AN EDITION OF FLOAMANNA SAGA WITH A
STUDY OF ITS SOURCES AND ANALOGUES

by

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Title. **Flóamanna Saga**: the saga is given a variety of headings in the various manuscripts (see Fló, 1932, i-ii; B's is the same as that in AM 426, fol., while S's is: *Flóamanna Saga Edur Sagann af Porgils aurabeins Föstra*, edr stiupa.) The fact that the saga has no title in A does not necessarily mean that this was the case in *v*; Asgeir, in his copy of *Kjálnesinga Saga* in AM 503, 4to, which was probably copied from *R* (see pages *75 ff* and Bibl, xx, 210), has no title, but Arni Magnússon adds one in (cf. Katalog, i, 668). The most commonly used name for the saga is that in K, i.e. *Flóamanna Saga*. The Resen- ian catalogue also uses this name (see page *76), as does Arni Magnússon in M (see page *15*). And there is no reason why *Flóamanna Saga* should not have been the title given to the work by its author: among examples of this type of saga-name, he would no doubt have known *Eyrbyggja Saga* (cf. LdnHkb, 28/16), *Svarfdæla Saga* (cf. LdnStb, 194/9) and *Laxdæla Saga* (Eyrb, 180). And if the words at 89/14-5: *Munum vér nú hætta fyrst at segja frá Porgilsí Órrabeins- stjúpa ok lýkr bar sögu þessi* are the author's own, then they suggest that he did not regard his work merely as a life-story of Porgils (i.e. a *Porgils Saga*), but one of wider scope. As then Finnur Jónsson observes (Fló, 1932, i-ii), *'opkaldelsen efter Floamændene er ikke mindre passende end f. eks. Eyrbyggja saga (i hvilken Snorre gode er hovedpersonen).* On the other hand, if the saga was given
any other name than Flóamanna Saga by its author, then
this is likely to have been Porgils Saga (?orrabeins-
stjúps). Cf. also Orig, ii, 630.

1. Chapter 1 of Fló is based on LdnX, 223/27-224/14
(cf. Introduction, pages *170-3). In turn this passage
from LdnX goes back to Hálfdanar Saga svarta, ch. 3 (Hkr,
i, 86) and Haralds Saga hárfagra, ch. 12 (Hkr, i, 107-8);
cf. Gerðir, 121 f. and Ldn, 1968, lix. With the first of
these two passages in Hkr, we may compare Fgr, 3-4 (and
for a critical evaluation of the two, cf. Ólafía Einar-
dóttir, 'Harald Æǫvrefostre af Sogn', [Norwegian] Historisk
tidskrift, 1971, 131-66); and with ch. 12 of Haralds Saga
hárfagra, we may compare Fgr, 13-5 (and for a critical
evaluation of the two passages, cf. J. Schreiner, Saga og
oldfunn, 1927, 38 ff.; J. Schreiner, Trøndelag og rikssam-
lingen, 1928, 8 ff.; IF, xxvi, 1xi). Cf. also Hauksbók,
506.

1/1. Haraldr gullskeggr is, apart from Ldn and Fló, men-
tioned in various Kings' Sagas (e.g. Hkr and Fgr; cf. Bi-
namm, s.v. Gullskeggr). His cognomen probably refers to
the fact that he had a yellow beard, although Lind's sug-
gestion (Binamm, loc. cit.) that it is a 'double' nickname,
meaning 'owner of gold' and 'having a large beard' is
another possibility.

Sogn: on Norwegian place-names not discussed in these
1/2. Sólsvör is mentioned only in Ldn and Fló.

Hundólfr jarl is mentioned only in Ldn and Fló; cf. however Dopnamn, s.v. Hundólfr.

1/2-3. Atli jarl mjóvi: apart from Ldn and Fló, Atli is mentioned in Hkr (i, 107-8), Fgr (3, 13-5) and Eg (pages 6 and 10). This last source tells how, at a sacrifice in Gaular (cf. Note to 7/20-2) where Atli lived, a certain Ólvis hnúfa asked for the hand of Atli's daughter, Sólveig (cf. Note to 2/3). This Atli refused and later Ólvis composed many amorous verses (morg mansöngskvædi) about her. Because of this, the sons of Atli attacked Ólvis in his home but he escaped. Atli's nickname means 'the Thin'.

1/3. Póra is called Ragnhildr in Hkr (i, 86) and Fgr (3), although the authors of both these sources are aware that Hálfdan had a second wife who was also called Ragnhildr. Jón Jóhannesson (Gerðir, 122) thought that the name Póra came from the Styrmisbók-redaction of Landnámabók. We may note that it alliterates with her sister's name.

1/3-4. Hálfdan konungr svarti Upplendingakonungr: the main sources concerning Hálfdan svarti are Agríp, Fgr,
Hkr and a hótr in Fló (i, 47-52). In addition, there seems to have been a saga about him which is now lost (see IF, xxvi, liv f.). According to Hkr, Hálfdan's father, Guðrøðr veiðikonungr, was king of Vestfold, but we are told in that source how, during his lifetime, Hálfdan extended his kingdom to cover a larger part of southeastern Norway (including Upplönd; cf. Upplendingakonungr) and Sogn. Fgr, on the other hand, does not tell us where Guðrøðr's kingdom lay. Snorri (Hkr, i, 84) quite reasonably ascribes Hálfdan's nickname to the colour of his hair.

1/4. Púfríðr is known only from Ldn and Fló. According to the first of these sources (see Ldn, 1968, 224), her son with Ketill was Ævarr, who settled in Langadalr in Iceland and from whom the Æverlingar family were descended.

1/4-5. Ketill Helluflagi is otherwise only known from Ldn. Cleasby-Vigfusson (s.v. Hellu-flagi) takes his nickname as having the same meaning as helluflaga, fem., 'a thin slate'. Finnur Jónsson (Tilnavne, 329) conjectures that the name is a compound of hella, 'a flat rock' and a weak noun flagi derived from flag, 'terra nuda, post excissam glebam' (Björn Halldórsson, Lexicon Islandico-Latino-Danicum, 1814, 221); the whole would then mean 'one who lays bare the earth right down to bare rock' ('den som blotter jorden lige til den (nögne) klippe'). Lind (Binamn, s.v.) suggests that Hellu- may be a place-name and that flagi is a noun related.
flaga, fem., 'sudden attack'; the nickname would then mean 'the sudden attacker from Hella'. Finally, it may be suggested that we have here an 'inhabitant name' ('inkol-entnamn') of a type formed by a place-name (*Helluflag) and a Primitive Norse suffix -e; cf. NK, vii, 55 ff.

1/5. Haraldr ungi: known from Fgr, Hkr, Ldn and Fló
It is suggested by Olafia Einarsdóttir ([Norwegian] Historisk tidskrift, 1971, 131 ff.) that Haraldr ungi and Haraldr hárfagri were, in fact, one and the same person.
Haraldr's nickname is common, especially in Norway (see Binann, s.v.). It was presumably often used, as seems to be the case here, to distinguish members of the same family with the same name (so Hallfreðr ungi in Hallfrír (198); cf. Note to 1/6).

1/6. Honum gaf Haraldr konungr gullskeggr nafn sitt: we are told elsewhere in Icelandic sources that men gave their names to newly-born or younger relatives: Eg, ch. 57:
I þann tíma ól Gunnhildr son, ok jós Haraldr konungr vatni ok gaf nafn sitt ok lét þat fylgja, at hann skyldi konungr vera eptir fður sinn, ef honum endisk aldri til (cf. Hkr, i, 147); Rígsbula, verse 36 (Edda, 285): sitt gaf heiti, son kvez eiga; / bann bað hann eignaz ðóálvölo, / ðóálvölo, aldmar byggir. Further in Finnbó, ch. 9, the dying Finnbogi gives his name to the unrelated Urðarköttr: '... Pá vil ek gefa þér nafn mitt. Ók er ek ekki spámaðr, en
bó get ek, at bitt nafn sé uppi, meðan veröldin er bygð.
Má már bat mest sámd ok mínun fræendum, at svá ágrætr maðr
taki nafn eptir mik sem ek vatla at bú verðir, með því at
mér verðr lítt í ætl;

; cf. also Hauksbók, 466. The system
by which a child was named after a recently dead relative
and the accompanying belief in the transmigration of souls
are normally acknowledged as historical facts (cf. Note to
11/1-2). Despite G. Storm's arguments to the contrary
(Arkiv, 1893, 199-222 especially 212 f.), it does not seem
unlikely that during the heathen period the living, partic­
ularly the aged or the dying, gave their names to others in
the hope that the recipient, at the giver's death, should be
endowed with the same geða (cf. Note to 17/17) or be protect­
ed by the same fylgi as they themselves. (Finnbogi's
motives in Finnb, ch. 9 are somewhat different.) That such
an idea was, at any rate, current in the thirteenth century
would seem to be apparent from the following story in Hallfr:

Some years before the poet's death, his wife, Ingibjörg,
bears a son to whom Hallfreðr gives his own name (ch. 9).
Later, Hallfreðr falls ill at sea and, just before he dies,
he and his companions see a huge woman in a corslet follow­
owing the ship. Hallfreðr recognizes her as his fylgiukona.
She asks the poet's brother, Porvaldr, to accept her but he
refuses. Then Hallfreðr 'ungi' volunteers to receive the
fylgja, upon which she disappears. Soon afterwards the poet
dies. Later in the saga, the younger Hallfreðr is described
as gefumaðr. It is interesting to note that in three cases
where name-giving is mentioned (Ldn., and following it, Flö (cf. Hkr., i, 86; Fgr., 3); Eg (cf. Hkr.); Rigsbula) the transference of kingly authority is involved. It might therefore be suggested that if a king gave his name away before he died, the transmission of the konungsgæfa, so necessary to a potential ruler (see Folkeæt, i, 89 ff.), was thought to be ensured (cf. Orkn., 140: Sigurðr konungr gaf Kala Kolssyni Orkneyjar hálfer...ok jarlsnafn með. Hann gaf honum ok nafn Rognvalds jarls Brúsasonar, því at Gunnhildr, móðir hans, sagði hann veit hafa gørviligastan allra Orkneyingjarla, ok þötti þat heillavænlit). In Flb., iv, 105, there is a story that implies that Magnus góði's ancestral gæfa at his death passed over to his successor, Haraldr harðráði, in the form of a fish. Although Haraldr does not also inherit Magnus's name, it is possible that this fish is related to the namma-guelle, 'name-fish', of the Lapps (see D. Strömbäck, Svenska landsmål, 1950, 161-3).

In this connection, it should be noted that a king's name was regarded as particularly valuable as is witnessed by the story in Flb., iv, 105, where Þorsteinn Hallsson asks Magnus góði to give him his name. It is also relevant that the custom of naming children after dead ancestors was particularly common in royal families (see examples cited by Storm, loc. cit.).

nafn sitt: after these words, LdnX had ok ríki (see Introduction, page 170). A statement to the effect that Haraldr gullskeggr gave his kingdom to his grandson before
he died seems to be essential to the point of the whole passage and the omission here in Fló is clearly not a well-considered one. These two words are then more likely to have been left out by the X-redactor than by the author.

1/8. ok bar svá rikit undir Hálfdan: e-ð (acc.) berr undir e-m, 'something falls to one's lot'.

1/10. Ragnhildr: according to Hkr, 88 ff. (cf. Ragnarssonsona Páttr in Hauksbók, 467), Ragnhildr was abducted by Haki Haðaberserkr after the death of her father (see following Note) but was in turn kidnapped by Hálfdan, who married her. Both Hkr and Ragnarssonsona Páttr say that Ragnhildr's mother was the daughter of the Danish Klakk-Haraldr—the former source calls her Þyrlni (Codex Frisianus: Þórný), the latter Ingibjórg. On the dream we are told Ragnhildr had before giving birth to Haraldr hárfagri, see Introduction, *332-3.

Sigurðr hjörtr: Hkr (i, 87) tells of Sigurðr that he was king of Hringaríki, that he killed a berserk at the age of twelve and that he himself was killed in a fight against Haki Haðaberserkr. Snorri also tells us that there was a long saga about him (ok er long saga frá honum), a remark of particular interest (cf. Bjarni Guðnason, Um Skjöldungasögur, 1963, 181 ff.). See further on Sigurðr Hálfdanar Saga, 90 footnote and references in Binamn, s.v. Hjörtr. Sigurðr h. The nickname hjörtr is also found as
a personal name (e.g. that of Gunnarr's brother in Nj)
The hart (hjörtr) was regarded as an especially beautiful
and noble creature (see Fritzner, s.v. hjörtr; S. Bugge,
Helge-Digte, 1896, 113 f.; O. Höfler, Siegfried, Arminius
und die Symbolik, 1961).

1/10-5. Aslaug...Asgarði: the lineage of Germanic royal
families was frequently traced back to Óðinn (Wöden). This,
for example, is true of both the West Saxon and Mercian
royal houses (see R. Chambers, Beowulf, 1959, 72 ff. and
195 ff.). In Ægilsólfr of Hvín's Ynglingatal, the ancestry
of a certain King Rógnvaldr of Vestfold goes back to Óðinn
via the Swedish Yngling kings. This type of genealogizing
was, no doubt, given further impetus by the learned penchant
for connecting the ultimate ancestors of national royal
houses with the heroes of the Trojan legend (see A. Heusler,
Die geleherte Urgeschichte in altisländischen Schrifttum,
1908). In older sources, Haraldr's ancestry is usually
taken back to Óðinn via the Ynglingar, although genealogies
of the Norwegian kings like this via Ragnarr loðbrók and
Sigurðr Fafnisdani are found elsewhere (cf. Introduction,
pages 171-2).

1/10-1. Aslaug: a number of other genealogies also give
Aslaug as the daughter of Sigurðr ormr-i-auga and mother
of Sigurðr hjörtr. We have good reason to suspect that
that she is a later invention, introduced to link Ragnarr
loðbrók with the kings of Norway and that Ragnarr's wife's name has been given to her (cf. O. Höfner, Siegfried, Arminius und die Symbolik, 1961, 55). Egr (4) dispenses with both Sigurðr hjörtr and Aslaug and makes Ragnhildr the daughter of Sigurðr ormr-i-auga (cf. also Hálfdanar Saga, 90). According to Hkr (i, 87), Sigurðr hjörtr's father was Helgi inn hvassi; further, Ragnarssona Pátrr (Hauksbók, 466) says that her mother was Blæja and that she was a twin of Hóða-Knútr.

1/11-2. Sigurðr ormr-i-auga is known from a number of sources (see Binann, s.v. Ormr i auga; Saxo, i, 253-64). We are, no doubt, dealing with an historical character here, in fact the son of Ragnarr (see following Note), who harried in France and England in the second half of the ninth century (cf. J. de Vries in Arkiv, 1923, 267 ff.). Sigurðr's nickname probably originally referred to nothing more than a piercing gaze and the explanations of Ragn, 135, Hauksbók, 459 and Saxo, i, 254, must be regarded as secondary. Cf. Hálfdanar Saga, 91 footnote.

1/12. Ragnarr loðbrók is probably to be identified with an historical character, Reginherus or Reginarius, known from English and Continental sources. It was the latter who, according to Frankish sources, sailed up the Seine in 845 to plunder Paris and to be bought off by Charles the Bald (see further J. de Vries, 'Die historischen Grundlagen
der Ragnarssaga Loðbrókar', Arkiv, 1923, 244-74). The main
Scandinavian accounts of Ragnarr loðbrók are to be found in
Saxo (i, 250-64), Ragnar and Ragnarssonar Pátr in Hauksbók
(cf. also the poem Krákumál in Sk, i, 316-21). On the
development of the Ragnarr legend in Scandinavian tradition,
see J. de Vries, 'Die ostnordische Überlieferung der Saga
von Ragnar Lodbrók', Acta Philologica Scandinavica, 1927,
115-49; the same, 'Die westnordische Tradition der Saga von
Ragnar Lodbrók', Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, 1928,
257-302. Perhaps the most famous tale concerning Ragnarr
is the apocryphal one of his death in a snake-pit at the
hands of King Ella of Northumberland. His nickname, loð-
brók, 'hairy-breeks', may well have originally belonged to
another Viking leader and have been transferred to him later
(see de Vries's article in Arkiv, 1923).

1/13. Aslaug: J. de Vries (Kleine Schriften, 1965, 314 ff.)
argues that the idea of a daughter for Sigurðr Fáfnisbani
and Brynhildr is secondary to the story of their chaste con-
cubinage (cf. Sigurðarqviða in skamma, verses 4 and 68
(Edda, 207 and 218); Vols, 68). Later, in order to connect
the heroes of the Sigurðr-cycle with Ragnarr loðbrók, As-
laug was made the latter’s wife. Apart from in the Ice-
landic sources (cf. Dopnamn, s.v. Áslaug; see especially
Vols, Ragnar), Áslaug appears in rímur, in Faroese ballads
and in Norwegian folktales.

Sigurðr Fáfnisbani, the most famous of Germanic
heroes, appears in German tradition as Sifrit. On the cycle of legends surrounding his name, see H. Schneider, *Germanische Heldensage*, 1928-34, i, 73-210; KL, s.v. Sigurdssikteningen. Attempts have been made to identify him with an historical person (cf. Volsungs, xxxii ff. and the references cited there) and he has been identified with, among others, Sigibert, ruler of Austrasia (died 575), and the Cheruscan hero, Arminius, who died in A.D. 9. Sigurðr earned his nickname by his purported slaying of the dragon Fáfnir (on whom, see KL, s.v. and the references cited there).

Sigmundr: Vols (chs. 3-8) tells how Völtsungr is treacherously murdered by his son-in-law Siggeirr. Sigmundr lies with his sister Signý (Siggeirr's wife) and begets a son, Sinfjóttli. The latter joins his father at the age of ten and, for a time, the two live as were-wolves. Finally they avenge Völtsungr by setting fire to Siggeirr's hall. Beowulf (875 ff.) has recollections of the same story and also tells of a fight between Sigemund and a dragon (see Beowulf, lines 159-61). Sigmundr may be the reflection of a sixth century Burgundian king, who led the life of a fugitive (see Volsungs, xxxiv and the references cited there).

1/14. Völtsungr: it seems probable that originally Völtsungr was a patronymic for Sigmundr: in Beowulf, line 877, Sigemund himself is referred to as Walsing, while at line
he is actually called Wælses eafera, 'the son of Wæls' (see however Beowulf, 160). Further, Sigi and Rerir (see following Note) would seem to be late intruders into the genealogy and *Völși (which must mean 'phallus'), father of Sigmundr, would probably be a fertility deity closely associated with, if not identical to, Oðinn (cf. Myth, 201; Volsungas, xxxv f.). On Völsungr, see Völs, 4-10.

Rers sonar, Sigars sonar: Völs has Rerir and Sigi for Fló's Rerr (Re?) and Sigarr. Both names in Fló also appear in other sources, primarily as the names of legendary figures (see Dopnamn, s.v. Re and Sigarr). For tales concerning Rerir and Sigi, see Völs, chapter 1 and 2.

Oðinn is portrayed in many sources as the foremost of the northern gods; see further Rel, ii, 27-106; Myth, 35-74.

1/15. Asgarðr was the home of the Scandinavian gods.

1/15-6. Brynhildr Buðladóttir is the Brünhilt of the German tradition (Nibelungenlied). Having been tricked into marrying Gunnarr/Gunther by Sigurðr/Sifrit, she has the latter murdered by a brother or brothers of the former (Scandinavian tradition) or by Hagen (German tradition). In the Scandinavian stories, she then dies by her own design. The legendary figure could well be a reflection of Brunhilde, wife of Sigibert (see Note to 1/13) who died in 613. In Norse tradition, her father, Buðli, is also father
of Atli, while in the *Nibelungenlied*, Botelunc (on the connection of which name to Buðli, see J. de Vries, *Alt-

1/17. Haraldr is mentioned in a number of sources including *Haraldskvæði* and *Glymdrápa* (both attributed to Þor-
björn hornklofi) in *Sk*, i, 12-6, *Ishb*, Theodricus, *Historia Norvegiae*, *Agríp*, *Fgr.*, *Eg*, *Hkr.*, *Hauksbók* (445 ff.) and *Fló* (ii, 53-70). In addition, he must have appeared in certain works now lost: Sæmundr fróði's Latin history of the Nor-
wegian kings and a lost *Haralds Saga* (cf. *IF*, xxvi, liv-lv). But despite all this material, we have remarkably little reliable information about Haraldr. It seems unlikely that he was descended from the Ynglings (cf. e.g. K. von See in *Arkiv*, 1961, 109-10) and the tradition that his mother was the daughter of Haraldr gullskeggr which Olafia Einarsdóttir (see reference in Note to 1/1-2/6; cf. Note to 1/5) argues was in Sæmundr's lost history is more acceptable than the one (represented in *Fló*) that she traced her ancestry back to the Skjöldungar. Further, the view that Haraldr inherited a kingdom in western Norway (perhaps Sogn) rather than eastern Norway (as a number of sources tell us) may be said to be gaining ground. And although Haraldr undoubtedly extended the kingdom he inherited by conquest, he can hardly
be regarded as the unifier of Norway as various Icelandic sources would seem to represent him. On the other hand, it seems practically certain that his victory at the Battle of Hafrsfjörðr was the climax of his campaign of expansion. According to Haraldskvæði (verse 14), Haraldr's wife was Danish (cf. Note to 1/20). His most prominent sons were Eiríkr blöðræk (see Note to 11/17) and Hákon Áðalsteinsfóstri, both of them kings of Norway in their time. According to Ari fróði's and Snorri's chronology, Haraldr must have ruled from about 858-928 (cf. however KL, xiv, columns 262-3). On Haraldr, see KL, s.v. Rikssamling. Norge and the references cited there.


1/17. Dofrafóstri: this nickname for Haraldr is found in a number of sources, mostly late: Vatns (ch. 8; see above); Orms Páatr Stórólfssonar (Flb, ii, 1); Upphaf ríkis Haralds hárfagra (Flb, ii, 53 f.). It is explained by a story found in Hálfdanar Páatr svarta (Flb, ii, 47-52) which tells how the young Haraldr helped the giant Dofri to escape from his father Hálfdan, whereupon the latter drove the five year-old boy from his house. Haraldr sought out Dofri's cave and lived with him for five years, during which time the giant taught him the manly accomplishments. At the end of
this time, Dofri told Haraldr that Hálfdan was dead and that with his help Haraldr would become king of all Norway. The same legend is hinted at in Kjárn, chs. 12 and 14 and Bárð, ch. 1. See further Finnur Jónsson, 'Sagnet om Harald härfagre som "Dórefostre"', Arkiv, 1899, 262-7; S. Bugge, 'Mythiske Saga om Halvdan svarte og Harald haarfagre', Arkiv 1900, 1-37; Moltke Møes samlede skrifter, ed. K. Liestøl, ii, 1926, 103 ff.; H. Ellis, 'Fostering by Giants in Old Norse Saga Literature', Medium Ævum, 1941, 70-85; Olafia Einarson-dóttir's article referred to in Note to 1/1-2/6.

1/18. lúfa: this word is found in Old Norse only as Haraldr's nickname. Its first recorded instance seems to be in Porbjörn hornklofi's Haraldskvæði (Sk, i, 15), probably composed about the end of the ninth century. Later texts (e.g. Agrip, 1; Fgr, 19; Hkr, i, 122) clearly suggest that the word means something like 'mop of unkempt hair' and refers to the vow the king is purported to have made not to cut or comb his hair before he had conquered all Norway; such a meaning is certainly defensible on etymological grounds (see e.g. J. de Vries, Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, 1962, 362). Another possibility is suggested by M. Moe (Moltke Møes samlede skrifter, ed. K. Liestøl, ii, 1926, 137-40); this scholar argues that a nickname with this sense would not have been used by Haraldr's own poet (which Porbjörn was). He tentatively suggests that the word has the same sense as its East Norwegian cognate, i.e. cap, and
thinks that a caul may be referred to (cf. East Norwegian: vera fødd med luve). To be born with a caul on one’s head is, in popular belief, generally regarded as a good omen and could have been given to Haraldr because of his military success (cf. Norwegian segerluve, 'caul'), not necessarily because he was born with a caul.

1/18. hárfagri, 'having beautiful hair'. This nickname for Haraldr is found in the poetry of his near contemporary, Jórunn skáldmær (Sk, i, 33). Later Icelandic works often refer to Haraldr's fine hair (see e.g. Hkr, i, 122 and Flb, ii, 69). Cf. J. Schreiner in Scandia, 1936, 83 footnote.

1/20. mægðiz hann við Hákon! while Hkr (i, 100) tells us that Haraldr married Hákon's daughter Asa, no other early source mentions the marriage. In Haraldskvæði (Sk, i, 15), it is specifically stated that Haraldr hafnaði...hverri...Holga eðtar.

Hákon jarl, known as (inn) gamli to distinguish him from his grandson, must, like his father, have been ruler over the part of Norway stretching from Lofoten south toward the Trondheimsfjord. He seems to have allied himself with Haraldr hárfagri in the latter's expansionist ventures, but what form this alliance took and which areas the two rulers controlled is difficult to assess (cf. J. Schreiner, Trøndelag og rikssamlingen, 1928, 8-20). In Idn, friction with Hákon is sometimes given as the reason for the emigrat-
ion of Norwegians to Iceland. References to Hákon in Old Norse literature are listed in Dopnamn under Grjótgardr. In addition, he may have figured in a now lost Hlaðajarla Saga, which would also have dealt with his son (see 6/5-6 and Note), his grandson (see 20/5 and Note) and his great-grandson, Eiríkr jarl; cf. Bjarni Ædalbjarnarson, Om de norske kongers sagaer, 1937, 199 ff.

Grjótgardr is mentioned in a number of sources (see Dopnamn, s.v. Griótgardr), including Háleyjatal (Sk, i, 38), where he is called Hallgardr. But although he is, in all probability, an historical character, we know little about him (see however Ldn, 1968, 349 (cf. footnote 7) and 366). Some sources give his father as Herlaugr, and Sturl (i, 243) tells us of a daughter, Æsa, said to be mother of Ketilbjörngamli (cf. Ldn, 1968, 384 and footnote 3). See further H. Koht, 'Om Haalogaland og Haaløyg-ætten', [Norwegian] Historisk tidskrift, 1910.

1/21-2. Haraldr konungr for Í Vik austr: we hear of this expedition by Haraldr to Vik only in Hkr (and following it Ldn and Fló); Fgr, for example, makes no mention of it. Cf. IF, xxvi, 107 footnote 2 and Gerðir, 122.

1/24-2/1. Peir funduz á Fjöllum í Stafanessvági: the Battle of Stafanessvágr is mentioned by Eyvindr skáldaspillir in two verses in Háleyjatal (i, 38; cf. Hkr, i, 108 and Fgr, 14-5):
Varð Hákon, Högna meyjar viðr, vápnberr, es vega skyldi; ok sinn aldr í odda gný Freys ýttungr á Fjólum lagði.

Ok þar varð, es vinir fellu magar Hallgarðs, manna blóði Stafaness við stóran gný vinar Lóðurs vágr of blandinn.

It will be noted that Háleyjatal makes no mention of Hákon's opponent and it has been doubted (by e.g. J. Schreiner) that Hákon fought against Atli jarl.

2/1. á Fjólum í Stafanessvági: on Fjalir (Sogn og Fjordane Fylke) and its extent in early times, see Gaardnavne, xii, 284–6. On Stafanessvágr (present Stongfjord), see Gaard­navne, xii, 247.

Atlaey is present Atløy to the south of Stongfjord (see above).

2/3. Atli jarl átti eptir brjá sonu: according to Eg, ch. 2 (which mentions Atli's three sons), Atli also had a daughter, Sólveig in fagra. Guðni Jónsson (Stokks, 38) suggests that she was the wife of the Hallstein who is mentioned in Fló, ch. 5, and who is said to be Hallsteinn Atla­son's mágr.

at eiga eptir, 'to leave behind after one's death'.

Hallsteinn: there is disagreement between the sources
on the name of Átli's eldest son. LdnStb and LdnHkb both have Hálsteinn (see however LdnStb, 224/14 footnote). Hallsteinn however appears in a number of texts: the Móðruvellabók-version of Eg (other manuscripts: Hafsteinn); twice in LdnPòb (3/37 and 4/12; elsewhere Hálsteinn); in certain texts of the Skarðsárbók-version of Landnámabók (see LdnSkb, 7 footnote; 175 footnote; 176 footnote; 177 footnote; 187 footnote); the Bergsbók-text of Ól mest (i, 259); Byskupa Óttir (9). How far all these instances are independent of one another may be questioned; cf. Jakob Benediktsson in Bibl, xii, 284; Ldn, 1968, 40 footnote 2. It is possible that Hálsteinn was the original name and it was later confused with the name of Hálsteinn's mágr, Hallsteinn (see Fló, 7/9). On the other hand, the testimony of Eg is important; further, there are two other examples (one in Ldn) where men probably called Hallsteinn have had their names corrupted to Hálsteinn (see Dopnamn, s.v. Hálsteinn). The Fló-author may well have preferred Hallsteinn on the basis of a place-name Hálsteinn'sund he knew (cf.: 6/13 and Note and 6/19-20; also Sigurðr Pálsson in IM, 1942, 81). See also Ldn, 1968, 40 footnote 2 (where the reading Hallsteinn is described as a 'villa').

2/5. Þóra Ólvisdóttir is known only from Ldn and Fló.

2/7-6/4. Chapters 2 and 3 of Fló are based on LdnX, 131/15-132/3 (cf. Introduction, pages 173-80). This latter
passage would seem to go back, at least in part, to a section of *Styrmisbók* (cf. Note to Introduction 67); we may compare *Ldn*, 1968, 40 footnote 4 (cf. Note to 4/14-5/5) and 46 footnote 1. Ingólfur and Leifr are mentioned in various other sources: in *Islb*, ch. 1, the former appears as discoverer of Iceland, although without Leifr's company. Theodricus (8) mentions them both and calls them brothers-in-law (cf. *LdnStb*, 132/15); he says they came from Hórröaland (cf. Note to 2/10-1). There may have been a poem about them: in his *Málhöða- og Málskrúðsrit* (ed. Finnur Jónsson, 1927, 61; cf. 101), Olafur Pórðarson quotes the following quarter verse which would appear to be from a longer poem:

\[
\text{Út réð Ingólfr leita,} \\
\text{ógnreifr með Hjörleifr.}
\]

Leifr's and Ingólfur's discovery of Iceland is alluded to in *Eg* (58, 65, 71). And there would, of course, have been stories about them in oral tradition (partly in connection with place-names). See further on the two *LdnStb*, 132/4-134/14 and *Ldn*, 1968, 41 footnote 7, 43 footnotes 8 and 10, 44 footnote 3, 45 footnotes 6 and 8 and 46 footnote 1.

2/7-8. Björnólfr...Hróaldr...váru synir Hrómundar Grips-sonar: this genealogical link between Ingólfr and Leifr is historically untrustworthy and the arguments brought forward by Magnus Olsen (*Heiderskrift til Gustav Indrebø*, 1939, 176-86) and Olafur Lárusson (*Framætt Ingólfs*,
Landnám Ingólfs, 1935-40, ii, 137-43) in favour of a connection between Björnólfr and Hrómundr are not entirely convincing. The latter depend, for the most part, on a supposed concentration of the personal name Björnólfr and its later forms in Telemark where Hrómundr is said to have lived. The evidence for this is, however, too scanty to be of any value in this connection. As a general rule, family trees connecting important landsnámsmenn to legendary figures like Hrómundr, even though the latter may well have existed, are too often the work of over-zealous genealogists. Thus in Ldn, family trees are traced back to Haraldr hilditŏnn, Brúni (see Note to 10/20) and King Fróði, as well as to well-known historical figures like Hárða-Kári (see Note to 2/14-5). Both Jón Jóhannesson (Gerðir, 133 f.) and Einar Arnórsson (Arnesb., 176 ff.) dismiss the possibility of a connection between Björnólfr and Hrómundr and this can probably also be done in the case of Leifr and Hrómundr (cf. Oláfr Lárusson, op. cit., 143); cf. following Note.

2/8. Hrómundr Gripsson: that an historical person of this name existed is quite possible. Further, the fact that the only other example of the personal name Gripr in Old Icelandic or Old Norwegian is found in a 13th century runic inscription from Edsborg Church, Telemark makes it possible that, as suggested here, he lived in this area (see also on this point Björn Þórólfsson, Rímur fyrir 1600, 1934, 358 f.) Historical or not, the name Hrómundr Gripsson had achieved
legendary status by the beginning of the 12th century and certain tales had been attached to it. In the anonymous Málsháttarkvæði of about 1200, Hrómundr's name is mentioned alongside those of the equally legendary Bjarki and Starkaðr (Sk, ii, 74). In Porg (17 f.), it is told that at a wedding feast at Reykhólar in the year 1119, a local farmer sagði sogu frá Hro[ng][vilô]i vikingi ok frá Óláfi liðmannakonungi ok haugbroti Práins berserks ok Hrómundi Gripssyni, ok margar visur með. The passage continues:

En bessari sogu var skemt Sverri konungi, ok kallaði hann slíkar lygisögur skemtiligastir. Ok bó kunnu menn at telja ættir-sinar til Hrómundar Gripssonar. However this last remark is to be interpreted, it is of interest to the question of Hrómundr's historicity and his connection with Ingólfr (see preceding Note and P. Footen,Saga-Book, 1955-6, 226-39). Hrómundr appears in various of the fornaldarsögur, mostly in genealogies, where his mother's name is given as Gunnlöð and his wife's as Svanhvit (Fas, ii, 141; iii, 285; Hálfa, 90). Later literature about him includes a series of rímur (the Griplur) and Norwegian, Swedish and Danish ballads. On the basis of the rímur, the fornaldarsaga which bears his name (Fas, ii, 273-86) was composed in the seventeenth century by Jón Eggertsson (cf. Fortællinger, 82). K. Ljunggren (Studier över sydsvenska ortnamn, 1948, 59-63) sees Hrómundr's name in a number of Swedish and Danish place-names. The variant form Greipr for Hrómundr's father's name (see Textual Note to 2/8) is found in various sources.
(e.g. some manuscripts of Þorg) but is less original than Gripr; cf. Þorg, 75.

2/9-10. Æ Dalsfjörði á Fjöllum: Dalsfjörðr corresponded to present Dalsfjord in Sogn og Fjordane Fylke.

2/10-1. Son...Helga: apart from eru réð fyrir Þirðafylki (cf. 5/7 and 27), this agrees with LdnStb and LdnHkb (cf. Introduction, page *174), but not with LdnÞöb (26) where Ingólfr is said to be máðr norrænn, hórzkr at kyni, sonr Björnólfs af Fjöllum, broðir Heyang[rs]-Bjarnar (cf. Ldn, 1968, 46 footnote 1). It seems probable that LdnÞöb is more original here (cf. Note to 2/7-6/4) and that Órn is a later intruder into the genealogy. Ari does not mention the name of Ingólfr's father in Íslb and Jón Þóhamesson suggests that it may have been introduced as an explanation of the place-name Arnarhváll in Reykjavík (Ingólfr's lané-nám) and/or may originally have been Björnólfr's nickname (see Gerðir, 133-4; cf. Arnesb, 175 ff.; J.J., Saga, i, 25 footnote). Helga is not known from sources other than Ldn (including LdnÞöb; cf. Note to 4/14-5/5) and Fló.

2/13. fóstbræðr: we are told elsewhere in Old Icelandic sources that two or more men became fóstbræðr (or eíd-bræðr or svarabráðr). The most important duty they had to each other as sworn-brothers would seem to have been that of revenge (cf. LdnStb, 133, where Ingólfr kills the thralls
who murdered Leifr; Fóstbr). Various customs were connected with the act of entering into a fóstbaðralag, such as at ganga undir jarðarmen and blood-mixing. See further KL, s.v. Fóstbrorskap and the references cited there.

2/14-58 Móðir Leifs var Hróðný, döttir Ketils bifru Hörða-Kárasonar: this genealogy is found only in Fló. Hróðný and Ketill are otherwise unknown, although in LdnHkb (95), a Ketill Hörða-Kari, son to Aslákr Bifra-Kari, is mentioned. And although Ldn (ch.6) also says that Leifr was related to Ólmóðr inn gamli, son of Hörða-Kari (cf. 5/2-3), there is reason to doubt that this was so. Hörða-Kari must have been born some time in the second half of the ninth century, for, of his four sons mentioned in Hkr (i, 304), Þorleifr is said to have worked for the establishment of the Alþingi in 930 (cf. Islb, ch.2) and Ólmóðr inn gamli to have helped Óláfr Tryggvason in his missionary work (Hkr, i, 306-7). If, as seems probable, the facts as given in Islb and Hkr are correct, then it is impossible that Leifr (who cannot have been born much later than 850) was Hörða-Kari's great-grandson or that Ólmóðr (cf. however, Dopnamn, s.v. Ólmóðr) was his contemporary. Family trees traced to Hörða-Kari appear elsewhere: for example, in Ldn, both Hrafna-Flóki and Úlflijótr are said to be his grandsons. See further Die Gautrekssaga, ed. W. Ranisch, 1900, xlii ff.; Bjarni Áðalbjarnarson's note in IF, xxvi, 304; Ldn, 1968, 40 footnote 4. - Ketill's nickname either means 'the one
who trembles' (cf. *bifaz*, 'to tremble') or is a feminine form of *bifurr*, 'a beaver' (cf. *Binann*, s.v. *Bifra*).

2/18-9. *biojandi hann sliks ins sama*: the use of the transitive present participle in apposition to the subject of a sentence belongs especially to 'the learned style' (Norwegian: 'den lærde stil') of Old Icelandic prose, as known from translation and religious literature. It is probably due to the influence of Latin. See Syntax, paragraph 233 and M. Nygaard, 'Den lærde Stil', Sproglig-historiske Studier tilegnede Professor C. R. Unger, 1896, 156 f.

2/19-20. *Bioj...samlags viso sonu Atla*, 'They seek... a pact with the sons of Atli'. In the saga, we occasionally hear how Vikings formed themselves into groups or communities subject to certain rules. These communities could be termed *log* (see Fritzner, s.v. *lög*, 4; cf. *taka i lög*, 2/23).

Particularly well-known are the laws purporting to be those of the Jómvíkingar (see *Jóms*, 17 f.); here we are told, for instance, that all booty of whatever value was to be taken to the banner and anyone who failed to do this was to be expelled from the community; cf. *Fló*, 24/11-3. See also *Hálfs*, 92-3. There must be a kernel of truth in such accounts. *Fálög* as purely commercial contracts (e.g. the joint ownership of ships) were, of course, a reality in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. See *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, ed. J. Hoops, 1911-9, s.v.
2/21-2. *Pat...vetra:* there is no support for this statement in other sources. In *Hkr* (i, 344), it is said that the crew of Ormrinn langi was svá miðk vandat lið ok valit, at engi máðr skyldi vera...ellri en sextögr eða yngri en tví-tögr. In *Jóms,* ch. 16, eighteen is given as the minimum age for the Jómvíkingar, while in *Hálfs* (ch. 10), the same age is mentioned as the lowest for those going on an expedition (Steinn...var þá átján vetra gamall;...engi skyldi fara [i hernað] yngri en hann eða bernskari.). And there are examples elsewhere of youths going on raids at earlier ages: Eiríkr blóðóx is said to have taken part in a raid at the age of twelve (*Flb,* i, 43), Magnús goði before the age of eleven (*Sk,* i, 158), Þorfinnr jarl at fourteen (*Sk,* i, 160); and in *Edda* (131), we find Helgi Hundingsbani at war at the age of fifteen.

2/25. *at gefaz vel,* illa,* 'to acquit oneself well, badly'.

3/1. *verðr bat af kjörum,* 'that was the final decision'. *At verða af e-u,* 'to be the result of something'.

3/2. *ok er svá sagt:* Nijhoff (*Beschouwing,* 8 f.) takes these words, together with *Svá er sagt* at 3/18 as evidence that the author of his *Fl. 2'* (cf. pages *107 ff.* , *203 ff.* and Note to Introduction 71 ) was, in chapters 2 and 3 of
the saga, drawing on an oral source which contained a similar story about Ingólfur and Leifr to that found in Landnámabók. We note the use of similar phrases at 10/3 and 11/20. It is of course as a general rule very difficult to entirely disprove the existence of oral stories. But the information the phrases at these four places introduces adds little or nothing to the substance of the account of Landnámabók and for this and other reasons it is difficult to accept Nijhoff's argument on this point. And the possibility that Landnámabók itself is being referred to here is not really very likely. By far the most acceptable explanation of these phrases (together with similar ones at 13/22, 14/26, 15/8, 35/17 (70/18), 36/2 (71/4-5), 44/13 (85/17), 55/9, 71/11-2, 74/18-9, 80/22 (cf. 51/21-2, 56/6)) is that they are merely stylistic devices mainly used when the subject is changed or a new episode is introduced. W. Baetke (Über die Entstehung der Isländersagas, 1956, 29 f.) believes that such phrases are often used in this way in the Sagas of Icelander and have nothing to do with oral stories.

3/4. atlaga, fem., 'battle', most usually 'battle at sea'.

3/4-5. Peim varð gott til fjár: an impersonal construction: e-m verðr gott til e-s, 'somebody becomes well-off in respect to something'; cf. Fritzner, s.v. góðr, 3.
3/6-7. *mæla beir mótt með sér annat sumar,* 'they fixed a meeting for the next summer'. *At mæla e-t með sér,* 'to fix, agree, stipulate something with the members of one's group'.

3/15. *vilia eiga undir meira:* Fornsögur has *vilia eiga undir [sér] meira* and Finnur Jónsson (Fló, 1932) and Pórhallur Vilmundarsson, taking K's marginal reading and that of the Z-group into their texts (see Textual Note), have *vilia eiga undir sjálfum sér meira en þórum.* The reading of *Y* was clearly *vilia eiga undir meira* and the present editor does not feel that emendation of this on grounds of lack of sense is absolutely imperative: that some such comparison as *en þórum* or *en beim jarlssonum* could be understood is suggested by Guðbrandur Vigfússon's text in Fornsögur; and although Fritzner (1,299) records no other examples of *at eiga undir* with *undir* used absolutely (i.e. without a following noun or pronoun), there is no reason why it should not be used in this way, particularly in a case like this where *sér* is already to be found in the first part of the sentence (cf. Syntax, 19 ff.). On the other hand, if *undir* is used absolutely, one might have expected rather a word-order *meira undir* and it must be admitted that the wording of the Main Text as it stands has too pithy a ring.

- Fritzner glosses *eiga e-t undir e-m* as 'være i den Stilling med Hensyn til noget, at Forholdet dermed er underkastet en Persons eller Tings mere eller mindre afgørende Ind-
flydelse'; the phrase may be loosely translated 'would have more to say, would be in a stronger position'.

\[\text{At skeraz} \, i, \, 'to happen'.\]


3/21. hafit: hefja in the sense 'sætte noget i Bevægelse, i gang, saa at det tager sin Begyndelse' (so Fritzner, s.v. hefja, 3).

3/22. áttu nú, Ingólfr, 'now it is your turn, Ingólfr!'
Eiga used in the sense 'have noget hvilende paa sig som en Pligt eller Skyldighed, som noget, man ikke kan undlade' (so Fritzner, s.v. eiga, 6); at strengja heit is understood.

3/23. um mæla: while at mæla um can be used in a quite ordinary sense 'to speak about', it has a more specific one of 'to make a ceremonial utterance, pronouncement' (e.g. of a spell, oath).

3/25. **bótt mér sé vandi á við menn: e-m er vandi á við e-n,** 'one person is under an obligation to another person' Vandi, 'Forpligtelse, Baand som medfører at en staar i visse Forpligtelser til en anden' (Fritzner, s.v. vandi, 4), can be used of the special obligations a man has to his relations (cf. examples cited by Fritzner, s.v.).

3/26. **at halla réttum dómi,** 'to give an unfair judgement'; see Fritzner, s.v. halla, 2.

3/26-7. **ef mér er trúat til dyggðar um,** 'if trust is placed in my integrity'. **At trúa e-n til e-s,** 'to trust someone with respect to something'. Dyggð, 'integrity, honesty, sense of justice'. Úm used adverbially.

3/27-4/1. **eigi...vér:** the sense is: Your oath is none the more understandable for your being considered wiser than us.' Peim mun here has the sense of bvi; cf. Fritzner, ii, 752 column 2.

4/8. **verrfeðrungr,** 'one who is worse than his father, one who fails to live up to the standards set or maintained by his father'. The only other recorded instance of the word is in Ljós, 69; cf. however the terms betrfeðrungr (Flb, ii, 42) and feðrbetrungr (e.g. Grett, 108). A discussion of the conceptions of honour which lie behind the term verrfeðrungr is to be found in Folkeæt, i, 89-107.
especially 97 ff.

4/9. Eigi mun mikit fyrir bvi, 'There won't be much to prevent that'. The verb *vera* is understood. *At vera fyrir e-u*, 'to be in the way of something, to prevent something'.

4/11. er ekki til samfamælt af Hersteins hendi, 'no proposal of marriage is made on Hersteinn's behalf'. *At mela til samfara (við e-n)*, 'to make a proposal of marriage (to someone)'. Cf. 13/10 and 17/26 ('made a proposal of friendship').


4/21. Hisargaf (all mss. used for this edition) must be a mistake for *Hisargaf* which is the reading of *Ldn*. What
place is meant is uncertain. Most attractive is the suggestion in *Norges land og folk* (ed. A Helland, 1921, i, 35; cf. A. Janzén in *Namn och bygd*, 1938, 3) that some point on the island now known as Hisarøy just south of the mouth of Sognefjorden and not far from Dalsfjorden (see 2/10) is referred to here. Another possibility in the locality of Bergen is mentioned in *Gaardnavne*, xi, 269. Joleik's suggestion (14 footnote) that Gavle on Lille Sotren, again in the locality of Bergen, is meant has very little to recommend it. On the element -gaf1, see Note to 54/1 and A. Janzén, loc. cit.

4/21-2. ok slær...begar í bardaga, 'and a fight started ...immediately'. An impersonal construction: slær í e-t, 'break out into something'.

4/26-5/1. Við mikinn liðsmun áttu nú at etja, 'You have great odds to contend against'. At etja við liðsmun is a set phrase; cf. 10/12-3.

5/2-3. Ólmódr inn gamli: apart from *Ldn* (and following it *Fl*), Ólmódr is mentioned in various King's Sagas and in *IF*, xiv, 229 f. (see *Dopnamn*, s.v.). Cf. Note to 2/14-5.

5/3-4. váru bau orrostulok at, 'the outcome of the battle was that'. This is the only instance of the word orrostulu­lok in the dictionaries.
5/10. at verða at, 'to take place'.

5/14. at fá njós af e-u, 'to get intelligence of something

5/19. at leggja e-t undir e-m, 'to submit something to someone's decision, arbitration'. Some such idea as málit is understood here.

5/23-4. sem unnit hafi til óhelgi sér may be roughly translated 'that he had (by virtue of his attack on Leifr) lost the protection of the law'; cf. 5/27-6/1: eða falli bit óhelgir, 'otherwise your slayer will not be liable to atone for you'. By physically assaulting another, and by certain other acts (e.g. certain types of insult), a man was regarded as having lost his own helgi (Icelandic) or mannhelgi (Norwegian), i.e. the right to legal protection (see KL, s.v. Helgi and Manhelgi and the references cited there). But to be óheilagr was not necessarily to be an outlaw and the óheilagr man seems to have been so only in respect to those legally responsible for avenging the crime in question. See further W. Baetke, 'Der Begriff der "Unheiligkeit" im altnordischen Recht', Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, 1942, 1-54. Whether a man became óheilagr ipso facto or only after the judgement of a court is disputed; cf. KL, s.v. Dödmansprocessen and the references cited there.
5/26. *fallnar eignir ykkrar*: Fritzner (s.v. *falla*, 16) glosses *falla* here 'forbrydes, gaa tabt for en til følge af hans Brøde'. He gives no other example of this usage.

6/2. *brædr*: Pórhallur Vilmundarson emends here to *[fóst]-brædr*, presumably because Loifr and Ingólfir were not natural brothers. They were however brothers-in-law (see Note to 2/7-6/4) and oath-brothers and *bróðir* here could well be used in a vague sense. In *Fornsögur* and *Fló*, 1932, no emendation is made. [Later note: cf. *Saga och sed*, 1968, 92.]

6/3. *Við Ingólf er kenndr Ingólfshöfði*: at *kenna e-t við e-n*, 'to name something after somebody'.

*Ingólfshöfði* is a hill on the southern tip of Óræfi in Austur-Skaftafellssýsla, south-east Iceland (see *HTB*, ii, 287 f.; *Kort*, 88).

6/5-7/8. Chapter 4 of *Fló* is based on *LdnX*, 224/16-27 (see Introduction, pages *180-2*).

6/5-6. *Sigurðr jarl, son Hákonar gamla*: we are told most about Sigurðr in *Hkr* (cf. *Egr*, 15, 55 and 58). According to this source, he married Bergljót, the daughter of Pórir þegjandi Mæjararl, and their son was Hákon (see 20/5 and Note). Sigurðr is said to have supported Hákon Aðalsteinsfóstri on the latter's return to Norway and became his
friend and counsellor. He survived the Battle of Fitjar, however, but Háleyjatal (i, 38) tells of his death at Ógló in Stjóradalr, according to Hkr and Fgr at the hands of the sons of Eiríkr blóðøx.

6/10-1. Hallsteinn skaut setstokkum fyrir bör í hafi til heilla sér: the set (singular set) were the raised sections of the floor in a Norse hall running lengthways along the wall. They provided sitting places during the day and were used for sleeping on at night. The setstokkar were the planks at the inner edges of the set often raised above their level (see Privatboligen, 217-8, 220-1 and Hibýlabættir, 85-6). In Old Icelandic texts we are often told how colonisers of Iceland threw their óndvegissúlur overboard and settled at the place where they drifted ashore. While therefore it is clear that the óndvegissúlur had special religious significance (cf. Rel, ii, 387), Ldn (and following it Fló) contains the only account of setstokkar being used in this way and there is at least reason to suspect that we have here a story fabricated to explain the origin of the place-name Stokkseyrr (cf. the apocryphal stories explaining the Swedish place-name Stockholm (D. Strömbäck, Folklore och filologi, 1970, 139 footnote 3)). There is, however, evidence to suggest that the setstokkar had sacral importance. The account in Ldn, 1968, 130-1 of how Eiríkr rauði lent a certain Þorgestr his setstokkar and had to fight to recover them is interesting in this connection.
Again, K. Rhamm (Ethnographische Beiträge, 1908, 445 f.) points out that the setstokkar may have been regarded as part of the öndvegi and draws attention to the alliterative phrase at stíga á stókk ok strengja heit (see e.g. Harð, ch. 14) which may refer to the setstokkar and would therefore suggest that they had religious significance; cf. also The Poetic Edda, ed. U. Dronke, 1969, 64-5. See further on the custom of throwing öndvegissúlur overboard D. Ström-bäck, op. cit., 135 ff. and on the significance of til heilla sér, W. Baetke, Das Heilige im Germanischen, 1942, 60 ff. and 147 ff.

6/12. beim sveif á land, 'they drifted ashore'. Impersonal e-m svífr, 'something drifts'.

6/13. Stokkseyrr (modern Stokkseyri; Map 1) must always have been a large and important farm. On its early history see particularly Guðni Jónsson, Bólstaðir og búendur í Stokkseyrarhreppi, 1952, 115 ff. and Stokks, 36 ff. (cf. Note to 2/3.)

Hallsteinssund is called Hálsteinsund in Ldn. 

Neither name is now known. Brynjúlf Jónsson (Arbók, 1905, 8-9), Páll Sigurðsson (LM, 1942, 84) and Einar Arnórsson (Aarmy, 44) all conjecture that what is now known as Stjörnusteinasund to the immediate east of a rocky projection out to sea called Langarí is meant. Kålund (HTF, i, 178), on the other hand, guesses that Músasund to the immediate east of Stokkseyri, while Vigfús Guðmundsson
(Saga Eyrarbakka, 1945, 13) proposes present Knarrarós.

6/14-5. *fyrir dyrr á Stálfiróru*: in the belt of rocks which lies between the open sea and the beach along the coast of Flói, about 50 yards off the beach at Vestra-Iragerði is a rock known as Stál (see Map 1). On the south side of this is a small sea-weed-covered beach which, it is reasonable to assume, is the Stálfjara referred to here (see HTB, i, 178; Arbók, 1905, 5; LM, 1942, 83 f.). Finnur Jónsson (Fló, 1932, 72) dismisses *fyrir dyrr* as meaningless. Pórhallur Vilmundarson assumes, however, that *dyrr* must here have the sense of 'opening, channel between rocks'. He finds the word used in this sense at Þykkvibær in Rangárvallasýsla and as the first element in two place-names in the Stokksseyri area (*Dyralón* in DI, ii, 75; *Dyrós*, see Stokks, 182). Accepting the translation 'by the opening' for *fyrir dyrr*, we find a satisfactory correlation to the topography around Stál. To the east of the rock is a channel which leads from a lagoon (*lón*) next to the beach to a second further towards the sea. At fairly low water, it is possible to take a smallish boat from the inner lagoon to the open sea.

6/16-8, 6/25-7/2. On Hallstein's landnám and its subsequent division by his two sons, see Páll Sigurðsson, LM, 1942, 81-4; Arnesh, 42-54; Skírnir, 1950, 120-4; Stokks, 36-42. Cf. also Note to 6/17-8, 6/25-7/2.
6/16. *Rauðá* is now unknown but was probably the name for the present Baugstaðasíki and at least the lower part of Hróarsholtslækur (see HTB, i, 180; LM, 1942, 81 ff.; Maps 1 and 3).

*Ólfsusá* is now the name of the river which forms the western boundary of Flói, running from the confluence of the Sog and the Hvítá to the sea (see Kort, 37). Formerly the name was probably used of both the present Ólfsusá and the Sog, i.e. the whole of the river running from Pingvalla-vatn to the sea.

6/17. *Fúla-lækjar*: the name is no longer known but what is clearly meant here is a stream which runs in a south-westerly direction from Krókur (to the east of Selfoss) to join the Ólfsusá to the south-west of Flóagafl (see Maps 1 and 3). This is now variously called Krókskelda, Sölvholtskelda and Vöðlakelda according to what part is being referred to (Pórhallur Vilmundarson). The reading of LdnStb in the corresponding place is *Fyllarlækjar*, and, as has been argued in the Introduction (page *164 ff.*), the reading *Fúla-lækjar* which is also to be found in LdnHkb (115/19-20) is best regarded as an alteration in the text of Sturla's redaction of Landnámabók by the scribe of a hypothetical LdnX, the common source for Haukr's redaction and for Fló. It is not impossible that this change in LdnX is an intentional one based on a knowledge of local topography and place-names: the element *Fúli-**, the weak form of the adjective
ful, 'foul, dirty' and could refer to the brook's muddiness. On the other hand, the only other Fulilækur in Iceland is so called because of 'den ejendommelige svovlbrinte-stank' it emits (HTB, ii, 344). The brook in Flói does not have this feature however, and Fulileekr is more likely to be a mistake for FyllarlækKr. Fyllar- could either be the genitiv of fylli, fyllr, fem., 'a filling up', referring to the fact that the brook is sometimes kept full by the waters of the Ólufus (see Árbók, 1905, 17); or it could be the genitive of Fyllr, the name of Frigg's servant-maid; a strong form of the more common Fulla is found in a verse by Eyvindr skáldaspillir (Hkr, i, 201) and possibly also Helgi trausti's verse (see page 337); cf. Arnesh, 43, 66, 312.

Breiðamýri alla: present Breiðamýri is the marsh-land area to the north of Stokksseyri and Eyrarbakki and to the west of Hróarsholtslækur (see Map 1). It is clearly this area that is referred to here.

Holt (neuter plural) are not now known although most would agree that they are identical with Hóltaálnd (see 8/12 and Note) and in that case they correspond to what are now called Ásar(nir) (see Map 4). These last are however to the east of Hróarsholtslækur (see 6/16 and Note) and thus outside Hallsteinn's landnám. But in spite of this last fact, they could be used in the present context to demarcate the northern limit of Hallsteinn's landnám. Some think that Súluholt at the western end of Ásar(nir) is meant. See Skírnir, 1950, 121; Stokks, 40; Ldn, 1968, 371 footnote 6;
The accounts of LdnStb, LdnHkb and Fló differ on certain points concerning Hásteinn's/Hallsteinn's landnám and what parts of it were inherited by his sons (for LdnStb's and part of LdnHkb's text corresponding to this passage, see pages *157 and *180-1 above). Hásteinn's (Hallsteinn's) residence is given as Stjörnusteinar in LdnStb and Fló but as Stokkseyrr in LdnHkb. Guðni Jónsson stresses the importance of Stokkseyrr as the chief farm of the landnám and prefers the testimony of LdnHkb on this point. In LdnStb, it is said that the landnám was divided between Atli and Ólvis on Hásteinn's death, in LdnHkb no such division is mentioned. Fló's statement that Atli inherited the whole landnám in return for which Ólvis held Stjörnusteinar seems rather unlikely (cf. Pórhallur Vílmundarson). According to LdnStb, Leiðólfr and Brattr were originally Atli's thralls, according to LdnHkb (115/24-5) Ólvis' and according to Fló, Hallsteinn's. On this last point, LdnStb's account perhaps seems the most likely. See further Arneshb, 45 ff.; Guðni Jónsson, Bólstaðir og búendr í Stokksøyrarhreppi, 1952, 114-5; Stokks, 35-41.

At Stjörnusteinum: there is no farm of this name in the area now, although the names Stjörnusteinn and Stjörnusteinar are still given to some rocks on the southern end of Langarif (see Map 1). The farm itself must
have been situated on the shore somewhere between Stokks-
eyri and Grímsá (cf. Note to 12/16), quite possibly just
to the north of Langarif; cf. the place-name Stjörnusteinn
from about 1270 in DI, ii, 75. See Arbók, 1905, 8-9; LM,
1942, 84; Arnesh, 44-5; Skírnir, 1950, 122-3; Ldn, 1968,
371 footnote 6.

6/18. Atli is known only from Ldn, Fló and Byskupa Ættir
(9).

6/19. Ólvis is known only from Ldn and Fló.

6/21-2. Sagðiz hann skyldu ílendaz: hann is nominative;
Niedner's translation 'alle...meinten, er müsse im Lande
bleiben' cannot be correct.

6/22. Var mónnun mikil aufúsa á bvi: e-m er aufúsa (fem.)
á e-u, 'someone is eager for something'.

6/26. bat heitir nú Ólvistóptir: LdnStb (224/23) says
Ólvis lived at Stjörnusteinar and adds: þar heita nú
Ólvisstaðir. This suggeststhat by the time Fló was writ-
en, the farm in question had fallen into disuse; (tóptir
is used of ruins of a farm, turf walls with no roof). That
LdnEkb does not mention any other name for Stjörnusteinar
suggests perhaps that it had fallen into disuse also by
the time the Hauksbók-redaction of Landnámabók was written
See further references cited in Note to 6/17-8, 6/25-7/2.

7/2. Traðarholt, the home of the hero of the saga, is still a farm in Flói, lying about 3 kilometres as the crow flies east of the church at Stokkseyri and about 2 kilometres from the sea (see HTB, i, 179; Árbók, 1905, 5; Map 1).

Baugstaðir: according to Ldn, 1968, 352, this farm was named after Baugr Raufsson (cf. 8/24-5 and Note and Ldn, 1968, 348); it probably lay to the west of, and on lower ground than the present farm Baugstaðir; here the place-name Forn-Baugstaðir is still known (see HTB, i, 179; Árbók, 1905, 7 ff.; Map 1; map facing page 16 in Vigfús Guðmundsson, Saga Eyrarbakka, 1945). See also Guðni Jónsson, Bólstaðir og búendur í Stokkseyrarhreppi, 1952, 17 ff.

7/5. Honum gaf Atli frelsi: according to the code of law represented by Grágás, thralls could be set free by their masters, could be ransomed or could themselves buy their freedom. The leysingi did not, however, have the rights of a free-born man. Compensation for such a person was only half the normal. Nor was the freedman entirely independent of his old master. The latter was bound to maintain him if he had no children but was also his legal heir. There is evidence elsewhere that, as in this case, freed thralls were given land and farms (cf. the farm-name Leysingja- staðir). See KL, s.v. Leysingi. Island.

Brattsholt is still a farm in Flói; see HTB, i, 181
and Map 1.

7/7. Leifðólfsstaðir: the name is still known *(see HTB, i, 181 and Map 1).*

7/9-26. Chapter 5 of Fló is based on LdnX, 224/29-32 and 223/20-30 (see Introduction, pages *182-3*).

7/9-13. Hallstein and his property are discussed in Arnesb, 54-5 and Skírnir, 1950, 124. He and his descendants are not mentioned in sources other that Ldn and Fló *(cf. Ldn, 1968, 372 footnote 2).* Cf. however Note to 2/3.

7/10-1. inn ytra hlut: ytri must here have the sense 'westerly' as Stefán Einarsson *(Attatáknanir, 185)* suggests. Cf. Notes to 11/21 and 61/9.

7/11. Eyrarbakki (now the name of a village) was originally the name for the whole of the coastal strip from the Ólfusá to the Pjórsá; see HTB, i, 175 f.; Arnesb, 332 f.; Stokks, 8 f., Maps 1 and 2.

Framnes: there is an underwater reef called Framnes or Framnesboði a few hundred yards off the shore at Gamla-Hraun in Eyrarbakki, where the coast-line bulges out towards the sea *(fram in this part of the country means 'towards the sea'; cf. 6/15)*; tradition claims that Hallstein's farm originally lay here. In more recent times, a hjáleiga
at Stóra-Hraun (see Map 1) has been called by the same name. See HTB, i, 178; Arbók, 1905, 11-2; Vigfús Guðmundsson, Saga Eyrarbakka, 1945, 11; Ldn, 1968, 372 footnote 2.

7/12. at fálkagreptri: LdnStb, LdnHkb, LdnPöb all have at fauskagrepti and all editors of Fló emend to this; the phrase is understood as meaning 'while digging fauskar (i.e. rotten logs used as fuel)'. The word fálkagróptr is otherwise unknown and it is difficult to know whether to regard it as a word with meaning or merely as a scribal error. Could it, for example, refer to a pit used as a hide in the capture of falcons, one of Iceland's most important exports in the Middle Ages (cf. O. Olafsen, 'Falkefangst i Norge', [Norwegian] Historisk tidskrift, 1914, 343)? Alternatively, Fálki is recorded as a personal name (Dopnamn, s.v.) and an interpretation 'Fálki's grave, pit' might therefore be possible.

7/14. Loptr, son Orms Fróðasonar: LdnHkb and LdnPöb tell us that Fróði was the son of Vémundr (LdnPöb: Vermundr), the son of Vikingr Skáneyjarskelfir. Orms and Fróði are not known from sources other than Ldn and Fló. According to LdnPöb (cf. Ldn, 1968, 46), Loptr's paternal aunt Hallvei Fróðadóttir was married to Ingólfur mentioned in Fló, chs. 2 and 3. Loptr himself had the nicknames inn gamli (not found in Fló) and Eyrar-Loptr, found at 8/1 and 9/3 and in Eyrb (cf. LdnHkb, 24/18: Loptr inn gamli af Eyrarbakka).
This latter has puzzled certain commentators (cf. e.g. Ldn, 1968, 103 footnote 9), but is probably to be explained by the fact that in early days Eyrrar was used of the whole of the coast-line between Ólfsú and Pjórsá (Loptr settled between Rauðá and Pjórsá), not merely the coast-line between the Ólfsú and the Rauðá (cf. Note to 7/11 and 29/5).

Apart from what we read in Ldn and Fló, no stories are told about Loptr. He is said to have married, at the age of sixty, Þeimlaug Pórarinsdóttir, the daughter of another coloniser of Flói (Ldn). As far as we can gather, Loptr had two sons: Pórólfur, who is mentioned in Ldn, Ljós, Eyrb and Nj (cf. however Arnesh, 27), and Pórarinn, mentioned in Pórrar Saga hreðu (IF, xiv, 247). From Pórarinn various Icelandic bishops are descended (cf. LdnHkb, ch. 323). See further on Loptr and his landnám Arnesh (24-9) and Skírnir, 1950, 115-7.

7/15. Í mörugu lagi, 'in many respects'.

7/16. af Gaulum: Gaular was the name of a district in Sogn og Fjordane covering the area on both sides of the Gaula river which flows from Viksvatn to Dalsfjord (see Gaardnavne xii, 307; map in IF, xxvi entitled 'Nøregr'). If the preposition at is used correctly at LdnHkb, 114/11, and at the corresponding places in Fló, LdnSkb and LdnPób (cf. Introduction, page *160), Gaular must also be thought of as the name of a farm or centre (perhaps at the present
village Gaular); cf. Note to 7/20-2.

7/17. **Pjórsá**, Iceland's longest river runs in a NE to SW direction and forms the boundary between Árnessýsla and Rangárvallasýsla. It is Flói's eastern limit. See HTB, i, 173-4; Kort, 48, 47, 57, 56, 66, 65, 75.

7/17-8. **till Skúfslækjar**: nowadays Skúfslækur runs from Villingaholtsvatn in a south-south-easterly direction to join the Pjórsá at about 8 km. from its mouth (Map 2). In former days, it may have had a more southerly course (see Arbók, 1905, 24; Arnesh, 28; Skírnir, 1950, 116).

7/18. **Breiðamýri**: LdnStb has at the corresponding place (223/22), presumably more accurately, Breiðamýri ina ystrí; modern Breiðamýri is used only for an area to the west of Hróarsholtslækur (see Note to 6/17); cf. however LdnStb 223/29 and corresponding to it Fló, 7/24, where simple Breiðamýrr is used for the area in question. What is referred to here is now called Miklavatnsmýri (more southerly part) or Hellismýri (more northerly part).

Súluholt is still a farm about 6 km. from Gaulverjabær and about 11 km. north of the sea; see HTB, i, 179; Map 1.

7/18-9. **Gaulverjabær**, 'the farm of the men from Gaular'. This is still a large farm in the south-eastern part of
Flói, 3 or 4 km. from the sea; see HTB, i, 179; Map 1. According to the saga it was Ægils's childhood home. The suggestion is made in the Introduction (Chapter III, Section C) that the author of the saga may have had special connections with Gaulverjábær.

7/19. Oddný...dóttir Þorbjarnar ins Gaulverska: according to chapter 323 of LdnHkb, Þorbjörn (Ormarsson) was a hersir from Fjalafylki in Norway; in the same chapter, his wife is given as Hildr Úlfarsdóttir and his daughter as Oddný, mother of Loptr inn gamli (cf. LdnHkb, chapters 11 and 324; LdnStb, chapters 368 and 369). According to LdnHkb, ch. 305, Þorbjörn also had a daughter Þuríðr.

7/20-2. før utan it þrója hvert sumar...at blóta at hofi því er Þorbjörn...hafði varðveitt at Gaulum: it is interesting to note that Eg (ch. 49) also tells of a hof in the Gaular area: Pat var um várit, at blót mikit skyldi vera at sumri á Gaulum; bat var ágæzt hofuðhof; sótti þangat fjolmenni mikit or Fjörðum ok af Fjöllum ok or Sogni ok flest allt stórmenni (cf. Eg, ch. 2: Pat var á einu hausti, at fjolmennt var á Gaulum at haustblóti). Loptr may have attended a large public sacrifice which took place every third summer. In this connection, it is worthy of note that in Adam of Bremen's Gesta Hammaburgensis we are told that the major religious festival took place at Uppsala every ninth year and Thietmar of Merseberg gives the same inter-
val for similar celebrations at Lejre (see F. Schröder, Quellenbuch zur germanischen Religionsgeschichte, 1933, 103 and 104; cf. Aarbøger, 1965, 122 f.).

7/20. *it briðja hvert sumar,* 'every third summer'

7/20-1. *fyrir hón d beira Flosa beggja, móðurbróður sins,* 'on his own behalf and on behalf of his uncle, Flosi'.

7/23-4. Por[viðr], bróðir hans: LdnStb (ch. 369) and LdnHkb (ch. 324) both have Porviðr here (cf. Textual Note). They give Porviðr's name as Úlfarr and sister as Hildr. Elsewhere these two sources say that Hildr was mother of Oddný, mother of Loptr gamli (cf. Note to 7/19). Porviðr was thus, rather than Loptr's bróðir, his *móðurmóðurbróðir* and the presence in the original of the saga of some expression like this (perhaps móðurbróður móður hans) might account for corruption of Porviðr to Pormóðr between the original of the saga and *X*. On Porviðr and his landnám, see Arnesb, 30 and Skírnir, 1950, 117. He appears only in Ldn and Fló.

7/25. Ossabær is now called Vorsabær (see HTB, i, 179, and Map 1). The name means literally 'farm of the Vórsar (i.e. the men from Vórs; cf. 7/24)'; Gaulverjabær is a parallel formation. For the change Vórsa- > Ossa-, see Altisl, 75, 197 f. The farm lies three or four kilometres north-east of Gaulverjabær.
7/25. Hrafn ok Hallveig are known only from Ldn (those parts from which Fló borrows) and Fló.

8/1-10/19. Chapter 6 and 7 of Fló are based on LdnX, (cf. Introduction, pages 183-8) 221/39-222/4, 225/8-26. The second of these passages may go back to a lost saga (see Introduction, *204 ff.).

8/1. Flosi, according to LdnHkb, ch. 315, had the nickname inn norræni and was married to Pórdis in mikla, daughter of Pórunn in auðga, daughter of Ketill einhendi who was one of the settlers of Rangárvallasýsla.

8/2. sýslumenn: a sýslumaðr would originally have been a man who held a konungassýsla or royal commission. This often seems to have involved the collection of taxes (cf. e.g. Haraldr hárfagri's sýslumenn at the beginning of Eg). With the division of Norway into administrative areas called sýslur in the days of King Sverrir, the position became institutionalized. See NGL, v, 624 f.

8/3-4. Hann nam land fyrir austan Pjórsá, Rangárvöllu alla ina eystri austr fra Rangá: LdnStb, LdnHkb, and LdnPðb have here: Hann nam land fyrir austan Rangá (ok, LdnPðb), alla Rangárvöllu ina eystri (austr fra Rangá omitted). One cannot be entirely certain whether Fló's text is intended to mean (i) that in addition to land east of the Ytri-Rangá, Flosi also settled land to the immediate east of the
Pjórsá and to the west of the Ytri-Rangá, or (ii) that all
the land he settled was not only to the east of the Pjórsá,
but also to the east of the Ytri-Rangá. It is true that
since only the settlements to the west of the Pjórsá have
been talked about in the saga up to now and since the Pjórsá
is an important natural division (larger than the Rangá),
the second alternative may be the case here. But if this
is so, then it is something of a coincidence that, while
there is no other record of Flosi having colonized to the
immediate east of the Pjórsá (cf. LdnStb, chapters 360-3,
367), in LdnHkb, chapter 305, we are told that he owned
land in that area: Jórundr fekk Þuríðr, dóttur Þorbiarnar
ins Gaulverska ok var brúðkaup þeira í Skarfanesi at Flosa
er öll lánd átti millim Pjórsár ok Engár. While Engá is no
longer known, Skarfanes is a farm not far from the left bank
of the Pjórsá, about 15 or 20 km. upstream from Arnes (see
Kort, 47). Jakob Benediktsson (see references to Ldn, 1968,
given below) assumes that Flosi acquired this land with his
wife the grandaughter of Ketill einhendi, who is said to
have settled the area in question (cf. Note to 8/1). Jón
Jóhannesson (Gerðir, 181 and 184) thinks that Haukr got
this extra information about Flosi from a lost genealogical
work. For a further discussion of the problem of the
extent of Flosi's property, see HTB, i, 267 and Ldn, 1968,
351 footnote 6, 362 footnote 2, 365 footnote 7 and the
references cited in these works.
8/4. Rangárvellir alla inir eystri austr frá Rangá: Rangárvellir inir eystri are between Ytri-Rangá (here called merely Rangá) and Eystrí-Rangá (see Kort, 48). That Flosi could only have settled the northern part of this area is clear from LdnStb, ch. 344.

8/5. Þórunn: in LdnStb, LdnHkb and LdnPöb, this daughter of Flosi Þorbjarnarson is called Asný (cf. Textual Note). Þórunn is otherwise only known from Landnámabók. LdnPöb (probably following lost parts of the Melabók-redaction) calls her Þórðis (cf. LdnSkb, 171 lines 35-6 and Ldn, 1968, 364 footnote 1).

Valla-Brandr: LdnPöb (17) tells of a certain Brandr, son of Áskell, who first built a farm at Vellir and from whom the Vallverjar derive their origin. It is usually assumed that Þórunn Jónsson found the name of Áskell's son in the Melabók-redaction of Landnámabók and that the man referred to is Valla-Brandr. On the other hand, neither LdnStb or LdnHkb have the name of Áskell's son and if this had been in the Styrmisbók-redaction of Landnámabók, it is peculiar that LdnHkb should omit it as Haukr traced one of his lines of ancestry back to Valla-Brandr. The farm referred to, Vellir, must, at any rate, have been Stóru-Vellir which lay a few kilometres east of the Pjórsá at Arnes (see Ldn, 1968, 366 footnote 1). On his mother's side, Valla-Brandr was related to Ketill hæmgr (LdnStb, ch. 344) and Ófeigr grettir (LdnStb, ch. 379). In addition to Flosi
(see following Note), Valla-Brandr had a son called Eilífr (LdnStb, ch. 351).

8/5-6. son beira var Kolbeinn: in LdnStb, LdnHkb and LdnPðb, the son of Valla-Brandr is said to be Flosi, father of Kolbeinn (cf. Textual Note to 8/6). There are a number of problems in connection with the identification of Kolbeinn Flosason Valla-Brandsson, on which see Ldn, 1968, 364 footnote 1 and the references cited there.

8/6. Pórunn: the daughter of Kolbeinn is called Guðrún (cf. Textual Note to 8/6), elsewhere. She was the wife of Sæmund fróði.

Loptr prestr was the third son of Sæmundr and Guðrún. He is thought to have left Iceland for Norway in about 1120; in Norway he married a certain Póra, who was later recognized as illegitimate daughter of King Magnús berfætr. He returned to Iceland a few years later but in about 1135 he went back to Norway to fetch his son Jón (see following Note). There is a certain amount of documentary evidence that he was a priest. He seems to have died some time after 1158. See Halldór Hermansson, Sæmund Sigfússon and the Oddaverjar, 1932, 10.

8/7. Jón Loptsson (1124-97) spent his boyhood years in Norway at Konungahellabut came to Iceland with his parents in 1135. Since the days of Jón grandfather Sæmundr Sigfússon, Oddi, the family seat, had been an important cult-
ural centre and maintained its position as such during his lifetime. The influence of the Oddaverjar reached its zenith in Jón, who was the most powerful chieftain in Iceland in his day. He played an important part in Icelandic politics of the second half of the twelfth century and was often asked to arbitrate or to give advice or assistance (cf. Sturl, i, 93, 105, 180, 196, 233, 238). His legal wife was Halldóra Brandsdóttir who bore him Sæmundr (see below). Jón also had extra-marital relations with a large number of women. These included Ragnheiðr, the sister of Porlákr (helgi), bishop of Skálaholt (see 40/14 and Note); Ragnheiðr bore him a son, Páll, who himself became bishop. This relationship with Ragnheiðr brought Jón into direct conflict with Porlákr. This was not the only bone of contention between the two men however: on returning from Norway after his consecration, Porlákr attempted to restrict the chieftains' right of private ownership of churches and church lands. He met his foremost opponent in Jón who was himself the owner of several churches. Jón is also remembered as the foster-father of Snorri Sturluson. Shortly before his death and after his mother's paternity had been made known, the poem Noregs Konunga Tal was composed in his honour. The main sources for Jón's life are Sturl and Bysk.

Sæmundr (1154-1222) was, like his father, the most important chieftain in Iceland of his day although during the last years of his life, the influence of the Oddaverjar waned irrevocably in favour of the Sturlungs. For example
in 1216 at the hands of his old foster[son] Snorri Sturluson. In the same year, one of his sons, Pall, was drowned in Norway and Sæmundr's attempts to get redress from Norwegians in Iceland led to the death of his brother Órmar and such bad relations with Norway that Skúli jarl even got as far as fitting out a fleet to sail to Iceland. Plans for Sæmundr to marry the daughter of Haraldr Maddaðarson, earl of Orkney, fell through and he never married. On the other hand, he had a large number of illegitimate children. The main sources for Sæmundr's life are Sturl and Býsk. 

Margrét was Sæmundr's illegitimate daughter by the sister of a certain Þorgrímur Vigfússon. She married Kolbeinn kaldljóss and their children were Brandr, Pall, Valgerðr and Ingigerðr (Sturl).

Brandr (1211-46) was a goðorðsmáðr and, like his father, lived at Staðr (now Reynistaður) in Skagafjörður. He supported Kolbeinn ungi and Gizurr jarl at the Battle of Örlyggsstaðir (Sturl, i, 517) and became leader of the Skagfirðingar after Kolbeinn's death in 1245. In 1246 however, Dórrr kakali, wishing to establish overlordship in northern Iceland found a pretext to quarrel with Brandr and marched into Skagafjörður with 500 men. A battle ensued at Haugsnes (Haugssnessfundr) and, although Brandr had superior numbers, he was outmanoeuvred, captured and put to death (Sturl, ii, 87 ff.). Brandr was married to Jórunn Kálfs-dóttir. A certain amount of poetry was composed in his honour. See further, Sturl, ii, 86-7, 90, 92 ff., 96 ff.
8/8. Kálfr was about eight when his father was killed (Sturl, ii, 104) and was thus born in about 1238. In Sturl, ii, 308 ff., we are told how, in 1262, he and his brother Porgeirr received a letter from Pórôr Andrésson suggesting that they should ally to assassinate Gizurr jarl. They did not comply however but Kálfr warned Gizurr and joined forces with him. In the same year, Kálfr and his brother were among twelve men from the Northern Quarter to swear an oath of allegiance to King Hákon at the Alþingi (Sturl, ii, 312, 319). Also at about this time, Kálfr married Guðný, daughter of Sturla Pórðarson (Sturl, ii, 310). After this time, we hear nothing more of Kálfr although like his father and grandfather he seems to have lived in Viðimýr í Skagafirði, at least for a period (see Sturl, ii, 104).

8/9-18. Ózurr hvíti and his landnám are discussed in Arnesb 40-2, and Skírnir, 1950, 117-20. Cf. following Note.

8/9. Ózurr...inn hvíti, son Porleifsf ór Sogni: neither Ózurr nor Porleifr nor their descendants (see 8/15-6) are known from sources other than Fló and the part of Ldn from which Fló borrows (cf. Ldn, 1968, 375 footnote 4). Ózurr's nickname is extremely common. (In Fló it is also borne by Porsteinn (20/19) and Gizurr (56/14).) It probably refer to fair hair or a light colour of skin; cf. Binamn, s.v. Hvíti.
8/10.  **vá víg í véum: at vega víg í véum**, 'to commit a slaying in a sanctuary'. This phrase (for other examples of which, see Cleasby-Vigfusson, s.v. vég), as its alliterative form suggests, must have originally belonged to oral legal terminology. In its general sense, vég refers to any sanctuary or holy place, usually in connection with a centre of worship or an assembly place (hingstaðr); see W. Baetke, *Das Heilige im Germanischen*, 1942, 92 ff.; *Rel.*, i, 341. Acts of violence committed at such places would be regarded as offences against the deities and were punished by outlawry, the offender being designated **vargr í véum**, 'outlaw (literally: wolf) in holy places'. In this case, outlawry forces the criminal to flee the country; cf. 8/11-2.

8/11. **Sigurðr hrísi** is mentioned in a number of Kings' Sagas and in *Noregs Konunga Tal* (*Flb.*, iii, 135). He was a son of Haraldr hárfragri and Hkr (i, 120) and other sources tell us that his mother was Snæfríðr. He is said to have been fostered by Eysteinn, jarl of Vestfold. His son Hálfdan, was father of Óláf sýr. His nickname (which he shared, for example, with Hallvarðr of Hríðahvál; see *IS*, iv, 338) must be connected with **hrísungr** and mean basically 'one begotten in the bushes (hrísi), bastard'. As a legal term in Old Norwegian, **hrísungr** means 'bastard son of a free woman' (see *NGL*, v, 524), in Old Icelandic, 'son of a freed woman, conceived when she was a slave' (see *Grág*, i, a, 224). The nickname **risi**, 'giant', he is
given in a number of sources (e.g. LdnStb, 225/9; cf. Binamn, s.v. Hrósi) is secondary.

8/11-2. at verða landflótti til e-s, 'to be forced to go into exile in a place'.

8/12. Holtalond: the name is not now known but it probably refers to the area now called Ásar(nir) (cf. Note to 6/17): this is a belt of land which runs from east to west between the Pjórsá and Hróarsholtslækur about 10 km. from the sea. In it are a number of farms whose names end with the element holt (e.g. Súluholt, Villingaholt). See Arnesb, 40; Maps 1 and 2.

8/13. Hraunslækkr: the name is now unknown but was probably used for the uppermost part of the present Hróarsholtslækur; see HTB, i, 180; Arnesb, 40; Skírnir, 1950, 118; Ldn, 1965, 375 footnote 3; Maps 1, 3 and 4. Cf. 6/16 and Notes.

8/15. Þorgrímr kampr is known only from Ldn and Fló. His nickname (cf. the nickname kampr) means 'having a (large) moustache'; for other examples, see Binamn, s.v. Kampr.

8/16-7. Kampaholti: there is still a farm called Kampaholt (see HTB, i, 179; Map 4). It was presumably originally called Holt but was later named Kampaholt after Ózurr's son.
8/18. fjárvarðveizla was the legal administration of a minor's property by another. According to Grágás (see Grág, i, a, 230-6 and for further references Grág, iii, 606), fjárvarðveizla was normally given to the closest relative in order of inheritance to the minor. For at least one year this trustee enjoyed any yield on the minor's estate; in return he was required to protect and maintain him and ensure that his estate did not deteriorate. After this period, the minor's father, mother or brother retained trusteeship on the same terms. Trustees in more distant relationship to the minor could however be challenged by a third party who owned twice as much as the minor to give up trusteeship. If this happened, the trustee, provided he owned as much property as the minor, might choose either (i) to give up trusteeship, in which case the third party maintained the minor free of charge and paid legal interest on his or her estate or (ii) to retain trusteeship himself on the same terms as in (i). If the first trustee did not own property of equal value to that of the minor, he was bound to give up trusteeship if challenged. On the laws governing administration of a minor's property after 1281, see Jónsbók, 90 ff.

8/19. Þodvarr is not known from sources other than Ldn and Fló.

8/20. á Þodvarastóttum: LdnStb has í Þodvarstóptum here,
while LdnHkb has at Böðvarstóptum. The difference between Fló and LdnStb and LdnHkb suggests that one of two circumstances obtained: (1) that the Fló-author has given the original name, or a name he thought might have been original, to a farm which was in ruins and which was called Böðvarstóptir; (2) that during the thirteenth century, the farm in question was in ruins, but by the time the Fló-author was writing, it had been rehabilitated and renamed Böðvarstaðir. And if the second alternative was the case, it is particularly interesting that Haukr's redaction of Landnámabók (here preserved in his own hand) still has at Böðvarstóptum. This might suggest the following sequence of events: (i) writing of Hauksbók (ii) renaming of Böðvarstóptir to Böðvarstaðir (iii) writing of Fló. But we must be careful here: Haukr often copied quite mechanically from the copy of Landnámabók he had as his exemplar and could well have overlooked the fact that Böðvarstóptir had been renamed, even if he knew it in the first place. On the other hand, Haukr was not entirely asleep when he copied this part of Landnámabók: on the previous page, he has added a genealogy to himself and his wife and a few lines below he has made a change where his original did not make sense (see Introduction, page *158). He presumably knew the area well, may even have been systumaðr of it when he wrote the passage in Hauksbók in question (see pages *150 and *413 of Introduction) and the fact that he changed the preposition í (Böðvarstóðum) to at also suggests he
knew the farm. We might have here some evidence that Fló was written after Haukr's redaction of Landnáma-bók, which recent researches have shown is probably to be put between 1306 and 1308 (see page *150). Neither a farm Böðvarstóptirnor Böðvarsstaðir is now known. It must presumably have been in Özurr's landnám near Kampaholt (cf. Arbók, 1900, 29-31).

Víðiskógr is not now known. Brynjólfur Jónsson (Arbók, 1900, 29-31) conjectures that it must have lain between Vælugarði (see 8/24 and Note) and a stream which runs from Kampoholtsvatn to the Pjórsá called Fosslækur (Urriðafosslækur); cf. Maps 2 and 4; Kort, 47 and 48.

8/20 ff. Honum gaf Özurr hlut nökkurn í skóginum...: with these words, the story about the quarrel over Víðiskógr begins, the bare outlines of which the Fló-author found in LdnX. Such stories may be regarded as literary motifs and are found in a number of Islendingasögur; see further Motieven, 74 ('Bosch- en weide-quaesties').

8/21. at melá fyrir, 'to stipulate' (see Fritzner, s.v. melá fyrir, 2).

8/21-2. at skilja sér e-n, 'to reserve one's right to something' (see Fritzner, s.v. skilja, 15 c).

8/22. misdaugi, 'difference in time of death'.


8/24. Órn is known only from Ldn and Fló. The first of these sources has another story to tell about him than that found in Fló; see Note to 10/22. See further on Órn Arnesb, 35, 36, 41.

Vaelugerði: on this name see Ldn, 1968, 375 footnote 5. The farm is now called Pingdalur. See Map 2.

8/24-5. Hann átti Porgerði Baugsdóttur, systur Stena snjalla í Snjallshófða: Porgerðr is called Hildr in LdnHkb (107/32) while LdnStb (219/14) has a blank space. The fact that Fló has a different reading from LdnHkb here, suggests that there was also a blank space for the name of Órn's wife in Sturla's original (i.e. Sturlubók), rather than that the blank space in LdnStb is due to a failure by Jón Erlendsson to read Resensbók, as Jón Jóhannesson (Gerðir, 47) suggests. It is not possible to say which of the two names in LdnHkb and Fló, if either, is correct. Baugr Rauðsson, Órn's father-in-law, was a sworn-brother of Ketill hængr, settled in his landnám and lived at Hlíðarendi (cf. 7/2 and Note). His other children were Gunnarr, the grandfather Gunnarr Hámundarson, who is one of the heroes of Nj, and Eyvindr (on whom see Ldn and Eg (58 f.) Stena is clearly a mistake for Steins, the reading of LdnSt and LdnHkb. Steinn inn snjalli (also called Snjall-Steirn in Ldn; cf. Spak-Bersi for Bersi inn spaki) is otherwise only known from Ldn, but probably also figured in a now lost Fljótshlíðinga Saga (cf. Note to 10/22). The name Snjallshófði is also given to his farm in LdnHkb (ch. 307)
and LdnStb (219/14), while in LdnStb (219/11), it is called Snjallsteinshöfði. Nowadays this latter name is the most usual one for this farm, which lies on the right bank of the Ytri-Rangá in Landsveit (see HTB, i, 206; Kort, 48).

8/27. at bera á brýnn e-m, 'to throw in someone's face, to accuse somebody'.

9/2. at sitja í trausti e-s, 'to be under the protection of someone'.

9/4. Pykkiz Böðvarr sér...sígi einhlítr um vörn málsins, 'Böðvarr feels that he will not be capable of defending the case without the help of others'. At vera sér einhlítr um e-t, 'to be self-sufficient, independent in respect to something, not to need another's help in respect to something', see Fritzner, s.v. einhlítr.

9/4-5. ok sækir at Atl: at sækja e-n at ásjá, 'to ask someone for help'; for the omission of ásjá, cf. Vatns, ch. 36: Pær...sóttu hann at um várit, at hann skyldi fá þeim staðfestu nokkura.

9/5-6. hví at hann var honum nærr en Hrafn, presumably, 'because he lived nearer to him than Hrafn' (cf. Niedner: 'Dieser wohnte ihm näher denn Hrafn'); cf. 56/8-9 and 55/17. The statement is peculiar if only for topographical reasons.
Ossabær (where Hrafn presumably lived) must have been closer to Bóðvarstóptir/Bóðvarstaðir than Traðarholt. Cf. Beschouwing, 17 f.

9/7. at menn finni gagnsakir í máli Arnar: Fritzner glosses gagnsók either as (i) 'Sag, hvori den sagsøgte optræder mod sin Sagsøger' (on which sense, see also Grágas, iii, 616) or (ii) 'Anledning til saadant Søgsmaal'. It is difficult to say which of these two senses is meant here: Is Atli referring ironically to the high-handed action he intends at the coming bing? Is the word used with sense (ii) with no particular relevance? Or is Atli's answer modelled on that of another chieftain (see Reyk, 223) when a protégé asks for help?

9/8. með handsóulum: according to the code of law represented by Grágás, certain legal agreements were clinched by the parties formally shaking hands; this was called handsal, handsól; cf. LdnX's handsalaði at the corresponding place. See KL, s.v. Handsal Island; Grágas, iii, 621.

9/11. at fella niðr málit, 'to drop the case'.

9/11-2. at ónýta mál fyrir e-m, 'to quash someone's law suit'.

9/14-5. at meir eyðir þú málit: Fritzner translates eyða
in this contexts as 'hindre en Sags Fremgang, gjøre noget virkningsløst, bevirke at man ikke har den Nytte deraf, som man skalde have' (Fritzner, s.v. eyða, 5).

9/17-8. hrekr hann sem mest af málinu: Fritzner (s.v. hrekja, 1) translates hrekja e-n af máli as 'drive det dertil med en, at han til sin Skam maa opgive den Retsag han har paabegyndt'; cf. Hrafn (117): Ætlaði hann at hleypa upp dóminum fyrir Sámi ok hrekja hann af málinu.

9/22. at leiða vitni um, 'to produce witnesses in support'.

9/23-4. kvað hann lítt minnax á bat er faðir hans gaf honum land sitt. Hrafn kvað bat fyrir lóngu bætt ok kvað vilja hafa sitt: this passage is obscure as we do not know who are referred to by hans and honum. If we were not told at 7/24 and LdnStb, 223/9, that Hrafn's father was given his land by Loptr Ormsson, we might think that faðir hans was the father of Atli and honum was Hrafn (cf. Beschouwing, 18 f.).

9/25-6. at varna e-m e-s, 'to deny somebody something'.

10/3-8. Þat...skógrinn: LdnX had Smalamaðr sagði Hrafní bat. We have here a common literary motif, albeit a motif based on an everyday situation in real life: Saga-writers often give servants, in particular and for obvious reasons,
shepherds the task of informing their masters of the movements, sometimes of their friends, but more often of their enemies. A number of examples are given in Motieven, 68 f., to which may be added that in Kj (25 f.). Cf Introduction, pages *186 and *205.

10/4. geta at líta: at geta followed by at followed by the infinitive of sjá or líta is a set construction meaning 'to catch sight of, to be able to see' (cf. Cleasby-Vigfusson, s.v. geta, A, II, 1, α).

10/8-9. at havabrek við e-m, 'to have the courage to contend against someone, to be a match for someone'.

10/11. Orrustudalur lies about 3 km. to the north-east of Ónundarholt (cf. 10/21); see Arbók, 1882, 55; Map 2. According to Ldn, Ónundr bíldr himself (cf. 10/23-4) fought a battle there and was killed (cf. Note to 10/22, LdnStb, 219/23 and LdnHkb, 108/13).

10/12-4. Pá...Hrafn: if Cleasby-Vigfusson (s.v. etja) is right in glossing at etja við liðsmun only as 'to fight against [superior] odds', then Atli's remark here is either ironical or the two parts of the exchange are attributed to the wrong people. (Atli's party is four in number, Hrafn's eight.) The reply attributed to Hrafn perhaps speaks for the latter possibility: whether we take burðamunr as meanin
'difference in strength (so Pórhallur Vilmundarson: 'aflsmunur') or, perhaps more preferably, 'difference in descent, birth' (so Fritzner, Cleasby-Vigfusson), this is hardly the sort of answer one would expect Hrafn to give. And this would not be the only instance in Fló where actions or remarks would seem to be attributed to the wrong people (see 56/16 and Textual Note; Note to 78/17-20).

10/13. fyrirfurða, 'foreboding, sign, mark' (Cleasby-Vigfusson). A preceding vera is understood.

10/16. [frelsis]gjófina: it is clear that *X had lifgjóf here; frelsissgjóf in K and B would appear to be the independent correction of two different scribes. An error lifgjóf is understandable after the word launa in view of the alliterative phrase at launa lifgjóf (Drei Lyg, 16, Háið, 242 and Hálfdanar Saga, 117). The word frelsissgjóf ('gift of freedom') is found in Fóstbr, ch. 10 and NGL, i, 33.

10/19. sárr til ólífis: this adjective phrase, like sárr til ólífis, is used of a person who is likely to die of his wounds but does not necessarily do so. In Dropi (ch. 10), Grím is said to be sárr til ólífis but even so survives.

10/20-11/17. Chapter 8 of Fló is based mainly on LdnX,
225/26-8 (see Introduction, pages *186-8). This passage in LdnX may, in turn, go back to a lost saga (see Introduction, page *204 ff.).

10/20. Önundr bilda's ancestry is given only in LdnPób and there in two conflicting forms: in ch. 33, Önundr is said to be Hroars(on) Horns, brunas(onar) er bragd vann a bravelle and in ch. 375 s(on) Hröaldz hornz, bruns s(onar) Porsa(onar) er bragd vann ä var velle (Jakob Benediktsson's readings, LdnSkb, 156 and 176). The first of these genealogies (which we may presume to have come from the Melabók-version of Landnámabók) is probably the less corrupt. The fact that both a farm Hróarsholt and a brook Hróarslækur (10/21) are to be found to the west of Önundarholt make Hröarr the more probable name for Önundr's father. Again, the Brúni referred to must be identical with Haraldr hilditönn's general of the same name (Saxo: Bruno) at the Battle of Brávellir who eventually betrayed his lord (cf. er bragd vann) and who was thought of as being Oðinn in disguise (see Sögubrot af nokkrun fornkonungum in Fas, ii and Saxo, i, 213 ff.). Ldn mentions three children for Önundr (Helga, Sigmundr kleykir and Eilífr auðgi, and says that many great men are descended from him. These include Sæmundr fróði, Pórlæk helgi and Haukr Erlendsson (cf. Arneshb, 386). Önundr's nickname is shared by his half-brother Pórgrimr (Ldn) and one of the warriors on Ormrinn langi (Hkr, i, 346). As a common noun bilda can mean inter
alia 'lancet' or 'spear' and in the modern language also has the sense of 'a bildöttur (i.e. masked) sheep'. As a proper noun, it was a dwarf-name and probably also a name for Óðinn (see LP, s.v.). On its significance as a nickname, see Binamn, s.v.; Arnes, 199. See further on Ónundr and his landnám, Arnes, 33-40; Skýmir, 1950, 117-20; Ldn, 1968, 374 footnote 2 and the references cited there.

10/21. Hróarslækkr: the name is now unknown but was presumably used of the middle part of the present Hróarsholtslækkr (see 6/16 and 8/13 and Notes; further HTB, i, 180; Arnes, 33-4).

Ónundarholt: Ónundarholt lies about 11 km. northeast of Traðarholt; see HTB, i, 179 and Map 1.

10/22. Hann átti Þorgerði, döttur Sigmundar Sighvatssonar rauða: we know of Þorgerðr and Sigmundr only from Ldn although it is probable that they also appeared in a lost Fljótshlíðinga Saga which Sturla Þórðarson used as the basis for Sturlubók, chapter 348 (see Gerðir, 120-1). Sighvatr, who appears in other sources (see Binamn, s.v. Rauði for references) and who is incorrectly given as the father of Mórðr in Ni, ch 1 (cf. Ni, xlii), seems to have been a native of Hálogaland and to have settled on the western side of the Markarfljót. He lived at Bólstaðr (Ldn). Sigmundr was killed by Steinn inn snjalli (see 8/24-5 and Note) in a quarrel about precedence in the use of a ferry across the
Djórsá. Porgerðr incited Ónundr to take revenge and he burnt Steinn's house and killed Steinn. For this he was outlawed and later killed in Orrostudalr (see 10/11 and Note) by Steinn's brother, Gunnarr (also killed) and Órn 1 Vælgerði (married to Steinn's sister; see 8/24 and Note to 8/24-5). Ónundr's sons now sought revenge for their father. Mörðr gigja (see next Note), their maternal uncle, told them that no revenge could be taken as Ónundr had been outlawed before he was killed. He suggested, however, that new charges should be brought. A suit about grazing rights was then brought against Órn and he was judged óheilagr except within an arrow-shot of his farm. When on one occasion, he ventured outside these limits, the sons of Ónundr killed him. It was however later proved that Órn had been killed illegally and his relations sought revenge. Mörðr was able to bring about a settlement however and while Ónundr's sons were made heraðssekir Ír Flóa, they paid no compensation; in addition Mörðr arranged advantageous marriages for them (including that of Eilífr to Porkatla Ketilsdóttir; cf. Note to 13/5-6). (Ldn, 1968, 352 ff.)

10/23. Mörðr gigja: apart from Ldn (see previous Note), Mörðr is otherwise known from Laxd and Nj. He is said to have lived at Völlur in present Hvolhreppr (Rangárvallasýsla) (see Nj, 5 and footnote), to have been a man of influence and to have been especially knowledgeable in legal
matters. His daughter Unnr was married to Hrútr Herjólfs-
son, one of the chief characters of these two sagas. After
Unnr had divorced Hrútr, Mórir made a bid to recover his
daughter's dowry but when Hrútr challenged him to a duel
he dropped the matter. Mórir's nickname is the name of
a musical instrument resembling a rebeck (see NK, xxv,
55 ff.; KL, s.v. Giga). Presumably it was given to Mórir
because he was able to play such an instrument (cf. Til-
avne, 244).

10/24. ok fylgdi Atla heim ok bað hann til sín: Ónundr's
home, Ónundarholt, lay between Orrostudalr and Tráðarbýl
(see Notes to 10/11 and 10/21) and Nijhoff's objections to
the sense of this passage are hardly valid.

11/1-2. bat fylgdi nafni at hann dæi af sárum sem Atli
jarl, þóðurfædir hans: we have here evidence of a belief
that the luck or fate of the bearer of a name was passed on
to a person named after him. We may compare Vatns, ch. 7:
"Sjá sveinn skal heita Ingimundr eptir móðurfeðr sínum, ok
vænti ek honum hamingju sakar nafns"; Svarf, ch. 5: Pór-
ólf fr segir: "...Vilda ek, ef hér yrði sonar auðit, at bú
létir Pórólf heita, en allar bær heillir, sem ek hefi haft.
vil ek honum gefa, fyrir því at þá vænti, at nafn mitt mur
uppi, meðan heimr er byggður." The verb fylgja here has so-
such sense as 'belong to as an accompanying attribute'; in
addition, the notion of the noun fylgja, 'fetch' (see Myth,
227-30), although probably a word of different etymology, could also well be present (cf. *kynfylgja*, 'inherited gift, characteristic or failing' (Turville-Petre)). Cf. Note to 1/6.

11/3. *Dórrr* is known only from *Ldn*, *Fló* and *Byskupa Ættir* (9, 10, and 12). In *Ldn* he is given the nickname *dofni* which must mean 'the Lazy, the Indolent' (see *Binamm*, s.v.).

11/5-6. *Áttu...allt fé eptir mik*: *eiga e-t eptir e-n* here has the sense of 'have the right to something after another' death'; cf. Fritzner, s.v. *eiga eptir*, l.

11/9. *var hann heygór*: burying the dead in mounds, usually with grave-goods, was a common custom in Scandinavia of the Viking Age; see Kristján Eldjárn, *Kuml og haugfó*, 1956; *KL*, s.v. *Begravning*. On what might be Atli's mound, see 12/4–6 and Note.


11/14. *at ráðaz í e-t*, 'to undertake something'.

11/17. *Eiríkr blóðóx*, son of *Haraldr hárfagr*, probably ruled Norway simultaneously with his father for a few years but from about 928 to 933 (or 942 to 947; cf. *KL*,
xiv, columns 262–2) seems to have ruled by himself. The sources (scaldic poetry, Kings' Sagas, Eg) consistently represent his reign as a bloody one and he seems to have been responsible for the murder of some of his brothers. On the return of Hákon Aðalsteinsfóstri from England, he was forced to leave Norway but according to The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was accepted by the Northumbrians as king in 948 although he was deserted by them in the same year. They received him again in 952 and this time he ruled for two years. In 955, he was driven out and the same year fell in battle in the south of England. Soon after his death, his widow Gunnhildr (see Introduction, pages *246 ff.) commissioned the memorial poem Eiríksmál in his praise. His nickname, 'bloody-axe', is found in contemporary poetry and must refer to his treachery.

11/18–13/1. Chapter 9 of Fló is based on LdnX, 225/28–33 (see Introduction, pages *189–91). This latter passage may go back to a lost saga (see Introduction, pages *204 ff.).

11/21. út í Einarshöfn til skips: LdnStb (225/28–9) has merely: í Einarshöfn til skips here, Stefán Einarsson (Attatáknanir, 185) supposes that út here has the force of 'towards the sea' and not 'west' as at 7/11 (ytra) and 61/8 (utan). If, however, Háfn lived at Ossabær (cf. 7/25 and was travelling thence to Einarshöfn (see below), his course would have been very nearly due west (see Map 1).
and the sense 'westwards' would seem to obtain here also
(cf. the use of utan in LdnStb, 219/5: Peir...áttu för utan
af Eyrum ok kómu til Sandhólaferja (across the Pjórsá)).
Magnús Oddson, a native of Flói, informs me that út á
Eyrrabakka is still used in the south-eastern part of the
district (e.g. Gaulverjabær, Villingaholt, Vörsabær).

Einarshöfn, just to the west of present Eyrrabakki,
was right up to the beginning of this century one of Ice­
land's most important ports; see HTB, i, 177; Árbók, 1882,
59 and 1905, 13 f.; Vigfúss Guðmundsson, Saga Eyrrabakka,
1945, 31-6; Map 1.

11/22. biá kápa: the kápa was a long, heavy cloak, well
suited for riding. It usually had a hood attached and
often sleeves (see Kleiderkunde, 186 ff.). Blár could
mean 'black' as well as 'blue' (cf. the expression blár
sem kol; see LP, s.v.).

11/23. ok gullrekinn á (adverbial) falrinn (nominative),
'and the socket of the spear was inlaid with gold'. Strands
of gold and silver were sometimes beaten into the sockets
and even into the blades of spears forming patterns and
ornamentation (see Waffenkunde, 88 f.; note to VG1, 9/16-7).
It seems doubtful that such spears were as common in early
Iceland as the sagas might lead one to believe.

11/25. at sitja fyrir, 'to lie in ambush for someone'; cf
the noun fyrirsát, 'ambush'.

Hagavági: the reading of all the mss. used for this edition is Hagavogi (-e) (cf. Textual Note). Hagavági is almost certainly a mistake for Haugavaði, which is the reading of Ldn. Haugavað must have been what is now called Barnanesvað (see Map 1), a ford across the narrow northernmost part of Skipavatn, a few hundred metres south of Traðarholt (see Sigurður Guðmundsson, Skýrsla um Forngripasafn Islands, 1868, 84).

11/25-6. ofan frá Traðarholt, 'below (nearer the sea than) Traðarholt'; cf. Attatákmanir, 185; the use of ofan in the R-manuscript variant of the quotation from Nj in Note to 29/5. LdnStb and LdnHkb have skammt frá Traðarholti.

12/4-6. ok er bar haugr hans fyrir austan götuna en fyrir vestan er Atlauaugr ok Ólvisaugr ok Hallsteinshaugr: when Barnanesvað (see Note to 11/25) was investigated by the archaeologist Sigurður Vigfússon in 1880, four mounds, known collectively as Vaðhólar, were still to be clearly seen. One of these lay to the north of the present track, the other three to the south (cf. fyrir austan and fyrir vestan in Ldn and Fló). All the mounds were excavated by Sigurður. In each of the three to the south of the track, he found the bones of both a man and a horse and in two of them (2 and 3), grave-goods including parts of harnesses. In mound 1, identified by both Sigurður and Kristján Eld-
járn with the Hrafnshaugr of Ldn and Fló, human bones were found but no horses' bones. The grave-goods consisted of thirteen small glass beads and it is also possible that a sword lay along the left side of the body. For a full description, see Sigurður Vigfússon, Arbók, 1882, 47-53, Brynjúlfur Jónsson, Arbók, 1900, 29-31 (plan, 53) and Kristján Eldjárn, Kuml og haugfé, 1956, 53-6. Eighteen years before Sigurður's excavations, a spear was also found at this site, although there seems to be some doubt as to whether this originally came out of one of the mounds (see Sigurður Guðmundsson, Skýrsla um Forngripasafn Islands, 1868, 84; Sigurður Vigfússon, op. cit., 53-4; Kristján Eldjárn, op. cit., 57). The head of this, now in Pjöðminjasafn in Reykjavík (Pjms. 121), is short in length and has lost its socket. After 1880, the site deteriorated and any signs of the southern three mounds are now practically indiscernible.

12/9-10. en kvað sik nauðsyn til reka at hefna fóður síns, 'but said that necessity forced him to avenge his father'.

At reka e-n at gera e-t, 'to compel someone to do something'

12/10-1. í faðma felliz allt bat: at fallaz í faðma, 'to be squared up against each other from a legal point of view'.

The subject of this middle voice verb, which is 'reciprocal' in sense, should logically be plural, and in all other cases cited by Fritzner and Cleasby-Vigfusson is so (cf. 29/12).
12/11. *at garaz í, 'to take place'.

12/14. Órðrunn is known only from *Ldn* and *Fló*.

12/15. Ásgeirr Austmannsskelfir is otherwise known only from *Ldn*. (In *LdnPób*, 21/25, presumably following the Melabók-reедакtion of *Landnámabók*, he is called Ásgrimr.) It has been suggested that this Ásgeirr may be identical with Ásgeirr Ólsson (*Alfsson, LdnPób*) (also known only from *Ldn*), the husband of Ketilbjörn inn gamli's daughter Þorgerðr to whom Ketilbjörn gave part of his landnám (see *LdnSthb*, ch. 386) (*Árnesb, 51 footnote*). If this was so, however, and if Þuríóra Ketilbjarnardóttir and Þorgerðr were in fact sisters as *LdnSthb* (228/24) tells us, then at 13/14 Þuríóra's son would have been marrying his first cousin. This is certainly not the impression given either by *Ldn* or *Fló*. The same explanation of Ásgeirr's nickname (see 12/15-7) is found in *LdnSthb* and *LdnHkb*; the skipshöfn he is said to have killed seems to have been Norwegians (*Austmann*); skelfir means 'one who causes another to shake, one who terrifies another' (see *LP*, s.v.*). If the explanation of this name given in *Ldn* and *Fló* is correct, then the form Austmannsskelfir would seem to be more natural and this form is found in *LdnHkb* and the x-group of manuscripts of *Fló* (see Textual Note ad loc). That *Sturlubók, LdnX*, the original of *Fló, *F, *X* and *Y* all had Austmannsskelfis, however, is argued in the Introduction, pages *65 ff.*
Grímsáróss: Kålund (HTB, i, 303) supposes that Grímsárós in Borgarfjörður at the confluence of the Hvítá and the Grímsá (cf. Kort, 36) is meant here and such a possibility should not be dismissed. An alternative exists however: in LdnStb (224/24), the boundary between Atli Hásteinsson’s property and that of his brother is said to be Grímsá (cf. Introduction, *181). Although this name no longer exists, what must be meant here is a brook or small river which ran from Traðarholtsvatn in a south­easterly direction through a depression still called Gríms­dæl and into the sea through a depression still called Skipaá. The place where this river flowed into the sea could have been called Grímsáróss. That there was a landing-place here in former times is suggested by the place-names Skipaá and Knarrarós in the immediate vicinity; see Arbók, 1905, 6-7; LM, 1942, 82-3; Arnesh, 333; Stokks, 11-2: Map 1.

Knarrarsund is not now known but was probably what is now called Knarrarós (see HTB, i, 178; Arbók, 1905, 8; LM, 1942, 82; Map 1).

12/24-5. ok tók mikit fé er hann átti, ok fal í jórðu: other instances are found in Icelandic texts where men bury valuables, sometimes, as here, before they set out on enterprises which could be dangerous. Thus it is said of Ketilbjörn gamli that, when his sons refused to adorn
their temple with his silver: "Pá ók hann silfrít upp á fjallit á tveimr yxnum ok Haki bræll ok Bót ambátt hans: bau fálú féit, svá at eigi finnð. Síðan drap hann Haka í Hakaskarði, en Bót í Botarskarði (Ldn, 1968, 365-6)."

Cf. page *191. Further examples are noted in Festskrift til Finnur Jónsson, 1928, 109-10. Undoubtedly this practice was based on the belief that buried wealth would be enjoyed after death; cf. Hkr, i, 20: "Sagði hann [Óðinn] svá, at með þvílíkum auððefum skyldi hverr koma til Valhallar sem hann hafði á bál, þess skyldi hann ok njóta, er hann sjálfr hafði í þgrö grafít. According to Grágás (Grág, i, b, 75), the burying of money was illegal in Christian Iceland.

13/2 ff. The beginning of chapter 10 of Fló is based on LdnX, 225/28-226/2 (see Introduction, pages *191-2).

13/3. ok spurðiz ekki til síðan: an impersonal construction - Pat skip is not the subject of spurðiz - with til used absolutely. Cf. Nj, 463: Hefir til bess skips aldri spurzk síðan.

13/4. Porgrímur Órrabeinn is known only from Ldn and Fló. Porgrímur's nickname, either by itself or compounded with stjúpr (stjúpi) as Porgils's cognomen, appears in the source in two or possibly three different forms (see Binamn, s.v. Órrabeinn, Órrabeinsstjúpr; Byskupa Ættir, 9, 10,12; Notes to 61/14-9 and 61/20-3). If we accept the saga's statement
at 13/16-8, the original form is likely to have been örrabeinn, literally 'scar-leg'; cf. birkibeinn. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that this explanation is not secondary to the nickname and the latter could be in corrupt form. The spelling örrabein- found in LdnHkb is probably meant to represent örrabein- and Haukr normally expresses 'ø' with ø (see Hauksbók, xl). On the other hand, it is not impossible that Haukr intended the first element to be the oblique form of orri, 'black grouse', and a spelling with ø is also found in Helgi's verse in P (see App/60), a manuscript which normally has au or ø for 'ø'. Orri by itself is quite a common cognomen (see Binamn, s.v.) and Þorgrímr could have been given the nickname örrabeinn because of some physical likeness to the bird (cf. KL, s.v. Orre).

Finally, there is the form errubeinn, the only form in LdnStb and also found in LdnHkb, 117/21; and in Hrafn saga Sveinbjarnarsonar (see Note to 61/20-3). Its very obscurity suggests that this may be the original form (cf. Arnesb, 51 footnote 2). Erra is a word attested on only one occasion and in poetry (see Sk, i, 185); it means either 'eagerness for battle' or 'battle'; cf. Modern Icelandic errur, 'quarrel, squabble', and erriligr, errinn, errótttr, 'bold, brisk'. Errubeinn could therefore have such meaning as 'eager for battle', 'battle-leg'. For other nicknames in -beinn, see Binamn, s.v.

¹ Bjarnarsundi: none of the topographers (e.g Kálund (HTB), Brynjólfur Jónsson (Arbók, 1905), Einar Arnórsl-
son (Arnesh) comment on Bjarnarsund, nor is the present editor able to make any suggestion as to its whereabouts. We note the variant i Knarrarsundi; cf. Textual Note.

13/4-5. Hann var Þormóðarson: Björn Sigfússon (Saga, 1958, 425 f.) suggests that Þórgrimr was the son of Þormóðr skapti (see 53/18 and Note) by a second marriage. Otherwise we know nothing of the Þormóðr referred to here.

13/5-6. Hans móðir var Þuríðr Ketilbjarnardóttir: the chief sources about Ketilbjörn are Islb, Ldn and Haukdæla Pátr in Sturl. He is said to have been the son of a certain Ketill (about whom nothing more is known) and to have come from Naumudalr in Norway. As noted (Note to 1/20), Sturl, i, 243, tells us that his mother was Æsa, the daughter of Grjótgarðr (cf. Ldn, 1968, 384 and footnote 4). Ldn, 1968, 384 ff., tells us how he arrived in Iceland in his ship Ellíði (after which Ellíðaá near present Reykjavík is named) and spent his first winter with Þóðr skeggi, who had settled near Leiruvágr (see 33/14 and Note) and whose daughter Helga Ketilbjörn married. The following spring Ketilbjörn crossed Mosfellsheiðr and took possession of a large area in Biskupstungur and Grímnses in Arneshping. Parts of this landnám he gave to friends and relations. He made his home at Mosfell which is about 4 km. south-east of Apavatn (see HTB, i, 185-6; Kort, 47). Ketilbjörn must be regarded as one of Iceland's most influential settlers
(cf. Ldn, 1968, 397) and it seems certain that his family owned one of the three loggoðorð in Arnesh (see Note to 13/19). For one of the stories told about Ketilbjörn see Note to 12/24-5. Ketilbjörn is said to have had a number of children, four of whom may be mentioned: Teitr (see 29/3-4 and Note) was the father of the important Gizurr the White (see 56/14 and Note). One daughter, Porgerðr, married Asgeirr Ólsson (cf. Note to 12/15). Another, Pórkatla, married Eilífr auðgi, one of the sons of Ónundr bíldr (cf. Note to 10/22). Finally, Ldn, 1968, 48 and 49 tells how a daughter, Þuríðr, married a certain Helgi Hallsson; if this woman is to be identified with the Þuríðr mentioned here, then she must either have married twice or Þorgrimr must have been born outside wedlock. For a full account of Ketilbjörn and his landnám, see Arnesh, 115 ff.

13/12. með ráði vina sinna ok frænda: according to the code of law represented by Grágás (see Grág, i, b, 29), a widow could only remarry with the permission of her legal betrother (lógráðandi; cf. Grág, iii, 628 ff.). Jónsbók (71), on the other hand, only demands that she asks the advice of one of her relatives. See KL, s.v. Enke Island.

13/13. því at hon vildi reynaz hugum við hann ok skap sitt: Fritzner (s.v. hugr, 1) gives only this example of reynaz
hugum við e-n which he translates as 'gjøre nøiere Bekjendskab med en' and cites as a parallel the following from Fló (iv, 232): Erkibiskup tók honum vel ok reyndust hugi við. Ok er biskup sá, at essi maðr var vel til tignfallinn, vígdi hann Arnald til biskups... Reyna followed by an accusative means 'put to test, try'; the use of its middle voice in the plural in Fló with a following hugi is therefore simply 'reciprocal' in sense (see Syntax, 163-5; cf. e.g. Laxd, ch. 40: Engi hofðusk beir orð við). In Fló however, reynaz has a singular subject and cannot be construed in the same way. It seems more likely that hugum is to be taken as some sort of dative of respect (literally: 'try herself with respect to her thoughts, feelings'). In this case, however, one would rather have expected a singular hug rather than hugum and skap sitt as a parallel to hann governed by við is peculiar. It is not unlikely that we have here a mixed construction nor can the possibility of textual corruption in this part of the sentence as well as the first part of the sentence be ruled out. The general sense would seem to be fairly clear and the clause may be loosely translated: 'because she wished to make certain of her feelings towards him'.

13/14. er iii. vetr váru líðnir, fekk hann Pórunnar: the three year period of engagement is a common motif. fekk hann Pórunnar: after the words hann fekk Pórunnar, LdnX (226/2) had ok var beira son Hæringr. This
last sentence is omitted in the X-version and when Hæringr does appear it is with very little introduction and only indirectly do we learn that he is Pórunn's son by Porgímr (see 29/2-4). The omission here could be that of the original author of the saga but is far more likely to be that of the X-redactor (cf. 'TgF', 430 f.).

13/19. Porgímr var góðr forstjóri heraðsins: forstjóri heraðsins can hardly be interpreted as meaning anything else than góði (cf. the terms heraðshöfoðingi (Eyrb, ch 31) and heraðsstjórn (in e.g. IF, x, 117). Certain other statements in Fló suggest that the author of the saga intended to represent Porgils and Hæringr as also having held a goðorð at some time or another: Porgils bjó í Traðarholti ok garðiz hann ríkr maðr svá at Ágrímr Ellíðason bar ekki af honum á bingum (63/11-2); the reference to Porgils as a heraðshöfoðingi at 65/3-4; ok svá tók hann (i.e. Hæringr) við goðorði því er Porgils háft hafði (67/5-6; see however Note to 33/6); bótti hann (i.e. Porgils) ok inn mesti sveitarhöfoðingi (89/9; cf. Note ad loc). It should first be observed that all these citations, apart from that at 13/19, are found only in the M-version and that the X-version seems to have done away with any mention of a goðorð for Porgils and Hæringr. (Note the way óbokki millim heraðshöfoðingja. Heraðsmönnum bykki mein at 65/3-4 is changed to óbokki manna á milli. Höfoðingjum bykkr mein at 31/12-3.) Cf. 'TgF', 445 f.
Whether Porgímr, Porgils or Hæringr ever held a 

góðorð (or góðorð) in reality and, if they did, how far 
the information in Fló on this matter relates to the facts, 
is, of course, an entirely different matter. According to 
the constitution of 930, three löggoðorð were probably est­
ablished for each of the twelve bingsóknir of Iceland. Of 
the three allotted to Arnessþingsókn, it is usually assumed 
that two were acquired by two of the most prominent familie 
in the area, the descendants of Ketilbjörn inn gamli (see 
Note to 13/5-6) and the Ölfusingar (see Note to 33/17). 
What family or families held the third is less certain. 
The members of three houses are possible candidates: 

(i) Two facts point to the descendants of Þormóðr 
skapti (on whom, see Note to 53/18): In both Ldn (1968, 
358, 381) and Fló (53/19), Þormóðr's grandson, Þorsteinn 
(father of Bjarni spaki, who Fló tells us was Porgils's son­ 
in-law) is given the nickname góði. This could, of course, 
merely mean that he officiated at religious ceremonies (cf. 
Arnesb, 284). A weightier argument is that it is practicall 
certain that Þorsteinn's great-grandson, Markús Skeggjason 
(who was lógsögumaðr) held a góðorð in 1083 when he swore 
an oath to confirm an agreement between the Icelanders and 
the Norwegian king (see DI, i, 64-70). 

(ii) For the suggestion that Loptr Órmsson (see 7/14 
and Note) held a góðorð, see Saga, 1958, 401 f. Cf. however 
Guðni Jónsson's arguments against his proposition in 
Stokks (52).
(iii) Undoubtedly one of the most important and high-born colonisers of Arneshwas Hallstein Hasteinn Atlason. It is particularly significant that Ldn (LdnStb, ch. 397; LdnHkb, ch. 354) name him with Ketilbjørn inn gamli as one of the noblest (gofgastir) colonisers of the Sunnlendingafjórðungr (cf. Fló, 6/20 ff.). According to Barði Guðmundsson (Skírnir, 1936, 49-58), this fact alone would be sufficient evidence for supposing that Hallstein Hasteinn's descendants held a godörö.

A godörö could change hands very easily. It could be sold, given as a gift or temporarily entrusted to another man's keeping. It also seems likely that from the beginning of the Commonwealth period some godörö were shared by two or more men (see J. J., Saga, i, 74 f.). There are therefore a large number of ways in which the rather uncertain references in Fló under discussion could be reconciled with the facts. It should also be stressed here how negligible the historical basis for most of what our saga says seems to be (cf. Introduction, Chapter III, Section A). A little speculation on this point is, however, perhaps worth-while. If Hallstein Hasteinn Atlason's descendants did hold a godörö (cf. Fló, 9/5 ff.), then it is quite natural that Þorgrimr should have held it during Þorgils's minority (13/19) and the latter could reasonably be represented as entrusting it to Hæringr before leaving for Greenland (67/5-6). That Markús Skeggjason later held a godörö could, in this case, be explained by supposing that Bjarni
Porsteinsson acquired a share in, or even all of Þorgils's godórd as part of Þórný's dowry (cf. Stokks, 51). We do not at any rate have any evidence that Þorgils's descendants were godar. Another possibility is that as early as the institution of the Alþingi, the godórd in question was given to both Þormóðr skapti's and Hallsteinn's (Hásteinn's) families to share. Alternatively, if Björn Sigfússon is right in conjecturing that Þorgrímr Órrabéinn's father was Þormóðr skapti (see Note to 13/4-5), then the godórd could have been shared by Þorgrímr and Hæringr on the one hand and Porstein godó and his descendants on the other; Þorgil would then, at 67/5-6, have finished holding a godórd which belonged to Hæringr: in this connection, we note with Björn Sigfússon ('TgF', 437) that, at 67/5-6, we are not told 'að Þorgils ætti godórdið, en hann hafði það' and that 'eigi er þess getið, að Þorgils tæki síðar á áævi við godórdi af Hær­­ingi.' (This last fact could, however, easily be due to the activities of the X-redactor; see above and 89/9).

See further on this question: Brynjúlf Jónsson in Tímarit gefið út af Jóni Péturssyni, 1870, 102 ff.; Árnesh, 280-6; Ólafur Briem, 'Arnespingstaður og godórd milli Pjórárog Hvítár', Saga, 1953, 397-403; Björn Sigfússon in Saga, 1958, 423-6 and in 'TgF', 436-7; Stokks, 50-4.

13/20-1. at standa saman, 'to be gathered together in one place'. 
13/22-3. til mannamota i fjörbaugsgarð: in Grágás (cf. Grág, iii, 608 f. and KL, s.v. Fredløshed. Island), the term fjörbaugsgarðr is used of a sentence of lesser outlawry in contrast to full outlawry, skóggangr. Those sentenced to fjörbaugsgarðr, fjörbaugsmenn, were obliged to leave Iceland within three summers of their conviction and to remain abroad for three years. In the course of each of their three summers in Iceland, three attempts were made on their behalf to obtain a passage to another country. During this period, the fjörbaugsmaðr was confined to three households (heimili) which were not more than a day's journey apart. At these three households, within the length of an arrow-shot of them on all sides, on the road in between them and within an arrow-shot on either side of this road, the fjörbaugsmaðr was immune from legalized attack, that is, he was heilagr (cf. Note to 5/23-4). To allow him to negotiate his passage abroad in safety, his immunity was further extended to the road to a port. On the other hand, although used of a legal sentence in Grágás, the local use of fjörbaugsgarðr in Fló is not unduly surprising. The first element of the compound, fjörbaugr, literally 'life-ring', refers to the fee paid by the fjörbaugsmaðr for his limited immunity before leaving Iceland (in Grágás, one mörk; originally, perhaps, a silver ring); failure to pay this incurred skóggangr. The second element, garðr, can mean variously 'fence', 'farm', 'yard, enclosure' or 'stronghold'. It does not therefore seem unlikely that the whole
originally meant the area or farm where the fjörbaugsmaðr's immunity was valid (see Grág, iii, 609; cf. the conclusions arrived at by G. Jones in an article 'Fjörbaugsgarðr', Medium Evum, 1940, 155-63). The word is also used in a local sense in VG1 (43), where it is said that Glúmr at Hegraness mádi eigi nær at tjalda en í fjörbaugsgarði. K. Maurer (Vorlesungen, iv, 306-8; v, 101), taking the mannamót referred to at 13/23 in Fló to be a legal assembly, believed that fjörbaugsgarðr in both VG1 and Fló is used merely as a unit of distance equal to an arrow-shot (cf. órskotshelgi) and referred to a defined outer boundary concentric with the boundary of the consecrated inner precinct of a borg. G. Turville-Petre (VG1, 79-80), on the other hand, suggests that the term in these two cases might be used of 'a region from which fjörbaugsmenn, and others excluded from the consecrated precincts, should execute their business'. It is by no means certain that mannamót in Fló refers to a legal assembly. If it does not, Maurer's interpretation, at least as far as Fló is concerned, is precluded. On the other hand, it is not impossible that a sanctuary for fjörbaugsmenn such as Turville-Petre visualizes, was to be found at recognized places of assembly, for example, at borg recreational centres and even to some extent places of worship. Pórhallur Vilmundarson notes that this fjörbaugsgarðr was in the vicinity of what must have been one of Iceland's main ports (cf. til Lóns and following Note) and suggests that it might have been an area of immunity to
safe embarkation to outlaws attempting to get abroad. This suggestion has much to recommend it and Þórhallur rightly draws attention to the fact that Grágás contains elaborate stipulations governing the immunity of fjörbaugsmenn waiting to sail: Ef heir (i.e. prospective conveyors) taca við homom (i.e. the fjörbaugsmánr) oc er hann at scipi meðan heir hafa byðir alans eða ba er hann heilagr í örscozt hælg a alla vega a lanð við bùðena. En bo at scip liði fið buð en sva, oc er hann bo heilagr bar amilli. En alengr er heir hafa buðir a scipi ba er hann heilagr í örscozt hælg a land upp a alla vega baðan fra fióró er scemst er, til lanðz fra scipi. Ena scal sva hvargi er heir liðia við island a bvi sumre. Eða við bar eyjar er bygðar ero. En avallt er heir liðia brygGio lægi. Við island ba er hann heilagr í örscozt hælg fra bryGio sporðe a alla vega (Grág, i, a, 90).

13/23. til Lóns: as a common noun, the word lón is used of the pools in the belt of rocks (skerjarður) along the coast of Flói. What locality is referred to here is uncertain. According to an informant of Finnur Magnússon (see Gmh, ii, 179), the harbour at Eyrarbakki was called Lón in the nineteenth century. Another place of the same name on the shore at Stokkseyri is mentioned in Jarðarbók Árna Magnussonar og Páls Vídalins gefin út af Hinu íslenska Fræðafjelagi í Kaupmannahöfn (1918-21, 62) and is probably to be identified with the present Lónsós (see Stokks, 184).
Some place on the coast of Flói must be meant. For the suggestion that the original reading here was til Loptr (referring to Loptr Ormsson), see Cleasby-Vigfusson, s.v. fjörbaugsgarðr. Cf. also Orig, ii, 634 footnote.

13/24. sveinaleik: sveinaleikr refers in all probability to a junior form of knattleikr or leikr (see Hkr, i, 63; cf. Eg, ch. 40). How exactly this latter game was played is far from certain, but if Björn Bjarnason's reconstruction (Uddanelse, 115-28) is to be accepted (cf. F. Knudsen, 'Den gamle islandske Boldleg og dens Forhold til Nutidens Lege', Danske Studier, 1906, 72-80; Uddanelse, 132-34; KL, s.v. Idrottsleikar), its main features were these: a pitch was marked out with a line at each end. The players were divided into two teams, one member from each team playing alone at one given time. The aim was to get the ball over the line defended by one's opponent. A was 'in' and had a ball (knattr) and a bat (knatttré; knattgildra; knattdrepá). He opened play by taking up a given position and hitting the ball with the bat towards B's line. B tried to stop it and, with A following up, the game developed into a free-for-all, the players using any means, hitting (by A), kicking or throwing to get the ball across their opponent's line. If B's line was crossed, play was restarted with A still 'in'; if B got the ball across A's line, the bat changed hands and B reopened play. The game seems to have been very popular and meetings (leikmótt) were well attended. The most usual
season for play was the winter, when frozen lakes and rivers could be used as pitches. In what way sveinaleikr differed from the adult game is again uncertain. One difference may well have been that in sveinaleikr it was necessary, because of discrepancies in age and strength, to match several smaller boys against one larger one: this seems to have been the case in the game described in Eg, ch. 40 (see Sigurður Nordal's note in IF, ii, 98-9; Uddanelse, 128).

13/24-5. ok vildi vera at sveinaleik; markar sér völl ok kvaz vilja at vera: Finnur Magnússon (GhM, ii, 41) translates: 'han agte at tage Deel i Drengenes Lege, udsögte sig en Plads dertil paa Marken, og sagde han vilde være med.' Orig (ii, 634) has: 'and he wanted to be in the boy's game; he marked out a goal, saying he wished to be there.' Niedner translates: 'Er wollte am Spiel der Knaben teilnehmen. Er bestimmte einen Platz, wo er stehen wollte.' From the context it would appear that these translators are right in assuming that the game was already underway when Þorgils arrived; markar sér völl can therefore hardly refer to the marking off of a complete pitch. If Björn Bjarnason's conjectures as to the nature of sveinaleikr (see preceding Note) are correct, the phrase would seem to refer to the taking up of a certain position as one of a number of smaller boys against a larger opponent.
Borrowing a phrase from cricket, we might therefore translate: 'marks himself a crease.' Knattleikr can be shown to have been played well into the thirteenth century (see Uddanelse, 116). There is, then, a good chance that the Fló-author had first hand knowledge of the game and that we have here a genuine piece of knattleikr-terminology.

13/25-6. at sammelaz á e-t, 'to agree on something'.

14/1. at ráðaz frá e-u, 'to leave something'.

14/5. Illingr appears as a nickname in LdnStb (194) and LdnHkb (73), while in LdnPób (109), the nickname is used as personal name. As a common noun, the word must mean 'evil-doer'; cf. illingaseta, 'band of rogues' and the modern weak form illingi. Cf. B. Kahle in Indogermanische Forschungen, 1903, 163.

14/22. Ekki munum vit eiga skap saman, 'We shall not get on well together'. At eiga e-t saman, 'to have something in common'.

14/23. Lopts, vinar bins: there has been no mention in the X-version of any friendship between Porgils and Loptr (cf. however Note to 13/23, where a suggestion that Lóns is a mistake for Lopts is noted). Is it possible that the X-redactor has omitted a passage telling of friendship between
the two? Or is the author of the saga employing an allusive narrative technique here (cf. Note to 32/7-8)?

15/9-10. ok var bat eptir honum látit sem margt annat, 'and he was indulged in that as in much else'. At láta e-t eptir e-m, 'to indulge somebody in something'.

15/11. mikinn flat fisk: flatr fiskr might refer to any member of the Pleuronectidae family (cf. Latin pisces plani, English flat fish) or in this case more probably the halibut (Hippoglossus vulgaris; heilagr fiskr, flyðra). The halibut can measure up to 470 cm. in length and would thus, by its size, be clearly distinguishable from other fish. It is clear from a passage in Bysk (iii, 488) that catching such fish was regarded as something of a feat:

Er bat hans (i.e. a stórr flatr fiskr's) náttúra sakir afls ok mikils vaxtar, at ef hann tekr fornám í dættinum, dugir eigi snærinu at breyta með hann, ok bví skal gera liðugt færit honum til rásar, svo oft sem hann beðir, þar til hann mæðist ok verör svo dreginn í síðustu. Cf. KL, s.v. Flundrefiskar

15/13. at nema at gera e-t, 'to learn to do something'.

15/22. haug: in the neighbourhood of Gaulverjabær there are a number of mounds and hillocks. It seems likely, however, that these are natural phenomena rather than man-made
(cf. *Arbók*, 1882, 54). To the south of the main farm, there is a smaller farm called Haugur (see Map 1).

15/23. **iii. merkr:** see Note to 16/15.

15/23-4. **ok hrakti bá sjálfa:** hrekja here could have the sense of 'drive away' (so *GhM*, ii, 45; Niedner) or 'scold, abuse' (Fritzner, s.v. *hrekja*). Either translation or a combination of both seems possible.

16/2-9. Þorgrímr would seem to have little regard for the law: the right of a guardian to *fjarvarðveizla* (see Note to 8/18) would not, according to either *Grágás* (cf. *Grág*, iii, 606) or Jónsbók (92), have extended beyond his ward's sixteenth year (cf. *KL*, s.v. *Myndighedsalder*).

16/11. **at standa fyrir** (e-u), 'to stand in the way (of something)'.

16/15. **iii. merkr silfrs:** unminted silver was weighed according to the following scale: 1 mörk = 8 aurar (sing. eyrir); 1 eyrir = 3 örtugar (sing. örtug). The weight of a mörk is reckoned at 214.32 grams (see *Mælieiningar*). During the Age of Settlement, silver seems to have been relatively cheap in Iceland and in Scandinavia in general. By 1100, however, its price had risen sharply and for a time in the twelfth century, one eyrir of silver was equal
to 48 ells of vaðmál (cf. Note to 33/15). By 1281, when Jónsbók was introduced, one eyrir of silver was equal to 6 of vaðmál (see KL, s.v. Gangsylv. Island and Fræser. Island; Saga, 1960, 76-91).

16/21-2. Haraldr gráfeldr réð Noregi méð ðormum bræðrum sínum ok Gunnhildr konungamóður: contrary to what the majority of sources say, Gunnhildr was probably (as Historia Norwegiae (Mon, 105) tells us) the daughter of Gormr the Old of Denmark. After the fall of her husband, Eirikr blóðóx (see Note to 11/17), she seems to have gone to Denmark with her sons, whence they mounted attacks on the Norway of Hákon Asalsteinsfóstri. The first two of these appear to have ended in disaster (at Kórmt and Fræði), but, at the Battle of Fitjar in about 959 (cf. KL, xiv, columns 262-3), Hákon was killed. Gunnhildr's sons do not seem to have divided up Norway but ruled jointly (hence their mother's nickname). They seem to have been responsible for the murder of Hákon's friend and counsellor, Sigurðr Hákonsson (see 6/5-6 and Note), but Sigurðr's son, Hákon (see 20/5 and Note) fled to Denmark and joined forces with their former friend and ally, Haraldr Gormsson. In about 974, Hákon managed to take Haraldr Eiríksson's life at Háls (Jutland) and tradition tells that Gunnhildr and her surviving sons fled to Orkney. Haraldr may well owe his nickname, 'grey-cloak', to his maintenance of the fur-trade with northern Norway.
(see H. Koht in [Norwegian] Historisk Tidskrift, 1930, 22), although Snorri has another explanation (Hkr, i, 212). See further on Gunnhildr Introduction, pages 246 ff.

17/8. at hyllez e-n at, 'to court someone's friendship,
to pay homage to someone'.

17/8-9. Porgils kemr nú á betta mál við Gunnhildi obviously means: 'Porgils now broaches this subject with Gunnhildr.' The present editor has not, however, been able to find record of a parallel usage of at koma á e-t in the dictionaries (Fritzner, Cleasby-Vigfusson, Blöndal).

17/11. at vera láttinn við at gera e-t, 'to be prepared to
do something'.

17/12. at spyrna fæti sínnum til e-s, 'to kick someone'.


17/15. á laun, 'secretly'.

17/15-6. gaf honum silfr...súa at bat var góðr kaup-
{}eyrir: elsewhere in Icelandic writings we hear of kings
giving Icelanders kaupeyrir when they part: see Flb, iv,
219 and Laxd, ch. 58.
17/17. *gæfa* here has a neutral sense 'luck'; the word is normally used of a personal attribute (cf. *gæfumaðr*), a quality predisposing the bearer's undertakings to success and bringing good fortune to those who came into contact with him. It has recently been suggested that the term (cf. Latin *gratia*, *donum*, *munus*; Old English *giefu*, Gothic *giba*) and the concept are Christian in origin and connected with the idea of divine grace (cf. W. Baetke, *Christliches Lehngut in der Sagareligion*, 1952, 47-54). But it is probably best to adhere to the older view according to which the idea is essentially a pagan one (cf. F. Ström in *Saga och sed*, 1967, 52 ff.).

17/23. *er Gyða hétt. Hon var ekkja:* the name *Gyða* is found primarily in Norway (see *Dopnamn*, s.v.). It would seem here to be used under the influence of *Eg* (ch. 64), where Egill befriends a widow of the same name. On the other hand, another widow called *Gyða* (Skoptadóttir) appears in e.g. *Ágrin* (55) and a third in e.g. *Oddr*, *Ólafs* (56).

17/25-6. *margkunnandi á fyrnsk[u] ok fróðleik: margkunnarii*, like *fjölkunnugar* (cf. *fjölkynngi*, 27/11), *margkunnugar* and *margfróðr*, has a basic sense of 'knowing many things', but also a secondary one of 'having magic knowledge' (cf. *Rel.*, i, 232). The reading of *fj* here must have been *fyrnsk*, and while the present editor has not been able to find any recor of other examples of this word, it is not inconceivable that
such a form could have arisen through contamination of
fyrnska with fyrnd, which two words are identical in mean-
ing. Fyrnska ok fróðlsíkr, 'magic and sorcery'.

18/4. hverju hat gegendi, 'what the reason was for that'.
At gagna e-u, 'to mean, signify something'. (Fritzner, s.v.
'staa i Sammenhæng med noget som Tegn derpaa, Følge eller
Virkning deraf').

18/12-3. at takaz fangbróðgúm, 'to (begin to) wrestle'.

18/14. at ganga upp, 'to become loose, to be torn loose'.

18/18. Höggr Porgils bá af honum höfuð: a common method
of ensuring that a dead body did not become a revenant was
to cut off its head. This was often (as e.g. in Grett, chs.
18 and 35) placed at its bottom (cf. Rel, i, 232). Jónas
Jónasson (Pjóðhættir, 429-30) gives examples of this pract-
ice in Iceland up to the eighteenth century.

18/18-20. ok mælir síðan yfir honum at hann skuli engum
(at meini)
mannverða: the reference here is to the recitation of
a spell to prevent Björn's father from walking again.
Prophylactic formulæ against sickness, enemies, thieves,
etc. are well attested amongst the early Germanic nations
and in Iceland in later centuries (see Rel, i, 303 ff.;
J. Hoops, Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde,
Random examples are to be found in the Högstena runic inscription from Västergötland (see H. Jungner, 'Högstena galdern, en västgötsk besvärjelse mot gengangare', Fornvännen, 1936, 278 ff.) and in the poetry of the Icelandic kraftaskáld (see B. Almqvist in Skírnir, 1961, 80 ff.). Further, it is reasonable to suppose that the alliterative phrase engrj. nanni at meini verða was actually used in spells of this type; cf. the formula used in connection with álflar in Pjöös, i, 101: Komi beir sem koma vilja, fari beir sem fara vilja, mér og mínun að meirlausu.

19/3. at óvitanda Birni, 'without Björn knowing'. The use of the present participle qualifying a dative noun governed by the preposition at to express simultaneous circumstance is particularly a feature of the 'learned style' of Old Icelandic prose (cf. Note to 2/18-9). It is probably due to Latin influence; cf. e.g. at tjánda Guði, Gamal norsk homiliebok, ed. G. Indrebø, 1931, 29 (Latin: Deo auxiliante); eigi munuð bér upp lúka þessum dunum at mér lifanda, Fira og fyrretyve Prøver, ed. Konráð Gísason, 1860, 197. See Syntax, 236 ff. and M. Nygaard in Sproglic-historiske studier tilegnete Professor C. R. Unger, 1896, 157 ff.

19/4-5. Skaltu...gera kistu...ok undir knakka...,'You...are to make a coffin...and to put legs onto it...'. 
Knakkr usually meant 'small stool' (see Fritzner, s.v. knakkr, 3) but, as Arnheiður Sigurðardóttir (Hibýlahættir, 111 f.) argues, the word must also have had the sense 'leg, support'.

19/6. at reka e-t á e-t, 'to nail something onto something'

19/7. ef hlýða skal: at hlýða, 'to do, to go off well, to be appropriate'.

19/14. at taka til bragða, 'to take some action (to get out of a difficulty, to solve a problem)'. Bragða, 'scheme, device'.

19/15-6. Síðan kasta heir henni á bálit ok váru hjá meðan hon brann: there is both archaeological and literary evidence that dead bodies were burnt to ensure that they did not walk against (see Rel, i, 232; Pjóðhættir, 428 ff.).

19/27. erfi (otherwise called erfiðól, erfisdrykkja) was a feast in honour of the dead. According to Icelandic sources, toasts were drunk at it for the dead man and perhaps for others. Memorial poems might also be recited. The erfi took place just after the funeral or later in the same year (see KL, s.v. Arveól; M. Cahen, La libation, 1921, 153 ff.).

fagnaðaról, 'feast of welcome'; see KL, s.v.
Hákon Hlaðaøyarl, son of Sigurðr Hákonarson (see 6/5-6 and Note), appears in a large number of sources and it was for him that Eyvindr skáldaspillir composed Háleysis-tal, which traced his ancestry back to Öðinn (or Freyr?). After a sea-battle at Háls (Jutland) (cf. Note to 16/21-2), Hákon was able to take control of large parts of Norway, which he ruled, to begin with, largely as a vassal of the Danish king. Some time between 985 and 990, however, he defeated a Danish fleet at Hjörungavágr and for a few years enjoyed greater independence. In the year 994, Ólafr Tryggvason attacked Norway and a number of sources tell us of Hákon’s murder by his thrall Karkr in a pigsty in the same year. His sons, Eiríkr and Sveinn, had control of large parts of Norway in the first decades of the eleventh century.

20/8. at kalla sér e-t, 'to claim something for oneself'.

20/9-10. at látta til við e-n, 'to defer to someone's wishes'.

20/19. Porsteinn...inn hviti: it has been suggested in the Introduction (cf. page *283) that the Fló-author chose the name Porsteinn for his hero's friend in Norway after the model of Eg. On the other hand, there are five or six different Porsteinn's in Icelandic sources who also have the nickname hviti: (1) Oddr, Óláfs (215); (2) Grett (209); (3) Eg (291); (4) Ldn, 1968 (164-5); (5)
20/20. *lendr maðr*: a *lendr maðr* was a senior secular official who, in addition to holding land in fief from the king (*lendr* from *lenda*, 'to endow with land'), also enjoyed a number of other privileges, including legal ones. His duties included military and policing service. See NGL, v, 396 f.; KL, s.v. *Lendmann*.

20/20-1. *Peir lǫgðu mikla vingan saman*, 'They clinched a great friendship between them'. Cf. Sturl, i, 386: lǫgðu beir saman vináttu sína.

20/23. *Dorrils gaf Porsteini kýrtíllin Auðunarnaut; hann var af nýju skarlati: Auðunarnautr*, 'the present given by Auðun'. The word *nautr*, 'a precious object, gift', is often turned into a proper noun by prefixing the name of the giver; see Fritzner and Cleasby-Vigfusson (s.v. *nautr*) for numerous examples. Such compounds were frequently used of swords (cf. Note to 25/25) and mantles, etc. The regiving of a *nautr* (often the gift of a Scandinavian king) is an incidental motif in the sagas. For similar wording to these sentences in Fló, compare Gunnl (ch. 11): *Ok þá gaf Gurn-laugr Helgu skikkjuna Ádalráðsnaut ok var þat sarsimi sem mest.*

*skarlati*: the fine cloth *skarlat*, chiefly manufact-
ured in Germany and the Low Countries was most often, although not always, red in colour (see *Kleiderkunde*, 54 ff.; *KL*, s.v. *Skarlagen*).

20/23-4. **Pá var ok red Hákon jarli Eiríkr rauðíl, Islenzkr maðr:** we cannot say for certain that Eiríkr rauðí did not spend some time at the court of Hákon jarl between circa 974, when the latter came to power in Norway, and circa 984, when the former discovered Greenland. On the other hand, no other source mentions such a sojourn and that it took place in reality is hardly very likely (cf. *Eir*, ch. 2 and the corresponding part of *Ldn*).

20/24. **Eiríkr rauðíl:** Eiríkr is well-known as the first coloniser of Greenland. Amongst his children was Leifr, one of the discoverers of Vinland. The sources concerning Eiríkr (the most important of which are *Islb*, *Ldn*, *Gr* and *Eir*) are reviewed in D. Bruun, *Erik den røde*, 1915; cf. Introduction, *318*.

20/25. **er síðan fann ok byggði Grænland:** cf. *Islb*, 21: Greenland fannz ok byggðiz af Islandi.

21/2-3. **at vekja má lá við e-n,** 'to bring up the question (of something) with somebody'.

21/3-4. **Val gez mér at framferð binni:** e-n gez (infinitive
getaz) at e-u: 'someone is pleased by something, someone likes something'.

21/7. ok skaltu heimta skatta mina af Suðreyjum er ek hefur misst um þriá vetr: the people of the Hebrides would not have been tributary to Hákon jarl (cf. Kl, s.v. Skatter, Norreg and Skattland). From at least 1153 onwards, however, local rulers of the islands were subject to pay feudal duesto the Norwegian king, although it is clear that they sometimes omitted to do so (see e.g. Fms, ix, 195). See further on this question Arne Johnsen, Betalte Suder­gyen og Man skatt eller lensavgift til Norges konge (1153-1263)?, 1966, and the references cited there.

21/16. Evjanna: the Suðreyjar (Hebrides) are often referred to simply as Evjar (see e.g. Orkr, 93, 95, 241). On the other hand, no other examples of the use of Evjarnar (i.e. the definite form) have been found and it is possible that a common noun is meant here.

21/17 ff. Nijhoff (Beschouwing, 46 footnote and 157) draws attention to the fact that Friðþjófr (Friðhi, 15-30) on his expedition to the Orkneys to collect taxes (cf. Introduction, page 262) has a stormy passage (cf. Fió, 21/17-3) and is well received by the local ruler (cf. Fió, 21/20). In Friðhi (30), there is also talk of berserks (cf. Fió, 22/1 ff.).
21/18. *at haldaz, 'to be saved after a shipwreck'; see Fritzner, s.v. *halda, 9. Cf. 35/19.

21/18-9. Oláfr hét jarl er réð fyrir ríki því: Oláfr is unknown from other sources.

21/22 Surtr (at 22/1 and elsewhere, the x-group has *Svart-): apart from being a personal name, *Surtr (occasionally spelt *Svartr; see e.g. SnE, 12 variants) is a giant-name; *Svartr, in addition to being a personal name, is used particularly for thralls and berserks. See *Dopnamn, s.v. *Surtr and *Svartr.

járnhauß, 'iron-scull', is a conventional nickname for berserks and thugs; cf. Björn járnhauß (*VGl, ch. 6), Haraldr járnhauß (*Flb, i, 154) and Hárekr járnhauß (*Forst-Vík, ch. 2).

*vökingr*: although originally quite neutral in sense, this word had, by the end of the thirteenth century, developed the pejorative meaning of 'ruffian' and was used of all types of evil-doer, not necessarily pirates (see examples cited in Cleasby-Vigfusson, s.v. and Drei Lyg, 30 footnote; cf. *Fl6, 27/13*).

21/23. *at liggja úti* literally means 'to live in the open, under the open sky'; it is, however, used in a special sense, as here, of the occupation of robbers and pirates.

22/4-5. *at vera ráðinn til at gera e-t*, 'to be determined
to do something'.

22/8-9. Pann kost...bér mun minnisamr verða, 'Your choice will be memorable to you, you will not forget your decision E-t (nominative) verðr a-m minnisamþ, 'something is made memorable to someone' (accusative subject here only because Pann kost is also object of kýss).

22/9-10. ok ver niðingr ef bú kemr eigi: if we are to believe the sagas, such admonitions to attend at arranged duels were by no means empty threats. In these sources, the non-appearance of one party seems to have given the other the right to formally insult (niða) the absentee, to declare him a niðingr. This could be done either by oral insult (tungunið; e.g. Korm, ch. 21) or by insult by artefact (trénið; e.g. Gísl, ch. 2) or by a combination of both (Vatns, ch. 34). That there is historical fact behind the saga's accounts of nið in these circumstances is given confirmation by a description of basically the same procedure in a Swedish law fragment (Hednalagen) from the twelfth century which deals with duels arising from slanderous statement: Cumbr oc ban orð havr lutit oc eig ban orð havr giuit. ha opar h' bry nibinggœ op oc markar h' a larby (see A. Nelson in Saga och sed, 1944, 79-85). On the concept of nið, see B. Almqvist, Norrón níddiktning, 1965, 38-88 and KL, s.v. Nið. A niðingr was a person who, by virtue of some dastardly act or demon-
stration of perverse qualities had become totally devoid of honour and deserving the greatest contempt. For a discussion of the concept, see **Folkeart**, i, 272-95 and **KL**, s.v. **Niddingsværk**.

22/19. *e-m finnz fátt um (e-t)*, 'someone pays little attention (to something)'.

22/24-5. *Pú sefr en jafnt mun vera sam bú vakir*, 'You are asleep, but all will be as if you were awake'. These words seem to denote that the dream will have the same value of reality as if Ólafs were awake. Similar expressions are found in a number of sources: e.g. *Laxd*, ch. 31; *Hallfr*, ch. 10; *Fóstbr*, ch. 11; *Olafs Saga hins helga*, ed. O. A. Johnsen, 1922, 2.

22/25. **berserk benna**: it has recently been argued by K. von See (in **Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung**, 1961, 129 ff.) that the accounts we have of **berserkir** in Old Norse sources are largely or entirely a literary invention with little basis in reality. Be that as it may, in Icelandic writings we find berserks as howling, shield-biting, fire-wading ruffians, 'rather stupid bullies who meet unsympathetic retribution at the hands of heroes' (P. Foote and D. Wilson, *The Viking Achievement*, 1970, 285). Because of their magical powers, however, no ordinary weapons will bite on them and they could dull blades with their 'evil
eyes’ (cf. Note to 27/11-2). See further on berserks
Drei Lyg, 143 footnote and KL, s.v. Berserk and the
references cited there.

23/3. Bladín is the reading of K and the Z-group here and
at 23/9 and 24/4 (see Textual Notes). In contrast to
previous editions, it is therefore given as the reading
of the Main Text here. It is of course possible that the
author of the saga intended Bladni and that the final three
minims were independently taken as in by the scribes of K
(or an older manuscript) and *Z. Whatever the original
ending of the word, the first element is surely related
to blàð in the sense 'blade' rather than the sense 'leaf'
(see Waffenkunde, 47 and 54). It is true that the ending
-nir is found in a number of weapon-names (e.g. Gungnir,
Eimnir; cf. Finnur Jónsson, 'Maskulin Substantiver på
-nir', Arkiv, 1919, 302 ff.). But a form Bladinn is equally
feasible. A parallel would be, for instance, the name of
Odín's raven Muninn: if, as seems likely, Alexander Jóh-
annesson (Die Suffixe im Isländischen, 1928, 47; same
author, Isländisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, 1956, 665)
is right in deriving the name from munr, 'mind', with the
sense 'der gedächtnisgute', so Bladinn, formed in the same
way from the noun blàð could have the sense 'sword with a
sterling blade'. This, of course, would not be very far
removed from any meaning which could be given to Bladnir.
23/4-5, 23/10. *fyrir ofan jörð, fyrir ofan mold*: both expressions can mean 'on the face of the Earth' and 'above the ground'; cf. e.g. Edda, 167: *Man veit ec engi fyr mold ofan, hann er fleira sé/ fram en þú, Grípir*; passage from Grágás quoted in Note to 32/1-2.

23/13. *at vega til e-s*, 'to acquire by battle or killing'. Cf. Ems, viii, 92: *Slíkt höfum vör upp tekit, sem ver höfum tilveg*it.

23/15-6. *ok fekk síðan Guðrúnar*: Nijhoff (Beschouwing, 48-9, 55) believes that the story of Þorgils's marriage to a woman from near the Suðreyjar, the birth of a son to the couple (see 26/3-4), the hero's abandoning the woman (26/15) and the arrival of the son in Iceland (32/26) is based on a story in Eir, ch. 5: here Leifr Eiríksson impregnates a Hebridean woman and leaves her. She later bears him a son, Þorgils by name, who, when he grows up, joins his father in Greenland. The author of Fló may well have known Eir (cf. Introduction, pages *309 ff.*) and there could well be some connection here.

24/8. *ok bótti honum svipr at*, 'and he felt the loss of it'. Some translators (e.g. Joleik, Ohlmarks) have taken svipr here in the sense 'glimpse of something disappearing' Fritzner (s.v. svipr, 1) gives no example of the word in this sense followed by the preposition at and a meaning
'sudden loss' (Fritzner, s.v. svipr, 3: 'Savn som for-aarsages ved ens Fjernelse') fits the context better; cf. Ol. mest (ii, 46): mer fickir næsta svipr at bravt for vckarri.

24/9. Gyrön: there is no other instance of this name being borne by an Icelander. On the other hand, there are numerous examples from Norway (see Dopnamn, s.v.) and perhaps the name was chosen by the Fló-author for its foreign (Norwegian) ring (cf. Note to 26/22). See however Note to 25/18-26/1 and the like-sounding name Gyrgir for a possible model for Gyrön (Introduction, page *279 f.).

24/10. skúta: a small, fast-sailing ship, often used, as here, for auxiliary purposes. Skútur were capable of carrying up to 30 men (see See, 95-7; Kl, s.v. Skude).

24/25. frið: the sagas suggest that Irish women had something of a reputation for beauty and were particularly sought after as slaves and concubines; cf. Laxå, ch. 12 (and Krist, 15) footnote.

25/7. kvinnan is the reading of all mss. used for this edition. This word is to be regarded as a late loan from Norwegian rather than a re-formation under the influence of the gen. plur. of kona (cf. LP, s.v.; G. Widmark, Dat nordiska u-omljudet, 1959, i, 327 f.).
á Norrænu: Norræna was used in Old Icelandic of the Scandinavian languages in general and in this sense superseded the older term dansk tunga (see KL, s.v. Nørre nønt mål).

25/10. Vikversk, 'from the Vik (Oslofjord) in Norway'.

The woman is clearly related to the sorceress Gyða, who, we are told at 17/22-3, lives in (vestr-)Vík. It is through the agency of Gyða's son Auðun (the woman's nephew? brother?) that Porgils acquires the magic sword Jarðhússnautr (cf. 24/4-5).

25/11. því at þungi fylgir sverðinnu. For difficulties (can) go along with the sword' (with þungi in the sense 'difficulty, imposition'; Ohlmarks half-paraphrases: 'för annars kan med svärdet följa tunga öden'). The woman seems to mean that if Porgils takes herself and her daughter away, the sword will prove to be cursed. On the other hand, we understand that by returning the two women and thus acquiring the sword with Hugi's blessing, the curse is withdrawn and the sword only has magical properties advantageous to the owner (as transpires to be the case) (cf. GrM, ii, 188). The motif of the cursed sword is, of course, known elsewhere in Old Icelandic literature (see Motif-Index, M441.1 and F451.5.2.13). The present editor is not sure how Niedner's translation of the sentence, 'Denn schwer ins Gewicht fällt dies Schwert', is to be taken.
25/12. *Hugi*: the name would have a definite foreign ring to Icelandic ears (cf. *Dopnamn*, s.v.). The Fló-author, in applying it to a *jarl*, is following older models. In the Kings' Sagas, two Norman *jarlar* of this name appear and seem to be historical (see *Hkr*, iii, 222 and 223 footnote). In *Karlamagnus Saga* (ed. C. Unger, 1860, 242), a *jarl* of this same name appears answering to *li cuens Húg* in the Old French original. The *Hugi* *jarl* of *Ála flekks Saga*, ch. 7 (*Drei Lyr*, 96 ff.), is of course fictitious.

25/17. *at mæla vel fyrir e-m*, 'to wish someone luck'.

25/18-26/1. In *Eyrb* (ch. 64), in *Ljós* (71) and *Ldn* (1968, 100 and 103), we are told how certain Icelanders, including *Pórólfr* *Loptsson* (see Note to 7/14) fought against a certain *Gyrör*, who, we hear from *Jómavíkinga Saga* (ed. C. af Petersen, 1879, 100), was a *víkingr* (cf. *Fló*, 24/9) and the son of *Sigvaldi Jómavíkingajarl*. *Ljós* (cf. *ÍF*, x, 71 footnote 1) suggests there may have been a duel involved (cf. *Fló*, 25/23-4); *Eyrb* tells how *Gyrör* lost his eye in the fight (cf. *Fló*, 25/25 ff.); and *LdnHkb* (24/20) stresses that the Icelanders held *fé sinu*. This story, which probably had oral currency in the now lost *Gyrós-visor* (24/20) could well have influenced the *Fló*-author in the story of *Porgils's* and *Porsteinn's* fight against *Gyrör*. 
25/25. Järónhußnastr: H. Falk (Waffenkunde, 57) and A. Drachmann (De navneive Sværd, 1957, 7, 9-10) list sword-names in -nautr.

26/10-1. er mér er ekki um: e-m er um e-n, 'someone likes someone else'.

26/15. skal ek gefa þér Guðrún, konu mína: I. Boberg (Motif-Index, Tl41) gives three examples (one from Saxo) of the Assignment of bride to another. In Korm, ch. 27, Þorvaldr offers to give Steingerðr to Kormákr but the latter does not accept. (Cases where a dying man assigns his wife to another (Motif-Index, Tl41.1) are somewhat different.) How far the story in Fló is really to be regarded as a borrowed element is however doubtful; the Fló-author's main concern was to leave Þorgils free to marry other women; cf. Introduction, page 365 f.


26/22. Randviðr (cf. 49/17): although this name is not recorded in Icelandic sources other than Fló, it is found in Norway (see Dopnamn, s.v.). Perhaps the Fló-author used it because he wanted a name with a Norwegian flavour. On the other hand, randviðr does appear as a kenning ('shield-tree' = 'warrior'; see e.g. Er, 250) and the author
may be adapting a kenning here (cf. Note to 47/7).

26/23-5, 27/3-4. Pá hauð Randviðr Fráði hélmsónu há er kölluð er kerganga; skal þar berjaz í keri ok byrgja yfir ofan ok hafa kefli í hendi... Porgils hafði sverðit Jarðhússnaut. Randviðr hafði álnarkelfi ok digrt mjók: a literary palellel to and possible source for the account of Porgils being armed but Randviðr fighting with an ell-long cudgel has be pointed to in Note to Introduction 92. On the other hand, the present editor has been unable to find anything resembling the barrel-fight in Scandinavian sources and it seems very unlikely that anything like the type described here can have existed in reality in the Northern Countries. But as Finnur Jónsson (Fló, 1932, 73) remarks 'helt grebet ud af luften er sagen vel næppe' and Guðbrandur Vigfusson (Orig, ii, 634) makes the interesting suggestion that 'the tale of the Tub-fight is a perverted account of an old species of wager-of-battle between those of ungentle rank, for which we have authorities as late as the 14th century in English law.' Guðbrandur may well be on the right track here. A variety of formal duels and ordeals used in settling disputes seem to have existed on the Continent and in England during the medieval period (see G. Neilson, Trial by Combat, 1890). Attention may here be drawn to a single account of an interesting type of duel found in an article entitled 'Trial by Battle' in Cornhill Magazine, vol. 22, 1870, 737:
'Breaches of promise and similar disputes were decided by duel in mediaeval Germany, a faithless swain or errant husband having to meet his indignant victim hand to hand in the lists. In the approved form of this duel the dame was reduced to her chemise. One of its sleeves was lengthened for the occasion by about eighteen inches; tied up in the end of this long sleeve was a neat paving stone. The man was also stripped to his last garment, had his left arm tied close to his side, was furnished with a short baton, half an ell in length and was clapped in a tub planted waist deep in the ground. The lady manoeuvred round the tub and struck her antagonist with her sleeve, while he defended himself as best he could with the baton.'

Now the anonymous author of the article in the Cornhill Magazine does not mention his sources; he seems, however, to have known manuscripts in which there were pictures showing the duel described. And whatever exaggerations there may be here, the present editor sees no necessity to regard the detail of the tub as a fabrication. It is also interesting to note the half-ell long baton and, in this connection, it should be noted that there is ample evidence for the use of clubs in single combat in medieval Europe and there were also laws limiting the length of cudgels to an ell (see J. Steenstrup, Normannerne, 1876-82, i, 328 ff. and 331 footnote 2). Taking up Guðbrandur's suggestion then, it seems not unlikely that the author of the saga, tired of reproducing the tales of conventional duels (of which there
are four or five examples) has invented a new type to which he gives the whimsical name *korganga* (by analogy with *hólmganga*). This he based on certain types of popular wager-of-battle contests which were practised outside Scandinavia. These last he may have heard of from travellers or even witnessed himself. His innovation undoubtedly heightened the enjoyment of the saga for his audience.

[Later note: Since the above was written, Miss Susie Tucker has kindly drawn the present editor's attention to a contribution to *Archaeologia* (1842, 348-61) by R. Pearsall which could be the source for the article in the *Cornhill Magazine*. Pearsall refers to two manuscripts, one in 'the Royal Library' in Munich and the other in 'the library at Gotha', both of which give descriptions of tub-fights and contain drawings illustrating them. Two of these drawings are reproduced in Pearsall's article.]

27/11-2. *hafði hann treyst fjólkyngi sinni, bvi at hann hafði margan mann fellt með bessi hólmgöngu:* the saga might logically be interpreted as implying that there was something magical about *kerganga*. But we are probably meant to assume that Randviðr thought he would be able to blunt Jarðhússnautr with his 'evil eye', a common attribute of berserks (cf. *KL*, s.v. *Ondt øye*; A. Drachmann, *De navn­givne Sverd*, 1967, 43-5; Note to 22/25). Forgils's sword, however, however, was proof against his magic (see *Motif­Index*, D1694 and Introduction, page *281*).
27/13. *Snækollr* is a conventional name for vikings and berserks. Examples are to be found in *Nj*, *Grett*, the fornaldarsögur and the rimur; for a full list of examples, see *Dopnamn*, s.v. The Fló-author also gives it to the murderous thrall of chapters 20-6.

27/16-29/12. The first part of chapter 18 of *Fló* is based on chapter 377 of *LdnX* (see Introduction, pages *192-6*). Chapter 377 of *Sturlubók* may, in turn, go back to a lost saga (see Introduction, pages *204 ff.*).

27/16. *Óláfr tvennumbrúnis* is unknown from sources other than *Fló* and *Ldn*. The latter tells us that he came from Lófót (Vestvágøy) in the Lofoten Islands. Finnur Jónsson (*Tilnavne*, 199) explains *Óláfr's* nickname as follows: 'Med tvende bryn, synes at være opstået af udtrykket 'med tvennum brúnun'...med dobbelt bryn, hvor haarene saa ud som de udgjorde to reekler over hvert bryn.' Alternatively, it might have something to do with *Óláfr's* being *hannamur mjók* (with two countenances'?): cf. Note to 27/17-8). Finally, it has been suggested that the name may be a *háttúrunafn*, i.e. a name taken from natural features: Vörðufell (where *Óláfr* is said to be buried; see 27/18-9), seen from the south, has a strong resemblance to a face with two brows. See further on *Óláfr*, his family and his *landnám Arnesh*, 61-5; *Skírnir*, 1950, 127-9.
27/17. **Skeið**, literally '(the) flat, open spaces' (always plural as here), is the area between the Hvítá on the west and the Pjórsá on the east. Its northern boundary is now Sandlækjarós (see HTB, i, 184 and Map 4).

ál milli Pjórsár ok Sandlækjar: Sandlækkr must be what is marked on Map 4 as Sandlækjarós; this runs in a northerly direction to join the Laxá (a tributary of the Hvítá) at Breiðanes and forms part of the northern boundary of Skeiðahreppur. The reading of LdnPöb (21/38), milli Pjórsár ok Hvítár ok til Sandlækjar, explains the geography of Óláf's landnám satisfactorily and would seem to be more original than LdnHkb's and Fló's milli Pjórsár ok Sandlækjar and LdnStb's milli Pjórsár til Sandlækjar (see Arnesh, 61 and Ldn, 1968, 376 footnote 5).

27/17-8. **hann var hamrammr mjók**: it is not uncommon in Icelandic sources to hear of shape-shifters, i.e. men who had the ability of changing their outer form to that of an animal (at hamaz or at skipta hómum). Thus in Svarf (181), Porsteinn svörfuðr turns himself into a polar-bear in order to help his son in a battle and in Ldn, 1968, 355 f., two men turn themselves into a bull and a bear and fight one night. See further Rel, paragraphs 161 and 407 and KL, s.v. Ham(n)skifte and the references cited there. In connection with Óláf's hamrei, we note that the first element of the name of his grave-mound (27/19), Brúni, was one of Öðinn's names; that a verse attributed to his son Helgi suggests
Oðinn worship (see Appendix I); and that Oðinn was, with Loki, regarded as the shape-shifter par excellence (cf. Hkr, i, 18).

27/18. á Olafsvöllum: Olafsvellir is a large farm, or rather group of farms, in Skeið (see HTB, i, 184 f.; Arnesh, 62; Map 4).

27/18-9. í Brúnahaugi under Vörðufelli: where Brúnahaugr was is not now known, although there are local traditions about it (see HTB, i, 185; Arbók, 1894, 15; Skírnir, 1950, 128-9; Ldn, 1968, 376 footnote 5). Vörðufell is a hill in the northern part of Skeið (see Map 4).

27/19. Ashildr is not mentioned in sources other than Ldn and Fló. Einar Arnórsson (Arnesh, 67 f.) doubts that there can ever have been any relationship between her and Porgrímr in reality.

27/20. Helgi (trausti; see 27/23) is not known from sources other than Fló and Ldn. Lind (Binamn, s.v. Trausti) takes his nickname as the weak form of traust, 'pålitlig'. C. Marstrander (Norsk tidsskrift for sprogvidenskap, 1945, 319-43) suggests, however, that in such nicknames as Sygna-trausti and Ómlungatrausti, the element trausti is a nomina agentis synonymous with kappi and originally had the meaning 'defender, champion' (cf. H. Kuhn in Skírnir, 1949, 112).
Helgi's nickname could well have been given to him with this sense.

27/20-1. Þórðr, faðir Porkells, fóður Gulllárs: Þórðr is called Þórðr drífa in Ldn, and Þórðr's son is there called Porkell gulllárr not Porkell, faðir Gulllárs. As a nickname, gulllárr probably means the 'golden-haired' (cf. Tjón泯ave, 196). None of Þórðr's (Þórír's) descendents are known from sources other than Ldn and Fló (cf. however following Note). Ldn also mentions a third son of Óláfr and Þórsdrír here, Váði (see Introduction, page 193).

27/21. Oddr Hallvardsson: Einar Arnórsson (Arnesb, 64) conjectures that Oddr was the brother of Porsteinn Hallvarðsson whom, Krist (54), Ldn and other sources tell us, was slain in 1119 by Einarr Hjaltlendingr. This is chronologically possible. Oddr's father would then have been a descendent of a half-brother of Ketilbjörn gamli (see Ldn, 1968, 388-9 and footnote 2).

27/22. at leggja hug á e-n, 'to fall in love with somebody' (see Fritzner, s.v. hugr, 1 (ii, 84, column 1)).

27/23. at vanda um (e-t), 'to find fault (with something), to take exception (to something)'.

28/2. at hugna e-m, 'to please someone'.
28/3. at sitja e-m e-t, 'to put up with something from somebody, to tolerate something from somebody'.

28/14. Ashildarmýrr: Ashildarmýri is in the southern part of Skeið (see HTB, i, 184; Arbók, 1905, 28; Map 4).

28/15. hja gatnamóti: Pórhallur Vilmundarson suggests that this gatnamót is 'sennilega ofan við svonefndan Axarhól [see Map 4], þar sem leiðir skiptast ofan frá Ólafsvöllum; önnur liggur niður í Flóa, hin til Hraunbæjanna við Pjórsá.' Cf. Arbók, 1905, 28.

28/18-9. at at málefnum mundi ganga: at ganga at e-m, 'to go according to something'; málefri, 'the circumstances of the case'. Helgi thinks that the one who has been wronged will win the fight. In GnM (ii, 75), the phrase is translated 'den wilde vinde, som havde Retten paa sin Side'. Cf. Háv, 333.

28/22. Porgrími latar: an impersonal construction: e-m latar, 'someone becomes slow, tired'.

29/2. Hæringr is mentioned only in Ldn and Fló. The farm Hæringsstaðir about 4 km. north-east of Traðarholt may be named after him; cf. however 63/10.

29/3. Höfði is about four miles north of Skálholt on the
Hvítá at its confluence with the Tungufljót (see HTB, i, 172; Kort, 47). We are told in Ldn, 1968, 336 f., that Eilífr auðgi received Höfðaland as part of Porkatla Ketilbjarnardóttir's dowry (cf. Notes to 10/22 and 13/5-6) and that the couple lived there. Further, in both Hv (ch. 2) and LdnPóð (25) (probably following LdnMlb), that Teitr was the first man to have lived at Skálaholt. Einar Arnórson (Arnesb, 129, 147) therefore doubts that Teitr can ever have lived at Höfði. Jakob Benediktsson (Ldn, 1968, 386 footnote 2), on the other hand, thinks that it is possible to reconcile what the different sources say. Teitr could have moved from Höfði to Skálaholt. Cf. 56/14 and Note.

29/3-4. Teits [Ketil]bjarnarsonar: although, according to genealogies in Fló and Ldn, Hæringr's grandmother's brother was Teitr Ketilbjarnarson (see 13/5 and 29/2; LdnStb, 225/39 ff. and 228/23), the reading of *X here was obviously Kolbjarnarsonar (see Textual Notes). One wonders what reading the original of the saga had. It should be noted that at the corresponding place in LdnStb, we find at finna Teit Gizurarson með briðja mann, while LdnHkb has merely at finna Teit (með briðja mann omitted). These two readings suggest that Sturlubók either had a blank space after Teits (cf. Gerðir, 47 ff.) or the obviously incorrect Gizurarson of LdnStb. Whichever it, and with it LdnX, had, it would be peculiar if the Fló-author, who has already mentioned Ketilbjörn at 13/5, and who adds frenda sins after Teitr's
name, should change Gizurðarson to, or fill out the blank space with, the incorrect Kolbjarnarsonar. Second, it should be noted that while LdnSkb has (at finna Teit) Gizurðarson and J has (til Teits) Kolbjarnarsonar, D (see Appendix I, line 67) has Ketilbjarnarsonar and this may be taken from part of *M not now extant (cf. Introduction, page *45). Third, the Fló-author has got the second element of Teitr's father's name right and a mistake of Kol- for Ketil- in the course of scribal transmission from the original of the saga to *X seems quite possible (most understandably caused by the use of some abbreviation for Ketil-). There is, then, good reason for supposing that the original of the saga (and quite likely also *F) had Ketilbjarnarsonar, rather than Kolbjarnarsonar here. - The sources have little to say about Teitr (cf. Arnesh, 145 ff.). A number of works give his wife as Alðf, the daughter of Bðóvarr hersir of Vors. Three children of his are known: Jórunn (see 56/15-6 and Note), Gizurr (see 56/14 and Note) and Ketilbjörn, father of Kollr (or Kolr) and great-grandfather of Kollr (Kolr) Vikverjabyskup (see Arnesh, 150).

29/5. Út á Eyrar í Einarshöfn: út is an addition to the text of LdnX by the Fló-author. As Stefán Einarsson (Atta- táknanir, 185) says, its force here must be 'towards the sea' - Höfði is NNE of Eyrarbakki - and not 'west' as otherwise seems to be the case in this part of the country. The present editor has been able to find only one other example
of usage similar to that here: in Nj, ch. 152, Kári rides to Gizurr inn hvíti who is thought of as living at Mosfell (about 7 km. WSW of Hörði; see Nj, 119); here he tells Gizurr that hann myndi út (so Y, K; ofan, R) á Eyrar ríða. (Út at 11/21 cannot be regarded as a parallel as Stefán Einarsson suggests; cf. Note ad loc.) In present-day Icelandic, in talking of travel from the area in question to Eyrarbakki, the expression would be niður á Bakka, less commonly fram á Bakka, rarely suður á Bakka (but never út á Bakka) (see Stefán Einarsson, 'Attatámanir á íslenzku nú á dögun', Skírnir, 1952, 163).

Eyjar was the name of coast of Flóí from the mouth of the Ölfusá to at least as far east as Baugsstaðarsíki (cf. the usage here and in Dropl, ch. 1: kom Grímr skipi sínu á Eyrar á bá hofn, er Knarrarsund heitir). That Eyjar extended further east to the Pjórsá is suggested by the parallel use of Eyrarbakki (see Note to 7/11) and possibly also by the nickname Eyra(r)-Loptr for the coloniser of the area east of Baugsstaðarsíki (cf. Note to 7/14). See references cited in Note to 7/11.

ok banna Helga farit, 'and forbade Helgi's conveyance.' A man of Teitr's standing would presumably have enjoyed sufficient influence over the captains in local harbours to be able, quite arbitrarily, to prevent them taking passengers abroad (cf. Hnns, 8 f., where a goði seems to control the price captains could ask for Norwegian goods). Further, under the code of law represented by
Grágás, it was legally in order to forbid (by the process of at verja lýrítí; see Grág, iii, 641-3) the conveyance of persons suspected of intending to leave the country without having first made provision for their dependents (see Grág, ii, 125). And here we remember that the widowed Ashildr would have been considered Helgi's responsibility (see Grág, i, b, 3).

29/6-7. á fornum vegi upp frá Mórk við Helgahvál: Ldn has here í Merkurhrauni upp frá Mórk við Helgahvál (LdnSTB: Helgahraun), cf. pages *161, *163, *194. Mörk was a farm (no longer inhabited) which gave its name to what is still called Merkurhraun (see Arbók, 1905, 29; Map 4; Arnesh, 66 ff. Ldn, 1968, 379 footnote 2). Helga- or Helguhóll is still the name of a knoll in Merkurhraun (see HTB, i, 184; Arbók, 1894, 15; Arnesh, 66 f.). On the farinn vegr, cf. Note to 28/15.

29/18. Pórey: neither Pórey nor her parents are known in sources other than Fló. In all probability, they are the invention of the author of the saga. Cf. Note to 29/19-23.

29/19. Oddi, a well-known and historic farm in Rangárvallasýsla, about ten mile east of the Pjórsá. See HTB, i, 217 f. and Kort, 48.

29/19-23. Forvarðr...Forgerðr...váru bôrn Pórðar Freys-
goða: those of Póról's children who are known from sources other than Fló are dealt with in Note to 29/22-3 and it would seem that the Porvarðr and Porgerðr mentioned here are the fabrication of the saga-writer. The same is probably true of the other people mentioned in lines 29/18-24 (except, of course, Póról Freysgoði) and it is interesting to note with Finnur Jónsson (Fló, 1932, 73) and Pórhallur Vilmundarson that the names of five of them are found in the genealogies of the Svinfellingar (i.e. the descendents of Póról Freysgoði) and the Oddaverjar in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries: Svinfellingar: Póról Freysgoði - Kolbeinn (who had a brother (or half-brother) Starkaðr) - Starkaðr - Daði - Guðrún; Oddaverjar: Loðmundr=Porgerðr - Sigfúss=Þórey - Sæmundr= Guðrún - Þórey= Porvarðr. Cf. Introduction, pages *252 f.

29/20. Kálfholt (M-version: Kálfaholt) is a farm lying about 2 km. east of the Pjórsá and about 15 km. from its mouth (see Map 2).

29/21. Jósteinn is unknown from other sources; cf. Note to 29/19-23.

29/22-3. Póról Freysgoði is known from a number of sources. Ldn gives his father as Ózurr Asbjarnarson and his wife as Praslaut, daughter of Pörsteinn tittlingr; it names two of his sons, Flosi (Brennu-Flosi) and Kolbeinn, and says that
Pórðr was one of the most powerful men in the Austfirðingafjörðungr. Krist (ch. 1) accords this latter distinction to his sons and, in the same saga (ch. 11) and in Laxd (ch. 41), Kolbeinn is mentioned as one of the Icelandic hostages taken by Óláfr Tryggvason after Pangbrandr's abortive attempt to convert Iceland (cf. Oddr, Olafs, 127). Ni (ch. 95) gives Pórðr's ancestry in some detail and says that Flosi's mother was Ingunn, the daughter of Óðir á Espihóli (cf. VGl, ch. 5). The same chapter mentions four other sons of Pórðr: Starkaðr, Þorgeirr, Steinn and Egill. Starkaðr's mother is given as Þraslaug and, in Ni, ch. 116, Egill is also the son of Þraslaug. Who Þorgeirr's and Steinn's mother(s) was/were is nowhere mentioned. Þorgeirr appears in a genealogy in Sturl (i, 50). Ni (ch. 116) tells of a quarrel between Pórðr and Arnórr Órnólfsson and, with Ldn and Dropl (ch. 9), mentions the slaying of the latter at Skaptafellsþing by Pórðr's sons. Pórðr shares his by-name with the hero of Hrafn and Þorgrímr in Gísl. That he was connected with Freyr-worship is further suggested by the place-names Svinafell (the pig was sacred to Freyr) and Freysnes in Úræfi where he lived and by the fact that a half-sister of his, Þuríðr by name, is given the by-name hofgyðja.

29/23-4. Kolr...Starkaðr...Guðrún: not known from sources other than Fló; cf. Note to 29/19-23.

30/1. Sörüli possibly takes his name from another unwelcome
suitor in Sórla Pátr (IF, x, 109 ff.).

30/13. **bingmaðr** Asgríms: to be the **bingmaðr** of a given **goði** meant that one gave him support at the local **bing**, at the Alþingi and elsewhere. In return, he was under an obligation to support one in one's legal and other difficulties. A **bingmaðr** could change his **goði** as he wished (although only within his own **fjórðungar** and not more than once a year). See further: Grág, iii, 706 and the references cited there; J.J., Saga, i, 80.

**Asgrímr Ellíða-Grimsson** is known from a number of sources. His grandfather, **Asgrímr**, the son of Óndóttr kráka, is the hero of an episode in Ldn, 1968 (260 ff.; cf. Introduction, page *349). With his brother **Asmundr**, he settled Kræklingahlið in Eyjafjörður and lived at Glerá inn nyröri near present-day Akureyri. No stories are told of **Asgrímr**'s father, **Grímur**. **Nj** and **Fló** (see 56/15-6) suggest that he was married to Jórunn Teitsdóttir and it was presumably because of this that his son lived at Bræðratunga (see Note to 59/3) in Teitr's father's (i.e. Kétillbjörn inn gamli's) **landnám** (cf. Arnesað, 101, 148). Grímur's nickname, **Ellíði**, is, in all probability, the name of a ship; the word would seem rather to be a loan from a Balto-Slavonic language (cf. Old Slavonic alūdija; Lithuanian eldija, aldija, 'large, flat-bottomed boat') (so Bugge in Aarbøkar, 1889, 15-7) than a native formation from **ein-liði** (see Binamn, s.v.; Alexander Jóhannesson, Islenzk tunga í forn-
Grimr may have owned or been captain of a ship of this name (cf. Fló, 56/10-1) and it is interesting to note that Jórunn's grandfather came to Iceland in a ship called Ellíði (see Note to 13/5-6; cf. Arnesb, 148 footnote and 255 footnote). Asgrímr himself is one of the chief characters of Nj. His daughter Pórhalla married one of Njáll's sons (Helgi), and he was a friend of both Njáll (who fostered one of his sons; see Note to 56/11-2) and Gunnarr of Hlíðarendi. In the suit against the burners, he was one of the chief prosecutors and, unlike Fló, Nj paints an almost wholly favourable picture of him (the only blot on his character being his slaying of his foster-brother, Gaukr Trandilsson; cf. Nj, 72 footnote 11 and the references cited there). VGl (ch. 21) is alone in telling us that he married Þordís Bjarnardóttir, who divorced her former husband, Arngrímr Þorgrimsson. Both Nj and Iðn tell us that Asgrímr had a brother called Sigfúss. On the possibility that he was, as suggested here, a goði, see Arnesb, 286. Further on Asgrímr's family, see Nj, 72 f. and footnotes and Fló, 56/11-2 and Note.

30/16-7. fram til dyra: the adverb fram is used of motion towards the 'front' of a house (i.e. that part near the door). See Cleasby-Vigfusson, s.v. fram, A II.

30/20. at láta hlijótt um sik, 'to behave quietly, silently'.

A skot was a narrow passage around a house formed by the thick outer wall and a thin inner wainscot. Its function was to insulate against cold and damp. There was normally an entrance to the skot at the main door of the farm (this would seem to be the case here) and sometimes also from a lokhvíla (the separate bedchamber for the chief persons of the household) on the set (see e.g. Vatns, ch. 44). There are other instances in the sagas where the skot is used for hiding and eavesdropping (cf. Introduction, pages *284–8). In Ljóðs (ch. 15), Hallr hides in a skot for some months and the scene in Korm (ch. 3) where Steingerðr spies on Kormákr from a skot is well-known. See Privatbolgen, 203 and 223.

30/23. Satt er it fornkveðna, 'The old saying is true' (fornkveðinn (adj.), 'said of old'). Proverbs are often introduced with formulae of this type. For a collection of these, see H. Gering in Arkiv, 1916, 2-6.

30/24. spakir menn henda á mǫrgu mið: this alliterative proverb has been rendered vaguely or wrongly by various translators (e.g. Cleasby-Vigfusson, s.v. mið: 'the wise man hits the middle of many things'). The phrase henda mið af e-u is parallel to taka mið af e-u which has a concrete sense of 'take bearings from something' (used of navigation, e.g. taka mið á landi; see Blöndal, s.v. mið). The figurative sense used here would therefore be 'draw
inferences from something'. The same proverb is found in Sturl, i, 233 (a mærgv henda spakir menn mið), but, as far as the present editor has been able to establish, nowhere else.

31/10. skógarmaðr, 'a greater outlaw' (as opposed to 'a lesser outlaw' (fjórbaugsmáðr; cf. Note to 13/22-3)). The skógarmaðr was òæll (that is, it was illegal to maintain him), òferjandi (he might not be conveyed abroad) and óráðandi óll bjargráð (he might not be given any sort of help). He could be killed with impunity and there was a price on his head. He was not allowed a Christian burial. Only by killing other outlaws (or other outlaws being killed on his behalf) or by the granting of a sýknuleyfi could the sentence be lifted (cf. Note to 45/18-9 and 65/7 ff. and Note to 65/7). See further KL, s.v. Freidløshed. Island and the references cited there.

31/12-4. It is argued in the Introduction (pages *96-7) that the M-version (65/5-9) is more original than the X-version here. In connection with the M-version, Björn Sigfússson ('TgF', 446) remarks: '...samskot árneskrar alþýðu í bótagjöld til að sætta höfðingjana nauðuga eru frásöguatriði, sem á skyldara við veruleik 13. aldar en við hetjuhugmyndir hinna rómantískari Islendingasagna.' Cf. Sturl, i, 84, for the sort of event from (12th century) Icelandic history that Björn may be thinking of in this con-
31/15. til hestabings: horse-fights (hestavíg) are often mentioned in the sagas. At a single meeting (hestabing), a number of horses (vighestar) might be matched against one another. The separate fights were divided into rounds (lotur; cf. VGl, ch. 12). While fighting, each horse was attended by a man, often its owner, who, equipped with a stave (hestastafr), either goaded it on or struck at its opponent. In the Family Sagas, squabbles arising from horse-fights are often presented as the cause for more serious feuds (see KL, s.v. Hestekamp). In commenting on this passage, Finnur Magnússon (GhM, ii, 193-4) draws attention to the place-name Hestabingshóll just to the east of Kallaðarnes (see Map 3). Note also, however, the place-names Hestabingsflöt at Hróarsholt (just north of Únhundarholt) and, more particularly, in view of the M-version's austr í herað (65/10), Hestabingshóll in Rangavallasýsla (see HTB, i, 231).

31/20. gefr honum færi á sér, 'gives him a chance to strike at him' (færi, neuter, 'a being within reach').

32/1-2. En hvert sinn er hann kemr á mannamót, sýnir hann sjóðinn: Porgils is treating the purse as lost property (on which, see KL, s.v. Hittegods). According to Grág (i, b, 75), ef maðr finnr fé fyrr afan jórð í sínu landi, ok
skal hann secja til ii. sumur á Albingi; bá of eigi verð eigandi at it ii. a sumar, bá eignaz hann féit (cf. Grág, i, b, 185-6). And according to Jónsbók (274), ef maðr finnr fjárhlut manns ok hefir eigandi glatat, bá skal hann lýsa fyrir monnun, en lýst skal samdagris... The Fló-author would seem to be thinking more of the law of Grágaðs than Jónsbók and the M-version's sumar at 65/22 would seem to be more original than the X-version's sinn.

32/2. at ganga við, 'to admit to'.

32/4. Nú kom kristni á Island (M-version: á land): some commentators (e.g. Björn Sigfrússon, 'TgF', 445 and footnote; Pórhallur Vilmundarson) have interpreted these words (or at any rate the words of the M-version) as referring to any time in the missionary period of Iceland's history (circa 982-999). This they possibly do for chronological reasons: Þorgils's visit to Greenland at the invitation of Eiríkr rauði would be better thought of as taking place before the legal acceptance of Christianity in Iceland (999 or 1000) rather than after it (cf. Guðbrandur Vigfússon, 'Um tíma-tal í Íslendinga sögum í fornöld', Safn, 1856, 421 f.). But the content of the saga is so fictitious - one doubts very much that Þorgils ever went to Greenland - that one can hardly allow arguments of this kind much weight (cf. Note to Introduction 120). And the words kristni kom á Island seem to be normally used of the events connected with the
official acceptance of Christianity by the Alþingi (al­though it might reasonably also cover the period of Þang­brandr's mission also; cf. following Note); we may observe in this context their very precise use in Íslb, ch. 6: Eiríkr inn rauði...tók at bygga [Grænland] xiii. vetrum eða xv. fyrr en kristni kaði hér á Island. Nor can the present editor agree with Björn Sigfusson's (loc. cit.) albeit tentative suggestion that the words of the M-version (which may, indeed, be more original to the saga) have significantly different meaning to those of the X-version. Furthermore, the words of the M-version (68/12-3): '...Aðr var allt fólk lei­tandi til vársta trausts ok fulltings ck er tu sem beir er oss vilja byngst...' seem to suggest that the author intended to represent the conversion of the coun­try as being at an advanced stage when Þorgils sailed for Greenland. - Olafía Einarsdóttir (Studier i kronologiske Metode i tidlig islændsk Historieskrivning, 1964, 72-90) has argued that the Alþingi accepted Christianity in the year 999 rather than 1000 as was previously thought. The main sources for the event in question are: Íslb, ch. 7; Theodricus, ch. 12; Ódir, Óláfs, 126 ff.; Íjet, 255 ff.; Krist; Ól west.

32/4-5. tók Þorgils í fyrsta lagi við trú: Theodricus, in his Historia de Antiquitate Regum Norwagiensium (Mon, 19 f.), has the following:...misit rex (i.e. Oláfr Tryggvason) Theobrandum presbyterum in Islandiam predicare verbum Dei.
Qui cum illuc venisset, coepit illis prædicare Christum ...

Inter illos tamen, qui jugum Christi susceperunt, fuerunt isti præcipui: Haller de Sithu cum tota familia sua et Gitzor de Scalholte... Tertius fuit Hialte de Thiorsardale, quartus vero Thorgils de Aulfusi. There are arguments both for and against an identification of Theodricus's 'Thorgils de Aulfusi' with the Porgils Pórðarson of Ldn and Fló. In favour is the sameness of name and the fact that, although Porgils did not come from Ólfus, he had, through his wife, connections with the district, may have lived there in his old age (see Note to 61/4) and was, according to Fló, buried there (but see Introduction, page *373). Further, there is the account in Fló of Porgils's early conversion and of his Christian zeal. On the other hand, this account could well have been introduced into the saga without any basis in historical tradition; here we note that the Fló-author does not mention Pangbrandr in connection with his hero's conversion and that his representation of Porgils as an early Christian convert seems to be largely stereotyped (see Introduction, pages *291 ff.). And there is much to recommend the conjecture that Póroddr goði (see Note to 33/17) was intended here (see Mon, 20 footnote 9; J.J., Saga, i, 156 f.). Póroddr was not only the most prominent man in Ólfus at the end of the tenth century (cf. Eg, ch. 77, where he is referred to as Póroddr goði í Ólfusi), he was also one of the most important men in the whole of Iceland. His name might have been confused with that of his son-in-law, Porgils, and
Theodricus has at least its first element. Póroddr might easily have come into contact with Pangbrandr through his other son-in-law Gizurr, whom both Ari and Theodricus mention as one of the principle sponsors of the Christian mission in Iceland. One other consideration speaks for Póroddr in this connection. In Krist, ch. 12, we are told how, during the deliberations at the Alpingi in 999 (or 1000), it was reported that a volcanic eruption threatened Póroddr's farm in Ólfus. At this, the heathen party remarked that it was hardly surprising that the gods were angry in view of the matters under discussion and this provoked Snorri goði's well-known retort. As Jón Jóhannesson (J.J., Saga, i, 156 f.) observes, this story presupposes that Póroddr was already at the time a Christian. But a third possibility exists here, that put forward by Einar Arnórsson (Arnesb, 321): he suggests that Theodricus has made one man out of two: 'Hann [i.e. Theodricus] man, að Porgils var nefndur, og hann man líka að Ólfus var nefnt. Ög svo gerir hann einn mann úr tveimur (Porgils) og lætur hann vera úr Ólfusi. Þessir höfðingjar Arnesinga voru allir nátengdir. Gizur og Porgils voru tengdasyvir Pórodds goða. [Note: Pó verður ekkert fullyrt um það, að Gizur hafi fengið Pórdísar Pórodds dóttur fyrir 1000.] Sýnist ekki ólíkligt, að þessir nánu venzlamenn hafi borið sig saman, áður en nokkur þeirra tók svo mikilvægt skref og afdrifaríkt göðorðsmanni að hafna landstrúnni, sem margar athafnir göðorðsmanna voru mjög tengdar við. En trúskiptin voru áhættuminni, ef allir löggoðarnir í sama þingi hurfu
par að einu ráði. Það virðist því alllíklegt, að allir löggoðarnir í Arnespingi hafi horfið að einu ráði og látið skírast samtímis, ef til vill sumarið 999, líklega fyrir alþingi.' However near to the truth these last remarks of Einar's come, of the three possible identifications for Theodricus's 'Thorgils de Aulfusi', Porgils/Póroddr/Porgils and Póroddr, the present editor would incline to the second or, even more preferably the third, rather than the first. One is left to wonder whether the author of Fló could in any way have been influenced by Theodricus's statement (whether historically correct or not) when he lays such stress on his hero's conversion and faith. Some scholars believe that the Norwegian's work was known in Iceland and Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, for instance, thought it may have been a source for Oddr, Oláfsk (see IF, xxvi, xv). [Later note: cf. most recently on this problem: Jón Ádalsteinsson, Kristni-takan á Islandi, 1971, 64]

32/5. Pórr: on Pórr, see Rel, ii, 107-53 and Myth, ch. 3. Personal names and theophoric place-names suggest that this god was worshipped in Iceland more than any other. He was particularly revered during the final stages of heathendom in Scandinavia and it also seems probable that he was seen by the pagans as the last defender of their religion against the Christian faith. For these reasons, it is not surprising that Icelandic hagiographic writers (in whose tradition the Fló-author was writing) in turn represented him as the
arch-enemy of their faith and of Christian in general (cf. Myth, 85 ff.).

32/6. at bregðaz e-m, 'to betray someone'.

32/6-7. at hafa illa őr við e-n 'to behave badly towards someone'; cf. Mks, 354: oc litlo sibær com Ivař vt oc fra betta. oc botti Þorfiðr illa hafa or haft vib sic.

32/7-9. valit mėr bat er bú áttir verst til en kastat silfri hví í fúla tjörn, er ek átta: there has been no mention of these actions by Þorgils in what has gone before. This may be due to textual corruption (cf. Orig, ii, 640 footnote; note however the M-text) or, alternatively, to oversight on the part of the author. Or is the author here employing an 'allusive' narrative technique (that is, by having one of his characters refer to an event, inferring that that event has taken place)? If so, we have what must be a rather rare literary device in the sagas. What Pórr presumably refers to is some act of hostility by Þorgils towards his old religion. Like Hákon jarl in Færeyinga Saga (ed. Olafr Halldórsson, 1967, 44), the heathen Þorgils would have given gifts (including silver) to his deity. After his conversion, however, and like certain other Christian converts in the sagas of the missionary kings, he seems to have reacted violently against his old religion. We may compare the way Þórhallur breaks down his old temple in
Ol mest (ii, 186) and Óláf Tryggvason burns Porgerór Hólgabrúðr, with, it seems, her gold and silver in Flb, i, 454. In connection with the tiðrn, we think perhaps of the hylr djúpr into which another object consecrated to a heathen god (Freyfaxi) is thrown (Hrafn, 123). And when it is described as fúl, perhaps of the fúl mýrr (Edda, 233) and it fúlasta fen (Rómverja Saga, ed. R. Meissner, 1910, 305) into which persons were thrown as a form of execution.

32/11. töðugóltr, 'boar fed in the home-field', would have been an animal specially fatted for slaughter (cf. töngóltr in Evrb, 53; VGl, 29; Ev, i, 277). Unlike other swine, tún-svín would have had rings or toggles in their snouts (see Grág, i, b, 121). While pigs are nowadays of no appreciable significance in Icelandic agriculture, they were more important in medieval times (see Arnesb, 370-1 and the references cited there).

32/12. at nýta af e-u, 'to derive benefit from something, to make use of something'.

32/14. at taka fyrir nasar e-m, 'to hold someone’s nose until they die through lack of breath'; cf. Modern Icelandic at taka fyrir kverkar e-m, 'to strangle someone'.

32/24-5. at áhlýðaz við e-t, 'to give ear to something'.
Hon kvað vanbreytt um: vanbreytt could formally be either (i) van + breytt, or (ii) vand + breytt, with loss of ð between n and b (cf. slóngvanbaugi for slóngvandbaugi; see Altisl, 212). In the first case, the word is a hapax legomenon, in the second, it has a single parallel in Porg (4): Ek hefi lengi verit með Hneiti, ok hefir mér gott til hags orðit, ok er mér vandbreytt um bat. If formed with an original prefix van-, we should have to ascribe the word some such sense as 'badly changed, changed for the worse' and translate the whole sentence: 'She said that would be a bad change' (cf. L. Heggstad, Gamalnorsk ordbok, 1930, 774: er v[anbreytt] um, det er lakt byte). But there are obvious advantages in identifying the vanbreytt of Fló with the vandbreytt of Porg (note the following um in both instances), in which case, however, some such sense as 'changed at risk' or 'changed with difficulty' would be more likely; cf. Porg, 57, and W. Baetke, Wörterbuch zur altnordischen Prosaliteratur, 1968, 695: e-m er v[an(d)breytt] um e-t, jmd. hat Bedenken, jmd. fällt es schwer etw. zu ändern.

33/6. gózum Porgils: B and Í have goðorði Porgils and one wonders what reading *X had. Þórhallur Vilmundarson finds gózum suspect as no other plural form of góz is recorded in Old Norse (see Fritzner, s.v.). Further, the reading goð-orði is also found in PM (67/5). On the other hand, it is by no means impossible that P's reading comes from that manuscript's X-group exemplar rather than from MS (cf. pages...
*30 ff. and Note to Introduction 64). Again, we are nowhere told that Hæringr returned the goðorð to Porgils when the latter returned from Greenland (cf. however Note to 13/19); we are, however, told that Porgils [tók] við búi sínu ok ðórrum fjárhlutum (52/3-4; cf. also 51/16). Finally, the word hófuðgorð could be used meaning 'chief farm of an estate' (cf. KL, vi, columns 707 ff.), then góz could reasonably be used meaning simply 'farm', and a plural would be quite admissible (cf. staðfestur at 33/16; cf. however 61/21). In view of these facts, it is perhaps more likely that gózum (meaning either simply 'property', or possibly 'farms, estates') was the reading of *X and conceivably also of *F and the original of the saga.

Pórný is known only from Fló. Cf. Note to 56/13.

33/13. ok sonr: the name of Jósteinn's son has been omitted here, probably by the X-redactor (cf. 67/17). When Pórarinn Jósteinsson is first mentioned in the X-version at 35/15-6 (cf. M-version, 70/16-7), we confuse him with Pórarinn bryti, Porgils's foreman, who has been mentioned at 33/10.

33/14. i Leiruvági (the M-version omits): Leiruvágr in Kollafjörður, Kjósarsýsla, is presumably meant here (see HTE, i, 45; Kort, 27 and 37).

Pórolfr hét maðr er Porgils fekk bú í hendi: PM (67/19) has ómagabú. One must agree with Björn Sigfússon ('TgF', 432) and Pórhallur Vilmundarson that PM's reading
is probably that of *F and that what is referred to here is a farm or estate given to Pórólfr to manage, the profits of which were to be used to maintain those of Þorgils's dependants (ómagar) who were not going to Greenland (cf. Grág, i, a, 230-6). The X-version's bú could only refer to Traðarholt, but from 51/14-6 and 51/20 ff. it is clear that Hæringr lived at that farm while Þorgils was abroad. Further, Björn, Pórhallur and Nijhoff (Beschouwing, 63-5) must be right in thinking that the Pórólfr mentioned here was originally intended to be the same Pórólfr who is referred to at 52/24 ff. as a creditor of Þorgils. Þorgils's debt to him could then be explained as having been incurred in connection with the ómagabú.

33/15. lx. hundraða mórent vi. álna aura, 'sixty hundrað (hundrað = 120) units of mórent vaðmál, each unit being six ells (álnir) in length'; or, in other words: '43, 200 ells of mórent vaðmál, the minimum length of any one piece being six ells'. In the absence of locally minted coins in Iceland, native homespun (vaðmál, literally 'woven measure'; see Kleiderkunde, 50-4) was, with unminted silver, used as one of the main media of exchange. The basis for the measurement of vaðmál was the ell (óln or alin; nom. plural álnir or álmar) which was between 47 and 48 cm. in length (see Mælieiningar). According to the national law, the shortest unit of homespun acceptable as legal tender was six ells long (see Grág, i, a, 129; ii, 141 and 192). This
was the lögeyrir or, as in the Æ-version, the sex álna eyrir; its existence ensured a minimum length for pieces of cloth in which debts could be paid. Locally, however, different values for the eyrir were accepted at the various várbing (i.e. binglagsaurar) and were valid inside the appropriate bingsóknir. Thus, by about 1200 (see DI, i, 316; cf. Saga, 1960-2, 87), a briggja álna eyrir had been accepted for Árnessbingsókn: Pat er fjárlag í Árnessbingsókn at brjú hundruð álna vaðmála skulu ganga fyrir hundruð binglagsaura.

In the Islendingasögur, amounts are usually expressed in terms of the sex álna eyrir; in Sturl, on the other hand, the briggja álna eyrir is always found (cf. IF, v, 247 footnote 2). Mórent vaðmál, 'homespun with brownish, grey stripes' (see Kleiderkunde, 51), was understandably of higher value than ordinary homespun (cf. Grág, i, b, 193: Mórends vaðmála v. fyrir eyri; Jónsbók, 214; Reykd, 173), although in DI, ii, 286, in a document from about 1294, the two types are set at par. According to the local provision for Árnessbingsókn already mentioned, the homespun had to be new and two ells broad to be legal tender; the same provision is found in Jónsbók, 214. If the value of a cow (kúgildi) is reckoned at 120 ells of vaðmál (the highest price in the Middle Ages), then the sum here, not allowing for the extra value of mórent vaðmál is equal to \( \frac{43200}{120} = 360 \) cows; the amount given in the M-version, lx. hundraða iii. álna aura, that is \( \frac{60 \times 120 \times 3}{120} = 180 \) cows, would seem to be more realistic and is probably closer to what the original of the
saga had. Amounts of money are likely to become exaggerated in the course of transmission of texts (cf. Björn Olsen, Safn, 1902, 269).

33/16. staðfestur: the M-version has staðfestu. Because the X-version has a tendency to exaggerate (cf. preceding Note), one might suspect that the M-versions reading is more original; cf. however Note to 33/6.

33/17. Póroðdr is known from a number of Icelandic sources (see Dopnamn, s.v. Póroðdr goði Eyvindar s.). According to Krist (ch. 1), he was one of the most influential chieftains in Iceland at the end of the tenth century and this is borne out by a story in Hkr (i, 271). It may reasonably be assumed that he and his son held one of the three lögþóðar in Arnessýning and he is often given the title of goði in the sources (see e.g. 53/16); cf. Note to 13/19 and the references cited there. In the Sagas he does not always enjoy a very high reputation (see e.g. Grett, ch. 32 and Nj, 56) but Fló takes a relatively sympathetic attitude towards him. On his mother's side, Póroðdr was related to Pórmóðr skapti (Ldn, Fló and Nj, 141), while in Ldn his father Eyvindr is said to be the son of Pórrímur, the son of Grímólfr and Kormlóð (Kornlóð), the daughter of an Irish king. His wife Rannveig was Gnúpsdóttir (see Eg, 241, and Ldn). On the possibility that he was one of a group of chieftains converted by Pangbrandr, see Note to 32/4-5. Further on Pór-
oddr, see Arnesh, 218 ff.

Hjalli is in Ólfsus at the foot of Skálafell about 2 km. from the Ólfsusá (see HTB, i, 76; Arnesh, 228 f.; Kort, 37).

33/22. xl. hundraða (cf. Textual Note): the M-version has xl. iii [álna] aur. The fact that the amount given in the M-version (40 x 120 x 3 = 14,400 ells) is equal to the amount Hæringr actually gave as Pörný's dowry in the X-version (51/27: hundrað hundraða = 120 x 120 = 14,400 ells) makes it seem probable that the M-version's reading was that of the original of the saga.

33/23. Porgilsi kvaz nú fyrir bykkja at fara: e-m bykkir fyrir at gera e-t, 'someone dislikes doing something'. In accusative and infinitive constructions, the case of the subject of the main verb is often, as here, influenced by the case of the logical subject of the infinitive.

33/26. rauðskeggjaðr: Pórr was often represented as having a red beard: see Eir, ch. 8; Flateyjarbók, i, 397. In Icelandic and Norwegian folk tradition, the Devil has inherited this trait (see P. Sluijter, IJslands Volksgeoloof, 1936, 60; KL, s.v. Dievel. FolkI.). According to medieval physiognomical notions, a man with a red beard was not to be trusted; cf. Fms, xi, 428: bat er mitt ráð, at bú trúir aldrei lagum manni ok rauðskeggjðum.
34/3. at hverfa aptr, meaning basically 'to return', can have, as here, the specific sense of 'to revert to a certain faith' (cf. e.g. Olafs Saga hins helga, ed. O. A. Johnsen, 1922, 34: En beir sem kristnir váru áðr hurfu aptr til kristni); cf. aptrhvarf with a specific meaning 'apostacy'. átrúnaðr is used particularly of heathen religion and superstition.

34/4. at sjá til með e-m, 'to look after someone's interests, to help someone'.


34/15. The fjórðr referred to must be Kollafjórðr (Kort, 27 and 37; HTB, 14); cf. 33/14 and Note.

34/22-3. ok mælti sumir menn at beir skyldi heita á Pór: Pórr, as controller of the wind and weather, seems to have been particularly invoked to give help at sea. It is, for instance, said of Helgi inn magri that he believed normally in Christ, but, when at sea, transferred his allegiance to Pórr (Ldn). Cf. Grundriss der germanischen Philologie, ed. H. Paul, 1891-1937, i, 1099; Myth, 87.
34/23-4. *at menn skyldi missmíði á finna*: the noun *missmíði* (literally: 'mistakes in a work' (Cleasby-Vigfusson)) appears only in the phrase *at sjá, finna missmíði á (e-u)* with a sense 'to find fault with (something), to repent of (something)'; cf. *VG1*, 25/26-7.

35/1. *at beina fyrir e-m* normally means 'to give help to someone'. It is not quite clear what the verb means in this context and, in *Oríg* (ii, 644), *beint* is emended to *seinat*. The irony of the first part of the sentence is, however, probably being continued (cf. *Niedner*, 115 footnote).

35/7-9. Porgils...Nú vaknar Porgils: in the M-version (70/1-3), Porgils remembers his gift to Þórr after awakening from his dream. This is surely more reasonable.

35/8. *kálfr, er hann gaf honum*: the Sagas mention other instances where a domestic animal is consecrated to a heathen god; the best known example is in *Hrafn*, where Hrafnkell gives half of the horse Freyfaxi to Freyr. That such practices were an historical reality is suggested by *Grág*, i, a, 22: *Menn skulu trúa á einn Guð ok á helga menn hans ok blóta eigi heiðnar vættir. Pá blótar hann heiðnar vættir, ef hann signir fé sitt ðórum en Guði eða helgum mónnum hans*. The animal particularly sacred to Þórr was the goat, but the ox seems frequently to have served as a beast of sacrifice in pagan Scandinavia (see H. Rosén, 'Freykult och djurkult',)
Fornvænnin, 1913, 236-43; Rel, paragraph 260).

35/17-8. heir brutu skipit...við sandmöl: Orig (ii, 645) translates: 'they wrecked their ship...upon a sandbank' and Niedner: 'sie...auf einer Sandbank scheiterten',

35/18-9. í efra rúmi: what part of the ship is meant here is uncertain. Falk (See, 84) supposes that a hold (rúm; cf. KL, s.v. Skipsrom) in the fore of the ship is intended and this perhaps squares with the statement at 35/20 that the prow of the ship was later washed ashore. Joleik (page 4) considers the expression meaningless and translates it as if í eftra rúmi, 'i bakrome (hold in the aft)' were intended; while, however, t is often lost between two consonants, the present editor has not been able to find examples of such a loss between f and r.

35/19. batr: the ship's boat was either towed (eptirbátr) or kept on board. Many ships had a boat in both these positions. See See. 91 f.

35/22. skáli ok í hverbili: skáli, the name given to the basic and central building of the Icelandic farm in the first centuries of the island's settlement, was also used of more temporary buildings erected primarily as sleeping apartments (cf. leikskáli, 'sleeping hall erected at a recreational centre' and fiskiskáli, 'fisherman's hut').
In the skáli, a raised dais (set) along each of the side walls was used for sleeping on (cf. Note to 6/10-1). This set was usually divided up into separate beds (rekkjur) which could be shut off from the rest of the hall by curtains (cf. Note to 74/10) or sliding doors. Further on the skáli, see Privatboligen, 98-9; Hínbylahættir, chapters 2 and 3. A bverbili (cf. Privatboligen, 98-9) was a thin wooden partition across the breadth of the hall, usually erected to separate off smaller rooms (e.g. a stofa or outer lobby). Here, in Fló, it is used to partition off the quarters of the two groups of the expedition.

35/23. atvinna, 'means of subsistence' (Zoëga).

36/2. at gera mikit/litit um sík, 'to make a lot/little noise'.

36/3. nálleikar: this word does not appear elsewhere. In Sverris Saga (ed. G. Indrebø, 1920, 40), we are, however, told of the men of Magnús Erlendsson that heir vökðu út á Eyrum bessa sómú nótt ok hófðu bar leik. Such indoor games played at night may well have included the sort of contest described in Note to 39/20-2.

36/3-4. at verða léttari at barni, (of a pregnant woman) 'to give birth to a child'.
36/5-6. Fargils hafði útróðarmanna með brælum Jósteins: the M-version's reading (71/15-6) is probably the more original.

36/9-10. Óp mikit í útnorð: útnorð, 'north-west'. This term of direction, like certain others in Old Icelandic, can only be explained on the basis of conditions on the west coast of Norway and thus must be older than the settlement of Iceland (see D. Seip, Norsk språkhistorie, 1955, 34). I. Reichborn-Kjennerud (Vår gamle trolldomsmedisin, 1928, 227 and 61) refers to this Óp mikit as being that of 'en fugl í nord som varslet om en dødelig farsott'; he compares the nárauk, presumably of Norwegian folklore, 'som galter i nord og varsler død' (cf. however pages *316 ff.). As a rule, sickness and disease are thought of as coming from the North (cf. Introduction, pages *305). Further, the north-west was thought of as being particularly unlucky; see Handwörterbuch, s.v. Himmelsrichtungen.

36/18-9. mjöll, 'fresh powdered snow' (Cleasby-Vigfusson) The M-version's múl, 'sand, gravel', is probably the better reading (cf. however Orig, ii, 647 line 4).

36/19-20. ok bað pá við sjá slíkum fáðumum, 'and told them to beware of such terrible things'. At sjá við e-u, 'to guard against something, to beware of something'.
36/24. gði: the penultimate month of winter lasting from mid-February (8th-15th) to mid-March (10th-16th); see KL, s.v.

37/4. ok gróf Porgils hana undir rúmi sínu: the M-version (72/27), where Kolr buries Guðrún would seem to have the better reading here. The body is perhaps buried under a warm bed because the ground outside would be frozen (cf. GhM, ii, 200). See however 36/18-9 (but also Note) and 72/12-3.

37/10. at viti til annars heims, 'that (the dream) is a hint, foreboding of the Other World'. At vita e-s, til e-s, 'henpege paa noget, varsle om noget' (Fritzner, iii, 969 column 2 and 972 column 1). Cf. the M-version's reading (72/7-8) which is probably the more original.

37/13. Porgils kvaz eigi yfir bat sjá, 'Porgils said that he saw no chance of that'. Fritzner (iii, 258) glosses sjá yfir as 'finde, skjønne, indse' and suggests that yfir bat sjá here means 'se at de kunde det (i.e. leita őr ùbyggðum)'. Cf. Rómverja Saga, ed. R. Meissner, 1910, 101: ek sé nú æigi yfir, að vér megim háskalaust koma í Galliam.

37/22. bolðxi: the narrow-bladed bolðx was primarily used
for cutting wood (cf. bolr, 'the bole of a tree') but was sometimes used as a weapon. See Waffenkunde, 113.

37/23. nótn, thought of as the ninth hour of a day beginning at 06.00 hours, was originally 15.00 hours. By contamination with eykt (see 73/23-4 and Note) it may, however, have moved towards 15.30 hours (see Grág, iii, 602; NK, xxi, 40 ff.; KL, s.v. Nótn; B. Ejder, Dagens tider och måltider, 1969, 31 ff. and 108 ff.).

37/23-4. gerði rá á veðr (acc.) hart: gerir e-t á, impersonal, of weather: 'to arise, build up' (cf. Syntax, section 16 a).

37/26-38/1. Nú munu ill efni í: efni, 'Tilstand, Stilling, Omstændigheder ved Sag eller Person, hvori denne befinner sig, hvad der er forhaanden' (Fritzner, s.v. efni, 5). Cf. Gísl, 44: Gísli kom bá inn ok só, hver efni í váru.

38/12. blanda: this word can either have the sense 'a mixture of two liquids' or 'whey (and water)'. Taking it as having the first of these two meanings, Cleasby-Vigfusson (s.v. blanda) states that it is used 'of watery blood' and Niedner translates 'Blut und Milch'. GhM (ii, 107) compromises with 'en blandet Vædske (lignende Valle)' while Origs (ii, 649) has 'milk and water'. One suspects the Fló-author intended some idea of 'milk' or 'whey' to be
present.

38/14. *einn húðkeip* húðkeipr, 'boat of skins sewn over a wooden frame'. The word is otherwise only used of the vessels of the Skrælingar (Gr and Eir). But while the Scandinavians would have known the kayaks and the umyaks of the Eskimoes and the coracles and curachs of the Welsh and Irish (the word *keipull* (Islb, 22), which also means 'skin boat', may be a loan from Celtic (possibly via Anglo-Saxon)), they would also have been able to make and use them themselves: as Falk remarks in *See* (86), such boat-building terminology as *súð*, in Old Icelandic 'joint in the planking of a ship', assumes that joints were originally made by sewing. And Helgi Guðmundsson (in Fróðskaparrit, 1970, 204) draws attention to an Icelandic annal for 1666: 'Pá drukknáði maðr í Hvítá...at völ tum skinnbát.' At 40/20, the húðkeipr is referred to as a skip; cf. Rómverja Saga, R. Meissner, 1910, 110: síðan lét Julius gíora húðskip, en hann lét hauggva upp alldingarða ...ok hafði bað til innviða (cf. Fló, 38/15: bjuggu innan með viðum) í húðskipin ok kom svá yfir aullum herinum.

38/16. *rekald* here probably has the sense of 'a whale drifted ashore, stranded' (cf. *VGl*, 48 and Note to 70/26) although it can have a less specific sense of 'jetsam'.

38/17. *tröllkonur tvær*: whether there were Eskimoes on the
southern part of the east coast of Greenland in about the
year 1000, or even in about 1300, need not concern us
here (on this point, see T. Mathiassen, Skrælingerne i
Grønland, 1934, 94 f.; idem in Maddelelser om Grønland
109/2, 1936, 53; F. Gad, Grønlands Historie, 1957, 113 ff.).
These tróllkonur are not Eskimoes as some have thought (see
e.g. GhM, ii, 203 ff.; Flóamanna Saga, ed. Benedikt Sveinsson, 1926, iv; Fló, 1932, 73) but purely literary phenomena
(see Introduction, pages 325-7).

38/19-20. at færæ undir e-t, 'to take onto one's back' (cf.
Blöndal, s.v. færa).

38/24. Seleyrar (M-version: Seleyjar; repeated at 82/11)
are not heard of in any other source. Could the author of
the saga have invented them in imitation of Fír's Bjarneyjar
and Bjarney? If he did, then the M-text would seem to have
the more original reading here. On the other hand, the
place-name Seleyri is known in Borgarfjörður in Iceland
(see HTB, i, 300).

38/26. at sumarmálum: sumarmál was between the 9th (poss-
ibly 8th) and 15th of April (see NK, xxi, 27).

38/26-39/3. Hálfum mánaði síðar...mat': were it not for
various factors, one would take Þorfinnr's words and ac-
tions here as simply showing that, even at his tender age,
he has some community spirit: his adult companions are forced to content themselves with scanty rations; he is prepared to do so also. And here it is perhaps worth noting that young saints were, of course, by nature abstemious (see H. Günter, Die christliche Legende des Abendlandes, 1910, 13). What makes one think that something more may lie behind the incident - and here it must be admitted that we are on very uncertain ground; our saga is by no means free from irrelevant detail (cf. pages *120-1) - is the way the author is specific about the time it took place, i.e. two weeks after sumarmál, that is, between 22nd and 29th April. A day in the middle of this week happened to be Gagndagr eini or 'Minor Rogation Day', which, according to the code of ecclesiastical law which obtained when the saga was written (see NGL, v, 43), was a fast day on which only one meal of hvítr matr (lacticinia) was allowed. Now it is interesting to note that hvítr matr included eggs (NGL, v, 50). Þorgils has insisted that his companions observe good Christian practice. And here we find them cutting down on their food and eating eggs on a day which could well be a fast day. And when Þorfinnr also practices self-restraint, one wonders if he is not displaying the same sort of precocity as a young saint like St Nicholas who drakk sinn á degi brjóst móður sinnar miðvikudag hvern ok fóstudag (HMS, ii, 21). Cf. however Note to 79/18-9 for a different interpretation of the passage.
svartbaksegg, 'eggs of the Great Black-back Gull (Larus marinus)'. These are often consumed (see KL, s.v. Måsfåglar). The birds lay their eggs sometime in May (cf. 38/26-39/1) and they are usually hatched in June (see GhM, ii, 207).

at brýna upp, 'to beach'.

The story of how Porgils nearly brings about the death of his son is interesting if obscure. It is possible that the author was thinking of Abraham's near sacrifice of Isaac (Genesis, chap. 22). Alternatively, Porgils may be thought of as acting out of pure sympathy for the boy. But the hero's retrospective self-reproach (cf. especially 78/24-6 and 81/33 ff.) might suggest more sinister implications. R. Heinzel (Besdreibung der isländischen Saga, 1881, 213) thinks that the intention was to offer the boy to the heathen gods and compares a passage in Jóma, 36, where Hákon jarl sacrifices his seven year old son to Ægerðr Hólgabrúðr. And we may note that there is special evidence for human sacrifices, particularly of sons and daughters, to the god Pórr (see Myth, 96 ff.; cf. also Ol mest, ii, 114, where Pórr is said to have eaten his own sons).

Porgils's first and third dream and Þorleifr's dream, together with their interpretations, belong to a
type which W. Henzen discusses in his book *Über die Träume in der altnordischen Sagalitteratur* (1890, 44ff.) and to which he gives the name 'Der Redensart- und Wortwitztraum'. Although the difference between the 'metaphor dream' ('Redensarttraum') and 'pun' dream ('Wortwitztraum') is not always clear, a distinction should be made between them. In the 'metaphor' dream, the concrete action of the dream is interpreted in terms of the set figurative expression it illustrates. For example, in *Laxd.*, ch. 74, Pòrkell dreams that his beard is so large that 'it spread out over the whole of Breiðafjörður'. Guðrún, his wife, takes this as meaning that he will 'dip his beard into Breiðafjörður' (drep skeggi í Breiðafjörðu niðr). At drep skeggi niðr is an expression for 'to drown'. In *Porsteins Saga Síðu-Halksonar* (*11*, xi, 311 f.), Pórhadær says he dreams '...at mér bóttri tungan svá lóng í mér, at ek bótumk krákja henni aprtr í hnakkan ok frám í munninn górum megin.' Steinn interprets this as meaning: '...at béru mun tungan um hofuð vefjask í helzta lagi'; e–m tungan um hofuð vefz means 'a person's words are his downfall'. Þorgils's first dream is a particularly transparent and rather artless example of this type. In a 'pun' dream, a play on like-sounding words or words with double meaning is involved. In *Bysk*, ii, 202, for instance, Guðmundr interprets erkiðskefup as erki-býsn. And in Icelandic tradition of later times, it was unlucky to dream of a woman called Ingibjörg, since her name could be interpreted as engin björg, 'no salvation'
Porleifr's dream (see Note to 40/15-8) is an example of this second type. For further examples, see Henzen, loc. cit.; VG1, 75 f.

39/20-2. 'Ek...hann': the first of this series of proleptic dreams is, as noted, a 'metaphor' dream. In their concrete senses, the expressions at toga hónk, at missa hankar refer to a game played in medieval Scandinavia and described by Saxo in his Gesta Danorum. Two opponents sat on the ground opposite each other with the soles of their feet pushed together. Leaning forward, they both grasped a ring of rope or wattle (hónk) and pulled. The winner was the one who pulled the hónk out of his opponents hands or pulled him up onto his feet. There seems also to have been a variation of the game in which the opponents stood (see NK, xxiv, 23). Saxo's description of the game is as follows: circulus vimine vel fune contextus magno pedum manuumque conatu decertaturis raptim distrahenendus exhiberi solebat, fortiori tribuens palmam: quem colectantum si quis alteri detraxisset, victoria donabatur (Saxo, 118 f.). The game was still being played in Gotland at the end of the nineteenth century under the name at dragä hank and a variation of it, using a stick instead of a hank, is known from the present century (see further GhM, ii, 208 f.; Ólafur Davíðsson, Íslenzkar skentanir, 1888-92, 129 f.; Úddanelse, 140 f.; NK, xxiv, 13 (photograph), 21). Modern Icelandic has two figurative express-
ions taken from this sport: að toga hönk við e-n um e-ð means 'to contend with someone over something' and að toga hönkina úr greipum e-s, 'to get the better of someone' (see Oratók, 256 f.). Similar expressions must have existed in Old Icelandic (cf. Introduction, pages *328-9).

39/23-4. ok skipta málum við hann ok mun bér bat betr ganga (M-version: mun bat vel ganga): skipta málum is translated in GhM (ii, 113) as 'have Retssager at afgjøre', in Orig (ii, 652) as 'have a suit' and by Niedner (119) as 'in Rechtsstreit geraten'. Now it should be noted that the only law-suit in the saga between Ægir and Porgils is hardly the success from Porgils's point of view that the words of the X-version might suggest. For this reason it is probably better to regard M's ok mun bat vel ganga as the more original reading here and take them in the sense 'and that will turn out well', i.e. 'and that will have a peaceful conclusion.'

40/3 ok mun bat bó vel dragaz: Fritzner (s.v. draga, 7) glosses dragaz here as 'jevne sig, bedres'. He gives no parallel examples.

40/6. hjálmlaukar (M-version: hálmlaukar): Pórhallur Vil mundarson comments as follows: 'Ovist er, við hvaða jurt hér er átt. Ornólfr Thorlacius hefur látið sér detta í hug, að hjálmlaukr væri sama nafnið og e. hemlock, egs.'
hemlic, hymlice, sbr. geirlaukr, e. garlic. Hemlock merkir oftast eiturjurt (conium maculatum), en hefur einnig verið notað um sveipjurtir (umbelliferae), í sunn-anverðu Skotlandi einkum um geithvönn (angelica silvestris), og virðist sú merking geta átt við hér.' Allowing only for the normal phonological developments from Primitive Germanic to Old Icelandic and Old English, neither hjámlaukr nor hálmlaukr corresponds to either of the Old English forms. (The geirlaukr = garlic equation is a mis-analogy; the latter only appears in Old English with ea (or smoothed reflexes thereof) in the second element; the words for 'hemlock', on the other hand, always have -lic or -lice.) We must not, however, forget such factors as folk-etymology and borrowing and it must be admitted that some species of angelica would fit the context admirably: Angelica archangelica can grow to a height of 180 cm. (cf. ofarliga yfir hófuði mér, 40/7; note the trees in the Fló-author's model for this dream (see Introduction, pages *331-4*)); angelica is many-branched (cf. kvisluðuz bar af margir laukar, 40/6); the flowers of some species are yellow (cf. fagr sem hann hefði gullslit, 40/8); the plant's flowers could be thought of as having the shape of a helmet (cf. the X-version's hjálm-); and lastly, it is perhaps worth noting that in Norwegian folk-custom angelica was regarded as a fertility symbol and brides and bridegrooms on their way to be married carried branches of it in their hands (see N. Lid, Joleband og vegetasjonsguddom, 1928, 208).
On the other hand, one might ask why, if angelica is intended here, it is not called by its usual name, hvönn; even though this had been done, the pun on laukr at 40/11-2 (cf. Note ad loc) could still have been made. Further, there is another plant the name might refer to. In Edda Snorra Sturlusonar (1852, 493), we find the word hjálmr; H. Falk (Arkiv, 1925, 127) thinks that this is lyme grass, Elymus arenarius. Now it is true that lyme grass does not grow to a height of much more than 80 cm. (cf. 40/7); but it does have yellow flowers (cf. 40/8); further, a related species, Calamagrostis neglecta, grows in Iceland and is called hálmgresi; cf. Ingimar Óskarsson and Henning Anthon, Villiblóm í litum, 1963, 28,159. But, on the whole, the weight of evidence seems to be in favour of assuming that some form of angelica is meant here. In this connection, it should perhaps be pointed out that the modern plant-names gullhjálmgars, engjahjálmgars and garðahjálmgars for various species of Labiatae which grow in Iceland are almost certainly to be regarded as recent nýrði. [Later note: Further evidence for the conception of angelica as a fertility symbol is provided by a riddle poem which Ólafur Halldórsson edits in Fróðskaparrit (1970, 236-58, verse 8) and which he thinks could have been known in Iceland as early as the 12th century:

\[\text{Mogur er sa hin nítiande} \\
\text{er elzt fyrer modurkniam} \\
\text{ok er j fota skíole fæddur.}\]
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uignyrum sinum

ef verdr uliugr gamall

kockar hann í ennett vpp

eistum sinym

kastar hann á alla uega

ok getur af hvi born ok byru.]

40/6, 10: kvísluðuz, kvíslaz: a play on the concrete and
figurative use of the word kvísla(z); cf. Herv, 40:

Pat er laukr. Höfuð hans er fast í jörðu, en hann kvíslar,
er hann vex upp and Homiliú-bók, 156: hefir baðan kvíslaz
siðan allt mannkyn. Note also kynkvísl, 'branch of a)

family'.

40/10-1. at alla aldr, 'to live out one's days' (more lit-
erally: 'to nurture one's life').

40/11-2. inn fagri laukinn: Porleifr's interpretation of
this dream depends on a pun on the word laukr, which, as
well as having the sense 'plant' or 'flower', can also
have the sense 'excellent person, paragon'. The author of
the saga was probably thinking of a compound *ettarlaukr
or a phrase *laukr í ett; although neither of these is
attested in Old Icelandic, they must have existed; both
appear in the modern language with the sense 'the best of
one's family' (see Cleasby-Vigfusson, s.v. ettarlaukr). We
may compare the Old Norwegian nickname laukr with a similar
sense (see Binamn, s.v.); the Voss-dialect expression 
beste laukjen i lagje, 'den morsomste Gjæst i Selskab'
(I. Aasen, Norsk Ordbok, 1918, s.v. lauk); and the Scand­
inavian loan-word in English (dialect), lowk, 'sharp fell­
ow' (see J. de Vries, Altnordisches etymologisches Wörter­
buch, 1962, s.v. laukr).

40/14. Þorlákr byskup inn helgi Þórhallsson, the greatest 
of Iceland's medieval bishops, lived from about 1133 to
1193. He was educated in England and France (1154-60).
From about 1162 to 1168, he was at Kirkjubær and after that
was abbot of Þykkvibær until 1175. In 1177, he was selected
by Bishop Klængr Þorsteinsson as his successor and in 1178
was consecrated by Archbishop Eysteinn in Níðaróss. During
his period of office, he contested the right of church own­
ership by laymen, but the latter succeeded in resisting
his claim. He was also involved in a struggle with the
influential chieftain Jón Loptsson, whose mistress, Ragn­
heiðr, was his own sister (cf. Note to 8/7). Soon after
his death, miracles brought about by his intercession were
reported, a miracle book was compiled and, at the Alpingi
of 1199, two feast days in honour of Saint Þorlákr were
made law. The main source concerning him is Þorláks Saga
byskups, which exists in three redactions, and various books
of his miracles are also preserved (see Bysk, i). Accord­
ing to the genealogy at the end of the saga and to Byskupa
Aðtir (12), Þorlákr's father was the son of Eyvǫr, daughter
of Jórunn, daughter of Þorgils.

40/15-8. Þorleifr's dream is a 'pun' dream. The play is on the words kostr, which in the plural has the sense of both 'provisions' and 'circumstances', at vera of which can mean both 'to be off' and 'to be past' and harða of which, as in English, has both concrete and figurative senses. In the concrete sense, the words mun af it harðasta af kostrum okkrum mean 'the hardest part of our provisions will have been removed', while in the transferred sense they mean 'the most difficult of our experiences will be over' (cf. IF, ix, 120: Pá er begar nær, er af er inn harðasti). The word bára requires comment. Its usual sense is 'wave' (see e.g. 50/16), but in Modern Icelandic it also means 'ophöjet el. bølgeformet Újevnhed el. Stribé, i Glas osv., Rifle' (Blöndal, s.v. bára, 2). Its use here of the corrugated rind of a cheese is therefore not unduly surprising. The fact that it is not found elsewhere with this sense, however, coupled with its rather unnecessary reiteration in Þorgils's interpretation of the dream, might suggest that there is some pun on it also. In spite of M's reading here (see Textual Note to 80/10), the present editor cannot accept W. Henzen's suggestion (Über die Träume in der altnordischen Sagalitteratur, 1890, 48; repeated by Nijhoff in Beschouwing, 148), that a play on bárur and barar (börur), 'stretcher, bier' is meant. On the other hand, it seems quite possible that the reader is intended to think of the
connotation 'misfortune, difficulty' the word could well have had. The expression at sigla milli skers ok báru is found in Old Icelandic (see Fritzner, s.v. bára) and in Modern Icelandic, the proverbs sjáldan er ein bára stök and begar ein báran rís, er önnur víis are known (see Blöndal, s.v. bára, 1). Cf. the use of the word in a letter from Jóhannes Guðmundsson to Jón Arnason (ed. Finnur Sigmundsson in Ór fórum Jóns Árnasonar, i, 1950, 192): en hann etlar nú hann muni lifa nokkur ár enn, fyrst hann dró yfir bessa báru. It is possible that this dream was suggested to the Fló-author by a dream in Sturl, i, 106.

40/21. *at brijótaz um*, 'to flounder about'.

40/22. *brammr*, 'the clawed front paw of a predatory beast (particularly a bear)'.

40/22-3. *leggr björn med sverði*, 'thrusts the sword into the bear'. The use of *at leggja* meaning 'to thrust' with the attacked object taken as accusative object of the verb; see Fritzner, s.v. *leggja*, 17 b.

40/25. *at gera til*, 'to make ready, prepare for eating'. See Fritzner, i, 583 column 2.

40/26-7. *matarafli*: Fritzner (s.v.) translates 'Tilveieringelser af Fødemidler'. 
41/2-3. *fyrir framan margar víkr, 'past may bays'. The M-version (see 81/2 and Note) undoubtedly has the more original reading here.

41/7. *at liggja við, 'to be at stake'.

41/9. auskerit: ausker, 'bailing bucket' (cf. See, 6) is more probably, although not certainly, from austrker (see e.g. HMS, i, 531), rather than from a compound formed with the verb ausa, 'to bail' (as Alexander Jóhannesson (Die Komposita im Isländischen, 1929, 29 f.) suggests). The form austrker could readily change to austker (cf. systkin < *systrain; see Altisl, 215) and the loss of t in -stk- combinations (see Altisl, 215) and association with ausa would produce ausker.

41/12. *mæla fyrir minni, 'propose a toast'. It was heathen custom to dedicate toasts either to dead relatives or to the gods. Þórr is particularly mentioned as being the subject of toasts (cf. Fgr, 85: *Hit fyrsta kvælld er menn como til ærvis skylldi skænkia upp morg full með bema hætte sem nu ero minni. oc æignaðu bau full hinum rikastum frendum sinum, eða Þorr eða aðrum guðum sinum ba er hæiðni var; Oddr, Oláfs, 94: *PAT hefir her verit siðr ibessu landi at geva Þor eða Oðni eða aðrum asum minni at uelzum). The older word for these toasts was full. Later, however, the High German word minna (later minne) was applied to them.
In German, this meant little more than 'toast' (more originally 'love'; cf. Latin: in amore sanctorum bibere) but as used in Scandinavia the word assumed the sense 'toast in memory' under the influence of the Old Norse minni, 'memory'. Before a toast was drunk, its proposer would recite a formula (formæli; cf. Fló's mæla fyrir minni) with the appropriate consecration. In Christian times, toasts continued to be drunk in the name of God and the saints. Further on toasts, see KL, s.v. Drikkeoffer and the references cited there.

41/13 På, it argasta dýr...: Pórr, albeit Pórr in the form of a bird, is referred to. And as noted in the Introduction (pages 291 ff.), the Norse god is here very much playing the part of the Christian Devil. And as J. Weisweiler (Indogermanische Forschungen, 1923, 24) observes, 'argr ein beliebtes Epitheton des Teufels ist'; he compares, inter alia, Gamal norsk homilebok, ed. G. Indrebø, 1931, 157: inn argi djófull.


41/15. álkuungi: an álka is a razorbill (Alca torda).
41/18. Nógrætt: according to both pagan and Biblical tradition, the North was the home of evil spirits or the Devil (see Rel, paragraph 580; Isaiah, chapter 14, verse 13). The same notion has persisted in Icelandic folk belief (see e.g. Pjóðs, 491 f.). See further Handwörterbuch, s.v. Himmelsrichtungen.


The reading allar gramir requires comment. K, A, S and the Z-group all have allir, while Arni Magnússon alters K's allir to allar and has allir in square brackets in the margin. And although manuscripts with allir are in the majority here, it seems probable that *v had allar: as will appear from what follows, this is a lectio difficilior; the fact that Arni Magnússon gives a variant in square brack-
ets confirms the authority of the non-bracketed reading (cf. Introduction, page *69); thirdly, allar is the reading of M (82/3), which, of course, represents the original of the saga more closely than its other manuscripts. *Y, *X, *F and the original of the saga are thus likely to have had allar also.

Now a feminine adjective qualifying gramir, 'devils', presents problems. Gramir is regarded by Cleasby-Vigfusson (211) as an adjective used as a noun, while Fritzner (1, 629) takes it as a masculine noun. That the word originally derives from an adjective is certain; we may compare Old Icelandic gramr, Old High German, Old Saxon, Old English gram, 'wrathful, angry, hostile' (cf. C. Buchanan, Substantivized Adjectives in Old Norse, 1933, 11, 16, 41). And its adjectival origin is still reflected in Old Norse: in two cases (Hengvisla Hundingasana in fyrri, Hallfreðar Saga; see above), we find the neuter form grōm. Further, as first suggested in Ny kgl. sml. 1871, 4to (see Eddadigte II, ed. Jón Helgason, 1956, 97), behind Tramar of Skírnismál, verse 30 (Edda, 75) - a word which neither alliterates with the following gneypa and gerstan nor is otherwise found in Old Norse - there may well lie a feminine form gramar. But whether a noun or an adjective used as a noun, masculine gender for gramir is certainly attested by a qualifying allir in Vols, 95 (see above), in a text of Hárfarðsljóð (see Appendix III) and in various manuscripts of Fló. How, then, are we to explain the use of a feminine allar in Fló
for what was, at least originally, a masculine form.

There seem to be only two alternatives:

(i) By assuming that *gramir* (a) became fully substantivized and then (b) changed its gender. There is evidence for (a) and a parallel for a word meaning 'evil spirit' shifting gender: (a) If Cleasby-Vigfusson (211) is right in suggesting *gramendr* in *Dropl*, ch. 10, is a contracted form a *grana hendr*, then *grama* must presumably be the genitive plural of a noun. (b) The noun *vettr*, '(evil) spirit', which was originally feminine, developed masculine and neuter forms in Icelandic and Norwegian (see *Gamal norsk homiliebok*, ed. G. Indrebø, 1931, 94 line 1; Blöndal, s.v. *vettr*; O. Beito, *Genusskifte i nynorsk*, 1954, 402-3). An objection to this explanation is that one would expect feminization of *gramir* to have taken place before substantivization and a feminine form to appear as *gramar* rather than *gramir* (cf. the remarks on *Skírnismál*’s *Tramar* above).

(ii) By invoking a similar argument to that by which some commentators explain the application of masculine grammatical forms to Grendel’s mother in *Beowulf*: 'For the Germanic demons,' writes C. Wrenn (edition of *Beowulf*, 1958, 209), 'seem — like some others — to have been ambisexual.' Wrenn continues: 'and the Gothic Scriptures render the Greek neut. pl. *δαπόν* sometimes by f. *unhulbons*, sometimes by m. *unhulbans*.' F. Klaeber (*Beowulf*, 180) adduces Gothic Bible *usdribans* (masc.) *warb unhulbo* (fem.) (Matthew, chapter 9, verse 33), to which may be added *bo skoalsa* (neuter) *beđum*
ina gibbonans (masculine). Both Wrenn and Klaeber quote Milton's 'Spirits, when they please, can either Sex assume or both' (Paradise Lost, i, 423-4). If demons were regarded as capable of changing their sex or as hermaphroditic the application to them of incongruent grammatical genders or of neuter gender may, then, have been used to infer these qualities. And other possible parallels to the Old English and Gothic phenomenon are not entirely lacking in Old Norse: In Helgakviða Hundingsbana in fyrri, verse 38 (Edda, 136), the definite article in is applied to skass, 'monster', a noun which cannot be feminine. From the demons of Hell (gramir), it is a short step to the argir seiðskrattar (cf. Old English scritta, 'hermaphrodite') we hear of in Old Norse sources as sex-shifters (cf. F. Ström, Loki, 1956, 74: 'der Seiðr-Ergi-Komplex sich eng an die Totenreich-sphäre anschliesst'). And in Hávamál, verse 155 (Edda, 43), we find seiðmenn shifting grammatical gender: Þat kann ek ib tíunda,/ef ec sé túnriðor/leica lopti á:/ec svá vinnc,/at beir villir fara/sinna heim hama,/sinna heim huga. And a feature of ergi-seiðr was transestism: as Þórr justifiably argues in Prymskviða, verse 17 (Edda, 113): 'Mic munr æsir/argan kalla,/ef ec bindaz læt/brúðar líni'; and when Loki, arch-demon and sex-shifter par excellence, tells him that they shall set out for the land of the giants, it is as neuters they shall drive: '...við scolom aca tvau/ɪ ígtn-heimi' (Prymskviða, verse 20 (Edda, 114)).
41/20. *at una við e-t*, 'to be pleased with something, rejoice in something'.

41/20-1. *at koma e-u á leið*, 'to bring something about'.

41/24. *með hverju faraldí*: apart from in Sk, ii, 75, where it has the meaning 'epidemic' (cf. faraldr), the neuter noun farald is only attested in the expression *(með) hverju faraldí* with the sense 'means of conveyance, movement' (always followed by a verb of motion). Cleasby-Vigfusson (s.v.) notes that this phrase is used 'expressing wonder at one's appearance, escape, or the like'. This is the case here; cf. Mar, 98: *Ok er þeir fundu hann* (i.e. a man thought to be drowned), *há spurði byskup, hverju faraldí hann hefði komið til lands*. We may perhaps translate with some such idiom as 'how on Earth'. This example with the preposition *með* is the only one recorded in Fritzner and Cleasby-Vigfusson (cf. 82/8, where the preposition is absent).

41/25. *kostaboð viðe-n*, 'a choice between two things offered to somebody'.

42/5. *naust*: on boat-houses in ancient Scandinavia, see KL, s.v. *Naust*.

42/6. *bæ*: surely we need not look for, or expect to find,
the ruins of Hrólfr's farm on the east coast of Greenland (cf. Meddelelser om Grønland, 9, 1889, 160-1; ibid., 89/1, 1941, 306; ibid., 109/2, 1936-9, 13-4); he and it must be purely literary phenomena. Cf. Introduction, *338-9.

42/7. Hrólfr: while this name was common in Norway after the year 1200, it was rare in Iceland (see Dopnamn, s.v.). One wonders if it was not chosen by the author of the saga as a wry joke at the expense of a Norwegian of that name who was, in 1289, sent by the king of Norway on an expedition to a country called Nýjaland, which, the Annals tell us, was discovered by Icelanders in 1285. There can be little doubt that the intelligence of the new country was a hoax and that those said to have made the discovery had, in fact, only visited the east coast of Greenland. Hrólfr attempted to get Icelanders to join him on his expedition, was unsuccessful in this, however, seems to have stayed in Iceland and died there in 1290. The Icelanders gave him the ironic nickname Land-(Hrólfr); see Hermann Pálsson, 'Landa­fundurinn árið 1285', Saga, 1964, 53 ff.

42/10. litr: feminine accusative singular of an adjective litr, 'coloured', which is, as here, normally qualified by an adverb denoting the quality of the colour; cf. e.g. Bysk, i, 131: annat [augat] var blátt ok illa lít.

42/17. at kaupa e-n í frið, 'to effect an amnesty for some-
one (by the payment of a sum of money)'; cf. Fóstbr, 141; Laxd, 182. See further Note to 45/18-9 and 65/7.

42/20. fara suðr fyrir land: it seems probable that the author of the saga visualizes the rounding of Kap Farvel, Greenland's southernmost point.

 fjórð: Eiríksfjörðr (now called Tunugdljarfik) (see map in KL, viii, columns 651-2) seems to be meant here; cf. M-version, 83/11. Its entrance is about 140 km NW of Kap Farvel as the crow flies.

 lögðu í lægi, 'to put in at a mooring place', There is an understood skipi after lögðu.

42/22. veðr in the sense 'wind'.


A lypting was a raised platform on the poop of a ship. We normally hear of them on warships, but Falk (See, 49; cf. 82, 84) cites this passage as evidence for lyptingar on kaupskip (cf. 42/22).

43/5-7. sacði Pórnýju, dóttur hans, vera gipta Bjarna í Gróf Porsteinssyni rauða landnámamanns: Bjarni spaki is also known from Ldn, Islb and Grett (ch. 6). In Ldn, he is said to be the son of Porsteinn goði, the son of Pórvé
(cf. Note to 53/18), who was daughter of Þormóðr skapti (cf. 53/18-9). His mother would seem to have been Ásborg (or Ásbjörg or Ásgerðr) Oddsdóttir (LdnStb, chs. 355 and 361; LdnHkb, chs. 313 and 317). We must suspect mistakes or textual corruption in connection with Bjarni’s father’s cognomens as given in Fló. Þorsteinn is nowhere else called rauði and this may be a mistake for godi (cf. 53/19); further, he was surely not a landnámamaðr and this name may have been transferred from an older relative (e.g. Þormóðr skapti). Alternatively, but less probably, as Björn Sigfússon ('TgF', 432-3) suggests, a section of text (possibly a whole manuscript line) has been lost between Þorsteinnssyni and rauða (we note that Þorsteinn numbered Þorsteinn rauðnefr and Hrólf rauðskeggr among his ancestors (Ldn)), or between rauða (which could be correct) and landnámamanns. Information given in Islb (ch. 10) puts the span of Bjarni’s life between about 960 and 1035 (cf. Note to 61/6-9). It seems probable that much of the information Ari bases Islb on is derived indirectly from Bjarni (cf. his nickname spaki). No other source mentions any other wife for him and, although Þórðr would, according to the chronology of the saga, have been only twelve when the marriage is said to have taken place, this would not have been an impossible age for a bride in the Middle Ages. On the other hand, no other source confirms Fló’s report of marriage between these two and it is probably the invention of the saga-author (cf. Introduction, page *369). On the possibility that Bjarni
held a goðorð, see Note to 13/19. Ldn gives his son as Skeggi, father of Markús lógsógumaðr; further on his family, see Arnesh, 91-3. Gröf in Hrunamannahreppr, about 10 km. east of Skálholt (see Kort, 47) is in all probability meant here (see Tímarit gefið út af Jóni Péturssyni, 1870, 104) and not Gröf (Grófr) in Villingaholtshreppr (as assumed by Kålund in HTB, i, 183); cf. 58/16 and Note.

43/10. goðs bóttil mér at þér ván: e-m bykir e-s at e-m, 'someone expects something of somebody'.

43/15-7. Förgils er skipat gagnvart Eiríki ok bar utar frá sat Porleifr, þá Kolr, þá Starkarðr: Förgils has, of course, the place of highest honour for a guest, i.e. óndvegi it ómsóra (see Privatboligen, 186; E. Gordon, An Introduction to Old Norse, 1966, 229). On the other hand, one wonders if the placing of his comrades is not meant to be taken as an indication of how vistin [var] með minni bokka veitt en Förgils hugði (43/19-20): they are on the ómsóri bekkr, 'the lower bench', '...bar er møtaz brælar ok frels­ingar' (Órvar-Odds Saga, ed. R. Boer, 1888, 144); and by being utar frá [Förgils], they are sitting on that side of the óndvegi where people of lower rank were usually placed (see Privatboligen, loc. cit.). Cf. Es, 224.

43/18-9. at venja af brjóstí, 'to wean'.
43/23. **bjarndýr**: G. Storm (Arkiv, 1897, 47-53) shows that this word is used in Old Icelandic sources only for the polar bear (*Ursus maritimus*). **Viðbjörn**, **skógbjörn** are terms for the European bear. Polar bears seem to have been uncommon visitors to the Eystríbyggð in the Middle Ages (cf. Brattahlid, 150). On polar bears in general, see **KL**, s.v. **Isbjörn**.

*at leggjaz á*, 'to prey upon' (used of robbers, beasts of prey, etc.).

43/23-4. **bjarndýr lagðiz á fé manna ok gerði mikinn skaða**: if the Fló-author was writing after 1321, the ravages of a polar bear in Iceland may well have been fresh in his memory: in **Ann**, 345 (cf. **Ann**, 205 and 395), we read for this year: *Kóm hvitabjörn mikill af hafisum norör á Ströndum ok drap viii. menn í Hælavík ok reif alla í sundr ok át suma. Hann var drepinn á Straumnesi Vitalismessu*.

43/25. **útibúr**: an outhouse (see **Privatboligen**, 247 ff.). In **Eir**, ch. 7, we are told that there were a number of such buildings at Brattahlíð and excavations there have also revealed remains of several (cf. Brattahlíð).

44/5-6. **Dýrit hafði leikit við sveininn**: cf. **Islenzk forn-kvæði**, ed. S. Grundtvig and Jón Sigurðsson, 1858, 182:

*Hefir dreymt bann draum í nátt*
að mér bóttu hvítabirnir
leika við mig báðir.

Annarr tók mig sér í fang,
kresti mig og krandi;
annarr sór mér högg á bak
fast með sínnum brammi.

44/9. ok bótti stór heill til hans horfi+ hafa: we note
the alliteration. At hverfa til e-s, 'to fall to one's
lot, to be given to one' (see Fritzner, ii, 130).

44/10. Ekki fannz Eiríki til bessa verks: e-m finnz til
e-s, 'someone is pleased with something'.

44/11-2. Eiríkr hefði haft á bvi fornan átrúnað, 'Eiríkr
had had pagan belief (i.e. the bear)'. The text of the X-vers-
ion is probably to be preferred to that of M (85/16). Cf.
Orig, ii, 660 footnote for an attempt to reconstruct the
text of the original. Belief in the supernatural powers
of bears, so common among sub-arctic peoples, is also
attested among the Germanic nations. The word 'bear'
itself and its Germanic cognates derive from a noa-word mean-
ing 'the brown one'; cf. the normal Indo-European word re-
flected in Latin ursus. Further, there are certain modern
Scandinavian folk customs which hint at the sacral killing
of bears and the ritual consumption of their blood and
flesh (see e.g. Fataburen, 1913, 1 ff.). See further Rel., paragraph 257 and Ólafur Briem, Heiðinn síður á Islandi, 1945, 129.

44/13. The náðahús (i: heimilishús) described here seems to have been large enough to accommodate a number of persons; and the words sumir stóðu fram í húsi suggest that it was perhaps directly adjoined to the main building of the farm. That such latrines were to be found at least on larger farms in medieval Scandinavia is borne out by literary and archaeological evidence. In Porsteins Fáatr skelks (Flb, i, 463 f.), a heimilishús is mentioned so large that it could hold twenty-two men. Amongst the medieval ruins excavated at Stöng in Pjórsárdalur, a room has been found which is best explained as a large latrine. This measures about 15 ft. by 7 ft.; along each of the side walls is a gutter about 12 ft. long and terminating in an opening in the end wall opposite the door. Through these two openings waste could have been disposed of (cf. the kammaruga in Flb, iv, 357). A wooden bar (cf. the náonústré of Flb, iv, 349) would have been fixed above the gutters to act as a seat. See Aa. Rousell's article 'Stöng' in Forntida gárdar í Island, ed. M. Steenberger, 1943, 89 f.; KL, s.v. Hemmeli­hed. No such latrine has been excavated at Brattahlíð (cf. Brattahlid).

44/13-4. Brattahlíð: Eiríkr's farm lay on the western side
of the western branch of the inner part of Eiríksfjörður (see map in KL, viii, columns 651 and 652). It was obviously an important centre during and after Eiríkr's day. The site has been thoroughly investigated from an archaeological point of view and is reported on in Brattahlid.

44/14-5. fram í húsínun, 'near the door of the house, at the outer end of the house' (cf. Note to 30/16-7). If the author of the saga was thinking of a latrine which was part of the main building of the farm (cf. Note to 44/13), then it seems, like that at Stöng, for very good reasons, to adjoin the outer part of the house (near the main door) (see Forntida gardar i Island, ed. M. Støenberger, 1943, fig. 37).

44/16. mannjófnuór: on mannjófnuór in reality, see KL, s.v. Mannjøfning and the references cited there. That insults of the type Hallr offers Þorgils (see following Note) could also be a part of mannjófnuór is suggested by what E. Wessén says in this article in KL.

44/21. óvíst er mér hvárt hann er heldr karlmaðr en kona: it was one of the deepest insults to accuse a man of effeminacy or homosexuality (ergi). In Nj, ch. 123, Flosi insults Njál to Skarpheðinn's face with similar words: '... bvi at margir vitu eigi, er sjá, hvárt hann er heldr karl-
maðr eða kona (Reykjabók-text). Skarpheðinn rejoins with an even worse taunt, the assertion that every ninth night Flosi becomes a woman and is the mistress of the Sínhells-áss. Slanders of this latter type were regarded as particularly degrading and were expressly forbidden in the Gulaþing Law: Engi skal gera yki um annan. æða fiolmæle. bat heiter yki ef maðr mælir um annan bat er eigi ma væra. ne verða oc eigi hever verit. kveðr hann væra kono niundu nott hveria. oc hever barn boret. oc kollar gylvin. ba er hann utlagr. ef hann verðr at bvi sannr (NGL, i, 57). In Grág (ii, 392) and Äldre Västgötalagen (ed. E. Wessén, 1954, 29 f.), there are also laws against accusations of sexual perversity.

44/22. Mæl þú manna armastr: a common type of curse; cf. Eg, ch. 78: Gefi hann allra manna armastr!; Finnb, ch. 32: Jökull bað hann fara bræla armastan. For further examples, see Fritzner, s.v. armr, 2, and Indogermanische Forschungen, 1923, 312-3.

44/26. at eiga hlut i, 'to intervene'.

44/27. Pykkir eigi auðsóttligt at fara at beim: at fara at e-m seems only to mean 'to attack someone' (cf. Fritzner, i, 383) but how such a sense fits the context here is less certain. In Gm, ii, 131, the sentence is translated 'man indsæg'og, at det ikke vilde være let at overmande de Frem-
mede', while in Orig (ii, 660 footnote) it is condemned as corrupt.

45/1. at gera um, 'to arbitrate'.

45/2. fækkaðiz síðan með þeim: an impersonal construction: fækkaæ með e-m (plur.), 'relations between people grow cold'.

45/7. til is, of course, adverbial.

45/7-8. í eyjum nokkurum í Eiríksfjörð (on the Z-group's reading here, see Note to Introduction 64): there are no islands in Eiríksfjörðr proper (cf. Fló, 1932, 74). It is possible that the author is here thinking of Eiríksey and the islands to the south-west of it (see map entitled 'Grønaland Eystri Byggð' in Ivar Bárðarson, Det gamle Grønlands Beskrivelse, ed. Finnur Jónsson, 1930): in Ldn, Eiríksey is said to be fyrir Eiríksfjarðar mynni; and it is probably identical with Henø, which, it is true, Ivar Bárðarson describes as being først í [Erichs]fiord (see Ivar Bárðarson, op. cit., 27 and 46). On the other hand, the saga's Greenlandic topography seems so confused (cf. Note to 45/19) that is is probably better to assume that the islands referred to here are the author's own invention. Islands are, of course, conventional hideouts for útilegumenn (cf. Introduction, pages *341-3).
45/16-7. ina vestri byggð: cf. Note to 45/19.

45/17-8. bjarngjöld (plur.), 'payment for the killing of a bear'. This is the only instance of the word recorded by the dictionaries. The ancient laws of Södermanland provided for the payment of bear-killers: Hwar biorn-drapar giwi hanum bonde hwar i fiarbunge bem ær. en swenskan penn­ing (Södermanns-lagen, ed. D. Schlyter, 1838, 119). And it does not seem at all unlikely that when polar bears arrived in Iceland on ice-floes a price was put on their heads. Cf. Introduction, pages *336-8 and Note to 84/24-5.

45/18-9. Porgils færir fram sýknu Hrólfs svá at hann skyldi vera friðheilagr: according to the code of law represented by Grágás, a sentence of greater outlawry (cf. Note to 31/10) could be lifted by the Lógrétta granting a sýknu­leyfi (see Grág, iii, 640-1). At færir fram sýknu(r) e-s seems to have been the act of petitioning the Lógrétta to grant a sýknuleyfi. See further Lúðvík Ingvarsson, Refs­­ingar á Islandi, 1970, 121-32, and Note to 65/7.

45/19. Vestribyggð: in ChM, Fornsögor and Fló, 1932, this word is spelt with a small letter, possibly because the editors are in doubt whether the area normally called Vestribyggð (Western Settlement) and normally spelt with a capital letter is meant here: the distance by sea between Eiríksfjörður and the Western Settlement was about or over
300 miles, but the islands in Eiríksfjörð in which the robbers are said to have their headquarters at 45/7-8, seem, at 45/23-4, to lie off (V)vestri(byggð. It is conceivable that the author is in fact not thinking of the Western Settlement here, but rather a westerly area in the Eastern Settlement (Eystribyggð), for example, the area around and to the west of Dyrnes, where there are a number of islands which could possibly (although not probably; see Note to 45/7-8) be described as being Eiríksfjörd. But this seems rather a far-fetched explanation and it may be suggested that the author has, for some reason, entirely ignored the topography of the Greenland colonies or, perhaps rather surprisingly, has no knowledge of it. Cf. 84/25 and Note. (At 45/16-7, ínæ vestri byggð is spelt with small letters and as two words because of the accompanying definite article which is not normally found with this place-name; cf. however Gr, 257.)

45/20-1. *At kunna e-m bókk e-s, 'to be thankful to somebody for something'; cf. Eg, ch. 68: Egill segir, at hann kynni þess mikla bókk ok aufþusu...*

46/16. *An inn heimski: the name is rare in Iceland (see Dopnamn, s.v.). In giving it to an idiot, the Fló-author may have been thinking of An in Dropl, ch. 3, who probably earned his nickname trúdr, 'jester', more by way of personal characteristics than occupation (cf. IF, 143 footnote 2).*
matsveina á landi...höfðu graut í kötlum: matsveinar or matgerðarmenn, 'naval cooks', are known from the Sagas (e.g. Ragn, 105 f.; PorstVik, 231) and the old Norwegian laws. While they may have been an anachronism for the tenth century (see Evrb, 104), in later times they were part of the crew of both trading vessels and warships. Cooking was not carried out while at sea; when they were in harbour, however, the matsveinar went ashore to get water and to prepare hot food (see NGL, ii, 281). Grautr, 'porridge', 'broth', (on which see KL, s.v. Gröt) seems to have been a dish matsveinar often cooked (cf. Evrb). This they did in large cauldrons (katlar). See See, 7 f.

at færa e-n í reikud, 'to push someone around'.

Undarliga bregðr...við: an impersonal construction: 'something strange is happening, about to happen'; cf. Fritzner, i, 182, column 1.

Stakanhöfði: B. Kahle (Indogermanische Forschungen, 199) remarks as follows on this name: 'Die Form int verderbt zu sein. Man würde zunächst an staka denken: 1. etwas zur Seite stossen, verdrängen; 2. an etwas stossen und dadurch zu Fall kommen, [Fritzner, iii, 517, column 1]. Aber das gibt keinen rechten Sinn. Wäre die Änderung von k in g erlaubt, dann könnte man Beziehung zu stag N. annehmen, 'das Tau, das dem Mast als Stütze dient,'
um seinen Top mit dem Vordersteven des Schiffes zu verbinden'. Davon abgeleitet staga 'binden', so wird z.B. staga hofub von Pferden gesagt, in der Bedeutung, ihnen den Kopf mit straffen Zügeln nach oben zu binden, vgl. [Fritzner, iii, 516, column 1]. Bedeutet der Name des Schiff's also etwa 'mit hoch erhobenem Haupt'? Freilich sind mit dieser Annahme noch nicht alle Schwierigkeiten gelöst, man würde etwa erwarten *Stagahofbi oder *Stag-hofbi.' Pórhallur Vílmundarson thinks that Stakan- could be the present participle of staka and for the absence of ð compares the forms slöngvan(ð)baugi and Vellan(ð)katla. It should be noted, however, that while there is often loss of ð in triple consonant groups, neither Noreen (Altisl, 212 f.) nor Alexander Jóhannesson (Islenzk tunga í fornöld, 1924, 165 f.) record any such loss before h. The present editor would like to make the following suggestion concerning this name: It seems unlikely that Stakanhöfði is not in some way connected with the form stakarhöfði which appears in Flóð (i, 481) as the nickname of a certain Þorgeirr who is described as one of the stafnasmiðir ok hófuðsmiðir of Ómrinn langi. Þorgeirr also appears in later Icelandic folk-tales (see Pjóða, i, 157) and rímur where his nickname has the form stjakarhöfði. We may conjecture that the author of the saga, casting around for names for his two ships, fell on this one because it contained the element -höfði which appears in other ship-names (e.g. Karlshöfði, Höðabúza) referring to dragon-head prows (cf.
hofðaskip, 'ship with dragon-head prow'). He may have thought, perhaps correctly, that Þorgeirr's nickname referred to a ship that he had once built or he may even have known of a ship of that name. It he wrote Stakari-hofði, a mistake of -n- for -r- could easily have arisen in the course of textual transmission (between the original and *X). Cf. Introduction, *134 f. Various attempts have been made to explain Þorgeirr's nickname. Finnur Jónsson (Tilnavne, 193) comments: 'Mulig bet. tn. 'stødhoved', til stak- í staka. Mulig sammentrukkket for stakar (jfr. bautaðar: bautar og lign.).' More intelligibly Lind (Binamn, s.v.) suggests: 'Førleden gen. av ett fem. *stök samhörigt med v. staka 'snubbla, vackla, ragla', i nyn. även 'gå sysslolös'?'

47/7. Vinagautr: to explain this name, B. Kahle (Indogermanische Forschungen, 1903, 201) tentatively suggests that -gautr may have the sense 'speaker, talker' and compares gautan, 'prating' and at gauta, 'to prate' (cf. H. Gering, Vollständiges Wörterbuch zu den Liedern der Edda, 1903, column 325). Although such an interpretation would, of course, accord well with the fact that the ship in question can speak, it seems doubtful. It may rather be suggested that the author of the saga, in choosing a name for his second ship, has put together elements selected at random from the language of the scalds or alternatively may even have known a ready-made kenning vina-Gautr; we note here
that both the words *vinr* and *Gautr* are found in Helgi trausti's verse (see Appendix I) (which the Fló-author would have known), and that in *Eg* (250) (a saga he would also have known) the kenning *her-Gautr* appears (next to *randviðr*; cf. Note to 26/22). [Later note: Since the above was written, volume xv of *KL* has been published (1970) with its article *Skipsnavn* by Finn Hødnebø. Hødnebø writes as follows: 'Vi vet lite om hvilken rolle de nord. hedenske guder har spilt i navngivning av skip. Et grønl. fartøy bar navnet *Vinagautr*, siste ledd er et velkjent Odins-heiti. Det er mulig at slike skip har vært utstyrt med en gudefigur i stevnen (kjent fra gr. og rom. skip). I Olav Tryggvasons saga sies det at Eirik jarl hadde en Tors-figur i stevnen på *Jarnbarðinn*, den ble siden erstattet med det hellige kors. Olav den hellige hadde et mannhode i stevnen på et av sine skip, båten ble derfor kalt *Karlshofði*. Ellers kjennes skip med valkyrjenaVN: *Oskmærin* og *Skjaldbærinn*. Navngiveren kan ha vært inspirert av tidens poesi.' However this last remark is to be interpreted, the present editor still prefers his own explanation of the name *Vinagautr*, that it is the coinage of the Fló-author.]

47/10-8. *I...hóggvinn*: one tends to agree with Nijhoff (Beschouwing, 83) that the text here has undergone shortening and that something may be missing between *at læri* and *Porgils leggr*. This shortening could well be that of
the X-redactor. Nijhoff also remarks on Þorgils's un-Christian behaviour in killing men who ask for grið; this is indeed very different from the way he treats Þórarinn at 82/14-5 (cf. Introduction, pages *101-2) and the murderous slaves at 48/1. One suspects that we may have here a similar change by the X-redactor to that at 41/1-2 and that Þorgils could have been more merciful to the pirates in the corresponding part of *F. Alternatively, but still assuming shortening, one could argue as follows: It has been noted in the Introduction (pages *345-6) that the story of the defeat of the outlaws contains some of the elements of a Germanic heroic situation, but only some of them. Could it be that in *F the heroic theme was to be found in a more developed form, that the outlaws put up a more heroic fight, or that Þorgils behaved more magnanimously to them when defeated?

47/14. biðja griða: on grið, see Grág, iii, 619, and KL, s.v. grið.

47/23. norðan: as Þórhallur Vilmundarson notes, one would rather expect austen here, i.e. we would imagine Hrólfur as coming from the east coast of Greenland (cf. 42/20 and Note). Is it, however, possible that we have here a genuine term of direction used in the Ýstribyggð? After all, the Ýstribyggð is almost due north of the Ýstribyggð; with the north-south axis thus made the 'east'-'west' axis, east could then
be called 'north'. Alternatively, and perhaps more credibly, the inconsistency here might be attributed to the author's general vagueness about Greenlandic topography.

48/7. Anakol: this name may be borrowed from Orkn (241 ff.) where it is given to a Hebridean viking. No other examples of it are found in Old Icelandic. It may further be of Celtic origin: in the Register of Paisley from 1233, the name Anekol is found among a number of Gaelic personal names (see W. Craigie, 'Gaelic words and Names in the Icelandic Sagas', Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie, 1897, 444).

48/12. Giparr: the form of this name is here preferred with a long vowel (cf. Textual Note). It can hardly be of Celtic origin, as W. Craigie (Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie, 1897, 446) suggests. The root must be related to Germanic *geip-; cf. Old Icelandic geipa, 'to talk nonsense' and Norwegian dialect gipa (with short vowel) 'to bite at the air'. -arr seems to have been productive as a name-forming suffix without any special meaning (cf. Alexander Jóhannesson, Die Suffixe im Isländischen, 1927, 21). Further, the nickname gipr appears twice in Old Norse, and in Valla-Ljóts Saga (see IF, ix, 239 and footnote 2) is used of a man who, like Giparr in Fló, is given to jibing, impertinent behaviour.
48/23. *at gera mun einhverra*, 'to make a distinction between two of more things'.

49/7. *Hugi lét bæta skip beira*: there has been no mention of the ship being damaged in the X-version's text.

49/10. *at setja málum e-s*, 'to put someone's affairs in order'; see Fritzner, s.v. setja, 4.

49/19. *Yngildr*: previous editors (Fornsögur, 152; Fló, 1932, 58) spell the girl's name *Ynhildr* and a form with 
*-gh* - is certainly that of both K and A (cf. Notes to Introduction 35 and 38). But *gh* here is a spelling for *g* (cf. 
the form *Yngilddi* in DI, i, 371) and the second element is definitely derived from *-vildr* and not *-hildr*. Since, 
therefore, *gh* is not used in this edition for *g*, the manuscript form is normalized (not emended; cf. IF, ix, 216 
footnote) to *Yngildr*.

50/5. *til fjár*, 'for gain'.

50/11-2. *Hann var bá tvau dægr í austri*, 'He then spent a day and a night bailing'. The methods by which ships were bailed in the Viking period are described in two places in the sagas. From *Grett*, ch. 17, it seems that a hoist was used to transfer the bailing-buckets (cf. Notes to 41/9 and 81/12) from a man in the bilges, who filled
them, to a man on the deck, who emptied them: Pá var ekki
dæluaustr á hafskipum; kolluðu menn bat byttuaustr eða
stampaaustr. Hann var þaði vássamr ok erfiðr; skyldi bar
hafa byttur tvær; för þá önnur niðr, er önnur för upp.
Sveinar báðu, at Grettir skyldi sökkva byttunum. In Fóstbr,
ch. 20, the buckets are simply handed from one man to the
other: Nú var örmóður niðri í kili ok sökkvi byttunum, en
Gestr tók við á biljanum ok bar út fyrir borg. Örmóður
var ekki sterkr maðr ok seldi opt ekki langt upp bytturnar.
See further on bailing See, 6 f.

50/13. Pá kom afall it niunda ok var bar mest: one suspects
here some folk tradition to the effect that the third, sixth,
ninth, etc. wave in a series tends to be the biggest, most
dangerous and deadly; cf. Pjóðs, i, 657; Blöndal, s.v. Ólag.

50/15-6. sú bylgja...at ekki barf at ausa: the use of at
as a relative pronoun anwering to a preceding demonstrative,
in this case sú; cf. Fritzner, i, 83, column 2.

50/17. stórum stóplar nú yfir, 'the sea is now breaking
very much over the ship'. This is the only example of the
active use of the verb stópla recorded in the dictionaries.
Otherwise only the middle form stóplaz is attested and then
usually in the sense 'to spill over' (e.g. Vígl, ch. 5: ok
pá er Þorgrímur bar eitt stórt drykkjuker fyrir Grím, þá
stóplaðist út af kerinu, þvi at Þorgrímur drap við ræti).
The active form stöpla (yfir) must have a similar sense, 'to spill (over)', 'to wash (over)', perhaps only the latter alternative and then presumably with some such notion as 'the sea' as unexpressed subject. Cf. also yfirstöplun, 'infringement'. - Stórum, 'greatly, hugely' (but note also in this context störr sjór, 'heavy sea').

50/21. Hjörleifshöfði is a hill just to the north of Kötlutangi on the southernmost point of the mainland of Iceland (see HTB, ii, 332 ff.; Kort, 69). According to Ldn, it was here that Leifr (cf. Fló, 6/1-2) first landed in Iceland.

Arnarbælisóss: the name is no longer known. There is, however, a farm Arnarbæli in Ólfus on the right bank of the Ólfusá (see Map 3) and traditions exist which suggest that ocean-going ships once harboured there (see Arnesh, 331 f.). On the other hand, the name Arnarbælisóss is also found in Ní, ch. 28, and the context makes it unlikely that a harbour as far west as the Ólfusá is meant. In this latter source, the name would seem rather to refer to an outlet to the sea at the eastern end of Eyjafjallasandur in Rangárvallasýsla in the neighbourhood of three farms called Arnarbæli (now Stóra-Borg, Miðbæli, Ystabæli) (see Kort, 59; Olafur Lárusson, Byggð og saga, 1944, 141-2); although there is no large outlet (óss) here now, there probably was in former times (see IM, 1951, 105-6; Ní, 74 footnote 2). It may be suggested that this is also the place referred to in Fló: such a supposition would accord
well with the reference to Hjörleifshófði (see above) and with the fact that Þorgils waits until the spring before returning home (see 51/14-5). It would also avoid the necessity of having to suppose the existence of two different places called Arnarbælisóss. Cf. Arnesb, 331 f. There must have been churches (see 50/22) at both Arnarbæli in Olfus and Arnarbæli in Rangárvallasýsla at the time the saga was written. At the former place there was a church in about 1200 (see DI, xii, 8). In Rangárvallasýsla, there was a church at Miðarnarbæli (late Miðbæli) at least as early as circa 1179 (see DI, i, 252-5) and at Stóra-Borg at least as early as circa 1200 (see DI, xii, 6; Olafur Lárusson, loc. cit.; cf. Bysk, i, 125, 191-2).

51/1. skiptollr: the word is only found in Fló but is presumably synonymous with the hafnartollr known from Grágás and referred to at 56/17. According to Grág (i, b, 71), the landowners at certain established harbours were entitled to claim hafnartollr from those who used them, only Norwegians being exempt. (Here we remember that Þorsteinn was a Norwegian.) The toll was either an ell of voðmál or a lamb skin or as much wool as, when spun, would amount to one sixth of a skein. The landowner in return was expected to provide housing for the ship's tackle. If the ship was beached for the winter, its captain paid the landowner nine ells in uppsátseyrir which gave him the right to turf and stones from the landowner's ground to protect
his vessel against the elements. After the union with Norway, hafnartollr was no longer payable. See KL, s.v. Handelsafgifter, Island.

51/5. *heid betta râð*, 'this plan worked' (Fritzner, i, 142, column 1: 'dette Paafund lykkedes'). A figurative use of *bita* in its sense 'to bite, cut, have effect (of a weapon)'.

51/9-10. *Klör kvað bat tilvinnanda ef Porgils raknar við bá heldr en áðr*: this may be loosely translated: 'Klör said that that would be worth doing (i.e. that he himself should be killed) if Porgils were to be brought to his senses in no other way (bá heldr en áðr)'. *At vinna til*, 'to bring about, to deserve'. *At rakna við*, 'to come to one's senses'.

51/12. *konunum...brjóstbörnumum*: on the use of the definite article with nouns used in generic sense, see Syntax, 33, and Jakob Smári, *Íslensk setningafráði*, 1920, 44-5.

51/18. *Porleifr*: *Orig* (ii, 662) suggests that *Porsteinn* should be read here rather than *Porleifr*. But it seems better to suppose that both men were mentioned here in the original of the saga (cf. Introduction, pages *365-6*).

51/23-4. *Einn hlutr bykki mér at við bik...*, 'I am displeased with you in one respect...'. *E-m bykkir at við e-t*,
til Arnessbings: Arnessbings was one of the three local assemblies of the Sunnlendingafjörðungr. At first sight, its name would seem to suggest that its meetings were held on what is now the island of Árnes in the river Pjörsá (see Kort, 47). It seems, however, highly likely that in early times most or all of the main stream of the river, which now runs to the north of the island, ran to its south. Árnes would then have extended further to the north than it now does. This explains the fact that the most genuine traces of the assembly's meeting-place are not to be found on the island itself but on the right bank of the Pjörsá, opposite the island's eastern tip. Here the remains of a number of búðir (cf. following Note) are still to be seen, here the place-name Búðafoss is still known. See further J.J., Saga, i, 95-6; Olafur Briem, 'Arnessbingstæður og góðorð milli Pjörsár og Hvítár', Saga, 1958, 383-97. The autumn meeting of this bing is mentioned in Band, ch. 10.

til búðar: remains of búðir ('sheds') for temporary use at assemblies (bing) are found throughout Iceland (see D. Bruun, Fortidsminder og Nutidshjem paa Island, 1928, 88-90, 93-104). They normally consisted of walls of piled stones and turf. When in use they were given a roof of homespun. Inside, they seem to have contained a raised
platform (pallr) and sometimes a high-seat. They often had more than one room (see KL, s.v. Bu).

52/24. Pórólfr: in the original of the saga, presumably identical with the Pórólfr mentioned at 33/14 (see Note ad loc).

52/25. at eiga e-t at e-m, 'to have something due from someone, to be owed something by someone'.

53/4. at skilja með beim Bjarna, 'to separate herself from Bjarni'.

53/4-5. at ráða e-t undan e-m, 'to deprive somebody of something'.

53/5. mér: it is plausibly suggested in Orig, ii, 664, footnote, that mér here should be emended to bér.

bér er mestr bati í: e-m er bati í e-m, e-u, 'somebody has advantage from somebody, something'.

53/6. bér er sjálfrätt at láta binn hlut fyrir neinum manni: e-m er sjálfrätt at gera e-t, 'one is free, in a position to do something'. At láta hlut sinn fyrir e-m, 'to be worsted by someone'.

53/16. Helga is otherwise only mentioned in genealogies
in LdnHkb, ch. 348, and Byskupa Ættir, 12. In both these places, she is said to be the daughter of Póroddr goði, and in the first, the mother of Grímr glómmuðr. There can be little doubt that Jón Jóhannesson (Gerdir, 52) is right in assuming that her mention in LdnHkb is an addition to his normal examplars by Haukr himself (cf. LdnMlb, 260/8-9). And although we have no other record of Helga's marriage to Órgils, LdnHkb, Byskupa Ættir and various other sources tell us that Órgils was the father of Grímr glómmuðr (see Notes to 61/14-9 and 61/20-3).


53/18. Pormóðr skapti was the son of Óláf r breathing, the son of Ólívir barnakarl. According to Ldn, he was given the eastern part of Gnúpurjæreppr by his relation, Për-björn laxakarl. His wife was Helga, the daughter of Prándr mjóksiglandi who lived at Prándarholt (see 59/16-7). Cf. Grett, 7-25, and Arnesh, 85 ff.

Pórey is called Pórve in LdnStb (227/12) and LdnHkb (119/21) while the manuscripts of Grettis Saga have a number of names for her including Póra and Pórvör (see Grett, 15, footnote 5). LdnPób, 23/20, has Porney (Porveig).
Porney seems to come from LdnMlb and is presumably a spelling or mistake for Póryný, or possibly a mistake for Pórey (cf. Ldn, 1963, 380, footnote 3).

The saga omits to say here that Pórey was the daughter of Pormóðr, the sister of Pórvör.

53/20. *at taka e-u seint*, 'to take something coolly'.

53/20-3. Pótti...Porgilsí: this passage certainly suggests that Porgils was older than Asgrímr. But that this was the case in reality is not likely; as R. Heller (Darstellung, 62, footnote 2) writes: 'Guðbrandur Vigfússon hat darauf gewiesen (Um tímatal, S. 421f. [= Safn, 1856, 421 f.]), dass Asgrim noch älter gewesen sein muss als Thorgils, so dass sich zumindest Helgas Begründung ihrer Abneigung in der Saga aufhebt.' Cf. Beschouwing, 101 ff.

53/20. Skapti Póroðsson played an even more important part in Icelandic politics than his father (cf. Note to 33/17) and had even greater influence. His term of office as a lógsögumaðr from 1004 to 1030 was the longest in Icelandic history. During it, he gained a reputation for great strictness. He also introduced a number of reforms: in about 1005 the fimmstardómur ('High Court') was established and about the same time legal duel was abolished in Iceland (see Islb, chs. 7 and 8). Skapti was particularly knowledgeable of the law (hence his nickname lóg-
(Skapti) and saga-writers often have his advice sought in legal matters (see e.g. Grett, ch. 32; Fló, ch. 33). His authority was also respected outside Iceland. He was one of the chieftains to whose keeping Óláfr Haraldsson ordered the blind king Hrærekkr to be entrusted (Hkr, ii, 127) and he was among the men to whom Óláfr made overtures in the hope of establishing permanent authority in Iceland. It was also Skapti who advised against any allegiance to the Norwegian king (see Hkr, ii, 217 ff.). There is evidence that he was something of a poet (see ONOÍ, i, 542 f.), although only a half-strophe of his poetry is preserved (see Note to 61/7-9). As Fló suggests, he probably lived at Hjalli in Ólfus. Various sources, including Islb, put the date of his death in 1030 (cf. Safn, 1886, 16 f.). On his wife, see 61/10 and Note, and, on their children, Arnesh, 224-6. See further on Skapti Krist, 47 footnote. Skapti's appearance in Fló would seem to be partly as a stock figure (see Introduction, *350-1).

54/1. Flóagafl: see HTB, i, 182 and Map 1. On the element gafl, 'projecting part of an island, peninsular', see Fritzner, s.v. gafl, 2.

54/4. Kallaðarnes (now Kaldaðarnes) was on the left bank of the Ólfusá to the north of Flóagafl (see HTB, i, 182; Arbók, 1927, 49; Map 3). The name means literally 'calling-ness, ness from which one calls' (the nouns *kallaðr, *koll-
uðr, masc., are known only from place-names of this type (cf. Fritzner, s.v. kallaðarberg, kallaðarland, kallaðarnes; M. Olsen, Edda—og skaldakvad 1, 1960, 1 f.) and suggests that in the earliest times there was a ferry over the Olfus here which had to be called from the left bank to the right. (The river seems to have broadened at this point since the period of settlement.) There must also have been a ferry here when Fló was written (cf. DI, i, 319-20). See Arbók, 1905, 18-9; 1907, 33-4; 1927, 48-57; Kristján Guðmundsson, 'Ferjuhald á Pjórsá og Olfusá', Mímir, 17, 1971, 5-26 (particularly 12-3).

54/9. hraunskeggjann: -skeggi (related to skegg, 'beard') appears as the second element of names for persons living in given places (e.g. eyjaskeggjar, Göttuskeggjar) and must originally have been pejorative. The compound hraunskeggi is not found elsewhere but such forms as hraun-búi, -drengi, -hvalr and -skjöldungr appear in both Eddic and scaldic poetry used of giants (see LP, s.v.) and have the basic sense of 'wilderness dweller'. These parallels suggest that hraun- here has its more original sense of 'stoney ground', 'desert', 'waste', rather than 'lava' as suggested in GfM (ii, 217; cf. Orig's 'lava-dweller' and Niedner's 'Lavabärtling'). The reference is presumably to Porgils's sojourn in the wastes of Greenland.

54/10. Æhræddum is dative by attraction to mér.
54/12-3. *at draga fram með e-m*, 'to promote someone's interests, to give someone one's support'.

54/21-55/8. R. Heller (*Darstellung*, 81, 156) regards this story of Helga's attempt to divorce herself from Þorgils as an example of the literary motif of 'Scheidungen durch die Frau'. He is able to point to other cases in the sagas where a woman (often one married against her will; cf. Fló, 53/20) leaves her husband. Reykd (chs. 11 and 15) contains an example.

55/10. *hænan, hananum*: the keeping of poultry appears to have been rather rare during the first centuries of Iceland's history but seems to have been commoner by the end of the Commonwealth period; see IF, iii, 6 footnote; KL, s.v. *Fjerkræ. Island*.

*at hrina við e-a*, probably 'to squawk at someone'. Fritzner translates *hrina* (s.v.) 'udstøde en uartikuleret, men stærk og gjennemtrængende dyrisk Lyd'. Except for SnE (46), where it is used of a mare, the word is otherwise used of pigs in Old Icelandic. That the word is applied to animals on heat in SnE and Fló (so Cleasby-Vigfusson, s.v.) is disputable.

55/15. *Grímr glömmuðr* is otherwise only mentioned in genealogies (see 61/16; Notes to 61/14-9 and 61/20-3). His nickname, which also appears as the name of a berserk
in *Drei Lyc*, 49 f., is derived from *glammr*, 'noise' and presumably means 'noisy person'. (It does not appear as a common noun.) Cf. *Binamn*, s.v. *Glammur*.

55/20. *at heitaz við e-n*, 'to threaten somebody'.


56/11-2. *Hann átti tvá sonu ok hét hvártveggi Pórhallr*: cf. *Nj*, ch. 26: *Asgrimr átti tvá sonu, ok hét hvártveggi Pórhallr*. One of these Pórhallrs takes an important part in *Nj*: as a foster-son of Njáll, he becomes skilled as a lawyer, and it is he who disqualifies the prosecution against the sons of Njáll for the killing of Hóskuldr Hvítanessgoði (ch. 121). In chs. 142-3, he directs the case against the arsonists at the Alþingi from his bed and, when it looks like failing (ch. 145), is the first to resort to arms. One of these brothers is also mentioned in *Grett*, ch. 53. See further *IF*, xii, 73 footnote. That two brothers are called by the same name is curious although not without parallel (see *Drei Lyc*, 2 footnote, for examples). Finnur Jónsson (*Brennu-Njáls Saga*, ed. Finnur Jónsson, 1908, 62 footnote) suggests that two brothers or sisters bearing the same name might have been twins, although it is clear from the following sentences in *Fló*, that its author does not conceive these sons of *Asgírmr*.
as such. LdnHkb (ch. 195) is, in all probability, wrong in giving Asgrímr a son Sigfúss (see Ldn, 1968, 264 footnote 2, and 267 footnote 9); cf. Note to 30/13. On the other hand, Nj, ch. 72, may well be right in telling us that he also had a son Grímr and a daughter Pórhalla.

56/13. Guðvör (see Textual Note) hét dóttir Bjarnar í Grøf: no daughter of Bjarni is mentioned in any other source. Lind (Dopnamn, s.v. Guðvör) records no examples of the name Guðvör from Iceland, but gives one or two examples from Norway. Gunnvör, the reading of *y, is better known in Icelandic sources (see Dopnamn, s.v. Gunnvör). No examples of the name Geirvör (see Textual Note) have been found. In view of the way the Fló-author chooses names for the characters he invents (see Note to 29/19-23), it is perhaps of interest to note that while Fló tells of a mother Pórñý and her stepdaughter Gunnvör (so *y) (see, however, Introduction, page *439), LdnX (140/10-1) told of a mother Gunnvör and her daughter Pórñý (cf. Note to 33/16).

56/14. Gizurr hvíti Teitsson (cf. Note 13/5-6 and 29/3-4) is one of the most important figures in the early history of Iceland (cf. Arnesb, 150 ff.). The chief sources concerning him are Islb, Krist and Hv, while Ldn, Nj and VG1 also give us information about him. Krist mentions him as one of the most prominent chieftains in the South-
ern Quarter of Iceland about the year 980 and there can be little doubt that he held one of the three löggoðorð in Arnesþingsókn (cf. Note to 13/19). Krist, together with Islb, stresses the part he played in the conversion of Iceland and the furtherance of the Christian cause there. Both sources tell that he was baptized by Þangbrandr and this is confirmed by Theodoricus (cf. Note to 32/4-5).

With his son-in-law, Hjalti Skeggjason, he is said to have gone to Norway and there interceded with Ólafr Tryggvason for the Icelanders the latter seized in revenge for Þangbrandr's poor reception in Iceland. He returned home the following year and was leader of the Christian party when Christianity was accepted at the Alþingi. Hý tells us that he built the first church at Skálaholt and was also buried there. The sources also tell how he had his son Ísleifr educated at Herford in Germany and how the latter became the first bishop of Iceland (1056). In Nj, Gizurr is unwillingly involved in suits against Gunnarr of Hlíðarendi and leads the final attack against him. Later, he joins Kári against the arsonists. Like Fló, the sources are generally well disposed towards him. He is said to have been married three times: With Halldóra Hrólfsdóttir, he begot a daughter who married Hjalti Skeggjason. His son by his second wife, Pórdís, a woman from the Scottish Isles, married a daughter of Skapí Þoroddsson. Finally, as we are told in Fló, he married Pórdís Þoroddssóttir, and other sources tell that she bore him many children,
including Isleifr. On Gizurr's nickname, see Note to 8/9.

Gizurr hvíti bjó bá í Hófða: in Krist (45), we are told that Gizurr enn hvíti bjó í Hófða, áðr hann gerði þa í Skálaholti, ok færði bangat bú sitt. The Fló-author is perhaps following Krist here (cf. page *303) or at any rate seems to know some tradition that Gizurr lived at Hófði. Whether he ever lived there in reality is disputable. Nj (ch. 46) is presumably wrong in saying that he lived at Mosfell. But while it seems quite possible that Gizurr's father Teitr lived at Hófði for a time at least, it also seems probable that he moved from there to Skálaholt eventually, and Gizurr's son Isleifr certainly lived at Skálaholt. Further, both Theodoricus (see page 254) and Hv suggest that Gizurr's home was Skálaholt. Cf. Arnesh, 129, 147; Nj, 119 footnote 2; 29/3 and Note.

56/15. Pórdís, döttir Pórodds is otherwise known from LdnMlk, 260/8-9, and Hv, 90. In Bysk (ii, 3 and 81), Bishop Isleifr is called döttursonr Pórodds goða. As noted, was Gizurr's third wife.

56/15-6. Jórunn Teitsdóttir: although not known from Ldn, Jórunn appears in Sturl (i, 243) and Nj (72, 298). She was the daughter of Teitr Ketilbjarnarson (see 29/3-4 and Note and Note to 30/13) and, Nj (72) tells us, of Aolf, the daughter of Bóðvarr hersir, Vikinga-Kárason.
56/17. *hafnartollr* cf. 51/1 and Note.

56/26. *váru menn kyaddir af Asgrími til skipsdráttar*: according to the code of law represented by *Grágás* (see *Grág, i, b, 69-70*), those summoned to *skipsdráttr* (the beaching or launching of ships), were legally required to attend provided that they were given seven or more nights' formal notice. Those eligible were farmers rich enough to pay *bingfararkaup* (who were not single-handed) and their workmen (*húskaflar*), with the exception of their shepherds. The penalty for absenting oneself was a three mark fine (*útlegð*). The amount of help expected was also legally stipulated: *Nú koma menn til skipsdráttar, ok firra sik útlegð ef heir taka á festum brysvar af öllu afl, svá at stýrimenn eru tilbúnir*. There is a similar clause concerning *skipsdráttr* in *Jónsbók, 238-9*; cf. also *NGL, ii, 45, 208, 250-1*.

57/4. *litkleðum*: the word is used of artificially dyed clothes as opposed to those of natural colours (see Valtýr Guðmundsson in *Arkiv, 1893, 171-98*).

57/7. *flæðarpýttr*, 'pit, depression on the shore left full of water by the receding tide' cf. 57/1-2.
57/20. at Porgils er bar nökkt við riðinn, 'that Porgils has something to do with the matter'. At vera við riðinn, 'to be involved'.

57/22. er bessum ráðum ráðit: no other source tells if or whom the sons of Ágrímr (see Note to 56/11-2) married; cf. Árneshb, 149.

58/14. húsa á milli: the reference is to the narrow passages or lanes (sund) between the various buildings of an Icelandic farm. Here a certain amount of privacy was possible.

Kolr bræll: Kolr is a conventional name for evildoers and other doubtful characters. A. Holtsmark (Studies in the Gísla Saga, 1951, 8 f.) cites a number of examples, for instance, the Kolr verkstjóri of Nj (92), the servant of Hallgerðr, who kills Bergþóra's Svartr. In Islb, ch. 3, a thrall or freedman named Kolr is murdered by his master, and Kolsgjá at Pingvellir is named after him. The author of Fló may have had this story in mind here (cf. 58/21-2).

58/16. hjá Húsatóptum: Húsatóftar is still the name of a farm in Skeið (see Map 4). The fact that Porgils is thought of as riding past this farm on his way from Bjarni's home to Traðarholt makes it clear that Bjarni's home is pictured as being at Gróf in Hrunamannahreppr and not Gróf (now
Gróf) in Villingaholtshreppr, as assumed by Kålund (HTB, 1, 183) and Finnur Jónsson (Fló, 1932, 79), who takes Húsatóptum as a common noun (see Fló, 1932, 66/26).

58/22. Kolslækr: the name is not now known and may even be the invention of the Fló-author (cf. Note to Introduction 123). Kålund’s conjecture in HTB (1, 183) as to its whereabouts is based on the incorrect assumption that Þorgils is returning home from Gróf (now Gróf) in Villingaholtshreppr (cf. preceding Note).

58/23. Ná bykkir Þorgilsí Assgrímar sannr at fjörráðum við sik: sannr at fjörráðum við sik, 'guilty of a plot against his life'. Sannr at e-u við e-n, '(proved) guilty of a certain crime against someone'. Grágás (Grág, ii, 369; cf. Grág, i, a, 183-4; i, b, 246) has the following to say concerning attempts on a person’s life: Ef maðr ræðr úm mann dreprráðum eða sáráðum eða banaráðum, ok varðar fjórbaugsgard ef eigi kemr fram, en skórgang ef fram kemr. Hann skal kveðja heiman ix. heimilisbúa, bess er sóttir er, ef eigi koma ráð fram, en ef fram koma, bá skal kveðja vettvangsbúa ix. heiman.

59/3. Í Eyna: since Ásgrímur lived at Tunga (Bæðratunga) (see e.g. Nj, chapters 61 and 118) in Biskupstungur, it must be assumed that the island Tunguey (Bæðratunguey; see Kort, 47) at the confluence of the Hvítá and the Tungu-
fljót is meant here, rather than Arnes (see Note to 52/6), as some have assumed (see Arnesb, 272-3; Saga, 1958, 393). According to Grágás summonses were normally made at the home of the accused, and this would seem to have been correct procedure in this case (see preceding Note; Grág, iii, 677). If, however, the summoner encountered resistance or expected to do so (cf. 59/1), he could deliver the summons at the nearest point he could reach to the accused's home (see Grág, i, a, 128; Vorlesungen, v, 744; cf. Heið, 240).

59/3-4. ok kvaddi nú búa: a búakviðr; cf. KL, s.v. Kviðr.

59/7-8. Var-at af vóru, sleikti um ðvóru: the more exact sense of this saying is not entirely clear. Vóru is probably best explained as neuter dative singular of the adjective vár, 'wary, cautious', and at vera af vóru could mean 'to be careful, to be on one's guard'. (The present editor has not been able to find a dative vóru of vórr, 'lip' to support the suggestion in GhM, ii, 219.) The word ðvara in Icelandic is most usually used of a stirring-rod. The general sense of the whole could therefore be: '(He) was off his guard; (he) was forced to lick the stirring-rod (i.e. to satisfy himself with the scrapings, left-overs). One notes with interest the rhyme here.

þvóru is spelt hauðu in M, A and K; the spelling -au- for '-vó-' is found elsewhere in medieval Icelandic.
manuscripts (see e.g. Vols, xv).

59/8. sæll, mágrinn: sæll is used in a somewhat exceptional sense here. It is clear from the context that it cannot be a form of greeting: Skapti and Þorgils have not just met and are not about to part. The words seem rather to have the sense 'by your leave, brother-in-law' or 'with all respects to you brother-in-law'. A passage in Grett, ch. 75, exemplifies parallel usage: a farmer's daughter and a serving woman come together into the farm at Reykir and unexpectedly find Grettir asleep there. The serving woman expresses surprise at certain physical characteristics of the hero but the farmer's daughter tells her to keep quiet. To this she replies: 'Eigi má ek hljóð vera um betta, sæl systirin... bví at cessu hefða ek eigi trúat, bó at nokkur hefði sagt mér.' As far as has been discovered, this usage is not recorded in any of the dictionaries (cf. Fritzner, s.v. sæll, 2).

59/9. engu er nýtt: one wonders why Skapti claims Þorgils's prosecution is void. The context suggests some formal error, but, as far as can be seen, Þorgils has summoned Asgrimr correctly (see Note to 58/23 and 59/3-4; Note to 59/3). Is Skapti playing a trick on Þorgils, another manifestation of his general hostility towards our hero (cf. pages *350-1)? Or is he introducing a badly adapted borrowing from Njáls Saga (see pages *356-7)? Or does he wish to bring Þorgils's
with Asgrimr (a story he probably invented; cf. pages *363-4; *371-2) to as peaceful and speedy conclusion as possible?

59/15-7. Helgi...kom út í Einarshöfn ok átti ferð upp í herað ok fór...upp í Prándarholt: cf. 65/10: ríðr Porgils ...austr í herað. I herað could mean either (a) 'into a different herað', or (b) 'in the same herað'. Herað can also have more than one meaning (cf. KL, s.v. Herred. Island): it can be synonymous with hreppr or bingsókn or fjóðrungr. It can be used more vaguely with the sense 'district' (not necessarily corresponding to any administrative area). In Grág, i, b, 72, it is used of an area within which certain set prices for foreign goods obtained. (In this last sense, the Pjórsá was the boundary between two of Iceland's four herað.) Finally, it can be a place-name (cf. e.g. Herað in Múlasýsla), although it is not known in this sense in the area in question. A number of alternative interpretations for í herað in these two places are therefore possible (although some senses of herað (e.g. fjóðrungr) may be eliminated). Accepting, however, the same force for í herað in both places, probably the best interpretation is 'to a more easterly (65/10)/upper (59/16) part of the same bingsókn or district'.

59/16-7. Prándarholt (mentioned also in Ldn) is a farm in Grúpverjahreppur on the right bank of the Pjórsá opposite
Arnes (see Kort, 47).

59/18. á víxl, 'past each other in opposite directions'.

59/25. hvárr af őðrum berr, 'who is better than who'.
At bera af e-m, 'to surpass, excel somebody'.

60/1. Helgi kvæð enga ván í at hann hrykki eigi við: hann refers to Helgi. At hrókkva við, 'to make a stand'.
Niedner translates: 'Helgi sagte: "Keine Aussicht, dass ich zurückweiche..."'.

60/2. fretkarl: this term of abuse (fretr, 'fart') is also found in Ljós, 50, and in Íslandinga Sögur, 1847, 435.

60/6-7. At vinnaz til e-s, 'to be sufficient for something, enough for something'.

60/8. glappaverk: Fritzner glosses: 'Gjerning hvorved man forser sig, gjør hvad man siden maa angre'; this is the only example of the word recorded in the dictionaries. Cf. however the word glappaskot, that is, ef maðr skýr ýfir hús eða hafskip ok lýstr annan mann (NGL, i, 157, 167).

60/25-6. '...vil ek. Einarr, geða bær nú sverðit Jarðhússnaut...': 'People have always been fascinated by the instruments of notorious deeds, and several weapons in thirteenth-
century Iceland have names suggestive of an illustrious blood-stained past,' writes P. Foote (The Saga of Gisli, 1963, 129). One of these was the spear Grásíða which Gisli Súrsson was purported to have owned. And whether the Fló-author was writing in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, his audience could well have known of such weapons and would be entitled to wonder what had become of Þorgils's sword Jarðhússnautr and why it was not still in the hands of his descendants. To allay their curiosity about the ultimate fate of this entirely fictitious weapon (cf. pages *274-81), the author has his hero make this magnanimous offer at the end of the saga and Einarr takes the sword out of Iceland to Norway (cf. pages *365-6).

61/4. til heimboðs, 'to a feast'. The M-version has til bús. Both Guðbrandur Vigfússon (Orig, i, 572 footnote) and Þorhallur Vilmundarsson suggest that the original of the saga had til boðs here and that the X-version therefore has the original sense. Finnur Magnússon (GhM, i, 172; cf. GhM, ii, 220) and Björn Sigfússon ('Tgf', 438), on the other hand, defend the M-reading and think that Þorgils and Helga actually lived at Hjalli for a time, their point of view seems more acceptable (cf. what immediately follows and Notes; Note to 88/26).

61/4-5. Ók eptir þat tók Þorgils bóni sótt...ok andaðis síðan: the wording of the X-version here would certainly
seem to suggest that Porgils died at home at Traðarholt and if it were not for the following sentences we would have no reason to believe that he died elsewhere. No doubt the text of the M-version (88/25-89/1) is the more original here (cf. 'TgF', 438).

61/5-6. Pessu nærrí andadíz Pórodr bóndi ok Bjarni bóndi inn spaki: the X-version would certainly seem to give the impression that Porgils, Pórodr and Bjarni all died within a short time of each other and were buried on the same day. Apart from its obvious chronological difficulties (see 'TgF', 433), such a state of affairs would be too singular to have really been intended by the author of the saga. The M-version, which merely states that all three men were buried in the same grave, is undoubtedly closer to the original here (cf. 'TgF', 438).

61/6-9. andaðiz...Bjarni bóndi inn spaki...Skapti hét at gera kirkju: the account of the saga here definitely implies that Bjarni died before Skapti. If, however, we accept the testimony of Ari's Islb, there are grave difficulties in assuming that this was in fact the case. Skapti's death is fixed at 1030 by a number of sources including Islb, ch. 8 (see references cited in Note to 53/20). On the other hand, Islb, ch. 10, states that Biarni en spaki ...mundi Þoraren Logfogo man oc vi. abra sibarn. If this is right, then Bjarni cannot have died before 1034, the
first year of Þorkell Tjörvason's term as lógasögumáðr.
(It is true that this argument depends on the numeral vi. of Jón Erlendsson's text of Islb being what Ari originally intended and that numerals are often changed when manuscripts are copied. But even if Ari intended vi, the argument still holds good, for Þorkell's predecessor, Steinn Þorgestsson, succeeded Skapti on his death. And if iv. was originally intended, then Ari's statement would hardly have been worth making as there would have been nothing particularly remarkable in living from 969, the last year of Þórarinn Rágabróðir's term of office to 1004, Skapti's first year as law-speaker (cf. Islb, 32.).)

61/7-9. According to the account given here, Skapti was responsible for the building of two churches. It is perhaps worth noting that a vísehelmingr attributed by Snorri Sturluson to Skapti (SnE, 158) may have been composed on the occasion of the consecration of a church (cf. OHOI, i, 543):

Máttr er munka dróttins
mestri aflar Guð flestu.
Kristr skóp ríkr ok reisti
Rúms hól, verðld alla.

['The power of the lord of monks is greatest; God is capable of almost anything. Mighty Christ created the whole world and built the hall of Rome.'] Cf. Arnesh, 223.
at beiri kirkju...fyrir utan lækkinn...í bana stað er nú stendr kirkjjan: fyrir utan must here mean 'to the west of' (cf. Notes to 7/10-1 and 11/21; Atlatáknarir, 185).
The present church at Hjalli is to the east of the brook.
On its history, see Ágúst, 228 f.

61/8-9. en sýðan váru færð bein beira í bana stað er nú stendr kirkjjan: according to the code of law represented by Grágás (Kristinna laga Pátrir), if a church was moved from one place to another, the bodies and bones of those buried in the church-yard were also to be moved: Kirkja hver skal standa í sama stað sem vígð er, ef bat má fyrir skridum eða vatnagangi eða eldsgangi eða ofvöri eða heruð eyði at ór afðólim eða útatrǿndum. Pat er rétt at færa kirkju ef beir atburðir verða. Pat er rétt at færa kirkju ef byskup lofar. Ef kirkja er upp tekin mánuði fyrir vetr eða lestiz hon svá at hon er önýt, ok skulu lík ok bein færð á braut baðan fyrir vetrnætr inar næstu. Til beirar kirkju skal (ok bein) færð lík sem byskup lofar grópt at. Pat er maðr vill bein færar, ok skal landeigandi kveðja til búa íx, ok húskarla beira svá sem til skipsdráttar [cf. Note to 56/26] at færa bein. Here follow stipulations about the efforts which must be made to find bones. The passage concludes: Ef landeigandi lætr eigi færar bein svá sem mált er, eða færar menn eigi til, beir er kvaddir eru, ok verðr hverr beira sekr iii. mórkum, ok á landeigandi sók við þá er kvaddir eru, en sá við hann er vill. Stefna skal bejman sókum bein
Accounts of removals of bones from one church site to another are to be found in several sources other than Fló: Heið, 235; Eg, ch. 36; Ol helga, 766 f.; Bj, 134; Eyrb, 183 f.; Grett, 269 f. Jón Steffensen (Árbók, 1967, 71-8) has recently made a critical assessment of the literary and archaeological evidence for the practice in question. Among the provisional conclusions he arrives at are the following: (i) The absence of any clause similar to that in Grágás in the legal codes of the other Scandinavian countries tends to suggest that the clause in question may be older than Kristinna laga Páttr, i.e. older than 1122-33. (ii) Archaeological evidence from the time prior to and simultaneous with the period of validity of Kristinna laga Páttr suggests, however, that the law on this point was never very carefully complied with or enforced. (iii) That although the accounts in the sagas of bone removals must to some extent contain unhistorical elements, there is special reason to suppose at least a kernel of truth in those in Eg and, more especially, Eyrb.

As far as the passage in Fló under consideration is concerned, the following may be remarked: (i) Even given the facts (a) that it seems rather unlikely that there was a law concerning the translation of bones before 1056, when Iceland got her first bishop, (cf. Jón Steffensen (op. cit., 72)), and (b) that the archaeological evidence for bone-moving
is slight, we cannot entirely preclude the possibility that Fló's statement on this point is historical. And in this connection it is interesting to note the example of bone-moving (not mentioned by Jón Steffensen) in Heið: here we are told that Víga-Styrrr was buried at Háraun, but when the church there burnt, his bones were moved to Hælgafell, an event which, if historical, must have taken place in the first half of the eleventh century. On the other hand, both facts (a) and (b) speak rather strongly against the historical trustworthiness of Fló's statement. (ii) In view of the number of possible older models, we have good reason to suspect that the Fló-author is here, as in many other places in the saga, introducing a literary borrowing. And we know that elsewhere in Fló he had drawn heavily on one of the sagas (i.e. Eg; cf. pages *281-3) which contained an account of a bone-moving and could well have read at least some of the others (e.g. Heið, Eyrbi and Grett; see pages *286-7, *311 and *359). (iii) It is not entirely impossible that archaeological investigations to the west of the brook at Hjalli could throw more light on this question. It would, at all events, be interesting to know if there has ever been a graveyard there. Until further evidence is produced to the contrary, however, it seems better to regard the account of Fló here as representing a literary borrowing rather than historical fact.

61/9-10. Skapti hét at sara kirkju, bæ er Póra braut fót
sinn: for other examples of promises to build churches in Icelandic literature, see Motif-Index, M266 and 266.2.

61/10. Póra is also known from Ldn which tells us that she was Steinsdóttir (see index to Ldn, s.v. Póra, 17). Skapti was her second husband. See further Arnesh, 223 f.

hon var at léreptum sinum, 'she was at her linen'.

61/13-4. holdi vel ok karlmannliga stórar mannraunir: cf.

15/6-7: stóz vel margar mannraunir er hann hlaut at bera. Cf. 'TgF', 443.

61/15. Illhugi: unknown from sources other than Fló.

61/16. Pórör: unknown from sources other than Fló.

Pórhallr: Ldn (1968, 364) and Byskupa Ettir (12) tell us that Pórhallr was the son of Pórólkr and a descendant of Ketill einhendi, one of the settlers of Rangárþing. In Þorláks Saga (Bysk, i, 39) we are told that he lived at Hlíðarendi in Fljótshlíð and was farmaðr, áðr hann setti búa. He also had a daughter Eyvóð, sister of Pórólkr byskup.

hans, i.e. Pórhallr's

61/17. Eyvóð is known only from Fló and Byskupa Ettir (see Note to 61/14-9).

Jórunn is known only from Fló and Byskupa Ettir (see Note to 61/14-9). There is very little to recommend M. Keil's suggestion (Altisländische Namenwahl, 1931, 46) that her name in Fló is a mistake for Pórunn.

61/18. Oddr hét son beira: beira here would seem to refer to Þorgils and Helga, but according to Byskupa Ettir (see Note to 61/14-9), the only other source to mention him, Oddr is said to be the son of Jórunn, daughter of Þorgils and Helga.

61/18-9. Oddr...var faðir Gizurar: according to Byskupa Ettir (cf. Note to 61/14-9), Oddr was the father of
Jón who was the father of Gizurr (cf. Textual Note to 61/18).

**Gizurr, Grimr:** Grimr is perhaps identical with the Grimr Gizurarson whom the Annals (Ann) tell us drowned in 1191. Otherwise father and son are unknown from sources other than Fló and Eyskupa Ættir (Note to 61/14-9).

61/19. **Guðlaug** is unknown from sources other than Fló and Eyskupa Ættir (Note to 61/14-9).

**Jörundr byskup** was the son of Þorsteinn Einarsson. He was bishop of Hólar from 1267 until his death in 1313. In the second staðarmál, his policy was to buy churches from their lay owners, an approach very different from that of his colleague Arni Þorláksson, Bishop of Skálaholt. Jörundr established religious houses at Móðruvellir (which he acquired after a quarrel with Lawman Sigurðr Guðmundsson) and Reynistaðr. See further Eviskrár, iii, 349 and the references cited there.

Móðir hennar var Hallkatla Einarsson Dóttir, Ingjaldssonar, Grímssonar glammaðar, Porgilssonar erru-
heinsstjúps... Herdis hét dóttir hennar in ellri; hon var
sípt... Svarthofða Dufgussyni; LdnHkb, 115/25-30: Átli var
fæðir Pórðar dofna, fðóur Porgils *orrabeins stivp(s)
[from * unnormalized] fðóur Ingjalds fðóur Gríms fðóur
beira Barkar ok Einarfs fðóur Hallkóðlu, er átti Hrafn
Sveinbjarnarson; beira dætr Steinunn, móðir herra Hrafn,
ok Herdis, móðir Ala, fðóur Steinunnar, er Haukr Erlends-
son átti; LdnHkb, 123/16-8: Pórrods dóttir goða var Helga,
móðir Gríms glömmuða, fðóur Ingjalds, fðóur Gríms, fðóur
Barkar, fðóur Ragnhildar, etc. On Porgils's descendants
from Grímr glömmuðr to Jón Hákonarson, see Sturl; Ann;
Hrafn's Saga Sveinbjarnarsonar; J. J., Saga, ii, 302-8;
Um Kjálk, 94-8; Flb, i, vi ff.
Notes to M-version

64/12-3. Ok gott hefir bér orðit til fjár í frammörgunni: klæði rautt hefir bú fengit; "And you've become wealthy since you went to the door: you've got a red garment."

Both Guðbrandur Vigfússon (Orig, ii, 632 footnote) and Þórhallur Vilmundarson suspect textual corruption here. It seems however that we have here an indirect way of saying: 'You're blushing' and that this is more original to the text of Fló than the X-version's equivalent (cf. Introduction, pages *95-6). To say that someone has acquired a red garment is clearly a way of saying that they have gone red in colour. And dyed clothes in general, and red clothes in particular, were regarded as especially costly and were, in Iceland, probably confined to the wealthy (cf. Nj, ch. 23, where the fetch of Gunnarr is recognized partly by rautt klæði showing under his sleeve); hence Órógils's teasing ok gott hefir bér orðit til fjár.

Whether this idiom was peculiar to the Fló-author or in general use is uncertain.

65/7. gefa ok fé til sýknu honum: as observed in Note to 45/18-9, a sentence of outlawry could be lifted by the Lögretta granting a sýknuleyfi. On the other hand, for a sýknuleyfi to be granted, the Lögretta had to be unanimous. Further, outside the Lögretta, any hoingeyjandi could, by using his veto' (at verja lýrít; cf. Grág, iii, 641-3),
prevent a sýknuleyfi being granted (cf. Grág, i, a, 95-6: Ef mónnum er sýknulofs bæðit at Lógréttu, skógarmónnum eða fjörbægsmónnum, ok á bat því at eins standaz ef allir Lógrétumenn leyfa, enda veri enginn maðr lýriti fyrrir utan Lógréttu, svá at heir menn heyri er í Lógréttu sitja). Now the party who was most likely to prevent a sýknulofof being granted would be the prosecutor in the case in which the outlaw had been sentenced (in this case, Asgrímr). When we hear of money changing hands til sýku e-m, this was presumably paid to the prosecutor as a 'bribe' to persuade him not to use his right of veto. Cf. Lúövík Ingvarsson, Refsingar á Islandi, 1970, 121-32. - As noted in Orig (ii, 639 footnote), honum here must apply to Kolr. On the other hand, one wonders if the original of the saga did not have some such reading as refa honum (i.e. Asgrímr) ok fé til sýknu Kol.

65/8-9. er bó fátt um með beim hófðingum, 'even so there is coolness between the chieftains'; cf. Gísl, 35: margt hefir verit um með okkr ok fátt.

65/25-6. ok hafa sitt satt við, hvar Svartr hafði fengit, 'and have his own opinion as to where Svartr had acquired it'. Cleasby-Vigfusson (s.v. sannr, m.) seems to see satt either as a neuter form of, or a mistake for the noun sannr, which can have the sense 'opinion'; cf. Modern Icelandic á minn hann, 'in my opinion'. Þórhallur Vilmund-
arson, on the other hand, paraphrases: 'hafa ætlun sína (álit sitt) fyrir satt'.

66/4. hefir bú illa ór ráðit, 'you have found a bad solution, taken a bad course of action'; cf. Laxð, 125-6: Gizurr...ok Hjalti...fara...á fund Oláfs konungs. Konungr tekr beim vel ok kvað bá hafa vel ór ráðit (referring to the Icelanders' acceptance of Christianity).

67/7. ef hann kemr eigi til, 'if he should not turn up (and take possession of it) himself'; cf. Ni, 10: ..ek segi þér lát Eyvindar, bróður bíns, en hann leiddi bik til arfs á Gulabingi, ok munu nú taka óvinir bínin, ef bú kemr eigi til.

67/16. at bregða búi sínu, 'to give up farming, one's farm'.

68/1-2. Porgils segir Póroddi at hann kvez mundu mjök treystaz ummælum Eiríks: Orig (ii, 642) assumes an omission between at and hann kvez. The sentence as it stands with both segir and kvez does seem a little peculiar.

68/3. at ætla til e-s, 'to rely on, to expect something of somebody or something'.
68/3-4. *at leggja kost til e-s*, 'to go to expense over something'.

68/12. *leitandi*: the 'learned' use of the present participle; cf. Note to 2/18-9.

68/20. *stormi*, with its *s*- alliterating with *slíkum* and *skaltu*, is more likely to have been in *F* than the *X*-version's *bylgjum*. - *válk*, 'a tossing to and fro at sea'. The word is often used, as here, in alliterative combinations (see Cleasby-Vigfusson and Fritzner, s.v. for examples).

68/23. *at líta á e-t*, 'to take something under one's protection'. The verb is particularly used in religious literature (cf. Fritzner, ii, 536 column 2).

69/11. *óvinr*, 'devil'. When used of Satan, the word usually has the suffixed definite article.

69/15. *at fella hug sinn til e-s*, 'to turn one's mind to something'.

69/17. *guðniðingr* is the word for 'apostate' (HMS, i, 609), more specifically (as here) 'one who abandons his Christian faith and reverts to blót'.

69/20. *hverr bú vat mír*: the *X*-version (34/27) has *hversu*
trúr bu vart mér and in Orig (ii, 644), hvurr is emended to hve trúrr. Hvurr in the sense 'how, of what nature, of what disposition' is, however, well attested in Old Norse (see Fritzner, s.v. hvurr 7), particularly in 'learned' literature (cf. Latin qualis); we may compare, for example, Barlaams ok Josaphats Saga, ed. R. Keyser and C. Unger, 1851, 58: Nu seg mer hvurr er bu villt mer vera i minni burpt.

70/5. er hans kanna væri á: Fritzner does not record the word kanna. On the other hand, Cleasby-Vigfusson has it and glosses it 'a mark on cattle'; in addition to this example, four instances of the word from Diplomatarium Norvegicum (ed. C. Unger et al., 1849-1919, i, 73 and 83; iii, 138) are referred to. Finnur Magnusson (GhM, ii, 96) translates the phrase 'som Thor kunde kjendes ved (som Eiendom)'. In discussing the origin of the Modern Icelandic idiom að hafa einhverja á sínnum kanna, Halldór Halldórsson (Orótök, 260 f.) argues (particularly on the basis of a Shetlandese expression used in counting cows: 'ane o' my kann, twaa o' my kann, t'ree o' my kann') that the original meaning of the word kanni found in this expression is 'a mark of ownership on cattle'. Although Halldór does not mention Old Icelandic kanna in his discussion, there can be little doubt that we have here a feminine form of kanni with the same original meaning as it. A feminine form is also found in Faroese (kanna, -u)
and possibly also in the Modern Icelandic å hafa eitthvað á sinni könnu, although in this last instance Halldór Halldórsson offers an alternative explanation (see Orðök, 261). It is possible that the word in Fló has its original meaning 'mark of ownership on livestock', particularly as an ox is being referred to. According to Grágás (Grág, i, b, 154 f.), there was a legal obligation to put distinguishing signs on one's cattle, sheep and poultry - the usual words are mark or einkunn - and there were elaborate regulations governing the use of such marks, which usually took the form of ear-marks (cf. KL, s.v. Ejermerke). There is no other evidence to suggest that in heathen times animals consecrated to the gods were marked in any particular way (cf. however ch. 6 of Gautreks Saga in Fas, iii), although it does not seem altogether unlikely. If such a custom did exist, animals dedicated to Þórr (as this one) might have been marked with the sign of the hammer. On the other hand, it seems more probable that kanna has a figurative sense here and that we have a set expression e-s kanna er á (e-u) meaning 'something belongs to somebody, someone has the right of ownership to something', used, perhaps, with special reference to livestock. The Norwegian examples cited by Cleasby-Vigfusson all appear in set relative clauses, sem e-s kanna er or war or læikr á, not necessarily referring to livestock, and are probably to be interpreted in the transferred sense suggested (cf. also Finnur Magnússon's translation quoted above).
Another figurative expression based on the word kanna is the Faroese at bera or hava kannu(na) av einum tingi, 'to be able to reckon something amongst one's property; to have a claim of ownership on a (young) animal' (see J. Svabo, Dictionarium Færoense, ed. C. Matras, 1966, column 381; M. Jacobsen and C. Matras, Føroysk-donsk orðabók, 1961, s.v. kanna). The best translation for the phrase in Fló is thus probably 'which Pórðr could lay claim to, which Pórðr could call his own'. [Later note: cf. now Halldór Halldórsson, Íslenzkt orðtakasafn, i, 1968, 306 f.]


70/18-9. síða dags, 'late in the day'. On the use of the genitive of a noun denoting time dependent on an adverb of time, see Syntax, 138; parallel examples are e.g. snemma dags, lengi sumars, árla morguns (73/24).

70/23. en til vestrættar ventu beir byggðar, 'but to the west they expected to find the inhabited area'. This remark is difficult to interpret. If the author of the saga, as is probable (cf. Note to 42/20), visualizes the expedition on the east coast of Greenland, the inhabited parts of the country would, of course, lie to the west. But before Nansen's day the way to the west coast from the east was hardly inland across the ice-cap (except perhaps at the country's most southerly tip). The text could well
be corrupt here and *Orig* (ii, 645) emends to *en til vestrættar var vænzt til bygðar* and translates 'and it was on the western quarter that they thought it fairest for habitation.'

70/26. *reki*: this word has a general sense of 'jetsam' and a more specific one of 'stranded whale'. The latter is probably intended here or, at any rate, 'edible jetsam'; cf. 38/15 and Note and 75/2.

71/11. *þá*: an emendation to *þó* is probably advisable (so in *Orig* (ii, 646) and Dórhallur Vilmundarson's text).

71/12. *fátt var með beim*, 'there was coolness between them'; cf. Eg, 105: *var fátt með beim broðrum*. Cf. 65/8-9 and Note.

72/9. *at lát *sér annars víti at varnaði verða*: a stereotyped alliterative phrase. Cf. Nj, ch. 13; IF, xi, 74; Barlaams ok Josaphats Saga, ed. R. Keyser and C. Unger, 1851, 51; Húgsvinnsmál, verse 98 (Sk, ii, 105); further, the proverb *gott er annars víti hafa at varnaði* (Sólaljóð, verse 19 (Sk, i, 310)) which has Norwegian, Swedish and Latin parallels (cf. Sólaljóð, ed. H. Falk, 1914, 11).

72/16-7. *léttir af sóttinni*: an impersonal construction: *the epidemic abates*. 
72/20. sótti Þorgerðr konur mest: the M-version has omitted to say that Þorgerðr has died (cf. 36/21).

72/22-3. Þeir Porðils höfðu skip á stokka sett ök mjök gert at ðöru: at setja skip á stokka, 'to build a ship'. (The stokkar are the 'stocks on which ships are built' (Cleasby-Vigfusson).) - Both Þórhallur Vilmundarson and Guðbrandur Vigfusson (Orig. ii, 647) suspect a corrupt text here. The latter suggests adding borði after ðöru and translating: 'Thorgils and his men had set their ship on stocks, and had one part finished...'

But it is surely possible to make sense of the text as it stands: in GhM (ii, 103), the passage is quite satisfactorily translated: 'Thorgils og hans Mænd havde havt et Skib (stor Baad) paa Stabelen (i Bygning) og gjort meget ved (istandsat) et andet.'

73/9. dýrðiligr is definitely the reading of Þ and it is peculiar that Fornsögur (175/27) has dýrligr and that Þórhallur Vilmundarson emends Þ's dýrligr to dýrligr; especially when Þ has a tendency to drop medial consonants in groups (e.g. harnar for hardnar at 69/12). Although frequently attested, dýrðiligr is found neither in Fritzner nor Cleasby-Vigfusson; E. Jonsson (Oldnordisk Ordbog, 1863, 99), L. Heggstad (Gamalnorsk ordbok, 1930, 109) and W. Bætke (Wörterbuch zur altnordischen Prosaliteratur, 1965, s.v. dýrðiligr), on the other hand, all equate it
with dýrligr. It seems however necessary to assign
different origins and, at any rate to begin with, differ­
ent denotations to these two forms, the distinc­tion between
which has become clouded by the loss of the æ between r
and l (cf. harla for harðla and järli for jargligr; see
Altisl, 213). Dýrligr is the older form (cf. Clári Saga,
ed. G. Cederskiöld, 1907, 10) and, unlike dýrligr, is
found in Old Norwegian. And in special glossaries in Æv
(ii, 266) and Thómas Saga erkibyskups (ed. Eiríkr Magnú­
son, 1883, 328) where the two words are listed seperately,
respectively
a meaning 'kostbar' 'costly, precious' is recorded for
dýrligr but not for dýrligr. This last fact certainly
squares better with an original first element dyr for
dýrligr rather than dýr. Like other compounds of dýr
(cf. dýrstaðr, 'Paradise', Dýrðarkonungr, 'the King of
Glory'), dýrli for dýrligr, which we may translate 'glorious', is
found particularly in religious and homiletic literature.
In Æv, i, 305, it is used of the inhabitants of Heaven.

73/21. ok trúm vör ærit vel brælunum í bessu: some
editions (Oríg and Pórhallur Vilmundarson) prefer eigi
to ærit (cf. Textual Note). Or could trúm (MS: truð) be
a mistake for trúm (minim confusion?) and the sentence
a continuation of the conditional clause beginning ef?

73/23-4. Peir gengu til eyktar ok höfðu farit árla mor­
guns. Ok er nón var dags, ba sn eru beir aprj: Grág (i, a,
26) defines *eykt* as a point of time as follows: *ért útsuðrs ætt er deild í briðjunga ok hefir sólin gengna íi hluti. en einn önginn*, i.e. as a time corresponding to an azimuth of 52° 30' west of south. (We here ignore the suggestion made by M. Mjelde (cf. Maal og Minne, 1924, 97-103) and adopted by A. Næss (Hvor lå Vinland?, [1954]) that *útsuðrs ætt* here refers to the quarter of the horizon with SW at its centre.) This time would, of course, vary with the time of year, latitude, etc., but may practically be regarded as corresponding to about 15.30, although by contamination with *nón* (see 37/23 and Note), it may have been a little before this. As a period of time, *eykt* has been explained in different ways. Most agree with Fritzner (see Fritzner, s.v. *eykt* 2) in interpreting it as the three hours beginning at the point of time *eykt*, i.e. from about 15.00 to 18.00. Fritzner gives this sense to the word here. S. Jansson (KL, iii, column 393), on the other hand, seems to think of it as corresponding to the time when the sun travels from 22° 30' W of S to 67° 30' W of S, i.e. between about 13.30 and 16.30. Taking *eykt* in Fló as referring to a point in time, *er nón var dags* would certainly seem redundant. This however is certainly preferable to Fritzner's interpretation which gives the passage as it is here the ring of some such statement as: 'They walked on until afternoon and at noon they turned back.' These facts would seem to speak for Janson's explanation as giving the best sense. But one feels on rather uncert-
ain ground here as this explanation has not been found
elsewhere, nor has the present editor been able to make
independent investigations on this point. In all events,
it is interesting to note a parallel quoted by Fritzner
from Homiliu-bók, 131: Var hon at veraldligu verki...
bangat til er kom eykt. Dá för hon enn til bærnar sinnar
at nóni. [Later note: Since the above was written, B.
Ejder's Dagens tider och måltider (1969) has been publish-
ed. Ejder gives special attention to this passage in Fló
(page 110). He concludes that: 'Vad eykt i den äldre hs
[i.e. M] betyder är osäkert. För modernt betraktelsesätt
ligger onekligen tolkningen 'viss tidpunkt' närmast, och
för den tradition som representeras av 516 [i.e. K] har
tydligern eykt och nón känts som synonyma.' Ejder thus
seems to share the present editor's doubts concerning the
sense Fritzner gives the word in this context. And if
we consider the inclination to repetitiveness in the M-
version's style and fail to find arguments to support
Jansson's suggestion (see above), then to interpret eykt
here as a point of time would perhaps seem best.]

74/10. hvílutjaldit: this is the only example of the word
recorded by Cleasby-Vigfusson or Fritzner. H. Falk (Kleid-
wonders; erkunde, 209 footnote) whether the word refers to bed-
clothes—he compares New Norwegian tield, 'ein (meist aus
Wollen oder Leinen gewebtes) Laken unter und über dem
Ruhenden'—or a bed-hanging. The context and the fact
that it is later made into a tent (see 82/7; cf. Introduction, page *100) makes the first of these alternatives the more likely and the word is probably synonymous with rekkjutjald and fortjald, 'a curtain hung in front of or around a bed' (cf. Privatboligen, 222 and Híbýlahættir, 91 and 102). Such curtains would, as here, have been used particularly by women, sick persons and the most important members of households (cf. e.g. Bárð, ch. 7).

74/21-2. ok svá nafrar í burt váru sem í tölakistunni höfðu verit: in Fornsögur (176 footnote), it is suggested that there must be an omission between váru and sem (semicolon after nafrar); tól óll is proposed for what is missing (cf. Oríg, ii, 650 footnote). But see however 74/26.

74/22. nafrar: a nafrarr is a 'gimlet' or 'awl'; on gimlets, see KL, s.v. Navar.

75/2. at lifa við e-t, 'to live on something'.

75/2-3. ok smádýri ikorna: smádýr(i), 'small animals' (not 'young animals'). - Björn Sigfússon ('TgF', 448 footnote) reads íkorna and conjectures that korna may be a corruption of some such word as kofa (otherwise not attested in Old Icelandic), 'a young puffin'. (Puffins have been eaten in Iceland up to the present day.) Olafur Halldórsson suggests that íkorna could be
a misreading for *etcetera* (in abbreviated form) (cf. Det Arnamagnæanske Haandskrift 81a Fol., ed. A. Kjær and L. Holm-Olsen, 1910-47, 37: *z cetera*) (Þórhallur Vilmundarsson). Now P could well have a corrupt text here, particularly as *M* seems to have been difficult to read (cf. Textual Note to 75/2). On the other hand, medieval Icelanders were often vague about fauna and flora unknown in their own country; the classic example of this vagueness is the use of *eik* for trees other than the oak. And that at least one Icelander was capable of confusing an *íkorni* with an *einhyrningr*, 'unicorn', may be seen from *Ev*, i, viii, footnote 8. *Íkorni* might therefore be being used of any type of small animal or rodent, for instance the hare, which is unknown in Iceland but not in Greenland (cf. *Ghm*, ii, 202 f.). And here we remember that in *Króka-Refs Saga* (*If*, xiv, 132) there is *fjöldi dýra* in Greenland. Alternatively, but less probably, the Fló-author may have been thinking of the *grávara*, 'squirrel skins', which, in *Gr* (261), are said to come from Vinland. In view of these facts, the present editor is unwilling to expunge these 'squirrels' from the *M*-version's text. We must either understand or put an *ok* before *íkorna* (cf. *Fornsögur*, 177/4; *Orig*, ii, 650) or, with Finnur Magnússon (*Ghm*, ii, 108-9), translate 'og Smaadyr (som) Egern'.

75/4. *Um morguninn*: the definite article is peculiar (cf.
the X-version's Einn morgun, 38/16).

77/7. er mjökk uppi vistin, 'the provisions were almost at an end'. At vera uppi, 'to be used up'.

77/20-78/3. Ok...rauða: the present editor has discussed this rune-inscribed oar and the verse it carries in Mediaeval Scandinavia, 1969, 92-101. Because this article's content would take up an unduly large amount of space in this Commentary, it has been decided to reproduce it as Appendix II of this thesis. To it are added two 'Later notes'.

78/12-3. at við sveininn megi leita: at leita við e-n, e-t in Old Icelandic can mean: (i) 'to demand of somebody' (ii) 'to ask somebody' (iii) 'to attempt something'. None of these senses seems to fit the context here and in Orig (ii, 652 footnote) an emendation is suggested. Þórhallr Vilmundarson proposes a translation 'að bjarga megi sveininnum'.

78/17-20. 'Pá er betr ok, Kolr.' sagði hann, 'fyrir hví ...eptir': hann clearly refers to Porleífr but the words spoken are just as clearly those of Kolr. M's text would appear to be corrupt here; cf. 39/11-5.

78/20. at lifa eptir, 'to survive'.
78/23-4. *sagði ósýnt hversu hann bæri*, 'told them it was not certain how he would have taken it' (Orig, ii, 652).

78/25. *mun*: in Orig (ii, 652 footnote), an conditional munda is preferred.

78/26. *ok svífr nú ýmsu á mik*: Gnb (ii, 113) translates 'og vistnok gaaer mig nu meget over', Fritzner (iii, 621) 'der kan nu vederfares mig noget af hvert' and Orig (ii, 652) 'and I am much distraught'. The dictionaries record no other example of this impersonal use of svífr á for Old Icelandic, although svífur á e-n in Modern Icelandic means 'one faints' or 'one becomes tipsy' (Blöndal). The nearest parallel in Old Icelandic seems to be svífr yfir e-n in Sturl, ii, 301: *segir Pórór at svífi yfir hann; var honum bá fylgt til hvílu sinnar; tôk hann bá sótt svá fast at...*; here Fritzner glosses the phrase 'der kommer noget over ham', while Cleasby-Vigfusson (612) has 'he was suddenly taken ill.' The present editor finds Fritzner's rather neutral translations the most acceptable and would render svífr á e-n as 'someone is affected (either by internal or external factors).

79/16-7. *kerti v. váru á kné mér...ok fólski á inu mesta: fólski*, in the translation of this passage in Orig (ii, 653), is rendered as 'thief', which word is defined by The
Shorter Oxford English Dictionary as "'an excrescence in the snuff of a candle'...which causes it to gutter and waste". While such a meaning undoubtedly fits the context in Fló, the standard dictionaries of Old and Modern Icelandic offer no other example of fólski used of a candle; the nominal sense of the word (of which Fritzner gives a number of examples) is 'the pale white or grey layer of ash spread over burning embers (whether still glowing or burnt out)'. One must at least suspect therefore that the meaning given to the word by the Orig-translator is one based on the context rather than knowledge of similar usage elsewhere. This being the case, one must further suspect that the word fólski is used here in a slightly strained sense and that, as elsewhere in this series of dreams (cf. Note to 39/20 ff. and the remarks on bára in Note to 40/15-8), a pun on it is intended. Now it is interesting that there is another dream in Old Norse literature where a fólski appears: In Sturl (i, 510 f.), Sighvatr Sturluson dreams that he is sitting at feast at his home and that hestr rauðr er hann átti er Fólski hét comes into the hall and asks why he has not been invited. He then devours all that is on the tables. About this dream, Sighvatr declaims a verse in which Fólski is mentioned. The story presents a slight problem: as B. Kahle (Indogermanische Forschungen, 1903, 160) remarks: 'Man sieht nicht recht ein, warum ein rotes Pferd nach der weissen Asche benannt wird'; the root element of Fólski
is related to fólkr, 'pale, greyish, yellowish'. Kahle's tentative explanation is that fólski frequently covers ashes which are still alive and thus red. This seems somewhat tenuous however, and Finnur Jónsson (LP, s.v. Fólski), who notes that Fólski is a rauðr hestr only in the prose of Sturl, argues that 'navnet viser, at harene på sine steder ialt fald - har været gråagtige, som det ofte er tilfældet.'. But whether we regard Sturlunga's Fólski as red or grey, the appearance of the horse in this dream clearly bodes Sighvatr's death at the Battle of Ölyggsstaðir a few months later. And parallels to both rauðir and fólvir hestar boding death in dreams are to be found elsewhere in Icelandic sources. Red is the colour of blood and can symbolize a violent death. In Vatns (ch. 42), Þorkell silfri dreams that he is riding a red horse down through Vatnsdalr. He himself interprets this dream optimistically but his wife, Signý, takes a different view: she kvað hest mar heita, en marr er manns fylgja, ok kvað rauða sýnask, ef blöðug yrði. She then correctly predicts her husband's death. Commenting on this passage, Einar Ól. Sveinsson (Vatns, lll footnote 2) writes: 'Sjálfsagt er ... réttast að bæta ekki um draum-ráðningu Signýjar húsfréyju, en ef þessi draumur væri frá síðari tínum, mundi það að ríða rauðum (en þó einkum bleikum) hesti vel getað táknað feiggð eitt sér, án þess þörfr væri að hugsa sér hestinn sem fylgju.' And the last statement here with reference to fólvir hestar is backed
up by Finnur Jónsson (LP, s.v. fóllr), who states that 'i folketroen betyder ’bleg, gul, hest' (som man drømmer om) altid ens nærforestående død.' Here we remember that the dead Helgi rides a fóllr jór in Helgaskvida Hundingbana Ónnur (Edda, 160) and that fóllr is particularly the colour of the dead. It would seem then that fólski is not only the word for 'white ash', but also the name for a horse of a particular colour which symbolizes death. It may be suggested that the author of Fló has taken advantage of this double meaning to introduce a pun. It is true that, as suggested above, he may have somewhat strained the word fólski by using it of a candle. But the use of the word would make it clear that the largest candle was either about to go out or had just gone out. It is also true that it is the doomed person himself who dreams of the rauðr or fóllr hestr; but the fólski in Þorgils's third dream is so unambiguously connected with the candle which represents Þorfinnr that its symbolism would have been quite obvious. We would seem to have here a further adumbration of Þorfinnr's death from blóðspýja at 50/19-20, which is already foreshadowed by the 'Lebenslicht'-motif (see Introduction, pages *335-6). For the way the Fló-author has embroidered a conventional element with a word-play, we may compare the way a pun on laukr is added to the well known 'tree dream' (see Note to 40/11-2).
skip várt: one assumes that sveinn is used in the sense 'servant' and that the woman is referring to the konur ii. of 80/14, where, it is reasonable to assume that tróllkonur are meant (cf. Introduction, pages *325-7).

Assuming at any rate that tróllkonur are referred to, then one might guess that the woman in the dream is the queen of the tróllkonur and that the túnn she talks about is her stronghold. We may compare Jókuls Pátrr Búasonar (IF, xiv, 47-59), where there is a troll called Skrámur who lives in the wastes of Greenland and who is konungur yfir öllum óbyggðum. His cave, like the place Porgils is now situated (see 78/4-5), is near bjórg brótt (IF, xiv, 54). But we should also remember that the woman in Porgils's dream may have affinities with the draumkonur (e.g. Gisli's draumkona; cf. page *336) who frequently appear to men in dreams. The Fló-author may be mixing borrowed elements.

79/18-9. ok bykki mér illa er bér hafið etit egg Porfinns: the reference is clearly to the svartbaksegg at 39/1 and 77/16-7, although we are told nowhere, in either text, that Porgils or his companions ate Porfinnr's egg or part of it (and in Orig, ii, 653, it is suggested that something is missing between egg and Porfinns). What the implications of the woman's remark are is not entirely clear. We may hazard the following suggestion however: Porgils
has just had a dream where a burnt out candle is symbolic of his son's life and sure enough before he returns to Iceland, the boy dies (cf. Introduction, pages 334-6; also Note to 79/16-7). It seems possible that we have here a further adumbration of the boy's death. The egg is widely regarded as a symbol for life, fertility and good luck in the folklores of many peoples. And in Handwörterbuch (ii, column 638), a good deal of material is produced from folk-tradition (mainly German) to show the importance of gifts of eggs to young children for their future lives. That at least remnants of such traditions existed in Iceland there can be no doubt: we think, for example, of the troll's fjöregg; if this is broken, then the troll dies. Could it be that because Þorfinnr does not eat the whole of his egg or because some of his adult companions take some of it away from him that his life is cut short (but their's not)? And also possibly of relevance here is the fact that in many folk-traditions to dream about eggs bodes bad luck (cf. Handwörterbuch, ii, columns 643-4). See however Note to 38/26-39/3 for a different interpretation of Þorfinnr not eating the whole of his egg.

80/13. og hafi þér illa við orði: in GhM (ii, 116), these words are translated: 'og I tage kun slet imod (det); da I have ikke beredet eder vel dertil.' This would seem to catch the sense rather better than Orí's (ii, 654) 'ye
have had bad luck with it' (cf. at verða við e-m, e-u, to receive somebody, something).

80/19-20. fyrra: so Fornsögur (179/27), Orig (ii, 654) and Pórhallur Vilmundarson; fremra, Fló, 1932, 47. - Fyrra fæti, 'front paw'.

80/21. fjúk ok frost: a set alliterative expression; cf. e.g. Fóstbr, 135 and Grett, 129.

81/2. vika: a unit of measurement used at sea, approximately equal to 8.3 kilometres or perhaps rather less (Mælieiningar, 215 f.). The word in this sense probably originally meant 'a turn at rowing'.

81/5-6. stefna fyrir utan mynnit til lægis: Orig (ii, 654-5) emends this to stefna útan í minnet til lægiss and translates 'made for the mouth of it to get a berth there'. In GhM (ii, 118), P's text here, which agrees with M, is translated 'og styrede (omtrent) uden for dens Munding, til en Ankerplads (Leireplads)'. This, or some very similar rendering seems quite reasonable and there is no reason to emend.

81/6. e-t geriz á e-n, 'something grows on someone, someone is affected by something'. 
81/12. *ausskotuna* (cf. Textual Note): *ausskota*, 'bailing bucket' is probably from an original *austrskota* (cf. Note to 41/9): the form *austskota* is found in, for example, *Grág* (i, a, 206) and the loss of t in -sts- is frequent in Old Icelandic (see *Altisl*, 215). The simplex *skota* does not appear in Old Icelandic but I. Aasen (*Norsk Ordbog*, 1918, s.v.) records the word in Norwegian dialect meaning 'en liden Skovl, hvormed man øse Korn eller Meel'.

81/22. *hugstæðr*: Fritzner glosses 'siddende fast eller tilstede i ens Sind, Tanker (e-m)'.

81/23. *skömm ok hneisa*: a set phrase; cf. *Fóstbr*, 166; *Heið*, 277; *Oddr*, *Oláf*, 201.

81/25-6. *Taka beir nú vatn á ís[num]*: one is not certain what is meant here; cf. X-version, 41/16.

82/26. *kvað skip farit hafa bar*: it is impossible to tell whether *skip* is singular or plural. But the general context suggests that Þorsteinn's ship (see 42/21 and 83/13) is intended. (*Orig*, ii, 657, has 'a ship'.)

83/11-2. *beita fyrir landit, 'they cruised offshore'.

83/26. *dóttur*: the present editor reads á. (=dóttur),
with Finnur Jónsson (Fló, 1932, 51) and Þórhallur Vil-mundarson, rather than s. (= systur), with Guðbrandur Vigfússon (Fornsörur, 182 and Orig, ii, 658).

84/5-6. Porgils kvað ekki mætti stórum betr í hald koma sem at horum væri ván: Orig (ii, 658) translates: 'Thor-gisl said that: 'there could be no more timely offer made them, but that it was to be looked for from him'; or, in other words, 'Porgils said they could not have been given assistance at a better time and that such help was the sort of (good) thing they could expect from him.' At koma (e-m) í hald, 'to be a help, of assistance (to somebody)'

84/6. hangat: we do not know what place is referred to. In Orig (ii, 658 footnote), til hafnar is suggested as an emendation.

84/19-20. með mikla kosti, 'in great estate' (Orig, ii, 659).

84/24-5. fé var lægt til hófuðs dýrinu: in the Law of Gulaping (NGL, i, 45), we are told: Biorn oc ulfr scal hvørvetna utlagr væra. beirra verc vill engi maðr varða nema bar at eins ef biorn er horvenn í hiði. Cf. Note to 45/17-8.

84/25. òr hvarritveggju byggðinni: if the author was here
thinking of Eystribyggð and Vestribyggð, we have further evidence of his ignorance or negligence of the facts of Greenlandic topography (cf. Note to Introduction 107): as Finnur Jónsson (Fló, 1932, 74) suggests, it is unnatural that the people of Vestribyggð should pay for a bear killed in Eystribyggð, when there was over 250 miles between the two settlements. Cf. Note to 45/19.

85/19. í húsin should probably be emended to í húsinu; cf. X-version, 44/14-5.

87/20. gríngarð: the reading of the manuscript is gríngard which editors take as a spelling for gríngarð. In turn, the dictionaries (Fritzner, Cleasby-Vigfusson) take gríngarð as a spelling for grindgarð, with loss of d between a and g (see Altisl, 212; cf. syngir for syndgir, nom. masc. plur. of syndugr, 'sinful'). This latter step is reasonable enough in view of the frequency with which M omits medial consonants in groups (e.g. auskotuna for austskotuna at 81/12). On the other hand, no other examples of the word grindgarðr are recorded and it is not clear what is meant here. All that seems certain is that the author is referring to some known feature on the road between Einarshöfn and Brándarholt. We think first of some sort of fence (garðr), perhaps a boundary-fence across the road. It is however rather unlikely that a fence of any great permanence
or length should, in Iceland, be made of wood, as is implied in the element grind-; this element might, however, refer merely to a wooden gate in a fence otherwise made of turf and stone (cf. GnM, ii, 219; on fences in Iceland, see KL, s.v. Hegn. Island). Alternatively, taking the word in isolation, it is tempting to think of sheepfolds put together from hurdles (Modern Icelandic færíkvíar, grindur). But any sheepfold large or permanent enough to be used, as here, as a point of reference for the duel between Porgils and Helgi—and here one thinks of large communal sheepfolds used by the farmers of a given area (e.g. Flóamannarétt, Skeiðamannarétt)—would surely be made of turf and stones rather than hurdles. (On sheepfolds, cf. D. Bruun, Fortidsminder og Nutidshjem, 1928, 276 ff.) These difficulties make one wonder whether a word grin(d)garðr was, in fact, what the author of the saga meant. Alternatively whether a place-name was not what was originally intended here (cf. Orig, ii, 670, which has Gringarð; on Grind- as a place-name, see Die Lieder der Edda, ed. B. Sijmons and H. Gering, 1931, 100).

87/25. er vápn bitt ökarlmannligt: Fritzner (iii, 761) translates ökarlmannligt here as 'der ikke ser ud som, passer for karlmaør'. Is Helgi's axe merely this because it is sljó (87/24)? Or could the taunt be a little more involved? While A. Holtsmark (Studies in the Gísla Saga,
1951, 11) is probably going too far when she states that Old Norse axe-names are 'always feminine' (cf. Waffenkunde, 115 f.), the majority of them are. Further, axes have other feminine attributes: for example, in SnE, we are told that axes and tróllkonur may be called by the same heiti (cf. Holtsmark, loc. cit.). Could not Porgils be referring to his opponent's axe's lack of masculinity in this respect? The X-redactor makes Helgi's weapon into a bolóx (cf. Note to 37/22), a fólkvápn, a plebeian weapon (cf. Waffenkunde, 113).

88/14-5. at láta af beraz, 'to die'; cf. Svarf, 182.

88/19. at hýraz, 'to become cheerful, brighten up'.

88/26. fóru til bús á Hjalla: probably more original than the corresponding reading in X (cf. Note to 61/4). Björn Sigfússon ('TgF', 438) glosses at fara til bús as 'að fara... til dvalar á tilteknum stað'; cf. Sturl, i, 271: Réz hann bá til bús til Borgar; Fritzner, s.v. bú 5.

89/9. sveitarhófðingi: the dictionaries only record a meaning 'leader of a band of warriors' for this word (cf. sveit, 'detachment of troops, squadron'). Here, however, it must have the same sense as heraðshófðingi or goði (cf. Note to 13/19); the word is found with the same meaning in Heið, 227.
89/15. -stjúpi is a weak form of -stjúpr. A common noun stjúpi is not attested in Old Icelandic and only in modern Icelandic with the sense of 'stepfather'. L. Heggstad (Gamalnorsk ordbok, 1930, 656), however, records the weak form meaning 'stepson' as a variant of stjúpr in nicknames, but unfortunately gives no examples. The only parallel the present editor has been able to find (with the help of Binamn, s.v. Stiúpr) is in a manuscript variant in Sturl (ii, 159), where Steingrimr stjúpr's nickname appears as stjúpi.
APPENDIX I
The part of $P$ corresponding to 26/19 - 29/17

The text is given in unnormalised form although, except in the case of the verses, the punctuation and capitalisation of the manuscript have not necessarily been followed. Superscript abbreviations (titles, macrons etc.) are expanded and italicised as are certain other abbreviations (e.g. með for mz). The chapter headings are those given in the margin in $P$.

sverdinu.' 'Mier ßyker nu,' quad Porg;,'sem ßetta sie eckert kefli.' Litlu sijdar dö Ranvidur. Hafdi hann
20 træist fiølkijngi sijnu þvi at hann hafdi margann mann fellt med þessari hölmøngønu. Porg; drap og adra ij vijk-
ijnga, Snøkkoll og Snøbiørn. Prandur lavnadi Porg; vel.
Feck hann virdijng mykla af þessu verke. Vmm sumarit eptar biöst hann ut til Islands.

Hann var hamramur miøg. Hann biö a Olafsvøllum. Hann
4. liggur j Brunahavge under Vørdufelli og voru syner þeirra 5.
30 Helgu, modur Odds Hallvardssonar. ßorgriðmur aurabeinn lagde hug a Ashillde þa er Olafur var davdur enn Helgi travstì, son hennar, vandadi umm og for frå bui sijnu til hennar og qvadst ei vilia fiflijngar hennar og qvad ovird-
ijng vera, ßædi henni og frøendum hennar. Hun bad hann sig 35 ei reidann giøra; qvad ecki hans medfæri ad keppa vid Aurabein. Hann svarar: 'Audsied er ad madurinn hugnar þier vel enn eg mun ei ad helldur sitia honum sijka svijvird-
ijng.' Skilia þav nu tal sitt. ßorgr: gister a Olafsvøll-
um. Ashìlldur gjørdi honum godann beina og ßörü miøg sam-
qvadz ei hyrda umm hans ßopocka ef hennar vilie væri til.
Nu leíder hún Þorgr. á götu og gaf honum mykit fíngur-

45 gull ad skilnadi. Ashilldur qvad grun sín at þav mundi
ei optar siást. Þorgr qvad ætla at finna hana brátt. Hun
qvad vel ef so væri. Skilia nu vid so buit. Þorgr: for
nu leid sijna og reid fyrer nedan Ashylldarmjri. Helgi
sat fyrer honum hiá gatnamótí og er þeir fundust, bad Helgi

50 hann afláta komunum og gióra sier ei skapravn þessu.
Þorgr: qvadz ei hafa barnaskap; qvadz buinn ad reina alla
hluti vid hann. Helgi qvadz ætla at epter mælefnum munde
gänga - 'og er vel ad vid reinum ockur.' Sijdan bordust
þeir miøg leingi og snarplega. Þorgr: var á hinum efra

55 alldri og mæddist skiótt. Hann vard og sár miøg. Helgi
sæker ad fast er hann sier at Þorgr: latar og lykur so at
Þorgr: fellur fyrer Helga. Vmm qvolldit kom Helgi heim
og spurdi Ashylldur hann tjdinda og hvar hann hefdi verit.
Hann qvad vijsu: 'Vo eg þar er fell til fyllar回暖 sotti

60 vinur dröttar. Orrabeing enn unni ofur tungna bavd sprungu
Asmódar gaf eg Ódni, Arfa þrottar diarfann, gulldum gálga
valldi, gavts tabn, enn ná hrafni.' Hun s:: 'Mikit hefur
þu at unnit og vaxit muntu þykiast hafa af þessu verki enn
eg kann s: þier ad þetta er þinn hófudbani.' Helgi tok

65 sier fari j Einarshöfn og ætlar utan. Þessi tjdindi
spurdust nu. Hærijngur, son Þorgr., var þá xvið vetr.
Hann reid j Hófda til Teits Ketilbjarnarsonar, frændsa sijns,
vid þríðia mann. Þeir Teitur rijda þá ut á Eyrar j Einars-
höfn vid xvida mann og banna Helga farit; rijda sijdan burt.

70 Litlu sijdar fundust þeir á førtunnm veige up frá Mørk vid
Helgahvol. Þeir Helgi voru íj saman komner af Eyrum sunnan og er þeir Helgi síð fyr þeirra, hlavpa þeir á höllinn og vörðust dreingilega. Ætti þeir harda hrijd enn fyrir mannfiölda saker fiell Helgi og madur med honum og einn 75 madur af hinna lide. Var síjdan sæst a málit og fiellust vijgin j faðma. Son Helga travsta var Sigurdur hinn Landverski og Skefill hinn Havkdælske. Hann var fader Helga dyrs (dwrs) er bardiz vid Sigurd, son Liöts lavngubaks, at hölmi á Alþjngi. Úmm þetta quad Díjri vijsu: 'Wand 80 er á hægri hendi, hlavt eg sär af tybæru, lyg ek ei þad lygiar, linn vængis bili minni.'


Textual Notes:
Notes: 1. På bavd(l) is underlined 2. tvennum added above line by P before brune 3. hann for af Lofot (eyu) til Jslandz P in margin 4. Olafur atti Ashilldi P in margin 5. travsti P in margin 6. Dord P 7. P has cross before Vo and Var eg in margin 8. eriu beinn en unnar P in margin 9. P has cross before ofur and Jtrtngu havd sungu in margin 10. P has a. above hans and b. above Hærijngur (line 86)
Notes

Lines 59-62. Helgi trausti's verse: the verse in normalized form, with emendations to the third and fourth line from LdnHkb (page 118), is as follows:

Vá'k þar's fell til fyllar
- framm sótti vinr dróttar -
Ørrabeinn en [unnar ítrtungur høð sungu].
Ásmóðar gaf'k Øðni
arfa þróttardjarfan;
guldum gálga valdi
Gauts tafln, en ná hrafni.

Prose word-order: Vá'k (a) þar's Ørrabeinn (b) fell til fyllar (c) en unnar ítrtungur (d) sungu høð (e); vinr dróttar sótti framm (f). Gaf'k Øðni þróttardjarfan (g) Ásmóðar (h) arfa (i); guldum gálga valdi (j) Gauts (k) tafln (l) en ná hrafni.

Recent discussions of the verse are those of: H. Kuhn, Festschrift för Jost Trier, 1954, 423-5; Björn Sigfús-son (Saga, 1958, 404 ff.); Jón Helgason (Fortællinger, 100); Jakob Benediktsson (Ldn, 1968, 377 f.).

(a) On P's Vá, cf. Introduction, page *53, where it is noted that the reading may well come from MP and thither from the original of the saga. In all manuscripts of Landnámabók where the verse appears, its first word is Var, and this must have been the reading of LdnX (cf. LdnStb, 226/14 and LdnHkb, 118/1). If the reading Vá
was in the original of Fló, then it would seem reasonable to regard it as a conscious emendation of the verse by the author of the saga. Now this may have been made on the basis of familiarity with the verse in oral tradition. And here it may be noted that a reading Vá would certainly seem to give the stanza more force of meaning and that a corrupt Var could easily be due to contamination with verses of the type we find at LdnHkb, 26/22 ff. (Var ek bar er fell af fialli, etc.) and Fló, 77/20-78/3. Vá may then, be more original than Var. Cf. GhM, ii, 189. - (b) LdnStb (see page *193) and LdnSkb (see page *46) have Errubeinn (cf. Note to 13/4). - (c) Jón Helgason thinks til fyllar means 'as a satisfaction'. He would have expected some such continuation as 'to the ravens' in the following line (see (f) below). Finnur Jónsson (Ldn, 118) emends to til foldar, 'to the ground'. E. Kock (Notationes norræne, 1923-44, §2433) interprets the phrase as 'nogsamt' and believes it qualifies sótti ('nogsamt trängde skarans hulde herre framåt'). Einar Arnórsson (Árneshb, 65 f.) and Björn Sigfússon (cf. GhM, ii, 190) would take Fyllar as genitive of Fyllr, the name of Frigg's maid-servant, and assume that this is a heiti for the ground, earth (Frigg is a Mother Earth-figure); cf. Note to 6/17. - (d) unnar could either be taken as gen. sing. of unnr, 'sword' (see Waffenkunde, 19), or of Unnr, Uór, a heiti for Øinn (cf. H. Falk, Odensheite, 1924, 32). But if the second of these alternatives is accepted, it is difficult to see what þrtungur,
'glorious tongues', refers to. - (e) **hoð** is the reading of **LdnHkb** (spelt hoð); **LndStb**: hatr; **LdnSkb**: hatt; **LdnPöb**: haatt. **LdnHkb**'s reading could mean 'battle' and could be the object of **sungu** (so Kuhn). The readings of **LdnSkb** and **LdnPöb** could be taken as **hátt**, 'aloud'. Jakob Benediktsson suggests, however, that the reading of **LdnSkb** could be an emendation by the redactor of that version. On the other hand, he also thinks that **hatr** in **LdnStb** could just as well be due to a misreading of **Resensbók** by Jón Erlendsson.

- (f) **vinr dróttar**, 'friend of the host'. Jón Helgason points out that this is a kenning for a king, rather than for anyone of Helgi's or Þorgrímr's standing; he therefore suggests that this line may originally have belonged to a poem about a Scandinavian monarch and owes its presence here to faulty oral preservation. It is difficult to know whether **vinr dróttar** refers to Helgi or Þorgrimr. - (g) **bróttardjarfr**, 'bold in might'. - (h) **Asmóðar**: Þorgrimr was the son of Þormóðr (see 13/4-5); **Pór** = **As**- (Pórr is one of the Æsir). - (i) **arfa** from **arfi**, 'heir'. - (j) **gálga valdr**, 'the lord of the gallows' (Óðinn) - (k) **Gautr**, a name for Óðinn (cf. Note to 47/7). - (l) **tafn**, 'sacrifice'.

Translation (taking, where they exist, the first of alternative interpretations mentioned above): 'It was I who was the killer when Þorrabeinn fell as a satisfaction (?to the raven) and the glorious tongues of the sword sang battle. The friend of the host went forward. I gave the son of Þormóðr, bold in his might, to Óðinn, and a corpse
to the raven. We (i.e. I) offered Óðinn's sacrifice to Óðinn.

Lines 79-81. Helgi dýr's verse: the verse in normalized form, with emendations to the first, third and fourth line from LdnStb (page 226; cf. page *195 of this edition) is as follows:

[B]and's á hœgri hendi,
hlaut'k sár af Tý bðru
- lýg'k eigi þat - l[e]ygjar,
linnv[e]ngis [Bil], minni.

Prose word-order: Band's á hœgri hendi minni; hlaut'k sår af bðru leygjar Tý (a); lýg'k eigi þat, linnvengis Bil (b).

(a) bðru leygr, 'the flame of the wave, gold'; Týr bðru leygjar, 'the Týr of gold, man'. - (b) linnvengi, 'the land of the serpent (Fáfnir), gold'; Bil is one of the Åsynjur; Bil linnvengis, kenning for 'woman'.

English translation: 'There is a bandage on my right arm; I was wounded by the warrior; I do not lie, woman.'
APPENDIX II

A Medieval Icelandic Rowing Chant

by Richard Perkins

(See pages 327-8 and Note to 77/20-78/3)

In an article in Kulturhistoriskt Lexikon (I (1956), 201-3), Professor Anne Holtsmark discusses the preserved traces of medieval Scandinavian working songs. Behind Darrardarljóð she sees a weaving chant. Grotta-søngr seems to contain words from a milling song (cf. Snorri Sturluson, Heimskringla, ed. Bjarni Áðalbjarnarson, III (1951), 325). In Landnámabók (ed. Finnur Jónsson (1925), 145), Vémundr Hrólfsson, vígamaðr mikill ok járnsmiðr, declaims this verse in his smithy:

Ek bar einn
af ellifu
bana orð.
Blástu meir.

Finally, as evidence of rowing songs, Professor Holtsmark draws attention to a passage in Sturlunga saga (ed. K. Kålund (1906-11), I, 285-6): in a dream after the battle at Viðines, two women are seen sitting in a large house making rowing motions. It rains blood and they sing:

Róm vit ok róm vit!
riignir blóði,
Guðr ok Gøndul,
fyrrir guma falli.
Vit skulum ráðask
 í Raftahlíð,
jar munum blótaðar
ok þölvuðar.

Here the first line would seem to be from a rowing song. And in a further dream, two men appear in a small room, each pulling alternately on what seems to be an imaginary oar as they sing alternate lines of a verse. Although this last may not be a rowing chant itself, the passage could suggest that part-songs were sung while rowing.

1 My normalization.

I would like to draw attention here to a verse in Flóamanna saga which may be another example of this type. Flóamanna saga is found in two major redactions: the shorter of these is preserved in a large number of late paper manuscripts, the longer only fragmentarily in the vellum AM 445 b 4to, and a copy of it (part of AM 515 4to). As argued in Origines Islandicae (II (1905), 630 ff.) and by Björn Sigfússon (“Tvær gerðir Flóamanna- sögu,” Saga (1958), 429–51), the longer version on the whole represents the work in its more original form. Both redactions tell how the hero, Þorgils Órrabeinsstjúpr, and his companions are shipwrecked on the desert coast of Greenland and are forced by ice to spend two winters there. The second spring, the slaves of the party murder Þorgils’s wife and make off with the boat Þorgils has been building. Þorgils himself has to spend a further winter in the same place but is able to get away with his four companions the next summer in a skin boat (liðkéipr) they have built. They travel along the icy coast and an account is given of their experiences. Here an episode is found in the longer version which is absent in the shorter but which, because of the general relationship between the two texts, we have good reason to believe was in the original saga. It is brief and as follows: “. . . eirn dag fundv þeir ærarstv þeirn ok væru ær vnar þessar Vaskadi ek dasi er ek þessa dro opt vslaldan ær at² bordi Sia gòrdi mer særa lofua medan heimdragi hnaud at ravinva.” The group continues on its way.

The significance of this story is far from clear. One might be tempted to suppose that we here have a motif from the story of Ingimundr prestr and his companions who perished in these parts of Greenland and left behind them an account of their death inscribed on wax tablets in runes. But I think it is more likely that the oar was intended by the author of the saga to be taken as something left behind or lost by the absconding slaves who seem to have wintered in approximately the same place as it was found (see Fornsögur (1860), 177/15–23 and 180/32–3). But any certain statement on this point would be impossible.

In the verse on the oar, the words Vaskadi ek are probably corrupt and an emendation to Vas-k-at, “I was not” is perfectly acceptable (so Guðbrandur Vigfússon in Fornsögur (1860), 215; cf. note 6). Although in this part of the manuscript a is normally reserved for the short vowel and although a form dasi may well be defensible etymologically (see J. de Vries, Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch (1962), 74) the existence of a form dási in Old Icelandic is certain and perhaps suits the metre better.

Guðbrandur Vigfússon and Finnur Jónsson read a₂.

See Sturlunga saga, ed. cit., I, 1533.
here. The sense of either word cannot, at any rate, be far from “lazy, feckless person.” Both Finnur Jónsson and E. A. Kock (Den norsk-islandska Skaldedikningen (1946), I, 93) emend the second line to es drö’k pessa to give the correct alliteration. The second half-verse could be construed in two ways: Finnur Jónsson (Skj., loc. cit.) and others following him take at as the negative particle and rauða as an accusative plural masculine adjective agreeing with lója. Hnjóða Finnur Jónsson takes in a specific sense as referring particularly to the work of a blacksmith and translates: “den gav mig ömme hænder, medens hjemmefødningen ikke fik røde hænder ved sit (smede)arbejde” (cf. Lexicon Poeticum, s.v. hnjóða). Alternatively at could be taken as a preposition and rauða as dative singular of a noun rauði. This would seem more felicitous from a stylistic point of view and would, I believe, give more point to the verse (see below). Exactly what act is referred to by hnjóða at rauða is not absolutely certain. According to the dictionaries, hnjóða has a general sense of ‘beat, hit’ and a more specific one of ‘rivet, clinch’ (so Cleasby-Vigfusson). The noun rauði refers to bog iron-ore from which iron was produced widely in both medieval Iceland and Scandinavia. The ore itself seems to have come in the form of lumpy earth (rather than rock) which was dug out of the ground (see Dannevig Hauge, op. cit., 23 ff.). According to the description Evenstad gives of Norwegian techniques in the eighteenth century, it was first roasted to remove the moisture and certain other impurities, and this seems to have been done, at any rate at certain places, in Iceland (see Nielsen, op. cit., 150). After it had been roasted and before it was put into the furnace, the ore was broken down to resemble a coarse sand (Evenstad, op. cit., 427: “Efterat Malmen er røstet, og førstend den smeltes i Blæsteren, maae den ganske knuses eller bankes småe, som middelmaadig Sand”). It seems to me most probable that our verse refers to this process. Stretching the sense of the word rauði, however, there are further possibilities. When, after smelting had taken place, the iron came out of the furnace, it was in the form of impure clumps which still held a good deal of slag and other impurities. To remove these it had to be hammered and this seems to have been done on large stones using stone or iron hammers (see quotations from sagas in notes 16 and 17, cf. Þorkell Jóhannesson, op. cit., 52). Finally it is con-

4 Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedikning, B, I, 174 (abbreviated Skj.).

ceivable that rauði is merely a (poetic?) word for iron and that the work of the smith in the forge is alluded to. Accepting the indicated emendations and preferences we may normalize and translate as follows:

\[\text{Vás-k-æ[t] dásí}\
\text{es dók þessa,}\
\text{opt úsjaldan,}\
\text{ár at borði.}\
\text{Sjá gerði mér}\
\text{sára lófa,}\
\text{mæðan heimdragi}\
\text{hnaud at rauða.}\]

Translation: I was no laggard when I pulled this oar, again and again, at the ship's (boat's) side. It gave me sore palms, while the stay-at-home beat at bog-ore.

In Skj., Finnur Jónsson classifies this verse as belonging to the tenth century and in his edition of Floamanna saga (1932), viii, expresses the belief that it could at any rate be that old. However right these estimates may be (see below), it seems comparatively certain that it was not composed by the author of the saga who was writing at the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth. As noted, the episode in which it is quoted has little or no relevance to the rest of the saga and it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the author included the story here largely as an excuse to bring in a verse he already knew. At the same time, the verse hardly ranks very high as poetry. Its diction is practically that of prose and its metre is simple. In the context of the everyday life of medieval Iceland, its content seems entirely commonplace. The satire, as far as one can see, is not personal and hardly very biting or witty; the victim of it is not the dandy

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6 In his Grønlands Beskrivelse (1669) in Gl. kgl. Saml. 2881 4to, Bishop Órður Pór-láksson writes as follows: "For nogle Aar siden dref oc saa op for Østen paa Issland en Aare af en baad, som soleidis var skreffuet paa med Runebogstaffer: [runes, not reproduced here] Óft var ek dasadur ek dro þig, det er, Jeg var mange gang trett naar Jeg dro dig" (cited from A. Bæksted, Islands Runeindskrifter (1942), 31). The fact that the oar in question is taken as having come from Greenland certainly gives one good reason to suspect, with Bæksted (loc. cit.), a connection with the story in Floamanna saga, although if there is such, it is a little peculiar that it should be found on the east coast of Iceland. At any rate, we have no reason for assuming that the text of the inscription in Grønlands Beskrivelse goes back to AM 445 b 4to and we must allow it, at least theoretically, independent textual value. With this last fact in mind, it is interesting to note the word þig which, with its personification of the oar, reminds one of "mik-formulae" (e.g. N. N. à mik) found in Scandinavian runic inscriptions, among them the Skorradalur shovel and the Hruni spindle-whorl, both finds from Iceland.
a-bed with a beautiful woman but an ordinary artisan busy at his lowly trade (a fact which tells us something about the ek of the song himself). The verse then has little value as entertainment. On the other hand, if we are to assume, as I think we must, that it had independent existence in oral tradition for any length of time, we must ask ourselves what function it can have had. One answer which suggests itself immediately is that it was a refrain to which men rowed. In this connection it will be remembered that rowing songs are among the commonest and most necessary of all working songs and that any fragments which have survived from the Scandinavian Middle Ages can only represent a very small part of a huge repertoire which must have been known to the seafaring peoples of this period.

The metre of the verse should first be noted. Professor Holtsmark (loc. cit.) points out that “the preserved working songs are all in a short-lined metre, either fornyrðislag or kviðuháttir, where the rhythm is clearly defined”. Our verse is fornyrðislag with syllabically fairly equal lines (four or five syllables). A comparable short-line rowing chant would be “The Volga Boatmen’s Song.” The other Old Norse fragments of working songs we have seem to tend toward a regular falling rhythm: Darðarljóð: “Vin­ dum, vindum!”; Grottasǫnger, v. 3: “Leggjum lúðra!/Léttum steina!” v. 4: “Sungu (ok) slungu/snúðga steini;” Sturlunga saga: “Róm vit (ok) róm vit!” (cf. also the Strøm verse mentioned below). Lines 4, 6 and 8 of our unemended verse each consists of two trochees and faulty preservation may account for lack of this pattern elsewhere (so probably in the first line). It is also interesting to note here that the verse itself is a juxtaposition of two descriptions of rhythmi­cal motions: the pull of the sailor’s oar in the last two.

7 The verse is, of course, one of a characteristic Old Norse type where the poet contrasts his own lot (at sea, in battle) with that of the stay-at-home, who as often as not is in the embrace of wife or concubine (see e.g. Skj., B, I, 115, 277, 330, 512; in the last three of these examples, the contrast is introduced, as here, by the word meðan); see Bjarni Einarsson, Skáldasögur (1961), 36–7. Such quips at the landlubber remind one of the sea shanties of more recent centuries. Cf. also the Old English poem The Seafarer.

8 On evidence from glosses of rowing songs among other Germanic nations, see A. Heusler’s article “Dichtung” in Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, I (1911–13). For theories of a close connection between Germanic alliterative metre and rowing chants, see e.g. R. Graves’s lecture “Harp, Anvil, Oar,” in The Crowning Privilege (1955), 70–91. Such ideas are certainly very thought-provoking in connection with certain types of Old Norse poetry.

9 My translation.

10 Could line 3 also have had this pattern?
In connection with this last feature, two other verses should be noted here which provide interesting parallels to the verse under discussion and may give some idea of its age. The first, quoted and translated in note 16, is ascribed by *Egils saga* to Skalla-Grimr Kveld-Ólafsson. Here also we have two rhythms — the hammers ring while *(medan)* the bellows whine. Even if Skalla-Grimr was not in fact the original poet, the verse must surely be rather older than the saga in which it is quoted (cf. *Islenzk Fornrit*, II (1933), xi). The other verse, referred to already in note 7 (i.e. *Skj.*, B, I, 277), is more interesting in this context. It is ascribed to Bjórn Hitdœla-kappi. In chapter 5 of this poet's saga (*Islenzk Fornrit*, III (1938), 123 ff.), we are told how Bjórn hears of his fiancée’s marriage to Þórir Kolbeinsson. Instead of going to Iceland as he intended, he joins Eiríkr jarl... “ok er þeir lágu við Hamarseyri,” the saga continues, “orti Bjórn vísu:

Hristi handar fasta
hefr drengr gamans fengit;
hrýnja hart á dýnu
hlóð Eykyndils vǫðva,
meðan vel stinna vinnum,
veldr nǫkkvat þvi, klókkva,
skíð verðk skriðar beíða
skorðu, þr á bordi.”

We may render this verse in prose and English as follows: Drengr hefr fengit Hristi (the name of a valkyrie) handar fasta (fire) gamans; vǫðva hlóð *(v. h. here = buttocks)* Eykyndils hrynja hart á dýnu, meðan vinnum vel stinna þr klókkva á bordi; nǫkkvat veldr þvi; verðk beíða skorðu skíð *(s. s. = ski of the boat-stay = ship)* skriðar. “The young man has provided the lady with sexual pleasure *(gaman)*; Eykyndill’s bottom beats hard on the down bed; meanwhile, we cause the stout oar to bend at the ship’s side; there is a reason for that; I must move the ship forward.”

The resemblances between this verse and the one in *Flóamanna saga* cannot be coincidental and there must be some connection — although not, of course, necessarily direct — between the two: not only do both contain a description of rowing alongside that of another rhythmical motion (i.e. sexual intercourse/the beat of the hammer) but both have the formula ár álat bordi. One is left to wonder which of them is the more ancient and at least to reckon with the possibility that (the type represented by) that in *Flóamanna saga* is the older. Unfortunately there is disagreement about the age of the verse in *Bjarnar saga*. Some scholars have suggested that certain

11 Some manuscripts of *Bjarnar saga* have ár at bordi.
of the verses in the saga were composed by its author (who must have been writing before or about 1230). On the other hand there are those who regard the strophe in question as genuine and Sigurður Nordal (Iceland Fornrit, loc. cit.), for instance, thinks it influenced Arnórr jarlaskáld's Hrynhenda which dates from the mid-eleventh century. For my own part I am far from convinced that it is the work of the writer of the saga. This is not to say however that it was necessarily composed by Björn and it will be noted that one woman's name in the fourth line could readily be changed for another's.

The verse's own preoccupation with an oar (cf. the verse in Bjarnar saga) and the fact that it is inscribed on an oar in the saga also tend to bear out the suggestion I am making here. From the saga is it not clear whether it was inscribed on the oar before or after it was broken. In case the former circumstance was intended, certain evidence should be mentioned which suggests that rowing songs may have found their way into runes and onto oars more frequently than in this one instance. On a whetstone found at Strøm (Norway) and dated to about 600, we find the following verse which Magnus Olsen has argued is a working song:

W. Krause (Was man in Runen ritzte (1943), 37; Die Runeninschriften im älteren Futhark (1966), 112) translates: "Es netze diesen Stein das Horn! [a reference to the practice of keeping a whetstone in a water-filled horn at the belt while mowing] Schädige das Grummet! Es liege die Mahd!" Here we seem to have a chant to which the owner of the stone either mowed or whetted his scythe and which he inscribed or had inscribed on one of the appropriate tools. A rower often found his oar resting before him at a convenient height offering itself as an obvious runakefli; indeed Sigdrífsmál (v. 10) positively counsels the inscription of runes on oars:

Brimrúnar scaltu gera, ef þú vilt borgit hafa
á sundi seglœrum;
á stafni scal rista oc á stjórnar blaði
oc leggja eld í ár.14

13 Norges Indskrifter med de ældre Runer, II (1917), 689 ff.
14 Finnur Magnússon in his commentary to his edition of Flóamanna saga in Grön-
What seems to be a broken oar from the Oseberg find carries a nine-rune inscription. One of the recent finds from Bryggen in Bergen is described by A. Liestøl as follows: "ein rund trepinne med eit lite "handtak" i den eine enden; den andre, smalare enden er avbroten. Pinnen minner mest av alt om ei miniatyr-år der bladet er avbroti" (Maa og Minne (1962), 106; see 107 for figure). On this object is a runic inscription (dated to about 1330) which begins with the words sigurþr amunda son a mik and continues with a dróttkvætt-verse of 148 runes. If model oars of the fourteenth century carried verses in runes, full-sized ones quite probably did so also. The finds from Bergen in general suggest for the period around 1300 a considerably more widespread, popular and everyday use for runes than was before suspected. Is it not possible that the author of Flóamanna saga, writing at about the same time, could have known a custom whereby the oars Icelandic seamen pulled bore runic texts, including those of the verses they chanted while they rowed?

If our verse is in fact a rowing song, it is perhaps not without interest, to speculate a little on its possible background in terms of Icelandic conditions of the thirteenth century (although it may, of course, be older). Although by contrasting himself with the stay-at-home, the singer would seem to identify himself more with the travelled mariner than the coastal fisherman or sailor, we must not forget that Icelandic ownership of ocean-going ships became rarer and rarer in the course of the twelfth century and by 1250 communications with Norway were practically exclusively in the hands of natives of that country. This does not mean, of course, that Icelanders were not finding work as hásetar on Norwegian ships as late as 1300 and in this connection we must remember that the author of Flóamanna saga probably lived close to Iceland's foremost international port of the period, Eyrar. But again one is inclined to doubt that the crews of the heavy Atlantic-crossing vessels spent very much time rowing. Otherwise in the Middle Ages, just a now, Iceland had her fishermen: these could be vermenn, casual or itinerant fishermen, many of whom were farm-workers who left the land only during the main fishing season; or they could be búðsetumenn, a class of profes-

lands historiske Mindesmærker, II (1838), 208, writes as follows: “Lige til de sidste Tider har man plejet at indskjære Vers, saavel som ogsaa Bomærker (lit sammensatte af Runer) paa islandske Baade, samt deres Aarer og andet Tilbehør, tildels for at de skulde blive kjendelige, naar de dreves bort eller fandtes opdrevne paa Stranden.” In search for some confirmation for these statements, I wrote to Mr Bör Magnusson of Æðominjasafn Islands who in turn consulted Mr Lúðvik Kristjánsson of Reykjavík. I must thank both these gentlemen for their help: while they knew of the custom whereby the bitafjalir and sails of Icelandic boats often bore (protective) verses, they knew of no modern evidence to confirm the statement that verses were inscribed on oars.
sionals which seems to have come into existence during the thirteenth century (see Kulturhistoriskt Lexikon, s.v. Fiskeläge. Island). Or is it possible that the jibe here is that of one part of a farmer’s household for another? To take an example from Flói, the farmer at Gaulverjárard clearly used to send his húskaðar fishing (see Flóamanna saga, ch. 11); that he was also a rauðabóni is suggested by finds of slag and charcoal at the farm (see Nordisk numismatisk Tidsskrift (1948), 43). As noted above, the heimdragi is either a blacksmith or an iron-worker probably the latter. The production of iron from bog-ore in medieval Iceland was certainly practised widely enough to justify representing the typical land-lubber as an iron-worker;15 indeed, in the days of the Republic, the island seems to have been largely self-sufficient for its supply of the metal. Two sagas, Egils saga16 and Grettis saga,17 mention the industry and what they say suggests that the satire here is directed against a person engaged in an occupation, the laboriousness and monotony of which may even have been proverbial. But however hard and dull the work was, one cannot help

15 Or could this line have been varied to apply to other landlubberly chores as the verse was repeated?

16 Egils saga, ed. Sigurður Nordal (1933), 78–9: “Skallagrímr var järnmíðr mikill ok hafði rauðablástr mikinn á vetrímn; hann lét gera smíðju með sjónum mjók langt út frá Borg, þar sem heitir Raufaranes; þótti honum skógar þar fjóarlægir. En er hann fekk þar engan stein þann, er svá væri hárð tóða sléttr, at honum þætti gott at lýja járn við...” We are then told how Grím procured an anvil stone elsewhere and placed it “fyrir smíðjudurum ok lúði þar síðan járn við. Liggr sá stein þar enn ok mikót sindr hjá, ok sé þat á steinimum, at hann er hárð ofan... Skallagrím sótti fast smíðjuverkit, en húskaðar hans vóðduðu um ok þótti smíðina ríði; þá orti hann vísu þessa:

Mjók verðr ár, sás aura,  
fsarns meðr at rása,  
váðir vidda bróður  
veðreygjar skal kveðja;  
gjalla laðk á golli  
geisla njóts, meðan þjóta,  
heitu, hræríkytjur  
hreggs vindfrekar, sleggjur.”

(Translation of verse: “That man must rise very early who will summon wealth from the wind-sucking bellows; I make the hammers (sleggjur) ring on the hot iron while the bellows whine”).

17 Grettis saga, ed. Guðni Jónsson (1936), 173–4: “Porsteinn var íðjumáðr mikill ok smíðr ok helt mýnum mjók til starfa. Grettir var litill verkuldrarmáðr, ok því fór lítt skap þeira saman... Hafði porsteinn mikinn starfa... því at hann var járngróðararmaðr mikill. Grettir var atgangsmíður at drepja járnit, en nennti misjafnt, en þó var hann spakr um vetrímn, svá at ekki bar til frásagnar.”

18 See Þorkell Jóhannesson, Die Stellung der freien Arbeiter in Island (1933), 88.
wondering if the sailor's contempt is not mixed with a touch of envy or sour grapes: raūðablástr was at least a safe occupation and probably also a secure one; as shown by Egils saga and Grettis saga, it was non-seasonal; the raūðabóni seems to have made fair profits18 and his workers may well have benefited from these. Finally one asks oneself whether the rower's jibe here was provoked or, if not, if it went unanswered. We have already seen that blacksmiths had their songs. Iron-workers seem to have operated in groups and they too probably had their own rhythmical chants to hasten their work and pass long hours. And in these chants they may well have felt inclined to poke fun at men engaged in a far less safe and comfortable - if less tedious - means of livelihood at sea.

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Later notes.

(1) Since the above article was written, I have reconsidered my preference for dási rather than dasi in the first line of the verse. My starting point was H. Vogt's discussion of Old Norse working songs in Stilgeschichte der eddischen Wissendichtung, 1927, 164-7: writing on the refrains of various verses of this type - róm vit (ok) róm vit; knýjum, knýjum; *sýngiom (ok) slyngiom - Vogt remarks that 'als.sehr bedeutsam ist der in der Edda so seltene Binnenreim einzuschätzen.' Now the metre of the verse in Fló can only be described as fornyrðislag. For this reason, the full rhyme on -auð- in its last line slightly puzzled me. After reading Vogt's remark, however, it became apparent that a full rhyme was probably intended not only in the last line but in the first line also. This latter contains a perfectly valid aðalhending on -as-. (The presence of -k- in Vas-k-a[t] need not bother us
here; both adalhendingar and skothendingar of the
formula: vowel/consonant a/consonant b : vowel/consonant a are perfectly acceptable; cf. E. Sievers, Altgerman-
ische Metrik, 1893, 94. An example from the 13th cen-
tury is Likmarbraut, verse 16 (Sk, ii, 87): vasa hann
verðufr písla. It seems possible that we have here a
deliberate metrical device which may have been partic-
ularly employed in working songs: the first and the last
line - in any work refrain the most important - are
given a well-defined rhythm, firstly by their strictly
trochaic form, secondly by virtue of the full rhymes
they contain. If this is right, we would also have an
explanation for the past tense which the verse is in,
a feature which had also puzzled me. A. Noreen (Svenska
etymologier, 1897, 14-5) argues for a form dasi in Old
Icelandic with a short a and, as noted in my article,
a in this part of 445 b is normally reserved for the
short vowel. Cf. however Konráð Gíslason, Udvalg af
oldnordiske Skjaldekvad, 1892, 116, where a case is made
for dasi in this verse.

(2) In connection with note 6 on page 95 of my
article, Mr Anthony Faulkes of Birkbeck College, London,
kindly writes to me as follows (letter dated 11/12/70):
'You may like to know that there is another rune-in-
scribed oar mentioned in Magnús Olafsson's Specimen
Lexici Runici (1650) under dasadur, quoted in Islenzk
It is difficult to say whether there is any connection with the one you mention: this one is claimed to have been found in the north of Iceland in Magnús's youth (he was born c. 1573), and he reports the inscription "Opt var eg dassadur eg dro ðasssa." I do not remember whether the actual runes are quoted in the MS (DG 55 [= Delagardieska samlingen no. 55, Uppsala University Library]) - I think not.' In Islenzk tunga, (1964, 116), while dealing with the entry Dasadur and the citation Opt var eg dassadur, etc., Mr Faulkes has the following footnote: SLR [= Specimen Lexici Runicorum] has the note: "In remo qvodam ad littus Boreale Islandiae delato hæc insculpta extabant literis Runicis." But in DG 55 the note is fuller, and is probably nearer to what Magnús originally wrote: "In mea pueritia pars ingentis remi ad littus islandicum Boreale é mari projecta ferebatur, cui literis Runicis hæc incisa verba legi poterint."
APPENDIX III

Flóamanna Saga's allar gramir and Hábarðsljóð, verse 60

Verse 60 of Hábarðsljóð has a slightly different form in the poem's two extant manuscripts. Håndskriftet Nr. 2365 4.to gl. kgl. Samling (ed. L. Wimmer and Finnur Jónsson, 1891, 26; hereafter Regius) has farby hv bars bic hafi allan gramir, while Håndskriftet Nr. 748, 4.to, bl. 1-6 (ed. Finnur Jónsson, 1896, 2; hereafter 748) has far hv bars bik hafi allir gramir. 748 is no doubt right in ascribing these words to Hábarðr. Both the readings allan and allir 'give rigtigt Udtryk' (S. Bugge, Norren Fornkvæði, 1867, 104), but since we know that the texts of Hábarðsljóð in both Regius and 748 derive scribally from a single lost manuscript (hereafter *E), we are justified in asking whether this had allan or allir, or a third different reading.

The readings of both Regius and 748 have certain advantages over each other:

(i) The word-order of Regius seems unnecessarily convoluted and out of character with the normally straightforward, sometimes prose-like word-order of the rest of the poem. We are forced to place undue stress on allan, isolating gramir awkwardly at the end of the line. It is true that in curses of this type the adjective allr can be applied to the object of the curse, e.g. Troll hafi Tréfót allan, Grett, 11; Hafi bic allan troll, Mks, 135. But in the two examples most resembling the one we have in Hábar-
barðsljóð (i.e. Grímnismál, prose introduction (Edda, 56):
Farðu, bar er smyl hafi bic!; and even more similar, Órvar-
Odds Saga, ed. R. Boer, 1888, 175: far þú bar er bik hafi
ell tróll), there is no such difficult word-order. From
this point of view, allir would seem to be preferable.

(ii) In favour of allan speak certain facts noticed
by Magnus Olsen (Edda- og Skaldekvad, 1960, 79-80). He may
here in extenso:

'Også Hárbards avsluttende replikk, hans avskjeds-
"hilsen"...viser en eiendommelighet hvad de ydre virkemid-
ler angår.

Denne replikk blir sikkert ikke fremsagt med vanlig
talestemme. Hárbard r o p e r etter Tor som alt har begitt
sig på vei:

Far þú bars bik hafi allan gramir!

Til rop hører klangfylde. Det er således på sin
plass at mere enn halvdelen av linjens 11 stavelser har den
vokal - a (6 ganger) - som aller best passer dør. I rop som
skal høres lang vei, må tempoet være langsamt og aller vok-
aler langt uttrukket; også de "tonelette" vokaler får relativ-
ivt langt og sterkt trykk. Likeledes er melodiføringen, som
jo har meget å si når der riktig skal "synges ut", heldig
valgt:

a u u a i a i a a i

I det hele blir denne slutningsreplikk irrefallende
på en særskilt måte. Tilfølgelighet kan her ikke råde da vi
også i de verslinjer som åpner diktet, finner noget ganske
tilsvarende.

Ropene hører vi i str. 1 f. ganske tydelig, først Tors som ender med et langtrukket handan, og så Hárbards som hermer og overdriver til fullstendig lydmaling:

(1.) Hvert er så sveinn sveina.

er stendr fyr sundit handan?

(2.) Hvert er så karl karla.

er kallar um váginn?

Vi skal også merke oss den sterke sonoritet som er eiendommelig for disse to strofer derved at alle de sterk-est betonte stavelser, og dessuten flere av de andre, etter vokalen har en lyd - nasal eller likvid - som kan være bærer av en sterk forlengelse av stemmetonen.

The advantages of both 748's and Regius's are combined if we assume that *E, like Flóamanna Saga at 41/19 (cf. Note to 41/19-20), had allar gramir here. Indeed, an ending -ar for allar perhaps echoes Hárbarðr's opening rejoinder rather better than -an: Hvert es sá karl karla, es kallar um váginn / Farðu nú, pars bik hafi allar gramir. And we note certain similarities in the situation in Fló and Hár­barðsljóð: in both places Þórr is the object of the impreca­tion, in both cases it is shouted at him as a 'valedictory' over a sheet of water. Further, if *E did have allar, the readings of 748 and Regius are easily understandable. A change of allar gramir (lectio difficilior) to allir gramir (lectio facilior) is paralleled in the manuscripts of Fló
which have the latter reading (see Note to 41/-9-20).
A confusion of n and r is a common scribal error in
Icelandic manuscripts (cf. Note to 47/6); and in Maal
og Minne for 1957 (pages 92-8), D. A. Seip draws attention
to a number of readings in Regius which have arisen as a
result of this error: in Guðrúnarhvót, verse 15 (Regius,
88/13), en must surely be a mistake for er; the same may
quite probably be said about the en of verse 33 of Skírn-
ismál (Regius, 23/11), a poem with which Hábarðsljóð has
close scribal connections (see G. Lindblad, Studier i Codex
Regius av äldre Eddan, 1954, 262-3); most would now accept
the emendation to hjóðarmál of hjóðans mál in Hávamál, verse
114 (Edda, 35). It would not, then, be at all surprising
if the scribe of Regius (or a predecessor), albeit with
instances at the back of his mind where allr qualifies the
object of the curse (see above), wrote allan for an unus-
ual allar he found in his exemplar.
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