Jón. According to Bjarni Einarsson, there were two Icelanders who were providing Jón with paper and manuscripts to copy, Helgi Ólafsson and Árni Magnússon himself, bearing witness to the close relationship between Jón and Árni.<sup>45</sup>

As the note by Árni Magnússon quoted above suggests, Torfæus must have received a copy of *17HsG* from Árni himself. Both manuscripts that can be confidently affiliated with Torfæus, AM 193 e fol. and AM 587 b 4to, are closely related and textual evidence suggests that AM 193 e fol. is derived from AM 587 b 4to.

After Torfæus’ death in 1719 both manuscripts came into the possession of Árni Magnússon, who in his catalogue noted that AM

44. Bjarni Einarsson, ‘Om Jón Eggertsson, Antikvitetskollegiets islandske agent. Et trehundredårsminde’, 13.

45. Bjarni Einarsson, 14.

193 e fol. was written ‘ep̄ter exemplare med hendi Eyolfs Biornsonar komnu fra m̄ier’ (after an exemplar in Eyjólfur Björnsson’s hand which came from me). This exemplar was most likely AM 587 b 4to, partially written by Eyjólfur. Moreover, it is probably this manuscript that Árni sent to Torfæus, mentioned in the note ‘sú sem eg hafdi sent honum’.

Eyjólfur Björnsson worked for Árni Magnússon in Copenhagen during the years 1687–1689 and collaborated with Ásgeir Jónsson on some manuscripts for Árni until Ásgeir left for Norway with Torfæus in 1688. It is entirely possible that AM 587 b 4to was written by Eyjólfur and Ásgeir in Copenhagen for Árni Magnússon, and that Torfæus then received this manuscript from Árni, possibly shortly after his visit to Copenhagen in 1688, and ordered Ásgeir to copy *17HsG* again into AM 193 e fol.<sup>46</sup> This interpretation is in line with Már Jónsson’s observation regarding some manuscripts of kings’ sagas, where Ásgeir produced volumes in folio format for Torfæus and in quarto for Árni. On the one hand we have AM 587 b 4to, which is in quarto format and was most likely written in Copenhagen for Árni Magnússon, and only later came into the possession of Torfæus, and on the other hand we have AM 193 e fol., which is in folio format and was written in Norway for Torfæus.<sup>47</sup>

It is hard not to notice that the time when Ásgeir Jónsson and Eyjólfur Björnsson collaborated in Copenhagen on AM 587 b 4to (1687–1688) overlaps with the time Jón Eggertsson spent in Copenhagen, either in prison or afterwards, before he left to Sweden for his final months (1684–89).<sup>48</sup> As further discussed in Chapter 2, textually it is clear that *17HsG* in AM 587 b 4to is derived from AM

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46. For more information on AM 587 b 4to and AM 193 e fol., as well as the former manuscripts to which they belonged at Torfæus’ times (\*TT XIII 4to and \*TT XIII fol.), see Section 2.2.

47. Már Jónsson, ‘Skrifarinn Ásgeir Jónsson frá Gullberastöðum í Lundarreykjadal’, 294; see also Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, ‘Leiðbeiningar Árna Magnússonar’, 103.

48. Ásgeir Jónsson started his studies in Copenhagen on 19 November 1686, Eyjólfur Björnsson on 20 September 1687, while Jón Eggertsson was released from prison in the spring of 1687. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, I:91, 451; Bjarni Einarsson, *Munnmælasögur 17. aldar*, xxxii; Már Jónsson, ‘Skrifarinn Ásgeir Jónsson frá Gullberastöðum í Lundarreykjadal’; Már Jónsson, *Arnas Magnæus Philologus (1663–1730)*, 74–79.

601 b 4to, but it is difficult to prove that it is its direct apograph. At the same time, it seems highly probable that the exemplar of the saga copied by Ásgeir and Eyjólfur came from Jón Eggertsson, perhaps through the agency of Árni Magnússon, and thus was possibly AM 601 b 4to itself. These men were part of an Icelandic community in Copenhagen, many of them knew each other personally, so points of contact existed to facilitate such an exchange of manuscripts, and the textual variation in the oldest manuscripts is so minor that it cannot exclude this possibility.

Árni Magnússon's broad scholarly network is probably also responsible for the arrival of *17HsG* in Iceland. The three oldest manuscripts of the saga from Iceland were written by Jón Þórðarson in 1695 and at least one of them can be certainly associated with the wealthy Icelandic book collector and commissioner Magnús Jónsson í Vigur (1637–1702). The manuscript in question is British Library, Add. 4859 (B4859),<sup>49</sup> but, according to Jóhann Gunnar Ólafsson, Lbs 222 fol., held at Landsbókasafn Íslands, can also be considered as one of Magnús' manuscripts.<sup>50</sup> The origin of the last manuscript, AM 345 4to, held at Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, is uncertain. Árni Magnússon was in contact with Magnús Jónsson and exchanged books with him, as the correspondence between the two men suggests.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, it is possible that Árni sent Magnús a copy of *17HsG* that was derived from AM 601 b 4to and served as an exemplar for at least one of the extant texts in Jón Þórðarson's hand. We know there was at least one more manuscript in Magnús Jónsson's possession that preserved a text of *17HsG*. In AM 211 b 4to, which contains various materials associated with Magnús' brother, Sigurður Jónsson (1643–1730), there is a note which lists two manuscripts in quarto, which belonged to Magnús Jónsson but are now lost. The manuscript described as 'Önnur Sógubök M J. S. J 4o' (the second book of Magnús Jónsson in 4to, henceforth \*MJ 2 4to) contained, among other sagas, *Hrómundar saga* and *Bragða-*

49. See the description of the manuscript by McDonald Werronen, 'London, British Library', archived on 8/06/2023 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20230608192021/https://icelandicscribesproject.com/manuscripts/london-bl/add-4859/>.

50. Jóhann Gunnar Ólafsson, 'Magnús Jónsson í Vigur'.

51. Kålund, *Arne Magnussons private brevveksling*, 243–245.

*Ölvis saga* (AM 211 b 4to, p. 102). According to Jón Helgason,<sup>52</sup> the majority of the materials preserved in AM 211 b 4to are from years 1695–1697, while Kålund dates this manuscript to ca. 1700.<sup>53</sup> Given the chronology, \*MJ 2 4to might be the hypothetical missing link between AM 601 b 4to and the manuscripts in Jón Þórðarson's hand.

In this context, it is worth to mention that, as Már Jónsson observed, Magnús Jónsson had to complain in one of his letters to Árni about the fact that he provided more texts for Árni than received in return.<sup>54</sup> Árni Magnússon responded quite defensively in 1691, stating that 'þær sögur er eg idar vinsemd sendt hefi kostad mig meir enn þeir kannski trua kinnud' (the sagas that I sent you have cost me more than you could probably believe). This attests to the exchange of books in both directions, and Árni certainly refers here to the expenses connected to hiring Icelanders in Copenhagen, such as Eyjólfur Björnsson and Ásgeir Jónsson. We cannot know whether *17HsG* was among the costly sagas Árni Magnússon sent to Magnús Jónsson, but considering the textual and chronological evidence, this appears to have been a possible scenario, and perhaps the lost \*MJ 2 4to was this manuscript.

It is perhaps worth to emphasise here, that *17HsG* most likely made its way to Sweden earlier than to Iceland. One of the two autograph manuscripts in Jón Eggertsson's hand, P67, arrived in Stockholm on 9 October 1687 (according to the note on f. 2r). In this manuscript, there are marginalia in the hand of Guðmundur Ólafsson (1652–95), an Icelander who worked as a translator from Old Norse–Icelandic to Latin and Swedish at the *Antikvitetskollegium* in the period from 1681 until his death in 1695.<sup>55</sup> In his

52. Jón Helgason, *Kvæðabók úr Vigur*, AM 148, 8°, 12–13.

53. Kålund, *Katalog over den Arnemagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, I:475.

54. Már Jónsson, *Arnas Magnæus Philologus (1663–1730)*, 101.

55. Guðmundur translated *Sturlaug's saga starfsama* (1694), *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* (1695), and *Heimskringla*, published by Peringskiöld (1697). For Guðmundur's biography, see: Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, II:173; for a description of his academic career, see Gödel, *Fornnorsk-isländsk litteratur i Sverige I: Till Antikvitetskollegiets inrättande*, 177–183; Busch, 'Grossmachtstatus und Sagainterpretation – die schwedischen Vorzeitsagaeditionen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts', 21–22, 82; Lavender, 'Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra in Sweden: Textual Transmission, History and Genre-Formation in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', 202–208.

introduction to *Sturlaugs saga starfsama*, Guðmundur lists a number of reliable sagas, and among them *HsG*, suggesting that he had already worked with *HsG* before 1694. Guðmundur was a close collaborator of Johan Hadorph (1630–1693), a Swedish antiquarian, who in turn was also responsible for maintaining contacts with Jón Eggertsson.<sup>56</sup> It is possible that Guðmundur worked on the translation of *17HsG*, but no manuscript in his hand is known to me. There is, however, a manuscript preserving an early translation of the saga: Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, Papp. fol. 98. According to Gödel, the text of *Hrómundar saga* in Papp. fol. 98 was written by another *Antikvitetskollegiet*'s translator, Nils Hufvudson Dal (1690–1740).<sup>57</sup> Even though *17HsG* was not among the earliest Legendary Sagas published in Sweden, it made it to print relatively shortly after its composition. It appeared in Björner's *Nordiska kämpa dater* published in Stockholm in 1737, where the Old Norse-Icelandic text was printed side by side with Latin and Swedish translations. The edition is followed by a short commentary, which mentions various references to *Hrómundur* in Swedish place names, archaeological finds, and folklore, thus bearing witness to the Swedish interest in the story about *Hrómundur*.

This section has demonstrated how the scholarly networks of late seventeenth-century Denmark and beyond overlapped with the scribal network of people responsible for the creation and circulation of *Hrómundar saga*. It has shown that various scholars in Iceland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were to a certain extent interested in the story of *Hrómundur* and involved in the production and dissemination of its earliest manuscripts. The textual relationships among the discussed manuscripts are presented in Chapter 2.

### 1.3 Researching the saga after 1800

The arbitrary watershed of 1800 is introduced here to separate the early modern, antiquarian enquiries into *Hrómundar saga* from more systematic, scholarly examinations of its origins and trans-

56. For Hadorph's biography, see: Westrin et al., *Nordisk familjebok. Konversationslexikon och realencyklopedi*, 966–968.

57. Gödel, *Katalog öfver Kongl. bibliotekets fornisländska och formorska handskrifter*, 229. For Dal's biography, see: Boëthius et al., *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, IX:790.

mission history. Although the resemblance between Erik Julius Björner's approach to the saga in 1737 and the earliest nineteenth-century discussion by Peter Erasmus Müller (1776–1834), discussed below, cannot be overlooked.

The publication of the Danish summary of the saga accompanied by a commentary by Peter Erasmus Müller, a Danish bishop, historian, and linguist, is a manifestation of the long-standing Danish scholarly interest in the saga of Hrómundur, extending into the nineteenth century.<sup>58</sup> Müller already mentioned *HsG* and its relationship to *Porgils saga og Hafliða* in his *Über den Ursprung und Verfall der isländischen Historiographie, nebst einem Anhang über die Nationalität der altnordischen Gedichte*.<sup>59</sup> In *Sagabibliothek*, Müller further drew scholarly attention to the accounts about Hrómundur found not only in *Porgils saga og Hafliða*, but also in *Landnámabók*, other Icelandic sagas, and some Scandinavian ballads. He was clearly interested in the medieval origins of the story, as suggested by his conclusion that 'Denne Saga er altsaa den ældste islandske, som vi med Vished vide at være opdigtet' (this saga as the oldest Icelandic saga that we with certainty know was composed).<sup>60</sup> At the same time, just as his predecessors, Müller paid no attention to the textual transmission of the saga, or the early modern origins of the *17HsG*.

The first scholar to draw attention to the similarities between various texts of *17HsG* was Carl Christian Rafn, who briefly discussed the manuscripts used for his edition in the introduction.<sup>61</sup> Rafn listed three manuscripts of the saga: the already mentioned AM 587 b 4to (A587), AM 193 e fol. (A193), and AM 345 4to (A345), as well as Björner's edition. This suggests that he examined a limited number of manuscripts, focusing on these available to him in Copenhagen. He chose A587 as the basis for the main text of the

58. For Müller's biography, see Bricka, *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, XI:602–606. Müller's summary appeared in the second volume of the collection Müller, *Sagabibliothek*, II:545–556. His summary relies on Björner's edition and that dependence can be seen in selected variant readings which 'survived' the translation process, for example 'og efter fire Dages...' (p. 546) and 'og overvundet 134 i holmgang' (p. 547).

59. Müller, *Über den Ursprung und Verfall der isländischen Historiographie, nebst einem Anhang über die Nationalität der altnordischen Gedichte*, 42.

60. Müller, *Sagabibliothek*, II:556.

61. Rafn, *Fornaldar sögur Norðrlanda eptir gömlum handritum*, xii–xiii.

edition and provided very limited variant apparatus with the selected readings from A345 and Björner's edition. No clear relationship between the manuscripts can be established based on the information provided in the introduction, other than that Rafn considered A193 closely related to A345, which in turn was closely related to Björner's edition.

Some time after the publication of Rafn's edition, Jón Sigurðsson (1811–1879), an Icelandic politician and archivist, showed some interest in the story of *Hrómundur*.<sup>62</sup> Even though he did not publish anything about *HsG* in particular, he included information about *Griplur* in his *Rímnatal*, which can be found in JS 314 8vo, held in *Landsbókasafn Íslands*. In JS 314 8vo (f. 264r), he observed that the *Griplur* are old and based on better manuscripts than the ones used for the edition of the saga. Moreover, in one of his marginal notes accompanying *Griplur* in JS 55 4to (f. 46r), Jón Sigurðsson drew attention to the relationship between *Griplur*, *17HsG*, and the lost saga mentioned in *Þorgils saga og Haflíða*, but it is unknown how he interpreted the relationships between these works.<sup>63</sup>

The first attempt to evaluate the relationships between the lost saga, *Griplur*, and *17HsG* was undertaken by Eugen Kölbing (1876) in his *Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Geschichte der Romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters*.<sup>64</sup> Kölbing concluded that the seventeenth-century saga is independent from the *rímur* and they both are derived from a lost medieval saga about *Hrómundur*. Kölbing did not limit his analysis to the relationships between the *rímur* and the saga. He also touched upon the matter of the filiation of the saga texts, as preserved in various manuscripts known to him. He contributed significantly to the research on the *HsG* tradition by bringing to scholarly attention other manuscripts of the saga not mentioned in Rafn's edition.

From his overview of the material available to him, however, we can clearly see the limitations of his conclusions. Kölbing poin-

62. For Jón Sigurðsson's biography, see Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar aviskrár*, III:266.

63. Kapitan, 'Medieval Poetry in Post-medieval Manuscripts: New Perspectives on the Transmission History of *Griplur*'.

64. Kölbing, *Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Geschichte der Romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters*.

ted out that A601 should be taken into consideration while discussing the transmission of *17HsG* as it contains some good readings, but at the same time he dismissed A193, based on Rafn's incorrect assessment that its text is almost identical with the text of A345. Kölbing did not have access to A345 to verify Rafn's judgement and had to rely on the limited apparatus of that edition. Kölbing stated that he briefly examined British Library manuscript Sloane 4860 and considered it worthless, while he did not have a chance to consult Swedish translations of the saga in Papp. fol. 98 (P98).<sup>65</sup> Based on this limited material, Kölbing excluded the possibility that any of the examined manuscripts could be a *codex optimus* of the existing tradition or even a textual ancestor of the other examined manuscripts of *17HsG*.<sup>66</sup>

His observations suggest that he greatly relied on Rafn's edition, even regarding the readings of Björner's edition. For example, Kölbing considered 'hverju' missing in A601, but failed to notice that A601 and P67 (or Björner's edition) have actually a different reading: 'einu' instead of 'hverju'. This variant is not included in the apparatus of Rafn's edition, therefore, Kölbing did not know it. Additionally, the reading 'Lára' for 'Kára' suggests that he did not consult A587 either, or he would have noticed that A587 preserved 'Kára', not 'Lára', as Rafn's edition suggested. According to Kölbing, A587, P67 (or rather Björner's edition based on P67), A345, and A601 are independent from each other, and presumably derived from a lost manuscript Y.

Kölbing's conclusions regarding the relationships between manuscripts of the saga were brought into question already by Andrews in 1911. He pointed out the error in Rafn's edition regarding the name of Helgi's mistress, 'Lára'.<sup>67</sup> Additionally, he dismissed as of minor importance the variant 'hverju' for 'einu', on which Kölbing built his argument that A601 cannot be an ancestor of the other manuscripts. Andrews's conclusions went in the opposite direction, rejecting the idea that all the manuscripts are independent from each other. He suggested instead that A601 preserves the ori-

65. Under shelfmark 'Sloane mscr. 4860 (Britt. Mus)' Kölbing must mean BL Add. 4859. It is worth noting that today BL Add. 4860 preserves some *fornaldarsögur* and *riddarasögur*, but not *17HsG*. Kölbing, 160.

66. Kölbing, 181.

67. Andrews, 'Studies in the Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda', 528.

ginal text of the saga and is the ancestor of the entire tradition (and the *codex optimus*).<sup>68</sup>

Andrews grouped the texts into two branches and presented them in the form of a very basic stemma.<sup>69</sup> On one side, he placed manuscripts in Ásgeir Jónsson's hand A587, A193, and the third unnamed branch which must represent T1768, to which he refers in the text. On the other side, he placed P67 and A345.

Andrews' observations are for the most part correct, but it has to be emphasised that he certainly relied on Björner's edition and not on the actual readings of P67, as he reproduced errors originating from the edition. To mention a few clear examples:

- 370:18: 'lendar' against 'herðar' is an error based on Björner's edition, as P67 (f. 109v:19) preserves 'lendar'.
- 365:16–17: 'Ólafr konungr austr' against 'Ólafr konungr vestr' is an incorrect variant, as the reading *vestur* in P67 (f. 102v:18) is a later correction made in a different hand. The original *austur*, still readable, was crossed over and replaced with *vestur*. This change is important from the perspective of the saga's transmission, to identify manuscripts presumably derived from P67 and preserving the corrected version, but not from the perspective of Andrews' aim to reveal the original. In that case, the original reading of P67 agrees with A587 and A601 against A345, which preserves the reading 'Ólafr norðr'.
- 375:13 'so' against 'hrifjar' should be: 'hrifjar so' as preserved in P67 against 'hrifjar þar með' in other manuscripts. This reading is registered in Björner's edition, thus it must be Andrews' error.

Therefore, Andrews' stemma omits one of the oldest texts of the saga, the one preserved in P67, which is one of two manuscripts of the saga in Jón Eggertsson's hand. It is worth mentioning that there are also two errors in the readings of A345, which Andrews used for his analysis, which are his misreadings:

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68. Andrews, 'Studies in the Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda', 530–531.

69. Andrews, 531.

- 366:4: ‘styrði’ against ‘réði’ in other manuscripts. Even though this reading is unclear, A345 (f. 74v:17) preserves the abbreviated form of ‘Rieþe’,
- 368:10: ‘hit má’ against ‘hann má’, while A345 (f. 75v:2) preserves the abbreviated form of ‘ham’.

Regarding the relationships between the saga and the *rímur*, Andrews did not agree with Kölbing either. He saw the saga as a paraphrase of the *rímur*, but not directly related to any of the known texts of *Griplur*.

Andrews’ analysis of *Griplur* was based on Finnur Jónsson’s edition from 1896, in which Finnur Jónsson used exclusively AM 610 c 4to, AM 146 a 8vo, and AM 387 fol.. The latter was treated as a reliable copy of Cod. Guelf. 42.7. Aug. 4to.<sup>70</sup> Only a few years later, Finnur Jónsson published *Rímnasafn*, in which he expanded the edition with variant readings from Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, Acc. 22. Thus Andrews’ analysis, regardless of how thorough and convincing, was already outdated at the time of its publication. Andrews mentions the new edition in one of the footnotes, where he makes a brief observation regarding Acc. 22, but his whole study relies on *Fernir fornúslenskir rímnaflokkar* and Acc. 22 had not yet been systematically studied.<sup>71</sup> The editor of *Griplur*, Finnur Jónsson, sparsely commented on the discrepancies between the saga and the *rímur* in the commentary accompanying

70. For more information on the manuscripts of *Griplur*, see: Kapitan, ‘Medieval Poetry in Post-medieval Manuscripts: New Perspectives on the Transmission History of *Griplur*’.

71. Andrews, ‘Studies in the Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda’, 540. Andrews’ article was published with the date April 1911, while Finnur’s new edition of *Griplur* was published in fascicles in 1909 and 1910. It is highly possible that these two scholars were in some contact, as Andrews is known to have visited Copenhagen, probably during his time as a PhD student in Kiel (see his biography, archived on 20/06/2023 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20230620171230/http://bhort.bh.cornell.edu/andrews.htm>), and Finnur might have informed Andrews about the acquisition of Acc. 22 in 1902 and his updated edition, but it seems doubtful that Andrews has studied its readings as systematically as he studied readings of the remaining manuscripts. The footnote seems like an attempt to ‘cover his back’ as he probably already realised that his study had become outdated the very moment it was published. If Andrews had analysed the readings and structure of Acc. 22 in an equally detailed way as he had studied other manuscripts, we would expect Acc. 22 and its obvious transpositions of stanzas to appear in his table with the overview of the transpositions Andrews, 535.

his edition, which led him to the conclusion that the saga is based on the *rímur*.<sup>72</sup> Björn K. Þórólfsson agreed with Andrews and Finnur Jónsson concluding that *17HsG* is derived from *rímur*. He furthermore suggested that the text is closely related to the *rímur* preserved in AM 146 a 8vo.<sup>73</sup>

Conversely, the idea of the *rímur* and the saga being independent of each other, as suggested by Kölbing, was revived by Hooper. He believed that the seventeenth-century saga is based on the lost saga, with certain interpolations from the *rímur*.<sup>74</sup> Hooper presented his stemma of the relationships between, among others, the *rímur* and the saga, but did not devote much attention to the relationships between various texts of the saga, accepting Andrews' conclusion on the matter.<sup>75</sup>

Hooper's conclusion regarding the saga-*rímur* relationship relies greatly on the note which follows *17HsG* in A601, A587, A193, and (in an abridged form) in T1768. As it is discussed in greater detail in the following chapter (Section 2.4), the note mentions an illegible exemplar, but this is not strong enough evidence to support Hooper's conclusion. At the same time, Hooper probably saw as one of his strong arguments for the independence of the saga and the *rímur* the absence of one of Blindur's dreams from *Griplur*. This had already been observed by Finnur Jónsson.<sup>76</sup> This dream can, however, be seen as a misunderstanding in the saga, which originates in stanza VI:31 of the *rímur*. This would then provide further evidence for the opposite argument than the one Hooper was making.

Some time after Hooper's article appeared, Brown rejected his conclusion and successfully demonstrated, by emphasizing numerous alterations and reminiscences of poetic form underlying the saga, that the saga is based on the *rímur*. She concluded:

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72. Finnur Jónsson, *Rímnaśafn*, 409–410; Finnur Jónsson, *Den islandske Litteraturs Historie, tilligemed den oldnordiske*, 333–334; Finnur Jónsson, *Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturs historie*, 802–803.

73. Björn K. Þórólfsson, *Rímur fyrir 1600*, 353.

74. Hooper, 'Hrómundar saga Greipssonar', x–xvi; Hooper, 'Hrómundar saga Grippssonar and the Griplur', 56.

75. Hooper, 'Hrómundar saga Greipssonar', iii–iv.

76. Finnur Jónsson, *Rímnaśafn*, 410.

A close comparison of the texts of S [saga] and R [*rímur*] suggests very strongly that S is a paraphrase of R. The writer has sometimes abbreviated his text severely and at other times borrowed whole verses, altering only the position or tense of words to disguise the verse-form.<sup>77</sup>

Brown's interpretation of the relationships between *17HsG* and *Griplur* became an accepted opinion in the scholarly discussion since then.<sup>78</sup>

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77. Brown, 'The Saga of Hrómund Gripsson and Þorgilssaga', 77.

78. Jesch, 'Hrómundr Gripsson Revisited', 91; Jesch, 'Hrómundar saga Gripssonar', 305; Foote, 'Hrómundar saga Gripssonar', 321; Jørgensen, 'The Neglected Genre of Rímur-Derived Prose and Post-Reformation Jónatas Saga', 191; Tulinius, 'Kynjasögur úr fortíð og framandi löndum', 174; Driscoll, 'The Oral, the Written, and the In-between: Textual Instability in the Post-Reformation Lygisaga', 210; Driscoll, 'Pleasure and Pastime: The Manuscripts of Guðbrandur Sturlaugsson á Hvítadal', 248; Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir, 'Tales of Generations: A Comparison between Some Icelandic and Geatish Narrative Motifs', 14; Kapitan, 'Hrómundur in Prose and Verse'.



## Chapter 2

### Oldest manuscripts of *17HsG*

The manuscripts discussed in this chapter, as listed in relative chronological order in Table 2.1, constitute the oldest part of the tradition of *17HsG*, as they were all written in the second half of the seventeenth century. The discussion of these manuscripts is separated from the younger part of the tradition (Chapter 3) not only due to the chronology but also because these are the manuscripts upon which previous scholars based their arguments regarding the saga's transmission (Section 1.3).<sup>1</sup> Ultimately, due to the high level of variation within the tradition, only the readings from these manuscripts are included in the variant apparatus of the edition of *17HsG* accompanying the present study. This chapter describes the oldest manuscripts of *17HsG*, assesses the relationships between the texts they preserve, and discusses the manuscript contexts in which the saga appears.

As presented in Table 2.1, all the oldest texts of the saga were written mainly by three scribes. Therefore, they are grouped and discussed separately in the following subsections. Section 2.1 discusses the two manuscripts in the hand of Jón Eggertsson, a poet and manuscript collector who is considered to have been responsible for converting *rímur* into prose (A601 and P67). Section 2.2 discusses the manuscripts mainly in the hand of Ásgeir Jónsson

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1. For competing perspectives on the relationships between these manuscripts, see Kölbing, *Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Geschichte der Romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters*; Andrews, 'Studies in the Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda'. It should be noted here that B4859 was dismissed by both Andrews and Kölbing as worthless, while L222 was most likely unknown to them; both manuscripts are included in my analysis based on the chronological criteria.

(ca. 1657–1707),<sup>2</sup> a scribe known primarily for his work for Torfæus from 1688 onwards (A193, A587, and T1768). Section 2.3 discusses the manuscripts in the hand of Jón Þórðarson, one of the scribes of Magnús Jónsson í Vigur (A345, B4859, and L222).<sup>3</sup>

Table 2.1: Oldest manuscripts of *17HsG*

Siglum	Shelfmark	Date <sup>4</sup>	Scribe
A601	AM 601 b 4to	1683–1687	Jón Eggertsson
P67	Papp. Fol. nr 67	1687	Jón Eggertsson
A587	AM 587 b 4to	1686–1688	Ásgeir Jónsson & Eyjólfur Björnsson
T1768	Thott 1768 4to	1686–1697	Ásgeir Jónsson
A193	AM 193 e fol.	1690–1697	Ásgeir Jónsson
A345	AM 345 4to	1695	Jón Þórðarson
B4859	BL Add. 4859	1695	Jón Þórðarson
L222	Lbs 222 fol.	1695	Jón Þórðarson

2. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar aviskrár*, I:91–92.

3. All manuscript descriptions are based on those available in the *Stories for all time* catalogue (<http://fasnl.net>) and *Handrit* (<http://handrit.org>), unless otherwise specified, and are expanded by my first-hand observations of the manuscripts.

4. The dates given in this column are, whenever possible to establish, the dates of copying of *17HsG*; otherwise, the broader dating of the manuscripts is provided.

## 2.1 Jón Eggertsson's group

### AM 601 b 4to (A601)

AM 601 b 4to (A601), held in Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, is a paper manuscript in quarto. It is broadly dated by Kålund to the seventeenth century.<sup>5</sup> The manuscript consists of 10 leaves of watermarked paper gathered in two quires (I<sup>4</sup>–II<sup>4+2</sup>). The structure of quire II is as follows: (5+8, 6+7, 9, 10).<sup>6</sup>

The material analysis of the manuscript suggests that it is made of recycled paper. The paper probably originates from some book of records or accounts, as the sheets have the written area marked for folio format. Additionally, there are traces of older foliation oriented for folio format in the corners of some leaves; for example, ff. 6+7 have the number 176 and ff. 5+8 have the number 177.

A601 preserves only two *rímur*-based sagas, *17HsG* (ff. 1r–6r) and *Bragða-Ölvis saga* (ff. 6v–10v). Both texts are accompanied by Árni Magnússon's notes that specify that these texts are based on the *rímur*. For both sagas, A601 has been suggested as the best-text manuscript.<sup>7</sup> The text of *17HsG* in A601 is followed by a note that discusses the hypothetical exemplar, see further discussion in Section 2.4.

The manuscript is written in one hand throughout, and the hand can be identified as that of Jón Eggertsson (ca. 1643–1689), whom we have already encountered in the previous chapter. There we have learned that Jón Eggertsson, in the years 1682–1683, was collecting manuscripts in Iceland for the Swedish *Antikvitet-*

5. Kålund, *Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, I:769.

6. The fifth and sixth leaves of this quire (ff. 9 and 10 of the manuscript) were never one conjoint leaf, as f. 9 has no watermark, while f. 10 has a partial watermark. These two leaves are currently attached with a piece of Japanese paper to the first leaf of the gathering (f. 5). Previously, they were glued together. It is possible that the manuscript originally consisted of three binions, and the third quire consisted of 9+\*12, 10+\*11. I would like to thank Natasha Fazlic and Mustafa Kamal from Den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling in Copenhagen for their help in determining the quire structure of this manuscript when it was on loan in Copenhagen in 2018.

7. Andrews, 'Studies in the Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda'; Hooper, '*Bragða-Ölvis saga* Now First Edited'; Hooper, '*Bragða Ölvis saga* and *rímur*'. Teresa Dröfn Njarðvík is currently working on her doctoral project devoted to *Bragða-Ölvis saga*.

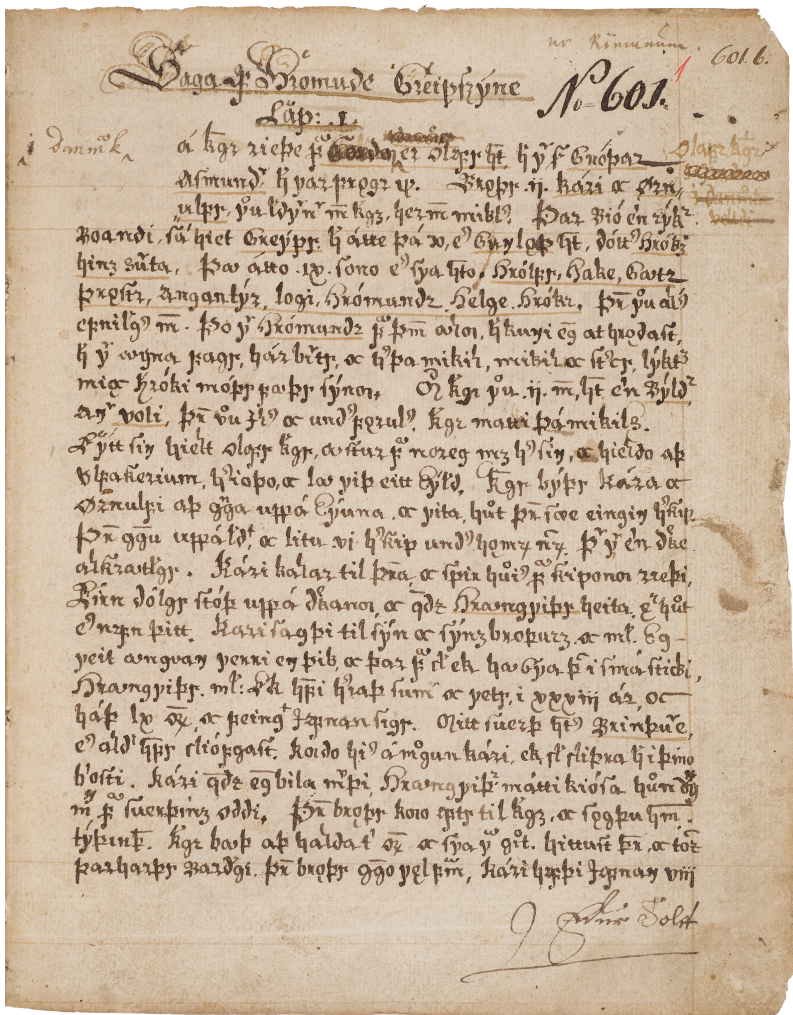


Figure 2.1: Beginning of 17HsG in AM 601 b 4to, f. 1r  
(Photo: Handrit.org)

*skollegium*. He also copied a remarkable number of manuscripts while he was in prison in Copenhagen in the years 1684–1687.<sup>8</sup> Based on his lifespan, the date of writing of A601 could be narrowed down to ca. 1660–89. However, when we take into account the chronology of his scholarly enterprise, especially the fact that he first obtained a manuscript of *Griplur* during his visit to Iceland (\*JE 27 4to, discussed in Section 1.2), it is safe to assume that Jón wrote the manuscript at some point between 1683 and 1687, when the copy of 17HsG in P67 was made.

There is a number of marginal notes accompanying the text of 17HsG, some of which are approximately from the time of writing of the manuscript, and appear to be written in the same hand and with the same ink as the main text.<sup>9</sup> Others most likely post-date the writing of the main text but appear still to be in the main scribe's hand. There are also scholarly marginalia, some of them from Árni Magnússon's time and in his own hand, while others appear to be younger. The list of marginal notes includes the content-related marginalia and corrections in the main scribe's hand:

- ‘Olafr kongr | illegible | j danmerkr | velldi’ (f. 1r) (Figure 2.1);
- ‘helgi | frækni’ ((f. 1v), which refers to the underlined text introducing Helgi, same practice in many of the cases below;
- ‘Þa voru | 2 kongar J | Suiþiod | hietu baþer | Halldinar | NB Cp. 3.’ (f. 1v), which refers to the underlined name of Sweden and the third chapter of the saga, in which kings from Sweden challenge Ólafur to battle;
- ‘máni kall’ (f. 1v);
- ‘valland | Þráinn’ (f. 2r);
- ‘Semingur | kongr J | Suiþiod’ (f. 3r);
- ‘xxiv’ (f. 3r), addition made in the same ink as the main text probably at the time of writing;
- ‘Suerþid | Mistillteirn’ (f. 3r);

8. Jucknies, *Der Horizont eines Schreibers, Jón Eggertsson (1643–89) und seine Handschriften*, 93–96; Már Jónsson, *Arnus Magnæus Philologus (1663–1730)*, 44; Bjarni Einarsson, ‘Om Jón Eggertsson, Antikvitetskollegiets islandske agent. Et trehundredeårsminde’, xiv, xxxi; Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar aviskrár*, III:85–86.

9. The conclusion regarding the ink used in the margins is based on multi spectral analysis, see Kapitan and Stegmann, ‘Writing, Correcting and Annotating AM 601 b 4to: Material and Multispectral Analysis’.

- ‘sinz | rijkis’ (f. 3r), a correction made probably at the time of writing, substituting the deleted ‘danmerkr’;
- ‘kongz sistr | dagni, | suanhuyt’ (f. 3r);
- ‘helgi broder | hraungvitz’ (f. 3v);
- ‘vatniþ | væner | var fro[zit] | oc lá yz | yfer’ (f. 3v);
- ‘kara | frilla | helga’ (f. 4r);
- ‘kara do’ (f. 4r);
- ‘Hromundr | Rifar | saman | kvid sinn’ (f. 4v);
- ‘hromundur | misti Sverþ | sitt ofan | um ys’ (f. 4v);
- ‘Hagall kall’ (f. 4v);
- ‘J Geddo | maga | fanst | Mistillteirn’ (f. 5r);
- ‘Blindr | er hiet | Bauvys | leytar Hromundar’ (f. 5r);
- ‘Blind | dreymdi’ (f. 5r);
- ‘og alla kongs | menn’ (f. 5v), an addition made at the time of writing;

the origin and content-oriented marginalia in Árni’s hand:

- ‘ur Rímunum’ (f. 1r);
- ‘i danmörk’ (f. 1r);
- ‘mendacium est þetta er teked ur Rimunum’ (f. 6r);

other marginalia, related to the cataloguing of the manuscript:

- ‘No\_601.’ (f. 1r), most likely by Jón Ólafsson;
- ‘601b’ (f. 1r), most likely by Jón Ólafsson;
- foliation in red ink, most likely by Kálund.

The majority of the marginal notes in Jón Eggertsson’s hand are navigational aids, which make it easier to find passages of interest.<sup>10</sup> They give us insight into Jón Eggertsson’s reception of this story, as to which episodes he found interesting or important enough, so that he wanted to be able to easily find them in the text. The marginal notes by Árni Magnússon focus on the origin of the story. The note on f. 6r, ‘mendacium est. þetta er teked ur Rimunum’ (it is a lie this is taken from the *rímur*), refers to the information provided by the postscript of the saga, which is discussed in Section 2.4 (Figure 2.2). This marginal note together with the note on the first leaf, ‘ur Rímunum’ (from the *rímur*), suggest that

10. By navigational aids, I mean notes that facilitate the navigation of the text and location of relevant passages; these are also referred to as finding aids, for example in Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, 43–45.

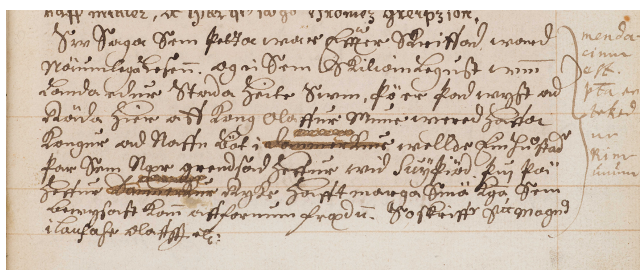


Figure 2.2: Postscript following 17HsG in AM 601 b 4to, f. 6r  
(Photo: Handrit.org)

Árni knew, or was convinced, that the text in A601 is a reworking of the *rímur*.

It is unknown when exactly A601 joined the collection of Árni Magnússon, but it was already there at the time when Jón Ólafsson prepared his catalogue of the Arnamagnæan Collection. The catalogue is preserved in AM 456 fol. and AM 477 fol., and according to its record, A601 was part of manuscript number 601 in quarto (to which I refer as \*AM 601 4to).<sup>11</sup> According to the catalogue, this manuscript contained ‘Efne (edur innehalld) ur nockrum Rimum’ (AM 456 fol., f. 24r), including the summary of the following: *Ásmundar rímur og Tryggva*,<sup>12</sup> *Ormars rímur Framarssonar*, *Gríms rímur og Hjálmars*, *Úlfhams rímur*, *Sigurðar rímur Fornasonar* (today in AM 601 a 4to), *Hrómundar rímur* and *Bragða-Ölvis rímur* (together in A601), *Þóris háleggs rímur* (AM 601 c 4to), *Skjaldar þátur Danakonungs* (AM 601 d 4to). Considering the heterogeneous nature of the individual parts, it is clear that \*AM 601 4to was a composite manuscript. Given the chronology of some of its parts, it is probably safe to assume that \*AM 601 4to was a result of Árni’s enterprise to aggregate texts dealing with the contents of various sets of *rímur*.

11. As previously mentioned, my naming practice of former codices is inspired by that introduced by Beeke Stegmann in her ‘Árni Magnússon’s Rearrangement of Paper Manuscripts’; I add the asterisk in front of the siglum to make disambiguation easier.

12. This part is today either lost or a part of another manuscript, perhaps AM 576 b 4to, but this requires further investigation.

From Árni Magnússon's correspondence, we know that he was interested in receiving prose summaries of the contents of *rímur*. Prose summaries were probably easier to use in his examination of intertextual relationships between various Old Norse-Icelandic stories than works written in the poetic form of *rímur*.<sup>13</sup> It is unknown when the individual parts got separated, or in fact, whether the individual parts registered as \*AM 601 4to were ever bound into a single volume. Regardless, A601 remained in Copenhagen until 1975, when it was transferred to Iceland.

### Papp. Fol. nr 67 (P67)

Papp. Fol. nr 67 (P67), held in Kungliga biblioteket in Stockholm, is a paper manuscript in folio format, which consists of iii+178+iv leaves of watermarked paper.<sup>14</sup> P67 is dated to the second half of the seventeenth century, but the date 1687 is attested twice on f. 2r.<sup>15</sup> It appears first on the right margin, written probably in the main scribe's hand 'Skrifaþor eptir | miög gamlri | Membrana | Kiöbenhafn | Anno 1687' (Written after a very old parchment manuscript, Copenhagen 1687). It appears again on top of the same page in a marginal note regarding the acquisition of the manuscript: 'ankommit fráan Copenhagen 5 Octob: | Anno 1687 | 45 Drk' (arrived from Copenhagen on 5 October 1687. 45 riksdaler).

P67 preserves twenty two sagas, short tales, *rímur*, some riddles, and excerpts. They appear in the following order: *Stjörnu-Odda draumur* (ff. 2r–11r), *Bergbúa þáttur* (ff. 11v–13r), *Kumlbúa þáttur* (ff. 13v–14r), *Draumur Þorsteins Síðu-Hallssonar* (ff. 14r–14v), *Svarfdæla saga* (ff. 15r–55r), *Valla-Ljóts saga* (ff. 56r–71r), *Ævintýr af einum bónda og einum fugli* (ff. 71v), *Ævintýr af tveimur kaupmönnum* (ff. 72r–73r), *Ævintýr af þremur stallbræðrum* (ff. 73v), *Filipórímur* (ff. 74r–90v), two riddles (ff. 90v), various verses, including stan-

13. Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir, *Úlfhams saga*, I; Kapitan and Lavender, 'The Prose Summary as Antiquarian Tool and Literary Springboard: An Edition and Translation of Ormars Þáttur Framarsonar', 101–102.

14. The quire structure of the manuscript is irregular and could not be examined due to tight binding. It seems like quaternions and ternions dominate. I would like to thank Patrik Granholm and Christina Svensson from Kungliga biblioteket for their help with the physical examination of this manuscript.

15. Gödel, *Katalog öfver Kongl. bibliotekets fornisländska och formorska handskrifter*, 196–199.

zas from *Grettis saga* and *Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu* (ff. 91v), *Gríms rímur og Hjálmars* (ff. 92v–101v), *17HsG* (ff. 102v–116v), *Bragða-Ölvis saga* (ff. 117v–128v), *Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar* (ff. 129v–144v), *Þorsteins þáttur Austfirðings* (ff. 148v–151v), *Þorsteins saga hvíta* (ff. 152v–167v), *Albanus saga Vigvaldssonar* (ff. 168r–179v).

The leaves at the beginning of the codex, ff. 1–91, are written on both sides, but in the later part, ff. 92–179, the texts are written mainly on the verso side, leaving the rectos blank. The blank side was probably intended for a Swedish or Latin translation of the text which was never supplied.<sup>16</sup> There are other known manuscripts which preserve multilingual texts of the sagas, and this seems to be typical of antiquarian manuscripts from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. For example, Papp. fol. nr 73, dated to 1738, preserves *Gríms saga loðinkinna*, *Ketils saga hængs*, and *Örvar-Odds saga*, with the Old Norse-Icelandic text on the verso side and a Swedish translation on the recto side; Papp. fol. nr 90, dated to 1683–1720, preserves *Hálfðanar saga Eysteinsonar* written in two columns, Old Norse-Icelandic on the left-hand column and Swedish on the right-hand column; similarly Papp. fol. nr 88, dated to 1683–1691, preserves *Göngu-Hrólf's saga* written in two columns with Old Norse and Swedish side by side.

On f. 1r of P67, there is a table of contents which starts with the words: 'Registur Jfer Þat Sem ä Hier medfilgiande. 28 Ørkum Finst Skrifadt' (Register over this, which can be found written on the following 28 sheets), followed by a list of the first five sagas included in the extant manuscript. In the right margin, there is the note 'skrifad Epter miög gamlri Membrana' (written after a very old parchment manuscript), emphasising that the volume contains ancient texts. The items listed in the table of contents and the introductory note mentioning 28 sheets of paper suggest that the codex originally contained, or was supposed to contain, only 56 leaves in folio format, so 28 sheets of paper, preserving these five *Íslendingasögur* and *Íslendingaþættir*, but the final product that reached Stockholm in 1687 was extended by additional texts. The table of contents on f. 1r continues and lists the remaining texts in the volume, but this

16. Jucknies, *Der Horizont eines Schreibers, Jón Eggertsson (1643–89) und seine Handschriften*, 134.

part of the table of contents is written in a different script type and perhaps also in a different hand.

P67 is written in one main hand, which can be identified as that of Jón Eggertsson, thanks to the slip of paper with a note in Johan Hadorph's hand identifying Jón as the scribe.<sup>17</sup> The analysis of the corpus copied by Jón conducted by Jucknies also confirms this attribution. Jucknies observed that P67 is a copy of A601 and that it clearly had to be intended for a Swedish audience. The script type is much clearer than in A601, the abbreviations are expanded and the language is slightly adjusted, making P67 easier to read for non-Icelanders.<sup>18</sup>

The text of *17H:G* is accompanied by marginalia in Guðmundur Ólafsson's (1652–95) hand, who might also be responsible for underlining person and place names in the text. The marginalia are listed below:

- 'Ölafur kóngur | i GardaRíke, | son Gnodar- | Äsmundar.' (f. 102v);
- 'NB. | Hrökur hinn | svarte: Gunnlóð döttler hanns. | Hrómundur | Gripsson | og brædur hans voru hennar synir' (f. 102v);
- '~~Hrómundur~~ Gripsson helge hin frækne | landvarnar madur | i Sviþiöð.' (f. 104v);
- 'Þräinn | kóngur i | Vallande' (f. 106v);
- 'Semingur | kóngur i Svijþiöð' (f. 108r);
- 'halldingar, edur | Haddingar | tveir kóngar | i Svijþiöð: | og Helge hinn | frækne, Bröder | Hraungvidz.' (f. 109v);
- 'Kära | Galldrakolna' (f. 110v);
- 'Hagall | kall. ' (f. 112v).

Additionally, the text is followed by a short note, which specifies that Hrómundur is mentioned in chapter 2 of *Flóamanna saga*. These annotations give us insight into Guðmundur Ólafsson's reception of the saga at the time when he was working for the Swedish *Antikvitetskollegium*. He was clearly interested in the Swedish aspects of the story, as well as in names of various kings mentioned in the

17. Gödel, *Fornorsk-isländsk litteratur i Sverige I: Till Antikvitetskollegiets inrättande*, 206–207; Gödel, *Katalog öfver Kongl. bibliotekets fornisländska och fornorska handskrifter*, 198–199.

18. Jucknies, *Der Horizont eines Schreibers, Jón Eggertsson (1643–89) und seine Handschriften*, 96.

saga. Interestingly, he does not annotate Ólafur's sisters' names, as Jón Eggertsson does in A601, but he does so with the name of Kára, whom he describes as 'Galldrakona' (the sorceress). Clearly, Kára, as Helgi's mistress, is more relevant for the Swedish audience because Helgi is presented as a *landvarnarmaður* (defender of the land) in Sweden.

Regarding the provenance of P67, as previously mentioned, the manuscript arrived in Stockholm in 1687, shortly after the texts preserved in it were copied. It is still in Stockholm, where the manuscript can be found today.

## 2.2 Ásgeir Jónsson's group

### AM 587 b 4to (A587)

AM 587 b 4to (A587), held in the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in quarto, which consists of 11 leaves gathered in two quires (I<sup>4</sup>, II<sup>8</sup> wants 8).<sup>19</sup> The first quire is made of watermarked paper, while the second quire is made of thicker paper without any watermarks. Kålund dated the manuscript to ca. 1700.<sup>20</sup> According to Már Jónsson, however, the manuscript was written in the years 1686–1688,<sup>21</sup> or ca. 1688.<sup>22</sup> The manuscript preserves only one text, *17HsG*, written on ff. 1–11.

A587 is written in two hands, and the hand shift overlaps with the quire boundary. The first four leaves are written by Ásgeir Jónsson (ca. 1657–1707),<sup>23</sup> while the remaining leaves are written by Eyjólfur Björnsson (1666–1746), a priest and scribe known mainly for his work for Árni Magnússon.<sup>24</sup> The text of *17HsG* itself is, however, continuous and is written in one script type, i.e. chancery.

19. The structure of quire II is as follows: 5, 6+11, 7+10, 8+9. It is most likely that it used to be a regular quaternion, so the first leaf of the gathering (f. 5) was conjoint with \*f. 12.

20. Kålund, *Katalog over den Arnemagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, I:748–749.

21. Már Jónsson, 'Skrifarinn Ásgeir Jónsson frá Gullberastöðum í Lundarreykjadal', 285.

22. Már Jónsson, *Arnas Magnæus Philologus (1663–1730)*, 79.

23. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar aviskrár*, I:91–92.

24. Páll Eggert Ólason, I:451–452.

It is worth noting that in the part written by Ásgeir, the dominating shapes of the letters ‘s’ and ‘b’ – which are believed to have a clear chronological development in Ásgeir Jónsson’s hand – are the ‘s’ type 70 and ‘b’ type 35. These are contemporary with the letter forms in, for example, AM 38 fol., dated to before 1698.<sup>25</sup>

Már Jónsson suggests that the manuscript was written during the time when both Ásgeir Jónsson and Eyjólfur Björnsson were in Copenhagen, so between 1687 and 1688.<sup>26</sup> The hand shift in the middle of a text could equally well suggest a simultaneous collaboration between the two scribes, or a chronological development of the manuscript. It is easy to imagine a scenario in which Ásgeir Jónsson started copying the text of *17HsG*, but then left it unfinished when he left for Norway in 1688, and Eyjólfur Björnsson completed the transcription at a later point.

Considering the history of this manuscript, however, the simultaneous collaboration seems to be a more likely scenario. A587 joined the collection of Árni Magnússon in 1720, together with other manuscripts Árni acquired from the widow of Torfæus. At that time, it was part of Torfæus’ manuscript number XIII in 4to (henceforth \*TT XIII 4to).<sup>27</sup> There are traces of older pagination, from 253 on f. 1r to 274 on f. 11v, which probably reflect the position of *17HsG* in Torfæus’ manuscript. \*TT XIII 4to contained multiple texts written by both, Ásgeir Jónsson and Eyjólfur Björnsson. Among these texts was, for example, *Stjörnu-Odda draumur*, today preserved in AM 555 i 4to.<sup>28</sup> In the case of AM 555 i 4to, the first ten leaves of the manuscript are in Eyjólfur’s hand and the remaining six are in Ásgeir’s hand, the opposite situation to that observed in A587. While research into former codices owned by Torfæus is still ongoing, as part of my current research project, it seems quite likely that Ásgeir and Eyjólfur collaborated simultaneously on the production of \*TT XIII 4to.<sup>29</sup>

25. J. G. Jørgensen, *The Lost Vellum Kringla*, 237–238.

26. Már Jónsson, ‘Skrifarinna Ásgeir Jónsson frá Gullberastöðum í Lundarreykjadal’; Már Jónsson, *Arnas Magnæus Philologus (1663–1730)*.

27. Kålund, *Arne Magnússons i AM. 435 A-B, 4to indeholdte håndskriftfortegnelser med to tillæg*, 77–78.

28. Kålund, 78.

29. My current project, ‘Virtual Library of Torfæus: Manuscripts of Old Norse texts owned by the royal historiographer Thormodus Torfæus’, examines the dis-

As research by Beeke Stegmann demonstrated, \*TT XIII 4to was rearranged by Árni and eventually various parts of the manuscript either were made into separate manuscripts (i.e., today's AM 483 4to, AM 554 f 4to, AM 555 i 4to, A587, and AM 359 a 4to), became parts of other manuscripts (today's AM 1008 4to), or are lost. At the time when Jón Ólafsson prepared his catalogue, preserved in AM 456 fol. and AM 477 fol., A587 was part of manuscript number 587 in quarto (\*AM 587 4to), which contained *fornaldarsögur* and *þættir*: two copies of *Hróa þáttur heimiska*, 17HsG, *Göngu-Hrólf's saga*, *Sörla saga sterka*, *Áns saga bogsveigis* and two copies of *Sörla þáttur*. 17HsG was the only part of \*AM 587 4to that originated from \*TT XIII 4to.<sup>30</sup>

It is worth mentioning here that A587 contains a marginal note in Torfæus's hand on f. 5v which reads: 'Svanhuita Daglhy Systur Olafs | Kongs, Saga aff | Gaungu-Hrolfi | seiga bædi Olaff | kong er þær born | hans enu ecke Gnoðar] asmundar' (Svanhvít, Dagný sisters of King Ólafur. According to the saga of Göngu-Hrólfur, Ólafur and his sisters are his children, not Gnoðar-Ásmundur's.) This comment deals with the royal genealogies of Scandinavia, revealing Torfæus' interest in the contents of the story. As discussed in Section 1.2, we know that Torfæus had been interested in the story about Hrómundur at least since 1684 when he wrote a letter to Torfi Jónsson in which he asked for some information about various sagas, including the story about Hrómundur. Here, Torfæus observes that the account of *Göngu-Hrólf's saga* regarding Ólafur's and his sisters' father is different from the account in 17HsG. In *Göngu-Hrólf's saga*, it is Hrólfur, while in 17HsG it is Gnoðar-Ásmundur. The text of the saga is followed by a note that discusses the hypothetical exemplar, which is discussed further in Section 2.4.

Finally, it has to be mentioned that this manuscript, written in Copenhagen at the end of the seventeenth century, after a short period in Norway, eventually returned to Copenhagen. It was

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persed manuscripts previously owned by Torfæus. The project is funded by the Carlsberg Foundation (grant number CF20-0225) and hosted at the University of Oxford.

30. Stegmann, 'Árni Magnússon's Rearrangement of Paper Manuscripts', 83–90, 312.

housed at the Arnamagnæan Collection until its transfer to Iceland in 1982.

### Thott 1768 4to (T1768)

Thott 1768 4to (T1768), held in Det Kongelige Bibliotek in Copenhagen, is a paper manuscript in quarto, consisting of ii+294+ii leaves gathered in thirty-eight irregular quires (mostly quaternions and ternions) made of watermarked paper. The quire structure is I<sup>6</sup>, II<sup>10</sup>, III<sup>12</sup>, IV<sup>8</sup>-V<sup>8</sup>, VI<sup>6</sup>, VII<sup>8</sup>-XVII<sup>8</sup>, XVIII<sup>6</sup>-XX<sup>6</sup>, XXI<sup>8</sup>, XXII<sup>6</sup>-XXIII<sup>6</sup>, XXIV<sup>8</sup>-XXVI<sup>8</sup>, XXVII<sup>10</sup>, XXVIII<sup>8</sup>-XXIX<sup>8</sup>, XXX<sup>6</sup>-XXXI<sup>6</sup>, XXXII<sup>8</sup>-XXXIII<sup>8</sup>, XXXIV<sup>6</sup>, XXXV<sup>8</sup>-XXXVII<sup>8</sup>, XXXVIII<sup>10</sup>. Kålund dated the manuscript to the end of the seventeenth century, but there have been multiple attempts to date various parts of this manuscript more precisely.<sup>31</sup> No study of the complete manuscript, however, yet exists.

T1768 contains fifteen sagas, mainly *Íslendingasögur* and *Íslendingaþættir*, but also *fornaldarsögur*, one *riddarasaga*, and some short tales. The texts appear in this order: *Frá Fornjóti og hans ættmönnum* (ff. 1r-4r), table of contents (ff. 4v-5r),<sup>32</sup> *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka* (ff. 7r-16v), *Þorðar saga hreðu* (ff. 17r-49v),<sup>33</sup> *Svarfdæla saga* (ff. 51r-94v),<sup>34</sup> *Flóamanna saga* (ff. 99r-129v),<sup>35</sup> *Hreiðars þáttur heimska* (ff. 131r-139v), *Sneglu-Halla þáttur* (ff. 140r-149r),<sup>36</sup> *Brandkrossa þáttur* (ff. 151r-156v), *Droplaugarsona saga* (ff. 157r-177v), *Fóstiþræðra saga* (ff. 178r-232v), *Völsa þáttur* (ff. 233r-238r),<sup>37</sup> *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða* (ff. 239r-259v),<sup>38</sup> *17HsG* (ff. 261r-268v), *Hróa þáttur heimska* (ff. 269r-276v), *Möttuls saga* (ff. 277r-294v).

31. Kålund, *Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske håndskrifter i Det store kongelige bibliotek og i Universitetsbiblioteket*, 343-344; Loth, *Membrana regia deperdita*, xxxiii; Loth, 'Om nogle af Ásgeir Jónssons håndskrifter', 210; Seelow, 'Ásgeir Jónsson und seine 'membranagtige' Frakturschrift.', 662; Seelow, *Hálfs saga ok Hálfsrekka*, 59; J. G. Jørgensen, *The Lost Vellum Kringla*, 238; Már Jónsson, 'Skrifarinn Ásgeir Jónsson frá Gullberastöðum í Lundarreykjadal', 285.

32. Ff. 5v-6v are left blank.

33. F. 50r-v is left blank.

34. Ff. 95r-98v are left blank.

35. F. 130r-v is left blank.

36. Ff. 149v-150v are left blank.

37. F. 238v is left blank.

38. F. 260r-v is left blank.

The main bulk of the manuscript was written by Ásgeir Jónsson, but it appears clear that various parts of the manuscript were written at different times, as three different script types were used.<sup>39</sup> Only one text in T1768, *Flóamanna saga*, is dated, thanks to the colophon which states that the saga was finished on 2 June 1687 in Copenhagen. Based on the overlaps between text and quire boundaries, we can distinguish twelve production units, and 17HsG establishes one of them. The text is written on a single quire (XXXV) in Kurrent script, which according to Verri was Ásgeir's 'original' or 'default' script.<sup>40</sup> The text of 17HsG is followed by a note that discusses the hypothetical exemplar, further discussed in Section 2.4.

Elsewhere in the manuscript, there are additions in the hand of Jón Ólafsson Grunnvíkingur (1705–79), who examined this manuscript around 1754, as the note on f. 5r indicates.<sup>41</sup> The additions include two tables of contents on ff. 4v–5r, which make a very interesting example of saga classification and reflect Jón's reception of these sagas. If we take the table of contents at face value, we can conclude that Jón saw some of the stories included in this volume as historical sources, but others as fiction. On f. 4v there is an incomplete list of sagas included in the volume,<sup>42</sup> which starts with the header 'Personæ videntúr forté exstitisse' (Persons who seem perhaps to have existed), where the sagas are grouped by geographical area, first Norway, then Sweden, followed by Denmark, and finally Iceland. Icelandic sagas are divided into three subcategories: the northern group, the eastern group, and the southern group. 17HsG appears under the heading of Swedish sagas and is the only representative of this group. On f. 5r there is another table of contents, in which all the sagas are listed in the order in which they appear

39. Cf. Loth, *Membrana regia deperdita*, xxxiii. It's worth noting that already in Nyerup's catalogue, the manuscript is listed as 'Sagæ Islandicæ, cum indice ad frontem, scriptæ manu Asgeiri, Thormodi Torfæi librarii.' (Icelandic sagas, with an index at the beginning, written in the hand of Ásgeir, Torfæus' amanuensis), Nyerup, *Catalogi Bibliothecæ Thottianæ*, 475.

40. Verri, 'Um rithendur Ásgeirs Jónssonar: Nokkrar skriftarfræðilegar athugasemdir', 246, 248.

41. Kapitan, 'Between Truth and Fiction', 121.

42. It is not certain whether this list is incomplete or some of the texts were intentionally missing, but *Hreiðars þáttur heimska*, *Sneglu-Halla þáttur*, *Brandkrossa þáttur*, *Fósbæðra saga* and *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða* are missing from the list on f. 4v but are present on f. 5r.

in T1768. In that list, *17HsG* is accompanied by two comments: ‘Sveco–Russ’ and ‘vera forté aliqvatenus’. *17HsG* is classified as a saga dealing with Swedish and Russian contents which is ‘to some extent probably true’. The comment ‘vera forté aliqvatenus’, which was used to describe *17HsG*, lies somewhere in the middle of Jón’s spectrum of historicity, which spans from ‘pudendum figmentúm’ (shameful fiction) on one side of the spectrum, used for *Völsa þáttur*, and ‘vera’ on the other side, used for *Fóstbræðra saga*.<sup>43</sup>

The ownership history of T1768 is uncertain, and it remains unclear when and how exactly it found its way into Otto Thott’s (1703–1785) collection. According to Loth, this transfer likely occurred between 1754 and 1785.<sup>44</sup> Loth suggested that the manuscript had to be in Iceland for some time, as fragments of Icelandic letters were used as paste-downs. She further proposed that the manuscript returned to Copenhagen around 1784/5. Although this remains speculative and warrants further research, it is certain that the manuscript became part of Det Kongelige Bibliotek’s collections in 1786, alongside over 4000 other bequeathed manuscripts.<sup>45</sup>

### AM 193 e fol. (A193)

AM 193 e fol. (A193), held in the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í ísenskum fræðum in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in folio which consists of i+8+i leaves of watermarked paper gathered in one quire of four conjoint leaves (I<sup>8</sup>). The leaves are paginated 1–16 in similar ink to the main text, probably by the main scribe, and foliated 1–8 in red ink most likely by Kálund. In his catalogue, Kálund dated the manuscript to ca. 1700, but according to Már Jónsson the dating can be narrowed down to the years 1690–1697.<sup>46</sup>

A193 today preserves only one text, *17HsG* (ff. 1r–8v). The text is written in one hand throughout. The hand can be identified

43. For a discussion of how Jón’s saga classification relates to other early modern classifications, see Kapitan, ‘Between Truth and Fiction’.

44. Loth, *Membrana regia deperdita*, xxxiv.

45. Toftgaard, ‘Landkort over en samling: Hvad katalogposterne kan fortælle om Otto Thotts håndskriftsamling – og om katalogisering’, 144; Toftgaard, ‘A Private Library as a Material History of the Book: Otto Thott’s Encyclopedic Library in Copenhagen’, 62.

46. Kálund, *Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, I:160; Már Jónsson, ‘Skrifarinns Ásgeir Jónsson frá Gullberastöðum í Lundarreykjadal’, 285.

as that of Ásgeir Jónsson. The script type used in A193 is chancery, which is one of the script types frequently used by Ásgeir.<sup>47</sup> The dominating shapes of the letters 's' and 'b', which allow us to establish relative chronology in Ásgeir's manuscripts, are *b35* and *s70*, similar to those found in A587.<sup>48</sup>

There is a marginal note on f. 1r of A193 in Torfæus's hand which reads: 'confers Saga af | alfi og alfsreckum | hrokr var ein af koppum alfs er | atte brynhilde haka | kongs dottur' (compare *Hálfs saga ok Hálfsrekka*, Hrókur was one of the champions of Hálfur that had as a wife Brynhild daughter of King Haki). This again, just as in A587, reflects Torfæus's interests in historiography and royal genealogies. Torfæus noted here that the account of *17HsG* should be compared with the account of *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*, in which the relation between Hrómundur and Hrókur is made explicit in chapter 16.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, the text of the saga is followed by a note that discusses the hypothetical exemplar, discussed further in Section 2.4.

A193 joined the collection of Árni Magnússon in 1720 together with other manuscripts Árni acquired from the widow of Torfæus. At that time, it was a part of Torfæus' manuscript number XIII in folio (\*TT XIII fol.).<sup>50</sup> The entry in Árni's catalogue for this part of the manuscript reads: 'Hromundar Saga Greips sonar (epter exemplare med hendi Eyólfs Biorns sonar komnu fra mier)'.<sup>51</sup> This comment indicates that A193 is a copy of a manuscript in Eyjólfur Björnsson's hand which was perhaps in Árni's possession, most likely A587 (see textual evidence in Section 2.4).

\*TT XIII fol. contained various texts, mainly *fornaldarsögur* and *konungasögur*, but, as Stegmann demonstrated, it was rearranged by Árni. Ultimately, various parts of the manuscript either became separate single-text codices, i.e. today's AM 67 a fol., AM 202 c fol., AM 193 a fol., AM 193 b fol., AM 193 c

47. Verri, 'Um rithendur Ásgeirs Jónssonar: Nokkrar skriftarfræðilegar athugasemdir'.

48. J. G. Jørgensen, *The Lost Vellum Kringla*, 237–238.

49. Rafn, *Fornaldar sögur Nordrlanda eptir gömlum handritum*, II:59.

50. Kålund, *Arne Magnussons i AM. 435 A-B, 4to indeholdte håndskriftfortegnelser med to tillæg*, 70–71; see also Árni's notes in e.g. AM 173 fol. and AM 202 c fol.

51. Kålund, 70.

fol., A193, AM 7 fol., AM 17 fol., or parts of other composite manuscripts, i.e. today's AM 34 fol., AM 173 fol., or are lost.<sup>52</sup> At the time when Jón Ólafsson prepared his catalogue, A193 was a part of a manuscript number 193 in folio (\*AM 193 fol.), which contained five *fornaldarsögur*: *Hervarar saga og Heiðreks* (AM 193 a fol.), *Eiríks saga víðförla* (AM 193 b fol.), *Yngvars saga víðförla* (AM 193 c fol.), *17HsG*, and *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* (AM 193 d fol.) (A477, f. 9v). Four of these items were previously parts of \*TT XIII fol., but *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* was added from another Torfæan manuscript, \*TT XVI fol.<sup>53</sup>

Just like A587, A193 was held in Copenhagen until it was transferred to Iceland in 1976.

## 2.3 Jón Þórðarson's group

### AM 345 4to (A345)

AM 345 4to (A345), held in the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in quarto, which consists of i+78+i leaves made of watermarked paper gathered in even quires. The quire structure is: I<sup>6</sup>, II<sup>2</sup>, III<sup>8</sup>–VI<sup>8</sup>, VII<sup>10</sup>, VIII<sup>8</sup>–X<sup>8</sup>, XI<sup>4</sup>.<sup>54</sup> The manuscript is dated by Kålund to the end of the seventeenth century, but internal evidence allows us to date it more precisely to around 1694–1695.<sup>55</sup> *17HsG* is followed by a colophon that reads 'Anno 1695' (f. 78v). Elsewhere in the manuscript, two other dated colophons can be found, on f. 50v with the date 1694 and on f. 74r with 1695.

52. Stegmann, 'Árni Magnússon's Rearrangement of Paper Manuscripts', 335; Kålund, *Arne Magnússon's i AM. 435 A-B, 4to indeholdte håndskriftfortegnelser med to tillæg*, 70–71.

53. Kålund, *Arne Magnússon's i AM. 435 A-B, 4to indeholdte håndskriftfortegnelser med to tillæg*, 72; Lavender, 'Whatever Happened to *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*? Origin, Transmission and Reception of a *Fornaldarsaga*', 91.

54. The structure of quire V is uncertain; it seems to be 25, 26, 27, 28+29, 30, 31, 32, so the outer leaves used to be conjoint, but today are singletons and only the innermost bifolium remained intact. Cf. Stegmann's catalogue on <http://chopandchange.nfi.ku.dk> (last accessed 28/08/2018, but currently unavailable as of 7/01/2024).

55. Kålund, *Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, 580.

A345 is a composite manuscript, containing five *fornaldarsögur*: *Áns saga hogsveigis* (ff. 1r–8v), *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* (ff. 9r–29v), a supplied table of contents (f. 29v),<sup>56</sup> *Hervarar saga og Heiðreks* (ff. 30r–50r), *Bósa saga og Herrauðs* (ff. 50v–74r) 17HsG (ff. 74v–78v).

The manuscript is written in three hands, but by a single scribe using three different script types: chancery, Kurrent and a hybrid of the two.<sup>57</sup> On f. 29v there is a table of contents which lists the sagas included in the book and a note written by Jón Jónsson in which he specifies that in 1703 he owned this codex and that the table of contents was added by his deceased father Jón Þórðarson in 1700 or 1702.<sup>58</sup> The scribe can be identified as Jón Þórðarson, a son of Þórður Jónsson. Both father and son worked as scribes for, among others, Magnús Jónsson í Vigur.<sup>59</sup> This does not mean, however, that the manuscript was written for Magnús Jónsson. As Jón Helgason observed, not all manuscripts in Þórður's and Jón's hands can be associated with Magnús. At least Þórður is known to have provided services for other people, for example, Magnús Magnússon (1630–1704), a *sýslumaður* from Eyri in Ísafjarðarsýsla, for whom he wrote Lbs 236 fol.<sup>60</sup>

The most recent study of this manuscript and its history was presented by Stegmann, who observed that A345 consists of three codicological units, and 17HsG, together with *Hervarar saga og Heiðreks* and *Bósa saga og Herrauðs*, belongs to the third codicological unit.<sup>61</sup> All of these texts used to belong to one codex, called in Árni's catalogue 'bok Markusar Bergslsonar i 4to'

56. 'Sogu Registor', which lists 29 sagas, is followed by a note and date Anno 1703.

57. Kålund identified three hands in the manuscript, Kålund, 580; Stegmann successfully argued for all three script types being used by one scribe, Stegmann, 'Árni Magnússon's Rearrangement of Paper Manuscripts', 77–79.

58. Kålund, *Katalog over den Arnemagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, 580; Loth, 'Angående skriveren Jón Þórðarson'; Stegmann, 'Árni Magnússon's Rearrangement of Paper Manuscripts', 79–80.

59. Stegmann, 'Árni Magnússon's Rearrangement of Paper Manuscripts', 77–79.

60. Jón Helgason, *Kvæðabók úr Vigur*, AM 148, 8°, 12–13. For Magnús Magnússon's biography, see Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:443.

61. Stegmann, 'Árni Magnússon's Rearrangement of Paper Manuscripts', 74–90.

(AM 435 a 4to, f. 80r). As Árni's note indicates (AM 435 a 4to, f. 82r), he received this manuscript in 1710 from Markús Bergsson (1688–1741), a *sýslumaður* of Ísafjarðarsýsla and rearranged its contents.<sup>62</sup>

At the time when Jón Ólafsson was composing his catalogue, 17HsG was a part of a manuscript number 345 in 4to (\*AM 345 4to), which contained eight sagas, the five already mentioned, which are preserved in A345, and additionally three other *fornaldarsögur* which are now lost: *Hálfðanar saga Brönufóstra*, *Hálfðanar saga Eysteinssonar*, and *Haralds saga Hringbana* (AM 456 fol. f. 18r and AM 477 fol., f. 29r).<sup>63</sup>

A345 was held in Copenhagen until it was transferred to Iceland in 1982.

#### BL Add. 4859 (B4859)

BL Add. 4859 (B4859), held in the British Library in London, is a paper manuscript in folio, which consists of iii+370+iii leaves made of watermarked paper. The quire structure is difficult to determine, as the manuscript was rebound in the 1970s and all its leaves are set on paper guards.<sup>64</sup> Jón Helgason in his 'Catalogue of the Icelandic Manuscripts in the British Library' dated B4859 to the years 1693–1696, following the dates attested in the colophons and on the title page (f. 1r). As McDonald Werronen observed, some texts in this codex appear in the relative chronological order of writing.<sup>65</sup> 17HsG is followed by a colophon dated to 1695.

B4859 preserves twenty-four sagas including *fornaldarsögur*, *riddarasögur*, *Íslendingasögur* and one *konungasaga*. The volume opens with a title page (f. 1r) followed by a table of contents on the

62. For Markús Bergsson's biography, see Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar aviskrár*, III:468

63. Stegmann, 'Árni Magnússon's Rearrangement of Paper Manuscripts', 84; see also the graph illustrating the changes in A345 on <http://chopandchange.nfi.ku.dk> (last accessed 28/08/2018, but currently unavailable as of 7/01/2024).

64. The volume can be tentatively divided into two parts; the first fourteen sagas written on ff. 2r–128v are continuously paginated 1–254; the remaining texts from 129r onwards are individually paginated, starting each time from 1.

65. McDonald Werronen, 'London, British Library', archived on 8/06/2023 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20230608192021/https://icelandicscribesproject.com/manuscripts/london-bl/add-4859/>.

verso side of the same leaf and the sagas in the following order: 17HsG (ff. 2r–6r), *Bragða-Ölvis saga* (ff. 6v–9v), *Valdimars saga* (ff. 10r–14v), *Mírmanns saga* (ff. 15r–31v), *Ívens saga* (ff. 32r–45v), *Parcevals saga* (ff. 46r–60v), *Valvers þáttur* (ff. 61r–65v), *Erex saga* (ff. 66r–74v), *Möttuls saga* (ff. 75r–81r), *Virgilius saga* (ff. 81v–91r), *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* (ff. 91v–94r), *Hálfðanar þáttur svarta* (ff. 94v–96r), *Göngu-Hrólf's saga* (ff. 96v–118v), *Ármanns saga og Þorsteins gála* (ff. 119r–128v), *Böðvars þáttur bjarka* (ff. 129r–142r), *Söguþáttur af Kallínus* (ff. 142v–145v), *Hervarar saga og Heiðreks* (ff. 146r–162v), *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* (ff. 163r–237v), *Lykla-Péturs saga og Magelónu fögru* (ff. 240r–264v), *Knýtlínga saga* (ff. 265r–312v), *Ævintýri af Sniðúlfi bónda og hans ótrú konu* (ff. 313r–313v), *Rémundar saga keisarasonar* (ff. 314r–344v), *Kirjalax saga* (ff. 344v–366r), *Sagan af Tító og Gesippo* (ff. 367r–370v).

The texts are written in two hands, the main one being that of Jón Þórðarson and the minor one being that of Magnús Ketilsson (ca. 1675–1709), who wrote ff. 1r–v, 142v–145v, 313r–v, and 367r–370.<sup>66</sup> Unlike A345, B4859 was certainly written for Magnús Jónsson í Vigur as it is made explicit on the title page (f. 1r) that the sagas were collected on behalf of Magnús: ‘Sagna Flolckur Kostgiæfelega Saman Hendtur [...] af Ehrurijkum og ættgøfugum høfðings manne Malignuse Joonssyne Ad Wigur, þeim til fröðleiks og skiemmtunar, er | þess hættar fornar frasaugur heira vilia’<sup>67</sup> (A collection of sagas diligently put together [...] by a honourable and noble aristocrat, Magnús Jónsson from Vigur, for education and entertainment of those who wish to hear this sort of ancient stories).<sup>68</sup>

The ownership history of B4859 is fairly well known because the volume appears in the lists of books in the possession of

66. Jón Helgason, *Kvæðabók úr Vigur*, *AM* 148, 8°, 9–10; Loth, ‘Om håndskrifter fra Vigur i Magnús Jónssons tid’, 95–98; McDonald Werronen, ‘London, British Library’.

67. A full transcription of the title page by McDonald Werronen is available in her catalogue, archived on 8/06/2023 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20230608192021/https://icelandicscribesproject.com/manuscripts/london-bl/add-4859/>.

68. Cf. Driscoll, ‘The Long and Winding Road: Manuscript Culture in Late Pre-Modern Iceland’, 54

Magnús's family members.<sup>69</sup> B4859 was owned by Páll Vídalín (1667–1727), the lawyer and acquaintance of Árni Magnússon, and by Bjarni Halldórsson (1703–1773), a *sýslumaður* of Húnavatnssýing in Northern Iceland.<sup>70</sup> Already in 1892, Jón Þorkelsson<sup>71</sup> identified B4859 as number 8 in Páll's register and number 77 in Bjarni's register and this identification has been maintained in the scholarship since then.<sup>72</sup> The most likely scenario for how the book ended up first in Páll's and then in Bjarni's possession is the inheritance of the book by Magnús's daughter and granddaughter. After Magnús Jónsson's death in 1702, his daughter Þorbjörg Magnúsdóttir (1667–1737) most likely inherited the volume. Since she was married to Páll Vídalín, with whom she lived at Víðidalstunga in Vestur-Húnavatnssýsla, the book was registered as his. Afterwards, their daughter Hólmfríður Pálsdóttir (1697–1736) inherited the book and since she was married from 1727 to Bjarni Halldórsson, with whom she lived first at Víðidalstunga and later from 1737 at Þingeyrar in Austur-Húnavatnssýsla, the book was registered as his.

The manuscript was donated to the British Museum (later British Library) by Joseph Banks (1743–1820), a British explorer, after his travels to Iceland in 1773.<sup>73</sup> His donations took place during the years 1773–1781.<sup>74</sup> According to Halldór Hermannsson, Banks collected some of the manuscripts while in Iceland, but others were sent to him later by Ólafur Stephensen, the governor of Iceland. From the correspondence between Banks and Ólafur Stephensen, it is certain that Ólafur not only collected manuscripts for Banks but also commissioned copies for him. Ólafur, for example, wrote in

69. Jón Þorkelsson, 'Íslandske håndskrifter i England og Skotland', 201–204; Kálund, *Arne Magnussons private brevvæxling*, 94–97; Jón Helgason, 'Bækur og handrit á tveimur húnvetnskum höfuðbólum á 18du öld', 5.

70. For biographies of these two men, see Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, I:169–170, IV:145–146

71. Jón Þorkelsson, 'Íslandske håndskrifter i England og Skotland', 202–203.

72. Jón Helgason, 'Bækur og handrit á tveimur húnvetnskum höfuðbólum á 18du öld', 17, 35.

73. For a recent study of his travels, see Anna Agnarsdóttir, *Sir Joseph Banks, Iceland and the North Atlantic 1772–1820: Journals, Letters and Documents*.

74. Hogg, 'The Development of the Pre-1801 Scandinavian Printed Collections in the British Library'; Porter, 'Preserving the Past: England, Iceland and the Movement of Manuscripts'.

one of his letters to Banks, 'Since your departure from the country I have in accordance with the commission you gave me, taken pains to collect, and afterwards to have copied by the best scribes available in this country, antiquities and histories'.<sup>75</sup>

Since B4859 is number 3 in Banks's collection, we can assume that it was a part of the first donation in 1773, and possibly one of the manuscripts he collected personally during his travels. It cannot be excluded that he obtained the manuscript directly from Bjarni Halldórsson, or from his family, shortly before Bjarni's death in 1773, but there is no evidence known to me for that. To the contrary, McDonald Werronen in her catalogue, suggested that 'Banks acquired these manuscripts [among them B4859] from Ólafur Stephensen (1731–1812), who bought them for him shortly after the death of their owner Bjarni Hal[l]dórsson in January 1773'.<sup>76</sup>

### Lbs 222 fol. (L222)

Lbs 222 fol. (L222), known as *Rauðskinna* and held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in folio, consisting of ii + 347 + ii leaves made of watermarked paper and gathered in forty-five quires, mostly quaternions. The quire structure is uncertain, but appears to be: I<sup>8</sup>–IV<sup>8</sup>, V<sup>10</sup> VI<sup>8</sup>–XXI<sup>8</sup>, XXII<sup>6</sup> wants 6, XXIII<sup>8</sup>, XXIV<sup>4</sup>, XXV<sup>6+2</sup> 7 and 8 after 6, XXVI<sup>6</sup>–XXVII<sup>6</sup>, XXVIII<sup>8</sup> wants 1, XXIX<sup>8</sup>–XXXI<sup>8</sup>, XXXII<sup>4</sup>, XXXIII<sup>8</sup>–XLIV<sup>8</sup>, XLV<sup>8+1</sup> 9 after 8.<sup>77</sup> L222 is dated to 1695–1698, 1731, and 1746, following the dates given in the colophons and on the title page.<sup>78</sup>

L222 contains nineteen items including *riddarasögur*, *fornaldarsögur*, chapbooks, one *konungasaga*, as well as one saga and one

75. Halldór Hermannsson, *Sir Joseph Banks and Iceland*, 6–17.

76. The blog post was archived on 8/07/2023 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20230608183330/https://icelandicscribesproject.com/manuscripts/london-bl/>.

77. The quire structure is uncertain due to extensive repairs. Between f. 1 and f. 175 and then again between f. 243 to the end of the volume, the structure is quite regular, featuring only quaternions (with the exception of quire V, which is a quinon, and XLV, which today consists of 9 leaves, the last one being a singleton). In the middle part of the manuscript, between f. 176 and f. 242, extensive irregularities occur.

78. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, I:77–78.

short tale of Icelanders. They appear in the following order: *Clarus saga* (ff. 1r–13r), *Haralds saga Hringsbana* (ff. 13v–26r), *Sigurðar saga fóts* (ff. 26v–30v), *Sturlaug's saga starfsama* (ff. 31r–42v), *Knýtlinga saga* (ff. 43r–89r), *17HsG* (ff. 89v–93r), *Bragða-Ölvis saga* (ff. 93v–96r), *Griseldis saga* (ff. 96v–99v), *Galmey's saga riddara* (ff. 100r–175v), *Bósa saga og Herraud's* (ff. 176r–195v), *Stjörnu-Odda draumur* (ff. 196r–202r), *Esópus saga* (ff. 202v–214v), *Brita þáttur* (ff. 215r–217v), *Trönu þáttur* (ff. 218r–219r), *Sigurgarðs saga frækna* (ff. 219v–233r), *Valdimars saga* (ff. 233v–239v), *Bréf af Alexandri Magni* (ff. 240r–242r), *Njáls saga* (ff. 243r–345r), and some stanzas from *Njáls saga* (ff. 345v–347r).

*Bréf af Alexandri Magni*<sup>79</sup> and verses from *Njáls saga* are later additions. At the end of the manuscript there is a table of contents added on the rear flyleaf, which lists all nineteen items in this volume, including the additions. The presence of the later additions in L222 is made clear in the table of contents, where by items 17 and 19, we can read that they were ‘skrifaðar af öðrum’ (written by someone else) and ‘seinna bætt’ (later added) to the volume.

The only discrepancy between the table of contents and the order in which texts appear today is the position of *Brita þáttur* (ff. 215r–217v), today the thirteenth item in the codex directly following *Esópus saga* (ff. 202v–214v), but in the table of contents *Brita þáttur* was the tenth item, following *Galmey's saga riddara* (ff. 100r–175v), suggesting the contents might have been rearranged.<sup>80</sup>

L222 begins with a title page added on the front flyleaf, likely written at the same time as the table of contents. The title page reads: ‘Søgu-bók | af ymsum | Fornkonúngum ok kœppum | skrifud 1695–98 | af | Jóni Þórðarsyni, | forðum prestur að Søndum í Dýrafirði’ (A saga-book of various ancient kings and heroes, written 1695–1698 by Jón Þórðarson, formerly pastor at Sandar in Dýra-

79. This text is catalogued simply as *sendibréf* but it certainly belongs to the Alexandrian tradition as discussed by Skårup, ‘Bréf Alexandri Magni. Den norrøne oversættelse af Epistola Alexandri Magni ad Aristotelem udgivet sammen med forlægget’.

80. This presents a challenge from the perspective of the structure of quire XXIX, which is 215+222, 216+221, 217+220, 218+219. As it stands, currently f. 217 appears conjoint with f. 220, and three different texts appear across these leaves. *Brita þáttur* ends on f. 217v, and on f. 218r *Trönu þáttur* begins, which then ends on f. 219r, and on f. 219v *Sigurgarðs saga frækna* starts. It seems possible that the repairs obscure the original structure of this manuscript.

fjörður). Here, we learn that Jón Þórðarson, who was a priest at Sandar in Dýrafjörður, was the scribe of this manuscript, working on it in the years 1695–1698. As mentioned before, there are also later additions in different hands, ff. 240r–242r, dated to 1731, and ff. 345v–347r dated to 1746, but the hands have not yet been identified.<sup>81</sup> It is not unlikely that the title page is a copy of an older title page which got damaged and was therefore replaced. The manuscript must have been in poor condition, as the extensive repairs of the support suggest. It is interesting to note that someone supplied the text which went missing due to the repairs, see, for example, the very striking cases on ff. 1r–v and 43r–v. It cannot be excluded that it was the same person responsible for the additions and the table of contents.

Landsbókasafn Íslands obtained L222 from the collection of Jón Pétursson (1812–1896), a lawyer and judge,<sup>82</sup> but it is unknown how he came into possession of the manuscript.<sup>83</sup> There are various names written in the manuscript, including ‘Jón Pjetursson’ and ‘Brynjólfur Oddsson’, most likely Brynjoólfur Oddsson (1825–1887), the bookbinder.<sup>84</sup> It would not be surprising if Brynjólfur was one of the previous owners of the manuscript and was also responsible for the repairs.

## 2.4 Textual Relationships

As discussed in Section 1.3, competing interpretations of the relationships among the oldest manuscripts of *17HsG* were proposed in previous scholarship, with the most important contributions by Kölbing and Andrews.<sup>85</sup> Despite some errors in Andrews’ lists of variants, there is no evidence pointing towards any other conclusion than that A601 is the *codex optimus* of this tradition. My own research has led me to the same conclusion and I believe that A601

81. Arthur, ‘Writing, Reading, and Utilizing *Njáls Saga*: The Codicology of Iceland’s Most Famous Saga’, 72, 160.

82. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, II:248–249.

83. Cf. Arthur, ‘Writing, Reading, and Utilizing *Njáls Saga*: The Codicology of Iceland’s Most Famous Saga’, 75 and Section 3.2.

84. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, I:281.

85. Kölbing, *Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Geschichte der Romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters*; Andrews, ‘Studies in the Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda’.

is not only the *codex optimus* but also the archetype of the entire tradition of 17HsG, as Figure 2.3 illustrates. There is no significant variant in A601 that would justify an additional common exemplar for this tradition.

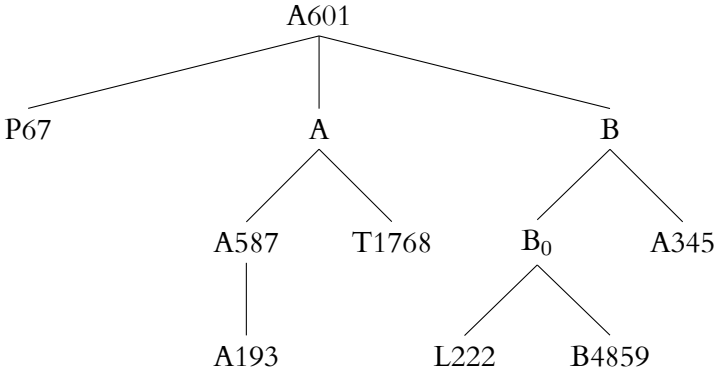


Figure 2.3: Stemma of the oldest manuscripts of 17HsG

Since the objective of this study is to investigate the entire transmission history of HsG, it was necessary to revise the simplified stemmas by Kölbing and Andrews and present a more nuanced view of the relationships between all the individual texts. This approach enabled me to identify major (or substantial) variants, which, in turn, allowed me to later assess the variation appearing in the younger manuscripts and assign all known manuscripts to particular text-groups and sub-text-groups.<sup>86</sup>

Based on the shared innovations present in the oldest tradition, we can distinguish three text-groups, which correspond to the grouping by scribe applied above. Group A includes manuscripts in Ásgeir Jónsson's hand (A193, A587, and T1768), which are derived from a common ancestor A that had to be very closely related to A601. Group B includes manuscripts in Jón Þórðarson's hand (A345, B4859, and L222), derived from a common ancestor

86. For a discussion of different types of variants used to reveal relationships between texts, see, for example, Greg, *The Calculus of Variants, an Essay on Textual Criticism*; Salemans, 'Cladistics or the Resurrection of the Method of Lachmann: On Building the Stemma of *Yvain*', 4; Trovato, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Lachmann's Method*, 52–57; Kapitan, 'A Choice of Relationship-Revealing Variants for a Cladistic Analysis of Old Norse Texts: Some Methodological Considerations'.

B, which was also very closely related to A601. Finally, I decided to distinguish the third group, group C, which appears somewhat superficial when discussing exclusively the oldest manuscripts, as it includes only P67, seen as a direct descendant from A601. However, since both manuscripts are in Jón Eggertsson's hand, focusing on group C provides an opportunity to discuss the rationale behind some of the revisions Jón introduced in P67. Furthermore, in the following chapter, we will discuss some additional manuscripts that preserve texts classified as belonging to group C. The textual characteristics of each text-group are discussed in the following sections.

### Text-group A

The manuscripts in text-group A preserve texts of *17HsG* which contain a rather limited number of significant variants. The shared readings that set this text-group apart from the remaining manuscripts include, for example:

**A] B, C.**

í upp að hjöltum] í völlinn upp að hjöltum.

hann kom heim og krufði hana] hann kom heim og krufði Gedduna.

að liðnum sex dögum] að liðnum fjórum dögum.<sup>87</sup>

It is important to emphasise the peculiarity of the first reading, which suggests that the common ancestor of text-group A, which I call A, had to be copied after the deletion of 'völlinn' in A601 was made. A601 (f. 4r:24) has a deletion in this part of the text and the word '*völlinn*' is crossed over. Since the deletion is done in a brighter brown ink than the ink used for the main text, the original reading is still legible. The same treatment of deletion appears a bit further in the text where on f. 5r:1 of A601 '*völlinn*' is crossed over in the same ink as the previous deletion and this reading does not appear in text-group A.

The existence of A can be concluded because none of the extant manuscripts in group A could be an exemplar for the remain-

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87. I present readings common to all discussed witnesses (both manuscripts and editions) in normalised Modern Icelandic orthography. In rare cases, when the text appears in quotation marks, this indicates a diplomatic transcription of a specific text, and then the italicised text within quotation marks represents expansions of abbreviations.

ing one. T1768 could not be an exemplar for this tradition due to readings such as:

**T1768] A587, A193, B, C.**

herðamikill og sterkur] herðamikill, mikill og sterkur.

með kylfunni til dauða] með kylfunni blámenn til dauða.

hvaðan kattarkyn] hvaðan soddan kattarkyn.

÷] á lendar ofann.

Neither A193 nor A587 could be an exemplar, due to the innovations that texts of these two manuscripts share, such as:

**A193, A587] T1768, B, C.**

víst eru hraustur maður] víst eru hraustur.

÷] helldur en ræna kotkalla.

að grjót og steinar gengu upp] að grjót og stokkar gengu upp.

It is worth emphasising here that, in addition to the external factors discussed in the previous chapter, there is some textual evidence suggesting that A193 is a copy of A587, for example:

**A193, A587] T1768, B, C.**

d. hann var maður frægur] hann var frægur maður.

og (+ í A587) gaf hann] og í því gaf hann.

From a purely text-critical perspective, the most convincing example demonstrating that A193 is a copy of A587 is the reading ‘og í gaf hann’ in A587 (f. 2r-v) against ‘oc gaf hann’ in A193 (f. 1v). The original reading, preserved in all other manuscripts, is ‘og í því gaf hann’. A587’s reading can be explained by a page break between ‘og í’ and ‘gaf hann’. The omission of ‘því’ is an accidental error, which has been copied into A193, with the slight adjustment of removing the unnecessary ‘í’ from the text. Similarly noteworthy is the second example on the list above, where the letter ‘d’ that appears on f. 1r of A587 is under-dotted, indicating a deletion. A193 (f. 1r) copies the letter followed by a dot and keeps the meaningless ‘d’ in the text.

Other readings suggesting that A193 is a copy of A587, not the other way around, are instances where A587 preserves the original reading, shared with the rest of the tradition, while A193 introduces changes such as:

**A193] A587, T1768, B, C.**

oc veit nu konungi lið] oc veit nu lið konungi.

er vó Hröngvið] sem vó Hröngvið.

og varð ei fyrr var við] hann varð eigi fyrr var við.

Meanwhile no such individual reading can be found in A587 as all innovations of A587 are also reproduced in A193.

## Text-group B

Text-group B can be clearly distinguished based on various types of variant readings. First of all, these are shared innovations:

**B] A, C.**

þakkar kalli frá söguna] þakkar kalli fregn þessa.

þeir voru á veg komnir] þeir voru á leið komnir.

There are also some clear errors:

**B] A, C.**

Svílöð] Gunnlöð.

kú] ský.

Finally, there are numerous minor variants:

**B] A, C.**

að sér væri niður slept] þó sér væri niður slept.

sendimenn frá einum konungi] sendimenn frá nokkrum konungi.

nú segir Blindr draum sinn] nú segir Blindur enn einn draum sinn.

The two errors, mentioned in the list above, are clearly palaeographic errors. They most likely originate in the misreading of the characteristic letter forms used by Jón Eggertsson in A601. They suggest that L222, A345, and B4859 share a common ancestor, which I call B, and which introduced the two misreadings. The first one, considering the name of Hrómundur's mother 'Gunnlöð', is especially interesting. In the first chapter of the saga, when Hrómundur's mother is first introduced, all manuscripts preserve the name 'Gunnlöð'. It is only in the second occurrence of the name where 'Gunnlöð' becomes 'Svílöð', or more precisely 'Svylod' in A345, 'Svijlaup' in B4859, and 'Svij[0]op' in L222.

The common ancestor of text-group B was probably based directly on A601, as it seems that the capital ‘G’ was misread as ‘S’ and the small capital ‘N’ as ‘y’, see the reading of A601 in Figure 2.4. It seems rather unlikely that the error was introduced independently each time.

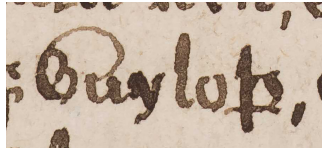


Figure 2.4: Reading ‘Gunnlof’ in AM 601 b 4to, f. 2v  
(Photo: *Handrit.org*)

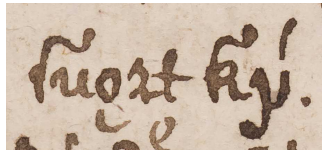


Figure 2.5: Reading ‘svört ský’ in AM 601 b 4to, f. 5v  
(Photo: *Handrit.org*)

A similar situation appears in the misreading of ‘svört sky’ as ‘svört kü’ in L222 and B4859,<sup>88</sup> or ‘svaart kv’ in A345.<sup>89</sup> This is a simple misreading of the ‘sk’-ligature which was used in A601. The ligature resembles the letter ‘k’ with a curved ascender, as represented in Figure 2.5, and was copied as ‘k’.

The texts classified as text-group B are probably not all direct descendants of their shared ancestor, which can be demonstrated by the following innovations in B4859 and L222:

**L222, B4859] A345, A, C.**

konungur (+ varð miög reiður og L222) mælti, fyrir þessi þín orð skal  
Hrómundur [heingður verða (gálgann gista L222), þótt hann sé  
frækinn (+ kallaður L222)] ÷.

er þér er vopnbært] er þú getur valdið.

88. The reading could also be ‘svört kii’ in both L222 and B4859 as the ‘ü’ looks like the double ‘i’.

89. The superscript ‘r’ in A345 appears between ‘v’ and ‘a’ and could be expanded as ‘svarat’.

mér þótti jarnhringur sleiginn] mér þótti jarnhringur settur.

These readings suggest that B4859 and L222 were both descendants of a common ancestor, which in turn was a sibling of A345. On the stemma, I represented this intermediary common ancestor as B<sub>0</sub> (Figure 2.3).

It needs to be mentioned that in each of these manuscripts, there are also peculiar readings which exclude the possibility that any of them could have served as an exemplar for another manuscript in this group. A345 could not be the exemplar for B4859 and L222 because of readings such as:

**A345] B4859, L222, A, C.**

Eitt sinn héllt Ólafur norður] Eitt sinn héllt Ólafur austur.  
 lítt mannstu það sagði hún] lítt mannstu nú, sagði hún.  
 er þeim mætti að liði Halldingja] er þeim mætti.

B4859 cannot be the exemplar for A345 and L222 because of readings such as:

**B4859] A345, L222, A, C.**

að þora ekki að veita lið konungi] að þora ekki að veita konungi lið.  
 sem drap Hröngvið bróður minn] sem vó Hröngvið bróður minn.  
 enn sverðið sótt] og renndi sverðið.

L222 cannot be the exemplar for B4859 and A345 because of readings such as:

**L222] A345, B4859, A, C.**

÷] fullur galdra.  
 um hríð] um kyrrt.  
 er þú drapst frillu þína] er þú drapst sjálfur frillu þína.

### Text-group C

Revealing the relationship between A601 and P67 is quite straightforward. If we focus exclusively on major type-two variants,<sup>90</sup> used

90. For a definition of type-two variants, see Greg, *The Calculus of Variants, an Essay on Textual Criticism*; Kapitan, 'A Choice of Relationship-Revealing Variants for a Cladistic Analysis of Old Norse Texts: Some Methodological Considerations'.

to determine the relationships between the main text-groups, then P67 always agrees with A601. This does not, however, mean that P67 preserves the same text as A601, nor that it is a reliable copy of A601. There are numerous innovations exclusive to P67, which include:

- changes in word order:

**P67] A601, A, B.**

þetta sá Hröngviður] Hröngviður sá þetta.  
 kvaðst heita Helgi] kvaðst Helgi heita.  
 sem fyrst að láta þig deyja] að láta þig sem fyrst deyja.  
 hann gaf eitt sinn þeim manni er Hrókur hét gullhring góðan]  
     hann gaf einum manni þeim er Hrókur hét eitt sinn gull-  
     hring góðan.  
 oddi sverðsins] sverðsins oddi.

- changes in lexicon and/or meaning:

**P67] A601, A, B.**

og þar fyrir vil ég] og þar fyrir skal ég.  
 og heim] og norður til (~~danmerkur~~ A601) síns ríkis.  
 að sínu ríki] að landi sínu.  
 mér man vera mál að höggva] mér man vera mál úr haugnum.  
 þá féll draugurinn] þá datt draugurinn.  
 þá var orðið mjög myrkt] þá var orðið mjög dimmt.

- minor changes of, for example, prepositions and adverbs:

**P67] A601, A, B.**

þar var með einn dreki] þar var einn dreki.  
 og spyr eftir] og spyr.  
 Kári hafði nú fengið] Kári hafði fengið.  
 síðan gengu] eptir það gengu.  
 ganga inn í] ganga í.

There are countless instances where P67 preserves different readings from all other examined manuscripts, most of them very minor changes in syntax or function words, but also some substantial changes. Two of them are the most striking.

The first one appears in the very first sentence of the saga, where A601 reads ‘(S)á kongr rieþe fyrir {Gordom} \{1 danmorc} er Olafr hiet’, where *í Danmörk* is a supralinear addition, which had been deleted together with the inline *Görðum*, but P67 on f. 102v simply reads ‘(S)ä kongur riede firer Görðum er Ólafur hiet’. In the same vein, another change from *síns ríkis* to *heim* is important. A601 (f. 3r:15–16) reads: ‘Sigldi olafr kongr sua þadann, oc norþr til {danmerkr} `sinz rijkis’ where the name of the country is deleted and an addition is made in the left margin which reads ‘sinz rijkis’. All manuscripts, except for P67, reproduce this sentence in its corrected form: *Sigldi Ólafur konungur svá þaðan og norður til síns ríkis*, but P67 is the only manuscript that reads: *Sigldi Ólafur konungur svá þaðan og heim*.

These striking examples of individual readings introduced in P67, together with the accumulation of minor variants, tell us something about Jón Eggertsson’s intentions and the expectations of the intended audiences of these volumes. They suggest that Jón did not want to present Ólafur as a king of Denmark.<sup>91</sup>

While A601 might be seen as a draft, where there is space for correction and deletion, P67 preserves a clean text of the saga, without any extensive scribal corrections and, more importantly, without any mentions of Denmark. While A601 is densely written with many abbreviations, P67, with its large format, wide margins, decorated initials, and clear script, is one of the most beautiful extant manuscripts of the saga. It is written in a clear chancery *fractura script* and, unlike many Icelandic manuscripts, it does not have any abbreviations. As Regina Jucknies observed, a sparse amount of abbreviation was a typical feature of manuscripts that Jón prepared for the Swedes in order to make the text more legible.<sup>92</sup>

In order to achieve a full overview of the relationships between these two important manuscripts, their texts were closely compared to the *rímur*. While we can find noteworthy references to the *rímur*, including work by Kölbing, Brown, and Andrews, the readings of the *rímur* were never used to shed light on the relationship between

91. For a more detailed discussion of this, see Kapitan, ‘When a King of Norway Became a King of Russia: Transmission and Reception of *Hrómundar Saga Greipssonar* in Scholarly Networks of Early Modern Scandinavia’, 337–340.

92. Jucknies, *Der Horizont eines Schreibers, Jón Eggertsson (1643–89) und seine Handschriften*, 96.

P67 and A601, the two ‘authorial’ copies of the seventeenth-century saga.<sup>93</sup> Even though finding clear verbal correspondence between the saga and the *rímur* is challenging, by comparing the examples in which A601 preserves different readings than P67 alongside the text of *Griplur*, we can note that from 43 examined instances, P67 agrees with the *rímur* six times, and ironically A601 also agrees with the *rímur* six times. In the remaining examples it is impossible to determine which text is closer to the *rímur*, and there the saga texts are actually closer to each other. This quantitative comparison does not definitively suggest which manuscript preserves more original readings, but it opens up the possibility that Jón was using *Griplur* while revising the text for P67.

### Chapter divisions

The division of a given text into chapters in post-medieval manuscripts can sometimes help to determine, or at least confirm, the groupings of texts. This approach has been successfully applied by Lavender in his work on Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra.<sup>94</sup> In the case of the oldest part of the 17HsG tradition, this is unfortunately not really the case. In L222, the saga is divided into six chapters, while all the remaining manuscripts (A193, A587, A345, B4859, A601, P67, and T1768) divide the text into five chapters. Even though these chapter divisions do not help us to confirm the text-groups identified in the oldest tradition, they are useful in distinguishing which younger texts of 17HsG were derived from L222 (see Figure 3.1 in Chapter 3).

Additionally, it is worth noting here that the printed editions of the saga always divide the text into ten chapters. This was first introduced by Björner in his 1737 edition and has since been consistently reproduced by all other editors and translators. The edition presented here is the first one ever that is actually faithful to the presentation of the saga in manuscripts.

93. It must be noted here that Brown was aware of Andrews’ conclusion that A601 preserves the best text of the saga, but she still compared only the texts of the editions, namely the edition of *Griplur* by Finnur Jónsson and the edition of 17HsG by Rafn, ignoring all unique readings preserved in manuscripts of the saga or the *rímur*.

94. Lavender, Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra: *The Saga of Illugi, Gríður’s Foster-son*, 93, 102.

## Postscript

One of the common features appearing in some of the manuscripts is a postscript, or a short note which follows the saga. Four of the manuscripts, A193, A587, A601, and T1768, preserve this note, which very briefly discusses the contents of the saga and the saga's exemplar. The note in A601 (reproduced in Figure 2.2) reads as follows:

Suu Saga Sem þetta var Effter Skriffad vard | Naumlega les-  
enn. Og ei Sem Skilianlegust umm | Landa edur Stada heite  
Sum, þö er þad vyst ad | Ræda hier aff kong Olaffur mune  
vered haffa | kongur ad naffn böt i {danmerkur} {`noreg'}  
vellde Einhvorstadar | þar Sem Nær grendsad heffur vid Suý-  
þjöd. þuj þä | heffur {Danmerkur} {`Noreg'} Ryke hafft  
marga Smä konga Sem, | bevysast kann aff fornum frædum.  
So skriffar sira Magnus | i laufase Olaffsson, etc. (A601, f. 6r).

(The saga from which this was transcribed was barely readable and not at all clear concerning some of the names of countries or places, but it can clearly be understood that King Ólafur held the title of king somewhere in the realm of {Denmark} {`Norway'} near the border with Sweden, because, at that time, the kingdom of {Denmark} {`Norway'} had many petty kings, as demonstrated in ancient lore. Thus writes Sr. Magnús Ólafsson from Laufás.)

The note was already a subject of scholarly interest for Árni Magnússon, who wrote in the margin of A601 'mendacium est. þetta er teked ur Rimunum' doubting the information provided by the note that the saga is copied from an old and potentially badly damaged volume. In modern scholarship, there has been a heated discussion about whether the first sentence of the note refers to a lost exemplar of the prose, or whether it can refer to *rímur* and what role Magnús Ólafsson from Laufás played in the saga's creation.<sup>95</sup> Andrews proposed a plausible explanation of the reference to Magnús Ólafsson. He observed, apparently relying on Kálund's suggestion, that it may be exclusively the information

95. Andrews, 'Studies in the Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda', 533; Jesch, 'The Lost Literature of Medieval Iceland: Sagas of Icelanders', 89; Faulkes, *Magnúsarkver: The Writings of Magnús Ólafsson of Laufás*, 133.

about many kings of Denmark that relies on Magnús' account, not the saga. This seems a reasonable explanation, especially if we interpret 'etc.' at the end of the note as a reference to other authorities of the time, who had perhaps equal prestige as Magnús.

Regarding the exemplar of the saga, a hypothesis was proposed by Jesch suggesting that the word 'saga' could be loosely used in the seventeenth century for *rímur*, and therefore the note might refer to damaged text of the *rímur* on which the saga is based, rather than to the damaged exemplar of the saga. While this seems to be a quite reasonable explanation, Jesch built her argument using the case of *Skáld-Helga saga*.<sup>96</sup> She refers to Jón Helgason's and Ólafur Halldórsson's accounts on that matter.<sup>97</sup> In my view, however, there is no convincing argument that any reference to *Skáld-Helga saga* actually refers to the *rímur*, rather than a saga. While the lexical and semantic connotations of the term saga in itself might require further examination, considering the evidence at hand, it seems quite possible that the note implies that the manuscript to which I refer as \*JE 27 4to, the manuscript of *Griplur* that Jón Eggertsson obtained in Iceland and brought to Sweden, was in a rather poor condition. Given the condition of other known manuscripts of *Griplur*, it is easy to imagine that it was badly damaged and partially illegible. For example, Cod. Guelf. 42.7. Aug. 4to preserves a defective text of *Griplur*, while AM 603 4to used to preserve *Griplur*, but they are now lost.<sup>98</sup>

Another notable feature of the postscript, which has not been discussed until very recently, are the two deletions and corrections present in A601, both dealing with the geography of the saga. Thanks to multi spectral imaging, it has recently been possible to reveal the text of the correction.<sup>99</sup> In both cases the name of the country Denmark was deleted and corrected with a supralinear addition to Norway. This supralinear addition, however, was also

96. Jesch, 'The Lost Literature of Medieval Iceland: Sagas of Icelanders', 90.

97. Jón Helgason, 'Til Hauksbóks historie i det 17. århundrede', 36; Ólafur Halldórsson, *Grænland í miðaldaritum*, 171, 259.

98. On the transmission history of *Griplur*, see Kölbing, *Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Geschichte der Romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters*; Björn K. Þórolfsson, *Rímur fyrir 1600*; Kapitan, 'Medieval Poetry in Post-medieval Manuscripts: New Perspectives on the Transmission History of *Griplur*'.

99. Kapitan and Stegmann, 'Writing, Correcting and Annotating AM 601 b 4to: Material and Multispectral Analysis'.

deleted at a later stage. All manuscripts in text-group A preserve the postscript with Norway, not Denmark; A193 and A587 almost verbatim, and T1768 in a slightly revised form.<sup>100</sup> This gives us valuable insight into the early transmission and reception of the saga when the geographic relevance of the text played a significant role for the scholarly and antiquarian circles involved in the early circulation of the saga.

## 2.5 Manuscript context

Sixty-three different sagas appear together with *17HsG* in the oldest manuscripts, among them legendary sagas, chivalric sagas, sagas and tales of Icelanders, and even kings' sagas. Only eight of them, however, appear with *17HsG* more than once. These are: *Bragða-Ölvis saga*, *Bósa saga og Herrauds*, *Hervarar saga og Heiðreks*, *Knýtlinga saga*, *Möttuls saga*, *Stjörnu-Odda draumur*, *Svarfdæla saga*, and *Valdimars saga*.

It is important to emphasise that one saga predominantly co-occurs with *17HsG*: *Bragða-Ölvis saga*. *Bragða-Ölvis saga* appears with *17HsG* in 50% of manuscripts, i.e., 4 out of 8. This needs to be viewed in the context that two out of these eight manuscripts (A193 and A587) today are single-text manuscripts preserving exclusively *17HsG*.

The co-occurrence of *Bragða-Ölvis saga* with *17HsG* cannot be accidental. *Bragða-Ölvis saga*, is also a *rímur*-based narrative, and its textual tradition also traces its origins to A601.<sup>101</sup> Furthermore, as discussed in the previous chapter, Jón Eggertsson is most likely also responsible for converting *Bragða-Ölvis rímur* into prose. This is not only because both sagas can be found in A601, which is written in Jón's hand, but also because both sets of *rímur* were registered in \*JE 27 4to.<sup>102</sup> It seems quite possible that these two texts travelled

100. Kapitan, 'When a King of Norway Became a King of Russia: Transmission and Reception of *Hrómundar Saga Greipssonar* in Scholarly Networks of Early Modern Scandinavia', 340–342.

101. Simek and Hermann Pálsson, *Lexikon der altnordischen Literatur, die mittelalterliche Literatur Norwegens und Islands*, 47; Hooper, 'Bragða Ölvis saga and rímur'; Hooper, 'Bragða Ölvis saga and rímur'.

102. Previously, Jorgensen suggested that the prose *Bragða-Ölvis saga*, based on *Bragða-Ölvis rímur*, originates in the late sixteenth century, but without providing

together in the earliest manuscripts due to their common origins, authorship, and/or style. While the potential literary similarities between 17HsG and *Bragða-Ölvis saga* lie outside the scope of this study, their co-occurrence awakens further questions regarding the shared transmission histories of various Norse texts.

The topic of pairs, or groups of texts being frequently transmitted together in manuscripts has been gaining scholarly interest in past years. Recently, N. Kivilcım Yavuz has, for example, observed a cluster of manuscripts in which Dares of Phrygia's *De excidio Troiae historia* appear frequently with Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De gestis Britonum*, which might have influenced the shared transmission of their Norse adaptations, *Trójumanna saga* and *Breta sögur*.<sup>103</sup> In my recent work, I suggested that the manuscript context in which texts appear can inform our understanding of changing perceptions of different literary genres.<sup>104</sup> However, in order to successfully conduct a macro analysis of the Norse manuscript corpus, further work is needed on structural cataloguing of manuscripts, taking into account their codicological features which provide insight into their production and preservation. Until then, we have to rely on case studies of individual texts, such as the present study, to explore and understand the changing factors influencing the transmission of texts. As will be further discussed in the following chapter, in the case of the transmission history of HsG, some patterns of co-occurrence can be observed, especially regarding the rationale for putting certain texts together in the case of manuscripts derived from printed editions, see Section 3.3.

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convincing evidence for the dating. Jorgensen, 'The Neglected Genre of Rímur-Derived Prose and Post-Reformation Jónatas Saga', 191–192.

103. Yavuz, 'Manuscripts in Context: The Trojan Narrative in the Icelandic Saga Tradition'; Yavuz, 'The Long History of the Trojan Brutus: The Translingual Manuscript Evidence'; Yavuz, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*: Three New Manuscripts'.

104. Kapitan, Rowbotham and Wills, 'Visualising Genre Relationships in Icelandic Manuscripts'; Kapitan, 'Network Analysis of the Manuscript Context of Old Icelandic Literature'; Kapitan, 'Perspectives on Digital Catalogs and Textual Networks of Old Norse Literature'; Kapitan and Wills, 'Sagas and Genre: A Case for Application of Network Analysis to Manuscripts Preserving Old Norse-Icelandic Saga Literature'.

## Chapter 3

### Younger manuscripts of *17HsG*

The previous chapter focused on the oldest manuscripts of *17HsG* and revealed A601 as the archetype of this tradition. It classified all eight extant seventeenth century manuscripts into three groups: text-group A, including the texts written mainly by Ásgeir Jónsson, text-group B, including the texts written by Jón Þórðarson, and text-group C, including P67, written by Jón Eggertsson. This chapter turns towards the younger manuscripts of the saga, twenty-two in total, which were written in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Unlike the case of the oldest manuscripts, it is impossible to group the younger manuscripts by scribe, therefore, this chapter starts with introducing groups of manuscripts based on textual criteria and then proceeds to discuss individual manuscripts belonging to each group. While the main focus is on the textual relationships among the texts of *17HsG* and the innovations they introduced, at times, when relevant for the argument, I also discuss the material aspects of individual manuscripts, their origins, and their history of ownership.

It is worth emphasising here that it is in this part of the tradition where a new version of the saga, the eighteenth-century version, appears (*18HsG*), which is separately edited (see p. 243). This version is preserved in two manuscripts, Lbs 840 4to (L840) and JS 634 4to (J634), which are classified as text-group B<sub>1</sub>, and which are discussed further in this chapter (see p. 122).

The extent of variation appearing in the younger manuscripts is quite overwhelming, with countless minor changes introduced independently at different stages of transmission. Despite the large

amount of textual innovations, some of the major variant readings introduced in the oldest manuscripts can still be traced in the younger manuscripts and allow us to group them accordingly. One of the readings that allowed us to distinguish group A from B and C is, for example, the reading *hana* for *gedduna*. This reading appears in the section describing Hagall's fishing trip in chapter 4 of the present edition. After a successful fishing trip, Hagall brings home a large fish in whose stomach he finds Hrómundur's sword.

**A] B, C.**

og krufði hana] og krufði gedduna.

In the younger manuscripts we can see this variant reproduced quite consistently, with only eight manuscripts preserving the original reading of A601, 'gedduna', and nine preserving the variant reading derived from A587. One manuscript omits this phrase completely, and four provide an alternative reading in this particular place of variation, but elsewhere agree with A-group readings. The distribution is as follows:<sup>1</sup>

- og krufði gedduna A395, Acc61, B4875, J634, K614, L633, L840, M936.
- og krufði hana B11108, I43, J102, L1217, L2316, L2943, L3164, L3795, L4460.
- krufði G52, L381, L1767, M27.
- ÷ L4825.

Among the readings that allowed us to distinguish group B from the remaining manuscripts in the oldest tradition was, for example, the amusing misreading of *ský* as *kú*. It appears in the sections describing Blindur's prophetic dreams in chapter five of this edition. In his dream, Blindur sees black clouds arriving over the kingdom, which is clearly supposed to be a bad omen that king misinterprets. However, in B-group manuscripts, it is a black cow that arrives.

**B] A, C.**

kú] ský.

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1. In this section, the manuscripts are listed alphabetically by shelfmarks.

This reading made its way to younger manuscripts which allows us to easily distinguish texts belonging to group B. If cows are attacking Sweden, then the text is a B-type text. The majority of manuscripts, fifteen in total, preserve the original reading *ský*, six preserve the variant with cows, and one manuscript has a lacuna in this part of the text, but elsewhere it agrees with B-group readings:

- *ský* Acc61, B11108, G52, I43, J102, L381, L1217, L1767, L2316, L2943, L3164, L3795, L4460, M27, M936.
- *kú* A395,, L633, L4825.
- *kýr* B4875, J634, K614.
- *lacuna* L840.

Finally, text group C can be identified by the innovations introduced in P67. Among them is the reading *heim* for *síns ríkis* in chapter 2 of the present edition. It appears at the end of the episode in which Hrómundur confronts Þráinn, a barrow-dweller and a former king of Valland. After killing Þráinn, Hrómundur keeps Þráinn's ring, necklace and sword for himself, distributing the rest of Þráinn's wealth among Ólafur's companions, and afterwards they all head back home.

**C] A, B.**

heim] síns ríkis.

Similarly, in this case, we can find the reading derived from P67 in the younger manuscripts. If King Ólafur sails back home, instead of sailing to his kingdom (or to Denmark), then we are dealing with a C-type text. There are only two manuscripts that preserve the reading 'heim', four that read 'Danmerkur', and in the remaining texts we read either 'síns ríkis' or 'ríkis síns'. The distribution is as follows:

- *síns ríkis* A395, B11108, B4875, I43, J102, K614, L633, L1217, L2316, L3164, L3795, L4460, L4825.
- *ríkis síns* J634, L840, L2943.
- *Danmerkur* G52, L381, L1767, M27.
- *heim* Acc61, M936.

Rafn, Björner, L2316, L2943, L3795, L4460, Acc61, M936	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
P67, A601, A587, A193, B4859, A345, T1768, B11108, G52, A395, L381, L633, L1217, L1767, L3164, L4825, I43, K614, M27	1	2		3		4		5		
L222, B4875	1	2		3	4		5	6		
L840, J634	1	2	3	4	5		6	7	8	
J102	No clear chapter division									

Figure 3.1: Chapter division of *17HsG*

Furthermore, the chapter division of the saga, as presented in Figure 3.1, reveals three patterns, which are useful in distinguishing the textual sub-groups. In the majority of manuscripts, the saga is divided into five chapters, and this division originates from A601. Two manuscripts, L222 and B4875, divide the saga into six chapters, while another two, L840 and J634 divide it into eight chapters. Finally, there are six manuscripts that have ten chapters and these seem to be derived from the printed editions, which also divide the saga into ten chapters. J102 is the only manuscript that does not have any clear chapter division.

Taking into consideration both the chapter division and the richness of the textual variation, a number of text-sub-groups can be distinguished. Within text-group A, there are three text-sub-groups consisting of the following younger manuscripts:

- Sub-group A<sub>1</sub>: G52, L381, L1767, and M27.
- Sub-group A<sub>2</sub>: B11108, I43, L1217, L3164.
- Sub-group A<sub>3</sub>: J102, L2316, L2943, L3795, L4460.

Within text-group B there are five text-sub-groups consisting of the following younger manuscripts:

- Sub-group B<sub>1</sub>: L840 and J634.
- Sub-group B<sub>2</sub>: B4875.
- Sub-group B<sub>3</sub>: L633 and A395.

- Sub-group B<sub>4</sub>: K614.
- Sub-group B<sub>5</sub>: L4825.

Within text-group C there are the following younger manuscripts:

- Acc61,
- M936.

A textual analysis revealed that text-sub-group A<sub>3</sub> consists of manuscripts preserving texts derived from Rafn's edition, while text-group C consists of manuscripts based on Björner's edition. This allows a comparison of the types of variants introduced in the two groups. Therefore, the manuscripts based on the printed editions, text-group A<sub>3</sub> and C, are treated separately in Section 3.3. The remaining manuscripts are discussed according to their groupings, so text-group A is discussed in Section 3.1 and text-group B is discussed in Section 3.2.<sup>2</sup>

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2. It is worth noting here that while it may seem unusual from the reader's perspective to distinguish text sub-groups containing only one or two manuscripts, this is a deliberate decision aimed at highlighting the innovations introduced in particular manuscripts. The intention is that when new manuscripts of *17HsG* are discovered, or those currently in private collections become accessible in public libraries for research, it will hopefully be relatively easy to determine which text sub-group they belong to.

### 3.1 Text-group A

The younger manuscripts in text-group A can be further classified into at least three text-sub-groups: A<sub>1–3</sub>. As illustrated in Figure 3.2, none of them derived directly from Ásgeir Jónsson's manuscripts. Text-sub-groups A<sub>1</sub> and A<sub>2</sub> share a common ancestor, to which I will refer as A<sub>0</sub>. Text sub-group A<sub>3</sub> is based on Rafn's edition. A<sub>0</sub> can be distinguished, because it most likely introduced the following innovation, which is not present in any of the older A-group manuscripts:

**T1768, A587, A193, A<sub>3</sub>, B, C] A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>.**

ragur ok blauður] rágur og duglaus †og (÷ M27, L1767, L381, G52)  
†sért þú (sittu L3164) ekki †blauður (duglaus M27).

Even though there are not many examples of readings which are reproduced in an unchanged form in all manuscripts in text-groups A<sub>1–2</sub>, A<sub>0</sub> seems to be more closely related to A587 than to T1768. The innovations introduced in T1768, discussed in Section 3.4.1, are not reproduced in the descendants of A<sub>0</sub>, such as the omissions:

**T1768] A587, A193, A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>, A<sub>3</sub>, B, C.**<sup>3</sup>

÷] (+ alt L3164) á lendar †ofann (÷ L3164).

með kylfunni til dauða] með kylfunni blámenn til dauða.

At the same time, the descendants of A<sub>0</sub> reproduce the innovations of A587, such as the omission:

**A587, A193, A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>] T1768, A<sub>3</sub>, B, C.**

÷] helldur en ræna kotkalla.

Since all innovations of A587 are reproduced in A193, and the individual innovations of A193 are very minor, it is impossible to build a strong argument that A<sub>0</sub> was related to one rather than the other.

3. Note that there is additional minor variation in text-groups B and C, which is not registered here, as the analytical focus is on group A.

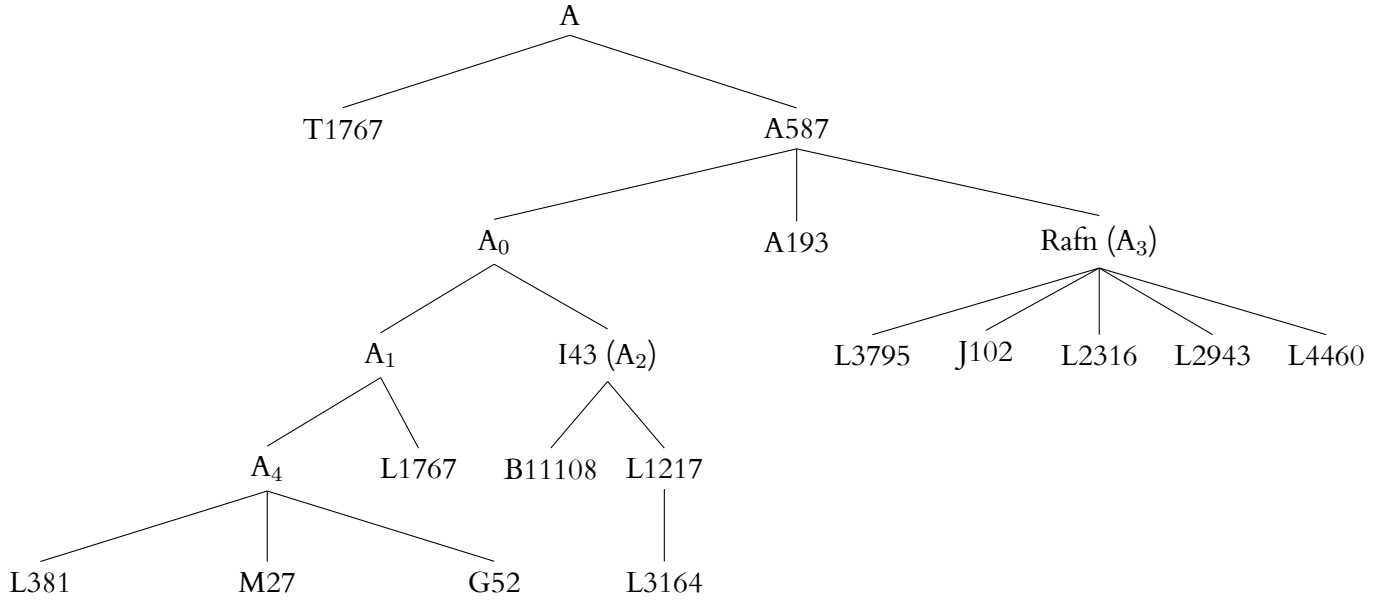


Figure 3.2: Stemma of text-group A

Text-group A<sub>1</sub>

The four manuscripts of text-group A<sub>1</sub> are (in chronological order):

- Lbs 381 fol. (L381), 17HsG written in 1801,
- Ms Germ qu. 27 (M27), 17HsG written in 1806,
- G-52/1 (G52), dated to ca. 1815–1828,
- Lbs 1767 4to (L1767), 17HsG written in 1860.

## Lbs 381 fol.

Lbs 381 fol. (L381), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in folio which contains a total of 168 leaves (158+10) of watermarked paper.<sup>4</sup> The manuscript consists of two parts. The first part starts with an unpaginated title page, followed by pp. 1–313, and page 314 left blank and not paginated. The second part is an addition of ten leaves with pagination 1–10; no traces of pagination are visible on the remaining leaves, as the leaves were trimmed. In addition to 17HsG, preserved in the first part of the manuscript on ff. 71v–76v (pp. 140–150), L381 contains *Huldar saga*, three *Hrafnistumannasögur* (*Ketils saga hængs*, *Gríms saga loðinkinna*, and *Örvar-Odds saga*), *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*, *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*, *Hálfðanar saga svarta*, *Hrings saga og Skjaldar*, *Friðþjófs saga*, *Starkaðar saga gamla*,<sup>5</sup> and *Andra saga jarls*.

The volume opens with a title page (f. 1r), which introduces the contents in the following manner:

Á BÓK Þessi | ero ritadar nockrar | FRODLEGAR OG ÁG-  
ÆTAR | Forn-Saugur | af | ymsum afreks=Kóppum, Heti-  
um | oc Hreystemonnum, | Er á fyrre Aulldum verit hafa |  
her á NORDRLAUNDUM, | til | Eptertektar og leyfilegr-  
ar Dægrlstyttíngar, | J Hiáverkum | ad nýu uppskrifadar |  
ad | Stóru=Ásgeirsá í Vídedali | af | Thómase Thómassyne |  
Histor. Patriæ Stud: | Anno Domini MDCCXC.

In this book are written some instructive and fine old stories about various elite warriors, heroes, and brave men, who in the old days were here in the Northern countries for atten-

4. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, III:263.

5. F. 158v is left blank. Note that *Starkaðar saga gamla* is not listed in Páll Eggert Ólason, III:263, or *Handrit.org*, archived on 9/07/2022 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20220709085419/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/Lbs02-0381>, last accessed 14/02/2024.

tion and permissible pastime, in spare time again transcribed at Stóra-Ásgeirsá in Viðidal by Tómas Tómasson, student of the fatherland's history Anno Domini 1790.

According to the information provided on the title page, L381 was written in 1790, but the only text actually dated to this year is *Örvar-Odds saga*, or more precisely three *Hrafnistumannasögur* collected under the common rubric: ‘Sagann af | AURVAR=ODDE OG ÞEIM | fedgum’.

The main part of the manuscript was written by Tómas Tómasson (1756–1811), a *hreppstjóri* (a district administrative officer) from Stóra-Ásgeirsá in Northern Iceland.<sup>6</sup> According to the dates given in the colophons, the majority of the sagas were copied in 1803 and 1805. There is no clear overlap between the text boundary and quire boundary, and the texts, which are followed by a colophon, appear in what appears to be the relative chronological order of writing: *Huldar saga* (no colophon), *Hrafnistumannasögur* (24 December 1790), *17HsG* (19 February 1801), *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* (20 February 1803), *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* (13 March 1803), *Hálfdanar saga svarta* (7 April 1803), *Hrings saga og Skjaldar* (13 April 1805), *Friðþjófs saga 6 May 1805*, *Starkaðar saga gamla* (no colophon). The last item of the manuscript, *Andra saga jarls* (no colophon), is a later addition, written by Einar Bjarnason (1782–1856), a prolific scribe from Mælifell in Northern Iceland.<sup>7</sup> According to Páll Eggert Ólason, this addition can be dated to around 1820.<sup>8</sup>

Both scribes were very active copyists of their times. According to *Handrit.org*, Tómas Tómasson has been identified as the scribe of at least seven manuscripts in Landsbókasafn Íslands, while Einar Bjarnason is credited with over sixty.<sup>9</sup> Tómas Tómasson, who describes himself on the title page as a student of the fatherland's history, demonstrates his wide knowledge of Icelandic literature by commenting on the contents of some of the texts and by drawing the reader's attention to the inter-textual relationships; for example

6. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, V:18.

7. Páll Eggert Ólason, I:340.

8. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, III:263.

9. See *Handrit.org* (last accessed 17/02/2024).

in notes following *Örvar-Odds saga* (p. 139) or 17HsG(p. 150). The latter one reads:

J sídasta Kapítula Hrólf's Saugo Sturlaugssonar; er kalllaz þar Gaungo Hrólfur; segir; at Ólafur kongr og Systr hans l hafi Verit Börn Hrólf's, enn hér eru þau börn Gnodar l Asmundar.

(In the last chapter of the saga of Hrólfur Sturlaugsson, who is called there Göngu-Hrólfur, it is said that king Ólafur and his sisters were children of Hrólf, but here they are children of Gnoð-Ásmundur.)

This attention paid to family relationships resembles closely Torfæus' marginalia in A587, discussed in Section 2.2, bearing witness to Tómas's deep interest in Nordic history. His erudition is also expressed in other, shorter marginal notes that accompany 17HsG. They draw attention to the main events of the saga, and possible 'factual' discrepancies between 17HsG and other sagas. These are:

- 'Síá Sögu l Hálf's kong's' (f. 71v:7–8, paginated 140).
- 'atgerfe l Hrómundar' (f. 71v:12–13, p. 140).
- 'fall Hraunglvidar Berserks' (f. 72r:21, p. 141).
- 'afdrif l Þráins' (f. 73v:8, p. 144).
- 'fall l Helga l frækna' (f. 75r:3–4, p. 147).
- 'dráp l Vola' (f. 75r:17–18, p. 147).
- '[0000] l Hróm:<sup>10</sup>' (f. 75r:20–21, p. 147).
- 'Síá l Gaungo-lHrólf's l Saugo l 26. Cap.' (f. 75r:24–27, p. 147).
- 'brögd l karl' (f. 75v:21–22, p. 148).
- List of Blindur's dreams: 'Draumr l Blinds l 1<sup>te</sup>' (f. 75v:28–30, p. 148), '2<sup>r</sup>' (f. 76r:3, p. 149), '3<sup>ie</sup>' (f. 76r:7, p. 149), '4<sup>de</sup>' (f. 76r:11, p. 149), '5<sup>te</sup>' (f. 76r:14, p. 149), '6<sup>te</sup>' (f. 76r:17, p. 149), '7<sup>de</sup>' (f. 76r:19, p. 149), '8<sup>de</sup>' (f. 76r:24, p. 149), '9<sup>de</sup>' (f. 76r:29, p. 149).
- 'al: l Halldíngur' (f. 76v:4–5, p. 150).
- 'fall l Hadding's l kong's' (f. 76v:15–16, p. 150).
- 'Blindr l hengdr' (f. 76v:17–18, p. 150).

10. This marginal note is unclear. There seems to be a #–like symbol, or double 't' above four characters, 'e' being the first one, 'ö' or 's' with an er-abbreviation above being the second one, 'l' being the third, and 'n', 'r' or 'e' being the fourth. The note appears alongside the passage where Hrómundur counts his wounds and mentions his eight dead brothers.

Most of these marginal notes serve as navigational aids (or finding aids), drawing the reader's attention to the most important events of the saga, such as the deaths of Hröngviður, Helgi, Hadding, and Blindur. Some of them, however, focus on the inter-textual context. For example, the note 'sjá sögu Hálf kongs' (p. 140) where the text introduces Gunnlöð as Hrómundur's mother expresses the scribe's awareness that in *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka* Gunnlöð is introduced as the daughter of Hrókur hin svarti, and mother of Hrómundur. Similarly, the notes on p. 150, which bring to the reader's attention that Haddingjar and Halldingjar might refer to the same characters, suggesting that the scribe was well versed in saga literature. Finally, the note 'sjá Göngu-Hrólf's Sögo 26. Kap.' (p. 147) by the part of the text describing Svanhvít's help to Hrómundur after the battle must be referring to chapter 36 of *Göngu-Hrólf's saga*, according to Rafn's edition,<sup>11</sup> which describes how Dagný and Dagbjört, daughters of Hrólfur and sisters of Ólafur, healed Hrómundur.<sup>12</sup> This marginal note, together with the aforementioned commentary following *17HsG*, can be treated as examples of eighteenth-century textual criticism in action. The scribe acts, to some extent, as an editor of the text, bringing his critical observations to the reader's attention.

Not much else is known about the history of L381 until it was donated to Landsbókasafn Íslands in 1923 by Benedikt Sigfússon from Bakki (1859–1932). This is confirmed by a note written on a separate slip of paper, which reads 'Gefin 12/4 1923 | af Benidikt Si[g]fússyni | frá Bakka í Vansdal'.

### Ms Germ qu. 27

Ms Germ qu. 27 (M27), held in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, is a paper manuscript in quarto format which contains a total of i+137–i leaves of watermarked paper. The manuscript starts with a table of contents in Icelandic, followed by a table of contents in German (later addition) and the following sagas: *Reykdaela saga*, *Valla-Ljóts saga*, *Vopnfirðinga saga*,

11. Rafn, *Fornaldar sögur Norðrlanda eptir gömlum handritum*, III:362–363.

12. It is uncertain which manuscript 'version' or 'edition' of the saga the scribe is referring to. The same episode appears, for example, in chapter 37 of AM 152 fol., see Fellows-Jensen and Lavender, *Göngu-Hrólf's saga*.

*Brandkrossa þáttur, Droplaugarsonar saga, Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar, Þorsteins þáttur forvitna, Þorsteins þáttur Austfirðings, Bragða-Ölvis saga, 17HsG (ff. 80v–85v), Hálfðanar saga Eysteinsonar, Göngu-Hrólfss saga.*

The manuscript is written in one hand throughout, and most of the texts appearing in M27 are accompanied by colophons containing the year of copying and sometimes the name of the scribe. Most of the colophons provide only the year, 1806, but the last item in the manuscript is followed by a note ‘Ritad á qvennabrecku árit 1806, lokit 31. Maji | af Th:Thorsteinsyni’ (f. 137r). The scribe’s full name can be expanded based on the title pages of other manuscripts in his hand, as all the manuscripts under the shelfmarks Ms Germ qu. 25–28 are mostly in the hand of Þórður Þorsteinsson (1760–1846) and his name is written out in full on the title pages of Ms Germ qu. 25 and Ms Germ qu. 26.<sup>13</sup>

Þórður Þorsteinsson took the office of vicar on Snæfellsnes from 1785 and served, for example, in Breiðavíkurþing from 1796, while he was most likely living in Stóri-Kambur, and later in Kvennabrekka from 1804.<sup>14</sup> The names of both of these locations are attested in the manuscripts he copied: Kvennabrekka is mentioned a number of times in the colophons of M27, while Stóri-Kambur is found in the colophons of Ms Germ qu. 26. The title page of Ms Germ qu. 26 indicates that the texts of the manuscript were all copied by Þórður Þorsteinsson at Stóri-Kambur, but the title page itself was supplied by the bookbinder.<sup>15</sup>

M27 contains an added leaf with a table of contents in German, which includes not only the translations of the saga titles but also a short commentary. The same hand can be found on the supplied leaves in Ms Germ qu. 25, Ms Germ qu. 26, and Ms Germ qu. 28. In Ms Germ qu. 26, after a lengthy comment regarding the fourth item in the manuscript, there is a signature ‘Rühs’, which must refer to Christian Friedrich Rühs (1781–1820), a German historian and

13. Degering, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der germanischen Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek*, 4–5.

14. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskerár*, V:125–126.

15. A very similar title page and book cover can be found in Lbs 131 fol., which contains a collection of *rímur* copied by Árni Böðvarsson. It is probably the same bookbinder as the one who bound Ms. Germ. qu. 25 and Ms. Germ. qu. 26.

professor of history at the University of Berlin.<sup>16</sup> The commentary in M27, as well as the physical features of this manuscript, suggest the mainly textual interests of Christian Friedrich Rühls. He not only compared the texts of this manuscript with the printed editions (as his note ‘sind in der Björnerschen Sammlung aber ungenau abgedruckt’ indicates) but we can also assume that he intended to work with these texts frequently, as he added numbered tabs or labels on small slips of paper to the fore-edge of the manuscripts for easy access to the texts.

It is unknown how M27 and the remaining three manuscripts in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin made their way to Germany and got into Rühls’s possession, and no information about this can be found in the manuscripts examined. It is known, however, that Christian Friedrich Rühls was in contact with Scandinavian scholars, including Rasmus Nyerup (1759–1829), a Danish literary historian and librarian at the University of Copenhagen,<sup>17</sup> and Peter Adam Wallmark (1777–1858), a Swedish author and librarian at the Royal Library in Stockholm,<sup>18</sup> since he mentions them as his friends in his *Die Edda nebst einer Einleitung über nordische Poesie und Mythologie und mit einem Anhang über die historische Literatur der Isländer*.<sup>19</sup> It is possible that he received these manuscripts through his Scandinavian network for the purpose of his further studies in the history of Scandinavia.

### G-52/1

G-52/1 (G52), held in the Héraðsskjalasafn Akureyrarbæjar og Eyjafjarðarsýslu in Akureyri, is a paper manuscript in octavo format which contains a total of 58 leaves of watermarked paper. The manuscript is written in a single hand which has not yet been identified in other manuscripts. *17HsG* is the first item in the manuscript, preserved on ff. 1r–10v followed by *Styrbjarnar þáttur Svíakappa*, *Skálda*

16. Westrin et al., *Nordisk familjebok. Konversationslexikon och realencyklopedi*, XXIII:1347–1348.

17. Bricka, *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, XII:343.

18. Hofberg, *Svenskt biografiskt handlexikon*, II:693; Westrin et al., *Nordisk familjebok. Konversationslexikon och realencyklopedi*, XXXI:522.

19. Rühls, *Die Edda nebst einer Einleitung über nordische Poesie und Mythologie und mit einem Anhang über die historische Literatur der Isländer*, iii.

*saga*, *Sigurðar þáttur slefu*, *Grænlandinga þáttur*, *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*, *Friðþjófs saga*.

Based on the information given in the colophons, G52 can be dated to 1815–1828. *Sigurðar þáttur slefu*, for example, was written on 2 March 1828, while *Grænlandinga þáttur* was written in 1815. It is unknown when the other texts in the manuscript were copied, but on ff. 22+23 there is a watermark with the date ‘1808’, so the copying of *Skálda saga*, the text that is written on ff. 14v–25v, cannot pre-date the year 1808.<sup>20</sup>

If we were to believe the colophons, the manuscript contains an interesting collection of texts copied from parchment exemplars, as well as from printed editions; one of the items, *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*, is copied from a printed edition, as the colophon on f. 49r suggests: ‘Skrifud eptir svenscu Exemplar prentudu’, while, for example, *Skálda saga* is copied from a parchment exemplar ‘Skrifad eptir skinnbók’, according to the colophon on f. 25v.

The manuscript was in the possession of Árni Bjarnarson (1910–1992), a bookseller and publisher from Akureyri, who obtained the manuscript during his travels to Canada. The manuscript came to the Archives in Akureyri in 1994, after Árni Bjarnarson’s death, and the only note that can be found about this donation is that it arrived as a parcel of 24 boxes containing various materials. The collection today is divided into two parts: ‘Ýmislegt frá Árna Bjarnarsyni’ and ‘Handrit frá Vesturheimi komin frá Árna Bjarnarsyni’. The latter is catalogued under the shelfmark G-52, which includes 46 items divided into four boxes (items 1-29, 30-37, 38-41, 42-46). G52 is the first item in the collection (G52/1).

### Lbs 1767 4to

Lbs 1767 4to (L1767), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík,<sup>21</sup> is a paper manuscript in quarto which contains ii+300 leaves. The manuscript opens with a table of contents, followed by *Sigurðar saga þögla*, *Blómsturvalla saga*, *Dínus saga drambláta*, *Hálfðanar*

20. Kapitan, ‘Dating Paper Manuscripts Based on Watermarks: A Case Study of Selected Nineteenth-Century Icelandic Manuscripts’.

21. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, I:592–593.

saga gamla, Ambáles saga, Gríshildar saga góðu, Úlfs saga Uggasonar, Gestis saga og Gnatus, Sigurðar saga turnara, Sagan af Hákonni norræna, Jónatas ævintýri, 17HsG (ff. 117r–120r), Bósa saga og Herraudðs, Illuga saga Tagldarbana, Bærings saga, Vilhjálms saga sjóðs, Rémundar saga keisarasonar, Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar, Hektors saga, Raudúlfs þáttur, Marons saga sterka, Hermanns saga illa, Andra saga jarls, Skanderbeg saga, Parmes saga Loðinbjarnar, and Starkaðar saga gamla. 17HsG is followed by a colophon which reads ‘þann 1ta Marts 1860 af J.J.S.’

The manuscript is written in one hand throughout, which can be identified as the hand of Jóhannes Jónsson (1798–1877), a *bóndi* at Smyrlahóll in Dalasýsla in the years 1831–1862.<sup>22</sup> The same hand can be found in JS 203 8vo, which is a register of texts written by Jóhannes Jónsson in his own hand, and in a manuscript catalogued on *Handit.org* as Einkaeign 10.<sup>23</sup>

Jóhannes Jónsson is generally known as Jóhannes the blind, as he was thought to have lost his sight in the last 20 years of his life.<sup>24</sup> However, as Lavender observed, *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* in his hand is followed by a colophon with the date 1864, while the last item in the same manuscript is dated to 1867, so it is unlikely that he suffered from complete blindness at that time.<sup>25</sup> Likewise, L1767 was written between 1857 and 1863, so already in the period when Jóhannes was presumed to be already visually impaired, but the script of the manuscript does not suggest that.

The register of texts copied by Jóhannes, in JS 203 8vo, does not mention 17HsG, but according to the title page of JS 203 8vo, the main focus of the register is approximately on the years 1818–1856, so L1767 falls outside of the scope of the register. It is worth noting here that there is another manuscript preserving 17HsG which has

22. Jón Guðnason, *Dalamenn: æviskrár 1703–1961*, I:307.

23. See the manuscript description on *Handrit.org*, archived on 6/12/2022 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20221206011108/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/Einkaeign-0010>. Einkaeign 10 must be the same manuscript as ‘Jón Jónsson’s Sagnahandrit’ (Lavender, ‘Whatever Happened to *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*? Origin, Transmission and Reception of a *Fornaldarsaga*’, 108, 481), and it is held in the Héraðsskjalasafn Borgarfjarðar.

24. For more information on Jóhannes Jónsson, see Driscoll, *The Unwashed Children of Eve*, 64–67; Driscoll, ‘The Long and Winding Road: Manuscript Culture in Late Pre-Modern Iceland’, 55.

25. Lavender, ‘Whatever Happened to *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*? Origin, Transmission and Reception of a *Fornaldarsaga*’, 108.

been previously attributed to Jóhannes' hand, L1217, which also falls out of the scope of the register either because it is too early or because it is not Jóhannes who copied it (see further discussion in Section 3.1).

### Textual relationships in A<sub>1</sub>

A<sub>1</sub> manuscripts distinguish themselves from the rest of the A-tradition by very clear changes made to the text. Below there are a few examples where M27, L1767, L381, and G52 all agree against the remaining manuscripts of 17HsG.<sup>26</sup>

#### Rafn] A<sub>1</sub>.

móðurföður sínum] afa sínum.

Kári hafði jafnan 8 eðr 12 í hverju höggi] og brytjar Kári niður lið víkinga.

ok ræna drauga fê] að vinna drauga og brjóta upp hauga.

hann segir, at hann má sigla rêt suðr] Máni segir rétt í suður.

rêt fyrir framstafni] ÷.

Práinn hafði verit [...] ok mikit fê með sèr] ÷.

There are not enough type-two variants within this text-subgroup to allow more precise classification, but when we take into consideration the chronology of the examined manuscripts and the minor variants appearing in their texts of 17HsG it is unlikely that any of them could be an exemplar for the remaining members in this group.

L381 cannot be the common exemplar, even though it is the oldest manuscript in this group, due to the following reading:

af landi svört ský (Rafn, G52, L1767, M27)] 'af landi hvert ský' (L381).

The reading 'hvert' is clearly an error which would be difficult to correct back to the original reading 'svört'.

Similarly, M27 cannot be the common exemplar of the remaining texts due to readings such as:

rigaðu þér á fætr, ragr ok blauðr] rigaðu þér á fætur ragur og duglaus, sért þú ekki blauður (G52, L381, L1767), 'rigadu þér á fætr ragur oc duglaus, sér tu ekki duglaus' (M27).

26. The readings are collated against Rafn's edition for the reader's convenience.

Here, the repetition of ‘duglaus’ is a clear error which is unlikely to be corrected back to ‘blauður’.

G52 cannot be the exemplar for this group both due to its dating and due to readings such as:

Sá konungur réði fyrir Görðum í Danmörk (Rafn, L1767, L381, M27)]  
‘Fyrir Gaurþom í Danmörk réþi kongr sá’ (G52).

Hröngviður vó Örnúlf upp á spjóti sínu (Rafn, L1767, L381, M27)]  
‘síþann vegur Hraungviþr Örnulf upp á spiotino oc kastar daudom niþr’ (G52).

Finally, L1767 cannot be the common exemplar due to its dating and readings such as:

Bræður 2 Kári og Örnúlfur voru landvarnarmenn konungs, (+ og G52, L381, M27) hermenn miklir (Rafn, G52, L381, M27)] ‘tveir bræður voru landvarnarmenn kongs þeir hétu Kár og Örnulfur, þeir voru hermenn miklir’ (L1767).

Nú er þess getit, at Hrómundur Greipsson var í fylgð með konungi] Hrómundur var með konungi (G52, L381, M27), ‘þad var Hrómundur Greipsson með kongi’ (L1767).

At the same time L1767 is clearly not a direct descendant of any other manuscript in this group, due to examples such as:

Eptir það gengu þeir, sem eptirlifðu, allir á hendr konungi, ok lyktaðist svâ bardaginn] ‘Eptir það geingu kongi aller til handa’ (G52), Eftir það gengu allir konungi til handa (L381, M27), ‘eptir það gengu allir kongi til handa þeir sem eptir lifðu’ (L1767).

This is one of the examples, where L1767 preserves an ‘original’ reading of the text, in this case the phrase ‘þeir sem eptirlifðu’, which is omitted in the remaining manuscripts in text-group A<sub>1</sub>.

The presented evidence suggests that all four texts in text-group A<sub>1</sub> are independent from each other, but derived from a common ancestor, A<sub>1</sub>. The last example on the list above, the omission which appears in G52, L381, M27 but not in L1767, suggests that G52, L381, M27 originate from a common ancestor, A<sub>4</sub>, which introduced this omission (see the stemma in Figure 3.2 on page 99).

Text-group A<sub>2</sub>

The four manuscripts of text-group A<sub>2</sub> are (in supposed chronological order):

- ÍB 43 fol. (I43), written between 1730 and 1770,
- BL Add. 11108 (B11108), written in the eighteenth century,
- Lbs 1217 4to (L1217), written in 1817,
- Lbs 3164 4to (L3164), written in 1879.

## ÍB 43 fol.

ÍB 43 fol. (I43), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík,<sup>27</sup> consists of v+114–vii leaves gathered in 22 quires. The quire structure is: I–IV<sup>4</sup>, V–VII<sup>6</sup>, VIII–IX<sup>4</sup>, X–XI<sup>6</sup>, XII<sup>2</sup> + one singleton, XIII–XIV<sup>6</sup>, XV<sup>4</sup> + one singleton, XVI–XX<sup>6</sup>, XXI<sup>4</sup>, XXII<sup>6</sup>. The quires of two or three conjoint leaves dominate, but it is clear from the irregularities in the quire structures that there has been some intervention into the manuscript's structure. For example, quire XII consists of three leaves, one conjoint and one singleton. It preserves *Eiríks saga víðförla* on six pages, but this quire most likely originally consisted of two conjoint leaves (four leaves, eight pages). Similarly, quire XV consists of two conjoint leaves and one singleton, preserving 17HsG on 10 pages, but we can assume that this quire used to be a regular three conjoint leaf quire (six leaves, 12 pages). The manuscript in its current form consists of nine units, and excluding one text, *Friðþjófs saga*, all sagas start on a new quire: *Hálfðanar saga Eysteinssonar* (ff. 1r–12v, quires I–III), *Göngu-Hrólf's saga* (ff. 13r–38v, quires IV–VIII), *Áns saga hogsveigis* (ff. 39r–48v, quires IX–X), *Þorsteins þáttur bæjarmagns* (ff. 49r–54r, quire XI), *Eiríks saga víðförla* (ff. 55r–57v, quire XII), *Sturlaugs saga starfsama* (ff. 58r–69v, quires XIII–XIV), 17HsG (ff. 70r–74v, quire XV), *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka* (ff. 75r–80v, quire XVI), and finally in quires XVII–XXII *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* (ff. 81r–102r) and *Friðþjófs saga* (ff. 102v–114v).

Further evidence that the manuscript's organization has been changed can also be found by examining the traces of the older pagination present on some of the leaves.<sup>28</sup> The pagination does not

27. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, II:725.

28. It is certain that the numerals written in the top right corners of some of the leaves are pagination, not foliation, because f. 39r has the number 70, f. 39v has

correspond to the present organization of the manuscript. The reconstructed manuscript would probably have texts in the following order: 1. an unknown text or texts, a lacuna of 69 pages (pp. 1-69), 2. *Áns saga bogsveigis*, pp. 70-89, 3. *Sturlaug's saga starfsama*, pp. 90-113, 4. *Göngu-Hrólf's saga*, pp. 114-165, 5. an unknown text or texts, a lacuna of 12 pages (pp. 167-177), 6. *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* pp. 178-220, 7. *Friðþjófs saga* pp. 221-245, 8. an unknown text or texts, a lacuna of 12 pages (pp. 246-257), 9. *Þorsteins þáttur bæjarmagns* pp. 258-269, 10. *Hálfðanar saga Eysteinnssonar* pp. 270-293. Some of the listed lacunas could be filled in by other texts present in I43 where the pagination is illegible, such as *Eiríks saga víðförla*, which occupies six pages (but probably used to belong to the quire of eight pages), *17HsG*, which occupies 10 pages (but probably used to belong to the quire of 12 pages), and *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka* which occupies 12 pages. It is impossible to determine which other texts would fill in the remaining 65 pages.

According to the catalogue,<sup>29</sup> the manuscript was written circa 1750, but the hand and origin of the manuscript is unknown. Not much is known about the history of I43, or its provenance, other than that the Icelandic Literary Society (Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag) received it in 1858/9 from Pétur Jónsson from Kálfatjörn (1778-1865). On a blueish slip of paper accompanying I43 there is a list of sagas preserved in the manuscript followed by the note 'Frá Síra Pétri Jónssyni' (From Rev. Pétur Jónsson).

### BL Add. 11108

BL Add. 11108 (B11108), held in the British Library in London, is a composite manuscript which contains v+246+v leaves. The manuscript was bound (or rebound) in 1970, and not much can be said about the original context of the texts the manuscript contains and its quire structure. B11108 today consists of twelve or fourteen parts, depending on how one counts,<sup>30</sup> preserving the following texts: two copies of *Hervarar saga og Heiðreks*, *Bósa saga og*

71, and f. 40r has 72. The pagination in *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* continues also in *Friðþjófs saga*.

29. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, II:733.

30. Jón Helgason, in his 'Catalogue of the Icelandic Manuscripts in the British Library', distinguishes thirteen separate parts.

*Herrauðs, Örvar-Odds saga, 17HsG* (ff. 105r–112r), two copies of *Sörla saga sterka, Jóns saga Upplendingakonungs, Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar, Friðþjófs saga, Ketils saga hængs, Sörla þáttur, Hálf's saga og Hálf'srekka, Sigurðar þáttur slefu, Sögubáttur af Sigurði gangandi Bárðarsyni*. The texts are preceded by twelve title pages numbered from 14 to 26, two of which introduce two texts: nr. 20: ‘Saga af Sörla enum Sterka’ and ‘Þáttur af Jóni Upplendinga-Kóngi’; nr. 26: ‘Þáttur af Þorkéli Klipp’ and ‘Saga af Sigurði Gángandi, Bárðar syni’.

Most of the texts were written in the eighteenth century, as various dates are attested in different places: 1714 on f. 104 and f. 216v, 1718 on f. 237r and f. 240, 1761 on f. 138r, and 1813 on f. 190v. Around thirteen different main scribal hands can be distinguished, which are not evenly distributed throughout the manuscript. One more hand, certainly a nineteenth-century hand, supplied the title pages (ff. 1r, 18r, 138<sup>bis</sup>) for the individual items. The distribution of the scribal hands is as follows: Hand 1 (ff. 2r–17v), Hand 2 (ff. 19r–68v), Hand 3 (ff. 69r–77v), Hand 4 (ff. 78r–104v dated to 1714, possibly also ff. 209r–216v), Hand 5 (ff. 105r–112r, 158r–159r, 191r–208v, and possibly also ff. 160r–184r:10), Hand 6 (ff. 113r–138r, dated to 1761, signed by Jakob Sigurðsson from Sauðanes),<sup>31</sup> Hand 7 (ff. 139r–142v), Hand 8 (ff. 143r–157v, signed by Gottskálf Jónsson),<sup>32</sup> Hand 9 (ff. 160r–184r:10, possibly the same hand as Hand 5), Hand 10 (ff. 184r:11–190v, dated to 1813),<sup>33</sup> Hand 11 (ff. 217r–223v), Hand 12 (ff. 224r–237v and 239r–240v, dated to 1718), Hand 13 (ff. 241–246v). This physical heterogeneity of the manuscript confirms that it was not designed as a single unit, but rather is the result of later interventions aggregating individual parts into a single volume.

17HsG is written on ff. 105r–112r, forming the fourth part of the manuscript, and it is written in hand 5. This hand has not yet been found in any signed manuscript, which would allow us

31. According to Jón Helgason's catalogue, it is probably Jakob Sigurðsson (n.d.), a poet from Vopnafjörður, for his biography see Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:12.

32. According to Jón Helgason's catalogue, it is probably Gottskálf Jónsson (d. 1757) from Hvanneyri, for his biography see Páll Eggert Ólason, II:93.

33. According to Jón Helgason's catalogue, it is probably written by Halldór Davíðsson (1792–1865), a poet from Prestbakkakot, for his biography see Páll Eggert Ólason, II:250.

to identify the scribe by name and narrow down the dating of this part.

The manuscript belongs to the collection of Icelandic manuscripts purchased by the British Museum in 1837 from Finnur Magnússon (1781–1847), a professor of literature at the University of Copenhagen.<sup>34</sup> This is confirmed by the note on the recto side of the third front-fly-leaf, which reads ‘Purchased of Professor | Finn Magnusen | July 1837’. Frederic Madden (1801–1873), first an Assistant Keeper and later Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum, was responsible for the transaction with Finnur Magnússon. He purchased 437 items for a sum of 180 British pounds, which he considered to be a very high price for manuscripts in such poor condition as those in Finnur’s collection. Madden wrote in one of his letters: ‘the greater part [of the collection] are sad trash, and scarcely worth binding. The condition of many of them is absolutely stinking, & I never had a worse job than to examine & arrange them’.<sup>35</sup> Apparently, some items were bound together into single volumes after they arrived in London, and B11108 must be one of them.<sup>36</sup>

### Lbs 1217 4to

Lbs 1217 4to (L1217), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík,<sup>37</sup> consists of 205 unbound leaves. The fragile state of the manuscript does not allow for the examination of the quire structure. The volume opens with a title page and a table of contents, followed by *Konráðs saga keisarasonar*, *Sturlaug's saga starfsama*, *Hálfðanar saga Eysteinssonar*, *Þorsteins saga hvíta*, *Bernótus saga Borneyjarkappa*, *Líkafróns saga og kappa hans*, *Rígabels saga konungs og Alkanus*, *Faustus saga og Ermenu í Serklandi*, *Nikulás saga leikara*, *Adónías saga*, *Vilmundar saga viðutan*, *Sigurgarðs saga frækna*, *Starkaðar saga gamla*, 17HsG (ff. 163v–166v), *Áns saga*

34. Bricka, *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, XI:57–63.

35. Porter, ‘Preserving the Past: England, Iceland and the Movement of Manuscripts’, 177.

36. The separate parts of the manuscripts were individually numbered and catalogued, see: AM 925 4to, a copy of Finnur Magnússon’s catalogue ‘Catalogus amplæ Manuscriptorum Collectionis, adhuc Hafniæ servatæ, jam inde Londinum Museo Brit- annico mittendæ, auctore Finn Magnuson (sic)’. The collection today is held in the British Library with the shelfmarks Add. 11061–11251.

37. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, I:474.

*bogsveigis, Hálfðanar saga gamla, Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar, and Placidus saga.*

17HsG, preserved on ff. 163v–166v, is followed by a colophon which reads ‘Endud ad Stóra Vatnshorni j Haukadal [Dag] | 29da May 1817 af J.Jönssyne’, providing us with information about its place and date of writing.

The first bifolio is a later addition; it contains a title page and a table of contents in the hand of Jón Þorkelsson (1859–1924), an archivist and doctor of philosophy from the University of Copenhagen.<sup>38</sup> The title page of L1217 provides information on the provenance of the manuscript, identifying the scribe, one of the previous owners, Daði Davíðsson (1859–1955) from Kötlustaðir, and a ‘middleman’, Björn Sigfússon (1849–1932). It reads:

Sögubók | skrifuð á Vatnshorni i Haukaldal 1817 af J(ón`as`i) Jóns-Isyni. | [Kom 4/11 1896 frá Daða Daviðssyni | á Kötlustöðum i Vatnsdal, fyrir milligaungu Björns alþingismanns Sigfússonlar í Grímstungum.]

(A saga book, written at Vatnshorn in Haukadalur 1817 by Jón (or Jónas) Jónsson. Arrived on 4 November 1896 from Daði Davíðsson from Kötlustaðir in Vatnsdalur, through the member of parliament Björn Sigfússon from Grímstunga.)

Not much is known about Daði Davíðsson and how he came into the possession of L1217. Björn Sigfússon (1849–1932) was a member of the Icelandic parliament in the years 1892–1900 and 1908–1911. Björn, however, spent most of his life as a farmer, or *bóndi*, in Vatnsdalur in Northern Iceland, first at Hof in the years 1882–1886, later at Grímstunga in the years 1886–1889, and finally in Kornsa in the years 1899–1925.<sup>39</sup>

The identification of the scribe, named J. Jónsson, is problematic. He could perhaps be identified as Jónas Jónsson (1767–1839), the son of Jón Egilsson from Stóra-Vatnshorn. It has been argued, however, that, regardless of the information provided on the title page, the manuscript had to be copied by Jóhannes Jónsson

38. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:313–314.

39. See his biography on ‘Björn Sigfússon’, archived on 9/07/2022 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20220709091351/https://www.althingi.is/altext/cv/is/?nfaerslunr=92>.

(1798–1877), known as Jóhannes the blind.<sup>40</sup> This is because, according to the census of 1816, Jónas Jónsson (1767–1839) was a *bóndi* at Sælingsdalstunga at that time, so he could not have copied the manuscript in Stóra-Vatnshorn. At the same time, his brother Árne Jónsson (1754–1825) was a *bóndi* at Stóra-Vatnshorn,<sup>41</sup> where Jóhannes Jónsson is listed as a *vinnumaður*.

This explanation seems convincing, but poses some challenges regarding the scribal hand attribution. The script type of L1217 is remarkably different than the script used by Jóhannes in other manuscripts, among them L1767, making attribution based on palaeographic grounds simply impossible.<sup>42</sup> Additionally, we cannot exclude the possibility that Jónas Jónsson (1767–1839) was temporarily staying at his brother's farm at some point in 1817 and copied the manuscript there. It is necessary to conduct further study of Jóhannes' and Jónas' manuscripts in order to confirm the scribal hand identification.

The manuscript was acquired by the National Library of Iceland in 1904 when Jón Þorkelsson sold his collection of manuscripts.<sup>43</sup>

### Lbs 3164 4to

Lbs 3164 4to (L3164), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík,<sup>44</sup> consists of 161 leaves, gathered in 36 quires of thick paper without any watermarks. The quire structure is: I-VIII<sup>4</sup>, IX<sup>2</sup>, X-XIII<sup>4</sup>, XIV<sup>2</sup>, XV-XXXVI<sup>4</sup>.<sup>45</sup> The leaves are paginated in pencil, and the pagination divides the manuscript into three sections which probably correspond to the units of the manuscript's production.

40. Jón Guðnason, *Dalamenn: æviskrár 1703–1961*, I:307, II:29; Kristinn Kristjánsson, 'Tvær sögur eignaðar séra Jóni Oddssyni Hjaltalín: Sagan af Remiari keisara og Fal hinum sterka og sagan af Bernóti Borneyjarkappa', 16–18.

41. Jón Guðnason, *Dalamenn: æviskrár 1703–1961*, I:322.

42. This has been already observed by Driscoll, who considered the differences too significant to warrant attribution, see: Driscoll, *The Unwashed Children of Eve*, 66–67.

43. See the manuscript description on *Handrit.org*, archived on 20/03/2024 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20240320103902/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/Lbs04-1217/>.

44. L. Blöndal, *Skrá Auk II*, 52.

45. It seems that quire XXI consists of 1 hook, 1 conjoint leaf, and 1 singleton, but this might be an effect of a damaged regular quire of two conjoint leaves.

Each section is followed by a blank page (ff. 34v and 52v) where there is an overlap between text boundaries and quire boundaries.

The texts appear in the following order: *Hinriks saga heilráða* (p. 1–68, ff. 1r–34r, quires I–IX), *Ajax saga keisarasonar* and *Knúts saga Steinssonar heimiska* (p. 1–36, ff. 35r–52r, quires X–XIV), and on p. 1–218 (ff. 53r–161v, quires XV–XXVI) the remaining sagas, *Knúts saga Steinssonar heimiska*, *Sigurðar saga turnara*, *Egils saga einhenda og Ásmundar berserkjabana*, 17HsG (ff. 79v–86r), *Ajax saga frækna*, *Þorgríms saga konungs og kappá hans*, *Rímur af Sigurði og Smáfríði*, *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*.

The manuscript was written around the year 1879, as this date appears in the colophon on f. 34r. All the texts are written in one hand. Thanks to the signed colophons, for example, on ff. 36v, 60v, and 102r, the hand can be identified as that of Þorvaldur Skúlason Sívertsen (1859–1919), a bookbinder from Hrapsey.<sup>46</sup> L3164 is the only known manuscript in Þorvaldur's hand, and not much is known about his scribal activity.

It is unknown when and how the National Library acquired L3164.

### Textual relationships in A<sub>2</sub>

There are several changes that manuscripts of text-group A<sub>2</sub> introduce to the text of 17HsG which allow them to be grouped together, for example:

**Rafn]** A<sub>2</sub>.

fyrir Görðum í Danmörk] fyrir Danmörk.

frægr] frækinn.

augnafagr] augnabjartur.

The relationships among the members of this text-sub-group are difficult to establish, but there are some clear patterns, which include L3164 being a direct descendant of L1217, and, lacking any evidence to the contrary, I43 being likely the exemplar for the remaining texts of A<sub>2</sub>.

B11108 cannot be an ancestor of this text-sub-group as it contains readings such as:

46. Jón Guðnason, *Dalamenn: æviskrár 1703–1961*, II:229.

að mér þótti koma (+ hér L1217) ‘af (að L1217, L3164) landi (+ hér L3164) svört ský (Rafn, I43, L1217, L3164)] ‘at svört sky komu af lande’ (B11108).

There is a close relationship between L1217 and L3164, as demonstrated by readings such as:

þar bjó einn ríkur bóndi (Rafn, B11108, I43)] þar var einn ríkur bóndi (L1217, L3164).

þau áttu 9 syni, er svá hétu (Rafn, B11108, I43)] þau áttu þann son er Hrómundur hét og aðra sonu er svo hétu (L1217, L3164).

Nú er konúngs systr sóktar (Rafn, B11108, I43)] Þessu næst er Svanhvít sókt (L1217, L3164).

Finally, there are numerous independent innovations introduced in L3164, for example:

að griót og steinar gengu upp (Rafn, B11108, L1217, I43)] ‘og gekk upp fyrir þeim grjótt’ (L3164).

‘rétt (÷ B11108) fyrir framstafni, þeir ‘sigldu (komu Rafn) vestan að Valladni, (+ ok Rafn) fundu hauginn (Rafn, I43, L1217, B11108)] ÷ L3164.

This omission of an entire sentence in the latter example is a clear eye-skip, from one occurrence of ‘hauginn’ to another. It most likely originates directly from L1217 where they appear in close proximity to each other, one above the other in the middle of two adjacent lines (lines 26 and 27 on f. 167r).

Another example suggesting that L3164 is based directly on L1217 is the reading:

‘ok siertu ekki blaudur’ (L1217)] ‘og sittu ekki blauður’ (L3164).

In L1217, the abbreviation of ‘er’ in *siertu* is written in-line and can easily be mistaken for the letter ‘t’. This is probably how and why *sért þú* became *sittu*.

No evidence has been found to conclude that L1217 is independent of I43. Therefore, it is most likely its descendant. I43 preserves the most conservative readings in this group and does not introduce any significant variants, therefore, lacking any evidence to the contrary, I43 is the most likely exemplar for the remaining manuscripts in text-sub-group A<sub>2</sub>.

### Manuscript context

Texts of seventy-four works appear together with 17HsG in the manuscripts classified as members of text-sub-groups A<sub>1</sub> and A<sub>2</sub>. Fourteen of them co-occur with 17HsG more than once, but only five of them more than three times: *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*, *Friðþjófs saga*, *Hálfðanar saga Eysteinsonar*, *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*, *Starkaðar saga gamla*.

It is important to notice that one saga distinguishes itself remarkably in the number of co-occurrences with 17HsG in these text-sub-groups: *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*. It appears together with 17HsG in 63% of the manuscripts (five out of eight: L1767, L381, B11108, I43, L3164). *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* appeared together with 17HsG in the second volume of Rafn's edition of the legendary sagas, and its text was printed immediately after 17HsG. It is, however, unlikely that Rafn's edition had direct influence on the organization of the texts in these manuscripts.<sup>47</sup> First, three of them pre-date the publication of the edition, and second, none of these manuscripts preserves these two sagas in the same order as they appear in the edition.

The co-occurrence of these two sagas may not be coincidental. There are numerous parallels between *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* and 17HsG, including but not limited to the great battle on the frozen lake Vänern and the importance of prophetic dreams. *Starkaðar saga gamla* and *Friðþjófs saga*, which also frequently co-occur with 17HsG in these manuscripts, give accounts of events related to Þorsteinn's descendants. They probably appear in these manuscripts because of their relationship to *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* rather than to 17HsG.<sup>48</sup>

Finally, two other sagas frequently co-occurring with 17HsG in these manuscripts, *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka* and *Hálfðanar saga Ey-*

47. It is clear from textual analysis that these manuscripts are not related to Rafn's edition.

48. A recent study on *Starkaðar saga gamla* has been published by Bampi, 'Starkaður across the Centuries: Strategies of Rewriting and Manuscript Variation in *Starkaðar saga gamla*'. For a discussion of the role of *fornaldarsögur*, including *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* and *Friðþjófs saga*, in the historical writing of the late seventeenth century, see: O'Connor, 'Putrid Fables and True Histories: Perceptions of Authenticity and the Management of Scepticism in Northern Humanist *fornaldarsaga* Scholarship'.

*steinssonar*, contain direct mentions of Hrómundur. *Hálfðanar saga Eysteinsonar* mentions him in its first chapter, when King Þrándur is introduced together with his wife Dagmær, who was a sister of Hrómundur's wife Svanhvít. *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka* mentions Hrómundur's mother Gunnlöð as a daughter of Hrólfur the black. Taking both these references into account the co-occurrence of these sagas within these text-sub-groups seems to be closely related to the genealogical relations between the characters mentioned in them. A further study of single manuscripts in these text-sub-groups should be a priority for future research. It might reveal further patterns of relationships and help us better understand these sagas in the contexts in which they appear.

### 3.2 Text-group B

The younger manuscripts of text-group B can be further categorised into five text-groups, B<sub>1–5</sub>. As illustrated in Figure 3.3, they are closely related to the texts preserved in the manuscripts written by Jón Þórðarson. Some of them preserve texts of 17HsG which are direct descendants of Jón Þórðarson's texts, while others share a common ancestor (B) with them. All texts in this group reproduce the peculiar readings present in the oldest manuscripts in text-group B (discussed in Section 2.4), such as:

B<sub>1–5</sub>] A, C.

frá söguna] fregn þessa.

á veg komnir] á leið komnir.

kú] ský.

Svílöð] Gunnlöð.<sup>49</sup>

From a textual perspective, most of the manuscripts in text-group B are fairly conservative. With the exception of the manuscripts in text-group B<sub>1</sub>, the manuscripts in this group reproduce the readings introduced in the oldest manuscripts with only minor changes. B<sub>1</sub>, however, introduces extensive innovations into the text of 17HsG, which has led me to edit it separately as 18HsG. From the perspective of the history of transmission of 17HsG and the geographical distribution of the manuscripts, some of the manuscripts in text-group B, especially B<sub>3</sub>, provide valuable insights into the production and dissemination of early-modern manuscripts in Iceland. They allow us to trace their ownership history in the scribal networks of western Iceland.

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49. Exceptions are manuscripts JS 634 4to (J634) and Lbs 840 4to (L840), which preserve texts categorised as B-group even though they share the reading 'Gunnlöð' with group A instead of 'Svílöð'. The name 'Gunnlöð', which appears in the description of the fight with Þráinn, can easily be a correction introduced by an attentive scribe of the common ancestor of L840 and J634 (B<sub>1</sub>), as at the beginning of the story Hrómundur's mother is introduced as 'Gunnlöð' in L840 (f. 256v:8 and f. 254r:13) and J634 (f. 89r:10 and f. 92r:9). These two manuscripts, however, join text-group B in other major readings.

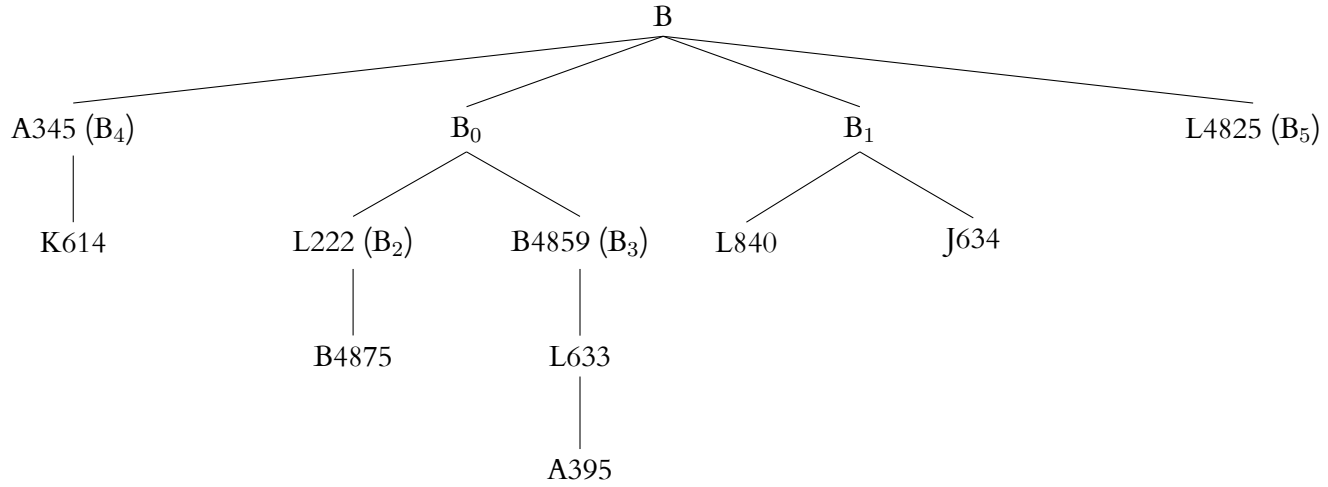


Figure 3.3: Stemma of text-group B

Text-group B<sub>1</sub>

Text-group B<sub>1</sub> is particularly interesting from the textual point of view, as the manuscripts in this group introduce extensive innovations into the text of *17HsG*. Text-group B<sub>1</sub> contains two manuscripts:

- Lbs 840 4to (L840), written in 1737.
- JS 634 4to (J634), in which *17HsG* was written in 1767.

The texts of these two manuscripts often parallel with each other but diverge significantly from the remaining manuscripts within text-group B, creating a separate version to which I refer as *18HsG*. The texts in both L840 and J634 are divided into eight chapters, whereas other manuscripts in text-group B consist of five or six chapters. Moreover, numerous passages in the saga are paraphrased in B<sub>1</sub>, resulting in the text of *18HsG* being much more verbose than the rest of the *17HsG* tradition.

Almost half a century passed between the writing of *17HsG* in A601 and the copying of *18HsG*. On one hand, *18HsG* could be seen as the result of long transmission of the text and the gradual accumulation of variants. On the other hand, it might be viewed as an intentional intervention into the saga's style. It is impossible to know how many manuscripts preserving *17HsG* have been lost in the meantime, and hence it is equally impossible to determine with any certainty which scenario is more likely. The only certainty is that the changes must have been introduced already in the common ancestor of L840 and J634 (B<sub>1</sub>).

The change in style of *18HsG*, when compared to *17HsG*, can be observed at the sentence level, as demonstrated by the following examples:

**Rafn] B<sub>1</sub>.**

Sa konúngr réð fyrir Görðum í Danmörk] Það er upphaf[þessarar sögu (sögu þessarar L840) að konungur sá réð fyrir Görðum.

Eptir fall þeirra bræðra kallar Hraungviðr, at þeir skuli uppgefast] enn er þeir bræður voru fallnir kallar Hrau[...] til filgdar manna þeirra at þeir skuli gefast upp i sitt valld.

ok kvað meiri fremd, at brjóta hauga ok ræna drauga fê] og kvað litla fremd að ræna kotkarla, væri það miklu meiri frami, segir hann, að brjóta hauga, og afla sér þaðan fjár.

In general, the changes introduced into the text of *18HsG* can be seen as stylistic improvements. Considering exclusively the above examples, some readers might say that the text becomes more verbose and by that its flow is improved, while others might argue that such stylistic amplifications are superficial and superfluous. There are, however, multiple instances where the text of *18HsG* contains more explanatory phrases which introduce more logic to the narration, giving it a clear cause-effect structure.

This becomes quite noticeable when we compare the description of the fight between Helgi and Hrómundur in the following passage, where the modified phrases are underlined in both texts:

Helgi reiddi svâ hátt sverð sitt upp yfir sik, at þat tók sundr fótlegg álfarinnar, ok rendi sverðit ofan i (völlinn) upp at hjöltum, ok mælti: nú er mín heill farin, ok illa tókst til, er ek mista þín. Hrómundr mælti: þú vannst, Helgi! hit mesta slis, er þú drapst sjálf frillu þína, ok farin mân þín heill; datt Lara dauð niðr. En af því höggi, er Helgi hjó til Hrómundar, svâ sverðit ljóp at hjöltum ofan, snart oddr sverðsins kvið Hrómundar, ok risti niðr, en Helgi laut eptir högginu; var þá Hrómundr eigi seinn, ok höggur Mistilteini í höfuð Helga (Rafn, pp. 374–5).

Reidde Helge þá svo hátt sverd sitt upp iðfir sig, at þad tók sundur fótlegg Alftarennar og Rende sverdid ofan ið Jsenn upp at hiólltum þar er hann miste Hromund, þar er hann brâ sier undan þâ mælte Helge, nu er farenn mijn heill og Jlla tókst til er eg mista þijn, datt Kára þâ daud nidur, Hromundur mælte Nu vanstu Helge hid vesta slis, er þu drapst siâlfur fridlu þijna og farenn mun þijn heill, enn af þessu sama hógge er Helge hiö til Hrómundar snart oddurenn sverdsins kvid Hrómundar og Riste nidur enn Helge laut efftir hóg genu er sverdid fessist ið Jsnum sem firr var sagt, vard Hromundur ei hand seirn, og hoggur Mistilteine i hófud Helga (L840, f. 258r).

In the case of *17HsG*, we learn that Helgi's blow missed Hrómundur only through the direct speech of Helgi: 'nú er mín heill farin, ok illa tókst til, er ek mista þín'. In *18HsG*, an additional sentence appears before Helgi speaks the same words: 'þar er hann miste Hromund, þar er hann brâ sier undan þâ mælte Helge, nu er farenn mijn heill og Jlla tókst til er eg mista þijn'. The additional sentence

provides context to the direct speech. The reader of 18HsG does not need to assume that Hrómundur avoided Helgi's blow, it is stated explicitly, giving a better flow to the narration.

The logical order of events is also clarified in the sentences following Helgi's direct speech. In 17HsG Hrómundur first says that it is unfortunate that Helgi killed Kára accidentally, and then Kára dies: 'þú vannst, Helgi! hit mesta slis, er þú drapst sjálfri frillu þína, ok farin mán þín heill; datt Lara dauð niðri'. The text of 18HsG first reports Kára's death and then Hrómundur comments on the events: 'datt Kára þá dauð niðri, Hromundur mælte Nu vanstu Helge hid vesta slis, er þu drapst siälfur fridlu þijna og farenn mun þijn heill'.

Finally, 18HsG provides an additional explanatory phrase that clarifies why Hrómundur had the opportunity to strike Helgi and kill him. In 17HsG we read only: 'en Helgi laut eptir högginu; var þá Hrómundur eigi seinn, ok höggur Mistilteini í höfuð Helga', which does not give much context. We do not know whether Helgi bends down because his strike is so powerful that he follows his sword, dragged down by its force, or for some other reason. If the first explanation is correct, then it is strange that Helgi first has time to comment on his luck and then bends down. This is probably why 18HsG introduces an additional explanation: 'enn Helge laut efftir höggenu er sverdid fessist ij Jsnum sem firr var sagt, vard Hromundur ei hand seirn, og hoggur Mistilteine i hófud Helga'. The text explains that Helgi bends down to take his sword out of the ice, giving Hrómundur the possibility to strike him.

There are numerous examples of such explanatory phrases throughout the text of 18HsG which make the narrative easier to follow. This is especially clear at the beginning of chapter eight of Rafn's edition (corresponding to chapter four in our edition of 17HsG) with chapter six of 18HsG:

Nú eru konúngs systr sóktar,  
 kannar Svanhvít sár  
 Hrómundar, ok saumar  
 kviðinn saman, ok leitar  
 honum hæginda. Hún lét færa  
 hann karli þeim til græðslu, er  
 Hagall hét; kerling hans var  
 klók; þau tóku vel við honum,  
 ok græddu hann at heilu. Þat  
 fann Hrómundr, at þessi hjón  
 voru margkunnug (Rafn,  
 p. 376).

Sva er sagt at þegar Svanhvít Kongs  
 sistir frettir Hromund miðg sáran,  
 vera fer hun ä h(a)ns fund og saumar  
 saman kvidenn med silke þræde og  
 smir sijdan, leitande honum allra  
 þ(ei)ra hægenda er hun kan, liet sydan  
 færa hann karle þeim til græðslu er  
 Hagall het, kierljing hams var klök  
 nockut, þau tóku vel vid honum og  
 græddu hann at heilo, ä laun, þad fann  
 Hrómundur at þau voru klök nockut  
 og marg kunnig (L840, f. 258v).

Here the laconic statement of *17HsG* that the king's sisters were summoned ('Nú eru konúngs systr sóktar') is replaced in *18HsG* with a more verbose introduction, which explains why Svanhvít comes to heal Hrómundur: 'Sva er sagt at þegar Svanhvít Kongs sistir frettir Hromundur miðg sáran, vera fer hun ä h(a)ns fund'. So, in *18HsG*, Svanhvít learns that Hrómundur is badly wounded and this is why she comes to help him.

Neither version explains, however, how Svanhvít found out about Hrómundur's wounds, as all of Hrómundur's brothers are already dead at this point and no one else, besides Svanhvít herself, knew that Hrómundur decided to help Ólafur upon her personal request. An explanation, which would be desirable for a modern reader, is apparently not that important for the story development from the perspective of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century audiences of *17HsG* and *18HsG*. What is important, is simply the fact that Svanhvít comes and sews Hrómundur's wounds. In *18HsG*, however, an additional piece of information is provided, specifying that the thread she used was made of silk. A rather peculiar addition, but at the same time the use of silk to sew abdominal wounds appears in line with the contemporary medical practice.<sup>50</sup>

Because of this extensive level of modification, *18HsG* opens up possibilities for a closer comparative analysis with *17HsG* and *19HsG*. A detailed comparative analysis has the potential to reveal some interesting stylistic patterns which could be interpreted as

50. I would like to thank Shaun Hughes for pointing this out to me.

manifestations of the eighteenth-century reception of the story of Hrómundur, or expressions of the changing saga style. Such explorations, however, remain beyond the scope of the present study. Instead, in the following sections, we turn to the two manuscripts of 18HsG and the textual relationship between them.

### Lbs 840 4to

Lbs 840 4to (L840), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in quarto which consists of i+334-i leaves of watermarked paper.<sup>51</sup> The leaves are gathered into 54 irregular quires, and the structure appears to be as follows: I<sub>10</sub> (1 and 2 added singletons), II<sup>8</sup>, III<sup>8</sup> (6 and 7 blank additions), IV<sup>8</sup>, V<sup>8</sup> (6 blank addition), VI<sup>8</sup>, VII<sup>6</sup>, VIII<sup>8</sup>, IX<sup>8</sup> (wants 8), X<sup>8</sup>, XI<sup>6</sup> (wants 6), XII<sup>6</sup>, XIII<sup>8</sup>–XIV<sup>8</sup>, XV<sup>6</sup>, XVI<sup>8</sup>, XVII<sup>8</sup>–XVIII<sup>8</sup>, XIX<sup>4</sup>, XX<sup>8</sup>, XXI<sup>4</sup>–XXIV<sup>4</sup>, XXV<sup>8</sup>, XXVI<sup>10</sup> (9 and 10 blank additions), XXVII<sup>8</sup>–XXIX<sup>8</sup>, XXX<sup>4</sup>, XXXI<sup>8</sup> (5–8 blank additions), XXXII<sup>4</sup>–XXXIX<sup>4</sup>, XL<sup>4</sup> (1 blank addition), XLI<sup>4</sup>, XLII<sup>6</sup> (1 blank addition), XLIII<sup>6</sup>–XLIV<sup>6</sup>, XLV<sup>4</sup>–XLVI<sup>4</sup>, XLVII<sup>6</sup>, XLVIII<sup>4</sup> (singletons), XLIX<sup>6</sup> (6 blank addition), L<sup>6</sup>, LI<sup>8</sup>–LIII<sup>8</sup>, LIV<sup>4</sup> (singletons).

The codex opens with two title pages followed by *Fóstbræðra saga*, *Harðar saga*, *Heiðarvíga saga*, *Bjarnar saga Hítðælakappa*, ‘Explicatio yfer Hallmundar vísur’, *Ölkofra þáttur*, *Bergbúa þáttur*, *Rémundar saga keisarasonar*, *Helenu saga*, *Jarlmanns saga og Hermanns*, *Viktors saga og Blávus*, *Ectors saga*, *Eiríks saga víðförla*, 17HsG (ff. 254r–260r), *Bragða-Ölvis saga*, *Sigurðar saga fóts*, *Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar*, *Sörla þáttur*, *Úlfs saga Uggasonar*, *Guímars saga*, *Jóns saga leikara*, *Partalópa saga*, *Ála flekks saga*, *Hálfðanar saga Brönufóstra*, and a table of contents. Many of the texts preserved in the manuscript, including 17HsG are defective and blank pages were supplied at some later point, probably with the intention to fill in the lacunas.

According to the title page(s), the manuscript was written in 1737 in Skarð in north-western Iceland:<sup>52</sup>

51. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, I:369.

52. The first two leaves of the manuscript contain title pages which present the same information but have a slightly different arrangement of the text.

Frödlegur | Sagna fesiödur | Jnnehalldande | Velmargar Af-  
bragds vænar Historliur, sem skjira frá, frægd og frama-l-  
verkum *Islendskra Kappa*, Samt | Útlendra Könga, Her-  
toga og Jalla, [...] Epter þeim Æfe=Elldstu og ordriettustu  
| Bökum *sem tilfeingist hafa saman-l-dregnar* Og Upp-  
skrifadar | þeim Til skiemtunar | er lesa og heyra | gyrn-  
ast | Skrifad ad Skarde á Skards-l-strönd | Anno Domini  
MDCCXXXVIJ (L840, f. 1r).

(An informative treasure trove of sagas containing many excellent stories, which describe the fame and achievements of Icelandic champions, as well as foreign kings, dukes, and earls [...] according to the oldest and most accurate books available, collected and written down for the entertainment of those who wish to read and hear. Written at Skarð in Skarðsströnd AD 1736.)

In 1737, a well-known manuscript commissioner, Bjarni Pétursson (1681–1768), a *sýslumaður* (county administrative), was living on Skarð. He resided there between 1705 and 1748 and then again from 1756 until his death. He was married to Elín Þorsteinsdóttir from Skarð and he ‘skrifaði upp og lét skrifa upp allmargt handrita, einkum sögur’ (copied and commissioned many manuscripts, especially sagas).<sup>53</sup> Therefore, it is highly probable that L840 is associated with his activity as a manuscript commissioner.

While previous scholarship excluded the possibility that L840 is in the hand of Bjarni Pétursson, it is still possible that it was commissioned by him.<sup>54</sup> Many manuscripts commissioned by Bjarni contain elaborate title pages, frequently highly decorated, which describe the contents of the manuscript and usually mention the commissioner. For example, there is an impressive and rich title page of Lbs 423 fol., as well as more modest title pages of JS 8 fol. and Lbs 2319 4to,<sup>55</sup> which somewhat resemble the ones in L840. Furthermore, the hand in which *17HsG* is written in L840 appears similar to the hand found in Lbs 2319 4to, but this requires

53. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, I:188.

54. Hast, *Pappershandskrifternar till Harðar saga*, 145–147.

55. Recently, Hufnagel focused on the analysis of Lbs 2319 4to, see Hufnagel, ‘Texts and Contexts: Bjarni Pétursson and His Saga Manuscript Lbs 2319 4to (1727–1729)’.

further palaeographic analysis to confirm whether or not these two hands are indeed the same.<sup>56</sup>

The text of 17HsG in L840 is defective. There is a lacuna which equals to ca. 682 words of Rafn's edition. The last clause on f. 258v reads 'Eirn maður var med Hadldinge' (Rafn 376:20-21) and the first clause on f. 260r reads 'nætur strijda, Hrömundur segir til sijn' (Rafn 379:18-19). An additional leaf (f. 259) has been supplied at some later point in order to fill in the lacuna, but it remains blank.<sup>57</sup>

The last leaves (ff. 331-334) of the manuscript are written in a different hand, which seems to be younger than the majority of the manuscript.<sup>58</sup> On the verso side of the last leaf there is a table of contents, which lists twenty three instead of twenty four items. The omitted item is *Bragða-Ölvis saga*, which immediately follows 17HsG. The omission must be a matter of error rather than a different structure of the manuscript at the time when the table of contents was supplied, because *Bragða-Ölvis saga* starts on the same leaf where 17HsG ends and it is written in the same hand, so it is unlikely that the text was supplied later.

There are several names that can be found in the margins of L840, which can be associated with descendants of Bjarni Pétursson: 'Magnús' (f. 304r), 'M.Ketilsson' (f. 182v), 'S.Magnússon' (f. 1r), and 'Eggert [Magn...]' (f. 112v). The first two marginal notes can be associated with Magnús Ketilsson (1732-1803), a *sýslumaður* of Dalasýsla who lived in Búðardalur and was married to Ragnhildur Eggertsdóttir, a granddaughter of Bjarni Pétursson.<sup>59</sup> The third marginal note can be associated with Magnús's son, Skúli Magnússon (1768-1837), who was also a *sýslumaður* of Dalasýsla after his father's death.<sup>60</sup> The last one refers probably to another son of Magnús, Eggert Magnússon. There is also one unclear marginal note,

56. My observation is based on a sample comparison of L840, f. 260r with Lbs 2319 4to, f. 87r.

57. One leaf would be sufficient to supply the missing text if the scribe could follow the text density of L840; there are 312 words on f. 258v, so the lacuna of ca. 682 words would fill both sides of a single leaf.

58. According to Páll Eggert Ólason, the hand can be dated to ca. 1830, but it is uncertain what his argument for such precise dating is based on, see Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, I:369.

59. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:440-441.

60. Páll Eggert Ólason, IV:292.

which reads ‘[J]on Jo[ns]son’ (f. 303r), but it is uncertain to whom it refers.

The notes are an important source of information regarding the manuscript’s ownership history. They allow us to trace the manuscript’s history through three generations of the commissioner’s descendants, to the end of the eighteenth century, or the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is probable that Ragnhildur Eggertsdóttir inherited L840 from her father Eggert Bjarnason, the son of Bjarni Pétursson.<sup>61</sup> Eggert Bjarnason is known to have spent the last years of his life with his daughter Ragnhildur in Búðardalur, therefore it is not surprising that her husband’s and sons’ names are found in the manuscript.

### JS 634 4to

JS 634 4to (J634), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in quarto, consisting of ii+232 leaves mainly of watermarked paper, with some additional paper added to some quires.<sup>62</sup> The leaves are gathered into 39 quires and the structure is as follows: I<sup>8</sup> (wants 8), II<sup>8</sup>–XVI<sup>8</sup>, XVII<sup>10</sup>, XVIII<sup>4</sup>–XXVI<sup>4</sup>, XXVII<sup>6</sup> (wants 1), XXVIII<sup>4</sup>–XXXVII<sup>4</sup>, XXXVIII<sup>6</sup>, XXXIX<sup>8</sup>.<sup>63</sup>

The manuscript begins with a title page and table of contents (on recto and verso sides of the second fly-leaf) followed by the sagas: *Ketils saga hængs*, *Gríms saga loðinkinna*, *Örvar-Odds saga*, *17HsG* (ff. 89r–96v), *Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar*, *Mírmanns saga*, *Jarlmanns saga og Hermanns*, *Ála flekks saga*, *Vilhjálm’s saga sjóðs*, *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*.

61. Páll Eggert Ólason, I:313.

62. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, II:613.

63. Uncertain structure of quires VIII, XVII, XXVII, XXXVIII, and XXXIX, due to later additions glued to the original leaves. Note that the last leaf of the manuscript, made of bluish paper, blank, and unnumbered [f. 232, or pp. 461–462], is not included in the leaf count in the online catalogue *Handrit.org*, where the count is ii+231. After the manuscript was digitised, it became clear that the last leaf is marked as a rear fly-leaf, which revealed the error in the prose description of the manuscript indicating that f. 231 is blank, while in fact, it is f. 232 that is blank. See the *Handrit.org* description, archived on 9/07/2022 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20220709061521/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/JS04-0634> and on 20/02/2024 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20240220111004/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/JS04-0634>.

The text of *17HsG* is preserved on ff. 89r–96v (p. 175–190).<sup>64</sup> The saga is divided into eight chapters with the following titles (for convenience in English translation, the original titles can be found in the edition):

1. Descent, birth, growing up and swift victory of Hrómundur,
2. Hrómundur opens Þráin's mound,
3. Hrómundur wins the mound dweller and gets Mistilteinn,
4. Hrómundur gets into the king's disfavour due to defamation,
5. Hrómundur fights against Haddingjar with king Ólafur upon Svanhvít's request,
6. Hrómundur is in care of Hagall and his wife,
7. Blindur's dreams and king Hadding's interpretation,
8. Killing of king Hadding and Blindur and marriage of Hrómundur.

As evident from these descriptive chapter headings, the story remains consistent, but the headings summarise the main events of the saga, emphasising certain events while overlooking others. This approach serves as a significant example of the eighteenth-century reception of the saga and offers an insight into the contemporary interpretation of the story, which arguably appears to differ considerably from how many might read this saga today.

Although the text of the saga has been stylistically altered, the main storyline remains unchanged. However, thanks to the title headings, the story can be interpreted in a distinct manner. It is particularly interesting that none of the titles mention the deaths of Hröngviður and his brother Helgi, which some readers might consider central events of the story. Instead, the emphasis is on Hrómundur's accomplishments and the conflict between Ólafur and the Haddingjar. The narrative shifts away from a tale of personal vengeance, as implied by the various killings—Hröngviður's death as retribution for killing Kári and Örnúlfur, Helgi's death for killing Hrómundur's brothers, and Vóli's death for killing Hrómundur's dog—to one highlighting themes of achieving glory, supporting a king at a princess's behest, prophetic dreams that signal the downfall of adversaries, and ultimately marrying the princess. This perspective offered by the saga in J634 allows for a reading that fore-

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64. Pagination is erroneous, therefore, it does not match the foliation.

grounds elements of heroism, loyalty, and fate over those of personal vendetta

Based on the quire structure and the dates given in the colophons following various texts, a division of the manuscript into two parts can be proposed. In the first part (quires I–XVII, ff. 1–137), quires of four conjoint leaves dominate, while in the second part (quires XVIII–XXXIX, ff. 138–231) quires of two conjoint leaves dominate. In the first part there is a colophon dated to 1767 (f. 95v) and in the second part there are two colophons dated to 1805 and 1806. Moreover, an overlap between quire boundary and text boundary also supports this division: *Mírmanns saga* ends quire XVII while *Jarlmanns saga* og *Hermanns* starts quire XVIII, in which the type and the quality of paper changes.

The first part of the manuscript was written by Markús Snæbjarnarson (1708–1787), a minister on Flatey.<sup>65</sup> The second part of the manuscript was probably written by Tómas Sigurðsson (1772–1849), also from Flatey.<sup>66</sup> Tómas was living there around the time the second part of J634 was copied and his name is attested on f. 89r of J634, by the beginning of *17HsG*.<sup>67</sup>

Geography and family relations seem to play an important role in the copying process of this manuscript.<sup>68</sup> As visualised in Figure 3.4, Markús Snæbjarnarson was the son of Kristín Magnúsdóttir (1672–1712), the daughter of Magnús Jónsson from Vigur (1637–1702). It was Magnús, for whom Jón Þórðarson worked as a scribe, and for whom he copied B4859 and possibly also Lbs 222 fol. There are some textual indications (discussed in greater detail in the following section) that allow us to assume that there was at least one more manuscript of *17HsG* which served as an exemplar for the common ancestor of L840 and J634. This manuscript might also been associated with Magnús Jónsson's family. As mentioned in Sec-

65. For Markús Snæbjarnarson's biography, see Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:474–475. Other manuscripts in Markús Snæbjarnarson's hand are Lbs 204 fol., Lbs 356 fol., and a part of ÍB 376 4to.

66. Páll Eggert Ólason, V:16.

67. Slay, *Mírmanns saga*, xxx. Other manuscripts where Tómas' hand can be found include parts of Lbs 1540 8vo, ÍB 757 8vo, ÍB 764 8vo, but I did not have access to these manuscripts or their facsimiles to compare the hand, see Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, II:303, III:166–168.

68. A similar case is described in Section 3.2.

tion 1.2, we know that there was at least one more manuscript in Magnús Jónsson's possession which preserved a text of 'Hrómundar saga'. The 'second book of Magnús Jónsson in 4to' (\*MJ 2 4to), as listed in AM 211 b 4to, might be one of the missing links between L840 and J634 and the remaining manuscripts in text-group B.

There are two flyleaves at the beginning of the manuscript. On the recto side of the second flyleaf there is a title 'Sögu Safn', and on the verso side there is a table of contents listing ten items, both written by Páll Pálsson (1806–1877), a bookbinder at the National Library ca. 1850–1870.<sup>69</sup> The manuscript has been extensively repaired, and Páll Pálsson added the text that was missing due to damage by writing it on the added support.

The manuscript is the twelfth volume in a collection of nineteen manuscripts, catalogued under the shelfmarks from JS 623 4to to JS 641 4to. These manuscripts were previously owned by Jón Sigurðsson (1811–1879), a scholar, politician, and very active book collector.<sup>70</sup> This is only a small part of Jón Sigurðsson's manuscript library, which consisted of ca. 2000 volumes.<sup>71</sup> The collection of his manuscripts was bought by the Icelandic parliament in 1878 and, after his death, was given to the National Library.

### Textual relationships in B<sub>1</sub>

As previously indicated, L840 and J634 are most likely descendants of a common exemplar, since neither one can be a copy of the other. The text in L840 could not have been copied from J634 simply due to chronology; J634 was copied in 1767 and L840 around 1737. J634 could not be a copy of L840 based on textual criteria. There are examples where J634 preserves readings which are more closely related to the remaining manuscripts in group B than to L840, for example:

**A345, B4859, L222, J634] L840.**

líktist (+ hann J634) mjög Hróki móðurföður sínum] 'líktest mióg  
mödur föður sijnum Hroke hinum svarta'.

liði sínu vestur til Suðureyja] 'lide synu til Sudureia vestur'.

69. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:136; Slay, *Mírmanns saga*, xxxi.

70. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:266.

71. Briem, 'Yfirlit yfir ævi Jóns Sigurðssonar', 34.

Hrómundur bað hann segja sér] ‘Hromundur bad hann vijsa Sier’.

The common ancestor of the text-group B<sub>1</sub> must be a descendant of a common ancestor of the oldest manuscripts in text-group B (A345, B4859 and L222), because B<sub>1</sub> is certainly not derived directly from L222 or B4859 since it does not reproduce their shared innovations, such as:

**L222, B4859] A345, L840, J634.**

konungur (+ varð mjög reiður og L222) mælti fyrir þessi þín orð] ÷.  
skal Hrómundur rǫgálgann gista (hengður verða B4859) þótt hann sé frækinn (+ kallaður L222)] ÷.

At the same time, B<sub>1</sub> is not derived from A345, because it does not reproduce its individual readings, such as:

**A345] B4859, L222, J634, L840.**

norður fyrir Noreg] austur fyrir Noreg.  
rétt fyrir stafni fram] rétt fyrir framstafni.  
brendi hann allan] brendi hann upp allan.

### Text-group B<sub>2</sub>

Text-group B<sub>2</sub> is has been distinguished to describe an interesting case study of two manuscripts, B4875 and L222, which are textually closely related to each other, and which also most likely share a part of their history of ownership. This pair has been selected for closer discussion not only because it is a good example of a branch of the stemma that has ‘died out’ due to the acquisition of the manuscript by a foreign collector, but also because it shows a hypothetical example of how manuscripts might have circulated in Icelandic families for several generations in the post-medieval period. As a result of this decision, B<sub>2</sub> is represented by only one younger manuscript of 17HsG:

- BL Add. 4875 (B4875), 17HsG written in 1763.

B4875 is textually closely related to L222. In fact, it appears to be its descendant, as it reproduces the innovations of L222 which are absent from all other texts of 17HsG, such as:

**Rafn] L222, B<sub>2</sub>.**

at landi sínu um kyrt] að landi sínu um hrið.

at Hrómundr muni hafa verit þat] að kelling muni hafa verið það.  
Um vetrinn eptir] Um morguninn eftir.

The readings of B4875 diverge from L222 mainly in orthography but some minor variant readings, such as, word order, synonyms, obvious scribal errors and minor additions or omissions, as demonstrated below:

**L222] B4859.**

‘hielltt olafr kongr austr fyrir noreg’] ‘hiellt Olafur Kongur austur Med Lande austur fyrir norueg’.

‘kall sagði at ham mä sigla’] ‘kall sagde ad sigla maa’.

‘oc at Lipnum iij Daughum’] ‘og ad lidnum iv dögum lidnum’.

‘kongr vard miök reiþr oc mælltti fyrir þessi þijn ord skal Hromundr Gálgann Gysta þott ham sie frækinn kallaþr’] ‘Konungur mællti fyrir þessu þijn ord skal Hromundur galgann gista þott ham frækni sie kallaður’.

The most striking evidence for B4875 being derived from L222 is the presence of the addition ‘skal Hrómundur gálgann gista þótt hann sé frækni (frækni sé B4875) kallaður’. This addition appears close to the end of chapter three of the saga as presented in the present edition (and chapter five of Rafn’s edition). It appears in the conversation between Svanhvít and her brother, King Ólafur, during which Ólafur expresses his disapproval of the warm relationships between Svanhvít and Hrómundur. While in A601 and in the majority of other manuscripts, it is Svanhvít who states that the evil brothers Blindur and Vóli shall be hanged, in L222 and B4875 it is Ólafur who’d rather see Hrómundur hanging and expresses it by using the phrase ‘gálgann gista’.<sup>72</sup>

**BL Add. 4875**

BL Add. 4875 (B4875), held in the British Library in London, consists of ii+88+ii leaves in quarto. It is a composite manuscript in a modern library binding, preserving various handwritten texts, along with printed newspaper materials.

72. Note that in B4859 Ólafur also wishes for Hrómundur to be hanged, but a different phrase is used.

The manuscript can be divided into six parts. The first part includes *Valdimars saga*, *Sigurðar saga fóts*, 17HsG (ff. 16r–21v), *Bragða-Ölvis saga*, *Ævintýr af Valtara hertoga*, and *Sturlaugs saga starfsama*. The second part contains newspaper extracts from *Die Dänische Fama*. The third part contains one *avintýri* beginning with the words ‘Herraudur hefur kongur heited’. The fourth and fifth parts preserve two copies of *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*. The final part consists of some newspaper extracts from *Post=Rytter*.

17HsG concludes with a colophon indicating that the copying of the text was completed on 23 August 1763. Following the text is a short poem on the subject matter of 17HsG. The poem contains the poet’s name, Eggert, and concludes with a formulaic phrase thanking readers and listeners for their attention, ‘Saa haf þock sem l les l Enn saa alls aungua l sem l skrifade l FINIS Est ’ (Thanks to those who read, but none to those who wrote. The End.), followed by the initials ‘E.H.S.’.

At least four different hands can be distinguished in the manuscript, and according to Jón Helgason’s catalogue, Eggert Hákonarson (1746/8–1787), the son of Hákon Snæbjarnarson, wrote the portion of the manuscript containing 17HsG.<sup>73</sup>

Shortly after the youngest part of the manuscript was copied, i.e., the part containing 17HsG,<sup>74</sup> the manuscript joined the collection of the British Museum. Today, B4875 is held in the British Library but it originally belonged to the collection of forty volumes acquired by the British Museum during 1773–1779 from Sir Joseph Banks (today BL Add. 4857–4896). As previously mentioned in

73. Jón Helgason, ‘Catalogue of the Icelandic Manuscripts in the British Library’; Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, I:319.

74. The latest date attested in the manuscript is 1768 on f. 54r, where a number of scribbles can be found, and among them the name of ‘Nathanel Þorsteinsson[0] l [á] Sondum d. [10] Augustu (sic) 1768’. This is probably Nathanael Þorsteinsson (d. 1794) who married Svanborg Hákonardóttir, a sister of Margrét Hákonardóttir (see sections on Suðureyrarhreppur in the unpublished manuscript, Kjartan Ólafsson, ‘Firðir og fólk 900–1900: Vestur-Ísafjarðarsýsla: Vinnuhandrit’. Note that no information about these people can be found in the published version of his work, Kjartan Ólafsson, *Firðir og fólk 900–1900: Vestur-Ísafjarðarsýsla. Gengið bæ frá bæ í Arnarfirði, Dýrafirði, Öndarfirði og Súgandafirði, lítið á landslag og hugað að mamlífi og minjum eitt þúsund ára*). The relationship between Svanborg and Margrét Hákonardætur and Eggert Hákonarson is unknown and the patronymic name might be a coincidence.

Section 2.3, some manuscripts in Banks's collection were likely acquired during his visit to Iceland in 1772, while others were sent to him later by Ólafur Stephensen.<sup>75</sup> The exact arrival date of B4875 at the British Museum is unknown.<sup>76</sup>

### B4875 and its exemplar in Jón Þórðarson's hand?

As previously mentioned, B4875 is a composite volume, consisting of six different parts. One of the parts includes printed material (ff. 44r–53v and 80r–88v), while the majority of the volume is handwritten. The majority of the texts in B4875, ff. 1r–43v and 54v–55v, were written in one hand, Hand 1, and are accompanied by dated colophons. The dates indicate that the manuscript was copied over the summer, which seems an unusual practice as many Icelandic manuscripts are often copied over the winter.<sup>77</sup> Hand 1 of B4875 gives the impression that the scribe was inexperienced and perhaps the copying of this manuscript was part of his training in writing. The lines of texts, as well as the letter forms, are irregular and clumsily constructed, and the script is not consistent throughout the texts. On f. 29r, we can observe that the scribe hurries to finish the saga as the script changes remarkably by the end of the text. This speaks in favour of the proposed identification of Eggert Hákonarson as the scribe of the main part of this manuscript because at the time some of the texts in B4875 were copied in 1763, he was only a teenager (fifteen or seventeen years old).

The last hand-copied text in this manuscript, *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*, is defective.<sup>78</sup> It is written in two different hands: ff. 56r–57v are written in Hand 3, and ff. 58r–79v are written in Hand 2.

75. Porter, 'Preserving the Past: England, Iceland and the Movement of Manuscripts', 175; Halldór Hermannsson, *Sir Joseph Banks and Iceland*, 15–17.

76. According to Anna Agnarsdóttir, there is a catalogue of the Icelandic books from Banks in BL Add. 45712, but I did not have a chance to consult it, so it remains unknown to me whether or not it contains some additional information about the manuscript's provenance, see Anna Agnarsdóttir, *Sir Joseph Banks, Iceland and the North Atlantic 1772–1820: Journals, Letters and Documents*.

77. Driscoll, 'The Long and Winding Road: Manuscript Culture in Late Pre-Modern Iceland', 54.

78. The text on f. 57v ends with 'at þeira ættmenn yrði jafnan útlægir af sínum eignum.' (at the end of chapter 1), but the text on f. 58r starts with *Þangat skaltu fara ok koma þar annat kveld* (in the middle of chapter 2), so there is a lacuna of ca. 680 words.

According to Jón Helgason's catalogue, this saga establishes the oldest part of the manuscript, written ca. 1700.<sup>79</sup> Hand 2 has been identified as the hand of *sýslumaður* Erlendur Ólafsson (d. 1772). Hand 3, on the other hand, closely resembles the hand of Jón Þórðarson, the main scribe of L222. Perhaps this copy of *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* was intended to serve as an exemplar for young Eggert Hákonarson, who presumably never managed to copy it, and the text ended up in the same volume as his copies. This would suggest that Eggert Hákonarson had access to Jón Þórðarson's manuscripts, which could have served as exemplars for other texts in his manuscripts. It cannot be excluded that Eggert might have had direct access to L222. It is noteworthy that *17HsG*, *Bragða-Ölvis saga*, and *Griseldis saga* appear in B4875 in the same order as in L222. While no study of the transmission history of these two sagas yet exists, we can only speculate whether the texts of *Bragða-Ölvis saga* and *Griseldis saga* in B4875 were also derived from L222. Until then, however, another explanation could be that ff. 56–79 of B4875 were simply supplied later and are not related to the original process of copying other texts. The following section, however, outlines the hypothetical ownership history of L222, which would make the scenario in which Eggert Hákonarson had access to Jón Þórðarson's manuscripts possible.

### Family relationships and manuscript transmission

As mentioned in Section 2.3, L222 might have been one of the manuscripts commissioned by Magnús Jónsson (1637–1702) from Vigur. According to the colophons in L222, the manuscript was copied mainly in the years 1695–1698. It previously belonged to Brynjólfur Oddsson (1825–1887), a bookbinder, as his name appears on the title page. The whereabouts of L222 at the time when B4875 was copied are uncertain.

As Arthur observed, a number of names found in L222 can be associated with Eyri in Önundarfjörður in the early nineteenth century.<sup>80</sup> Among them is Kjartan Ólafsson (1792–1863) and his

<sup>79</sup> Jón Helgason, 'Catalogue of the Icelandic Manuscripts in the British Library'.

<sup>80</sup> Arthur, 'Writing, Reading, and Utilizing *Njáls Saga*: The Codicology of Iceland's Most Famous Saga', 72–73.

mother Þuríður Gísladóttir (1759–1834),<sup>81</sup> both residing at Eyri in Önundarfjörður.<sup>82</sup> The history of L222 before it came into the possession of Þuríður Gísladóttir is not well documented. Some clues might perhaps be deduced from the history of B4875.

As previously mentioned, Eggert Hákonarson, the son of Hákon Snæbjarnarson, was the main scribe of B4875. The names of Eggert and Páll Hákonarson are found in B4875 and they must refer to two sons of Hákon Snæbjarnarson (1711–1798), the minister of Álftamýri in the years 1746–1798.<sup>83</sup> Hákon Snæbjarnarson was the son of Kristín Magnúsdóttir, the daughter of Magnús Jónsson from Vigur, the commissioner of L222. If B4875 is indeed a direct copy of L222 then the genealogical relations between the people involved in the production of these two manuscripts allow us to assume that Hákon received L222 from his mother and gave it to his son Eggert, who copied 17HsG from it in 1763.

Eggert Hákonarson was born in 1746 at Eyri in Skutulsfjörður where his father Hákon was a minister at the time. He studied at Skálholtsskóli, which he left in 1772.<sup>84</sup> He married his cousin, Kristín Markúsdóttir (1737–1816), in 1775 and settled on Flatey where his father-in-law (who was also his father's brother) Markús Snæbjarnarson (1708–1787), was a minister.<sup>85</sup> There is another copy of 17HsG associated with this family, as Markús Snæbjarnarson is a scribe of the first part of J634, also belonging to text-group B. The whereabouts of Eggert's brother, Páll, are unknown, but his name is found in various places in B4875, so he had to be at least temporarily an owner of the manuscript. It is not cer-

81. The dates of births and deaths of Kjartan and Þuríður were found in the online genealogical service [www.geni.com](http://www.geni.com) and are therefore uncertain. According to the census of 1816, Kjartan was 23 and Þuríður was 55 ([mannatal.is](http://mannatal.is), last accessed 22/03/2024).

82. Þuríður, however, on f. 99v signs: 'Þuríður Gísladóttir a Tröð', which suggests that at some point she was living with her son Kjartan at Tröð; in the census of 1835, Kjartan is registered as *húsbóndi* and *hreppstjóri* at Tröð, where Þuríður's sister, Guðrún Gísladóttir (aged 73), still lived at that time. If the dates given at [www.geni.com](http://www.geni.com) can be trusted, then the absence of Þuríður Gísladóttir in the census of 1835 can be easily explained by her death in 1834.

83. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, II:234.

84. This suggests that B4857 was written in Eyri, assuming that Eggert was still living with his parents and had not yet gone to Skálholt in 1763.

85. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:474–475; Bogi Benediktsson, *Sýslumannaæfir*, II:231.

tain whether Eggert or Páll is responsible for the sale of B4875 to Banks, but as Eggert was attending Skálholtsskóli in the same year when Banks visited Skálholt, it is probable that it was through his network that the manuscript made its way into the hands of the British collector.<sup>86</sup>

If we assume that B4875 was sold to Joseph Banks around the time of Banks's visit to Skálholt in 1772, then it can be argued that L222 had to be already somewhere else, meaning not in Eggert's or Páll's possession, otherwise it would most likely also have been sold to Banks.<sup>87</sup> Therefore L222 had to leave the family of Magnús Jónsson's descendants shortly after B4875 was copied in 1763, but before it was sold to Banks in 1772.

If this entire hypothetical history of ownership of L222 is correct, it still remains difficult to explain how L222 got into the hands of Kjartan Ólafsson. Kjartan's family is, however, associated with Ísafjarðarsýsla, and he himself was a *hreppstjóri* residing at Tröð in Önuðarfjörður, while descendants of Magnús Jónsson's also resided in that area. For example Magnús's great-granddaughter Gunnhildur was married to the minister of Holt in 1761–1783, Jón Eggertsson (1731–1783), and his other great-granddaughter Þórkatla Magnúsdóttir was married to Jón Ásgeirsson, the minister of Holt in 1796–1810.<sup>88</sup> Therefore there is a high possibility that these two families were in contact and exchanged manuscripts.

This section discussed a pair of manuscripts that illustrate how books might have circulated in Icelandic families for several generations. Furthermore, this pair is a good example of the branch of the stemma that has 'died out' due to the acquisition by a foreign collector, as no known text of *17HsG* is derived from B4875.

86. Another attractive possibility is that it was not Eggert himself who was responsible for the sale of B4875 to Banks, but his son-in-law Teitur Jónsson (1742–1815), who was in contact with Banks after Banks's visit to Skálholt, as the extant correspondence proves. Teitur, however, married Sesselja Eggertsdóttir in 1811, so after the last manuscript from Banks's collection was donated to the British Museum. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, V:7; Anna Agnarsdóttir, *Sir Joseph Banks, Iceland and the North Atlantic 1772–1820: Journals, Letters and Documents*, 166–167, 632.

87. There is a number of manuscripts in Banks's collection which previously belonged to Magnús Jónsson í Vigur, among them B4859.

88. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:88.

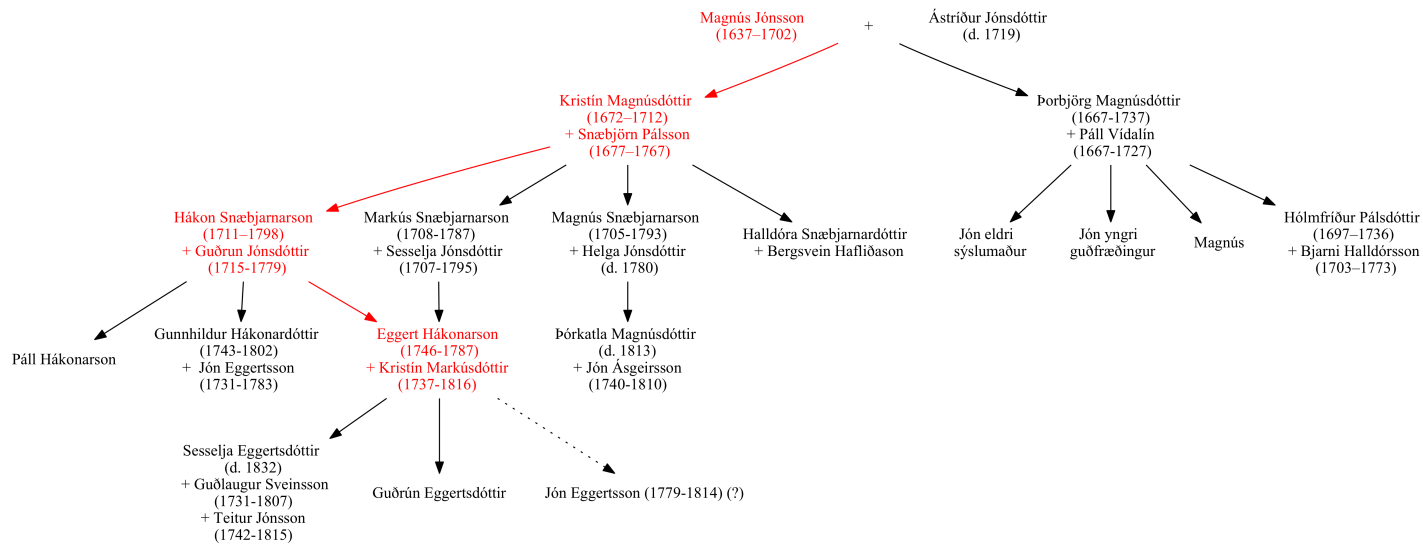


Figure 3.4: Magnús Jónsson's descendants and the hypothetical history of ownership of Lbs 222 fol. (represented by the red lines)

Text-group B<sub>3</sub>

Text-group B<sub>3</sub> has been distinguished to focus on two manuscripts, L633 and A395, which are very closely related to each other and both appear to be descendants of B4859. In fact, they demonstrate the transmission of *17HsG* from one manuscript to another, starting from B4859 to L633 and then to A395. In practice, text-group B<sub>3</sub> includes two younger manuscripts:

- Lbs 633 fol. (L633), dated to 1695–1721,<sup>89</sup>
- AM 395 fol. (A395), dated to 1760–1766.<sup>90</sup>

The textual dependence of L633 and A395 on B4859 is clear from their shared readings that reproduce the innovations of B4859, which are absent from the rest of the tradition, such as:<sup>91</sup>

**Rafn] B4859, B<sub>3</sub>.**

sem vo Hraungvið] sem drap Hraungvið.

ok rendi sverðit ofan í (völlinn) upp at hjöltum] en sverðið sökk í  
völlinn að hjöltum.

konúngi lið] lið konungi.

Similarly to the case of B<sub>2</sub>, to find clear evidence for the relationship between B4859 and B<sub>3</sub> we can turn to the episode describing the conversation between Svanhvít and Ólafur. As outlined above, L222 introduced a reading indicating that Hrómundur will ‘gälgann gysta þott hann sie frækni kallaþr’. Meanwhile, B4859 shares the sentiment but modifies it ever so slightly, stating in a straightforward manner that ‘Hromundr heingdr verþa, þott hann

89. L633 was previously broadly dated to the eighteenth century, but since the manuscript was commissioned by Lauritz Gottrup (1648–1721), his death must be the *terminus ante quem*, see L. Blöndal, *Skrá Auk II*, 18 and the online catalogue entry archived on 20/03/2024 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20240320190431/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/Lbs02-0633>.

90. A395 was previously broadly dated to the eighteenth century, but recently the dating has been narrowed down to 1760–1766, see Kålund, *Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, I:305 and the online catalogue entry archived on 20/02/2024 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20240220121044/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/AM02-0395>.

91. Where relevant, the variants are given in full diplomatic transcription to show that even the orthography of these two manuscripts is similar.

se frækinn'. Both, L633 on p. 637 and A395 on p. 360, reproduce this reading.

The close relationship between A395 and L633 is also confirmed by the following shared innovations which are absent from B4859:

**B4859] B<sub>3</sub>.**

'Sa kongur rieði fyrir Gaurþom er Olafur het'] 'Olafur het kongur er riedi fyrir Gaurþom' (L633), 'Olafur hét kongur er rede fyrir Gaurdom' (A395).

'ham var fręgr *madr*'] 'fręjir *madr*' (L633), 'fręjir *madr*' (A395).

'uar i fylgd *med* konungi'] var í liði með konungi (L633, A395).

'ok Ręna Drauga fee'] 'oc ręnda drauga fie' (L633), 'og ręnda drauga fie' (A395).

'vitz ertu Rauztr' (B4859)] víst ertu róskur (L633, A395).

There are no readings that would suggest that A395 could be the exemplar of L633, and no readings which suggest that they are siblings. L633 does not introduce any significant readings not reproduced in A395, but A395 contains some independent innovations, such as:

**B4859, L633] A395.**

og jafnan sigur] 'og Jafnan(n) sigur haftt'.

fyrir sverðsins oddi] 'fjrer sverd sitt'.

tekur upp merki Konungs og lemur med kylfunni Blámenn til dauða]  
÷.

The most convincing piece of evidence that A395 is a descendant of L633 is the omission of the entire sentence 'tekur upp merki Konungs og lemur med kylfunni Blámenn til dauða'. This omission is a homeoteleuton: the word 'dauða' appears twice in close proximity, at the end of lines 15 and 16 on page 634 of L633, and the scribe of A395 simply skipped one sentence and resumed writing from the second occurrence of the word.

It is worth noting here that Slay arrived at the same conclusion regarding the relationship between the texts of *Mírmanns saga* in A395 and L633.<sup>92</sup> He supported his hypothesis by observing that when A395 was written at Akrrar in Mýrasýsla, L633 belonged to

92. Slay, *Mírmanns saga*, lxix.

Kár Ólafsson from Munaðarnes, also in *Mýrasýsla*, so it is likely L633 served as a direct exemplar for A395. Elsewhere, I suggested, furthermore, that L633 could have served as a direct exemplar for more texts preserved in the second part of A395, not only *17HsG*, but this requires further stemmatic examination of other sagas.<sup>93</sup>

### Lbs 633 fol.

Lbs 633 fol. (L633), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is an impressive paper manuscript in folio, which consists of iv+576+i leaves.<sup>94</sup> L633, and the texts preserved in it, have received a substantial amount of scholarly attention, compared to other post-medieval manuscripts.<sup>95</sup> The manuscript has been broadly dated to the eighteenth century, but according to the title page (first front flyleaf recto), it was re-bound in 1760:

Samann Safn | Af | Jslenskum Noldskum. | .Sem og  
Ødrum. | utandlands. | Historium. | Sem brúkast meíga  
Til frodleíks Og skémtunar | Øllum þeim sem Lesa edur |  
heíra vilia. | Nú ad nýu Jnnbundinn Annó. | .MDCCLX.

(Collection of Icelandic, Norwegian, and other foreign stories that may be used for enlightenment and amusement of all those who wish to read or hear. Now newly bound in the year of 1760.)

On the following leaf (second front flyleaf recto), there is a table of contents which lists the 34 items of this manuscript. These are: *Víga-Glúms saga*, *Reykðæla saga*, *Finnboga saga ramma*, *Kormáks saga*, *Grettis saga*, *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*, *Gísla saga Súrssonar*, *Hávarðar saga Ísfríðings*, *Odds þáttur Ófeigssonar*, *Búa saga Andriðssonar*, *Jökuls þáttur Búasonar*, *Ármanns saga og Þorsteins gála*, *Ketils saga hængs*, *Gríms saga loðinkinna*, *Örvar-Odds saga*, *17HsG* (ff. 319r-322v), *Áns saga bogsvéigis*, *Bragða-Ölvis saga*,

93. Kapitan, 'Between Truth and Fiction'; Kapitan, 'A Digital Perspective on the Role of a Stemma in Material-Philological Transmission Studies'.

94. L. Blöndal, *Skrá Auk II*, 18.

95. Lavender, 'Whatever Happened to *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*? Origin, Transmission and Reception of a *Fornaldarsaga*'; Hufnagel, '*Sörla saga sterka*: Studies in the Transmission of a *Fornaldarsaga*'; Slay, 'Hitherto Unused Manuscripts of *Hrólfs saga kraka*'; Slay, 'The Make-up of Lbs 633 fol.'; Slay, *Mírmanns saga*.

*Mírmanns saga*, *Kirjalax saga*, *Hálfðanar saga Eysteinsonar*, *Elís saga og Rósamundu*, *Fertrams saga og Platós*, *Friðþjófs saga*, *Vilhjálm's saga sjóðs*, *Sörla saga sterka*, *Nikulás saga leikara*, *Adónías saga*, *Hrólf's saga kraka*, *Úlf's saga Uggasonar*, *Böðvars þáttur hjarka*, *Hervarar saga og Heiðreks*, *Ílluga saga Gríðarfóstra*, and *Bærings saga*. Additionally, there is a loose leaf kept at the rear of the manuscript, which contains a previously unidentified fragment of *Grettis saga*.<sup>96</sup>

17HsG is written on a single quire of two conjoint leaves (320+323, 321+322) which is quire LXIV of the manuscript with a signature 'Lll'. Slay divided the book-block of L633 into fifteen units of writing based on the changes in writing.<sup>97</sup> 17HsG belongs to Unit A, together with *Gríms saga loðinkinna* and *Örvar-Odds saga*, occupying ten gatherings (pp. 535–640). To the same unit of writing also belongs *Bragða-Ólvis saga* (one gathering) and *Mírmanns saga* (four gatherings) (pp. 665–712). The scribe has not yet been identified.

There are two slips that have been included in the book block after the conservation, which provide useful information about the manuscript's history of ownership. The first one is badly damaged but, according to Slay, the note contains information that the manuscript was commissioned by Lauritz Gottrup.<sup>98</sup> Lauritz Gottrup (1648–1721) lived at Þingeyrar in northern Iceland between 1684 and 1721, suggesting that the manuscript was probably written at Þingeyrar.<sup>99</sup> All that can be read today of the signature is 'L Goot'.<sup>100</sup> It is important to emphasise here that B4859, as discussed

96. See the entry on *Handrit*, archived on 20/03/2024 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20240320190431/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/Lbs02-0633/>. The text corresponds to chapter 30 in Gísli Magnússon and Gunnlaugur Þórðarson's edition, Gísli Magnússon and Gunnlaugur Þórðarson, *Grettis saga*, 69. The text of *Grettis saga* in L633 does not follow the same chapter division as the edition and the fragment belongs to chapter 26 according to the text division in L633. The loose leaf should be inserted between ff. 117v and 118r. It seems, however, that the leaf was never a part of this gathering; perhaps the scribe supplied it when he realised he had skipped a few sentences of the text.

97. The description of the manuscript's quires can be found in Slay, 'The Make-up of Lbs 633 fol.', 737.

98. Slay, 'Hitherto Unused Manuscripts of *Hrólf's saga kraka*', 261; Slay, *Mírmanns saga*, lxii.

99. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar aviskerár*, III:393.

100. Hufnagel reads the signature as 'J Gott[rup]', so it could as well be Jóhann Gottrup (1691–1755), a *sýslumaður*, the son of Lárus (Lauritz) *lögmaður* Gottrup

in Section 2.3, which contains the text of *17HsG* that is the textual ancestor of *17HsG* in L633, was around that time in Páll Vídalín's possession in Víðidalstunga in Vestur-Húnavatnssýsla, so in close proximity to Lauritz Gottrup's residence.

The second note is more legible and it provides information about the previous owner of the manuscript, and from whom and when he received the book:

Þessa sögu Bok hefur mier giefed minn Elskulegur | modur  
frænde og Broder Þorbiørn salugie Biarnna son Anno 1740  
[corrected to 1750] | enn nú af mier Jnn bundenn Anno 1781  
dag 21 Marsij Kar Olaf | ad munadarnese.

(This saga book has been given to me by my dear maternal  
uncle and brother, late Þorbjörn Bjarnason, in the year 1740  
[corrected to 1750], and now it has been bound by me, Kár  
Ólafsson from Munaðarnes, on 21 March 1781.)

Some of the names appearing in the manuscript can be easily identified. Kár Ólafsson (1740–1804) from Munaðarnes was a brother of Þorbjörn 'ríki' Ólafsson (1750–1827), a goldsmith from Lundar. Their parents were Ólafur Jónsson (1713–1789) and Guðríður Káradóttir (1710–1753). Kár was married to Jórunn Bjarnadóttir (1738–1800).<sup>101</sup>

The note indicates that Kár received this manuscript from a certain Þorbjörn Bjarnason, to whom he refers as a *móðurfrændi og bróðir*. This must be Þorbjörn Bjarnason from Síðumúla (ca. 1671–1763 or 1767).<sup>102</sup> According to *Borgfirzkar æviskrár*, Ólafur Jónsson, Kár's father, when he was a young man in his twenties, used to live with a certain Þorbjörn Bjarnason, whose foster daughter and a relative he eventually married. Þorbjörn Bjarnason died childless, and some of his goods ended up in the possession of Ólafur's heirs.<sup>103</sup>

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and Katrín Pétursdóttir, see Hufnagel, 'Sörla saga sterka: Studies in the Transmission of a Fornaldarsaga', II:33; Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:23–24.

101. Dates and family relations compiled from Aðalsteinn Halldórsson et al., *Borgfirzkar æviskrár*, VIII:217, Bogi Benediktsson, *Sýslumannaæfir*, II:700, and the webpages [www.genealogy14.tripod.com](http://www.genealogy14.tripod.com), <https://www.myheritage.com>, and [www.gardur.is](http://www.gardur.is), last accessed on 19/02/2024.

102. Aðalsteinn Halldórsson et al., *Borgfirzkar æviskrár*, XII:163.

103. Aðalsteinn Halldórsson et al., *Borgfirzkar æviskrár*, VII:217; Aðalsteinn Halldórsson et al., *Borgfirzkar æviskrár*, XII:163.

It is not surprising then that Ólafur's son, Kár, at the age of ten, received this magnificent volume as a gift from his 'almost' grandfather, Þorbjörn.<sup>104</sup>

Finally, there is a signature on the title page of L633, which reads 'BBenedicti possesor', attributed to Bogi Benediktsson (1771–1849), a manuscript collector and an expert in Icelandic genealogy and history.<sup>105</sup>

The catalogue of manuscripts in the National and University Library of Iceland traces the history of ownership of L633 from 1956 when the library bought this manuscript from Jón 'skáld úr Vör' (1917–2000), to Sigríður Brynjólfsdóttir Benedictsen (1834–1912), a daughter of Brynjólfur Benedictsen (1807–1870), who was the son of Bogi Benediktsson.<sup>106</sup> It is unknown how the manuscript ended up among Bogi's possessions. The link between Kár Ólafsson and Bogi Benediktsson remains to be revealed by further archival work to gain an overview of the complete history of ownership of this manuscript.

### AM 395 fol.

AM 395 fol. (A395), held in the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum in Reykjavík, is an eighteenth-century manuscript which consists of 468 leaves.<sup>107</sup> A395 contains the following texts: *Ljósvetninga saga*, *Þórarins þáttur ofsa*,<sup>108</sup> *Valla-Ljóts saga*, *Svarfdæla saga*, *Flóamanna saga*, *Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls*, *Finnboga saga ramma*, *Brandkrossa þáttur*, *Vopnfirðinga saga*, 17HsG (ff.

104. The relationship between Kár and Þorbjörn has been overlooked in previous scholarship, cf. Slay, 'Hitherto Unused Manuscripts of *Hrólf's saga kraka*', 261.

105. Slay, *Mírmanns saga*, lxii; Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, I:262.

106. L. Blöndal, *Skrá Auk II*, 18; Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, I:272.

107. According to Kálund, A395 counts 468 leaves, Kálund, *Katalog over den Arnemagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, I:304. According to *Handrit.org*, the manuscript counts 469 leaves, see the description, archived on 09/07/2022 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20220709061534/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/AM02-0395> (last accessed on 20/02/2024). This discrepancy is due to the foliation in the manuscript being incorrect, as number 455 was skipped. Elsewhere, only the page count of 974 is provided, cf. Seidel, *Textvarianz und Textstabilität: Studien zur Transmission der Ívens saga, Erex saga und Parcevals saga*, 83–84; Slay, *Mírmanns saga*, lxvi–lxvii.

108. This text is not complete and not mentioned in the table of contents; there is no rubric, and the þáttur appears as a continuation of the preceding saga.

175r–182r), *Áns saga bogsveigis*, *Bragða-Ölvis saga*, *Mírmanns saga*, *Kirjalax saga*, *Hálfðanar saga Eysteinnssonar*, *Elís saga og Rósamundu*, *Fertrams saga og Platós*, *Friðþjófs saga*, *Úlfs saga Uggasonar*, *Hervarar saga og Heiðreks*, *Ála flekks saga*, *Clarus saga*, *Parcevals saga*, and *Ívens saga*. The sagas are followed by two tables of contents, one of which classifies sagas according to their historical value. It groups the contents of the volume into three groups: ‘true stories, or those very close to truth’, ‘intermediate stories, or hybrids of truth and falsehood’ (where *17HsG* appears), and ‘entirely fictional stories or lying sagas’.<sup>109</sup>

Slay has suggested that A395 was written by four different scribes: Scribe A wrote *Ljósvetninga saga* on pp. 5–76 (pp. 77–81 blank), Scribe B wrote *Valla-Ljóts saga* on pp. 82–107 (pp. 108–111 blank), Scribe C wrote sagas on pp. 112–350 (pp. 351–352 blank), and Scribe D wrote the rest of the manuscript (pp. 353–972), including *17HsG*.<sup>110</sup>

While Scribe C can be identified as a certain Þorkell Sigurðsson, thanks to two signed colophons, the other hands in the manuscript have remained unidentified.<sup>111</sup> Slay’s description of the writing is very accurate. There are indeed clear shifts of script in the manuscript, which follow his division into four scribes. The question remains, however, whether these four different script types could not have been used by the same person.<sup>112</sup> After all, Slay himself success-

109. This has been the subject of a separate study, see: Kapitan, ‘Between Truth and Fiction’. There, I argued that the table of contents with the saga classification was added by Skúli Thorlacius.

110. Slay, *Mírmanns saga*, lxvii.

111. Blaisdell suggested that ‘AM 395 fol. [...] shows various hands’ without specifying how many hands he distinguishes in the manuscript, Blaisdell, *Ívens saga*, cxxxviii. Blaisdell refers to Jónas Kristjánsson’s edition of *Valla-Ljóts saga* and the *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift 1846–1848* (published in 1847) as his sources, but neither of them provides a detailed description of scribal hands. Jónas Kristjánsson suggested that ‘Valla-Ljóts saga skriver synes kun at have skrevet denne saga’, but he did not comment on the rest of the manuscript, Jónas Kristjánsson, *Valla-Ljóts saga*, xviii–xix. The most recent description on *Handrit.org* is also ambiguous, identifying two scribes, a certain Þorkell Sigurðsson (ff. 1r–173v), and an unknown scribe (from f. 175r), see the online catalogue entry archived on 9/07/2022 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20220709061534/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/AM02-0395>. Note that the *Handrit* record points to a generic authority file entry for Þorkell Sigurðsson, without any biographical information.

112. Slay, *Mírmanns saga*, lxvii.

fully demonstrated in the case of L633 that fifteen different units of writing could have actually been written by only six scribes.<sup>113</sup>

Elsewhere, I argued that Þorkell, the scribe of A395, id Þorkell Sigurðsson, known as Laga-Móri.<sup>114</sup> In this section I present some evidence suggesting that Scribes C and D of A395 are actually a single scribe, Þorkell Sigurðsson, Laga-Móri.

Þorkell Sigurðsson, the son of Sigurður Högnason, a *sýslumaður* from Akrar, was born around 1724. He earned his nickname, Laga-Móri, due to his extensive knowledge of law.<sup>115</sup> He was considered a skilled and prolific scribe, as evidenced by the number of manuscripts written in his hand, including Rask 8a,<sup>116</sup> Lbs 839 4to, dated to 1770–1771,<sup>117</sup> JS 42 4to, dated to 1780,<sup>118</sup> parts of ÍBR 28 8vo, written around 1760,<sup>119</sup> and Lbs 3623 4to from around 1756.<sup>120</sup>

Already the note describing the manuscript in *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift 1846–1848* (p. 154) implied that A395 was written by one person, stating that the manuscript was ‘rituð með skýrri snarhönd að framan en fljótaskript aptantil, herumbil 1764, af Þ. Sigurðssyni á Ökrum’ (written with a clear humanistic script at the beginning and cursive at the end, around 1764, by Þ. Sigurðsson from Akrar). This conclusion is clearly based on the internal evidence of the manuscript. From a colophon on f. 173v, we learn that Þorkell was based at Akrar in Mýrasýsla in western Iceland, ‘endud á Ökrum d. 21<sup>ta</sup> Martii 1764’.<sup>121</sup> A very similar signature can be found in Lbs 1061 4to on f. 11v, where the colophon following *Ragnars saga loðbrókar* reads that the saga was completed at Hamrar, ‘endud þann 16<sup>da</sup> Maii 1778 ad Haumrumm i hraunhrepp af Thorkele Sigurdar-

113. Slay, ‘The Make-up of Lbs 633 fol.’

114. Kapitan, ‘Between Truth and Fiction’.

115. Aðalsteinn Halldórsson et al., *Borgfirzkar æviskrár*, XII:247–248.

116. Jónas Kristjánsson, *Valla-Ljóts saga*, xix.

117. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, I:368.

118. Páll Eggert Ólason, II:498.

119. Páll Eggert Ólason, III:233.

120. Grímur Helgason and Blöndal, *Skrá Auk III*, 33. Additionally, ÍBR 105 8vo is written around 1760 in a hand similar to Þorkell’s, see Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, III:245.

121. Images of the manuscript are available on *Sprogsamlinger.ku.dk*, archived on 20/02/2024 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20240220113614/https://sprogsamlinger.ku.dk/q.php?p=ds/hjem/mapper/29315>.

syne'. Similarly, the signature on f. 14r closely resembles the handwriting found in the second part of A395.<sup>122</sup>

The comparison of the script in the second part of A395 with the colophons signed by Þorkell in the first part of A395, Lbs 1061 4to, and Rask 8a allows us to assume that the entire manuscript is in Þorkell's hand. In Lbs 1061 4to, we can clearly see that Þorkell was using cursive script and book hand in the same manuscript.<sup>123</sup> Even though the script is not identical, there are some common features in all three manuscripts which point towards the same scribe, for instance, the shape of the word-initial 'h' and the word-initial 'k', the slope of the connection between 's' and 'k'. The presence of two types of 'g': the 'g' with an open lower part and with a closed lower part also does not seem accidental. The scribe uses, similarly, two types of 'd': the 'd' with a lobe and the 'd' with a shaft, and both types appear in the examined samples of Þorkell's script. Additionally, the scribe of 17H:G uses the book-hand script to write the personal names and the place names in an otherwise cursive-written text, and his book hand seems to be very similar to Þorkell's writing in the first part of A395.<sup>124</sup>

There are two notes on the first leaf of A395 providing some clues regarding the history of ownership of this manuscript. The first note is written in ink at the bottom of the page and reads 'kiöbt paa sysselmand Jon Arnesens | auction [d.] 4 Janu. 1779. | cst 3 Rd:'

122. This implies that Þorkell was living in Akurar around 1764 and around 1778 in Hamrar. Both places are in Mýrasýsla.

123. It appears that in his later years, Þorkell started to use cursive more frequently than earlier, as the texts in Þorkell's hand in Lbs 1061 4to were copied in 1778 and we see a mixture of cursive and book hand, while in JS 42 4to, dated to ca. 1780, cursive dominates. Still, the cursive of JS 42 4to is much different from the cursive of the second part of A395.

124. For a further description of the hand, see: Kapitan, 'Studies in the Transmission History of Hrómundar saga Greipssonar', 95–102. The use of different script types for personal names, or different types of texts is a fairly common practice in early modern Iceland; for more on the different functions of various script types, see F. Richter, 'Neuschreiben und Rezeption der Prosa-Edda in illuminierten Handschriften der Frühen Neuzeit', 209–214, Springborg, 'Antiquæ historiae lepores - on renaissance in den islandske håndskriftproduktion i 1600-tallet', 68. Recently, I have focused on some of the extant handwritten copies of *Series dynastarum et regum Daniæ*, where a consistent interplay between fraktura, antiqua, and runic script can be observed, Kapitan, 'Work in Progress: Torfæus's Series Dynastarum et Regum Daniæ between Manuscript and Print'.

(bought at the auction of the district administrator Jón Árnason on 4 January 1779 for 3 rigsdallers). Jón Árnason was a *sýslumaður* from Ingjaldshóll on Snæfellsnes. He is known to have owned a large collection of books and manuscripts,<sup>125</sup> which, as the note indicates, was sold in 1779.<sup>126</sup>

Another note is written in pencil in the top margin and reads ‘e libris Birgeri Thorlacii’. Birgir (or Børge) Thorlacius (1775–1829) was a professor of classics at the University of Copenhagen, as well as an editor and translator of Icelandic sagas. He was the son of Skúli Thorlacius (1741–1815), a philologist and a member of the Arnamagnæan Commission, as well as rector of the Latin school in Kolding.<sup>127</sup> As discussed in greater detail elsewhere, it was most likely Skúli Thorlacius who bought A395 at the auction and then passed it on to his son.

After Birgir Thorlacius’s death, the manuscript was auctioned in Copenhagen on 6 September 1830, listed in the auction catalogue as number 8, but it is unknown who acquired it afterwards. It seems likely that someone purchased the manuscript at this auction and later donated it to Det kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab around 1847, when we can read about this manuscript in *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift 1846–1848*. A395 became part of the Arnamagnæan collection in 1883, when it was donated by Det kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab. Finally, in 1994, it was transferred to Iceland, where it has been held since.

#### Text-group B<sub>4</sub>: Kall 614 4to

Kall 614 4to (K614), held in Det Kongelige Bibliotek in Copenhagen, is an eighteenth-century paper manuscript in quarto.<sup>128</sup> The manuscript consists of i+199+i leaves. It opens with a table of contents (on first flyleaf) and contains an eclectic collection of texts

125. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:46–47.

126. The manuscript is included in the auction catalogue from 1778 under number 32 ‘Den Islandske historie...’, see *Fortegnelse over endeel gode og velconditionerede Bøger, samt nogle Manuscripter, tilhørende afg. Syssemand i Snæfieldsness-Syssel paa Island Herr John Arnesens Stervboe*, 2, see also JS 107 fol.

127. Slay, *Mírmanns saga*, lxviii; Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, IV:294; Bricka, *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, XVII:268–270.

128. Kålund, *Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske håndskrifter i Det store kongelige bibliotek og i Universitetsbiblioteket*, 384.

in the following order: *Sigurðar saga þögla*, *Gibbons saga*, *Drauma-Jóns saga*, 17HsG (ff. 60r–64v), *Konráðs saga keisarasonar*, *Úlfars saga sterka*, *Þorsteins þáttur bæjarmagns*, *Haralds saga Hringbana*, *Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar*, *Egils þáttur Síðu-Hallssonar*, *Þorsteins þáttur forvitna*, *Þjalar-Jóns saga*, *Virgilius saga*, *Eiríks saga víðförla*, *Ævintýr af Assvero gyðingi*, two short stories about Adam and Mahometh, translation of *Det gamle Grønlands nye Perustration*, followed by a list of sagas, a genealogy from biblical Adam to bishop Jón Arason, and closes with another table of contents.

It is uncertain when exactly K614 was copied and by whom, but the manuscript is certainly a product of the eighteenth century. It must post-date 1729, as it contains a text that was translated in 1729, namely *Ny umferð til Skodunar hinnar fornu Grænlands bigdar*.

The ownership and provenance of this manuscript remain unknown. According to the *Stories for all time* catalogue, Johan Christian Kall (1714–1775), a Danish philologist and professor at the University of Copenhagen, purportedly owned this manuscript.<sup>129</sup> However, this claim has not been verified or refuted. What is certain is that K614 was in the possession of J. C. Kall's son, Abraham Kall (1743–1821), who was also a professor at the University of Copenhagen. Following Abraham Kall's death, his book collection was purchased by the Royal Library in Copenhagen and this is where the manuscript is today.<sup>130</sup>

The text of 17HsG preserved in K614 is more closely related to A345 than to L222 or B4859, as illustrated by the following examples:

**A345, K614] L222, B4859.**

er Greipur hét] Sá hét Greipur.

Eitt sinn hélt Ólafur norður] Eitt sinn hélt Ólafur konungur austur.

hvorn dag fyrir sverðsins oddi] hvern dag mann fyrir sverðsins oddi.

The last reading is especially useful in establishing the relationship between K614 and A345, as it seems to correct an omission introduced in A345. The two manuscripts read as follows:

129. The *Stories for all time* catalogue, archived on 5/12/2023 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20231205114453/https://fasnl.net/manuscripts/129>.

130. Werlauff, *Bibliotheca Kalliana*, xli; Kålund, *Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske håndskrifter i Det store kongelige bibliotek og i Universitetsbiblioteket*, xlix.

- A345: ‘hvorn dag fyrir Sverdsins Odde’.
- K614: ‘hvorn dag fyrir sverdsens odde einn m[a]nn’.

All other manuscripts in text-group B read *Hraungviður mátti kjósa hvern dag mann fyrir sverðsins oddi*, but A345 omitted ‘mann’. The scribe of K614 reproduced the omission, but then added ‘einn mann’ at the end of the sentence to counterbalance the somewhat odd grammatical construction caused by the omission. This minor variation, in the absence of contrary evidence, can be considered sufficient to conclude that K614 is a descendant of A345.

Finally, for consistency’s sake, some examples of independent innovations in K614, which are absent from other manuscripts, must be provided. They illustrate that none of the examined texts can descend from K614, as no manuscript reproduces them. These readings include, for example:

**A345] K614.**

‘hann var frægur madur’] ÷.

‘scal ek hauggva þic j Smä stycke’] ‘skal eg hoggva þig i smä mola og stike’.

**Text-group B<sub>5</sub>: Lbs 4825 4to**

Lbs 4825 4to (L4825), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in quarto which consists of 278+i leaves. The manuscript can be divided into two main parts, ff. 1–145 and ff. 146–271, written in three hands at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>131</sup>

The volume starts with a table of contents, followed by *Ambáles saga* written in two different hands,<sup>132</sup> *Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfjfls*, *Egils saga einhenda og Ásmundar berserkjabana*, *Króka-Refs saga*, and then in another hand: *Konráðs saga keisarasonar*, 17HsG (ff. 165r–173r), *Sigurðar saga turnara*, *Sigurðar saga fóts*, *Haralds saga Hringsbana*, *Sigurgarðs saga frækna*, *Flóres saga og Blankiflúr*, *Auðunar þáttur vestfirska*, and *Ævintýr af Valltara hertoga*.

131. Grímur Helgason and Ögmundur Helgason, *Skrá Auk IV*, 138.

132. The table of contents and the beginning of the saga have been supplied later, probably due to some damage of the first leaves of the original manuscript.

The ownership history of this manuscript remains largely unknown, aside from its purchase in 1977 by the National Library of Iceland from Indriði Indriðason (1908–2008).<sup>133</sup>

The text of *17HsG* clearly belongs to text-group B, as it reproduces, for example, our favourite reading of ‘kú’ for ‘ský’. Its textual relationship with the remaining manuscripts in text-group B appears to be somewhat more complex. L4825 cannot be a descendant of L222, as it does not reproduce the individual readings of L222, such as:

**A345, B4859, L4825] L222.**

og háð LX orrustur] og hefi háð LX orrustur.

Um veturinn] Um morguninn.

Similarly, L4825 cannot be a descendant of B4859, due to readings such as:

**A345, L222, L4825] B4859.**

gaf honum fé] og gaf honum mikið fé.

sem vó Hraungvið] sem drap Hraungvið.

Nor can it be a descendant of the common ancestor of L222 and B4859, which I refer to as B<sub>0</sub>, due to readings such as:

**L222, B4859] A345, L4825.**

er þér er vopnbært] er þú getur valldið.

járnhringur sleginn] járnhringur settur.

Furthermore, L4825 cannot be a descendant of A345, due to readings such as:

**L222, B4859, L4825] A345.**

Sá hét Greipur] er Greipur hét.

hélt Ólafur konungur austur] hélt Ólafur norður.

Taking all these readings into account, we must assume that L4825 is a descendant of B, the common ancestor of all manuscripts in text-group B.

Lastly, it is worth mentioning a number of omissions in L4825, which are not found in any other manuscript within text-group B.

133. *Handrit.org*, archived on 9/07/2022 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20220709061448/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/Lbs04-4825/>.

Consequently, L4825 cannot be considered an ancestor of any other known manuscript of 17HsG. Some of these omissions include:

**B4859, L222, A345] L4825.**

er hann kom heim og krufði gedduna] ÷.

líktist mjög Hróki möður föður sínum] ÷.

enn eigi var Kári mér skyldur samt skal ég drepa þig] ÷.

### Manuscript context of 17HsG: Text-group B

Texts of eighty-seven works appear together with 17HsG in the manuscripts classified as members of text-group B. Twenty-three of them co-occur with 17HsG more than once, and only six of them appear three or more times: *Bragða-Ölvis saga*, *Ála flekks saga*, *Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar*, *Mírmanns saga*, *Sigurðar saga fóts*, and *Úlfs saga Uggasonar*. These texts are mainly sagas classified as *rid-darasögur* and late *fornaldarsögur*.<sup>134</sup>

It should be emphasised that most of these sagas listed above did not co-occur frequently with 17HsG in the oldest manuscripts, except for one: *Bragða-Ölvis saga*. *Bragða-Ölvis saga* appears together with 17HsG in four out of seven of the younger manuscripts in this group and it was also the most frequently co-occurring saga in the oldest manuscripts (see Section 2.5). These two texts, which most likely share their origins, also circulated together in some of the younger manuscripts: L840, B4875, L633, A395. It is possible that they were copied one after another from the exemplars. Considering text-group B as a whole, we can assume that in B4875 these sagas were probably copied directly from L222, or its reliable descendant, and they appear one after another in both manuscripts. We have to wait for the analysis of textual relationships between *Bragða-Ölvis saga* in these manuscripts to confirm this hypothesis, but it seems promising. Similarly, in A395 and L633, these two sagas are separated by *Áns saga bogsveigis* but they appear in the same order in both manuscripts. My preliminary examination of select other texts in A395 makes me assume that some of them were copied one after another, but further research on this is needed.

134. The generic classification of *Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar* is problematic, see the discussion of its sources by Overgaard and Lanjala, *Hákonar Saga Hárekssonar*.

### 3.3 Manuscripts derived from printed editions

All manuscripts of *17HsG* discussed so far are derived from other manuscripts that served as their exemplars. In this section, we turn towards manuscripts that preserve the texts of *17HsG* derived from printed editions. All of these manuscripts share a common feature: they reproduce the errors originating from the editions, and most of them, with J102 being an exception, explicitly divide the texts of the saga into ten chapters. Although none of the scribes explicitly stated anywhere in the manuscript that the texts are copied from a printed edition, based on textual criteria, it is certain that five of these manuscripts are based on Rafn's *Fornaldar sögur Nordrlanda eptir gömlum handritum*, text-group A<sub>3</sub> (Section 3.3), and two are based on Björner's *Nordiska kämpa dater*, text-group C (Section 3.3).<sup>135</sup>

#### Text-group A<sub>3</sub>

In addition to chapter divisions (see the overview in Figure 3.1), errors introduced in Rafn's edition are the best indicators of whether a particular manuscript is a copy of the edition, or of A587, the base text of the edition. There are five manuscripts that can be classified as descendants of Rafn's edition, and they all post-date the publication of *Fornaldar sögur Nordrlanda eptir gömlum handritum* in 1829–30. In chronological order, these are:

- Lbs 3795 8vo (L3795), dated to 1831,
- JS 102 8vo (J102), dated to 1832,
- Lbs 2316 4to (L2316), dated to 1850,
- Lbs 2943 4to (L2943), dated to 1885,
- Lbs 4460 8vo (L4460), dated to 1892.

All these manuscripts preserve texts of *17HsG* that are independent of each other. There is no example of major variants introduced in one manuscript being reproduced in another (see the stemma in Figure 3.2 on page 99). What connects them is the fact

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135. The material presented in this section served as the basis for a separate study on the differences in treatment of printed text by different scribes, see Kapitan, 'Manuscripts Derived from Printed Editions in the Transmission History of *Hrómundar Saga Greipssonar*'.

that they all reproduce the error introduced in Rafn's edition where the name of Helgi's mistress has been misread as 'Lara' or 'Lára' instead of 'Kara' or 'Kára':

**A587] Rafn, A<sub>3</sub>.**

hún hét Cara] hún hét 'Lara (lara eða Cara L3795).

datt Cara dauð niður] datt (+ þá J102) Lara (+ þá L2943) dauð niður.

No known manuscript of *17HsG* misreads 'Kara' as 'Lara' independently from the edition. It is worth to remind ourselves that this misreading is Rafn's editorial error. It can be traced back to A587, where the shape of the letter 'C' resembles the letter 'L'.

The textual independence of these manuscripts is well manifested, for example, in the final part of the saga, as illustrated in Figure 3.5. The texts differ greatly in describing that after all the great achievements of Hrómundur, he eventually settled with Svanhvít and they lived happily ever after.

Even these few examples show how differently scribes treated the text of the edition. In two manuscripts, L2943 and L3795, the text is remarkably changed. The scribe of L3795 supplied additional information about the descendants of Hrómundur. Meanwhile, the scribe of L2943 expressed his knowledge of other stories dealing with the same characters. The remaining manuscripts, J102, L2316, and L4460, contain no additions in this part of the saga, but the text is not unchanged. In L4460, the text is noticeably abridged, while the closing sentence of L2316 is reformulated. J102, on the other hand, attempts to be a reliable copy but introduces an error by referring to Svanhvít as Ólafur's daughter, rather than his sister.

**Lbs 3795 8vo**

Lbs 3795 8vo (L3795), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in octavo consisting of iii+244+ii leaves.<sup>136</sup> The first three leaves are made of bluish paper and are a later addition. The third flyleaf contains a title page: 'Sögubók | af | Forn konungum | Nordurlanda | og köppum | ásamt | nokkrum | Íslendinga | sögum' (A saga-book about ancient kings and champions of the Nordic countries, together with some Icelandic sagas).

136. Grímur Helgason and Ögmundur Helgason, *Skrá Auk IV*, 92.

**Rafn:**

Ólafur konungur gipti Hrómundi Svanhvít; þau untust vel, áttu sonu ok dætr til samans, ok voru afbragð annarra; eru af þeim komnar konúnga ættir ok kappar miklir, ok lýkur hér sögu Hrómundar Greipssonar.

**J102:**

Olafur konungur gipti hrómunde dottur sína suanhvit þaug untust uel og leingi og attu sonu og dætur till samans og uoru afbragð annara eru af þeim kom'n'ir konunga ættir og kappar mikllir og líkur hier søgu hrómundar Greifsonar

**L2943:**

Ólafur kongr gipti Hrómundi Svanhvít, þau unntust vel, áttu sonu ok dætr til samans er urðu síðar afbragð annara manna, eigi eru þau nefnd hér en segir frá þeim annarstaðar, eru af þeim komnar konúnga ættir ok kappar miklir, þó þeirra sé eigi getið í þessari sögu. Ok lýkr hér sögu Hrómundar Greipssonar.

**L3795:**

olafur kongur gipti hrómundi [or honum] svanhvit þau untust vel og attu til samanns sini og dætur og voru afbragð annra eru af þeim komnar konunga ættir og kappar miklir þeirra sinir voru þeir Biørnolfur og hroaldur son biørnolfs hiet ørn fadir ijngolfs landnamamanns enn hroaldur atti þann son er hrodmar hiet hans son var leifur fostbrodir yngolfs og endar so søguna af hromundi Greipssine

**L2316:**

Olafur kongr gipti Hrómundi Svanhvít þau untust vel áttu sonu og dætur voru þau afbragð annara manna, eru af þeim komnar konga ættir og kappar miklir. ljkur so þessari sanferdugu og fródlegu Historiju.

**L4460:**

Ólafur konungur gifti Hrómundi Svanhvít, þau untust vel, og áttu sini og dætur; eru af þeim komnar konúnga ættir og kappar miklir, og lýkur hjer sögu Hrómundar Greipssonar.

Figure 3.5: Comparison of the ending of *17HsG* in  $A_3$

On the verso side of the same leaf, there is a table of contents listing fourteen texts preserved in this manuscript, mainly *fornaldar-sögur* and *þættir*: *Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkönungum*, *Ragnarssona þáttur*, *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*, *Friðþjófs saga*, *Af Upplendinga konungum*, *Sneglu-Halla þáttur*, *Böðvars þáttur bjarka*, *Hrólfs saga kraka*, *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*, 17HsG (ff. 165r–171r), *Ásmundar saga kappabana*, *Bjarnar saga Hítðlakappa*, *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða*, and *Hjálmþérs saga*, which is defective and not listed in the table of contents.

17HsG, according to the colophon on f. 171r, was copied on 29 March 1831. The manuscript is written mainly in one hand, with the exception of ff. 54–7, which are a later addition. On f. 220v, there are the initials ‘J:e:s’, suggesting that the manuscript was written by Jón Eiríksson from Þrándarstaðir (or Þrándarholt).<sup>137</sup> It is the same scribe who wrote the first part of ÍB 76 4to<sup>138</sup> and ÍBR 38 8vo.<sup>139</sup> While there was some confusion in scholarship regarding whether Jón should be associated with Þrándarstaðir or Þrándarholt, Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir associated ÍB 76 4to with Þrándarstaðir in Kjöarsýsla, and this seems to be a correct identification.<sup>140</sup>

As indicated by a note on flyleaf 2v, which reads ‘Helgi Jónsson Þröm No. 96’, L3795 was part of the book collection of Helgi Jónsson (1877–1954) from Þröm, who is known to have owned a large library of diverse works.<sup>141</sup> The National Library of Iceland acquired the manuscript on 6 September 1969 from Sigurður Bene-

137. The *Handrit.org* description of L3795, archived on 21/02/2024 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20240221131709/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/Lbs08-3795>.

138. The *Handrit.org* description of ÍB 76 4to, archived on 21/02/2024 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20240221142001/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/IB04-0076>.

139. The *Handrit.org* description of ÍBR 38 8vo, archived on 21/02/2024 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20240221131908/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/IBR08-0038>.

140. Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir, ‘Vestlenskar uppskriftir á 17. öld – um uppskriftir Eyrbyggju’, a blog post based on a lecture delivered at the Eyrbyggjuþing in 2023, published on the webpage of Árnastofnun, last accessed online on 13/07/2018 at [http://www.arnastofnun.is/page/greinar\\_og\\_erindi&detail=1004471](http://www.arnastofnun.is/page/greinar_og_erindi&detail=1004471), currently unavailable (20/03/2024).

141. Guðmundur Sigurður Jóhannsson, *Skagfirzkar æviskrár, tímabilið 1850–1890*; Ágúst Sigurðsson, ‘Stórgjöf til Reykjakirkju’.

diktsson (1911–1970). It is unknown how Sigurður obtained this manuscript and whether he had access to other manuscripts from Helgi's collection, but the online catalogue *Handrit.org* currently associates only two more manuscripts with Sigurður, and no additional manuscripts with Helgi.<sup>142</sup> However, Páll Eggert Ólason associated two more manuscripts with Helgi, Lbs 2657 8vo and Lbs 2846 8vo.<sup>143</sup> None of them has an online record yet, but Lbs 2657 8vo is written by Helgi, as multiple notes throughout the manuscript suggest, for example, the colophon on p. 377, 'Helgi Jónsson Þröm 1905'. Lbs 2846 8vo, on the other hand, was definitely a part of Helgi's collection, as it has a note on the verso side of the first flyleaf, similar to that in L3795, 'Helgi Jónsson Þröm No. 15'.

The relationship between the edition and L3795 can be easily established based on an obvious error present in L3795, which originates from Rafn's edition: 'og saung hatt hun hiet lara eða Cara' (f. 168v:11). Rafn in his edition included the reading 'hún hæt Lara', for which he provided a variant 'eða Lára; Cara, *allstaðar B, C.*'. The scribe of L3795 included both the reading of the main text as well as the one provided by the variant apparatus, creating a strange hybrid 'lara eða Cara' with a t-like character between these two words, which functions as the Latin abbreviation 't' for 'vel' (or). Elsewhere in the text, the name Lára ('lara' f. 169r:10) appears. Finally, we can mention that the orthography of the manuscript diverges greatly from the edition, but the scribe only rarely introduces minor textual variants, such as:

**Rafn] L3795.**

er aldrí hefir sljófgast] 'ok hefir en alldrei slíofgast'.

er þá illr kurr í liði konúngs] 'er þa illur knur (sic!) i lidi konúngs'.

gaf hann Hraungviði kylfuhögg svá mikit] 'gaf hann Hraungviði so micit högg með kilfunni'.

142. *Handrit.org*, archived on 21/02/2024 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20240221141903/https://handrit.is/manuscript/list/people/SigBen002> and <https://web.archive.org/web/20240221141322/https://handrit.is/manuscript/list/people/HelJon005>.

143. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá Auk I*, 106, 132.

## JS 102 8vo

JS 102 8vo (J102), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in octavo consisting of 54 leaves. The manuscript is in rather poor condition and is kept in an unbound form with loose leaves stored between cardboard boards tied with a cloth strap. There is some loss of text on the edges of the leaves as a result of earlier damage and repairs. JS 102 8vo preserves five texts: ‘Eýn výsa með Jón’, *Jóhönnuraunir*, 17HsG (ff. 21v–31v), *Eitt kvæði er nefnist hugar fundar*, and ‘Ríma af Jóni upplanda kongi’. 17HsG is followed by the colophon dated to 1832.

On the first leaf, there is a note identifying the main text of the manuscript and associating it with a certain Filippus Jónsson: ‘Philippus | Jonsson | A Blodinn | með [Já]ttu [or réttu?] | Johonnu Raunir’ (Filippus Jónsson rightfully owns these leaves, *Jóhönnuraunir*). According to Páll Eggert Ólason, J102 was not only owned but also written by Filippus Jónsson from Ísabakki and at least two more manuscripts can be associated with him: JS 23 8vo (dated to 1833–1835 and 1817) and JS 43 8vo (dated to ca. 1835).<sup>144</sup>

Considering the lack of biographic information in the catalogue, we must assume that this is Filippus Jónsson listed in the 1816 census as a seven-year-old boy at Ísabakki, son of Jón Magnússon and Ásta Erlendsdóttir. In the 1845 census, he is listed as married to Sigríður Jónsdóttir with four children, Guðmundur, Filippus, Augusta, and Johannes, who was seven at the time. In 1850, we find them with three children, Filippus, Ágústa, and Jóhanna, who was eleven at that time.<sup>145</sup>

This discrepancy concerning their children, Jóhannes born around 1838 and/or Jóhanna born around 1839, raises questions about the manuscript’s ownership and provenance. According to the note on the front flyleaf, Jón Sigurðsson acquired J102 in 1865 from a certain Jóhann Filippusson from Arnarnes, ‘Jóhann Filippusson í Arnarnesi 18/9 65’. Meanwhile, only a certain

144. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, II:622, 626, 640, *Handrit.org*, archived on 21/02/2024 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20240221155731/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/JS08-0102> and <https://web.archive.org/web/20240221163526/https://handrit.is/manuscript/list/people/FilJon002>.

145. Björn Magnússon, *Nafnalykill að Manntali á Íslandi 1845*; Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, *Manntal á Íslandi 1845*, and [www.manntal.is](http://www.manntal.is), last accessed on 22/02/2024.

Jóhannes Filippusson, not Jóhann, was registered in the 1860 census as a twenty-two-year-old fisherman living at Oddakot in Gullbringusýsla. Considering mix-ups between Jóhann and Jóhannes are not unheard of, and unless we assume gender fluidity among Filippus' children, it is likely that there is an error in the online edition of the 1850 census and that Jóhannes was Filippus' son born around 1838/9, and then Jón Sigurðsson obtained J102 directly from him.

J102 has been classified as a descendant of Rafn's edition mainly because of its textual similarity to the edition. It reproduces the error *Lára* for *Kára*, and even though it does not contain clearly numbered chapters, there are some indications of a chapter division which overlaps with Rafn's chapters. For example, on f. 29v, there is a number sign where the chapter division in the edition occurs. A similar symbol appears on f. 28v, where it also denotes the chapter division. In some places, such as ff. 26v and 27r, the space between the last word of one chapter and the first word of the following chapter seems to be slightly larger than usual.

As previously mentioned, J102 is in poor condition. The ink has faded, and there is a loss of text on almost every line of the manuscript, which makes the collation of variants difficult. There are frequent grammatical and orthographic errors in the manuscript, which, along with the irregular script, suggest that it was not a 'professional' scribe who copied the text of *17HsG*. Among the minor readings of J102 where the text diverges from the edition, we can list:

**Rafn] J102.**

faðir hans, illa Kára] 'faðir hans uonda kara'.

svâ hausinn brotnaði] 'suo hausin klofnade'.

Hrómundr drap þann] 'hromundur drap hann strax'.

**Lbs 2316 4to**

Lbs 2316 4to (L2316), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in quarto consisting of i+137 leaves.<sup>146</sup>

146. According to Páll Eggert Ólason, L2316 counts i+272 pages, see Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, III:301.

The volume opens with a title page, followed by a table of contents, two short poems, decrees by Pope Gregory the 7<sup>th</sup>, an essay on printing, and the following sagas: *Tristrams saga og Ísoddar*, *Sigurðarðs saga frækna*, *Bertrams saga greifa*, *Flóres saga og Blankiflúr*, *Friðþjófs saga*, *17HsG* (ff. 87r–95v), and *Starkaðar saga gamla*, which is defective (the end of the saga is missing).

According to the table of contents on f. 1v, there must have been at least one more leaf, as some stanzas, ‘Fiorar vísur’, were supposed to be written on page 274. The manuscript is kept in an unbound form, with loose quires stored between two boards made of cardboard which are tied together with a cloth strap.

The title page on f. 1r indicates that L2316 was written in 1850 by Elías Sigurðsson from Straumfjarðartunga, as it reads:

Þessi Sögu Bök. | Jnniheldur | Siø Flocka. | Uppskrifud arid.  
| 1850. | A Straumfiardar, | Tungu, af. | Elias Sigurds Syni. |  
Þeim til gamans er | leingi | vaka ä kvöldinn.

This saga book contains seven groups [of sagas] copied in the year 1850 in Straumfjarðartunga by Elías Sigurðsson, for the pleasure of those who stay awake long into the evening.

Elías was a *bóndi* in Miklaholtssel and Straumfjarðartunga on the Snæfellsnes peninsula. He was married to Halldóra Björnsdóttir, with whom he had a son Kristján (1850–1929), a poet and *bóndi* in Ytra-Lágafell.<sup>147</sup> Not much is known about Elías’s life or his scribal activity, and L2316 is the only known manuscript in his hand.

The orthography of L2316 diverges from that of the edition and is often modernised. Elías regularly implements minor alterations to the saga’s text, including:

**Rafn] L2316.**

Þeir gengu uppá landit] ‘Þeir gerdu so’.

ok fengit jafnan sigr] ‘ok feingid ætjð Sigur’.

Þegar Kári hafði fengit sárit] ‘enn sem Kári fieck sárið’.

147. Gyðmundur Magnússon, ‘Vigdís Elíasdóttir (Minning)’, 8; Þorsteinn Jónsson, *Eyja- og Miklaholtshreppur: ábúendur og saga Eyja- og Miklaholtshrepps frá 1900*, II:475.

In some cases, furthermore, he reformulates whole sentences, amplifying some and abridging others:

**Rafn] L2316.**

‘hann var í stakki gullfáguðum, báðar hendr hans voru breinglaðar’]  
 ‘var hann í stakki gullsaumudumm, allur hams nára bjálki var blár  
 sem hel og hafði ena feiknarlegustu leingð sem digurð, þrjár stórir  
 hnúðar voru á framann verdri midiu hans og var sem síði gráblá  
 froða ur minni (sic!) hams, báðar voru hendur hams breingladar’.

‘hann skyldi fátt tala um fall bræðra sinna; skaltu nú þess gjalda, ok hær  
 lífit missa’] ‘þess gjalda skaltu lífið láta’.

**Lbs 2943 4to**

Lbs 2943 4to (L2943), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in quarto consisting of 400 leaves gathered in fifty regular quires of four conjoint leaves each.<sup>148</sup> The manuscript starts with a title page on f. 1r, which reads: ‘Fornmannasögur | Norðurlanda | Tólfða bindi. | Skrifaðar eptir gömlum bókum | M.D.C.C.C.L.X.X.V.’ (Sagas of the ancient men of the north. Twelfth volume. Copied from old books. 1885). On the following page, there is a table of contents, listing eight sagas, mainly *riddarasögur*, but also one *Íslendingasaga* and one *fornaldarsaga*. These are: *17HsG* (ff. 3r–11v), *Karlamagnús saga*, *Grænlendinga saga*, *Valdimars saga*, *Sarpidons saga sterka*, *Falentíns og Ursins saga*, *Sálus saga* og *Nikanórs*, *Herlaugs saga jarls gauska*.

The manuscript was written in 1885 in the hand of the prolific scribe Magnús Jónsson from Tjaldanes in Dalasýsla.<sup>149</sup> Unlike many of Magnús’, manuscripts there is no preface to the texts copied in L2943. The texts were written continuously one after another, as there is no overlap between the quire and text boundaries.

The text *17HsG* in L2943 follows the edition relatively closely. The scribe, however, seems to use both the main text of the edition and the readings from the variant apparatus. In three instances, Magnús chooses the readings from the variant apparatus over the main text:

148. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá Auk I*, 66–67.

149. On Magnús’s collection of sagas, see Driscoll, ‘Um gildi gamalla bóka: Magnús Jónsson í Tjaldanesi und das Ende der isländischen Handschriftenkultur’; Driscoll, ‘Writing in the Twilight: The Manuscripts of Magnús í Tjaldanesi’.

**Rafn] L2943.**

gerðist] ‘gerðist þar’.

Halding] ‘Hadding’.

flugu] ‘fljúga’.

Furthermore, the name of the king of Swedes, Hadding, which consistently appears as ‘Halding’ in the main text of the edition, in L2943 follows the form from the variant apparatus, ‘Hadding’. The choice of ‘Hadding’ over ‘Halding’ might, however, simply be a result of Magnús’ extensive knowledge of old sagas, in which the name Haddingjar appears in various sagas he copied.

The level of scribal intervention into the text of the saga is not consistent throughout the text. In the early chapters, changes are very minor, but as the saga progresses, the variation becomes more significant, particularly in chapter ten, where numerous innovations are introduced to ‘stretch’ the saga, likely to fill the remaining space in the manuscript. This practice has been observed in other manuscripts by Magnús, such as *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* in Lbs 1498 4to and *Sörla saga sterka* in Lbs 1508 4to.<sup>150</sup>

In chapter one, the only textual variants are:

**Rafn] L2943.**

mikill ok sterkr] ÷.

fyrir sverðsins oddi] ‘fyrir oddi sverðs síns’.

Meanwhile, the variation in chapter ten is much more significant:

**Rafn] L2943.**

ok lamdi Halding konung í hel] ‘ok lamdi Halding kong í hel, ok marga hans menn’.

Karllinn Blindr, er hét Bavís, var bundinn ok heingðr] ‘Karllinn Blindr, er kallaðr var Bavís, var höndum tekinn bundinn ok heingðr’.

Tóku þeir þar mikit gull ok annat fê] ‘Þeir tóku þar mikit herfáng gull ok dýrmæta gripi er Hadding kongr átti’.

The case of *17HsG* being copied from a printed edition is not unique in Magnús’ career. There are multiple instances demonstrating that Magnús often based his copies on printed texts, among

150. Lavender, ‘Whatever Happened to *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*? Origin, Transmission and Reception of a *Fornaldarsaga*’, 111–112; Hufnagel, ‘*Sörla saga sterka* in Its Final Phase of Manuscript Transmission’, 440.

them: *Hrólfs saga kraka* in Lbs 1508 4to;<sup>151</sup> *Sturlaugs saga starfsama* in Lbs 1504 4to;<sup>152</sup> *Eiríks saga víðförla* in Lbs 1505 4to;<sup>153</sup> *Mírmanns saga* in Lbs 1494 4to and Lbs 1506 4to;<sup>154</sup> *Sörla saga sterka* in Lbs 4940 4to and Lbs 1508 4to;<sup>155</sup> and *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* in Lbs 1494 4to.<sup>156</sup> Moreover, as Driscoll has observed, Magnús frequently compared the readings from various ‘versions’ of the story available to him, explicitly noting in his commentaries that sometimes he copied the printed text, which in some cases he considered more reliable than the handwritten copies available to him.<sup>157</sup>

The orthography of Magnús’ text closely mirrors that of the edition, but it is difficult to say whether he consciously copied the spelling of the edition or simply used his own highly archaized orthography. Finally, it can be noted that numbers are always written in full in L2943, for example, ‘nýu’ (9), ‘þrjátýgi ok þrjú’ (33), and ‘sextýgi’ (60), while the edition always gives the Arabic numerals.

### Lbs 4460 8vo

Lbs 4460 8vo (L4460), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in octavo consisting of i+280+i leaves.<sup>158</sup> L4460 contains five *fornaldarsögur*. These are: *Ketils saga hængs*, *Gríms saga loðinkinna*, *Örvar-Odds saga*, *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*, and *17HsG* (ff. 260v–280r), which is followed by a colophon dated to 6 March 1892.

L4460 was written by Þorsteinn Jóhannsson (1875–1958) in the years 1891–1892, as the dated colophons suggest. It is the youngest known manuscript of *17HsG*. It is uncertain where exactly the manuscript was copied, but Þorsteinn was associ-

151. Slay, *Hrólfs saga kraka*, 94–97.

152. Zitzelsberger, *The Two Versions of Sturlaugs saga Starfsama: A Decipherment, Edition, and Translation of a Fourteenth Century Icelandic Mythical-Heroic Saga*, 334.

153. Jensen, *Eiríks saga víðförla*, clxxx–clxxxi.

154. Slay, *Mírmanns saga*, cxv–cxxii.

155. Hufnagel, ‘*Sörla saga sterka* in Its Final Phase of Manuscript Transmission’; Hufnagel, ‘*Sörla saga sterka*: Studies in the Transmission of a Fornaldarsaga’, 114–125.

156. Lavender, ‘Whatever Happened to *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*? Origin, Transmission and Reception of a *Fornaldarsaga*’, 110–112.

157. Driscoll, ‘*Um gildi gamalla bóka*: Magnús Jónsson í Tjaldanesi und das Ende der isländischen Handschriftenkultur’.

158. Sigríður Hjördís Jörundsdóttir, *Skrá 1964–2013*, 53.

ated with a farm called Ólafsey in Snæfellsnessýsla. Þorsteinn's daughter Helga was born in 1913 in Narfeyri in Snæfellsnessýsla, and according to Helga's biography, she lived from 1916 in Reykjavík, where Þorsteinn's youngest child, Ingimundur, was born. Þorsteinn's family probably left Snæfellsnes in 1916, and therefore L4460 had to be written there.<sup>159</sup> The manuscript was donated to the National Library on 14 February 1985 by Helga Þorsteinsdóttir, the aforementioned daughter of the scribe. Not much is known about Þorsteinn's scribal activity, but he was only 17 years old when he copied *17HsG* in L4460.

Þorsteinn's text is a fairly close copy of the printed edition, but he does sometimes make stylistic changes and occasionally abridges the text. As with most of the other scribes mentioned here, Þorsteinn consistently updates the orthography of the text but does not introduce any abbreviations. In general, it seems that he sticks fairly closely to the text of the edition, possibly owing to his youth and relative inexperience. Among the minor changes he introduced are, for example:

**Rafn] L4460.**

bindr sèr grátt ok sítt geitarskegg ok setr síðan hatt á höfuð sèr] 'bindur sjer grátt ok sítt geitarskegg'.

'svá hausinn brotnaði'] 'svo hausinn fór í mola'.

Þá ljóp upp einn kappi Haldings konúngs svá stórr sem risi. Hrómundr drap þann] ÷.

### Text-group C

There are only two known manuscripts preserving the texts of *17HsG* that are based on Björner's edition:

- AM Acc 61 (Acc61), dated to ca. 1816.
- Ms Germ qu. 936 (M936), dated to ca. 1800–1863.

These two manuscripts are independent copies of the edition (Figure 3.6). The most straightforward method to identify manuscripts

159. Dóra Steinunn Ástvaldsdóttir and Árni Jón Eggertsson, 'Helga Þorsteinsdóttir - Minningargrein'; Ómar Ingimundarson, Unnur Ingimundardóttir and Agnes Ingimundardóttir, 'Ingimundur Þorsteinsson - Minningargrein'.

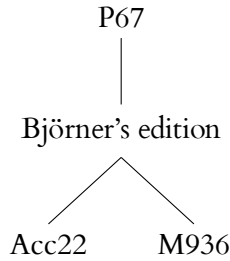


Figure 3.6: Stemma of text-group C

based on Björner's edition is through the comparison of variation sites where the readings of the edition disagree with P67, the manuscript on which the edition is based. This enables us to exclude the possibility that these manuscripts are copies of P67, or its descendants, rather than of the edition. As previously mentioned, there are at least two places where Björner misread or misinterpreted P67:

**P67] Rafn, Björner.**

‘af beignum ä lendar ofann’] ‘af beinum á lendar ofan’, ‘af beynum a herdar ofann’.

‘Olafur kongur {Austur| `Vestur’}] ‘Ólafr konúgr austr’, ‘Olafur Kongur vester’.

Especially useful in this context is the reading ‘Olafur Kongur vester’ in Björner's edition, which in P67 reads ‘Olafur kongur {Austur| `Vestur’’, with ‘Austur’ being crossed over and ‘Vestur’ written above the line in a different hand. The manuscripts preserving the reading ‘vester’ are most likely based on Björner's edition.

To further separate these manuscripts from group A and B, we can use the individual readings of P67 which were also reproduced in Björner's edition, such as:

**P67] Rafn, Björner.**

‘of mieg’] ‘þó góðir þikki of mjök’, ‘ofmiog’.

‘CXXXIV’] ‘hundrað 24’, ‘CXXXIV’.

‘og rende sverðiþ nidur i `jordina’ upp ad hiölltom’] ‘ok rendi sverðit ofan í (völlin) upp at hjöltum’, ‘og rendi sverðiþ nidur i jordina upp ad hiolltum’.

‘og stiack ä qvidin æsar’] ‘ok stakk á kviðinn á sér’, ‘og stack a kvidinn æsar’.

The only manuscripts that reproduce these readings in an unchanged form are Acc61 and M936. These are both very reliable copies of the edition, as to some extent, their orthography and punctuation also follow the edition:

**Björner] Acc61, M936.**

‘af beynum a herdar ofann’] ‘af beynum a herdar ofann’], ‘af beynum a herdar ofann’.

‘Olafur Kongur vester’] ‘Olafur kongur vester’, ‘Olafur kongur vestur’.  
‘CXXXIV’] ‘134’, CXXXIV.

‘og rendi sverdiþ nidur i jordina upp ad hiolltum’] ‘og rende sverdiþ nidur i jordina upp ad hiolltum’, ‘og rende sverdiþ nidur j jordina upp ad hiolltum’.

‘og stack a kvidinn æsar’] ‘og stack a kvidin æsar’, ‘og stack a kvidin äser’.

**AM Acc 61**

AM Acc 61 (Acc61), held in Den Arnamagnæanske Samling in Copenhagen, is a paper manuscript in quarto consisting of 134 leaves. Acc61 contains four *fornaldarsögur*: *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*, 17HsG (ff. 18r–29r), *Hálfðanar saga Brönufostra*, and *Hrólfs saga kraka*, all most likely derived from Björner’s edition.<sup>160</sup>

The manuscript was copied before 1816, as it belongs to the collection of manuscripts which Frederik Julius Schaldemose (1783–1853) gave to the Cathedral school in Nykøbing that year, most of which are in his own hand. The Arnamagnæan received it from the school in April 2007 as a gift.

Schaldemose was a lecturer at the Cathedral School in Nykøbing between 1816 and 1825. He was an active poet, author, and translator, translating various works from Latin, Russian, Spanish, French, German, English, Italian, Swedish, and Dutch

160. Kapitan, ‘A Danish Collection of Old Norse Sagas: Material-Philological and Textual Studies of Acc. 61’.

into Danish.<sup>161</sup> In 1847, he published a translation of *Beowulf* and *Widsith*, with an introduction and commentary. His apparent interest in old stories and legends resulted in the publication of *Krønikke-Lises Æventyr, eller Fyenske Sagn* in 1844 and *Danske Kæmpeviser, ældre og nyere* in 1846. Little is known, however, about his scribal activities, or his interest in Old Norse-Icelandic literature. Notably, Icelandic is not even listed among the languages he worked with.<sup>162</sup> Despite this, there are at least nine manuscripts in his hand in the Arnamagnæan. Additionally, I have identified one manuscript in his hand in the National Library of Iceland and one in the Bodleian Library.

Acc61 is an almost unique manuscript in the transmission of *17HsG* (alongside M939) due to its conservative treatment of the copied text. The scribe closely follows the text of the edition, even reproducing words spelled in an ‘unusual way’ in the edition, for example, ‘sliofast’, ‘munda’, ‘skule’, ‘veþor’, ‘sampt’, ‘vyþa’, ‘broþnade’, ‘Baviz’. He does not introduce any textual variants, and orthographic variants are very limited. He reproduces the punctuation and capitalization of the edition to some extent but is not very consistent. The only consistent change he makes is replacing Roman numerals with Arabic numerals, for example. ‘33 aar’. He does not use abbreviation marks, except for the nasal stroke in ‘hann’.

### Ms Germ qu. 936

Ms Germ qu. 936 (M936), held in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, is a paper manuscript in quarto consisting of i+152+i leaves. The volume begins with a table of contents, followed by *Gríms rímur og Hjálmars, Háls saga og Hálf-srekka*, *17HsG* (ff. 34r–42v), *Hálfðanar saga Brönuþóstra*, *Sörla saga sterka*, *Hálfðanar saga Eysteinsonar*, and *Samsons saga fagra*.

The manuscript is written in one hand throughout. The same hand can be found in Ms Germ qu. 935 on pp. 1–129 and 201–313, and in Ms Germ qu. 884 on ff. 10r:1–22v:77. According to Degering, all three manuscripts can be associated with the broth-

161. Erslew, *Almindeligt Forfatter-Lexicon*, III:23–24; Bricka, *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, XV:48–50; Storm, ‘Frederik Julius Schaldemose: en stor og glemt forfatter’.

162. Storm, ‘Frederik Julius Schaldemose: en stor og glemt forfatter’, 61, 69.

ers Jacob (1785–1863) and Wilhelm Grimm (1786–1859).<sup>163</sup> Furthermore, Hufnagel suggested that the copying of M936 may have been commissioned by them.<sup>164</sup> Indeed, similar physical features observed across these three manuscripts, such as the type of paper and quire structures, in addition to the scribal hands, suggest shared origins and a close association with Jacob Grimm.

On f. 34r, there is a marginal note in Jacob Grimm's hand, which reads: 'Merkwürdiges Zeugniß | in der Sturlungasaga, | daß die Hromundssaga | schon 1119 bei einem | Gastmal erzählet worden. | vid. Müller | isl. Gesch. schr. | p. 42.' (A peculiar testimony in *Sturlunga saga* that *Hrómunds saga* was already told at a feast in 1119, see Müller, *Icelandic Historiography*, p. 42). This refers to Müller's *Über den Ursprung und Verfall der isländischen Historiographie, nebst einem Anhang über die Nationalität der altnordischen Gedichte*, in which he mentioned that *HsG* was recited at the wedding feast at Reykhólar.<sup>165</sup> Consequently, the marginal note must post-date 1813, but more importantly, it exemplifies Jacob Grimm's interest, shared by many of his early nineteenth century contemporaries, in the inter-textual relationships among the sagas and their medieval origins.

As such, there is no doubt that the text of *17HsG* in M936 derives from Björner's edition. It reproduces the errors 'herdar' and 'vestur', but also the peculiar orthography of Björner's edition, for example: 'sliofast', 'veþor', 'sampt', 'vyþa', 'broþnade', 'Baviz'. The text is very conservative and the only changes that the scribe introduces are purely graphemic, such as the use of 'ä' for 'æ' and 'ß' for 'ss'. The same feature has been observed by Hufnagel in her study of *Sörla saga sterka* manuscripts.<sup>166</sup> Unlike the case of *Sörla saga sterka*, however, the scribe copies the numerals as they are presented in the edition, in their Roman representation, e.g. 'VIII edur XII'.

163. Degering, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der germanischen Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek*, 152, 159; Westrin et al., *Nordisk familjebok. Konversationslexikon och realencyklopedi*, X:311–314.

164. Hufnagel, 'Sörla saga sterka: Studies in the Transmission of a Fornaldarsaga', I:111–112, II:188.

165. Müller, *Über den Ursprung und Verfall der isländischen Historiographie, nebst einem Anhang über die Nationalität der altnordischen Gedichte*, 42–43.

166. Hufnagel, 'Sörla saga sterka: Studies in the Transmission of a Fornaldarsaga', 111–112.

It is worth noting that these three manuscripts together (M936, Ms Germ qu. 935, and Ms Germ qu. 884) contain an almost complete collection of the sagas included in Björner's *Nordiska Kämpa Datter*. The organization of texts in the manuscripts follows the order in which they appear in Björner's edition. The only two texts, however, that are missing are *Friðþjófs saga* and *Frá Fornjóti og hans ættmönnum*. A random sample check of various texts preserved in these manuscripts has led me to believe that all these texts reproduce the edition very reliably; even the chapter headings preserve the orthography and punctuation of the edition.

### Manuscript context in A<sub>3</sub> and C

The manuscripts in text-group A<sub>3</sub> and text-group C provide informative insights into different approaches not only to copying but also to organising manuscript volumes. Texts of seven different works appear alongside 17HsG in text-group C. All these texts, six sagas and one set of *rímur*, had been published in Björner's edition. Only two sagas appear in both Acc61 and M967: *Hálfðanar saga Brönufóstra* and *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*. In both manuscripts, the sagas appear in the same order in which they were printed in the edition: first *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*, then 17HsG, followed by *Hálfðanar saga Brönufóstra*. Until textual evidence proves otherwise, it is safe to assume that these two sagas were also copied from the edition, just like 17HsG.

The situation is quite different within text-group A<sub>3</sub>, where texts of thirty-one different works appear alongside 17HsG. Only one of them, however, appears twice: *Friðþjófs saga*. Other texts include various *riddarasögur*, such as *Flóres saga og Blankiþlúr* and *Karlamagnús saga*; *Íslendingasögur*, such as *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða* and *Bjarnar saga Hítðalakappa*; and *rímur*, such as *Jóhönnuramír*. Thus, not only do the sagas published in Rafn's edition co-occur with 17HsG in this text-group. The literary contents of these manuscripts are very broad and difficult to classify in any consistent way. It seems that each single manuscript had its own individual rationale that requires further and more detailed analysis.



## Chapter 4

### The nineteenth-century saga

Previous chapters illustrated the transmission history of the seventeenth-century saga of *Hrómundur*, placing its origins in the antiquarian networks of early modern Denmark and Sweden. Subsequently, the prose saga travelled back to Iceland, where it circulated in diverse literary circles including wealthy landowners, lay scholars, farmers, and fishermen. At the same time, the manuscripts of the saga spread beyond Scandinavia, reaching the United Kingdom and Germany, where interest in medieval Old Norse-Icelandic stories was growing. Some decades after the 1737 publication of *Nordiska kämpa dater*, in which an edition and Swedish and Latin translations of *17HsG* appeared, a summary of the story in Danish was published by Peter Erasmus Müller, followed by a full translation and edition by Carl Christian Rafn.<sup>1</sup> While scholars in Europe were interested in the medieval origins of the saga, in Iceland the story entered the usual cycle of literary adaptation, moving freely between prose and verse.<sup>2</sup> At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the story of *Hrómundur* obtained a new narrative form. The existence of this younger *Hrómundar saga Greipssonar* (*19HsG*) has escaped the attention of scholars until quite recently, when introductory studies on the matter have been published.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Müller, *Sagabibliothek*; Rafn, *Nordiske Kæmpe-Historier eller mythiske og romantiske Sagaer efter islandske haandskrifter*; Rafn, *Fornaldar sögur Norðrlanda eptir gömlum handritum*.

2. Kapitan, 'Hrómundur in Prose and Verse'.

3. The present chapter presents some material that has previously been published in Kapitan, 'Afterlife of a Lost Saga: A Hitherto Unknown Adaptation of the Lost Saga of *Hrómundur Gripsson*'.

The new saga of *Hrómundur* appears to be a product of the literary activity of Icelandic lay scholars of the early nineteenth century, henceforth *19HsG*. It is preserved in four nineteenth-century manuscripts, which are discussed in detail at the end of this chapter. The text of *19HsG* is four times longer than the seventeenth-century saga (*17HsG*). Its length is achieved through the addition of episodes and motifs, as well as numerous rhetorical amplifications, which change the stylistic impression of the saga. While *17HsG* is episodic and short of descriptive passages, *19HsG* has a strong narrative thread with elaborate descriptions of events and characters. The differences between the content and style of these two sagas are so significant that they should be seen as two distinct adaptations of the same material, rather than versions of the same work, and are treated as such in the present study.

The differences between *17HsG* and *19HsG* are quite clear from the beginning of the text. The seventeenth-century saga, as preserved in the oldest manuscript, AM 601 b 4to (A601), starts as follows:

(S)á kongr ríeþe fyrir {Gordom} `| danmorc| er Olafur hiet, hann var sonr Gnóþar Asmundar, hann var frogr maþr. Broþr .ij. kári oc ørnulfr, voru landvarnar menn kongz, hermenn mikler (A601, f. 1r)

(A king ruled over Garðir in Denmark, who was called Ólafur. He was the son of Gnóðar-Asmundur. He was a famous man. Two brothers, Kári and Örnúlfur, were king's land-wardens; great warriors.)

Meanwhile, the *19HsG* is much more verbose and begins in the following way in London, British Library Add. MS 11109 (B11109), which is also the base text of our edition:

Sva hefr Sögo þessa, at á þeim tímum sem margir Stólkongar voro í Norvegi, Danmorco oc Svíþjóþ, gjörþost margir Höfþingjar oc störmektugir Herrar, Greifar oc Jarlar, sem bruto sic til ríca oc landa, herjuþo sva vel á vetrom sem sumrom, oc ðbluþo sér sva hjár oc frægþa A medal þessara oc þvílíkra var einn micils verþr Kóngr, sem Olafur hiet, hann var ólatasti til bardaga, ör af fé vit vini sína, enn strangr oc hefnigjarn vit Ovini; hann rac af rícom marga Konga oc höfþingja, oc hafþi vetrseto í Norvegi, sérdeilis á Háloga landi, þar sat Kóngr optast. Kóngr átti ij systr, sem framn tóco ðllom ðþrom meymom,

at kostom oc qvennþriþi, hyggindom sem handvirþom, á mil-  
lum Vícr oc Hálogalands, hiet ðnrr Dagný en ðnrr Svanhvít  
(B11109, f. 106v)

(So begins this saga, that at that time when there were many petty kings in Norway, Denmark and Sweden, many became chieftains and powerful lords, counts and earls, who gained power and land, constantly carried on wars regardless of season, and gained for themselves wealth and fame. Among these and similar men there was one important king who was named Ólafur; he was most eager for battles, generous towards his friends but harsh and vengeful towards his enemies. He drove many kings and chieftains away from their countries and had his winter sojourn in Norway, especially in Hálogaland, where the king was most often. The king had two sisters who surpassed all other women between Vík and Hálogaland in quality and beauty, intelligence and skilfulness; one was called Dagný and the other Svanhvít.)

By comparing these opening paragraphs, we see not only the significant amount of rhetorical amplification in *19HsG*, but also a different structure, and the addition of new information. *19HsG* first provides a lengthy introduction to the political situation of medieval Scandinavia, then we learn about King Ólafur's characteristics and his origins in Norway, and finally we are told the names of his sisters. The beginning of *17HsG* is far more laconic and closely follows the structure of the medieval *rímur* of Hrómundur, in which King Ólafur is introduced first and his two retainers immediately afterwards.

Despite the extensive amplifications in *19HsG*, it is still possible to demonstrate that the materials originating from both *Griplur* and *17HsG* are present in *19HsG*. As discussed elsewhere, the saga-writer seems to have consciously used both sources and in some cases provided additional details originating from *Griplur* which are omitted in *17HsG*. In other cases, they chose to follow *17HsG* against the *rímur*.<sup>4</sup>

4. For a study of the relationships among different adaptations of the story in prose and verse, including *17HsG*, *19HsG*, *Griplur*, and the younger *Hrómundar rímur Greipssonar*, see: Kapitan, 'Hrómundur in Prose and Verse'. For a long durée perspective on the adaptation history of Hrómundur saga, from the 1119 Reykhólar feast to Týr's performance of the music adaptation of a Scandinavian ballad, see: Kapitan, 'From Oral Prosimetrum to Viking Metal'.

This chapter serves as an introduction to this new saga of *Hrómundur*. It casts light on different aspects of the saga's style and transmission, allowing us to place it in the broader context of Icelandic literary production and consumption. We start with a brief plot summary of *19HsG* foregrounding some of the elements of the story unknown from *17HsG*. This is followed by a discussion of selected motifs and innovations introduced into the story, identifying some parallels within the Old Norse literary corpus. Next, we turn to the language of the saga and its possible origins. The chapter concludes with a section focused on the saga's production by describing the manuscripts that preserve it, revealing the textual relationships among them, and analysing the literary context in which the saga appears.

## 4.1 Plot summary

The younger saga of *Hrómundur*, *19HsG* counts around 12.000 words (about four times the length of *17HsG*) and is divided into twenty-one chapters.<sup>5</sup> In one of the manuscripts preserving the saga, Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn, Lbs 679 4to (L679), each chapter is given a distinct heading, or title. While these chapter headings do not appear in other manuscripts, they offer insights into the principal events occurring within each chapter. They are presented here for the reader's convenience.

1. 'Frá Olafi Kongi og sistrum hans, og Hrómundi og bræðrum hans'
2. 'Bardagi Olafs Kongs vid Hraungvid og fall Kára og Ørn(o)lfs'
3. 'Hromundr fellir Hraungvid, Olafur Kongur fær sigr'
4. 'Frä vid rædu Hromundar og Helga frækna'
5. 'Máni segir Hromundi til Þräins'
6. 'Hromundr for i haug Þräins'
7. 'Hromundr vinnr Þräinn'
8. 'Voli rægir Hromund hann þiggr heim bod af fóðr sijnum'
9. 'Hromundr for frá Kongs hirdinni fjrir rog bilds og vola'

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5. Two of the manuscripts (London, British Library, Add. 11109 and Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn, Lbs 1572 4to) incorrectly enumerate the chapters up to twenty-two.

10. 'Tíundi Capituli'<sup>6</sup>
11. 'Bardagi Olafs Kongs vid Svija og fall Hálfðans Kongs'
12. 'Hromundr for til orustunnar'
13. 'H[elgi] [dr]epur bædr Hromundar'<sup>7</sup>
14. 'Hromundr fellir Helga drepr Vola'
15. 'Hagall grædir Hromund'
16. 'Blindr njosnar eptir Hromundi'
17. 'Frä draumum Blinds'
18. 'Halfdán Kongr bijr her til Svijþjódar'
19. 'Hromundr sættist vid Olaf Kong'
20. 'Hromundr Vinnr Haldán Kong'
21. 'Blindr Heingdr Hromundr giptist Svanhvít'

What is worth noting here is that from these chapter headings alone, it would be impossible to conclude that there are any additional episodes in the *19HsG* which are not present in *17HsG*. Therefore, these additional elements are foregrounded in the brief summary below.

The story begins by introducing Ólafur and his court and then Greipur and his family. Ólafur, king of Norway, dwells mainly in Hálogaland and has two beautiful sisters, Svanhvít and Dagný. There are two deceitful retainers in Ólafur's army, Bildur and Vóli, who are greatly valued by the king. Greipur lives nearby and is married to Gunnlaug, or Vallaug, daughter of Hrókur the Black. They have nine sons and Hrómundur is the oldest and most promising of the brothers.

Hrómundur emerges as a hero with remarkable combat skills during Ólafur's raiding journey to Sweden, which led to a great battle in which Hrómundur avenges his foster-brother Kári's death by defeating Hröngviður. Following this, Hrómundur undertakes a quest to retrieve treasures from Þráinn's burial mound, confronting and overcoming Þráinn. This brought him enormous fame and excessive wealth for Ólafur and his companions.

The saga intricately weaves in elements of chivalric romance and adventure tale, as Hrómundur's journey is filled with hunting

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6. There is no additional title for this chapter.

7. This is mostly illegible due to a large ink stain.

trips, prophetic dreams, and supernatural encounters. After a successful hunting trip led by Ólafur, during which Hrómundur's dog, Hrókur, plays a significant role, Vóli and Bildur kill the dog out of jealousy. Hrómundur keeps the incident to himself and abstains from joining the next hunting trip. Ólafur is led to believe Hrómundur's absence is due to him spending time with his sister, Svanhvít, which does not please the king. Tensions escalate when Ólafur decides to confront his sister and Hrómundur. A plan is hastily devised by Svanhvít to disguise Hrómundur with magical assistance, enabling him to evade Ólafur's wrath. She takes a yellow stone and passes it over Hrómundur's face to change his appearance into that of a servant woman. When Ólafur cannot find Hrómundur, he vents his anger on Svanhvít, slapping her face and calling her names. Meanwhile, Hrómundur finds his brothers and they set off to stay with Greipur, their father who welcomes them warmly.

Now the story turns to Sweden where Kings Hálfðans collect their army and send envoys to King Ólafur to summon him to a battle on the frozen lake Vænir. Despite Ólafur's regret over the absence of Hrómundur and his brothers, the battle proceeds with the Swedish army, aided by Helgi, the brother of Hröngviður, and his shape-shifting mistress Kára. This leads to significant losses for Ólafur, including the death of Bildur, one of the evil brothers.

Following the heavy casualties, Ólafur seeks reinforcements from Norway. Hrómundur, initially hesitant to follow the king due to past grievances, is eventually convinced by Svanhvít to aid him in the battle. He sets off armed with a protective shield and a garter for enhanced prowess that he received from Svanhvít. Upon his arrival, Hrómundur sets his tent on the other side of the lake with the intention of joining the combat, but, following some bad dreams he had the previous night, he decides to abstain from joining the battle that day. His brothers, however, decide to go and they are all slain by Helgi, assisted by his mistress Kára. The death of his brothers at the hands of Helgi and Kára compels Hrómundur to enter the battle, where he avenges their deaths by killing Helgi.

The saga takes a dramatic turn when Hrómundur encounters Vóli on the ice, leading to a fierce confrontation that results in Vóli's death but also great injuries to Hrómundur and the loss of

his sword, *Mistilteinn*, into the lake's depths. Reflecting on the battle's aftermath, *Hrómundur* mourns the loss of his brothers and the sword, regretting not heeding *Svanhvít's* advice. Near death from wounds and cold, *Hrómundur* is rescued by *Hagall*, accompanied by *Svanhvít* and her sister *Dagný*. *Hagall* and his wife *Haddís* nurse *Hrómundur* back to health. During his recovery, *Hagall* retrieves *Hrómundur's* lost sword, *Mistilteinn*, finding it inside a large fish. As *Hrómundur's* health improves, a threat looms again when one of *Hálfðan's* men, *Blindur*, determined to capture him, arrives at *Hagall's* home and wants to search it for *Hrómundur*. Through clever deception and the quick thinking of *Haddís*, *Hrómundur* evades capture by disguising himself first as a servant girl and a shepherd, fooling *Blindur* and his search party with each attempt.

In the concluding part of the saga, *Blindur*, after experiencing ominous dreams, approaches King *Hálfðan* for interpretations which hint at impending doom for both. Meanwhile, *Hrómundur*, having recovered, informs his father about the loss of his brothers, aligning with previous prophetic dreams. Despite a peace agreement, *Ólafur* aims to confront *Hálfðan* once more but faces reluctance from *Hrómundur* to rejoin his forces due to past grievances. *Svanhvít* convinces *Hrómundur* again to support *Ólafur*, this time under the condition of their marriage after the campaign. Together, they launch a surprise attack on *Hálfðan* in *Uppsala*, resulting in *Hálfðan's* death and paving the way for *Hrómundur* and *Svanhvít's* wedding. The saga concludes with the execution of *Blindur*, and the union of *Hrómundur* and *Svanhvít* in a grand celebration, leading to a prosperous life and a lineage that includes *Ingólfur*, the legendary first settler of Iceland.

## 4.2 Additions

For a reader familiar with *17HsG* it will be clear from the plot summary above that there is a number of additional motifs that appear in *19HsG*, which are completely absent from *17HsG*. These additions include not only whole new episodes, the sources of which remain largely unknown, but also repetitions of similar scenes or

motifs known from the older saga in a different context, as well as occasional incorporation of additional materials from *Griplur*.

There are simply too many such instances to list and discuss them here at large, but to give the reader a general impression of different types of changes appearing in the saga, we focus on a selected cases representing each type of an addition. We start with the additions derived from *Griplur*, represented by the killing of Hrókur, which proves the relationship between *19HsG* and the medieval *rímur*.<sup>8</sup> Then we move to the repeating motifs derived from *17HsG*, represented by the presence of prophetic dreams and the use of disguise to escape danger. Finally, we close this section with the episodes derived from outside the Hrómundar saga tradition, represented here by the yawning of Haddís, the appearance of Hagall as a flying dragon, and the violence against Svanhvít.

### Hrókur

A clear evidence for the influence of *Griplur* on *19HsG* can be found in chapter seven of the saga, in which Hrómundur's dog, Hrókur, is killed by the evil brothers, Bildur and Vóli. As noted in previous scholarship, some misunderstanding occurred in *17HsG*, which led to Hrókur being a man in the saga, while in the *rímur* he was a dog.<sup>9</sup> *19HsG* does not reproduce the misunderstanding of *17HsG*, but instead follows the tradition derived from the *rímur*. In the *19HsG* we read:

þar hafði Kóngur vetrseto með hyrþ sína, þann vetr, hjá Burgeis nockrom, hann var Gnúði kallaþr, hann gaf Kóngi margá góða gripi oc sva mömmom hans; hann gaf Hrómundi einn racka, sem var sva vel viti borinn, sem maþr, oc skjótr sem ór, oc hit mesta gersemi var hann, sá var Hrókr kallaþr (B11109, f. 114v).

(There the king with his army had a winter sojourn with a certain burgess, who was called Gnúði [and who] gave the king and his men many great gifts. He gave Hrómundur a certain dog, which was as intelligent as a man, and as fast as an arrow.)

8. Other examples illustrating the dependence of *19HsG* on *Griplur* can be found in Kapitan, 'Hrómundur in Prose and Verse'.

9. Andrews, 'Studies in the Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda (Continued)'; Jesch, 'Hrómundur Gripsson Revisited'.

Even though *19HsG* presents Hrókur as a dog, there are some discrepancies between *Griplur* and the saga when it comes to the value of the dog. In *Griplur* stanza IV:5, Hrómundur gives a man named Grundi, from whom he received the dog, a golden ring which weighs one mark, ‘eyrir vegr og aðra sjau’.<sup>10</sup> In *19HsG* the golden ring weighs two marks of silver, ‘vóg vit ij mercr sylfors’ (B11109, f. 114v). This may be the result of a misunderstanding of the *rímur*, indicating that the poetic language might have been equally difficult to understand for the scribes in the seventeenth and nineteenth century. After all, in the *17HsG* the weight of a ring that Hrómundur gives to the man named Hrókur equals to only one ounce ‘Hann gaf einum manni, þeim er Hrókur hét eitt sinn, gullhring góðann er vó eýri’ (A601, f. 3r).

### Prophetic dreams

Recurring in *17HsG* and *19HsG* is the motif of *Bad dreams as an evil omen* (D1812.5.1.2).<sup>11</sup> In *17HsG* there are two episodes that utilise this motif. In the first one, Hrómundur does not join the battle because of the bad dream he had the previous night (see p. 236). In the second one, Blindur narrates multiple of his dreams to the king of the Swedes who consistently misinterprets them (see p. 240). In the first case, the reader does not know the contents of the dream, because Hrómundur only announces that he will not participate in the battle because of the bad dream he had, without giving an account of it. In the second case, there are detailed descriptions of the dreams, followed by the king’s interpretations. The schematic presentation of the dreams and their interpretations one after another strengthens the impression that the king is misinterpreting the dreams, which in fact refer to his future.

In *19HsG*, the occurrences of this motif have been doubled in relation to *17HsG*, as they appear in four independent episodes. First, Hrómundur’s father, Greipur, summons Hrómundur to visit him. Greipur tells Hrómundur about his bad dream, specifying its contents and, to a certain extent, providing his own interpretation

10. Finnur Jónsson, *Rímnasafn*, I:381.

11. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*; Boberg, *Motif-Index of Early Icelandic Literature*.

(see p. 280). He finishes his account of the dream in the following way:

Nú hef ec sagt þér draum minn, en þú mant ráða verða með tíþinni. Hrómundur svarar: bæði er þat, at draumurinn þykir ecki sva merkilegr, enda erto oc maþr orþinn gamall. Satt er þat segir Greipr at ec er gamall vorþinn, en víst man draumurinn eitthvað merkja, því mér féllst hugr um hringana, oc þat villda ec, Frændi! at þú talaþir vit þær systir Olafs Kóngs, oc manto þeirra njóta, en Bíld oc Vola skalto varast því þeir ero ótrúir fleyrstom oc segja Kóngi satt oc logit af óþrom mðnnom. (B11109, f. 115v)

(Now I have told you my dream, and you will have to interpret it later. Hrómundur answers: For one thing, the dream does not seem important, and for another, you have become an old man. It is true, says Greipur, that I have become old, but certainly the dream must mean something, because I thought about the rings, and this I want, my kinsman, that you talk to the sisters of King Ólafur and enjoy their company, but you must avoid Bíldur and Vóli because they are treacherous towards most people and tell the king truth and lies about other men.)

Even though Hrómundur initially dismisses the importance of the dream, he visits Svanhvít and asks her to interpret his father's dream. She advises him to stay away from King Ólafur because he is under the influence of the treacherous brothers Bíldur and Vóli. Greipur's dream foreshadows the events described in the following chapter, when Hrómundur is forced to flee from Ólafur's court due to the slander of Bíldur and Vóli.

The next dream in *19HsG* serves a similar purpose. This time, it is Svanhvít who tells Hrómundur about her bad dream (see p. 282). She does not offer any interpretation of her dream, but its significance seems clear to both her and Hrómundur, as the saga presents it in the following way:

þat dreymdi mic eitt sinn, at ec þóktist búa um þic í eino rúmi, oc varsto lítt haldinn, en þó mæltir þú til mín, en bræþrom þínom bjó ec annat rúm, oc tóluþo þeir ecki neitt til mín. Máské sva verþi segir Hrómundur oc tóç fingorgull oc gaf henni, oc géck burt síþan, en hún bat hann vel fara (B11109, f. 116r).

(I dreamed once, that it seemed to me I attended to you in one bed, and you were in a bad condition, but you spoke to me, but for your brothers I prepared another bed and they did not talk to me at all. Maybe it will be this way, said Hrómundur, and took a ring and gave it to her, and afterwards left, and she bade him farewell.)

Unlike in the previous episode, in this scene there is a certain understanding between Hrómundur and Svanhvít about the importance and meaning of this dream. By saying ‘Maybe it will be this way’, Hrómundur expresses his understanding of the dream’s meaning and acknowledges the possibility of its coming true, but at the same time he implies that he is not going to actively avoid his fate. The dream presenting Hrómundur’s speechless brothers and the severely ill Hrómundur prepares the reader for the outcome of the forthcoming battle, in which Hrómundur is gravely wounded and all of his eight brothers fall.

Before the battle, Hrómundur himself has a bad dream, which makes him stay in his tent and not go to fight. This scene closely resembles the corresponding scene in *17HsG*, where Hrómundur only announces that he has had a bad dream and will not participate in the battle, but we do not know the contents of the dream:

*hann leggr sí til svefns, oc lætr ílla í svefni; at morgni vaknar hann, oc blæs mæþilega; þeir bræþr spyrja hann eptir draumom sínom, en hann quafst engom segja oc man ec ei út fara á þessom degi, segir hann, þótt aþrir fari* (B11109, f. 120v).

(He goes to sleep and sleeps badly. The next morning, he wakes up and breathes heavily. His brothers ask him about his dreams, but he says he won’t tell anyone, and I won’t go out today, he says, even if others go.)

The motif of prophetic dreams is very common in Old Norse literature across various genres, from *Íslendingasögur* to *konungasögur* and *fornaldarsögur*, but one of the examples closest to Hrómundur’s prophetic dream can be found in chapter 12 of *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*, a legendary saga and prequel to *Friðþjófs saga*.<sup>12</sup> A significant difference between these two narratives is, however, that Þorsteinn actually describes his dream and provides an inter-

12. Rafn, *Fornaldar sögur Norðrlanda eptir gömlum handritum*, II:383–459.

pretation of it, while in both *17HsG* and *19HsG* we have to find out later that the dream was related to the death of Hrómundur's brothers in the battle.

The last occurrence of the motif of bad dreams as an evil omen in *19HsG* is the sequence of Blindur's dreams, which predicts the near death of King Hálfðan. In chapter 17, Blindur gives the king an account of his prophetic dreams, but the king misinterprets them all, just as in *17HsG*. The sequence of dreams is not identical to that in *17HsG*. Among the innovations in *19HsG* there is an additional dream, which is presented as follows:

oc þar eptir sá ec yþar betsta drecaskip, mara í miþjo kafi í  
brimi oc sjóaræþi gangi, en allr herinn yþar stóþ höfotlaus  
niþr í eino vatni (B11109, f. 127v).

(And afterwards I saw your best ship submerged in the surf  
and in the rage of the sea, and your entire army stood head-  
less below in the water.)

While there is no corresponding dream of a headless army in *17HsG*, *Griplur* appears to be the most likely source. There, in stanza 25 of the sixth *ríma*, we can read: 'Dreki þinn leiz mér færðr á flóð, / flaut í báru miðri, / höfuðlaus allur herrinn stóð / í heitu vatni niðri' (Your ship appeared to me in the open waters, it floated in the middle of a wave, in the burning water below all your headless army stood).<sup>13</sup>

### Disguise

Another recurring motif that appears in *19HsG* and is also found in *17HsG* is that of *Disguise of man in a woman's dress* (K1836), which is widely known beyond Iceland in the literary traditions of, for instance, Italy, Ireland and India.<sup>14</sup>

In *17HsG*, Hrómundur hides at Hagall's house disguised as a woman grinding corn while Blindur searches the house at the request of King Halding (see p. 240). The same motif appears in *Helgakviða Hundingsbana II*, where Helgi, disguised as a servant girl grinding corn, hides at Hagall's place while Blindur looks for him

13. Finnur Jónsson, *Rímnasafn*, I:403.

14. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*.

following the orders of King Hundigr.<sup>15</sup> It has been observed in the scholarship that the close similarities between these two scenes suggest that the account of *Griplur* (and secondarily also *17HsG*) has been modelled on *Helgakviða*.<sup>16</sup> This specific motif has been called *Man in danger of life dressed by hostess as woman and set to grinding corn* (K521.4.1.3).<sup>17</sup>

The same motif appears in chapter 16 of *19HsG*, where the disguise helps Hrómundur to avoid Blindur (see p. 303). Here it is not certain, however, whether Hrómundur is set to grinding corn or stirring porridge:

*Pá segir kerling vit Hrómund nú skalto fara í fót Eldabusko minnar, oc skalto hræra graut til matgjörþar, fékk hún honom þá Mistiltein fyrir grautar þvoro, oc mælr með þvorumni má verjast ef á liggir. Litlo síþar qvomo menn Kóings, oc søgbust vilja betr leita, en fyrr. Hagall segir þeim heimila ransökun, leita þeir nú lengi, oc finna ecki Hrómund at heldr; sáu þeir nú Eldabusku, at hún dró til Möndulinn, oc leit óhýrt til Kóings manna* (B11109, f. 126r).

(Then says the woman to Hrómundur: Now you must put on my kitchen maid's clothes, and you must stir porridge for cooking. She then gave him Mistilteinn as a ladle and says: You can defend yourself with the ladle if necessary. Shortly afterwards the king's men came and said that they wanted to search better than before. Hagall says that the house is open to investigation and now they search for a long time and still don't find Hrómundur. Now they saw that the kitchen maid was drawing the handle of the quern and looking belligerently towards them.)

It is worth noting that *19HsG* had already used the same motif of a man's disguise as a woman earlier in the saga; in one of the additional episodes, which includes an extended description of Vóli's and Bildur's attempts to discredit Hrómundur for King Ólafur. Ólafur is informed by the evil brothers about the frequent visits that Hrómundur pays to his sister Svanhvít and decides to go to Svanhvít's house and confront Hrómundur there. When Svanhvít learns

15. Bugge, *Norrøn fornkvæði, islandsk Samling af folkelige Oldtidsdigte om Nordens Guder og Heroer, almindelig kaldet Sæmundar Edda hins Fróða*, 191.

16. Jesch, 'The Lost Literature of Medieval Iceland: Sagas of Icelanders', 91–93; Holtsmark, 'Helgediktingen', 314–318.

17. Boberg, *Motif-Index of Early Icelandic Literature*.

about the imminent arrival of her brother, she hurries to get Hrómundur safely out of her house (see p. 283).

Svanhvít géck at Hrómundi oc mællir nú máttu ecki teþja, því Bróþir minn kémr innan lítills tíma oc vill fanga þic, skalto taca vit qvenn-skrúþa vorum, oc mæta Kónigi vit gjættir, oc ber sængr fót oc hvílo voþir í fangi þér, [...] síþan tóç Svanhvít ljósgulann stein, oc dró um andlit hans, féck hann þá yfirlit hennar þjónosto meyar (B11109, f. 116v).

(Svanhvít went to Hrómundur and says: You cannot stay here any longer, because my brother will be arriving here soon and he will capture you. You shall take my female clothing and meet the king by the gate, and you shall carry bedlinen and blankets in your arms. [...] Then Svanhvít took a bright-yellow stone and moved it over his face, which gave him the appearance of her servant girl.)

This scene is neither a direct reuse of the corn-grinding scene nor a simple replication of the man in woman's dress motif, since the element of changing clothes is here expanded by a magical (?) transformation of Hrómundur's appearance. The use of the stone in this scene is significant, as it might be considered evidence for the generic fluidity of *19HsG*, which builds on traditional legendary saga material, but also freely draws literary inspiration from *rid-darasögur*.

Magic stones appear in various translated and indigenous *rid-darasögur* where, among other functions, they can be used for transformation (D572.5 *Transformation by means of magic stone*) or give invisibility (D1361.2 *Magic stone gives invisibility*). Possibly the closest analogue to the example from *19HsG* can be found in *Gibbons saga*, an Icelandic romance dated to the fourteenth century, in which magic stones appear several times in various functions. For example, Greka passes a magic stone over Gibbon's head to remove his sexual desire and Florentina passes a red stone over Gibbon's head to foresee the future. In particular, a yellow stone is used by a dwarf named Kollur to change Gibbon's appearance when he is about to enter the chambers of Florentina with the intention of raping her.

In *19HsG* Svanhvít gains the magical ability to change Hrómundur's appearance by passing a stone over his head, a quality she lacks in *17HsG*. Consequently, she seems to play a similar sec-

ondary role in the narrative as the dwarfs and exotic princesses encountered in some of the *riddarasögur*. However, the use of magic in itself is not always limited to secondary characters in saga narratives. In *Nítíða saga*, for example, another Icelandic romance also dated to the fourteenth century, a magic stone is used by the main character, Queen Nítíða. In order to protect herself, Nítíða uses the magic stone to change the appearance of her servant woman, so that the latter is kidnapped instead of the queen.<sup>18</sup>

Finally, the motif of disguise appears again in chapter 16, which describes Blindur's search of Hagall's house. It is worth recalling that in *17HsG* Blindur's house is examined only twice. In the first attempt Hrómundur is hidden under a pot (see p. 240), and in the second one Hrómundur is grinding corn disguised as a woman (see p. 240). *19HsG* describes four attempts to find Hrómundur. First, he is hidden under a pot, next he is set to grinding corn (or stirring porridge) disguised as a woman, and the third time he is disguised as a shepherd who is asked by Haddís to go and collect the sheep. While in disguise, Hrómundur meets Blindur, who fails to recognise him, and in this way Hrómundur again avoids being captured. This is the motif of *Disguise as herdsman* (K1816.6), but I have been unable to find a scene in the Old Norse literary corpus that closely resembles the scene in *19HsG*. In *Víga-Glúms saga*, this motif is used in the scene in which Skúta pretends to be looking for his sheep to avoid Glúmur's men. At the same time, this scene is quite different in its structure. Whereas in *19HsG* it is Haddís who gives Hrómundur clear instructions about how to behave, in *Víga-Glúms saga* the disguise is Skúta's own initiative.<sup>19</sup>

### Flying dragon

While the change of Hrómundur's appearance by the use of a magic stone can already be treated as an additional motif introduced in *19HsG*, whose sources lie outside the *17HsG* tradition, the last attempt of finding Hrómundur by Blindur in *19HsG* is an even more straightforward case. The last of Blindur's attempts fails not

18. Loth, *Late Medieval Icelandic Romances*; McDonald Werronen, 'Nítíða saga: A Normalised Icelandic Text and Translation'; McDonald Werronen, *Popular Romance in Iceland: The Women, Worldviews, and Manuscript Witnesses of Nítíða saga*.

19. Jónas Kristjánsson, 'Víga-Glúms Saga', 54.

because of any disguise, but, it seems, due to Hagall's supernatural abilities (see p. 304).

*gengr nú Hagall á móti þeim at garði út, en er þeir sáu hann varþ hann undarlegr í augom þeirra, sýndist þeim þá, at Flugdreki sækja at þeim, tóco þeir þá at leita aptr til baka, oc snúa heim leiðis, en Draconinn sókti eptir þeim af meirsta kappi, sýndist þeim hann blása eldi oc eytri, villdo þá sumir biþa hans, en sumir forþa sér, varþ þat þá fleyrstom fyrir at leita sér undan færslu, varaþi þessi adsókn framm at qvöldi (B11109, f. 126v–127r)*

(Now Hagall goes against them out to the yard, and when they saw him, he appeared somewhat strange in their eyes. It seemed to them then, that a flying dragon was hunting them. They started to run away and head back towards home, but the dragon followed them with great eagerness, and it seemed to them as if he was blowing fire and venom. Then some of them wanted to wait for him, but others wanted to escape, and it came to this that most of them decided to flee. The haunting continued until evening.)

Neither *17HsG* nor *Griplur* assigns any supernatural abilities to the cottager Hagall, besides his surprising luck in catching a fish that had earlier swallowed Hrómundur's sword. In *19HsG*, we witness the saga-writer again drawing from the stock imagery of Old Norse literature, but using it in slightly different contexts from those we are used to.

When flying dragons appear in the Old Norse literary corpus, they are usually supposed to be slain by great heroes.<sup>20</sup> In *19HsG*, the dragon seems to be an illusion that is somehow generated by Hagall in order to scare the enemies. They do not engage in a fight but simply run away, perhaps emphasising their inferiority to other, more courageous saga characters. The appearance of the dragon in *19HsG* clearly draws on romance imagery: the dragon is not only flying but also spitting venom and fire, features present in some *riddarasögur*, for example, *Tristrams saga og Ísöndar* and *Ívens saga*.

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20. Ármann Jakobsson, 'Enter the Dragon: Legendary Saga Courage and the Birth of the Hero'; Cutrer, 'The Wilderness of Dragons: The Reception of Dragons in Thirteenth Century Iceland'.

## Yawning

Another scene of *19HsG*, absent from both *17HsG* and *Griplur*, is the episode when, while Hrómundur is being healed at Hagall and Haddís's cottage, Haddís cannot speak one day owing to the great yawning that suddenly falls upon her. As the saga tells us:

Nockro eptir þetta, þegar Hrómundur tók at verða gróinn sára sinna, skéþi þat: kerling tók til at fá sva stóra geispa, at hún qvom varla framm orði fyrir þeim (B1109, f. 125v).

(Sometime after this, when Hrómundur was being healed of his wounds, this happens: the woman [Haddís] started to yawn so much that she could barely say a word.)

The yawning occurs when Haddís predicts that Blindur is going to reveal Hrómundur's identity and whereabouts to King Hálfðan, which later results in Blindur searching for Hrómundur. Haddís, like many other female saga characters, must possess some supernatural ability to foresee the future, and the act of yawning must be related to this ability. The knowledge of the upcoming danger suddenly falls upon her in the form of the yawning fit. It has been suggested that yawning in Old Norse literature represents inhaling spirits, which provide information about, for example, upcoming danger.<sup>21</sup>

While it is difficult to identify with certainty the sources of this motif in *19HsG*, yawning appears in various genres of Icelandic literature. In *Hrólfs saga kraka*, one of the most famous legendary sagas, there is a scene in which Heiður, a völvu, yawns greatly before involuntarily delivering a prophecy regarding the whereabouts of two boys that the evil king attempts to find.<sup>22</sup> In *Njáls saga*, probably the best-known saga of Icelanders, yawning appears in the scene where Svanur senses that Ósvifur is about to attack and announces it while yawning greatly.<sup>23</sup> In both cases, yawning is related to some knowledge which can be mediated only through the yawning person. As Quinn observed in her study of Eddic prophecies in the legendary sagas, it is usually female characters that have

21. Heide, 'Spirits Through Respiratory Passages'.

22. Slay, *Hrólfs saga kraka*, 10; Quinn, 'Ok Verðr Henni Ljóð á Munni – Eddic Prophecy in the Fornaldarsögur', 39–40.

23. Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Brennu-Njáls saga*, 37; Lönnroth, *Njáls Saga: A Critical Introduction*, 132.

access to this sort of passive knowledge, which is supposed to be communicated to the main hero and advance his adventures. In *19HsG*, Haddís warns Hrómundur to prepare himself for the visit from Blindur, but the hero does not take any action, and it is again her role to help him escape.

### Violence

Finally, it is worth to mention here that some of the less noticeable changes made to the text are quite intriguing, as they might, to some extent, reflect changes in Icelandic mentality in the pre-modern period. A good example is the episode in which Ólafur confronts Svanhvít about her relationships with Hrómundur. In chapter 3 of *17HsG* this episode is presented as follows:

*kong(r) suarar heýrt hefi ek getiþ hann munþi fifla þik, oc skal suerþiþ skilia ýckar ást. Lýtt manstu nú sagde hun, þegar hann eirn gieck i hauginn, enn eingi annar þorþi, oc fir man voli og bylþr heingþir verþa sagde hon Geck sýþann snvþuckt i brot (A601, f. 3v).*

(The king answers: I have heard that he [Hrómundur] might deceive you, and the sword shall separate your love. You remember little now, she said, when he alone went into the mound, while no one else dared, and sooner will Vóli and Bildur be hanged, she said and walked quickly away.)

The same scene is described as follows in chapter 9 of *19HsG*:

*Kóngr mæliр fyrir mic er qvomit, sem satt man, at Hrómundr fipli þic, oc þvi held ec þat líklegast, at þú haldiр svári hans. Svanhvít mæliр mansto ecki þat, at hvorki þú sjálfr, eþr nockor annar þinna manna þorþi at fara í haug Þráins nema Hrómundr einn. [4 sentences skipped, see p. 284] Þá reiþdist Olafr Kóngr oc sló Svanhvít sva stort andlits blak, at blóþit féll of hana oc mæliр haf þetta fyrir Hrómund þin armadubba oc skalto jafnan hafa reiþi mína. Svanhvít mæliр allt of þat oc ei at síþr skal ec þá Hrómund vit vara oc betst unna, en þar á móti til leggja at vinir þínir Vole oc Bildr verþi hengþir. (B11109, f. 117r)*

(The king says: It has come to my attention, and it must be true, that Hrómundur deceives you, and therefore I find it most likely that you shall defend him. Svanhvít says: Don't you remember that neither you yourself, nor any of your

men dared to enter Þráinn's mound except for Hrómundur alone? [4 sentences skipped, see p. 284] Then King Ólafur became angry and struck Svanhvít so hard in the face that blood fell over her and said: take this for Hrómundur, you wretched woman, and you shall always have my anger. Svanhvít speaks: Despite all that, I shall still warn Hrómundur and love him best, and instead your friends Vóli and Bildur will be hanged.)

While in *17HsG* they simply agree to disagree and go their separate ways, in *19HsG* Ólafur slaps Svanhvít in her face for disobedience. Furthermore, and quite surprisingly, this malicious act does not have any bad consequences for the king, other than Hrómundur being initially reluctant to aid him in battle against the Swedes because of his behaviour towards Svanhvít (chapter 12). Svanhvít, even though at first offended, stays loyal to her brother. When she learns that Ólafur is about to lose the battle, she takes his side and convinces Hrómundur to support him. This stands in striking contrast to some sagas of Icelanders, where a man slapping a woman in the face is taken as a great offence and brings bad luck to the man. Some classic examples of that can be found, for example, in *Laxdæla saga* and *Njáls saga*.<sup>24</sup> In *19HsG* this act does not have any meaningful consequences for the offender.

It has been previously suggested that a close examination of textual variants appearing in the younger 'versions' of the sagas can be a useful source for the study of changing mentalities in pre-modern Iceland.<sup>25</sup> There is thus some potential in the comparative analysis of cases such as *19HsG* in further developing our understanding of the relationship between early modern society and literature. To successfully make an argument for possible motivations behind the addition of violence against Svanhvít in *19HsG*, it would be necessary to analyse it in the context of different ways of tackling violence against women in Icelandic literature in general, and such an investigation lies outside the scope of the present study.<sup>26</sup>

24. Finn Magnúsen et al., *Laxdæla-saga sive Historia de rebus gestis Laxdölensium*, ch. 34; Konráð Gíslason and Eiríkur Jónsson, *Njála*, ch. 48.

25. Glauser, 'Spätmittelalterliche Vorleseliteratur und frühneuzeitliche Handschriftentradition: Die Veränderungen der Medialität und Textualität der isländischen Märchensagas zwischen dem 14. und 19. Jahrhundert', 397–400.

26. For a recent discussion of the differences in depicting violence against women in legendary sagas and chivalric sagas, see Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir, 'How

### 4.3 Origins

Considering the dissemination of the work across known manuscripts, the origins of *19HsG* seem to be tied to the literary endeavours of lay scholars in northern Iceland at the beginning of the nineteenth century. All manuscripts preserving *19HsG* were written roughly between 1800 and 1837, with three certainly linked to northern Iceland, specifically the Skagafjörður and Eyjafjörður areas. The geographical origins of the fourth manuscript, B11109, remain uncertain; it is a composite manuscript consisting of parts written in hands that have not yet been identified as belonging to any known scribe.

It is worth mentioning that one of these manuscripts, Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn, Lbs 2404 8vo (L2404), was written by Gísli Konráðsson (1787–1877), one of the most active scribes of the early nineteenth century. Gísli was born in Vellir in the Vallhólmur area of Skagafjörður.<sup>27</sup> He was the son of Konráð Gíslason (d. 1798), a farmer and craftsman, and his third wife, Jófríður Björnsdóttir. Gísli changed his residency a couple of times in his lifetime within the Skagafjarðarsýsla area in northern Iceland, but in the year 1852 he settled on Flatey in East Barðastrandarsýsla (Westfjords), where he spent the rest of his life. Gísli was the father of Konráð Gíslason (1808–1891), a professor of Nordic languages at the University of Copenhagen.<sup>28</sup>

Gísli Konráðsson was not only an extremely active scribe, but also a poet and author of many texts of a historicising character. Although he never received formal education (he taught himself how to write), he is sometimes called Gísli the historian (Ice. *Gísli sagnfræðingur*) due to his burning interest in history and genealogy, expressed for example in his work *Húnavetninga saga*, which is devoted to the history of Húnaþing from around 1700 to 1850.<sup>29</sup> Gísli was also responsible for compiling and rewriting many Icelandic folk

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*Do You Know If It Is Love or Lust? On Gender, Status, and Violence in Old Norse Literature*.

27. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, II:66.

28. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:369; Bricka, *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, VI:24–27.

29. Gísli Konráðsson and Sighvatur Grímsson, 'Æfiágrip Gísla sagnfræðings Konráðssonar'.

tales and sagas.<sup>30</sup> He is considered the author of, among other texts, two sagas usually classified as late *Íslendingasögur*, *Skáld-Helga saga* and *Þorsteins saga Geirnefjufostra*.<sup>31</sup> The former is a prose adaptation of *Skáld-Helga rímur*, which in turn are believed to be a versification of a lost medieval saga.<sup>32</sup> The oldest known manuscript of Gísli's *Skáld-Helga saga*, Lbs 1316 8vo, is written in the hand of Þorsteinn Gíslason (1776–1838) from Stokkahláðir, south of Akureyri in northern Iceland, and is dated to 1827. The same scribe, who wrote one of 19HsG manuscripts, Lbs 1572 4to, discussed further in this chapter. The earliest known and dated manuscripts of *Þorsteins saga Geirnefjufostra* are ÍBR 9 4to, dated to 1816, in the hand of Einar Bjarnason (1785–1856), and Lbs 284 8vo, dated to 1818, in Gísli's own hand.<sup>33</sup>

All these manuscripts are associated with scribes who were active in northern Iceland at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, it is worth noting that 19HsG appears together with *Þorsteins saga Geirnefjufostra* in two manuscripts, B11109 and L2404. In this context, it seems not unlikely that Gísli was also responsible for 19HsG. Assuming that Gísli Konráðsson, an autodidact who did not receive any formal education, did not start composing sagas be-

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30. Gísli Konráðsson and Sighvatur Grímsson, 52, 56.

31. The provenance of selected nineteenth-century adaptations of potentially lost sagas linked to Gísli Konráðsson, such as *Þorsteins saga Geirnefjufostra*, *Skáld-Helga saga* and 19HsG, was the subject of my presentation at the International Saga Conference in August 2018; Kapitan, 'Between Transmission and Reception: Lost Medieval Sagas and Their Post-Medieval Manifestations'. An article stemming from this presentation is yet to be published, as further research into the scribal and literary context associated with the production of these texts is necessary. I am grateful to Shaun Hughes for directing my attention towards the collaboration between Gísli Konráðsson and Jón Espólin during my viva voce in December 2018. This lead is partially explored in the current chapter, which outlines some avenues for future research.

32. Jesch, 'The Lost Literature of Medieval Iceland: Sagas of Icelanders', 207–228; Björn K. Þórolfsson, *Rímur fyrir 1600*, 352–353.

33. Simek and Hermann Pálsson's lexicon incorrectly lists Lbs 2474 4to (dated to ca. 1720), as one of the earliest manuscripts preserving *Þorsteins saga Geirnefjufostra*, but Lbs 2474 4to does not preserve this text, see: Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, III:323–324 and the *Handrit.org* description, archived on 04/03/2024 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20240304112625/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/Lbs04-2474/>.

fore he turned at least 15, the year 1802 would serve as the earliest possible *terminus post quem* for the writing of *19HsG*.<sup>34</sup>

Gísli Konráðsson is not, however, the only plausible candidate in this matter. He states himself in his autobiography that he composed *Þorsteins saga Geirnefsfóstra* for the amusement of his close friend, Jón Espólín, who apparently appreciated the archaic style of the text:

Gísli diktaði og sögu Þorsteins Geirnefsfóstra, og sýndi Espólín að gamni sínu, og kallaði Espólín hana sennilega samda að orðfæri og öðru, sem forn væri.<sup>35</sup>

(Gísli also composed the saga of Þorsteinn, the foster son of Geirnef, and showed it to Espólín for amusement, and Espólín called it convincingly crafted in its composition and other archaic matters.)

This suggests that Jón Espólín (1769–1836) was at least interested in reading contemporary adaptations of older materials and might have had inspired Gísli to compose stories in some archaizing style. In fact, Jón Espólín's (1769–1836) interests were not limited to merely reading new reworkings of old sagas, he also created some. He is, for instance, considered the author of another prose reworking of some older materials, namely *Hálfðanar saga gamla*. The prose saga, *Hálfðanar saga gamla*, is based on the *rímur* of Hálfðan, which were composed by Hannes Bjarnason (1776–1838) for Jón Espólín in 1822.<sup>36</sup> Notably, this prose adaptation of the *rímur* also appears together with *19HsG* in one of the manuscripts, L2404, written in Gísli's hand. This suggests that both men were interested in composing sagas about ancient topics and imitating the ancient saga style for their common amusement.

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34. While the youngest known scribes of *HsG* were teenagers at the time of writing of the saga, for instance, Eggert Hákonarson was fifteen or seventeen and Þorsteinn Jóhannsson was seventeen, it is uncertain whether a similar age limit can be used for the composing of sagas. It is also worth mentioning that Gísli was supposed to tell stories to entertain his mother, and he is believed to have composed his first stanza when he was eight or nine years old, see: Gísli Konráðsson and Sighvatur Grímsson, 'Æfiágrip Gísla sagnfræðings Konráðssonar', 32.

35. Gísli Konráðsson, *Æfjísaga Gísla Konráðssonar ens fróða skrásett af sjálfum honum*, 157.

36. Finnur Sigmundsson, *Rímnatal*, I:200; Jón Espólín, *Saga Jóns Espólíns hins fróða, sýslumanns í Hegranesþingi*, 158.

According to a note accompanying *Hálfðanar saga gamla* in another manuscript, some people originally considered it to be an ancient saga until the author himself openly admitted to composing it:

Þese saga er uppdiktud af sýslumanni sál. J. Espólin og heldu Jmsir hana í fyrstunni fornrit en adrir neitudu þangad til hann sjálfur vidgekk ad hafa samið hana frá stofni (ÍB 618 8vo, f. 55v).

(This saga is composed by the sýslumaður, J. Espólin, and various people considered it at first an ancient text, but others denied this was the case until he himself admitted to composing it from traditional materials.)

This note is important because it provides contemporary evidence for the reception of at least some of these modern adaptations as truly ancient texts. Furthermore, it makes Jón Espólin a likely candidate to be considered as a potential author of *19HsG*.

Jón Espólin and Gísli Konráðsson were known to be close friends, as Gísli himself wrote in his autobiography, ‘jafnan var Espólin góður vinur Gísla; fræddist Gísli og af honum að mörgu’ (Espólin was always a good friend of Gísli and Gísli learned a lot from him).<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, they lived relatively near each other. From 1808 to 1817, the two men lived some thirty kilometres apart, with Gísli Konráðsson at Langamýri in Skagafjarðarsýsla and Jón Espólin at Viðvík also in Skagafjarðarsýsla. Gísli Konráðsson moved a couple of times, but for most of his life he stayed in the Skagafjörður area, at least until Jón’s death.<sup>38</sup> Their proximity facilitated regular contact, opening up the possibility that *19HsG* could be a product of their intellectual exchange and collaboration.

Jón was undoubtedly an important and influential figure in the literary circles of the early nineteenth century in Skagafjörður, with many active scribes, saga authors, and poets belonging to his network. Gísli composed *Rímur af Attila Húnakóngi* for him, while Hannes Bjarnason, in addition to the aforementioned *Rímur af Hálfðani konungi gamla*, also composed *Rímur af Theseus Aþenuman-*

37. Gísli Konráðsson, *Æfisaða Gísla Konráðssonar ens fróða skrásett af sjálfum honum*, 157.

38. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, II:66, III:106.

*nakappa* for Jón, further attesting to Jón's interest in diverse old stories presented in a new form.

At least one more noteworthy poetic adaptation of another potentially lost medieval saga is associated with this intellectual milieu, although not directly with Jón. *Rímur af Andra jarli* were composed collaboratively by Hannes Bjarnason and Gísli Konráðsson. These nineteenth-century *rímur* of Andri belong to the tradition that can be traced back to the lost medieval saga of Andri, which, just like our *Hrómundar saga*, exists in multiple literary adaptations in prose and verse. The prose *Andra saga* is derived from *Andra rímur*, which share a number of common features with *Griplur*, among them the figure of Svanhvít who, according to Björn Karel, is the same person in both stories, the mound breaking of Bölverk (in *Andra rímur*) and Þráinn (in *Griplur*), and the battle by Elfasker. The similarities between these stories, pointed out by, for example, Ursula Brown, have never been the subject of in-depth scholarly investigation. A comparative analysis of these stories would be highly desirable to provide not only insight into the process of literary adaptation in Iceland from the medieval period to the nineteenth century but also, and potentially more importantly, the reception of the Icelandic medieval past in Iceland in the early modern period, before the rise of national romanticism.

Further investigation is needed to explore the extent of the creative activities of Gísli, Jón, and their contemporaries in the production and dissemination of medieval stories and their adaptations, enabling these narratives to transition freely from one medium to another and remain accessible to the audiences contemporary to themselves. A detailed stylometric comparison of their known texts could provide valuable evidence in identifying the author of *19HsG*, but the authorship question must, for the time being, remain unanswered as it lies beyond the scope of the present study.

Exploring the language of the saga reveals diverse dialectic and archaising features in the *19HsG* texts, which could certainly be of interest for linguists and helpful in understanding the saga's origins and transmission. Notably, in B11109, 'of' replaces 'um' in phrases like 'þar of pláts' for *þar um pláss* (f. 106v), and some labiodentals are voiced, as in 'abli' for *afli* (f. 107r). The high linguistic variation and potential regional influences in the manuscripts calls for further linguistic study of *19HsG*, which is beyond the scope of

this work. It can be tentatively observed that the language seems to corroborate the nineteenth century origins of the saga. On the lexical level, there are some words which are known exclusively from other nineteenth-century works.<sup>39</sup> Among them, we can find words such as ‘piltkind’<sup>40</sup> and ‘fjárpípa’.<sup>41</sup> The first attestation of ‘piltkind’ in *Ritmálssafn Orðabókar Háskólans* is from Steingrímur Thorsteinsson’s translation of *Dúsund og ein nótt* from 1857–64, but our manuscripts pre-date this occurrence. Similarly, the compound *fjárpípa* is first attested in *Fjölnir*, where it appears in the *Ævintýr af Eggerti Glóa*. This is a translation of Ludwig Tieck’s (1773–1853) short novel *Der blonde Eckbert* translated into Icelandic by Jónas Hallgrímsson and Konráð Gíslason.<sup>42</sup> Our manuscripts of *19HsG* again pre-date this occurrence.

Among other expressions that can appear unusual to readers mostly familiar with Old Norse-Icelandic sagas, we can mention the term ‘arma dubba’ used to address Svanhvít in the episode describing her disagreement with Ólafur. It is an offensive term for women with the earliest examples in *Ritmálssafn Orðabókar Háskólans* from the seventeenth century, among them occurrences in the works of Hallgrímur Pétursson (1614–1674).<sup>43</sup> In Blöndal’s dictionary, *dubba* is translated into Danish as ‘kvinde, laptaske’ and is illustrated by an example ‘sagði þær örmu dubbur [...] skyldu’. Elsewhere in the dictionary we can find a similar expression ‘þegi þú, þín arma gardranorn’, which is translated into Danish as ‘ti stille, din forbandede Heks’ (be quiet you damned witch), indicating that the term can be mildly translated as a ‘damned woman’.<sup>44</sup>

39. The examples presented in this section rely on the information currently accessible through online resources, such as *Ritmálssafn Orðabókar Háskólans* <http://ritmalssafn.arnastofnun.is> and *Textasafn Árnastofnunar* <http://corpus.arnastofnun.is/>, last accessed on 28/02/2024.

40. The word ‘piltkind’ can be found in B11109 (f. 113v:11) and L679 (f. 55v:30), but it is absent from L2404 (f. 72r:6) and L1572 (f. 82v:13).

41. The word ‘fjárpípa’ can be found in B11109 (f. 126r:29), L679 (f. 66r:10), L1572 (f. 89r:31), L2404 (f. 91v:16).

42. Tieck, ‘Ævintýr af Eggerti Glóa’; for the reception of this work in Iceland, see Jón Karl Helgason, ‘Der Blonde Eckbert in an Alien Polysystem: The Reception of Tieck’s *Skröksaga* in 19th-Century Iceland’.

43. *Ritmálssafn Orðabókar Háskólans*, <http://ritmalssafn.arnastofnun.is>, last accessed 28/02/2024.

44. S. Blöndal, *Íslensk-dönsk orðabók*.

#### 4.4 Manuscripts of 19HsG

Now it is finally time to turn towards the extant manuscripts preserving 19HsG. As we already know, all four of them were written in the early nineteenth century and are listed in relative chronological order in Table 4.1. In this section, we first focus on the descriptions of the individual manuscripts preserving 19HsG, examining their physical features and contents, before turning towards the textual relationships among the texts of 19HsG as well as the manuscript context in which the saga appears.

Table 4.1: Manuscripts of 19HsG

Siglum	Shelfmark	Date	Scribe
B11109	BL Add. 11109	1800–1837	unknown
L2404	Lbs 2404 8vo	1810–1832	Gísli Konráðsson
L1572	Lbs 1572 4to	1819	Þorsteinn Gíslason
L679	Lbs 679 4to	1834	Þorsteinn Þorsteinsson

##### BL Add. 11109

BL Add. 11109 (B11109), in the British Library in London, is a paper manuscript in quarto, which consists of ii+140+i leaves.<sup>45</sup> The dating of the manuscript is uncertain. The *Stories for all time* catalogue suggests that B11109 was written in unknown hands between 1800 and 1850, whereas the ‘Online Catalogue of the British Library’, dates it to the eighteenth century.<sup>46</sup>

B11109 contains twelve texts, mainly classified as *fornaldarsögur*, but also *konungahættir*, *Íslendingahættir*, and later *Íslendingasögur*.

45. The manuscript is in a tight binding, which makes it impossible to safely examine its quire structure.

46. ‘Online Catalogue of the British Library’; currently unavailable online, but a print-screen from 10 December 2019 of the page can be found in Kapitan, ‘Perspectives on Digital Catalogs and Textual Networks of Old Norse Literature’, 85. The date in the *Stories for all time* catalogue, archived on 26/02/2024 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20240226124407/https://fasnl.net/manuscripts/123>, is based on Jón Helgason’s unpublished ‘Catalogue of the Icelandic Manuscripts in the British Library’. An alternative dating has been proposed by Lavender, ‘Whatever Happened to *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*?: Origin, Transmission and Reception of a *Fornaldarsaga*’, cf. Lavender, *Long Lives of Short Sagas: The Irrepressibility of Narrative and the Case of Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*.

The codex begins with a table of contents, listing all twelve sagas preserved in this manuscript, which are: *Starkaðar saga gamla*, *Hauks þáttur hábrókar*, *Þóris þáttur hasts og Bárðar birtu*, *Styrbjarnar þáttur Sviakappa*, *Hálfðanar þáttur svarta*, *Þorsteins saga Geirnefjufóstra*, *Þorsteins þáttur tjaldstæðings*, *Gríms saga Skeljungsbana*, *Huldar saga hinnar miklu*, 19HsG (ff. 106v–132r), *Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar*, and *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*.

At least four codicological units can be distinguished in B11109, and at least four different hands can be distinguished: hand 1 wrote ff. 2–40, hand 2 ff. 41–48 and 55–88, hand 3 ff. 49–54, and hand 4 from f. 89 onwards. The distribution of the scribal hands overlaps not only with the boundaries of the texts but also with the boundaries of the different types of paper used for particular parts, in which various watermarks can be found. Hand 3, for example, wrote on watermarked paper dated 1824, which allows us to establish a more precise dating for this part of the manuscript.<sup>47</sup> Meanwhile, hand 2 wrote a part containing *Þorsteins saga Geirnefjufóstra*, which, as we already know, is a late *Íslendingasaga* attributed to Gísli Konráðsson.

The part containing 19HsG is written in hand 4, which employs a regular humanistic cursive with the overall appearance of nineteenth-century Icelandic script, but further work is needed to identify the scribe.<sup>48</sup>

The provenance of B11109 can be traced back to Finnur Magnússon (1781–1847), a professor of literature at the University of Copenhagen.<sup>49</sup> We have already encountered Finnur in the previous chapter, while discussing the provenance of B11108. Just as with B11108, B11109 was one of many Icelandic manuscripts that the British Museum purchased from Finnur in July 1837. Attest-

47. Kapitan, 'Dating Paper Manuscripts Based on Watermarks: A Case Study of Selected Nineteenth-Century Icelandic Manuscripts', 17–18.

48. This hand has been previously identified as the hand of Tómas Tómasson (1756–1811), a *hreppstjóri* from Stóra-Ásgeirsá in northern Iceland (for his biography see Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, V:18). Based on this criteria the manuscript was dated to 1770–1811, Lavender, 'Whatever Happened to *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*?: Origin, Transmission and Reception of a *Fornaldarsaga*', 102. Palaeographic analysis of hand 4 and its comparison with selected manuscripts certainly written by Tómas Tómasson (Lbs 1585 4to, Lbs 1846 4to, and Lbs 381 fol.) does not support this identification.

49. Bricka, *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, XI:57–63.

ing to this, on the first front flyleaf of B11109, there is a note reading: ‘Purchased of Professor. | Finn Magnusen | July 1837.’ On the second front flyleaf, there is the number ‘27’ in the top right corner, which is the catalogue number of this manuscript in Finnur’s catalogue. B11109 had to be one of the very few bound manuscripts in the collection, as it appears in the catalogue as a single item.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, it is worth emphasising here that, according to Jón Helgason, the binding originates in Iceland, excluding the possibility that the binding of the manuscript was commissioned by Finnur in Copenhagen. Nothing is known about the history of ownership of B11109 before it was sold to the British Museum (and later transferred to the British Library along with other manuscript holdings of the museum).

#### Lbs 2404 8vo

Lbs 2404 8vo (L2404), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in octavo, consisting of 182 leaves gathered in twenty-two quires: I<sup>8</sup>–III<sup>8</sup>, IV<sup>10</sup>–V<sup>10</sup>, VI<sup>8</sup>–XIII<sup>8</sup>, XIV<sup>10</sup>, XV<sup>8</sup>–XXII<sup>8</sup>.

L2404 preserves eight texts in total, mostly short *konunga-* and *Íslendingaþættir*, but also some *Íslendingasögur*, *fornaldarsögur*, and *konungasögur*. The texts appear in the following order: *Hálfdanar saga gamla*, 19HsG (ff. 61r–100v), *Sigurðar þáttur slefu*, *Grænlandinga þáttur*, *Hauks þáttur hábrókar*, *Þorsteins saga Geirnefjufóstra*, *Skálda saga*, *Styrbjarnar þáttur Svíakappa*.

The manuscript can be divided into four codicological units or blocks. The first two texts, both *fornaldarsögur*, are written on separate series of quires: *Hálfdanar saga gamla* on quires I–VII and 19HsG on quires VIII–XII. The remaining shorter narratives occupy the following two blocks: *Sigurðar þáttur slefu* and *Grænlandinga þáttur* together fill quires XIII–XIV, and the last four texts in the manuscript occupy quires XV–XXII.

50. AM 925 4to, a transcript of Finnur Magnússon’s original ‘Catalogus amplæ Manuscriptorum Collectionis, adhuc Hafniæ servatæ, jam inde Londinum Museo Britannico mittendæ, auctore Finn Magnuson (*sic*)’ now in BL Add. 11251, Jón Helgason, ‘Catalogue of the Icelandic Manuscripts in the British Library’.

In *Skrá*, L2404 is dated to ca. 1805,<sup>51</sup> but the material evidence suggests a slightly later dating. The fourth quire is made of watermarked paper with the mark ‘Det Ørholmske Interessentskab’, used on paper manufactured at the Ørholm paper mill in Denmark between 1805 and 1832..<sup>52</sup> This timespan generally confirms the dating proposed for L2404 in the catalogue, but elsewhere in the manuscript, the paper is dated with the watermark containing the date 1810, establishing a *terminus post quem* for the manuscript’s writing.<sup>53</sup>

The manuscript is written entirely by Gísli Konráðsson (1787–1877), whom we have already encountered in the present chapter as one of the candidates for the authorship of 19HsG. Manuscripts in Gísli’s hand, though not highly decorated, were typically written with great care and precision, providing a pleasant aesthetic experience to their reader. L2404 is no exception.

There are various marginal notes in the manuscript, most of which seem to refer to the scribe’s family members. On the paste-down, there is a note which reads ‘Saugubók þessa á Eigill Gottskálsson (*sic*) á Völlnumm’ (Egill Gottskálksson from Vellir owns this saga book). By the final words of 19HsG, on f. 100v, in the outer margin, the name ‘Gisli’ is written vertically. On f. 182v, there are several scribbles: ‘Jónas’, ‘Godur er Sá madur [segir] Bjarni Bjarnason’, ‘S[o]gur [á] Bókinni á E.Gottskalksson’, ‘Guli á’, ‘Egils-son’.

All manuscripts with shelfmarks Lbs 2404–2413 8vo were purchased by the Landsbókasafn in 1935 from Jónas Egilsson (1864–1942), and most of them likely previously belonged to his father, Egill Gottskálksson (1819–1887), and grandfather Gottskálk Egilsson (1783–1834) from Vellir.<sup>54</sup> It is important to recall that Jófríður Björnsdóttir, Gísli Konráðsson’s mother, after the death of Gísli’s father, Konráð Gíslason, in 1798, married Konráð’s nephew, Gottskálk Egilsson from Vellir. It is his descendants whose names appear in the ownership notes.

51. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, III:339.

52. Fiskaa and Nordstrand, *Paper and Watermarks in Norway and Denmark*, 329, 405.

53. Kapitan, ‘Dating Paper Manuscripts Based on Watermarks: A Case Study of Selected Nineteenth-Century Icelandic Manuscripts’, 18–19.

54. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, III:339.

## Lbs 1572 4to

Lbs 1572 4to (L1572), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in quarto, consisting of 145 leaves.<sup>55</sup> The manuscript is preserved unbound in a conservation box, with the leather cover detached from the loose quires, some of which are later additions. It consists of twenty-one quires: I<sup>4</sup>, II<sup>8</sup> (wants 1), III<sup>8</sup>–IV<sub>8</sub>, V<sup>10</sup>, VI<sup>4</sup>–VII<sup>4</sup>, VIII<sup>10</sup>, IX: <sup>10</sup> (wants 10), X<sup>6</sup>, XI<sup>8</sup>, XII<sup>4</sup>, XIII<sub>8</sub>, XIV<sup>6</sup>–XV<sup>6</sup>, XVI<sub>8</sub>–XVII<sub>8</sub>, XVIII<sup>6</sup>, XIX<sub>8</sub>–XX<sub>8</sub>, XXI<sup>6</sup>.<sup>56</sup>

L1572 preserves thirty texts, mostly short tales about the legendary heroes and kings of Scandinavia, traditionally classified as *fornaldarsögur*, *konungasögur*, *þættir*, and historiographic texts. The manuscript begins with a table of contents (f. 1r–v) which is a later addition, and the following sagas: *Gautreks saga*, *Hrólfss saga Gautrekssonar*, *Skálda saga*, *Áns saga bogsvægis*, *Friðþjófs saga*, *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*, *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*, *Vermundar þáttur konungs*, *Af Upplendinga konungum*, *Ragnarssona þáttur*, *Brot af sögu Danakónganna Haraldar blátannar og Sveins tjúguskegg*, *Ormars þáttur Framarssonar*, 19HsG (ff. 78v–92r), *Færeyinga saga*, *Hróa þáttur heimiska*, *Sigurðar þáttur Akasonar*, *Tóka þáttur Tókasonar*, *Eymundar þáttur Hringssonar*, *Hemings þáttur Áslákssonar*, *Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar*, *Rauðúlfs þáttur*, *Eiríks saga víðförla*, *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*, *Gríms saga jarlssonar*, *Játvarðar saga helga*, *Egils saga einhenda og Ásmundar berserkjabana Hálfðanar saga Barkarsonar*, *Þorsteins þáttur bæjarmagns*, *Sörla þáttur*, and *Hana þáttur*.

The manuscript was written between 1815 and 1827, with the dating based on the dates of the colophons. 19HsG is followed by a colophon dated to 1819.

The first gathering of the manuscript is most likely a later addition. The leaves are made of smooth paper and the text is written in a different hand than the majority of the manuscript. They contain a table of contents and the beginning of *Gautreks saga*. The same hand can be identified in the fifth quire, where the first three conjoint leaves are made of the same paper as most of the manuscript. The following two conjoint leaves, however, are made of the same paper as the first quire of the manuscript, also with a younger yet

55. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, I:552–553.

56. The structure of XXI is uncertain, probably 141, 142, 143+144, 145, 146.

unidentified hand. The manuscript previously belonged to Stefán Jónsson (1802–1890), a member of the Icelandic national assembly, who may have supplied the table of contents.<sup>57</sup>

The main part of the manuscript was written by Þorsteinn Gíslason from Stokkahláðir, whom we already encountered as the scribe of the oldest manuscript of *Skáld-Helga saga*, Lbs 1316 8vo. Þorsteinn, a *hreppstjóri* and poet, was also a very active scribe,<sup>58</sup> with his hand found in at least fifty-five manuscripts in Landsbókasafn. Although there is no full signature in L1572, the initials Þ.G. on f. 46v, 122v, and 70v closely resemble his known signature in, for example, Lbs 1573 4to. The striking similarities in the layout and script type found in L1572 with Þorsteinn's other leave no doubt that L1572 was written by him.

Not much is known about the provenance and the history of ownership of this manuscript before it joined the Landsbókasafn. According to *Handrit.org*, the library acquired L1572 in 1911, along with other manuscripts previously owned by Stefán Jónsson. Today, they are catalogued under the shelfmarks Lbs 1567–1580 4to.<sup>59</sup>

### Lbs 679 4to

Lbs 679 4to (L679), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in quarto, consisting of iii+111+iii leaves.<sup>60</sup> The volume is bound in a tight library binding, preventing safe

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57. Two other manuscripts in Stefán's collection, Lbs 1573 4to and Lbs 1569 4to, also contain supplied tables of contents, which might be the owner's intervention. I did not have access to a sufficient sample of Stefán Jónsson's hand to determine this. Moreover, a comparison of the script on the title pages of Lbs 1573 4to and L1572 is inconclusive. The hands seem to differ remarkably in the ductus of many letters, but this requires further research. For an alternative explanation, see Lavender, 'Whatever Happened to *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*?: Origin, Transmission and Reception of a *Fornaldarsaga*', 103.

58. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar aviskrár*, V:203.

59. This information is not included in the description of L1572, archived on 5/04/2024 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20240305110023/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/Lbs04-1567>, but it can be found in the description of Lbs 1567 4to archived on 5/04/2024 at <https://web.archive.org/web/20240305110023/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/Lbs04-1567>.

60. According to Páll Eggert Ólason, the manuscript consists of 122 leaves, Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, I:308.

examination of its quire structure. It is dated to around 1834, based on the sole colophon in this manuscript.

L679 preserves eight texts, all entertaining narratives of a legendary and chivalric nature, which are: *Huldar saga*, *Perus saga meistarara*, *Galafreys saga*, *Sagan af Theodilo riddara og hans kvinnu*, *Drauma-Jóns saga*, *Konráðs saga keisarasonar*, *19HsG* (ff. 50r-70r), *Haralds saga Hveðrubana*. The text of *19HsG* is divided into chapters with individual headings, highlighting the most prominent episodes in the saga (all listed on p. 176).

On p. 221, there is a colophon stating the name of the scribe, date, and place of writing:

og hafi þeir allir þöck sem hljuda og lesa enn sä aungva sem skrifad hefur lijgi þessa | skrifud ä Heidi og endud þann 17 Januari 1834 | eptir ödru exemplari sem skrifad hafdi verid 1750 d 25 Arilis (*sic*) Testerar Þorsteinn Þorsteinsson.

(All who listen or read shall have gratitude, but not the one who wrote these lies. Written at Heiði and completed on 17 January 1834, following another exemplar, which was written on 25 April 1750. Testifies Þorsteinn Þorsteinsson.)

The manuscript is written in humanistic cursive, in the hand of Þorsteinn Þorsteinsson. Þorsteinn was born in 1792 at Hamar in the Fljót area of Skagafjörður in northern Iceland, and died in 1863 on the island of Málmei in the same fjord.<sup>61</sup> He was the son of Þorsteinn Guðmundsson (1756–1832) and Kristbjörg Björnsdóttir (ca. 1760–1824).<sup>62</sup> Despite not receiving formal education, Þorsteinn's significant interest in books led to a substantial collection of manuscripts, many of which Þorsteinn copied himself.<sup>63</sup>

Probably due to his lack of formal education, Þorsteinn's scribal abilities were questioned by his contemporaries, who emphasised that his copies contained errors and omissions.<sup>64</sup> *19HsG* in L679 is no different in this regard, as will be discussed further in the sec-

61. Guðmundur Sigurður Jóhannsson, *Skagfirzkar æviskrár, tímabilið 1850–1890*, 295–296.

62. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, V:205.

63. For recent work on Þorsteinn's scribal network see Lansing, 'Manuscript Culture in 19th-Century Northern Iceland: The Case of Þorsteinn Þorsteinsson á Heiði'.

64. Driscoll, 'The Long and Winding Road: Manuscript Culture in Late Pre-Modern Iceland', 55.

tion devoted to the textual relationships. This shortcoming of Þorsteinn's scribal enterprise did not, however, prevent active collectors of his time from demonstrating a remarkable interest in his collection of manuscripts, as evidenced by Jón Árnason's correspondence. There, Þorsteinn's collection was discussed on multiple occasions.<sup>65</sup> Even though Þorsteinn Þorsteinsson cannot be considered a careful and accurate copyist, he seemed to care greatly about the provenance of the texts he copied. He frequently signed his manuscripts with his name and date of copying, as well as information regarding his exemplar.<sup>66</sup> Unfortunately, no commentary or colophon accompanies 19HsG.

L679 belongs to a larger collection of manuscripts previously owned by Eggert Briem (1840–1893). Eggert Briem was a vicar from Höskuldsstaðir in Suður-Múlasýsla and the husband of Dómhildur Þorsteinsdóttir, the daughter of Þorsteinn Gíslason, whom we have already met as the scribe of L1572.<sup>67</sup> Eggert Briem's collection was acquired by the library on 8 May 1893, and his manuscripts today bear shelfmarks Lbs 659–744 4to, many of which are in Þorsteinn Þorsteinsson's hand. On f. 1r of L679, there is an addition in the upper margin that reads 'Nr. 21', which must be Briem's shelfmark, as similar notes in the same hand, can be found in other manuscripts in his collection.

### Textual relationships

The variants appearing in the extant texts of 19HsG illustrate the usual post-medieval Icelandic scribal production, which focused more on transmitting the story than delivering accurate transcripts. A notable example is at the saga's end, where the scribes of 19HsG slightly modified the ending, changing the emphasis of the final remarks, see Table 4.2. Each scribe had a unique take on the ending. The most concise version is in L679, stating that Hrómundur and

65. Finnur Sigmundsson, *Úr fótum Jóns Árnasonar, sendibréf*, I:145, 162, 360, II:44.

66. A similar observation was made by McDonald Werronen and Kapitan regarding another manuscript written by Þorsteinn Þorsteinsson, Lbs 678 4to, in which he very carefully registered information regarding the exemplar he used, see: McDonald Werronen and Kapitan, 'An Edition of *Ambrósíus saga og Rósamunda* Based on BL Add. 24,969'.

67. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, I:316.

Svanhvít lived long and happily, had many children, some of whom died young, while others' descendants became heroes of other sagas. Notably, there's no mention of their sons, Björnólfur and Hróálfur, included in all other manuscripts.

L2404 provides additional information about the historical descendants of Hrómundur, listing his sons and connecting him with Ingólfur *landnámamaður*, the first settler of Iceland. The scribe of L2404 utilises information known from *Landnámabók* about Hrómundur's descendants to emphasise the importance of this family for the history of Iceland. The historiographical and genealogical interest of the scribe, Gísli Konráðsson, is not a new discovery. Gísli himself wrote the following in a letter to Jón Árnason:

Ættartölur hefi eg svo margar saman tekið, að eg man ekki að telja þær, en það er Snókdalín mest að þakka, einkum hér vestra allt fram að Sturlungu, Sögunum og Landnámu.<sup>68</sup>

(I have collected so many genealogical tables that I cannot even count them, but it is Snók[s]dalín that deserves the greatest gratitude, especially regarding the genealogies in the west, all the way back to Sturlunga, the sagas, and The Book of Settlement.)

Here, Gísli acknowledges the work of Ólafur Guðmundsson Snóksdalín (1761–1843), who compiled a substantial collection of genealogies, known simply as *Ættatölubók*.<sup>69</sup>

68. Finnur Sigmundsson, *Úr fótum Jóns Árnasonar, sendibréf*, II:80.

69. Snóksdalín, *Ættatölubók*: Lbs 451–453 fol.

Table 4.2: Comparison of the ending of 19HsG

B11109	L2404	L1572	L679
tócost brápt með Hrómundi oc Svanhvít góþar ástir, ólu þau bæði syni oc dætr þeirra Synir Björnólfr oc Hróálfr oc ero hér þeirra nófn ei ritot sýnist sva sem at þau sum maní barnæsko dáit hafa, en af sumom qvomo micil menni sem í ðþrom Sógom fráskýrir Lúkom var sva þessari Sögo af Hrómundi Greipssyni Hafi sá góþa þökk sem las, en heiþr sem hlýþdo, en hann er skrifþi lof oc vinfengi góþra manna; en allir sameginlega tímanlega oc eilífa gleþi fyrir utan enda	Tócost brápt með Rómundi oc Svanhvít góþar ástir, þau átto bæði Sono oc Dætr þo hér sé frá atgjörþom þeira rítat, oc voru þau in mestu mikil menni oc stórar ettir frá þeim komnar þeira Synir voru þeir Biörnólfr oc Hróálfr Biörnólfr var faþir Arnar faþir Ingólfs landnámamans, enn son Hróálfs var Harþmar faþir Hiörleifs er Hiörleifs höfþi er vit kendur Oc lýcor hér Saugo Hrómundar Greipssonar	tókust brátt með Hrómundi og Svanhvít góðar ástir ólu þau bæði syni og dætur og ero þeira nófn hier ei ritud (al: synir þeira Biörnólfr og Hróálfr) sinist so sem sum af þeim múni i barnæsku dáid hafa en af sumum kómu mikilmenni sem i öðrum søgum frá skírir, liúkum ver so þessari søgu af hrómundi Greipssyni. þann 23da Marti 1819.	tókust nú brátt og góðar ástir með þeim Hrómundi og Svanhvít, ólu þau bæði sinne og dætr, eru þeira nófn hier eij greind, sijnist so sem, þaug hafi sum í barnæsko dáid, enn af sumum komu mikil menni sem í óðrum sogum frá skjirir. Lijukum vier svo þessari Sögu af Hrómundi Greips sijne.

Meanwhile, L1572 does not contain an elaborate genealogy but includes the names of Hrómundur's and Svanhvít's sons as an addition, marked with an asterisk. The asterisk refers to a footnote with the names of Björnólfur and Hróalfur. This additional note also appears in B11109, but the asterisk is placed in a slightly different position (see Table 4.2). B11109 also appends a short formulaic comment at the end of the saga, in which the scribe expresses his personal gratitude to those who read or listened to his story. This comment is absent from the remaining manuscripts.

Every manuscript provides a slightly different text, and none of them could have served as an exemplar for the others. All of them include numerous individual readings, absent from the remaining manuscripts. Considering the variants registered in the variant apparatus of the edition, which includes some minor readings but is not exhaustive in this regard, B11109 preserves 89 individual readings, L1572: 295, L2404: 356, and L679: 988.

Among the individual readings of B11109, we find the following examples that exclude the possibility of this text serving as the exemplar for the remaining texts:

**L679, L1572, L2404] B11109.**

einn maður yðar] Armaður yðar.

keirir] reirir.

stærstu launum] stærstu gjöfum.

Among the individual readings of L1572, there are:

**B11109, L679, L2404] L1572.**

margir stólkongar] fylkis kongar.

Héðinn] Haki.

þat er Hraungviðr átti] ÷.

Among the individual readings of L2404, there are:

**B11109, L679, L1572] L2404.**

jómfrúr] meýar.

gjörninga] ÷.

er víkingar af vissu] þá víkingar verða þess varir þá.

And finally, among the individual readings of L679, we can find the following examples:

**B11109, L2404, L1572] L679.**

að hreysti og öllum frækleika] að öllum íþrottum og hreisti.  
 fjöldi af fólki or ýmsum áttum] fjöldi úr ýmsum löndum.  
 settist niður] ÷.

Even though L1572 and L2404 share more readings with B11109 than with L679, they cannot be descendants of B11109. This is because there are numerous examples where L1572 and L2404 agree with each other against the readings shared by B11109 and L679. This suggests that these two texts share a common ancestor. Among these readings are the following:

**B11109, L679] L1572, L2404.**

Vallaug hiet] + al. Gunnlöð móðir hennar (+var L2404) Brynhildur,  
 dóttir Haka konungs í Skáney.  
 en óhróður niður leggjast] ÷.  
 piltkindin] ÷.

Based on the textual criteria, the known manuscripts of 19HsG can be classified into two groups, represented as two separate branches of the stemma. L679 is placed alone on one side and B11109, L1572, and L2404 on the other, as illustrated in Figure 4.1. L2404 and L1572 are descendants of a common ancestor which is related to B11109, but which introduced readings exclusive to its two descendants.

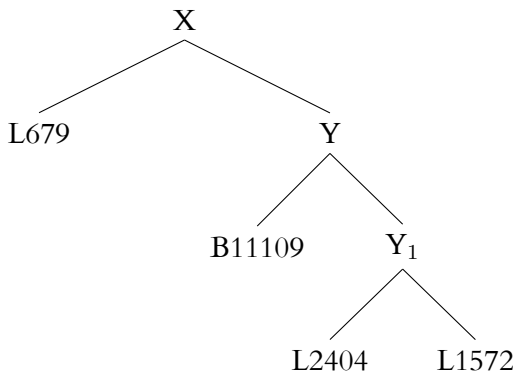


Figure 4.1: Stemma of 19HsG.

The paratextual features of our saga, such as chapter headings, can be used to support conclusions drawn from textual variants. L679 is the only manuscript that preserves 19HsG with chapter headings referring to the main events of the individual chapters. Notably, chapter ten lacks a descriptive heading and is introduced simply as ‘10di Capituli’. Elsewhere in the saga in this manuscript, the word for chapter (*kapituli*) is always abbreviated and starts with an initial ‘k’ rather than ‘c’. Interestingly, B11109 and L1572 omit the number ten and present the saga with incorrect chapter numbering. Although the saga is divided into twenty-one chapters, the last chapter in these manuscripts is numbered twenty-two. It is possible this the numbering mistake was initially introduced in X, influencing the remaining manuscripts, but the scribes chose to address this issue in different ways.

### Manuscript context

Even though the number of extant and known manuscripts preserving 19HsG is quite low, there are some important observations to be made regarding the texts appearing together with *Hrómundar saga*. Texts of forty-seven different works appear alongside 19HsG, but only seven of them appear more than once: *Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar*, *Hauks þáttur hábrókar*, *Huldar saga hinnar miklu*, *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*, *Skálda saga*, *Styrbjarnar þáttur Sviakappa*, and *Þorsteins saga Geirnefjufóstra*. They all appear in two out of the four manuscripts.

At least two clear criteria can be used to group some of these texts: the geography of the events described in the saga and the time of the saga’s creation. In terms of the geography of the events described by the narratives, the majority of the sagas frequently co-occurring with 19HsG deal with events that take place in mainland Scandinavia before the settlement of Iceland. Although not all of them are traditionally classified as *fornaldarsögur*, they are adventure tales recounting the adventures of young Scandinavians, their travels abroad, and returns to their home countries. As such, the manuscript context of 19HsG is not much different from that of 17HsG. Regarding the time of composition, two of the sagas frequently co-occurring with 19HsG are post-medieval adaptations of older material: *Huldar saga hinnar miklu* was written in the eight-

eenth century while *Dorsteins saga Geirnefjufóstra* was written in the early nineteenth century by Gísli Konráðsson (1787-1877). It is worth emphasising, that there are also some other younger sagas which appear with 19HsG in individual manuscripts. These include, for example, *Gríms saga jarlssonar*, *Haralds saga Hveðrubana*, and *Hálfðanar saga gamla*, all relatively young adaptations of older materials.



## Discussion and Conclusions

This study had one primary goal, as hinted at by the title of this book: to make the largely overlooked transmission and adaptation history of the lost saga of *Hrómundur* known to a broader audience. It aimed to shed light on its changing forms and the diverse literary contexts in which it appeared, as well as to reveal the scribal networks and different readership circles in which the story circulated until the nineteenth century. My hope is that I have successfully demonstrated that the medieval *Hrómundar saga* may well be lost, but the story of *Hrómundur* is certainly not forgotten. Like many other Icelandic sagas, *HsG* has remained alive and well in the literary fabric of Iceland for many centuries.

The first chapter discussed the historical context in which *17HsG* was produced. The focus was on the antiquarian interests of seventeenth-century Scandinavian scholars in stories dealing with the ancient past of the North, as presented in, among other sources, official documents like appointment letters. These sources shed light on the importance of Icelandic sagas for contemporary historical and antiquarian research. Using evidence from the extant correspondence of people like Þormóður Torfason and Árni Magnússon, I was able to demonstrate that the story of *Hrómundur* was subject of scholarly conversations, with copies of the saga being sought after, produced, and distributed relatively quickly.

Agreeing with previous scholarship regarding Jón Eggertsson's authorship of the saga, I proposed that *17HsG* is a prosification of the text of the *rímur* preserved in the lost manuscript \*JE 27 4to, which Jón obtained during his collecting mission in Iceland. This interpretation explains previous contradictory interpretations of the relationship between the saga and the *rímur*, as it is indeed im-

possible to determine which extant manuscript of *Griplur* the saga is based on. I also highlighted the co-occurrence of *Bragða-Ölvis rímur* and saga together with the prose and verse adaptations of the story of Hrómundur in AM 601 b 4to and \*JE 27 4to, suggesting that the sagas have a shared origin and came from Jón Eggertsson's pen. Further research into the *Bragða-Ölvis saga* tradition may reveal further connections.

Staying in the seventeenth century, Chapter Two focused on the oldest extant manuscripts preserving *17HsG*. Among them are not only the manuscripts discussed in previous scholarship but also some secondary manuscripts that gave us insight into the early dissemination of the saga. Variants from these texts were used in the edition. I analysed the textual relationships between the texts of *17HsG* in these manuscripts, confirming that AM 601 b 4to preserves the best text of the saga, which also is the archetype of the extant tradition. The textual relationships provided further evidence supporting some of the arguments made in Chapter One regarding the circulation of the saga among the scholarly elites of the seventeenth century. Furthermore, I discussed the manuscript context in which the saga appears, noting the co-occurrence of *Bragða-Ölvis saga* with *17HsG* in the majority of the oldest manuscripts. This indicates a close relationship between the two texts in the early stages of their respective transmission histories, which might be the result of their assumed common origins. These two texts appear together in four out of eight manuscripts, but two of these eight are today single-text codices.

Chapter Three turned towards the remaining manuscripts of *17HsG*, classifying them into three textual groups already distinguished in the previous chapter. The analysis of the transmission history of this saga, together with the material analysis of individual codices, provides countless examples of fascinating stories of Icelandic book production and circulation. For instance, some manuscripts in text-group A reveal that our saga, written in Copenhagen at the end of the seventeenth century, became especially popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in north-western Iceland, as the manuscripts originate mainly from Dalasýsla and Húnavatnssýsla. Among these manuscripts, we find examples providing insight into the global circulation of Icelandic manuscripts. Among them there is G 52/1, which made its way to

Canada and back to Iceland. While BL Add. 11108, containing various parts written at different points in time in distant places, including Vestur-Skaftafellssýsla and Vopnafjörður, ended up as a single codex owned by Finnur Magnússon in Copenhagen, who then sold it to the British Museum in London.

Similarly, Ms Germ qu. 27 (M27), written in Kvennabrekka in Dalasýsla, became part of the private collection of Christian Friedrich Rühls, a professor of history at the University of Berlin, and later joined the collections of the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. Rühls, interested in the early history of Scandinavia, compared the texts preserved in his manuscript with Björner's edition and considered the latter 'inaccurate' compared to the texts of M27. This provides an insight into the history of scholarship, raising questions about how often young manuscripts coming directly from Iceland were considered more reliable than early modern editions merely due to their origin. After all, we know that the text of *17HsG* in Björner's edition, based on Papp. fol. nr 67, is closer to AM 601 b 4to than the text of M27, which includes several changes that most likely arose over the course of more than a hundred years of the saga's transmission.

Multiple manuscripts contain marginal notes, which inform our understanding of the saga's readership. For instance, the evidence of extensive marginalia in Lbs 381 fol. demonstrates that *17HsG* was not exclusively treated as an entertaining narrative in Iceland, contrary to what is predominantly argued in scholarship about legendary and chivalric sagas. It illustrates that not only learned continental scholars but also Icelandic audiences were interested in the potential historical aspects of *fornaldarsögur*, especially genealogies. This is particularly interesting in the context of other sagas that frequently co-occur with *17HsG* in the younger manuscripts of text-group A. All of these sagas either deal with members of the same families or mention other characters known from other sagas also included in these volumes. As such, they bear testimony to the long-standing genealogical inclination of Icelandic readers, as also demonstrated by the manuscripts of *19HsG*, discussed in Chapter Four.

Meanwhile, some manuscripts in text-group B illustrate how handwritten books circulated in Icelandic families for several generations and that they likely served as exemplars for younger still ex-

tant manuscripts. The textual relationships between BL Add. 4859 (B4859), Lbs 633 fol. (L633) and AM 395 fol. (A395) provide insight into the circulation of books and scribal networks in early modern Iceland. B4859, written for Magnús Jónsson from Vigur, travelled within one family from Vigur to Víðidalstunga, where Magnús' daughter Þorbjörg lived with her husband, Páll Vídalín, and where it most likely served as an exemplar for L633, written for Lárus (Lauritz) Gottrup, who lived at that time at Þingeyrar, not far from Víðidalstunga. Then, L633, most likely written at Þingeyrar, made its way to Munaðarnes in Mýrasýsla, where Kár Ólafsson lived. Kár received L633 as a gift from Þorbjörn Bjarnason, who was the foster father of Kár's mother. While in Mýrasýsla, L633 served as an exemplar for A395, written at Akrar.

A similar situation is illustrated by examining the textual relationship between BL Add. 4875 (B4875) and Lbs 222 fol. (L222) and exploring the possible ownership history of L222. L222 was passed down the maternal line within the family of Magnús Jónsson from Vigur. L222, written in Sandar in Dýrafjörður probably for Magnús Jónsson, later most likely served as an exemplar for B4875. B4875 was probably written in Eyri in Skutulsfjörður by Eggert Hákonarson, Magnús Jónsson's great grandson.

The prominent role of Magnús Jónsson's family in the circulation of *17HsG* can also be linked to the appearance, or at least to the transmission, of the eighteenth-century version of the saga, *18HsG*. One of the two manuscripts preserving *18HsG*, JS 634 4to, was partially written by Markús Snæbjarnarson, Magnús Jónsson's grandson. While the exemplar of this manuscript is unknown, it is certain, based on textual criteria, that manuscripts of *18HsG* belong to text-group B. The other manuscript of *18HsG*, Lbs 840 4to, cannot be directly linked to Magnús, but it also has a well-documented history of ownership. The manuscript contains notes with the names of the great-grandchildren of its commissioner, Bjarni Pétursson, enabling us to track its history of ownership for three generations.

The appearance of *18HsG* allows us to ask questions about the reception of *17HsG* in Iceland in the early eighteenth century. *18HsG* appears to be an attempt to improve the saga stylistically by adding explanatory phrases that made the narration easier to follow. With its laconic and episodic style, perhaps *17HsG* was not a sat-

isfactory read for the eighteenth-century audience. If *17HsG* was indeed as a summary of the *rímur* composed with the scholarly audience of mainland Scandinavia in mind, then its intended audience was more interested in the content of the saga than its artistic form. In this context, *18HsG* can be viewed as an attempt to make it into an entertaining and coherent story intended for some lay Icelandic audiences. This would fulfil the objective of Lbs 840 4to, as suggested by the title page, ‘for the entertainment of those who wish to read and hear’.

Another manuscript of *17HsG*, AM 395 fol., provides insight into the reception of Icelandic literature in Denmark. The saga classification, which appears in the table of contents of this manuscript, was most likely supplied after the volume was sold at auction in Copenhagen to the family of Danish scholars of Icelandic origin, Skúli Thorlacius and Birgir Thorlacius. The classification reflects the general scholarly atmosphere of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century when *formaldarsögur* were still seen as a mixture of history and fiction. A similar approach can be found, for example, in Müller’s *Sagabibliothek*.

The last part of Chapter Three discussed manuscripts that preserve *17HsG* whose text is derived from printed editions. An analysis of the variants appearing in these manuscripts showed differences in the treatment of the text. The manuscripts based on Rafn’s edition, all written in Iceland, demonstrate in practice the fluidity of vernacular text transmission with free and intentional scribal intervention, sticking to the story but rephrasing and reformulating the wording. In contrast, the foreign copyists, transcribing Björner’s edition, were very careful in their transcriptions, likely due to limited knowledge of Icelandic and/or the possible scholarly purpose of their transcription. There are also differences in content arrangement in the examined manuscripts. Those based on Björner’s edition preserve the sagas in the same order as they appear in the edition and mainly stick to the texts available in the edition. Meanwhile, the order of the texts in the manuscripts based on Rafn’s edition appears more customised. The texts do not appear in the order of the edition, and the manuscripts contain a broad variety of other sagas. Thus, we can conclude that for Icelandic copyists, the printed text served as yet another exemplar and was treated in the same manner as texts transcribed from other manuscripts.

Finally, Chapter Four turned towards the transmission history of *19HsG*. It discussed its possible origins, placing them in northern Iceland within the learned circles of people such as Gísli Konráðsson and Jón Espólín. The textual analysis of the texts preserved in all known manuscripts of the saga suggests that they are all derived from a lost common ancestor. The ending of the saga in each of the manuscripts demonstrates the personal touch of the scribes. This is especially clear in Lbs 2404 8vo, where its scribe, Gísli Konráðsson, who was personally very interested in Icelandic genealogies, added information from *Landnámabók* about Hrómundur's descendants, thereby linking *19HsG* to Icelandic historiography.

Furthermore, this chapter briefly outlined the relationship of *19HsG* to other adaptations within the *HsG* tradition demonstrating that the author of this work drew freely from both *Griplur* and *17HsG*. Additionally, I discussed select literary motifs typically seen in romances that feature prominently in *19HsG*, despite some of them being absent from *17HsG* and *Griplur*. Among them are supernatural elements, such as the appearance of a flying dragon in the narrative, or the changing of Hrómundur's appearance with the use of a magic stone.

The analysis of the manuscript context of *19HsG* revealed that it frequently co-occurs with other sagas dealing with the adventures of legendary Scandinavian heroes, but especially with those composed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as *Þorsteins saga Geirnefufóstra* and *Huldar saga hinnar miklu*. It seems that the sagas written at a similar time were transmitted together, presumably due to their similarity in style and/or overall aesthetics. There is, however, a great need for further research into the subject of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sagas in general, in order to gain a better understanding of the circumstances of their creation and transmission as well as their position in the wider context of Icelandic literature.

While the discovery of the new saga of Hrómundur was certainly the most rewarding and easiest to demonstrate among my findings, other tangible results of my research are scattered across the pages of this book. These include establishing relationships among the texts of *HsG*, identifying scribes, narrowing down the often very broad dating of some manuscripts, and revealing the history of ownership and readership of the saga. Instead of attempting

to draw broad overarching conclusions from this study or claiming their transformative potential for the state of scholarship on Old Norse-Icelandic literature, I have highlighted here some of the findings that seemed most intriguing to me and, hopefully, are also interesting to you, dear reader. My hope is that at least some of these findings will inspire further explorations into the transmission of Icelandic sagas, also, or especially, of those composed in the early modern period.



## Part II

# Text Editions



## Editorial principles

The texts included in this edition are represented on a diplomatic level and follow the orthography of the base manuscripts as closely as possible, with only a few exceptions. The long s ‘ſ’ has been changed to ‘s’, and the ligature ‘ß’ to ‘ss’. In *17HsG*, the scribe of A601 uses the small capital ‘n’, ‘g’, and ‘r’, as well as an ‘l’ with a broken ascender to denote double consonants; in the edition, they are silently represented as ‘nn’, ‘gg’, ‘rr’, and ‘ll’. Ligatures such as ‘au’, ‘sk’, and ‘om’ are represented as separate letters and not indicated in any special way in the edition. The rounded r ‘ʀ’, used mainly in A601, has been changed to ‘r’ and expanded as ‘ur’ when it appears as a superscript character. In *18HsG*, the scribe of J634 does not seem to be very consistent in their use of ‘ij’, ‘ý’, and ‘y’, or ‘w’ and ‘v’. The edition attempts to represent these as reliably as possible, while recognising the limitations of this approach, which might lead to some inconsistencies. The same holds true for different forms of ‘ö’ (ó, ø, ò) in *19HsG*, where the scribe of BL Add. 11109 (B11109) seems to be freely choosing between them. A similar case is with the diacritics appearing above ‘u’, which sometimes denote ‘ú’ and other times appear to simply distinguish ‘u’ from ‘n’. Finally, punctuation and capitalisation follow the base-text manuscript.

In the printed text, the editorial expansions are indicated in italics, regardless of whether they expand suspension, contraction, or special characters, such as the Tironian nota used for ‘og’ in A601 and J634, or the M-rune used to abbreviate ‘maður’ in A601. The expanded forms follow the written-out examples whenever possible; otherwise, they are an approximation based on the orthography of words with similar morphology. There are several cases of supplied characters when it is clear that a certain character has

been omitted. The supplied text is always marked within insertion brackets (\*). Unclear readings are marked with square brackets [\*]. Additions are marked with insertion marks ^\*^ and deletions with deletion marks |\*|.

The variant apparatus includes both major and minor variants. This does not mean, however, that all these readings have text-critical value and were used to build the stemma of this tradition. The relationships among texts were established in the first place exclusively based on the major variants, while minor variants were taken into consideration only when relationships between closely related texts called for further analysis, such as A587 and A193. Minor variants in the apparatus are included to illustrate the scale of variation appearing in the tradition, but the main goal of the apparatus is to reliably represent exclusively the lexical variants. Generally, it ignores orthographic variants, but in some instances where the orthographic difference might carry some potentially interesting linguistic information, these variants are included, for example, the use of “of” for “um” in *19HsG*. The list of such variants is subjective and cannot be considered exhaustive. The registered omissions are marked with ‘±’.

The main goal of the variant apparatus provided in this edition is to illustrate the relationships between the extant manuscripts by presenting their shared readings. It does not aim to present an exhaustive overview of all occurrences of minor variants in individual manuscripts. While there are multiple instances where individual readings of a single manuscript have been registered to give the reader an impression of the different types of variants introduced in individual manuscripts, they do not form an exhaustive list. This is especially true in the case of *19HsG*, in which the extent of minor variation is very large and Lbs 679 4to (L679) frequently diverges from the remaining three manuscripts in terms of grammatical endings (case, number, and definite and indefinite forms of nouns and adjectives) as well as the use of function words. In the same way, I treat obvious minor scribal errors occurring in individual manuscripts, for example, when a nasal stroke is missing in one manuscript without obscuring the meaning of the word, this variation is not registered. The rationale for that is not only the economy of time and resources but also the assumption that these types of variation are of little use in determining relationships between texts

in the future, when potentially some new manuscripts of the saga are discovered.

The lemmas in the variant apparatus are presented in the orthography of the base text with expansions of abbreviations marked in italics. With the exception of the eighteenth-century version, where the variants are from a single manuscript, the readings presented in the variant apparatus do not attempt to follow closely the orthography of each witness, and the abbreviations are expanded silently. The readings that are different only on the orthographic level are grouped together and represented in the approximated orthography, which follows that used in the first witness registered.

The digital editions are encoded according to the guidelines of the Text Encoding Initiative and use standard elements for the apparatus, as well as for unclear, deleted, and supplied passages and characters.<sup>70</sup>

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70. TEI Consortium, *TEI P5: Guidelines for Electronic Text Encoding and Inter-change. 4.0.0*. Supplementary materials, including the XML files, are available at <http://dx.doi.org/10.5287/ora-449zgmvdX>.



## The seventeenth-century saga

Manuscripts used for this edition:

- AM 601 b 4to (A601) - base text
- AM 193 e fol. (A193)
- AM 345 4to (A345)
- AM 587 b 4to (A587)
- BL Add 4859 (B4859)
- Lbs 222 fol. (L222)
- Papp. Fol. nr 67 (P67)
- Thott 1768 4to (T1768)

The digital version of this edition with images of A601 can be found online: [https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/hromundar\\_A601/](https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/hromundar_A601/).





heriaþ sumar oc vetr, i xxxiiij ár, oc háþ lx orustur, oc feingip Jafnan  
sigr. Mitt suerþ heiter Brinþuare, er all dri hefr slíófgast. komdo  
hier á morgun kári, ek skal slípra hann i þino briosti. kári qvadz  
eigi bila mvinþi, Hraungviþur mátti kíosa huorn dag mann fyrir 25  
suerþinz oddi. Þeir brøþr komo aftr til kongz, oc sqgþu<sup>6</sup> honum  
týþinþin. kongr bauþ aþ hallda til orustu oc sva var giort. hittust  
þeir, oc tocþ þar harþr Bardagi. Þeir brøþr gengo vel fram, kári  
1v hafþi Jafnann viij ll Eþr tólf i Eýno høggi. Hraungviþr sá þetta, lióp 30  
uppá kongs skip, til kára ok lagþi suerþino i gegnom hann. Þegar  
kari hafþi feingip sáriþ, sagde hann til kongz, lifed<sup>7</sup> heiler herra, Ek  
man hiá óþni gista. Hraungviþr vó Ærnulf upp á spióti sýno. Epter  
fall þeira brøþra kallar Hraungviþr aþ þeir skule uppgfast. Er þá  
Jllr kur i liþi kongz. Einginn Járn bito Hraungviþ<sup>8</sup> Nu er þess 35  
getiþ aþ Hrómundr Greipsson var i filgd med kongi hann tekr sier  
kilfu i hōnd. Bindr sier grátt oc sýtt geýtarskiegg. oc setr sýþann  
hatt ä haufuþ sier. veþr sva fram, oc finnr þá brøþr baþa dauþa.  
tekr upp merki kongz. oc lemr med kilfunni blámenn til dauþa.  
Hraungvidr spir huor sá væri. eþa er þetta nockuþ faþer hanz Jlla  
kára. Hromundr.<sup>9</sup> sagþi nafn sitt. oc qvedz hefna vilia þeira brødra, 40  
enn eigi var kári mier skilldr. samt skal ec drepa þik. oc i þui gaf  
hann Hraungviþi kilfu hōgg, sva micip. aþ hann bar hallt haufut  
epter, oc mællti. ek hefi veriþ výþa i Bardaugum, oc all dri feingip

22 oc] + hefi L222. 22 feingip Jafnan] jafnan fengid T1768, jafnan B4859. 23 slíófgast] slíofast P67. 23 komdo] kondu A587, T1768, kom þú A193, A345, L222, B4859. 24 ek] oc A345. 24 skal] + ec A345. 25 mvinþi] munda P67, mundu B4859. 25 mann] ÷ A345. 26 suerþinz oddi] odde suerdsins P67. 26 sqgþu] segja A193. 29 tólf] + menn L222. 29 Eýno] hveriu A587, A193, B4859, hvoriu A345. 29 Hraungviþr sá þetta] Þetta sá Hraungvidur og P67. 29 lióp] + hann A587, A193. 30 skip] skipid P67. 31 hafþi] + nu P67. 31 sagde] mælr B4859. 31 heiler] heill L222. 32 óþni] odin A345, B4859. 32 vó] + og P67. 33 þá] nú A345. 34 Einginn] engi A587, A193, A345, L222, B4859. 35 var] er A193. 35 tekr] tok A345. 36 geýtarskiegg] geijtaskegg P67. 38 med kilfunni blámenn til dauþa] til dauda Blámenn med kilfunne P67. 39 hanz] hins B4859. 41 enn] og P67. 41 i] ÷ A193. 41 þui] ÷ A587, A193. 42 haufuþ] haufuþiþ A587, A193, T1768, A345, P67, L222, B4859. 43 hefi] hefir A345, L222, B4859.

6. The word is abbreviated in A587, it could be expanded as *sögðu* or *segja*.

7. In A601, the abbreviation mark 'er-curl' usually stands for 'er' or 'ir', but here it is expanded as 'ed', following all the other manuscripts.

8. The colon in A601 is treated as an abbreviation mark, not punctuation.

9. In B4859, 'Hraungvidr' is corrected into 'Hromundr'.

þuilýct haugg, annaþ haugg sló Hromundur<sup>10</sup> til Hraungvidz, sva  
 45 hausinn brotnaþi. J þriþia hogggi misti hann lýfiþ, Epter þad gengu  
 þeir sem Efter lifþo, aller á hendr kongi, oc liktaþiz so bardagenn.

### Cäpituli .ij.

Nu kannar Hrómundr skipinn, oc finnr eirn mann, hallast upp  
 við J stafni, hann spir þann mann aþ nafni, Sá qvedst Helgi heite  
 hinn frökni, Broþer<sup>11</sup> Hraungzvidz, oc nenni ek eigi friþar aþ biþia.  
 Hromundr liet græþa helga hinn frækna, hann siglþi þar epter i  
 5 Suýþioþ,<sup>12</sup> oc giorþist þar landvarnarmaþr. Þar Epter hieilt olafur  
 kongr liþi sýno vestr<sup>13</sup> til súþr Eýgia, geingo þar á land, oc tóco  
 strandhogg. Kall eirn bió þar næri, kongz menn hauþþo tekiz kýr  
 hanz oc ráku undann sier. liet hann mieg aumliga umm þann miszer  
 Hromundr kiemr aþ, oc spir huor sá væri. kallinn sagþi aþ bigþ  
 10 sýn væri allskamt þadann, oc qvad meiri fremd, aþ brióta hauga, oc  
 ræna drauga fie helldr enn ræna kotkalla. þessi q(va)dz máni<sup>14</sup> aþ  
 nafni. Hromundr baþ hann seigia sier, ef hann vissi<sup>15</sup> nockud umm  
 soddann. Mani sagðiz<sup>16</sup> výt ll vita oc mælti Þráinn<sup>17</sup> sem vann Val-  
 land,<sup>18</sup> oc var þar kongr, Berserkr micill oc sterkr, oc fullr galldra.  
 15 Hann var s(e)ttr J haug, med suerde, herklæþom oc fie miklo. Enn

2r

44 þuilýct] jafnmikiþ P67. 45 brotnaþi.] + og P67. 45 Epter þad] Sijþann  
 P67. 2 qvedst] + heita P67. 2 heite] heita A587, A193, T1768, A345, L222,  
 B4859, ÷ P67. 4 frækna] + Þar epte(r) P67. 4 hann siglþi] siglde hann P67.  
 4 þar epter] ÷ P67. 4 i] til P67. 5 Suýþioþ] Suiþioþar P67. 5 þar] ÷ A587,  
 A193. 9 aþ] afftr T1768. 11 fie] ÷ L222. 11 helldr enn ræna kotkalla.] ÷  
 A587, A193. 14 oc] ÷ A587, A193, L222, B4859. 14 fullr galldra] ÷ L222.  
 15 suerde] + og A345, L222, B4859.

10. In A601, the scribe started to write 'Hraungviður', but corrected it.

11. A marginal note in A601 refers to the underlined sentence in lines 19 and 20.

12. A marginal note in A601 refers to the underlined text, 'Svíþjóð'.

13. In A601 'austur' is corrected to 'vestur'.

14. A marginal note in A601 refers to the underlined name, 'Máni'.

15. The scribe of A601 wrote 'vissi' with a long s 'f' followed by 'B', here transcribed as three 's's.

16. A601 has only one long 's' followed by a colon, which would usually be expanded as 'segir' or 'sagði'. All other manuscripts, however, preserve the reading 'sagðist', therefore it was chosen as an expansion here. It is expanded with the medio passive 'z-ending', which follows the orthography of A601.

17. A marginal note in A601 refers to the underlined name, 'Þráinn'. The word-initial 'þ' is enlarged and pen-flourished.

18. A marginal note in A601 refers to the underlined name, 'Valland'.

fáer fýsast þángaþ. Hrómund(r) spir, huorra leid sigla skal þángaþ,  
 kall sagði að hann má sigla rett sudur, i .vj. daga. Hromundr þackar  
 kalli fregn þessa, gaf honum fe, oc liet hann taka kýr sýnar. Siglþo  
 þeir suo þadann epter þui sem, kall vísaði þeim til, oc að .vi. daga  
 fresti sau þeir hauginn riett fyrir framstafni. Þeir komo vestann 20  
 að Val-landi, oc fundu hauginn, oc rufu þegar, oc að liþnum .iv.  
 daugom, komo þeir glugga á hauginn. Sau þeir að þar sat á stóli  
 dolgor mikill blár oc digur, allr gulli klæddur, so leiptraði af. rumdi  
 hann mioc oc Bles að eldi. Hrómundr spir, huor nu vill ganga i  
 hauginn, oc sá skule kíosa sier .iiij. gripe. Voli qvad Einginn munþi 25  
 vilia giefa lýf sitt við þui, ero hier nu lx. manna, oc man troll þetta  
 qllum dauða veita, Hromundr mælti vogað mundi kári hafa þetta,  
 ef lifz væri, oc qvad maklegt þó sier væri niþur slept i Feste, þo be-  
 tra sie að fást við viij aðra. For sva Hrómundr niþr i festenne. var  
 það á nóttu, oc er hann kom niþr. Bar hann saman fe micíþ oc batt 30  
 i festarenda. Þráinn hafði veriþ á firri daugom kongr Jfer Vallandi,  
 oc vann allt med þøllum gølldrum. giorþi margt Jllt af sier, oc þá  
 hann var sva gamall að hann kunni eigi að strýða, lengr, liet hann  
 setia sic lifanþi J hauginn oc micíþ fe med sier. Nu sier Hromundr  
 huar suerþiþ<sup>19</sup> hanger uppi á Eirnri svlu, hann kipper þui ofan girþiz 35  
 med, oc geingur fram að stolnum oc mælti mier man vera mál or  
 haugnom first einginn hamlar, eþr huorninn vegnar þier, þu hierna  
 hinn gamli. Sástu eigi að ek bar saman fe þitt. Enn þu haukter kirr,  
 hundr leyþr, eþa huaþ var þier i augom. Er þu horfþer á, að ec tóç  
 suerþiþ oc meniþ, oc fiçlda þinna annara gripa. Þráinn qvad sier ein- 40  
 skis umm vert þikía ef hann liete sic sitia kirrann á stóli synom. Ek

16 fýsast] fyzuz B4859. 17 kall] hann A587, A193. 17 i] ÷ B4859. 18  
 fregn] frá A345, L222, B4859. 18 þessa] söguna A345, L222, saugu og B4859.  
 18 honum] + mikit B4859. 19 til] ÷ A345. 20 sau] siä P67. 20 framstafni]  
 stafne fram A345. 21 oc] ÷ P67. 21 .iv.] sex A587, A193, T1768. 24 nu]  
 ÷ L222. 24 ganga] + inn P67. 25 Einginn] engi A587, A193, A345, L222,  
 B4859. 26 ero] er P67. 27 qllum] + þeim P67. 27 þetta] ÷ T1768. 28  
 þó] að A345, L222, B4859. 30 batt] bar B4859. 32 gølldrum] + og P67. 32  
 giorþi] + hann L222. 32 af] ÷ damaged L222. 33 eigi] ei A345, P67, L222. 35  
 suerþiþ] sverð A345, P67, B4859, L222. 35 uppi] upp P67, B4859. 35 girþiz]  
 + sig T1768. 36 man] maa A345. 36 vera mál] mál vera L222. 36–37 or  
 haugnom] að hauggva P67. 37 einginn] engi A587, A193, A345, B4859. 38  
 eigi] ei P67, L222. 40–41 einskis] einkis A587, A193, P67, B4859. 41 umm  
 vert] vert um T1768. 41 sitia kirrann] kyrran sitia A587, A193.

19. In L222, the word appears on the line break on a damaged leaf, therefore the  
 form could have been with the definite article.

kunni áþr firr að beríast, er þá ordinn nógo ragr ef þu eirn skalt ræna  
mic auþi, oc vil ll ek sinia þier gripanna, máttu síá við mier Dauþom. 2v  
Þa mælti Hromundr Rigabo þier á fætr Ragur ok blauþr, oc takþu  
45 suerþiþ aptr af mier ef þu þoter. Draugur<sup>20</sup> mælti Þad er einginn  
fremd að bera suerþ<sup>21</sup> á mic, vapnlausann, helldr vil ec reina afl við  
þik oc glýmo. Hromund(r) kastar þá suerþino, oc treiste afli sýno.  
Þráinn sá þetta, oc leiste ofann ketil sinn er hafpi uppi. hann var þá  
eigi frýnlegr blies þá að elldi er hann var bvinn að eta ur katlinom.  
50 Funi mikill var J millom fóta hanz. enn ketellenn fullr af bvkom.  
Hann var i stacki gullfágubom, Bápbar hendr hanz voru breinglaþar,  
oc beigþust neglr fyrir goma. Hromundr mælti skrýtto af stóli skálkr  
argr. suiptr aulu<sup>22</sup> fie. Þá sagde draugr: nu man mál vera að fara á  
fætr. first þu frýar mier hugar. dag lýþr, enn kuelldar, oc giørist  
55 þá mirkt i haugnom. Hann gec þá til glýmo við Hromund, enn  
kastapi niþr katli Sýnum. Neitte þa Hrómundr aflz oc so geingust  
þeir hart að, að griót oc stockar gengo upp. þa datt draugrinn á an-  
naþ knie, oc mælti þu stiakar mier, oc výt ertu hraustr. Hromundr  
sagþi Stattu studningzlaust á fætur aftr, miklu ertu linari enn Máni  
60 kall sagþi. Þá toc þrainn að trillast, oc filltist upp haugurinn med  
Jllann daun, setti hann þá klær sýnar á hnacka hromundi oc sleit  
holld af beinom a lendar ofann oc mælti kuarta eigi umm þo gráni

45 af mier] ÷ T1768. 45 einginn] engi A193, A345, B4859. 47 oc] ÷ B4859. 47 glýmo] glijma P67. 48 er] + hann A345, P67, L222, B4859. 49 eigi] ecke P67. 49 er] ÷ damaged L222. 50 Funi] + var A345. 50 var] ÷ A345. 50 millom] milli A587, A193, T1768, mid[0]e L222. 50 hanz] honum A587, A193. 50 af bvkom] i buki A587, A193. 53 sagde] svarar A345, P67, L222, B4859. 53 draugr] draugurenn P67, B4859. 53 vera] ÷ T1768. 54 dag] dagur A587, A193, T1768, A345, B4859, daguren P67, ÷ damaged L222. 54 enn] oc L222. 54 giørist] gerþiz A587, A193, giordist T1768. 55 enn] og P67, T1768. 56 þa] ÷ A193. 57 stockar] steinar A587, A193. 57 gengo] gengost T1768. 57 datt] fiell P67. 57 draugrinn] Draugr L222. 58 hraustr] + madr A587, A193. 59 sagþi] mælte P67, T1768, svarar L222, B4859. 62 holld] holldid P67. 62 a lendar ofann] ÷ T1768. 62 eigi] ei P67. 62 umm] ÷ damaged L222. 62 þo] þott B4859.

20. If the colon at the end of the word functions as an abbreviation, it could be expanded as 'draugurinn', the form without the article chosen to agree with the majority of the manuscripts.

21. In B4859, 'sverd' is added to replace 'uapn', which was initially written in this place.

22. The scribe wrote 'öllu' with an 'au'-ligature followed by a single 'l', not by the 'broken l', which is usually used in this manuscript to denote doubling of the letter.

leykurinn, oc sárni kroppur þinn. þui nu skal ek rýfa þic kuikann  
 J sunþr Eigi veit eg<sup>23</sup> sagþi Hromundr huaþann soddann kattarkin,  
 er komiþ J haug þemmann. Draugurinn mælti þu munt fæddr vera af 65  
 Gunnloþ, ero fáer þijner lýkar. Jllt man vera sagþi Hromundr aþ þu  
 klorer mic leinge, glýmdo þeir hart oc leingi, so allt skalf þad næri  
 var, þar til um sýþer, aþ Hromundr felldi hann á fótarbragþi. Þá var  
 ordiþ miok dimt. Þá mælti draugr: Nu vanstu mic med ráþom, oc  
 toctst suerþ mitt. þad scipte med ockr, leikum, leingi hefi ek lifaþ i 70  
 3r haugill mýnom, oc lafaþ á fe, Enn eigi er gott aþ trua gripum sýnom  
 þó góþer þike<sup>24</sup>, of miok. oc alldri hefi ek ætlaþ, aþ þu mistilteinn,  
 mitt góda suerþ, munder verþa mier til meins.<sup>25</sup> varþ Hromundr  
 þá laus. oc náþi suerþino, ok mælti Herm mier nu. huaþ marga  
 menn i Hólmgaungo, þu vanst med mistilteini. hundraþ `xxiv` 75  
<sup>26</sup>quad draugrinn. oc fec ec allþri skeino. Semingur kongr er var  
 J Suýþiþ<sup>27</sup> oc ek, reindom ockar Jþrótter oc hugþi hann ec mvinþi  
 seint unninn verþa. leinge hefr þu sagþi hromundr veriþ maunnum  
 til mein<sup>28</sup>, oc mun þad happaverk, aþ láta þik sem first deýgia, hió  
 hann sua haufiþ af draugnum, oc brendi hann upp allann á Bále, for 80  
 so ur haugnum. spurþu menn þá, huorninn Þráinn oc hann hefþo  
 skiliþ, hann q(va)d þad hafa geingiþ i kiqr þui ek hió af honum

64 Eigi veit eg] Eg veit eigi A345, L222, B4859. 64 soddann] ÷ T1768. 64 kattarkin] katta kyn B4859. 65 Draugurinn] draugr L222. 65 fæddr vera] vera fæddur A345, fæddr B4859. 66 Gunnloþ] Svylaud og A345, L222, B4859. 67 þeir] + þä P67. 68 var] ÷ damaged L222. 68 aþ] ÷ P67. 69 dimt] mirkt P67. 69 draugr] draugurenn P67. 69 oc] ÷ damaged L222. 70 lifaþ] ÷ damaged L222. 71 haugill mýnom] mijnum haug P67. 71 eigi] ei P67. 71 trua] treijsta P67, tr[0]sta damaged L222. 72 þó góþer þike] ÷ P67, L222. 72 miok] + þo goþer þike L222. 72 hefi] hefþa P67, hefir B4859. 73 suerþ] + at þu A193. 75 menn] + þú vanst T1768, A345. 75 Hólmgaungo] homgongum P67. 75 þu vanst] ÷ T1768, A345. 75 mistilteini] + Drauguren quad P67. 75 hundraþ `xxiv`] 134 P67. 76 quad draugrinn] ÷ P67, quaþ draugr L222. 77 reindom] + íþróttr A345, + med L222. 77 Jþrótter] ÷ A345. 79 happaverk] + sem first P67. 79 sem first] ÷ P67. 80 sua] þa T1768, A193. 80 haufiþ] haufuþ P67. 80 upp] ÷ P67. 80 allann] + upp P67. 82 hafa geingiþ] geingeþ hafa P67.

23. The abbreviations in A601 could be expanded as 'Eg veit eigi'.

24. In A601 and A587, the phrase 'þó góþer þike' is within parentheses.

25. In L222, there is a sentence, which was deleted later: 'oc mon þat happa verk at lata þik sem fyrst deýia'.

26. In A601, the place of the addition is marked with a little insertion mark.

27. A marginal note in A601 refers to the underlined text in lines 6 and 7.

28. Dittography in L222, 'varþ hromundr þa laus', which is later deleted.

haufþiþ. Eignaðiz Hromundr þá iij gripi er hann sokti J hauginn,  
 hring, men, oc mistiltein. aller fengo þeir of fiár. Sigldi olafr kongr  
 85 sua þadann, oc norþr til {danmerkr} `sinz' `rijkis', settist sýþann  
 aþ landi sýno um kirt.

### Capituli .iij.

Epter þetta var Hrómundr miög frægr, vinsæll, oc stórgiöfull, Hann  
 gaf einum manni, þeim er Hrókur hiet eitt sinn, gullhring góðann  
 er vó eýri. Þad fieck Voli aþ vita, oc drap Hrók á náttartýma enn tók  
 hringinn. Enn sem kongr visze þetta quadz hann skilldi launa vola  
 5 eirnhuorn týma, hanz hrecki. Kongr<sup>29</sup> átti tuær sistr, ønnr þeirra hiet  
 dagný, enn hin Suanhuýt.<sup>30</sup> Su var frammar aþ aullu, oc var einginn  
 hemmar lýki, millom Suýþiöþar oc háloga landz. Hromund(r) Greips-  
 son var nu heima, oc giörþi sier kátt við suanhuýt oc forþast huorki  
 Vola nie Bijld. Hun mælti eitt sinn við Hrómund. oc seiger voli  
 10 oc Býldr muni rægja hann við kong. Hann mælti ec hræðunst<sup>31</sup>  
 aungvar ll argar fýlor, oc sua leingi þu villt unna mier viðtalz, þá 3v  
 man ek tala við þik. Sva varþ megn þesse rógburþr, aþ Hromundr,  
 oc hanz bröþur<sup>32</sup> urþu aþ rýma, fra<sup>33</sup> kongz hird, oc foru heim til  
 fauþur sýns. Lýtiþ hier epter talar Suanhuýt við olaf kong, oc segir  
 15 Nu er Hromundr dæmdur J brot fra kongz hirþ, huor var sømd Jók  
 þó mest. Enn aprt i staþinn hafi þier med yður þá tua er huorki  
 rækia frögð nie dáð. kong(r) suarar heýrt hefi ek getiþ hann munþi  
 fifla þik, oc skal suerþiþ skilia ýckar ást. Lýtt manstu nú sagde hun,

83 Eignaðiz] + þá P67. 83 gripi] k[0]stgripi L222. 85 norþr til {danmerkr}  
 `sinz' `rijkis'] heim P67. 86 landi sýno] sinu landi A345, sijnu rijke P67. 86  
 kirt] hrijþ L222. 1 var] vard P67, L222. 1 frægr, vinsæll] vinsæll frægr T1768,  
 A345, frædgr hann var vinsæll L222. 2 einum manni] [einum] A345, eitt sinn  
 P67. 2 þeim] + manne P67. 2 eitt sinn] ÷ P67. 4 Enn] nu B4859. 6  
 einginn] engi A345, B4859. 8 forþast] fordadist P67. 8 huorki] + aþ þui P67.  
 11 leingi] + sem L222. 14 Lýtiþ] litlu B4859. 14 segir] sagdi A587, A193,  
 P67, L222. 15 J] ÷ A193. 15 var] vara A587, A193, T1768, A345, L222,  
 B4859, idar P67. 17 nie] og T1768. 17 suarar] mælte P67. 18 ýckar ást]  
 Aast yckar B4859. 18 nú] þad A345.

29. In T1768, there seems to be a deleted word after 'kongr', possibly 'het'.

30. A marginal note in A601 refers to the underlined names of Ólafur's sisters,  
 'Dagný' and 'Svanhvít'.

31. A601, L222, and B4859 share the reading 'hræþunst' with an 'n' not 'm'.

32. In A345, the abbreviation for 'bræður' is crossed over.

33. In A587, 'fra' is corrected to 'fyrir'.

þegar hann eirn geick i hauginn, enn eingi annar þorþi,<sup>34</sup> oc fir man  
 voli `og' bylþr heingþir<sup>35</sup> verþa sagde hon. Geck sýþann snvþuckt i 20  
 brot.<sup>36</sup> Nockru sýþar komo .ij. kongar af Suýþiþþ hietu báþer Halld-  
 ingar. Helgi<sup>37</sup> Hraungvidz bróþer var med þeim. Þeir Buþu kong  
 olafi til orrustu vestr, á vænis ýs. Hann vill nu helldr mæta þeim, enn  
 flýa óþal sitt. giorer nu ord Hrómundi oc bróþrum hanz. aþ filgia 25  
 sier. þa villdi Hrómundr huorgi fara.<sup>38</sup> kuaþ Býlld oc vola vel duga.  
 oc vinna allt med kongi. kongr for af stad med liþ sitt. Suannhuýt  
 klóckanþi viþ, oc for heim til Hromund(ar). Ham tóç hemni vel virþ  
 nu til bõn myna sagde hon, meir enn. beýþni broþr mýnz, oc veit  
 nu liþ kongi. Ek vil giefa þier eirn skiqlld, med þui bandi er honum  
 filger, mvn þik eigi saka medann þu hefr þad. Hromundr þackar 30  
 hemni giof þessa gladdiz hon þá, hann bióst til ferdar oc bróþr hanz  
 viij. Nu kiemr kongr med liþ sitt til vænis ysz. var þar fyrir Suýa liþ.  
 Enn aþ morgni þegar výglióst var, vapnast þeir á ýsnnom, oc socktu  
 suýar hart framm. Strax sem bardaginn hófst, var Býldr veiginn,  
 Enn voli kom þar eigi. olafir kongr<sup>39</sup> oc kong(r) hallding mættust. 35  
 oc licþaþi sua med þeim aþ hallding vard sár. Hromund(r) hafþi sett  
 hrauktialld, hinu meiginn vatinz, bróþur hanz herklæþast snemma  
 umm morguninn. Hromundr mælti Jlla hefr mic dreimt i nótt, oc

19 eingi] eingenn P67, L222. 19 oc] kongr vard miøk reiþr oc mællti fyrir  
 þessi þijn ord skal Hromundr Gälgann Gysta þott hann sie frækni kallaþr L222,  
 konungr mæliþ fyrir þessi þijn ord skal Hromundr Heingdr verþa, þott hann se  
 frækinn B4859. 20 hon] + oc L222. 20 i] a A193. 22 Hraungvidz bróþer]  
 bróðer Hraungvidz P67. 22–23 kong olafi] Olafi kongi T1768. 23 á] ÷ *dam-*  
*aged* L222. 24 ord] bod P67. 26 for] + þa B4859. 28 nu til] þu P67. 28  
 meir enn] eir enn A587, eirninn A193, enn T1768. 29 liþ kongi] konge liþ  
 A193. 30 eigi] ei P67. 30 medann] a medan T1768. 31 ferdar] ferda A345,  
 P67, L222, B4859. 32 var þar] þar var L222. 32 Suýa] suenska P67. 32 liþ]  
 lideþ P67. 33 þegar] + at A345, L222, B4859. 34 hófst] tókst P67. 35 halld-  
 ing] Hadding A345. 36 licþaþi] lyctadist L222. 36 þeim] + þeirra vidskipte  
 P67. 36 aþ] + kong P67, + hinn B4859. 36 hallding] hadding A345, Had-  
 ding/Halling (correction) B4859. 37 hrauktialld] + sitt B4859. 37 herklæþast]  
 herklædduzt B4859.

34. Dittography in B4859, 'enn engi Annar þorþi'.

35. In A601, there is an unusual abbreviation: the superscript 'r-rotunda' used for an 'ir' ending instead of a 'ur' ending.

36. In L222, chapter IV begins here.

37. In A601, 'Kári' is corrected to 'Helgi'.

38. In A601, the abbreviation 'ra' is used for 'ar'.

39. In B4859, there are multiple corrections in this sentence: 'kongr var þar, fiell konungr þeirra Halldingur (Haddingur) annar enn'.

man *eigi* ganga allt að óskum, oc man *ec* ll ecki fara idag til orrustu. 4r  
 40 Bróþr hanz saugþo þad væri stór skómm að þora *eigi* að veita kongi  
 liþ, enn *vera* þo kominn þess Erindis. Þeir komo til orrustu oc gengu  
 hart framm, oc fiell huor umm þuerann annann, er þeim mætti af  
 liþi halldinga. Ein fiqlkýngis kona, var þar kominn i ál(f)tarham,  
 hun gólaþi med sua miklum galldra látum, að einginn gáþi að veria  
 45 sik. olafz manna. Flaug hon ýfer þá Greipz sýne, oc saung hátt hun  
 hiet Cára<sup>40</sup> Helgi hinn frækni mætti þeim bræþrum þad sama sinn,  
 oc drap þá alla viij. saman. J þui Bili kom Hromundur J Bardagann.  
 Helgi hinn frækni þeckti hann oc mælti Nu er sá kominn hier sem  
 vó hraungviþ bróþr minn, meige þier nu siá viþ hanz suerþi sem  
 50 hann sókti i hauginn. varstu nu fiæri er ek drap bræþr þyna. Hro-  
 mund(r) mælti *eigi* þarftu Helgi að frýa mier hugar, þui annað huort  
 ek eþur þu, skulum nu falla. Helgi sagde Mistilteirn er sua þungt  
 vavn, þu fær *eigi* valldiþ, vil ek liá þier þad annað suerþ, er þu  
 getr valldit. Hromundr mælti *eigi* þarftu að bregþa mier um hugleisi  
 55 muna muntu þad hogg, er ek gaf hraungviþ, þá hauz hanz molaþiz.  
 Helgi sagþi. þu Hrómundr, hefr bundiþ viþ þýna hõnd, sockaband,  
 meýar eirnrar, skil þig vid skiqlld þann er þu ber, þu fær einginn sár  
 medann þu ber þetta, oc helld *ec* firer satt, þu truer á þá meýo. Hró-  
 mundr þoldi *eigi* þessi skapraunar ord, oc kastaði niþr skilldinom.  
 60 Helgi f'rækni hafþi Jafnann sigr haft oc vann med fiqlkýngi, frilla

39 *eigi*] ei P67. 39 ganga allt] allt ganga L222. 39 man *ec* ll ecki] ei man eg P67. 40 saugþo] + at T1768, B4859. 40 *eigi*] ei P67, B4859. 40–41 kongi liþ] liþ konungi B4859. 41 *vera*] ÷ B4859. 41 Erindis] eyrindis A345, L222, B4859. 41 komo] geingu P67, foro T1768. 41 gengu] söktu P67. 42 oc] ÷ P67. 42–43 af liþi halldinga] ÷ A345. 43 ál(f)tarham] altarlijke edur ham P67. 44 gólaþi] Gool B4859. 44 einginn] engi A345, B4859. 45 Greipz sýne] Greypssonu L222, B4859. 48 hinn] ÷ P67. 48 þeckti] kiende P67. 48 sem] er A193. 49 vó] drap B4859. 49 hanz] þvi P67. 51 *eigi*] ei P67. 51 þui] þviat L222. 51 huort] + skal nu falla B4859. 52 skulum] skulu P67, ÷ B4859. 52 nu] ÷ T1768, A345, B4859. 52 falla] ÷ B4859. 52 sagde] mælti A345, svarar L222. 53 vavn] + at A345, P67, L222, B4859, sverd at T1768. 53 *eigi*] ei P67. 53 ek] + þui P67. 53 þad] ÷ P67. 53 suerþ] vavn T1768. 53 er] þat P67. 53–54 þu getr valldit] þier er vavnþært L222, B4859. 54 *eigi*] ei P67. 55 hraungviþ] + bróþur þijnum P67. 55 hauz hanz] hanns Haus B4859. 56 sagþi] svarar P67, mælti L222. 56 viþ] um A587, A193, T1768. 56 sockaband] socka bande A345. 57 einginn] engi A345. 58 satt] + at A345, L222, B4859. 59 *eigi*] ei leingur P67. 59 þessi] þau P67. 60 Helgi] + hinn P67.

40. In A601, the phrase 'hon hiet Cára' is within parentheses.

hanz hiet Cára, su sem þar var i álfar lýki. Helgi reiddi suo hátt  
 sverþ sitt upp ifer sik, at þad toc sundr fótlegg alftarinnar. oc rendi  
 sverþit ofan i {völlinn} upp aþ hiqltum, oc mælti nu er mýn heill  
 farinn, ok Jlla tocst til, er ek mista þýn, Hromundr mælti þu vanst  
 helgi hid mesta sliz, er þu drapst sialfr frillo þýna oc farinn man þýn 65  
 4v heill, datt cára dauþ niþr {á völlinn}. Enn af þui høggi er helgi ll hió  
 til Hromundar suo sverþiþ lióp aþ hiqltum ofan {J völlinn}, snart  
 oddr suerdsinz kuiþ hrómundar oc risti niþr. Enn helgi laut epter  
 høgginu, var þá Hromundr eigi seinn, oc høggr mistilteini i haufud  
 Helga klauf hiálminn ok hausinn, sua staþar mam<sup>41</sup> i herþom, Brot- 70  
 naþi þá skarþ i sverþiþ. Epter þad tók Hrómundr týgilknýf sinn, oc  
 stack á kuidinn á sier J sarzbrvnerar, raufer, hratt suo Jnn ýstrunni  
 er ut hángþi. hriþar þar med saman kuiþinn med bandi, oc batt  
 klædinn hart aþ, Barþist sua J ákafa, oc felldi huorn umm annann  
 þuerann oc barþiz fram til midrar nætr, fljþi þad liþ sem epter var af 75  
 halldingom, lýkr þar med orrustu: Hrómun(dr)dr sier þá, aþ eirn maþr  
 stendur þar á ýsnom, veit hann sá sami muni hafa med golldrum.  
 giort ýsenn á vatniþ. þeckti hann aþ þetta var Voli, hann q(va)ð eigi  
 u-skillt aþ launa honum liop til hans, reiddi mistiltein, oc villdi høg-

61 hiet] ÷ damaged L222, A345. 61 su sem] ÷ A345. 61 þar var] var þar  
 A345. 62 sverþ sitt] sverdid P67. 62 þad] ÷ T1768. 62 oc rendi] enn B4859.  
 63 ofan] nidur P67, sauck B4859. 63 {völlinn}] 'jórdina' P67, ÷ A587, A193,  
 T1768. 63 upp] ÷ B4859. 63 oc mælti] Helgi mælti þá L222, Helgi mælltti  
 B4859. 63 mýn heill] heill mijn L222. 64 tocst] barst nú P67, + nú A345,  
 B4859. 65 sialfr] ÷ L222. 66 datt] + þá P67. 66 {á völlinn}] ÷ A587, A193,  
 T1768, A345, P67, L222, B4859. 66 af] i L222, B4859. 67 suo sverþiþ lióp]  
 liop sverdit T1768, ÷ A345, B4859, so sverþid sóck P67. 67 aþ hiqltum] ÷ A345,  
 B4859. 67 ofan] ÷ A345, P67, B4859. 67 {J völlinn}] ÷ A587, A193, T1768,  
 A345, P67, B4859. 67 snart] snerti B4859. 68 oddr] oddurinn A345, B4859.  
 68 suerdsinz] ÷ B4859. 68 kuiþ] qvidinn B4859. 68 hrómundar] ÷ B4859.  
 68 niþr] + allann B4859. 68 Enn helgi laut] Laut Helgi þa mjög B4859. 69  
 eigi] ei P67. 69 høggr] + med P67. 70 Helga] + oc L222. 70 mam] nam  
 A587, A193, T1768, A345, P67, L222, B4859. 70 herþom] herdonum P67,  
 L222. 71 sinn] ÷ T1768. 72 á] i T1768, L222. 72 á sier] æsar P67. 73  
 hángþi] hieck P67. 73 þar med] so P67. 74 sua] syþan P67. 74–75 annann  
 þuerann] þverann annann A193. 75 fljþi] + þá P67. 76 halldingom] + og P67.  
 76 orrustu] orustunne P67, L222, B4859. 77 hann] + at A345. 77–78 hafa  
 med golldrum. giort ýsenn] med golldrum hafa giort isinn T1768, L222, gert hafa  
 isinn med gaulldrum A345. 78 eigi] ei P67. 79 aþ] a L222. 79–80 høgga]  
 högra A345, haugga P67.

41. In A601, there is a scribal error 'mam' for 'nam', not copied into any other  
 manuscript.

80 gva hann. voli bles sverþiþ or hendi honum oc hitti þad fyrir<sup>42</sup> vøk  
 eina, oc soçk niþr til grunnz.<sup>43</sup> Þá hló voli oc mælti Nu ertu feigr,  
 er þu mister mistilteýn ur hendi þinni, Hrómundr sagþi fir munto  
 deýgia enn ek. líóp hann þá aþ vola, oc greip hann upp, færþi niþr  
 85 viþ ýsinn, sua hálsbeiniþ brotnaþi, lá þessi galldra rumur þar dauþr,  
 enn Hrómundr. settist niþur á ýsinn. Hann mælti Jeg hafþi eigi ráþ  
 meýarinnar, þvi hef ec nu feingih xiv under, oc þo þar til fiellu  
 broþr mýner viij. oc mitt góþa suerþ mistilteirn, fiell i vatniþ, oc  
 þess fæ ec all dri bætr aþ ec misti suerþiþ. geck hann sýþann þadann  
 oc heim aþ tialldi syno, oc tóç nockra huilð.

#### Capituli .iv.

Nu<sup>44</sup> ero kongz systr sóçtar, kannar Suanhýt sár Hrómundar  
 oc saumar kuidinn saman, oc leýtar honum hægingda. Hun liet  
 færa hann kalli þeim til grædslu, er Hagall hiet. kielling hanz var  
 klók. þau tóku vel viþ honum oc græddu hann aþ heilu. Þad fann  
 5 Hrómundr aþ llþesse hión voro marg kunnug. Kall var vanr at  
 veýþa fiska, oc eitt sinn er hann var aþ veiþiskap sýnom, dró hann  
 eina Geddo, oc er hann kom heim oc krufþi gedduna, fann hann  
 i hennar maga Mistiltein, suerþ Hrómundar. oc feck honum þad.  
 Hrómundr varþ glaþr viþ oc kisti á Hiallt suerþsinz, oc umbvnaþi  
 10 vel kalli. Eirn maþr var sá med Halldingz kongz her sem hiet  
 Blindur hinn Jlli. Hann sagþi kongi, aþ Hrómundr væri lýfz, oc  
 græddur á láun hia Hag`a`li kalli, oc kono hanz. kongr quad  
 u-trvlegt, aþ þau mvnþo þora aþ leina honum. kongr Bauþ aþ leýta  
 hanz. Blindr for med nockra menn, til hvsa þeirra Hagalz oc spurdi  
 15 ef Hrómundr væri þar geimdr. kielling sagþi hann mvnþi eigi Þar

5r

82 þinni] þér A345, P67, L222. 82 sagþi] svarar A345, P67, L222, B4859. 83  
 upp] + og A345, L222, B4859. 83 færþi] + hann T1768, A345. 84 sua] +  
 hart ad P67. 85 ráþ] ÷ A193. 86 nu] ÷ P67. 86 xiv] 16 A345. 88 misti]  
 mizta A345, L222. 2 kuidinn saman] saman quidin P67. 7 Geddo] + eina  
 A345. 7 gedduna] hana A587, A193, T1768. 8 i hennar maga] ÷ P67. 9  
 Hiallt suerþsinz] suerdetz hiolla P67. 10 vel kalli] kalle vel P67. 10 Halldingz]  
 haddings A345. 10 kongz] konga P67. 13 kongr] Og P67. 13 Bauþ] +  
 kongur P67. 14 Hagalz] + konu hanz P67. 15 sagþi] + at T1768. 15 hann  
 mvnþi eigi] at ei munde hann P67.

42. In A601, the abbreviation mark 'ra' is used for 'fyrir'.

43. A marginal note in A601 refers to the underlined text in lines 12 and 13.

44. In L222, chapter V begins here.

finnast. Blindr leýtabi vandlega, oc fann eigi. Þvíat kelling hafði  
 falip Hrómund. under hitunar katli sýnom. Blindur oc hans felagar  
 gengu þadann. oc er þeir voru á leýþ komner. sagði Blindr. Eigi  
 er ferþ vor frög vorþinn. oc skulum vier aptr snva, þeir giorþo suo, 20  
 komo heim oc funþu kiellingu, sagði Blindr hon væri Brögdött, oc  
 hefði hon geimt Hrómund under katli sýnum. leitip oc takiþ hann  
 þar þá quad hon. Enn því sagði hon þetta, að þegar hon sá þeir snero  
 aptr, færþi hon hromund. i kuenn skrvþa. ok liet hann mala oc snva  
 kuorn. þeir leýta 'i' nu hvsonom, oc þegar þeir komo þar mærin  
 sneri kuorninni, snudroþo þeir allt um kring enn su sama leit óhýrt 25  
 til kongz manna. sneru sua J Brott, að þeir fundo eigi. Oc er þeir  
 voru á leýþ komner, sagði Blindr að kielling man hafa villt síóner  
 fyrir þeim, oc sier þike grunsamt að Hromundr mvin hafa veriþ þat  
 sem sneri kuerninni. i kuenn klæþum. Oc sie ek osz hefr ýfer siest,  
 duger oss eigi að þreita við kellingu, því hon er oss klókari. Báþo 30  
 þeir hemi Jlls, oc foru heim aptr til kongz við Svo Bviþ.

### Cápituli .v.

5v Wmm<sup>45</sup> veturinn epter, Bar mart fyrir Blind i suefni. oc seiger kongi  
 eitt sinn Draum sinn. Oc mælti sua. Mier<sup>46</sup> þótti vargur eirn ll renna  
 austann, hann beit ýþr kongr, oc veitte ýþr áverka. kongr quadz rada  
 þemann draum svo. Hier<sup>47</sup> man koma kongr af, nockrum staþ. oc  
 mvin fundurinn verþa skiaþr first, enn falla þo niþr til sátta. Enn<sup>48</sup> 5  
 quad Blindur sik dreimt hafa, að honum þótti marger haukar sitia J  
 einu husi, oc þeckti ek þar falka þinn herra, hann var allr fiaþra laus,  
 oc flettr hamnum kongr mælti Vindr man koma af skýom, oc skielfa

16 eigi] ei P67. 20 komo heim] ÷ damaged L222. 20 Blindr] + at A345, A193.  
 22 quad] sagde P67. 24 'i'] ÷ A587, A345, T1768, P67, L222, B4859. 24 nu]  
 + í A587, A193, T1768, A345, P67, L222, B4859. 24 komo] koma A587, A193,  
 T1768. 25 su] sia A345. 26 eigi] ei P67. 27 leýþ] veg A345, L222, B4859.  
 27 að kielling] ÷ B4859. 27 man] mundi L222. 28 Hromundr] kelling L222.  
 30 eigi] ei P67. 30 oss] + øllum P67. 1 veturinn] morguninn L222. 1  
 seiger] + hann A345. 4 þemann] ÷ A345, L222, B4859. 4 af, nockrum staþ]  
 nockur stadar frá P67. 7 þeckti] þeckta A345, P67, L222, B4859. 8 af] or  
 A345.

45. In L222, chapter VI begins here. In A345, there is no clear, numbered chapter division.

46. In A601, the word-initial 'm' is enlarged, marking a dream.

47. In A601, the word-initial 'h' is enlarged.

48. In A601, the word-initial 'e' is enlarged.

vora Borg. Þridia<sup>49</sup> Draum sagþi Blindr sva leyþis. Mørg svýn sá eg  
 10 renna sunnan aþ kongz<sup>50</sup> hóllo, rótufþo Jorþunni upp með rananum.  
 kongr mælti þad er fyrir siofar ólgo. Votviþrum oc grasvexti þeim er  
 grær af vatzinz vokva er sólin skýn i heýþi. Fiórþa<sup>51</sup> draum sagþi  
 Blindr. mier þótti Eirn ógrligr hrike, koma austan aþ, hann beit  
 ýdur stóra und. kongr mælti sendimenn, fra nockrum kongi muno  
 15 koma J mýna hól, þeir mano býta upp aullom sýnom vapnom, oc  
 þar af man ec reiþaz. Fimti<sup>52</sup> draumr er sá sagþi Blindr aþ mier þótti  
 liggia umm Suýavellði Grimmelegr ormr. hier mun koma aþ landi  
 sagþi kongr. Dreki vænn hlaþinn gersemom. Siotta sinn dreimde  
 mik, sagþi Blindr aþ mier þótti koma af landi suort ský. með klóm  
 20 oc vængiom oc flugu brott með þic kongr. Þá dreimdi mic enn, aþ  
 ormr eirn væri hiá Hagali kalli, sá beit menn grimmliga, át hann  
 Bæþi ýþrþ mik oc ýþr upp `og alla kongs menn' eþa huaþ man þetta  
 þýþa. kongr mælti heýrt hef ek skamt frá hýbýlom Hagallz. ligge  
 hýdbiþorn nockr. Jeg mun fara aþ vinna Biþrninn, oc man hann þá  
 25 Bistast<sup>53</sup> miok. hier næst dreimdi mic. aþ dreka hamur væri dreiginn  
 umm kongz hól, Oc hieck þar viþ lindi Hromundz. kongr mælti  
 þad veistu aþ Hrómundr misti suerd oc linda J vatninu, eþa ertu nu  
 hræddur viþ Hrómund: fleýre drauma dreimdi Blind, huoria hann  
 sagþi kongi. enn kongr reþi þá alla sier i vil, enn aungvann sua  
 30 sem merking til haufþo || Nu seiger Blindur enn eirn draum sinn,  
 þann er hann sialfan snerti oc mælti Mier þótti Jarnhringr settr á  
 minn hálz. kongr sagþi, þad er þýþing þess draumz, aþ þu mant

6r

9 vora Borg] borg vora P67. 10 aþ] + ad P67. 10 hóllo] + oc A345, P67, L222, B4859. 10 Jorþunni] jörðinni A587, A193, T1768. 12 sólin] sol T1768. 14 nockrum] einum A345, L222, B4859. 15 oc] af L222. 16 þar af] af þui B4859. 17 Suýavellði] Svijarikki A345. 18 hlaþinn] + af B4859. 19 ský] ku A345, kii L222, B4859. 20 flugu] fliuga i P67, fliuga L222, B4859. 20 enn] + sagði Blindur A345. 21 menn] miok A345. 23 mælti] sagde P67. 23 ek] + at L222. 23 hýbýlom] hybyle P67. 26 Hromundz] Hromundar P67. 27 aþ] ÷ P67. 27 misti] ÷ damaged L222. 27 suerd] sverðit A587, A193, T1768. 28 fleýre] fleyra P67, ÷ damaged L222. 29 alla] ÷ damaged L222. 30 haufþo] hafði A345. 30 Blindur] ÷ damaged L222. 30 enn eirn] ÷ A345, L222, B4859. 31 snerti] snerter P67. 31 settr] sleiginn L222, B4859. 31 á] umm L222. 32 minn hálz] haalz mier B4859. 32 sagþi] mælr L222.

49. In A601, the word-initial 'þ' is enlarged.

50. In A601, there is a double abbreviation: 'ks'-ligature and a macron.

51. In A601, the word-initial 'f' is enlarged.

52. In A601, the word-initial 'f' is enlarged.

53. The word 'bista' is probably an orthographic variant form of 'beysta'.

heingdr verþa, oc þar med mano<sup>54</sup> við báþer feiger. Epter þetta safnar olafur kongur lipi, hiellt sýþann til Suýþiþóþar, Hromúnd(r) filgþi honum. komo þeir óvart<sup>55</sup> af hóllo halldingz kongz. hann lá 35  
 J vtiskemmo eimri, hann varþ<sup>56</sup> eigi firr var við enn upp var bro-  
 tinn skemmo hurþinn. hallding hróþar á menn sýna. oc spir, huorier  
 um nætur stryda. Hrómun)dr sagþi til sýn. kongr sagþi þu munt  
 vilia hefna þinna broþra. Hromundr quad hann skilldi fátt tala um  
 fall broþra sinna. skalto nu þess giallda. oc hier lýfiþ misza. Þá liop 40  
 `upp' eirn kappi halldingz kongz. sua stor sem rise. Hromund(r) drap  
 þann. Hallding kongr<sup>57</sup> verst i huýlunni enn fieck eckert sár, þui  
 huort sinn Hrómundr hió til hans, kom suerþiþ flatt á kong. Þá toc  
 Hrómundr kilfo oc lamdi hallding kong i hel. Þá mælti Hrómundr  
 hier hef ek felldann Hallding kong oc hefi ek eigi sieþ frógra mann. 45  
 Kallinn Blindr, er hiet Bavýs. var bundinn oc heingþr, oc rættist  
 sva draumur hanz. Toco þeir þar mikiþ gull, oc annaþ fe, hielldo  
 sýþann heim. Olafur kongr gipti Hrómundi Suanhuýt. þau untust  
 vel. áttu sono oc dætur til samans, oc voru afbragþ annara.<sup>58</sup> Eru  
 af þeim Komnar konga ætter oc kappar mikler, oc lýkr hier saugo 50  
 Hromundz greipzsonar.

33 mano] munum A193, A345, L222, B4859. 35 þeir] + ä P67. 36 hann] og A193. 36 eigi] ei A193, P67. 37 hallding] Halldingur P67. 38 um nætur stryda] stryde um nætur P67. 38 sagþi] mælti B4859. 39 þinna broþra] bróðra þinna P67. 39 quad] bad P67, sagdi T1768. 39 skilldi] ð A193, P67. 39 fátt] + scylldi A193. 40 broþra sinna] sinna bræðra P67. 41 `upp'] ð P67. 41 kongz] + upp sa var P67, ð B4859. 43 hans] + þá A345. 44 Hrómundr] hann L222. 44 kilfo] + eina P67, L222. 45 hef] hefi A193, A345, P67, L222. 45 hefi ek eigi] ei hefe eg P67. 45 frógra] frægri L222, B4859. 48 Hrómundi Suanhuýt] Hrómunde suanhuyte systur syna P67, Svanhvijt Hromundi L222. 50 hier] + suo P67. 51 Hromundz] Hromundar A345.

54. The reading in T1768 is uncertain, could be 'manum' or 'manu'.

55. In A601, there is the 'ra' abbreviation mark used for 'ar'.

56. In A601, there is the 'ra' abbreviation mark used for 'ar'.

57. In A601, there is an unusual abbreviation: 'rum' used for 'konungur'.

58. In A601, there is the 'ra' abbreviation mark used for 'ar'.

## The eighteenth-century version

Manuscripts used for this edition:

- JS 634 4to (J634) - base text
- Lbs 840 4to (L840)

The digital version of this edition with images of J634 can be found online: [https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/hromundar\\_J634/](https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/hromundar_J634/).



(Sagan) Af Hrómundi Greypssýni.

I. Capítuli Ætterni, fæðing uppvöxtr oc bradgør sigur  
Hromundar.

89r

Þat er upphaf þessarar saugo at kongr sa redi fyri Gaurþom er Oláfr  
het, *hamm war son Gnoþar Asmundar, og war frægr matr.* Brædr  
ij woru med *kongi*, er sva hetu Kári og Aurnólfr, þeir woru land-  
5 warnarmenn *kongs*, *hermenn miklir* og *sterkir*. Einn Ríkr bóndi bió  
þar í Rikino er Greýpr het, *hamm atti þá konu* er het Gunnlauð,<sup>1</sup>  
hun war dóttir Hróks hins Svarta, þau áttu ix *sýni* sin á millum er  
sva hetu: Hrólfr, Háki, Gautr, Þraustr, Angantír, Logi, Hrómundr(,)   
Helgi(,) Hrókr. þeir woru allir *Efnilegir menn*, og *miklir fyrir* ser, en  
10 þó war Hrómundr *fyrir þeim* í öllu, *hamm kunni* ei at hræðaz. *Hamm*  
war sva á sig *kominn*: at hann war fagrEigdr, biartr á hárr, herdabreidr,  
midmiór, og kálfa *mikill*, þar med *mikill matr* og *sterkr*, *liktiz hann*  
mióg Hróki módr *fauðr sinum*. Med *kongi* woru þeir ij *menn* er  
heto Bildr og Voli, þeir woru *illir* og *undirförlur*, en þó mat *kongr*  
15 þá *mikils*. Eitt *sinn* war þat at Oláfr *kongr* hellt austr *fyrir* Norveg  
med herlidi *síno*, og *helldu þeir* at Úlfaskeriom, heriudu wida, og  
lögduz at einu kvöldi wid eitt Eyland. *Kongr* bidr þá *brædr* Kára  
ll og Aurnólfr at *ganga* uppá Eyona, og wita hvert þeir sæu *nockr*  
20 skip. þeir g[ó]ra<sup>2</sup> nú sva, *gengo* uppá landit, og litu vj herskip *lig-*  
*gia annars* wegar *Eyarinnar*, *undir haumrum* *nockrum*, þar war med  
Einn Dreki allskrautlegr. Kári kallar til þeira af landi, og *spir* hver  
*fyrir* skipunum redi? Einn Dólgr stóð wid siglu á Drekanum uppi,

89v

2 þessarar saugo] Søgu þessarar L840. 3–4 Brædr ij] *unclear* L840. 4 er] sem L840. 11 herdabreidr] herda mikill L840. 12 liktiz hann] hann likttest L840. 13 Hróki módr fauðr sinum] möður föður sijnum Hroke hinum svarta L840. 14 mat] matte L840. 17 eitt] ÷ L840. 18 sæu] sæe L840. 18 *nockr*] [ei00] *damaged* L840.

1. Even though the letter ‘ð’ is not common in J634, the ascender of the word-final ‘d’ is crossed with a horizontal bar, making it look like an ‘ð’. It is worth to note here that the name is written in the antiqua script, which may suggest some relationship between the script type and the orthography; see also ‘Hraugviður’ further down on the same page.

2. In J634, this word appears to be written with a detached loop of ‘ð’ or a superfluous abbreviation mark for ‘gera’, if that’s the case, the abbreviation has been ignored here. L840 reads ‘giora’.

og qvadt Hraungviðr heita, og ræde eg fyrir þessum skipum segir  
 hann, edr hvert er namn þitt? Kári ssagdi<sup>3</sup> til sin hit sanna og til  
 brodurs sins, og þar med mælr hann: Aungwan mann weit eg werri 25  
 til í heimum enn þig Hraungviðr! og þar fyrir skal eg höggwa  
 þig í smá stycki fyrir hund og hrafn: Hraungvidr mælr: Eg hefir  
 heriat í xxxij ár sumar og wetr, og hád margar orrostor, og fengit  
 sigur í þeim LX jafnan. Mitt wopn er Brijnþwari, er alldri hefir enn  
 sliófgast, kom þú her á Morgun Kári! og skal eg þá slidra hann í 30  
 þino briósti. Kári qvadt ei bila mundi at hitta hann. Hraungvidr  
 matti kíósa hvern dag man til dauds fyri Brijnþvaranum. Þeir brædr  
 komu nú aftr til kongs og sógdu honum þessi tíðindi. Kongr baud  
 þegar at hallda til orrosto og swa war górt, hittust þeir nú hver-  
 utvegja og tókz þar hardr bardagi med þeim. Þeir brædr gengo wel 35  
 fram, og hafdi Kári jafnan viij edr xij menn j hverio hóggi, og er  
 Hraungvidr sá þetta, hlióp hann uppá Kongs skipit til Kára, og lagdi  
 Brynþvaranum í gegnum hann. Enn er Kári hafdi fengit lagit, mælr<sup>4</sup>  
 hann til Kongs: lifit heilir Herra! enn ek man Óþin gista. Efftir  
 þat wo Hraungvidr Aurnólf uppá Brijnþvaranum, og fleigdi honum 40  
 daudum á þiliurnnar. Enn er þeir brædr woru fallnir, kallar Hraung-  
 vidr til filgdarmanna þeirra, at þeir skuli geflast upp í sitt walld, og  
 er þá illr kúr í lidi kongs, enn eingin jarn bitu á Hraungvid. Þess er  
 nú widgetit at Hromundr Greypsson war í filgd med kongi, hann  
 tók ser í haund eina kylfu, byndr ser grátt og sydt geitaskegg, setr 45  
 sidan mikin hátt á haufud ser, wedr swa fram, og finnr þá brædr báda  
 dauda, tekr hann þá upp merki kongs er ádr war nidr fallit, og lemr  
 med kylfunni blámenmina<sup>5</sup> til dauds á badar hendr. Hraungvidr spir  
 nú hver er þessi hrottin wæri, edr er þetta nockut segir hann fretkal-  
 lin fadir hans illa Kára, enn Hrómundr sagdi<sup>6</sup> honum namn sitt, og 50

24 til] ÷ L840. 25 brodurs sins] syns brödurs L840. 27 hrafn] hr[on] L840.  
 28 í xxxij ár] ÷ L840. 28 wetr] + i xxxij ár L840. 28 margar] Lx. L840. 29  
 sigur í þeim LX jafnan] jafnan Sigur L840. 31 mundi] mundu L840. 34 og]  
 ÷ L840. 40 honum] ÷ L840. 44 med kongi] damaged L840. 46 ser] ÷ L840.  
 49 er] ad L840. 49 segir hann] ÷ L840. 50 enn] ÷ L840.

3. This word is abbreviated in both manuscripts, but the abbreviation in L840 indicates the past tense, hence this expansion.

4. The word is abbreviated in both manuscripts, but the abbreviation in L840 indicates the use of the past tense, hence this expansion.

5. Superfluous abbreviation marker in J634, 'blámenmina', ignored.

6. This word is abbreviated in both manuscripts, but the abbreviation in L840 indicates the past tense, hence this expansion.

qvadz hefna wilia þeirra brædra, enn ei war Kári mer skilld[r] segir  
 hann, skal eg þó samt drepa þig, og í þ(v)í gaf hann Hraungvidi kylfu  
 högg sv[a] mikit, at hann bar halt hofudit efftir, og mælti sídan: Eg  
 hefir nú werit allwíða í bardaugum, og all dri fengit þ(v)ílíkt högg  
 55 sem þetta. Annat högg sló Hromundr Hraungvidi med kylfunni í  
 haufudit, war þat ei lettara enn hitt, lamadiz þá hausin miðg, enn í  
 þridia hogginu misti hann lífit. Efftir þetta gengo þeir allir á hendr  
 kongi, sem efftir lifdu, og lauk sva bardaganum.

## II. Capítuli Hrómundr opnar haug Þráins.

Nú kannar Hrómundr skipin oc finnr einn mann hallast upp vit í  
 stafni á Drekanum, spir hann þann mann at namni? en hann qvadz  
 Helgi heita, og wera kalladr hinn Frækni, er eg brodir Hraungvidar  
 segir hann, og nenni<sup>7</sup> eg ydr ei fridar at bidia. Hromundr tók Helga  
 5 hinn Frækna og let græda hann at heilu, hellt hann sídan heim á leid  
 afftr til Sviþiódar, ll og gòrdiz þar landwarnar madr. Efftir þetta hellt 90v  
 Oláfr kongr lidi sínu westr til Sudr Eýia, gengo þeir þar á land, og  
 tóku ser strandhögg[e] karl einn bió þar á landi uppi miðg nærri,  
 höfdu kongs menn tekit fra honum kyr hans, og ráku þær undan  
 10 ser til skipa, let karl miðg aumlega yfer ser, wid þann missir, og er  
 Hrómundr ward þess wys spir hann kall at hvór hann wæri? enn  
 hann qvadt Máni heita. Hromundr spir hvad hellz hann misst hafi?  
 enn hann qvedz látit hafa kyr sínar, er wæri sitt hiálprædi, qvedz  
 hann búa þar allskamt frá, og kwad lítla fremd at ræna kotkalla; wæri  
 15 þat miklu meiri frami segir hann at brióta hauga, og abla ser þadan  
 fiár þessa er draugur<sup>8</sup> hefði at wardweita, Hromundr bad hann se-  
 gia ser, ef hann wissi nockut um soddan, enn Máni qvadz wiz wita  
 og mælti Þráin war kongr nemndr, er wann allt Valland og ward  
 þar kongr yfir, hann war Berserkr mikill og sterkr, og þar med fullr

52 þó] + skal L840. 53 og] þá L840. 53 sídan] Hraungvidr L840. 54  
 allwíða] vijda L840. 58 sem] er L840. 7 westr] ÷ L840. 7 Eýia] + vestur  
 L840. 8 landi] landenú L840. 9 honum] + ij L840. 10 wid] um L840. 13  
 wæri] wæro L840. 16 draugur] draugar L840. 16 hefði] hhefðu L840. 16–  
 17 segia] vjisa L840. 18 er] ÷ damaged L840. 18 ward] var L840. 19 og]  
 ÷ damaged L840.

7. J634 has an abbreviation marker here, which is vaguely similar to that used  
 for 'er', making the form 'nenni' a possibility.

8. J634 has here a regular r-superscript abbreviation, which usually is used for  
 'ar' and it would agree with L840, but it has been expanded as 'ur' to agree with  
 the form of the following verb.

galldra, hann var settr í haug með sverdi og herklæðum og miklu 20  
 audru fee, enn fáir eru þeir er fysaz þannig at fáz wid hann segir karl.  
 Hrómundr spir hweria leid sigla skule þannigd<sup>9</sup> karl seigir at hann  
 má sigla rett í sudr á vj dögum. Hrómundr þackar karli þessa frá  
 saugo, og gaf honum aptr kyr sínar, og þar til annat fee, ward karl  
 gladi wid þetta, og rak þær heim til bigda sinna. Efftir þat sigldu 25  
 þeir brott þadan, og helldo skipum sinum í þá átt sem karl hafði  
 þeim tilwísat, og at vj daga fresti, komu þeir vestan til at Vallandi  
 og sáu þar haugin rett fyrir framstafni, á nesi einu. Gengu þeir  
 91r nú uppá land at hauginum, og tóku til þegar at riufa ll hann, enn  
 at lidnum iiij daugum, gátu þeir komit glúgg á haugin; sáu þeir þá 30  
 inn at þar sat Dólgr mikill á stóli, sá var bædi blár og digr, og allr  
 gulllegum skróða klæddr, sva at leyptra þóckti af, rumdi hann miðg  
 mikit, er hann bles at Elldinum. Hrómundr spir þá hver þeirra allra  
 ganga wili í haugin, og skuli sá mega kíosa ser iij kiorgripi af fe  
 haugbúans. Voli qvad aungwan wilia gefa líf sítt, wid þat<sup>10</sup> sem í 35  
 hauginum er; eru her nú LX manna segir hann: og mun Tröll þetta  
 óllum þeim bana weita. Hrómundr mælti Vogad mundi Kári hafa  
 þetta ef lífs wæri, og qvad miklegaz at ser wæri nidr sleppt í festi  
 nockurri, inn í haugin<sup>11</sup>, þó at eg witi segir hann: at betra se, at fáz  
 wid viij adra Rauskwa menn, enn draug þennan ein saman. Sidan fer 40  
 Hrómundr nidr í festinni, war þetta á nóttu. Enn er hann kom inn í  
 haugin, og nidr á gólfit, þá sveifladiz hann umm, og bar saman fee  
 mikit, er hann fann fyrir ser, og batt þat í festar Endan. Þráin hafði á  
 fyrri daugunum werid kongr yfir Vallandi, sem fyrr war sagt; Vann  
 hann þat allt med gölldrum, og górdi margt illt af ser. Enn er hann 45  
 war sva gamall at hann kunni ei at geta stridt leingr; þá let hann setia  
 sig lifanda í haugin, og mikit fe med ser.

21 er] sem L840. 21 þannig] þangad L840. 22 þannigd] þangad L840. 23–  
 24 frá saugo] frásógn L840. 25 gladi] gladdur L840. 25 sigldu] hielldu L840.  
 26 brott] búrt L840. 26 helldo] sigldu L840. 29 til þegar] þegar til L840. 30  
 glúgg á] glúgga ä L840. 33 mikit] vid L840. 35 aungwan] + munde L840.  
 35 þat] þvi L840. 40 draug] haugbúa L840. 40 saman] ÷ L840. 47 lifanda]  
 lifande L840.

9. A mistake in J634, should read 'þangad'.

10. This word is abbreviated in both manuscripts.

11. The expansion with a single 'n' ('haugin' instead of 'hauginn') follows the written-out forms in J634.

III. *Capítuli Hrómundr vinnr Haugbúann, og fær Mistiltein.*

Hrómundr kannar nú víða haugin, og getr seet hvar sverð hángir upp á einni súlu, hann kyppir þ(v)í ofan, girdir sig með þ(v)í, og gengr fram at stólinum sva mælandi: Mer man wera mál komit or hauginum first einginn hamlar, ll eda hvernig weg[nar] þer þú herna 91v  
 5 hinn Gamli: eda sástú ecke at eg bar saman fee þitt, en húktir kir á meðan húndr leidr. Eda hwad war þer í augum er þú horfdir á, at eg tók sverdit og menit, og fiólða þinna annara gripa? Þráin qvad ser einkis werdt þyckia um þetta, ef hann leti sig kirran sitia á stóli sínum; kunna eg segir hann ádr fyr at beriaz, og er þá ordinn nógu ragr, ef þú einn skalt ræna mig audi mínum, wil eg synia þer gripanna, og máttú síá wid mer daudum. Þá mælti Hrómundr Rigadu þer á fætr, ragr og blaudr, og tak tú sverdit afftr af mer ef þú þorir. draugurinn mælti þat er eingin fremd at bera sverð [á] mig wopn-  
 10 lausan, wil eg helldr reina abl wid þig og glímo. Hrómundr kastar þá nidr sverdinu, og treisti abli sínu, og er Þráin sá þetta, leisti hann ofan ketil sinn, er hann hafdi upp i yfer hlaudun, war hann þá ei frínlegr og bles at Elldinum, er hann war búin at eta or katlinum, funni war mikill í milli fóta hans, enn ketillinn fullr af manna búkum. Hann war í stacki gullfágudum, bádar hans hendr woru breingladar, og beigduz neglur fyri góma. Hrómundr mælti skrydtú af stóli skálckr argr! Swiptr aullu fee. Þá svarar draugrinn: Nú man mál wera at fara á fætr, fi(r)st þú fry(a)r mer hugar þ(v)í ecke er þetta þolandi leingr, lydr nú dagurin, enn kwølldar miög, og gòriz þá myrkt í hauginum, reys hann þá á fætr, og geck til glímu wid Hrómund og kastadi nidr  
 15 frá ser katli sínum, neytti Hrómundr þá abls; og genguz þeir at sva hardt, at griót og stockar gengo upp, og allt þat er fyrir ward. ll þá dátt draugurinn á annat kne og mælti þú stiakar mer, og wýst ertu hraustr, Hrómundr segir státtú studningslauz á fætr aprt, og miklo ertú linari enn Mani karl sagdi mer. Þá tók Þráin at Tryllast,<sup>12</sup> og fylltiz upp haugrin með illan daun, er wedr geck af honum tvá wega, setti hann þá klær sínar á hnacka Hrómundar og sleit hold hans og hudina með af beinunum, allt á lendar ofan og mælti kvarta ei um þo gráne leykrinn og sárni kroppr þinn, þviat nú skal eg ryfa þig

7 [þinna] ÷ L840. 16 upp i] upp L840. 16 hlaudun] hlödunum L840. 18 í] ä L840. 23 nú] ÷ L840. 23 myrkt] dimmt L840. 28 segir] mælti L840. 33 þo] þött L840.

12. In J634, the word-initial letter resembles more the capital 'd' than 't', compare with 'Tígilkníf' on f. 94v.

kwikan í sundr. E[ig]li weit eg *segir* Hrómundr *hvadan* kattarkyn  
slíkt er komit í haug þenna. Draugurin *mælir* þú mant fæddr *wera* 35  
af Gunnlöd, og eru fáir þínir likar. Jllt man *wera segir* Hrómundr  
attú<sup>13</sup> klórar mig leingi. Glímdu þeir þá enn bædi hart og leingi, sva  
at skálf undir þat í nánd war, þar til um sidir at Hrómundr felldi hann  
á fótarbragdi. War þá miðg dimmt ordit. þá *mælti* Draugrinn: Nú  
yfirwanstú mig með ráðum, og tókz sverd mitt, skipti þat með ockr 40  
leyki; leingi hefir eg nú lifat í haugi *minum* og lafat á fee þessu, enn  
ei er gott at trúa gripum *sínum*, þó godir þycki of miðg. Og all dri  
hefir eg ætlat attú mistiltein! mitt góða sverd, *mundir* werda mer  
til meins, ward Hrómundr þá laus, og nádi sverdinu, og *mælti* herm 45  
mer nú hvat marga menn þú wann í holmgaungo með Mistilteini.  
CXXIIIJ qvad draugrinn, og feck eg all dri skeinu. Semingr kongr er  
war í Svíþíod, og ek reindum ockar Jþróttir, og hugdi hann eg mundi  
seint unninn werda af *menskum mǫnnum*. Hellz í leinge hefir þú  
werit *mǫnnum* til meins *segir* Hrómundr og man þat happa werk,  
at láta þig sem first de[y]ia, hió hann þá hófudit af drauginum, og 50  
92v brenndi ll hann allan upp at biórtu báli. Sidan war hann upp dreginn  
or hauginum og fet allt, spurdu menn þá at h[wer]nig þeir Þráin og  
hann hafði skilit? enn hann qvad þat hafa gengit í kiór, þvíat eg hió af  
honum hófudit *seiger* hann at ockr[t] skilnadi, Eignadiz Hrómundr  
þá iij kiörgripi, af þ(v)í fee er hann socti í haugin hring men og Mis- 55  
tiltein. Feingo þeir allir of fjár. Sigldi Olaf kongr sva þadan nordr  
afftr, heim til Ríkis síns, og settiz umm kirt at landi síno.

#### IV. Capítuli Hrómundr kemz i onad kongs fyri Róg.

Eptir þetta varþ Hrómundr miðc frægr af þesso verki, var hann bædi  
winsæll og stórgiðfull, hann gaf einum manni þeim er Hrókr het,  
eitt sinn gullhring godan er wóg Eyri, enn er þat feck Voli at wita  
drap hann Hrók á náttarþeli, og tok sva hringinn til sin, enn sem  
Kongr wissi þetta, qvadz hann skilldi launa Vola einhvern tíma hans 5  
hrecki. Kongr átti systr ij het ónm þeirra Dagní, enn hin Svanhvít,  
og war sú fremri at aullu, war eingin hennar líki milli Svíþíódar

37 enn] ÷ L840. 41 nú] + segir draugur L840. 42 godir þycki of miðg] of miðg þike gödir L840. 45 wann] vanst L840. 45 holmgaungo] Hölmgaungum L840. 48 í] ÷ L840. 53 hafði] hófdu L840. 57 síns] ÷ damaged L840. 57 og] ÷ damaged L840. 6 ij] + og L840. 6 hin] Önnur L840.

13. The scribe of J634 sometimes writes 'áttú' or 'attú' for 'at þú'.

og Hálogalands. Hrómundr Greypsson war nú heima med kongi, górdi hann ser kátt wid Svanhvít, og fordaz hvórki at þ(v)í Vola  
 10 ne Bíld. Eitt sinn war það at hun mælti wid Hrómund og segir at þeir Voli og Bíldr muni wissulega rægja hann wid kong, enn hann qvadz aungwar argar fylur hrædaz, og sva leingi seiger hann sem, þú will unna mer wídtals, þá man eg tala wid þig, og lidu sva framm  
 15 nockrar stundir. Enn þar kom umm sídir at sva ward megn þessi Rógburdr, at þeir Hrómundr og brædr hans, urdu ll at ríma brott or  
 93r kongs hird, og fóro heim til faudr síns. litlu her efftir bar sva til eitt sinn, at Svanhvít kom á tal wid Oláf kong brodr sinn, og mælti sva: Nú er Hrómundr dæmdr í brott frá kongs hird, hver er wora sæmd jók þó mest, enn afftr í stadin hafit Er<sup>14</sup> med ydr þá ij wanda menn,  
 20 er hverki rækia frægd ne dád, kongr svarar heyrtr haufum wer þess getit at hann mundi fybla þig, og skal sverdit skilia yckar ástir. Litt man þú þat nú seiger hun, þegar hann einn ward til þess forðum at ganga í haugin at sækia fee til Práins, er enginn annara af þínu lide þordi, og fyrri munu þeir bádir Voli og Bíldr heingdir werða á gálga,  
 25 segir hun: enn þeir winni þ(v)ílik frægdar werk sem Hrómundr geck hun sidann snúdugt í brott.

### V. Capítuli Hrómundr berz mot haddingum med Olafi kongi fyrri bón Svanhhvítar

Nockro siþar bar sva til at kongar ij er heto bádir Haddingar oc reþo fyrri Svíþiod, górdi ord Olafi kongi og budu honum ij kosti, at hann gæfi þeim upp Ríki sitt, eda berdiz wid þá westr á Vænis ysi, med þeim war þá Helgi hinn Frækni Hraungvidar brodr: enn  
 5 kongr kióri helldr at hallda orrosto wid þá, enn flyia Odul sín; górir hann nú ord þeim Hrómundi og brædrum hans, at þeir komi til lids wid hann, wildi Hrómundr þá hvergi fara, qvad þá Bild og Vola wel duga mundi, og winna allt med kongi, for kóngr þá af stad med lid sitt. Enn er Svanhvít systir hans feck þetta at wita, þá fór hun at

11 ham] ÷ L840. 13 will] villt L840. 13 lidu] + nú L840. 15 þeir Hrómundr og] Hrómundur og þeir L840. 15 brott] ÷ L840. 16 hird] + búrt L840. 18 brott] burt L840. 18 hver er] hvor ed L840. 19 hafit Er] hafe þier L840. 19 wanda] vondú L840. 22 man þú] manstú L840. 23 til] ÷ L840. 26 í] ä L840. 6 komi] verde L840. 8 mundi] mundú L840.

14. J634 has a mistake or an unusual abbreviation here 'er', a better reading in L840: 'þier'.

93v hitta Hrómund ef werda mætti hun gæti í nockro mýkt ll mikt<sup>15</sup> 10  
 hans ged, sva hann yrði kongi til lids. Enn er hún kom þar, tók  
 Hrómundr henni wel, mælti hún þá til hans med klóckvu bragdi:  
 Wird nú til bón mína segir hun meir enn werdleika brodur míns  
 og weit nú lid kongi, wil eg gefa þer einn skiólld og filgir honum  
 eitt band, at þig mun ei saka á medann þú hefur þat. Hrómundr 15  
 þackadi henni giöf þessa, og het nú ferdinni, gladdiz hún þá, og  
 fór heim afftr til borgarinnar, en Hrómundr bióz til orostunnar,  
 og þeir allir brædr hans viij med honum. Nú kemr kongr med lid  
 sitt til Vænis yss, og war þar komit fyrir Svía lid, enn at morgni  
 þegar víglióz war, wopnaz þeir h[verir]tveggio á ysinum, og sóktu 20  
 Svíar hart fram, en strax sem bardaginn hófz war Bíldr wegin, en  
 Voli kom þar all dri. þeir Oláfr kongr og Haddíngr kongr mættuz í  
 bardaganum og baurduz lyktadi sva med þeim ad Haddíngr kongr  
 ward sár. Hrómundr hafdi sett hrauktialld sitt hino megin watnsins,  
 þeir brædr hans herklædaz snemma umm morguninn, en Hrómundr 25  
 mælti þá: Jlla hefir mig dreymt í nótt, og man ei ganga allt at oskum,  
 og man eg ecki fara í dag til orrosto, en þeir brædr hans sógdu þat  
 mikla skómm wera at þóra ei at weita lid kongi sinum, enn wera þó  
 kominn þess [erendis],<sup>16</sup> fóru þeir nú til orrosto, og gengo sva hart  
 framm, at hver fell umm þveran annan er þeim mætti aflidi konganna. 30  
 Ein fiólkingis kona war þar komin í Alptarham, hún gól med sva  
 miklum galdralatum, at eingin Oláfs kongs manna gádi at weria sig;  
 hún het Kára; flo hun yfir þá Greypssyni og saung hátt. Helgi hinn  
 Fræk(ne) mætti þeim brædrum þat sama sinn, og drap þá alla viij  
 94r saman hvern effter ll annan. J þessu bili kom Hrómundr til bard- 35  
 agans. Helgi hinn Frækni þeckti hann brádt og mælti Nú er sá her  
 kominn, er wóg Hraungvid brodr minn, og megit Er<sup>17</sup> nú síá wid  
 sverdi hans, er hann sóckti í haugnum; warstu nú færri Hrómundr

10 gæti] keme L840. 10 mýkt] at mijkia L840. 10 mikt] ÷ L840. 13  
 werdleika] verdskulldan L840. 14 einn] ÷ L840. 27 orrosto] orrostonar L840.  
 29 orrosto] orrostonar L840. 31 gól] gólade L840. 32 eingin] einge L840.  
 33 flo hun] hun flaug L840. 36 sá her] hier sa L840. 37 megit Er] mege þier  
 L840. 38 sverdi hans] hanns sverde L840.

15. The scribe of J643 repeated the last word from the previous page at the top of the following page.

16. The reading is largely unclear in J634, it was deciphered based on the readings preserved in L840.

17. J634 has a mistake or an unusual abbreviation here 'er', a better reading in L840 'pier'.

sagdi hann: er eg drap brædr þína. Hromundr mælti Ecki þarf þú  
 40 Helgi at fryia mer hugar, þvíat annar hver eg eda þú skulu nú falla.  
 Helgi svarar; Mistilteinn er sva þúngt wopn, áttú fær ei walldit, og  
 wil ek líá þer annat sverd, er þer see wopnhæfara. Hrómundr mælti  
 Ecki þarftú at bregda mer umm orkuleysi, þvíat muna muntú þat  
 45 hóggr er eg gaf Hraungvid, þá haus hans moladiz. Helge seigir: þú  
 Hromundr hefir bundit wid þína haund sockaband Meyiar einnar,  
 skil þig wid skiöld þann er þú ber, þvíat eingi sár fær þú medan þú  
 ber þetta band, og helld eg fyrir sátt áttú trúir á þá meyo. Hrómundr  
 þoldi ei þessi skapraunar ord, og kastadi nidr skilldinum. Helge hinn  
 Frækni hafdi jamnan sigr hafft, og wann med fólkingi fridlo sinnar  
 50 er Kára het, er þar flockti þá yfir þeim í Alfttar líki, reiddi Helgi þá  
 sva hátt sverd sitt, upp yfir sig, at þat tók sundr fótlegg alfttarinnar,  
 og rendi sverdit ofan í ysin upp at hiólltum er þat misti Hromundar,  
 þ(v)í hann brá ser undan. þá mælti Helgi: nú er farin mín heill, og  
 illa tokz til, er eg missta þín. datt Kára þá daud nidr. Hrómundr  
 55 mælti Nú wann þú Helgi hit we(r)sta slis, er þú drap siálfr fridlo  
 þína, og farin mun þin heill. Enn af þesso sama hóggi er Helgi hió  
 til Hrómundar snart oddr sverdsins kwid Hrómundar og risti nidr,  
 enn Helgi laut ll efftir hógginu, er sverdit festiz í ysinum sem fyrr 94v  
 war sagt, ward Hromundr þá ei hand seinn, og hóggr Mistilteini í  
 60 haufud Helga, klofnadi þá hialmrinn og hausinn, sva stadar nam í  
 herdunum, brotnadi þá skard í sverdit. Efftir þat tók Hrómundr Tí-  
 gilkníf sinn, og stack í kwidin á ser í sársbrúninnar raufar, hrátt sva  
 ystronni inn, er út hángdi hrifnar þar med saman kwidin med bandi,  
 og bátt klædin hardt at ser útan, sóckti sva fram í akafa, og felldi  
 65 hvern umm annan þverann, bardiz sva fram til midrar nætr, flydi  
 þá lid þat sem efftir war af Haddingum, og lykr þar med orustunni.  
 Hromundr seer þá at einn madr stendr á ysinum, og weit hann at sá  
 sami mun górt hafa ysinn med gaulldrum á watnid, þeckti hann at  
 þetta war Voli. Hrómundr qvad ei oskildt at launa honum nockro,  
 70 hlióp til hans, reiddi upp Mistilteinn, og wildi hóggva hann, en Voli  
 bles sverdit or hendi honum, hitti þat fyrir wauk eina, og sóck sva  
 nidr í watnid. þá hló Voli og mælti Nú er þú feigr, er þú mistir Mis-  
 tiltein or hendi þer, Hrómundr svarar fyrr manto deya enn eg, hlióp

42 er] sem L840. 44 þá] þegar L840. 44 haus hans moladiz] moladest j  
 honum hausenn L840. 45 wid] um L840. 46 þvíat] því L840. 50 þá] ÷  
 L840. 52 er þat] þar er hann L840. 53 þ(v)í] þar er L840. 55 drap] drapst  
 L840. 57 oddr] oddurenn L840. 59 þá] ÷ L840. 66 þat] ÷ L840.

hann þá at Vola, greip hann hondum á lofft upp, og færði hann nidr  
 wid ysinn at haufdi, sva at hausinn brotnadi, lág þessi galdra Raumr 75  
 þar nú daudr, enn Hrómundr settiz nidr á ysinn og mælti Jlla gordi  
 eg at eg hafdi ei Rád meyarinnar, hefir eg nú fengit xiiij undir, og  
 þar med miz brædr mína viij, og mitt goda sverð Mistilteinn fell í  
 watnid, fær eg þess allðri bætr, er eg misti sverðit, *geck hann sidan*  
 95r þadan og heim at tialldi sinu og tók nockra hvíld. ll 80

VI(.) Capítuli Hrómundr er í grædslo hiá Hagli Karli og  
 Kerlíngo hans.

Sva er frá sagt at þegar Svanhvít kongs systir frettir Hrómundr miðc  
 sáran wera, fer hun á hans fund, og saumar saman kwidin med silki  
 þrædi og smyr sidan, leitandi honum allra þeirra hagenda er hún  
 kann, let sidan færa hann karli þeim til grædslo er Hagall het; ker-  
 líng hans war klök nockut, þaug tóku wel wid honum, og græddu 5  
 hann at heilu á laun. þat fann Hrómundr at þessi hión woru marg  
 kunnug. karl war wanr at weyda fiska or watninu Wæni, og eitt sinn  
 er hann war at weydiskap sinum, dróg hann eina Geddu mikla, og er  
 hann kom heim og krufdi gedduna, fann hann í hennar maga Mis-  
 tiltein, sverð Hrómundar og feck honum þat. Hrómundr ward miðg 10  
 gladur wid þetta, og kyssti á sverdsins hióllt, og umbunadi karli þetta  
 wel. Einn madr war sá med Haddíngi kongi<sup>18</sup> er het Blindr hinn  
 Jlli; Hann sagdi kongi at Hrómundr wæri lífs og græddr á laun hiá  
 þeim Hagli karli, og kerlíngo hans. kongr qvad þat otrúlegt at þau  
 mundu þora at leyna honum þar. kongr baud at leita hans þángat, 15  
 fór Blindr þannig wid nockra menn til húsa þeirra Hagals, og spirja  
 ef Hrómundr wæri þar geymdr? kerlíng segir hann mundi ei þar  
 finnaz. Blindr leitadi wandlega, og fann ei at helldr, þviat kerling  
 hafdi falit Hrómund undir hitu katli sinum, foru þeir nú Blindr og  
 hans feelagar þadan. Og er þeir woru á leid komnir mælti Blindr: 20  
 Ei er ferd wor frægileg ordin, og skulum wer afftr snúa, þeir górdur  
 nú sva, komu heim og fundu kerlíngu, segir Blindr hún wæri brög-  
 dótt, og hefði geimt Hrómund undir katli sínum. leitit þar þá kvat

75 at] ä L840. 76 enn] ÷ L840. 79 er] at L840. 1 frá] ÷ L840. 6 þessi  
 hión] þau L840. 6 woru] + klök nockut og L840. 7 Wæni] Væner L840. 9  
 og] ÷ L840. 9 krufdi] + hann L840. 9 gedduna] + og L840. 9 hann] ÷  
 L840.

18. L840 has a lacuna from here onwards.

hún, og takit hann. Enn þ(v)í sagdi hun þetta, at þegar hún sá þeir  
 25 sneru aptr, færði hún Hrómund í kwenn skrúda, og let hann snúa  
 kwörn[in] ll mala. þeir leita nú í husunum, og þegar þeir koma 95v  
 þannig sem mærin snir kwörninni, þá snudrúdu þeir allt um kríng,  
 enn sú sama mærl leit ófyrlega til kongs mamma. Snero þeir enn sva  
 á brott at þeir fundu ham ecke. Og er þeir woru á weg komnir,  
 30 segir Blindr at kerling man hafa willt siónir fyr þeim, og ser þycki  
 grunsamt at Hrómundr muni hafa werit þat, sem sneri kwörninni í  
 kwennklædunum, og seer eg oss hefir yfirseez, dugir oss ei at þreita  
 wid kerlingu þessa, þvíat hun er oss klókari, bádu þeir henni ills og  
 foru heimm afftr til kongs wid sva búit, og sagdi honum allt sem farit  
 35 hafdi.

### VII. Capítuli Draumar Blinds, og útlekkingar Haddíngs Kongs.

Um vetrin eptir, bar margt fyri Blind í svefni, og sagdi hann Kongi  
 eitt sinn draum sinn og mælti sva: Mer þóckti wargr einn renna  
 austan af landino, og allt hinngat at hallinni, ham beit ydr kongr,  
 og weitti ydr á werka. kongr qvadt ráda drauminn sva: her man  
 5 koma kongr einn af nockrum stad, og man fundurinn werda skædr  
 first, en falla þó nidr til sátta. Enn qvad Blindr sig dreimt hafa annan  
 draum: At honum þóckti margir haukar sitia í einu húsi, og þeckta  
 eg þar fálcka þin herra sagdi ham: hann war allr fiadralaus, og flettr  
 haminum. kongr mælti Vindr man koma af skyum, og skelfa wora  
 10 Borg. þridia draum dreimdi mig sagdi Blindr: At eg þóckti síá mǫrg  
 swín renna sunnan at kongs hallinni, rótudu þau miǫg upp jǫrdunni  
 med rananum, kongr mælti þat er fyri síáfarólgu, wotwidrit og gras-  
 wexti þeim, er grær af wat(n)sins waukva, er sólin skyn í heidi. fiorda  
 draum dreimdi mig sagdi Blindr: at mer þóckti einn ogurlegr hriki  
 15 koma ll austan ad, ham beit ydr kongr stóra und, kongr mælti Sen- 96r  
 dimenn munu koma frá einum kongi í mína hall, þeir munu bita  
 upp ǝllum sinum wapnum, og þar af man eg reidaz. Hinn fimti  
 draumr er sá segir Blindr: at mer þóckti liggia um allt Svíawelldi  
 einn grimlegr ormr. Her man koma at landi segir kongr dreki wænn  
 20 hladinn gersenum. Sjóunda<sup>19</sup> Draum dreimdi mig, sagdi Blindr: At  
 mer þóckti koma af landi ofan svǫrt kyr<sup>20</sup> med klóm, og wængium,

19. Note that the story jumps from the fifth dream to the seventh dream.

20. Note that the variant 'kýr' is characteristic to text-group B.

og fljúga brott með þig kongr! þá dreimdi mig enn *sagdi* hann: at ormr einn væri hia Hagli karli, sá beit mig grimmlaga, át hann bædi mig og ydr upp, kongr! og alla ydar menn, edr hwad mun þetta þíða herra! kongr *mælti* heyrtr hefir eg sagt, at skamt á brott fra 25  
 híbylum Hagals karls, liggi hydbiörn nocker, man eg fara at winna Biörninn og man hann þá bistaz miðg. Her næst dreimdi mig *sagdi* Blindr: at dreka hamr væri dreginn um kongs höllina alla, og heck þar wid lyndi Hromundar. kongr *mælti* þat weit þú at Hrómundr misti sverd og lynda í watninu, eda ertú nú hræddr wid Hrómund? 30  
 Fleiri drauma dreimdi Blind, hveria hann *sagdi* alla kongi, en kongr redi alla ser í wil, en aungwan sva sem þiddi. Nú *segir* Blindr draum sinn er hann dreymdi um sialfan sig og *mælti* mer þóckti Jarnhringr settr um min háls, *sagdi* hann: kongr *mælti* þat er þíding þess draums attú mun heingdr werda, og þar med munu wid bádir feigir. 35

### VIII. Capituli Dráp þeirra Haddings kongs og Blinds og gipting Hrómundar

96v ll Eptir þetta samnar Oláfr Kongr lidi, oc hellt þ(v)í sidan til Svíþjóðar. Hrómundr filgdi honum, komu þeir á owart at haullu Haddings kongs, hann lág í úti skemmu einni, og ward ei fyrr war wid hernadin, enn upp war brotin skemmu hurdin, kallar Haddingr kongr þá á menn sína, og spir hverir umm<sup>21</sup> nætr strída? Hrómundr 5  
*sagdi* til sín. kongr *mælti* þú munt nú wilia hefna brædra þinna? Hrómundr *sagdi* hann skilldi fátt tala umm fall brædra sinna; skal þú nú þess giallda *segir* hann: og her líft missa. Þá hlióp upp einn kappi Haddings kongs, sva stór sem Risi, og wildi weria kong, enn Hrómundr drap þann. Haddingr kongr werz í hvílunni sva hann 10  
 feck eckert sár, þ(v)í hvert sinn sem Hrómundr hió til hans, kom swerdit flátt á kong, þá tok Hrómundr kylfu og lamdi Hadding kong í hel med henni. þá *mælti* Hrómundr Her hefir eg felldan Hadding kong, og hefir eg ei fundit frægri mann. Karlin Blindr, er het Bavis rettu nafni war bundinn og heingdur sidan, rættiz 15  
 sva draumr hans. Toku þeir þar mikit gull og annad fee, helldu sidan heim. Oláfr kongr giffti Hromundi Svanhvít systir sína, þaug unntuz wel, áttu syni og dætr til samans, og woru afbragd annara

7 *sagdi*] qvad L840. 9 kongs, sva] ÷ *damaged* L840. 13 med henni] ÷ *damaged* L840. 14 fundit] ÷ *damaged* L840. 18 til] ÷ *damaged* L840.

21. Here the text of L840 starts again on f. 260r.

20 *manna, eru af þeim komnar konga ættir og kappar miklir, og dreifdiz sá afspreingr wíða umm laund, jafnwel til Islands. Og lykr her sva Saugunni af Hromundi Greýpssyni.*<sup>22</sup>

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22. In J634, the text is followed by a colophon, which reads 'skrifud 3 Martii Anno 1767.'. There is no colophon in L840.



## The nineteenth-century saga

Manuscripts used for this edition:

- BL Add. 11109 (B11109) - base text
- Lbs 679 4to (L679)
- Lbs 1572 4to (L1572)
- Lbs 2404 8vo (L2404)

The digital version of this edition with images of B11109 can be found online: [https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/hromundar\\_B11109/](https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/hromundar_B11109/).



## Sagan af Hrómundi Greipssyni.

### I kapítuli

Sva hefr Sögo þessa, at á þeim tímum sem margir Stólkongar voro í Norvegi, Danmorco oc Svíþjóþ, gjörþost margir Höfþingjar oc stormektugir Herrar, Greifar oc Jarlar, sem bruto sic til ríða oc  
 5 landa, herjuþo sva vel á vetrom sem sumrom, oc ðbluþo sér sva fjár oc frægþa. A medal þessara oc þvílíkra var einn micils verþr Kóngr, sem Olafr hiet, hann var ólatasti til bardaga, ör af fé vit vini sína, enn strangr oc hefnigjarn vit Ovini; hann rac af ríðjom marga Konga oc höfþingja, oc hafþi vetrseto í Norvegi, sérdeilis á  
 10 Háloga landi, þar sat Kóngr optast. Kóngr átti ij systr, sem fram tóco ðllom ðþrom meyom, at kostom oc qvenþríþi, hyggindom sem handvirþom,<sup>1</sup> á millum Vícr oc Hálogalands, hiet ðnnr Dagný en ðnnr Svanhvít; Svanhvít bar af systr sinni of<sup>2</sup> flesta luti, þó voro báþar hinar tignarlegosto Jómfrúr. Tveir bræþr voro með Kóngi er  
 15 hann hafþi mestar mætr á, oc hiet einn Bíldr, en annar Vole, þeir voro fullir fjólcíngis, galdra oc gjörnínga, íllsko oc undirfórulheita; þeim qvomo fáir lutir óvorom, oc íllt lögþo þeir til fleyrstra mála. Maþr nocr bjó í nálægþ Kóngi, er Greipr hiet, hann var auþugr at

2 margir Stólkongar] fylkis kongar L1572. 3 Höfþingjar] ÷ L2404, L1572. 3 oc] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 4 Herrar] ÷ L679. 5 sva vel] jafnvel L2404. 5 sem] og L1572. 6 frægþa] frægðar L679, L1572. 6 oc þvílíkra] ÷ L2404, L1572. 6 verþr] háttar L679, L2404. 7 sem] er L679, L1572. 7 ólatasti] hinn ólatasti L2404, L1572. 8 strangr oc] ÷ L1572. 8 hefnigjarn] hefndargjarn L1572. 8 ríðjom] ríki L1572. 9 í Norvegi, sérdeilis] ÷ L2404. 10 Kóngr] hann L1572. 11 ðllom] ÷ L679. 12 sem] og L679, L1572. 12 handvirþom] hamingu L679, handyrðum L1572, handiþnum L2404. 13 Svanhvít] hún L679. 13 of] um L679, L2404, L1572. 14 tignarlegosto] tig[a]glegustu L679, görfilegustu L2404. 14 Jómfrúr] meýar L2404. 15 oc hiet einn] hiet annar L679, L1572. 16 fjólcíngis] fjólcíngis og L679, L2404. 16 gjörnínga] ÷ L2404. 16 íllsko] ÷ L2404, L1572. 16 oc undirfórulheita] ÷ L1572, og undirfóruilir L2404. 17 þeim qvomo] komu þeim L1572. 18 ar] af L679, L1572.

1. An example of an archaic word *handvirði* (neuter noun), registered in OH from the 17th cent.; the variants *handiðn* (feminine noun) registered from 18th–20th cent., and *handyrð* (feminine noun) registered from 17th–19th cent. In Blöndal's dictionary, *handvyrðir* is a synonym of *hannyrðir*, which is translated as female handicraft (Da. *kvindeligt håndarbejde*).

2. An archaic use of the preposition 'of' with acc., which has the same meaning as 'um'.

fé, oc hinn gófgasti af bændom þar of pláts; hann var qvæntr maþr  
 oc átti dóttur Hróks hins Svarta, er Vallaug hiet, hún var qvennkostr 20  
 en betsti, oc vel at sér of marga luti. Greiþr unni kono sinni micit,  
 oc ól vit henni ix suno; hiet einn Héþinn, annar Haci, þriþji Gautr,  
 fjórþi Hògni, fimmti Þróstr, sjótti Angantýr, sjóundi Logi, áttundi  
 Helgi, níundi Hrómundr, hann var eldstr þeirra bræþra oc hinn  
 107r frægasti maþr at ll hreysti oc óllom fræcleica, sva hann bar langt 25  
 af mðnnom þar í byggþom, þeir bræþr allir voro af alþýþo kallaþir  
 Hrócar, því þeir voro af Hrócs ætt qvomnir. Hrómundr var þjartr  
 á hár, hýr í tilliti, en snar í augom, breiþr á herþar oc stormenni at  
 vexti, hann gaf sic alldrei fyrir und eþr ákomo, oc vit enga æþru  
 var hann kéndr; þeir bræþr hans voro oc allir midir menn til allra 30  
 mannburþa.

## II kapítuli

Þat var einusinni sem optar, at Olafur Kóngur lætr blása til herferþar,  
 heimtir saman liþ sitt, oc segist vilja hafa her úti, eptir vana sínom,  
 at ávinna sér oc kóppom sínom kost oc uppheldi, sva frægþ af fara  
 megi, en óhróþr niþr leggjast, dreif nú til Kóngrs fjóldi af fólki or  
 ýmsom áttom, heldr þá Kóngr þegar á haf með mðrgom tilfaungom. 5  
 Maþr var sá með Olafi Kóngi sem Kári h(ie)t, hann var ágjætis maþr  
 at óllom drengscap, hann var fóstbróþir Hrómundar oc ástfólgin  
 vinr; bróþir hans hiet Ørnólfr, oc var maþr fræcinn. Kári var ramr  
 at abli, hann stóþ jafnan í Kóngrsins eyrindom, oc var stafnbúi hans.

19 hinn gófgasti af bændom] gófgaþr bondi L679. 19 þar of pláts] ÷ L2404, L1572, þar um plátss L679. 20 oc] hann L679. 20 Vallaug hiet] Vallaug hét /:al: Gunnlod /: modir hennar Brinhildur dottir Haka konungs i Skáney L1572, Vallaug (alii Gunnlöd :) móþir hennar var Brynhildr dóttir Haca konungs á Skáney L2404. 21 betsti] vænsti L679. 21 of] um L679, L2404, L1572. 22 Héþinn] Haki L1572. 22 Haci] Hedinn L1572. 23 Logi] Lodinn L679, L1572. 25 hreysti oc óllom fræcleica] óllum jþrottum og hreisti L679. 26 byggþom] sveitbigdum L679. 26 allir voro] voru L679, voru allir L1572. 26–27 af alþýþo kallaþir Hrócar] kalladir þar i bigdum af óllum Hrokar L679, af alþýþo Hrókar kallaþir L2404. 28 en] og L2404. 28 oc] en L679. 28 stormenni] stór L1572, mikill L2404. 28 at] í L679. 30 oc] ÷ L2404. 30 midir menn] mikilmenni L679. 30–31 allra mannburþa] hreisti L2404. 1 optar] ÷ L679. 2 segist] qvaþst L2404. 3 at] og L679. 3 ávinna] vinna L679, [ava] L2404. 3–4 frægþ af fara megi] fara meigi frægd af L679, frægd af fengist L1572. 4 af fólki] ÷ L679, fólks L1572. 5 áttom] lóndum L679. 5 þá] ÷ L679, L1572. 6 sá] ÷ L679. 6 sem] er L679, L2404, L1572. 6 ágjætis] ágjætr L679. 8 oc] hann L679. 9 hann] og L679, L1572. 9 oc] hann L679.

10 Nú *sem Kóngr var á haf sigldr, gjörþost honom óhagstæpir vindar,*  
 sva *Kóngr hlaut at halda austr til Svíþjóþar, oc at eino qveldi sigldo*  
 þeir undir *Eyar þær er Ulfaskér heita, þar létto þeir atkéróm, oc tóco*  
*náþir. Þá mæliir Kóngr vit Kára: nú skulot þit bræþr ganga á land oc*  
 þvert yfir þessa eyo *sem vit erom vit komnir, oc vita hvort þér verþit*  
 15 *ecki varir vit, at vícingar neinir séo hino megininn Eyarinnar. Kári*  
*mæliir sva skulom vit gjöra sem þér tilmælit, Herra! taca þeir bræþr*  
*vapn sín oc ganga á land upp oc yfir eyona, oc sem þeir qvomo á*  
*hamar nocorn, sjá þeir vj herscip liggia undir Eyunni, micit stor oc*  
*skrautleg, þó bar þar eitt af ðllom, þat var dreci sva veglegr, at Kári*  
 20 *þóktist ei annan slícan sjeþ hafa, ll hann var scygpþr oc scorinn stafna*  
*á millom. Kári settist niþr oc qvaþ margar vísr af ágæti scipana; síþan*  
*kallaþi hann til þeirra er láo fyrir, oc spyr hvorjir væro? sá nemndi sic*  
*er fyrir þeim var oc sagþist Hraungviþr heita; Kári þóktist ecki sjeþ*  
*hafa sva gildan þussa oc illúþlegri sem Hraungviþ, því hann var bæþi*  
 25 *blár oc svartr; Kári mæliir ertú Vícingr eþr Kaupmaþr. Hraungviþr*  
*mæliir ecki er þér at slíco spytja, fyrr en þú fær at reyna, oc munto ecki*  
*minni verþa, eþa hvaþ hefr þú til nafns? Kári nemdi sic oc Örnólf.*  
*Hraungviþr mæliir hefr þú nocot kallmanlegt adhafst? Kári qvaþst*  
*ecki kunna því at hrósa. en í xxxiij vetr hef ec í vícingo verit, oc margt*  
 30 *sjeþ oc heyrtr, eþa villto leggja til atlògo vit mic? Hraungviþr mæliir*  
*á morgun skalto sanna þat, at ec skal ecki undanteljast. Kári mæliir*  
*þat þykist ec sjá, at fáa muni á þinn fund fýsa, því ec hefi LX sinnom*  
*einvíg haldit, oc afborit þeim er móti vógo oc enginn þeirra leitst mér*  
*sva þusslegr sem þú ert, því munto vera hit mesta fól, oc villda ec at*  
 35 *þú þryfist alldrei. Hraungviþr mæliir því heldr sem þér rís hugr vit*

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10 óhagstæpir vindar] óhagstædr vindr L679, L1572. 11 hlaut at halda austr] vard ad [sig] hallda L679. 11 Svíþjóþar] Svijþjodar austr L679. 12 Ulfaskér heita] heita Elfar skier L679. 12 atkéróm] atkér síga L679. 13 ganga á land] ganga hier á land L679, a land ganga L1572. 14 sem] er L679, L1572. 14 vit] ad L679, L1572. 15 at] ÷ L679. 15 vícingar neinir séo] neina vijkinga L679, vijkingar seu L1572. 16 Herra!] herra segir hann L679, L2404, L1572. 17 upp] ÷ L679. 17 sem] er L679. 18 vj] vij L679. 18 micit] mjógl L679. 19 þar] ÷ L679. 19 sva veglegr] mikill og vænlegr L679. 20 annan] ÷ L679. 21 settist niþr oc] ÷ L679. 21 scipana] skipsins L679. 22 láo fyrir] fjrir láu L679. 22 hvorjir væro?] hvór fjrir væri L679. 23 sagþist] kvadst L679, L1572. 23–24 sjeþ hafa] hafa sied L679. 24 sva gildan] gildari L679. 24 illúþlegri] il-ludligann L1572. 24 sem] enn L679, L2404. 26 spytja] ad spirja L679, L2404, L1572. 27 hefr þú til nafns] heitir þú L679. 29 vetr] ár L2404. 30 til] í L679. 32 á þinn fund fýsa] fýsa á þinn fund L679. 34 sva] eins L679. 34 sem þú ert] og þú L679. 34 at] ÷ L679. 35 því] þess L679.

mér frammar óþrom, sem þú segist vit hafa barist, skalto fá at vita, at þó mér blæþi or hvorjo sári, þá man ec ecki renna undan þér, oc hafir þú hug sem dugandi<sup>3</sup> drengr, þá munto á morgun til reyna. Kári qvaþst vilja á hætta, oc kóstþost þeir lengi á orþom. Síþan gengr Kári heim aptr yfir Eyuna þangat sem Kóngr lá á scipom sínom. Olafr Kóngr sat yfir borþom, er þeir bræþr qvomo. Kóngr spyr tíþinda; þeir bræþr segja hit sanna, at Vícíngar lægi undir Eyunni, oc áscoruþo til bardaga þá morgnati. Kóngr spratt upp oc bat menn búast til orrosto oc sva gjörþo þeir, at þeir sciptast, draga sumir framm fyrir eyuna, en þrir lögþo til scógar oc tóco sér viðar kylfr, oc ll qvomo sva til sinna manna er vícíngar af visso, herklæþdost þeir oc þrifo vapn sín, oc þurfti þar ecki at höggom at spyrja, gengo þar hvorutveggjo í liþ annars. Þeir Kári oc Örnólfr ganga nú framm oc deyrþa margan Vícíng; Þeir Hraungviþr oc menn hans, sæcja þangat sem Kári er, en er Kári sjer þat tecr hann stort at vega, sva hann fellir xij í hvorjo höggi; en sem Hraungviþr sjer þetta, kallar hann ærit hátt oc illilega oc biþr menn sína vel framm ganga, hleypr hann nú uppá sceiþina, er Olafr Kóngr var á, oc hjó margann<sup>4</sup> mann til bana; Kári kémr á móti, hafþi hann þá hlaupit aptr á Kóngrs skeiþ. Hraungviþr mæli til Kára: nú erto qvominn híngat aflóga hundurinn, oc sculom vit nú reyna, hvorjom betr bita vapnin. Kári reiþdist orþom hans, oc hjó til Hraungviþs en hann skaut skyldi fyrir sic, oc festist sverþit í, Hraungviþr sjer þat, oc snarar scyldinom í lopt upp; Kára verþr laust

36 skalto fá at vita, at] skalltu vita L679. 37 man] skal L679. 37 renna undan þér] undan þier renna L679. 38 dugandi] dugandis L679, L2404. 39 vilja á hætta] á hætta vilja L679. 41 þeir] ÷ L2404. 41 qvomo] komu aptr L679. 41 þeir] ÷ L679. 42 bræþr] ÷ L1572. 43 þá] þegar L679. 44 at þeir sciptast] búast til L679. 46 manna] manna enn L679. 46 er vícíngar af visso] þá vícíngar verþa þess varir þa L2404. 47 höggom] sökum L2404. 47 þar] þeir L679, ÷ L2404. 48 ganga nú framm] gengu hart framm L679, ganga hart fram L2404. 49 Vícíng] mann L679. 49 oc menn hans] ÷ L679. 49 þangat] þar ad L679. 50 sva] svo ad L679. 50–51 xij í hvorjo höggi] xij í höggi hvörju L679, ótal manna L2404. 51 ærit] afar L1572. 52 hann] ÷ L679. 53 hjó] fellir L679. 53 til bana] ÷ L679. 53 kémr] + þá L679. 54 hlaupit aptr] aptr hlaupid L1572. 54 skeiþ] s[kip] L679, sceiþina L2404, skipid L1572. 57 skyldi fyrir sic] fyrir sig skildi L1572.

3. L679 and L2404 share the reading *dugandis*, which is an archaic form of *dugandi*, but both forms are registered in OH from the 16th to the 20th cent. In Blöndal's dictionary, *dugandis* is translated as hard-working (Da. *dygtig*).

4. Double abbreviation in B11109, the superscript 'n' has a macron above, therefore expanded with two 'n's. The same abbreviation used in the following word 'menn'.

sverþit óvorom, hann hleypr í lopt eptir því, oc hæfir medalkablann  
 60 oc qvom fjærri niþr. Ærnólfr hafði staþit nærstr Kára broþr sinum nær  
 eþ hann ljóp eptir sverþino; Hraungviþr ætlaði at leggja til Kára, en  
 misti hans, þat var sva gott sverþ, at varla fanst betra<sup>5</sup> sverþ, þat er  
 Hraungviþr átti, því hann kaus jafnan mann fyrir höggi er hann brá  
 því. Nú sem Kári qvom fjærri niþr leggr Hraungviþr sverþit fyrir  
 65 brjóst Ærnólfi oc í gégnom hann, oc kastar honom xiv feta langt af  
 sverþino, oc fá þeir bana er fyrir urþo; Kári sjer þetta oc ryþst um  
 fast, þar til hann höggur til Hraungviþs oc qvom höggit í hjálminn,  
 oc var þat sem í vatn brygþi, en er qvom at beinino, beit ecki á;  
 Hraungviþr brosti oc hjó til Kára; Kári ljóp í lopt upp ófugr aptr  
 70 á bac yfir þann er nærstr stóþ, oc fékk sá höggit af Hraungviþi oc  
 þar til bana. Hraungviþr mælir ll laungom flýr þú Kári, oc hefr þú  
 titlínga náttúro, Kári leypr at Hraungviþ oc höggur á óxlina af mesta  
 abli, sva sverþit géck í sundr undir hjóltunom, en Hraungviþr féll á  
 bæþi kné, oc spratt upp þegar oc mælir nú kýs ec Kára fyrir oþdi  
 75 þér, mín góþa kesja! oc vertú þér nú úti um rauþan kyrtill, síþan  
 lagþi hann sverþino fyrir qvid Kára, oc í gégnom hann, en Kári stóþ  
 sem bundinn væri fyrir lægino, oc veik sér hvorgi, heldr féll með  
 dýrom drengscap, varþ hann mǫrgom harmdaupi, því hann hafði  
 hinn ágætasti maþr verit medan lifþi.

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### III kapítuli

J þesso bili qvomo nú Kóns menn af eyunni með sínar viþar kylfr  
 sem fyrr er frá sagt, laupa þeir nú á scip Olafs Kóns var þá Kári  
 fallinn oc Ærnólfr, hann hafði borit merki Olafs Kóns Hraungviþr

59 óvorom] ÷ L1572. 59 hann hleypr] og hleipr L679, hleypur hann L1572.  
 59 eptir því] upp L679, upp eftir því L1572. 60–61 nær eþ hann] þá hann L679,  
 L2404. 62 misti] hann misti L679. 62 sverþ] + er Hraungviðr átti L1572. 62  
 fanst] fékkst L1572. 62–63 þat er Hraungviþr átti] ÷ L1572. 65 oc] so L679.  
 65 oc] stóð og L679. 66 oc] ÷ L1572. 66 fá þeir bana er fyrir urþo] feingu  
 þeir bana er fjirir urdu L679, oc feck hann bana L2404, ÷ L1572. 68 þal] ÷ L679.  
 68 at beinino] á brinjuna L679, ad Brynionni L2404. 69 Kári] en Kári L2404.  
 71 þar] þad L679, ÷ L1572. 72 titlínga] titlíngs L679. 74 kné] knien L679.  
 74 oc] hann L679. 74 upp þegar] þegar upp L679. 76 fyrir] i L679. 76 í]  
 ÷ L679. 77 væri] ÷ L679. 78 hafði] var L679. 79 ágætasti] vænsti L679.  
 79 verit] ÷ L679. 79 medan] + hann L679, L1572. 1 þesso bili] þann tíma  
 L679. 3 Olafs] ÷ L679.

5. In L679 the entire phrase 'þad var svo gött sverd ad valla fanst betra' is in parenthesis.

bat Olaf Kóng at uppgéfast með lið oc ganga sér til handa; en Kóngur  
 vænti liðs oc tregþaþi andsvar at géfa. Undan Kóngrs liði ljóp maðr 5  
 heldr vasclegr, hár oc herþabreiðr, hann hafði síðann hatt á höfði,  
 sem slapti ofan fyrir augo hans, geitar scégg hafði hann hvítgrátt oc  
 micit sípt, sva þat tók á bringo niðr, hann ljóp á Kóngrs scip, oc þar  
 til at Kári verðr fyrir fótom hans, þá mælir hann: hvort erto fallinn  
 fóstbróðir? oc finnast færri þínir lícar, oc lícast til, at ec leiti hans, er 10  
 þér hefr á þiljo kastat, litast hann þá um, sjer Örnólf dauðan liggja, oc  
 margt annat lið, þykist nú þessi maðr vita at merki Kóngrs muni niðr  
 fallit, þrýfr til oc reisti upp aptr, oc kallar á Kóng oc biðr hann vera  
 glaðan oc eggja lipit til karlmanlegrar framngaungo. Olafur Kóngr  
 mælir hvor ert þú hinn midli maðr? hann svarar: Hrómundr er nafn 15  
 mitt,<sup>6</sup> oc er Greipsson Armaðr yðar, oc vorom vit Kári lagsmenn oc  
 109r fóstllbræðr, þá vit heima vórom. Kóngr mælir ólícr sýnist oss þú at  
 vera fóstbróðir Kára, þar þú orþinn ert gamall oc grár af hæróm, en  
 ef þú hefr hans lagsmaðr verit, þá manto hans hefna á þessom degi.  
 Hrómundr mælir<sup>7</sup> ecki var Kári hyrðmaðr minn eðr stafnbúi, en þó 20  
 villda ec at mér færi ei verr en þeim er eptir slíca menn ega<sup>8</sup> at mæla  
 sem þeir bræðr voro; ljóp þá Hrómundr á dreacan Hraungviðs, hann  
 hafði stora gaðdakylfo í annari hendi, en sverð í annari oc scjóld,  
 en hjálm engan, nema stálhúfo, undir hattinom, lemr hann nú oc

4 at] ÷ L679. 4 með lið] + sitt L679, L2404, oc ganga med lidid L1572. 4 oc ganga] ÷ L1572. 5 ljóp] + einn L679, L1572. 7 hvítgrátt] kvijtt L679. 8 micit sípt] sva micit L2404. 8 sva þat] at L2404. 8 tók á bringo] á bringo tók L2404. 8 oc] ÷ L679. 9 at] er L1572. 9 Kári] ÷ L679. 9 fótom] honum L2404. 9 hans] + Kári dauðr L679, ÷ L2404. 10 oc] + er L679. 10 til, at] ÷ L679, L1572. 11 þá] ÷ L679. 11 um] + og L679, L2404, L1572. 11 sjer] finnur L679. 12 nú þessi maðr] hann nú L2404. 12 at] ÷ L2404. 12–13 niðr] ÷ L679. 13 til] hann nú til þess L679. 13 reisti] reisir L679. 13 upp] þad upp L679. 15–16 nafn mitt] mitt mitt nafn L679. 16 Armaðr] eirn madr L679, L2404, L1572. 16 Kári] bádir L679. 16 lagsmenn] + vid Kári L679. 17–18 at vera] vera ad þú siert L679. 18 fóstbróðir] lagsmadr L679. 18 þar] þvj L679. 18 orþinn ert] ert ordinn L679, L2404, ert L1572. 19 lagsmaðr] fóstbrodir L679. 21 at mér færi] miér færíst L679. 21 er] sem L679, L2404. 21 slíca menn] slijkann mann L679, L2404. 21 ega] eiga L679, L1572, áttir L2404. 22 bræðr] fóstbræður L2404. 22 á] upp á L679. 23 scjóld] skjöldinn L679.

6. Dittography in L679, 'mitt mitt nafn'.

7. A colon following the letter 'm' in B11109 is interpreted as an abbreviation mark, not as a punctuation mark.

8. The form 'ega' is an archaic spelling of the verb *eiga*, it can be found in OH in the 19th cent.

25 ber allt þat fyrir verþr með kylfunni, en er Hraungviþr sjer þetta, at  
 liþ hans fellr hrónnom, verþr hann ákaflega reiþr, oc spyr: hvor erto  
 þinn grái scégg brúsi, sem sva gjórir at drepa oc deypa með lurci oc  
 spítom, þú mant vera þinn ólukko fretkarl, faþir Kára. Hrómundr  
 mæliþr hvorki er ec faþir hans, sun eþr frændi, enn þó scalto fá at  
 30 frétta, at ec skal hefna þeirra bræþra, oc reyna manto kylfo mína,  
 áþr en vit sciljom, en Hrómundr h(ei)ti ec, oc vita þykist ec, at þú  
 ert hit versta tróll, at enginn jarn bita á þic, oc þar fyrir hæfir þér  
 bõþla refsíng. Hraungviþr varþ æfar reiþr oc leypr at Hrómundi,  
 oc ætlaþi at kjósa hann fyrir oþdi eptir vana, en Hrómundr varþ  
 35 fljótarí, oc sló kylfunni utan undir vangann<sup>9</sup> á Hraungviþr svo stort  
 högg, at hausinn brotnaði í smá mola, en heilinn vall út, oc lac  
 niþr sem vatn, féll þá Hraungviþr í svíma, sva hann rauc út af, at  
 margir þeinkto hann dauþann; nú spretr Hraungviþr á færtr aþtr, oc  
 mæliþr til Hrómundar<sup>10</sup> ec hefi víþa verit oc farit, oc margan kappa  
 40 at velli lagt, oc hefi ll ec alldreí þvílíkt högg fengit á allri minni  
 æfi, oc alldreí hefi ec þinn jafníngrja fundit, oc verþr einosinni allt  
 fyrst, féll þá niþr kesjan or höndom hans, lamdi Hrómundr hann  
 með kylfunni til dauþs, lauc sva Hraungviþr æfi sinni. Eptir þetta  
 var nú hrópat sigurs hróp, oc mónnom griþ géfin; er þat þyggja  
 45 villdo, kallaþi Hrómundr til þeirra er eptir stóþo, oc spyr: hvort þeir  
 vilji heldr kjósa at ganga á hendr Olafs Kóngrs eþr at berjast [oc]  
 villdo allir oc vel flestir heldr Kóngrí til handa oc hlýþnis ganga, lauc  
 sva bardaganom, at menn sættost.

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25 þat] hvad L679, sem L2404. 27 þinn] hinn L679, L2404, L1572. 27 scégg] skeggadi L679. 27 drepa oc deypa] deida og drepa L679. 27–28 lurci oc spítom] spijtum og lurkum L679. 28 þinn] hinn L679, ÷ L2404. 28 ólukko] vondur L2404. 29 hans] ÷ L679. 29 sun] sonr L679, L2404, L1572. 29 frændi] + hans L679. 29 fá at] það L679. 31 vita þykist] veit L679, vita þykjumst L2404. 34 hann] ÷ L679. 34 vana] + sijnum L679. 36 er] svo L679. 36 vall út] vall úr L679, ÷ L1572. 36 oc] ÷ L1572. 37 sem vatn] ÷ L2404 37 at] svo L679, og L1572. 38 margir þeinkto] þenktu margir L1572. 40 hefi] hef L679, L2404, L1572. 41 hefi] hef L679, L2404, L1572. 41 fundit] + á æfi minni L679. 43 dauþs] + og L679. 44 sigurs hróp] sigr óp L679, sigr hróp L1572, L2404. 46 vilji heldr] vildu heldur L679, heldur vilji L2404. 46 kjósa] þiggja L679. 46 at] ÷ L679. 46 [oc] ÷ L2404, L1572. 47 oc vel flestir] ÷ L1572. 47 heldr] ÷ L679. 47 handa oc hlýþnis] hlíjndi og handa L679, handa L1572, L2404.

9. An unclear reading in L679: 'vanga' or 'varga'.

10. In B11109, there is a colon, which can introduce direct speech, but there is no abbreviation mark to denote the abbreviation of the name. In this and similar cases, the colon is treated as an abbreviation mark.

IV *kapítuli*

Um morguninn eptir fer<sup>11</sup> Hrómundr til með lífi Kóngrs at kannascip Hraungvífrs oc binda of<sup>12</sup> sár þeirra er fallit hófþo, en þó lífs voro, lítast hann nú um, oc of síþir finnir hann einn mann fyrir sér á drecanom, hann sá at augo hans lifþo, en limir hrærþost valla; þessi maþr lá í lyptíngo. Hrómundr spyr: hvort þessi megi mæla? hinn 5  
 ansaþi: linnir því sva at segja. Hrómundr mælir hvort er nafn þitt? hann svarar Helgi heiti ec, oc var ec kallaþr Helgi hinn Fræcni, oc var Hraungvíþ bróþir minn sva bar til, at vit borþomst vit Scotta fyrir fullom xiv dögom, at ec særþist sva ec varþ óvígr, oc hefi ec legít í reckjo síþan, en bróþir minn bar af flestom, oc héldt híngat, 10  
 hefi ec látit mic or reckjo færa mér til gamans at sjá á róscva menn oc kémpr, jafnvel þótt ec eckért sjálfr gæti, hefr þú unnit hit versta oc óþarfasta verc æfi þinnar, at drepa Hraungvíþ bróþr minn sem var hinn vascasti maþr. Hrómundr mælir villto þyggja griþ af oss eþr ekki? Helgi mælir þat er nú í þinni hendi, en heldr er ec nær at deya, 15  
 en þat ec géti aldrei hefnt Hraungvíþ því at vit hófþom heitit því hvor 110r  
 óþrom, at sá ll scyldi ærulaus manna á medal sem ecki hefndi, oc féll mér nú til þess sem ec gét ei af hómom leyst nema ec graþslo fái, en þat læt ec þér ódulit, at ef ec næ lífi at halda, þá skal ec ecki láta bræþr þína verþa elli dauþa. Hrómundr tóç at undrast orþ Helga, en<sup>13</sup> hann 20  
 flakti allr af sárom í sundr. þá mælir Hrómundr þinnar hreysti scalto njóta, enn ecki heitstrengíngar, oc ávinnst þat sem auþnan leyfir; var Helgi tecinn oc læcnaþr, oc lét Hrómundr hann hit besta víþrværi fá

2 of] um L679, L2404, ÷ L1572. 3 of] um L679, L2404, L1572. 3 fyrir sér] ÷ L679. 5 lyptíngo] + á drekanum L679. 6 linnir því] eij er þad L679. 6 mælir] spir L679, L1572. 8 vit Scotta] ÷ L679. 9 fyrir fullom xiv dögom] vid skotta L679. 12 þótt] þo L679. 12 eckért sjálfr gæti] gjæti eckert sjalfr L679. 12 versta oc] ÷ L679. 16 géti aldrei hefnt] hefni alldrei L679. 16 hófþom] hófum L679, L1572. 18 nú til þess] þad nú til L679, L1572, nú til þad L2404. 19 at] ÷ L679. 20 verþa elli dauþa] elli dauda verda L679. 20 en] er L679, L2404, því L1572. 21 allr] sundr L679. 21 í sundr] ÷ L679. 21 þinnar hreysti] hreisti þinnar L679. 23 hit] þad L679, L1572.

11. The scribe of B11109 uses the same abbreviation mark for 'eptir' and 'fer', both expanded following the written-out forms from the manuscript.

12. The scribe's 'a's and 'o's resemble each other closely in B11109, so it could be 'af' or 'of'; the reading 'of' is more probable in this context.

13. The word is abbreviated in L1572, and its expansion is uncertain, might be 'því' or 'þar'.

þar til at hann var fullgróinn, lícr hér nú af honom at segja fyrst at  
 25 sinni. Eptir allt þetta lætr Olafur Kóngr leysa upp scip sín, oc halda  
 austr í haf, oc sva þaþan fyrir Svíþjóþ, taca þeir sér víþa strandhögg,  
 ræna fé, en herja á menn oc brenna bæi, eptir Vícínga 'venjo', sva  
 víþa spurþist til þeirra storverca.

### V kapítuli

J þennan tíma réþo fyrir Svíaveldi ij Kóngar, sem Hálfánar hieto,  
 er þetta gjörþist, siglir þá Olafur Kóngr til Eyar þeirrar sem Mána Ey  
 er kölluþ, hún ligger í suþreya hafi, þangat lét Kóngr halda scipom  
 sínom á eino qvöldi, þar gengo þeir á land, uppá eina fagra eyri, oc  
 5 litast um, oc sjá eckert þat marcverþugt kalla má, ganga þá Kóngrs  
 menn lengra á Eyuna, oc í þesso sjá þeir einn gamlann mann qvoma  
 á veg fyrir þá, heylsa þeir á hann, oc spurja at nafni, en hann sagþist  
 Máni heita, en hvorjir erot þér? þeir qvaþost vera menn Olafs Kóngrs  
 Karl mælir hvar til er Olafur Kóngr hingat qvominn? þeir segja hann  
 10 er hinn ágætasti Kóngr af Sækóngom, oc lætr abla sér oc mðnnom  
 sínom hjár oc frægþar. Karl mælir lítil frægþ er þat slícom manni  
 sem Olafur Kóngr er sagþr, at hann sculi láta féfletta vesælinga oc  
 fátæca ll oc hitt er langtom nær líkindom at fara á mót Vícíngom  
 15 sem hér liggja hino megininn eyarinnar, oc reyna vit þá, heldur en  
 at gjöra mér tjón eþr scaþa; þessir vita allt af yþr, oc hafa í ráþi, at  
 taca af yþr scipin oc allan farar beina, þvi þeir ero hinir versto menn  
 oc hervícíngar, oc hafa þeir falit hér fé á landi, til hvors ec kynni

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24 at] ÷ L679, L2404. 24 af] fjrst frá L679. 24–25 fyrst at sinni] ÷ L679, fyrst at segja L2404. 25 allt] ÷ L679. 25 halda] + síjdann L679, heldr L2404. 26 víþa strandhögg] strandhögg vijda L679. 27 sva] og L679. 1 Kóngar] kongasynir fyrir Svíjaveldi L2404. 1 sem] er L679, oc L2404. 1 Hálfánar hieto] hietu Hálfánar hverotveggio L2404. 2 er þetta gjörþist] ÷ L1572. 2 sem] er L679, L2404, L1572. 3 þangat] + til L679. 4 uppá eina fagra eyri] upp L679. 5 sjá] + þar L679, sáu L1572. 5 þar] ÷ L679, hvad L1572. 5 kalla] ÷ L679. 5 má] ÷ L679, L2404, mætti L1572. 5 þá] þeir L2404. 6 einn] ÷ L679. 6 qvoma] ganga L679. 7 á hann] honum L2404. 7 en] ÷ L2404. 7 sagþist] kvadst L679, qvad L2404. 8 heita] heiti L679. 8 Kóngrs] kongi L679. 9 hvar til] til kvórs L679, L2404, L1572. 9 Olafur] ÷ L679. 10 Kóngr af Sækóngom] sækongr L679, kongr L2404. 10–11 oc mðnnom sínom] ÷ L679. 11 frægþar] frægþa L2404. 12 láta] ÷ L679. 13 fátæca] + menn L679. 13 oc] ÷ L679, enn L1572. 13 langtom] ÷ L679. 13 mót] móti L2404, mots L1572. 15 eþr] og L679. 15 vita] hafa vitad L679. 16 þvi þeir ero] ero þeir L1572. 17 oc] ÷ L679. 17 falit hér] falid L679, herfalid L1572. 17–18 kynni at] kann L679.

at segja, ef vinir mínir værot. Hrómundr stendr nú upp vit scipin,  
 því hann hafði ecki á land gengit, þykist hann heyra manna mál, oc  
 hinomegin Eyarinnar væro Vícingar, gengr hann á land til Kóngs 20  
 manna, oc spyr at: hvor er sá krattans karl, sem at lýgr oc narrar  
 oss? Þeir segja honom slíct er visso. Hrómundr segir hvaða scómm  
 er þetta, þér látit þennann ganta yþr. Máni svarar þat er langtom  
 betra fyrir góða menn at hjálpa vesælom mömmom, en at hrakyrþa  
 þá, oc níða niþr í orþom, oc betra þycir þeim sumom hvorjom at 25  
 ræna mic; sjáit þat ecki at þeir fara þar með kýr mínar, sva ec má  
 bjargarlaus eptir vera, í þessom kotbæ, er ec uppbyggt hefi á eyo  
 þessari, þykist ec nú vita, at þér munduþ vilja slíct eyrindi ega, at  
 ræna mic gripom oc gagnssemdom, en ec hygg þat sémilegra fyrir  
 þic Hrómundr oc þína líca, at fást vit nokkr storvyrki, sva frægþ oc 30  
 forþris megi afganga. Hrómundr mælir til hvorra stor ræða vísar þú  
 oss? Máni svarar Þráinn hiet maþr, hann var hit allra versta galdra  
 tróll, fullr fjólcíngis oc fjandsapar, hann herjaði á Saxland<sup>14</sup> oc vann  
 þat með göldrom, oc varþ þar síþan Kóngr; hann átti ofrnægþ<sup>15</sup> af  
 gulli oc sylfri oc óþrom dýrgripom; hann héldt margá berserci oc 35  
 blámenn, sem þat hófþo til scémtunar sér, at glíma vit scógareykr oc  
 Fíla, oc jamnan voro þeir með Kongi, þar til hann deyþi, drógo þeir  
 hann þá á scóg, oc urþo haug yfir, oc léto hann í hauginn, oc gull þat  
 er hann átti; þeir þóktu hann gullhríngum, spennto fagort 'men' at  
 hálsi hans, en sverþ lögþo þeir í hans ll kné; margir menn oc kémpr 40  
 hafa reynt sic vit at ganga í hauginn, en Þráinn er ramr draugr, at

18 nú] ÷ L679. 18 scipin] skipid L679. 20 væro] lego L2404, væri L1572.  
 21 at] svo L679. 22 oss] ockr L679. 22 er] + þeir L679. 22 segir hvaða] ÷  
 L2404. 23 þetta] þad ad L679, þad L2404. 23 þér] þid L679. 23 þennann]  
 hann L679. 23 yþr] ockr L679. 25 oc níða] ÷ L679, L2404. 25 betra] litit  
 L2404. 26 ræna] fieffetta L679. 26 at] hvar L1572. 27 eptir] ÷ L2404. 27  
 uppbyggt hefi] hefi uppbyggt L679. 28 vilja] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 29 oc  
 gagnssemdom] ÷ L2404. 30 sva] sem nockur L679. 32 versta] mesta L679.  
 33 Saxland] Valland L679. 34 varþ] var L679. 34 Kóngr] + yfir L679. 34  
 ofrnægþ] ofur gnægd L679, L2404, L1572. 35–36 berserci oc blámenn] blá-  
 menn og berserki L1572. 36 scógareykr] eikr L679. 37 þeir] + brædur L2404.  
 37 þar til] þá L1572. 37 deyþi] dó L2404. 38 hann þá á] á hann L1572.  
 38 scóg] skogien L679. 38 yfir] + hann L679. 38 þat] ÷ L2404. 39 gull-  
 hríngum] + og L679, L2404. 40 hans] honum L679, L2404. 40 en sverþ  
 lögþo] oc lögþo sverþ L2404. 40 þeir í hans] í L2404. 40 kné] + hans L2404.  
 40 kémpr] kappar L2404. 41 vit] til L679, ÷ L1572.

14. Note that L679 agrees here with the *rímur*, which read 'Valland'.

15. Note that a better reading is in L679, L2404, and L1572 than in B11109.

hann rífr af mǫnnom hold oc klæþi, oc engvir qvomost þaþan lífs er  
 þangat foro. Hrómundr spyr hvort í átt vísar þú oss til þessa haugs?  
 Karl segir þér sculot sigla héþan í suþr í vj dægr, oc þá manot þit finna  
 45 þyccvann scóg oc dymmenn; vit þann scóg er vant at vera kyrt oc  
 brimleysa, þar stendr haugr Þráins. Nú fyrir þat sem ec hefi sagt þér,  
 þá legg til mín góþ orþ, at ec náí aptr kýr tetrom mínom. Hrómundr  
 gjörir sva, at hann kallar til þeirra er kýrnar teymdo, oc segir þeim  
 at láta þær af hendi þeim er ætti, en vinna annat manndóms sticci  
 50 mercilegra. Þeir gjörþo sva sem Hrómundr villdi vera láta, gengu nú  
 hvorjir leiþir sínar. Máni karl qvom heim, oc þócti vænt om, at friþr  
 var fenginn, en Hrómundr oc Kóngr menn gengo til scipa sinna, oc  
 sögþo frá Mána karli.

## VI kapítuli

Nú undo menn á segl, oc héldo til suþors fulla 6 daga eptir því  
 sem Máni karl hafþi sagt þeim, at þeir sáo mǫrg annes, oc þar eptir  
 sléttan scóg, dymman oc þyccvann, þar sjá þeir micit rjóþr, oc norþan  
 undir því micinn oc ramgjörþan hól eþr haug, sem var bæþi hár oc  
 5 fagr. Hrómundr mælir til Kóngr manna: hér sculom vér umbúast  
 oc sjá oss om, oc leggja scip vor til lægis, en gaungum á land, oc  
 leitom at Þráinn, þar hann hefr nocro at miþla; þeir qváþo já vit,  
 oc sögþo Hrómundr ráþa scyldi. Þeir qveþja Kóngr leyfis oc ganga  
 á land, þar til haugurinn nálgast þeim, lystir þá á móti þeim sva  
 10 micilli ólyct, at þeim réþi aptr at snúa; lét þá Hrómundr fólc sitt  
 draga grímr á sic, oc meþ svoddan hætti qvomost þeir til haugsins,  
 sýndist þeim hann þá allr í einom loga. Hrómundr bat þá ecki géfa

43 foro] komu L679. 43 hvort í] i hvörja L679. 44 þér] þid L679. 44 í] ÷  
 L679, L2404. 44 þit] þér L2404. 45 vant at vera] optast L679. 46 brimleysa]  
 brimleisi L1572. 47 mín] þijn L679, L2404, L1572. 48 er] + med L1572. 48  
 teymdo] leiddu L679, fóru L1572. 49 en] og L2404. 50 sva] ÷ L2404. 51  
 leiþir sínar] leid sijna L679, L1572. 51 qvom] for L1572. 1 héldo til] sigldu i  
 L1572. 1 suþors fulla] sudr fjalla L679, sudr full L1572. 1 daga] dægr L1572.  
 2 hafþi] + fyrir L679. 2 þeim] ÷ L679. 2 at þeir sáo] sáu þeir L1572. 2  
 mǫrg annes, oc þar eptir] ÷ L679. 3 sléttan] ÷ L1572. 3 norþan] nordr L2404,  
 L1572. 4 oc] ÷ L679, L2404. 4 ramgjörþan] ramgjörþann L679, ÷ L2404. 5  
 vér] vid L679, L2404. 6 lægis] lags L679, lags L1572. 7 at Þráinn] Þráins  
 L679, L2404. 9 sva] ÷ L679, L2404. 10 micilli ólyct] fjllu L679. 10 at] svo  
 L679. 10–11 fólc sitt draga] draga liþ sitt L2404. 11 grímr á sic] á sig grijmr  
 L679. 12 þá] ÷ L679

111v sic at glæringom þessom<sup>16</sup>; tóco þá menn at róta um hauginn<sup>17</sup>, oc  
 ll fengo ei á leiþis qvomit, fyrr en á hinom jv degi, þá qvomo þeir  
 einom glugga á hann, sáo þeir þá einn forkunnar stóran Berserc, hann 15  
 var bæþi blár oc svartir, digr oc dramblætisfullr, hann sat á stóli af  
 rauða gulli, oc var klæþdor gylltom búnabi; fyrir nòsom hans stóþ  
 eitt stort glóþar kér af logandi eldi, í þann eld blés Þráinn af megni,  
 sva at logann lagþi til ræfors om hauginn; sverþ hékk<sup>18</sup> scamt frá 20  
 honom, þvílíkt hóþþo þeir alldrei sjeþ, þat var bæþi breiþt oc langt,  
 oc allt gullin scépt, skálpr þess var af sylfri, blaþit var af gresjarni,  
 oc margir góþir gimsteinar í smeldir, þeir harþastir fengist hóþþo,  
 sva sem demant oc marmari, ásamt fleyri, þó hér séo ecki nefndir.  
 Þráinn hafþi fásjeþ gullmen á hálsi sér oc borþ meþ ðllom búnabi stóþ  
 fyrir knjám hònom meþ kræstom réttom; hann rac upp stort hljóþ sva 25  
 micit oc digurt, at Hrómundi oc mðnnom hans blòskraþi, þegar þeir  
 bruto gatit á hauginn, oc byrtuna af deginom lagþi í hauginn; hann  
 kallar út til Kóngs manna oc spyr: hvorjir ero þeir fúlo fantar sem  
 ganga á hús mitt, oc scémma þat fyrir mér saclausom, gðmlom oc  
 gráhærþom, oc lítit hafit þit til scémtunar veslíngar at sæcja á minn 30  
 fund, eþa hvor er sá þar úti stendr, sem vill til vinna, at qvoma inn til  
 mín, oc njóta þeirra þriggja dýrgripa er til hefi betsta at bjóþa, sem  
 at ero: sverþit Mistilteinn oc Menit á hálsi mínom, ásamt hinn góþi  
 Gullhríngr, er ec lengst æfi minnar átt hefi, þyci mér líclegast, at  
 Olafr Kóngr egi sva á mðnnom vðl, at einhver til reyni. Hrómundr 35

13 þessom] þeim L679. 13 þá menn] menn þá L1572. 13 róta um] brióta L2404. 13 hauginn] haugum L679. 14 á leiþis] alldeilis L679. 14 jv] sjötta L679. 15 þá] ÷ L2404. 15 stóran] vænan L679. 17 gylltom búnabi] raudum búnadi gilltum L679. 18 stort] fullt L679, ÷ L2404, L1572. 18 logandi] glöandi L679. 19 at] ÷ L679. 19 logann] loga L679. 19 hékk] feck L679. 20 alldre] + fjrr L679. 21 gullin] gull L1572. 21 var] ÷ L679. 22 góþir] ÷ L1572. 22 þeir] + sem L1572. 23 fleyri] fleirum L679. 23 þó] + at L2404. 24 gullmen] gull L679. 25 rac] + þá L679. 25 sva] og L679. 26 oc] ÷ L679. 26 mðnnom hans] hans mðnnom L679. 27 bruto] rifu L1572. 27 gatit á] upp L679. 27 í hauginn] inn L1572. 29 á] ÷ L2404. 29 mitt] mín L1572. 29 þat] ÷ L1572. 30 veslíngar] ÷ L1572. 31 sem] er L2404. 31 vill] + þad L2404. 32 til] eg L679, L2404. 32 hefi] til L2404. 32 betsta] best L679, L2404. 33 ero] er L679. 33 góþi] goda L679. 34 Gullhríngr] gúllhring L679. 34 líclegast] líklegt L1572.

16. The word is abbreviated in L679, and the same abbreviation is used three lines above for 'þeim'.

17. The word is abbreviated in L679 and the expansion 'haugum' is uncertain.

18. Dittography in L2404, 'heck'.

mæliŕ þat máttú fyrir satt halda, at ef Kári heŕþi lifat, mundi ec<sup>19</sup>  
 til vogat hafa, at finna þic, þar sem þú hefr göfugr höfþingi haldinn  
 verit, oc sýna `fáir' svöðdan hýbýla ll rausn oc príþiheit, sva sem hér 112r  
 er at scoþa, oc sacir tignar þinnar, manto leyfa mér at qvoma fyrir  
 40 kné yþar, sva ec megi ei ofsögom af segja þinni géstrisni. Þráinn  
 mæliŕ fleyri sóctu mic heim forþom, þegar Lxij menn veitto mér  
 ásteytíng með ráni oc róti á hús kofa mínom, oc fengo þeir lítit til  
 ábata. Vera má segir Hrómundr at nú tacist betr til, oc vyrþist ríflegra  
 at gjöra vel vit einn gést, heldr en greiþa kostnaþ sva mörgom, oc  
 45 skal ec nú fyrstr til verþa; lét þá Hrómundr binda sic í festi, oc sje sva  
 niþr í hauginn, oc bat áþr menn sína at gjæta vel festarinnar, oc ecki  
 frá renna, þó þeir kynno at heyra noccot vofeiflegt, at þeir léto sér  
 þat ei blóskra. Enn sem Hrómundr kémr í hauginn, verþr hann þá  
 sva dymmr af ógérþar fylo oc reyc, at Hrómundr verþr at þreifa fyrir  
 50 sér, finnr hann þá marga góþa dýrgripi og gullhrínga. Hrómundr  
 batt þat í festina, oc lét uppdraga, fann hann þar ofr gnægþ margra  
 fásjeþra hluta.

## VII kapítuli

Nú sem Hrómundr var at láta gripina í festina, tóç Þráinn til at mæla  
 oc segir stor hugaþr erto Hrómundr at grípa frá mér þat ec á, verþ ec  
 nú at gjalda elli minnar, en þegar ec var úngr, heŕþir þú ecki rænt  
 mic sva stórom þegar ec vann allt Valland með fjölcíngi oc göldrom,  
 5 oc marga Konga oc Kóngasyni lagþi ec at velli, en þegar á mic færþist

36 ec] hann hafa L679, hann L2404, L1572. 37 til] ÷ L1572. 37 hafa] ÷ L679.  
 37 göfugr höfþingi] göfugr maþr L2404. 38 sýna `fáir'] fáir sijna L679, L2404,  
 L1572. 38 hýbýla] + príði og L1572. 38 oc príþiheit] ÷ L2404, L1572. 39  
 leyfa] lofa L679, L2404. 40 yþar] þijn L679, L1572. 40 af segja] segja af  
 L679. 42 ráni oc róti] röti og ráni L679. 42 hús kofa] húsum L679. 42 oc]  
 en L2404. 42 þeir] þo L679, L2404. 43 ríflegra] ríflega L679. 44 at gjöra  
 vel vit einn gést] vid eirn giest ad gjöra L679. 44 greiþa] giora L1572. 45 oc]  
 ÷ L679. 46 áþr] ÷ L679. 46 at] ádr L679. 47 þó] + at L2404. 47 kynno at  
 heyra] heirdi L679. 47 at þeir] og L679. 49 dymmr] + og fullr L679, L2404,  
 L1572. 49 ógérþar] ÷ L1572. 49 oc reyc] ÷ L1572. 49 Hrómundr] hann  
 L1572. 50 góþa dýrgripi og] dijrgrípi og goda L679, L2404, L1572. 51 þar]  
 fed L1572. 51 lét] + þad L679. 51 þar] + var L2404. 52 fásjeþra] fásiedna  
 L679, fáséþna L2404. 52 hluta] gripa L2404. 2 Hrómundr] ÷ L679. 2 frá]  
 fyrir L679, L2404. 2 ec] ÷ L2404. 4 sva] ÷ L679, L1572. 4 fjölcíngi oc  
 göldrom] gölldrum og fjólkingi L679. 5 lagþi ec at velli] hef eg ad velli lagt  
 L679.

19. Note that better readings are in L679, L2404, and L1572 than in B11109.

alldurinn létst ec deya, var ec lifandi í þennann haug látinn, oc síþan  
 hef ec hér lifat vit sjón á gripom þessom sem þú hripsar frá mér,  
 sem annar þjófr. Hrómundr mælir fleyr`a' verþr at vinna en gott  
 112v þycir, oc sva fer mér, þycir sá laungom nockro nýtor ll er vinnr  
 til fæþis. Þá mælir Þráinn: haf þú ecki spott í frammi vit mic gam- 10  
 lann, þó at þú sért úngr á beinom, þá þori ec samt at `kalla þig þjóf  
 at' gótsi míno. Þesso reipdist Hrómundr oc ljóp at Þráinn, en hann  
 tóç á móti af megni. Þá mælir Hrómundr nú þarf ecki fyrir at þre-  
 ifast, oc má sér en þá nockot hússbóndinn. Já, segir Þráinn, þó at ec  
 sé orþinn gamall, þá scalto ecki, búo hundurinn þinn! bera fé frá 15  
 mér oc ræna mic at gamni þíno, oc vel fer þat þú kaupir fullo, at  
 þú hefr mic heimsóct, oc ómacat mic or sæti míno, oc víst scalto  
 mega sjá vit mér dauþom, þó at þú sért lifandi, oc til nockors vilda  
 ec þér kjæmi fjöldi gullhrínga minna, sem þér með sverþi míno mest  
 í augo ganga. Hrómundr segir vit sculom þessi fangbrögþ leica fyrir 20  
 utan sverþ oc scjöldo. Ec ætli sva mani betst fara segir Þráinn, at þér  
 mani lítil fremd í at vega at mér; tóç þá Þráinn at blása eldi or kétel  
 kérino sem stóþ fyrir honom, tindraþist þá loginn á millom þeirra oc  
 om hauginn, sva byrti, þá sá Hrómundr hvar stor kétel stóþ fyrir  
 fótom sér, oc var fullr af búkom manna; þat þóctist hann vita at 25  
 Þráinn mundi vilja kippa sér í þennann kétel, héldost þeir í henþr,  
 oc togupost yfir om kételinn, þá fann Hrómundr at Þráinn hafþi ecki  
 nýlega scorit af sér nõglurnar, þær krepptost ofan fyrir gómana. Þá  
 mælir Þráinn: lofa manto mér at taca mér munnbíta áþr vit glímom.  
 Vera má þat segir Hrómundr J því greip Þráinn kételinn oc fleygþi at 30

6 alldurinn] ellinn L679. 7 hér] ÷ L679. 7 þessom] mijnum L679, L2404,  
 minum þessum L1572. 7 hripsar] + nu L679. 8 vinna] gióra L679, L1572. 9  
 oc] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 9 fer] verþr L2404. 9 nockro] ÷ L679. 9 er] sem  
 L2404, L1572. 10 í] ÷ L679. 11 at] ÷ L679, L1572. 12 hann] Þráinn L679.  
 13 á] i L679, L1572. 14 en þá] ÷ L679, L2404. 15 búo] bú L679, búa L2404,  
 ÷ L1572. 15 hundurinn þinn] hundr L679, L2404, ÷ L1572. 16 at gamni þíno]  
 ÷ L2404. 16 þat] ad L679, þat at L2404, L1572. 17 mic heimsóct] fúndid  
 mig L679. 20 segir] mælir L679, L2404, L1572. 21 ætli] ætla L679, L2404,  
 L1572. 21 þér] ei L1572. 22 í] ÷ L679, L2404. 23 tindraþist] tindradi L679.  
 23 loginn] logann L679. 23 á] i L2404. 23 millom] milli L679. 23 oc] ÷  
 L679. 24–25 fyrir fótom sér, oc var] ÷ L2404. 25 hann] Hromundr L679. 26  
 Þráinn] hann L679. 26 þennann kétel] hann L679. 26 þeir] + þá L679. 27  
 oc togupost] og togast L1572, ÷ L679. 27 om] ÷ L679. 27 ecki] ÷ L2404.  
 28 nýlega] ÷ L679, L2404. 28 scorit af sér] af ser skorid L1572, ÷ L2404. 28  
 nõglurnar] + þvj L679, neglur L2404. 29 áþr] + enn L679, L2404, L1572. 30  
 Hrómundr] + og L679.

Hrómundi en hann brá vit oc undan; í því ljóp Þráinn at Hrómundi  
 oc mæli<sup>r</sup> nú man mál at géfa upp at borþa, oc ganga til vinno, þá  
 dymmdi sva koldöct varþ í haugnom; þá fleygþi Hrómundr sverþino,  
 oc vildi liþugr vera. Þetta sá ll Þráinn oc kippti kómpom oc ljóp at 113r  
 35 Hrómundi, oc færþi hann í lopt upp, en hann qvom fótom kjænlega  
 undir sic, sva hann féll eigi, en tóç þó allsterclega á móti. Þá mæli<sup>r</sup>  
 Þráinn: ecki erto mennscr maþr at þú stendr. Þúsund menmri ertú,  
 segir Hrómundr oc hefr þú frægr maþr verit á úngom all dri. Litlar  
 sjást<sup>20</sup> þess menjar, segir Þráinn; tóç þá Þráinn at færast í auca ablssíns,  
 40 sva Hrómundr þóktist þurfa at neyta orco sinnar, géck þá upp allt  
 hvaþ fyrir vard bæþi tré oc grjót, ásamt aþrir lutir, hvorjo nafni sem  
 hieto, voro þá harþar sveiflr, en stundom hriggspenur, ýmist blés  
 Þráinn eldi eþr eitrapri spýu úr kjapti sér, oc stundom héldt hann  
 45 tónnom í axli<sup>r</sup> Hrómundar enn stundom reif hann með nóglom sem  
 kótr; vit þetta herdti Hrómundr sva honom `tóc' lítt at finnast til  
 átekta Þráins, lét hann þá drauginn sæcja, en varþist sjálfr föllom. Þat  
 fann Þráinn, oc mæli<sup>r</sup> betr máttu adhafast, ef þú scalt fá gull mitt. Já,  
 segir Hrómundr oc brá vit hardt, sva Þráinn féll á annat knép. Stercr  
 maþr erto segir Þráinn, at fella mic á ðþrom fæti, gamlann oc styrþan  
 50 frá eldinom<sup>21</sup>, oc man láta at lícom at qvölda taci. Statto upp aþr  
 segir Hrómundr oc tvisvar verþr gamall maþr barn, oc sva fer þér  
 nú, oc aldrei hefþi ec mic híngat ómacat vit barn at glíma, hefþi ec  
 þetta vitat, oc hefr Máni karl ílla at mér logit, at þú væri<sup>r</sup> hit versta

31 vit oc] sér L679. 31 undan; í því ljóp] liop i því undan þá veþr L2404, undan oc i því hliop L1572. 32 mæli<sup>r</sup>] ÷ L2404. 33 sva] + ad L679. 33 koldöct] koldimt L679. 35 hann] ÷ L2404. 35 fótom kjænlega] kjænlega fótum L679. 36–37 Þá mæli<sup>r</sup> Þráinn] Þráinn mæli<sup>r</sup> L679. 37 mennscr maþr] menskum manni lijkr L679. 37 menmri] meiri L679, L1572. 38 úngom] unga L679. 39 tóç þá] tok hann þá L679, toku þeir L2404. 39 Þráinn] ÷ L679. 40–41 upp allt hvaþ] upp þat L2404, allt upp er L1572. 41 fyrir] + þeim L679. 41–42 ásamt aþrir lutir, hvorjo nafni sem hieto] ÷ L2404, L1572. 42 sveiflr] sviptingar L1572. 42 en] og L679, L2404. 42 stundom] ÷ L2404. 44 í] yfir L679. 44–45 með nóglom sem kótr] sem kótr med nóglunum L679. 45 honom] sic enn L2404. 45 at finnast til] til at finnaz L2404. 46 Þráins] þeira L679. 47 adhafast] hafast L679. 47 scalt] villt L1572. 48 sva] + at L2404. 48 annat knép] bædi knien L679. 49 á] ÷ L679. 49 gamlann oc styrþan] stirþan oc gamlan L2404. 50 eldinom] elli órum L1572. 52 hefþi] hef L679. 52 híngat] ÷ L679. 52 barn] börn L679, L2404, L1572. 53 at mér logit] logied ad mier L679.

20. An uncertain reading in L1572: 'tiást' or 'fiást'.

21. An error in L1572, 'órum' probably fo 'árum', rather than 'örum'. The scribe normally uses 'ö' for 'ö'.

113v galdra tröll. Vera má at ei sé allt logit, segir Þráinn, en heyri ec at  
 55 fryar þú mér, oc skal nú uppstanda, með því á daginn er líþit,<sup>22</sup> oc  
 dymma tecor í haugi mínom. Af þesso þóttist Hrómundr ll ráða, at  
 Þráinn mundi verri vera um nætr en um daga, oc til þess mundi hann  
 60 tímunn dregit hafa, tacast þeir nú á aprt engo síðr en fyrri, sva allt  
 hlaut upp at ganga þat fyrir varþ, gnísti þá Þráinn tónnom, beit oc  
 reif og beljafi sem grabúngor, sva óskr hans heyrþo þeir sem úti hjá  
 65 staþdir voro, skálf þá allr haugorinn, sem á horþræþi léci, yfirgáfo  
 þeir þá festina af ótta, oc villdo forþa sjálfom sér, tóç at qvoma at því,  
 at eptir var noçkot hjá Þráinn, tóç hann þá at géfa Hrómundi stor  
 hògg oc pústra, setti hann þá nõglr sínar á kaf vit háls hans oc reif  
 hold frá beinom allt á lendar niþr. Þá mælið Hrómundr þat finn ec  
 70 at klóra kann piltkindin<sup>23</sup> mõmmom á bacino oc ecki sljófgast hònom  
 fingurnar. Segþo til segir Þráinn, ef ec skal betr gjõra, því ecki man  
 blána né blæþa, oc ósópaþar ero þínar síðr báþar, ellegar kinokar þú  
 þér, at þú færist undan, oc hnickist or fangi mér, oc þat segi ec þér,  
 at ecki máttu krimpast vit þat, þó ec kunni at hafa einstõko nõgl á  
 75 fingrom mínom; enn ei at síðr skalto nú ecki héþan laus verþa, því  
 nú skal ec þic qvicann í sundr rífa taug frá taug. Hrómundr þeinkti  
 með sér, at þetta eina mundi Þráinn satt segja herþtist hann af stórrí

54 ei] ÷ L679. 55 fryar þú] þú frijar L679, L2404, L1572. 55 mér] + nu L1572. 55 með því] meðann L1572. 55 á] ÷ L679, L1572. 55 daginn] dagr L679. 55 líþit] lidinn L679, L1572. 55–56 oc dymma tecor í haugi mínom] ÷ L679. 57 verri vera] vera verri L679. 57 um] ÷ L2404. 58 tacast] taka L679. 58 á aprt] aprt til glijmú L679. 59 þat] sem L2404. 59 tónnom] + og L679. 60 reif og] ÷ L679. 62 sjálfom] ÷ L679, L2404. 62 tóç] + þá L679, L2404. 62 at] ÷ L2404. 63 eptir var noçkot] noçkúð var eptir L679. 63 Þráinn] Þráini L2404. 63 tóç hann þá at géfa] gaf hann þá L2404. 64 vit] i L2404. 65 beinom] beini L679. 65 á lendar] ad lendum L679. 66 klóra kann piltkindin] piltkindinn kann ad klóra L679, klóra kant þú L2404, L1572. 66 mõmmom] mier L679. 66 hònom] þér L2404, L1572. 68 blána né blæþa] blæða nie blána L679. 68 þínar síðr báþar] badar sijdr þijnar L679, sidr þinar badar L1572. 68 ellegar] eda L679. 69 at þú] og L679. 69 undan, oc hnickist] ÷ L679. 69 mér] mijnu L679. 70 vit þat] ÷ L679. 71 mínom] ÷ L679. 71 ecki] ÷ L679, L1572. 73 með sér] ÷ L679. 73 þetta eina mundi Þráinn] Þráinn mundi þetta L679. 73 hann] + þá L679. 73 stórrí] mikillri L679.

22. A grammatical error in B11109 and probably also in L2404. Note that the word is abbreviated in L2404 as 'líþit', while the abbreviations in L679 and L1572 are straightforward with a nasal stroke for 'lidinn'.

23. The feminine noun *piltkind* is registered in OH from the 19th to the 20th cent.

bræþi, oc mæ<sup>l</sup>ir til Þráins: varla ber ec vit til oc skynsemd, at þú, sem  
 75 Kóngr hefr heitit, skulir orþinn vera at versta ketti, oc er skómm at  
 þér grá<sup>h</sup>ærþom karli, at gjó<sup>r</sup>ast slíc fhandans fordæþa, oc mantú sonr  
 tróllkono sem Gunnløþ hiet, hún átti börn mǫrg, oc voro þau ðll  
 blaupir kettir, oc finn ec at þú ert ein ketta, þvi þat sá ec áþann, at  
 þú vermdir þic á milli fótana, þvi þú satst með kétlinn í klofino, en  
 80 ert orþin hundgǫmul. Vit orþ þessi reipdist Þráinn, oc tó<sup>c</sup> at seilast  
 með krócana út á síþurnar; í þvi brá Hrómundr hǫnom hælkróc, sva  
 hann datt aprt á bac, þá blés Þráinn mæþilega, en hauginn ll fyllti af 114r  
 ódaun oc reyc. Fellr hvor þó fræcinn sé, segir Þráinn. Skjaldan heyrst  
 þat, segir Hrómundr at kóttom verþi háلكan at bilto meini, oc verþr  
 85 einosinni allt fyrst; tó<sup>c</sup> þá Þráinn at brjó<sup>t</sup>ast om oc blása eldi or gini  
 sér, sva nockot glampaþi om hauginn; miþt í þesso sá Hrómundr at  
 þar sem Þráinn lá, at súlo stoþin var hjá sem Mistilteinn á heck, hann  
 bregþst scjótt vit, oc þríf<sup>r</sup> sverþit á lopt af mesta fimleika, oc hendti á  
 lopti, en Þráinn var seinn at standa á fætr, enn hafþi þó læstar hendr í  
 90 klæþa slitri og síþom Hrómundar Hrómundr hjó þá af Þráinn báþar  
 hendurnar, oc héngo þær báþar í síþom Hrómundar Þá mæ<sup>l</sup>ir Þráinn:  
 gjæfo munr varþ nú með ockor, at þú náþir sverþi míno, oc ætlaþi ec  
 þat aldrei, at þú, minn góþi Mistilteinn! mundir mér at meini verþa,  
 oc er þvi alldrei gott at treysta á gripi oc gersemar sínar, oc sannast  
 95 þat nú á mér. Þá spurdi Hrómundr hvaþ marga hefr þú í einvígi  
 sigraþ með þesso sverþi? Þráinn mæ<sup>l</sup>ir J C hólmgau<sup>n</sup>gr hefi ec þat  
 borit, oc féck aldrei eitt sar á líkama minn; xxiv Konga hjó ec til bana  
 með þvi, oc þat sagþi Semíng<sup>r</sup> Kóngr mér vit Svíþjóþ, þá ec vann af

74 til oc skynsemd] til L2404, oc skinsemd til L1572. 75 orþinn vera] vera  
 ordinn L679, L2404. 75 er] + þier L679. 76 þér] þuj L679. 76 fhandans] ÷  
 L2404. 76 fordæþa] fordædi L679. 77 sem] er L679, L1572. 77 börn mǫrg]  
 mǫrg börn L679. 77 ðll] allt L679, L1572. 80 hundgǫmul] hundgamall L679.  
 80 orþ þessi] þessi ord L679. 81 síþurnar] + og L679. 82 datt] fiell L679. 82  
 fyllti] filltist L679. 83 oc reyc] ÷ L2404. 83 Fellr] so fellr L1572. 85 gini]  
 kjapti L679. 87 hjá] + þar L679, + þeim L2404, þar hjá L1572. 87 sem] er  
 L1572. 87 á heck] hieck á L679. 88 bregþst] brá L2404. 88 scjótt vi]  
 vid skiott L1572. 88 lopt] lopti L679. 88 hendti] + sverdid L1572. 89 þó  
 læstar] þá læst L2404. 90 og] á L2404. 90 Hrómundr] og L679. 91 báþar]  
 ÷ L679. 92 varþ nú] var L679. 92 ockor] yckr L679. 92 míno] + eij L679.  
 93 aldrei, at þú] ÷ L679. 93 Mistilteinn] + at þu L679. 93 meini] bana L679.  
 94 gripi] + sijna L679. 94 sínar] ÷ L679. 95 einvígi] einvigum L1572. 96  
 hólmgau<sup>n</sup>gr] holmgau<sup>n</sup>grum L1572. 97 féck] + eg L679, fengit L1572. 98  
 sagþi] + mer L2404. 98 Kóngr mér] Bersercr (Kongr) L2404. 98 vit Svíþjóþ]  
 ÷ L679. 98–99 af hǫnom þetta sverþ] þetta sverd af honum vid Svíþjóð L679.

h<sup>o</sup>nom þetta sverþ, at ec mundi jafnan sigr fá, medan ec á því héldi. 100  
 Hrómundr mæli<sup>r</sup> ec held þat betsta lukko verc at drepa þic, með þesso 100  
 sverþi oc eptir þetta hjó Hrómundr höfuþit af Þráinn oc brendi hann  
 síþan á báli upp til ósko, varþ bjart í haugnom, þar tó<sup>c</sup> Hrómundr  
 sverþit Mistiltein, Menit oc Hrínginn, oc marga apra góþa gripi,  
 géck síþan til festarinnar oc las sic upp, voro þá allir Kó<sup>o</sup>ngs menn frá  
 horfnir; géck Hrómundr þar til at hann hiti Olaf Kó<sup>o</sup>ng oc menn hans. 105  
 Kó<sup>o</sup>ng<sup>r</sup> fagnaþi Hrómundi vel, oc mæli<sup>r</sup> hvornig skildot þiþ Þráinn?  
 Hrómundr mæli<sup>r</sup> allt geck at óskom, með hans egin sverþi hjó ec af  
 h<sup>o</sup>nom höfuþit, oc brendi síþan upp til ósko. Slíkt var mesta happa  
 114v verk segir ll Kó<sup>o</sup>ng<sup>r</sup> oc erto frægr<sup>24</sup> maþr. Toko þá Kó<sup>o</sup>ngs menn ofr  
 gnægþ af gulli oc sylfri, oc héldo brott frá Svíþjóþ oc til Norvegs 110  
 þar sem í Björgom hiet, þar hafþi Kó<sup>o</sup>ng<sup>r</sup> vetrseto með hyrþ sína, þann  
 vetr, hjá Burgeis nockrom, hann var Gnúdi kallaþr, hann gaf Kó<sup>o</sup>ngi  
 marga góþa gripi oc sva m<sup>o</sup>nnom hans; hann gaf Hrómundi einn  
 racka, sem var sva vel viti borinn, sem maþr, oc skjótr sem ór, oc hit  
 mesta gersemi var hann, sá var Hrókr kallaþr. Hrómundr gaf Gnúþa 115  
 aptr ágætann hríng af betsta gulli, oc var talat at hann væri or haugi  
 Þráins, oc vóg vit ij mercr sylfors; þessa gjöf ófundaði Vole hyrþmaþr  
 Kó<sup>o</sup>ngs, hann kémor at máli vit Bíld féлага sinn, oc segist vilja drepa  
 hund þann er Hrómundr haf<sup>i</sup> eignast, oc segir at Kó<sup>o</sup>ng<sup>r</sup> vyrþi hann  
 langt yfir apra menn, sókom þess at hann haf<sup>i</sup> í hauginn gengit, oc 120

99 jafnan] ÷ L2404. 99 fá] + á L679. 100 betsta] mesta L679, L2404. 101  
 Þráinn] Þráni L2404. 102 á báli upp til] ad L679. 102 varþ] ÷ L679, + nu  
 L2404, + þá L1572. 102 bjart í haugnom] ÷ L679. 102 þar] ÷ L679, þá L1572.  
 102 tó<sup>c</sup>] + þá L679. 103 sverþit] ÷ L679. 103 marga] + þar L2404. 104  
 frá] burt L1572. 105 at] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 105 hitti] finnr L679. 106  
 Hrómundi] h<sup>o</sup>num L679. 107–108 af h<sup>o</sup>nom höfuþit] hófud af honum L679.  
 108 brendi] + hann L679. 108 var] + hid L679, er L1572. 109 segir] ÷ L679.  
 109 Kó<sup>o</sup>ng<sup>r</sup>] ÷ L679. 109 frægr] frægdar L1572 109 maþr] + af þessu segir  
 Kongr L679. 109 Toko] taka L1572. 110 sylfri] giersemum L679. 110  
 héldo] + svo L679. 110 brott] búrt L679, L2404, L1572. 110 oc] ÷ L679. 111  
 hiet] heitir L679. 111 hyrþ] ÷ L2404, mönnum L1572. 111 sína] sinni L679,  
 ÷ L2404, sinum L1572. 111–112 þann vetr] ÷ L2404. 112 hjá] ÷ L2404, med  
 L1572. 112 hann var] ÷ L2404. 112 Gnúdi] + var L2404. 113 góþa] fásiæna  
 L679. 114 sem var sva vel] er vel var L679. 115 var] ÷ L1572. 115 hann] sa  
 L679, ÷ L1572. 115 sá] hann L679. 115 Hrókr kallaþr] kallaþr Hrókur L2404.  
 116 aptr ágætann] ÷ L679. 116 at] ÷ L1572. 116 væri] + einn L1572. 118  
 hann] og L679. 120 at] ÷ L679.

24. In L1572, the reading is abbreviated with a superscript ‘r’, which is usually used for ‘ar’, hence the expansion ‘frægdar’.

ablat góþra gripa. Bíldr mælir þetta er dagsanna, oc hit betsta ráp sem þú segir oc skúlom vit í nótt til reyna.

### VIII kapítuli

Einn dag var þat um vetorinn, at Kóngr befalþi mǫnnom sínom, at fara með sér á jagt, at fanga veiþir fugla oc dýra; þeir gjǫra sem Kóngr vildi, ríþa merkr, oc skjóta fugla, en jaga dýr; þeim sóktist illa dýra jagtinn, því dýrinn voro allstygg. Hrómundr sigaði racka sínom eptir

5 dýrunom, en hann dró upp hvort eitt, oc um síþir fengo menn sva mǫrg til bráps sem þá gyrnti, oc héldo nú heim með storri skémtun oc fǫgnuþi, oc sógþo frá því, at Hrókr hefþi betst dregit upp dýrinn, oc eins hefþi hann fuglana sigraþ, lét þá Kóngr undir borþ setjast til matverþa oc dryckjo, oc voro allkátir en þegar hætt var dryckjo,

10 gengjo menn til hvílo, oc tóco náþir. Þeir Vole oc Bíldr, hófþo gát á hundinom Hrók, oc þá ll menn voro sofandi, gengo þeir at hǫnom oc stúngo til bana, því hann lá sofandi oc var þreyttr; hann spratt upp vit lagit oc náþi til Bílds, oc beit í gégnom handlegg hans, en Vole hjó af Hróci trínit. Vit þetta vaknaþi Hrómundr oc spyr hvaþ um

15 væri; hann setst upp oc sér hundinn dauþan, en þeir Vole oc Bíldr lupo á gátt, oc misti hann þeirra í þat sinn. Hrómundi líkaþi illa at hann misti rackann, en lét þó eigi á sér heyra. Annann dag eptir héldt Olafr Kóngr á skóg at veiþa, hǫnom tócest illa at veiþa; þann dag var Hrómundr heima oc for hvorgi Kóngr spyr hvar Hrómundr

20 væri? menn qváþo hann sjúkan eptir heima í mǫrgun. Þetta heyrdi

121 þetta] þat L679. 122 sem þú segir] ÷ L679. 122 til reyna] reina til þess L679. 1 befalþi] kallar L2404, sagdi L1572. 1–2 mǫnnom sínom, at fara] hyrd sína L2404. 2 með sér á jagt] á jakt með sier L679, á jagt L2404. 2 at] og L679. 2 fanga] veida L1572. 2 veiþir fugla oc dýra] djfr og fugla L679, L1572. 3 vildi] baud L1572. 3 ríþa] + á L679, L2404, ridu á L1572. 3 merkr] + og skoga L679. 3 skjóta] skutu L1572. 3 en] og L679. 3 jaga] jægudu L1572. 4 racka] seppa L679. 5 en] og L679. 5 hann dró] dro hann þaug óll L679. 5 hvort eitt] ÷ L679. 5 menn] þeir L1572. 6 mǫrg] mikid L679. 6 bráps] brada L679, L1572. 6 nú] so L1572. 6 skémtun] skiemtan L679, L2404, L1572. 7 oc] ÷ L2404. 7 fǫgnuþi] gledi L679, ÷ L2404. 7 dregit] haft L679. 8 undir] ÷ L1572. 8 borþ] drickju bord L679, ÷ L1572. 9 til matverþa oc dryckjo] ÷ L679. 9 dryckjo] ÷ L679. 10 Vole oc Bíldr] Billdr og Voli L679. 11 hundinom] ÷ L2404. 11 at] ÷ L2404. 12 stúngo] + hann L679, L1572. 12 lá] var L1572. 12 var] ÷ L1572. 14 Vit þetta] i þvj L679. 15 Vole oc Bíldr] Billdr og Voli L679. 16 á gátt] i burt L1572. 17 eptir] ÷ L679. 18 at veiþa] og L679. 18 hǫnom tócest] tokst hǫnum L679. 18 at veiþa] veidinn L679. 20 í mǫrgun] ÷ L1572.

Vole, oc brosti. Ekki dauþsjúkr segir hann, hann man eptir venjo vera á tali hjá Svanhvít systir Kóngrs, því hún elskar hann meirst allra manna. Þat hefi ec hugsat segir Kóngr at tignir menn skyldo Svanhvít oc Dagnýo eignast, en ecki kotkarla synir. Allt sannast síþar um þetta segir Vole oc lauk sva tali, at Kóngr héldt heim um qvöldit, oc gengo þá allir til dryckjo. Kóngr spyr er Hrómundr sjúkr en nú? Ei er þat segir Hrómundr heldr bý ec at kumlum Þráinnns. Jlla tókst oss veiþi í dag segir Kóngr því bæþi vantaþi þic oc seppa þinn. Vera má sva sé at hann hafi vantaþ segir Hrómundr oc þackir meþ tilhlýpilegom launom, vildi ec þeim kunna sem hann drápo í fyrri nótt, oc léto hann saclausann gjalda mín. Øll von er þess, segir Kóngr at slíkt viljir þú, því hann var afbragþ annara racka; liþo sva tímar, at ekkert bar til tíþinda. Nú víkr søgunni til Greips Fðþr<sup>25</sup> þeirra bræþra oc Hrómundar at hann gjörir orþ Hrómundi oc biþr hann þiggja heim boþ sitt, oc qvoma á sinn fund. Þetta boþ ll þáþi Hrómundr at qvoma til fundar vit hann. Greiþr fagnar hñonom vel, oc gjörir veglega veitslo móti hñonom, oc spyr margra luta frá Olafi Kóngrí Hrómundr sagdi slíkt er villdi, oc qvaþ Kóngr gjöra vel til sín oc bræþra sinna. Enn hvornig géþjast þér at Bíld oc Vola sagdi Greiþr allt læt ec þat ósagt sagdi Hrómundr oc man þat seinna heyrast. Draum minn hefi ec at segja þér Frændr<sup>26</sup> segir Greiþr mic dreymdi Olaf Kóngr oc þic, oc þókti mér at þú hafa géfit hñonom gullhrínga á báþar hendurnar, oc þókti mér at hríngarnir væro af eign Hróks svarta Mágs mins<sup>27</sup> oc þóktist ec sjá eptir hríngunom, því at þeir voro bæþi

21 eptir venjo] ÷ L679. 22 á tali] ad tala L679. 22 hjá] vid L679, L2404, L1572. 22 hún elskar hann] hann elskar hana L679. 23 skyldo] + eiga L679. 24 eignast] ÷ L679. 25 síþar um þetta] þetta um sijdir L679. 25 at] ÷ L1572. 26 sjúkr] veikr L679. 28 seppa] racka L1572. 29 má] + ad L679. 29 sva] þad L1572. 29 sé] hafi verid L679, ÷ L1572. 30 kunna] kunnad hafa L679. 30 hann drápo] drapu hann L679, L2404. 34 gjörir] giördi L679. 34 orþ Hrómundi] hñonom ord L679. 35 hann] honum L679. 35 þiggja heim boþ sitt, oc qvoma á sinn fund] a sinn fund ad þiggja heim bod sitt L679. 36 at qvoma til fundar vit hann] og ferdadist af stad L679, oc fer til fundar vid hann L1572. 36 fagnar] fagnadi L1572. 42 at] ÷ L2404, L1572. 42–43 á báþar hendurnar] tvö L679. 43 at] ÷ L679, L2404. 43 væro] vera L679, L2404. 43 eign] ætt L679. 43 Hróks] + hins L679, L2404. 44 oc þóktist ec] eg þottist L679, oc þóttiz L2404. 44 sjá] ÷ L2404. 44 at] ÷ L679, L2404. 44–45 bæþi margir] bádir vænir L679.

25. Expansion follows the single written-out example of 'fðþr' on f. 117v.

26. The expansion based on the reading in L679.

27. The expansion based on the readings in L679 and L1572.

45 *margir oc fagrir; þókti `mér` Kóngr skeinkja þér mót hríngunom,*  
*sva stora yfirhófn, at hún huldi þic allann á milli hvirfils oc ilja, oc*  
*þar á eptir sá ec þic í gómlo rúmi, oc hafþir þú þá micil svefn læti;*  
*mér þókti Svanhvít ganga at þér sofandi, oc búa um þic, en Dagný*  
*hjálpði henni til þessa starfa, en þá þær skildo vit þic, laut Svanhvít*  
50 *at þér oc kysti þic, oc tóe hnoþagrasfagurt oc batt þess enda um hönd*  
*þér oc sagði þesso skalto ecki sleppa, á medan ec sleppi ecki, síþan*  
*rakti hún niþr hnoþ at eptir sér oc géck í burt, en þú svafst eptir sem*  
*áþr. Nú hef ec sagt þér draum minn, en þú mant ráða verða með*  
*tíþinni. Hrómundr svarar: bæði er þat, at draumurinn þykir ecki sva*  
55 *merkilegr, enda erto oc maþr orþinn gamall. Satt er þat segir Greipr at*  
*ec er gamall vorþinn, en víst man draumurinn eitthvað merkja, því*  
*mér féllst hugr um hríngana, oc þat villda ec, Frændi! at þú talaþir*  
*vit þær systr Olafs Kóngs, oc manto þeirra njóta, en Bild oc Vola*  
*skalto varast því þeir ero ótrúir fleyrstom oc segja Kóngi satt oc logit*  
60 *af öþrom mömmom. Sat nú Hrómundr hjá Föþr sínom nockra stund*  
*oc eptir þat býst ll hann á burt, géck þá Greipr á veg með hönom, oc*  
*bat allra vyrta, at heilir aptr findost; ferþaþist Hrómundr til þess at*  
*heim kom, oc lét fátt yfir ferþ sinni*

116r

## IX kapítuli

Ekki langt eptir þetta, géck Hrómundr at finna þær systr; bræþr hans gengo með hönom, þær tóco vel qvomo þeirra, oc spurþo tíþinda, en þeir sógþost engin vita. Hrómundr mæli þess eyrindis qvom ec hingat, at ec villdi ega gott vit yþr<sup>28</sup> at skoþa draum hylli Föþr míns,

5 *því ec þenki yþr bæði lítilátar oc spakar. Hún segir Jlla færi mér at*

45 þókti `mér`] mier þotti L679, L2404, L1572. 45 Kóngr] hann L679. 45 þér] + á L2404. 46 á] ÷ L1572. 47 hafþir þú] höfþo þeir L2404. 48 sofandi] ÷ L679. 48 þic] + sofandi L679. 49 þá] þegar L679. 53 verða með] ÷ L679. 54 tíþinni] tíjindi L679, ÷ L2404. 54 svarar] mæli L1572. 54 draumurinn þykir ecki sva] mier þiki draumurinn L679, draumurinn þikir mer eckie so L1572. 55 oc maþr orþinn] ordinn madr L679, og ordin madr L1572. 55–56 at ec er gamall vorþinn] ÷ L2404, ad eg er ordinn gamall L1572. 57 talaþir] + eij L679. 60 hjá Föþr sínom nockra stund] um stund hjá fódr sijnum L679. 61 á burt] i burt L679, á brott L2404. 62 bat] + hónum L679. 62 ferþaþist] letti ei L2404. 62–63 til þess at heim kom] þá heim L679, fyrr enn hann kom heim L2404, til þess hann heim kom L1572. 1 systr] + þeir L2404. 2 qvomo] kvedju L679. 3 sógþost] qvadu L2404. 4 at] og L1572. 4 skoþa] rada L679. 5 spakar] spakastar L1572. 5 Hún segir] hún svarar L2404, Þá segir Svanhvít L1572.

28. L679 has the reading 'þig' corrected to 'ydr'.

synja góþom mðnnom þess er ec veita má, oc slíkt sómir ecki, eþa hvors villto beiþast? Hrómundr segir henni drauminn eptir því sem verit hafþi. Hún mælir þat ræþ ec þér, at þú sért hjá Fðþr þínom, oc þeir bræþr þínir meþ þér, oc skiptit yþr eckert af bróþr mínom, því hann heldr ij falska menn, sem stunda eptir at rógbera þic, frá mér. 10  
 Vænt er þat at vera drengr, oc vinna til segir Hrómundr oc skal ec því heldr hingat qvoma sem þeir meira af skjala, á medan at þér mér þat leyfit oc ecki bannit. Ei man þat sva fljótt verþa segir hún, at ec varni þér viðmælis, oc þat hefi ec lengi þeinkt, at vit mundom 15  
 einhvorn tíma samtal ega, oc þat dreymdi mic eitt sinn, at ec þókt- ist búa um þic í eino rúmi, oc varsto lítt haldinn, en þó mæltir þú til mín, en bræþrom þínom bjó ec annat rúm, oc tóluþo þeir ecki neitt til mín. Máské<sup>29</sup> sva verþi segir Hrómundr oc tóe fingorgull oc gaf henni, oc géck burt síþan, en hún bat hann vel fara. Litlo eptir þetta qvoma þeir Vole oc Bíldr á tal vit Kóng oc segja hðnom 20  
 at Hrómundr meþ bræþrom sínom hafi gengit til þeirra systra, eptir vana sínom, segja þeir. oc má þat þykja undarlegt oc óhðþínglegt, at þar sé eckert at fundit, oc af talat, at einn kotkarlsson hafi gisting 25  
 hjá Kóngbornom Jómfrúm um nætr oc daga. Kóngr ll mælir þetta hefi ec ei fyrr vitat, oc skal sva ecki lengi til ganga ef ec má at nockro aktast, oc látit mic vita nær þetta til fellr oc þat fregnit. Þeir játto þesso, oc skildo talit; leituþost þeir nú eptir á allar lundir at sitja um Hrómund nær hann gangi at finna Svanhvít oc eittsinn er Hrómundr var á tali vit þær systr, foro þeir á Kóngs fund oc søgþu hanom, at nú væri Hrómundr qvominn til þeirra systra. Kóngr bregþr fljótt vit oc 30

6 þess] slijks L679. 6 veita má] má veita L2404. 8 mælir] segir L679. 9 þeir] ÷ L1572. 9 eckert] ecki L679. 10 þic] yður L679. 12 at] ÷ L679. 13 oc] enn L679, ÷ L2404. 13 ecki bannit] ÷ L2404. 14 viðmælis] vidmælis L679. 15 einhvorn tíma samtal ega] samtal eiga einkvörn tíma L679. 18 neitt] ÷ L679. 19 burt síþan] síjdann heim L679. 20 Vole oc Bíldr] Bjldr og Voli L679. 20 á tal] ad tali L679. 21 þeirra systra] tals vid þær sistr L679. 22 segja þeir] ÷ L1572. 23 eckert] ecki L679. 23 oc af talat] ÷ L2404. 24 um] og hafi þar gisting L679. 25 at] ÷ L679, L2404. 25 nockro] nockud L679, ÷ L2404. 26 aktast] ráþa L2404. 26 þat] þid L679, L2404, L1572. 27 leituþost] leitast L679. 27 eptir] vid L1572. 28 gangi] færri L679. 28 oc] ÷ L679. 29 á tali] ad tala L679. 29 systr] + þá L679. 29 á Kóngs fund] nú til Kongs L679. 29–30 nú væri Hrómundr] Hromundr væri L679. 30 þeirra systra] tals vid Svanhvít L679, þeirra L2404. 30 fljótt] skiótt L1572.

29. Note the use of 'máské', a Danish loanword from *måske*, examples in OH dated to the 16th–20th cent.

kallar menn oc biþr þá taca vapn sín, oc fylgja sér eptir; snero þeir þá allir at herbergjom Svanhvítar var þá Dagný at lauga líntrefla þeirra systra, en Svanhvít var at máli vit Hrómund Þá tóc til orþa þerna Dagnýar, oc sagði lít þú upp Jómfrú oc bú þic vit bróþir þínom oc  
 35 hirþ hans. Þá sá Dagný micinn fjólda at drýfa; hún rann á skunda til systr sinnar, oc segir henni tíþindin at Olafr Kóngr Bróþir hennar qvomi. Svanhvít géck at Hrómundi oc mællir nú máttu ecki tefja, því Bróþir minn kémr innan lítls tíma oc vill fanga þic, skalto taca vit qvenn-skrúþa vorum, oc mæta Kóngr vit gjættir, oc ber sængr fót  
 40 oc hvílo voþir í fangi þer, enn frétti Kóngr at Hrómundi skalto segja at hann qvominn sé á fund vorn, oc sé nú at tala vit mic, manot þit þá skílja, en þú skalt þá hitta Fòþr þinn, oc tac bræþr þína með þér; síþan tóc Svanhvít ljósgulann stein, oc dró um andlit hans, féck hann þá yfirlit hennar þjónosto meyar; qvaþdi Hrómundr nu hana,  
 45 en hún kysti hann oc bat heilan fara oc aprt qvoma; for þá Hrómundr í Meyarskrúþan, oc stritaþist út með sængrfata baggan á ðxlinni, oc qvom þá Kóngr á móti stúlko þessari, oc spyr tíþinda, oc hvort at Hrómundr sé þar eþa ei? Hún segir at sva muni vera at þau mælist vit, Svanhvít oc hann. Kóngr spyr hvar ero þau nú? stúlkan segir í  
 50 náttherbergi hennar var hann nú fyrir stutto, oc má ec ecki tefja verk, at herma fremr. Far þú segir Kóngr oc ll vinn þat sem þér var skipat; géck þá stúlkan sinn veg, þann sem henni var fyrir lagþr, en Kóngr reip til portdyra Jómfrúna, oc voro þá allar dyr lokapar. Kóngr sagði mðnnom upp at brjóta, en Dagný lét frá lokr, oc qvaþ Hrómundr þar  
 55 dvalit hafa hjá systr sinni oc hér hygg ec hann en vera þó felast kunni,

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31 kallar] + þá L679. 33 máli] tala L679, mæla L1572. 34 sagði] mælti L1572. 34 bú þic] búst þú L679, L1572, búst L2404. 36 til] og fann L679. 36 sinnar] sijna L679. 36 segir] ÷ L2404. 38 lítls tíma] stundar L1572. 39 qvenn-skrúþa] skrúða L679. 39 mæta] mæt L679, L2404, L1572. 39 fót] vorar L679. 40 voþir] fót L679. 41 at] ÷ L679, L1572. 41 sé] ÷ L679. 41 fund vorn] vorn fúnd L679. 41 sé nú] ÷ L2404. 41 at tala] á tali L679, L1572, tali L2404. 41 manot] munú L679, L2404, L1572. 42 þá] ÷ L679. 42 þá] ÷ L679. 42 tac] takto L2404. 44 nu] ÷ L679, L1572. 45 kysti hann oc] ÷ L679. 45 bat] + hann L1572. 46 Meyarskrúþan] meyararkrúþunom L2404. 47 stúlko þessari] þessari stúlkú L679. 47 oc] + spir L679, ÷ L2404, eða L1572. 47 at] ÷ L679, L1572. 48 eþa] ÷ L2404. 48 mælist] talist L679. 49 ero þau] þaug sieú L679. 50 hennar] ÷ L679. 50 var hann nú] voru þaug L679, var hann L1572. 50 verk] + mytt L679, L2404, L1572. 51 herma] giora L1572. 51 fremr] framar L679, L2404, ÷ L1572. 51 Far þú segir Kóngr] kongr segir far þú L1572. 51 þér] hjirir þig L679. 51 skipat] lagt L679. 52 þá stúlkan] hun þá L1572. 52 þann] ÷ L2404. 53 Jómfrúna] jómfruarinnar L2404. 54 mðnnom] + sinom L2404. 54 lét] dró L1572. 55 en] ÷ L679.

oc megit þér vandlega leita láta eptir hanom. Kóngur gengr nú um  
 herbergin oc fyrir Svanhvít hún fagnar Kóngi vel, oc bauþ til veitslo,  
 en Kóngur neitaþi, oc bat hana láta Hrómund í frammí. Svanhvít mæli  
 hvaþ vill Kóngurinn leita eptir Hrómundi þar sem at hann er hans  
 betsti vin, oc hefi ec hanom hér því vel tekit, at mér vyrþist hann 60  
 ebla oc styrkja yþar makt oc ríci, en nú man hann bráþlega á braut  
 snúinn frá yþr, at þér misgrunit hann um þá luti er hann er ei valdor  
 af, oc væri þér heiþr hærrí, at láta heingja þá lygara, sem hann hafa  
 vit yþr rógborit, en ero þó hinar mesto raggeitr, nema at fremja 65  
 galdra oc fjólkíngi sem enginn er dáþ né drengskapr í. Kóngur mæli  
 fyrir mic er qvomít, sem satt man, at Hrómundr fípli þic, oc því held  
 ec þat líklegast, at þú haldir svári hans. Svanhvít mæli mansto ecki  
 þat, at hvorki þú sjálfr, eþr nockor annar þinna manna þorþi at fara  
 í haug Þráins nema Hrómundr einn. Kóngur mæli þar af mektast  
 hann, oc grynist at brúka þic eptir lystisemi sinni, at hann leynir mic 70  
 þesso, oc hér fyrir skal ec láta festa hann á gálga, oc strax máttó mér  
 hann í hendr selja. Svanhvít segir látit þér taca hann sjálfir, ec hefi  
 ecki hanom at frammvísa, oc ero yþr heimil hús vor til ransókunar.  
 Kóngur skipar mómnom sínom at leita vandlega, oc sva gjörþo þeir, oc 75  
 fundo ecki at heldr. Kóngur skipar nú at brjóta upp storar hyrþslr, oc  
 leita eptir Hrómundi en hann fanst ecki. Þá reiþdist Olafr Kóngur oc  
 sló Svanhvít sva stort andlits blak, at blóþit féll ll of hana oc mæli  
 haf þetta fyrir Hrómund þín armadubba<sup>30</sup> oc skalto jafnan hafa reiþi

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56 megit] megi L679, L2404, L1572. 56 láta] ÷ L679. 58 bat hana] baud henni ad L679. 58 Hrómund í frammí] fram Rómundr L2404, Hromund fram L1572. 59 Hrómundi] hónum L679. 59 sem] ÷ L679. 59 at] ÷ L679, L2404. 60 hér því] ÷ L679, því L2404, L1572. 61 ebla] affa L679. 62 snúinn] snúaz L2404. 62 at] er L1572. 63 þá lygara] á gálga L2404. 64 vit yþr rógborit] rogborid vid ydr L679. 65 galdra] galdr L1572. 65 né] eda L1572. 66 qvomít] + þat L679. 66 fípli] múni fípla L679. 67 haldir svári] takir svörum L1572. 68 þat] ÷ L679. 68 eþr] né L2404. 68 annar] ÷ L679. 68 fara] ganga L679, L2404. 69 Hrómundr] hann L679. 69 af mektast] ofmetnast L679. 70 lystisemi] list L1572. 70 sinni] þinni L679. 70 at hann] enn L1572. 71 hér fyrir] fjrir þad L679. 72 segir] svarar L2404. 72 þér] ÷ L679. 72 sjálfir] sjálfr því L679, síalfr L1572. 73 ecki hanom] hónum ecki L679. 73 at frammvísa] fram ad vísa L679. 73 ransókunar] rannsoknar L679, L2404 74 skipar] baud L1572. 75 nú] ÷ L679. 75 storar hyrþslr] storhirdslur L679, L2404, L1572. 76 ecki] + ad heldr L679. 76 Olafr] ÷ L679. 77 sva] ÷ L679. 77 of] nidr um L679, om L2404, L1572.

30. The expression 'arma dubba' is an offensive term for women; examples in OH from the 17th and 18th cent. In Blöndal's dictionary, *dubba* (Da. *kvinde*,

mína. Svanhvít mælir allt of þat oc ei at síþr skal ec þá Hrómund vit  
 80 vara oc betst unna, en þar á móti til leggja at vinir þínir Vole oc Bíldr  
 verþi hengþir. Kóngr mælir lítit man ec akta orþ þín, oc man ec ráþa  
 því ec vil, en Hrómundi hefr þú víst undan qvomit, oc skal þér þat  
 ecki duga, at gjöra mic forn spurþan at tali ykkar Hrómundar þar  
 til gjörir þú forsmán tign þinni, at leggja lag þitt vit sléttan Búra-  
 85 son. Svanhvít mælir þar er raun sem hún hrókr, oc höndlit þér ei  
 Hrómund at heldr, en þar missit þér hins vaskasta manns, er þér látit  
 hann burt flæmast sva óhöfþinglega. Olafr Kóngr mælir þat veit ec  
 fyrir víst at þú hefr Hrómund undan qvomit, oc skal þér slíkt duga  
 at hylla hann til skamma með þér? Þar er raun sem á skérst, segir  
 90 Svanhvít verþr þá Kóngr afar reiþr, oc snýr út af herbergino, oc biþr  
 menn sína at skygnast eptir Hrómundi en hann fanst hvorgi, snýr þá  
 Kóngr til Bæar heim aprt oc átelr þá Bild oc Vola, at þeir hafi sic á stat  
 logit, en þeir segja sic satt sagt hafa, oc til bevisingar hafi þær Jóm-  
 frúr með kéndt hit sama, varþ nú Kóngr þetta sva at hafa oc umbera.  
 95 Nú er at segja frá stúlkunni, sem út bar hvílo voþirnar, at hún skipti  
 skjótt klæþom, oc géck at finna þá syni Greips, oc bat þá fylgja sér;  
 en sem þeir qvomo á skóginn, snýr þá Hrómundr út alvorunni,<sup>31</sup> oc  
 segir þeim at finna Föþr sinn, oc þat gjörþo þeir. Greipr fagnar þeim  
 öllum, oc bat þá þar at dveljast medan villdo; en þess á millom sem  
 100 þeir þar dvöldo, for Hrómundr opt at finna vinkonr sínar, oc tóco  
 þær hanom jafnan vel, oc léto ei á sér festa reiþi Olafs Kóngs.

79 of] um L679, L2404, L1572. 79 þá] ÷ L679, þó L1572. 80 Vole oc Bíldr] Bijldr og Voli L679. 82 þat] ÷ L679. 84 þitt] ÷ L2404. 84–85 Búrason] Bóndasun L2404. 85 mælir] segir L1572. 85 þar] þad L679, L2404. 85 hún] ÷ L2404. 85 þér ei] þid ecki L679. 86 þar] þér L1572. 86 þér] þid L679, L2404, ÷ L1572. 86 er] ef L679. 88 þér] + ei L2404, L1572. 88 duga] + ecki L679. 90 út] búrt L679. 91 at] ÷ L679, L2404. 93 segja sic] seigjast L679. 93 bevisingar hafi þær] sanns þar um hefi L2404, bevisingar hafi L1572. 93–94 Jómfrúr] jomfrúrnar L679, L1572, meyarnar L2404. 94 hit] þad L1572. 94 sva] + búid L679, L1572. 94 oc umbera] ÷ L1572. 95 skipti] skiptir L679. 96 géck] for L679. 96 syni Greips] Greips syni L1572. 97 sem] er L1572. 97 alvorunni] af götunni L2404. 98 gjörþo] gjóra L1572. 99 at] ÷ L679. 99 millom] milli L679, L2404. 100 for] gékk L679. 100 oc] ÷ L2404. 101 hanom] þeim L679.

*laptaske*) is illustrated with an example ‘sagði þær örnu dubbur [...] skyldu’, while elsewhere in the dictionary we can find a similar expression: ‘þegi þú, þín arma gardranorn’, which is translated as ‘ti stille, din forbandede Heks’.

31. The reading found in L2404 is a better reading in the context of the story.

X *kapítuli*

118r ll Nú<sup>32</sup> víkr Sògunni austr til Svíþjóðar, at þeir Kóngar Hálfðánar saman draga ógrinni hers oc senda xij sína besto sveina til Olafs Kóns með þau eyrindi, at þeir bjóða honum til bardaga oc mótstöðo sér at mæta vit Vænirs Vatn oc skal sú orrusta haldast á harða Jsi fyrir þá skuld at Olafur Kóngr hefur áþr fyrir gjört ágáng á rici þeirra þeim 5 at saklauso, oc rænt þar herfangi. Sendimenn Kóngana quomo einn dag til Olafs Kóns oc gengo í höllina oc quòðo hann, þá er hann sat yfir borþum. Kóngr tók qveþjo þeirra oc spyr hvorjir væro? en þeir sògþost sendir frá frægom Kongom í Svíþjóð þess eyrindis at þeir boða yþr til bardaga segja þeir, oc skal yþar oc þeirra samfundr 10 verða á vatnino Vænir þar á ísnom; en ef þú þorir ecki, þá segja þeir yþr norska steingeit sem hafir horn en engan merg. Kóngr reiþdist þesso, en lét þó ecki at gjöra, at leita á<sup>33</sup> sendimennina. Hann mælti þora man ec at quoma, þó at orka sé ecki öll í hornom, héldo sva sendimenn apr til baka; en Olafur Kóngr lætr saman blása síno lipi, 15 vantar þá sonu Greips oc þykir nú stort skarþi orþit, at Hrómundr var á burt með bræþrom sínom; dreif þá at Olafur Kóngr lip hans þat til var, segir þá Kóngr mòmnom sínom, at þessi orrusta skuli um mids vetrar bil haldast á Vænirs Jsi. Nú fréttir Hrómundr at Olafi Kóngi er stefnt til bardaga, hann fer eptir venjo sinni at finna Svanhvít hún 20 fagnar hanom vel, oc býr til veitslo heimuglega, oc biþr Hrómundi

2 saman draga] draga saman L679. 2 sveina] menn L2404. 3 bjóða] bjódi L679. 3–4 oc mótstöðo sér at mæta] ÷ L679, og ad mæta L1572. 4 sú orrusta] orustan L2404. 5 þá skuld] það L679. 5 áþr fyrir] ÷ L679. 5 þeim] ÷ L679. 6 oc rænt þar herfangi] ÷ L679. 7 þá] þat L2404, ÷ L1572. 8 Kóngr] hann L679. 8 en] ÷ L679. 9 sògþost] segjast vera L679. 9 frægom Kongom í Svíþjóð] Svía kongum L1572. 10 þeir] ÷ L679. 10 boða] biða L1572. 10 segja þeir] ÷ L679, L1572. 10 oc þeirra] ÷ L679, L1572. 11 verða] vera L1572. 11 þar] ÷ L679, L1572. 12 sem hafir horn] ÷ L2404. 12 en engan merg] ÷ L1572. 14 öll] ÷ L1572. 14–15 sva sendimenn apr] þeir so L679. 15 síno lipi] lidi sijnu L679, L2404, L1572. 16 þykir] þotti L679. 16 stort] ÷ L2404. 17 á burt] i burtú L679, i brott L2404, i burt L1572. 17 lip hans þat] það lid er L679, lid hans er L1572. 18–19 um mids vetrar bil haldast] halldast um mis vetrar bil L679, haldast L1572. 19 fréttir] fretti L2404. 21 býr] bio L1572.

32. From this point onwards, B11109 and L1572 number the chapters incorrectly, using 'xi' for 'x' and so on. In L2404 (using Roman numerals) and L670 (using Arabic numerals), the sequence of chapters is correctly numbered. This variation is not registered for the remaining chapters.

33. Dittography in L679, 'leita á'.

þiggja; hann segist sva gjöra mundi; hann spyr margra luta of Olaf  
 Kóng hún segir at hann sé nú í liþs saman drætti, oc haldi snart burt  
 til bardaga á móti þeim Svíom, eþa, segir hún, ætlar þú at fylgja  
 25 Bróþr mínom í þessa ferd. Ogjörla veit ec þat, segir Hrómundr, en  
 ómerkilegt er at sitja at gjörþalaus fyrir góþa menn nær granullar  
 þeirra gjæta starfa sinna. Enga bón nenni ec at frammbera fyrir Kóng  
 segir hún, at þú mátt sjálfráþr vera. Vel er þat segir Hrómundr þó at  
 þeir Bíldr oc Vole prófi sína frægþ oc hreysti núna einosinni oc veiti  
 30 Kóngi hollusto í því sem hönom meist áliggr. Ekki hryggir mic þat  
 segir hún, þó þeir mættu neyta handa sinna, enn sorga ec meira, at ef  
 þú, eþr bræþr þínir bíþa kaldt af þessom bardaga, því mér rís hugr  
 um þat laungom, en þó ef at Bróþr minn verþr ofr liþa borinn, þá  
 kann sæmd vorri at verþa at ósóma. Hrómundr brosti at, oc géck at  
 35 drecka, oc eptir dryckjona reiþ hann heim aprtr til Fòþr síns.

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## XI kapítuli

Eptir þetta, þegar sendimenn Svía Kónga qvomo heim aprtr oc sògþo  
 slíkt er skéþ hafþi, héldo þeir Hálfðánar Kóngar af stad með micinn  
 fjòlda skipa oc manna, þeir snúa skipom sínom vestor með landi, þar  
 til þeir qvoma at Vænir, þar ganga þeir á land, oc setja herbúþir sínar  
 5 oc búast vel um; þeir höfþo einvala liþ, oc hit hardfengasta; með þeim  
 var Helgi hinn Frækni, hann hafþi hin betsto herklæþi, oc sverþ þat  
 er Hraungviþr borit hafþi; Frillo átti Helgi sér sem Kára hiet, hún  
 var fjòlkunnug oc hamfarar giþja, hún fló optast í álptar ham, oc  
 stundom dreka, oc stundom var hún qvendi eþr karl, stundom hjortr

22 hann] og L679. 22 hann] og L679. 22 of] um L679, L2404, L1572. 23  
 at] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 23 nú] ÷ L679. 23 burt] ÷ L679. 24 á] ÷  
 L679. 24 þeim] ÷ L679. 25 Ogjörla] ögjör L679. 26 er] + þad L679. 27  
 at frammbera] fram at bera L2404. 28 þó] ÷ L2404, L1572. 28 at] ÷ L679.  
 29 prófi] reýni L2404, prófa L1572. 29 frægþ] list frægd L679. 29 núna ein-  
 osinni] nú einu sinni L679, ÷ L2404, L1572. 30 sem] ÷ L679. 30 hönom] ÷  
 L2404, þeim L1572. 31 mættu] megi L1572. 31 meira, at] ÷ L679, meira  
 L1572. 32 eþr] og L679, L2404, L1572. 33 um] vit L2404, L1572. 33 þat]  
 því L1572. 33 at] ÷ L679, L1572. 34 vorri at verþa] vor uerda L679. 34 at]  
 ÷ L679, L2404. 35 oc] enn L679, ÷ L1572. 35 eptir dryckjona] siþan L2404,  
 eptir þad L1572. 35 reiþ] for L679. 35 aprtr] ÷ L679. 1 þegar] + ad L679,  
 L2404, L1572. 2–3 héldo þeir Hálfðánar Kóngar af stad með micinn fjòlda skipa  
 oc manna] ÷ L679. 4 qvoma] komu L679, L1572. 4 ganga] geingu L679,  
 L1572. 6 hinn] ÷ L679. 7 borit hafþi] hafði att L679. 7 sem] er L2404,  
 L1572. 8 fjòlkunnug] + miöc L2404. 8 hamfarar] hamfara L679. 8 oc] ÷  
 L679. 9 oc] ÷ L679, L1572. 9 qvendi] kona L679, L1572. 9 karl] karlmadur  
 L1572.

eþr hind, oc var Helga hit meirsta traust at henni, hvorjo sem var 10  
 at sæta, fylgþi hún hõnom jafnan, þá hann til nockurra stórræþa  
 ferþapist. Nú er at greina frá Olafi Kóngi at hann heldr með her  
 sinn af stad, oc hafþi þá Bíldr og Vola með sér, stóþ nú allt hans  
 119r traust á þeim báþom, láta þeir micit af sér, oc heita Kongi sínu ll  
 fulltíngi. Sva var vetrarlag, at ecki hafþi snærdrifit, en gengit lang 15  
 frost með bjart vindom. Kóngi greiþdist vel yfir skóg oc merkt, þar  
 til hann quom at Væmir, voro þar hertjóld þeirra Svía þar fyrir, beiþ  
 þá ecki lengi, þar til at hõfst með þeim bardagi, oc hin snarpasta  
 orrusta. Svíar voro ákafafullir oc illir við eignar; þeir gengo í liþ  
 Olafs Kóngrs oc britjuþo niþr liþ hans, sem gras á jörþo. Olaf Kóngr 20  
 sókti á móti þeim Svíom með meirsta drengskap; hann slær oc leggr á  
 báþar hendr oc var hinn ðruggasti. Helgi Frækni var Oþdviþi þeirra  
 Svía, en Bíldr oc Vole þeirra Norþmanna, sneri þá mannfallino á Olaf  
 Kóngr sva hann tóç at tvíla um sigor sæld sína, því þá tóç at fæcka liþ  
 hans, sva hópum gégnði, lá þá þeim Norþmõnnom vit at flýa. Olaf 25  
 Kóngr bat menn ei uppgéfast, drógst sva undan at flóttanom yrþi  
 frammqvæmt, leiþ sva af dagurinn en nóttin tóç vit, var þá haldit  
 uppi friþarskyldi, lét þá Kóngr kanna liþ sitt, hafþi þá fallit tæpr  
 þriþjúngr af Norþmõnnom, sendi þá Olaf Kóngr eptir liþi heim  
 til sín. Annan dag tóçst aptr hin snarpasta orrusta, féllu þá margir 30  
 af hvorjom fyrir sic sva fyrnom gégnði. Helgi sókti betst fram, oc  
 stóþ enginn vit hõnom, hann drap bæþi menn oc hesta, oc alla fylkíng  
 for hann í gégnom. Þetta sjer Olaf Kóngr oc riþr harþt fram, oc  
 biþr menn ecki undanleita. Pat heyrþi Bíldr oc snýr í móti Helga, oc  
 hóggr til hans af ðllo megni. Helgi brá fyrir skyldinom, en sverþit 35

10 *hit*] ÷ L1572. 11 *hann*] ÷ L679. 11 *nockurra*] einhvõrra L679. 12 *greina*] segja L1572. 12–13 *meþ her sinn af stad*] af stad með her sinn L679. 13–14 *hans traust*] traust hans L1572. 14 *báþom*] ÷ L679. 15 *lang*] langt L2404, langsamt L1572. 16 *vindom*] vidri L679, vidrum L1572. 16 *vel*] + ferdinn L679. 16 *skóg*] skoga L679. 17 *voru þar*] var þar fyrir L679, stóðu L1572. 17 *hertjóld*] herlid L679. 17 *þeirra*] ÷ L679. 17 *þar fyrir*] ÷ L679, fyrir L2404. 18 *þá*] þad L1572. 18 *af*] ÷ L679, L1572. 18 *hin snarpasta*] og hórd L679. 20 *britjuþo*] + þad L679. 20 *liþ hans*] ÷ L679. 21–22 *á báþar hendr*] til beggja handa L679. 24 *liþ*] herlid L679. 25 *sva hópum gégnði*] ÷ L679. 25 *þá*] ÷ L1572. 25 *þeim*] ÷ L679, L2404. 25 *Norþmõnnom*] + þá L1572. 26 *menn*] þá L679. 26 *yrþi*] varþ ei L1572. 27 *frammqvæmt*] vidkomid L679. 28 *uppi*] upp L1572. 28 *friþarskyldi*] fridskildi L1572. 30 *dag*] + eptir L1572. 31 *hvorjom fyrir sic*] hverotveggiom L2404. 32 *stóþ*] stóðst L679, L2404. 32 *vit*] fyrir L1572. 32 *alla*] hvõrja L679. 33 *hann*] hun L2404. 33 *í*] ÷ L679. 34 *snýr í*] sneri L679. 35 *brá*] b[or] L679. 35 *en*] so L679, oc L2404. 35–36 *sverþit festist*] festiz sverþit L2404.

festist í; þat sá Helgi, oc snarar sva harþt skjöldinn, at BÍld varþ laust  
 sverþit; hann blés þá vindi mót Helga, sva hǫnom réþi til falls oc misti  
 vopna, hann sjer hvar lá ein eykar kylfa, hana þrífr Helgi, oc reirir  
 hana í hǫfut á BÍld, ll sva hausinn molapíst í parta; Helgi lamdi hann 119v  
 40 allann í sundr, en á medan þetta skéþi, áttust þeir vit Olafur Kóngr  
 oc annar Kóngr þeirra Svía; Olafur Kóngr bar eitt hit betsta sverþ oc  
 herklæþi, hann hǫgggr þvi til Hálfðans, en hann brá vit skyldi, oc  
 klofnabi hann í tvennt. Þá hjó Hálfðán til Olafs Kóngrs oc stemndi á  
 45 hjálminn. Pat sá Olafur Kóngr oc sneri vit hestinom, oc qvom hǫggit  
 á hestinn fyrir framan bogana oc þar í sundr um þvert. Olafur Kóngr  
 stóck af baki fyrir en gat fallit, oc qvom standandi niþr, oc hjó á ǫxlina  
 á Hálfðáni Kóngrí oc sneiþ ofan herþar blapit oc síþuna, fylgdi þar  
 með hǫndin, féll þá Hálfðán Kóngr var þá Olafur Kóngr micit móþr,  
 en lítt sár, sjer hann þá fall manna sinna, er Helgi oc Hálfðán gjǫrþo,  
 50 en sinn átrúnat Vola, sá hann hvorgi, þeinkti Kóngr at hann mundi  
 fallinn vera, tóç þá Olafi Kóngrí at sýnast óvis sigorinn, þar sem at  
 báþir væro fallnir BÍldr oc Vole.

## XII kapítuli

Nú er at segja frá sendimanni Olafs Kóngrs at hann kémr heim, oc  
 heimtar liþ saman, oc segir Olafur Kóngr nær þvi yfir unninn; honom  
 verþr lítit til liþs, oc fær ccc mana; þetta fregnar Svanhvít hún lætr  
 taca jv fararskjóta, oc sóþla sér oc ferþast hit snarasta á fund Hró-  
 5 mundar þeir feþgar fagna henni með meirsto bliþo, oc qváþo stórar

36 í] + honum L2404. 36 snarar] sneri L1572. 36 sva harþt skjöldinn] skildinum so hart L679, sva hart skyldinom L2404, so fast skiöldinn L1572. 36 BÍld] Býldi L2404. 37 mót] til L1572. 37 sva] oc L1572. 37 hǫnom réþi] redi honum L1572. 37 til falls] vid L679. 38 hann sjer hvar lá ein eykar kylfa, hana þrífr Helgi] Helgi þrífur þá eina eikar kilfu L679. 38 reirir] keirir L679, L2404, L1572. 39 hana] ÷ L679. 39 BÍld] Býldi L2404. 39 hann] + frá L679. 41 Kóngr þeirra Svía] Svija Kongr L679. 41 bar eitt hit betsta] hefþi ágætt L2404. 42 herklæþi] + in besto L2404. 42 þvi] ÷ L679. 42 Hálfðans] Halfdanar L679, + kongs L2404. 42 skyldi] skilddinum L679. 46 en] + hann L679, L1572. 46 ǫxlina] ǫxl L1572. 47 á Hálfðáni Kóngrí] Halfdanar kongs L1572. 47 ofan] af L1572. 47 herþar] herda L679. 47 síþuna] + og L679, L2404. 48 Kóngr] + og L2404. 48 þá] ÷ L2404. 48 micit] mióg L679. 49 lítt] ecki L679. 50 átrúnat] átrunadr L679. 50 at] ÷ L2404. 51 tóç þá] þá tók L1572. 51–52 at báþir] ÷ L679. 52 væro fallnir] fallnir vorú L679. 2 heimtar] heimtir L679, L1572. 2–3 honom verþr] og verþr honum L2404. 3 cc] iijc L2404. 3 fregnar] friettir L679, L1572. 3 hún] og L679. 4 jv] vj L679. 4 ferþast] fer L679.

nýungar vit bera, at slíkir géstir vitjuþo sinna hýbýla, oc sògþo at byrgja mætti polla oc brúa torfæror. Greipr bóndi bat hana þar dvelja oc hjá sér at þyggja þat villdi. Svanhvít segir þacka bónda fyrir betsto sæmdar boþ, oc segist leyndarmál vit Hrómund ega, Vel er þat segir Greipr oc man hann skyldr, fremr ðþrom, yþr at veita. Hrómundr oc Svanhvít gengo þá bæþi á einmæli, Hún mælir þess eyrindis qvom ec nú at finna þic, at mér er sagt at Bróþir minn sé nær því á flótta ricinn, en margt af honom ll fallit liþ hans, villda ec nú at þú fyrir minn vinskap, adstoþ veittir Olafi Kóngi bróþr mínom Ofús er ec Olafi Kóngi liþ at veita, þó ec gjæti, segir Hrómundr fyrir þá skuld sérdeilislega at hann úthellti blóþi þíno með heiptarfullri hendi, mín vegna, oc er því réttvíst at hann nú njóti þess. Svanhvít mælir fyrst sva var, at ec útstóþ ðrkumslit með vilja fyrir þínar sakir, þá manto fyrir mínar tillògr liþsinna. Hrómundr mælir jafnan sýnit þit, Jómfrú! yþar géþgjæþsko, en vit drengir okkar harþlyndi. Svanhvít géck þá at Hrómundi oc lagþi hendr um háls honom, oc mælir ecki manto þessi orþ mæla af alvòro, heldr í gamni. Já, segir Hrómundr fyrir alvòro, því fyrir fulla alvòro pústraþi Olafr Kóngr þic, oc kallaþi þic dubbo, oc fer ecki illa þó at honom, eþr hans góþo gjòrpom, blæþi or skrokkom líkt sem yþr, or ásjóno, oc seppa mínom Hrók til fulls Svanhvít mælir oc héldt en hòndom um háls hans; tefþo nú ecki at gégnu mér, þess er ec til þín mæli. Sva skal vera, segir Hrómundr oc þó ec vissi, at ec mundi ei lífs aptr qvoma, þá vil ec gjarnan, yþar vegna, Olafi Kóngi liþ veita slíkt sem ec má; hann laut at Svanhvít oc

6 slíkir géstir vitjuþo] slíkr gestr vitjadi L1572. 6 sinna] þeira L1572. 6 hýbýla] heim kinna L679. 7 oc] enn L679. 8 at] ÷ L679. 8 þat] + hun L679. 8 segir þacka] þackar L679, L1572. 8–9 fyrir betsto sæmdar] gott L679. 10 man hann] munum vér L1572. 10 skyldr] + ad veita ydr L679, skildir L1572. 10 yþr at veita] ÷ L679. 11 þá] ÷ L679. 11 bæþi] ÷ L2404. 11–12 qvom ec nú at finna þic] er eg kominn hingad L679. 12 því] ÷ L679. 13 ricinn] kominn L679. 13 en] og L679. 13 nú] ÷ L679. 14 Kóngi] ÷ L679. 14 bróþr mínom] ÷ L2404. 15 Olafi Kóngi] honum L2404. 15 Hrómundr] + oc hellz L2404. 16 sérdeilislega] sierdeilis L679, L1572, ÷ L2404. 16 heiptarfullri] heiptar L679. 17 því] þad nú L679. 17 nú] ÷ L679, L2404. 18 at] ÷ L679. 18 ðrkumslit] ðrkumsl L679. 19 mínar] + sakir L679. 19 tillògr] ÷ L679. 19 liþsinna] + kongi L1572. 19 þit] þer L2404, L1572. 20 drengir] ÷ L1572. 21 at Hrómundi] Rómundi at L2404. 22 mæla af alvòro] af alvóru tala L679. 22 Já] ju L1572. 24 at honom, eþr hans góþo] hans L679, honum oc hanz miclo L2404, ad honum og L1572. 24 gjòrpom] + hans L1572. 25 skrokkom] kroppnum L1572. 25 oc] eda L679. 25 seppa] racka L1572. 26 hans] honum L679. 27 þín] ÷ L679. 27 oc] ÷ L2404. 28 at] ÷ L679, L1572. 29 Svanhvít] henni L679.

30 minntist vit hana. Nú gjörþeir þú vel, segir hún, oc er einn skjöldr, er  
 ec hefi hugat at géfa þér, oc þygg hann nú, hann man þér nockot  
 duga, kunnir þú vit Helga Frækna at berjast, oc lát hann ecki þér  
 frá hendi losna. Hrómundr mælir hefr þú heyrnt at Helgi Frækni sé í  
 þessom bardaga? Já, segir hún. Þá er tvísýnt um sigr, segir Hrómundr  
 35 því at hann er hin meirsta kémpa. Lífs manom vit aptr sjást, segir hún,  
 oc tac nú vit sokkabandi míno, oc vef um úlfliþ þinn, nær þú hóggr  
 til Helga, oc mano þér fá hógg mistakast. Hrómundr þackaþi henni,  
 oc bat hana orþlofs at fara. Hún mælti far þú manna lukko samastr,  
 oc qvom heill eins aptr; skildo þau sva talit, ferþaþist Svanhvít ll 120v  
 40 heim aptr með stærsto vyrþing af Greipi bónda, oc sonom hans. Enn  
 Hrómundr bjó ferþ sína austr til Vænirs; þeir bræþr spyrja hann at,  
 hvort hann vilji þeir fylgi honom? Hann segir nei, því ecki vil ec at  
 þat hljótit slis fyrir mínar sakir. Þat skal aldrei verþa, segja þeir, at  
 þú einn útdragir til stríps, en vit sitjom heima eptir, eþa þú fallir,  
 45 en vit eptir lifom. Hrómundr mælir Forlógom verþr frestat, en fyrir  
 þau ecki qvomist. Eptir þetta taca þeir bræþr at búa ferþ sína með  
 Hrómundi snúa þeir þá allir austr til Vænirs, var þá Olafur Kóngur at  
 meirsto flúinn, sem fyrr segir.

### XIII kapítuli

Hrómundr lætr setja tjald sitt hino megin vatnsins, oc lét vera  
 hraukstjald; þetta var á álipnom degi, hann leggur sic til svefnis, oc  
 lætr illa í svefni; at morgni vaknar hann, oc blæs mæþilega; þeir  
 bræþr spyrja hann eptir draumom sínom, en hann qvaþst engom segja  
 5 oc man ec ei út fara á þessom degi,<sup>34</sup> segir hann, þótt aþrir fari. Þeir

30 gjörþeir] gjörir L679. 30 oc er] nu er hier L679, oc er hér L2404, L1572.  
 31 ec hefi hugat at] vil L2404. 31 nú] ÷ L1572. 32 kunnir] kunna þá L2404.  
 32 þú] + berst L2404. 32 at berjast] ÷ L2404. 33 sé] muni vera L679. 35  
 at] ÷ L679, L2404. 35 meirsta] besta L1572. 38 orþlofs] orlofs L2404. 39  
 eins] heim L1572. 39 talit] + og L1572. 40 aptr] ÷ L679. 40 vyrþing]  
 vjrdinu L679. 41 bræþr spyrja hann] spyrja hann brædr hans L1572. 41 at]  
 ÷ L2404, L1572. 42-43 at þat] þid L679, ad þid L1572. 43 hljótit] hafid  
 L1572. 44 einn] ÷ L679. 44 heima] ÷ L679. 45 en] og L679. 45 Forlógom]  
 forlögnum L679. 45 en] + ei L1572. 46 þau ecki] ÷ L1572. 46 qvomist]  
 + og L679. 46 þetta] þad L679. 48 sem fyrr segir] ÷ L2404. 1 lætr setja]  
 lætr nú setja L679, setr L1572. 1 hino] hinum L679. 2 á álipnom] ad lidnum  
 L679. 4 en] ÷ L679. 5 segir hann] og L679. 5 fari] + segir hann L679.

34. L2404 repeats the sentence 'hann leggur sic til svefnis oc lætr illa í svefni'.

bræþr segja þá skulom vit samt fara, er oss þat meiri skómm, at sitja  
 hér í tjaldi voro, þegar aþrir vit egast, en þat, þó vér föllom með  
 góþom orþstýr. Hrómundr mælir þit manot ráða verþa, ec hefi sjálfr  
 mín ráþ; verþr nú Hrómundr eptir, en þeir bræþr hans ríþa til manna  
 Olafs Kóns oc sækja bæþi vel oc lengi harþt framm, fella þeir þá 10  
 margann mann, sva undrom gégnði, varþ þá margr maþr klofinn at  
 endilaungo, oc margr fótlestr oc handar höggvinn, ásamt hófutlaus,  
 mátti þá vaþa bæþi hesta oc manna blóþ sem vatn væri, héldo þeir  
 þessom ákafa oc frammsókn til mids aptans, þá dró upp þykkni í  
 loptit, sva at skuggaþi, þeir lito þá í lopt upp, oc sáo stora Álft fljúga 15  
 yfir sér, hún blés sva sterkom anda at þeim bræþrom, sva þá tóç at  
 121r krimpa vit af hita, ll oc stundom af kulda; þessi álft hafþi sva stora  
 vængi, at þeir náþo yfir M feta breiþa jarþar víþd á iv vega mælt,  
 stundom saung þessi fugl sva fagurt, at menn gáþo ei dauþa síns oc  
 stóþo sem at skémtun væri á ferþom, oc hit besta gleþi spil. Vit þetta 20  
 verþa þeir bræþr varir at Helgi Frækni högggr niþr liþ Olafs Kóns  
 þeir ríþa framm hvor sem betst gétr, oc höggva oc leggja þá sem fyrir  
 verþa; þetta sá Helgi, oc ríþr á móti þeim með meirsta kappi, dró  
 þá yfir skuggann oc dymmo á sólunni með sætom oc yndislegom  
 Svana látom, sva alla furþaþi, bæþi Norþmenn oc Svía; synir Greips 25  
 fylgþpost allir at í einom flocki, oc gafo sic minst at álftar raustinni,  
 en hún lét sva fagort, at mónnom féllst um verk sín; Miþt í þessari  
 saunglyst kémr Helgi at þeim bræþrom oc högggr til Haka oc klýfr  
 hann at endilaungo; þá hitti hann Gaut, af honom sneiþ hann hönd  
 oc síþuna; þar eptir varþ Haukr fyrir honom, en Helgi vóg hann, 30

7 þó] þótt L2404, L1572. 8 verþa] + en L1572. 9 hans] ÷ L679, L1572. 10 bæþi vel oc lengi] ÷ L1572. 10 fella] feldu L1572. 10 þá] so L1572. 11 sva] ad L1572. 11 varþ] var L1572. 12 handar] hand L679, L2404. 12 ásamt hófutlaus] oc höfutlaus L2404, ÷ L1572. 13 bæþi] ÷ L2404, L1572. 13 hesta oc manna blóþ] manna blod og hesta L679, manna blóþ L2404. 14 í] á L1572. 15 loptit] lopti L679. 15 at skuggaþi] picknade L679. 16 sva] ad L679. 17 ví] ÷ L1572. 18 M] C L679. 18 breiþa] ÷ L679. 18 mælt] ÷ L1572. 20 ar] ÷ L2404. 20 oc] ÷ L679, L2404. 20 hit besta] hid mesta L679, ÷ L2404, hin mesta L1572. 20 gleþi spil] ÷ L2404, gledi L1572. 22 ríþa] + þá L1572. 22 betst] mest L679, meira L1572. 23 sá] sier L679, L1572. 24 skuggann] scugga L2404. 24 dymmo] dimmuna L679. 25 látom] saung L2404. 26 ar] ÷ L2404. 26 álftar] svana L679. 27 féllst um] flesta fiellust L679. 29 endilaungo] + oc fell Haki L2404. 29 hitti] hittir L679. 29–30 af honom sneiþ hann hönd oc síþuna] og hjö af hönnum síjduna og hórdina L679, oc af honum sneiþ hann höndina með sýþonni L2404. 30 en] ÷ L679, L1572, oc L2404. 30 Helgi vóg] vóg Helgi L2404.

oc kastaði honom í valinn; þá drap hann Þröst, þá Helga oc Loga, þá klauf hann Héþinn, oc síðarst allra þeirra hjó hann Angantýr til bana, voro þá fallnir allir bræðr Hrómundar oc hófþo enga vornveitt Helga eþr mótstöþo, oc er fróþra manna sögn, at alftar saungurinn  
 35 mani hafa glapit þá; eptir þetta slotaði svana látunom, oc dró burt þykknit oc dymmuna snerist þá mannfallit á Olaf Kóng oc varaþi þat til qvöld, oc lauk sva bardaganom ásamt deginom, lét þá Olaf Kóng binda sár manna sinna, því margir voro sárir, hafði þá sva fallit liþ hans, at eptir var ekki nema hálf annat hundraþ, þókti  
 40 honom en sem optar, illa fyrir sér áhorfast, var því hartnær flúinn. || 121v

#### XIV kapituli

Þetta sama qvöld qvom sendimaþr Olafs Kóngr meþ liþ þat er hann hafði til qvaþt varþ þá Olaf Kóng þessom feginn oc þóktist nú allra meina bætt, en þó harmaþi hann meirst þá Bíld oc Vola. Nú qvomo Hrómundi fréttir, at þeir bræðr hans væro fallnir fyrir Helga, hann  
 5 qvaþ sic sva grunat hefði at fara mundi; en qvaþ hann hinn meirsta kappa oc hreysti mann. Um morguninn býst Hrómundr snemma til orrusto, oc tecr vopn sín. Kóngur Olaf veit þá ecki af Hrómundi at segja, því hann hafði tjaldat hinomegin Vænirs, oc þó afsíþis. Olaf Kóng lét til orrusto blása, furþaði þá Svía, at Kóngur skyldi  
 10 sva margt liþ en þá eptir hafa, dróu þeir út sva sitt liþ meþ lúþra blæstri oc vopna braki, tóç nú til hinn harþasti bardagi, sva sem fyrri, tóç sva at snúast mannfallit á Olaf Kóng því Halfdán oc Helgi feldo alla þá sem fyrir urþo, oc stóþst enginn vit þeim af Norþmómmom.

31 honom] + daudum L679, L1572, daudum L2404. 31 þá] + vóg hann L2404. 31 oc] þa L679, + lagði i gegnom L2404. 32 þeirra] ÷ L679. 32 hjó] vog L679. 32–33 til bana] ÷ L679. 35 mani hafa] hafi L679. 37 þat] + allt L679. 37 oc] ÷ L679. 38 binda] + um L679, L1572. 39 eptir var ekki] ecki var eptir L679, ei voro eptir L2404. 40 en sem optar] þá sem flestum L679, enn L1572. 40 fyrir sér áhorfast] áhorfast fjrir sier og L679, + og L2404, L1572. 2 þá Olaf] ÷ L679. 4 fréttir] fregnir L679. 4 þeir] ÷ L1572. 5 hefði] hafa L679, L2404, L1572. 5–6 hinn meirsta kappa] hinna mestan kapps L679, L2404, L1572. 6 mann] vegna L679, L2404, L1572. 6 býst] bióst L679. 7 Kóngur Olaf] Olafur Kongur L679, L2404, L1572. 8 þó] það L679. 9 til orrusto] í lúdr L1572. 9 furþaði] furdar L679. 10 þá] ÷ L679, L2404. 10 eptir] ÷ L679. 10 út sva] so út L679, L1572, oc út meþ L2404. 11 tóç] tóçst L679, L2404. 11 til] ÷ L679, L2404. 11 sva] ÷ L679. 12 sva] nú L2404, þá enn L1572. 12 mannfallit] mannfallinu L679. 13 þá] ÷ L679. 13 sem] er L1572. 13 stóþst] stóð L679.

Hrómundr verþr þessa vís oc tær hann þá til at britja stórom, bæþi 15  
 at höggva oc leggja, hrukko þá allir undan sem gáto forþat sér, oc  
 vıldı flýa, en Fyrirsjónarmenn Svía báþo ei uppgéfast, sýndist þá  
 fleyrstom at sýna dád oc drengskap, eptir því sem hvør var maþr til.  
 Nú kémr Hrómundr þar at sem þeir bræþr hans höfþo fallit daginn  
 áþr í Valinn,<sup>35</sup> hann brá sér lítt vit, oc mælir þat man líkast at ec leiti  
 eptir yckr hefndar, sva sem Helgi eptir Hraungviþ, litast hann nú um 20  
 at finna hann, oc loksins sér hann at Helgi er skamt á burt; hann rennr  
 á skunda á móts vit hann; er Helgi sjer hann, segir hann: hér erto nú  
 qvominn, sem gafst Hraungviþ forþom höggit með kylfunni, utan  
 undllir vangann, sva hann hefr ecki vaknat síþan, hefi ec lítit hefnt  
 hans á bræþrom þínom, jafnvel þó þú létir græþa sár mín Hrómundr 25  
 mælir mǫrgom hefr betr farit en þér, oc manto illa umbun hljóta.  
 Heit mín varþ ec at efna, segir Helgi hvaþ sem óþro leiþ, oc máttu  
 vyrþa á þann veg, sem þú villt, en ecki hræþist ec þic, þó at þú hafir  
 sókt Mistiltein í haug Þráins, oc nær máttu ganga ef þú villt hefna  
 Frænda þinna. Hrómundr mælir þú mant lítt til fær fyrir þá sök, at þú 30  
 hefr með ferþis sva þúngt oc breiþt sverþ, at þú kant því ecki at valda,  
 oc fyrir því vil ec ljá þér Mistiltein sem er miclo léttari. Helgi mælir  
 ecki þarfto at frýa mér um burþa leysi því með þesso sama vopni  
 helsló ec alla þína bræþr, oc varþ þat alblóþugt at hjóltom. J þesso  
 sama bili sló yfir dymmo oc myrkri oc sætom svana hljóþom, for þá 35  
 sem fyrr, at menn gáþo sín ecki, sem skyldi, en Hrómundr gaf sic ecki

14 hann] ÷ L679. 14 þá til] þá L679, til L2404. 14 stórom] stort L1572. 14–15 bæþi at höggva oc leggja] ÷ L679. 16 Fyrirsjónarmenn] fyrer menn L679, höfþingjar L2404. 17 drengskap] dugnad L1572. 18 þeir] ÷ L679, L1572. 18 bræþr hans] hanns brædur L679. 18 daginn] deginum L1572. 19 hann brá] brá hann L679. 20 yckr hefndar] hefndir yckar L679, yckar hefndum L1572. 20 um] vid L1572. 21 á burt] i burt þadan L679, i burt L1572. 22 á skunda] med skunda L679, ÷ L2404, af skunda L1572. 22 móts vit hann] á möti hónum enn L679, + og L1572. 22 sjer] sá L679. 22 segir] mælir L1572. 23 forþom] ÷ L2404. 24 hefi] hef L679, L2404, L1572. 26 fari] farist L679. 26 umbun] umbuna L1572. 26 hljóta] Helgi mælir L1572. 27 segir Helgi] ÷ L679, L1572. 28 þó at] þott L679. 30 til] ÷ L679, L1572. 31 með ferþis sva þúngt] þungt vopn med ferdis L679. 31 sverþ] ÷ L679. 32 oc] ÷ L679. 32 fyrir] ÷ L2404. 33 sama] ÷ L679. 34 alla þína] allar þinar L2404. 34 alblóþugt] blodúgt L679. 34 þesso] þessum L679, L2404. 35 sama] ÷ L1572. 35 dymmo oc myrkri oc sætom svana hljóþom] miklum og yndislegum svana látum og dimmum L679. 35–36 for þá sem fyrr, at] sem fyrr so L1572. 36 skyldi] skilldu L679.

35. Dittography in L679, 'í valinn'.

at þesso; þá tók álftin at verða heldr mannvón, oc settist niþr nærri  
 þeim, en stundom flaug hún skammt í lopti, fyrir ofan hófuþ manna.  
 Nú tóco þeir Helgi oc Hrómundr at berjast með hinom meirsta ákafa,  
 40 oc var eigi gaman at horfa á þeirra vitskipti, voro þar báþir jafn vopn-  
 fimir oc harþfengir; þá varþ Helga litit á hönd Hrómundi hann mælir  
 ílla manto vit una kuldann, þá þú `hefr' sockaband kjærosto þinnar  
 tekit með þér at skilnaði, oc er þat því at þacka, en ecki þinni hrey-  
 sti, þó at þú verþir hvorki sár né móþr, oc er þat sannferþugt, at þú  
 45 trúir á hana. Vit þetta reiþdist Hrómundr oc hóggr til Helga oc í  
 skjöldinn, oc klýfr hann, Þesso veldr trú þín á sockabandino, segir  
 Helgi, oc hafa ecki allir slíko at hrósa. Þá sleit Hrómundr bandit af  
 hendi sér, ll oc kastapi `niþr' Helgi hjó til Hrómundar oc stemndi á  
 50 ðxlina, Hrómundr brá sér lítit undan á hliþina, oc gat ecki sverþit  
 ramm at hana, þó féck Hrómundr sár á lærit. Hrómundr villdi þá  
 aptr hóggva til Helga, en hann bar fyrir skjöldinn, oc rendi af honom  
 fjórþa partinn oc qvom vit kálfan, oc nam af utan fótar vöþva. Þá hjó  
 Helgi til Hrómundar oc stemndi á hjálminn. Hrómundr ljóp í lopt  
 upp aptr á bak, varþ þá Alftin fyrir honom, hann hróslapist yfir hana,  
 55 en Helgi sókti á eptir, Alftin flaug upp líka oc varþ fyrir sverþino  
 oc tók þat í sundur í henni lærlegginn, datt hún þá í kono líki daud  
 niþr. Þá mælir Hrómundr niþíngr erto Helgi í fleyro eneino, fyrst  
 at launa ílla lækning þína vit mic, oc síþan at fjór fletta fangkono  
 þína. Enginn em ec niþíngr fyrir græpslo þína, segir Helgi, heldr  
 60 sýndi ec æro í loforþi vit Frænda minn, hvorn ec elskapi meir en líf  
 mitt; en þat sem Vinkono mína hendti, man hún mér forláta, þá vit

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37 þesso] þvj L679. 37 álftin] + heldr L679. 37 heldr] ÷ L679. 37 niþr] +  
 heldr L679. 38 hún] + upp L679. 38 í lopti] ÷ L679. 39 ákafa] + og á egg-  
 jann L679. 40 þar] þeir L679, L2404. 40–41 vopnfimir] vigfimir L679. 41  
 hann] og L1572. 42 kuldann] kulda L679. 42 þá] þar L679, því L2404. 42  
 `hefr'] + tekid L679. 42 sockaband] sockabandid L679. 42 kjærosto þinnar]  
 af unnústu þinni L679. 43 tekil] ÷ L679. 44 sannferþugt] sannferdugast L679,  
 satt L2404, sannast L1572. 44 þú] ÷ L2404. 45 hana] þá qonu L2404. 48  
 stemndi] hió L1572. 49 á hliþina] ÷ L679. 50 hana] hann L679, L2404. 51  
 bar] bra L679. 51 fyrir skjöldinn] vid skilddinum L679. 52 partinn] part L679.  
 52 vit kálfan] ÷ L679. 52 oc nam af utan fótar vöþva] á fotinn útann verdann  
 og nam af vódvann L679. 54 varþ þá] og vard L679. 55 á] ÷ L679. 55 líka]  
 í þessu L1572. 57 Helgi] ÷ L679. 57 fleyro] fleiri L1572. 58 fangkono]  
 flgikonu L679. 59 þína] + Helgi mælti L679. 59 em] er L679, L1572. 59  
 segir Helgi] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 60 loforþi] + mijnu L679, L2404. 60 líf]  
 lijfd L679. 61 mér forláta] forlata mier fridsamlega L679. 61 þá] + er L679.

finnumst friðsamlega í Valhöll, oc gyldti eino hvor hann var, sem  
 lauk upp fyrir henni, en ec man qvoma til hennar snarlega. Þá ljóp  
 Helgi at Hrómundi oc hjó sva típt at honom, at Hrómundr gjörði  
 ei betr en verjast með skyldinom þar til at Hrómundr héldt eptir 65  
 tómom mundriþanum, oc litlom parti þar með. Þá segir Helgi: nú  
 er ec búinn at höggva Fulltrúa þinn hinn annan, oc sjerþo nú betst,  
 hvað hann dugir. Hrómundr gleimdi þá orþom Svanhvítar oc fley-  
 gði niðr því sem hann héldt eptir af skyldinom, oc höggur af reiði  
 mót Helga, en hann varþist ágjæta vel, oc géck sva lengi þeirra á 70  
 milli, oc þókti fleyrstom sem eldíngrar flýgi af sverþom þeirra. Eitt  
 sinn hjó Helgi til Hrómundar oc stemndi í andlit hans. Hrómundr  
 veik sér á hop apr á bak, en sverþit gat snortit á Hrómundi holdit  
 123r á bríngunni, oc sva ljóp ll þat ofan allan qviþinn, oc risti hann inn  
 at Jstro oc sva á kaf ofan í völlinn upp at höndom. Helgi mælir nú 75  
 er auþna mín úti oc enduþ, at ec misti þín. Helga varþ ófljótt at  
 fá losat sverþit or jorþunni, en þat sá Hrómundr oc brá Mistilteini í  
 lopt upp á Háls Helga, sva í eino aftók höfuþit, féll sva Helgi, einn  
 hinn ágjætasti oc fræknasti maþr, er verit hefr, oc er hans víða gétit í  
 80  
 ðþrom sögom, þókti nú Svíom stor missir at honom verþa. J vilþreign  
 þeirra Hrómundar oc Helga, hafði Hrómundr eitt sinn höggvit af  
 hjálmbarþit Helga, oc hófþo brotnat mörg skörþ þá í eggina á Mis-  
 tilteini. Eptir dauða Helga, tóç Hrómundr at höggva með ákaflegri  
 framngaungo þá Svía; suma klauf hann at endilaungo; af sumom  
 hjó hann hendr eþa fætr, sumom höfuþ, suma sundr í miþjo; hann 85  
 helsló bæþi menn oc hesta, oc valkósturinn varþ honom í miþti, oc

62 finnumst] finnumst L679. 62 friðsamlega] ÷ L679, L2404. 63 lauk upp]  
 upp lauk L679. 65 verjast] verja sig fyrir honum L679. 65 at Hrómundr]  
 hann L679, Hrómundr L1572. 65 eptir] + á L679. 67 hinn] ÷ L679, þann  
 hinn L1572. 69 niðr] ÷ L1572. 69 hann héldt] ÷ L679. 69 af skyldinom]  
 var L679. 69–70 af reiði mót Helga] á moti Helga af reidi L679. 71 fleyrstom]  
 ÷ L1572. 71 eldíngrar] elding L679. 71 sverþom þeirra] sverdi hans L679. 73  
 á] um L1572. 73 hop] hæl L679. 74 bríngunni] bringuna L679. 74 sva  
 ljóp] hliop so L1572. 74 þat] ÷ L1572. 75 Jstro] Jstrum L679. 75 sva á kaf]  
 sóck það L1572. 75 Helgi] Helga hann L679, L1572. 76 oc enduþ] ÷ L2404.  
 76 ófljótt] eij fljótt L679. 77 en] ÷ L1572. 77 Mistilteini] Mistiltein L1572.  
 78 upp] + og L679. 78 Helgi] + hinn fræknasti L679. 78–79 einn hinn] og  
 L679. 79 oc fræknasti] ÷ L679. 80 ðþrom] ÷ L2404. 80 þókti nú Svíom stor  
 missir at honom verþa] ÷ L1572. 81 af] á L679. 82 höfuþo] + þá L679. 82  
 brotnat] + þá L2404. 82 þá] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 83 at höggva með] ÷  
 L2404. 83 ákaflegri] kallmannlegri L679, ákaflega L2404. 84 framngaungo]  
 at beriaz L2404. 85 eþa] og L679, L1572. 85 fætr] + oc af L2404. 86 varþ]  
 var L679. 86–87 oc báþar] ÷ L1572.

báþar sínar alblóþugar hendir bar hann at ðxlom, géck sva þessi harþa  
 orrusta til nætor. *Olafur Kóngr* hafði barist með betsta drengskap, oc  
 allt liþ hans um daginn, þá var margt af því fallit, lauk sva deginom,  
 90 en dymma næturinnar tóć vit, sneru þá allir til herbúða sinna, oc  
 tóćo náþir, en þeir særþo léto binda um sár sín. *Hrómundr* snýr þá  
 til tjalds síns yfir um vatnit; hann gengr á Jsinn oc ætlar heim, sjer  
 hann mann einn standa á Jsinn, oc er at rista rúnir á ísinn, sva at  
 allr var ísinn sem ein skrifuþ bók; þat sá ecki *Hrómundr* at rúnirnar  
 95 voro fyrir fótom hans; hann þykist kénna þar Vola kompán sinn, með  
 stál sprota í hendi sér, með hvorjom hann risti rúnirnar. *Hrómundr*  
 leypr þegar at Vola, en hann blæs sva harþt at *Hrómundi* at Mis-  
 tilteinn hraut langan veg or hendi hans, oc þat í lopti, sva lengi saung  
 í því. ll Þat bar til, at þar sem þat qvom niþr, varþ fyrir því stor rifo  
 100 sprúnga, á Jsinn, þat hitti á rifuna, oc féll sva til botns; vatnit var  
 lx faþma djúpt; Vole hló oc mælir: nú erto feigr þú hinn fantr oc  
 qvenna skratti! at þú mistir sverþit or hendi þér. Ovíst er þat, segir  
*Hrómundr* Vole vill þá höggva til hans með sverþi, en *Hrómundr*  
 ljóp at Vola, oc náþi höndom um háls á Vola, en hann tóć á móti,  
 105 urþo þá ecki langar sviptingar, þar til at *Hrómundr* færþi Vola í lopt  
 upp, oc síþan niþr flatann á Jsinn. Þá mælir *Hrómundr* Nú lítst mér  
 at þú sért feigr engu síþr en ec, oc skal þér nú at gagni verþa langr  
 rógr oc álygi, líka hefi ec lengi hugsat þér kaup fyrir *Hrók* minn,

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87 sínar] ÷ L2404, L1572. 87 alblóþugar] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 87 hendir]  
 ÷ L1572. 87 bar] hafði L2404, ÷ L1572. 87 hann] + bloduga L679, + blóþugar  
 L2404, ÷ L1572. 87 at ðxlom] til axla L679, L2404, ÷ L1572. 87 sva] ÷ L1572.  
 87 harþa] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 88 orrusta] + allt L1572. 88 betsta] mesta  
 L679. 89 þá] þó L2404, L1572. 89 lauk sva deginom] ÷ L1572. 90 en] ad  
 L679, L2404, ÷ L1572. 90 dymma] ÷ L1572. 90 næturinnar] ÷ L679, L1572.  
 90 tóć] ÷ L1572. 90 vit] ÷ L679, L1572. 90 þá] nú L679, L1572. 90 sinna]  
 ÷ L679. 91 en] og L1572. 91 þeir særþo] ÷ L1572. 91 um] ÷ L1572. 93  
 hann] + þá L679. 93 mann einn] einn mann L679. 93 ísinn] hann L679. 93  
 ar] ÷ L679. 95 voro] urdu L679. 95 hans] + enn L679. 95 kénna þar] þar  
 kienna L679, þar L2404. 95 sinn] + kenna L2404. 96 stál sprota] stafbroti  
 L1572. 96 hvorjom] hvorju L1572. 98 langan veg] langt L679, ÷ L2404, langa  
 leid L1572. 98 hans] hönum langan veg L2404. 99 því] honum L2404. 99  
 Þat bar til, at] enn L679. 99 varþ] var L679. 99 stor] ÷ L679. 100 á rifuna]  
 sprunguna L679. 100 sva] ÷ L679. 100 botns] + enn L679. 100 var] er L679.  
 101 faþma] feta L1572. 101 þú hinn] þinn L679, L2404, L1572. 104 Vola]  
 hönum L679. 104 á Vola] hans L679, L1572. 104 móti] + og L679. 105 þá]  
 ÷ L679. 105 ar] ÷ L679. 105 í] a L679. 106 oc] + færþi L2404. 106 niþr  
 flatann] flatann niðr L679. 108 álygi] ljigi L679. 108 hefi] hef L679, L2404.  
 108 lengi] ÷ L679.

sem þú myrtdir forþom saklausann af tóMRI ðfund vit mic. Vole tóC  
þá at blása veþri á HróMund en HróMundr herþti þá at hálsi hans 110  
meþ greipunom, þar til at hann hengdi Vola meþ háls kyrkíngo, oc  
lauk sva Vole æfi sinni meþ aumom daupdaga. Eptir þetta settist  
HróMundr niþr á Jsinn, styrþr, sár oc móþr, en myrkr oc frostharka  
var micil, þóktist hann nú illa haldinn; Vatnit var rifnat um þvert, en 115  
qviþr hans ristr, oc sjálfor sár ok móþr, en þat versta þókti honom,  
at Mistilteinn var honom tapaðr; tóC hann þá at telja sér tólr, oc segir  
vit sjálfan sic: nú hefi ec fengit mǫrg sár, fyrir orþ Svnahvítar ec hefi  
mist mína viij bræþr, oc mitt góþa sverþ fæ ec aldrei aptr á minni æfi,  
oc nú sýnist vísastr daupinn. HróMundr leggst nú fyrir um stund, oc  
tecor hann þá til at styrþna oc kólna, skreiþist hann þá á fót oc villdi 120  
eitthvaþ til ráþs taca, varþ honom þat fyrst, at hann hratt inn Jstrunni  
í qviþinn, oc tók linda knif sinn oc stakk fyrir meþ oþdinom, hann  
rakti garn or armbandino oc saumaþi meþ því, síþan vafþi hann at  
124r sér klæþom, oc leggst fyrir aptr, oc var nú nærsta vit hnoll, þó var ll  
bjart heiþi oc frostit, sem tóC at leggja Vatnit, lá HróMundr sva um 125  
stund, at eckert varþ til adstoþar.

## XV kapítuli

Litlo eptir þetta, verþr HróMundr var vit þat at tekit er á honom, oc spurþ at: gétr þú talat vit mic HróMundr eþr ecki? HróMundr mæliR varla er þat sva af megi segja, eþa hvor er sá er leitar máls af mér?

110 veþri] vedr L1572. 110 á HróMund] ad Hromundi L679. 110 at] ÷ L2404. 111 at] ÷ L679. 112 sva Vole æfi sinni] hann svo sijnu lijfi L679. 112 aumom] illom L2404, L1572. 115 oc] enn L679, ÷ L1572. 115 sjálfor sár ok móþr] ÷ L1572. 115 versta þókti honom] þotti honum verst L679. 116 honom] ÷ L679. 117 hefi] + og L679. 118 á minni æfi] á æfi minni L679, ÷ L1572. 119 sýnist] + mier L679, L2404, L1572. 119 daupinn] daudi fjfjstr minna lijfsdaga L679, daudi L2404, L1572. 119 HróMundr leggst] legst hann L679, L2404, L1572. 119 nú] þá L679. 119 fyrir] nidr L1572. 120 hann þá] þá Hromundr L679, L1572, Romundr þa L2404. 120 fót] fætr L679, L2404. 121 varþ] verdr L679. 121 honom] + þar L2404. 121 hratt] hrindir L679. 121 inn] ÷ L1572. 124 klæþom] klæþinn L2404. 124 hnoll] hroll L679, L1572. 124 þó] þá L679, L2404, L1572. 124 var] ÷ L2404. 125 bjart heiþi] heiþbiart L2404. 125 oc] ÷ L679. 125 frostit] frost L679, micit frost L2404. 125 sem] og L679, sva vatnit L2404, ÷ L1572. 125 tóC] + nu til L679. 125 Vatnit] ÷ L2404. 125 sva] þá L2404. 1 þat] ÷ L679. 1 honom] fotum hans L679. 2 spurþ at] sagt L679. 2 gétr] tekr L2404. 2 HróMundr] ÷ L679. 3 sva] ÷ L1572. 3 af] ÷ L679, L1572. 3 megi segja] ÷ L1572. 3 er] sem L1572. 3 af mér] vit mic L2404.

honom var sagt Hagall er nafn mitt, oc á ec eyrindi at finna þic, oc  
 5 ber þic at setjast upp oc tala vit mic, því ecki má tefja. Hrómundr bar  
 sic þá at setjast upp, oc leit í kringom sic, sá hann þá einn gamlan  
 mann oc ij Jómfrúr, kéndi hann þar systr Olafs Kóngs Svanhvít oc  
 Dagnýo, var þangat qvomen vagn oc hestar; þær qveþja Hrómund  
 10 en hann gleþst vit qvomo þeirra, þær biþja Hagal at taca Hrómund  
 upp á vagninn, en hann segist til reyna at qvomast sjálfr, vildi þá  
 Hrómundr uppstanda, oc gat ecki. Þá mæliR Hrómundr karli hvorjom  
 kémr órverpi, oc sama hendir mic nú. Þá foro þau þrjú til, Hagall  
 oc Jómfrúnnar, at qvoma Hrómundi í Vagninn oc gáto varla, fyrir  
 þýngslom hans; síþan óko þau honom til skógar, í eitt fagurt rjóþr,  
 15 varþ þar fyrir þeim lítill Bær, oc vel umvendtr, þar kom ein kérliR  
 út til þeirra oc hjálpaþi Hrómundi or vagni til hvílo, var þá dregit  
 af Hrómundi at varla mátti mæla fyrir kulda sakir, oc blóþrás; tóco  
 þær þá at tendra elda oc til búa heita drycki at lifga hann á, líka at  
 þvo hann oc sauma qviþ hans, var þá karlinn Hagall hinn fornemsti  
 20 oc ráþugasti í því at lifga Hrómund tóco hann hraþt vit at hressast  
 oc hjarna. Þá géck Svanhvít til ll hans oc mæliR Nú verþom vit systr,  
 at skilja vit þic, oc hefi ec fengit þér hús oc hjúkrún hér á laun; vit  
 fengom þennann mann at vitja þín, oc eins at græþa þic, oc man  
 kerliR hans kunna at fræþa menn á eina oc aþra luti, því at hún er  
 25 forn í broþpom. Hrómundr mæliR mest þykir mér um Mistiltein, at  
 ec misti hann. Svanhvít mæliR fleyra verþr at nýta en gott eitt, oc  
 kanto at fá þat bætt, eflengi lifir. Hrómundr þakkar henni fyrir allan  
 sinn starfa, oc skiljast þau at síþan. Svanhvít mæliR til Hagals: Nú biþ

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4 honom var sagt] ÷ L679. 5 mic] + ef gietr L679. 6 sá hann] hann sá L679, L2404. 6 þá] ÷ L2404. 7 þar] þær L1572. 8 Dagnýo] Dagni L679. 8 hestar] hestr L1572. 9 taca] færa L2404. 10 segist til reyna at qvomast sjálfr] letz mundi sialfr til reyna L2404. 11 oc] en L1572. 12 kémr] + ad L679, L2404, L1572. 13 Hrómundi] + upp L679. 13 varla] þad naumast L679. 15 varþ þar] þar var L679. 15 umvendtr] um buid L679, umvendt L1572. 15 ein] ÷ L2404. 16 út] ÷ L679. 16 hjálpaþi Hrómundi] hromundi hialpadi L1572. 16 vagni] vagninu L679, vagninum L1572. 16–17 þá dregit af Hrómundi] so af honum dregid L1572. 17 at] so L679. 17 varla mátti mæla] varla mátti hann mæla L679, L2404, hann mátti valla mæla L1572. 18 elda] elld L679. 19 þá] ÷ L679. 19–20 fornemsti oc] ÷ L2404. 20 í því] ÷ L679, L2404. 20 hraþt] nú braþr L2404. 21 oc] ÷ L2404. 21 hjarna] + og L679, ÷ L2404. 22–23 vit fengom] höfom viþ fengit L2404. 23 oc] ÷ L679. 24 kunna] gieta L679. 24 at fræþa] frætt L679. 24 menn] þig L679. 24 at] ÷ L679. 25 þykir] þiki L679. 26 ec misti] missa L679. 26 Svanhvít mæliR] ÷ L679. 27 fyrir] ÷ L679. 28 at] ÷ L679.

ec þic fyrir Hrómund at þú oc kona þín gjörir þat betsta þit gétit til vit  
 Hrómund sva lengi sem hann þarf þess vit, en ec man sjálf láta yckor 30  
 vita, at mér betr kan at þykja at hann lifir. Þau qváþo slíkt skyldo til  
 láta, er hefþo; ferþuþust þær síþan burt, Svanhvít oc Dagný oc er ei  
 gétit um ferþ þeirra. Enn Hrómundr tóç at hressast, sva hann komst af  
 reckjo, þegar hafþi legit hálfan mánuþ, læknaþi kerlíng Hagals hann  
 `sem hiet` Haddýs, oc veitti honom betsta umbúþ at kosti oc klæþom, 35  
 oc óllo því sem vit þurfti, Einosinni qvom hún at máli vit Hrómund  
 oc mælr hvornig kanto vit þic hér í kotino? Vel segir hann, oc einkis  
 þykir mér ábóta vant, nema mic vantar Mistiltein. Ecki er hann at  
 sorga, segir Haddýs, því hann er í þeim stat, sem enginn hefr hõnd  
 á. Hrómundr mælr hvaþ segir þú mér af Olafi Kóngi oc sigrsæld 40  
 hans? Hún mælr þat hygg ec, at annathvort séo þeir sættir Hálfðán  
 oc hann, eþa þeir halda uppi bardaganum til annars árs, man þat  
 125r því valda at Helgi er fallinn Landvarnarmaþr ll Hálfðánar Kóns.  
 Ekki lífnar hann aptr, segir Hrómundr. Hún mælr maþr er sá með  
 Hálfðáni, er Blindr heitir, hann er fárra líki, enn fleyrstra jafni, at 45  
 því sem íllt er, hann er bæþi göldrótr oc falskr, hann er heimuglegt  
 Ráþaneyti Hálfðánar Kóns hefr Kóngr beþit hann at leita upp þann  
 mann sem feldi Helga, oc heitir honom hinom stærsto gjöfom, ligger  
 hann úti um þat með forneskjoskop, at fréttu hann upp hvar hann

29 þic] ÷ L679. 29 Hrómund] ÷ L679. 29 gjörir] veitit honum L2404. 29 þat] þid L679, it L2404. 29 þit gétit] ÷ L679, sem kunnit L2404. 29 til] ÷ L2404. 29–30 vit Hrómund] hans L679, ÷ L2404. 30 sva lengi] ÷ L2404. 30 sem] ÷ L679, L2404. 30 hann þarf þess] ÷ L2404. 30 vit] með L679, ÷ L2404. 30 en ec man sjálf] oc man ek L2404. 31 betr kan at] betr L679, kann betr L2404. 31 þykja] þickir L679. 31 at] ef L2404. 31 qváþo] + göra L2404. 31 skyldo] skilla L679, ÷ L2404, slíkt skildum L1572. 31–32 til láta] er máttu L2404. 32 er hefþo] ok til hefþo L2404. 32 síþan] sijstr i L679. 32 burt] heim L2404. 32 Svanhvít oc Dagný] ÷ L679. 34 þegar] þá hann L679, + hann L2404, L1572. 34 hann] hans L679. 35 `sem hiet` Haddýs] sem Haddijs hiet L679. 35 umbúþ] um bun L679. 35 at] af L679, L1572. 36 vit] hann L679, með L1572. 37 einkis] eckert L679. 40 mælr] segir L679. 40 hvaþ] ÷ L679. 40 sigrsæld] sigrsældom L2404. 41 annathvort séo þeir] þeir sieu annad hvórt L679. 42 halda] halldi L679. 43 Helgi] +landvarnar madr L679. 43 Landvarnarmaþr] ÷ L679 43 Hálfðánar Kóns] ÷ L679, Olaf Kongs L2404, hans L1572. 44 mælr] + sá L679, L2404. 44 sá] ÷ L679, L2404. 45 Hálfðáni] + kongi L679, kongi L2404. 46 er] + þvj L679. 46 heimuglegt] ÷ L2404. 47 Ráþaneyti] ráþgjafi L2404. 47 Hálfðánar Kóns] kongs Hálfðanar L679. 47 Kóngr] ÷ L679. 47–48 at leita upp þann mann sem feldi Helga] ÷ L2404. 48 heitir] heitid L679, L2404. 48 honom hinom] ÷ L2404. 48 gjöfom] launum L679, L2404, L1572. 49 um þat] ÷ L679. 49 hann upp] ÷ L679.

50 muni niþor qvominn, oc man hann verþa þess skjótt vís, því at hann  
 er bæþi slægr oc vitr. Þat bar til opt á þeim tíma sem at Hrómundr lá  
 í græþslo hjá Haddýsi, at Hagall for til veiþa oc fiski abla; hann géck  
 á Jsinn á Vænir eptir vana, oc ablaþi jafnan vel. Eitt qvöld qvom hann  
 heim, oc dró eptir sér sva stora Flíþro, at hann gat ecki borit; kerlíngr  
 55 fagnar honom blíþlega oc qveþr hann færa sér til matar. Hagall mælir  
 þat víst vera, at nú meina ec at ec færi þér hlutarbót, oc þarf ecki at  
 tvíla at þat er sú stærsta sképna, sem ec hefi nockorn tíma áþr fengit or  
 vatni at draga. Þat er hvorttveggja segir hon, at fleyri ero nú at eyþa,  
 en vani er til, enda kémr nú í garþ meiri veiþi en áþr, oc skal ec fara  
 60 at kokka; tóck þá Hagall sax sitt oc sundraþi með því flíþruna, en sem  
 hann risti hana á qviþinn, varþ fyrir honom sverþit í maganum, þat  
 sem Hrómundr mist hafþi; þá hló Haddýs oc mælir at því má gagn  
 verþa sem á land kémr, oc greip sverþit oc bar þat til Hrómundar oc  
 mælir kénnil þú nockot eþr ei? Já segir Hrómundr, ec kénnil vel, oc  
 65 ætlaþi ec þat ecki at ec mundi kénna héþan í frá. Nú er sem qvomit er  
 segir kerlíngr, oc tac vit eign þinni. Hrómundr brosti oc kysti á hjaltit;  
 þá tóck hann vit sverþino oc mælir njóti Hagall ll betst handa sinna,  
 en þér man þacka verþugast vera, veit ec nú at ec er í góþra manna  
 húsom, nær sem ec gét ásanmast látit, feldo þau sva talit, at kerlíngr lét  
 70 upp at sjóþa.

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50 qvominn] + vera L679. 50 oc] ÷ L1572. 50 skjótt] fliótt L1572. 50 at] ÷ L679, L2404. 51 at] ÷ L679, L2404. 52 veiþa] veidi L679. 53 á] ÷ L1572. 53 Vænir] + oc for at veiþa L2404. 53 vana] + sijnum L679. 54 sva] ÷ L2404. 54 at hann gat] og gat hann L679. 55 mælir] qvad L2404, L1572. 56 þat] + ætla eg L679. 56 at nú] oc L1572. 56 meina ec at] ÷ L2404. 56 ec færi] færi ek L2404. 56–57 þarf ecki at tvíla at] ÷ L2404, L1572. 57 þat er sú stærsta sképna, sem ec hefi] hef ek alldrei stærri scepno L2404. 57 nockorn tíma áþr] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 57–58 fengit or vatni at draga] or Vatni dreigir L2404, L1572. 58 er] + og L679. 58 segir hon] ÷ L679. 58 fleyri ero nú] þad eru fleiri til L679. 58 at eyþa] veidi menn L1572. 59 til] segir hun L679. 59 garþ] + minn L679. 59 ec] nu L679, L1572. 60 kokka] matreida L1572. 60 með því] ÷ L679. 61 hana] ÷ L679. 61 sverþit] sverþ L2404. 62 mist hafþi] hafði mist L679. 63 þat] ÷ L679, L2404. 64 nockot] þetta L679. 64 ec kénnil vel] ÷ L679. 65 þat ecki] ÷ L679. 65 at ec] ÷ L679, at L2404. 65 mundi] + eij L679. 66 kerlíngr] hun L679. 66 oc] ÷ L679. 67 þá tóck hann vit sverþino] ÷ L679, þá hann tók vit sverþino L2404, tók vid sverdinu L1572. 67 njóti] man L2404. 67 Hagall ll betst] best Hagall L2404. 68–69 veit ec nú at ec er í góþra manna húsom, nær sem ec gét ásanmast látit] ÷ L2404.

## XVI kapítuli

Nockro eptir þetta, þegar Hrómundr tók at verða gróinn sára sinna, skéþi þat: kerling tók til at fá sva stóra geispa, at hún qvom varla fram orþi fyrir þeim; hún mælir einhvörstaþar er ec nú á orþi, oc man þat sannast vera, at slíkt megi henda sic; man nú Hálfðán Kóngr vera á tali vit Blindr vin sinn eptir venjo. Nú verþr frá því at segja at þetta sama qvöld qvom Blindr á tal vit Hálfðán Kóng oc mælir fréttir hafa fræþt mic um þat, hvaþ heitit hafi sá maþr, er vo Helga Frækna. Kóngr mælir hvaþ heitir hann? Blindr segir Hrómundr heitir hann, ættaþr or Noregi. Veitsto hvar hann er nú? segir Kóngr Hann er en á lífi, segir Blindr hjá Hagali karli, hér á skógnom. Þá skalto finna hann, oc láta hann ei undan sleppa, segir Kóngr oc manto menn til kalla, at leita hans á morgun. Sva skal gjört verða segir Blindr en um morguninn eptir var Blindr snemma á fótom, oc heimtar xxx manna til sín, oc heldr til skógar; þeir qvoma þegar fyrst byrti. Blindr segir vilja ransókn uppi hafa, oc leita eptir þeim sem Helga vegit hafi, því Hálfðán Kóngr vilji sva vera láta. Hagall segir heimil skulo hús mín hvorjom manni, en þó er skyldast, at ec þeim betst leyfi, sem frá Hálfðáni Kóngr qvoma, oc ecki vil ec vinna þat fyrir eins mans vinátto, at missa vinátto yckar Kóngrs, oc skal yþr til reiþo ljós oc hvaþ annat, er vit þurfit. Blindr mælir verþi eins raun á reyndinni, sem þú lætr á ll heyrast, þá er betr talat en ecki. Hagall biþr þá at qveikja ljós, oc lýsa í horn húsom, sem dagr byrti ecki. Haddýs leypr til óns at tendra ljós, var þar Hrómundr fyrir, hún bat hann fara niþr undir soþkétilin, þat gjörþi Hrómundr en hún hvolfði katlinom yfir hann oc risti nockor forn vers á kélilbotninn, géck síþan til géstana með góþan qvennskórungsskap, oc bauþ þeim leit frammi at hafa; leitoþo

1 þegar] þá L679. 2 þat] + ad L679, L2404, L1572. 2 sva] ÷ L2404, L1572. 2 stóra] ÷ L1572. 2–3 varla frammi] frammi valla einú L679. 3 nú] þar L679. 3 orþi] + sem eg er eij á bordi L679. 4 man nú] nú man L2404. 4 Kóngr] ÷ L679. 5 á tali] ad tala L679. 6 þetta sama qvöld] ÷ L679. 6 qvom Blindr] Blindr kom L679. 6 á tal] ad mali L679. 7 er] sem L679. 7 Helga] + in L2404. 9 en] nú L679. 12 at leita hans á morgun] snema á morgun ad þú skalt finna hann L679. 12 verða] vera L679. 14 til sín] með ser L1572. 15 vilja] ÷ L679. 15 þeim] + manni L1572. 15 hafi] hafði L679. 16 skulo] ÷ L679. 17 mín] sijn L679. 17 skyldast] skyldt L2404. 17 þeim] ÷ L679. 17 sem] er L679. 20 sem] og L679, L1572. 21 at] ÷ L679. 22 lýsa] leita L1572. 23 hann] Hromund L679, L2404, L1572. 24 Hrómundr] hann L679. 24 katlinom] + ofann L679. 25 risti] ristir L679. 25 vers] vess L679, L2404, L1572.

þá menn Kóns hvar sem vildo oc fundo ecki Hrómund oc ecki heldr  
 fundo þeir kélilinn<sup>36</sup> fyrir sér; tóç þá Blindr at verþa brúna þúngr oc  
 áhyggjufullr, snýr hann þá í burto, oc er hann var qvominn áleiþis,  
 30 mælir hann til manna sinna: vissolega er Hrómundr hér á laun; oc  
 skulom vit aptr heim snúa oc leita betr, gjóra þeir sva at þeir snúa  
 aptr. Þá segir kerlíngr vit Hrómund nú skalto fara í fót Eldabusko  
 minnar, oc skalto hræra graut til matgjörþar, fékk hún honom þá  
 Mistiltein fyrir grautar þvoro, oc mælir með þvörunni má verjast ef  
 35 á ligr. Litlo síþar qvomo menn Kóns, oc sögbust vilja betr leita,  
 en fyrr. Hagall segir þeim heimila ransökun, leita þeir nú lengi, oc  
 finna ecki Hrómund at heldr; sáo þeir nú Eldabuskona, at hún dró til  
 Möndulinn, oc leit óhýrt til Kóns manna, snúa þeir enn á burt með  
 stórom óþocka, oc er þeir voro á miþja leiþ qvomnir, tecor Blindr  
 40 til orþa oc segir micil skómm hendir oss, at vit gétum ecki fundit  
 Hrómund en hann er þó hjá kerlíngr Hagals, oc er hún hit meirsta  
 galdra seiþi, oc skulom vit en þá til hætta, oc leita í þriþja sinn; snúa  
 þeir þá aptr, oc er þeir voro skammt á leiþ aptr qvomnir, tóç Had-  
 dýs til orþa, oc mælir til Hrómundar ecki tjáir at tvíla, en þá qvoma  
 45 þeir Blindr oc menn hans, oc far þú nú at reka saman kindr ockar,  
 oc brúka vosbúþar kubl á þér, oc fjárpípo vit munn ll þér, oc sýng í  
 henni, en ec man ganga til mjalta. Þetta gjörir Hrómundr hann gengr  
 til smala mennsko, oc tecor lúþr með sér, oc blæs nú saman hjorþina  
 sem Hagall átti; oc sem hann er qvominn á miþja leiþ, qvoma þeir  
 50 Kóns menn oc qveþja hann, en hann tecor seint orþom þeirra; þeir

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27 menn Kóns] Kongs menn L679, L1572. 27 sem] þeir L679. 27–28 heldr fundo þeir] ÷ L679. 28 kélilinn] kietilinn L679, L2404, L1572. 28 fyrir sér] ÷ L679. 29 var] er L679, ÷ L1572. 29 qvominn áleiþis] a leidis kominn L679, kom á leidis L1572. 31 vit] ver L1572. 31 heim] ÷ L679. 31 gjóra þeir] þeir gjóra L679. 31–32 at þeir snúa aptr] ÷ L679. 33 matgjörþar] matar L1572. 37 ecki] + heldr L679. 37 at heldr] ÷ L679. 38 óhýrt] hjirlega L679. 38 Kóns manna] þeira L679. 38 en] nu L679. 39 stórom] storann L679, L1572, miklom L2404. 39 miþja] ÷ L679. 40 oc segir] ÷ L2404. 40 vit] vér L1572. 40 gétum ecki fundit] fínum ei L1572. 42 vit] vér L1572. 42 oc leita] ÷ L679. 43 þeir] ÷ L2404, L1572. 43 oc er þeir voro skammt á leiþ aptr qvomnir] þá L679. 44 ecki tjáir at tvíla] ÷ L1572. 44 en þá] ad L679. 45 þeir] ÷ L679. 45 menn hans] hans menn L679. 46 á þér] ÷ L679. 47 hann] og L679. 48 nú] ÷ L679, L1572. 48 hjorþina] fienu L679, hjordinni L2404, L1572. 49 þeir] þa L2404. 50 tecor] + þvj L679. 50 orþom þeirra] ÷ L679.

36. Note that a better reading is in L679, L2404, and L1572 than in B11109.

spyrja eptir Hrómundi hann qveþst þenkja, at hann mani þar verit  
 hafa nockorn tíma, en nú er hann víst á burt, segir hann, oc man heim  
 qvomin; ganga þeir nú til bæarins, en kerling til mjalta. Hún mælir  
 til Smala manns, með háom hljóþom: hvaða fjandans verkun er þetta,  
 sem þú gjörir, þinn ólucko þorpari, at þú brúkar þann bannaþann 55  
 ósif, at styggja sképnr, oc venja til óspektar, oc ef þú leggor ei þetta  
 af, þá skalto fá at kénna á horþo. Smalinn þagþi oc svaraþi engo. Nú  
 leita þeir Blindr oc hans fõronautar, utan bæar oc innann, oc finna nú  
 ecki þat villdo, en sem áþr, sneipast þeir oc snúa áleiþis heim aptr; oc  
 sem þeir ero í þat pláts qvominr, sem þeir voro vanir aptr at hverfa, 60  
 segir Blindr Nú veit ec hvaþ verit hefr, at Hrómundr hefr sá maþr  
 verit, sem stóþ með lúþurinn, oc skulom nú leita hans með ðllom  
 ákafa. Snúa þeir en aptr til bæar Hagals. Þá mælir Hagall vit kono  
 sína: micit harþna nú skór at fótom mér, at þetta gengr sva lengi, at  
 þeir Blindr oc hans félagar, gjöra oss slíkar óspektir fyrir litlar sakir, 65  
 oc nú vil ec sjálfr ganga á veg á móti þeim, en þú mant sjá til at vel til  
 tecist; gengr nú Hagall á móti þeim at garþi út, en er þeir sáu hann  
 varþ hann undarlegr í augom þeirra, sýndist þeim þá, at Flugdreci  
 sækja at þeim, tóco þeir þá at leita aptr til baka, oc snúa heim leiþis,  
 127r en Draconinn sókti eptir ll þeim af meirsta kappi, sýndist þeim hann 70  
 blása eldi oc eytri, villdo þá sumir bíþa hans, en sumir forþa sér, varþ  
 þat þá fleyrstom fyrir at leita sér undan færslu, varaþi þessi adsókn  
 fram at qvöldi, qvomost þeir sva um síþir heim til Hálfðáns Kóngs  
 oc sógþo sinn hrakning oc eyrindis leysi, at Hrómundr hefþi ecki

51 spyrja] + hann L679. 51 hann qveþst þenkja] enn hann þeinkir L679. 51–  
 52 at hann mani þar verit hafa] hann hafi verid þar L679. 52 en] og L679. 52  
 er] muni L679. 52 víst] ÷ L679. 52 á burt] i burt L679. 54 til Smala manns,  
 með háom hljóþom] með háum hljóðum til smala mannsins L679. 56 óspektar]  
 óspekta L679. 56 ei þetta] þetta ecki L1572. 57 þá] ÷ L679, L1572. 57  
 horþo] + enn L679. 57 Smalinn] smala madr L679, L1572. 58 utan bæar oc  
 innann] uti oc inni L1572. 58 nú] ÷ L679, L1572. 59 en sem áþr] ÷ L679.  
 59 sneipast þeir oc snúa áleiþis heim aptr] ÷ L2404. 60 ero] voru L679. 60 í  
 þat pláts] þangat L2404. 60 hverfa] snua L679. 62 sem] er L679. 62 nú]  
 vid L679. 63 en] nú L679. 65 félagar] menn L679. 65 oss] mier L679. 66  
 sjálfr ganga] ganga sjálfr L679, L2404. 66 sjá til] vel sjá um L679. 66–67 til  
 tecist] takist til L679, takist L1572. 67 á móti] móti L1572. 68 þá, at] ÷ L679,  
 þá L1572. 69 sækja] sækti L2404. 69 aptr] ÷ L679. 70 Draconinn] drekinn  
 L1572. 72 þá] ÷ L1572. 72 at] + forða sier og L679. 72 sér] ÷ L1572. 73  
 sva] þá L679. 74 sinn] honum L1572.

- 75 fundinn orþit, þókti nú Kóngi þessi ferþ illa tiltecið hafa, oc hin hæpilegasta, leiþ sva á Veturinn at lítit bar til tíþinda

## XVII kapítuli

- Um vorit, stutto fyrir sumar, qvom Blindr at máli vit Hálfðán Kóng oc segir honom at sic hafi marga drauma dreymt undarlega á þessom vetri, oc villdi ec, segir hann at þér, Herra!, vildot ráþa þá til gagns oc gamans. Kóngr segir vilja heyra. Blindr segir þat dreymdi mic fyrst,  
 5 at mér þókti qvoma einn stor oc hræpilegr hýþþjórn, hann óþ at yþr oc beit yþr mikla und á brjóstit. Kóngr segir hingat kémr annathvort Kóngr eþr annar kappi, sem vekr hér styrjólþ vit mic, en þar á eptir sættist hann oc ec. Blindr mælir annann draum dreymdi mic, segir  
 10 Blindr at ec þóktist qvoma í eitt stort oc vænt hús, þar sátu margir Fálkar á stöllum, voro þeir allir með fögrom fjöþrom, en sá fálkinn sem þér attot, hann var fjaþralaus, oc allr rifinn af honom hamrinn. Kóngr mælir þat verþr micill stormvindr, sem hristir oc skékur þat  
 hann á blæs, verþ ec þá staþdr nærri eldi oc fjúka þá gneistarnir á mic. Þriþji draumorinn var þat, segir Blindr at ec þóktist sjá margt  
 15 Svín renna hér at sunnan, þau rótoþo upp allri jórþunni um landit. Kóngr mælir þat verþr fyrir ll sjáfar ókyrrleika oc sólskyni, ásamt fyrir varma oc vorgróþa. Þat er minn sá fjórþi draumr, segir Blindr at ec sá langan jarþarorm skrifa hér at austan oc inn í höllina, sá beit yþr Herra bæþi djúpa oc breiþa und á brjóstit. Þat er, segir Kóngr  
 20 fyrir einhvörjom stórom höfþingja sem á minn fund sækir, hann man vilja skoþa öll vopn vor, af hvorri hans forvitni at ec man reiþast. Þat

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75 orþit] ordinn L679, verid L1572. 75 nú] ÷ L1572. 75 illa] + oc hæpilega L2404. 75–76 oc hin hæpilegasta] ÷ L2404. 76 á] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 76 lítit] ecki L679. 1 stutto fyrir sumar] ÷ L679. 1 Hálfðán] ÷ L1572. 1 Kóng] ÷ L2404. 2 honom at] ÷ L679. 2 marga drauma] ÷ L2404. 3 villdi] vil L679. 3 segir hann at þér, Herra!] herra ad þier L679, herra segir hann, at þér L2404. 3 vildot ráþa] rádið L679. 4 vilja heyra] heira vilja L679. 6 á] i L2404. 6 hingat] hier L679. 7 annar] ÷ L2404. 7 sem vekr hér] og vilt hefja L679. 7 en þar á] og þar L679. 8–9 segir Blindr] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 10 fögrom] föstum L679. 11 hann] ÷ L679, L1572. 11 fjaþralaus, oc] ÷ L679. 11 rifinn] + og L679. 12 mælir] segir L679. 12 skékur] + allt L2404. 13 fjúka] hagli L679. 13 þá] ÷ L1572. 13 gneistarnir] gneistrast L679. 13 á] um L679. 14 draumorinn] draumr minn L2404. 15 jórþunni] jórþu L2404. 15 um landit] ÷ L2404. 17 minn] ÷ L679. 17 draumr] +minn L679. 18 hér] ÷ L2404. 19 Herra] ÷ L679. 19 djúpa oc breiþa] breiða og djupa L679. 19 Þat er, segir Kóngr] Kongr segir þad er L679. 20 á minn fund sækir] sækir á minn fund L679. 21 at] ÷ L679, L2404.

bar en til segir Blindr at mic dreymdi at hóggormr einn var sva stor,  
 at hann náði hér yfir um þvert landit. Kóngr mælir þat verþr eitt  
 mjòc þríþilegt oc blómlegt dreca skip, sem hingat siglir annarstaþar  
 at. Sá er hinn sjötti draumr minn, segir Blindr at ec sá kolsvòrt `ský' 25  
 qvoma or norþri, þau hófþo klær oc bjúga vængi, þau flugo burto  
 meþ þic, oc ec vissi ecki hvaþ af yþr varþ, oc þar eptir sá ec yþar  
 betsta drecaskip, mara í miþjo kafi í brimi oc sjóaræþi gangi, en allr  
 herinn yþar stóþ hófotlaus niþr í eino vatni, síþan þóttist ec staþdr 30  
 nærri bæ Hagals, kom þar út hóggormr, hann var illúþlegr, hann  
 beit menn til bana, síþan át hann alla sem hann beit, síþarst át hann  
 yþr oc mic. Kóngr mælir þat er þat, sem ec lengi hefi ætlat at láta  
 vinna, at drepa hýþbjörn þann, sem hjorþom manna hefr opt mein  
 gjòrt, oc er skammt frá koti Hagals. Enn dreymdi mic, segir Blindr at 35  
 úngr hóggormr var dreginn út or hòllinni, oc hangdi sverþ vit hans  
 síþo, sem Mistilteinn hiet. Þetta er allt drauma rugl, segir Kóngr, því  
 Mistilteinn liggir í botninom á Vænir, oc þarf þic ecki þetta at skélfa;  
 eþa erto orþinn sú bleyþa, at þú hyggr at allt mani teikna bardaga  
 oc blòps úthellingllar Blindr mælir fleyri drauma hefr mic en dreymt, 40  
 mætti ec segja. Kóngr mælir, segja skalto, en ec man ráþa þá ec vil;  
 Þat dreymdi mic segir Blindr mér þókti at sleginn vera hríngur af  
 rauda gulli betsta um hálsinn á yþr, þar eptir vissi ec, á þér riþot  
 hesti, sem þér gátot ecki núit fyrir leti, oc af því urþot þér sva móþir  
 oc þreyttir, sva mic furþati, oc man verþa þúngt at ráþa þessa drauma;

22 bar en til] dreimdi mig enn L679. 22 at mic dreymdi at] ÷ L679. 22 hóg-  
 gormr einn] Einn hóggorm L679. 22 var sva stor] svo storann L679. 23 hér]  
 ÷ L679. 23 um þvert] allt L679. 24 mjòc þríþilegt] ÷ L2404. 24 oc] ÷ L679,  
 L2404. 24 blómlegt] ÷ L679. 26 or] af L679. 26 bjúga vængi] vængi bjúga  
 L679. 26 burto] búrt L679. 27 þic] jdr L679. 27 oc] so L679, L2404, L1572.  
 27 vissi] sá L679. 28 drecaskip] skip L679. 28 miþjo] ÷ L679. 28 brimi]  
 ÷ L679, L1572. 28 oc] ÷ L679. 28 sjóaræþi gangi] síðargangi L2404. 29  
 herinn yþar] ydar her L679, her yþar L2404. 29 eino vatni] vatni eino L2404.  
 30 kom þar] þar kom L679. 30 hann var] ÷ L1572. 31 menn] mic L2404. 31  
 bana] + og L679, L1572. 31 síþan] ÷ L1572. 31 hann] + þá L679, ÷ L1572.  
 31 sem] er L1572. 31 beit] + og L679, L2404. 32 mælir] segir L679, L1572.  
 32 þat] ÷ L679. 32 lengi hefi] hefi leingi L679, L2404, L1572. 33 at] og  
 L679. 33 opt] ádr L679. 34 segir Blindr] ÷ L679. 37 í] á L679. 38 hyggr]  
 hugsar L679. 40 ec] + þá L679. 40 þá] sem L1572. 41 mér þókti at] ad mier  
 þotti L679, L1572, at mier þotti at L2404. 41 vera] ÷ L679. 42 betsta] ÷ L679,  
 L2404, L1572. 42 á yþr] þier L679. 42 á] ad L679, L2404, L1572. 43 hesti]  
 + svo lóttum L679. 43 núit] + áframm L679. 43–44 sva móþir oc þreyttir]  
 þreitir og modir L679, módr og þreittr L1572. 44 sva] at L2404, L1572. 44  
 þúngt] langt L679. 44 þessa drauma] þá alla L679.

45 bar þá *Blindr* framm fleyri drauma, þó at hér séo *ecki* ritabir, oc réþi  
Hálfðán *Kóngr* þá alla eptir sinni vild, *en ecki* eptir því sem merkto,  
sva sem síþar gaf raun vitni. Þá *segir* *Kóngr* hvaþ hyggur þú at þessi  
hinn síþarsti draumr hafi at þýþa? *Blindr* *segir* gamall oc latr hestr  
merkir gálga, *en* hríngur af betsta gulli á hálsi borinn, svívyrþingar  
50 snoroband, oc manom vit báþir skamma stund lifa. *Kóngr* *mælir* sva  
rætist draumr sem hann er ráþinn til, oc man sva verþa at íll samvitska  
á sér jafnan Bóþul, skildo þeir sva talit, at sitt þókti hvorjum þeirra.

### XVIII kapítuli

Nú er at *segja* frá *Hrómundi* at hann hressist hjá Hagal<sup>37</sup> karli í  
koti hans, þar til at hann er gróinn sára sinna, fýsir hann þá at vitja  
föþurs síns; oc sem hann sjer *Hrómund* qvoma, fagnar *Greiþr* honom  
af meirsta blíþskap, oc spyr tíþinda. *Hrómundr* *segir* slík sem til fallit  
5 höfþo, at synir hans væro fallnir. *Greiþr* *segir* at nú mano framm-  
komnir draumar sínir hinir forno í nockrom lutom. *Hrómundr* dvelr  
þá með föþr sínom, þat eptir var vetrarins; *en* um vorit lætr *Olafr*  
*Kóngr* heròr uppskéra, oc blása til bardaga, oc segist vilja aptr til  
Svíþjóþar at vinna Hálfðán *Kóng* þetta þókti fleyrstom undarlegt,  
10 því at ll þeir *Olafr* *Kóngr* oc Hálfðán sættost sín á millom, eptir  
dauþa Helga oc þeirra bræþra, Vola oc Bílds, *en* af þeim *Greips* sonom  
kunno fáir at segja; *en* ei at síþr drifo þá margir menn til *Olafs* *Kóngrs*

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45 þá *Blindr*] *Blindr* þá L2404. 45 at] ÷ L679. 46 alla] ÷ L679. 46 sinni  
vild] villd sinni L679. 46 eptir því] því eptir L2404. 46 sem] + þeir L1572.  
47 gaf raun] raun gaf L679. 47 *segir*] *mælir* L1572. 47 at] ÷ L679. 48  
hinn síþarsti] ÷ L679. 49 betsta] rauþa L2404. 49 á hálsi] um háls L679. 49  
borinn] + merkir L2404, L1572. 51 rætist] rætaþ L2404. 51 draumr] draumar  
L2404. 51 hann er ráþinn] ráþnir ero L2404. 51 til] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572.  
52 þeir] ÷ L679, L2404. 52 at sitt] oc L2404. 52 hvorjum þeirra] hvorjum  
L679, sitt hveriom L2404. 1 Nú er at *segja* frá *Hrómundi*] Um Romund er þat  
at *segja* L2404. 1–2 í koti hans] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 2 at] ÷ L679, L2404,  
L1572. 2 er] var L1572. 2 vitja] finna L679. 3 föþurs síns] fóður sinn L679,  
L1572. 3 *Greiþr*] hann L679. 4 af meirsta blíþskap] blíþdlega L679, vel L2404.  
4 sem] er L1572. 5 höfþo] hafði L679. 5 væro] ero L679. 5 mano] sieu  
L679, muni L2404, L1572. 5–6 frammkomnir] framkoma L2404. 6 nockrom]  
sumum L679. 6 dvelr] dvaldi L1572. 7 vetrarins] vetursins L679. 7 lætr]  
liet L679. 8 heròr] herför L679. 9 þetta þókti] þotti þetta L679, L2404. 10  
at] ÷ L679. 10 *Olafr* *Kóngr* oc Hálfðán] ÷ L679, + kongr L1572. 10 millom]  
milli L679. 11 Helga oc þeirra bræþra] ÷ L679. 11 Vola oc Bílds] Bilsd og  
Vola L679. 12 er] ÷ L2404. 12 þá] ÷ L679. 12 *Olafs*] ÷ L679.

37. Note the written-out form 'hjá Hagal' instead of *hjá Hagali* or *hjá Hagli*.

oc varþ hans tilbúníngur bæþi micill oc langr, for þetta allt með fáom  
fréttom oc afspurnom. Þat var eitt sinn, at Olafur Kóngur var at láta búa  
her sinn, at hann hefr uppræþo vit menn sína, oc spyr eptir hvort at 15  
þeir viti nockot til Hrómundar oc bræþra hans, síþan at hann hvarf  
í burt héþan, segir hann? Menn Kóngrs quáþo lítit fyrir því, oc segja  
at hann sjest hafi hino megin Vænirs oc þeir bræþr hans, en ei visso  
menn, segja þeir, hvort heldr at hann fylgdi yþar mðnnom, eþr þeim  
Svíom. Kóngr mælir sá þá enginn hvaþ þeir at hóþpost. Þá svaraði 20  
til maþr, oc sagþi þat hygg ec, segir hann, at Hrómundr mani lifa  
en nú, oc dvelja hjá Greipi en bræþr hans drap Helgi vit Vænirs  
vatn í vetr, oc er sú til géta, at Hrómundr mani hafa vegit Helga.  
Hvaþ man því valda, segir Kóngr at hann kémr ecki á fund vorn?  
Þat man því valda, segir þessi maþr, at hann vill ecki vitja yþar, at 25  
hann þurfti at forþa lífi síno seinast, þá hann flýþi héþan fyrir reiþi  
yþar, oc seinna man þat verþa, at hann híngat qvomi, fyrr en hann  
hefr hefnt síns vansa, sem hann þóktist fá hjá yþr, fyrir álygar Bílds  
oc Vola. Kóngr mælir Viljib þér láta Hrómund vera yþar herfylkín-  
ga yfirmann, eþr ei? ef þér þat viljib, þá skal eptir honom senda, oc 30  
sæmda boþ bjóþa. Menn quáþost ei vel vita, hvort hann villdi sættom  
taca, eþr ecki, því hann hefr þúnga lund oc þetta. Kóngr biþr þá menn  
fara, oc finna Hrómund oc bera honom orþ sín, at hann býþr honom  
allar þær sæmdir, er hann þykist veita mega. Nú qvoma menn á Bæ

13 hans] + lids L679. 13 bæþi] ÷ L679. 14 oc afspurnom] og afspúrdúm  
L679, ÷ L2404. 14 at] er L1572. 14 Olafur] ÷ L679. 14 láta] ÷ L679, L1572.  
15 hefr uppræþo vit menn sína, oc] ÷ L1572. 15 at] ÷ L679, L1572. 16 at]  
÷ L2404. 17 í] ÷ L679, á L1572. 17 segir hann] ÷ L679, L2404. 17 Menn  
Kóngrs] þeir L679, menn L2404. 17 fyrir] frá L1572. 17 oc] at L1572. 18  
at] ÷ L2404. 18 sjest hafi] hafi siest L679, séþ hafa L2404. 18 þeir] þá L2404.  
18 en] ÷ L679. 19 menn, segja] ÷ L679. 19 heldr at hann fylgdi] þeir filgdu  
L679, hann filgdi L1572. 19–20 yþar mðnnom, eþr þeim Svíom] ydr eda Svjum  
L679. 21 til maþr] madr til L679, L1572. 21 segir hann] ÷ L2404. 21 mani  
lifa] lífi L679. 22 dvelja] sie L679, vera L2404. 22 Helgi] + hinn frækni  
L679. 23 géta] gáta L2404, L1572. 23 mani hafa] hafi L679. 23 vegit]  
drepid L1572. 24 hann] Hromundr L679. 24 fund vorn] minn fund L679,  
vorn fund L2404. 25 þessi maþr] madrinn L679. 25–26 vill ecki vitja yþar, at  
hann] ÷ L679, L1572. 26 seinast] sijdast L679, L2404, L1572. 26 héþan] ÷  
L679. 27 seinna] seint L679. 27 þat verþa, at hann híngat qvomi] hann hijngad  
koma L679. 29 Viljib] vilie L2404. 29 þér] þid L679. 29–30 herfylkinga  
yfirmann] oddvita L2404. 30 þá] ÷ L679, L1572. 30 skal] + eg L1572. 31  
vel] ÷ L2404. 32 þá] ÷ L2404. 32 menn] + ad L679, + sína L2404. 33 býþr]  
bjódi L679. 34 er] sem L679. 34 þykist] frekast L679. 34 mega] meigi  
L679. 34 qvoma] komu L2404. 34 Bæ] fund L2404, L1572.

- 35 Hrómundar oc qveþja<sup>38</sup> hann til máls, en hann qveþst hafa ll annat 129r  
 ráþstofnat, heldr en at láta framandi menn teþja sic eyrinda sinna. Þeir  
 `segja' honom orþ Olafs Kóings oc sæmda boþ hans. Hrómundr segist  
 ecki hafa farit neina sæmdar ferþ fyrir Kóing hingat til, oc sva mani en  
 40 hafi sér blygþ á hendr borit, oc sín leitapi í herbergjom Svanhvítar  
 líka kunni hans ráþaneyti lengi at duga, sem at séo þeir Bíldr oc Vole.  
 Sendimenn qváþo þá dauþa báþa fyrir laungo. Hrómundr létst þat  
 ei vita, oc bat þá bera Olafi Kóingi orþ sín.

### XIX kapítuli

- Sendimenn Olafs Kóings ríþa nú sva búinir heim aptr, oc segja Kóingi  
 orþ Hrómundar Kóingr mælir ílla for þat, at Hrómundr fer ecki til  
 ferþar með oss, því at óvíst verþr, hvort vér fáom Hálfðán Kóing sigrat  
 með vort eindæmi. Sendimenn sógþost halda, at Hrómundr mundi  
 5 hvorgi farit hafa, hvor boþ sem fengit hefþi. Olafur Kóingr lætr nú  
 menn búast til burtferþar til Svía rícis, voro þó menn micit ófúsir, því  
 þeir þeinkto, at síþr mundi sigurinn fást en áþr. Nú er at segja frá  
 Svanhvíti at hún gjörir orþ Hrómundi oc biþr hann qvoma á sinn  
 fund, oc teþja ei vit at tímom skipti. Hrómundi brá vit hit snarasta,  
 10 oc tóç herklæþi sín oc reiþskjóta, oc qvom á fund Svanhvítar Svanhvít

35 qveþja] kvóddú L679. 35–36 hafa ll annat ráþstofnat] annad ráð stofnad hafa L679. 36 heldr] ÷ L679, L2404. 36 a] ÷ L679, L1572. 38 ecki hafa farit neina] enga L1572. 38 sæmdar ferþ] sæmda fóðr L679, L2404, + hafa farid L1572. 38 fyrir] síþaz fyrir L2404. 38 hingat til] ÷ L2404. 38 mani] man L2404, L1572. 39 þó] ÷ L2404. 39 hann] eg L679, ÷ L2404. 39 finni hann] ÷ L2404. 39 Kóingr síþarst] hann oc L2404. 39 nær] þá L2404. 40 sín leitapi] sín leitad L679, L1572, leytat sin L2404. 41 a] ÷ L679. 41 þeir] + bræþr L2404. 43 þá] ÷ L2404. 43 Olafi] ÷ L679. 1 búinir] buit L2404. 2 fer] for L679. 3 ferþar] fundr L679. 3 með] vid L679. 3 a] ÷ L679. 3 verþr] er þat L679. 3 vér] vid L679. 3 Hálfðán Kóing sigrat] sigrad Halðdan Kong L679. 4 halda] + övijst L679. 4 a] ÷ L2404. 5 farit] farad L679. 5 fengit hefþi] hefþi fengit L2404. 6 menn] ÷ L679. 6 þó] ÷ L1572. 6 micit] ÷ L679, þess miok L2404, til þess miog L1572. 7 þeir þeinkto] þeim þokti örvænt L2404. 7 at síþr mundi] ÷ L2404. 7 sigurinn fást] fást sigr L679, um sigr L2404. 7 en áþr] ÷ L2404. 9 oc teþja ei] sem bráþaz L2404. 9 vit a] svo L679, ÷ L2404. 9 tímom skipti] ÷ L2404. 9 hit snarasta] skjótt L679. 10 herklæþi sín oc reiþskjóta] reidskiota sinn og herklædi L679. 10 Svanhvít] hún L679, L2404.

38. An uncertain reading in L2404 due to the abbreviation 'qv'.

fagnaði Hrómundi oc hann henni, oc spyr hvaða eyrindi hún vilji, at hann útrétti. Hún mælir nú vil ec at þú borgir mér húsaleigo, sem ec veitti þér hjá Hagali karli, at þú farir nú til Svíþjóðar, með bróðr mínom fyrir mín orð, oc skulom vit nú bæði ganga á Kóngrs fund, oc vita hvorjo at hann vill góðo til svara. Gánga þau þá bæði til Kóngrs Kóngr fagnar þeim vel, þó betst Hrómundi oc bauð honom til sætis, en Hrómundr qvaþst ei sæti þurfa fyrir lúa sakir. Kóngr mælir þá manto vilja þyggja góðar sæmdir oc dryckjo vora ecki síðr ll en aprir, þeir eþ oss heimsækja. Hrómundr qveþst góðom sæmdom aldrei neita, en þó seigist hann vilja vita eyrindi þeirra manna er hann hafi til sín sendt fyrir stutto. Kóngr segir þat var þar undir falit, at þú villdir fara með oss til Svía ríðis, oc herja á Hálfðán Kóngr Enga eþr litla sök á ec vit Hálfðán segir Hrómundr oc stærri sök á ec vit yþr, fyrir last oc álýgi, sem þér hafit bæði mér veitt oc at hyllst, þyki mér nú oc betst, at þér vyrþit yþar trúnaðarmenn Bíld oc Vola framar en mic, því at þeir hafa til þess unnit af yþr, þar eþ þeir hafa, hvor í sinn stat, fægt á yþr eyron. Þá tók Svanhvít til orða, oc mælir til Kóngrs sva er því háttap, segir hún, at þér egit Hrómundi góðo at launa, þar eþ hann hefr fengit bæði frænda skapa, oc fjármisso, líka tecit litla vyrþing af yþr fyrir starfa sinn, bæði í haugi Práins oc optar, oc er yþr nú betst at bjóða honom sættir oc góð boð sem hann má vel fyrir gangast, en ecki nein svik eþor yfir hylming. Sva skal gjört, segir Kóngr stóð þá Olafr Kóngr or sæti síno oc tók í hönd Hrómundar oc

11 fagnaði] fagnar L679. 11 Hrómundi oc hann henni] hönnum vel L679, honum með allri blíðu L2404, Hromundi L1572. 11 oc] Hrómundr L679, L2404, hann L1572. 11 hvaða] at L2404, hvort L1572. 11–12 hún vilji, at hann útrétti] ÷ L2404. 12 nú vil ec] ek vil L2404. 12 húsaleigo] husaleiguna L679. 13 þér] + þá þú varst L679. 13 nú] ÷ L679. 14 nú] ÷ L679. 15 at] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 15 hann vill góðo] godu hann vill L679, L1572. 15 bæði] ÷ L679. 16 vel] + enn L679. 17 en] ÷ L679. 17 sæti þurfa] sætis þúrfi L679. 17 fyrir lúa sakir] ÷ L2404. 18 manto vilja] villtu L679. 18 sæmdir] gjafir af oss L679. 19 aprir] ÷ L679. 19 eþ] sem L679, L1572, ÷ L2404. 19–20 góðom sæmdom aldrei] alldrei godum sæmdum L679. 20 hann] + fjrst L679. 21 til sín sendt] sendt til síjn L679. 21 fyrir stutto] ÷ L2404. 22–23 Enga eþr litla] litla eda eingva L679. 23 Hálfðán ] hann L679. 24 álýgi] á mæli ligi L1572. 24 hyllst] helst L679, hillt L1572. 26 þar eþ] er L2404, þar L1572. 26–27 hvor í sinn stat] sva forkunnar vel L2404. 27 á yþr eyron] eyru yþar L2404. 27 oc mælir til Kóngrs] ÷ L2404. 28 því] þier L679. 28 segir hún] ÷ L2404. 28 góðo] gott L2404. 29 eþ] ÷ L679. 31 boð] sæmdar boð L679. 31 má] meigi L679, L1572. 31–32 vel fyrir gangast] gangast fjrer L679, fyrir gangast L1572. 32 en ecki nein svik eþor yfir hylming] ÷ L1572. 33 þá Olafr Kóngr] hann þá L2404, L1572.

35 *mælir vel má ec biþja þic Hrómundr at géfa mér upp reiþi þína, oc  
 mæla til vinátto vit mic, oc beiþst þess er þú villt af mér, oc skal ec  
 ævarandi niþings nafn bera, ef ec geng á heit mín, þau er ec veiti oc  
 lofi. Þá mælir Hrómundr með því at Svanhvít vill hér til leggja sín  
 góþ orþ, þá skulom vit vinátto með ockor binda, at því skilyrþi fast  
 40 játrþi, sva framt sem þér viljiþ veita. Svanhvít mælir þat þykist ec  
 vita, at bróþir minn mani þat hit sama vilja oc samþyckja í þesso efni,  
 sem ec sjálf tilmæli, sérdeilis þar eþ honom riþllor sva micit á, at líf oc  
 sæmd hans liggir vit, hins oc annars, at góþr kostur er fyrir hendi, oc  
 45 gyrist ec ei fremr, en þennann, at Hrómundr sé með þesso sæmdr,  
 ásamt mórgo óþro góþo sem þar at lítr. Kóngr bat þá hyrþmenn  
 sína vera minnuga þeirrar sáttar gjórþar sín á milli oc Hrómundar  
 Fastnaþi þá Hrómundr Svanhvít þar óllom vit verandi, en sá skilmáli  
 fylgdi, at hann skal landvörn halda oc hafa, þeg(ar) Olafur Kóngr vill oc  
 með þarf, en Hrómundr aptr þau ljeni, er vill oc tilkallar, þar í ricino.  
 50 Settost nú allir niþr, oc tóco at drecka gott minnis ól, en Brúþkaup  
 skal biþa til þess at Kóngr oc Hrómundr heim aptr qvoma frá Svíom.*

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## XX kapítuli

Strax um morguninn, þá dagr var, stóþ Hromundr fyrstr manna  
 upp, oc heimtaþi saman liþit, þat sem Olafi Kóngi tilheyrþi, oc bat

34 Hrómundr] ÷ L2404. 35 mér] + þiggja L679, + fá L1572. 36 þau er ec] ÷  
 L2404. 36 veiti] heiti L679, ÷ L2404. 36–37 oc lofi] og lofa L679, ÷ L2404.  
 37 vill hér til leggja] leggr til L679. 38 skilyrþi] skilorþi L2404. 38–39 fast  
 játto] ÷ L2404. 39 til ekta fá] fá til egta L2404. 40 sem] ÷ L679, L2404. 40  
 mælir] segir L1572. 41 mani] mun L679, muni L2404, L1572. 41 þat hit sama  
 vilja oc] þetta L679. 41 í þesso efni] ÷ L2404. 42 mæli] + i þesso efni L2404.  
 42 eþ] ÷ L679, L2404. 42 honom riþllor sva micit á, at] ÷ L2404. 43 hins oc  
 annars] oc L2404. 44 ei] + annann L679. 44 þennann, at] ÷ L679, L2404.  
 45 sem þar at lítr] ÷ L2404. 46 sína] + ad L1572. 46 þeirrar] þessarar L679,  
 L2404, L1572. 46 sín á milli] ÷ L2404, milli sin L1572. 46 oc Hrómundar]  
 ÷ L2404. 47 þar] at L679, ÷ L1572. 48 skal] skyldi L2404. 48 halda] ÷  
 L2404. 48 oc] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 48 hafa] ÷ L679, L1572. 48 þeg(ar)]  
 þá L679. 48–49 vill oc með þarf] þarf med L679, með þarf L2404. 49 en  
 Hrómundr aptr þau ljeni] ÷ L2404. 49 er] + hann L679, L1572, ÷ L2404. 49  
 vill oc tilkallar] ÷ L2404. 49 þar] ÷ L679, L2404. 49 í ricino] ÷ L2404. 50  
 gott minnis ól] ÷ L2404. 51 til þess at] þar til L679, þar til þeir L2404. 51  
 heim aptr] ÷ L2404. 51 qvoma] kæmi aptr L2404. 1 þá] er L679, ÷ L1572. 1  
 dagr var] ÷ L1572. 1–2 fyrstr manna upp] upp fjrst manna L679, firzr manna  
 á faetr L2404. 2 heimtaþi] heimtar L1572. 2 þat sem] er L679, sem L2404. 2  
 tilheyrþi] tillagdi L679.

þat búast til herferðar, urðu nú menn til í fleyra lagi, oc þjuggost  
 allfimlega. Kóngur segir at þeir skuli fara hljóplega, Hrómundur mælir  
 vit skulom ríða nú annann veg, heldr en áþr, oc skulom halda sunnan 5  
 at Svíþjóþ, oc qvomom óvart, ef ské mætti at sigr fengist. Þeir gjöra  
 sem Hrómundur fyrir sagði; snúa þeir þá ferð sinni suðr fyrir Kjól,  
 oc qvoma í Svíþjóþ at óvöróm, brenna þeir bæi um nætr, en ríða til  
 skóga um daga, sva lítit tilspyrst, þar til eina nótt, at þeir qvomo  
 at Uppsólom, var þá Hálfðán Kóngur í útiskémmo með nockra 10  
 hófþingja, tók þá Hrómundur þat fyrst til ráps, at taca fólki síno  
 strandhögg oc ll vistir í utibúrom, eptir venjo hervíkingja; Visso þá  
 130v ei menn hans fyrri til; en Hálfðán Kóngur var þar inni fyrir, tók þá  
 mðnnom at þykja betri veiþorinn. Hálfðán Kóngur kallar til þeirra er  
 úti stóþo, oc spyr hvorjir væri þeir menn sem óspektir sýndo sér um 15  
 nætr tíma. Hrómundur segir nafn sitt, oc þat með at Olafur Kóngur sé  
 þar qvominn. Hálfðán heitir á menn sína, oc biðr þá verjast oc vera  
 oruggir. Þeir Svíar brugþo fljótt vit oc lupu til vopna, oc gjörþo  
 skjaldborg fyrir Kóngi sínom, varþ nú þar hin harþasta orrusta  
 oc mannfall af Norþmðnnom, tók þá Hrómundur at þykja erfidt, at 20  
 sigra þessa stofomenn, þó fáir væri, því þeir drápo með stockom  
 oc steinom, þiljom oc þvertjám oc óllo því er fyrir varþ. Þá mælir

3 þat] þá L679, L2404, L1572. 3 fleyra] fjirra L679. 4 allfimlega] fimliga  
 L1572. 4 segir] þaþ L2404. 4 at] ÷ L679, L2404. 4 þeir skuli] menn L2404.  
 5 ríða] halda L1572. 5 nú] ÷ L679, L1572. 5 heldr] ÷ L679, L1572. 5 en  
 áþr] ÷ L679. 5 skulom] ÷ L679, L1572. 5 halda] ÷ L1572. 6 qvomom] koma  
 á L2404. 6 ské mætti at] ÷ L679. 6 gjöra] + svo L679, L2404. 8 í] sunnan ad  
 þvj L679. 8 at] ÷ L679. 8 óvöróm] vorom L2404. 8 þeir] þar L679, L2404.  
 9 skóga] skogar L679, L1572. 10 í útiskémmo] uti i skemmu L1572. 11 fyrst  
 til ráps] rad L679, first ráþz L2404. 11 at] + hann L679. 11 taca] tok L679.  
 11 síno] fjirst L679. 12 eptir venjo hervíkingja] ÷ L679, L2404. 12–13 Visso  
 þá ei menn hans fyrri til] vissu þá menn hans ei fyrri til L1572, ÷ L2404. 14 betri]  
 batna L679. 14 veiþorinn] veidinn L679, L1572. 14 Kóngur] ÷ L679. 14 er]  
 sem L679. 15 stóþo] vorú L679. 15 hvorjir] + þeir L679, + þeir menn L2404.  
 15 væri] værú L679, L2404, L1572. 15 þeir menn] ÷ L2404, þeir L1572. 15  
 sem] ed L1572. 15 óspektir] öspeckt L679. 16 tíma] ÷ L679, L1572. 16–17  
 Olafur Kóngur sé þar qvominn] þar væri kominn Olafur Kóngur L679. 17 Hálfðán]  
 + kóngur L679. 17 verjast] berjast L679. 18 oruggir] óruggva vard þar hinn  
 hardasti bardægi L679, örugga L1572. 18 brugþo] bregða L679, L2404, L1572.  
 18 fljótt] skiótt L1572. 18 lupu] hlaupa L679, L2404. 18 vopna] + sinna  
 L679. 19 fyrir] ad L679. 19–20 nú þar hin harþasta orrusta oc] mikid L679.  
 20 þá] nú L2404. 21 sigra] eiga vid L679, vinna L2404, L1572. 21 þessa  
 stofomenn] ÷ L2404. 21 þó fáir væri] þá L2404. 21–22 stockom oc steinom]  
 triám oc stockom L2404. 22 þiljom oc þvertjám] ÷ L2404, L1572.

Hálfván til Hrómundar nú man þér vel líka at á mic snýr mannfallit,  
 fyrir þat, at viij bræþr þínir féllu fyrir oss í fyrra vetr. Hrómundr  
 25 mælir ei er um skapa þann at fást, því ecki hrósaþi Helgi lengi  
 eptir þat þeir féllu, stórom heiþri. Olafr Kóngur bat þá menn sína vel  
 duga. Hrómundr fyrir bauþ allan hávaða, sva borgar menn yrþo  
 lítt vit varir. Voro þá óll þau tré tecinn oc forvoruþ sem þeir Svíar  
 30 at höggva stórom, þar til at allir vóro fallnir, nema Hálfván einn.  
 varþist hann þá af stærsto þríþi með betsta drengskap, sva enginn  
 qvom á hann eino höggi. J þesso bili sjá norþmenn, at maþr qvom  
 hlaupandi or borginni til skémmunnar, með náttklæþi Kóngsins.  
 Þeir segja Hrómundi en hann biþr þá draga sem í hlé; maþr þessi ll 131r  
 35 ljóp at dyrunom, oc sá vígs um merki, oc þóktist mannavís verþa;  
 hann snarast fljótt vit oc vill til baca oc snýr heim aptor. Þetta sjer  
 Hrómundr oc leypr eptir honom oc höggv til hans, höggit qvom  
 á aptan verþan spjald hrigginn oc sneid ofan lendarnar oc þjóinn,  
 sva at þau féllu á jörþina, féll hann þá oc líka; tócv þá Hrómundr at  
 40 sækja í meirsta ákafa at Hálfván en hvort þat höggv sem Hrómundr  
 hjó til Kóngs, þat qvom flatt á herklæþi Kóngs, en hann feck eckert  
 sár. Þetta sjer Hrómundr at sva vill lengi ganga, kastar hann þá  
 Mistilteini, en grípr aptr kylfo sína, oc lemr með henni; Hálfván  
 varþist vel oc ágjætlega en um stund, þar til at hann mæþdist, skildi

23 á mic snýr mannfallit] mannfallinu snijr á mig L679. 24 þat] þvj L679. 24 í] ÷ L1572. 25 er] + eg L679. 25 lengi] laungum sigri L679, L2404. 26 eptir þat þeir féllu] ÷ L2404. 26 stórom heiþri] ÷ L679, L2404. 26 menn sína] síjna menn L679. 27 fyrir bauþ] bannaþi L2404. 27–28 yrþo lítt vit varir] irði eij varir við L679. 28 þau] ÷ L679, L2404. 28 tré] + Svija L2404. 28 forvoruþ] geimdr L1572. 28 Svíar] ÷ L2404. 29–30 tócv þá Norþmenn at höggva stórom] Norþmenn sókto hart fram L2404. 30 at] ÷ L679, L2404. 30 fallnir] farnir L2404. 31 af] ÷ L2404. 31 stærsto þríþi með] ÷ L679, allfrækilega L2404. 31 betsta] mesta L679, L1572, ÷ L2404. 31 drengskap] ÷ L2404. 32 sjá norþmenn, at] ÷ L679. 32 maþr qvom] kom eirn madr L679. 33 borginni til skémmunnar] höllinni L2404. 33 náttklæþi] náttfelld L679. 33 Kóngsins] kongs L2404. 34 sem] sig L679, L2404, L1572. 35 dyrunom] veggnum L679. 35 oc] ÷ L2404. 36 oc snýr heim aptor] ÷ L679. 37 leypr eptir honom oc] ÷ L679. 38 á] fyrir L1572. 38 aptan verþan spjald] ÷ L2404. 38–39 oc þjóinn, sva at þau] svo þjófinn L679. 39 jörþina] jórdr L679. 39 oc líka] daudr L679. 40 í meirsta ákafa] ÷ L679, í ákafa L1572. 40 Hálfván] + kongi i mesta ákafa L679. 41 Kóngs] Halfdanar L679. 41 þat] ÷ L1572. 41 Kóngs] hans L679, L2404. 42 at sva vill lengi ganga] og L2404. 42 hann þá] ÷ L2404. 43 en] oc L2404. 43 aptr] ÷ L2404. 44 vel oc ágjætlega] ágjæta vel L679.

Hrómundr ei fyrr vit Kóng en hann hafði lamit í sundr í honom ðll 45  
 beinin, lauk sva Hálfðán æfi sinni með storri hreysti. Hrómundr  
 segir hann þann fræknasta mann verit hafa, oc óvinnanlegan, hefði  
 hann í rúmri hersfylkingu staþit.

### XXI kapítuli

Eptir þat at Hálfðán var dauþr, taca þeir hann af reckjonni í hvorri  
 hann varist hafði, oc veita honom Konúnglega umbúþ, oc settost  
 niþr at taca hressing, var þá vaknat þat liþ sem í borginni var,  
 fengo þeir þá at vita, at Kóngr var fallinn, urþo þá Svíar ráþalusir,  
 sem vant er /: at dauþr er jafnan hófuþlaus her :/³⁹ gengo þeir 5  
 þá Hrómundr oc menn hans í borgina, oc rænto þeim gripom oc  
 gjörfilegom lutom er þeir vildo, oc höfþo mestar mætr á, en mönnum  
 gáfo þeir friþ oc frelsi; tóco þeir þar ofrgnægþ fjár á fararskjóta  
 sína, oc halda sva heim aptr í Hálogaland með heiþri oc vyrþingo  
 ll oc sjálfsögþom sigri; setjast nú menn um kyrt; tecor þá Olafr 10  
 Kóngr at draga til faung, oc efna til veitslo, lætr hann þá saman  
 kalla Múga oc margmenni; bændr oc hóþþingja, oc hvorjo nafni  
 sem nefndir voro; lét þá Hrómundr sækja Greip Föþr sinn, oc alla  
 sína náunga oc vini; lét þá Svanhvít segja Hrómundi at láta sækja

45 lamit í sundr] brotidd L679, amat L2404. 45 ðll] hvórt L679, L2404. 46  
 beinin] bein L679, L2404. 46 æfi] hreysti L679. 46 storri hreysti] miklum  
 dreing skap L679. 47 þann] hinn L679. 47 fræknasta] hraustasta L1572. 48  
 staþit] veridd L679. 1 at] ÷ L679. 1 þeir] menn L679. 2 varist hafði] vardist  
 L679, lagst hafði L1572. 2–3 oc settost niþr at taca hressing] ÷ L2404. 3 þat  
 liþ] lid þad L679. 3 sem] er L679, L1572. 4 þá] nú L2404. 5 sem vant er] ÷  
 L2404. 5 /: at dauþr er jafnan hófuþlaus her :/] ÷ L2404, því daud er hófuþlaus  
 her L1572. 5 þeir] ÷ L679. 6 menn hans] hans menn L679. 6 rænto] ÷  
 L2404. 6 þeim] ÷ L2404, þar L1572. 6–7 gripom oc gjörfilegom] ÷ L679,  
 L2404, L1572. 7 lutom] því L2404, L1572. 7 er þeir vildo] sem ágætaz var af  
 gersemom L2404. 7 oc höfþo mestar mætr á] ÷ L2404, L1572. 7–8 mönnum  
 gáfo þeir friþ oc frelsi] gáfo mönnum griþ L2404. 8 tóco þeir þar ofrgnægþ fjár]  
 ÷ L2404. 8 á] og L679, ÷ L2404, L1572. 8–9 fararskjóta sína] ÷ L2404, L1572.  
 9 oc halda sva] heldo þeir síþan L2404, halda sidan L1572. 9 í Hálogaland] til  
 Hálogalandz L2404. 9 með heiþri oc vyrþingo] ÷ L2404. 10 oc sjálfsögþom  
 sigri] ÷ L2404, L1572. 10 menn] ÷ L1572. 11 oc efna] ÷ L679. 11 þá]  
 ÷ L1572. 11–12 saman kalla] kalla saman L679. 12 bændr oc hóþþingja] ÷  
 L1572. 12–13 oc hvorjo nafni sem nefndir voro] ÷ L2404, L1572. 13 þá] ÷  
 L1572. 14 oc vini] ÷ L1572. 14 lét þá Svanhvít segja Hrómundi at] Svanhvít  
 oc Rómund L2404. 14 láta] ÷ L679, let oc L2404.

39. The entire phrase is in parenthesis in B11109.

15 Hagal oc Haddýsi, var þá sendt eptir þeim, var þat jafn snart at þau qvomo, hafði Hrómundr látit handtaca Blind, oc með sér flytja, nær hann heim ferþaþist or Svíþjóþ; varþ þat at mála lyktum eptir vilja Hagals oc kono hans, at Blindr var festr á gálga, oc lét þar líf sitt, eptir verþugleikom, oc drauma umróti; varþ þat at mál taci:

20 at ecki skyldi drauma heill með heimamónnom, oc for sva með Hálfván oc Blindi at Kóngi var þenkt, en Blindr hreppti, lyktar sva hér frá honom at segja, en hans rétta nafn var, at hann hiet Baniss, en Blindr var hann kallaþr fyrir þá skuld, at hann varþ blindaðr af Kóngi með úþþýþingo drauma sinna, sva oc líka með ofsjónom oc

25 bróþþom þeirra Hagals oc Haddýsar; er hér nú frá at víkja oc til hins er frá var horfít, at menn settost til dryckjo oc vyrþuglegrar veitslo, með hvorskyns gleþi oc veraldar skémton, voro þar þau Hagall oc Haþdýs í stærsto vyrþingo; skipaði Olafr Kóngr annann beck oc Hrómundr nærst honom, oc sva þeir helsto hóþþingjar, en

30 hinn annann sat Greipr oc Hagall oc sva vinir Greips honom ásamt; allar Frúr oc Ýngismeyar sátu á stódom, sem gylltir ll oc sylfrapir voro; en í miþri veitslonni qvaþdi Hrómundr sér hljóþs, oc bat Olaf Kóng at staþfesta giptomál sitt vit Svanhvít með fullkomno Jáyrþi oc handsólom. Stóþ þá Olafr Kóngr upp, oc handsalaþi Ektamál oc leyfi til handa Hrómundar til systir sinnar Svanhvítar eptir landsins

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15–16 var þá sendt eptir þeim, var þat jafn snart at þau qvomo] ÷ L2404. 16 flytja] flutt L2404. 17 nær hann heim ferþaþist] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 17 or Svíþjóþ] ÷ L679, L2404. 17 varþ] var L679. 17 eptir] af L679. 18 kono hans] Haddýsar L679, L2404. 18 lét] + hann L679, L2404, L1572. 19 eptir verþugleikom, oc drauma umróti] ÷ L2404. 20 ecki] efla L679. 21 at Kóngi var þenkt, en Blindr hreppti] ÷ L1572. 21–22 sva hér] hier svo L679, L2404, L1572. 22 frá] af L1572. 22 at hann hiet] ÷ L679, at heita L2404. 22 Baniss] Bannvijs L679. 23 varþ] var L679, L1572. 25 er hér] enn hier er L679, ÷ L2404. 25–26 nú frá at víkja oc til hins er] víkr nú til L2404. 26 frá] fjrr L679, ÷ L2404. 26 var] + frá L679, ÷ L2404. 26 horfít] vekid L679, ÷ L2404. 26 at menn settost] ÷ L2404. 26 til] undir L679, L1572, ÷ L2404. 26 dryckjo oc] ÷ L2404. 26 vyrþuglegrar] virdulega L679, L1572, ÷ L2404. 27 veitslo] verslunar L2404. 27 með hvorskyns gleþi oc] oc var hon haldin með staþsto rausn oc hverkyns L2404, ÷ L1572. 27 veraldar] ÷ L679, L1572. 27 skémton] ÷ L1572. 27 þar] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 28 Haþdýs] + þar L1572. 29 nærst] næstr L1572. 30 hinu] ÷ L2404. 30 sat] ÷ L679, L2404. 30 Greipr oc Hagall] Hagall og Greipr L679. 30 sva] ÷ L679, L2404. 30 Greips] hans L679. 30 honom ásamt] og heima menn L679, ÷ L1572. 31 allar Frúr oc Ýngismeyar sátu] sátu allar frúr oc Ýngismeyar L2404, allar meiar og frúr sátu L1572. 31 stódom, sem gylltir] forgjilttom stódom L2404. 31–32 sylfrapir voro] silfr búnum L679, L2404. 32 miþri veitslonni] miþria veitslo L2404. 33 staþfesta] festa L679. 33 vit] med L2404.

venjo oc lógom. Kóngr gaf Hrómundi hálfan part síns ricis, en Greipi Fólfr hans gaf hann Hersirs nafn oc léni. Hrómundr gaf Hagali karli oc kono hans Umsjónar ráþ náqvæmosto ráþagjörþar í því sem meirst þurfti, oc vit sitt egit borþ sitja þaþan af, sva lengi sem lifþo. Stóþ sva þessi veitsla með stærsta sóma, oc endaði með friþi oc góþom rólegheitom, oc voro allir útleystir með vyrþing oc góþom gjóþom; tócost bráþt með Hrómundi oc Svanhvít góþar ástir, ólo þau bæþi syni oc ðætr þeirra Synir Björnólfr oc Hróálfr<sup>40</sup> oc ero hér þeirra nófn ei ritot, sýnist sva sem at þau sum mani í barnæsko dáit hafa, en af sumom qvomo micil menni sem í ðþrom Sógom fráskýrir. Lúkom vær sva þessari Sogo af Hrómundi Greipssyni. Hafi sá góþa þókk sem las, en heiþr sem hlýþdo, en hann er skrifaði lof oc vinfengi góþra manna; en allir sameginlega tímanlega oc eilífa gleþi fyrir utan enda.

36 Kóngr] Olafur kongr L679. 37 oc léni] ÷ L679. 38 karli] ÷ L679. 38 ráþagjörþar] ÷ L679. 39 meirst] + vid L679. 39 þaþan af] ÷ L679. 39 sem] + þau L2404. 40 lifþo] þjirfti L679. 40 Stóþ sva þessi veitsla með stærsta sóma] ÷ L1572. 40 oc] ad L1572. 40 endaði] endadist L679, L2404, endadri veitslunni L1572. 40–41 með friþi oc góþom] ÷ L1572. 41 rólegheitom] fagnaði L2404, ÷ L1572. 41 oc] ÷ L1572. 41 með vyrþing oc góþom] godum og virdulegum L679, virþolegom L2404, med godum L1572. 42 gjóþom] + og L679. 42 tócost] + nú L679. 42 bráþt] + og godar astir L679. 42 með] + þeim L679. 42 góþar ástir] ÷ L679. 42–43 ólo þau] þau áttu L2404. 43 syni] sono L2404. 43 þeirra Synir Björnólfr oc Hróálfr] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 43 oc ero] eru L679, þo L2404. 44 hér þeirra nófn] þeira nófn hier L679, L1572, hér sé frá atgjörþom þeira L2404. 44 ei] ÷ L2404. 44 ritot] greind L679. 44 sýnist sva sem] ÷ L2404. 44 at] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 44 þau] ÷ L2404, L1572. 44 sum mani] hafi sum L679, ÷ L2404, sum af þeim muni L1572. 44–45 í barnæsko dáit] ÷ L2404. 45 hafa] ÷ L679, L2404. 45 en af sumom qvomo] oc voru þau in mestu L2404. 45–46 sem í ðþrom Sógom fráskýrir] oc storar ættir frá þeim komnar þeirra sijnir voru þeir Biörnólfr oc Hróaldr, Biörnólfr var faþir Arnar faþir Ingólfs landnámamanns, enn son Hróálfs var Harþmar faþir Hiörleifs er Hiörleifs höfþi er vit kendur L2404. 46 Lúkom] oc lýcor hér L2404. 46 vær sva þessari] ÷ L2404. 46 af Hrómundi Greipssyni] Hrómundar Greipssonar L2404. 47–49 Hafi sá góþa þókk sem las, en heiþr sem hlýþdo, en hann er skrifaði lof oc vinfengi góþra manna; en allir sameginlega tímanlega oc eilífa gleþi fyrir utan enda] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572.

40. An asterisk follows the word 'dættur' in B11109 and it refers to the footnote in the manuscript, which contains the addition 'þeirra synir Björnólfr oc Hróálfr'. In L1572, the asterisk appears after 'ritud' and the footnote reads 'al: synir þeira Biörnólfr oc Hróálfr'.

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