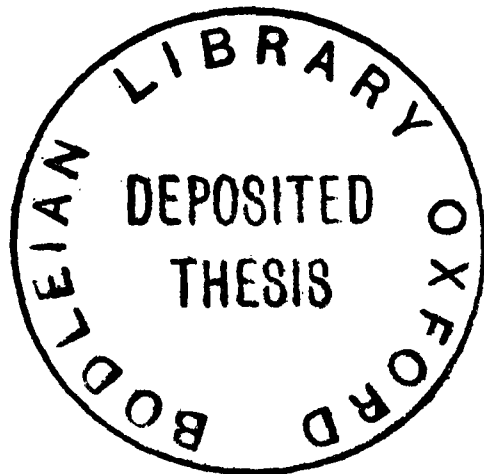


AN EDITION OF FLOAMANNA SAGA WITH A  
STUDY OF ITS SOURCES AND ANALOGUES



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COMMENTARY

NOTES

## Notes to Main Text

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 Þorgils aurabeins Föstra, edr stiupa.) The fact that the saga has no title in A does not necessarily mean that this was the case in \*y; Asgeir, in his copy of Kjalnesinga 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 Resenian 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 Þorgilsi Örrabeinsstjúpa ok lýkr þar sögu þessi are the author's own, then they suggest that he did not regard his work merely as a life-story of Þorgils (i.e. a \*Þorgils 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 (?órrabeinstjúps). Cf. also Orig, ii, 630.

VI-2/6. 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 Hálfðanar 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. Olafia Einarsdóttir, 'Harald Dovrefostre af Sogn', [Norwegian] Historisk tidsskrift, 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 rikssamlingen, 1928, 8 ff.; IF, xxvi, lxi). Cf. also Hauksbók, 506.

1/1. Haraldr gullskeggr is, apart from Ldn and Fló, mentioned in various Kings' Sagas (e.g. Hkr and Fgr; cf. Binamn, s.v. Gullskeggr). His cognomen probably refers to the fact that he had a yellow beard, although Lind's suggestion (Binamn, 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

Notes, see map entitled 'Nóregr' in IF, xxvi.

1/2. Sólvör 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 Ólvir hnúfa asked for the hand of Atli's daughter, Sólveig (cf. Note to 2/3). This Atli refused and later Ólvir composed many amorous verses (mörg mansöngskvæði) about her. Because of this, the sons of Atli attacked Ólvir 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 Hálfðan had a second wife who was also called Ragnhildr. Jón Jóhannesson (Gerðir, 122) thought that the name Póra came from the Styrmissbók-redaction of Landnámabók. We may note that it alliterates with her sister's name.

1/3-4. Hálfðan konungr svartí Upplendingakonungr: the main sources concerning Hálfðan svartí are Ágrip, Fgr,

Hkr and a báttr in Flb (ii, 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, Hálfðan's father, Guðrøðr veiðikonungr, was king of Vestfold, but we are told in that source how, during his lifetime, Hálfðan extended his kingdom to cover a larger part of south-eastern 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 Hálfðan's nickname to the colour of his hair.

1/4. Puríðr 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 (to

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  $\bar{æ}$ ; cf. NK, vii, 55 ff.

1/5. Haraldr ungi: known from Fgr, Hkr, Ldn and Fló

It is suggested by Olafía Einarisdóttir ([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 Binamn, 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 Hallfr (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: Í þann tíma ól Gunnhildr son, ok jós Haraldr konungr vatni ok gaf nafn sitt ok lét þat fylgja, at hann skyldi konungr vera eptir föður sinn, ef honum endisk aldr til (cf. Hkr, i, 147); Rígsbula, verse 36 (Edda, 285): sitt gaf heiti, son kvez eiga; / þann bað hann eignaz óðalvöllo, / óðalvöllo, aldnar bygðir. Further in Finnb, ch. 9, the dying Finnbogi gives his name to the unrelated Urðarkótttr: '... Þá vil ek gefa þér nafn mitt. Ok er ek ekki spámaðr, en

bó get ek, at þitt nafn sé uppi, meðan veröldin er byggð.

Má mér þat mest sæmd ok mínum frændum, at svá ágætir maðr

taki nafn eptir mik sem ek <sup>(skal)</sup>ætla at þú verðir, með því at

mér verðr lítit ætlat'; 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 gæfa (cf. Note to 17/17) or be protect-

ed by the same fylgja 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 foll-

owing the ship. Hallfreðr recognizes her as his fylgjukona.

She asks the poet's brother, Þorvaldr, 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 gæfumaðr. It is interesting to note that in three cases

where name-giving is mentioned (Ldn, and following it, Fló (cf. Hkr, i, 86; Fgr, 3); Eg (cf. Hkr); Rígsbula) the tran<sup>(s)</sup>ference 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 hálfar...ok jarlsnafn með. Hann gaf honum ok nafn Rognvalds jarls Brúsasonar, því at Gunnhildr, móðir hans, sagði hann veit hafa gørviligastan állra Orkneyingajarla, ok þótti þat heillavænligt). In Flb, iv, 105, there is a story that implies that Magnús 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 Magnús'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 Magnús 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 ríkit undir Hálfðan: e-t (acc.) berr undir e-m, 'something falls to one's lot'.

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

Sigurðr hjórtr: 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 löng saga frá honum), a remark of particular interest (cf. Bjarni Guðnason, Um Skjöldungasögu, 1963, 181 ff.). See further on Sigurðr Hálfðanar Saga, 90 footnote and references in Binamn, s.v. Hjórtr. Sigurðr h. The nickname hjórtr is also found as

a personal name (e.g. that of Gunnarr' brother in Nj)

The hart (hjǫrtr) was regarded as an especially beautiful and noble creature (see Fritzner, s.v. hjǫrtr; S. Bugge, Helge-Digtene, 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 (Wōden). 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 Þjóðólfr of Hvín's Ynglingatal, the ancestry of a certain King Rǫgnvaldr 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 gelehrte 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 Fáfnisbani 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-í-auga and mother of Sigurðr hjǫrtr. 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. Höfler, Siegfried, Arminius und die Symbolik, 1961, 55). Fgr (4) dispenses with both Sigurðr hjórtr and Aslaug and makes Ragnhildr the daughter of Sigurðr ormr-í-auga (cf. also Hálfðanar Saga, 90). According to Hkr (i, 87), Sigurðr hjórtr's father was Helgi inn hvassi; further, Ragnarssona Þátr (Hauksbók, 466) says that her mother was Blæja and that she was a twin of Hórða-Knútr.

1/11-2. Sigurðr ormr-í-auga is known from a number of sources (see Binamn, s.v. Ormr í 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. Hálfðanar 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), Ragn and Ragnarssona Pátttr 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, loðbrók, '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 concubinage (cf. Sigurðarqviða in scamma, verses 4 and 68 (Edda, 207 and 218); Völs, 68). Later, in order to connect the heroes of the Sigurðr-cycle with Ragnarr loðbrók, Aslaug was made the latter's wife. Apart from in the Icelandic sources (cf. Dopnamn, s.v. Aslaug; see especially Völs, Ragn), Aslaug appears in rímur, in Faroese ballads and in Norwegian folktales.

Sigurðr Fáfnisbani, the most famous of Germanic

heroes, appears in German tradition as Sîfrit. On the cycle of legends surrounding his name, see H. Schneider, Germanische Heldensage, 1928-34, i, 73-210; KL, s.v. Sigurdsdiktningen. 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 Völsungr is treacherously murdered by his son-in-law Siggeirr. Sigmundr lies with his sister Signý (Siggeirr's wife) and begets a son, Sinfjötli. The latter joins his father at the age of ten and, for a time, the two live as were-wolves. Finally they avenge Völsungr 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. Völsungr: it seems probable that originally Völsungr was a patronymic for Sigmundr: in Beowulf, line 877, Sigemund himself is referred to as Wælsing, while at line

897 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 \*Vólsi (which must mean 'phallus'), father of Sigmundr, would probably be a fertility deity closely associated with, if not identical to, Oðinn (cf. Myth, 201; Volsungs, xxxv f.). On Vólsungr, see Vøls, 4-10.

Rers sonar, Sigars sonar: Vøls has Rerir and Sigi for Fló's Rerr (Rep?) and Sigarr. Both names in Fló also appear in other sources, primarily as the names of legendary figures (see Dopnamn, s.v. Rer and Sigarr). For tales concerning Rerir and Sigi, see Vøls, 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-nordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, 1962, 63) is the father of Etzel. Buðli may be a reflection of the historical Bleda, Attila's brother (cf. The Poetic Edda, ed. U. Dronke, 1969, 73).

1/17. Haraldr is mentioned in a number of sources including Haraldskvæði and Glymdrápa (both attributed to Þorbjörn hornklofi) in Sk, i, 12-6, Islb, Theodricus, Historia Norvegiae, Agrip, Fgr, Eg, Hkr, Hauksbók (445 ff.) and Flb (ii, 53-70). In addition, he must have appeared in certain works now lost: Sæmundr fróði's Latin history of the Norwegian 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 Ólafía Einarisdóttir (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 Hafrsfjórðr was the climax of his campaign of expansion. According to Haralðskvæði (verse 14), Haraldr's wife was Danish (cf. Note to 1/20). His most prominent sons were Eiríkr blóðǫx (see Note to 11/17) and Hákon Aðalsteinsfóstri, 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. Ríkssamling. Norge and the references cited there.

1/17-8. er fyrst var kallaðr Dofrafóstri, en þá Haraldr lúfa en síðast Haraldr inn hárfagri: cf. Vatns, ch. 8 (variant): er ýmisst var kallaðr Dofrafóstri eða lúfa.

1/17. Dofrafóstri: this nickname for Haraldr is found in a number of sources, mostly late: Vatns (ch. 8; see above); Orms Þátr Stórolfssonar (Flb, ii, 1); Upphaf ríkis Haralds hárfagra (Flb, ii, 53 f.). It is explained by a story found in Hálfðanar Þátr svarta (Flb, ii, 47-52) which tells how the young Haraldr helped the giant Dofri to escape from his father Hálfðan, 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 Hálfðan was dead and that with his help Haraldr would become king of all Norway. The same legend is hinted at in Kjälñ, chs. 12 and 14 and Bárð, ch. 1. See further Finnur Jónsson, 'Sagnet om Harald haarfagre som "Dovrefostre"', Arkiv, 1899, 262-7; S. Bugge, 'Mythiske Sagn om Halvdan svarte og Harald haarfagre', Arkiv 1900, 1-37; Moltke Moes samlede skrifter, ed. K. Liestøl, ii, 1926, 103 ff.; H. Ellis, 'Fostering by Giants in Old Norse Saga Literature', Medium Ævum, 1941, 70-85; Olafía Einarsson'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 Þorbjörn hornklofi's Haraldskvæði (Sk, i, 15), probably composed about the end of the ninth century. Later texts (e.g. Ágrip, 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 Moes 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 Þorbjörn 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 F1b, 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 Ása, no other early source mentions the marriage. In Haraldskvæði (Sk, i, 15), it is specifically stated that Haraldr hafnaði...hverri... Hólga ættar.

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 Trondh<sup>is</sup>emfjord. 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 Ldn, friction with Hákon is sometimes given as the reason for the emigrat-

ion of Norwegians to Iceland. References to Hákon in Old Norse literature <sup>(are)</sup> listed in Dopnamn under Griótgarðr.

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 Aðalbjarnarson, Om de norske kongers sagaer, 1937, 199 ff.

Grjótgarðr is mentioned in a number of sources (see Dopnamn, s.v. Griótgarðr), including Háleyjatal (Sk, i, 38), where he is called Hallgarðr. 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 Ketilbjörn gamli (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 fór í Vík austr: we hear of this expedition by Haraldr to Vík 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 Fjóllum 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 Hókon,  
 Högna meyjar  
 viðr, vápnberr,  
 es vega skyldi;  
 ok sinn aldr  
 í odda gný  
 Freys óttungr  
 á Fjølum 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 Fjølum 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 Atlöy to the south of Stongfjord (see above).

2/3. Atli jarl átti eptir þrjá 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 Atla-son's mágr.

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

Hallsteinn: there is disagreement between the sources

on the name of Atli's eldest son. LdnStb and LdnHkb both have Hásteinn (see however LdnStb, 224/14 footnote). Hallsteinn however appears in a number of texts: the Möðruvallabók-version of Eg (other manuscripts: Hafsteinn); twice in LdnPðb (3/37 and 4/12; elsewhere Hásteinn); in certain texts of the Skarðsárabók-version of Landnámabók (see LdnSkb, 7 footnote; 175 footnote; 176 footnote; 177 footnote; 187 footnote); the Bergsbók-text of Ol mest (i, 259); Byskupa Ættir (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 Hásteinn was the original name and it was later confused with the name of Hásteinn'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 Hásteinn (see Dopnamn, s.v. Hásteinn). The Fló-author may well have preferred Hallsteinn on the basis of a place-name Hallsteinssund 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. Póra 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. Ingólfr 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 Hórnðaland (cf. Note to 2/10-1). There may have been a poem about them: in his Málhjóða- og Málskrúðsrit (ed. Finnur Jónsson, 1927, 61; cf. 101), Óláfr Þórðarson quotes the following quarter verse which would appear to be from a longer poem:

Út réð Ingólfr leita,  
ógnreiffr með Hjórleifr.

Leifr's and Ingólfr'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 <sup>(men)</sup> LdnStb, 132/4-134/14 and Ldn, 1968, 41 footnote 7, 43 footnotes 8 and 10, 44 footnote 3, ~~and~~ 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 Ólafur 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 hilditónn, Brúni (see Note to 10/20) and King Fróði, as well as to well-known historical figures like Hórða-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. Óláfr 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 sögu frá Hrø[n]g[vi]ði víkingi ok frá Oláfi liðmannakonungi ok haugbroti Þráins berserks ok Hrómundi Gripssyni, ok margar vísur með. The passage continues: En þessari <sup>ur</sup>sögu var skemt Sverri konungi, ok kallaði hann slíkar lygisögur skemtiligastir. Ok þó kunnu menn at telja ættir sínar 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. Foote, <sup>(in)</sup>Saga-Book, 1955-6, 226-39). Hrómundr appears in various of the fornaldarsögur, mostly in genealogies, where his mother's name is given as Gunnlóð and his wife's as Svanhvít (Fas, ii, 141; iii, 285; Hálfs, 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 Porg) but is less original than Gripr; cf. Porg, 75.

2/9-10. í Dalsfirði á Fjólum: Dalsfjórðr corresponded to present Dalsfjord in Sogn og Fjordane Fylke.

2/10-1. Son...Helga: apart from er réð fyrir Firðafylki (cf. 5/7 and 27), this agrees with LdnStb and LdnHkb (cf. Introduction, page \*174), but not with LdnPðb (26) where Ingólfr is said to be maðr norrænn, hórzkr at kyni, sonr Björnólfs af Fjólum, bróðir Heyang[r]s-Bjarnar (cf. Ldn, 1968, 46 footnote 1). It seems probable that LdnPðb is more original here (cf. Note to 2/7-6/4) and that Örn is a later intruder into the genealogy. Ari does not mention the name of Ingólfr's father in Islb and Jón Jóhannesson suggests that it may have been introduced as an explanation of the place-name Arnarhváll in Reykjarvík (Ingólfr's land-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 LdnPðb; 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 eiðbræðr or svarabræðr). 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 fóstbræðralag, such as at ganga undir jarðarmen and blood-mixing. See further KL, s.v. Fostbrorskap and the references cited there.

2/14-5ð Móðir Leifs var Hróðný, dóttir Ketils bifru

Hórða-Kárasonar: this genealogy is found only in Fló.

Hróðny and Ketill are otherwise unknown, although in LdnHkb

(95), a Ketill Hórða-Kári, son to Aslákr Bifra-Kári, is

mentioned. And although Ldn (ch.6) also says that Leifr

was related to Ólmóðr inn gamli, son of Hórða-Kári (cf.

5/2-3), there is reason to doubt that this was so. Hórða-

Kári 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 Hórða-Kári's great-grandson or that Ólmóðr

was his contemporary. (cf. however, Dopnamn, s.v. Ólmóðr); Family trees traced to Hórða-Kári

appear elsewhere: for example, in Ldn, both Hrafna-Flóki

and Úlfljótr are said to be his grandsons. See further

Die Gautrekssaga, ed. W. Ranisch, 1900, xlii ff.; Bjarni

Aðalbjarnarson's note in IF, xxvi, 304; Ldn, 1968, 40

footnote 4. - Ketill's nickname either means 'the one

who trembles' (cf. <sup>(at)</sup>bifaz, 'to tremble') or is a feminine form of bifurr, 'a beaver' (cf. Binamn, s.v. Bifra).

2/18-9. biðjandi hann slíks 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. Biðja...samlags við 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 lóg (see Fritzner, s.v. lög, 4; cf. taka í lóg, 2/23).

Particularly well-known are the laws purporting to be those of the <sup>(S)</sup>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. Félóg 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.

Félag; KL, s.v. Félag; Hálfs, 97 footnote.

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 mjök vandat lið ok valit, at engi maðr skyldi vera...ellri en sextøgr eða yngri en tví-tøgr. In Jóms, ch. 16, eighteen is given as the minimum age for the Jóms<sup>(s)</sup>víkingar, 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 [í hernað] yngri en hann eða bernskari). And there are examples elsewhere of youths going on raids at earlier ages: Eiríkr blóðøx 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 þat af kjórum, '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 Ingólfr 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 Icelanders 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 þeir mót 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. vilja eiga undir meira: Fornsögur has vilja eiga undir [sér] meira and Finnur Jónsson (Fló, 1932) and Þórhallur Vilmundarsson, taking K's marginal reading and that of the Z-group into their texts (see Textual Note), have vilja eiga undir sjálfum sér meira en óðrum. The reading of \*Y was clearly vilja 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 óðrum or en þeim jarlssonum could be understood is suggested by Guðbrandur Vigfússon's text in Fornsögur; and although Fritzner (i,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 f.). 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 Still- ing 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'.

At skeraz í, 'to happen'.

3/19-21. strengdi hann þess heit, at annathvárt skyldi hann Helgu eiga eða enga konu ella: set phraseology; cf. Fær, 23; Völs, 60; Herv, 2. Cf. Motif-Index, M146.

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).

3/23-4. vár vitrastr, 'the wisest of us'; cf. Nj, 327: þú ert vár fræknastr; Hkr, ii, 153: Þorviðr, bróðir minn, er vár er vitrastr kallaðr... (cf. Syntax, 141).

3/25. þótt 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 place in my integrity', At trúa e-m til e-s, 'to trust someone with respect to something'. Dyggð, 'integrity, honesty, sense of justice'. Um 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.' Þeim mun here has the sense of því; 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 því, '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 samfara mælt af Hersteins hendi, 'no proposal of marriage is made on Hersteinn's behalf'. At mæla til samfara (við e-n), 'to make a proposal of marriage (to someone)'. Cf. 13/10 and 17/26 ('made a proposal of friendship').

4/14-5/5. In footnote 4 on pages 40-1 of Ldn, 1968, Jakob Benediktsson edits the following passage from LdnÞøb (cf. LdnSkb, 7) which he believes is derived from lost parts of the Melabók-redaction of Landnámabók (and there comes from the Styrmisbók-redaction of Landnámabók; cf. Ldn, 1968, xc f.): ...gekk Leifr [at eiga Helligu at...i. Um [várit fóru þeir fóstbræðr (?)] til móts við [sonu Atla jarls. Þat er] sögn ma[anna, at þeir] Hólmsteinn [fyndi þá fóstbræðr (?)] við Hísargafll. [Þeir lögðu at þeim (?) ok vild]u drepa Leif, [en þeir] vörðusk. Þá kom [at Q]ll-móðr sonr Hørða-Kára, [enn nána(?)]sti frændi [Leifs, ok lagði at þeim [Hólmsteini] ok drápu hann.

4/21. Hísnargafll (all mss. used for this edition) must be a mistake for Hísargafll 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 -gafl, 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. Ólmóðr inn gamli: apart from Ldn (and following it F16), Ólmóðr 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 þau orrostulok at, 'the outcome of the battle was that'. This is the only instance of the word orrostulok in the dictionaries.

5/10. at verða at, 'to take place'.

5/14. at fá njósn 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 þit 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 Manhelgd 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 judgment 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. bræðr: Þórhallur Vilmundarson emends here to [fóstr]-bræðr, presumably because Leifr and Ingólfr 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. Fgr, 15, 55 and 58). According to this source, he married Bergljót, the daughter of Þórir þegjandi Mærajarl, 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 borð 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 <sup>(their)</sup> its level (see Privatboligen, 217-8, 220-1 and Híbýlahættir, 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 ǫndvegi and draws attention to the alliterative phrase at stíga á stökk 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 ǫndvegissúlur 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. Stökkseyrr (modern Stökkseyri; Map 1) must always have been a large and important farm. On its early history see particularly Guðni Jónsson, Bólstaðir og búendur í Stökkseyrarhreppi, 1952, 115 ff. and Stokks, 36 ff.

Hallsteinssund is called Hásteinssund in Ldn; <sup>(cf. Note to 2/3.)</sup>

Neither name is now known. Brynjúlfr Jónsson (Árbók, 1905, 8-9), Páll Sigurðsson (LM, 1942, 84) and Einar Arnórsson (Arnesb, 44) all conjecture that what is now known as Stjörnusteinasund to the immediate east of a rocky projection out to sea called Langarif is meant. Kálund (HTB, i, 178), on the other hand, guesses <sup>-es</sup> at Músasund to the immediate east of Stökkseyri, while Vigfús Guðmundsson

(Saga Eyrarbakka, 1945, 13) proposes present Knarrarós.

6/14-5. fyrir dyrr á Stálfjóru: 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-Íra-gerði 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. Þórhallur 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 Stokkseyri 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 Hallsteinn's landnám and its subsequent division by his two sons, see Páll Sigurðsson, LM, 1942, 81-4; Arnesb, 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 f.; Maps 1 and 3).

Ólfusá is now the name of the river which forms the western boundary of Flóí, 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 Ólfusá and the Sog, i.e. the whole of the river running from Þingvallavatn to the sea.

6/17. Fúlalækjar: 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 Ólfusá to the south-west of Flóagafll (see Maps 1 and 3). This is now variously called Krókskelda, Sölvholtskelda and Vöðlakelda according to what part is being referred to (Þórhallur 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

fúll, 'foul, dirty' and could refer to the brook's muddiness. On the other hand, the only other Fúlilækur 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 Fúlilækur is more likely to be a mistake for Fyllarlækur. Fyllar- could either be the genitive of fylli, fyllr, fem., 'a filling up', referring to the fact that the brook is sometimes kept full by the waters of the Ólfus (see Arbók, 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. Arnesb, 43, 66, 312.

Breiðamýri alla: present Breiðamýri is the marshland area to the north of Stokkseyri 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 Hóltalönd (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;

cf. Arnesb, 43.

6/17-8, 6/25-7/2. 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 Stjórnusteinar 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 Ólvir on Hásteinn's death, in LdnHkb no such division is mentioned. Fló's statement that Atli inherited the whole landnám in return for which Ólvir held Stjórnusteinar seems rather unlikely (cf. Þórhallur Vilmundarson). According to LdnStb, Leiðólfr and Brattr were originally Atli's thralls, according to LdnHkb (115/24-5) Ólvir' and according to Fló, Hallsteinn's. On this last point, LdnStb's account perhaps seems the most likely. See further Arnesb, 45 ff.; Guðni Jónsson, Bólstaðir og búendr í Stokkseyrarhreppi, 1952, 114-5; Stokks, 35-41.

6/17-8. at Stjórnusteinum: there is no farm of this name in the area now, although the names Stjórnusteinn and Stjórnusteinar are still given to some rocks on the southern end of Langaríf (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 Langaríf; cf. the place-name Stjórnusteinn from about 1270 in DI, ii, 75. See Árbók, 1905, 8-9; LM, 1942, 84; Arnesb, 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. Ólvir 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 mǫnnum mikil aufúsa á því: e-m er aufúsa (fem.) á e-u, 'someone is eager for something'.

6/26. þat heitir nú Ólvistóptir: LdnStb (224/23) says Ólvir lived at Stjórnusteinar and adds: þar heita nú Ólvisstaðir. This suggests that by the time Fló was written, the farm in question had fallen into disuse; (tóptir is used of ruins of a farm, turf walls with no roof). That LdnHkb does not mention any other name for Stjórnusteinar 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 Flóði, 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; Arbók, 1905, 5; Map 1).

Baugstaðir: according to Ldn, 1968, 352, this farm was named after Baugr Rauðsson (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 Baugsstaðir; here the place-name Forn-Baugstaðir is still known (see HTB, i, 179; Arbók, 1905, 7 f.; 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 Leysingjastaðir). See KL, s.v. Leysingi. Island.

Brattsholt is still a farm in Flóði; see HTB, i, 181

and Map 1.

7/7. Leiðólfsstaðir: 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. Hallsteinn and his property are discussed in Arnesb, 54-5 and Skírnir, 1950, 124.. He and his descendants are not mentioned in sources other than 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 Hallsteinn'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, LdnPðb 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 LdnPðb tell us that Fróði was the son of Vémundr (LdnPðb: Vermundr), the son of Víkingr Skáneyjarskelfir. Orms and Fróði are not known from sources other than Ldn and Fló. According to LdnPðb (cf. Ldn, 1968, 46), Loptr's paternal aunt, Hallvei Fróðadóttir was married to <sup>the</sup> Ingólfr 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 Eyrar was used of the whole of the coast-line between Ölfusá and Þjórsá (Loptr settled between Rauðá and Þjórsá), not merely the coast-line between the Ölfusá 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, Heimlaug Þórarinsdóttir, the daughter of another coloniser of Flói (Ldn). As far as we can gather, Loptr had two sons: Þórólfr, who is mentioned in Ldn, Ljós, Eyrb and Nj (cf. however Arnesb, 27), and Þórarinn, mentioned in Þórðar Saga hreðu (IF, xiv, 247). From Þórarinn various Icelandic bishops are descended (cf. LdnHkb, ch. 323). See further on Loptr and his landnám Arnesb (24-9) and Skírnir, 1950, 115-7.

7/15. í mörgu 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 'Nóregr'). If the preposition at is used correctly at LdnHkb, 114/11, and at the corresponding places in Fló, LdnSkb and LdnPöb (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. til 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; Arnesb., 28; Skírnir, 1950, 116).

7/18. Breiðamýri: LdnStb has at the corresponding place (223/22), presumably more accurately, Breiðamýri ina eystri; 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 Þorgils' 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 Gaulverjabæð.

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. fór utan it þriðja 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: Þat var um várit, at blót mikit skyldi vera at sumri á Gaulum; þat var ágæzt hofuðhof; sótti þangat fjölmenni mikit ór Fjörðum ok af Fjölum ok ór Sogni ok flest allt stórmenni (cf. Eg, ch. 2: Þat var á einu hausti, at fjölmennt 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 hönd þeira Flosa beggja, móðurbróður síns, 'on his own behalf and on behalf of his uncle, Flosi'.

7/23-4. Þor[viðr], bróðir hans: LdnStb (ch. 369) and LdnHkb (ch. 324) both have Þorviðr here (cf. Textual Note). They give Þorviðr's <sup>(father's)</sup> name as Úlfarr and sister as Hildir. Elsewhere these two sources say that Hildir was mother of Oddný, mother of Loptr gamli (cf. Note to 7/19). Þorviðr 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 Þorviðr to Þormóðr between the original of the saga and \*X. On Þorviðr 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 \*183-6), 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 Þórdís in mikla, daughter of Þórunn 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 konungssýsla 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 Þjórsá, Rangárvöllu alla ina eystri austr frá Rangá: LdnStb, LdnHkb, and LdnPðb have here: Hann nam land fyrir austan Rangá (ok, LdnPðb), alla Rangárvöllu ina eystri (austr frá 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

Þjórsá and to the west of the Ytri-Rangá, or (ii) that all the land he settled was not only to the east of the Þjórsá, but also to the east of the Ytri-Rangá. It is true that since only the settlements to the west of the Þjórsá have been talked about in the saga up to now and since the Þjórsá 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 Þjórsá (cf. LdnStb, chapters 360-3, 367), in LdnHkb, chapter 305, we are told that he owned land in that area: Jörundr fekk Þuríð<sup>la/</sup>, dóttur Þorbjarnar ins Gaulverska ok var brúðkaup þeira í Skarfanesi at Flosa er öll lönd átti millim Þjórsár ok Engár. While Engá is no longer known, Skarfanæs is a farm not far from the left bank of the Þjórsá, 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 grand<sup>id/</sup>daughter 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 Eystri-Rangá (see Kort, 48). That Flosi could only have settled the northern part of this area is clear from LdnStb, ch. 344.

8/5. Pórunn: in LdnStb, LdnHkb and LdnÞðb, this daughter of Flosi Þorbjarnarson is called Asný (cf. Textual Note).

Þuríðr is otherwise only known from Landnámabók. LdnÞðb (probably following lost parts of the Melabók-redaction) calls her Þórdís (cf. LdnSkb, 171 lines 35-6 and Ldn, 1968, 364 footnote 1).

Valla-Brandr: LdnÞðb (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 Þórður 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 Þjórsá at Arnes (see Ldn, 1968, 366 footnote 1) <sup>(; Kort, 47/)</sup>. On his mother's side, Valla-Brandr was related to Ketill hængur (LdnStb, ch. 344) and Ofeigr grettir (LdnStb, ch. 379). In addition <sup>i</sup> 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 Sæmundr fróði.

Loptr prestur 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 Þóra, who was later recognized as illegitimate daughter of King Magnús berfættr. 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 Konungahellabútt and 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 Þorlákr (helgi), bishop of Skálholt (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 Þorlákr. This was not the only bone of contention between the two men however: on returning <sup>from</sup> Norway after his consecration, Þorlákr 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 irretrievably 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, Páll, was drowned in Norway and Sæmundr's attempts to get redress from Norwegians in Iceland led to the death of his brother Ormr 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 <sup>Sæmundr</sup> ~~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 Bysk

Margrét was Sæmundr's illegitimate daughter by the sister of a certain Þorgrímr Vigfússon. She married Kolbeinn <sup>la</sup> kaldljóss and their children were Brandr, Páll, Valgerðr and Ingigerðr (Sturl).

Brandr (1211-46) was a goðorðsmaðr and, like his father, lived at Staðr (now Reynistaður) in Skagafjórðr. He supported Kolbeinn ungi and Gizurr jarl at the Battle of Órlyggsstaðir (Sturl, i, 517) and became leader of the Skagfirðingar after Kolbeinn's death in 1245. In 1246 however, Þórðr kakali, wishing to establish overlordship in northern Iceland found a pretext to quarrel with Brandr and marched into Skagafjórðr with 500 men. A battle ensued at Haugsnes (Haugsnessfundr) and, although Brandr had superior numbers, he was outmanoeuvred, captured and put to death (Sturl, ii, 87 ff.). Brandr was married to Jórunn Kálfsdóttir. A certain amount of poetry was composed in his honour. See further, Sturl, ii, 86-7, 90, 92.f., 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 Þorgeirr received a letter from Þórðr 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 Þórðarson (Sturl, ii, 310). After this time, we hear nothing more of Kálfr although like his father and grandfather he seems to have lived in Víðimýrr í Skagafirði, at least for a period (see Sturl, ii, 104).

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

8/9. Özurr...inn hvíti, son Þorleifs ór Sogni: neither Özurr nor Þorleifr 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). Özurr's nickname is extremely common. (In Fló it is also borne by Þorsteinn (20/19) and Gizurr (56/14).) It probably refers 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. vé), as its alliterative form suggests, must have originally belonged to oral legal terminology. In its general sense, vé refers to any sanctuary or holy place, usually in connection with a centre of worship or an assembly place (þingstaðr); 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 hárfagri 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 Hálfðan, was father of Oláfr sýr. His nickname (which he shared, for example, with Hallvarðr of Hríshváll; see IS, iv, 338) must be connected with hrísungr and mean basically 'one begotten in the bushes (hrís), 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 rísi, 'giant', he is

given in a number of sources (e.g. LdnStb, 225/9; cf. Binamn, s.v. Hrísi) is secondary.

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

8/12. Holtalónd: the name is not now known but it probably refers to the area now called Asar(nir) (cf. Note to 6/17): this is a belt of land which runs from east to west between the Þjórsá 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. Hraunslækr: the name is now unknown but was probably used for the uppermost part of the present Hróarsholtslækur; see HTB, i, 180; Arnesb, 40; Skirnir, 1950, 118; Ldn, 1968, 375 footnote 3; Maps 1, 3 and 4. Cf. 6/16 and Notes (and 10/21).

8/15. Þorgrímr kampi 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. Kampi.

8/16-7. í Kampaholti: there is still a farm called Kampholt (see HTB, i, 179; Map 4). It was presumably originally called Holt but was later named Kampholt after Özurr'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. Böðvarr is not known from sources other than Ldn and Fló.

8/20. á Böðvarsstöðum: LdnStb has í Böðvarstöptum here,

while LdnHkb has at Bõðvarstóptum. 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 Bõðvarstóptir; (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 Bõðvarsstaðir. 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 Bõðvarstóptum. This might suggest the following sequence of events: (i) writing of Hauksbók (ii) renaming of Bõðvarstóptir to Bõðvarsstaðir (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 Bõðvarstóptir 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 sýslumaðr 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 (Bõðvarsstöðum) to at also suggests he

knew the farm. We might have here some evidence that Fló was written after Haukr's redaction of Landnámabók, which recent researches have shown is probably to be put between 1306 and 1308 (see page \*150). Neither a farm Bóðvarstóptir nor Bóðvarsstaðir is now known. It must presumably have been in Ózurr's landnám <sup>land</sup> near Kampholt (cf. Arbók, 1900, 29-31).

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

8/20 ff. Honum gaf Ózurr hlut nokkurn 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 Íslendingasögur; see further Motieven, 74 ('Bosch-en weide-quaesties').

8/21. at mæla fyrir, 'to stipulate' (see Fritzner, <sup>s.v.</sup>mæla 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. misdauði, 'difference in time of death'.

8/24. Örn 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 Örn Arnesb, 35, 36, 41.

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

8/24-5. Hann átti Þorgerði Baugsdóttur, systur Stena snjalla í Snjallshófða: Þorgerðr is called Hildir in LdnHkb (107/32) while LdnStb (219/14) has a blank space. (fact that Fló has a different reading from LdnHkb here; The suggests that there was also a blank space for the name of Örn'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, Örn's father-in-law, was a sworn-brother of Ketill hængur, settled in his landnám and lived at Hlíðarendi (cf. 7/2 and Note). His other children were Gunnar, 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 LdnStb and LdnHkb. Steinn inn snjalli (also called Snjall-Steinn 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 Snjallsteinshófi. 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. Þykkiz Bóðvarr sér...eigi einhlítr um vörn málsins, 'Bóðvarr 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 Atla: at sækja e-n at ásjá, 'to ask someone for help'; for the omission of ásjá, cf. Vatns, ch. 36: Þær...sóttu hann at um vórit, at hann skyldi fá þeim staðfestu nokkura.

9/5-6. því 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 gagnsókk either as (i) 'Sag, hvori den sagsøgte optræder mod sin Sagsøger' (on which sense, see also Grág, iii, 616) or (ii) 'Anledning til saadant Søgsmal'. 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 þing? 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 handsólum: 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. Handsál Island; Grág, 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 bú 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 skulde 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 hleypra 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 minnaz á þat er faðir hans gaf honum land sitt. Hrafn kvað þat fyrir löngu 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. Pat...skógrinn: LdnX had Smalamaðr sagði Hrafn þat. 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 ff. 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 hafá brek 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 Önundarholt (cf. 10/21); see Arbók, 1882, 55; Map 2. According to Ldn, Önundr 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. Þá...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 Þórhallur 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]gjöfina: it is clear that \*X had lífgjöf here; frelsisgjöf in K and B would appear to be the independent correction of two different scribes. An error lífgjöf is understandable after the word launa in view of the alliterative phrase at launa lífgjöf (Drei Lyg, 16, Heið, 242 and Hálfðanar Saga, 117). The word frelsisgjöf ('gift of freedom') is found in Fóstbr, ch. 10 and NGL, i, 33.

10/19. særðr 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 Dropl (ch. 10), Grímr 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 bíldr's ancestry is given only in LdnPöb and there in two conflicting forms: in ch. 33, Önundr is said to be Hroarss(on) Horns, brunas(onar) er bragd vann a bravelle and in ch. 375 s(on) Hröaldz hornz, brunas s(onar) Þorss(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 Mela-bók-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 Hróarr 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 Óðinn in disguise (see Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum in Fas, ii and Saxo, i, 213 ff.). Ldn mentions three children for Önundr (Helga, Sigmundur kleykir and Eilífr auðgi, and says that many great men are descended from him. These include Sæmundr fróði, Þorlákr helgi and Haukr Erlendsson (cf. Arnesb, 386). Önundr's nickname is shared by his half-brother Þorgrímr (Ldn) and one of the warriors on Ormrinn langi (Hkr, i, 346). As a common noun bíldr can mean inter

alia 'lancet' or 'spear' and in the modern language also has the sense of 'a bíldóttur (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.; Arnesþ, 199. See further on Ónundr and his landnám, Arnesþ, 33-40; Skírnir, 1950, 117-20; Ldn, 1968, 374 footnote 2 and the references cited there

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

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

10/22. Hann átti Þorgerði, dóttur 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 Nj, ch 1 (cf. Nj, 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

Þjórsá. Þorgerðr 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 í Vælugerði (married to Steinn's sister; see 8/24 and Note to 8/24-5). Ónundr's sons now sought revenge for their father. Mórðr gígja (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. Mórðr was able to bring about a settlement however and while Ónundr's sons were made heraðssekir ór Flóa, they paid no compensation; in addition Mórðr arranged advantageous marriages for them (including that of Eilífr to Þorkatla Ketilsdóttir; cf. Note to 13/5-6). (Ldn, 1968, 352 ff.)

10/23. Mórðr gígja: apart from Ldn (see previous Note), Mórðr is otherwise known from Laxd and Nj. He is said to have lived at Völlur in present Hvolhreppur<sup>U</sup> (Rangárvallasýsla) (see Nj, 5 and footnote), to have been a man of influence and to have been especially knowledgeable<sup>g</sup> in legal

matters. His daughter Unnr was married to Hrútr Herjólfsson, one of the chief characters of these two sagas. After Unnr had divorced Hrútr, Mórðr made a bid to recover his daughter's dowry but when Hrútr challenged him to a duel he dropped the matter. Mórðr'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 Mórðr because he was able to play such an instrument (cf. Tilnavne, 244).

10/24. ok fylgdi Atla heim ok bað hann til sín: Ónundr's home, Ónundarholt, lay between Orrostudalur and Traðarholt (see Notes to 10/11 and 10/21) and Nijhoff's <sup>(Beschouwing, 20)</sup> objections to the sense of this passage are hardly valid.

11/1-2. þat fylgdi nafni at hann dæi af sárum sem Atli jarl, fóðurfaðir 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: Þórólfr segir: "...Vilda ek, ef þér yrði sonar auðit, at bú létir Þórólf heita, en allar þær heillir, sem ek hefi haft, vil ek honum gefa, fyrir því at þá væntik, at nafn mitt mun uppi, meðan heimr er byggðr." The verb fylgja here has 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. Pórðr 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 Binamn, s.v.).

11/5-6. Attu...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, 1.

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

11/11-2. Ólvir hét son Atla annarr: Ólvir is unknown from other sources; cf. Introduction, pages \*187-8.

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

11/17. Eiríkr blóðǫx, son of Haraldr hárfagri, 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 Eiríksmálin in his praise. His nickname, 'bloody-axe', is found in contemporary poetry and mu 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 ma 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, Hrafn 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 fôr utan af Eyrum ok kómu til Sandhólaferja (across the Þjórsá)).

Magnús Oddson, a native of Flói, informs me that út á Eyrarbakka is still used in the south-eastern part of the district (e.g. Gaulverjabær, Villingaholt, Vörsabær).

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

11/22. blá 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<sup>e-m</sup>, '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 Íslands, 1868, 84).

11/25-6. ofan frá Traðarholt, 'below (nearer the sea than) Traðarholt'; cf. Attatáknanir, 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 þar haugr hans fyrir austan gótuna en fyrir vestan er Atlahaugr ok Ólvishaugr 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 <sup>(in)</sup> Arbók, <sup>(1900)</sup>, 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 <sup>(he)</sup> whether this originally came out of one of the mounds (see Sigurður Guðmundsson, Skýrsla um Forngripasafn Íslands, 1868, 84; Sigurður Vigfússon, op. cit., 53-4; Kristján Eldjárn, op. cit., 57). The head of this, now in Þjóðminjasafn in Reykjavík (Þjms. 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 föður 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 geraz í, 'to take place'.

12/14. Pórunn is known only from Ldn and Fló.

12/15. Asgeirr Austmannsskelfir is otherwise known only from Ldn. (In LdnPöb, 21/25, presumably following the Melabók-redaction of Landnámabók, he is called Asgrímr.) It has been suggested that this Asgeirr may be identical with Asgeirr Úlfsson (Alfsson, LdnPöb) (also known only from Ldn), the husband of Ketilbjörn inn gamli's daughter Þorgerðr to whom Ketilbjörn gave part of his landnám (see LdnStb, ch. 386) (Árnesb, 51 footnote). If this was so, however, and if Þuríðr Ketilbjarnardóttir and Þorgerðr were in fact sisters as LdnStb (228/24) tells us, then at 13/14 Þuríðr's son <sup>(,Þorgrímr,)</sup> would have been marrying his first cousin. This is certainly not the impression given either by Ldn or Fló. The same explanation of Asgeirr's nickname (see 12/15-7) is found in LdnStb and LdnHkb; the skipshöfn he is said to have killed seems to have been Norwegians (Austmenn); 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 Austmannaskelfir would seem to be more natural and this form is found in LdnHkb and the y-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.

12/16. Grímsáróss: Kálund (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 south-easterly 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; Arnesb, 333; Stokks, 11-2; Map 1.

12/21. 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 jörðu: 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: Þá ók hann silfrit upp á fjallit á tveimr yxnum ok Haki þræll ok Bót ambátt hans; þau fálu féit, svá at eigi finnsk. 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 auðæfum skyldi hverr koma til Valhallar sem hann hafði á bál, þess skyldi hann ok njóta, er hann sjálfr hafði í jörð grafit. 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 - Þat skip is not the subject of spurðiz - with til used absolutely. Cf. Nj, 463: Hefir til þess skips aldri spurðk síðan.

13/4. Þorgrímr Órrabeinn is known only from Ldn and Fló. Þorgrímr's nickname, either by itself or compounded with stjúpr (stjúpi) as Þorgils's cognomen, appears in the source in two or possibly three different forms (see Binamn, s.v. Órrabeinn, Órrabeinsstjúpr; Byskupa Áttir, 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 órrabeinn, 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 orrabein- found in LdnHkb is probably meant to represent orrabein- and Haukr normally expresses 'ø' with o (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 o 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 orrabeinn 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, <sup>(in Sturl)</sup> and in Hrafn's 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 some such meaning as 'eager for battle', 'battle-leg'. For other nicknames in -beinn, see Binamn, s.v.

í Bjarnarsundi: none of the topographers (e.g. Ká-  
lund (HTB), Brynjólfur Jónsson (Árbók, 1905), Einar Arnórs-

son (Arnesb)) comment on Bjarnarsund, nor is the present editor able to make any suggestion as to its whereabouts. We note the variant í Knarrarsundi; cf. Textual Note.

13/4-5. Hann var Þormóðarson: Björn Sigfússon (Saga, 1958, 425 f.) suggests that Þorgrímr 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 Íslb, Ldn and Haukdæla Þáttur 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 Elliði (after which Elliðaá near present Reykjavík is named) and spent his first winter with Þórðr 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 Grímsnes in Arnesþing. 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 löggoðorð in Arnesb (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, Þorgerðr, married Asgeirr Úlfsson (cf. Note to 12/15). Another, Þorkatla, married Eilífr auðgi, one of the sons of Önundr 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 Þorgrímr must have been born outside wedlock. For a full account of Ketilbjörn and his landnám, see Arnesb, 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 (löggráðandi; 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 F1b (iv, . 232): Erkibiskup tók honum vel ok reyndust hugi við. Ok er biskup sá, at þessi maðr var vel til tignar fallinn, vígði hann Arnald til biskups... Reyna followed by an accusative means 'put to test, try'; the use of its middle voice in the plural in F1b with a following hugi is therefore simply 'reciprocal' in sense (see Syntax, 163-5; cf. e.g. Laxd, ch. 40: Engi hofðusk þeir orð við). In F1ó, however, reynaz has a singular subject and can not 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 liðnir, fekk hann Þórunnar: the three year period of engagement is a common motif.

fekk hann Þórunnar: after the words hann fekk Þórunnar, 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 Þórunn's son by Þorgrímr (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. Þorgrímr var goðr forstjóri heraðsins: forstjóri heraðsins can hardly be interpreted as meaning anything else than goði (cf. the terms heraðshófdingi (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 Þorgils and Hæringr as also having held a goðorð at some time or another: Þorgils bjó í Traðarholti ok gerðiz hann ríkr maðr svá at Asgrímr Elliðason bar ekki af honum á þingum (63/11-2); the reference to Þorgils as a heraðshófdingi at 65/3-4; ok svá tók hann (i.e. Hæringr) við goðorði því er Þorgils haft hafði (67/5-6; see however Note to 33/6); þótti hann (i.e. Þorgils) ok inn mesti sveitarhófdingi (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 Þorgils and Hæringr. (Note the way óbokki millim heraðshófdingja. Heraðsmónum þykki mein at 65/3-4 is changed to óbokki manna á milli. Hófdingjum þykkir mein at 31/12-3.) Cf. 'TgF', 445 f.

Whether Þorgrímur, Þorgils or Hæringr ever held a goðorð (or goðorð) 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 established 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 families in the area, the descendants of Ketilbjörn inn gamli (see Note to 13/5-6) and the Ólfusingar (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 Þormóður skapti (on whom, see Note to 53/18): In both Ldn (1968, 358, 381) and Fló (53/19), Þormóður's grandson, Þorsteinn (father of Bjarni spaki, who Fló tells us was Þorgils's son-in-law) is given the nickname goði. This could, of course, merely mean that he officiated at religious ceremonies (cf. Arnesþ, 284). A weightier argument is that it is practically certain that Þorsteinn's great-grandson, Markús Skeggjason (who was lögsgumaðr) held a goðorð 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 Ormsson (see 7/14 and Note) held a goðorð, 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 Arnesb<sup>ing</sup> was Hallsteinn (Hásteinn) Atlason. It is particularly significant that Ldn (LdnStb, ch. 397; LdnHkb, ch. 354) name him with Ketilbjörn inn gamli as one of the noblest (göfgastir) colonisers of the Sunnlendingafjórðungr. (cf. Fló, 6/20 ff.). According to Barði Guðmundsson (Skirnir, 1936, 49-58), this fact alone would be sufficient evidence for supposing that Hallsteinn's (Hásteinn's) descendants held a goðorð

A goðorð 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 goðorð 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 Hallsteinn (Hásteinn) Atlason's descendants did hold a goðorð (cf. Fló, 9/5 ff.), then it is quite natural that Þorgrímr 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 goðorð could, in this case, be explained by supposing that Bjarni

Porsteinsson acquired a share in, or even all of Porgils's goðorð as part of Þórný's dowry (cf. Stokks, 51). We do not at any rate have any evidence that Porgils's descendants were goðar. Another possibility is that as early as the institution of the Alþingi, the goðorð 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 Órrabeinn's father was Þormóðr skapti (see Note to 13/4-5), then the goðorð could have been shared by Þorgrímr and Hæringr on the one hand and Þorsteinn goði and his descendants on the other; Þorgil would then, at 67/5-6, have finished holding a goðorð 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 goðorðið, en hann hafði það' and that 'eigi er þess getið, að Þorgils tæki síðar á ævi við goðorði 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: Brynjúlfur Jónsson in Tíma-rit gefið út af Jóni Péturssyni, 1870, 102 ff.; Árnesþ, 280-6; Ólafur Briem, 'Árnesþingstaður og goðorð milli Þjórsár og Hvítár', Saga, 1958, 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 mannamóts í fjórbaugsgarð: in Grágás (cf. Grág, iii, 608 f. and KL, s.v. Fredlashed.Island), the term fjórbaugsgarðr is used of a sentence of lesser outlawry in contrast to full outlawry, skóggangr. Those sentenced to fjórbaugsgarðr, fjórbaugsmenn, 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 <sup>(to be)</sup> <sup>(behalf)</sup> made on their to obtain a passage to another country. During this period, the fjórbaugsmaðr 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 fjórbaugsmaðr 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 fjórbaugsgarðr in Fló is not unduly surprising. The first element of the compound, fjórbaugr, literally 'life-ring', refers to the fee paid by the fjórbaugsmaðr 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 fjórbaugsmaðr's immunity was valid (see Grág, iii, 609; cf. the conclusions arrived at by G. Jones in an article 'Fjórbaugsgarðr', Medium Ævum, 1940, 155-63). The word is also used in a local sense in VG1 (43), where it is said that Glúmr at Hegranessþing náði eigi nærr at tjalda en í fjórbaugsgarði. 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 fjórbaugsgarðr in both VG1 and Fló is used merely as a unit of distance equal to an arrow-shot (cf. Þórskotshelgi) and referred to a defined outer boundary concentric with the boundary of the consecrated inner <sup>(precincts)</sup> ~~boundary~~ ~~precinct~~ of a þing. 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 fjórbaugsmenn, 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 fjórbaugsmenn such as Turville-Petre visualizes, was to be found at recognized places of assembly, for example, at þing recreational centres and even to some extent places of worship. Þórhallur Vilmundarson notes that this fjórbaugsgarðr 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 fjórbaugs-menn waiting to sail: Ef þeir (i.e. prospective conveyors) taca við honum (i.e. the fjórbaugsmaðr) oc er hann at scipi meðan þeir hafa býðir alandæ þa er hann heilagr í örscotz hælgi a alla vega a landð við búðena. eN þo at scip liGi fir búð eN sva. oc er hann þo heilagr þar amilli. EN alengr er þeir hafa buðir a scipi þa er hann heilagr í örscotz hælgi a land upp a alla vega þaðan fra fióro er scemst er. til landz fra scipi. enda skal sva hvargi er þeir liGja við island a því sumre. eða við þær eyiar er bygðar ero. eN avallt er þeir liGja ibryGjo lægi. við island þa er hann heilagr í örscotz hælgi fra bryGjo 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 (skerjagarður) along the coast of Flói. What locality is referred to here is uncertain. According to an informant of Finnur Magnússon (see GhM, 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 Arna Magnússonar 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 Lopta (Lopz) (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; knattdrepa). 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 (leikmót) were well attended. The most usual



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 sammælaz 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 LdnÞðb (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 bíns: there has been no mention in the X-version of any friendship between Þorgils 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 þat 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 Pleuronectidæ 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 þat hans (i.e. a stórr flatr fiskr's) náttúra sakir afls ok mikils vaxtar, at ef hann tekr fornám í drættinum, dugir eigi snærinu at breyta með hann, ok því skal gera liðugt færir honum til rásar, svo oft sem hann beiðir, þar til hann mæðist ok verðr 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' (<sup>ISO</sup>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 fjárvarðveizla (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 mórk = 8 aurar (sing. eyrir); 1 eyrir = 3 örtugar (sing. örtug). The weight of a mórk 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. Gangsyllv. Island and Priser. Island; Saga, 1960, 76-91).

16/21-2. Haraldr gráfelðr réð Noregi með öðrum bræðrum sínum ok Gunnhildr konungamóðir: contrary to what the majority of sources say, Gunnhildr was probably (as Historia Norwegiæ (Mon, 105) tells us) the daughter of Gormr the Old of Denmark. After the fall of her husband, Eiríkr 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 Aðalsteinsfóstri. 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 Tidsskrift, 1930, 22), although Snorri has another explanation (Hkr, i, 212). See further on Gunnhildr Introduction, pages \*246 ff.

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

17/8-9. Porgils kemr nú á þetta 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 látinn við at gera e-t, 'to be prepared to do something'.

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

17/13. hásæti, 'seat of honour'; cf. KL, s.v. Högsäte.

17/15. á laun, 'secretly'.

17/15-6. gaf honum silfr...svá at þat var góðr kaup-  
eyrir: elsewhere in Icelandic writings we hear of <sup>(Norwegian)</sup> kings giving Icelanders kaupeyrir when they part: see F1b, 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 hét. 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. Ágrip (55) and a third in e.g. Oddr, Olafs (56).

17/25-6. margkunnandi á fyrnsk[u] ok fróðleik: margkunnandi, like fjólkunnugr (cf. fjólkyngi, 27/11), margkunnugr 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 \*Y here must have been fyrnsk, and while the present editor has not been able to find any record 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 meaning. Fyrnska ok fróðleikr, 'magic and sorcery'.

18/4. hverju þat gegndi, 'what the reason was for that'.  
At gegna 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 fangbrögðum, 'to (begin to) wrestle'.

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

18/18. Höggr Þorgils þá af honum hófuð: 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 (Þjóðhættir, 429-30) gives examples of this practice in Iceland up to the eighteenth century.

18/18-20. ok mæliŕ síðan yfir honum at hann skuli engum  
(at meini)  
manni verða: 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,

[1968], s.v. Abwehrzauber; Þjóðs, i, 439 ff.). 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 engum manni at meini verða was actually used in spells of this type; cf. the formula used in connection with álfar in Þjóðs, i, 101: Komi beir sem koma vilja, fari beir sem fara vilja, mér og mínum 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 týjanda Guði, Gamal norsk homiliebook, ed. G. Indrebø, 1931, 29 (Latin: Deo auxiliante); eigi munuð þér upp lúka þessum dærum at mér lifanda, Fire og fyrretyve Prøver, ed. Konráð Gíslason, 1860, 197. See Syntax, 236 ff. and M. Nygaard in Sproglig-historisk studier tilegnede Professor C. R. Unger, 1896, 157 f.

19/4-5. Skaltu...gera kistu...ok undir knakka..., 'You ...are to make a coffin...and to put legs onto it...'.  
 ...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 (Híbýlahættir, 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 bragðs, 'to take some action (to get out of a difficulty, to solve a problem)'. Bragð, 'scheme, device'.

19/15-6. Síðan kasta þeir 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; Þjóðhættir, 428 ff.).

19/27. erfi (otherwise called erfiól, 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. Arveøl; M. Cahen, La libation, 1921, 153 ff.).

fagnaðaról, 'feast of welcome'; see KL, s.v.

20/5. Hákon Hlaðajarl, 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 Háleyia-  
tal, which traced his ancestry back to Oðinn (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, Oláfr 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 láta til við e-n, 'to defer to someone's wishes'.

20/19. Þorsteinn...inn hvíti: it has been suggested in the Introduction (cf. page \*283) that the Fló-author chose the name Þorsteinn for his hero's friend in Norway after the model of Eg. On the other hand, there are five or six different Þorsteinn's in Icelandic sources ~~XXXXXXXX~~ who also have the nickname hvíti: (1) Oddr, Oláfs (215); (2) Grett (209); (3) Eg (291); (4) Ldn, 1968 (164-5); (5)

Ldn, 1968 (289); (6) (= (5)?) Pórðar Saga hreðu (IF, xiv, 176). On the meaning of the nickname, see Note to 8/9.

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. Þeir lögðu mikla vingan saman, 'They clinched a great friendship between them'. Cf. Sturl, i, 386: lögðu þeir saman vináttu sína.

20/23. Þorgils gaf Þorsteini kyrtlinn 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 Gunnlaugr Helgu skikkjuna Aðalráðsnaut ok var þat gersimi 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 með Hákon jarli Eiríkr rauð[il], Islenzkr maðr: we cannot say for certain that Eiríkr rauði 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 rauð[il]: 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: Grænland fannz ok byggðiz af Íslandi.

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

21/3-4. Vel gez mér at framferð þinni: e-m gez (infinitive

getaz) at e-u: 'someone is pleased by something, someone likes something'.

21/7<sup>-8</sup> ok skaltu heimta skatta mína af Suðreyjum er ek hefir misst um brjá vetr: the people of the Hebrides would not have been tributary to Hákon jarl (cf. KL, s.v. Skatter. Noreg and Skattland). From at least 1153 onwards, however, local rulers of the islands were subject to pay feudal dues to 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 Suðer-øyene og Man skatt eller lensavgift til Norges konge (1153-1263)?, 1966, and the references cited there.

21/16. Eyjanna: the Suðreyjar (Hebrides) are often referred to simply as Eyjar (see e.g. Orkn, 93, 95, 241). On the other hand, no other examples of the use of Eyjarnar (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 (Friðþj, 15-30) on his expedition to the Orkneys to collect taxes (cf. Introduction, page \*262) has a stormy passage (cf. Fló, 21/17-8) and is well received by the local ruler (cf. Fló, 21/20). In Friðþj (30), there is also talk of berserks (cf. Fló, 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 y-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 (VG1, ch. 6), Haraldr járnhauss (F1b, i, 154) and Hárekr járnhauss (Þorst-Vík, ch. 2).

víkingr: 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. F1ó, 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. Þann kost...bér mun minnisamr verða, 'Your choice will be memorable to you, you will not forget your decision E-t (nominative) verðr e-m minnisamt, 'something is made memorable to someone' (accusative subject here only because Þann kost is also object of kýss).

22/9-10. ok ver níðingr ef þú 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 (níða) the absentee, to declare him a níðingr. This could be done either by oral insult (tunguníð; 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 níð 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. þa opar h' þry nibinggr op oc markar h' a iarþv (see A. Nelson in Saga och sed, 1944, 79-85). On the concept of níð, see B. Almqvist, Norrön niddiktning, 1965, 38-88 and KL, s.v. Nid. A níðingr 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 Folkeæt, i, 272-95 and KL, s.v. Niddingsværk.

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

22/24-5. Þú sefr en jafnt mun vera sem 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 Þorgils 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 þenna: 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. Blaðin 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 Blaðni 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 blað 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 Blaðinn is equally feasible. A parallel would be, for instance, the name of Óðinn's raven Muninn: if, as seems likely, Alexander Jóhannesson (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 Blaðinn, formed in the same way from the noun blað 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 Blaðnir.

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, /þann 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. Fms, viii, 92: Slíkt höfum vèr upp tekit, sem ver höfum tilvegit.

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 þótti 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 þickir næsta svipr at bravt fôr yckarri.

24/9. Gyrðr: 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 Gyrðr (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. fríð: the sagas suggest that Irish women had something of a reputation for beauty and were particularly sought after as slaves and concubines; cf. Laxd, ch. 12 and Krist, 15<sup>land</sup> 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, Det 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 superceded the older term dönsk tunga (see KL, s.v. Norrønt mál).

25/10. Víkversk, 'from the Vík (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 Þorgils acquires the magic sword Jarðhússnautr (cf. 24/4-5).

25/11. Því at þungi fylgir sverðinu. 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 Þorgils 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. GhM, 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 Huës in the Old French original. The Hugi jarl of Ala flekks Saga, ch. 7 (Drei Lyg, 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 Þórólfr Loptsson (see Note to 7/14) fought against a certain Gyrðr, who, we hear from Jómsvíkinga Saga (ed. C. af Petersen, 1879, 100), was a víkingr (cf. Fló, 24/9) and the son of Sigvaldi Jómvíkingajarl. Ljós (cf. IF, x, 71 footnote 1) suggests there may have been a duel involved (cf. Fló, 25/23-4); Eyrb tells how Gyrðr lost his eye in the fight (cf. Fló, 25/25 ff.); and LdnHkb (24/20) stresses that the Icelanders heldu fé sínu. This story, which probably had oral currency in the now lost Gyrðs-vísur (LdnHkb, 24/20) could well have influenced the Fló-author in the story of Þorgils's and Þorsteinn's fight against Gyrðr.

25/25. Jarðhússnautr: H. Falk (Waffenkunde, 57) and A. Drachmann (De navngivne Sværd, 1967, 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<sup>u</sup> konu mína: I. Boberg (Motif-Index, T141) 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, T141.1) 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.

26/19. Svíbjóð: the home of berserks and other evil-doers; see IF, vii, 109 footnote 3.

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. Eg, 250) and the author

may be adapting a kenning here (cf. Note to 47/7).

26/23-5, 27/3-4. Þá bauð Randviðr Þrándi hólmgöngu þá er kólluð er kerganga; skal þar berjaz í kerri ok byrgja yfir ofan ok hafa kefli í hendi...Þorgils hafði sverðit Jarðhússnaut. Randviðr hafði álnarkefli ok digrt mjök: a literary parallel to and possible source for the account of Þorgils being armed but Randviðr fighting with an ell-long cudgel has been <sup>en</sup> 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 Vigfússon (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 manœuvred 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 kerganga (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 fjólkynngi sinni, því at hann hafði margan mann fellt með þessi 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 Sværd, 1967, 43-5; Note to 22/25). Þorgils's sword, however, however, was proof against his magic (see Motif-Index, 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 for-aldarsögur and the rímur; for a full list of examples, see Dopnann, 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. Oláfr tvennumbrúni is unknown from sources other than Fló and Ldn. The latter tells us that he came from Lófót (Vestvågøy) in the Lofoten Islands. Finnur Jónsson (Tilnavne, 199) explains Oláfr's nickname as follows: 'Med tvende bryn, synes at være opstaaet af udtrykket 'með tvennum brúnum'...med dobbelt bryn, hvor haarene saa ud som de udgjorde to rækker over hvert bryn.' Alternatively, it might have something to do with Oláfr's being hamrammr 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 Oláfr 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 Oláfr, his family and his landnám Árnesh, 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 Þjórsá on the east. Its northern boundary is now Sandlækjarós (see HTB, i, 184 and Map 4).

á milli Þjórsár ok Sandlækjar: Sandlækr 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 LdnPðb (21/38), milli Þjórsár ok Hvítár ok til Sandlækjar, explains the geography of Óláfr's landnám satisfactorily and would seem to be more original than LdnHkb's and Fló's milli Þjórsár ok Sandlækjar and LdnStb's milli Þjórsár til Sandlækjar (see Arnesb, 61 and Ldn, 1968, 376 footnote 5).

27/17-8. hann var hamrammr mjök: 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 hömum). Thus in Svarf (181), Þorsteinn 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 Óláfr's hamremi, we note that the first element of the name of his grave-mound (27/19), Brúni, was one of Óðinn'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 Oláfsvöllum: Olafsvellir is a large farm, or rather group of farms, in Skeið (see HTB, i, 184 f.; Arnesb, 62; Map 4).

27/18-9. í Brúnahaugi undir Vörðufelli: where Brúnahaugr was is not now known, although there are local traditions about it (see HTB, i, 185; Árbók, 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 (Arnesb, 67 f.) doubts that there can ever have been any relationship between her and Þorgrímr 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 traustr, 'pálitlig'. C. Marstrander (Norsk tidsskrift for sprogvidenskap, 1945, 319-43) suggests, however, that, in such nicknames as Sygna-trausti and Ómlungatrusti, 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. Pórðr, faðir Þorkels, fóstur Gullkárs: Pórðr is called Þórir drífa in Ldn, and Þórir's son is there called Þorkell gullkárr not Þorkell, faðir Gullkárs. As a nickname, gullkárr probably means the 'golden-haired' (cf. Tilnavne, 196). None of Þórðr's (Þórir's) descendents are known from sources other than Ldn and Fló (cf, however following Note). Ldn also mentions a third son of Óláfr and Áshildr here, Vaði (see Introduction, page \*193).

27/21. Oddr Hallvarðsson: Einar Arnórsson (Arnesb, 64) conjectures that Oddr was the brother of Þorsteinn 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. hjá gatnamóti: Þórhallur Vilmundarson suggests that this gatnamót is 'sennilega ofan við svonefndan Axarhól [see Map 4], þar sem leiðir skiptast ofan frá Olafsvöllum; önnur liggur niður í Flóa, hin til Hraunbæjanna við Þjórsá.' Cf. Arbók, 1905, 28.

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

28/22. Þorgrími 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 Hófdaland as part of Þorkatla 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 LdnPðb (25) (probably following LdnM1b), that Teitr was the first man to have lived at Skálaholt. Einar Arnórsson (Arnesb, 129, 147) therefore doubts that Teitr can ever have lived at Hófði. 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 Hófði 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 frænda síns after Teitr's

name, should change Gizurarson to, or fill out the blank space with, the incorrect Kolbjarnarsonar. Second, it should be noted that while LdnSkb has (at finna Teit) Gizurarson and J has (til Teits) Kolbjarnarsonar, P (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. Arnesb, 145 ff.). A number of works give his wife as Alóf, the daughter of Böðvarr 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) Víkverjabyskup (see Arnesb, 150).

29/5. út á Eyrar í Einarshöfn: út is an addition to the text of LdnX by the Fló-author. As Stefán Einarsson (Attatáknanir, 185) says, its force here must be 'towards the sea' - Höfði is NNE of Eyrbakki - 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 Hófði; 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<sup>a</sup> 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, 'Attatáknanir á íslenzku nú á dögum', Skírnir, 1952, 163).

Eyrar was the name of coast of Flói 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 í bá hofn, er Knarrarsund heitir). That Eyrar extended further east to the Þjórsá 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. Hæns, 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 lýriti; 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 fõrnum vegi upp frá Mõrk við Helgahvål: Ldn has here í Merkrhrauni upp frá Mõrk við Helgahvål (LdnStb: Helgahraun); cf. pages \*161, \*163, \*194. Mõrk was a farm (no longer inhabited) which gave its name to what is still called Merkurhraun (see Árbók, 1905, 29; Map 4; Arnesb, 66 ff.; Ldn, 1968, 379 footnote 2). Helga- or Helguhóll is still the name of a knoll in Merkurhraun (see HTB, i, 184; Árbók, 1894, 15; Arnesb, 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 Rangárvalla-sýsla, about ten mileseast of the Þjórsá. See HTB, i, 217 f. and Kort, 48.

29/19-23. Þorvarðr...Þorgerðr...váru börn Þórðar Freys-

goða: those of Þórðr'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 Þorvarðr and Þorgerðr 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, Þórðr Freysgoði) and it is interesting to note with Finnur Jónsson (Fló, 1932, 73) and Þórhallur Vilmundarson that the names of five of them are found in the genealogies of the Svínfellingar (i.e. the descendents of Þórðr Freysgoði) and the Oddaverjar in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries: Svínfellingar: Þórðr Freysgoði - Kolbeinn (who had a brother (or half-brother) Starkaðr) - Starkaðr - Daði - Guðrún; Oddaverjar: Loðmundr=Þorgerðr - Sigfúss=Þórey - Sæmundr = Guðrún - Þórey= Þorvarðr. Cf. Introduction, pages \*252 f.

29/20. Kálfholt (M-version: Kálfaholt) is a farm lying about 2 km. east of the Þjórsá 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. Þórðr Freysgoði is known from a number of sources. Ldn gives his father as Özurr Ásbjarnarson and his wife as Þraslaug, daughter of Þorsteinn tittlingr; it names two of his sons, Flosi (Brennu-Flosi) and Kolbeinn, and says that

Þórðr was one of the most powerful men in the Austfirðinga-fjórðungr. 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 Oláfr Tryggvason after Þangbrandr's abortive attempt to convert Iceland (cf. Oddr, Oláfs, 127). Nj (ch. 95) gives Þórðr's ancestry in some detail and says that Flosi's mother was Ingunn, the daughter of Þórir á Espihóli (cf. VG1, ch. 5). The same chapter mentions four other sons of Þórðr: Starkaðr, Þorgeirr, Steinn and Egill. Starkaðr's mother is given as Þraslaug and, in Nj, 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). Nj (ch. 116) tells of a quarrel between Þórðr and Arnórr Órnólfsson and, with Ldn and Dropl (ch. 9), mentions the slaying of the latter at Skaptafellsþing by Þórðr's sons. Þórðr 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 Svínafell (the pig was sacred to Freyr) and Freysnes in Oræfi 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. Sórli possibly takes his name from another unwelcome

suitor in Sórla Pátttr (IF, x, 109 ff.).

30/13. bingmaðr Ásgríms: 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 fjórðungr and not more than once a year). See further: Grág, iii, 706 and the references cited there; J.J., Saga, i, 80.

Ásgrímr Elliða-Grímsson is known from a number of sources. His grandfather, Ásgrímr, the son of Óndóttir kráka, is the hero of an episode in Ldn, 1968 (260 ff.; cf. Introduction, page \*349). With his brother Ásmundr, he settled Kræklingahlíð in Eyjafjörður and lived at Glerá inn nyrðri near present-day Akureyri. No stories are told of Ásgrímr's father, Grímr. 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. Ketilbjörn inn gamli's) landnám (cf. Arnesb, 101, 148). Grímr's nickname, Elliði, 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 Aarbøger, 1889, 15-7) than a native formation from \*ein-liði (see Binamn, s.v.; Alexander Jóhannesson, Íslensk tunga í forn-

öld, 1924, 89 footnote 2). Grímr 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 Elliði (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 Þórhalla 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). VG1 (ch. 21) is alone in telling us that he married Þordís Bjarnardóttir, who divorced her former husband, Arngrímr Þorgrímsson. Both Nj and Ldn 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 hljótt 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 Ljós (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 mörgu 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 mœrgv 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' (fjórbaugsmaðr; cf. Note to 13/22-3)). The skógarmaðr was óæll (that is, it was illegal to maintain him), óferjandi (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. Fredløshed. 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 Sigfússon ('TgF', 446) remarks: '...samskot árnescrar alþýðu í bótagjöld til að setta höfðingjana nauðuga eru frásöguatriði, sem á skyldara við veruleik 13. aldar en við hetjuhugmyndir hinna rómantískari Íslendingasagna.' Cf. Sturl, i, 84, for the sort of event from (12th century) Icelandic history that Björn may be thinking of in this con-

text.

31/15. til hestabings: horse-fights (hestavíg) are often mentioned in the sagas. At a single meeting (hestabing), a number of horses (víghestar) might be matched against one another. The separate fights were divided into rounds (lotur; cf. VG1, 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 Hestabingsshóll just to the east of Kallaðarnes (see Map 3). Note also, however, the place-names Hestabingsflöt at Hróarsholt (just north of Önundarholt) and, more particularly, in view of the M-version's austr í herað (65/10), Hestabingsshóll 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: Þorgils is treating the purse as lost property (on which, see KL, s.v. Hittegoods). According to Grág (i, b, 75), ef maðr finnr fé fyrir ofan jörð í sínu landi, ok

skal hann segja til iii. sumur á Alþingi; þá ef eigi verður eigandi at it iii.a sumar, þá eignaz hann féit (cf. Grág, i, b, 185-6). And according to Jónsbók (274), ef maðr finnr fjárhlut manns ok hefir eigandi glatat, þá skal hann lýsa fyrir mönnum, en lýst skal samdægris... The Fló-author would seem to be thinking more of the law of Grágás 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 Sigfússon, 'TgF', 445 and footnote; Þórhallur 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' 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 Islb, ch. 6:

Eiríkr inn rauði...tók at byggva [Grænland] xiiii. vetrum eða xv. fyrr en kristni kæmi hér á Island. Nor can the

present editor agree with Björn Sigfússon'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 vârs trausts ok fulltings ok ertu sem þeir er oss vilja þyngst...' 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 islandsk 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: Islb, ch. 7;

Theodricus, ch. 12; Oddr, Oláfs, 126 ff.; Nj, 255 ff.;

Krist; Ol mest.

32/4-5. tók Þorgils í fyrra 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 prædicare verbum Dei,

Qui cum illuc venisset, coepit illis prædicare Christum  
...Inter illos tamen, qui jugum Christi susceperunt, fuer-  
unt isti præcipui: Haller de Sithu cum tota familia sua et  
Gitzor de Scalaholte...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 Þorgils Þórðarson of Ldn and Fló. In  
favour is the sameness of name and the fact that, although  
Þorgils 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 Þorgils'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 hist-  
orical tradition; here we note that the Fló-author does not  
mention Þangbrandr in connection with his hero's conversion  
and that his representation of Þorgils as an early Christian  
convert seems to be largely stereotyped. (see Introduction,  
pages \*291 ff.). And there is much to recommend the con-  
jecture that Þóroddr goði (see Note to 33/17) was intended  
here (see Mon, 20 footnote 9; J.J., Saga, i, 156 f.). Þór-  
oddr was not only the most prominent man in Ólfus at the  
end of the tenth century (cf. Eg, ch. 77, where he is ref-  
erred to as Þóroddr 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, Þorgils, and

Theodricus has at least its first element. Þóroddr might easily have come into contact with Þangbrandr 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 Þóroddr in this connection. In Krist, ch. 12, we are told how, during the deliberations at the Alþingi in 999 (or 1000), it was reported that a volcanic eruption threatened Þóroddr's farm in Ölfus. 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 Þóroddr 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 Þorgils var nefndur, og hann man líka að Ölfus var nefnt. Og svo gerir hann einn mann úr tveimur (Þorgils) og lætur hann vera úr Ölfusi. Þessir höfðingjar Arnesinga voru allir nátengdir. Gizur og Þorgils voru tengdasynir Þórodds goða. [Note: Þó verður ekkert fullyrt um það, að Gizur hafi fengið Þórdísar Þóroddsdóttur fyrir 1000.] Sýnist ekki ólíklegt, að þessir nánú venzlamenn hafi borið sig saman, áður en nokkur þeira tók svo mikilvægt skref og afdrifaríkt goðorðsmanni að hafna landstrúnni, sem margar athafnir goðorðsmanna voru mjög tengdar við. En trúskiptin voru áhættuminni, ef allir löggoðarnir í sama þingi hurfu

þar að einu ráði. Það virðist því alllíklegt, að allir löggoðarnir í Arnspingi 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', Þorgils/Þóroddr/Þorgils and Þóroddr, 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, Oláfs (see IF, xxvi, xv). [Later note: cf. most recently on this problem: Jón Aðalsteinsson, Kristnitakan á Íslandi, 1971, 64]

32/5. Þórr: on Þórr, 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 ór við e-n 'to behave badly towards someone'; cf. Mks, 354: Oc litlo sibar com Ivar vt oc fra þetta. oc þotti Þorfiðr illa hafa or haft við sic.

32/7-9. valit mér þat er þú áttir verst til en kastat silfri því 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 Þórr presumably refers to is some act of hostility by Þorgils towards his old religion. Like Hákon jarl in Færeyinga Saga (ed. Olafur 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 Oláfr Tryggvason burns Porgerðr Hólgabrúðr, with, it seems, her gold and silver in F1b, i, 454. In connection with the tjórn, 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. tóðugóltr, 'boar fed in the home-field', would have been an animal specially fattened for slaughter (cf. túngóltr in Eyrb, 53; VG1, 29; Æv, i, 277). Unlike other swine, túnsvín 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'.

33/2-3. Hon kvað vanbreytt um: vanbreytt could formally be either (i) van + breytt, or (ii) vand + breytt with loss of d 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 þat. 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 lákt 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 Þorgils: B and J have goðorði Þorgils 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 MP (cf. pages

\*30 ff. and Note to Introduction 64). Again, we are nowhere told that Hæringr returned the goðorð to Þorgils when the latter returned from Greenland (cf. however Note to 13/19); we are, however, told that Þorgils [tók] við búi sínu ok öðrum fjárhlutum (52/3-4; cf. also 51/16).

Finally, ~~the~~ the word höfuðgóz 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.

Þórný is known only from F16. 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 Þórarinn Jósteinsson is first mentioned in the X-version at 35/15-6 (cf. M-version, 70/16-7), we confuse him with Þórarinn bryti, Þorgils's foreman, who has been mentioned at 33/10.

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

Þórólfr hét maðr er Þorgils fekk bú í hendr: PM (67/19) has ómagabú. One must agree with Björn Sigfússon ('TgF', 432) and Þórhallur Vilmundarson that PM's reading

is probably that of \*F and that what is referred to here is a farm or estate given to Þórólfr 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, Þórhallur and Nijhoff (Beschouwing, 63-5) must be right in thinking that the Þórólfr mentioned here was originally intended to be the same Þórólfr 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 álnar) 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 lógeyrir or, as in the X-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 várþing (i.e. þinglagsaurar) and were valid inside the appropriate þingsóknir. Thus, by about 1200 (see DI, i, 316; cf. Saga, 1960-2, 87), a þriggja álna eyrir had been accepted for Arnessþingsókn: Þat er fjárlag í Arnessþingsókn at þriú hundruð álna vaðmála skulu ganga fyrir hundruð þinglagsaura.

In the Íslendingasögur, amounts are usually expressed in terms of the sex álna eyrir; in Sturl, on the other hand, the þriggja 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: Mórents vaðmáls v. fyrir eyri; Jónsbók, 214; Reykð, 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 Arnessþingsókn 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. hundruða 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-version's reading is more original; cf. however Note to 33/6.

33/17. Póroddr is known from a number of Icelandic sources (see Dopnamn, s.v. Poroddr 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 löggoðorð in Arnessþing 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, Póroddr was related to Pórmóðr skapti (Ldn, Fló and Nj, 141), while in Ldn his father Eyvindr is said to be the son of Pórgrímr, the son of Grímólfr and Kornlǫð (Kornlǫð), 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 Arnesb, 218 ff.

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

33/22. xl. hundraða (cf. Textual Note): the M-version has xl<sup>c</sup>. iii [álna] aura. 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 Þórný'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. Þorgilsi 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: Þórr 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 Volksgeloof, 1936, 60; KL, s.v. Djævel. Folkl.). According to medieval physiognomical notions, a man with a red beard was not to be trusted; cf. Fms, xi, 428: þat er mitt ráð, at þú trúir aldrei lágum manni ok rauðskeggjuðum.

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 þeir 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'.

34/10. Far á burt, inn leiði fjandi! (M-version: Far þú burt, inn leiði fjándi): cf. HMS, i, 76: Far brvtt, andzskoti; Post, 747: Flyðu, fiandi (cf. 760); Stjórn, ed. C. Unger, 1862, 146: far i brott andskoti. Cf. Introduction, pages \*295 f.

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 þeir skyldi heita á Þór: Þórr, 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 Þórr (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 mis-  
smíði (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 Orig (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 awaken-  
ing from his dream. This is surely more reasonable.

35/8. kálfr, er hann gaf honum: the Sagas mention other in-  
stances 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 pract-  
ices 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. Þá blótar hann heiðnar vættir, ef hann  
signir fé sitt óðrum en Guði eða helgum mönnum 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',

Fornvönnen, 1913, 236-43; Rel, paragraph 260).

35/17-8. þeir brutu skipit...við sandmól: 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. bátr: 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 þverbili: 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; Híbýlahættir, 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/lítit um sik, 'to make a <sup>lot</sup>/little noise'.

36/3. náttleikar: 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 þeir vököu út á Eyrum þessa sömu nótt ok hófðu þar 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. Þorgils hafði útróðrarmenn með brælum Jósteins:  
the M-version's reading (71/15-6) is probably the more original.

36/9-10. Óp mikit í útnorðr: útnorðr, '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 i nord som varslet om en dødelig farsott'; he compares the nágauk, presumably of Norwegian folklore, 'som galer 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. njóll, 'fresh powdered snow' (Cleasby-Vigfusson)  
The M-version's mól, 'sand, gravel', is probably the better reading (cf. however Orig, ii, 647 line 4).

36/19-20. ok bað þá við sjá slíkum fádæmum, 'and told them to beware of such terrible things'. At sjá við e-u, 'to guard against something, to beware of something'.

36/24. gói: the penultimate month of winter lasting from mid-February (8th-15th) to mid-March (10th-16th); see KL, s.v.

37/4. ok gróf Þorgils 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.

at eiga e-t fyrir höndum, 'to have something in store'.

37/13. Þorgils kvaz eigi yfir bat sjá, 'Þorgils 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 ór úbyggðum)'. Cf. Rómverja Saga, ed. R. Meissner, 1910, 101: ek sé nú æigi yfir, að vér megim háskalaust koma í Galliam.

37/22. bolóxi: the narrow-bladed bolóx 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. nón, 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. Nón; B. Ejder, Dagens tider och måltider, 1969, 31 ff. and 108 ff.).

37/23-4. gerði þá 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 befinder sig, hvad der er forhaanden' (Fritzner, s.v. efni, 5). Cf. Gísl, 44: Gíslí kom þá inn ok sá, 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 Orig (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 Eskimos and the coracles and curachs of the Welsh and Irish (the word keipull (Íslb, 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 drukknaði maðr í Hvítá...at völtum skinnbát.' At 40/20, the húðkeipr is referred to as a skip; cf. Rómverja Saga, R. Meissner, 1910, 110: síðan lét Julius giora húðskip, en hann lét hauggva upp alldingarða ...ok hafði það 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. VG1, 48 and Note to 70/26) although it can have a less specific sense of 'jetsam'.

38/17. tróllkonur tvær: whether there were Eskimos 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 Meddelelser 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 færæz 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 Eir'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 (possibly 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 actions 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 föstudag (HMS, ii, 21). Cf. however Note to 79/18-9 for a different interpretation of the passage.

39/1. svartbaksegg, 'eggs of the Great Black-back Gull (Larus marinus)'. These are often consumed (see KL, s.v. Másfáglar). The birds lay their eggs sometime in May (cf. 38/26-39/1) and they are usually hatched in June (see GhM, ii, 207).

39/5. at brýna upp, 'to beach'.

39/8-19. The story of how Þorgils 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, Þorgils 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 Jóms, 36, where Hákon jarl sacrifices his seven year old son to Þorgerðr Hólgabrúðr. And we may note that there is special evidence for human sacrifices, particularly of sons and daughters, to the god Þórr (see Myth, 96 ff.; cf. also Ol mest, ii, 114, where Þórr is said to have eaten his own sons).

39/20 ff. Þorgils'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, Þorkell dreams that his beard is so large that 'it spread out over the whole of Breiðifjörðr'. Guðrún, his wife, takes this as meaning that he will 'dip his beard into Breiðifjörðr' (drepi skeggi í Breiðafjörð niðr). At drepa skeggi niðr is an expression for 'to drown'. In Þorsteins Saga Síðu-Hallssonar (IF, xi, 311 f.), Þórhaddr says he dreams '...at mér þótti tungan svá löng í mér, at ek þóttumk krækja henni aptr í hnakkan ok fram í munninn þörum megin.' Steinn interprets this as meaning: '...at þér mun tungan um höfuð vefjask í helzta lagi'; e-m tungan um höfuð vefð 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 erkibyskup 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'

(see Þjóðhættir, 416). Þorleifr'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 prophetic dreams is, as noted, a 'metaphor' dream. In their concrete senses, the expressions at toga hǫnk, 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 (hǫnk) and pulled. The winner was the one who pulled the hǫnk 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 distrahendus exhiberi solebat, fortiori tribuens palmam; quem collectantium 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.; Uddanelse, 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 Orðtök, 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 þér þat betr ganga (M-version: mun þat 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 Ásgrímur and Þorgils is hardly the success from Þorgils'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 þat 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 þat bó vel dragaz: Fritzner (s.v. draga, 7) glosses dragaz here as 'jevne sig, bedres'. He gives no parallel examples.

40/6. hjálmklaukar (M-version: hálmklaukar): Þórhallur Vilmondarson comments as follows: 'Óvíst er, við hvaða jurtt hér er átt. Ornólfr<sup>u</sup> Thorlacius hefur látið sér detta í hug, að hjálmklaukr 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 (*umbelliferæ*), í sunnanverðu 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 hjálmlaukr nor hálmlaukr corresponds to either of the Old English forms. (The geirlaukr = garlic equation is a misanalogy; 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 höfuð 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. kvísluðuz þar 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, Calamogrostis 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 gullhjálmgras, engjahjálmgras and garðahjálmgras for various species of Labiatae which grow in Iceland are almost certainly to be regarded as recent nýyrði. [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:

Mogur er sa hin nítíande  
er elzt fyrer modurkníam  
ok er j fota skíole fæddur.

uígnyrum sínum  
ef verðr uilíugr gamall  
kockar hann í ennett vpp  
eístum sínum  
kastar hann ä alla uega  
ok getur af því born ok bvru.]

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 Homiliu-bók, 156: hefir þaðan kvíslaz síðan allt mannkyn. Note also kynkvísl, '(branch of a) family'.

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

40/11-2. inn fagri laukinn: Þorleifr'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 \*ættarlaukr or a phrase \*laukr í ætt; 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. ættarlaukr). 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 Ordbog, 1918, s.v. lauk); and the Scandinavian loan-word in English (dialect), lowk, 'sharp fellow' (see J. de Vries, Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, 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 Niðaróss. During his period of office, he contested the right of church ownership 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, Ragnheiðr, 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 Alþingi 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). According to the genealogy at the end of the saga and to Byskupa Áttir (12), Þorlákr's father was the son of Eyvör, 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 af which can mean both 'to be off' and 'to be past' and harðr which, as in English, has both concrete and figurative senses. In the concrete sense, the words mun af it harðasta af kostum 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: Þá er þegar 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 Ujævnhed el. Stribe, 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 sjaldan er ein bára stök and begar ein báran rís, er önnur vís 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 Úr fórum Jóns Arnasonar, i, 1950, 192): en hann ætlar nú hann muni lifa nokkur ár enn, fyrst hann dró yfir þessa báru. It is possible that this dream was suggested to the Fló-author by a dream in Sturl, i, 106.

40/21. at brjótað um, 'to flounder about'.

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

40/22-3. leggr björn með 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 'Tilveiebringelser af Fødemidler'.

41/2-3. fyrir framan margar vikr, 'past <sup>m</sup> 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 < \*systrgin; 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 skyllði skænka upp morg full með bema hætte sem nu ero minni. oc æignaðu þau full hinum rikastum frendum sinum. eða Þórr eða aðrum guðum sinum þa er hæiðni var; Oddr, Oláfs, 94: Þat hefir hverit siðr íbessu landi at geva Þor eða Óðni eða aðrum asum minni at ueizlum). 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 Pú, it argasta dýr...: Þórr, albeit Þórr 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 homiliebok, ed. G. Indrebø, 1931, 157: inn argi djófull.

41/14. at drekka sinn þarfagang: an Old Testament humiliation; cf. Stjórn, ed. C. Unger, 1862, 642 (= II Kings, chapter 18, verse 27): at hverr sem einn eti sinn savr oc dræki<sup>(c)</sup> sinn þarfagang.

41/15. áikuungi: an álka is a razorbill (Alca torda).

41/18. í norðrætt: 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. Þjóðs. 491 f.). See further Handwörterbuch, s.v. Himmelsrichtungen.

41/19-20. ok taki nú allar gramir við honum: a common type of imprecation. Cf. IF, x, 258: Gramir munu taka þik; IF, x, 259: Hafi þik allan troll; F1b, ii, 7: gramer æigi spa hennar; Brot, verse 11 (Edda, 199): gramir hafi Gunnar; Hárbarðsljóð, verse 60 (Edda, 87): see Appendix III; Helgakviða Hundingsbana in fyrri, verse 44 (Edda, 137): deili gröm við þic!; Hallfreðar Saga, ed. Bjarni Einarsson, 1953, 57: líkniz gravm við Grimni; Völs, 95: mik take harr galge ok aller gramer, ef ek lyg nakvat ord. For further examples, see Appendix III and K. Weinhold, 'Die altdeutschen Verwünschungsformeln', Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1895, 667-703.

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 allír in square brackets in the margin. And although manuscripts with allir are in the majority here, it seems probable that \*y 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 (i, 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 (Helgakviða Hundingsbana in fyrri, Hallfreðar Saga; see above), we find the neuter form grǫm. 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 Vǫls, 95 (see above), in a text of Hárbarðsljóð (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 grana must presumably be the genitive plural of a noun. (b) The noun vætrr, '(evil) spirit', which was originally feminine, developed masculine and neuter forms in Icelandic and Norwegian (see Gamal norsk homilie-bok, ed. G. Indrebø, 1931, 94 line 1; Blöndal, s.v. vættur; O. Beito, Genusskifte i nymorsk, 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. δαίμόνια 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 þo skohsla (neuter) bedun

ina gíbandans (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 ec íþ tíunda, / ef ec sé túnriðor / leica lopti á: / ec svá vinnc, / at þeir villir fara / sinna heim hama, / sinna heim huga. And a feature of ergi-seiðr was tran<sup>(s)</sup>vestism: as Þórr justifiably argues in Prymskviða, verse 17 (Edda, 113): 'Mic muno 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 / í iotun-heima' (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 faraldi: 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 faraldi 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), þá spurði byskup, hverju faraldi hann hefði komiz 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 við e-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. þæ: 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, 'Landa-fundurinn árið 1285', Saga, 1964, 53 ff.

42/10. lita: 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 litt.

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: Eiríksfjórðr (now called Tunugdliarfik) (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'.

42/26-7. Apþr við lyptingu sat maðr í rauðum kyrtli: the description of Þorsteinn here is reminiscent of that of Ólmóðr inn gamli at 4/25-6. (cf. Beschouwing, 120).

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. sagði Þórnýju, dóttur hans, vera gipta Bjarna í Gróf Þorsteinssyni rauða landnámamanns: Bjarni spaki is also known from Ldn, Islb and Grett (ch. 6). In Ldn, he is said to be the son of Þorsteinn goði, the son of Þórvé

(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 goði (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 Þorsteinssyni and rauða (we note that Þorsteinn numbered Þorsteinn rauðnefr and Hrólfr 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 Þórný 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 lǫgsǫgumaðr; further on his family, see Arnesb, 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 (Gróf) in Villingaholtshreppr (as assumed by Kálund in HTB, i, 183); cf. 58/16 and Note.

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

43/15-7. Þorgilsi er skipat gagnvart Eiríki ok þar utar frá sat Þorleifr, þá Kolr, þá Starkarðr: Þorgils has, of course, the place of highest honour for a guest, i.e. ǫndvegi it óæðra (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 Þorgils hugði (43/19-20): they are on the óæðri bekk, 'the lower bench', '...þar er mættaz brælar ok frelsingar' (Orvar-Odds Saga, ed. R. Boer, 1888, 144); and by being utar frá [Þorgilsi], they are sitting on that side of the ǫndvegi where people of lower rank were usually placed (see Privatboligen, loc. cit.). Cf. Eg, 224.

43/18-9. at venja af brjósti, '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 Eystribyggð 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: Kom hvítbjörn mikill af hafísum norðr 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. Brattahlid).

44/5-6. Dýrit hafði leikit við sveininn: cf. Islensk fornkvæði, ed. S. Grundtvig and Jón Sigurðsson, 1858, 182:

Mig hefir dreynt þann draum í nátt

að mèt þóttu hvítabirnir

leika við mig báðir.

. . .

Annarr tók mig sèr í fáng,

kreisti mig og krandi;

annarr sló mèt högg á bak

fast með sínum hrammi

44/9. ok þótti stór heill til hans horfit 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 þessa verks: e-m finnz til e-s, 'someone is pleased with something'.

44/11-2. Eiríkr hefði haft á því fornan átrúnað, 'Eiríkr had had pagan belief<sup>in it/</sup> (i.e. the bear)'. The text of the X-version 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 meaning 'the brown one'; cf. the normal Indo-European word reflected 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 Olafur Briem, Heiðinn siður á Islandi, 1945, 129.

44/13. The náðahús (N: 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 Þorsteins Þáttur skelks (F1b, i, 463 f.), a heimilishús is mentioned so large that it could hold twenty-two men. Amongst the medieval ruins excavated at Stöng in Þjórsárdalur, 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 kammarauga in F1b, iv, 357). A wooden bar (cf. the náðustré<sup>(a)</sup> of F1b, iv, 349) would have been fixed above the gutters to act as a seat. See Aa. Rousell's article 'Stöng' in Forntíða gárdar í Island, ed. M. Steenberger, 1943, 89 f.; KL, s.v. Hemmelighed. No such latrine has been excavated at Brattahlíð (cf. Brattahlíð);

44/13-4. Brattahlíð: Eiríkr's farm lay on the western side

of the western branch of the inner part of Eiríksfjallur (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 Bratt-  
hlid.

44/14-5. fram í húsinu, '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 Forntíða gardar í Island, ed. M. Støenberger, 1943, fig. 37).

44/16. mannjófnuðr: on mannjófnuðr in reality, see KL, s.v. Manngjevning and the references cited there. That insults of the type Hallr offers Þorgils (see following Note) could also be a part of mannjófnuðr 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 effem- inacy or homosexuality (ergi). In Nj, ch. 123, Flosi ins- ults Njáll to Skarpheðinn's face with similar words: '... því at margir vitu eigi, er <sup>(hann)</sup> 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 Svínfells-áss. Slanders of this latter type were regarded as particularly degrading and were expressly forbidden in the Gulapíng Law: Engi skal gera yki um annan. æða fiolmæle. þat heiter yki ef maðr mælir um annan þat er eigi ma væra. ne verða oc eigi hever verit. kveðr hann væra kono niundu nott hveria. oc hever barn boret. oc kallar gylvin. þa er hann utlagr. ef hann verðr at því 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 í, 'to intervene'.

44/27. Þykkir eigi auðsóttligt at fara at þeim: 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 GhM, ii, 131, the sentence is translated 'man indsæe/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: fækkaz með e-m (plur.), 'relations between people grow cold'.

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

45/7-8. í eyjum nokkurum í Eiríksfirði (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 'Grænland 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 i [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 it is probably better to assume that the islands referred <sup>to</sup> 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 dræper giwi hanum bonde hwar i fiarbunge þem ær. en swenskan penn- ing (Södermanna-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. Þorgils 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 færa fram sýknu(r) e-s seems to have been the act of petitioning the Lógrétta to grant a sýknuleyfi. See further Lúðvík Ingvarsson, Refs- ingar á Íslandi, 1970, 121-32, and Note to 65/7.

45/19. Vestribyggð: in GhM, Fornsögur and Fló, 1932, this word is spelt with a small letter, possibly because the editors are in doubt whether the area normally called Vest- ribyggð (Western Settlement) and normally spelt with a capital letter is meant here: the distance by sea between Eiríksfjörðr and the Western Settlement was about or over

300 miles, but the islands in Eiríksfjórðr 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 Dýrnes, where there are a number of islands which could possibly (although not probably; see Note to 45/7-8) be described as being í Eiríksfirði. 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, ina 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 þókk e-s, 'to be thankful to somebody for something'; cf. Eg, ch. 68: Egill segir, at hann kynni þess mikla þókk ok áufúsu...

46/16. An inn heimski: the name <sup>(An)</sup> 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 trúðr, 'jester', more by way of personal characteristics than occupation (cf. IF, 143 footnote 2).

46/19-20. matsveina á landi...hófðu graut í kótlum:

matsveinar or matgerðarmenn, 'naval cooks', are known from the Sagas (e.g. Ragn, 105 f.; Porstvík, 231) and the old Norwegian laws. While they may have been an anachronism for the tenth century (see Eyrb, 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. Eyrb<sup>l, 105</sup>). This they did in large cauldrons (katlar). See See, 7 f.

46/25. at færa e-n í reikuð, 'to push someone around'.

47/1. Undarliga bregðr...við: an impersonal construction: 'something strange is happening, about to happen'; cf. Fritzner, i, 182, column 1.

. Stakanhófði: 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 <sup>hier!</sup>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 höfub 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 Schiffes also etwa 'mit hoch erhobenem Haupt'? Freilich sind mit dieser Annahme noch nicht alle Schwierigkeiten gelöst, man würde etwa erwarten \*Stagahöfbi oder \*Staghöfbi. Pórhallur Vilmundarson thinks that Stakan- could be the present participle of staka and for the absence of d compares the forms slóngvan(d)baugi and Vellan(d)katla. It should be noted, however, that while there is often loss of d in triple consonant groups, neither Noreen (Altisl, 212 f.) nor Alexander Jóhannesson (Íslensk 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 Flb (i, 481) as the nickname of a certain Þorgeirr who is described as one of the stafnasmiðir ok höfuðsmiðir of Ormrinn langi. Þorgeirr also appears in later Icelandic folk-tales (see Þjóðs, 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, Höfðabúza) referring to dragon-head prows (cf.

hófðaskip, '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. If he wrote Stakar-hófði, 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. 'stød-hoved', til stak- i staka. Mulig sammentrasket for stak-aðar (jfr. bautaðar: bautar og lign.).' More intelligibly Lind (Binamn, s.v.) suggests: 'Förleden gen. av ett fem. \*støk 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 Hødnebo. Hødnebo writes as follows: 'Vi vet lite om hvilken rolle de nord. hedenske guder har spilt i navngivning<sup>(e)</sup> 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 mannshode i stevnen på et av sine skip, båten ble derfor kalt Karlshøfði. Ellers kjennes skip med valkyrjenavn: Oskmærin og Skjaldmærin. 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 lægi and Þorgils 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 austan here, i.e. we would imagine Hrólfr 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 Eystribyggð? After all, the Vestribyggð is almost due north of the Eystribyggð; 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. Gíparr: 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 gípr appears twice in Old Norse, and in Valla-Ljóts Saga (see IF, ix, 239 and footnote 2) is used of a man who, like Gíparr 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. Yngildir: previous editors (Fornsögur, 152; F1ó, 1932, 58) spell the girl's name Ynghildir 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 Yngilldi in DI, i, 371) and the second element is definitely derived from -vildir and not -hildir. Since, therefore, gh is not used in this edition for g, the manuscript form is normalized (not emended; cf. IF, ix, 216 footnote) to Yngildir.

50/5. til fjár, 'for gain'.

50/11-2. Hann var þá 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: Þá var ekki dæluaustr á hafskipum; kolluðu menn þat byttuaustr eða stampaustr. Hann var bæði vássamr ok erfiðr; skyldi þar hafa byttur tvær; fór þá önnur niðr, er önnur fór upp. Sveinar báðu, at Grettir skyldi sökva byttunum. In Fóstbr, ch. 20, the buckets are simply handed from one man to the other: Nú var Þormóðr niðri í kili ok sökkði byttunum, en Gestr tók við á þiljanum ok bar út fyrir borð. Þormóðr var ekki sterkr maðr ok seldi opt ekki langt upp byttunar. See further on bailing See, 6 f.

50/13. Þá kom áfall it níunda ok var þar 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. Þjóðs, i, 657; Blöndal, s.v. ólag.

50/15-6. sú bylgja...at ekki þarf at ausa: the use of at as a relative pronoun <sup>(s/)</sup> answering 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 stöpla recorded in the dictionaries. Otherwise only the middle form stöplaz is attested and then usually in the sense 'to spill over' (e.g. Vígl, ch. 5: ok þá er Þorgrímr þar eitt stórt drykkjuker fyrir Grím, þá stöplaðist út af kerinu, því at Þorgrímr drap við fæti).

The active form stópla (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 yfirstóplun, 'infringement'. - Stórum, 'greatly, hugely' (but note also in this context stórr sjór, 'heavy sea').

50/21. Hjörleifshöfði is a hill just to the north of Kötlu-tangi 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 Ölfus on the right bank of the Ölfusá (see Map 3) and traditions exist which suggest that ocean-going ships once harboured there (see Arnesb, 331 f.). On the other hand, the name Arnarbælisóss is also found in Nj, ch. 28, and the context makes it unlikely that a harbour as far west as the Ölfusá 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, Yztabæli) (see Kort, 59; Ólafur Lárusson, Byggð og saga, 1944, 141-2); although there is no large outlet (óss) here now, there probably was in former times (see LM, 1951, 105-6; Nj, 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 Hjórlleifshófdi (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 Ölfus 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 vaðmál 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. beit þetta ráð, 'this plan worked' (Fritzner, i, 142, column 1: 'dette Paafund lykkedes'). A figurative use of bíta in its sense 'to bite, cut, have effect (of a weapon)'.

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

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

51/18. Þorleifr: Orig (ii, 662) suggests that Þorsteinn should be read here rather than Þorleifr. 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,

'someones takes objection to, finds fault with something'.

52/6. til Arnessbinga: Arnessping was one of the three local assemblies of the Sunnlendingafjórðungr. At first sight, its name would seem to suggest that its meetings were held on what is now the island of Arnes in the river Þjórsá (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. Arnes 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 Þjórsá, 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, 'Arnesspingstaður og goðorð milli Þjórsár og Hvítár', Saga, 1958, 383-97. The autumn meeting of this bing is mentioned in Band, ch. 10.

52/8. til búðar: remains of búðir ('sheds') for temporary use at assemblies (þing) 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 sjálfrátt at láta binn hlut fyrir neinum manni: e-m er sjálfrátt 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 Áttir, 12. In both these places, she is said to be the daughter of Þóroddr goði, and in the first, the mother of Grímr glómmuðr. There can be little doubt that Jón Jóhannesson (Gerðir, 52) is right in assuming that her mention in LdnHkb is an addition to his normal exemplars by Haukr himself (cf. LdnMlb, 260/8-9). And although we have no other record of Helga's marriage to Þorgils, LdnHkb, Byskupa Áttir and various other sources tell us that Þorgils was the father of Grímr glómmuðr (see Notes to 61/14-9 and 61/20-3).

53/17-9. móðir...spaka: cf. Introduction, \*199, and Grett, 15: Dætr Þormóðar vǫru bær Þórvor, móðir Þórodds goða á Hjalla, ok Þórvé (emendation; see Note to 53/18), móðir Þorsteins goða, föður Bjarna ins spaka.

53/18. Þormóðr skapti was the son of Óláfr breiðr, the son of Ólvir barnakarl. According to Ldn, he was given the eastern part of Gnúpverjahreppr by his relation, Þorbjörn laxakarl. His wife was Helga, the daughter of Þrándr mjóksiglandi who lived at Þrándarholt (see 59/16-7). Cf. Grett, 7-25, and Arnesb, 85 ff.

Þórey is called Þórvé in LdnStb (227/12) and LdnHkb (119/21) while the manuscripts of Grettis Saga have a number of names for her including Þóra and Þórvör (see Grett, 15, footnote 5). LdnPðb, 23/20, has Þorney (Þorveig);

Porney seems to come from LdnMlb and is presumably a spelling or mistake for Pórný, or possibly a mistake for Pórey (cf. Ldn, 1968, 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...Þorgilsi: this passage certainly suggests that Þorgils 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 Þóroddsson 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 lǫgsögumaðr 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 fimmtardómr ('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 lǫg-

(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 Hrærekr 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 ONOI, 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 Íslb, 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, Arnesb, 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. Flóagaf1: see HTB, i, 182 and Map 1. On the element gaf1, 'projecting part of an island, peninsular', see Fritzn-  
ner, s.v. gaf1, 2.

54/4. Kallaðarnes (now Kaldaðarnes) was on the left bank of the Ólfusá to the north of Flóagaf1 (see HTB, i, 182; Arbók, 1927, 49; Map 3). The name means literally 'calling-  
ness, ness from which one calls' (the nouns \*kallaðr, \*kóll-

uðr, masc., are known only from place-names of this type (cf. Fritzner, s.v. kallaðarberg, kallaðarland, kallaðar-nes; M. Olsen, Edda- og skaldekvad 1, 1960, 1 f.)) and suggests that in the earliest times there was a ferry over the Ólfus 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 Þjórsá og Ólfusá', 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, Gótuskeggjar) and must originally have been pejorative. The compound hraunskeggi is not found elsewhere but such forms as hraun-búi, -drengr, -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 GhM (ii, 217; cf. Orig's 'lava-dweller' and Niedner's 'Lavabärtling'). The reference is presumably to Þorgils's sojourn in the wastes of Greenland.

54/10. óhræddum 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. Reykð (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 hrína við e-h, probably 'to squawk at someone'. Fritzner translates hrína (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 glómmuðr 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 Lyg, 49 f., is derived from glamr, 'noise' and presumably means 'noisy person'. (It does not appear as a common noun.) Cf. Binamn, s.v. Glömmuðr.

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

56/4-5. Þat kemr til þess at..., 'The reason for that is ...'; cf. Fritzner, ii, 320, column 2.

56/11-2. Hann átti tvá sonu ok hét hvárrtveggi Þórhallr: cf. Nj, ch. 26: Asgrímr átti tvá sonu, ok hét hvárrtveggi Þórhallr. One of these Þórhallrs 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 Lyg, 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 Asgrímr

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 Þórhalla.

56/13. Guðvör (see Textual Note) hét dóttir Bjarna í Gróf: 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 Þórný and her stepdaughter Gunnvör (so \*y) (see, however, Introduction, page \*439), LdnX (140/10-1) told of a mother Gunnvör and her daughter Þórný (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 Óláfr 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. Hv 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, Þórdís, a woman from the Scottish Isles, married a daughter of Skapi <sup>(t)</sup> Þóroddsson. Finally, as we are told in Fló, he married Þórdís Þóroddsdóttir, and other sources tell that she bore him many children,

including Isleifr, On Gizurr's nickname, see Note to 8/9.

Gizurr hvíti bjó þá í Hófða: in Krist (45), we are told that Gizurr enn hvíti bjó í Hófða, áðr hann gerði bæ 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. Arnesb, 129, 147; Nj, 119 footnote 2; 29/3 and Note.

56/15. Pórdís, dóttir Þórodds is otherwise known from LdnMlb, 260/8-9, and Hv, 90. In Bysk (ii, 3 and 81), Bishop Isleifr is called dóttursonr Þórodds goða. As noted, <sup>(Pórdís)</sup> 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 Alof, the daughter of Böðvarr hersir, Víkinga-Kárason.

Cf. Arnesb, 148.

56/17. hafnartollr: cf. 51/1 and Note.

56/26. váru menn kvaddir af Ásgrími til skipsdráttar: according to the code of law represented by Grágás (see Grág, i, b, 69-70), those summoned to skipsdráttir, '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 (húskarlar), with the exception of their shepherds. The penalty for absenting oneself was a three mark fine (útleigð). The amount of help expected was also legally stipulated: Nú koma menn til skipsdráttar, ok firra sik útleigð ef þeir taka á festum brysva af öllu afli, svá at stýrimenn eru tilbúnir. There is a similar clause concerning skipsdráttir in Jónsbók, 238-9; cf. also NGL, ii, 45, 208, 250-1.

57/4. litklæðum: 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. flæðarpyttir, 'pit, depression on the shore left full of water by the receding tide' cf. 57/1-2.

57/20. at Þorgils er þar nokkut við riðinn, 'that Þorgils has something to do with the matter'. At vera við riðinn, 'to be involved'.

57/22. er þessum ráðum ráðit: no other source tells if or whom the sons of Ásgrímr (see Note to 56/11-2) married; cf. Arnesb, 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 evil-doers 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 Þingvellir is named after him. The author of Fló may have had this story in mind here (cf. 58/21-2).

58/16. hjá Húsatóptum: Húsatóftir is still the name of a farm in Skeið (see Map 4). The fact that Þorgils 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 Kálund (HTB, i, 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). Kálund's conjecture in HTB (i, 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. Nú bykkir Þorgilsi Asgrímr sannr at fjórráðum við sik: sannr at fjórráðum 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 um mann drepráðum eða sárráðum eða banaráðum, ok varðar fjörbaugsgarð ef eigi kemr fram, en skóggang ef fram kemr. Hann skal kveðja heiman ix. heimilisbúa, þess er sótttr er, ef eigi koma ráð fram, en ef fram koma, þá skal kveðja vettvangsbúa ix. heiman.

59/3. í Eyna: since Asgrímr lived at Tunga (Bræðratunga) (see e.g. Nj, chapters 61 and 118) in Biskupstungur, it must be assumed that the island Tunguey (Bræðratunguey; see Kort, 47) at the confluence of the Hvítá and the Tungu-

fljótt 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 kvæddi níu búá: a búakviðr; cf. KL, s.v. Kviðr.

59/7-8. Var-at af vǫru, sleikti um þvǫru: the more exact sense of this saying is not entirely clear. Vǫru is probably best explained as neuter dative singular of the adjective varr, 'wary, cautious', and at vera af vǫru could mean 'to be careful, to be on one's guard'. (The present editor has not been able to find a dative vǫru of vǫrr, 'lip' to support the suggestion in GhM, ii, 219.) The word þvara 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.

þvǫru is spelt þauru in M, A and K; the spelling -au- for '-vǫ-' is found elsewhere in medieval Icelandic

manuscripts (see e.g. Vøls, 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 þetta, sæl systirin...því at þessu hefða ek eigi trúat, þó 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 summonsed Ásgrímr 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 <sup>(laud)</sup>!

with Asgrímr (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 Þrándarholt: cf. 65/10: ríðr Þorgils ...austr í herað. Í 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 fjórðungr. 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 Þjórsá was the boundary between two of Iceland's four heruð.) 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. fjórðungr) 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. Þrándarholt (mentioned also in Ldn) is a farm in Gnúpverjahreppur on the right bank of the Þjórsá opposite

Arnes (see Kort, 47).

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

59/25. hvárr af öðrum berr, 'who is better than who'.

At bera af e-m, 'to surpass, excel somebody'.

60/1. Helgi kvað 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 (frettr, 'fart') is also found in Ljós, 50, and in Íslendinga Sögur, 1847, 483.

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

60/8. glappaverk: Fritznér 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 skýtr yfir hús eða hafskip ok lýstr annan mann (NGL, i, 157, 167).

60/25-6. '...vil ek, Einarr, gefa þér 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 Gísli 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, ii, 572 footnote) and Þórhallur 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, ii, 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. Ok eptir þat tók Þorgils bóndi sótt...ok andaðiz síðan: the wording of the X-version here would certainly

seem to suggest that Þorgils 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. Þessu nærri andaðiz Þóroddr bóndi ok Bjarni bóndi inn spaki: the X-version would certainly seem to give the impression that Þorgils, Þóroddr 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 Bjarni en spaki...mundi Þoraren Logflogo man oc vi. abra sibann. If this is right, then Bjarni cannot have died before 1034, the

first year of Þorkell Tjórvason's term as lögsögumaðr.

(It is true that this argument depends on the numeral vi. of Jón Erlendsson's text of Íslb being what Ari originally intended and that numerals are often changed when manuscripts are copied. But even if Ari intended v., 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 Ragabróðir's term of office to 1004, Skapti's first year as law-speaker (cf. Íslb, 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 vísuhelmingr attributed by Snorri Sturluson to Skapti (SnE, 158) may have been composed on the occasion of the consecration of a church (cf. ONOI, i, 543):

Máttir er munkna dróttins

mestr; aflar Guð flestu.

Kristr skóp ríkr ok reisti

Rúms höll, veröld 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. Arnesb, 228.

at beiri kirkju...fyrir utan lækinn...í þann stað  
er nú stendr kirkjan: fyrir utan must here mean 'to the  
 west of' (cf. Notes to 7/10-1 and 11/21; Attatáknarnir, 185).  
 The present church at Hjalli is to the east of the brook.  
 On its history, see Arnesb, 228 f.

61/8-9. en síðan váru færð bein beira í þann stað er nú  
stendr kirkjan: according to the code of law represented by  
Grágás (Kristinna laga Þáttr), 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 þat má fyrir skriðum  
eða vatnagangi eða eldsgangi eða ofviðri eða heruð eyði at  
ór afdólum eða útströndum. Þat er rétt at færa kirkju ef  
beir atburðir verða. Þat er rétt at færa kirkju ef byskup  
lofar. Ef kirkja er upp tekin mánuði fyrir vetr eða lestiz  
hon svá at hon er ónýt, ok skulu lík ok bein færð á braut  
þaðan fyrir vetrnætr inar næstu. Til beirar kirkju skal  
færa lík<sup>(ok bein)</sup> sem byskup lofar grópt at. Þar er maðr vill bein  
færa, ok skal landeigandi kveðja til búa ix. 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 færa bein svá sem mælt er, eða fara  
menn eigi til, beir er kvaddir eru, ok verðr hverr beira  
sekr iii. mörkum, ok á landeigandi sók við þá er kvaddir  
eru, en sá við hann er vill. Stefna skal heiman sökum heim

ok kveðja v. búa á þingi þess er sótt er, enda skal dómr  
dæma á hendr þeim beinafærsla, at hafa fært til kirkju  
fjórtán nóttum eptir vápnatak (Grág, i, a, 12-3). 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. 86; Ol helga, 766 f.; Bi, 134; Eyrb, 183 f.; Grett,  
269 f. Jón Steffensen (Arbók, 1967, 71-8) has recently made  
a critical assessment of the literary and archaeological  
evidence for the practice in question. Among the provision-  
al 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  
Þáttur, i.e. older than 1122-33. (ii) Archaeological evid-  
ence from the time prior to and simultaneous with the period  
of validity of Kristinna laga Þáttur 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 concern-  
ed, the following may be remarked: (i) Even given the facts  
(a) that it seems rather unlikely that there was a law con-  
cerning 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-Styrr was buried at Hraun, but when the church there burnt, his bones were moved to Helgafell, 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, Eyrb 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.

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 Árnesb, 223 f. hon var at léreptum sínum, 'she was at her linen'.

61/13-4. boldi vel ok karlmannliga stórar mannaunir: cf. 15/6-7: stóz vel margar mannaunir er hann hlaut at bera. Cf. 'TgF', 443.

61/14-9. Börn...byskups: cf. Byskupa Áttir, 9-10: Atli hinn miofi var jarl i Noregi hann var fadir Hallsteins hans .s. var Atle .f. þodar fodvr Þorgils avrra beins .f. Grims gl<a>vmmvdar oc Einars fostra Knuz hins rika. Þorgils var oc .f. Jorunnar .M. Oddz [probably what the scribe intended; see Byskupa Áttir, 10 footnote] .f. Ions .f. Gizorar .f. Grima .f. Gudlaugar hana atte Þorsteinn Einars son þeira born vorv þav Iorundr byscup Torfi oc Valgerdr oc Ingunn sem fyrr sagde oc Sigvor .M. Sveins Arngeirs sonar. Eyuor het oc .d. Jorunnar .d. Þorgils avrrabeins hon var .M. Þorhallz .f. þorlak byscupshins helga. And Byskupa Áttir, 12: Þorlacr var .s. Þorhallz...Fodur M. Þorlaks var Eyuor Leifs .d. Erlings .s. Reynibiarnar .s. M. Eyuorar uar Jorunn .d. Þorgils aurrabeins stiups ok Helgu .d. Þoroz goda. Jorunne atte fyrr Gellir Runolfs .s. brodir Suertings i Dali.

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

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

Pórhallr: Ldn (1968, 364) and Byskupa Ættir (12) tell us that Pórhallr was the son of Þorlákr 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 bú. He also had a daughter Eyvör, sister of Þorlákr byskup.

hans, i.e. Pórhallr's

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

Jórunn is known only from Fló and Byskupa Ættir (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 Þórunn.

61/18. Oddr hét son beira: beira here would seem to refer to Þorgils and Helga, but according to Byskupa Ættir (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 Ættir (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, Grímr: Grímr is perhaps identical with the Grímr Gizurarson whom the Annals (Ann) tell us drowned in 1191. Otherwise father and son are unknown from sources other than Fló and Byskupa Ættir (Note to 61/14-9).

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

Jórundr 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 Árni Þorláksson, Bishop of Skálholt. Jórundr established religious houses at Móðruvellir (which he acquired after a quarrel with Lawman Sigurðr Guðmundsson) and Reynistaðr. See further Æviskrár, iii, 349 and the references cited there.

61/20-3. Sonr...Jóns: cf. Hrafns Saga Sveinbjarnarsonar, ed. A. Hasle, 1967, 6: Hallkatla var Einars.d(ötter) Grímssonar. Ingialldssonar. Gudmundar sonar Glammadar Þörgils sonar; Membrana Regia Deperdita, ed. A. Loth, 1960, 186 (Hrafns Saga Sveinbjarnarsonar): Hallkatla var Einarsdotter Grimss(onar) Ingiallz s(onar) Grimss(onar) glammadar Þorgilss(onar) eRubeins skups; Sturl, ii, 11-2: Þá bjó á Eyri Steinunn, dóttir Hrafns Sveinbjarnarsonar

...Móðir hennar var Hallkatla Einarsdóttir Grímssonar,  
Ingjaldssonar, Grímssonar glammaðar, Þorgilssonar erru-  
beinsstjúps...Herdís hét dóttir hennar in ellri; hon var  
gipt...Svarthöfða Dufgussyni; LdnHkb, 115/25-30: Atli var  
faðir Þórðar dofna, fǫður Þorgils \*orrabeins stivp(s)  
[from \* unnormalized] fǫður Ingjalds fǫður Gríms fǫður  
beira Barkar ok Einars fǫður Hallkótlu, er átti Hrafn  
Sveinbjarnarson; beira dætr Steinunn, móðir herra Hrafns,  
ok Herdís, móðir Ala, fǫður Steinunnar, er Haukr Erlends-  
son átti; LdnHkb, 123/16-8: Þórodds dóttir goða var Helga,  
móðir Gríms glómmuðs, fǫður Ingjalds, fǫður Gríms, fǫður  
Barkar, fǫður Ragnhildar, etc. On Þorgils' s descendants  
 from Grímr glómmuðr to Jón Hákonarson, see Sturl; Ann;  
Hrafns Saga Sveinbjarnarsonar; J. J., Saga, ii, 302-8;  
Um Kjaln, 94-8; Flb, i, vi ff.

Notes to M-version

64/12-3. Ok gott hefir þér orðit til fjár í framgöngunni:  
klæði rautt hefir þú 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 say-  
 ing: 'You're blushing' and that this is more original to  
 the text of Fló than the X-version's equivalent (cf. Intro-  
 duction, 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. <sup>And</sup> ~~Again~~ 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  
 Þorgils's teasing ok gott hefir þér 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  
 Lógrétta granting a sýknuleyfi. On the other hand, for a  
sýknuleyfi to be granted, the Lógrétta had to be unanimous.  
 Further, outside the Lógrétta, any bingheyjandi could, by  
 using his veto' (at verja lýriti; cf. Grág, iii, 641-3),

prevent a sýknuleyfi being granted (cf. Grág, i, a, 95-6:

Ef mǫnnum er sýknulofs beðit at Lǫgréttu, skógarmǫnnum eða fjórbaugsmǫnnum, ok á bat því at eins standaz ef allir Lǫgréttumenn leyfa, enda veri enginn maðr lýriti fyrir utan Lǫgréttu, svá at þeir menn heyri er í Lǫgréttu sitja).

Now the party who was most likely to prevent a sýknulof 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 sýknu e-m, this was presumably paid to the prosecutor as a 'bribe' to persuade him not to use his right of veto. Cf. Lúðvík 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 gefa honum (i.e. Asgrímr) ok fé til sýknu Kol.

65/8-9. er þó fátt um með þeim höfðingjum, '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 sann, 'in my opinion'. Þórhallur Vilmund-

arson, on the other hand, paraphrases: 'hafa ætlun sína (álit sitt) fyrir satt'.

66/4. hefir þú illa ór ráðit, 'you have found a bad solution, taken a bad course of action'; cf. Laxd, 125-6: Gizurr...ok Hjalti...fara...á fund Óláfs konungs. Konungr tekr þeim vel ok kvað þá 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. Nj, 10: ...ek segi þér lát Eyvindar, bróður þíns, en hann leiddi þik til arfs á Gulabingi, ok munu nú taka óvinir þínir, ef þú kemr eigi til.

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

68/1-2. Porgils segir Þóroddi 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 atla 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 slikum 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. guðníðingr is the word for 'apostate' (<sup>(cf.)</sup> HMS, i, 609), more specifically (as here) 'one who abandons his Christian faith and reverts to blót'.

69/20. hverr bú vart mér: the X-version (34/27) has hversu

trúr bú vart mér and in Orig (ii, 644), hverr is emended to hve trúrr. Hverr in the sense 'how, of what nature, of what disposition' is, however, well attested in Old Norse (see Fritzner, s.v. hverr 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 huerr 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 Magnússon (GhM, ii, 96) translates the phrase <sup>(in Fló)</sup> ~~er~~ som Thor kunde kjendes ved (som Eiendom)'. In discussing the origin of the Modern Icelandic idiom að hafa einhverja á sínum kanna, Halldór Halldórsson (Orðtök, 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 að hafa eitthvað á sinni könnu, although in this last instance Halldór Halldórsson offers an alternative explanation (see Orðtök, 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. Ejermærke). 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 var 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 Þórr could lay claim to, which Þórr could call his own'. [Later note: cf. now Halldór Halldórsson, Íslenzkt orðtakasafn, i, 1968, 306 f.]

70/10. Þórr vǫrr: cf. Hálfs, ch. 15: dísir várar.

70/18-9. síð 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 væntu þeir 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  
 quarter  
 was on the western ~~xxxxxxx~~ 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. 38/16 and Note and 75/2.

71/11. bá: an emendation to bó is probably advisable (so  
 in Orig (ii, 646) and Þórhallur Vilmundarson's text).

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

72/9. at láta sér annars víti at varnaði verða: a stereo-  
 typed alliterative phrase. Cf. Nj, ch. 13; IF, xi, 74;  
Barlaams ok Josaphats Saga, ed. R. Keyser and C. Unger,  
 1851, 51; Hugsvinnsmál, verse 98 (Sk, ii, 105); further,  
 the proverb gott er annars víti hafa at varnaði (Sólar-  
ljóð, verse 19 (Sk, i, 310)) which has Norwegian, Swedish  
 and Latin parallels (cf. Sólarljóð, 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 Þorgils hófðu skip á stokka sett ok mjókgert at ǫðru: 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 Vigfússon (Orig, ii, 647) suspect a corrupt text here. The latter suggests adding borði after ǫðru and translating: 'Thorgisland 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. dýrðligir is definitely the reading of P and it is peculiar that Fornsögur (175/27) has dýrligir and that Þórhallur Vilmundarson emends P's dýrðligir to dýrligir, especially when P has a tendency to drop medial consonants in <sup>at any rate</sup> groups (e.g. harnar for harðnar at 69/12). Although frequently attested, dýrðligir is found neither in Fritznor nor Cleasby-Vigfusson; E. Jonsson (Oldnordisk Ordbog, 1863, 99), L. Heggstad (Gamalnorsk ordbok, 1930, 109) and W. Baetke (Wörterbuch zur altnordischen Prosaliteratur, 1965, s.v. dýrðligir), on the other hand, all equate it

with dýrligr. It seems however necessary to assign different origins and, at any rate to begin with, different denotations to these two forms, the distinction<sup>v</sup> between which has become clouded by the loss of the ð between r and l (cf. harla for harðla and jarligr for jarðligr; see Altisl, 213). Dýrligr is the older form (cf. Clári Saga, ed. G. Cederskiöld, 1907, 10) and, unlike dýrðligr, is found in Old Norwegian. And in special glossaries in Æv (ii, 266) and Thómas Saga erkibyskups (ed. Eiríkr Magnússon, 1883, 328) where the two words are listed separately, a meaning 'kostbar' <sup>respectively</sup> 'costly, precious' is recorded for dýrligr but not for dýrðligr. This last fact certainly squares better with an original first element dýr for dýrligr rather than dýrð. Like other compounds of dýrð (cf. dýrðarstaðr, 'Paradise', Dýrðarkonungr, 'the King of Glory'), dýrðligr, 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 vér ærit vel þrælunum í þessu: some editions (Orig and Þórhallur Vilmundarson) prefer eigi to ærit (cf. Textual Note). Or could trúm (MS: truū) be a mistake for trúim (minim confusion?) and the sentence a continuation of the conditional clause beginning ef?

73/23-4. Þeir gengu til eyktar ok hófðu farit árla morguns. Ok er nón var dags, bá sneru þeir aptr: Grág (i, a,

26) defines eykt as a point of time as follows: er útsuðrs ætt er deild í þriðjunga ok hefir sólin gengna í hluti, en einn ógenginn, i.e. as a time corresponding to an azimuth of  $52^{\circ} 30'$  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  $22^{\circ} 30'$  W of S to  $67^{\circ} 30'$  W of S, i.e. between about 13.30 and 16.30. Taking eykt in Fló as referring to a point in time, er nó n 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 Jansson'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. Þá fór hon enn til bænna sinnar at nóni. [Later note: Since the above was written, B. Ejder's Dagens tider och måltider (1969) has been published. 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 tydligen 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-erkunde, 209 footnote) <sup>(wonders)</sup> whether the word refers to bed-clothes - he compares New Norwegian tjeld, '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 tólakistunni hǫfðu verit: in Fornsögur (176 footnote), it is suggested that there must be an omission between váru and sem (semicolon after nafrar); tól ǫll is proposed for what is missing (cf. Orig, ii, 650 footnote). But see however 74/26.

74/22. nafrar: a nafarr 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 smádyri íkorna: smádyr(i), 'small animals' (not 'young animals'). - Björn Sigfússon ('TgF', 448 footnote) reads í korna 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 Arnarnagnæanske Haandskrift 81a Fol., ed. A. Kjær and L. Holm-Olsen, 1910-47, 37: z cetera) (Pórhallur Vilmundarsson). Now P could well have a corrupt text here, particularly as \*M seems to have been difficult <sup>at this point</sup> 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 Icelandic was capable of confusing an íkorni with an einhyrningr, 'unicorn', may be seen from Æv, 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 Vínland. 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 mjök 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. Þórhallur Vilmundarson proposes a translation 'að bjarga megi sveininum'.

78/17-20. 'Þá er betr ok, Kolr, ' sagði hann, 'fyrir því ...eptir': hann clearly refers to Þorleifr 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), a conditional munda is preferred.

78/26. ok svífr nú ýmsu á mik: GhM (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 Þórðr at svífi yfir hann; var honum þá fylgt til hvílu sinnar; tók hann þá 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 normal 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 fólr, '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 hárene -pá sine steder ialfald - 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 <sup>yr</sup>Ólyggsstaðir 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 blóðug yrði. She then correctly predicts her husband's death. Commenting on this passage, Einar Ól. Sveinsson (Vatns, 111 footnote 2) writes: 'Sjálfsgagt er ... réttast að bæta ekki um draumráðningu Signýjar húsfreyju, en ef þessi draumur væri frá síðari tímum, mundi það að ríða rauðum (en þó einkum bleikum) hesti vel getað táknað feigð eitt sér, án þess þörf 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. fólr), who states that 'i folketroen betyder 'bleg, þ: gul, hest' (som man drömmar om) altid ens nærforestående død.' Here we remember that the dead Helgi rides a fólr jór in Helgagviða Hundingsbana 9nnur (Edda, 160) and that fólr 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 <sup>(therefore)</sup> ~~then~~ 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 <sup>(normally)</sup> that it is the doomed person himself who dreams of the rauðr or fólr 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)

79/17-20. at kona kæmi at mér ok kvað mik kominn í tún

sitt...ok hon segir mér at sveinar hennar hefði tekit 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 tún she talks about is her stronghold. We may compare Jökuls Páttur Búasonar (IF, xiv, 47-59), where there is a troll called Skrámr who lives in the wastes of Greenland and who is konungr yfir öllum óbyggðum. His cave, like the place Þorgils is now situated (see 78/4-5), is near björg brótt (IF, xiv, 54). But we should also remember that the woman in Þorgils's dream may have affinities with the draumkonur (e.g. Gísli's draumkona; cf. page \*336 ) who frequently appear to men in dreams. The Fló-author may be mixing borrowed elements.

79/18-9. ok þykki mér illa er þér hafið etit egg Þorfinns: the reference is clearly to the svartbaksegg at 39/1 and 77/16-7, although we are told nowhere, in either text, that Þorgils or his companions ate Þorfinnr's egg or part of it (and in Orig, ii, 653, it is suggested that something is missing between egg and Þorfinns). What the implications of the woman's remark are is not entirely clear. We may hazard the following suggestion however: Þorgils

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 orðit: 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 Orig'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. fyrri: so Fornsögur (179/27), Orig (ii, 654) and Þórhallur Vilmundarson; fremra, Fló, 1932, 47. - Fyrri 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. auskotuna (cf. Textual Note): auskota, '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. skómm ok hneisa: a set phrase; cf. Fóstbr, 166; Heið, 277; Oddr, Oláfs, 201.

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

82/26. kvað skip farit hafa þar: 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 d. (= dóttur),

with Finnur Jónsson (Fló, 1932, 51) and Þórhallur Vil-  
mundarson, rather than s. (= systur), with Guðbrandur  
Vigfússon (Forn sögur, 182 and Orig, ii, 658).

84/5-6. Þorgils kvað ekki mætti stórum betr í hald koma  
sem at honum 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, 'Þorgils 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. þangat: 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 lagt til hófuðs dýrinu: in the Law of  
Gulaping (NGL, i, 45), we are told: Biorn oc ulfr skal  
hvervetna utlagr væra. beirra verc vill engi maðr varða  
nema þar at eins ef biorn er horvenn i hiði. Cf. Note  
to 45/17-8.

84/25. ór 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. gringarð: the reading of the manuscript is g<sup>2</sup>ng<sup>r</sup>d which editors take as a spelling for gringarð. In turn, the dictionaries (Fritzner, Cleasby-Vigfusson) take gringarð as a spelling for grindgarð, with loss of d between ñ 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 Prándarholt. 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. GhM, 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 færikvÍar, grindur). But any sheepfold large or permanent enough to be used, as here, as a point of reference for the duel between Þorgils and Helgi - and here one thinks of large communal sheepfolds used by the farmers of a given area (e.g. Flóamannarétt, Skeiðmannarétt) - 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 Gringarðr; on Grind- as a place-name, see Die Lieder der Edda, ed. B. Sijmons and H. Gering, 1931, 100).

87/25. er vápn þitt ókarlmannligt: Fritzner (iii, 761) translates ókarlmannligt here as 'der ikke ser ud som, passer for karlmaðr'. 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 Þorgils be referring to his opponent's axe's lack of masculinity in this respect? The X-redactor makes Helgi's weapon into a bolǫx (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 þá 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. Stjúpr) is in a manuscript variant in Sturl (ii, 159), where Steingrímur stjúpr's nickname appears as stjúpi.

APPENDICES

## 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 (tittles, 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.

Þorg: for kaupferð eina ä Upplönd og Svíþiöd og var hiä bonde einumm umm veturinn. Sä hiet Þrandur. Hann var avdugur maður og ätti döttur er Sigrijdur hiet. Hana villdi eiga sa maður er Randvidur hiet. Hann var illmenni og kappi  
5 mykill. Þrandur syniade honum rädsins. Þä bavd þä bavd  
Randvidur Þrandi hölmgöngu þä er köllud er kierganga: skal þar beriast j kieri og byrgia ifer ofan og hafa kefli j hendi. Þrandur villdi helldur beriast enn gipta döttur  
sijna so illumm manni. Þorg: m: þä til Þrandar: 'Göda vist  
10 hefur þu mier veitt og skal eg godu lavna og mun eg þier godu lavna og mun eg beriast vid Randvid fyrer þig.' Þrandur qvadz þad þiggia mundu. Þorg: hafdi sverdit Jarðhusnavt. Randvidur hafdi alnarkefli j hendi, miog digurt. Var nu byrgt ifer kerit. Ranv: bad Þorg: fyrst leggja þvi at ä  
15 hann var skorat, Hann giördi so og kemur j keflid og sprack þat sundur og kom j qvid Randv:. Hann m: þä: 'Fä mier nu sverdit enn haf þu keflid og mun eg leggja til þijn med

sverdinu.' 'Mier þyker nu,' qvad Þorg:, 'sem þetta sie eckert kefli.' Litlu síjdar dö Ranvidur. Hafdi hann

20 træ ist fiolkijngi síjnu þvi at hann hafdi margann mann felit med þessari hölmgöngu. Þorg: drap og adra íj vijk-ijnga, Snækoll og Snæbiörn. Þrandur lavnadi Þorg: vel. Feck hann virðijng mykla af þessu verke. Vmm sumarit epter biöst hann ut til Jslands.

25 Cap: xvi. Olafur brune hiet <sup>2.</sup> madur. <sup>3.</sup> Hann nam øll Skeid er hann kom til Jslands ä millum Þiörsär og Sandlækjar. Hann var hamramur miög. Hann biö ä Olafsvøllum. Hann liggur j Brunahavge under Vördufelli og voru syner þeirra <sup>4.</sup> Helgi og Þorder <sup>5.</sup> drifa, <sup>6.</sup> fader Þorkels gullkärs, f. Orms, f.

30 Helgu, modur Odds Hallvardssonar. Þorgrijmur aurabeinn lagde hug ä Ashillde þä er Olafur var davadur enn Helgi travsti, son hennar, vandadi umm og for frá bui síjnu til hennar og qvadt ei vilia fiflijngar hennar og qvad ovird-ijng vera, bædi henni og frændum hennar. Hun bad hann sig

35 ei reidann giöra; 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 slijka svijvird-ijng.' Skilia þav nu tal sitt. Þorggr: gister ä Olafsvøllum. Ashilldur giördi honum godann beina og föru miög saman

40 an huger þeirra. Hun s: Þorggr: hvort tal þeirra Helga hafde verit. Helgi ræder opt um komur Þorggr: og qvadz illa vid una. Bad hann af läta. Þetta var umm qvølldit. Þorggr. qvadz ei hyrda umm hans öþocka ef hennar vilie væri til.

Nu leider hun Þorgr. ä gøtu og gaf honum mykit fíjngur-  
 45 gull ad skilnadi. Ashilldur qvad grun sinn at þav mundi  
 ei optar siäst. Þorgr qvadz ætla at finna hana brätt. Hun  
qvad vel ef so væri. Skilia nu vid so buit. Þorgr: for  
 nu leid sijna og reid fyrer nedan Ashylldarmijri. Helgi  
 sat fyrer honum hiä gatnamöti og er þeir fundust, bad Helgi  
 50 hann afläta komunum og giøra sier ei skapraavn j þessu.  
 Þorgr: qvadz ei hafa barnaskap; qvadz buinn ad reina alla  
 hluti vid hann. Helgi qvadz ætla at epter mälefnum munde  
 gänga - 'og er vel ad vid reinum ockur.' Sijdan bordust  
 þeir miøg leingi og snarplega. Þorgr: var ä hinum efra  
 55 allðri og mæddist skiött. Hann vard og sär miøg. Helgi  
 säker 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 tijdinda og hvar hann hefði verit.  
Hann qvad vijsu: 'Vo eg þar er fell til fyllar fram<sup>7.</sup> sotti  
 8. 9  
 60 vinur dröttar. Orrabeinn enn unni ofur tungna bavd sprungu  
 Asmodar gaf eg Odni, Arfa þrottar diarfann, gulldum gälga  
 valldi, gavts tabn, enn nä 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 höfudbani.' Helgi tok  
 65 sier fari j Einarshöfn og ætlar utan. Þessi tijdindi  
 spurdust nu. Hærijngur, son Þorgr:, var þä xvij vetra.  
Hann reid j Höfða til Teits Ketilbjarnarsonar, frænda sijns,  
 vid þriðia mann. Þeir Teitur rijda þä ut ä Eyrar j Einars-  
 höfn vid xvda mann og banna Helga farit; rijda sijdan burt.  
 70 Litlu sijdar fundust þeir ä fönnum veige up frá Mørk vid

Helgahvol. Þeir Helgi voru iij saman komner af Eyrum sunn-  
 an og er þeir Helgi siä för þeirra, hlavpa þeir ä hölinn  
 og vördust dreingilega. Ätti þeir harda hrijd enn fyrer  
 mannfiölda saker fiell Helgi og madur med honum og einn  
 75 madur af hinna lide. Var sijdan sæst ä mälit og fiellust  
 vijgin j fadma. Son Helga travsta var Sigurdur hinn Land-  
 verski og Skefill hinn Havkdælske. Hann var fader Helga  
 dyrs (dwrs) er bardiz vid Sigurd, son Liöts lavngubaks,  
 at hölmi ä Alpijngi. Umm þetta qvad Dijri vjisu: 'Wand  
 80 er ä hægri hendi, hlavt eg sär af tybäru, lyg ek ei þad  
 lygiar, linn vængis bili minni.'

Cap. xvii. Þorgils kom ut ä Eyrum. Loptur, föstri hans,  
 sat nu j bui sijnu. Margt hafdi tijdinda ordit medan Þor-  
 gils var utan. Þorun, moder hans, var og øndut. Þorgils  
 85 för heim j Tradarholtt. Tok broder hans vel vid honum,  
 Hærijngur, og bua þeir bb. saman næstu misseri.

## Textual Notes:

Notes: 1. Þä bavd(1) is underlined 2. tvennum added above  
line by P before brune 3. hann for af Lofot (eyu) til Js-  
landz P in margin 4. Olafur ätti Ashilldi P in margin  
 5. travsti P in margin 6. Þord<sup>?</sup> 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 Jtrtungu havd sungu in marg-  
in 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 hǫð sungu].  
 Ásmóðar gaf'k Óðni  
 arfa þróttardjarfan;  
 guldum gálga valdi  
 Gauts tafn, en ná hrafni.

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

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

(a) On Þ'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 norrœnæ, 1923-44, §2433) interprets the phrase as 'nogsamt' and believes it qualifies sótti ('nogsamt trängde skarans hulde herre framát'). Einar Arnórsson (Arnesb, 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, Uðr, a heiti for Óðinn (cf. H. Falk, Odensheite, 1924, 32). But if the second of these alternatives is accepted, it is difficult to see what ítrtungur,

'glorious tongues', refers to. - (e) høð is the reading of LdnHkb (spelt hoð); LndStb: hatr; LdnSkb: hatt; LdnPðb: haatt. LdnHkb's reading could mean 'battle' and could be the object of sungu (so Kuhn). The readings of LdnSkb and LdnPðb 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 Þorgrímr. - (g) bróttardjarfr, 'bold in might'. - (h) Ásmóðar: Þorgrímr was the son of Þormóðr (see 13/4-5); Þór- = Ás- (Þórr 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 Ørrabeinn 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 hægri hendi,  
 hlaut'k sár af Týr bóru  
 - lýg'k eigi þat - l[e]ygjar,  
 linnv[e]ngis [Bil], minni.

Prose word-order: Band's á hægri hendi minni; hlaut'k sár af bóru leygjar Týr (a); lýg'k eigi þat, linnvengis Bil (b).

(a) bóru leygr, 'the flame of the wave, gold'; Týr bóru leygjar, 'the Týr of gold, man'. - (b) linnvengi, 'the land of the serpent (Fáfnir), gold'; Bil is one of the Ásynjur; 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 Holtmark discusses the preserved traces of medieval Scandinavian working songs. Behind *Darraðarljóð* she sees a weaving chant. *Grotta-söngur* seems to contain words from a milling song (cf. Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, III (1951), 325). In *Landnám-abók* (ed. Finnur Jónsson (1925), 145), Vémundur 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 Holtmark draws attention to a passage in *Sturlunga saga* (ed. K. Kálund (1906-11), I, 285-6): in a dream after the battle at Víðines, two women are seen sitting in a large house making rowing motions. It rains blood and they sing:

Róm vit ok róm vit!  
rignir blóði,  
Guðr ok Gøndul,  
fyrir guma falli.  
Vit skulum ráðask  
í Raftahlíð,  
þar munum blótaðar  
ok þolvaðar.<sup>1</sup>

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.

<sup>1</sup> 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 Ørrabeinsstjúpr, 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 (*húðkeipr*) 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: ". . . einn dag fundv þeir aararstvf einn ok vaaru aa rvnar þessar Vaskadi ek dasi er ek þessa dro opt vsialldan aar at<sup>2</sup> bordi Sia giðrdi mer sæara lofua medan heímdragi hnaud at ravda." 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.<sup>3</sup> 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

<sup>2</sup> Guðbrandur Vigfússon and Finnur Jónsson read *aa*.

<sup>3</sup> See *Sturlunga saga*, ed. cit., I, 1953.

here. The sense of either word cannot, at any rate, be far from "lazy, feckless person." Both Finnur Jónsson<sup>4</sup> and E. A. Kock (*Den norsk-isländska Skaldediktningen* (1946), I, 93) emend the second line to *es drók þessa* 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 *lófa*. *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.<sup>5</sup> 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 førend den smeltes i Blæsteren, maae den gandske knuses eller bankes smaa, 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-

<sup>4</sup> *Den norsk-isländske Skjaldedigtning*, B, I, 174 (abbreviated *Skj.*).

<sup>5</sup> Our knowledge of the techniques involved is based largely on an eighteenth-century treatise by the Norwegian Ole Evenstad entitled "Afhandling om Jern-Malm" (*Det kongelige danske Landhusholdnings-Selskabs Skrifter* (1790), 387-450). Modern works on the subject include N. Nielsen, "Jærnuvindingen paa Island i fordums Tider," *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed* (1926), 129-74; Þorkell Jóhannesson, "Járngerð," *Iðnsaga Islands*, I (1943), 40-58; T. Dannevig Hauge, *Blesterbruk og Myrjern* (1946).

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:

Vas-k-a[t] dási  
 es drók þessa,  
 opt úsjaldan,  
 ár at borði.  
 Sjá gerði mér  
 sára lófa,  
 meðan heimdragi  
 hnauð at rauða.<sup>6</sup>

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 *Flóamanna 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

<sup>6</sup> In his *Grønlands Beskrivelse* (1669) in *Gl. kgl. Saml.* 2881 4to, Bishop Þórður Þorláksson 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 Runebogstaffuer: [runes, not reproduced here] Oft var ek dasadur ek dro þig, det er, Jeg var mange gang trett naar Jeg dro dig" (cited from A. Bæksted, *Islands Runcindskrifter* (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 *Flóamanna 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. á 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<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup>

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 *kviðuhátt*, where the rhythm is clearly defined".<sup>9</sup> 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: *Darraðarljóð*: "Vindum, vindum!"; *Grottasöngur*, 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<sup>10</sup> 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 first six lines is set against the beating of the stay-at-home's hammer in the last two.

<sup>7</sup> 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*.

<sup>8</sup> 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.

<sup>9</sup> My translation.

<sup>10</sup> 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-Grímr Kveld-Úlfsson. Here also we have two rhythms – the hammers ring while (*meðan*) the bellows whine. Even if Skalla-Grímr 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 Björn Hítðela-kappi. In chapter 5 of this poet's saga (*Islenzk Fornrit*, III (1938), 123 f.), we are told how Björn hears of his fiancée's marriage to Þórðr Kolbeinson. Instead of going to Iceland as he intended, he joins Eiríkr jarl . . . "ok er þeir lágu við Hamarseyri," the saga continues, "orti Björn vísu:

Hristi handar fasta  
hefr drengr gamans fengit;  
hrynja hart á dýnu  
hlöð Eykyndils vöðva,  
meðan vel stinna vinnum,  
veldr nokkvat því, klökkva,  
skíð verðk skriðar beiða  
skorðu, ór á borði."

We may render this verse in prose and English as follows: Drengr hefr fengit Hristi (the name of a valkyrie) handar fasta (fire) gamans; vöðva hlöð (*v. h.* here = buttocks) Eykyndils hrynja hart á dýnu, meðan vinnum vel stinna ór klökkva á borði; nokkvat veldr því; verðk beiða 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 á/at borði*.<sup>11</sup> 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<sup>12</sup> have suggested that certain

<sup>11</sup> Some manuscripts of *Bjarnar saga* have *ár at borði*.

<sup>12</sup> See J. de Vries, *Altnordische Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd ed., I (1964), 194 f.: Bjarni Einarsson, *Skáldasögur* (1961), 236 ff.

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 (*Íslensk 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<sup>13</sup> has argued is a working song:

**Wate hali  
hino horna  
haha skapi  
hapu ligi**

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 *rúnakefli*; indeed *Sigrdrífumál* (v. 10) positively counsels the inscription of runes on oars:

Brimrúnar scaltu gera,            ef þú vilt borgit hafa  
   á sundi seglmörum;  
á stafni scal rísta            oc á stiðrnar blaði  
   oc leggja eld í ár.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *Norges Indskrifter med de ældre Runer*, II (1917), 689 ff.

<sup>14</sup> 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" (*Maal 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-

*lanás historiske Mindesmærker*, II (1838), 208, writes as follows: "Lige til de sidste Tider har man pleiet at indskjære Vers, saavel som ogsaa Bomærker (tit sammensatte af Runer) paa islandske Baade, samt deres Aarer og andet Tilbehør, tildeels 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 Þór Magnússon of Þjóðminjasafn Íslands who in turn consulted Mr Lúðvík 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 Gaulverjabær clearly used to send his *húskarlar* fishing (see *Flóamanna saga*, ch. 11); that he was also a *rauðabóndi* 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;<sup>15</sup> 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 saga*<sup>16</sup> and *Grettis saga*,<sup>17</sup> 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

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

<sup>16</sup> *Egils saga*, ed. Sigurður Nordal (1933), 78–9: “Skalla-Grímr var járnsmiðr mikill ok hafði rauðablástr mikinn á vetrinn; hann lét gera smiðju með sjónum mjök langt út frá Borg, þar sem heitir Raufarnes; þótti honum skógar þar fjarlægir. En er hann fekk þar engan stein þann, er svá væri harðr eða slétt, at honum þætti gott at lýja járn við . . .” We are then told how Grímr procured an anvil stone elsewhere and placed it “fyrir smiðjudurum ok lúði þar síðan járn við. Liggr sá steinn þar enn ok mikit sindr hjá, ok sér þat á steininum, at hann er barðr ofan . . . Skalla-Grímr sótti fast smiðjuverkit, en húskarlar hans vönduðu um ok þótti snimma risit; þá orti hann vísu þessa:

Mjök verðr ár, sás aura,  
ísarns meiðr at rísa,  
váðir vidda bróður  
veðrseygjar skal kveðja;  
gjalla lætk á gollu  
geisla njóts, meðan þjóta,  
heitu, hrærikytjur  
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”).

<sup>17</sup> *Grettis saga*, ed. Guðni Jónsson (1936), 173–4: “Þorsteinn var iðjumaðr mikill ok smiðr ok helt mönnum mjök til starfa. Grettir var lítill verklundarmaðr, ok því fór lítt skap þeira saman . . . Hafði Þorsteinn mikinn starfa . . . því at hann var járngróðarmaðr mikill. Grettir var atgangsmikill at drepa járnit, en nennti misjafnt, en þó var hann spakr um vetrinn, svá at ekki bar til frásagnar.”

<sup>18</sup> 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: *rauðablástr* 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 *rauðabóndi* seems to have made fair profits<sup>18</sup> 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; \*syngiom (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 aðalhendingar and skothendingar of the formula: vowel/consonant a/consonant b : vowel/consonant a are perfectly acceptable; cf. E. Sievers, Altgermanische Metrik, 1893, 94. An example from the 13th century is Líknarbraut, verse 16 (Sk, ii, 87): vasa hann verðugr písla. It seems possible that we have here a deliberate metrical device which may have been particularly 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 dási 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-inscribed oar mentioned in Magnús Ólafsson's Specimen Lexici Runic (1650) under dasadur, quoted in Íslenzk

Tunga 5 p. 116. 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 þessa." 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 Runicis] has the note: "In remo quodam ad littus Boreale Islandiæ 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 Hárbarðsljóð, verse 60

Verse 60 of Hárbarðsljóð has a slightly different form in the poem's two extant manuscripts. Håndskriftet Nr. 2365 4<sup>to</sup> gl. kgl. Samling (ed. L. Wimmer and Finnur Jónsson, 1891, 26; hereafter Regius) has farbv nv bars bic hafi allan gramir, while Håndskriftet Nr. 748, 4<sup>to</sup>, bl. 1-6 (ed. Finnur Jónsson, 1896, 2; hereafter 748) has far bv nv bars bik hafi allir gramir. 748 is no doubt right in ascribing these words to Hárbarðr. Both the readings allan and allir 'give rigtigt Udtryk' (S. Bugge, Norræn Fornkvæði, 1867, 104), but since we know that the texts of Hárbarðsljóð 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 Hár-

barðsljóð (i.e. Grímnismál, prose introduction (Edda, 56): Farðu, þar er smyl hafi þic!; and even more similar, Orvar-Odds Saga, ed. R. Boer, 1888, 175: far þú þar er þik hafi þll tröll), 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 Hårbards avsluttende replikk, hans avskjeds-  
"hilsen"...viser en eiendommelighet hvad de ydre virkemid-  
ler angår.

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

Far þú þars þik 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 dér. I rop som skal høres lang vei, må tempoet være langsomt og aller vokaler langt uttrukket; også de "tonelette" vokaler får relativt langt og sterkt trykk. Likeledes er melodiføringen, som jo har <sup>(så)</sup>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 iørefallende på en særskilt måte. Tilfeldighet 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 Hárbarðs som hermer og overdriver til fullstendig lydmalning:

- (1.) Hverr er sá sveinn sveina,  
er stendr fyr sundit handan?
- (2.) Hverr er sá 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, efter 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: Hverr es sá karl karla, es kallar um váginn / Farðu nú, þars þik 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 Guðrúnarhvöt, 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 Skírnismál (Regius, 23/11), a poem with which Hárbarðsljóð has close scribal connections (see G. Lindblad, Studier i Codex Regius av äldre Eddan, 1954, 262-3); most would now accept the emendation to bjóðarmál of bjóðans 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 unusual allar he found in his exemplar.

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