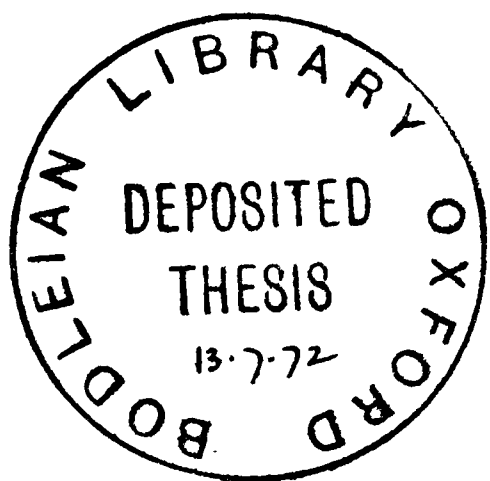


AN EDITION OF FLOAMANNA SAGA WITH A
STUDY OF ITS SOURCES AND ANALOGUES



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could well be that the Fló- author has been influenced here by this source.

Porgils's dealings with Þórr; the religious element

Chapter 20 of the saga begins by announcing Þorgils's conversion to Christianity and for the next five chapters or so, we find elements in the saga which will be grouped under the above heading. 'Þorgils's dealings with Þórr' covers a series of confrontations between the abandoned god and Þorgils, the temptations and trials the former inflicts on the latter for his loss of faith, Þorgils's steadfastness in the face of these and his final repulsion of the god. What, for want of a better term, is called 'the religious element' covers a variety of features in the saga, in fact a little more widely spread than over the five chapters mentioned above, which reveal the specific influence of Christian thought and ecclesiastical writings. This heading covers such features as different as the similarity drawn between Þorgils and Christ in the saga and the characteristic stylistic features found in the descriptions of Þorgils already discussed on page *238 ff. above. The overall impression left by the features in question, as will be stressed below, perhaps more than anything else, gives the saga its idiosyncratic position amongst works of its genre. Even so, when we study the individual elements which go to give this impression, we shall see that they are often far from original and

can either be traced with reasonable certainty to definite sources, or have obvious parallels in other works. But whereas, up to now, the main sources and analogues for the saga have been almost exclusively confined to Landnámabók, Sagas of the Icelanders and the fornaldarsögur, we now find influences from writings of a different nature: Among works by Icelanders, we note special similarities in the two sagas of Óláfr Tryggvason written at about the end of the twelfth century by Oddr Snorrason and Gunnlaugr Leifsson. And as has been recognised for some time, these two konungasögur have close connections with international ecclesiastical literature and draw on or take as models such sources as saints' lives and the Bible. Writing a century or so later than Oddr and Gunnlaugr, the author of Fló has, it is clear, come under the direct influence of these two works. [98] He has not been content, however, solely to borrow from his two compatriots, but, taking their example, has himself turned directly to their models. In the search for sources for the part of the saga treated here, we must therefore look for influences not only from works of native origin, but from Latin vita of holy men (or their Icelandic translations), from vision literature and from the stories of the Scripture. It should be remembered that the elements under discussion in Fló are more in evidence in the M-version than in the X-version (cf. pages *121-3) and in what follows comparisons are often

made with material to be found only in the longer version.

Soon after his conversion, Þorgils dreams that Þórr comes to him with evil countenance (með illliligu yfirbragði, 66/3), upbraids him for his lack of faith and threatens to make things difficult for him unless he begins worshipping him again. Þorgils gives him a sharp answer, and when he wakes he finds that his boar (tóðugóltr) is dead. Þórr soon appears again, but is again rebuffed. The following night an ox belonging to Þorgils dies. Þorgils then decides to watch over his livestock himself and when he comes in the following morning, he is bruised all over his body; we are told: Hafa menn þat fyrir satt at þeir Þórr muni þá fundiz hafa (66/17-8).

Stories in which potential or new converts to Christianity are confronted in dreams by the former objects of their faith are found in other sources. In Bárð (353), the half-god Bárðr visits his son Gestr in a dream the day after he has been baptized and says: 'Illu hefir þú gert (cf. Þórr's opening words at 66/4) er þú hefir látit trú þína þá er langfeðgar þínir hafa haft...' He then deprives him of his sight and the following day Gestr dies. In Ól mest (ii, 112-3), Þórr appears to Sveinn after the latter's conversion, heldr ófrýnligr ok daprligr, and begs him to remove his image from the temple which he knows the homecoming Finnur will destroy. This Sveinn refuses to do. In a well-known story in Þorvalds Þáttur víðfórla (Ól mest, i, 285 ff.), Þorvaldr brings the bishop Friðrekr to Giljá, where

on three successive days, the holy man sprinkles water on the stone where Koðran's ármaðr lives. The nights after these three days, the ármaðr appears to Koðrán in dreams (cf. Þorgils's three initial encounters with Þórr) and complains that the bishop is throwing boiling water over his home. In the first dream, the ármaðr begins with the words 'Ílla hefir bá gert ...' (cf. 66/4 and Barð) and in the second he is described as illiligr í ásjónu (cf. Fló, 66/3). Koðrán is unmoved by his lamentations and soon after is himself baptised. One cannot help feeling that this story about him must have been known to the author of Fló.

A few details in this first set of dreams may have been suggested to the author of Fló by other works. In Ól mest (ii, 186), Þórr is driven out of his temple by the newly converted Þórhalla and vengefully kills a horse before fleeing north to Siglunes. When Þórr tells Þorgils that it will be just as easy for him to kill him as his boar, he is not uttering empty threats: not only is Gestr killed in Barð for his change of faith, but Þiðrandi suffers the same fate for the same reason in Ól mest (ii, 148). And Nijhoff (Beschouwing, 60 and 146) is perhaps right in thinking, when Þorgils comes in 'bruised all over' (viða blár 66/17) after his nocturnal struggle with Þórr, that the author of the saga is reducing the god to a revenant: in Eyrb. ch. 53, Þórir viðleggr, after a struggle with a dead shepherd, comes into his farm viða orðinu kolblá.

Porgils's next encounter with his 'dream-man' takes place while he is waiting for a favourable wind to set sail for Greenland. The god is not, at first, mentioned by name but is merely described as maðr ... mikill ok rauðskeggjaðr. He again threatens Porgils with bad luck unless he reverts to his worship. Porgils remains unyielding, however, whereupon the man leads him onto some cliffs and addresses him as follows (68/20-1):

'Í slíkum stormi skaltu vera ok þó lengi í vólki vera ok kveljaz í vesöld ok háska nema þú geriz minn maðr.'

To this Porgils replies : (68/21-3): 'Nei! nei!... far þú burt inn leiði fjánda! Sá mun mér hjálpa sem alla ley- sti með sínum dreyra ok á líta ferð vára.' After this Porgils wakes up and, despite Þórr's threats, sets sail.

The direct model for this last part of the encounter is clearly the story of Christ's temptation in The Gospel according to St. Matthew, ch.4, verses 8-10. In the Vulgate this reads as follows: 8 Tunc iterum accubavit cum diabolus in montem excelsum valde et ostendit ei omnia regnum mundi, et gloriam eorum, 9. et dixit ei: Hæc omnia tibi dabo, si cadens adoraveris mc. 10. Tunc dixit ei Iesus: Vade Satana: Scriptum est enim, etc. Unfortunately no Old Norse translation of the New Testament is known so we cannot be certain what the exact wording of a possible Icelandic text here may have been. On the other hand, various vernacular religious works quote Christ's Vade Satana in translated form and it is interesting to compare

these with Fló's Far (þú) burt, inn leiðir líandi (see Note to 34/10).

There ^{can be extremely few instances in the Family Sagas where ~~xxxxtik~~ an element from the Bible has been so completely taken over.} Knut Liestøl (Origin, 157) claims that this is the only example he knows. Stefán Einarsson (Mélanges de linguistique et de philologie Ferdinand Mossé in memoriam, 1959, 126) allows for more instances than this and suggests, not very convincingly, that Laxd may contain an Old Testament element. Turning to Oddr's Saga of Óláfr Tryggvason, however, we find considerable influence from Bible stories and here, as in Fló, stories of Christ are adapted to fit the saga hero. We may give some examples:

In Oddr, Oláfs, Astriðr and Óláfr flee from Norway from the persecutions of Hákon jarl, just as Mary and Jesus flee into Egypt from Herod. In Oddr's work, when Óláfr is carried off into Estonia (Oddr, Oláfs, 22 ff.), the author himself compares the story of Joseph's fate in Egypt. In the Gospel according to St. Mark, ch. 17, verses 1-9, we are told how Christ takes three favoured disciples up onto a mountain to pray. As he prays, they see his appearance change and his clothes shine like light. Two men speak with him, Moses and Elias. As they go down from the mountain, Christ tells his disciples not to tell what they have seen before the Son of Man has risen from the dead. In Oddr, Oláfr (152 f.). Óláfr takes his trusted friend Þorkell dyrðill into a wood. There, Óláfr prays and

stretches up his hands to Heaven: A great light then shines over Oláfr and Þorkell sees him with two men dressed in white. Later, on the way out of the wood, the king commands Þorkell not to tell any one of this incident while he lives. For further examples of Biblical borrowings in Oddr's work see G. Indrebø, Fagrskinna, 1917, 159-61.

Just as in Oddr's saga, then, we find in this case in Fló, a quite clear example of the modelling of the heroes experiences on those of Christ. Further, as the motif is used in Fló, it suggests not only a more general likening of Þorgils to Christ, but also of his adversary, Þórr, to the Devil. The first of these inferred comparisons will be discussed a little further below. The second needs more immediate attention.

The demonisation of heathen gods was, of course, an important part of the propaganda of the early and medieval Christian church. It found its justification in, among other sources, Psalms 95, verse 5: Quoniam omnes dii gentium dæmonia. That an identification of the pagan deities with the Devil or devils was frequently made by missionaries working in early Germany, has been amply documented by H. Achterberg in his monograph Interpretatio Christiania (1930; see particularly 169-76). No doubt English, German and native missionaries working in pagan Scandinavia adopted the same approach and were quick to couple the gods of Ásgarðr, particularly Þórr, with the demons of their own religion. In Iceland, however, after

the year 1000, the influence of the Christian church grew apace and there is little evidence to suggest that belief in Þórr, Freyr and, if he ever had many devotees, Óðinn, did not wane rapidly. When, then, in his book Die Religion der Nordgermanen im Spiegel christlicher Darstellung (1936, 72 ff.), Rudolf Schomerus points to a number of examples in Icelandic sources of what he calls the 'Dämonisierung und Verächtlichmachung der heidnischen Götter' these can hardly be regarded as the active propaganda of an insecure religion, but are rather to be taken as the half-fossilized teachings of a well-established Church, well on the way to becoming stock elements. We must look rather here for the purely literary influence of international hagiographic writings on the Icelandic works under discussion. Of particular interest, in this connection, are stories, like the one in Fló, where, it seems, the Devil assumes the form of a heathen god to tempt or deceive the good Christian. The theme is found, for example, in Oddr, Óláfs (131 ff.), where we are told how sa uvinr allz mannkyns diofullingr... bregðr... asek mannligri syn. til þess at hann mætti þa auðuelligar suikia menn. Disguised as Óðinn, he visits Óláfr's court and leaves poisoned food for him. Óláfr is not tricked, however, and at the conclusion of the tale tells his men that '... sia diofull havi verit með asionu Óðins.' On another occasion (Oddr, Óláfs, 173 f.), the king is sailing along the coast of Norway, when a man standing on a cliff (ahamre einn) hails

him and asks for a passage. This the king grants him. The man, who has a red beard, starts telling stories and eventually to preach heathendom. Finally, laughing, he jumps overboard and the king remarks: '... Se nu huersu diarfr diofullin var. er hann geck isyn við oss.

The author of Fló could have got the idea of the red-bearded Þórr on the cliff and in the ship from this story.

In discussing the literary sources for Oddr's Saga of Oláfr Tryggvason, Lars Lönnroth (in Samlaren, 1963, 71 f.) mentions a possible model for tales like the two mentioned above which is also of interest for the story of the temptation of Þorgils in Fló. This consists of excerpts from the Life and Dialogues of St Martin by Sulpicius Severus. In the Icelandic version, the relevant passage reads as follows (HMS, i, 569):

(Of St Martin, it is said): Dioflar cono oc stundom at freista hans i ymsom lic(i)om, oc alira oftast i like Þors eða Opens eða Freyio. En Martinus hafði crossmarc at scildi við allre freistne beira. En hann kennde þa, i hverionge likio(m) sem beir varo, oc nœddi hvern beira a namn oc fec hveriom beira þa gveðio, er (þeir) varo verber: Þor callabi hann heimscan, er Open deigan, en Freyio portcono.

Lönnroth sees this as an amalgamation of two passages of the Latin:

(i) Frequenter autem diabolus, dum velle nocendi artibus sanctum virum conhibetur illudere, visibiliter ei

4) formis diversissimus incerebat. Nam interdum in Jovis persona, plerumque Mercurii, persape etiam ac Veneris ac Minervæ transfiguratum vultibus offerebat: adversus quem semper interritus, signo se crucis et orationis auxilio protegebat (Patrologiæ, xx, column 172).

(ii) Jan vero demones, prout ad eum quisque venisset, suis nominibus increpabat. Mercurium maxime patiebatur infestum; Jovem brutum atque habetum esse dicebat (Patrologiæ, xx, column 210).

It is not at all unlikely that the author of Fló knew these passages either in Icelandic or Latin form. The cult of St Martin was widespread in Iceland in the Middle Ages. At least ten churches were dedicated to him. Church decorations frequently included pictures from his life (see KL, s.v. Martinus, Island). If he did know the text in question then he probably let it influence him when he has the hero of his saga tempted and persecuted by the Devil disguised as Þórr. If he did not, then one must assume the indirect influence of some such text on the saga. We shall return to the passages in the Life and Dialogues of St Martin on a detail below.

After Þorgils and his companions have been at sea for some time, they are becalmed. Autumn comes and they have still not sighted land. Provisions and water begin to run out. One night, Þorgils has a dream in which Þórr appears again. The god again tempts him - Þorgils will reach land within seven nights if he will pray to Þórr - but

the hero answers only with threats. Þórr then reminds him of an ox he once gave him. When Þorgils awakes he decides to throw the animal in question into the sea. When Þorgerðr discovers this intention she demands to buy the beast for provisions, and says it is not surprising that things go badly for them when 'our Þórr' (Þórr várr) is so disgraced. Þorgils is firm in his resolve, however, and the animal goes overboard.

In connection with this story, one thinks first of Freyfaxi's fate in Hrafn (ch. 6): here an animal, which, like the ox in Fló, has been consecrated to a god is wilfully destroyed with what seems to be almost Christian zeal. Þorgeirr remarks as the horse is taken up on to the cliff : '...Mun þat nú makligt, at sá taki við honum, er hann á.' [101] Þorgils is also probably wise in refusing to let the animal be used as food, as meat given by or belonging to the gods is seldom as wholesome as it might be. In the story of Óðinn's visit to Óláfr Tryggvason already mentioned (Oddr, Óláfs, 134), food left behind by the god is lethal enough to kill a dog. In Eir (ch.8), Þórr sends a whale to Karlsefni's followers who ^(are) short of provisions. They eat it but are immediately sick. When Þórhallr veiðimaðr tells them that inn rauðskeggjaði has provided the food, they throw it into the sea (so Hauksbók) [102] and pray to God. Finally when Þorgerðr remonstrates against the treatment Þórr is getting, she reminds us of the many stereotyped staunch heathens in sagas of the missionary

kings (e.g. Þórhildr in Ól mest, ii, 186) who protest at and fear the consequences of degrading the old gods.

Soon after the drowning of the ox, Þorgils and his men suffer what seems to be an inevitable shipwreck on the coast of Greenland and one cannot help feeling that Þórr is responsible. Here we should remember a story about the Christian missionary Þangbrandr, found in three Icelandic works: in Ól mest (ii, 159), where it is probably derived from Gunnlaugr's saga of Óláfr Tryggvason, in Nj, (264 - 6) and in Krist (27 - 8). In the first of these sources the outline of the story is as follows: The priest leaves Iceland for Norway but is driven back by storms and forced to land in Borgarfjörðr. The following winter, another storm drives the ship out of its dock and badly damages it. Two verses are quoted which the heathen poetess Steinunn is said to have declaimed about this event: (i) 'Þórr destroyed Vísund for the priest; the gods drove the ship ashore. Christ did not protect the knórr when it broke to pieces. I do not think that God looked after the ship much.' (ii) 'Þórr pulled Þangbrandr's great ship from off its stays, shook it, battered it, hurled it against the ground. The knórr will no longer be seaworthy for the violent storm caused by Þórr broke it to pieces.' The other two sources tell essentially the same story and quote the same verses. If there is any difference which might be relevant here it is that Nj could be understood as though Þangbrandr was on the ship when it

was wrecked.

There can scarcely be any doubt that the author of Fló knew this story in some form. It has already been suggested that he knew Gunnlaugr Leifsson's saga. Also that he knew Ni (see page *252 above). Further both the Sturlubók- and Hauksbók - redactions of Landnámabók were followed in their respective manuscripts by Kristni Saga and this was thus quite likely to have been true of Ldn X also. Assuming then that we are right on this point, it seems quite possible that the author of the saga was thinking of this story when, because of hostility to Þórr, he has his Christian hero becalmed, storm-battered and finally shipwrecked in the icy wastes of Greenland.

After his arrival in Greenland, Þórr no longer appears to Þorgils in dreams. He continues however to dog him with bad luck and to tempt him. The slaves of the party murder Þorgils's wife and abscond with the only boat they have. Þorgils himself almost brings about the death of his own son. It is not, however, until they have been in the wastes of Greenland for three or four years that Þorgils finally frees himself from the persecutions of the god. One day, as they are making their way along the Greenlandic coast, the hero and his men become extremely thirsty and Starkaðr suggests that they should drink a mixture of urine and sea-water. They prepare the drink but before partaking, Þorgils declares that he will propose a toast

(mæla fyrir minni) and speaks as follows (81/17-9): 'Þú, it arga ok it illa kvikindi, er vára ferð dvelr skelt eigi því ráða at ek skal hvárki drekka minn barfagang né aðrir.'

As he says this, a bird flies up which most resembles a young razorbill. Later, this animal flies off in a northerly direction and Þorgils's parting words to it are (82/2-5): 'Seint hefir þessi fugl við oss skilit ok taki nú allar granir viðr honum. En við þat unum vér at eigi kom hann því á leið sem hann vildi ok veldr Guð sjálfur því, er vér trúm á.'

Although the identification between the young razorbill and the Devil/Þórr would seem to be quite obvious, previous commentators of the saga have not remarked on the more exact significance of the bird. We learn, however, from C. Grant Loomis's book White Magic (1948, 74) that the Devil assumes a variety of forms (including those of birds) in which to persecute holy men and other innocents. Loomis cites examples of Satan appearing as an owl, a sparrow, a raven and a swallow. A story of this type ^(which) could well have been known to the Fló-author is found in The Life of St. Benedict (cf. Patrologiæ, lxxvi) ^(, column 132) which appears in the Icelandic translation of Gregory's Dialogues in a manuscript from about 1200, AM 677, 4to (see Leifar fornra kristinna fræða íslenzkra, ed. Þorvaldur Bjarnason, 1878; see page 107), and in a later manuscript (see EMS, i; see page 160). In AM 677, 4to, the episode is as follows: A nokkurum dögum, þá er Benedictus var einn saman, þá kom freistni at honum

(fjandinn kom at freista hans, HMS; tentator aðfán, Patrologiæ), því at nókkurr svartr fugl fló svá nær andliti hans at hann mátti auðveldliga taka hendi af hann vill. En hann gerði krossmark á mót ok flæði fuðlunn (flaug...þegar á braut, HMS). Now if we assume that the Fló-author was here influenced by this source, the reason for Þórr choosing an álkuungi's shape would seem to be clear: as a young bird, it would, of course, be small (líttill); and as a razorbill it would be more black than the majority of sea-birds - we remember here the Old Icelandic generic term for the Alcidae which appears in Fló, iv, 344, [103] as svartfygli.

A few details of the story need mention. Both St. Benedict and St. Martin put the Devil to flight with the sign of the cross. When Þorgils proposes his toast, he probably made the same sign (cf. Hkr, i, 171). The ironic toast to Þórr in urine and sea-water is reminiscent of the equally ironic kveðja which St. Martin accords to Þórr, Óðinn and Freyja in the passage from HMS quoted on page *299 above. As is the case with Þórr in Ol mest (ii, 186; cf. page *294 above) and the black-clad women in the story of Þiðrandi (Ol mest, ii, 145 ff.), we should expect Þórr to make off in a northerly direction (í norðrætt; cf. Note to 41/18). Finally, it is perhaps worth noting here that in the poem Hárbarðsljóð (Edda, 87, A-version), the parting insult to Þórr has a similar form to Þorgils's final curse on the same god at 41/19-20 (cf. Note ad loc).

To turn to what we have called 'the religious element'. The use in Fló of a borrowing from the story of Christ has already been discussed and attention drawn to a similar application of Biblical motifs to Oláfr Tryggvason in Oddr, Oláfs. There can be little doubt however that the use of such stories was intended to make the audience of the sagas in question associate Þorgils and Oláfr with Our Lord. In Fló, the dream at 68/19 ff. is the only clear example of a motif of this type being used, although we might also note here the 4 or 5 years the hero spends in the wildernesses of Greenland fairly soon after his conversion. Otherwise, there is, in the saga, particularly in the part which deals with Greenland, a decided tendency to give Þorgils an aura of saintliness and piety and to stress his Christian faith. In Orig, ii, 330 (in connection with the steward Þórarin), Þorgils's readiness to spare human life is noted: on the whole, the men he kills are genuine scoundrels; when, at the end of the saga, he kills Helgi he himself regards this deed as glappaverk ok bráðræði. The way he keeps awake to nurse a motherless child by placing hot embers beneath his feet could almost be the attribute of some saint. He is constantly admonishing his companions to mind their prayers and to keep their faith; like Sólarljóð and Hugvinnsmál (cf. Note to 72/9) he advises them 'to let the punishment of others be a warning to them' (72/8-11: ok reðir jafnan um við þá at þeir sé hjóðlátir ok siðsarrir).

það þá láta sér annars víti at vannaði verða, minaz á
guðliga hluti ok fremja nú skynsend um kristnihald sitt
ok söngva; cf 71/2-3 and 71/17-19). On the way to Green-
 land he promises fierce retribution to any of the company
 who turn apostate (69/16-7: 'Ef ek verð varr við þat, at
nókkur maðr blótar ok geriz guðniðingr, þá skal ek þat
harðliga hefna') The sufferings he goes through add,
 of course, to his piety (80/19-22: Dýrit var kalit á fyrra
fæti, ok má af aliku marka, hve mikinn háska þeir Þorgils
höfðu af fjúki ok frosti í þessari ferð, er dýrit var
örkumlat af kulda). We note the alliteration in the above
 citations and remember the alliteration in the descriptions
 of Þorgils in ch.11 and at the end of the saga already
 discussed. The editor of the saga in Orig (ii,631) is
 perhaps going a little too far when he says of the style
 of the M-version that 'it reminds one forcibly of that of
 the early Bishops' lives'. But in seeking to represent
 his hero as a devout and almost saintly figure, the author
 of the saga is undoubtedly using stylistic devices typical
 of other Icelandic works which deal with the lives of
 other godly men.

In connection with 'the religious element', Þórey's
 dream at the beginning of chapter 23 must be touched on.
 In this, we are told, she sees beautiful countryside
 (fógr heruð) and shining men (bjartir menn). This vision,
 she believes, anticipates the expedition's deliverance
 from its present distress. Þorgils replies that this

is a good dream but that the place she has seen must be the Other World; there, he prophesies, she will be helped by saintly men (helgir menn) for her pure life and sufferings. The incident adumbrates her murder later in the chapter.

Although this episode is told in no more than a couple of sentences, the tone and vocabulary of these make clear the influence of a specific branch of medieval religious writing, the literature of the vision. The European tradition of vision literature is well represented in the vernacular. Such internationally known works as Visio Thugdali and Evangelium Nikodemi appear in Norse translation respectively as Duggals Leizla and Niðrstigningar Saga. In imitation of the foreign genre, we find the original Rannveigar Leizla (Bysk, ii, 243-6; iii, 167-71), and visionary poems such as Sólarljóð and Draumkvæde [104] owe much to it. Similar vocabulary to that used in the episode under discussion is common in literature of this type. With the fógr heruð and fagrir staðir of Fló, 73/4 and 8, we may compare the fagrt herad of Mar, 965, the grænan stad miok fagran ok biartan of Mar, 1163, and the fagrir stabir oc vellir blomgabir of the Icelandic version of the Dialogues of Saint Gregory (HMS, i, 250). Men of shining appearance (bjartir menn) are, of course, common elements in descriptions of Paradise (see e.g. Mar, 536) and expressions such as hreint líf (cf. hreinflífi) and mannraun are part of the stock vocabulary

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of saints' lives e.g. Rennveigar Leirla, Rennveig is helped in the Other World by three saints (helgimenn) (cf. Porgils's prophecy). It should also be noted that part of Porgils's interpretation of the dream (ok munu helgir menn hjálpa þér fyrir hreint líf ok mannaunnir) [105] is alliterative, a feature of Old Norse vision literature as well as hagiographic writing (see e.g. Bysk, iii, 170). Here, then, we have yet another example of the influence of religious literature on the author of Flóamanna Saga. [106]

Porgils's expedition to Greenland

In his article on Flóamanna Saga in KL, Björn Sigfússon has the following to say about Porgils's journey to Greenland: 'En misslyckad Grönlandsresa, som Porgils skall har företagit, har möjligen tillhört den gamla traditionen. Resan skildras i F. med en realism, som tycks förutsätta, att en sagesman el. snarare författaren själv har företagit en resa till Grönland mot slutet av 1200-talet. Denna realism fördjupas; motiv från Landnáma (Snæbjörn galtis tragiska slut i Ostgrönl.) och andra källor lever upp och smälter ihop med skräcken för mörkret, svältdöden och gengångare, som nyligen varit levande reskamrater.'

We must take issue with what Björn says here: we are inclined to doubt whether either Porgils or the author of the saga ever went to Greenland. As far as Porgils himself is concerned, if we are to believe the genealogical details and other information given in Landnámabók, he must have been sole heir to a considerable estate in

Iceland and would thus have had very little reason to emigrate. He may also have been a goði and enjoyed some degree of influence in Iceland (cf. Note to 13/19).

The reason given in the saga for the journey, an invitation from Eiríkr rauði, goes back to an acquaintance which Þorgils is purported to have struck up with the discoverer in Norway, but which is hardly likely to have existed (see Note to 20/23-4), and the reason the saga gives for his leaving Greenland, antipathy between him and Eiríkr is no more plausible. Finally it will be remembered that Landnámabók makes no mention whatsoever^(e) of the adventure.

We would suggest that Þorgils goes to Greenland in Fló rather for literary reasons (cf. page *306 above). Nor do we think the author of the saga was ever there. If he was, he would seem to be ignorant of or consciously ignored certain basic facts about the country and its settlements. [107]

On the other hand, the whole section of Fló which deals with Þorgils's journey to Greenland is, as Björn suggests, rich in literary motifs. Indeed so many parallels and borrowings in this part of the saga can be pointed to that one has yet another reason to doubt that any real experiences of Greenland lie behind the story. This sub-section deals with these parallels and borrowings. The sources the Fló-author has used are mainly accounts of voyages of discovery and attempts to colonise new countries. They concern not only Greenland but also Iceland and Vínland. They include, as well as Landnámabók,

also those two sagas which are famous as sources for the Norse discovery of America, Gr and Eir. The influence of other works, not necessarily to do with adventures in uninhabited countries (e.g. Eyrð) will also be noted.

There are a number of similarities between the story of Þorgils's journey to Greenland in Fló and Þorbjörn Vífilsson's in the early chapters of Eir. Both tell of men who go to the new colony to take up invitations or promises of land by their friend Eiríkr rauði after he has colonised Greenland (Fló, 66/21-3; Eir,no.88). Þorgils and Þorbjörn both have to buy ships (Fló,67/18; Eir,no.91). Þorbjörn's journey to Greenland is described as follows (Eir, nos. 93-5): Síðan létu þeir í haf. Þá er þeir hófðu út látit, var veðr hagstætt. En er þeir kómu í haf, tók af byri ok fengu þeir mikil veðr ok fórz þeim ógreitt um sumarit. Því næst kom sótt í lið þeira ok andaðiz Ormr ok Halldís, kona hans, ok helmingr þeira. Sjó tók at stækka ok fengu þeir vás mikit ok vesöld á marga vega ok tóku þó Herjólfssnes á Grænlandi við vetrnætr sjálfar. Likewise Þorgils's voyage begins well but he is soon becalmed (69/3-6) and spends the whole of the summer on the high seas (cf. 69/13). While a sickness kills off half the company in Eir (cf. Fló, 72/4: Nú kom sótt í lið Jósteins, etc.), so in Fló (69/21-2) many of Þorgils's men are at death's door. Þorbjörn makes a landfall in Greenland on the first day of winter, Þorgils is wrecked there a week before that time (70/22). Both men spend

some time in Greenland before they actually arrive at Eiríkr rauði's home at Brattahlíð. During this¹time, members of both their parties, Þorgils himself (Fló) /Guðríður (Eir) are given premonitions (dreams, Fló / prophecies, Eir) about their descendants.

Þorgils's expedition to Greenland is a joint one, his partner being Jósteinn bóndi ór Kálfaholti. Similar joint expeditions are found in the story of Snæbjörn galti in Landnámabók and of Freyðís's expedition in Gr, ch.8. And as in Fló, there is friction between the two groups in both these stories. In the M-version of Fló we are told that Þorgils hafði allskonar fé efi hann vildi þar staðfestaz; we may compare Gr (261): Þeir hófðu með sér allskonar fénað, því at þeir ætluðu at byggja landit, ef þeir mætti þat and Eir, no.303: Þeir hófðu með sér allskonar fé ok leituðu sér þar landsnytja. While the storminess of Þorgils's voyage to Greenland has a parallel in Þorbjörn's voyage (see above), as Helgi Guðmundsson remarks (Um Kjaln, 81 footnote 4) 'sjóferðar- lýsingar og hrakningasögur eru töluvert algengar í ungum Íslendinga sögum.' [108] And those who followed Eiríkr to Greenland traditionally had a rough passage (cf. LdnStb, 156/8-9).

Björn Sigfússon is probably right in tracing some of the motifs in the Greenland section of Fló to the story of Snæbjörn galti in Sturlbók, ch.152 (see also

page*290 above). This story, as Jón Jóhannesson suggests (Gerðir, 106-7), probably goes back to a lost saga of Snæbjörn which the Fló — author may also have known. The episode in question and Fló have the following in common: both concern expeditions to Greenland, as already noted, 'joint' expeditions, made up of two parties of men (each about a dozen in number, LdnStb, 174/12; cf. Fló, 67/9-18). As far as we can gather, both expeditions land on the desert coast of east Greenland. In both accounts, the adventurers build themselves a hall (skáli) and are involved in ship-building or ship-repair. Þorgils and Snæbjörn are both unwilling to let their men go out at night (cf. LdnStb, 174/18-9). In both Fló and Ldn, there are killings while one group is away from the skáli. In Ldn, a minority group has to submit to the wishes of the majority to save their lives (cf. Fló, 82/9-11).

The motif just mentioned of the skáli which Þorgils in Fló and Snæbjörn galti in Ldn build, realistic though it is, is, of course, not peculiar to these two sources. It is the conventional building of new colonists in Iceland, Greenland and Vinland. And another possible borrowing: in Gr (261) we are told how Karlsefni and his men þann máldaga gerðu... at jöfnum höndum skyldi þeir hafa allt þat, er þeir fengi til gæða. The same pooling of resources is also found in Fló (70/26). ^(71/10) And the games played by Jósteinn and his men at 71/6,13 perhaps have a model in Gr (265) where games are played on Freydis's

expedition.

The expedition has not been in Greenland long before Christmas draws near (71/17), the traditional time when evil spirits and spooks are abroad. Accordingly Þorgils tells his men to go to bed early (cf. Fló, 18/3-4). Jósteinn and his band, on the other hand, keep up their riotous behaviour and it is not long before they meet their nemesis: on Christmas Day they hear a great calling from the north-west. Next day one of them answers a knocking at the door, goes immediately mad and dies. The day after that the dead man attacks another of Jósteinn's men and he dies. After this, Jósteinn's party perishes one after the other and before long they return from the dead and begin to persecute Þorgils and his group. The evil Þorgerðr is particularly active in this last respect. Finally Þorgils has all the bodies burnt and there is no trouble from aptrgöngur after that.

We have already dealt with the motif of the fight with revenants. The sort of story we have in ch. 21 is perhaps a less common, but none the less, well-defined type of aptrgöngur-story. The best-known example is probably the story of the Fróðárundr in Eyrb (chs. 50-5). In this a shepherd comes in one evening með hljóðleikum miklum (cf. Fló, 71/22 ff.) and it is not long before he goes mad, falls ill and dies. As a revenant he soon attacks Þórir viðleggr and kills him. Both the dead men now spook the farm, the epidemic spreads and very soon

six men are dead (Eyrb,147; cf.72/4-5.). At Christmas Þóroddr bægifótr is drowned with six others and he himself haunts Fróðá. At the end of chapter 54, we are told that whereas there had been thirty people on the farm in the autumn, there are only six left at gói (cf.Fló,72/13-4). Later, on the advice of Snorri goði, the revenants are conjured and there is not more trouble from them after that. And the Fló — author may also have had a story found in Eir,ch.6 in mind here. In this, an unpopular foreman, Garði falls ill and dies on a farm in Greenland's Vest-ribyggð and after that the majority of the household die one after the other. Later Garði is seen in an hallucination whipping the dead (liðit) whom, it seems, he has called to their fate (cf. Fló,72/15-6) Eventually Garði's body is burnt (cf. Fló,72/21). In the parallel version of the story in Gr, there is an epidemic but no hauntings. There is, however, a woman involved called Grímhildr who, like Þorgerðr (71/24) is sterk sem karlar (Gr,258). Þorgerðr, by the way, would otherwise seem to be modelled on the bloody and treacherous Freyðís of Gr and Eir and, in her heathen belief, possibly also ^(on) Þórhallr veiðimaðr in Eir. And two further details here: Þorgils on three occasions tells his men to be quiet in the evening and say their prayers. In Grænlandinga Þáttr, ch.2(ÍF,iv,277), Sigurðr Njálsson, also in uninhabited parts of Greenland, tells his men 'ok er nú liðit á dag, ok vil ek, at menn sé karlátir ok varúðgir!' (Is he, too, afraid of the super-

natural?). And, as Þórhallur Vilhjálfsson notes, the great shout (óp mikit) at 36/9 is reminiscent of the náhljóð of folk-belief (see Fjoðs., i, 657) which forebodes the deaths of men. He also compares the shouts in Gr, ch. 5 (see below however) and Nj, ch. 133.

At the beginning of chapter 23, we find the touching scene where Þorgils prophesies celestial happiness for his wife Þórey. It has already been said that this scene shows the influence of vision literature (see page 307/ff. above). But the Fló-author may also have in mind the stories of Þorsteinn Eiríksson and Guðríðr Þorbjarnardóttir in Eir, ch. 6 and Gr, ch. 6. - A son, Þorfinnr, born to Þórey in Greenland may be modelled on Snorri, son of Þorfinnr, born to Guðríðr in Vínland. - When Þorgils and his men climb a glacier to see if the ice is melting, the author, is, according to H. Vogt (Vatnsdøla Saga, 1921, 41 footnote) introducing the 'motiv des bergbesteigens zur aussicht'; among parallels mentioned by Vogt are LdnStb, 130/4 ff; LdnStb, 13/3 ff; Band, 358.

We now come to the story of the murderous thralls who, while Þorgils and his men are away from the skáli, kill his wife and make off with his boat. Þorgils later catches up with them and sells them into slavery. Stories of rebellious slaves are not uncommon in the sagas (see C. Williams, Thraldom in Ancient Iceland, 1937, 67 ff. for references). There is a story which the Fló-author is particularly likely to have had in mind here, that of Leif's

murder by his thralls when he is newly arrived in Iceland. Borrowing from the part of LdnX in question (132/7-133/5) has already been suggested in connection with the jarðl-episode. Here Leifr's slaves contrive to split up the free men of the expedition and to kill them all. They then abscond með konur þeira ok lausafé ok bátinn. They make off to the Vestmannaeyjar where Ingólfr eventually catches up with them and kills them. And even if the Fló-author did not have the story of Leifr in mind for the murderous slaves of Fló, it seems almost certain he did for an episode in ch.24. LdnX,132/28-32 reads as follows Hjórleif rak vestr fyrir land ok fekk hann vatnfátt. Þá tóku brætlarnir írsku þat ráð at knoða saman mjól ok smjör ok kólluðu þat óborstlátt; þeir nefndu þat minnbak. En er þat var tilbúit, kom regn mikit, ok tóku þeir þá vatn á tjöldum. Here we would seem to have the model for [109] Starkaðr's weird drink of urine and sea-water at 81/10-5.

We may now turn to some further details on which the Fló-author could have been influenced by Eir and Gr. As noted, the episode in Greenland where Þorgils has presentiments about the illustriousness of his descendants may have had the scene where the völva tells Guðríðr about her descendants as its model. But it may also have been influenced by Gr, ch. 6, where Þorsteinn Eiríksson makes similar prophecies about the same woman. And while the call which wakes up Þorvaldr and his men in Gr, ch. 5 and tells them to take ship may be a model for the óprik

at 71/20, it is rather more similar to the call at 80/12 which tells the Icelanders to go out and get their ship. After their boat has been stolen, Þorgils and his men build a húðkeipr. The Fló-author certainly found plenty of húðkeipar in Gr and Eir. An island where eggs are found appears not only in Fló, 77/14-5, but also in Eir, ch.8. When Þorgils kills a bear at 80/15 ff. we may compare Eir, no.284 (but see also pages *336-8 below). At 85/1, the Fló - author confidently talks about an útibúr at Brattahlíð where Þorgils keeps his wares. We read in Eir, 58: Síðan var fluttr heim varningr þeira í Brattahlíð: skorti þar eigi góð ok stór útibúr at varðveita í.

Finally in this sub-section a word must be said about the picture painted of Eiríkr rauði in Fló. No sooner has Þorgils arrived in Brattahlíð than we are told of a certain coolness between him and Eiríkr. Matters are not improved when Þorgils kills a bear in which Eiríkr is said to have believed. Later Eiríkr lets down Þorgils in the expedition against the outlaws. The saga gives, then, an unusually bad picture of Eiríkr. Underlying the whole story of the antipathy between the two men is the fact that while Þorgils is Christian, Eiríkr is an old pagan. Now this is rather the same description which is given of Eiríkr in Eir: in chapter 5 of that saga, we find him burying a chest of silver and gold before setting out for Vínland. A little before this, we are told how he is against the acceptance of Christianity and how his wife will have nothing

to do with him because he is a pagan. In the detail of Eiríkr's religion, then, the Fló-author is following older sources. And this was convenient to him, for antipathy between Þorgils and Eiríkr could be given as the reason for the former's return to Iceland from Greenland.

Þorgils suckles his son.

Chapter 23 ends with what is the most extraordinary story in the whole saga: to save his still unweaned child after the death of its mother, Þorgils has his nipple cut off. First blood comes out, then blanda (see Note to 38/12) and finally milk. Þorgils is thus able to breast-feed his son who survives for the time being. References are made to this incident later in the saga (see 42/10, 43/17-8, 44/21 and 51/11-3).^[110]

In considering possible sources for this tale, attention must first be given to a tradition connected with the eruption of Katla in the year 1311. This is found in Jón Þorkelsson, Þjóðsögur (125-6), where 'Eldrit Markúsar Loftssonar í Hjörleifshöfða' is cited as a source, as well as 'sagnir gamalla manna eystra, einkum Ragnhildar Gísladóttur frá Lambafelli (f. 1798, d. 1889)'. While we know nothing of the oral stories which Jón Þorkelsson had access to, we are able to go back to Markús Loftsson's work (Rit um jarðelda á Íslandi, 1880, 9-10) and there find a story which may be translated into English as follows:

'This eruption of Katla is called Sturluhlaup. It took place on the Sunday after Christmas. The resulting floods must have come either at night or with unusual speed for the farmer, Sturla Asgrímsson, who then lived at Láguey came out of the farm and was going through the yard. From there he saw the flood of water flowing down over the countryside (byggð) and coming towards the farm. At this he ran back into the house and grabbed a baby out of a cradle which stood by his and his wife's bed. Others say that he grabbed the cradle with the child in it and told the servants to entrust themselves to the mercy of the Lord. He then ran out and onto the wall around the farm. It so happened that the flood of water carried a large piece of ice (jaki) towards the farm. Sturla leaped onto this and took the child with him. The ice floated out to sea and was driven ashore some days later on Meðallandsfjörur. It had then drifted a good five miles east along the coast from the point where Sturla first got onto it. Sturla had had no time to take any food with him when he got onto the ice because everything happened so quickly. His solution therefore was to cut the nipples off his chest and to let the child suck his blood. And because he was a very strong man it was hardly noticed that he had undergone such an ordeal when he came ashore.'

Although the circumstances and details of this story and the one we have in Fló are different in several respects, the common element to be found in both of them is so

comparatively rare in Icelandic tradition that it would seem quite probable that one has influenced the other. We must then, at this stage, ask ourselves if Fló has not borrowed from the story about Sturla. We note first that while the story in Fló is clearly fictitious, that the þjóðsaga is far more likely to have had some basis in reality. Further, the story of Sturla is connected with a historical event which took place about the time Fló was written. The possibility therefore exists that the Fló-author was here embroidering an account of an actual happening which took place not long before he was writing. But the evidence against the þjóðsaga being primary is probably stronger. Markús Loftsson's Rit um jarðelda itself goes back to a work by Jón Steingrímsson (1728-91) which is edited by Þorvaldur Th^uroddsen in Safn, 1907-15 (see pages 190-9). And, in this work, while the story of Sturla (Sturli) is to be found, the detail of his cutting off his nipple is absent. Jón Steingrímsson seems to have had as his sources a work by Guðmundur Rúnólfsson (about 1709-1780) which is now lost, other written sources 'ásamt frásagnir trúverðugra manna' (see Safn, 1907-15, 194). The detail in question is therefore not found in the oldest extant version of the story. For this reason, while it is not of course decisive, the present edition is inclined to regard the story in Fló as independent of the story of Sturla Ásgrímsson. And this view is given support by the existence of other possible sources for the story in the saga

It seems preferable to take the following view of the story's appearance in Fló. It has been argued above that the Fló-author has to no small extent introduced hagiographic elements into his work: there are the descriptions of the hero which, in various ways, resemble those of holy men in the heilagra manna sögur and the bishops in the byskupa sögur (see pages *238-40); like many saints, Þorgils undergoes and overcomes temptation by the Devil (see pages *293 ff.); as in many legendary works, there is a visio (see pages *308-9); and, as will be suggested below (pages *357-8), when the saga gives an account of the digging up and removal of the hero's bones, it may again be influenced by the lives of the saints. Assuming, then, that the model of the vitæ was in the author's mind when he wrote Fló, it does not seem at all unlikely that he should feel the need in his work for some element of the miraculous. Miracula are, after all, amongst the commonest ingredients of the legend and were regarded as the surest sign of a holy man's favour from above. Naturally, the Fló-author had to tread carefully here to avoid the blasphemous: he could not have Þorgils working a miracle for another nor make his relics in any way efficacious after his death. A miracle is rather worked on his hero's behalf during his life and in this way his piety is confirmed. And turning to the miracle itself selected by the author of the saga, we find a type common enough for a German scholar to coin a special term for it: miracles where milk is unexpectedly

produced by human beings are by H. Günter in Die christliche Legende des Abendlandes (1910, 240) referred to by the term 'Milch-Wunder'.

G. Loomis, in his book White Magic (1948), is able to refer to a number of stories in the vitæ where milk is miraculously produced or babies miraculously suckled. A few examples may be given: the destitute infant Albine is found by two virgins who express the wish to be able to suckle him; with that their breasts are filled with milk and they feed the child (White Magic, 22); a woman who knew Mary Magdalene dies but even so suckles her new-born child for two years (White Magic, 108); a number of saints are able to give milk to women naturally incapable of producing it (White Magic, 42); 'two springs dedicated to Azenor had the virtue of augmenting the supply of milk of nursing mothers who drank of the water' (White Magic, 38); 'the Irish Berach was taken from his mother at the baptismal font in order that he might be brought up by the bishop. When the child cried for his mother's breast, his uncle gave him the lobe of his ear to suck. From this appendage flowed a copious supply of honey' (White Magic, 22); 'a number of martyrs, not only women but men, emitted milk instead of blood from their wounds' (White Magic, 79). The story in Fló is not very different from these miracula contra naturam.

Even so, nowhere in patristic literature has a story been found where a man actually breast-feeds a child as

Porgils does in Fló. On the other hand, in his article 'Zur Quellenkunde deutscher Sagen und Märchen', in Germania, 1880 (289-90), M. Gaster adduces a number of parallels to the story in Flóamanna Saga from Hebrew writings which are of special interest in the present context. One of these, from The Babylonian Talmud Seder Mo'ed, trans. I. Epstein, 1938, i, 245, may be quoted in full:

'Our Rabbis taught: It once happened that a man's wife died and left a child to be suckled, and he could not afford to pay a wet-nurse, whereupon a miracle was performed for him and his teats opened like the two teats of a woman and he suckled his son. R. Joseph observed, Come and see how great was this man that such a miracle was performed on his account! Said Abaye to him: On the contrary: how lowly was this man, that the order of the Creation was changed on his account! Rab Judah observed, Come and see how difficult are men's wants [of being satisfied] that the order of the Creation had to be altered for him! R. Nahman said: The proof is that miracles do [frequently] occur whereas food is [rarely] created miraculously.'

Now it is particularly interesting that H. Günter in his study of the origins of Christian miracle stories (op. cit., 85) cites this very story as a possible pre-Christian source for the 'Milch-Wunder' we find in the vitæ. If he is right in his suggestion, we may suspect male prudishness, prickliness and feelings of propriety as reasons for the

partial suppression of the motif in Christian literature. It is, after all, hardly in the Western tradition of manliness to suckle children. On the other hand, it is an interesting reflection on the author of Fló that he has been inhibited by no such squeamishness. Regardless of Germanic imputations of ergi to which he lays his hero open (see 44/21 and Note), he has allowed the idea of the suckling father quite explicit expression. And if his methods were unconventional here, his ulterior motive would seem to be quite clear: an anonymous correspondent reporting a 'suckling gardner' from his own experience to Notes and Queries (4/1/1890, 9) characterizes him as 'blessed beyond the sons of men'; the author of Flóamanna Saga seems to wish to present his hero in the same light.

Tróllkonur tvær

One morning after Þórey's death, Þorgils goes out and sees a great quantity of drift floating in an opening in the ice and by it two tróllkonur, clad, we are told in the M-version (77/1), in fur kirtles making themselves large burdens from it. Þorgils runs over to them with his sword and strikes the arm off one of them. They drop their loads and flee. Later (Main Text, 40/19-21 and M-version, 80/12-4) after a warning from a mysterious voice, Þorgils and his companions catch two women (konur tvær) in the act of stealing their vessel; when surprised, these women disappear quickly.

Nijhoff (Beschouwing, 137) points to various parallels to and possible sources for these two episodes. For the first, he sees Ket, ch. 2 as a source: here Ketill, on a fishing expedition in the uninhabited parts of Hálogaland, locks up his catch in a boat-house but finds it disappears. Aðra nótt vakti Ketill. Þá sá hann jötun ganga í naustit, ok batt sér byrði mikla. Ketill gekk at honum ok hjó til hans með ǫxinni á ǫxlina[cf. M-text, 77/4] ok fell byrðrinn ofan. Later the giant is described as a tróll. Nijhoff is probably right in seeing a direct connection between Fló and Ket here and in suggesting that the former of the two is the borrower (cf. page *261 above).

There is also a parallel story in Ket to the attempt of the two tróllkonur to steal Þorgils's craft. In ch. 3 of that saga, Ketill, this time in Finnmörk, is deprived of his boat by a troll-woman. A similar story is told of Ketill's son Grímr in Gríms Saga loðinkinna, ch. 1 (Fas, i). During a sojourn in Gandvík, Grímr is woken one night by laughing and goes out to find tvær tróllkonur trying to shake his boat to pieces. Later in the chapter, we meet the parents of these two beings and they are dressed í.... skinnstökkum bæði (cf. M-version, 77/1). ^[111] A parallel Nijhoff mentions from Friðþj (ch. 6) (cf. Untersuchungen, 111 ff.) is of less interest here. It will be noted that Ketill / Grímr / and Þorgils all encounter their giants and tróllkonur in the frozen wastes of the North, in Hálogaland / in Gandvík / and in Greenland (cf. Untersuchungen, 110 ff.)

It should be borne in mind that Ketils Saga and Gríms Saga accompany each other in their oldest manuscript and if the author of Fló knew one, he may well have known the other.

The finding of the oar stump

At 77/20-78/3, the M-version contains an episode not found in the X-version. We are told how, on the Greenlandic coast, Þorgils and his men find a broken oar on which a verse is inscribed in runes. This verse will be discussed at greater length in Appendix II. It will be argued there that it is a rowing song which the author of the saga knew from contemporary oral tradition. As for the episode in Fló itself, it will be stated as a possibility that we have here 'a motif from the story of Ingi-mundr 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 [cf. Sturl; i, 153]'. But it will be regarded as a greater likelihood '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 [cf. 77/11-20 and 82/11-2]'. But as noted, we are on very uncertain ground here.

One can think of another possible reason why this episode should have been introduced here. The majority of Íslendingasögur contain verses which their characters are purported to have declaimed. Some of these verses

may be genuine, some may have been composed prior to the writing of the saga, some were actually made up by the authors of the sagas themselves. It will be argued in Section A of Chapter III that in all probability the author of Fló knew few, if any, oral traditions about Þorgils. It also seems unlikely that he knew any verses about him. Further he may not himself have been a poet and thus not capable of composing his own verses about his hero. On the other hand, he might have felt constrained to comply with a convention which he thought demanded at least one or two verses in a saga. He therefore clutched at straws. In chapter 18, he would have been only too pleased to copy Helgi trausti's and possibly Helgi dýr's verse from LdnX (see pages*45 ff.). And here in chapter 24, he forced in a verse from popular tradition despite its poverty as poetry and its irrelevance to the story of the saga.

At toga hǫnk

A possible model for the first of Þorgils's proleptic dreams (for an explanation of which, see Notes to 39/20-2 ff., 39/20-2, 39/23-4) is Haraldr harðráði's dream before the battle of Niz against the Danes under Sveinn Úlfsson. This is found in four medieval manuscripts: Morkinskinna, Flateyjarbók (Flb, iv, 139), Hulda and Hrokkinskinna (see Fms, vi, 312). The text of Morkinskinna (ed. C. Unger, 1867, 77) is as follows:

Konungr var þá katr og melti. Dreyndi mic i nött
segir hann. mer þótti sem vit Sveinn konungr fyndime og
helldim a einni havnc og togabim og dro hann af mer
havnkina. Þar reddo menn misiafnt of dravm konungs og
rebo sva flestir at Sveinn konungr mundi þat hafa er þeir
sviptvz vm. Vera kan herra segir Hacon at sva se sem
þeir raða en uenna þetti mer at Sveini konungi mundi a
hancaz. (Flb. has: er hann hafði hönkina here) Þat þicci
mer licligra segir konungr at sva se og þannig er betr
raþit.

The majority of Haraldr's followers interpret their king's dream in the same way as Þorleifr interprets Þorgils's. Sveinn pulled the hönk from Haraldr and this can only bode ill for the latter. Hákon Ívarsson on the other hand offers a more subtle and optimistic interpretation. Since Sveinn has the hönk (cf. Flb's er hann hafði hönkina) it is possible that he will get tangled up (Sveini myndi áhankaz)^[112]. In the ensuing battle Sveinn and his Danish army are forced to flee. This story could well have been known to the author of Fló (cf. pages *234, *279-80 above).

The swan dream

In the second dream of this series, Þorgils finds himself at home at Traðarholt. He sees a swan walking up the floor and this is friendlier towards others (blíðari (blíð, M) við aðra) than towards him. He then gives the swan a shaking and after that things go better. Þorleifr pro-

phesies that Þorgils will marry a young woman; to begin with her love will be cool, but later their relationship will improve. Later in the saga this prophecy is fulfilled.

Dreams where animals represent human beings are common in Old Icelandic literature. They owe their origins to a belief in fylgjur or fetches. [113] According to this superstition, an individual, apart from his material body, also possessed a 'soul' or fylgja which in most cases was only visible to dreamers or those with special visionary powers. The fylgja's appearance in prophetic dreams, like this, is a particularly common motif. It often takes the form of a woman but more frequently, as here, of an animal. What type of animal it appears as, depends, of course, on the nature of the person it belongs to. In Atlamá, for instance, the powerful and ruthless king Atli appears in one of Kostbera's dreams as a fierce bear, while in Völs (ch.26); Guðrún dreams of Sigurðr as a hawk whose feathers are the colour of gold. The connection between the swan and beautiful young women is a common one in Scandinavian folklore and also further afield (see H. Holmström, Studier över svanjungfrumotivet, 1919; Handwörterbuch, s.v. Schwan). For example, at the beginning of Völundarkviða (Edda, 116 f.), three valkyries come to three brothers dressed in swans' feathers. It may be possible, however, to point to a definite source for this dream in Fló. At the beginning of Gunnl (ch. 2), Þorsteinn Egilsson dreams that a beautiful

pen (álpt) rests on the roof of his farm at Borg. An eagle flies down from the mountains and chatters gently (blíðliga) to the pen. Another eagle comes from the south and the two male birds fight and kill each other. The pen remains sad and dejected until a falcon comes from the west. The falcon behaves gently towards her (lét blítt við hana) and eventually they both fly off together. The swan here represents Þorsteinn's daughter, Helga, who is wooed by two suitors (Gunnlaug, Hrafn) who duel and kill each other. She later marries the less distinguished Þorkell. It will be noted that in both Gunnl and Fló, the pen symbolizes women of the same name. It is difficult to set a terminus ante quem for the writing of Gunnl, although most critics put it before 1300 (so KL). The dream in Gunnl seems to be particularly well integrated into the saga. If, therefore, one saga has been influenced by the other here, then one would tend to suppose that it is Fló that has been influenced rather than Gunnl.

The tree dream

Þorgils's third dream contains perhaps one of the oldest motifs of the saga. 'Tree dreams' are found in a number of foreign as well as Icelandic sources. In Daniel iv, Nebuchadnezzar dreams of a tree which Daniel interprets as representing the fate of his kingdom. In Herodotus's Histories (Book I, 108; translation by A. de Selincourt, 1954, 57-3), Astyages dreams that 'a vine grew from his

daughter's private parts and spread over Asia.' Later the daughter gives birth to Cyrus who rises against Astyages and becomes master of Asia. The same motif appears in various medieval European romances (see R. Mentz, Die Träume in den altfranzösischen Karls- und Artus-Epen, 1888, 40 and 79; P. Schach, 'Some Parallels to the Tree Dream in Ruodlieb', Monatshefte, 1954, 353-64). In the Latin romance Ruodlieb of about 1030 (ed. F. Seiler, 1882, 353-64), the hero's mother sees a tall, luxuriant linden on the top of which Ruodlieb is lying on a couch, surrounded by soldiers ready for battle. A dove places a crown on his head, perches on his hand and kisses him. His mother interprets the dream as prophesying great honour for her son. In a Norman work, Robert Wace's Roman de Rou of about 1160 (ed. H. Andresen, 1879, ii, 145), the pregnant mother of William the Conqueror dreams of a tree growing from her body which covers the whole of Normandy. Of Icelandic writers, Snorri is one of the first to make use of the element, although what his direct source was, can only be a subject for [114] speculation. The element is used on two occasions, once in Hálfðanar Saga svarta (Hkr, i, 90) and again in Magnússona Saga (Hkr, iii, 265). Only the first of these instances need concern us here: Before the birth of Haraldr hárfagri, Ragnhildr, his mother, dreams that he takes a brooch from her tunic and, as she holds it, it takes root and grows into a tall tree. The lower part of the tree is as red as blood, the trunk a beautiful green and the

branches as white as snow. The tree has many twigs, some growing high up, other low down. The branches are so huge that they spread not only over Norway but much further afield. The dream is given its interpretation in Haralds Saga hárfagra (Hkr, i, 148):

Ok býða menn þat nú, at vitat hafi um tré þat it mikla, er móður hans sýndisk í draumi fyrir burð hans, er inn nezti hlutr tréssins var rauðr sem blóð, en bá var leggrinn upp frá fagr ok grænn, at þat jartegndi blóma ríkis hans. En at ofanverðu var hvítt tréit, þar sýndisk þat, at hann myndi fá elli ok hæru. Kvistir ok limar tréssins boðaði afkvæmi hans, er um allt land dreifðisk, ok af hans ætt hafa verit jafnan síðan konungar í Nóregi.

It should be noted here that there is a pun on the actual and figurative sense of blómi and that the author of Fló also introduces a pun into his version of the dream (cf. Notes to 40/6 and 40/11-2).

In Icelandic sources later than Heimskringla, tree dreams are firstly found in Harð (on two occasions: 126 f. and 129). As in Heimskringla, there are puns here on blómi. A version of Harð (itself probably written in the southwestern part of Iceland) must have been in existence before Fló (cf. Harð, 95 ff.) and since the dream is found in both extant redactions of the work (AM 556 and 564, 4to), it is likely to have been in this oldest redaction also. If, then, there is some direct connection between Fló and Harð here, Fló is probably the borrower. Secondly, there is a

tree dream in Bárð, ch.1 :

Þá var þat á einni nótt, at Bárðr lá í sæng sinni, at hann dreymdi, at honum bótti tré eitt mikit koma upp í eldstó fóstura síns, Dofra. Þat var harðla margkvíslótt upp til limanna. Þat óx svá skjótt, at þat hrökk upp í hellisbjargit ok því næst út í gegnum hellisgluggann. Þar næst var þat svá mikit, at brum þess bótti honum taka um allan Nóreg, ok þó var á einum kvistinum fegrsta blóm, ok vǫru þó allir blómamiklir. Á einum kvistinum var gullslitr. Þann draum réð Bárðr svá, at í hellinn til Dofra mundi koma nökkurr konungborinn maðr ok fæðast þar upp ok sá sami maðr mundi verða einvaldskonungr yfir Nóregi. En kvistr sá inn fagri mundi merkja þann konung, er af þess ættmanni væri kominn, er þar yxi upp, ok mundi sá konungr boða annan sið en þá gengi. Var honum draumr sá ekki mjök skapfelldr. Hafa menn þat fyrir satt, at þat it bjarta blóm merkti Óláf konung Haraldsson.

This dream has a number of features in common with Fló, including the gullslitr detail not found elsewhere. Bárð is a late saga which borrows from the Sturlúbók-redaction of Landnámabók and which may have been written well into the fourteenth century. On the whole the gullslitr detail seems better integrated in Fló than in Bárð. It is possible, although by no means certain, that we have ^(here) a case of borrowing from (rather than into) Flóamanna Saga. [115]

The five candles

In the M-version (79/15-21), Þorgils has a dream not

found in the shorter version. In the first part of this he is at home at Traðarholt and has five candles on his knee: the largest of these is no longer alight (ok fólski á inu mesta). Although no interpretation is given in the saga, the meaning is clear: The five candles are the lives of Þorgils and his four companions. The largest (least burnt) of them represents the life of his son Þorfinnr; its flame has been extinguished and Þorfinnr dies while still a child, before Þorgils returns home to Traðarholt.

The flame, especially the flame of a candle, is a well-known symbol for life in pagan and, more particularly, in Christian tradition (see e.g. Handwörterbuch, s.v. Lebenslicht). In Greek myth, the Fates appear to Meleager's mother and announce that her son will live only as long as a certain brand on the hearth remains unburned. She takes the brand from the fire, puts it out and hides it in a chest. Years later the Furies instruct her to throw the brand into the fire; she does so and her son dies immediately (see R. Graves, The Greek Myths, 1960, i, 264 ff.) This story bears a striking resemblance to that of Norna-Gestr in Flb, i, 397 f.: While Norna-Gestr was still in his cradle, a vólva decrees that he shall live only as long as a candle he has with him remains unburned. At his baptism three hundred years later, the candle is lit and he dies. The same motif is further found in variant D₂ of the Märchen known as 'Der Gevatter Tod' (see J. Bolte

and G. Polívka, Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm, i, 1913, 377 ff. and especially 388), a version of which is found in Iceland (see Einar Ól. Sveinsson, Verzeichnis isländischer Märchenvarianten, 1929, 32). Lastly, one of Gísli's dreams in Gísl (ch. 22) should be mentioned here. The hero enters a hall where his friends and relations are drinking. There are also seven fires there, some of which are very low, while others burn brightly. Gísli's good dream-woman tells him that these represent the part of his life he still has left to live. In Fló we have, as here, the multiple number of flames, the dream framework and, in the second part of Þorgils's dream, a dream-woman. The Fló-author could have known Gísl (according to KL, written between 1240 - 50) and may have got the idea for this dream from it, although the 'Lebenslicht'-symbol is too common to reach any certain conclusion on this point. See on a possible pun on fólski in this dream Note to 79/17.

Two polar bears

In Flómannna Saga Þorgils kills two polar bears. The first of these (see 40/21-3) he finds struggling in a hole in the ice with a frost-bitten paw. He kills it and he and his band eat the meat. The second killing (see 43/25 ff.) takes place at Brattahlíð. A bear has been preying on the livestock of the Greenland farmers.

Meetings are held and a price is put on the animal's head. One day Þorgils's son comes in and says that there is a large and beautiful dog outside. He then runs out and is attacked by the bear which has come down from the glaciers. He cries out and Þorgils rushes to the scene and cleaves the animal's head with his sword Jarðhússnautr. As a result of this deed Þorgils becomes famous and collects a good deal of money in bjarnngjóld.

Bear-killers must always have been folk-heroes in the North. The brown bear is the largest of Scandinavia's predators and the pursuit of it, down the centuries, has been surrounded with a good deal of glamour. And when the Norsemen crossed the Atlantic to Iceland and further to Greenland in the Age of Settlement, they encountered the far larger and more aggressive polar bear, one of the few wild animals which will attack human beings unprovoked. The remark by the author of Orvar-Odds Saga (ed. R. Boer, 1888, 121) that the slaying of a polar bear ranks higher than the slaying of a tiger is a measure of the respect the beast enjoyed. Certainly its sporadic appearance in Iceland was well-remembered and its killers celebrated in folk-tradition (see e.g. Þjóðs, i, 605-9; iv, 3-6). And when Icelandic saga-writers introduce obviously apocryphal bear-killing stories into their works - whether the animal is white or brown - then these, of course, are contrived to redound to their hero's reputation. The stories of this type told

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in Fær, ch.12 and VG1, ch.3 are just two examples of many in the sagas. But perhaps most like the story we have here in Fló is the one in Finnb, ch. 11: here a meeting is held and a price is put on the animal's head (cf. also e.g. Eg, 167). And here also the good farmer Bárðr offers to collect the bjarngjöld owing to Finnbogi, just as Bjálfi does for his guest, Þorgils, in Fló.

Hrólfr the outlaw

After the encounter with the dying Þórarinn, the next episode in the saga is the winter Þorgils and his men spend with Hrólfr. This must be looked at in its M-version: Hrólfr is found living on a small farm on a remote fjord in Greenland. He invites Þorgils and his men to stay with him and tells them at an early stage that he has fled from the settlement area (byggð) after slayings he has committed. During the winter the hospitality he provides is the best and, when the spring comes, he gives his ship to his guests. Before they part, Hrólfr says he thinks Þorgils will win influence and respect when he gets to the inhabited part of the country and asks him to affect an amnesty for him. This Þorgils promises to do. Later, after arriving at Brattahlíð (here following the X-version), Þorgils færir fram sýknu Hrólfs (45/18) and at 47/23 Hrólfr is norðan kominn ok í frið tekinn.

A similar story to this is found in Fær, 14-23, 41. Here the destitute Sigmundur and Þórir lose their way on

Dofrafjall in the winter. In the middle of a snow-storm, they come upon a remote farm where they are given succour. Here they stay not just for one winter but for six.

During this time, their host (who calls himself Úlfr; cf. the like sounding name Hrólfur in Fló) looks after them well and treats them as his own sons. When they eventually do part, Úlfr (who now reveals his real name as Þorkell) tells the young men how he is in fact living the life of an outlaw for the killing of one Þorálfr. His final words to Sigmundur are (Fær, 23): '...en þess vil ek biðja þik, Sigmundur, at ef þú fær framkvæmð með höfðingjum, at þú munir nafn mitt ok komir mér í brift ok í sætt við sveitunga mína, þvíat mjök leiðiz mér nú í óbyggðum þessum'.

To this request, Sigmundur assents. Later (41), at the Frostaping, we are told that flutti Sigmundur mál Þorkels, mágs síns, at Hákon jarl gerði hann sýknan ok gæfi honum landsvist sína at frjálu ^(S) ok Hákon jarl jattaði Sigmundi því skjótt. Lét jarl þá senda eptir Þorkeli ok liði hans, etc. Fær was written about 1220 (so KL) and we may here have a case of direct borrowing from it into Fló.

Mannjófnuðr

The account of Þorgils's second bear-killing is followed by a short episode telling how the men at Brattahlíð play the game of mannjófnuðr. Eiríkr and Þorgils are discussed. Kolr says that Þorgils has done many deeds of prowess but Hallr, one of Eiríkr's men, says his master is a great and

famous chieftain and avers, presumably because Þorgils has suckled his child, he does not even know if Þorgils is a man or a woman. At this last remark, Kolr jumps at Hallr and kills him with his spear. Eiríkr tells his men to take Kolr, general fighting seems imminent but further bloodshed is averted by Þorgils's good sense. But despite a formal reconciliation between the two, good-will between Eiríkr and Þorgils diminishes.

At fara í mannjófnuð was an attempt to decide by discussion who was the superior of two or more men. Stories of this pastime have, no doubt, some background in reality (cf. Note to 44/16), but we know it primarily as a literary motif from a number of Icelandic sources, including Sagas of Kings, Sagas of Icelanders and fornaldarsögur (e.g. Hkr, i, 213; ii, 256; iii, 259-62; Orkn, ch.61; Fær, ch.5; Eyrb, ch.37; Hálfs, ch.15; cf. VGl, ch.14). The usual occasion for a mannjófnuð is the feast or drinking bout and the fact that the one in Fló is in a latrine is meant, no doubt, to liven up the account with a touch of burlesque. The motif is mainly used by saga-writers when they wish to engender squabbles, enmities or fights between their protagonists (cf. Eyrb, ch.37: var þar talat um mannjófnuð, hverr þar væri gófgastr maðr í sveit eða mestr höfðingi; ok urðu menn þar eigi á eitt sáttir, sem optast er, ef um mannjófnuð er talat). Perhaps the best known or at any rate the most protracted use of the motif is in Hkr, iii, 259-62, where the brother-kings of Norway, Eysteinn and Sigurðr

compare their respective merits (taka sér jafnaðarnenn). But this more casual form of mannjófnuðr in Fló more resembles that in Fær, ch. 5 which takes place around sviðueldar. The grave insult Hallr offers Þorgils is reminiscent of that Flosi offers Njállin Nj, 123 (cf. Note to 44/21).

The thirty outlaws

There have already been two outlaw stories in the part of Fló which is not dependent on Landnámabók: the first was about Kolr who, as a skógarmaðr regards his sentence cavalierly and behaves exactly as he did before being convicted. The second concerns the outlaw Hrólfr who entertains Þorgils in a remote fjord in Greenland and, when he leaves, asks him to try to get his sentence lifted when he comes to the settled area. An attempt has been made to show that both these stories, to a greater or lesser extent follow set models (see pages *288 f. and *338 f. above). In chapters 25 and 26 we get yet a third story which concerns outlaws and here too it is possible to point to literary parallels for the individual elements. Thirty útilegumenn live in some islands in Eiríksfjörðr; in the same way the outlawed Grettir lives on Drangey in Skagafjörðr in Grett and the Hólmverjar on Geirshólmr in Hvalfjörðr in Harðar Saga (a saga which the author of Fló could have known in some written form or another); cf. also the legend of the Seljumenn in e.g. F1b, i, 268. The outlaws in Fló rob the men of the mainland (we may compare Harð, 163 f.)

The latter ask the ruler of the country Eiríkr rauði, to mount an expedition against them; in the same way in Flb, i, 268, the byggðarmenn, when they think there are outlaws in the offshore islands of Selja and Kinn ask Hákon jarl to go against them and this he does. Finally, in Fló, the outlaws seem to be in the habit of stealing farmers' daughters (45/245); similarly in Harð (160), Geirr kidnaps the daughter of a farmer of Hvalfjörðr.

It is, then, possible to point to literary parallels to the episode in question in Fló. It should not be forgotten however, that útilegumannasögur of rather the same type as we have here must have had an existence in oral tradition quite independent of the written word. As Jón Árnason wrote in his introductory preface to a large section in the second volume of his Þjóðsögur (Þjóðs, ii, 161) 'Útilegumannasögur eru ef til vill t/ðastar allra munnmælasagna á Íslandi.' Sauðabjófnaðr and kvennanám are commonplaces in many of the stories Jón collects in this section. The majority of Jón's outlaw stories show, like the story in Fló, (where the outlaws are ránsmenn and illmenni) a distinct antipathy towards the útilegumenn; their heroes are often men who, like Þorgils, overcome outlaws (rather than are outlaws themselves). While then, the general background to the episode in question in Fló may have been taken from stories its author had read, it could just as well have been taken from stories he had heard. And we may note here that, while he may well have read Harðar Saga in some form

or another, he could well also have known stories in oral form about the Hólmverjar, who were said to have inhabited an island in a fjord only some 70 km. to the north of Flói, the place where he probably lived.

Porgils deceives and overcomes the outlaws

In chapter 26, Porgils sails with thirty men to the islands where the outlaws are and drops anchor in a hidden creek (leynivágr). He now wishes to spy on the outlaws and to find out where their chieftain is. One day, he puts on old clothes and rows to where he sees the outlaws' cooks (matsveinar) preparing food in cauldrons. He approaches them. When they ask him who he is, he pretends to be Án inn heimski (a well-known and ubiquitous Greenlandic half-wit) and behaves accordingly. Under this guise, he finds out from them the movements of their leader. After more buffoonery, he returns to his ship and, with the intelligence he now has, is able to attack the outlaws when they least expect it. He and his men set fire to their skáli and the outlaws are driven out. They ask for peace (grið) but this is refused to all but their leader. He, however, says he would never be faithful to them and is killed like his men. Porgils and his men then take over the outlaws' ships and belongings and compensate many of those who have previously been robbed by them.

Of greatest interest in this story is the way Porgils deceives the outlaws by disguise. The disguise-motif

is frequent in Old Icelandic literature and Boberg (Motif-Index, K1810-K1839.14) is able to point to a large number of examples (see also Motieven, 81-2; Erzählungsgut, 110-1) Three stories, two in Family Sagas and one in fornaldarsaga, are, however, of particular interest here and could well have been models for the story in Fló. In Reykð, ch.25, Skúta at the Alþingi changes clothes with a poor man he finds carrying a load of wood. He then goes to his enemy's, Þorgeirr's, booth where menn Þorgeirs... fóluðu viðinn, en fœra hann í reikuð (cf. Fló, 46/25). Þorgeirr himself draws near to restrain them and Skúta slays him with his wood-axe. In Fóstbr, ch.23, we find a similar episode to the one in Fló which also takes place in Greenland. Þormóðr wishes to take vengeance on his foster-brother's killers. He changes clothes with a Greenlandic tramp, Lúsa-Oddi, who seems to be well-known. He then goes and asks a shepherd about his prey's whereabouts. The shepherd is deceived and tells him that they are out fishing. Þormóðr waits at the boat-house until evening (cf. Fló, 46/25). His enemies Þorkell, Þórðr and Falgeirr land, also thinking he is Lúsa-Oddi. Þormóðr then attacks them, and after a fight, finishes them all off. In ÞorstVík, ch. 20, Þorsteinn and Beli are involved in the following episode: The two heroes and their men drop anchor at Elfarsker. The two go ashore and across a headland and see twelve ships lying off shore on the other side. They also see tents on the land, smoke issuing from them and,

we are told, póttust þat vita, at þat mundi vera matsveinar. They disguise themselves, as vagabonds, it seems, and go to the tents and make nuisances of themselves there. The cooks abuse them and they létu endemliga (cf. Fló, 46/22-3) but ask the cooks who their leader is. Deceived by their disguise, the cooks tell them and they return to their ships. The following morning they round the headland and attack the twelve ships. After three days' fighting, they overcome the other force and take possession of their ships. They give grið to the vanquished men however.

In connection with this last possible model for the Fló-author, it should be noted that the whole episode of the thirty outlaws in Fló can be regarded as moving from an outlaw tale to a viking tale of the type we find in the fornaldarsögur. Thus at 46/3,15 and 47/10,11,13,21, the útilegumenn of 45/45 have become víkingar (see, however, Note to 21/22). The leynivágr in which Þorgils hides his ships is a typical feature of this sort of story in the fornaldarsögur (see Untersuchungen, 79) and, incidently, in Hrólfs Saga Kraka (ed. D. Slay, 1960, 20), is combined with the disguise motif. And the appropriation of defeated vikings' ship and booty is, of course, a well-known feature of pirate stories in the genre in question.

Finally, we may ask the following question about the scene where the outlaws are overcome and killed: do we observe here some of the elements which go to make up the sort of situation which could have been the subject for a

Germanic heroic lay? Motifs from such lays have often been taken over and adapted by saga-writers (see e.g. T. Anderson, The Icelandic Family Saga, 1967, 65 ff.). The burning hall, for example, is a familiar background to the heroic situation; magnanimous offers of amnesty by victor to vanquished are also common and often spurned; and the outlaw chieftain's '...ek verðr yðr aldri trúr' at 47/17 is certainly in the spirit of comitatus solidarity. But any impression of the heroic plot here can only be regarded as a very fleeting one: the outlaws put up a poor fight; they themselves are quick to ask for gríð; and they suffer the humiliation of a cold-blooded execution rather than fighting to the end. Cf. Note to 47/10-8.

Talking ships

While Þorgils is still acting the part of Án inn heimski, he hears that the two ships Stakanhöfði and Vínagautr have been talking to each other: Stakanhöfði has predicted that they are going to become the possessions of Þorgils; Vínagautr confirms this. In the same chapter their prophecies are fulfilled.

No other stories of talking ships are known from Old Icelandic literature (although in Laxd, ch. 67, a cope declaims a warning verse). There are, however, examples of ships that can understand human speech. In Þorstvík, ch. 21 is it said of the ship Ellid that 'he almost knew the language of men' (kunni hann nálíga mannsmáli), while in

Friðbj, ch.6, the same ship is addressed in a verse by the hero of the saga and reacts immediately. Turning to later Icelandic folk tradition, we find a number of stories of ships which can not only speak, but which like Stakanhöfði and Vínagautr, have oracle powers (see e.g. Pjóðs, i, 400; ii, 12; iv, 52-53; Jón Þorkelsson, Pjóðsögur, 74-6). The example given here in translation is from Jón Þorkelsson, Pjóðsögur, 74-6:

'Skúta' was the name of a twelve-oared ship which for a long time belonged to Strönd in Selvogur. It always had a lull for launching and landing in Strandarsund however rough the sea was. Others say that it was one of the features of Strandarsund that there was always a lull there at three o'clock in the afternoon... It was many years after the death of Lawman Erlendur, in about 1632, that Skúta went down. It is said that the night before this happened, one of Skúta's crew could not sleep. He therefore got up and went down to the boat-house. There stood two ships which were being used in Strandarsund that winter. One was Skúta, the other another twelve-oared boat called Mókollur. When he got to the boat-house, the sailor heard that the ships were talking to each other. Mókullur began: 'Tomorrow we must part', 'No', said Skúta, 'I shall not let myself be rowed tomorrow'. 'You'll have to', said Mókollur. 'I shan't let myself be moved', said Skúta. 'Then your captain will order you to move in the name of the Devil', said Mókollur. 'Then I shall have to and the worse it will be for that', answered Skúta. Then they fell silent. The man then went home, heavy at heart and went to bed.

The morning after brought good weather for fishing and men prepared to go to sea. The man who had heard the ships in conversation the night before said that he was sick and that he was not able to row. He also begged his captain not to put to sea, but his entreaties were in vain. Both crews now set to to launch the boats and Mókollur slipped easily off the stocks. Skúta however would not move at all and the men stopped trying to launch it. But when they had rested for a time, the captain called them back and told them to push in the name of Jesus as he was accustomed to. Skúta would still not move. They tried yet a third time but they still could not budge the ship an inch. The captain got angry, shouted to the men a fourth time and said in his rage: 'Shove in the name of the Devil'. The men obeyed and the ship leapt forward

so violently that they could hardly keep their feet.

They now rowed in search of fish. As the day passed away it became very rough and men went ashore. The two boats from Strönd stayed out longer than the rest and then made for harbour. As they came to the entrance to the harbour, the captain of Mókollur said: 'It is not three o'clock yet and we must wait'. The captain of Skúta said that it was past three o'clock and they argued about this until the captain of Skúta decided to make for Herdísarvík and rowed off in that direction. Just after that the lull came and it was possible to land. The captain of Mókollur called out: 'It is now 'Skúta's lull', but Skúta's captain did not hear and went on towards Herdísarvík tried to put in at Bótin. But the breakers were so large that Skúta was overturned and was broken to pieces and all her crew were drowned. Mókollur, on the other hand, took advantage of 'Skúta's lull' and got safely to land. Then the man related what had happened to him the previous night.

Talking ships with oracle powers are also known from folk traditions of other nations. In the Kalevala (runo 30, lines 7 - 14) the boat in which Lemminkäinen intends to attack the people of Pohjala weeps and warns the hero not to undertake any expedition for ten summers. Lemminkäinen disregards this and later abandons the boat when it is iced up. According to some Greek traditions, Jason's ship Argo had an oaken beam built into the prow; this had the power of speech and also delivered oracles to the Argonauts. See further on this motif F. Liebrecht, Zur Volkskunde, 1879, 365-7; and, on ships which understand human speech, The English and Scottish Popular Ballads, ed. F. Child, 1956, iv, 376-7.

Giparr strikes Kolr with a drinking horn

In chapter 26, Þorgils and his men leave Greenland and are storm-driven to Ireland. There they stay with a certain Anakol and, as a result of a quarrel at a

drinking bout, they kill Anakol's thrall Gíparr. This episode is found in the passage 48/9-48/26. One parallel is found in Vǫðu-Brands Þáttur (IF, x, 127 f.): In Fló, Gíparr exhorts Kolr to drink in a manly fashion, in the þáttur, Hárekr produces a drinking-horn and challenges Brandr to drink from it against him. In both Fló and the þáttur, the taunt is given a curt reply and the challenge is refused. The non-Icelander (Gíparr/Hárekr), after further abuse, then proceeds to strike the Icelander (Kolr/Hárekr) with a drinking horn. The latter is restrained (Fló)/restrains himself (þáttur) from any immediate action. It is not until some days later (Fló) /next morning (þáttur) that the insult is avenged. Secondly, there could be borrowing here from a story to be found in LdnX (196): ... hófðu þeir (i.e. a certain Eiríkr and Hallsteinn) jóla-drykkju saman ok veitti Eiríkr fyrr vel ok trúliga en Hallsteinn veitti síðar óvingjarnliga. Hann laust Eirík með dýrshorni. Fór Eiríkr þá heim en Hallsteinn sat eptir með húskarla sína. Þá gekk Asgrímr (a friend of Eiríkr's) inn einn ok veitti Hallstein mikit sár, etc. Here, as well as the blow with the drinking-horn and the delayed revenge, we have the double Yule feast, half with one host, half with another (cf. Fló, 48/9-10, 25). We know, of course, that the Fló-author had already borrowed from the redaction of Landnámabók in question. This may, then, be a case of direct borrowing from LdnX by the author of Fló. Cf. Beschouwing, 165 f.

Porgils and Asgrímr ask for Helga's hand

In chapter 28, Porgils returns to Iceland and, in chapter 30, on the recommendation of his son-in-law Bjarni, asks for the hand of Helga, the daughter of Þóroddr goði. We are told, however, that Helga has another suitor, Porgils's old enemy Asgrímr Elliða-Grímsson. By frightening Helga's brother Skapti, Porgils wins the girl. The relationship between Porgils and Asgrímr deteriorates as a result.

In his Darstellung (61-2), Rolf Heller examines this story and rightly doubts its historicity (cf. Note to 53/20-3). Indeed, in Section A of the third chapter of this Introduction, it will be suggested that the whole of the story of the conflict between Porgils and Asgrímr is the invention of the author of the saga. On the other hand, the Fló-author probably knew of Porgils's and Helga's marriage (or at least that they had a son) from some source or other. He has, therefore, to introduce an account of a bónorð (itself a motif; cf. Beschouwing, 123-6). And as Heller remarks (op. cit., 60): 'Es versteht sich von selbst, dass eine Werbungsgeschichte an Dramatik gewinnt, wenn zwei Rivalen einander gegenüberstehen. Mancher Verfasser hat sich das zunutze gemacht.' Heller gives a number of examples of the motif, including ones from Finnb and VG1. See further Beschouwing, 101-3.

Skapti Þóroddsson

For some reason, the author of Fló is ill-disposed toward

Skapti, the son of Þóroddr goði. At 54/5-7, just the sight of Þorgils's horses is enough to frighten him back across the Ölfusá and at 53/20 he favours Asgrímr rather than the hero of the saga in the matter of his sister's marriage. At 59/5-13, one wonders if he is not taking advantage of his position and reputation as a skilled lawyer to get Þorgils to drop a good case (cf. Note to 59/9). Now it is interesting to observe the same negative approach to Skapti in Njáls Saga (Nj, 141; cf. footnote 4): the author of Nj, like the author of Fló, has probably made up stories to present the lawyer in a bad light; for example, in Nj, 370, Skapti has to escape from Norway in a most humiliating manner (cf. Arnesb, 27). Further, the picture of Skapti at 59/15-13 as a rather unhelpful lawyer, unwilling to assist his brother-in-law at the Alþingi, could have been suggested to the author of Fló by Nj, 370 ff., where the same character refuses to help his relatives and in-laws at the Alþingi. Scenes where Skapti is applied to for legal advice are, at all events, known from other sagas than Fló (see Krist, 47 footnote and the references cited there). In his representation of Skapti, the Fló-author would, then, seem to be following an older model (Nj), or older models.

The cock and the hen

Events at the end of chapter thirty show that the relationship between Helga and Þorgils is strained. At the beginning of chapter thirty one, it is told how the couple

are sitting together outside one day: 'The hen squawked at the cock but the cock beat her until she was exhausted. "Do you see what is going on between the cock and the hen, Helga?" said Þorgils. "What of it?" Helga replied. "The relationship between other people could be like that," said Þorgils. After this incident they got on better together.'

In his Verzeichnis isländischer Märchenvarianten (1929, xviii f.), Einar Ólafur Sveinsson connects this tale in Fló with a migratory legend known from the folklores of a number of countries in Western Asia, Europe and Africa. This legend, no. 670 according to Aarne's classification (see Verzeichnis der Märchentypen, 1910), has been most thoroughly dealt with by Aarne himself in a monograph entitled Der tiersprachenkundige Mann und seine neugierige Frau (1914), although unfortunately the author of this work has not noticed the story in Fló. As it exists in the majority of versions, Aarne 670 falls into three distinct parts, of which only the third bears any resemblance to the story in Fló. The content of these parts can be summed up as follows: (i) a man is given the gift of understanding the language of animals often through an act of kindness to an animal; (ii) his wife gets to know of his special gift (often as the outcome of an elaborate series of events) and becomes curious; (iii) there is an altercation or animosity between husband and wife, frequently as the result of the woman's inquisitiveness. The man accepts advice from, or follows the example of the cock who is well able to keep

his own wife/wives under control. Often the man beats his wife. After this, her behaviour improves.

The third part of the Märchen may be exemplified by the corresponding part of the version found in The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night (translated from the French of J. Mardrus by P. Mathers, 1964, i, 8):

'Now the merchant had a valiant cock which could satisfy fifty hens, and also a dog. And he heard the dog calling to the cock and scolding it, saying: 'Are you not ashamed of being so gay when our master is on the point of death?' Then the cock asked the dog how this was so, and, when the dog had told him the story, he exclaimed: 'By Allah, our master is extraordinarily lacking in intelligence! I myself have fifty wives, and I succeed very well by contenting one and scolding another, while he, who has only one wife, does not know the way of dealing even with her. It is quite simple; he has but to cut himself some good mulberry twigs, go back in strength to his private room, and beat her until she either dies or repents. She will not importune him with any questions on the subject after that, I do assure you.' So the cock spoke, and when the merchant heard him, light returned to his reason and he resolved to beat his wife.

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The merchant entered his wife's chamber, after having cut and hidden about him certain mulberry twigs, and called to her, saying: 'Come into my private room that I may tell you my secret, out of the sight of all, and then die.' So she entered with him and he shut the door of the private room and fell upon her with redoubled blows until she swooned away. Finally, when she could speak, she cried: 'I repent! I repent!' and, beginning to caress her husband's hands and feet, did repent in very truth. Afterwards she walked out with him, and all the relatives and those gathered there rejoiced. Happy and prosperous were the fortunes of them all until their death.'

There can be little doubt that Einar is right in making a connection between the story in Fló and the Märchen.

Examples of variants representing only the third part of the tale are not uncommon and are found, for instance, in Chuvash in Russia, Lithuania and Denmark (see e.g. Gamle danske Minder i Folkunde, ed. S. Grundtvig, 1857, 117 f.)

(that)

The alternative to assuming a connection, is to suppose the story in Fló developed spontaneously in Iceland. This is not a very likely proposition. And any idea that it might be based on historical fact (cf. Fló, 1932, xii and Beschouwing, 104) is, of course, difficult to entertain.

With this said, however, it must be admitted that it is peculiar to find the story in an Icelandic source at such an early date. On the whole the tale is rare in Germanic Scandinavia; it is unknown in Norway and Sweden, and a Faroese version (see J. Jakobsen, Færøske Folkesagn og Eventyr, 1898-1901, 620 f.) comes directly from The Thousand and One Nights. Again, the version in Fló must rank among the oldest European variants alongside a Catalan version from the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth and one in the Gesta Romanorum (trans. J. Grässe, 1842, ii, 190-2) of about the same date or a little later (see Aarne, op.cit., 3-4). It is true that the Gesta was at least known to (although not used by) the author of the late Kirjalax saga (ed. K. Kälund, 1917; see 63 f.; cf. Aarbøger, 1917, 9 f.). But that the Gesta was written before Fló and reached Iceland in time to be used by its author there, may be regarded as a matter of some doubt. And the question is somewhat complicated by the existence of a maxim (Spruch) of content similar to the third part of the Märchen. This appears earliest in Petrus Alphonsi's Disciplina Clericalis from the first half of the twelfth century and later in the works of Reinmar von

Zweter and Freidank. In Disciplina (cf. Æv, ii, 367) this is as follows: Fili, ne sit gallus fortior te, qui decem uxores suas justificat, tu autem solam non potes castigare. Aarne (op.cit., 61) points out that there must be some connection between this maxim and the third part of the Märchen and tends towards the view that the latter is based upon the former. Einar Ól. Sveinsson (loc. cit.) in his discussion of the episode in Fló writes as follows: 'Die Hahn-Episode im Märchen kann von dem Spruch stammen oder beide von einer noch älteren Erzählung ... Welchen Platz im Stammbaum die oben angeführte Saga-Episode einnimmt, will ich dahin gestellt sein lassen, eine Verwandtschaft halte ich jedenfalls für sicher.' What exactly is meant by the second sentence here is not quite clear. The present editor is not, ^(however,) prepared to accept the proposition that the story in Fló developed directly and solely from the maxim in Iceland. It is true that Disciplina Clericalis is known in an early Icelandic translation (see Æv, ii, 163-200, particularly 164). The work might also have influenced part of Víga-Glúms Saga (see e.g. ÍF, ix, xxxix). But the story in Fló contains certain features in common with the Märchen but not found in Disciplina (i.e. the man's threat to follow the cock's example; the subsequent improvement of the woman's behaviour). That these features developed independently in Iceland is not impossible but not likely.

In view of these facts, if an explanation is to be given for the motif's appearance in Iceland at such an early date

the present editor would suggest the following as most likely: That the story was heard by the learned author of Fló (cf. pages ^(*398ff.) below) or someone close to him, in a country outside Scandinavia (England or France) where he may have been studying and where the tale was generally current. And while it may have been told in Iceland by the same man who brought it there, it did not take root. That it did not is hardly surprising: as suggested in Note to 55/10, in the Middle Ages, Iceland seems to have been a country where the chicken, if not unknown, was a rare bird. It would, then, have been a country where the story in question would have had little chance of surviving in folk-tradition.

The lawsuit against Asgrímr

At the end of chapter 32, after Kolr's assassination attempt, Þorgils calls nine búar and delivers a summons to Asgrímr Elliða-Grímsson to answer a charge of conspiracy to take his life. In the following chapter, the case is brought before the þing. Here Skapti tells his brother-in-law that his prosecution is void and the context suggests that the number of búar called by Þorgils is incorrect. The latter is then persuaded to drop the case.

It is quite possible that the Fló-author is here borrowing from Nj. In chapter sixty of the saga, we are told: Asgrímr Elliða-Grímsson hafði mál at sækja á þinginu.... Málinu átti at svara Úlfr Uggason. Asgrími tóksk svá til, sem sjaldan var vant, at vörn var í máli hans; en sú var

varnin í, at hann hafði nefnt fimm búa, þar sem hann átti níu; nú hafa þeir þetta til varna. As in Fló, we have Asgrímur Elliða-Grímsson involved here, although he is prosecutor rather than defendant. Again, as seems to be the case in Fló, the mistake in the prosecutors case is the fact that he calls the wrong number of jurors. It may be noted that while this last detail could be readily explained in terms of what we know about the law of the Commonwealth (see IF, xii, 152 footnote 2), this is hardly the case in Fló (cf. Notes to 58/23 and 59/9). We have here, then, perhaps, a rather negative comment on the Fló-author's methods of using borrowed material.

Bone-moving

In Note to 61/8-9, the present editor inclines towards the view that the account of the translation of the bones of Þorgils and two other men at the end of the saga is a literary loan rather than with any basis in reality. In that Note, similar accounts in six other sagas are referred to, those in Heið, Eg, Ol helga, Bj, Eyrb and Grett. The first five of these works are almost certainly older than Fló and any of them could have influenced the Fló-author directly. Fló differs from all of them except Heið in that it makes no remarks about the state or nature of the bones on their removal. Otherwise, our saga's account perhaps most resembles that in Eyrb, 183 f.: in both sagas, the movement of the church is over a distance of a few hundred yards

rather than to an entirely different site; in both works, the bones of three persons are involved; further, there is a certain verbal parallelism between the two sources: hann var þar jarðaðr at kirkju þeiri, er hann hafði sjálf gera látit. En þá er þar var kirkjugarðr grafinn, váru bein hans upp tekin ok færð ofan til þeirrar kirkju, sem nú er þar, Eyrb, 183; sem nú stendr kirkjan, Eyrb, 184 / Váru þeir allir jarðaðir at þeiri kirkju er Skapti lét gera fyrir utan lækinn en síðan váru færð bein þeira í þann stað er nú stendr (sem nú er, M-version) kirkjan, Fló, 61/7-9. In both Eg and Fló, the hero's death occurs while he is staying at the home of young^(er) relatives (cf. Note to 61/4). Finally, of course, it should be remembered that the translation of bones is a common theme in saints' lives and that the author of Fló has been more influenced by such works than the average saga-writer; he may then have had their model in mind here (cf. IF, iv, xlviiii footnote 1).

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Conclusions

We may here briefly sum up the results of the investigation which has been carried out in this chapter. It has been shown that the saga contains a large number of borrowed elements and that these come from a wide variety of sources and are very diverse in nature. Indeed, Fló must distinguish itself among the Íslendingasögur by the

number and variety of the borrowed elements it contains. As Finnur Jónsson observes in ONOI (ii, 751), 'om Torgils ophobes der de forskelligste bedrifter, kraftprøver og æventyrlige ting; det er som om det havde været hensigten i én saga at samle alle mulige motiver.' As noted, Fló is to be dated to a time after the greater part of classical Old Icelandic literature had been written; and it has been shown that the Fló-author drew unsparingly on the prose works of his countrymen of the late twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. We can be certain that he drew on Sturla Þórðarson's Landnámabók. It seems highly likely that he borrowed from Egils Saga (see page *281-3) and Órvar-Odds Saga (see pages *276-8). Among a number of other Íslendingasögur he ^{knew} ~~borrowed from~~, we may probably number at least Njáls Saga (see *250 ff.; *356-7), Víga-Glúms Saga (see page *264), Eiríks Saga rauða (see pages *309 ff.) and, perhaps less confidently, Grettis Saga (see pages *237, *244 and *252); and of other fornaldarsögur, we may reasonably suspect that at least Ketils Saga hængs and Gríms Saga loðinkinna provided him with motifs (see pages *260-1, *325-7), and possibly also Þiðreks Saga (see page *267) and Friðbjófs Saga (see Note to 21/17 ff. and page *262). In addition, he would appear to have been influenced by the Sagas of Óláfr Tryggvason by the monks Gunnlaugr and Oddr (see pages *291 ff.). But the sagas were not his only sources. We can, for example, discern the influence of the Saints' Lives and, in one case, of the Bible itself

(see also pages *291 ff.). Lastly, it seems clear that he enjoyed listening to stories as well as reading them, for he has introduced into his saga at least two stories which he is more likely to have heard than found in any book (see pages *346-8 and *351-6).

Finally in this Chapter, we may anticipate a conclusion arrived at in Section A of Chapter III: this is that the Fló-author knew little or nothing about Þorgils from external sources other than what he found in LdnX. Indeed, let us go a little further than this and assume that Þorgils was nothing more than a mere name to the author of the saga. Then, on the basis of this premise, let us briefly ^(more sweeping and) consider, in broader and perhaps sometimes ~~some~~ ^{somewhat} speculative terms, how the Fló-author, sitting at his writing-table, made use of borrowed and conventional elements in the composition of his saga.

Islendingasögur frequently begin with an account of the main hero's ancestors, often stretching back to Norwegian days and telling of the family's emigration to Iceland. The reason for this last event is frequently given as conflict with Haraldr hárfagri or his allies. Obvious examples are Egils Saga and Grettis Saga. The Fló-author has decided to give his saga this type of introduction (chapters 1-9) and, like the author of Grett and certain other sagas, has based this introduction on extracts from Sturla Þórðarson's Landnámabók. These he filled out with further borrowings and material of his own. In this respect, then, Fló begins

in imitation of various older Icelandic sagas.

From the middle of chapter 10 on, the Fló-author was without Landnámabók as the basis of his narrative and for his biography of Þorgils had either to resort to his own inventiveness or else to transfer to his hero stories told of other men in sources he had read or heard. That to a great extent he took the latter course has been shown by the above investigation. His first major borrowings seem to have been from Grett and Eg. The first of these two sagas seems to have provided him with his stories of Þorgils's childhood and he may indeed have intended Grettir to act as a sort of foil to the boy Þorgils: for, while Grettir destroys the valuable Kengála in Grett, ch. 14 (cf. page *237), Þorgils's victim Illingr is merely a klárr ókostigr, 'a worthless nag' (14/6); and while Grettir, in Grett, ch. 50, rows madly and breaks his oars, in Fló, ch. 11, Þorgils is a useful rower and a skilful fisherman. Eg, on the other hand, would seem to have provided the broader plot for the story of Þorgils in chapters 12-7 (see pages *281-3): the whole story of Þorgils's bid to regain his ancestral property in Norway clearly owes a great deal to similar episodes told of Egill in Eg. Indeed, apart from LdnX, Eg has probably influenced Fló more than any other single work. We remember here that Fló begins (see above) and ends (see page *357-8) in very much the same way as the older saga. And in this context, it is interesting to recall Björn Sigfússon's remark in KL (iii, column 523)

that 'man frestas att tro, att den ofta har utgjort den norm, efter vilken en släktsaga borde komponeras.' But the Fló-author was not, of course, only following Eg in his account of Þorgils's first journey abroad. Young heroes frequently undertake such journeys in the Family Sagas (see pages *241 ff.). In his relationship with Gunnhildr, Þorgils's behaviour may be meant to contrast favourably with that of Hrútr in Nj (see pages *250 ff.). His fights with revenants contain a number of elements paralleled ^{(, for instance,} in Hávarðar Saga and his duels elements paralleled in, for example, VG1. And for Þorgils's adventures fyrir vestan haf, fornaldarsögur such as Órvar-Odds Saga have been used by the Fló-author as models.

In chapter 18, Þorgils returns to Iceland and in chapter 20, two new themes are introduced which run concurrently to the end of chapter 24 and which, to no small extent, can be traced to older works. Firstly, there is the story of Þorgils's conversion to Christianity and its aftermath (cf. pages *291 ff.). The hero is tempted and persecuted by the god Þórr whom he formerly worshipped. Eventually, after a series of disasters, he drives the god away with a final, firm curse and after that his luck changes for the better. For the borrowings in this story, the sources are religious writings and, as argued, certain sagas of Oláfr Tryggvason. Indeed, the story of the new convert Þorgils in chapters 20-24 would, in some shortened and adapted form, not be entirely out of place as a báttur in Oláfs Saga Tryggvasonar.

vasonar in mesta. The second theme is, of course, the story of Þorgils's journey to Greenland to accept an invitation to colonize there. For this, the sources seem to have been Grænlandinga Saga, Eiríks Saga rauða and other accounts of voyages to uninhabited countries (e.g. Ldn). Why the author of the saga has chosen to combine the two themes in the way he does is difficult to say. The suggestion is made above (page *306), however, that in representing Þorgils as a saintly or even Christ-like figure, he wished him to spend some time in the wilderness after his conversion. He submits him, therefore, to the destitution and tribulations of chapter 20-4 to show how he stóz vel margar mannraunir er hann hlaut at bera (15/6-7).

After leaving Greenland and after adventures in Ireland and Hálogaland, Þorgils returns home to Iceland for the last time and if there is any predominant theme in the remaining part of the saga, it is Þorgils's quarrel with Asgrímr Elliða-Grímsson over the hand of Helga Þórodds-dóttir (pages 53-5) and the unpaid hafnartollr (pages 56-9). Indeed, there has already been a quarrel between Asgrímr and Þorgils in chapter 19 before the latter went to Greenland and conflict between the two therefore appears as the plot in a relatively large part of the saga. It seems probable that the author of Fló made up these stories because he felt the need for a feud in his saga. After all, stories of feuds, historical or unhistorical, are central themes in the majority of Icelandic sagas. For example, the twenty

or so sagas analysed by T. Andersson in PART II of his book The Icelandic Family Saga (1967) have feuds as their central plots. The Fló-author could well have felt that a struggle between the hero and another Icelandic chieftain (or other Icelandic chieftains) was an essential part of any saga. He therefore made up this one between Asgrímr and Þorgils, with such ramifications as law-suits, assassination attempts and the like.

We may note two other types of conventional element which the author has included in Fló. Dreams are particularly common motifs in the Family Sagas. P. Hallberg (The Icelandic Saga, 1963, 81) remarks that 'it has been estimated that there are on the average three or four dreams per saga. Flóamanna Saga has thirteen examples. These fall into three main groups, the Auðun-dreams (22/23-23/6; 24/3-8), the Þórr-dreams (32/5 ff.) and the series of proleptic dreams at 39/20-40/18 (cf. 79/1-80/11). For all three types, possible models and parallels can be pointed to. Proleptic dreams (especially those concerning the dreamer's descendants) are ^(a) particularly common type, not only in the sagas but in medieval literature as a whole. The Fló-author has, then, made ample use of this element. Secondly, the majority of sagas have verses in one form or another, either actually made up by the person to whom they are ascribed, or by some other person, frequently the author of the saga himself. On pages *327-8, it has been suggested that the author of Fló knew no verses about Þorgils or his ancestors,

nor was capable of composing any himself. Feeling he ought to have some poetry in his saga, he took the rather unsatisfactory way out of introducing a verse of almost complete irrelevance to his narrative in the form of the lines we find at 77/22-78/3.

Attention may incidently be drawn to a particular feature of the 'adaptation' (see pages *220-2) of certain borrowed elements in Fló. At 11/11-7, by the introduction of the motif of 'The Unlike Sons' (see pages *187-8), Atli Hallsteinsson gains a fictitious son Ólvir; in ch. 16, Þorgils, like many other saga-heroes, wins a wife in a duel and later, quite possibly in imitation of Leifr in Eir (see Note to 23/15-6), begets by her a son (Þorleifr); and at the end of chapter 16, no doubt in imitation of LdnX (see pages *274 ff.), Þorgils wins a magic sword (another conventional element) called Jarðhússnautr. Now it is interesting to note the way that the Fló-author, having provided his hero with an uncle, a wife, a son and a sword in accordance with older models, makes sure that none of these are left in Iceland at the end of the saga. Ólvir mjóvi settles in Norway and, it is stressed (11/16-7), kom aldri til Íslands. Þorgils gives Guðrún to his friend Þorsteinn (see 26/15 and Note) and she never even visits Iceland. Þorleifr leaves Iceland at 51/18-9 for no apparent reason and, indeed, as his father's only son. And the sword Jarðhússnautr is given to the Norwegian, Einarr, at 60/25-6 and he leaves Iceland at 61/1-2. If we seek an explanation for these facts,

the following would seem reasonable: The Fló-author's audience could well look for descendants for Ólvir and Þorleifr in Iceland. Again, they might ask what had become of the sword Jarðhússnautr. (Other weapons from the söguöld probably survived; cf. Note to 60/25-6.) Where (it might be asked) is the sword? Why wasn't it in the hands of Þorgils's descendants? What became of Ólvir's and Þorleifr's children and their descendants? To avoid awkward questions like these being asked, the Fló-author was careful to get Ólvir, Þorleifr and Jarðhússnautr ór sógunni and away from Iceland by the end of the saga. He has adapted his borrowings in such a way as to free his hero from certain fictional encumbrances by the time he dies. [117]

[IMPORTANT: On page *246, the following paragraph has been omitted at the point indicated:

'Meetings - intentional or incidental - with the ruling monarch of Norway (and other countries) are common stock in accounts of Icelanders' expeditions abroad and examples are numerous. The Icelander usually manages to impress the king in some way or other (cf. 20/15-8) and, as in Fló (17/15 ff.), he is frequently given gifts by the monarch when they part. See further Motieven, 127.']

CHAPTER III: BROADER CONSIDERATIONS ON FLÓAMANNA SAGA

Section A: Historicity and oral tradition

As a starting point for this chapter of the Introduction, remarks will be quoted made by Sigurður Nordal when he discusses Flóamanna Saga in his essay 'Sagalitteraturen' in Nordisk kultur; viii, b, page 266. He writes as follows: 'I Flóamanna saga synes vi at have en lignende blanding af nogen bygdetradition og ung digtning, meget ensformig i sine gentagelser, som i sagerne i denne gruppe. [Here Sigurður refers to a group of late sagas all of which he considers to have been written about 1300, e.g. Harð, Grett and Svarf.] Men ^{her} sagaen er endnu ikke tilstrækkelig undersøgt til at der kan udtales nogen mening om, hvorledes dette ældre lag er overleveret.' Remarks in an essay of the type Sigurður's is are necessarily succinct and one hopes not to have misunderstood them. What we seem to have here, however, is the suggestion that the author of Fló, when he sat down to write his work, not only had a written source which mentioned Þorgils and his ancestors (i.e. LdnX) but that he also knew certain traditions about them in oral form. These oral stories Sigurður appears to regard as appreciably older than the date of the writing of the saga. And while he clearly does not allow for anything more than a limited oral tradition behind Fló, 'nogen bygdetradition', the

suggestion he makes raises an important question: to what extent did the author of Fló rely on stories he had heard (rather than read) about the characters in his saga? And this leads on to a related problem: what (Fló) in can be considered to be historical fact? An attempt will be made to answer the second of these questions first. And here two points should be made. First, it should be noted that the following discussion concerns itself only with the story of Þorgils in Fló, that is, the part of the saga which is not closely dependent on LdnX (13/15-27/15; 29/13-end) ^[118]. Secondly as follows: the previous section has shown that the saga contains a considerable number of 'transferred' borrowed elements (cf. pages *221 f.). When these have been stripped away, large parts of the saga have been removed. And when there are so many stories about Þorgils which we believe have been tran^(s)ferred from other heroes in older works, it is not unreasonable to be somewhat sceptical about the historical trustworthiness of other stories told about him, even though no parallels can be found to them in the saga's corpus of potential sources.

In fact, the present editor has been able to find very little in the story of Þorgils as told in Fló which seems (likely) to be related in any way to the historical person's life. The hero's nickname, found in various sources other than Fló (see Note to 13/4) suggests, indeed, that, as we are told in LdnX, his father died when he was still young and

that his stepfather was called by the name Örrabeinn/Errubeinn. But we must ask ourselves whether a nickname like Örrabeinsstjúpr/Errubeinsstjúpr is likely to have been given to a person who left his stepfather's home at as early an age as Þorgils does in Fló. The adventures Þorgils goes through in his boyhood and on his first journey abroad are nearly all stereotyped elements (see pages *245-83) and one doubts very much whether the journey itself ever took place. There is, then, no reason to believe that the historical Þorgils married a woman from Caithness, had a son by her or acquired and owned a sword called Jarðhússnautr: the way the sword and the woman are conveniently given away (60/25-6 and 26/15) and the son, Þorleifr, finally leaves Iceland without leaving children there is extremely suspect (cf. pages *365-6). We may be equally suspicious of Þorgils's marriage to Þórey: she is a figure whose name seems to have been borrowed from various women of the Oddaverjar family (see Note to 29/19-23); one of her children by Þorgils (Þorfinnr) dies at an early age; their daughter, Þórný, is not known from Landnámabók or from any other source, nor do we hear anywhere that she had any children by Bjarni spaki, an historical figure, whom the saga says she married. In fact, it seems reasonable to regard both mother and daughter as entirely fictitious (cf. Arnesb, 52 and footnote 1, 92 and 283). In Note to 13/19, the possibility is discussed that Þorgils

(and/or possibly also Þorgrímr errubeinn and/or Heringr) held, at some time or another, one of the three lögoðorð of the Arnesþing and the conclusion reached that he or they may well have done so. The saga tells us that Þorgils was quick to accept Christianity when it spread to Iceland and the Norwegian historian, Theodricus, writing at the end of the twelfth century, tells us that a man he calls Thorgils de Aulfusi was one of the first Icelandic chieftains to be baptized by the missionary Þangbrandr. By Thorgils de Aulfusi the hero of our saga could well be meant, although there is another strong candidate (see Note to 32/4-5). But we have no reason to believe the saga's report of Þorgils's strong reaction against the old religion or of his saint-like piety. Here the writer of the saga has drawn on similar pictures of new converts painted by older writers (see pages *291 ff.). And, as noted (pages *309-10), one doubts that the historical Þorgils ever went to Greenland: if Ldn is right in making him sole heir to his great-grandfather's landnám, he would have enjoyed the advantages of a large estate in Iceland and, as already noted, may have had a goðorð; his reasons for making the dangerous journey across the Greenland Sea, either as a colonist or in any other capacity, would, then, be obscure. Few of the stories told of his stay in Greenland sound convincing as historical fact and many of them can be shown to be borrowed elements. And Eiríkr rauði, with whom Þorgils is ^{re}ported to have stayed, appears as

a stock figure (see pages *318 f.). Nor can the visit to Ireland and Norway after Greenland have any great^{-ed} historical basis. It is the last part of the saga when Þorgils has returned home from abroad which requires the closest [119] examination in the present context and it is probably in this part of the saga that the fewest borrowings and motifs can be pointed to (see, however, pages *289-91, *350-7; the einvígi-episode, 55/17-56/9). A story like the one of Þorgils's dealings with his son-in-law, Bjarni, concerning Þórný's dowry, even if the two men were in-laws (but see above), is, however, hardly one which is likely to have been remembered over any lengthy period of time and is thus not likely to be historical. The saga's report of Þorgils's marriage to Helga Þóroddsdóttir has, on the other hand, a good chance of being fact, although it should be stressed that no other source says the couple married, only that they were father and mother of the same son (Grímr glómmuðr); cf. Notes to 61/14-9 and 61/20-3. The stories which surround their marriage in Fló are unlikely to be true: one (53/26 to 54/11) seems to have been made up to put Skapti Þóroddsson in a bad light (cf. pages *350 f.); and that in which Helga goes to Hjalli (54/21 to 55/8) seems either to be a borrowing itself (see Note to 54/21-55/8) or to be made up as a background to the cock and hen-episode (ch. 31), which itself is obviously apocryphal (see pages *351 ff.).

Whether there is any historical basis for the account of

Porgils' s quarrels with Asgrímr Elliða-(Gríms)son is difficult to determine. The present editor is inclined to ^{by} interpret stories about friction between the two men as follows: The author of the saga wished to represent his hero as an important chieftain in Saga Age Iceland. He would have known Asgrímr from Njáls Saga as both a powerful and influential figure. He therefore made up stories to show how Porgils was able to hold his own or even get the better of Asgrímr. We note in this connection the way that, at 63/11-2, the quite general fact that Asgrímr bar ekki af [Porgils] á þingum is adduced to give an idea of what a powerful man Porgils had become. There is certainly no other source which mentions strife between the two men. Some of the stories about incidents in their quarrels can be shown to be literary borrowings (see e.g. *289-91). We also note how free from serious casualty (of any person known from other sources) the feud between them is and to what a sudden and peaceful conclusion it is brought (chapter 33). For these reasons and others (see pages *363 f. and Note to 53/20-3), it seems best to regard the account of the quarrel as fictitious (cf. Einar Arnórsson's remarks in Arnesb, 149). We may also be sceptical of the story of the killing of Helgi Austmaðr by Porgils and the latter's dealings with his two brothers (chapter 34). It may be suggested that the author of the saga invented this largely to account for the absence of the sword Jarðhússnautr among Porgils's descendants (cf. pages

*365-6 and Note to 60/25-6). Finally, there are the circumstances surrounding Þorgils's death and burial at the end of the saga and the removal of his bones from one grave to another. At first sight, the matter-of-fact way these events are recounted and indeed the very insignificance of some of them (e.g. Þóra's broken leg) perhaps more than anything else in the saga give the impression that we may here be dealing with historical facts. But on closer investigation, the present editor has become doubtful that this is ~~in fact~~ the case: in Note to 61/6-9, it is argued that it is unlikely that Bjarni spaki died before Skapti Þóroddsson as the saga implies; in Note to 61/8-9, it is suggested that it is unlikely that there was, at the time in question, a law demanding the removal of bones from one graveyard to another when a church was moved; and on pages *357-8, the view is taken that the account of the bone-moving in Fló is, in fact, a literary borrowing. We may, then, be sceptically disposed towards the passage in question as history. But against this conclusion (although not strongly), attention should be drawn to Note to 61/7-9 and also to the fact that Þorgils's living the last part of his life at Hjalli in Ólfus (cf. 88/26) and dying there could account for Theodricus's referring to him as Thorgils de Aulfusi (see Note to 32/4-5).

After these ⁽ⁿ⁾ considerations, we are unwilling to concede that the story of Þorgils as told in Fló contains many

more historical elements than the following:

(1) that Þorgils was among the first Icelandic chieftains to accept Christianity;

(2) that he held a goðorð at some time or another;

(3) that he married Helga Þóroddsdóttir and had a child or children by her;

(4) that he died and was buried at Hjalli in Ólfus. [120]

And it should be stressed that even on these points (with the probable exception of the third) we can only be tentative. (This applies particularly to the first and fourth point.) We may now go over to the first question posed above, that of the oral element in the story of Þorgils. On any of the four points mentioned above, the author of the saga could have been drawing on local traditions preserved by word of mouth since the Saga Age. But here again we must be extremely wary. If Theodricus is, in fact, referring to our Þorgils in his twelfth chapter (see Note to 32/4-5), and if the author of the saga is drawing on local tradition when he tells of Þorgils's early conversion, it is a little peculiar that, in Fló, the hero has parted company with Þangbrandr and the more famous chieftains who accepted Christianity at the same time as he (Hallr, Hjalti, Gizurr). Particularly Þangbrandr and Gizurr would have been well-known from oral tradition and the author of Fló probably also knew them both from written sources. It would seem that the man Theodricus refers to as Þorgils de Aulfusi would have been a member of a small body of men

who worked for and almost fought for the acceptance of the Christian faith at the Assembly of 999 (1000?) (see again Note to 32/4-5). But there is no mention of any of this in Fló. And there is no reason why the author of Fló should not have made the statement that Þorgils tók ^[121] ...í fyrra lagi við trú and concocted the stories of his hero's religious zeal without the support of any tradition, historical or unhistorical, spoken or written. As has been argued above, the pious, Christian, Þorgils of Fló is a stock figure, the stereotyped new convert, for whom there are various literary parallels. Even though it may be our hero to whom Theodricus refers, then, one may well doubt that the author of Fló was relying on oral tradition (or indeed a written source) for his statement at 32/4-5. Rather the same ^(sort of) argument could apply to the saga's representation of Þorgils as a goði (cf. Note to 13/19). This he may historically have been. But it could easily also be fortuitous that the author of Fló makes him one. The author of Harð, for instance, probably makes Grímkell Bjarnarson a goði without any historical basis (see Arnesb, 256 ff.). Taking an overall view, then, we may reasonably reduce the possible historical oral tradition to which the Fló-author had access to cover point 3 and, less certainly, ~~xx~~ points 2 and 4 mentioned above.

The element of historical oral tradition in the story of Þorgils in Fló thus appears to be minimal, information which could be expressed in a couple of sentences. What

could now be asked is this: could there have been, in oral tradition, any stories with no basis in reality, which were connected with Þorgils's name and which the author of Fló incorporated in his saga? Here a threefold answer may be made: First, as follows: it is true that the issue of historicity in the Icelandic sagas must be regarded as largely independent of the issue of the oral tradition which lies behind them (cf. Problem, 50, 108 ff.). Clearly from lack of historicity, one cannot argue absence of oral tradition. One must make allowance not only for accretions and deformations in the course of oral transmission, but also for omissions. On the other hand, as a general rule, it is reasonable to suppose some proportion, in the type of oral tradition we are here concerned with, between historical and unhistorical elements. Thus the more adventurous and full of incident a man's life actually is, the more likely it is to attract apocryphal legends in later times. Conversely, the stay-at-home in fact is far less likely to be celebrated in fiction. Practically all we know of the historical Þorgils is the nickname of his stepfather, the names of his wife and children and possibly also of the place where he died. If he did lead a life full of incident, a life remembered in oral tradition for more than the first or second generation after his death, then these oral traditions have perished. [122] But we have no reason to suppose that they existed. And because the historical oral element in the saga, as we have

it, is so negligible, we have reason to suspect that the unhistorical oral element will be so also.

Second, the present editor can find no story in Fló concerning Þorgils which he can see any good reason for singling out as originally an oral composition about the same man. It is true that there are tales in Fló which seem to belong basically to folk repertoire (see e.g. pages *254 ff.; *351 ff.); but we have no reason to suspect that these existed in oral form with Þorgils as their protagonist. Further, as noted, large parts of the saga can be shown to contain literary borrowings from works about other men than Þorgils. The saga is exceptionally free of verses, and where these exist (77/22-78/3), or may have existed (28/25), they have nothing to do with Þorgils. Occasionally bat er sagt-formulae appear in the saga; but these, we may reasonably suppose, are nothing but stylistic devices (see Note to 3/2). In the one case where a local place-name is related to an event in Þorgils's life, it seems unlikely that this is not a story made up by the author of the saga (see Note to 58/14)^[123]. Otherwise, no known place-names in Fló contain Þorgils's name and only two, Hæringsstaðir and Loftstaðir, can be related to characters in the story of Þorgils, and relatively minor characters at that. No other Icelandic source has stories to tell of Þorgils.

Finally, there are the methodological difficulties which the positing of oral stories behind the sagas

involves in general and which Nijhoff's thesis makes clear for Fló in particular. Two examples of the sort of reason Nijhoff gives in Beschouwing to support his theories of an oral tradition behind Fló may here be quoted (see also pages *109-10):

(page 72) 'De dood van Þórey is...zoo beschreven, dat we wel moeten aannemen hier met een echt verhaal te doen te hebben en van den voorspellenden droom en de voorgevoelsmotieven hebben we gezegd, dat dit alles echte sagastijl was; wij kunnen dit gedeelte dan ook heel goed in een mondeling verhaal verwachten.'

(page 104) 'Hierna [in chapter 32] volgt het incident, dat Þorgils...het touw doorhakt, als Asgrímr en zijn personeel bezig zijn diens boot aan land te trekken, ten gevolge waarvan Asgrímr, die in witte kleeren is gehuld, achterover in de modder valt, met eenige vrouwen boven op zich. Deze clownerie lijkt haast te veel op een van de streken van Tijn Uilenspiegel, om ze in een IJslandsche saga te verwachten. Het is weer een los populair verhaaltje over Asgrímr.'

Arguments of this type are common in Nijhoff's book. They are, if not arbitrary, subjective, based on doubtful premises and, in some cases, contradictory, doomed to arrive at highly uncertain conclusions. On the other hand, it is arguments not very different from these that we should have to invoke if we were to posit oral tales behind Fló. Not only, then, does it seem unlikely that apocryphal oral

stories about Þorgils have been included in Fló, but, if they had, it would seem to be virtually impossible to single them out.

We may return, then, to Sigurður Nordal's remarks on Fló. The present editor finds it impossible to concur with him in his assumption of an 'ældre lag' of 'bygdetradition' behind the saga as we have it, or to agree with his characterization of it as a 'blanding af nogen bygdetradition og ung digtning'. An attempt has been made to demonstrate that the element in question, 'bygdetradition', hardly exists at all in the saga. Indeed, the very fact that the author actually copied word for word information about the early settlers of the district from a work by an utanheraðsmaðr and has very little new to add himself suggests a certain poverty of oral tradition in Flói at the time he was writing. And Sturla Þórðarson, it seems, knows little or nothing of Þorgils, either from oral or written sources (cf. pages *206-7). Indeed, it could have been the very absence of information about Þorgils which made the Fló-author choose him as the hero of his saga: he may have wanted a free hand to do with his hero as he wished. But however this may be, two interconnected facts are now clear about Fló as a literary phenomenon. First, it is quite obvious that far from countenancing any view of the saga in terms of the 'Free Prose theory', we cannot regard it as in any significant way dependent on orally preserved material. But (and

secondly) to borrow words from Theodore M. Andersson (Problem), not only was the decisive moment in the genesis of Flóamanna Saga not the decision 'to transcribe tradition', it was not even 'the active intervention of an author'. The author of the story of Þorgils was not, as some writers of Icelandic sagas have been characterized, an historical novelist. He was not, as far as can be seen, re-forming old stories and traditions about his hero, adding to them or remodelling them. He had no skeleton of historical fact to fill out. Here we have rather the pure novelist at work. He began with a mere name, Þorgils Þórrabeinsstjúpr (married to Helga Þóroddsdóttir). To this name he connected stories he either made up himself or had read or heard told concerning other men. He also invented most of his main characters, introduced one or two stock figures (Gunnhildr konungamóðir, Asgrímr Elliða-Grímsson, Eiríkr rauði) and disposed of them as he wished. If he felt himself ^(m)trammelled by exterior factors in the course he had his narrative take, these factors hardly included considerations of 'historicity'. (cf. however pages *365-6) What happens to Þorgils in Fló, as has been demonstrated in Chapter II of this introduction, is rather governed by the conventions of the folk-tale and the saint's life and, more important, the model of earlier sagas about other heroes.

Section B: Critical considerations. The saga's place in
Old Icelandic literature

Flóamanna Saga has not fared well at the hands of the critics. Sigurður Nordal's judgement has already been cited. Einar Arnórsson refers to it as a 'léleg skáld-saga' and Jan de Vries's remark on it is 'alles ist nur eitler Plunder.' It would be doing a disservice to the better works of Old Icelandic literature to rank Flóamanna Saga among them. When we compare it with that masterpiece of medieval European prose literature, Njáls Saga, with such works as Egils Saga or Hrafnkels Saga, or indeed with any of the better Icelandic sagas, its limitations become obvious. Structurally, it cannot be regarded as having any particular merit: the narrative is, for the greater part, essentially episodic; we are hurried from one story to the next without there being anything which could be called a larger plot, a wider framework holding the saga together. The rhetorical devices T. Andersson (The Icelandic Family Saga, 1967, ch. 2) notices in the sagas are largely absent in Fló. Stylistically, it is, because of the nature of the X-version, difficult to judge, but the M-version, which of the two redactions is closer to the original, holds no great promise in this respect (cf. pages *119-21). Character delineation in the saga is all too often two-dimensional, too often lacking in depth. But with these strictures made, it must be stressed that there are facets of the saga which will hold appeal ~~for the~~

for the casual twentieth century reader of the saga. He will enjoy the account of Þorgils's struggle with Þórr (the wider plot, perhaps, of part of the saga). Here he encounters the sinister god, arrogant and dangerous at first, but growing gradually more impotent in the face of the hero's steadfastness. There is something climactic about their final encounter (81/5-82/5): pathos, the bizarre, irony, the humorous and the stirring are all blended with remarkable effect. First there is Starkaðr's abject suggestion which poignantly stresses the desperate plight of the party; the comedy of the small bird which the red-bearded god has now reduced himself to; and the hero's final curse, thundered out across the waves as the evil spirit flies to Hell. And while, as remarked, many of the characters of the saga lack colour, this is not true of Þorgils, not, at any rate, as he is portrayed in chapters 20-8. We admire his stoicism in his trials, we feel his warm-heartedness for his comrades and his love for his wife and we are touched by his constant solicitude for his motherless son, Þorfinnr (who is himself touching). It is not difficult to forgive him his moments of impetuosity or anger, the near murder of his son at 78/10 ff. and the threat to kill a trusted companion who has buried the boy's body at 51/8-9. His compassion for the sick Þórarinn at 82/14-5 more than makes up for these lapses. In Þorgils, then, we see glimpses of a character more appealing to the modern mind than the average accepted type of saga hero.

It is, then, the middle part of the saga which probably has most for the modern reader to appreciate. But it would, of course, be wrong to judge the saga only by twentieth century standards. Its repetitions of motif (aptrgǫngur; hólmgǫngur; assassination attempts), while possibly offensive to modern taste, would not have troubled medieval sensibilities as profoundly, if at all: as Vera Lachmann writes in connection with Harðar Saga (Alter, 123 ff.), 'die Saga schent Motivwiderholung nicht.' Nor, of course, would the stereotyped and second-hand nature of many of the stories told have bothered the medieval audience. They would have been happy with patterns which had found acceptance in the past and delighted in old themes in new settings. And if these old themes were enlarged or decorated with new elements, so much the better. Thus, for example, the kerganga-variation of hólmganga in ch. 17 would, no doubt, have pleased them immensely, as would the skilful adaptation of the tree-dream motif in chapter 24. And it is paradoxical that, while Fló perhaps to a greater degree than any other Family Saga contains conventional elements (cf. pages *358 f.), it sometimes distinguishes itself among them by its startling originality. The use of a Biblical borrowing must be practically unparalleled in the Family Sagas. Few saga-heroes would dream of breast-feeding their sons (cf. page *325). What the medieval Icelandic audience would have wanted was a story with plenty of action and movement and in Fló they certainly had

it. And we may note that the large number of paper manuscripts of the saga from later centuries bears witness to its continued popularity among the people of Iceland in more modern times.

We may now go on to consider Fló in its literary-historical context and here we have to anticipate the conclusions of the following section where it is argued that the saga was written at the end of the thirteenth century or the first few decades of the fourteenth. There is much in our saga which may be regarded as typical of this period and which it has in common with Family Sagas of a similar age. Like Grettis Saga (late thirteenth or beginning of fourteenth century), the first part of Fló, which deals with the hero's colonist ancestors, is merely a conflation and adaptation of relevant passages in the Sturlubók-redaction of Landnámabók. The stories of Þorgils's boyhood also have their parallels in Grettis Saga (see page *361 above). Particularly typical of Family Sagas of this period is the account of Þorgils's first sojourn abroad: its fights with revenants are similar to those in Hávarðar Saga (also a late saga) and Grettis Saga. With its duels, it resembles, for example, Svarfdæla Saga. Its Viking stories, which come under the strong influence of the fornaldarsögur (e.g. Órvar-Odds Saga), have parallels in several Islendingasögur of comparable date (again, for example, Svarfdæla Saga). And the story of a quarrel between the hero of the saga

and another Icelandic chieftain in chapter 19 could be found in any Family Saga, early or late (cf. pages *363-4). A reading of the first nineteen chapters of Fló will, then, hold no surprises for the initiated student of Icelandic literature who, in advance, is made aware of its age.

Jóns Saga Baptista (Post, 849-931), by the priest Grímr Hólmsteinsson and written about 1290, is swelled out with lengthy quotations from various works of the Fathers of the Church. Referring to these, Grímr says: 'I believe that their length will be displeasing to those who would rather listen to secular Viking tales (veraldligar víkinga-sögur) than the glorious works of the chosen warriors and champions of Christ crucified' (Post, 929). Earlier (Post, 849), he has referred to those who always grow weary of that which is told concerning the champions of Christ and who take pleasure rather in 'lying sagas' (skróksögur). There have been various views expressed on the implications of these remarks by Grímr. Einar Ól. Sveinsson (Sturlungaöld, 1940, 155 f.), who posits an ever widening gap between clerical and secular culture in Iceland in the second half of the thirteenth century, sees them (and, indeed, much more in Grímr's work) as indicative of the prejudices and policies of the clerical side. Lars Lönnroth (Scripta Islandica, 1964, 38 ff.) thinks he goes too far in this: he thinks that both clerical and profane literature were equally enjoyed by both orders until a time past the

middle of the thirteenth century and is able to adduce documentary evidence to back up his view. On the other hand, Lönnroth would probably admit that Einar's ideas are valid for a time about 1300 (cf. Lönnroth, op. cit., 39 lines 15-9). Further, however much one inclines to Lönnroth's view about the respective popularity of secular and clerical literature in the thirteenth century, Grímr's remarks make one thing clear: they provide evidence for a definite antithesis in the mind of an Icelander writing about 1300 between, on the one hand, sagas which deal with the acts of godly and pious men and, on the other, those which have the fantastic exploits of 'vikings' and the like as their subject. In modern terminology (and here with special reference to the first quotation from Grímr's work), we are justified in identifying the genres in question with the heilagra manna sögur on the one hand, and sagas of a fornaldarsögur-type on the other. And that a dichotomy of this sort was not peculiar to Grímr's view of things is satisfactorily demonstrated by passages from Laurentíus Saga and Flóres Saga ok sona hans which will be referred to below.

Accepting, then, the antithesis heilagra manna sögur (or helgisögur)/fornaldarsögur as belonging to at least some Icelanders' literary outlook in about the years 1300, we may return to Fló, for, when we read on in the saga from the end of chapter 19 and contrast the content of chapters 20 to 24 with what has gone before, it is the gulf

between these two very different types of literature which, one feels, in certain respects, is bridged in our saga. But here immediate reservations must be made. It is by no means suggested that Fló is a sort of hybrid between a fornaldarsaga and a saint's life; it is unmistakably what in modern terminology is called an Islendingasaga. Þorgils is hardly a typical Viking figure and certainly not a 'chosen warrior of Christ'. There is no attempt to project fornaldarsögur-motifs onto helgisögur-motifs or vice versa. The saga contains elements from these two genres only in particular sections, and these relatively small sections. The hagiographic elements are not always easily recognizable as such. But with these concessions made, one must recognize the fact that that which gives Fló its unique position among the Islendingasögur, particularly those Islendingasögur which, like Fló, are influenced by the fornaldarsögur, are the elements one finds primarily in chapters 20 to 24 and which have been dealt with in Chapter II under the heading 'Þorgils's dealings with Þórr; the religious element' (pages *291 ff.; see also pages *238-40; *322-5). The transference to the hero of a borrowing from the Bible (34/7 ff.; 68/18 ff.) must, as has been noted above (*296; cf. also ONOI, ii, 752 footnote), be practically unparalleled in the Family Sagas. Few Family Sagas can, like Fló, show influence from vision literature, slight though it is (cf. pages *307-9). A miracle worked on behalf of the saga-hero

(if such we have in Fló; cf. pages *322 ff.) must be a rarity. The very obvious tendentiousness of the relevant parts of the saga is unusual: Þorgils's steadfastness in his temptations (cf. Note to Introduction 99), for instance, or the story where those who neglect their prayers (in contrast to those who mind them) are visited by disease and death; last, the very definite tendency to make something of a saint out of the hero of the saga. All this alongside stories of viking raids, duels and aptrgöngur, makes for a certain incongruity of content in the saga which becomes all the more apparent against the background of Grímr Hólmsteinsson's remarks already cited.

A moment ago, the word 'unique' was used of Fló's position in Icelandic literature and this perhaps needs some justification. When we look from Fló for examples of roughly contemporaneous Icelandic sagas which show comparable influence of hagiographic literature, it is difficult to find parallels. We have already^(d) referred to the extensive use of borrowings, not only from the Bible, but also from vitæ, in the Lives of Oláfr Tryggvason by Oddr Snorrason and Gunnlaugr Leifsson. But, while these works and Fló have a certain amount in common (cf. Fló, 1932, xiii), it should be remembered that over a century divides Oddr Snorrason from the author of Fló. Both Oddr and Gunnlaugr were writing at a time when connections between Kings' Sagas and hagiographic liter-

ature were close ones. But the works of their successors, for example, Snorri and the writers of the earlier Íslendingasögur, are, by and large, free from hagiographic elements. Oddr, Oláfs would be of much greater comparative interest were Fló one of the earliest of the Icelandic sagas. - In Njáls Saga,^[124] an aura of piety is given to Njáll, while Hóskuldr Hvítanessgoði has been seen as a Christ-like figure. Njála was written in the same part of Iceland as Fló and not long before it. But the use of elements from religious literature in Nj is of an entirely different type from that in Fló, as is its character portrayal, which is considerably more subtle. - Possibly of interest in this context are bættir of the type represented by Svaða Þáttur ok Arnórs kerlingamefs (IS, viii, 335 ff.): here saintly acts of piety are attributed to an early Icelandic convert to Christianity; alliterative epithets and phrases are not spared. But again there are also great differences from Fló, which will appear to any reader of the þáttur. Further, the dating of the þáttur is rather uncertain: while some would put it in the late fourteenth century, Finnur Jónsson (ONOI, ii, 753) and Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson (Om de norske kongers sagaer, 1937, 107-8) think it must be the work of Gunnlaugr Leifsson. - Finally, to contrast rather than compare, we may glance at the sagas with which Fló is usually bracketed in the standard literary histories. When we read through Grettis, Hávarðar, Harðar, Svarfdæla and Finnboga Sögur, we observe what might

be called an almost complete absence of the sort of elements which are being remarked on in Fló.

It is, then, difficult to find any work of approximately the same age as Fló which provides a convincing literary parallel to it. One is left to speculate on the possible background to the curious mixture of 'religious' and 'profane' ingredients we find in the saga. That Grímr Hólmsteinsson was not alone in his disapproval of secular sagas is clear from Einarr Hafliðason's deprecating mention of heiðinna manna sögur in the prologue to his Laurentíus Saga (ca. 1350?).^[125] On the other hand, how far clerics of apparently such uncompromising views were in the majority is much less certain (cf. Hermann Pálsson, Sagnaskemmtun Islendinga, 1962, 150 f.). And even if they were in a majority (which one doubts), there must have been those among the Icelandic clergy, who, irrespective of their own literary tastes, were realistic enough to appreciate that there were, in the words of Flóres Saga (Drei Lyg, 121), fleiri menn, er líti[1] skemtun bykir at heilagra manna sögum. Thus a man with a more pragmatic approach than Grímr or Einarr, and yet as committed as they to religious edification, might well have been prepared to mix instruction with entertainment in a work as palatable to the layman as Fló would have been. And it is perhaps worth mentioning here that if we move on two or three decades from the date of Grímr's death, we hear of a man in Iceland who could have been perfectly willing to exploit profane literature

in the interests of religious edification. The Bishop of Skálaholt from 1322 to 1339, Jón Halldórsson, was a Norwegian by birth and a Dominican by education. His order, ever since its foundation in the early thirteenth century, had always been prepared to turn secular literature to the use of the Church. Of Jón himself, it is said: 'No man of his order was better able to turn his hand to diversion and entertainment, and for the reason that his audience were often not all of the same disposition, so he accommodated himself accordingly, that all might derive pleasure from his words; for this reason, his tales were both of profane character and 'big-worded' (stórorðar)' (Æv, i, 87). There can, of course, be no question of this Norwegian having written Fló. But with a man like Jón in Skálaholt - and here we remember Flói's proximity to the see - an approach to the secular literature of Iceland may have been more generally adopted of which Fló is a representative product. [126]

But this is all postulation. Another idea about the background for the writing of Fló will be put forward in Section C of this chapter and it might be possible to explain Fló's unique character in terms of this theory: (see page *420). [127] But whatever the explanation here may be, the first concern of the literary historian must be to notice the facts: what makes Fló most remarkable in the present context are elements in it which we otherwise find in two Kings' Sagas from about the turn of the

twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It is the appearance of these elements in Fló which, for the present editor as a student of Old Icelandic literature, makes the saga most interesting.

Section C: Date, place and circumstances of the writing of Flóamanna Saga. Author

i. Preliminary ⁽ⁱⁿ⁾ investigations

In attempting to date Fló, an obvious cornerstone for establishing a terminus post quem is the writing of the Sturlubók-redaction of Landnámabók, for, as has been shown in Chapter II, there can be no doubt that the author of Fló made use of this work. The date of Sturlubók is not known with complete certainty. Most scholars, however, incline to the view that Sturla, who, as noted died in 1284, wrote it in the latter part of his life. We know, at any rate, that he made use of a number of older works for his redaction, the latest of which seems to be Hænsa-Póris Saga. Hæns, it has recently been demonstrated by Björn Sigfússon (in Saga, 1962, 345-70) was probably not composed before 1274. It may be taken as certain, then, that Sturlubók was not written before 1275 and it may not even have been finished before 1280. Allowing a few years, as is reasonable, for Sturla's work to become known, for a copy of it, LdnX, to be made (cf. pages *158 ff.) and for the author of Fló to put his saga together, we may put the latter's date after about 1285. Such a terminus post quem accords well with the ^(fact) that

Fló borrows from a number of other works of 13th century Icelandic literature, including probably Njáls Saga (see page *359 above), which can hardly have been composed much earlier than 1275.

Also in Chapter II, it has been suggested that the author of Fló knew Grettis Saga (see page *359 and the references cited there) and Gríms Saga loðinkinna (see pages *326 f.). Both these sagas, at least in their present form, themselves draw on the Sturlubók-redaction of Landnámabók. If we accept that Fló does borrow from either or both of them, then it would seem reasonable to date it after 1290.

A certain terminus ante quem for the writing of the saga is, of course, provided by the date of its earliest known manuscript. No scholar has put the writing of *M after the middle of the fifteenth century and some think it may have been written in the last decades of the fourteenth century (see pages 16 f.). Further, the latest common source for the manuscripts of the X-group was almost certainly written during the life-time of Jón Hákonarson and probably not after 1390 (see Section D of Chapter I and particularly Notes to Introduction 36 and 45). It is therefore reasonable to date the common source for *M and *X, i.e. *F, to before about 1385. On the basis of the arguments produced so far, we may put the original of the saga between 1290 and 1385.

'The Age of Manuscripts' and 'Literary Relations' are just two of the touchstones for assessing the age of sagas

which Einar Ol. Sveinsson mentions in his essay Dating the Icelandic Sagas. We may now consider some of the other criteria he enumerates which could help us to date the saga more precisely within the 95 years between 1290 and 1385. First to dismiss two of them: 'Artistry' (Dating, ch. 13) and 'Clerical and Romantic Influences' (Dating, ch. 12) are probably of no particular value in this context. 'The Decline of Realism' (Dating, ch. 14) has frequently, perhaps too frequently, been used as a measure by which to calculate the age of a saga: lack of verisimilitude has often been taken as a sign of late date of composition. By this criterion, Fló would, of course, be late, but might be grouped with such sagas as Grettis Saga, Hávarðar Saga and Svarfdæla Saga rather than with a later group represented by Bárðar Saga and Króka-Refs Saga. From Einar's chapter 'Linguistic Evidence' (Dating, ch. 11) one point of interest arises. At 81/11 of Fló, we find the form hefi-k; Einar writes (page 101): 'The suffix -k, -g (for ek) after verbs was common both in poetry and in prose in the twelfth century, but it gradually vanished. It is common in the Morkinskinna, but it may be counted rare in manuscripts of the Family Sagas, although it does occur both in Laxdæla and in Njála.'^[128] So far 'Literary Relations' has only been used to establish a terminus post quem. Only once in the chapter on the sources and analogues of the saga is it suggested that Fló may have influenced another saga (see page *334 above). This is rather an uncertain

case however and the date of Bárðar Saga is not known
 [129] definitely. 'Historical Evidence' (Dating, ch. 8), Einar defines as 'when a saga mentions people and events of an age later than that with which it is concerned, or else it alludes to practices or details of antiquity which give evidence of its age'. Einar includes under this heading genealogies traced down to later generations, statements that a given building was standing at a given time and the use of legal terminology. There is a certain amount of evidence of this type in Fló. First is the genealogy at the beginning of chapter 6 down to Kálfr Brandsson. If this is not a later interpolation (as the genealogy down to Jón Hákonarson at the end of the saga must probably be), it not only shows that Fló was written after about 1240, when Kálfr was born (see Note to 8/8), but suggests also that it may have been written before his death, which cannot have been much later than 1320. Second, we may allow ourselves under this heading to discuss the knowledge, or absence of knowledge, of the laws of the Icelandic Republic reflected in the saga. As is well known, the code of law represented by the Grágás-manuscripts was not in force after 1271 when Járnsíða was introduced. Járnsíða was itself followed by Jónsbók in 1281. This last date corresponds fairly closely to the very earliest date Flóamanna Saga could have been written. If, then, we find a knowledge of the laws of the Republic reflected in Fló, this would suggest, although, of course, by no means prove,

that the saga was written by a man born not much later than 1265. Now it seems likely that Fló does reflect such a knowledge. Thus at 9/7, the author is able to play with the word gagnsók, which is not found in the post-Commonwealth law. He knows of the hafnartollr which was no longer payable after union with Norway (see Note to 51/1). He is familiar with the laws concerning lost property to be found in Grágás (see Note to 32/1-2). And when Þorgils rides í Eynia to deliver a summons to Ásgrímr at 59/3-4, the incident reveals a knowledge of the niceties of the relevant procedure according to Icelandic law up to 1271 (see Note to 59/3) ^[130].

By themselves, none of the pieces of evidence adduced in the preceding paragraph can be given much weight. Taken together, however, they are probably of greater value: they suggest that the saga was written in the earlier part of the period in question, rather than the later part. One would, then, date the saga nearer to 1300 than to 1400. To establish a further terminus post quem for the writing of Fló within the period 1290-1385 is not easy. Reflections of contemporary events in sagas (cf. 'Contemporary History', Dating, ch. 9) sometimes suggest a date after which they must have been written. On the other hand, there is not much reason for connecting Fló with any such events (see however Notes to 42/7 and 43/23-4). But here one point should be noted: in Note to 8/20, attention is drawn to the fact that, at 116/26-7, LdnHkb has Böðvarstóptir while,

at the corresponding place, Fló has Böðvarsstaðir. One possible way of interpreting this circumstance would certainly be to assume that Fló was written after Haukr's version of Landnámabók, although other explanations are, of course, possible. Haukr's version of Landnámabók is now generally thought to have been written between 1306-8 (cf. page *150). Taking together all the evidence for dating Fló within the period 1290-1385, we may, then, definitely prefer the years between 1290 and 1330, and, within this period, may much more tentatively suggest the years between 1310 and 1330.

The tendency to locate the author of a given saga in the area in which its events take place is a natural and understandable one. It has been particularly marked in the introductions to the Family Sagas found in the Íslensk fornrit-series. The main argument is the knowledge of local topography shown by the author. Obviously one must make reservations here: a man could have lived in one area, acquired a knowledge of the local topography, moved to an entirely different part of Iceland and then written a saga about the district surrounding his first home. Alternatively, a **saga-writer** may never have been in the area in question but have collected data about local geography from others. But cases like these must be regarded as exceptional. And we have good reason for assuming that the author of Fló lived in Flói. When, for example, he adds fyrir dyrr to the notice in LdnX about the place where

Hásteinn's setstokkar drifted ashore, he displays what would seem to be an intimate knowledge of the coastline of Flói (see Note to 6/14-5). The út he interjects into the text of LdnX at 29/5 can, by comparison with Nj, be shown to be used correctly (see Note ad loc). Such phrases as austr í herað (65/10) and fyrir neðan gringarð (87/19-20) again suggest familiarity with the topography of Flói and other local features. And when the author of the saga remarks (64/22-3) that Kolr átti bú austr hjá Kálfaholti, he would certainly seem to be putting himself to the west of the Þjórsá, for Kálfholt is practically on the left bank of that river. Oddi, for example, would therefore seem to be ruled out as the home of the author of Fló. In view of these facts, then, it is reasonable to accept that Fló was written by a man who knew Flói well and indeed probably lived there when he wrote the saga (cf. ONOI, ii, 752).

'Forfatteren har uden tvivl været gejstlig,' was Finnur Jónsson's dictum on the author of the saga (Fló, 1932, xiii): 'Derom vidner den religiøsitet, som han lader Torgils være besjælet af.' The distinction between lay and learned this statement presupposes may be regarded as a meaningful one for the time Fló was written. During the last century of the Republic and before, the boundary between the clergy and the laity had been relatively fluid. Many of Iceland's secular chieftains had enjoyed a clerical education or taken orders. Some of them had spent their last days as monks in monasteries whose patrons they may

have been. No doubt a number of them could read and write. Professional clerics often married, were occupied as farmers and, in times of feud, took up arms to support the owners of the churches to which they were tied. During the course of the thirteenth century, however, the division between the two orders became more clearly defined as the Church became more autonomous: The Pope and a foreign archbishop got a tighter grip on the Icelandic church; the application of canon law became stricter and the celibacy of the priesthood more strongly enforced. Secular control of the bishops of the country and the individual churches and their priests was considerably diminished. The position and outlook of the Icelandic priest of 1300 was considerably more different from that of the Icelandic layman than it had been a century before.

How far literacy extended to the complete layman in Iceland during the thirteenth century is debatable. Einar Ol. Sveinsson (Skírnir, 1944, 173-97) has argued that the ability not only to read, but also to write was widespread in the country at this time. Einar's views have been disputed, again by Lars Lönnroth in Scripta Islandica, 1964, 52 ff. Certainly Einar's remark (op. cit., 197) that, at some time in the thirteenth century, 'ritlist er orðin almenn meðal leikmannna', is very much overstating the case. One inclines far more to Lönnroth's view that, although there quite clearly were layman in thirteenth century Iceland, most of them belonging to the chieftain class, who had

learnt both to read and write, they were in a very decided minority in comparison with the total lay population. And as far as the average yeoman farmer is concerned, there is little evidence to suggest that he could write any more than his counterpart in, say, Norway or England. We must, then, a priori, assume that the author of Fló was a cleric. And this presupposition is reinforced when we actually read Fló. As has been noted already, Fló distinguishes itself among sagas of its own age by its specially 'learned' character. It draws on saints' lives, its author could well have known Latin; its element of didacticism is very marked. Anyone, then, attempting to argue that Fló is the work of a man who had not had a clerical education would, it may be said, be doing so in the face of a number of indications to the contrary.

If we assume, then, that the author of the saga was a cleric, we may reasonably look around for some religious establishment to which he may have been attached. According to the document usually called Kirknatal Páls byskups (DI, xii, 7-8) which is a complete list of churches in the Diocese of Skálaholt about 1200, we note churches at the following places in Flói: Oddgeirshólar, Hróarsholt, Villingaholt, Hraungerði, Gaulverjabær, Gegnishólar, Stokks-eyrr, Laugardælir, Kallaðarnes. Vilchinsbók (DI, iv, 51 ff.), from the end of the fourteenth century, mentions churches at all but the first of these places and, in addition, at Hæringsstaðir (about 4 km. north-east of Trað-

arholt) and Sandvík. A third document, DI, i, 410-1, provides evidence for a church at Ragnheiðarstaðir in 1220. One point is worth noting here: there is, as far as the present editor has been able to establish, no evidence of there ever having been a church at Traðarholt, which Flóamanna Saga gives as the home of its hero, Þorgils. If the author of the saga was a cleric, then it is logical to look elsewhere than Traðarholt for his permanent place of residence. This does not mean, of course, that he was not commissioned by a farmer of Traðarholt [131] with antiquarian interest in the farm he owned. It does suggest, however, that we should turn our attention rather to the kirkjustaðir in the more immediate neighbourhood of Traðarholt. Attention would thus reasonably be focused on four farms in Traðarholt's immediate vicinity: these are Stokkseyrr (about 3 km. west of Traðarholt), Hæringsstaðir, Gegnishólar (a little to the east of Hæringsstaðir) and Gaulverjabær (about 6 km. west of Traðarholt).

ii. Flóamanna Saga Gaulverjabær Haukr Erlendsson

In what precedes, the attempt to date the writing and localize the author of the saga has been uncommitted. The conclusion is there arrived at that Fló is most likely to have been composed by a cleric in the years between 1290 and 1330, somewhere in Flói, perhaps on one of four church-farms in the immediate neighbourhood of Traðarholt. A more specific idea may now be put forward about the circumstances in which the saga was written in connection with

the farm last mentioned there, Gaulverjabær. For, while we know, in fact, very little about what was going on in Flói during the time Fló could have been written, if we look at the Annals for the year 1308, we find an entry concerning Gaulverjabær which is of interest in the present context. This reads as follows in the Annales Regii version (Ann, 149; cf. 201, 341 and 391): Arni byskup ok herra Haukr settu lærðra manna spítal í Gaulverjabæ. 'Arni byskup' is Arni Helgason, Bishop of Skálaholt from 1304 to 1320. 'Herra Haukr' is, of course, Haukr Erlendsson (died 1334), well-known as owner and partial scribe of Hauksbók and a servant of the Norwegian crown in both Iceland and Norway. About the establishment at Gaulverjabær, we have the following few details: From an episcopal decree from 1345 (DI, ii, 792), it can be seen that every priest in the diocese should pay a mórk to it. Vilchinsbók (DI, iv, 58) says that the beneficiatus at Gaulverjabær, Síra Hrafn, collected four merkr as spítalstollr. A formula for an oath found in DI, ii, 507, perhaps suggests that the hospital was dedicated to Saint Magnús. The hospital cannot still have been in existence in 1555 (see KL, s.v. Hospital. Island). This is all the preserved sources tell us about the institution. On the other hand, we can make certain assumptions about it. It was presumably a home for old and sick priests. But despite the disabilities of its inmates, it could well have been something of a centre of learning. There may even have been a small school there.

It would be surprising if it did not have its own collection of books and manuscripts. Its proximity to Eyrar, Iceland's foremost port of the time, would ensure it the advantage of easy contact with other countries. It is quite possible that a certain amount of copying and even original literary work went on there. If, then, we assume that Fló was written after 1308, we have, all else being equal, already reasons for connecting it with Gaulverjabær.

There are, however, more specific reasons for making such a connection. First, there is the interest the saga-writer seems to take in the farm. He makes certain of mentioning Loptr, the original inhabitant of Gaulverjabær in chapter 5. More significant is the way Þorgrímr Órrabeinn sends his five-year old stepson to Loptr ('...vinar þíns...'; 14/23) at Gaulverjabær after he has slain the horse Illingr. It is true that stories where 'starker Hans'-characters are forced by their parents to leave home (cf. Erzählungsgut, 5) may have been the author's model here and the hero has to go somewhere. But one cannot help feeling that the whole episode about the killing of Illingr is introduced with a view to getting Þorgils to Gaulverjabær. The farm is, at any rate, the scene of the greater part of Þorgils's boyhood days. When the author of the saga has the ten-year old Þorgils catch some thralls breaking open a grave-mound, he would appear to be thinking of the natural knolls which surround the farm at Gaulverjabær (see Note to 15/22) and thus to be displaying familiarity with the place. Before

leaving for Norway, he endows his friends at the farm with silver and gives a ring to Loptr. And when he returns home from his first journey abroad, it is stressed that his foster-father, Loptr, is still alive. (29/13-4), although this fact seems to have no real relevance to any subsequent event in the saga.

But a stronger reason for connecting the saga with the spítall at Gaulverjabær is the interest its hero would undoubtedly have held for one of the founders of the institution, Haukr Erlendsson. That Haukr took a special interest in his ancestors has long been recognized and can be clearly seen from Hauksbók, the various parts of which were either written by Haukr or under his supervision. When, for example, we find Eiríks Saga rauða included in the codex, the reason, at least partly, must be the fact that Þorfinnr Karlsefni, the main character of the latter part of the saga, was one of Haukr's ancestor^s and a genealogy from him down to Haukr is found at the end of the redaction of the saga in Hauksbók (cf. Eiríks Saga rauða, ed. G. Storm, 1891, v; Hauksbók, ed. Jón Helgason, 1960, xviii^[132]). In what is probably a copy of lost parts of Hauksbók in AM 281, 4to, there is a genealogy from Adam down to Haukr. And in LdnHkb itself, Haukr traces the descendants of nine landnámsmenn to his father (LdnHkb, chs. 175, 187, 232, 315, 326, 348), to his mother (LdnHkb, ch. 101), to his wife (LdnHkb, chs. 99, 326) and even to his stepmother, Járngerðr (ch. 55). It may be noted at this point that Haukr never mentions his

paternal grandfather nor this last's ancestors: he always traces his father's ancestry via his paternal grandmother, Valgerðr Flosadóttir.

In an article in Afmælisrit called 'Föðurætt Hauks lögmans Erlendssonar', Pétur Sigurðsson (163) suggests that of all the pedigrees Haukr traces via his father to himself in Hauksbók, he considered those going back to Hámundr heljarskinn (LdnHkb, 187) and Hófða-Pórðr (ch. 175) the most important. The reasons given for this conclusion are not, in the present editor's opinion, entirely satisfactory. We have probably much better reason to suspect that of the seven lines of ancestry Haukr traces from himself in LdnHkb (this number includes that by his mother), he was most interested in the ones going back to Flosi Þorbjarnarson (LdnHkb, ch. 315) and Hásteinn Atlason (LdnHkb, ch. 326). That Haukr was particularly interested in Flosi has already been noticed by Jón Jóhannesson (Gerðir, 181) and will appear incidently from what follows. What the present editor is particularly concerned with arguing in the present context are reasons why Haukr had special cause to be interested in his descent from Hásteinn (Hallsteinn) Atlason, the great-grandfather of the hero of Flóamanna Saga. In following the argument here, the reader is particularly referred to the genealogical table on page *425 of this thesis.

First, of all the genealogies Haukr traces back to original settlers of Iceland, only two involve as few as two

female links, the one to Þorsteinn hvíti in LdnHkb, ch. 232, and the one via Þorgils to Hásteinn Atlason. Second, in chapter 326 of LdnHkb, Haukr is not only able to take his own ancestry back to Hásteinn Atlason, but also that of his wife: Grímr Ingjaldsson, great-grandson of Þorgils was father of Bórkr, great-great-grandfather of Haukr and also of Einarr, great-great-great-grandfather of his wife Steinunn. This is the only case in LdnHkb of a double genealogy to both Haukr and Steinunn. Third, in ch. 348 of LdnHkb, while the Ólfusingar are being dealt with, Haukr's genealogy back to Grímr glómmuðr, son of Helga Þóroddsdóttir (she is not mentioned in ch. 326) and Þorgils Þórðarson, is traced in exactly the same way as in ch. 326. The reason for the repetition here could well have been Haukr's special pride or interest in Helga's forefathers: the Sturlubók-redaction of Landnámabók says that her great-great-grandmother was an Irish princess and we know Haukr had a special interest in Irishmen (see Um Kjaln, 73 ff.). A fourth reason why Haukr (and his wife also) should be particularly interested in this line of his descent must be argued here at greater length.

If we look at '6. ættskrá' at the back of the second volume of the 1946-edition of Sturlunga Saga (ed. Jón Jóhannesson, Magnús Finnbogason, Kristján Eldjárn), we find a genealogical table which in its essentials traces the same lines of descent as that on page *425. Haukr is at the bottom of it. The ancestors of his great-grand-

father, Flosi prestr, are traced back to Valla-Brandr. The forefathers of his great-grandmother, Ragnhildr, go back to Þorgils errubeinsstjúpr. The heading given to this table is 'Vallverjar og Flóamenn'. The first of these names is definitely old (cf. Ldn, 1968, 366). 'Flóamenn', on the other hand, has not been found in any medieval source, unless the modern title of our saga is the original one (cf. pages 119-20). Further, the reference to Haukr as a 'Flóamaðr' in the edition mentioned above, if such is intended, is one made by modern scholars. Even so, in attempting to link the only Family Saga which deals with the men of Flói in the Saga Age with Haukr Erlendsson, it would be of interest to establish how far the latter might have thought himself as a Flóamað(u)r, or felt himself connected with the district in question.

Now the six original settlers of Iceland to whom Haukr traces back his father's ancestry and the districts where they settled are as follows:

<u>LdnHkb</u> , ch. 175:	Hófða-Þórðr:	Skagafjörðr
" "	187:	Hámundr heljarskinn: Eyjafjörðr
" "	232:	Þorsteinn hvíti: Vápnafjörðr
" "	315:	Flosi Þorbjarnarson: Rangárvellir
" "	326:	Hásteinn Atlason: Flói
" "	348:	Þorgrímr Grímólfsson: Ölfus

We first note that the last three of these six settled areas relatively close to each other in the south-western part of Iceland with Flói in the middle and see one immediate reason

why Haukr should be particularly interested in the southwestern lowland of the country. The areas settled by the other three are not concentrated in this way. And although on his father's side, Haukr was descended from settlers in Skagafjörður, Eyjafjörður and Vápnafjörður, his connection with these men was by virtue of their female descendants marrying into the Vallverjar family several generations before his time. Thus for his connections with a descendant of the two northern Icelandic settlers, Hámundur and Hóðda-Pórður, Haukr had to go back six generations to find a man who actually lived in the north of Iceland, i.e. to Þorsteinn ranglátr á Grund í Eyjafirði. Þorsteinn's daughter married a man from Rangárvellir and it was their daughter, Halla, who married a Vallverji (Bjarni prestur Bjarnason). And Haukr's connection with people who actually lived in Vápnafjörður was no closer: six generations back from him we come to Flosi Kolbeinsson, who married a Vápnfirðingur, Guðrún Þórisdóttir. Going via Haukr's grandmother, then, Haukr's family for at least three generations back are not to be regarded as Vápnfirðingar, Eyfirðingar or Skagfirðingar, but as Vallverjar and Flóamenn.

We may now give special attention to Haukr's great-grandparents, Flosi prestur Bjarnason and Ragnhildr Barkardóttir. Now Flosi prestur would have been of particular interest to Haukr. He was probably a goðorðsmaður and a man of learning. Genealogically, he belonged to the Vallverjar, in who^m, as already noted, Haukr took a special

pride. Again, as just mentioned, Flosi embodied Haukr's descent from three other landnámsmenn. But the girl from Flói he married also had fine ancestry. Her family had lived in Flói since the age of settlement and she traced her lineage in direct male line back to a Norwegian jarl, Atli, who was no doubt, an historical figure. By only two female links, Ragnhildr was said to be related to an Irish king. And her uncle, Einarr of Kallaðarnes was an ancestor of Haukr's wife Steinunn. In this marriage between Flosi and Ragnhildr, the six lines of descent Haukr traces to his father all come together in partners he would have considered equally high-born.

And we may dwell on this marriage a little longer. In the indexes to modern editions of the relevant sources about Flosi prestr, he is frequently referred to as 'Flosi á Baugsstöðum'. Now the present editor has not been able to find any ancient source which actually appends the farm's name to Flosi's in this way, or which actually says that he lived there. On the other hand, this last proposition seems highly likely. Flosi was one of three brothers and probably not the eldest. His bride, on the other hand, was the heiress of Baugsstaðir. It is reasonable to assume that when his father-in-law, Bórkr á Baugsstöðum, died in 1222 (Ann), or even well before, Flosi crossed the Þjórsá and moved to the farm. He would thus have become a Flóamaðr by residence and marriage if not by birth. And even if he did not actually live at the farm, we can be absolutely

certain that he owned it: here Sturl, i, 386, provides the evidence: This source tells how a certain Dugfúss Þorleifsson was involved in quarrels west in Dalir and in the course of these suffered injuries. These were compensated but after the conclusion of the affair in about 1226, Dugfúss bought Baugsstaðir in Flói from Flosi and moved there. About this event, a contemporary poet, Amundi smiðr, declaimed this verse:

Sitt réð selja
sandauðigt land
fullsviðr Flosi
fúss Dugfúsi.
Nú hefir keypta
kvalráðr fala
geirs glymstærir
glaðr Baugsstaði.

Now what is particularly interesting here is that the man who bought Baugsstaðir from Haukr's great-grandfather was himself great-grandfather of Haukr's wife. Steinunn's connection with Flói by virtue of her descent from Einarr í Kallaðarnesi (after whose granddaughter she was named) was thus reinforced. And here on a farm in Flói in the 1220's, probably only some forty years before Haukr's birth, we find, as it were, the main streams of Haukr's ancestry running together. And it is worth noting that Baugsstaðir lies less than 5 km. from Gaulverjabær, where Haukr founded the spítall in 1308, and less than 3 km. from Traðarholt,

where the author of Flóamanna Saga lived or is said to have lived.

But not even Steinunn's ancestors remained at Baugsstaðir (see Vigfús Guðmundsson, Saga Eyrarbakka, 1945, 228 ff.). And where Flosi prestr's family moved to after leaving the farm is not certain. But the suggestion made by Einar Arnórsson (Arnesb, 235) that for his sandauðigt land Flosi got Strönd í Selvági on the southern side of the Reykjanes peninsular about 20 km. west of the Ólfusá has a good deal to recommend it. And if not Strönd í Selvági, most probably Nes í Selvági. Flosi himself died in 1235 (Ann), probably as a monk in one of Iceland's monasteries. And wherever Flosi and his daughter Valgerðr (Haukr's grandmother) lived, few have doubted that, while Haukr's father did have property at Ferjubakki in Borgarfjörðr, his principal place of residence was in Selvágr, probably at Strönd (see e.g. Safn, 1886, 43; Arnesb, 233 ff.; cf. Gerðir, 53). Assuming, then, that Flosi did move to Selvágr or that if he did not, Erlendr sterki, at any rate, lived there, the following should be borne in mind. Selvágr was a relatively isolated district. The other settlements out along the peninsular, Krýsuvík and Grindavík, were at a distance of respectively 20 and 40 km. and equally small as Selvágr. On the other hand, this last district, both geographically and administratively belonged to Arnesþing on the fertile south-western lowland of Iceland. The inhabitants of Selvágr would always have looked east, rather than west or

north, for outside contact. To the east, lay the road to the local þing at Arnes, to the national assembly at Þingvellir, to the country's ecclesiastical centre at Skálholt and to its foremost international port at Eyrar. And although 20 or 30 km. of desert country divided Selvágr from the nearest settled area to the east, communications with neither Ólfus nor Flói would have been difficult. An easy morning's ride would have taken Erlendr, for instance, over hard, even terrain to the Ólfus side of the Kallaðarnes ferry, which was the gateway from the west to Flói. From the road Erlendr might have looked up to Hjalli and remembered how, centuries before, his ancestor Þóroddr goði had lived there. A shorter ride would have taken him to Þorlákshöfn from where, under favourable weather conditions, a brief journey by boat could have brought him to Eyrar in the centre of Flói or even to Baugsstaðir where his grandfather had lived. And the journey from Selvágr to Eyrar would probably have been a frequent one for men like Erlendr, eager for contact with Norway. It may be suggested, then, that although he probably lived in Selvágr, Erlendr would by no means have felt that he had lost contact with the district not only where his immediate ancestors had lived, but also where, in the Age of Settlement, landnámsmenn from whom he traced his descent had settled and thrived.

And one can probably say much the same about Erlendr's son, Haukr. Now it must be admitted here that we do not know whether Haukr was a legitimate child or not. If his

mother, Jórunn, was Erlendr's concubine, then he may, of course, have spent his childhood at her home, the location of which we are ignorant^{of}, but which was quite possibly in the western part of Iceland. But it is also reasonable to assume that he spent a certain amount of time with his father in Selvágr. Already in his boyhood, Haukr is thus likely to have visited Flói and could well have felt certain ties with the area. And even if he did not do this at an early age, what we know of his life suggests far greater contact with the south-western part of Iceland than with any other part. In 1294, the first date we hear of him, he is Lawman for the Southern and Eastern Quarters of Iceland. On the several journeys he made between Iceland and Norway in the course of his life, he must at some time have passed through Eyrar, and it is easy to imagine him, waiting for a favourable wind from Iceland, passing the time visiting (or more probably revisiting) the homes of his settler-ancestors in Flói or the mounds where they were said to be buried. Between 1306 and 1308, it is usually considered that he was sýslumaðr for the area between Botnsá and Þjórsá. Helgi Guðmundsson (Um Kjáln, 1967, 82) suggests that he may have spent these two years at or near Viðey (cf modern Reykjavík). But surely Selvágr is a more likely proposition (cf. DI, ii, 361-2), or even Gaulverjabær where he founded the spítall at the end of this period. But wherever he stayed during this time, his duties as sýslumaðr would, no doubt have taken him to Flói on frequent occasions.

After Haukr left Iceland for Norway in 1308, we do not hear of him again in the country before 1330 or 1331 when he arrived on a tax-collecting mission. In the course of this last, he may, it is true, have travelled round the whole of Iceland, and may have visited the landnám of his ancestors in the north and north-east of the country. But these would have been fleeting visits and ones undertaken at the very end of his life. In 1334, Haukr was dead, almost certainly in Bergen in Norway.

To sum up. Of the Saga Age Icelanders to whom Haukr could trace his lineage, we may assume that he was especially, if not most, interested in the descendants of Atli jarl. And to put things a different way, it would be difficult to point to a couple living about the time Fló was written who had better reason to be interested in the hero of the saga, Þorgils, than Haukr and his wife Steinunn. This fact gives us some grounds for connecting the writing of Fló in some way with Haukr. And when we find that Haukr founded a home for clerics at Gaulverjabær in 1308 and note not only the saga's special interest in that farm but also the more general reasons for locating its author there, then some connection between the saga and the spítall becomes probable rather than possible. Should this last proposition not be acceptable, however, it must be pointed out that the saga could have been written for Haukr and yet have no connection with Gaulverjabær. On the other hand, if the saga was written at Gaulverjabær at any time in the

period 1300 to 1330, it would be a remarkable coincidence if its author did not have Herra Haukr and his wife Steinunn in mind.

Assuming a connection between Fló and the spítall at Gaulverjabær, one may wonder about the more precise circumstances in which the saga was written. It could, for example, have been written in the years immediately prior to 1308, and have been presented to Haukr in the hope that he would choose the farm as the place for an establishment it was known that he and the bishop intended to set up. In that case, one might suspect that the author of the ^(was the) saga was the priest at the church there. But in the attempt to date the saga made above (pages *392-7), a time after the writing of the Hauksbók-redaction of Landnámabók is preferred, and the period between 1310 and 1330 suggested. Could then Flóamanna Saga rather have been written in gratitude to the spítall's founder(s), and then by one of its inmates? Between 1308 and 1322, it is usually assumed that Haukr was in Norway and there is good documentary evidence for this assumption (cf. Note to Introduction 127). The saga could have been composed for him during this time and sent abroad to Bergen where he was. On the other hand, between 1323 and 1329 both Norwegian and Icelandic sources are silent about him. If, as some have supposed (e.g. Finnur Jónsson in Hauksbók, cxxxvii), Haukr spent this period in his home country, this would perhaps be the best time to assume that the saga was written.

Having used the two factors 'interest in Gaulverjabær in Fló' and 'Haukr's and Steinunn's descent from the hero of Fló' to argue a connection between the lærðra manna spítall and the writing of Flóamanna Saga, we must now ask ourselves whether we have not arrived at what Hallvard Lie, in his well-known critique of the Íslensk fornrit-edition of Grettis Saga (Maal og Minne, 1939, 138) terms 'en nullitet...som litteraturvidenskabelig hjælpefaktor'. Can our conclusion contribute anything to our understanding of the saga? Unfortunately we know so little about the institution at Gaulverjabær or, indeed, about the life of Haukr Erlendsson that we are naturally handicapped here. There are, however, a number of possible points of contact to which attention may be drawn, and a numbered list of these is given here. Some of them, the present editor would be the first to admit, are tenuous, and these are mentioned in the latter part of the list:

(1) First we must notice the beginning of ch. 6 in Fló which tells of Flosi Þorbjarnarson. Why, we wonder, has the author of the saga mentioned Flosi and the area he settled at all here? Now it is true that he does mention other landnámsmenn who do not have any direct relevance to the narrative of the saga but who settled in the parts of Flói adjacent to Hallsteinn Atlason's landnám. But Flosi settled a good way away from Eyrar, according to LdnStb, not only to the east of the Þjórsá, but also to the east of the Rangá; Þórir Asason (see LdnStb, ch. 373) who settled

to the immediate north of Hallsteinn's landnám is not, on the other hand, mentioned in the opening chapters of Fló at all. It could be argued that the Fló-author referred to Flosi and his outlawry from Norway to elucidate the words fyrir hönd þeira Flosa beggja móðurbróður síns at 7/20-1. But one feels that the Fló-author, admittedly quite capable of considerable digression, was able to marshal the borrowings he made from Landnámabók rather better than this. Elsewhere he has been quite able to edit LdnX to suit his purposes and the words at 7/20-1 could easily have been omitted.

The explanation for the introduction of Flosi here could be the special interest he and his father seem to have held for Haukr Erlendsson. As has already been noted, Haukr traces his ancestry back to Flosi in LdnHkb, ch. 315. Flosi's granddaughter Þuríðr married Valla-Brandr, first ancestor of the Vallverjar from whom Flosi prestr Bjarnason (see above) was descended in direct male line (see genealogical table on page *425). And, to use Jón Jóhannesson's words, 'þess sjást víðar merki, að [Haukur] hefir lagt sérstaka rækt við frásagnir um ætt Þorbjarnar hins gaulverska, enda voru þau hjón bæði frá honum komin' (Gerðir, 181): in both chapters 12 and 323 of LdnHkb, Þorbjörn is brought in where Sturlubók in the corresponding places had no mention of him at all. And a point of greater interest: in LdnHkb, ch. 305, Haukr adds to the account given in Sturlubók, ch. 346, the information that Jórundr

Hrafnsson married Þuríðr, daughter of Þorbjörn inn gaulverski, and continues: var brúðkaup þeira í Skarfanesi at Flosa er öll land átti millim Þjórsár ok Engár. As Jón Jóhannesson (Gerðir, 180 f.) observes, Flosi Þorbjarnarson must be referred to here. And as regards this last's property between Þjórsá and Engá, it is particularly interesting to note that while LdnX only gives him land to the east of the Rangá, Fló probably also gives him land to the east of the Þjórsá (see 8/3-4 and Note). Surely more than coincidence accounts for the partial agreement between Fló and LdnHkb on this point. Could not the Fló-author have ^{had} Flosi colonize land to the east of the Þjórsá (and to the west of the Rangá) in deference to Haukr's own conceptions of the extent of his forefather's property?

Now the interest the mention of Flosi in Fló undoubtedly has in the discussion of whether the saga was written for Haukr Erlendsson is rather lessened by the fact that, in the saga as we now have it, Flosi's descendants are not traced towards Flosi prestr, Haukr's great-grandfather, let alone to Haukr himself. The line is rather taken to the Oddaverjar, from them, by an illegitimate daughter of Sæmundr Jónsson, Margrét (see Note to 8/7), to the Ásbirningar, a family from Skagafjörður, and finishes with a member of that family, Kálfr Brandsson, about whom we unfortunately know very little (cf. Note to 8/8). ^{Now} Kálfr could well have been alive when the saga was written (cf. page *395 above). We have therefore even to reckon with the possibility that Flóamanna

Saga was written, not for Haukr, but for Kálfr. But while this last fact should certainly be admitted, the following points should also be noted. First, on the basis of the scanty information we have about Kálfr, it is difficult to see what interest our southern saga would have had for this northern chieftain. Second, the very paucity of our knowledge about Kálfr makes further investigations and thus any useful conclusions concerning him impossible. [134] Third, it is perfectly possible that the genealogy to Kálfr in ch. 6 is a later interpolation, as at least part of the genealogy to Jón Hákonarson at the saga's end probably is. And here we remember that the M-version may have had a textual history in Skagafjórðr (or at least the northern part of Iceland) (see pages *16 f.) and that the X-version has a textual history in Húnavatnssýsla, which is not far from Skagafjórðr (on this third point, cf. however pages *421-4 below). Finally, the first part of the genealogy at the beginning of ch. 6 was almost certainly in the original version of the saga. And even though it could have been introduced there because Flosi was Kálfr's ancestor, it could also have been introduced because he was Haukr's.

(2) It has been argued earlier in this Introduction (pages *158 ff.) that the author of Fló did not use the original of Sturla Þórðarson's redaction of Landnámabók (i.e. Sturlubók) but a copy of it, LdnX, which was also used by Haukr when he made his redaction in Hauksbók. This proposition becomes all the more likely if there was

some connection between Haukr and the Fló-author. One might even imagine that Haukr owned LdnX, copied its text into Hauksbók in the years 1306-8 and then gave it to the establishment at Gaulverjabær as part of its library.

(3) There are reasons for suspecting that Haukr was particularly interested in Ireland (see Um Kjaln, 77 ff.) and Greenland (cf. Hauksbók, ed. Jón Helgason, 1960, xviii). That the hero of Fló visits both these countries may have something to do with the fact that the saga was written for Haukr.

(4) Fló might, according to the idea put forward here, be looked on as a work written by a cleric for a man with primarily secular interests or written by a cleric for a bishop and man with primarily secular interests. Could not either circumstance explain the curious blend of 'religious' and 'secular' elements ^(which) we find in the saga and which has been discussed in the previous Section?

(5) The young Þorgils gives valuable presents to his friends and companions at Gaulverjabær before he leaves for Norway in chapter 12. Haukr was also benefactor of the people at the farm before he went to Norway in 1308. Or are Þorgils's gifts in Fló a hint?

(6) As has been mentioned above, the spítall at Gaulverjabær was probably dedicated to Saint Magnús. In Saga (1962, 475), Magnús Már Lárusson notes that there was also a hospital of Saint Magnús in Caithness in Scotland (cf. J. Mooney, St. Magnus - Earl of Orkney, 1935, 275). Could

the men of Gaulverjabær have regarded the hospital in Caithness as a sister establishment? And if they did, is it a coincidence that one of Þorgils's wives is a woman from Katanes? [135]

Finally, making the assumption that Fló was written for Haukr Erlendsson and his wife in the first decades of the fourteenth century, it is not difficult to see a way in which a copy of it could have found its way very quickly into the hands of the family of Jón Hákonarson, for whom it was, in all likelihood, being copied at the end of that century (see Section D of Chapter I). The penultimate person mentioned in the X-version of the saga is Gizurr galli of Víðidalstunga (Húnavatnssýsla), grandfather of Jón Hákonarson. Now Gizurr's connection with Haukr did not reside solely in the fact that, five generations back from him, his ancestor Einarr í Kallaðarnesi was brother of Þórkr á Baugsstöðum, Haukr's great-great-grandfather. There were more recent connections: Gizurr's wife, whom he married in 1313, was the niece of Járngerðr, Haukr's stepmother (cf. page *404). And an even closer family tie would have been through Haukr's wife, Steinunn: Gizurr galli's father Björn and Steinunn's father Ali (Óli) were both sons of Svarthöfði Dugfússon and the two were thus first cousins. Lastly, in 'Excursus I' of his monograph Um Kjaln (pages 94-9), Helgi Guðmundsson has produced good arguments to show that Haukr, on two occasions, used his influence in Norway to help Gizurr, once in about

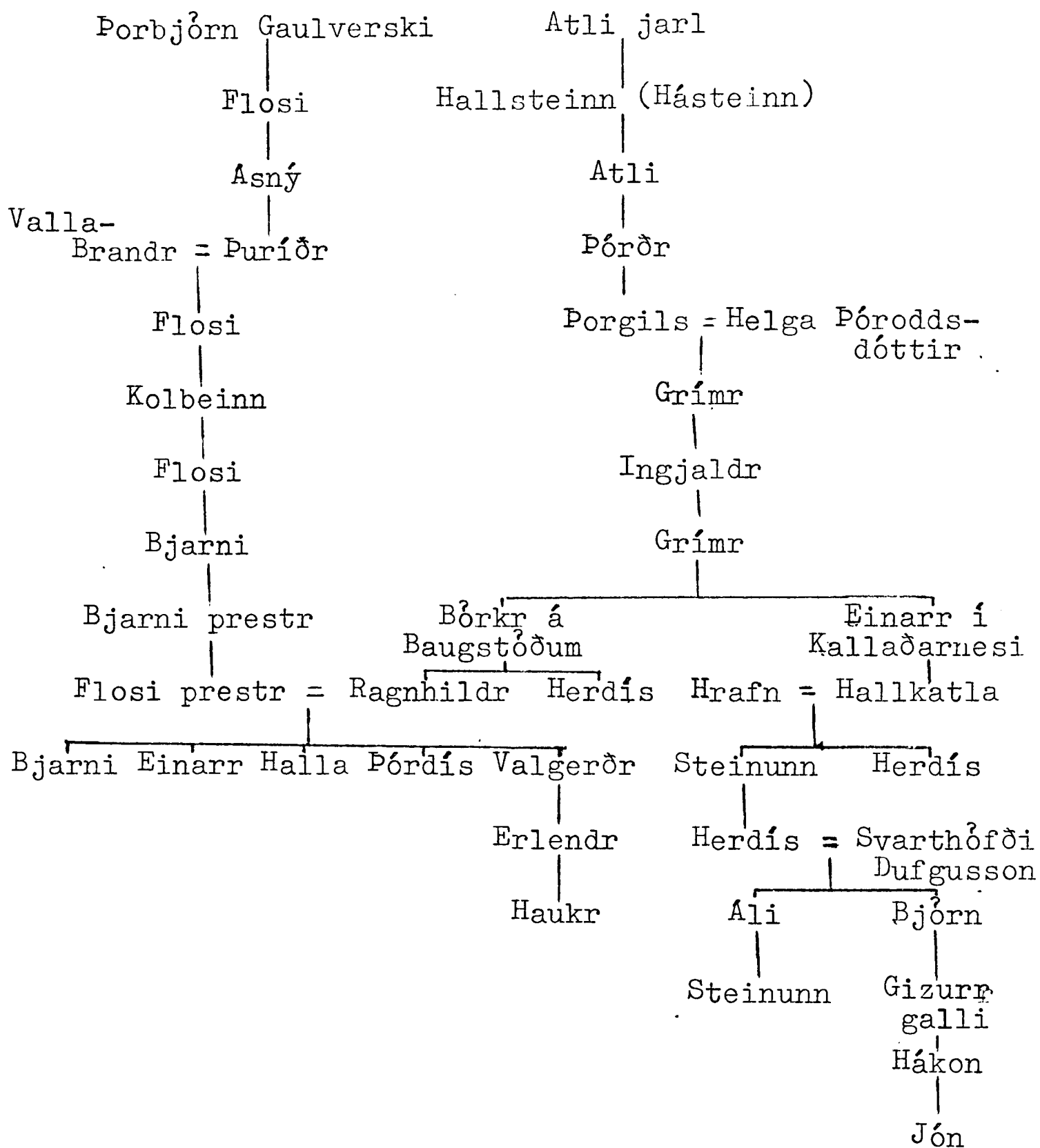
1308 and again in about 1318. Indeed, Helgi suggests that Haukr might even have sold a farm in Norway in order to ransom his wife's cousin from the Swedes. There is, then, good reason for believing that Gizurr and Haukr were well acquainted.

Gizurr survived to the remarkable age of 101 (died 1370), outliving his cousin Steinunn by nine years. Haukr, on the other hand, died in 1334, leaving, we may now posit, a copy of Fló in his wife's possession. In the years after her husband's death, Steinunn and Gizurr would, no doubt, have maintained some sort of contact. (As far as we know, they were both only children.) A copy of Fló could therefore easily have found its way into Gizurr's hands at Víðidalstunga (or those of his son(s)), if indeed it had not already done so while Haukr was still alive. [136] It would thus have been accessible to Gizurr's grandson Jón as soon as he started his copying activity and the fact that at least two copies of it were probably made for him (or at any rate during his lifetime) (see pages *85-7) would thus be more readily explicable.

If this construction comes near the truth, [137] it would be interesting in at least two respects. First, it would suggest that there were a relatively small number of intermediate manuscript links between the original version of the saga and *X. [138] This circumstance would in turn explain the way *Y sometimes so minutely mirrors the text of LdnX (see pages *65-7 and *158). It would further suggest

that the shortened version of the saga was in fact made for Jón Hákonarson ^[139] (which it is, at any rate, theoretically convenient to accept) and also that many of the obscurities, gaucheries and inconsistencies we find in the X-version are not all due to the X-redactor but could also have been present in the original of the saga (cf. the remarks on pages *119 ff.). Second, it would cause us to take a very careful look at the end of the saga and to wonder if the larger part of the genealogies we find there in the X-version may not, after all, have also been in the original of the saga. Quite irrespective of the issue of Fló having been written at the spítall at Gaulverjabær for Haukr, one has reason to suspect that the genealogies to the bishops Þorlákr and Jörundr (61/16-9) may in fact have been in the original version of the saga. Why, we must ask ourselves, should the scribe of *X have been concerned with appending these to the saga if he had not found them in his original? In the body of the saga, it is stated that Þorlákr Þórhalls-son was one of Þorgils's descendants (see 40/14), so it would be quite natural for the saga-writer to trace the line down to him, at any rate, at the saga's end. And let us assume that the saga was written for Haukr and his wife Steinunn. It could well, in that case, have concluded with a genealogy down to both of them similar to that in chapter 326 of LdnHkb: Þorgils's descendants would be traced via Einarr í Kallaðarnesi to Steinunn and then via Þórkr á Baugsstöðum to Haukr. A scribe working for Jón Hákonarson would have

found it a relatively simple matter to turn the genealogy to Steinunn into one to Jón: instead of the words móður Ala, föður Steinunnar (cf. LdnHkb, 115/29), he would have written móður Bjarnar, föður Gizurar galla, föður Hákonar, föður Jóns. Because he wanted to end the saga with Haukr's name, the author of Fló may, as is done in LdnHkb, ch. 326, have put Haukr's genealogy after that of Steinunn. But the scribe of *X may also have wanted to put his patron's name last and may, at any rate, not have been particularly interested in Haukr. He might therefore easily have omitted a genealogy from Bórkr to Haukr he found in his exemplar. Similarly, the scribe of *M (or more probably a forerunner) could well have been interested neither in the genealogies to the bishops nor to Haukr and his wife. He might therefore have omitted the lot.



Notes to Introduction

Chapter I

- 1 Information given on the individual manuscripts in this list is, unless otherwise stated, that furnished by the appropriate catalogue cited.
- 2 Positive attempts to establish the existence of manuscripts of the saga in the following collections have proved fruitless: The Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Library, Edinburgh, The Royal Irish Academy, Dublin and John Ryland's Library, Manchester (see O. Skulerud, Catalogue of Norse Manuscripts in Edinburgh, Dublin and Manchester, 1918); Uppsala Universitets Bibliotek, Uppsala (see V. Gödel, Katalog öfver Upsala Universitets Biblioteks fornisländska och fornnorska handskrifter, 1892); Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (see O. Skæbne, Catalogue des manuscrits danois, islandais, norvégiens et suédois de la Bibliothèque Nationale des Paris, 1887); Riksarkivet, Oslo (private communication from Dr. Lars Hamre of 19/10/1967; Dr. Hamre also informs the present editor that he knows of no manuscripts of Fló in other Norwegian collections); The Bodleian Library, Oxford (see A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, i, ed. R. Hunt, 1953).
- 3 The majority, possibly all, of the leaves of AM 564 a, 4to, which J. McKinnell has argued originally belonged to the same manuscript as *445 b, were also obtained by Arni Magnússon from Ormur Daðason (see Katalog, i, 718, and Bibl, xxx, 326).
- 4 This information may be gathered from notes at the end of each item in B.

- 5 On Slip d of AM 486, 4to, Árni writes: (recto) 'Þetta er sama hönd og á Bárðar Saga Snafellsáss fram í Laxdælu og Eyrbyggju er Magnús sál. Jónsson léði mér. Er svo þessi bók komin frá Hítardal í fyrstu. Verte.' (verso) 'Þetta hefur ritað einhver sá sem hefur ætlað að imitera hönd Síra Þórðar, kannske Þorsteinn Þórðarson, ungr.' After the words 'léði mér', the following is added in a different ink: '∴ Einars Eyjólfssonar. Certum.'
- 6 This discussion anticipates the conclusions of Sections C and E of this Chapter and Section A of Chapter II.
- 7 When chapters of P are referred to in the following, their numbers, unless otherwise stated, are given from K. P has a different system of numbering.
- 8 See page *61.
- 9 Although Guðbrandur was undoubtedly the first to show that part of *445 b was the source for part of P, Finnur Magnússon, who knew only Folio 5 of the vellum, suggests in GhM (ii, 14) that 'det er vel mueligt, at det ommældte vidtlöftige Stykke af Recensionen F [i.e. our P] nedstammer fra andre Brudstykker' of *M. All things considered, this was a particularly happy conjecture.
- 10 See page *100.
- 11 Calculations of this type are made on the basis of the Fornsögur-edition, rather than this edition, because of its greater regularity in length of line.
- 12 In the Fornsögur-edition, the passage corresponding to 87/1-89/5 of this edition takes up about 50 lines, while the corresponding part of the X-version take up about 48.

- 13 The date of the writing of P is thus a terminus ante quem for the writing of LdnPðb.

- 14 Compare with the present argument Finnur Magnússon's remark in GhM, ii, 189: 'Ordene i Strophens 3die og 4de Linie ...ere aldeles forskjellige fra alle Landnamas Exemplarer, hvorved vi især erholde den vigtige Oplysning at det mere som indeholdes in F [i.e. our P] end Sagaens övrige Exemplarer ikke kan være udskrevet af Landnama, i det mindste ikke i nyere Tider eller af de dens Codices som vi nu kjende.'

- 15 From Note to 6/14-5, it will be clear that the word dyrr was used in the original saga for 'opening in coastal belt of rocks'; it has been misunderstood by Einar (cf. page *26 f.). - Finnur Jónsson (Fló, 1932, v) also regarded the following readings in P as the innovation of the scribe of that manuscript: misjafnar ævistundir er hann hlaut at líða (cf. mannraunir...bera, 15/6-7); líka, 63/7; samt, 63/19. All these readings are found in J (a manuscript which cannot be derived directly or indirectly from P), so he cannot be right on this point.

- 16 Þórhallur Vilmundarson arrived at this conclusion before I did and was kind enough to communicate it to me before I began working on the manuscript tradition of the saga (cf. Note to Introduction 64).

- 17 Thus if *X, *Y and *y had Blaðni at 23/3 and 9, 24/4 (cf. Textual Notes to these places), Blaðin might also have arisen in K and *Z as a result of minim confusion.

- 18 Cf. however Textual Note to 36/22.

- 19 Finnur Jónsson (LdnStb, 225/^{3/}4) regards AM 107 folio's

- (i.e. LdnStb's) -mans as a mistake for -manna as, apparently, does Jakob Benediktsson (Ldn, 1968, 376/8). That Sturlubók, LdnX and Resensbók had -manns is, however, confirmed by the present investigation.
- 20 At 17/10, AM's reading agrees with that of the Z-group.
- 21 What the significance of Arni's addition in square brackets at 2/10 (see Textual Note ad loc) is is impossible to say.
- 22 The fact that AM's [reikud] at 41/9 agrees with A's reading is, of course, of no significance in this context.
- 23 In Arni's exemplar, e appears to have been used as a spelling for 'ræ': at 54/10, for example, Arni underlines the ræ in Ketill's öhræddu and writes e above it. Further, words with 'ræ' are sometimes spelt with 're' at 46/16, for example, Arni underlines the ræ in Ketill's Grænlande and writes e above it. As a 'back' spelling, d^egz could therefore appear for 'dregz'. But the form Arni has at 15/5 has no g.
- 24 It will be observed that the majority of these examples are found in the first six chapters of the saga. This fact may be significant.
- 25 Corresponding to fyrir hǫnd beira Flosa beggja, móðurbróður síns (7/20-1), S has fyrir hǫnd móður sinnar ok beggja móðurbræðra sinna. (fyrir hǫnd beira Flosa beggja móðurbróður síns). Then, in the margin, Jón writes in brackets 'önnur bók hefur svo', doubtless intending to imply that the words fyrir hǫnd beira Flosa beggja móðurbróður síns come from a source other than his normal exemplar. But this is clearly wrong: the words in brack-

ets, as the readings of K and A show, were clearly those of *y and *Y and, as LdnStb (223/24-5) shows, those of *X, *F and the original of the saga. Nor is S's first reading found in any of the Z-group manuscripts used for this edition. Facts like these underline the potential unreliability of Jón's statements about his exemplars and the copies he made themselves.

- 26 Quoted from Svarfdælasaga, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson, 1966, xxxi.
- 27 Quoted in normalized form from V. Gödel, Katalog öfver Kongl. Bibliotekets fornisländska och fornnorska handskrifter, 1897-1900, 196-7.
- 28 Quoted from Bibl, xxx, 282-3.
- 29 Guðbrandur Vigfússon's ^(theories) ~~xxxv~~ on Vatnshyrna were first (96) published in Fornsögur, xiv-xvi and in Barðarsaga Snæfellsass Viglundarsaga, ed. Guðbrandr Vigfússon, 1860, ix-xi. When Guðbrandur's views are referred to in this Section, it is to those put forward in these two places.
- 30 Spelt Watzhyrna; see Jakob Benediktsson's edition in Opera, ii, 57 (lines 19 and 32), 69 (line 14) and 100 (line 15).
- 31 The manuscript could hardly have been divided into two parts after it reached Resen's library for there is no vellum in the Resenian catalogue which contains both these sagas.
- 32 Jón may also have commissioned the writing of the manuscript Hulda (see Hulda, ed. J. Louis-Jensen, 1968, 14 ff.).

- 33 In fact, the Icelandic genealogist Steinn Dofri was the first to show how the codex could have got to Vatnshorn í Haukadal in an article published in Sýna (Winnipeg, 1921) entitled 'Bútar úr Áttasögu Íslendinga frá fyrri öldum' (cf. Bibl, xxx, 280 footnote 9). The present editor has, unfortunately, not seen Steinn's article.
- 34 On the fly-leaf of AM 448, 4to, we read in Grímur Thorkelin's hand: 'Ex Codice Academico in folio in Bibliotheca Reseniana'. Assuming Grímur has good authority for what he says here, and bearing in mind that *R was the only manuscript in Resen's library which contained Eyrbyggja Saga (see page *77), then we must accept that AM 448, 4to is a copy of the saga in *R (cf. also Eyrbyggja-Saga, ed. Grímur Thorkelin, 1787, viii). - With the order Stjórnú-Odda Draumr, Bergbúa Pátrr, Kumlbúa Pátrr and Draumr Þorsteins Síðu-Hallssonar in AM 555 h, 4to and AM 564 c, 4to (which were originally one manuscript), we may compare the order 'Stjórnú Odda draumr, Bergbúa pátrr, 2 Drauma vitraner' (this last description fits Kumlbúa Pátrr and Draumr Þorsteins Síðu-Hallssonar admirably) in Arni Magnússon's account of the contents of *R (cf. page *76). No other vellum which contains these four items is known to have been in Copenhagen in 1686 (cf. page *72) or indeed to have existed at all. Cf. Bibl, xxx, 282-3 and 288.
- 35 On page 294 of his article in Bibl, Stefán writes: 'gh er ekki notað nema í ynghilldr C2v, yngvilldr (tvisvar) og ynghu(illdr) C3r, sbr. fanghelsi F898 og 903. Annars bregður gh örsjaldan fyrir í F, t.d. almughans F901.' Both K (left uncorrected by Arni Magnússon) and A spell Yngildr at 49/19 with ng between the two vowels, while El (Asgeir's part of E) ~~has the spelling Yngvilldr~~

and IB 225, 4to, a copy of Laxdæla Saga probably made from *R (cf. Bibl, xxx, 297) have the spelling Yngh-villdi (cf. Eyrb, 1, and Laxd, 1). Lind (Dopnamn, columns 1119-21; Supplement, columns 817-9) gives a large number of forms of Yngvildr ^(apart from those already mentioned) but only one other of these is spelt with an h: this is in Flb, i, 229, the part of Flateyjarbók written by Jón Þórðarson!

36 Stefán Karlsson (Bibl, xxx, 299) argues from the fact that the use of n above the line for 'in' and 'inn' appears only in columns 1-10 and 899-905 of Flateyjarbók, that Vatnshyrna was written after these columns, i.e. that it was written after about 1391. On the other hand, if we accept the order of the Resenian catalogue as that of *R itself, we note that while the exemplar for E appeared as the vellum's fifth item and the exemplars for H and C at its end (cf. Arni Magnússon's supplementary notes on *R), what we may now identify with *y would have come as its first item. If therefore we find no examples of the use of n above the line for 'in' and 'inn' in the copies of the text of Fló in *R, this might well suggest that Vatnshyrna began to be written before the columns of Flateyjarbók in question were written and that Magnús began to use the abbreviation in the course of writing *R. An investigation of manuscripts likely to have been copied from the second, third and fourth items of *R (i.e. Laxd, Vatns and Hoens) might throw more light on this matter.

37 It would seem that by about 1395, Magnús had left Jón Hákonarson's service and by 1397 could well have been at the monastery at Helgafell (cf. Bibl, xxx, 300; Gerðir, 55 footnote 1). It is conceivable that *y was written at Helgafell (with the rest of Vatnshyrna), that *Y was a copy of Fló brought with him from Húna-

vatnssýsla (Viðidalstunga?) and that *X was Jón Hákonarson's own copy. And in this connection, it is interesting to note that the areas represented by the sagas in Vatnshyrna are geographically ranged around the Snæfellsnes peninsular (cf. Olafur Halldórsson, Helgafellsbækur fornar, 1966, 51). But it is suggested in Note to Introduction 36 that *y was written before 1395. Cf. also what follows below.

- 38 Indeed, it would be interesting to see if the orthography of K betrays any signs of Magnús's spelling. For example, as noted, Ketill spells Yngildir at 49/19 with an h; see Note to Introduction 35.
- 39 See this edition 75/2-3 (and Note ad loc, where the Greenlandic 'squirrels' are vindicated).
- 40 The present editor would argue that the episode in which the rune-inscribed oar is found (this edition, 77/20-78/3) was in the original of the saga; cf. Medieval Scandinavia, 1969, 93 lines 26-30.
- 41 Guðbrandur knew nothing, of course, of the one or two removes between the exemplar for AM and A and the latest common source(s) for K, AM, A and P.
- 42 Finnur refers here to the episode where the rune-inscribed oar is found.
- 43 Cf. ONOI, ii, 750.
- 44 At the beginning of his article in 'TgF' (429), Björn writes: 'Hér skal t.d. ekki andmælt beint þeirri ríkjandi skoðun, að hinn aðaltextinn að Flóamannas., B-gerðin [i.e. the M-version] muni víða orðinn eitthvað orðfleiri en frumsagan var.'

One wonders if Björn here seeks to imply that there are reasons to suggest that the M-version has been lengthened. If so, one would like to know what they are. If anything, the present editor has noted signs which suggest that the M-version itself has perhaps been shortened: see, for example, Notes to 68/1-2, 72/20 and 84/6; also Orig, ii, 640 footnote (cf. Note to 32/7-9); was there any explanation in the original of the saga for the katlar mentioned at 74/20-1? But the evidence here is not strong enough to form the basis for any statement on this point

- 45 There are various external factors which suggest *X's and *M's independence of each other and which, taken together, are probably decisive: (i) It has been suggested above (see Note to Introduction 36) that *y, the latest common source for AM and A, was written about 1391 or somewhat before. It is not unreasonable to assume that *X was written five years before *y, and thus about 1385 at the latest. 'Pseudo-Vatnshyrna', on the other hand, while it might have been written as early as the 1380's, is more likely to be somewhat later (cf. page *17); indeed, before J. McKinnell's investigations, 445 b was usually dated to 1400 or rather later (see e.g. Katalog, i, 640). (ii) Stefán Karlsson (Bibl, xxx, 284) argues that the copy of Pórðar Saga hreðu in Vatnshyrna cannot be a copy of the saga in 'Pseudo-Vatnshyrna' (AM 564 a, 4to). (iii) Einar Sveinsson (IF, viii, lvii) regards the text of Vatns in 445 b as 'sumstaðar betri, sumstaðar verri' than that in Vatnshyrna. (iv) Björn Sigfússon (KL, iv, column 104) is able to state that 'den bästa av [Eyrbyggja sagas] bevarade hðskr. var Vatnshyrna'; but even so the version in 445 b has independent value (cf. IF, ^{iv,} lvii ff.). See further on this whole matter Bibl, xxx, 335 ff.

- 46 Perhaps we are expected to assume that the stolen awls of 74/22 were used in making Þórarinn's tent.
- 47 Somewhere before 72/20, the M-version has omitted to say that Þorgerðr has died. - It seems doubtful that the author of the saga referred to Asgrímr Elliða-Grímsson as Asgrímr Elliðason (cf. 63/25). - Minor mistakes in M (e.g. at 82/16, 83/13 and 88/7; cf. Note to 85/19) have not been taken into account in this list.
- 48 If it should seem unnecessary to attempt to combat theories put forward as long ago as Nijhoff's (1937) and Guðbrandur Vigfússon's (1905) or, in Chapter III, Section A, to make such a lengthy case against any extensive 'oral tradition' about Þorgils, then attention may be drawn to ~~the only~~ two remarks made about Fló in K. Schier's Sagaliteratur published in 1969 (page 57): one is that Fló, with Grett, Svarf and Harð is 'vermítlich um 1300 aus älteren Sagas umgearbeitet'; the other is that it is 'auf ältere Tradition zurückgehend?'
- u/
- 49 The only review of Nijhoff's book seems to be that of S. Krijn in Museum, xlvi, 1938, columns 14-6. Miss Krijn disagrees with Nijhoff on a number of points (including his assumption that 'the Christian redactor' and the redactor of 'Fl. 2' were different persons) but even so regards it as 'zeer aannemelijk, dat we een F I en een F 2 kunnen onderscheiden'.
- 50 Surely the ten pages between Fornsögur, 149/14, the point corresponding to the end of Folio 4, and Fornsögur, 159/16, the point corresponding to the beginning of Folio 5, should be divided by 4, which is the number of pages in the shorter text in Fornsögur, i.e.

145/10-149/14, corresponding to Folio 4 (cf. page *36 above).

51 This edition, pages 71-2.

52 The following discussion anticipates much of what is said later in this Introduction, particularly pages *291-309 and also Section B of Chapter III.

53 See pages *291-*309.

54 The somewhat more speculative nature of what follows will be apparent.

55 See Note to 1/6.

56 In *F, Hákon jarl may have fallen in his battle against Atli jarl (cf. 2/1) and, at about 2/5, there may have been some statement to the effect that Hallsteinn ruled Sygnafylki and Firðafylki after the death of his father (cf. LdnX, 224/14). See pages *172-3.

57 See however 13/13, Note to 14/23, pages *243 f. and page *245.

58 Instead of material amounting to 134 lines in the shorter text of the Fornsögur-edition (as for Folio 4), there would have been material amounting to an average of 164 lines in Forn-sögur to each leaf of *M (164 = half of 328, that is half of the number of lines in the shorter text in Fornsögur between the point corresponding to the end of Folio 4 and the point corresponding to the beginning of Folio 5). Of course, if there were three leaves (cf. also page *36) between Folio 4 and Folio 5, then a considerable amount of material has been lost. But this is, as noted, the less likely proposition. And another

fact speaks against it: in the passage immediately following the lacuna, there has, as noted (see Note to Introduction 12), been little or no shortening.

- 59 Finnur Magnússon's B is probably to be identified with Brit. Mus. Add. 11,111 fol.
- 60 See pages *37-8; Note to Introduction 14; page *134; cf. Note to Introduction 9.
- 61 In this connection, it is interesting to note the plural af þessum verkum at 47/22; contrast af þessu verki at 12/7 and 44/9.
(,27/14-5)
- 62 The editors of Forn sögur and Fló, 1932 are not entirely consistent in this however. Thus, at 22/27, Forn sögur has mér bó and, at 43/4, Fló, 1932 has kominn. On the other hand, Þórhallur Vilmundarson, in his edition for the Íslensk fornrit-series, normally has A's readings when they agree with the Z-group over against K. But he is not entirely consistent in this respect either: at 43/4, he has koma and, at 55/2, sýndiz.
- 63 The present investigation has also shown that the scribe of P probably started taking readings from MP before the words Þórey hét kona... (63/1; cf. 29/18), with which previous editors have begun their texts of PM (see pages *38-*54 above). This result is, however, as noted, of little practical value in establishing a text of PM before the point in question.
- 64 As mentioned in Note to Introduction 16, before the present editor started work on the textual history of the saga, Þórhallur Vilmundarsson had arrived at the conclusion that the latest common source for the Z-group was independent of the latest common source for K, A

and S. Further, in the footnotes to his edition of the saga for the Islensk fornrit-series, the proofs of which, as noted, he has been kind enough to make available to me, he gives a number of variant readings from the Z-group which he presumably regards as potentially superior to those of the Y-group. Some of these are recorded in the Textual Notes to the present edition and those which are not are as follows:

- 2/14 dóttir] sonardóttir B J P
- 7/8-9 vingaðir] auðugir B J P
- 7/19 Gaulverska] Háleyska B J P
- 8/13 xv] xx B J P
- 8/23 eptir] + þessu játar Bóðvarr B J P
- 10/2 húskarlar] + hans B J P
- 15/8 ix] tíu B J P
- 15/10 margt] allt B J P
- 16/1 xv] tuttugu B J P
- 16/5-6 ok er hann var xvi. vetra, beiddiz] þar eptir óskaði B J P
- 16/7 ósvinn[r]li] ósvinn J P
- 17/5 sik eiga] at hann ætti B J
- 17/22 í vestr-Víkina] vestr (austr) í Víkina B J P (vestr í Víkina in Þórhallur's main text)
- 19/27-20/1 ok uggir mik at eigi megí fagnaðaról heita, því at vér hafim nú leitit hans marga daga] en mik uggir þó, at fagnaðaról heita megí, ok munum vér eigi þurfa marga daga hans at leita B J P
- 25/20-1 hvat skilit var] sem heyrðu hvat skilit var B J P
- 28/8 láta] + Þetta var um kveldit B J P
- 28/8 bokka eðr hót] óbokka B J P
- 32/2 sjóðinn] fésjóðinn B J (=P)
- 32/25 Þorgils áhlýddiz lítt við þat] Þat áhlýddiz Þorgils B J (Þórhallur regards this as an emendation.)

- 33/6 gózum] goðorði B J (= P)
 45/7 í eyjum nokkurum í] á tveimur skútum í
 (fyrir P; á B) B J P
 45/17-8 bjarngjóldin] bjarndýrsgjald B J P
 48/10 hálf] óll B J P
 49/19 Yngildir] Ragnhildir B J P
 56/13-4 var eigi dóttir] ok B J P
 56/20 hittir [Þorgils Asgrím]] hittaz beir
Asgrímr ok Þorgils B J P
 57/26 brúðhlaupinu] + Koma boðsmenn í ásettan tíma.
B J; + í ásettan tíma P
 60/24 góðr] + maðr B J P

A few remarks may be made on the Z-group readings here. The fact that, at 32/2 and 33/6, B and J agree with PM over against the Y-group does not necessarily mean that they have the reading of *X: as has been shown above (pages *30 ff.), the scribe of P, when copying MP, frequently reverted to his Z-group exemplar and took readings from it: fésjóðinn and goðorði could therefore easily have found their way into P from *Z (cf. Note to 33/6). At 16/1, an age of fifteen for Þorgils would seem to be more the age young Icelanders think of making their first journeys abroad than twenty (cf. quotation from VG1 on page *242). A reading í eyjum at 45/7 is surely better than that of *Z: at 46/9 and 24, islands are mentioned in *Z just as they are in *Y. And one can see no real reason why Þórhallur Vilmundarson should adopt J's and B's vestr í Víkina into his main text in preference to the Y-group's í vestr-Víkina. All in all, there is no compelling reason why any of these Z-group readings cited by Þórhallur should be preferred to those of *Y in reconstructing a text of *X.

65 However mechanical this procedure may seem, it is gratifying to note how, when applied to a short

passage in chapter 3, 5/13-6, it produces a text which, on small details, is closer to LdnStb than that of Finnur Jónsson in Fló, 1932: Pann sama vetr fór Hólmsteinn at þeim Ingólfr ok Leiffr (so K, Z-group (atlar at) and LdnStb, 131/34] + hann, y-group and Fló, 1932, (and 5/22) drepa þá. En þeir fengu njósn (so A, S, Z-group LdnStb, 131/34] njósnir, K and Fló, 1932, 5/22) af ferð hans ok fóru í móti honum (so A, S, J, P and LdnStb, 131/35 (þeim)] + ok, K, B and Fló, 1932, 5/23). Varð þá enn orrosta mikil ok (so A, S, Z-group and LdnStb, 131/35] ÷ K and Fló, 1932, 5/24) fell þar Hólmsteinn.

Chapter II

- 66 Haukr's postscript may be quoted in its entirety from Ldn, 1968, 395 and 397: Nú er yfir farit um landnám þau, er verit hafa á Íslandi, eptir því sem fróðir menn hafa skrifat, fyrst Ari prestur hinn fróði Þorgilsson ok Kol-skeggr hinn vitri. En þessa bók ritaða [ek], Haukr Erlendsson, eptir þeirri bók, sem ritat hafði herra Sturla lögmaðr, hinn fróðasti maðr, ok eptir þeirri bók annarri, er ritat hafði Styrmir hinn fróði, ok hafða ek þat ór hvárri, sem framar greindi, en mikill þorri var þat, er þær sögðu eins báðar, ok því er þat ekki at undra, bó [at] þessi Landnámabók sé lengri en nokkur önnur.
- 67 On the basis of parts of LdnPðb unedited when Jón Jóhannesson wrote Gerðir, Jakob Benediktsson is able to show that Melabók contained the following stories which were also found in chapters 5-8 of Sturlubók (cf. LdnStb, 131/15-133/28): (i) the quarrels of Leifr and Ingólfr with the sons of Atli; (ii) Leifr's adventures in Ireland; (iii) the story of the Irish thralls murdering Leifr and making off to Vestmannaeyjar (cf. Ldn,

1968, xc f., 40-1 footnote 4, 41 footnote 7, 43 footnote 8 and 10, 44 footnote 3 and 5). And if these stories were in the Melabók-redaction of Landnámabók, they would also have been in Styrmisbók, although not, of course, at the beginning of that redaction, but at the place where Ingólfr's landnám was dealt with, in the middle of the section which covered the Sunnlend-
ingafjórðungr

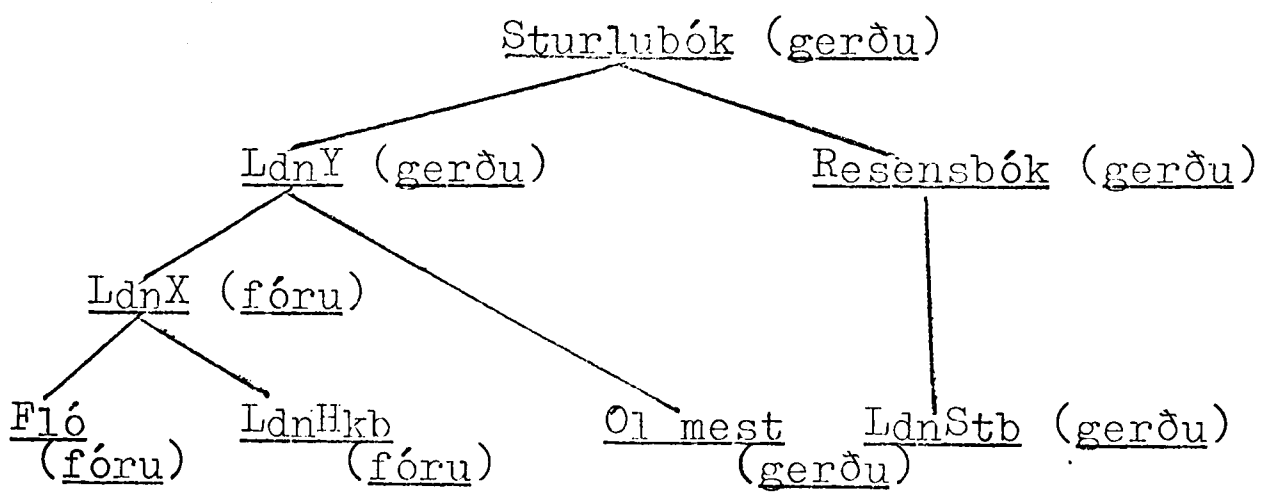
- 68 In this connection, attention may be drawn to some rather problematic agreements between LdnPðb and Fló over against LdnSkb and LdnStb in the section which deals with the quarrel over Víðiskógr and Pórðr's killing of Hrafn: Hrafn Þorviðarson, LdnSkb, 177/9, and LdnStb, 225/20] + móðurbróðir hans, LdnPðb, 21/6-7, and Fló, 8/18; Smalamaðr, LdnSkb, 177/11, and LdnStb, 225/23] Smalamaðr (sauðamaðr s(egir) Landn(áma)), LdnPðb, 21/10; sauðamaðr, Fló, 10/2; vetra(i), LdnSkb, 177/16, and LdnStb, 225/28] + andaðiz Atli (Atli andaðiz, LdnPðb) heima í Traðarholti, LdnPðb, 21/17, and Fló, 11/8-9; hann, LdnSkb, 177/16, and LdnStb, 225/28] Pórðr, LdnPðb, 21/17; cf. Fló, 11/18; bessu, LdnSkb, 177/20, and LdnStb, 225/33] + verki, LdnPðb, 21/25, and Fló, 12/7. We may also note LdnPðb's unique reading at 21/22-4: Özurr ok Þorgrímr feðgar liggja í einum haugi báðir skammt frá Traðarholti. There would seem to be three possible sources for these readings in LdnPðb: (a) lost parts of the Melabók-redaction of Landnámabók; (b) the X-version of Fló; (c) the M-version of Fló. It would be desirable, although not absolutely necessary to assume that all these readings came from a single source. In favour of (a), and against (b) and (c), is the reference to Landnáma at 21/10 of LdnPðb; it is by this name that Pórðr normally refers to the Melabók-version of Landnámabók (cf. Gerðir, 25 (N.B. line 26) f.; Ldn, 1968, 375 footnote).

And if the reading sauðamaðr (together possibly with others mentioned) is taken from lost parts of LdnM1b then we must at least consider the possibility that that redaction has come under the direct influence of Fló in the appropriate section: it will be argued below (pages *204 ff.) that the whole story of the quarrel over Víðiskógr was not in the Styrmisbók-redaction of Landnámabók but was introduced into the Landnáma tradition by Sturla Þórðarson (see however Note to Introduction 72); further, an agreement between LdnM1b and Fló (sauðamaðr) over against Sturlbók (smalamaðr) points to direct influence by Fló on LdnM1b; finally, we know that the Melabók-redaction of Landnámabók did draw directly on certain Islandingasögur, particularly those in which, as in Fló, ancestors of the Melamenn appear (see Ldn, 1968, lxxxvii and 380-1 footnote 3). On the other hand, if the Melabók-redaction did draw on Fló, one would really expect to find more evidence of it in LdnPðb. The evidence for the use of Vatnsdæla Saga by the Melabók-redaction is considerably greater (cf. Ldn, 1968, lxxxvii). Indeed, were it not for the readings of LdnPðb at 21/10 and 21/22-4, one might prefer to assume that Þórður himself was drawing on the X-version of Flóamanna Saga. We know that he did draw directly on various sagas (cf. Gerðir, 29 f. and 33-5) and could well have taken the reading at LdnPðb, 21/17, for instance, from Fló to elucidate an otherwise rather obscure series of events in his Skarðsárabók-exemplar. Finally, while Einar Eyjólfsson seems only to have used *M from Folio *2 on (cf. pages *50 ff.), it is not entirely out of the question (although one must admit rather unlikely) that Þórður had access to the part of *M which contained the story of the Víðiskógr quarrel. And the leaves of *M in question might have belonged together with the leaves of *445 b which con-

tained the Melubók-Landnámabók. The reference to Landnáma at 21/10 might therefore be explained.

69 Cf. No. 14.

70 The following point may be worth making: If we accept (i) the stemma on page *166 and (ii) that Ol mest, LdnHkb and Fló all have a common source later than the latest common source they share with LdnStb (cf. page *166), then we would, on the basis of this opposition: Fló = LdnHkb / Ol mest = LdnStb, have to posit an intermediary (we may call it LdnY) between Sturlubók and LdnX:



71 For chapters 2-3, 6-8 and 18 of 'Fl. 2', Nijhoff (Beschouwing, 8 f., 17-21, 24-9, 172) sees as sources, in addition to 'Fl. 1' and Landnámabók, three oral stories. His main argument for the existence of these again seems to be the fact that the chapters in question contain considerably more material not found in Landnámabók than chapters 1, 4, 5, 9 and 10. But much of the extra material in the chapters in question can be shown to be literary borrowings or additions to Landnámabók's text by the author of the saga himself (see pages *173-80, *183-8, *192-6). And another of Nijhoff's arguments (Beschouwing, 8), based on the appearance of such phrases as svá er sagt at 3/2 and 3/18 has very little weight in this connection (cf. Note to

3/2)

- 72 In the above, it is assumed that the story of the quarrel over Víðiskógr and its aftermath was an introduction into Landnámabók by Sturla Þórðarson; the possibility exists, although is considerably less likely, that Styrmisbók was here drawing on a source other than its normal Landnámabók exemplar; cf. Note to Introduction 68.
- 73 After the above had been written, the following statement by Finnur Jónsson (Ldn, 1) was noticed by the present editor: 'Kap. 376 (331) [= LdnStb, 225/8-226/2] synes tildels at være et uddrag af en saga (en ældre, tabt Flóamannasaga?; jfr. den nu eksisterende meget unge saga). Noget lignende synes at gælde om det følgende kap. [= LdnStb, 226/2-29]'. As noted, the present editor does not think it likely that anything which could be called 'an older Flóamanna Saga' is the source of Sturlubók, chapters 376 and 377. On the other hand, Finnur's remark is clearly of interest to the above discussion, particularly as Jón Jóhannesson (Gerðir) and Jakob Benediktsson (Ldn, 1968) appear to be silent on the possibility of a source of the type the present editor visualizes lying behind the chapters in question.
- 74 It is possible to think of other phenomena which might qualify as sources. It is suggested on page *300 that the Fló-author, when writing his saga, may have been influenced by pictures of St. Martin which he knew from church decorations. And gestures conventionally used when telling (oral) stories (cf. H. Chaytor, From Script to Print, 1945, 55) could conceivably also be classified as sources.
- 75 There may well have been 'subconscious influence' by

Islb on Fló at 20/25.

- 76 Some critics accept statements like svá er sagt, at... as evidence for oral sources (see e.g. Note to 3/2).
- 77 On the other hand, we should not entirely despair of finding an author's actual written source. The manuscript AM 677, 4to could actually have been read by the Fló-author and elements borrowed from it introduced into his saga (see pages *304 f.). Cf. Einar Sveinsson, A Njálsbúð, 1943, 10 f.
- 78 Compare with Fló's bungrækr við þá er eigi vildu sik vel siða (89/10-1), The Legendary Saga of St. Oláfr's ósvífr við ósiðamenn (Olafs Saga hins helga, ed. O. A. Johnsen, 1922, 27).
- 79 R. Boer thinks that the story of Þórr's and Hýmírr's fishing expedition has influenced Grett (see Grettis Saga, ed. R. Boer, 1900, 182 footnote).
- 80 Professor Peter Foote has suggested to the present editor that Loptr's words at 16/11 may be an adumbration of Þorgrímr's death at 28/13. In that case there may be no omission here.
- 81 An interesting discussion of Gunnhildr's background and character by Sigurður Nordal is to be found in Samtíð og saga, i, 1941, 135-55; cf. Darstellung, 133 ff.
- 82 Compare the words of Gunnhildr at Fló (17/14) with Haraldr's parting words to Hrótr in Nj.
- 83 Note also the possible use of like-sounding names, e.g. Gyrðr instead of Gyrgir at 24/9; cf. page *279 f.; Hrólfr instead of Ulfr at 42/7; cf. page *339.

- 84 The inappropriateness of the designation 'pre-animistic' for such beliefs is rightly pointed out by C. von Sydow (NK, xix, 99).
- 85 Although 'The Bear's Son's Tale' will be referred to in the following analysis of the story of Þorgils's fight with Björn's father, it has been felt unnecessary to describe the type in detail here. A full discussion will be found in F. Panzer's Studien zur germanischen Sagengeschichte, i, 1910, 1-246 (cf. R. Chambers, Beowulf An Introduction, 1959, 41-68). Some scholars prefer to call the type 'The Three Stolen Princesses' (see G. Garmonsway and J. Simpson, Beowulf and its Analogues, 1968, 331).
- 86 From the following analysis, it will be apparent that the first aptrganga story in Fló has much in common with the account of Oláfr's fight with Þormóðr in Háv, ch. 2. Whether the likeness is great enough to posit a direct connection between the two is another matter. Further, it is difficult to date these two sagas comparatively and there^{fore} to say which is most likely to have influenced the other.
- 87 The part played by the duel in the legal system of Viking Age Iceland is stressed by K. Maurer (Upphaf allsherjarríkis á Islandi, 1882, 176 ff.; Maurer's views met opposition from V. Finsen (Om det oprindelige Ordning af nogle af den islandske Fristats Institutioner, 1888, 116 ff.)).
- 88 For a discussion of the duel in the Viking Age, see KL, s.v. Einvígi and Holmgang; O. Boyⁱⁿ Medieval Scandinavia, 1969, 132-48.
- 89 Because of its lack of conformity to pattern, Þorgils's

duel with Helgi in chapter 34 is left out of consideration in this connection.

- 90 A good analysis of these stories is given by Dehmer in Erzählungsgut, 86-91.
- 91 Cf. also A. Drachmann, De navngivne Sværd, 1967 19 f.
- 92 In (c), in the account of the kerganga, we are told that Porgils hafði sverðit Jarðhússnaut. Randviðr hafði álnarkefli ok digrt mjök. In Note to 26/23-5, 27/3-4, it will be suggested that rather than being a literary or oral element, the story of the kerganga was invented by the author of the saga on the basis of certain types of duel which were actually taking place on the Continent at the time he was writing. Likewise, when the author of the saga was writing, the ell-long cudgel seems to have been a common weapon used in single combat (see again Note to 26/23-5, 27/3-4) and thus may well be a detail from reality rather than from literature. It is, however, interesting to note a literary parallel to Porgils's and Randviðr's weapons in rather an unexpected source, 'King Frodo's Law of Duel' in Saxo (128): Sin autem quavis de re pugilem popularis impeteret, ipsum armatus exciperet cubitali dumtaxit stipite pugnaturum. Parallels to Saxo of this type in the Icelandic sagas must be rare. They are not unknown however. Sigurður Nordal (Hrafnkatla, 1940, 38) points out that Sámr's treatment of Hrafnkell in Hrafn, ch. 5, is strongly reminiscent of Jarmericus's punishment of the Wends in Saxo, book 8. Sigurður seems to suppose that both Hrafn and Saxo go back to a common source. But is it not possible that Saxo could have influenced both Hrafn and Fló directly?

- 93 Of the words Par váru ok tvær konur; var önnur ung ok fríð en önnur gömul ok þó fríð (24/24-5), Dehmer (Ei-zählungsgut, 135 (note 434)) remarks that this is 'eine Formel, die auch sonst in den I.-S. auftritt'. He gives no examples, but on page 136 (note 458) compares with the words in Fló a passage from Fær (14: þar sátu konur ii., önnur við aldr en önnur ung stúlka; báðar váru þær fríðar sjónum).
- 94 On possible historical background to stories of Scandinavians rading jarðhús in Ireland, see Ldn, 1968, cxxxvi and the references cited there.
- 95 No special attention is otherwise given to Fló's use of 'die epische Dreizahl' in this thesis. See however on this subject Beschouwing, 131-4 and L. Alfred Bock in Arkiv, 1921, 261-313 (particularly pages 274 ff.) and 1922, 51-83.
- 96 From chapter 19 to the middle of chapter 25, and from chapter 33 to the end of the saga, the M-version is preserved and comparisons are often made with it rather than with the X-version.
- 97 The actual verse is not quoted. Jón Olafsson's text simply says that Gestr kveðr þá vísu þeirar meiningar, at hann væri búinn til at leika við hann sem Styr ok rjóða báðar kiðr hans í blóði. Could the Fló-author have got the idea for Þórey's red cheeks at 64/12 ff. (30/22 ff.) from this verse?
- 98 Both these sagas were originally written in Latin but are now known only in Norse translation. On the difficult question of their preservation, see KL, s.v. Oláfs saga Tryggvasonar and the references cited there. Gunnlaugr's work presents particular problems as its

translation exists only as parts of Ol mest which was written in the first part of the fourteenth century. The question of exactly what parts of the latter belonged to Gunnlaugr's work has been studied by Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson in Om de norske kongers sagaer (1937, 92 ff.). Bjarni's conclusions, it should be noted, have not gone undisputed (cf. e.g. A. Holtsmark in Nordisk Tidsskrift, 1937, 615). Even so, it may be pointed out at this stage that four out of the five passages from Ol mest referred to in this sub-section are considered by Bjarni to be derived from Gunnlaugr's saga (the exception is the story of Finnur and Sveinn in Ol mest, ii, 112-3). For the general literary background to Gunnlaugr's and Oddr's works, the present editor is indebted to L. Lönnroth's 'Studier i Olaf Tryggvasons saga', Samlaren, 1963, 54-94.

- 99 Various scholars (e.g. H. Ljungberg, Den nordiska religionen och kristendom, 1938, 125) think that Þorgils's dreams of Þórr represent the intellectual struggle of a heathen before his final conversion to Christianity. One rather doubts if the author of the saga intended to represent Þorgils's conversion in any such way. It was rather immediate and complete. As E. Vesper (Christen und Christentum in den isländischen Sagas, typewritten Leipzig thesis, 1950, 104) writing about Þorgils's dreams remarks: 'um seelische Konflikte handelt es sich dabei nicht, sondern um die vom Verfasser konstruierten verschiedenartigsten Situationen in denen ein Christ sich zu bewähren hat.'
- 100 Compare also the way Þórr kills Þorgils's livestock with the way Glámr kills horses in Grett, ch. 35.
- 101 Cf. Jón Helgason's comment on this remark in his edition of Hrafnkels Saga Freysgoða (1959, 49).

- 102 For the same reason, no doubt, Þorgils lét elfi af nýta the boar at 32/12.
- 103 In A Njálsbúð (1943, 8 ff.), Einar Ól. Sveinsson argues the influence of Gregory's Dialogues on Nj, and in Nordica et Anglica (ed. A. Orrick, 1968, 140-7), D. Strömbäck the influence of the same work on the early Kings' Sagas. Strömbäck's article, entitled 'Some Remarks on Learned and Novelistic Elements in the Icelandic Sagas', is of broader interest to the whole subject here under discussion.
- 104 Christian visions in Old Norse literature are discussed by K. Liestøl, Draumkvæde, 1946, 79-91.
- 105 The word helgir, because of its alliteration with hjálpa and hreint, would seem to be more original than the M-version's dýrðligir.
- 106 Other instances of the influence of vision literature on the family sagas must be few and far between. Gísli's dream-strophes in Gísl, where the hero tells of his visions of the Other World, clearly contain Christian symbolism (see G. Turville-Petre, 'Gísli Súrsson and his Poetry', Modern Language Review, 1944, 387 f.); whether these strophes were composed by the author of the saga or somewhat earlier is uncertain.
- 107 The author's apparent ignorance of Greenlandic conditions (cf. Notes to 45/7-8, 45/19, 47/23, 70/23, 84/25; cf. Notes to 38/24 and 75/2-3) is surprising, particularly when compared with the relatively accurate picture of the country and its topography given in Króka-Refs Saga, a work which must have been roughly contemporary with Fló (cf. IF, xiv, xxxvi f.). In this respect Fló seems to tend towards works like

Jökuls Páttur Búasonar (ÍF, xiv, 46-59) where Greenland is represented as a land of trolls (cf. Note to 79/17-20), or Bárð, where, as well as trolls, there are cauldrons full of gold, wild bulls and other fantastic features.

- 108 Helgi also draws attention to these elements in chapters 15 and 27-8 of Fló.
- 109 Of the passage in question, Nijhoff (Beschouwing, 77) writes: 'Overigens schijnt deze passage van de dorst en het middel ertegen wel echt. Het doet sterk denken aan het oude scheepsjournal van Willem IJsbrantsz. Bontekoe.' While, however, Bontekoe (Iovrnael, 1646, 17-8) may have drunk his own urine, he strongly recommends his men not to drink sea-water.
- 110 In connection with this story in Fló, Hermann Pálsson (Tímarit Máls og Menningar, 1960, 54) draws attention to a learned 'clause' found in Hauksbók (116) (based on Plinius, who in turn cites Aristophanes; see KL, s.v. Hermafrodit): Ermofrodite heita menn er geirvórtu hafa ina hægri sem karlar, en hina vinstri sem konur; þeir mega vera bæði föður ok mæður barna sinna ('Hermafrodites are those men whose right nipple is as a male's and left nipple as a female's. They can be both father and mother to their children.') Hermann believes that Fló is here influenced by a 'clause' of similar content and sees this influence among those exerted by international works of learning on sagas relating to America and Greenland (cf. Hermann Pálsson, 'Íslenzkar fornsögur og Isidor frá Seville', Tímarit Þjóðræknisfélags Íslendinga, 1966, 36-7). The present editor is not convinced by Hermann's arguments, particularly in view of his own theories as to the episode's significance and origins. -- In Morgunblaðið

(2/10/1964), S. Frederiksen produces a story from East-Greenlandic Eskimo tradition so similar to this one in Fló, that one must assume direct influence by the latter in modern times, rather than that both stories reflect events which actually took place.

- 111 Fur garments are, in general, a common garb for tróllkonur (see Motif-Index, F455.2.44 and, e.g., Qrv, 23).
- 112 E-m áhankaz must be understood in the sense (i) 'someone becomes entangled' (see Zoëga, 32) and (ii) in some such sense as 'to go wrong for someone'.
- 113 On belief in fylgjur, see Rel, i, 224 ff.; Myth, 227 ff.
- 114 H. Naumann (in Edda; Skalden, Saga; ed. H. Schneider, 1952, 324) considers the closest parallel to the dream in Snorri is Ruodlieb and Schach (op. cit.) also suggests that the German poem was Snorri's source. The present editor finds the Norman version closer, however (cf. J. de Vries, Kleine Schriften, 1965, 193).
- 115 This motif would also have been known through Tree of Jesse iconography; cf. KL, s.v. Jesse rot och stan.
- 116 Þorgils playing the half-wit in a boat at 46/25-6 and being laughed at by those he is deceiving reminds us of Gísli doing the same thing in Gísl, ch. 26.
- 117 Note also the way in which Þorgils, when he does win back his ancestral lands in Norway (23/25-6), is quick to put them into Þorsteinn's hands (26/12-3).

Chapter III

- 118 Research in its present state regards much of what is said in Landnámabók, at least that work in its original form (cf. pages *149 ff. above), as reasonably trustworthy from an historical point of view. This applies to the names of the landnámsmenn and their descendants and the extent of the land they settled when they came to Iceland. There is no special reason for mistrusting a good deal of what Fló has borrowed from LdnX on these points (cf. also, for example, 12/4-6 and Note). On the other hand, as already observed, Sturla Þórðarson in his redaction of Landnámabók has added much material from Icelandic sagas of the thirteenth century and from other sources and this material is often quite untrustworthy from an historical point of view. Thus, for example, one had little or no faith in the stories of Ingólfr, Leifr and the sons of Atli (chapters 2 and 3), nor the circumstances surrounding Helgi's killing of Þorgrímr (chapter 18). Further, one doubts whether the material with which the Fló-author fills out LdnX contains much that is historical and it seems certain that it contains much that is unhistorical. On the other hand, there are points on which the author of Fló has either changed or added to LdnX ^(what) had and on which he might have been influenced by what might be called 'bygðetradi-tion' (see note to No. 40 on page *182; the way he has changed Hásteinn in LdnX to Hallsteinn; cf. the remarks on the first word of Helgi trausti's verse in Appendix I).
- 119 Cf. KL, s.v. Flóamanna saga: 'Sagans slutdel, kap. 29-35, som verkar vara slákttradition, handlar om

Porgils' liv på Isl. i början av 1000-talet.

- 120 It is not necessary in this context or indeed at all to go into the 'chronology' of the saga in detail (cf. Guðbrandur Vigfússon, 'Um tímatal í Íslendinga-sögum í fornöld', Safn, 1856, 421-2; Fornsögur, xxv f.; Orig, ii, 632; ONOI, ii, 751; Fló, 1932, xii f.; Arnesb, 50 ff.; 'TgF', 445 footnote). One place has been pointed out where the sequence of events in Fló would seem to be at odds with what can be deduced from Ari's Íslendingabók (see Note to 61/6-9); and Porgils's meeting Eiríkr in Greenland would be much better thought of as taking place before the official acceptance of Christianity in Iceland rather than after it. There are also other places where the saga seem defective in this respect (cf. Arnesb, 52: 'Sagan úir og grúir af tímaskekkjum.'). But even if Fló's chronology could be perfectly reconciled with exterior chronology, this fact would, of course, not be an argument for historicity (cf. Problem, 42 and the references cited there).
- 121 And even these words have echoes elsewhere: Vatns, ch. 46: Koðrán tók trú ok skírn í fyrsta lagi ok kona hans.
- 122 An aspect of the historical Porgils's life is possibly hinted at by the reference in Byskupa Ættir (see Note to 61/14-9) to one of his sons, Einarr (not mentioned in Fló), as fóstri Knúts ins ríka. While the name Knútr is found applied to Icelanders, the present editor has not been able to find record of any one in Iceland bearing it as well as the nickname inn ríki. On the other hand, Knútr inn ríki is the normal Icelandic name for Canute the Great and he and Porgils must have been approximate contemp-

oraries. The historical Þorgils may therefore have visited Denmark or even England.

- 123 Indeed, when we discover that the Fló-author may, at 58/21-2, have been influenced by a story from Islb, ch. 3, where a man slays his thrall or freedman at a place since called Kolsgjá (see Note to 58/14), we may even wonder if the name Kolslækr itself is not the invention of the Fló-author. It is, at any rate, no longer known as a place-name (see Note to 58/22).
- 124 As noted (pages *111 ff.), the 'religious' element in Fló actually led the editor of the saga in Orig to date his 'Þorgisl's Saga' to about 1200.
- 125 Bysk, iii, 2; fornaldarsögur and Íslendingasögur would seem to be referred to here (cf. Hermann Pálsson, Sagna-skemmtun Íslendinga, 1962, 150). If prejudices like Einarr's were widely nurtured, we can see one very good reason why a clerical author of Fló should choose Þorgils, rather than his father or grandfather, as hero of his saga.
- 126 Who is more likely to have brought the story of the cock and hen (55/9-14) to Iceland than Jón Halldórsson, educated in Paris ^(and Bologna) and known for his story-telling (cf. page *356)?
- 127 The theory that Fló was written at Gaulverjabær for Haukr Erlendsson expressed in Section C of this chapter is not incompatible with the idea that it was written under the influence of Jón Halldórsson's view to secular literature. Jón must surely have known Haukr, for both men must have spent a good deal of their time in Bergen between the years 1310 and 1320 (Æv, ii, viii; Hauksbók, iii). Jón might even have owed his

- preferment partly to Haukr's influence. And with Eyrar known to be Jón's landing-place on his first arrival in Iceland in 1323 (see Ann, 152, 205, 346, etc.), it is easy to assume that he made immediate acquaintance with Haukr's foundation, a connection he would, no doubt, have closely maintained.
- 128 The evidence of the form -at at 59/7 (87/1) and Vas-k-a[t] at 77/22 is of little importance here as both forms appear in set phrases or verses (cf. Dating, 97 and 101 and footnote 6).
- 129 It is perhaps worth noting, however, that Bárðar Saga may have influenced Víglundar Saga; cf. J. de Vries, Altnordische Literaturgeschichte, 1967, 532. - In Note to Introduction 68, the possibility that the Melabók-redaction of Landnámabók was influenced by Fló is mentioned. It is usually conjectured that the Melabók-redaction was either compiled by Snorri Markússon á Melum or by his son Þorsteinn, Abbot of Helgafell (died 1353), with preference given to the first alternative (see Ldn, 1968, lxxxiii f. and the references cited there). If Snorri Markússon did know Fló, then a terminus ante quem for the dating of the saga would be 1313, the date of Snorri's death. But the evidence that Fló did in fact exert influence here is unfortunately too tenuous to be seriously taken into account in the present context.
- 130 Cf. also Note to 65/7 and the use of the word ómaga-bú at 67/19 (cf. Note to 33/14). Björn Sigfússon . remarks ('TgF', 446): 'Skortur þekkingar á þjóðveldis-lögum mun hafa verið eitthvað minni hjá höfundinum en Vaz. ritara.'
- 131 It should however be noted here that we do have a ref-

erence in the sources to Traðarholt at the end of the thirteenth century. Asgrímr Þorsteinsson, originally from Vatnsdalr in the north of Iceland, was given Baugsstaðir by Bishop Arni Þorláksson and probably moved to that farm in the 1270's. He later quarrelled with the bishop however, and by 1284, it seems, had moved to Traðarholt in anticipation of the bishop turning him out of Baugsstaðir. The words of Arna Saga byskups (Bysk, i, 391) are: Herra Asgrímr var þá ok kominn byggðum í Traðarholt. Þar hafði hann látit húsa sér til vara, ef byskup tæki af honum Baugsstaði. They suggest that the farm was in a bad state of repair until Asgrímr moved there (or perhaps even uninhabited) and it is not, at any rate, surprising that we hear of no church there. Asgrímr died in 1285 and it is usually assumed that his son Eyjólfur, who, like his father was a sýslumaðr, lived on at Traðarholt, although there is no direct statement to this effect in any source. Eyjólfur himself died in 1302 and we know nothing of the inhabitants of the farm until the seventeenth century. It might even have been uninhabited when Fló was written. And there are other reasons against a connection between the writing of the saga and Asgrímr's son or descendants. One is that if Fló was written for (or even by) any member of this family, it would be more than a little peculiar that the author of the saga should choose, as the worsted opponent of his hero, a man called Asgrímr, who, like Asgrímr Þorsteinsson was a newcomer to the south of Iceland from the north (cf. Orig, ii, 632 f.). See further on Asgrímr and Traðarholt: Bogi Benediktsson, Sýslumannaæfir, 1909-15, 202-4; Vigfús Guðmundsson, Saga Eyrarbakka, 1945, 230; Guðni Jónsson, Bólstaðir og búendur í Stokkseyrarhreppi, 1952, 24 and 177.

descendant of Ragnarr loðbrók. And Haukr traced his ancestry back to Hófða-Pórðr (cf. page *407). These facts could well account for the appearance in Hauksbók (pages 458-67) of Ragnarssona Pátttr.

- 133 Cf. however with the following argument the following in Ldn, 1968, lxxix, concerning LdnHkb: 'Á svæðinu frá Kjalarnesi til Akraness...kveður einna mest að viðbótum og breytingum Hauks, og hefur hann vafalítið stuðzt við munnmæli sem lifað hafa á þeim slóðum... Þessar viðbætur Hauks benda til sérstaks kunnugleika á því svæði sem um er að ræða, og er líklegt að hann hafi átt heima lengur eða skemur á þeim slóðum.'
- 134 Could Kálfr have ^(had) anything to do with the spítall at Gaulverjabær? The saga might even have been written there by him or under his supervision.
- 135 In chapter 22 of the saga (see particularly M-version), the Greenland-farers are living together in a hall divided into two by a partition. Jósteinn and his party occupy one half: they stay up late into the night, play games and generally enjoy themselves. But for this they get their punishment. Þorgils's party, on the other hand, as their leader admonishes them on no less than three occasions (cf. page *119), lead a quiet life, go to bed early and mind their prayers: they are saved from the plague which strikes down the other party. The moral of the story is obvious. Now it is interesting that in seeking to establish a connection between Haukr Erlendsson and Kjalnesinga Saga, Helgi Guðmundsson writes as follows (Um Kjaln, 81 footnote 4): 'Ef til vill má...nefna... atriði, sem [kemur] ekki fyrir í Kjalnesinga sögu ...Björn Þórðarson ...[in Skírnir, 1946, 110] segir: "Hér skal bent á það sérstaklega, að Haukur lögmaður

- hefur ekki hirt um að rita upp frásögnina um gleði og skemmtan í Brattahlíð [cf. Eir, nos. 265-7]."
- Má bera þetta saman við orð Jóhannesar Halldórssonar ...[concerning Kjaln in IF, xiv, xvii]: "Menn fara til leika, en ekki er frekar sagt frá þeim leikum."
- 136 Helgi Guðmundsson (Um Kjaln, 80) suggests that one of Haukr's books, Hauksbók, might be located in Húnavatnssýsla 'upp úr miðri 14. öld'.
- 137 We should have to reconsider it if we wish to explain the genealogy down to Kálfr Brandsson in ch. 6 by supposing that he owned a manuscript of the saga (cf. page *419).
- 138 And here we remember that *M, like *X, may easily have been written in the northern part of Iceland (see pages *16 f.) and that we know of no other medieval manuscripts of the saga than the original, *F, *X, *Y, *y and *M.
- 139 Cf. page *123: 'These omissions would certainly seem to localize the X-redactor in a part of Iceland other than the south-western lowland.'

ABBREVIATIONS
AND
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Special abbreviations

(For abbreviations used in Textual Notes, see page 91)

445 b - AM 445 b, 4to in its present form (see page *14 ff.)

*445 b - The original manuscript of which the leaves of
445 b are surviving fragments.

A - AM 517, 4to (see page *21).

App - The section of the text of P edited as Appendix I of
this thesis. Any numbers following an oblique stroke
(e.g. App/13) are line numbers.

AM - Variant readings added by Arni Magnússon to Ketill
Jörundarson's text in K (see page *20).

B - The copy of F1ó in IB 45, 4to (see page *22).

C - AM 564 c, 4to. Any following references are folio
references.

E - AM 448, 4to. Any following numbers are this manuscript's
page numbers.

F - ^(The parts of) Flateyjarbók ^(written by Magnús Þórhallsson) (Gl. kgl. smi. 1005, I-II, fol.). Follow-
ing references are column numbers.

*F - The latest common source for *M and *X.

F1ó - Flóamanna Saga (this edition unless otherwise stated).

Folio *2 - The folio immediately preceding Folio *3 in
*445 b.

Folio *3 - The folio immediately preceding Folio 4 in
*445 b .

Folio 4 - Folio 4 of 445 b

Folio 5 - Folio 5 of 445 b

H - AM 555 h, 4to. Any following references are folio references.

J - The copy of Fló in AM 165 m, fol.. (see pages *22-3).

K - AM 516, 4to (the part written by Ketill Jörundarson) (see pages *19-20).

KZ - Variants added by Ketill Jörundarson to the main text of K, which have as their source a manuscript called ZK (cf. page *64).

LdnX - The manuscript of Landnámabók used by the author of Fló (whether identical with Sturlubók or not; on the question of their identity, see pages *158 ff.). It has occasionally been convenient to refer to LdnX by page, line or chapter and, when this is done, it is according to LdnStb (see Bibliographical abbreviations).

M - The fragments of Fló in 445 b.

*M - The text of Fló in *445 b.

MP - The fragments of *M (not all of which survive now) to which Einar Eyjólfsson had access when he wrote P (see page *30).

*R - A now lost manuscript containing Fló which was presented to the University of Copenhagen in 1675 (cf. pages *75 ff.).

Resensbók - A now lost manuscript containing a copy of Sturla Þórðarson's redaction of Landnámabók which was an intermediary between Sturlubók and LdnStb (cf. page

*150 and Gerðir, 10).

S - The copy of Fló in Cod. Holm. Isl. papp. fol. No. 60
(cf. pages *21-2).

Sturlubók - The original manuscript of Sturla Þórðarson's redaction of Landnámabók. It has occasionally been convenient to refer to this by page, line or chapter and, when this is done, it is according to LdnStb (see Bibliographical abbreviations).

*X - The latest common source for the texts of the X-group.

X-group - The group of texts: K(AM), A, S, B, J and P (without PM).

*Y - The latest common source for the texts of the Y-group.

Y-group - The group of texts K(AM), A and S.

*y - The latest common source for the texts of the y-group.

*y¹ - The manuscript of the Skarðsárbók-redaction of Landnámabók used by Þórður Jónsson when he compiled LdnÞøb (cf. page *44).

y-group - The group of texts comprising AM, A and S.

*Z - The latest common source for the texts of the Z-group.

Z-group - The group of texts comprising B, J and P (without PM).

*z - The latest common source for J and P (without PM).

z-group - J and P (without PM).

ZK - The manuscript on which certain marginal readings in K are based (cf. page *64).

P - AM 515, 4to (see pages *23 ff.).

PM - That part of P which is a copy of MP (see pages *30 ff.).

PM4 - The part of P which is mainly a copy of Folio 4
(cf. pages *30 ff.).

Bibliographical abbreviations

(Occasionally quotations from other editions are given in normalized form in this thesis and this is done without signal. Where proper names are involved (e.g. when biographical details are given in the Commentary), page references are not always given, but the reader is referred to to the index in the work cited.)

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FLOAMANNA SAGA

MAIN TEXT

Flóamanna Saga

1. Haraldr konungr gullskeggr réð fyrir Sogni. Hann átti Sölvöru, dóttur Hundólfs jarls, systur Atla jarls mjóva. Þeira dætr váru þær Þóra, er átti Hálfðan konungr svartí Upplendingakonungr, ok Þuríðr, er átti Ketill 5 Helluflagi. Haraldr konungr ungi var son þeira Hálfðanar ok Þóru. Honum gaf Haraldr konungr gullskeggr nafn sitt. Haraldr konungr gullskeggr andaðiz fyrst þeira en þá Þóra, þá Haraldr ungi síðast ok bar svá ríkit undir Hálfðan svarta en hann setti þar yfir Atla jarl inn mjóva. Síðan fekk Hálfðan 10 konungr Ragnhildar, dóttur Sigurðar konungs hjartar. Ás- laug var móðir Sigurðar hjartar, dóttir Sigurðar orms-í- auga, Ragnars sonar loðbrókar. Móðir Sigurðar orms-í- auga var Áslaug, dóttir Sigurðar Fáfnisbana, Sigmundar sonar, Völsungs sonar, Rers sonar, Sigars sonar, Óðins 15 sonar, er réð fyrir Ásgarði. Móðir Áslaugar var Brynhildr Buðladóttir. Son Hálfðanar svarta ok Ragnhildar var Haraldr er fyrst var kallaðr Dofrafóstri, þá Haraldr lúfa en síðast Haraldr inn hárfagri.

Þá er Haraldr inn hárfagri gekk til ríkis í Noregi, 20 mægðiz hann við Hákon jarl Grjótgarðsson ok fekk hann þá Sygnafylki Hákonni, mági sínum, en Haraldr konungr fór í Vík austr en Atli jarl vildi eigi laust láta ríkit fyrr en hann fyndi Harald konung. Jarlarnir þreyttu þetta með kappi svá at hvártveggi dró lið saman. Peir funduz

á Fjðlum í Stafanessvági ok fekk Hákon jarl sigr en Atli jarl varð sárr ok var fluttr í Atlaey ok dó þar ór sárum. Atli jarl átti eptir þrjá sonu: hét einn Hallsteinn - hann var elztr ok vitrastr þeira bræðra - þá Hersteinn 5 ok Hólmsteinn. [Hall]steinn átti Þóru Ólvisdóttur. Þeir bræðr lágu í hernaði.

2. Björnólfr hét maðr en annarr Hróaldr. Þeir váru ágætir menn. Þeir váru synir Hrómundar Gripssonar. Þeir fóru af Pelamörk fyrir víga sakir ok staðfestuz í 10 Dalsfirði á Fjðlum. Son Björnólfs hét Örn, er réð fyrir Firðafylki. Hans son var Ingólfr en dóttir Helga; bæði váru þau fríð at sjá. En son Hróalds var Hrómundr, faðir Leifs. Þeir Ingólfr ok Leifr váru frændr ok fóstbræðr. Móðir Leifs var Hróðný, dóttir Ketils bifru Hórrða-Kára- 15 sonar. Þá var Ingólfr xx. vetra er þetta var, en Leifr xviii. vetra. Ingólfr gekk fyrir fóður sinn ok segir honum at hann vill halda í hernað ok bað hann afla nokkurs. Leifr gekk ok fyrir sinn fóður biðjandi hann slíks ins sama ok váru þeim gefin mörg langskip. Biðja nú síðan 20 samlags við sonu Atla jarls. Þeir váru fúsir þessa við Ingólfr. Þat váru lög í þann tíma at eigi skyldi yngri maðr vera í herföðrum en xx. vetra, en elligar vildu þeir gjarna Leif í lög taka. Leifr svarar: 'Ef vér komum í nokkura raun, sjám þá ef ek stend at baki öðrum; 25 gefumz ek eigi verr en aðrir, þá á ek ekki at gjalda æsku minnar.' Ingólfr sagði þá báða fara skyldu ella

hvárugan. Verðr þat af kjörum at þeir fara allir saman
 ok leggjaz í hernað ok er svá sagt at Leifr var hvatr ok
 rðskr í öllum mannraunum. Ingólfr var vitr maðr ok
 ágætr í öllum atlöggum ok allri karlmennsku. Þeim varð
 5 gott til fjár um sumarit ok kómu heim um haustit. Hró-
 mundr var þá andaðr, faðir Leifs. Nú mæla þeir mót með
 sér annat sumar ok heldu þá enn í hernað allir saman ok
 fengu þá miklu meira herfang en it fyrra sumarit. Ok sem
 þeir kómu heim um haustit, var Örn, faðir Ingólfs,
 10 andaðr.

Hallsteinn býðr þeim fóstbræðrum, Ingólfi ok Leifi,
 heim til veizlu ok þat þágu þeir ok at skilnaði gaf hann
 þeim góðar gjafir. Síðan buðu þeir fóstbræðr þeim jarls-
 sonum til veizlu. Þeir bjóða ok at sér miklu fjölmenni
 15 ok vilja eiga undir meira ef nokkut kann í at skeraz.
 Nú koma þeir bræðr til veizlunnar ok er mǫnnum skipat í
 sæti. Helga bar ól at veizlunni; hon var allra kvenna
 vænst ok kurteisust. Svá er sagt at Hersteinn lítr opt
 til hennar blíðliga ok at þessarri veizlu strengdi hann
 20 þess heit, at annathvært skyldi hann Helgu eiga eðr enga
 konu ella. Kvaz hann nú fyrstr hafit hafa þenna leik
 -'ok áttu nú, Ingólfr,' segir hann. Ingólfr svarar:
 'Hallsteinn skal nú fyrst um mæla, því at hann er vár
 vitrastr ok várr formaðr at öllu.' Hallsteinn mælti:
 25 'Þess strengi ek heit: þótt mér sé vandi á við menn, at
 ek skal eigi halla réttum dómi, ef mér er trúat til
 dyggðar um.' Hersteinn mælti: 'Eigi er þessi heitstrengin

þín þeim mun skýrlegri sem þú ert reiknaðr vitrari en vér,
eðr hversu muntu gera ef þú átt við vini þína um eðr óvini?'

Hallsteinn svarar: 'Þar ætla ek sjálfum mér fyrir at sjá.'

'Þess strengi ek heit,' segir Ingólfr, 'at skipta við engan
5 mann erfð, nema við Leif.' 'Eigi skiljum vér þetta,'
segir Hersteinn. Hallsteinn kvaz gerla kunna þetta at
sjá - 'Leifi vill hann gipta Helgu, systur sína.' Leifr
strengdi þess heit, at vera eigi verrfeðrungr. Hallsteinn
svarar: 'Eigi mun mikit fyrir því, því at faðir þinn fór
10 fyrir illvirkja sakir af Þelamörk ok hingat.' Nú þrýtr
veizluna ok er ekki til samfara mælt af Hersteins hendi.
Fóru jarlssynir heim frá veizlunni ok sátu í bóm sínum um
vetrinn ok svá þeir fóstbræðr ok er nú allt kyrrt.

3. Um vórit vill Leifr í hernað en Ingólfr latti þess
15 ok sagði þeim vera mál at sètjaz um kyrrt at bóm sínum -
'ok muntu muna heitstrengingar þær, er fram fóru.' Leifr
svarar: 'Þú ræðr, fóstbróðir, þínum ferðum en fara mun ek.
Held ek skjótt undan ef ófriðligt er.' Ingólfr kvað hann
slíku mundu ráða. Skilja þeir nú við þetta. Ferr Leifr í
20 hernað ok funduz þeir jarlssynir, Hersteinn ok Hólmsteinn
við Hísnargafl. Þeir leggja at Leifi þegar ok slær þar
þegar í bardaga. Hafði Leifr iii. skip en þeir bræðr
vi. skip. ^{Þeir} Vinnu skjótt skip af Leifi. Af stundu sjá
þeir at sigla at þeim v. skip. Stendr maðr á mesta skipinu
25 við siglu, mikill ok fríðr, í grænum kyrtli ok hafði gyllt-
an hjálm á höfði, ok mælti: 'Við mikinn liðsmun áttu

nú at etja, frændi,' sagði hann, 'ok mun þat drengiligra at veita þér lið, Leifr frændi.' Þar var kominn Ólmóðr inn gamli Hórrða-Kárason. Hann berz þá með Leifi ok váru þau orrostulok, at Hersteinn fellr en Hólmsteinn verðr
 5 sárr ok flýr. Ólmóðr mælti þá: 'Far þú heim með mér eptir stórvirki þessi.' Leifr mælti: 'Skammt er heim í Fjórðu ok hefir þú mikit lið ok gott mér veitt, frændi. Vilda ek gjarna at þú færir heim með mér.' Eptir þetta skildu þeir ok heldr Leifr til móts við Ingólf ok sagði honum allt
 10 hversu farit hafði. Ingólfr segir mikit vera at orðit ok biðr þá báða saman vera ok svá gerðu þeir ok heldu fjölmennt um vetrinn.

Þann sama vetr fór Hólmsteinn at þeim Ingólfi ok Leifi ok vildi drepa þá. En þeir fengu njósn af ferð hans ok
 15 fóru í móti honum. Varð þá enn orrosta mikil ok fell þar Hólmsteinn. Eptir þat dreif lið at þeim fóstbræðrum, vinir þeira ok frændr ór Firðafylki. Váru þá sendir menn til Hallsteins ok bjóða settir með því móti at þeir vilja leggja undir dóm Hallsteins. Sagðiz Ingólfr honum
 20 vel trúa til réttðæmis ok bað hann muna heitstrenging sína. Hallsteinn kvað nú mikit at orðit - 'ok er nú mikill vandi í at dæma þetta mál,' - ok hefr svá sína ræðu:
 'Hersteinn, bróðir minn, líz mér sem unnit hafi til óhelgi sér ok vil ek eigi fé fyrir hann dæma né mannsektir. En
 25 Hólmsteinn fór til hefnda eptir bróður sinn ok því dæmi ek fyrir dráp hans fallnar eignir ykkrar ok báða ykkur burtu heðan ór Firðafylki áðr þrír vetr eru liðnir, ella falli

þit óhelgir.' 'Slíks var at ván,' sagði Ingólfr. Síðan bjugguz þeir bræðr út til Íslands, sem segir í Landnáma-bók. Við Ingólf er kenndr Ingólfshöfði sunnanlands. Ok lýkr þar nú þeira viðskiptum.

5 4. Eptir fall Atla jarls mjóva safnaði liði Sigurðr jarl, son Hákonar gamla, með ráði Haralds konungs ins hárfagra ok vildi drepa Hallstein. Við þetta stókk Hallsteinn undan ok út til Íslands fyrir þessum ófriði, sem þá gerðu margir gildir menn, at þeir flýðu óðul sín fyrir
 10 ofríki Haralds konungs ok unnu áðr stórvirki nokkur. Hallsteinn skaut setstokkum fyrir borð í hafi ~~xxxx~~ heilla sér eptir fornum sið; þeim sveif á land þar sem síðan heitir Stokkseyrr en skipit kom í Hallsteinssund fyrir austan Stokkseyri ok braut þar. Setstokkarnir kómu fyrir dyrr á
 15 Stálfjörðru fram frá Stokkseyri. Viða höfðu menn þá land numit. Hallsteinn nam land milli Rauðár ok Ölfusár upp allt til Fúlalækjar, Breiðanýri alla upp at Holtum ok bjó at Stjórnusteinum. Hallsteinn átti Þóru Ölvisdóttur. Atli ok Ölvir váru synir þeira. Hallsteinssund er fyrir austan
 20 Stokkseyri, þar sem braut skip Hallsteins. Öllum mönnum þótti mikils vert um Hallstein. Sagðiz hann skyldu hér ílendaz. Var mönnum mikil aufúsa á því, þeim er í nánd honum váru, ok þótti mikill höfuðburðr at honum sakir ættar hans. Varð Hallsteinn mikilmenni ok andaðiz hann í elli sinni
 25 Ok eptir andlát hans, skiptu þeir bræðr með sér erfðum. Bjó Ölvir at Stjórnusteinum; þat heita nú Ölvistöptir.

Hafði Atli í móti allt landnám milli Rauðár ok Ölfusár,
 Traðarholt ok Baugsstaði. Ölvir andaðiz ungr. Tók
 Atli þá allan arf eptir hann ok gerðiz mikilhæfr maðr.
 Þræll hans hét Brattr. Hann var hollr honum í sýslu sinni.
 5 Honum gaf Atli frelsi. Hann bjó í Brattsholti. Slíkt
 sama gerði hann við annan, er Leiðólfr hét. Hann bjó
 á Leiðólfsstöðum. Þeir váru mikilhæfir menn ok vel vingað-
 ir ok hollir mjök Atla.

5. Hallsteinn hét maðr. Hann fór ór Sogni til Íslands.
 10 Hann var mágr Hallsteins Atlasonar. Honum gaf hann inn
 ytra hlut Eyrarbakka. Hann bjó á Framnesi. Hans son
 var Þorsteinn er veginn var at fálkagreptri. Hans son
 var Þorbjörn^(örn) er bjó á Framnesi. Í þenna tíma kom út
 Loptr, son Orms Fróðasonar. Nú er at segja frá Atla at
 15 hann var ríkr maðr ok hlutdeilinn ok líkr í mörgu lagi
 frændum sínum. Loptr fór af Gaulum til Íslands, ungr at
 aldri, ok nam land á milli Þjórsár ok Rauðár upp til Skúfs-
 lækjar, Breiðamýri upp til Súluholts, ok bjó í Gaulverja-
 bæ, ok Oddný, móðir hans, dóttir Þorbjarnar ins Gaulverska.
 20 Loptr fór utan it þriðja hvert sumar fyrir hönd þeira
 Flosa beggja, móðurbróður síns, at blóta at hofi því
 er Þorbjörn, móðurfaðir hans, hafði varðveitt at Gaulum.
 Frá Lopti er margt stórmenni komit. Þá kom út Þor[viðr],
 bróðir hans af Vörs. Loptr gaf honum land á Breiðamýri
 25 ok bjó hann í Ossabæ. Hans börn váru þau Hrafn ok Hallveig.
 Þessir menn váru nú allir samtíða.

6. Flosi Þorbjarnarson, móðurbróðir Eyrar-Lopts, drap þrjá sýslumenn fyrir Haraldi konungi hárfagra ok fór eptir þat til Íslands. Hann nam land fyrir austan Þjórsá, Rangárvöllu alla ina eystri austr frá Rangá. Hans dóttir
 5 var Þórunn, móðir Þuríðar, er átti Valla-Brandr. Son þeira var Kolbeinn, faðir Þórunnar, móður Lopts prests, fðður Jóns, fðður Sæmundar, fðður Margrétar, móður Brands, fðður Kálfs.

Özurr hét maðr inn hvíti, son Þorleifs ór Sogni.
 10 Özurr vá vīg í véum á Upplöndum, þá er hann var í brúðferð með Sigurði hrísa. Fyrir þat varð hann landflótti til Íslands ok nam fyrst öll Holtalönd á milli Þjórsár ok Hraunslækjar. Þá var hann xv. vetra er hann vá vīgít. Hann fekk Hallveigar, dóttur Þorviðar; þeira son var
 15 Þorgrímr kampi. Hann var faðir Özurar, fðður Þorbjarnar, fðður Þórarins, fðður Gríms Jórusonar. Özurr bjó í Kampholti. Hann andaðiz þá er Þorgrímr var ungr. Þá tók við fjárvarðveizlu Hrafn, móðurbróðir hans.

Bððvarr hét maðr. Hann var leysingi Özurar. Hann
 20 bjó á Bððvarsstöðum við Víðiskóg. Honum gaf Özurr hlut nokkurn í skóginum ok mælti svá fyrir at hann skildi sér skóginn, ef misdauði þeira yrði, ok ætti Bððvarr engan erfingja eptir.

Örn hét maðr. Hann bjó í Vælugerði. Hann átti Þorgerði
 25 Baugsdóttur, systur Stena snjalla í Snjallshöfða. Erni varð vant um haustit lx. geldinga ok hefir eigi góðan róm á Bððvari ok berr á brýnn honum at hann muni tekit hafa.

Bǫðvarr duldi þess ok unni honum engra bóta fyrir; þóttiz sitja í trausti ríkra manna, er Hrafn var Þorviðarson, frændi Eyrar-Lopts. Um várit stefnir Örn Bǫðvari um stuld. Þykkiz Bǫðvarr sér nú eigi einhlítr um vörn málsins ok 5 sækir at Atla Hallsteinsson, því at hann var honum nærr en Hrafn, ok tjár honum málit. Atli segir at eigi sé órvænt at menn finni gagnsækir í máli Arnar. Eptir þat tók Atli við öllu fé Bǫðvars með handsóllum. Stendr nú svá til þings. Á þingi er mál búit til sóknar á hendr 10 Bǫðvari ok kom málit í dóm. Þá gekk at dómum Atli með fjólmenni ok bað Örn fella niðr málit - 'elligar mun ek ónýta þat fyrir þér.' Örn kvaz ætla at eigi mundi ónýtt verða, nema með ofríki. 'Má vera,' segir Örn, 'at torsótt verði at eiga við jarlborna menn sem þú ert, Atli. Hygg ek at 15 meir eyðir þú málit fyrir féginni þína en réttindi, sem frændr þínir hafa gert.' Við þessi orð varð Atli reiðr mjök ok eyðir málit fyrir Erni ok hrekr hann sem mest af málinu.

7. Litlu síðar andaz Bǫðvarr. Eptir andlát hans kall- 20. aði Hrafn til Víðiskógsins fyrir hönd Þorgríms kampa ok þannar Atla afneyzlu skógarins ok sagði honum máldaga þeira Özurar ok Bǫðvars ok leiddi vitni um. Atli kvaz ætla at láta eigi sitt fyrir Hrafni; kvað hann lítt minnaz á þat er faðir hans gaf honum sitt land. Hrafn kvað þat 25 fyrir löngu aptr bætt ok kvaz vilja hafa sitt. Atli varnaði honum skógarins ok skildu at því.

Einhvern dag býr Atli ferð sína til Víðiskógar. Leið-
 ólfr, leysingi hans, var í ferð með honum ok húskarlar
 tveir. Þeir hjuggu skóginn. Þat er sagt at sauðamaðr
 Hrafns hafði gengit at fé um daginn. Hann getr at líta
 5 hvar þeir eru í skóginum. Hann hleypr heim sem skjótast
 ok segir Hrafni at Atli mun hafa nytjar af skóginum,
 slíkar sem honum sýniz; - 'hóggva þeir þar sem beztr er
 skógrinn ok er þat at vánum at ekki hafir þú þrek við jarl-
 bornum mǫnnum.' Hrafn varð mjök reiðr við þessa sögu ok
 10 býr ferð sína ok ferr við inn viiða. mann þar til er þeir
 kómu í dal þann er síðan er kallaðr Orrustudalr ok þar
 finnaz þeir Atli. Þá mælti Atli: 'Við liðsmun villtu nú
 etja, Hrafn.' 'Þat skal fyrirfurða um burðamuni,' segir
 Hrafn. Þegar slær í bardaga með þeim ok sækjaz þeir Atli
 15 ok Hrafn ok verða þeira viðskipti harðfeng. Leiðólfr
 verz ok vel ok vill nú launa [frelsis]gjöfina ok um síðir
 vill hann flýja ok fell hann þá ok hafði mann fyrir sik.
 Atli drap einn húskarl Hrafns ok sótti Hrafn hann þó.
 Tveir fellu menn Hrafns en [Atli] var þá særðr til ólífis.

20 8. Ónundr bíldr hét maðr ok var landnámsmaðr. Hann
 nam land fyrir austan Hróarslæk ok bjó í Ónundarholti.
 Hann átti Þorgerði, dóttur Sigmundar Sighvatssonar rauða.
 Sigmundr var faðir Marðar gígju. [Ónundr] kom nú at skilja
 þá Atla ok Hrafn ok fylgdi Atla heim ok bað hann til sín
 25 fara - 'ok skal ek veita þér öll hægindi.' Atli kvað þat
 vel boðit en heim kvaz hann vilja í Traðarholt ok lét

eigi órvænt at þat fylgdi nafni at hann dæi af sárum sem Atli jarl, föðurfaðir hans.

Þórðr hét son Atla. Hann var ix. vetra er þetta var tíðinda. Atli heimti hann til sín ok kvaz ætla at hann 5 mundi af sárum deyja. 'Áttu,' segir hann, 'allt fé eptir mik ok ef þú ert þínum frændum líkr, þá muntu hefna föður þíns ok svá segir mér hugr um at þú munir verða mikill fyrir þér ok þínir ættmenn.' Eptir þat andaðiz Atli heima í Traðarholti ok var hann heygðr sem þá var siðvenja til. 10 Þórðr tók við fé öllu ok ráðum eptir föður sinn. Hann var fríðr sýnum, bráðþroskaðr ok mikill fyrir sér. Ólvir hét son Atla annarr ok kallaðr Ólvir mjóvi. Þeir bræðr váru óskaplíkir. Þórðr varðveitti bú í Traðarholti en Ólvir réz í kaupferðir þegar á unga aldri ok var áburðarmaðr 15 mikill. Síðan réz hann í hernað ok var inn mesti víkingr. At lyktum settiz hann at búm í Sogni ok kom aldri til Íslands. Þá réð fyrir Noregi Eiríkr blóðöx.

9. Þá var Þórðr xv. vetra gamall er hann hugsar um föðurhefndir. Hrafn var garpr mikill en Þórðr þóttiz 20 ungr. Svá er sagt eitthvert sinn at Þórðr frétti at Hrafn var riðinn út í Einarshöfn til skips ok var einn í reið ok ætlaði heim um kveldit. Hrafn var í blári kápu ok gyrðr sverði ok hafði spjót mikit í hendi ok gullrekinn á falrinn. Þeir feðgar höfðu átt spjót þat. Hann hafði eigi við 25 bardaga búiz. Þórðr sitr fyrir Hrafni hjá Hagavági ofan frá Traðarholti, einn samt. Hann hafði spjót í hendi ok

vill nú annathvært hefna fǫður síns eðr fá bana. Ok um kveldit, er Hrafn ríðr heim, hljóp Þórðr at honum óvörum ok lagði á honum spjótinu. Hrafn fell af baki ok skildi Þórðr við hann dauðan ok er þar haugr hans fyrir austan 5 góttuna en fyrir vestan er Atlahaugr ok Ólvishaugr ok Hallsteinshaugr. Þórðr ferr nú heim ok þykkir hann vaxit hafa af þessu verki. Síðan er leitast um sættir við Þórð af mágum Hrafns ok frændum. Þórðr kvaz þat mundu sýna at hann var enginn ójafnaðarmaðr en kvað sik nauðsyn til reka at 10 hefna fǫður síns. Kvað þat skyldu sína sætt at í faðma felliz allt þat er í hafði gerz. Þessi sætt játtuðu frændr Hrafns, því at þeim þótti þetta engi ójafnaðr ok sættuz heilum sáttum.

Þórðr gerðiz ágætr maðr. Hann fekk Þórunnar, dóttur 15 Ásgeirs Austmannsskelfis; var hann af því svá kallaðr at hann drap skipshöfn í Grímsárósi fyrir þat er hann var áðr ræntur af þeim. Ásgeirr var it mesta mikilmenni. Þórunn var ok skórungr mikill. Þórðr eignaðiz skóg þann er þeir höfðu deilt um.

20 Þá er Þórðr hafði ii. vetr ok xx., þá keypti hann skip í Knarrarsundi ok vildi utan fara ok heimta erfðir sínar, þær er frændr hans höfðu átt í Sogni ok konungr helt, ok kvað Þórunni fara skyldu en hon kvaz vilja eptir vera ok kvað þat ráðligra. Þórðr reiddiz við þessi orð ok tók 25 mikit fé er hann átti, ok fal í jörðu. Þórunn mælti þá: 'Þat máttu gera at fela féit en svá segir mér hugr um at litlar nytjar munir þú hafa fjár þess er þú átt í

Noregi ok svá hér.' Síðan tók hon við öllum eignum þeira.

10. Þorgils hét son þeira. Hann var tvævetr er Þórðr fór utan. Þat skip hvarf ok spurðiz ekki til síðan ok vetri síðar kom út Þorgrímr Örrabeinn í Bjarnarsundi. Hann 5 var Þormóðarson. Hans móðir var Þuríðr Ketilbjarnardóttir at Mosfelli. Þorgrímr var hraustmenni mikit. Hann var í Traðarholti um vetrinn með Þórunni ok var henni it mesta traust at honum ok líkaði henni vel við hann ok bað hann með sér dveljaz ok ráða sjálfan kaup. Hann kvaz þat vilja 10 ok mælti til samfara við hana; kvaz elligar ekki þar vera mundu hjá henni, nema hon giptiz honum. Hon hugsar þetta með ráði vina sinna ok frænda. Þat var þrem vetrum síðarþví at hon vildi reynaz hugum við hann ok skap sitt. Þá er iii. vetr váru liðnir, fekk hann Þórunnar ok váru 15 samfarar góðar þeira í milli. Þorgrímr þótti inn mesti garpr ok heldr ódæll. Hafði hann verit víkingr ok víða af því Örróttr ok af því var hann kallaðr Örrabeinn en Þorgils, stjúpson hans, var kallaðr Örrabeinsstjúpr. Þorgrímr var góðr forstjóri heraðsins. Hann var vel til 20 Þórunnar ok sonar hennar, Þorgils. Þar stóð mikit fé saman er þau áttu öll.

Þat er sagt eitt sumar, er menn kómu til mannamóts í fjórbaugsgarð til Lóns, þá var Þorgils fimn vetra er hann þangat veik ok vildi vera at sveinaleik; markar 25 sér völl ok kvaz vilja at vera. Sveinar sögðuz hafa sammælz á at sá einn skyldi at leiknum vera er nökkuru

kvikindi hefði at bana orðit. Réz Þorgils þá frá leiknum ok þótti þó illa er hann var fráskila gerr. Um kveldit fara menn heim.

Þorgrímr var at öllu fé auðugr. Hann átti margt kvik-
 5 fé, bæði sauði ok naut. Einn hestr hét Illingr er hann átti; þat var klárr ókostigr. Ok er menn váru sofnaðir um nóttina, þá vakir Þorgils ok íhugar sitt mál ok vildi eigi optar ór leiknum gerr vera. Hann stóð upp ok tekr sér beizl ok gekk út síðan ok sá hross hjá garði. Hann
 10 snýz þangat til ok tekr hestinn Illing ok leiðir til húss nökkurs. Síðan tekr hann spjót í hönd sér ok gengr at hestinum ok rekr spjótit í kviðinn ok fellr hann dauðr niðr. Þorgils leggz niðr síðan.

Ok um

XX
 Um morguninn er mǫnnum var til verks skipat, biðr

15 Þorgrímr heim reka Illing en hann fannz eigi. Var Þorgrími sagt þetta. Hann kvað hestinn þar verit hafa um kveldit ok bað enn leita. Fara þeir ok finna dauðan hestinn; segja Þorgrími. Hann kvaz eigi sjá mann til þess at girnaz at eiga illt við hann. Þorgils svarar:
 20 'Ek veldr því at hestrinn er dauðr.' Þorgrímr spurði hví hann gerði þat. Þorgils sagði hver sök til var. 'Ekki munum vit eiga skap saman,' sagði Þorgrímr. 'Far þú nú til Lopts, vinar þíns, því at ekki verðum vit samlyndir.'

25 11. Eptir þat fór Þorgils í burt inn sama dag ok til Lopts. Tók hann við honum ágæta vel. Svá er sagt at Þor-

gils var fríðr maðr sýnum ok drengiligr í viðbragði ok
 skýrligr, hár á vöxt ok réttvaxinn, sterkr at afli, harð-
 gerr ok skjótráðr, gegn ok ðruggr, ðrðigr ok allra manna
 bezt vígr ok inn hraustasti í ðllum mannraunum þegar honum
 5 dróz aldr sem frá mun verða sagt. Hann var stórlyndr ok
 þó stöðugr, hjartaprúðr ok hugstórr, stóz vel margar mann-
 raunir er hann hlaut at bera.

Þat er sagt at þá er Þorgils var ix. vetra gamall,
 beiddiz hann at róa á sjó með húskörlum Lopts ok var þat
 10 eptir honum látit sem margt annat. Þorgils kastaði færi
 sínu fyrir borð ok dró einn mikinn flatan fisk en engi
 annarr veiddi um daginn. Ok er hreggit tók at vaxa,
 reyndiz þat at Þorgils hafði numit at róa, þótt hann væri
 ungr. Síðan lögðu þeir at landi. Loptr kvað í slíku
 15 marka mega hverr hann mundi verða. Ganga nú heim ok dró
 Þorgils eptir sér fiskinn er hann gekk eptir góttunni.
 Þá losnaði moldin þar er hann dró fiskinn ok kenndi er
 varð fyrir nokkut hart. Lítr hann þá til ok sér at þar
 liggr silfrbaugr. Nú fara þeir heim ok selr Þorgils
 20 Lopti bauginn, fóstura sínum, til varðveizlu.

12. Vetri síðar varð sá atburðr at þrælar nokkurir
 brutu haug til fjár sér en Þorgils kom at þeim ok kvað
 þat ekki vera þeira fé ok tók af þeim iii. merkr en hrakti
 þá sjálfa. Hann fekk Lopti fé þetta ok svá allt annat
 25 þat er hann aflaði. Varð hann nú frægr mjök, þótt hann
 væri ungr.

Þá er Þorgils var xv. vetra, þá fýstiz hann utan at fara. Var hann vel þroskaðr bæði at viti ok afli. Hann beiddiz fjárskiptis af Þorgrími, stjúpfoður sínum. Loptr bað hann dveljaz hjá sér enn um vetrinn ok kvað hann mundu síðar at .
 5 Öllu meira fram koma. Hann gerði svá ok er hann er xvi. vetra, beiddiz hann enn fjárskiptis. Þorgrímr kvað þess enn eigi kost - 'því ósvinn[r]li líz mér þín fjárvarðveizla en mín.' Þorgils kvaz nú vilja hafa féit - 'en ef ek fær nú eigi, þá mun ek fá í þriðja sinn er ek heimti,' - ok
 10 ferr síðan ok segir Loptri. Loptr kvað þat hug sinn at Þorgrímr mundi eigi fyrir standa þá er Þorgils heimti næst. Fekk Loptr honum þá fé til utanferðar. Þorgils kvaz lítit fé hafa vilja at sinni. Ok er hann er búinn til ferðar, kallaði hann til sín leiksveina ok kvaz vilja launa þeim
 15 gleði ok góða fylgd - 'skulu þér hér taka iii. merkr silfrs er ek tók af þrælunum en Loptr, fóstri minn, skal hafa bauginn ok vingan mína.' Eptir þat fór Þorgils utan í Knarrarsundi með lítit fé ok kom til Noregs um haustit ok var með þeim manni um vetrinn er Óláfr hét. Hann bjó á Hørðalandi.
 20 landi. Hann var ríkr maðr ok vel vitr.

Í þenna tíma réð Haraldr gráfelðr Noregi með öðrum bræðrum sínum ok Gunnhildr konungamóðir. Þau fóru at veizlum um vetrinn, sem þá var siðr til. Óláfr bjó veizlu í móti konungi ok móður hans með mikilli vegsemd ok er þau
 25 höfðu at veizlunni verit um hríð, þá spurðu þau hverr sá væri inn mikill maðr ok inn vegligi er þar var. Óláfr svarar: 'Hann er Íslenzkr.' Konungr sagði at hann mundi

vera mikillar ættar - 'því at hann hefir þess háttar
yfirbragð.' Þorgils var í leikum með konungi ok þótti
honum mikit gaman at honum ok gengu Þorgilsí allir leikar
vel. Þá mælti konungr: 'Þik mun ek kalla Þorgils kapp
5 minn.' Þorgils sagði þá konungi sik eiga stórar erfðir
í Sogni eptir gófga frændr sína. Konungr svarar: 'Móðir
mín hefir nú bú á jörðum þeim ok hon hefir á þeim allt
forræði; því hyllstu hana at ok mun þér þá vel duga.' Þor-
gils kemr nú á þetta mál við Gunnhildi. Hon svarar þessu
10 vel ok bauð honum hirð[vist] með konungi. Þorgils kvaz
lítt við látinn at vera með konungshirð ok kvað nei við
því. Drotning varð reið ok spyrndi fæti sínum til hans ok
hratt honum frá hásetinu ok varnaði honum þá fjárin ok
sagði hann eigi kunna at þiggja sóma sinn. Konungi var
15 vel til hans ok gaf honum silfr á laun, svá at þat var
góðr kaupeyrir. 'Má hér af græðaz,' segir konungr, 'ef
gæfa vill til ok vitja mín kunnliga ok allra helst ef
móðir mín er eigi nær.' Síðan fór konungr frá veizlunni.

13. Um várit segir Þorgils Óláfi at hann vill fara
20 kaupferð um sumarit ok leita svá undan ójafnaði Gunnhildar.
Óláfr lét vel yfir því. Var Þorgils í kaupferð um sumarit
ok tókz þat vel en um haustit kom hann í vestr-Víkina ok
ferr til konu einnar er Gyða hét. Hon var ekkja. Son
átti hon er Auðun hét. Þau veittu honum bæði af inni
25 mestu dyggð. Gyða var margkunnandi á fyrnsk[u] ok fróð-
leik. Auðun var vel til Þorgils ok mælti til vináttu

er hann fór í brutt.

Eptir þat fór Þorgils til eins ríks manns er Björn hét ok var þar vel haldinn. Þar váru góð húbýli ok heldr snemma háttat. Þorgils spurði hverju þat gegndi. Honum 5 var sagt at faðir Bjarnar hafði fyrir litlu andaz ok þat með at hann gengi aptr. Váru menn ok hræddir við hann. Þorgils gerðiz rammr at afli. Þat var opt um vetrinn at Þorgils heyrði lanit úti um þekjuna. Ok eina nótt var þat at hann stóð upp, tók óxi í hönd sér ok gekk út. Hann sá 10 draug fyrir dyrum standa, mikinn ok illiligan. Þorgils færir upp óxina en þessi snýr undan ok til haugsins ok, sem þeir koma þar, snýr draugrinn á móti. Takaz þeir fangbrögðum, því at Þorgils hafði sleppt óxinni. Var þeirra atgangr bæði harðr ok grimmligr svá at upp gekk jörðin 15 undir fótum þeim. En at lyktum varð svá, með því at Þorgilsi var lengra líf ætlat, at draugrinn fell á bak aptr en Þorgils ofan á hann. Tekr hann þar þá hvíld ok náir síðan óxi sinni. Hóggv Þorgils þá af honum höfuð ok mælir síðan yfir honum at hann skuli engum manni at meini 20 verða. Varð ^(ok) aldri vart við hann síðan. Björn virði Þorgils mikils, er hann hafði gert þar svá mikla húbýlabót.

Eina nótt bar þat til at lostit var högg á dyrr. Gengr Þorgils út. Er þar kominn Auðun Gyðuson, vinr hans. Þorgils heilsar honum vel ok spyr hvat hann vill. Auðun 25 kvaz þurfa hans liðsinnis; sagði móður sína, Gyðu, andaða ok nokkut orðit hafa kynliga um hennar dauða;- 'stukku ok allir menn á burtu, því at engir þorðu við at vera.

Nú vilda ek fara með hana til grepstrar ok fylgdir þú
mér.' 'Þat skal vera,' kvað Þorgils. Síðan ferr hann með
Auðuni at óvitanda Birni. Koma til bæjar Auðunar; finna
þar húsfreyju dauða; búa nú um líkit. 'Skaltu, Þorgils,'
5 segir Auðun, 'gera kistu at móður minni ok undir knakka;
reka síðan á kistuna sterkar henkr, því at þurfa mun þess
alls við, ef hlýða skal.' Er nú þetta allt saman gert.
Auðun sagðiz nú mundu gera ráð fyrir kistunni; - 'skulum
vit nú draga hana í burtu, færa niðr í jörð ok bera á ofan
10 sem nestan þunga.' Fara nú síðan ok, sem þeir hafa farit
um hríð, tekr at braka mjök í kistunni ok því næst bresta
af hankarnir ok kemz Gyða ór kistunni. Þá fara þeir til
báðir ok tóku hana ok þurpti alls við ok váru þeir báðir
sterkir menn. Þat taka þeir bragðs at þeir flytja hana
15 til báls er Auðun hafði búit. Síðan kasta þeir henni á
bálit ok váru hjá meðan hon brann. Þá mælti Auðun: 'Mikla
vingan hefir þú mér nú sýnt, Þorgils, ok góða karlmennsku,
sem þú munt í öllum stöðum. Sverð ok kyrtil vil ek gefa
þér en ef svá verðr at ek kalla síðar til sverðsins, þá
20 vilda ek at þú létir laust en ek mun fá þér annat vápn,
þat er gott er.' Nú skilja þeir við svá búit ok ferr
Þorgils aptr til Bjarnar.

Nú er þar til at taka at Björn saknar Þorgils. Fær
hann af þessu mikla ógleði ok kvaz þar misst hafa góðs
25 manns - 'ok er þat illa at tröll eðr óvættir hafa tekit
hann. Skulum vér þat þó gera í heiðr við hann at drekka
erfi hans ok uggir mik at eigi megí fagnaðaról heita,

því at vér hafim nú leitast hans marga daga.' En um veizlu þessa kom Þorgils heim ok verðr Björn honum harla feginn ok eykr þá aptr veizluna ok eptir hana fóru menn heim.

5 14. Í þenna tíma tók Hákon Hlaðajarl ríki í Noregi. Þá sagði Þorgils Birni at hann vildi leita eptir eignum sínum í Sogni. Björn svarar: 'Réttligt er þat en uggir mik at Hákon jarl kalli sér bæði þat ok annat, því at hann er mjök féggjarn, ok er óvænligt um at hann vili til láta
10 við þik en flytja vil ek þitt mál, þá er hann kemr hér til mín.' Nú kemr jarl at ákveðnu til veizlunnar ok flytr Björn fyrir honum mál Þorgils ok sagði mikit frá vaskleik hans ok atgervi. Hákon jarl kvað þat nú vera sína eign en kvaz þó vilja sjá manninn. Ok er Þorgils
15 kom fyrir jarl, mælti Hákon til hans: 'Mikill maðr ertu ok sterkligr, fríðr sýnum ok líkligr til giptu ok vil ek bjóða þér til mín. Lítum síðan á þitt mál.' Þorgils kvaz þat þiggja vilja.

15. Þorsteinn hét maðr ok var kallaðr inn hvíti.
20 Hann var lendr maðr Hákonar jarls. Hann var vinsæll ok átti eignir nær jörðum Þorgils. Þeir lögðu mikla vingan saman ok váru með jarli báðir. Þorgils gaf Þorsteini kyrtillin Auðunarnaut; hann var af nýju skarlati. Þá var ok með Hákonni jarli Eiríkr rauð[i], íslenzkr maðr,
25 er síðan fann ok byggði Grænland. Hann var ungr maðr

ok kurteiss ok inn mesti vin Þorgils.

Pat var enn einn dag at Þorgils vegr við jarl sitt
mál um jarðirnar. Hákon jarl svarar: 'Vel gez mér at
framferð þinni en eigi er [ek] viss í at vita hverr fram-
5 kvæmdarmaðr þú munt verða. Mun ek ok eigi þessar eignir
upp gefa utan þú sýnir mér nokkurn frama í gerðum þínum
ok skaltu heimta skatta mína af Suðreyjum er ek hefir
misst um þrjá vetr.' Þorgils biðr hann fá hófingja til
ferðarinnar - 'en ek mun fylgja honum sem manndómr minn
10 er til.' 'Þú skalt formaðr vera,' segir jarl, 'fyrir ferð
þessi, því at þú reynir þeim mun meir þína dáð ok karl-
mennsku.' Þorgils mælti: 'Lát fara með mér Þorstein
hvíta.' 'Hann skal því ráða,' sagði jarl. Þorsteinn
kvaz fara mundu ef Þorgils vildi.

15 Nú búaz þeir ok hófðu tvau skip ok ekki mjök skiput.
En er þeir koma til Eyjanna beiða þeir skatta ok fengu
lítit af. Um haustit heldu þeir til Kataness ok brutu
skip sín en týndu fjárhlut. Menn helduz allir. Óláfr
hét jarl er réð fyrir ríki því. Hann frétti til manna
20 Hákonar jarls ok bað þá til sín fara. Pat þiggja þeir ok
váru þar um vetrinn.

Surtr járnhauss hét maðr, víkingr mikill ok inn mesti
illgerðamaðr. Hann lá úti löngum um Vestrlönd. Pat var
einn háttr hans, ef konur váru fríðar ok vel at sér, at
25 hann tók þær at sér um hríðar sakir en menn þorðu eigi
í móti honum at standa. Systir Óláfs jarls hét Guðrún,
hon var fríð kona sýnum ok vel at kvennligum listum

búin. Surtr járnhauss finnr Óláf þenna vetr ok vill fá
 systur hans til frillu ella til eiginorðs. Óláfr svarar:
 'Þat væri mér lítill styrkr, þótt þú gerðir sem bezt
 mættir þú, en þá allra sízt er þú ert ráðinn til illa at
 5 gera ok mun ek neita þessu gjaforði.' Víkingrinn mælti
 þá: 'Gakk á hólmi við mik ella berz við lið mitt ok safna
 liði í móti.' Jarl mælti: 'Betra er at deyja virðuliga
 en lifa skammsamliga.' Þann kost kýss þú nú er þér geg-
 nir verr ok þér mun minnisamr verða ok ver niðingr ef
 10 þú kemr eigi.' 'At vísu skal ek koma,' segir jarl, 'í
 móti þér eðr annarr maðr ella,' - ok skildu við svá búit.

Eptir þat kvaddi jarl þings ok sagði þar fyrir hverju
 áfelli hann var orðinn; - 'vil ek þeim manni gipta Guð-
 rúnu, systur mína, er Surti verðr at bana, því at ek veit
 15 at sá einn mun til þess ráðaz at mér mun engi ósæmd í
 því verða.' Engir urðu til at svara jarli, þótt ráðit
 þætti fýsiligt, því at mǫnnum þótti ills ván af Surti
 járnhaus. Þeir Þorgils ok Þorsteinn rædduz við ok
 þótti Þorsteini fýsiligt en Þorgilsi fannz fátt um. Þor-
 20 steinn mælti: 'Viltu þenna kost, vinr?' Þorgils svarar
 fá um. Síðan sagði Þorsteinn jarli at hann mundi til
 ráða. Jarl tekr því vel.

Um nóttina eptir, dreymdi Þorgils at Auðun, vin hans,
 kæmi at honum ok mælti: 'Þú sefr en jafnt mun vera sem
 25 þú vakir. Þú skalt á hólmi ganga við berserk þenna, því
 at þér unnum vér sæmdar. En Surtr þessi er bróðir minn
 ok er hann mér þó ekki þarfr. Er hann ok it mesta ill-

menni. Þess spyr hann jafnan, þá er hann hefir hátt hólmgöngur, þann er hann skal berjaz við hvárt hann hafi sverðit Blaðin; en ek gaf þér þat en þú skalt fela þat í sandi ok seg honum at þú vitir eigi hjólt þess fyrir 5 ofan jörð.' Eptir þat hvarf Auðun í burt. Þorgils vaknar ok sagði Þorsteini, vin sínum, drauminn.

16. Um morguninn fóru þeir Þorgils ok Þorsteinn með jarli til hólmostefnu ok er Þorgils búinn til hólmgöngu. Víkingrinn spurði um sverðit Blaðin. Þorgils kvaz eigi 10 vita hans hjólt fyrir ofan mold. Þorgils dró nú sverðit upp ór sandinum ok börðuz síðan. Ok er þeir hafa bariz um stund, hóggr Þorgils sporðinn af skildi Surts ok undan honum fótinn. En þat váru þá lög at menn vágu til arfs þess er fell á hólmi. Eptir þat hjó Þorgils höfuð af 15 Surti; tók síðan öll skip hans ok fé ok fekk síðan Guðrúnar, systur Óláfs jarls. Skorti Þorgils nú eigi menn né penninga.

Um várit segja þeir jarli at þeir vilja herja um sumarit. Nú halda þeir at Suðreyjum ok gera þeim kost hvárt 20 þeir vilja þola hernað ok manndráp eðr gjalda skatt Hákon jarli. En þeir kjördu at gjalda slíkt sem á var lagit. Síðan var allt lukt.

Eptir þat fóru þeir austr til Noregs ok hitta Hákon jarl. Fagnar hann þeim vel. Þeir greiða honum féit ok 25 gefa honum þó at auki sæmiligar gjafir. Jarl játtir Þorgilsi nú öllum eignum sínum. Váru þeir með jarli

um vetrinn í góðu yfirlæti. At sumri vilja þeir í hernað
en ætla til jarls at vetri.

Eina nótt kom Auðun at Þorgilsi ok heimti at honum
sverðit Blaðin - 'en ek mun fá þér fyrst óxi en innan
5 lítils tíma gott sverð.' Þorgils kvað hann víst hafa
skyldu sverðit. Auðun bað hann hafa þókk fyrir ok gaf
honum fingurgull. En er Þorgils vaknaði, var sverðit burtu
ok þótti honum svipr at. Síðan herja þeir um sumarit.

Gyrðr hét víkingr er þeir finna um sumarit undir ey
10 einni. Um morguninn fór skúta frá skipum Gyrðs til þeira
Þorgils ok kvaz Gyrðr vilja gera félag við þá. Þetta fór
fram ok skal Gyrðr hafa jafnmörg skip ok at helmingi allt
hlutskipti. Herja nú um sumarit ok varð þeim gott til fjár.
Eyddu mjök illþýði ok hernaðarmönnum en létu bændr ok
15 kaupmenn fara í friði.

Þeir kómu til Írlands um sumarit. Var þar skógr fyrir
er þeir kómu at. Gengu síðan upp í skóginn ok í einum
stað sá þeir fallit lauf af tré. Þeir kippa upp eikinni
ok finna þar jarðhús undir. Þeir sjá menn með vápnum
20 niðri í húsinu. Þorgils gerir sínum mönnum kost at sá
skal eignaz iii. kostgripi er fyrstr gengr í húsit en
allir játta því nema Gyrðr. Eptir þat hljóp Þorgils í
húsit ok varð þar engi mótstaða. Þar lá klæði blátt
ok á tveir gullhringar ok sverð gott. Þar váru ok tvær
25 konur; var önnur ung ok frið en önnur gömul ok þó frið.
Þorgils gekk um húsit ok var víða berg undir. Hann hafði
í hendi eina rótakylfu ok barði henni á báðar hendr ok

stókk flest undan. Þorsteinn fór með honum. Ok er þeir
 gengu ór jarðhúsinu, tóku þeir konu þá ina yngri ok
 fluttu með sér til skipa ok svá ina eldri. Nú sækir
 liðit fast eptir þeim en þeir Þorgils komaz til skipa ok
 5 láta þegar frá landi. Nú gekk maðr ór liðinu, því er eptir
 sótti, ok mælti langt erindi. Þeir skildu eigi hans mál.
 Þá mælti kvinnan á Norrænu ok sagði þeim at hann vildi
 upp gefa þat er þeir höfðu fengit af fénu - 'ef þér
 látið okkr lausar. Þessi maðr er jarl ok son minn en ek
 10 er Víkversk at móðurkyni. Munu þér þá ok bezt njóta
 gripanna er svá er gert, því at þungi fylgir sverðinu.
 Son minn heitir Hugi; hann býðr þér, Þorgils, fé heldr
 en þér takið mik í burtu. Er yðr ok ekki happ í okkr
 burt at taka.' Þorgils hlýðir þeira ráðum ok flytr þær
 15 til lands. Hugi jarl gekk með fagnaði á móti Þorgilsi
 ok gaf honum hring einn, annan móðir hans, mærin inn
 þriðja ok mæltu síðan vel fyrir honum.

17. Eptir þetta vilja þeir Þorgils ok Þorsteinn hætta
 hernaðinum ok skipta fjárhlut. Gyrðr kallaði til grip-
 20 anna. Þorgils kvað þar marga vitnismenn til vera hvat
 skilit var. Gyrðr kvaz aldri játtat háfa ok vill heldr
 berjaz en missa gripanna. Þorgils kvað ráðligra at
 leggja eigi allt lið í hættu - 'ok reynum heldr tveir.'
 Því jattar Gyrðr. Síðan berjaz þeir. Hafði Þorgils
 25 sverðit Jarðhússnaut ok hóggr til Gyrðs ok undan honum
 fótinn fyrir neðan ókla. Skildu við svá búit. Lifði

Gyrðr síðan ok var kallaðr Gyrðr inn halti.

Eptir þat fóru þeir til Noregs ok váru með Hákon jarli um vetrinn. Guðrún, kona Þorgils, fæddi þá sveinbarn; hann var Þorleifr nefndr.

5 En er vórar, vill Þorgils út til Íslands til eigna sinna. Gaf Hákon jarl Þorgilsi aptr allar eignir sínar, þær er hann átti í Sogni, ok skildu þeir jarl með vináttu. Sat hann nú at búm sínum um sumarit ok svá um vetrinn. Þorgils sagði Þorsteini at hann vill vitja
 10 eigna sinna á Íslandi - 'því at þeir varðveita er mér er ekki um. Hefi ek nú látit skip búa ok flutt þangat til mikit fé. En jarðir þessar er ek á hér skaltu varðveita til handa Þorleifi, syni mínum. Hefi ek þik reynt góðan dreng. Mun ek nú ok launa þér með einni gjöf;
 15 skal ek gefa þér Guðrúnu, konu mína, því at þat hefir ek fundit at þú hefir lagt ástarþokka til hennar, þótt þú hafir vel með því farit.' Þorsteinn þakkaði Þorgilsi gjöfina ok þótti mǫnnum mikils um þetta vert.

Þorgils fór kaupferð eina á Upplönd ok Svíþjóð
 20 ok var um vetr⁽⁻ⁱⁿⁿ⁾ hjá bónda þeim er Þrándr hét. Hann var auðigr maðr ok átti dóttur er Sigríðr hét. Hana vildi eiga sá maðr er Randviðr hét; hann var illmenni ok kappi mikill. Þrándr synjaði honum ráðsins. Þá bauð Randviðr Þrándi hólmgöngu þá er kǫlluð er kerganga; skal þar
 25 berjaz í kerri ok byrgja yfir ofan ok hafa kefli í hendi. Þrándr vildi heldr berjaz en gipta dóttur sína svá illum manni. Þorgils mælti þá til Þrándar: 'Vel hefir

þú mér vist veitt ok skal ek þat góðu launa ok mun ek
berjaz við Randvið fyrir þik.' Þrándr kvaz þat þiggja
mundu. Þorgils hafði sverðit Jarðhússnaut. Randviðr
hafði álnarkefli ok digrt mjök. Var byrgt yfir kerit.
5 Randviðr bað Þorgils leggja fyrst, því at á hann var skor-
at. Hann gerði svá ok kemr í keflit ok sprakk þat í
sundr ok hljóp sverðit í kviðinn á Randvið. Hann mælti
þá: 'Fá þú mér nú sverðit en þú haf keflit ok mun ek
leggja til þín með sverðinu.' 'Mér þykkir nú,' ^{segir} ~~kvað~~ Þor-
10 gils, 'þetta vera spænir en eigi kefli.' Litlu síðar
dó Randviðr; hafði hann treyst fjólkyngi sinni, því at
hann hafði margan mann fellt með þessi hólmgöngu. Þor-
gils drap tvá aðra víkinga, Snækoll ok Snæbjörn. Þrándr
launaði Þorgilsi vel. Fekk hann virðing mikla af þessu
15 verki. Hann bjóz síðan út til Íslands um sumarit éptir.

18. Óláfr tvennumbrúni hét maðr. Hann kom til Íslands
ok nam ðll Skeið á milli Þjórsár ok Sandlækjar. Hann var
hamrammr mjök. Óláfr bjó á Ólafsvöllum . Hann liggr í
Brúnahaugi undir Vörðufelli. Óláfr átti Áshildi ok váru
20 synir þeira Helgi ok Þórðr, faðir Þorkels, fðður Gull-
kárs, fðður Orms, fðður Helgu, móður Odds Hallvarðssonar.

Þorgrímr ðrrabeinn lagði hug á Áshildi, þá er Óláfr
var dauðr, en Helgi trausti, son hennar, vandaði um ok
fór frá búi sínu til hennar ok kvaz eigi vilja fíflingar
25 hennar ok kvað óvirðing í vera, bæði henni ok frændum hen-
nar. Hon bað hann sik eigi reiðan gera; kvað ekki hans

færi at keppa við Þorgrím. Hann svarar: 'Auðsætt er þat heldr at maðrinn hugnar þér vel en ek mun eigi at ~~segja þér~~ sitja honum slíkar svívirðingar.' Skilja þau nú tal sitt.

Þorgrímr gistir á Óláfsvóllum. Áshildr gerði honum 5 góðan beina ok fóru mjök saman hugir þeira. Hon sagði Þorgrími hvert tal þeira Helga hafði verit. Helgi ræðir ok um kvámur Þorgríms; kvaz illa við una; bað hann af láta. Þorgrímr kvaz eigi hirða um hans þokka eðr hót ef hennar vili væri til. Nú leiðir hon Þorgrím á gótu 10 ok gaf honum mikit fingrgull áðr þau skildu. Áshildi kvaz grunr á at þau mundu eigi optar sjáz. Þorgrímr kvaz ætla at finna hana brátt. Hon kvað vel ef svá væri. Skilja við svá búit.

Þorgrímr reið nú leið sína fyrir neðan Áshildarmýri. 15 Helgi sat fyrir honum hjá gatnamóti. Ok er þeir funduz, bað Helgi hann af láta kvámunum ok gera sér eigi skapraun í þessu. Þorgrímr kvaz eigi hafa barnaskap, kvaz búinn at reyna alla hluti við hann. Helgi kvaz ætla at at mál-efnum mundi ganga - 'ok er þat vel at vit reynim okkr.' 20 Síðan bórðuz þeir snarpliga ok lengi. Þorgrímr var þá á inum efra aldri ok mæddiz skjótt ok varð sárr mjök. Helgi sækir at fast er hann sér at Þorgrími latar ok lýkr svá með þeim at Þorgrímr fellr fyrir Helga.

Um kveldit kom Helgi heim. Spurði Áshildr hann tíð- 25 indá en hann sagði slík sem váru. Hon svarar: 'Mikit hefir þú at gert ok vaxit muntu þykkjaz hafa af þessu verki; en ek kann segja þér at þetta er þinn hófuðbani.'

Helgi tók sér fari í Einarshöfn ok ætlar utan.

Þessi tíðindi spyrjaz nú. Hæringr, son Þorgríms, var
 þá xvii. vetra. Hann reið í Höfða til Teits [Ketil]bjarn-
 arsonar, frænda síns, við þriðja mann. Þeir Teitr ríða
 5 þá xv. saman út á Eyrrar í Einarshöfn ok banna Helga farit.
 Eptir þat ríða þeir í burtu. Litlu síðar funduz þeir á
 fðrnum vegi upp frá Mörk við Helgahvål. Þeir Helgi váru
 þrír saman komnir af Eyrum sunnan. Ok er þeir Helgi sjá
 reið þeira, hlaupa þeir á hólinn ok vörðuz drengiliga.
 10 Áttu þeir harða hríð en fyrir fjölmennis sakir fell
 Helgi ok maðr með honum ok einn maðr af hinna liði. Var
 síðan sæz á málit ok felluz vígin í faðma.

Þorgils kom út á Eyrum. Loptr, fóstri hans, sat í búi
 sínu. Margt hafði tíðinda orðit meðan Þorgils var
 15 utan. Þórunn, móðir hans, var ok önduð. Þorgils fór heim
 í Traðarholt. Tók bróðir hans vel við honum ok búa þeir
 bræðr nú báðir saman þessi misseri.

Þórey hét kona; hon var Þorvarðsdóttir. Þorfinna hét
 móðir hennar; hon bjó í Odda. Þorvarðr var andaðr. Þór-
 20 ey var at fóstri á þeim bæ er heitir í Kálfholti með þeim
 manni er Jósteinn hét, gildir bóndi. Jósteinn átti [systur]
 Þorvarðar í Odda, er Þorgerðr hét; þau váru börn Þórðar
 Freysgoða. Kolr ok Starkaðr váru fóstbræðr Þóreyjar.
 Guðrún hét systir þeira ok var fóstersystir Þóreyjar.
 25 Þorgils bað Þóreyjar ok var hon honum gipt. Váru þeira
 samfarar góðar.

19. Sörli hét maðr. Hann bjó skammt burt frá Kálf-
 holti. Hann venr kvámur sínar til Guðrúnar, systur
 þeira Starkaðar ok Kols. Einn tíma ferr Kolr á leið
 Sörla ok bað hann af láta kvámunum til systur sinnar.
 5 Sörli kvaz þat mundu gera eptir hugþokka sínum en hirða
 ekki um orð hans. 'Þú munt ráða,' segir Kolr.

Aðnan dag kom Sörli ok sat á tali við Guðrúnu ok um
 kveldit ferr hann seint heim. Ok er hann kemr skammt frá
 bænum, sprettr Kolr upp fyrir honum. Verðr ekki af
 10 kveðjum. Hóggv Kolr Sörla banahógg ok fór heim ok sagði
 Guðrúnu at stöðvaðar vóru kvámur Sörla. Hon kvaz eigi
 þat lasta mundu en kvað eigi svá búit hlýða mundu/pví
 at hann var þingmaðr Ásgríms Elliða-Grímssonar; - 'far nú
 ok hitt Þorgils, því at hann þykkir mér líkligastr til at
 15 veita þér nokkut skjól.' Kolr kemr í Traðarholt. Þat
 var síð um kveld. Menn vóru at mat. Þórey gekk fram ok
 til dyra ok bauð fóstura sínum þar at vera. Hann sagði
 henni tíðindin. 'Þú skalt þat,' segir Þórey, 'vita við
 Þorgils hvárt hann vill nokkut traust veita þér eðr
 20 ekki, ok láttu hljótt um þik.' Hon leiddi hann í skot
 eitt; síðan gekk hon til stofu. Þorgils mælti: 'Hví
 skulu menn svá lengi bíða matar í kveld enda hefir þú
 fengit rauðan lit.' Þórey svarar: 'Satt er it fornkveðna
 at "spakir menn henda á mörqu mið"; mús hljóp áðan á kinn
 25 mér en mér er hon harla óþekk.' 'Svá má vera,' segir Þor-
 gils. En er þau kómu í rekkju um kveldit, kvaz Þorgils
 vilja vita hvat í framgöngunni hafði verit um kveldit.

Hon sagði honum allan atburðinn ok kvaz ásjá vilja veita
 Kol - 'ok muntu ok svá gera fyrir mína skyld.' Þorgils
 kvaz svá gera mundu.

Um morgun⁻ⁱⁿⁿ fór Þorgils til bús Kols ok lét fara á
 5 burt fé allt með sér ok Guðrúnu en lét eptir ómegð aðra.
 En er þeir váru burt farnir, kom Ásgrímr; ætlar hann at
 taka upp fyrir Kol fé allt ok hafði hann ekki. Kolr sitr
 hjá Þorgilsi um vetrinn.

Ok um várit býr Ásgrímr mál til á hendr Kol. Lætr
 10 Þorgils eigi sem hann viti. Verðr Kolr sekr skógarmaðr.
 Þorgils ríðr sem áðr um heraðit ok Kolr með honum; sækja
 mannamót ok verðr nú óþokki mikill manna á milli. Hólf-
 ðingjum þykkir mein á þessu ok leita um sættir. Þorgils
 býðr ekki sættir.

15 Eitt sinn ríðr hann til hestapings ok Svartr, verk-
 stjóri hans, með honum. Var þá góð gleði um daginn.
 Ásgrímr talar margt við Svart um daginn ok at kveldi
 ríðr Þorgils hein. Svartr reið nær Þorgilsi. Þorgils
 fann at hann vildi ríða seinna. Grunar hann hann þá ok
 20 gefr honum færi á sér. Ok er Þorgils varir minnst, hóggr
 Svartr til hans. Þorgils kastar sér ór sððlinum ok
 klauf Svartr sððulinn. Þorgils þrífr Svart ok spyrr hverju
 gegni. Hann segir honum at Ásgrímr bauð honum þetta. En
 þá er hann svipti Svarti, fell fésjóðr undan yfirhöfn hans.
 25 Segir hann þá at Ásgrímr hafi gefið honum féit til höfuðs
 Þorgilsi. Hann drepr Svart þegar í stað. Eptir þat ríðr
 Þorgils fram ok segir sínum mðnnum hversu farit hafði.

En hvert sinn er hann kemr á mannamót, sýnir hann þess sjóðinn. Váru þar í þrjár merkr silfrs ok gekk enginn við at ætti.

20. Nú kom kristni á Ísland ok tók Þorgils í fyrra lagi 5 við trú. Hann dreymdi eina nótt at Þórr kæmi at honum með illu yfirbragði ok kvað hann sér brugðiz hafa. 'Hefir þú illa ór haft við mik,' segir hann, 'valit mér þat er þú áttir verst til en kastat silfri því í fúla tjörn, er ek átta, ok skal ek þér í móti koma.' 'Guð mun mér hjálpa,' 10 segir Þorgils, 'ok er ek þess sæll er okkat félag sleit.' Ok er Þorgils vaknar, sá hann at tóðugóltr hans var dauðr. Hann lét grafa hann hjá tóptum nokkurum ok lét ekki af nýta.

Enn barz Þórr í drauma Þorgilsis ok sagði at honum væri eigi meira fyrir at taka fyrir nasar honum en galta hans. 15 Þorgils kvað Guð mundu því ráða. Þórr heitaðiz at gera honum fjárskaða. Þorgils kvaz eigi hirða um þat. Aðra nótt eptir dó uxi gamall fyrir Þorgilsis. Þá sat hann sjálf hjá nautum um nóttina eptir. En um morguninn, er hann kom heim, var hann víða blár. Hafa menn þat fyrir 20 satt at þeir Þórr muni þá fundiz hafa. Eptir þat tók af fallit.

Þorgils var it mesta mikilmenni. Honum kómu orðsendingar af Grænlandi at Eiríkr rauði býðr honum til sín ok at hafa þá kosti er bezta hefir hann til. Þorgils áhlýddiz 25 lítt við þat. Hann hafði þá ^{búit} ~~verit~~ hér xiii. vetr. Skip kom af hafi. Var þar á Þorleifr, son hans, ok hafði góða

gripi at færa honum. Þorleifr var þá xx. Þorgils talar við konu sína ef hon vildi fara til Grænlands. Hon kvað vanbreytt um. Hann sagði at Eiríkr hafði sent sér orð um; - 'má ok at þú sér eptir, ef þú vill þat.' 'Misráðit mun,' 5 sagði hon, 'at þangat sé farit en þó skal ek fara ef þú ferr.' Hæringr tók við gózum Þorgils. Þórný hét dóttir þeira Þorgils ok Þóreyjar; hon var viii. vetra. Þorleifr skal fara með þeim, Kolr ok bróðir hans, Starkaðr, ok Guðrún, systir þeira, Snækollr ok Ózurr, þrælur hans, ok 10 x. aðrir þrælur ok ráðsmaðr hans, Þórarinn, því at Þorgils ætlaði bæ at reisa, þá er kæmi til Grænlands. Jósteinn ór Kálfholti réz til ferðar með Þorgilsi við xii. menn, Þorgerðr, kona hans, ok sonr. Þorgils kaupir nú skip í Leiruvági. Þórólfr hét maðr er Þorgils fekk bú í hendr 15 en Hæringi fekk hann lx. hundraða mórent vi. álna aura, annat en staðfestur.

Þorgils gisti at Þórodds at Hjalla. Með honum var í ferð Þórný, dóttir hans. Þar tók hon sótt ok beið Þorgils þar iii. nætr. Sagði hann at þat stæði ekki fyrir ferð 20 hans, þótt hon væri sjúk; - 'má vera at hér sé hennar forlög.' Þóroddr kvaz ætla at hon mundi giptuðrjúg verða ok langlíf. Lét hann hana eptir ok gaf henni xl. hundraða, ef hon þyrpti. Þorgilsi kvaz nú fyrir þykkja at fara en léz eigi nenna aptr at setjaz.

25 21. Þorgils bíðr nú byrjar ok dreymir at maðr kæmi at honum, mikill ok rauðskeggjaðr, ok mælti: 'Ferð hefir þú

ætlat fyrir þér ok mun hon erfið verða.' Draummaðrinn
sýndiz honum heldr greppligr. 'Illa mun yðr faraz,' segir
hann, 'nema þú hverfir aptr til míns átrúnaðar. Mun ek
þá enn til sjá með þér.' Þorgils kvaz aldri hans umsjá
5 hafa vilja ok bað hann burt dragaz sem skjótast frá sér -
'en mín ferð tekz sem almáttigr Guð vill.' Síðan þótti
honum Þórr leiða sik á hamra nokkura, þar sem sjóvar-
straumur brast í björgum; - 'í slíkum bylgjum skaltu vera ok
aldri ór komaz, utan þú hverfir til mín.' 'Nei!' sagði
10 Þorgils, 'Far á burt, inn leiði fjandi! Sá mun mér hjálpa,
sem alla leysti með sínum dreyra.' Síðan vaknar hann ok
segir drauminn konu sinni. 'Aptr munda ek setjaz,' segir
hon, 'ef mik hefði svá dreynt ok eigi vil ek segja Jósteini
draum þenna ok eigi ðörum mönnum.'

15 Nú kemr byrr ok sigla þau út ór firði. Hafði Jósteinn
skip fyrir framan siglu. Ok sem þau koma ór landsýn, tekz
af byrr allr ok vel^{sk}jaz þau úti lengi svá at bæði varð mat-
fátt ok drykkjarfátt. Þorgils dreymdi at inn sami maðr
kæmi at honum ok mælti: 'Fór eigi sem ek sagða þér?'

20 Þórr talaði þá enn margt við Þorgils en Þorgils rak hann
frá sér með hörðum orðum.

Tekr nú at hausta ok mæltu sumir menn at þeir skyldi
heita á Þór. Þorgils bannaði þat ok sagði at menn skyldi
missmíði á finna, ef nokkurr maðr blótaði þar í skipi.

25 Við þessi orð treystiz engi á Þór at kalla.

Eptir þetta dreymdi Þorgils at sami maðr kom at honum
ok mælti: 'Enn sýndiz þat, hversu trúr þú vart mér, er menn

vildu á mik kalla en ek hefir beint nú fyrir þínum mönnum ok eru nú komnir at þrotum allir, ef ek dugi þeim eigi en nú muntu taka höfn á sjau nóttu fresti, ef þú hverfr til mín af nokkurri alvöru.' Þótt ek taka aldri höfn,' segir .

5 Þorgils, 'þá skal ek þér ekki gott gera.' Þórr svarar: 'Þótt þú gerir mér aldri gott, þá gjalt þú mér þó góz mitt.' Þorgils hugsar hvat um þetta er ok veit nú at þetta er einn uxi ok var þetta þá kálfr, er hann gaf honum. Nú vaknar Þorgils ok ætlar nú at kasta utanborðs uxanum. En

10 er Þorgerðr verðr þess vís, falar hon uxann því at henni var vistafátt. Þorgils sagðiz vilja ónýta uxann ok engum selja. Þorgerði þótti nú illa. Hann lét kasta uxanum útbyrðis ok kvað eigi kynligt þótt illa færiz, er fé Þórs var innbyrðis.

15 22. Þau eru nú úti um hríð ok höfðu harða réttu. Þórrarinn var knástr maðr annarr en Þorgils; hann var xx. at aldri. Þat er sagt at þeir brutu skipit undir Grænlandsjökklum í vík nokkurri við sandmól. Tók skipit í sundr í efra rúmi. Menn helduz allir ok svá fé. Báttr var ok heill.

20 Stafn rak upp við syðra land. Þá var vika til vetrar. Jöklar miklir gengu tveim megin víkrinnar. Þeir gera sér nú skála ok í þverþili. Búa nú sínum megin hvárir. Mjól nokkut höfðu þeir til atvinnu sér. Henda ok af selum ok eiga þat allir saman. Dautt var fé þeira flest. Þorgils

25 manna varð betri hluti af veiðifangi. Varð hann lengrum hlutsælli. Hann bað sína menn vera hljóðláta ok siðsama

á kveldum ok halda vel trú sína. Þórey var mjök þunguð. Þat er sagt at Jósteinn ok hans menn gerðu mikit um sik ok höfðu náttleika með háreysti. Nær vetrnóttum varð Þórey léttari at sveinbarni ok hét Þorfinnr. Hon bjargaðiz 5 lítt við þá fæðu er til var. Þorgils hafði útróðrarmenn með þrælum Jósteins.

Líðr nú á vetrinn ok dregr at jólum. Þorgils biðr menn hljóða vera ok fara snemma í rekkju. Jólamorgun var veðr gott ok váru menn úti um daginn ok heyrðu óp mikit í út- 10 norðr ok kemr annarr dagr í jólum. Þorgils háttar snemma ok er þau höfðu sofit svefn, kom Jósteinn inn ok hans menn ok er heldr mikit um þá. Ok er þeir váru niðr lagzir, er drepit högg mikit á dyrr. Þá mælti einn þeira: 'Góð tíð- indí munu nú vera,'-ok hljóp út ok varð hann þegar ærr. En 15 um morguninn deyr hann. Svá ferr annan aptan at maðr æriz ok kallaz sjá hinn hlaupa at sér, er áðr dó. Eptir þat kom sótt í lið Jósteins ok deyja vi. menn. Þá tekr Jósteinn sótt ok deyr hann. Síðan eru þeir kasaðir í mjóll- inni. Þorgils ræðir um við sína menn ok bað þá við sjá 20 slíkum fádæmum. Á bak jólum gengu þessir menn allir aptr. Þá tók Þorgerðr sótt ok andaz^{ok} þar næst hverr at öðrum þeira manna er með Jósteini höfðu verit. Þórarinn léz síðast. Váru nú allmiklar aptrgöngur ok sóttu mest Þorgils. Öll váru þau dauð í miðja góí. Ekki mátti Þorgils ok hans 25 menn í burt færast meðan aptrgöngur váru sem mestar. Í þenna hluta skálans gengu þau mest aptr er þau höfðu átt. Þorgils lét brenna þau öll á báli ok varð þaðan af ekki

mein at aptrgöngum.

Nú líðr á vetrinn ok máttu þeir eigi burt leita fyrir ísum ok fengu sér vistir um sumarit. Annan vetr andaðiz Guðrún, systir Kols, ok gróf Þorgils hana undir rúmi sínu 5 ok, er várar, megu þau ekki í burt komaz.

23. Þat er eitthvert sinn at Þórey sagði draum sinn Þorgilsi at hon kvaz sjá fðgr heruð ok menn bjarta - 'ok get ek at vér leysimz burt ór þessum vandræðum.' Þorgils svarar: 'Góðr er draumr þinn ok þó eigi ólíkastr 10 at viti til annars heims ok munir þú eiga gott fyrir höndum ok munu helgir menn hjálpa þér fyrir hreint líf ok manna-raunir.' Hon bað hann burt leita ór óbyggðum, ef þeir mætti. Þorgils kvaz eigi yfir þat sjá.

Hon lá í rekkju löngum ok einn góðan veðrdag, segir 15 Þorgils at þeir muni ganga á jðkla ok vita ef þeir sæi nokkut leysaz ísinn. Þórey kvaz þess ófús, at hann færi frá henni. Hann kvaz skammt fara mundu. Prælarnir skulu róa at veiðifangi en Þórarinn bryti skal ýta ok vera síðan hjá Þóreyju. Þeir Þorleifr, Kolr ok Starkaðr beidduz at 20 fara með honum. Þorgils kvað þá forystulaust heima en kvaz eigi vel trúa þrælum. Þeir fóru allir á jðkla. Þorgils hafði bolðxi í hendi ok gyrðr sverðinu Jarðhússnaut. At nóni dags sneru þeir aptr. Gerði þá á veðr hart. Þorgils fór fyrir ok hitti vel leiðina. Koma til 25 skálans ok sá eigi skipit; gengu í skálann. Váru í burtu allar kistur ok svá menn. Þorgils mælti: 'Nú munu ill

efni í.' En er þeir kómu innar í skálann, heyrðu þeir
 snörgl nokkut til rekkju Þóreyjar. Ok er þeir kómu
 þar, sjá þeir at hon var önduð en sveinninn saug hana
 dauða. Leituðu þeir um hana ok fundu þen litla undir
 5 hendinni, sem mjóvum kníf^{is/}oddi hefði stungit verit. Mjök
 var þar allt blóðugt. Þessa sýn hafði Þorgils svá sét
 at honum þótti mestr harmr í vera. Burt var sópat öllum
 vistum. Um nóttina vill Þorgils vaka yfir sveininum ok
 kvaz eigi sjá at hann mætti á lengdar lifa - 'ok þykki
 10 mér mikit ef ek má eigi honum hjálpa. Skal þat nú fyrst
 taka til bragða at skera á geirvörtuna [mér], - ok svá var
 gert. Fór fyrst út blóð, síðan blanda ok lét eigi fyrr af
 en ór fór mjólk ok þar fæddiz sveinninn upp við þat. Þeir
 Þorgils sóttu fast at veiðifangi ok gerðu sér einn húðkeip
 15 ok bjuggu innan með viðum.

24 Einn morgun er Þorgils einn úti ok sér í vök rekald
 mikit ok þar hjá tröllkonur tvær ok bundu byrðar miklar.
 Þorgils hleypr til þangat ok hafði sverðit Jarðhússnaut ok
 hóggr til annarrar með sverðinu í því er hon færiz undir
 20 byrðina ok rekr af henni höndina. Byrðrin fellr niðr en
 hon hljóp í braut. Síðan taka þeir rekaldit ok eru þá vist-
 ir nógar.

Síðan losnar íssinn ok leitar Þorgils ok hans menn þá í
 burt ok komaz til Seleyra um sumarit ok váru þar um vetr-
 25 inn.

At sumarmálum fóru þeir þaðan ok fundu ey litla. Hálf-

um mánaði síðar fundu þeir svartbaksegg ok gáfu sveininum.
 Hann át hálf t eggit. Þeir spurðu hví hann át eigi. Hann
 svarar: 'Því spari ek minn mat, at þér sparið yðvarn mat.'
 Þeir dragaz nú fram með jöklinum ok koma at björgum brótt-
 5 um; brýna upp skipinu; reisa þar tjald. Ok um morguninn
 gengr Kolr út ok sér eigi skipit; leggz síðan niðr ok vill
 eigi segja Þorgilsi. Litlu síðar kom Þorleifr út ok getr
 eigi um. Þorgils kom út ok sér at skipit er á brautu ok
 sagði þeim hvarf skipsins - 'sér ek nú ekki annat til,'
 10 kvað Þorgils, 'en at tapá verði sveininum.' Þorleifr svar-
 ar; 'Ekki er þat til.' Hann bað þó at þat skyldi gera.
 Taka þeir nú sveininn ok biðr Þorleifr Kol tapa piltinum.
 'Eigi mun ek þat gera,' segir Kolr, 'því at ek veit at
 þegar af líðr Þorgilsi þetta þá er honum þat inn mesti
 15 harmr; en ek ætta Þorgilsi gott at launa.' Síðan fara þeir
 inn ok láta úti eptir sveininn. Þorgils spurði þá hvárt
 þeir hefði drepit sveininn. Þeir kváðu þat eigi vera.
 Hann þakkaði þeim fagrliga er þeir hófðu svá gert. Var þá
 sóttir sveinninn ok var hann hjá Þorgilsi um nóttina.
 20 Þá sagði Þorgils draum sinn: 'Ek þóttumz á þingi vera
 á Íslandi. Þótti mér sem vit Ásgrímr Elliða-Grímsson
 togaðim [eina hǫnk] ok missti hann.' Þorleifr svarar:
 'Þar muntu enn koma til Íslands ok skipta málum við hann
 ok mun þér ^(þat) betr ganga.' 'Svá má vera,' segir Þorgils.
 25 Aðra nótt dreymdi hann ok sagði: 'Ek þóttumz heima vera
 í Traðarholti ok var þar fjölmenn. Ek sá álpt eina ganga
 eptir gólfinu ok var blíðari við aðra en mik. Þá hrista ek

hana ok var hon þaðan af miklu betr til mín.' Þorleifr svarar: 'Þar muntu kvángaz, faðir, ok muntu lítt í fyrstu njóta ástar hennar ok mun þat þó vel dragaz.'

'Enn dreymdi mik,' segir Þorgils, 'at ek væra heima í 5 Traðarholti. Ek sá á kné mínu inu hægra, þar váru vaxnir fimm hjálmlaukar saman ok kvísluðuz þar af margir laukar; ok ofarliga yfir höfuð mér bar einn laukinn en svá var hann fagr sem hann hefði gullslit.' Þorleifr svarar: 'Sé ek draum þinn. Þar muntu eiga fimm börn. Frá þeim munu 10 kvíslaz margar ættir á Íslandi. En ek mun ekki þar aldr ala ok mun ek auka ætt mína annarsstaðar. En inn fagri laukrinn mun merkja þat at einhverr maðr mun frá þér koma, sá er ágætr mun verða.' Ok þat gekk eptir síðan, því at frá Þorgilsi er kominn Þorlákr biskup inn helgi.

15 Þorleifr mælti þá: 'Þat dreymdi mik, faðir, at mér þótti Þórný, systir mín, gefa mér osthleif ok váru af bárunar. ' Þorgils mælti: 'Þar mun af it harðasta af kostum okkrum, er af váru bárunar.'

Þá heyrðu þeir óp mikit. Var þá kallat at Íslendingar 20 skyldi taka skip sitt. Þeir ganga út skjótt ok sjá tvær konur. Þær hurfu skjótt. Björn einn brauz um í vök ok var brotinn í hrammrinn. Þorgils hleypr til ok leggr björninn með sverði. Dó dýrit af því lagi. Þorgils þrífr þá til hlustanna ok vill eigi at sókkvi dýrit.

25 Draga upp síðan ok gera til. Þorgils deildi þá stykki sér hverjum þeira ok má af slíku marka hversu þungan matarafla þeir áttu. Þorleifr mælti: 'Matsparr ertu nú,

faðir.' 'Já, son minn, þat hæfir at svá sé.'

Síðan snúa þeir til hafs ok róa fyrir framan margar
víkr ok, er þeir kómu fyrir eitt fjarðarmynni, gekk þeim
þá með mikilli mæði. Tekr þá nú at þyrsta fast. Þeir váru,
5 fimm saman með sveininum. Þeir gerðuz þá mjök máttfarnir
af þorsta en var hvergi nær vatn. Þá mælti Starkaðr: 'Þat
hefi ek vitat menn hafa gert, ef líf þeira hefir við legit,
at menn hafa blandat saman sjó ok hlandi.' Þeir taka nú
auskerit ok míga í ok blónduðu við sjó ok báðu Þorgils
10 leyfis at drekka. Hann kvað várkunn á en kvaz þó hvárki
banna né lofa. En er þeir ætluðu at drekka, bað Þorgils þá
fá sér ok kvaz skyldu mæla fyrir minni. Hann tók við ok
mælti svá: 'Þú, it argasta dýr, er ferð vára dvelr, skalt
eigi því ráða at ek né aðrir drekki sinn þarfagang.' Í
15 því fló fugl, því líkastr sem álkuungi burt frá skipinu ok
skrækti við. Þorgils hellti síðan útbyrðis ór auskerinu.
Síðan róa þeir ok taka sér vatn ok var þat síð dags. Þessi
fugl flaug í norðrætt frá skipinu. Þorgils mælti: 'Seint
hefir fugl þessi við oss skilit ok taki nú allar gramir
20 við honum. En við þat megun vér una at hann kom eigi því
á leið sem hann vildi.'

At þrim nóttum liðnum, sá þeir tjald af lérepti.
Þeir kenndu at þat var tjald Þóreyjar. Fundu þar brytja
Þorgils ok spyrja með hverju faraldi hann hafði þar komit.
25 Hann sagði þá kostaboð þeira Snækolls við sik ef hann vildi
eigi fara, at þeir mundi drepa hann; - 'Snækollr stakk
mjóvu jární á Þóreyju.' Þorgils svarar: 'Eigi veit ek

hvers þú ert af verðr en ósannlig þykki mér þín sógn ok skaltu ekki lifa lengi.' Þar var hann drepinn ok grófu hann þar. Fara síðan í burt.

Nú tekr at hausta ok koma þá í fjórð einn. Láta at
5 landi ok sjá at þar var naust. Brýna þar upp skipinu ok ganga frá sjó ok koma at bæ. Þar var maðr úti ok heilsar á þá ok spyrir at nafni ok þeir hann. Þessi kvaz Hrólfr heita ok bauð þeim þar at vera. Þat þiggja þeir ok er Þorfinnr fenginn konum til geymslu ok er honum mjólk gefin.
10 Sagði hann mjólk fðður síns ekki svá lita. Eru þeir þar um vetrinn.

Um vârit býðr Hrólfr Þorgilsi þar at vera með sínum mðnnum en þá bauð hann honum skip sitt ef hann vildi burtu fara. Þorgils þakkar honum en kvaz skipit hafa vilja; -
15 'væri ok skylt at launa þér góðu.' Hrólfr kvaz ætla at hann mundi gott af honum hljóta - 'því at þú munt í mikla virðing koma ok, ef svá væri, þá mættir þú mik í frið kaupa við byggðarmenn, því at ek er í ófriði við þá.' Þorgils játtar því ok mæla þar hvárir vel fyrir ððrum.

20 Fara suðr fyrir land ok koma í fjórð ok lögðu í lægi. Síðan tjölduðu þeir ok í því bili sá þeir skip ok var þat kaupskip. Sigldu þeir á fjórðinn ok hófðu eitt veðr hvárirtveggju ok kómu at einni lendingu. Þorgils mælti: 'Petta eru góð tíðindi. Fari þit, Þorleifr ok Kolr, ok vitið
25 hverir þessir eru.' Síðan fóru þeir ok kómu at skipinu ok ganga út á þat. Aptr við lyptingina sat maðr í rauðum kyrtli ok sprettr upp þegar ok fagnâr Þorleifi. Var þar

kominn Þorsteinn hvíti, fóstri hans ok stjúpfaðir. Hann
 spyrr at Þorgilsi. Þeir sögðu at hann var þar. Þorsteinn
 fór til fundar við Þorgils. Varð þar fagnafundr. Kvaz
 kominn Þorsteinn ~~kom~~ af Íslandi ok kvað ráð hans standa heilt;
 5 kvaz ekki þar til hans frétt hafa á fjórum vetrum; sagði
 Þórnýju, dóttur hans vera gipta Bjarna í Gróf Þorsteins-
 syni rauða landnámanans - 'ok er Þorleifr kom eigi aptr
 til Noregs, bjó ek skip mitt ok fór ek til Íslands ok var
 ek þar tvá vetr ok fréttu ek ekki þar til þín. Fór ek þá
 10 hingat at leita þín.' 'Góðs þótti mér at þér ván,' segir
 Þorgils.

Menn kómu brátt til þeira. Bóndi sá er þar bjó næst
 hét Þórir. Hann bauð Þorsteini til sín ok þangat fór hann.
 Eiríkr rauði bauð Þorgilsi til sín ok þat þekktiz hann.
 15 Þangat fóru xii. menn með honum. Þorgilsi er skipat
 gagnvart Eiríki ok þar utar frá sat Þorleifr, þá Kolr, þá
 Starkaðr. Þorfinni var fengin fóstura ok vill hann ekki
 mjólk drekka fyrr en myrkt var. Þá var hann af brjósti
 vaninn. Ekki var Eiríki margt til Þorgils ok var vistin
 20 með minna þokka veitt en Þorgils hugði. Þat frétti Þor-
 gils at þrælarnir váru þar í landi ok lét eigi sem hann
 vissi.

25. Þat bar til um vetrinn at bjarndýr lagðiz á fé manna
 ok gerði mikinn skaða. Þat var einn tíma at menn kómu til
 25 kaupa við Þorgils ok váru menn margir í útibúri því er
 varningrinn var í. Þar var Þorfinnr. Hann mælti við

fóður sinn: 'Hér er úti, faðir, rakki fagr ok mikill.'

Þorgils svarar: 'Hirð eigi um þat ok hlaup eigi út.'

Sveinninn hljóp út sem áðr ok var þar bjarndýrit fyrir.

Þat svipti honum undir sik. Sveinninn kvað við hátt. Þor-

5 gils hljóp út með sverðit Jarðhússnaut. Dýrit hafði leik-

it við sveininn. Þorgils hogggr á milli hlustanna á dýrinu

ok klýfr hausinn ok fellr þat niðr dautt; en hann tekr

sveininn ok var hann lítt sakaðr. Verðr Þorgils nú ágætr

af þessu verki ok þótti stór heill til hans horfit hafa.

10 Ekki fannz Eiríki til þessa verks en lét þó til gera dýrit.

Sögðu þat sumir menn at Eiríkr hefði haft á því fornan

átrúnað.

Þat er sagt um vetrinn at menn sátu í náðahúsi í Bratta-

hlið ok þó eigi allir senn, því at sumir stóðu fram í

15 húsinu. Þar var Kolr ok Starkaðr. Þat var tal þeira at

þeir fóru í mannjöfnuð ok tóluðu um Þorgils ok Eirík.

Sagði Kolr Þorgils mörg afreksverk gert hafa. Þá svarar

sá maðr er Hallr hét - hann var heimamaðr Eiríks -: 'Þat

er ójafnt,' segir hann, 'því at Eiríkr er höfðingi mikill

20 ok frægr en Þorgils þessi hefir verit í vesöld ok ánauð ok

óvíst er mér hvárt hann er heldr karlmaðr en kona.' Kolr

svarar: 'Mæl þú manna armastr,' - ok leggr í gegnum hann

með spjóti. Fekk hann þegar bana. Eiríkr bað menn sína

upp standa ok taka Kol. Kaupmenn allir hlaupa til ok veita

25 Kol. Þorgils mælti þá: 'Þat er næst, Eiríkr, at þú hefnir

sjálfr heimamanns þíns.' Nú eiga hlut í beggja vinir.

Þykkir eigi auðsóttligt at fara at þeim. Nú sættaz þeir

með því at Þorgils ok Eiríkr skulu gera um. Þeir verða vel ásaðttir um gerðina en þó fækkaðiz síðan með þeim ok ætlar Þorgils þar ekki langvistum at vera.

Um vetrinn bar þat til at mein mikit varð at útilegu-
 5 mðnnum. Þorsteinn hét sá er fyrir þeim var. Þeir váru
 xxx. ok sekir allir. Urðu menn af þeim fyrir ránum miklum
 ok sógðu til Eiríki. Þeir lágu í eyjum nokkurum í Eiríks-
 firði. Eiríkr berr upp mál þetta fyrir Þorgilsi ok kvaz
 vilja hans liðsinni til hafa. Þorgils kvaz eigi til þess
 10 farit hafa til Grænlands at leggja sik í hættu við ill-
 menni; kvaz illt hlotit hafa af Eiríki en kvaz þó eigi
 nenna at synja ferðarinnar fyrir nauðsyn landsmanna ok
 kvaz búinn, þá er Eiríkr vildi fara, en kvaz viljá gera
 til lykta áðr sín erindi - 'ok vertu þá búinn, er ek geri
 15 þér orð.'

Eptir þat fóru þeir til skips ok ætluðu at fara um ina
 vestri byggð því at menn höfðu eigi goldit Þorgilsi bjarn-
 gjöldin. Þorgils færir fram sýknu Hrólfs svá at hann skyldi
 vera friðheilagr. En er Þorgils kom í Vestribyggð, tók við
 20 honum sá maðr er Bjálfi hét. Hann kvaz mikla þókk kunna
 hans þarkvámu - 'skal ek taka saman fé þitt því at þú
 ert frægr maðr ok muntu mér at liði verða því at ek er í
 nauðum staddr. Hér liggja fyrir eyjar þær er ránsmenninir
 eru í ok ætlar höfðingi þeira hingat ok taka á burt dóttur
 25 mína. Vil ek at þú sér hér til trausts ok varnar.' Þor-
 gils kvaz þat gera mundu. Bóndi ferr nú ok tekr saman
 féit ok koma eigi víkingarnir. Bóndi kemr heim. Þorgils

mælti þá: 'Þú hefir kostat oss, bóndi, en vér höfum gert þér ekki til gagns svá búit. Nú mun ek farar til móts við víkingana, því at ósýnt er um þinn frið þegar vér erum burtu.' Bóndi þakkar honum en kvað þó mikit í hættu þar er .
5 Þorgils var ok hans menn.

26. Nú býr Þorgils skip sitt ok ferr með xxx. manna. Hann sendi orð Eiríki at hann kæmi með jafnmarga menn. Ok er Eiríki kómu orðin, kvaz hann mundu koma ok verða ekki seinni til eyjanna en þeir. Þeir Þorgils koma nú
10 við eyna ok var Eiríkr ekki þar kominn. Þorgils gerir þá ráð við menn sína. 'Leitt er mér,' segir hann, 'frá at hverfa en sjá þykkumz ek Eiríki í gegnum. Hann ætlar at vísa oss á illmenni þessi ok hyggir at vér munim eigi nenna frá at hverfa þótt hann komi eigi.' Ekki höfðu
15 víkingar til lands komit síðan Þorgils kom í Vestribyggð.

Sá maðr var á Grænlandi er Án inn heimski hét. Hann hljóp um allt land, kunnr öllum mönnum. Þorgils lá í einum leynivági ok hafnleysu. Eitthvert sinn, stígr Þorgils á bát ok rær frá skipinu. Hann sér matsveina á
20 landi ok höfðu graut í kótlum. Þorgils hafði vánd klæði er hann kom til þeira. Þeir spurðu hverr hann var. Þorgils svarar: 'Ek heitir Án.' Þeir hlógu at honum enda lét hann heimskliga. Hann spyrr hvar höfðingi þeira er. Þeir sögðu hann vera í eyjunni skammt í burt ok þangat ván til
25 þeira um kveldit. Þeir færðu hann í reikuð. Ferr Þorgils nú til báts síns ok hvelfir honum undir sér. Þeir hlógu

at honum ok mæltu: 'Undarliga bregðr nú við,' sagði annarr.
 'Hvat er þat?' sagði félagi hans. 'Maðr er kominn í byggð-
 ina, sá er Þorgils heitir, mikill og frægr, ok því kemr
 höfðingi várr eigi til lands. Ok heillabrigði er nú orð-
 5 it. Ek heyrða í morgin, er ek kom út, þetta mæla skipin:
 þat skip er Stakanhöfði hét mælti þetta: "Veiztu þat,
 Vinagautr, at Þorgils skal eiga okkr?" "Veit ek þat,"
 sagði annat skipit, "ok þykki mér þat vel," - ok ætla ek,
 segir hann, 'slíkt fyrir tíðindum.' Nú ferr Þorgils aptr
 10 til skips síns. Í þat mund róa víkingarnir at lægi. Þor-
 gils leggjr þá at þeim. Váru víkingarnir komnir til skála.
 Koma þeir Þorgils þá á óvart ok lætr hann þegar leggja eld
 í skálann. Varð lítil vörn af víkingunum. Gefa þeir sik
 upp ok tíðja griða. Þorgils kvað þess enga ván fyrir mörg
 15 illvirki er þeir höfðu unnit. Var lið þeira allt drepit
 utan þeir buðu formanni þeira grið. Hann kvaz eigi þat
 þiggja vilja - 'því at ek verðr yðr aldri trúr.' Hann
 var þá höggvinn. Tóku þeir þar fé mikit ok höfðu þat með
 sér ok svá skipin, Stakanhöfða ok Vinagaut. Fóru nú til
 20 lands. Tók Bjálfi vel við þeim. Þorgils gaf mörgum mönn-
 um fé, þeim er misst höfðu fyrir víkingunum, ok hefir þó
 mikit sjálfr. Verðr hann nú vinsæll af þessum verkum.
 Hrólfr var þá norðan kominn ok í frið tekinn. Þorgils
 líkar illa við Eirík. Þorgils spyr til Snækolls ok kvaz
 25 vilja finna hann. Þorsteinn hvíti kvað betr fallit at
 hann seldi Snækoll við verði en dræpi hann. Þat gerði
 Þorgils. Þrælarnir höfðu fengit góð kvánföng. Þorgils

tekr fé allt af þrælunum en seldi þá í þrældóm.

Eptir þetta fór Þorgils burt með góðri sæmd ok virðing. Látá í haf. Berr þá at Írlandi. Koma vestan at landinu. Tala nú um hvárt þeir skulu þar vera um vetrinn eðr burt 5 halda. Þorsteinn kvað óráðligt burt at halda er sumar var mjök áliðit. Tóku menn sér þá vistir nær skipi. Þorgils var á vist með þeim manni er Anakol hét. Var honum þar blíðliga veitt.

Nú liðr á vetrinn. Anakol var vanr at drekka í burtu 10 um hálf jól. Hann bauð Þorgilsi at fara með sér. Hann þá þat. Þeir Kolr ok Starkaðr váru heima meðan til umsjár við Þorfinn. Gíparr hét þræll Anakols. Hann bað Kol drekka karlmannliga. 'Er þat auðsætt,' sagði hann, 'at þér þykkiz mikils verðir.' Kolr kvaz ætla at ráða 15 drykkju sinni en hann eggjan sinni. Gíparr ámælti honum mjök ok þar kom at hann laust Kol með horni ok bað hann þat hafa fyrst ok bíða svá ins verra. Starkaðr gekk á milli ok vildi eigi hefna láta fyrr en Þorgils kæmi heim.

Nú koma þeir Þorgils ok bóndi heim ok er þeim sagðr 20 þessi atburðr. Þorgils kvað þat vel vera þótt eigi hefði hefnt verit - 'hófum vér þegit góða vist í vetr hjá bónda. Nú vil ek til bóta mæla,' ok svá gerði hann. Bóndi kvaz ekki þræla mundu mun gera þótt þeir hnippiz. Þorgils kvað eigi vel svarat. Ok er boðsmenn váru burtu 25 farnir, þeir er drukkit hófðu þar efra hlut jólanna, tóku þeir Þorgils Gípar ok drepa hann eptir jólin. Síðan fóru þeir Þorsteinn til skips ok bjugguz til varnar. Þeir sá

lið mikit fara með skjöldum, eigi færa en c. manns. Þá
 mælti Þorgils: 'Má vera at oss sé skjótt fullliða.' Þá
 berr brátt at ok tók höfðingi þeira til orða: 'Þat var mér
 þá í hug er Þorgils þessi gaf í mitt vald systur mína at
 5 eigi munda ek efla flokk í móti honum.' Þar var kominn
 Hugi jarl ok bauð þeim með sér at vera ok þat þágu þeir.
 Hugi lét bæta skip þeira ok váru þeir með honum þat eptir
 var vetrar. Systir Huga lifði ok fagnaði þeim vel. Móð-
 ir hennar var ónduð. Jarl lét heimta saman fé Þorgils ok
 10 til skips færa ok setti málum þeira svá at þeim hugnaði vel
 ok gaf ^{honum} þeim gjafir áðr þeir fóru burt.

27. Síðan létu þeir í haf ok velktuz úti lengi ok kómu
 við Hálogaland um haustit ok brotnaði kjólrinn undan skip-
 inu. Björn hét góðr bóndi. Hann tók við Þorgilsi, Þor-
 15 finni ok Kol en Þorsteinn, Þorleifr ok Starkaðr vistuðuz
 þar í nánd. Snemmendis bættu þeir skip sitt.

Sá maðr hvarflaði þar um land er Randviðr hét. Hann var
 illmenni mikit. Hann kom til Bjarnar bónda ok kvaz vilja
 taka við dóttur hans er ^{Yngvildr} ~~Yngvildr~~ hét eðr berðiz við hann
 20 ef hann vildi þat heldr. Þorsteinn vildi berjaz við þenna
 mann. 'Eigi vildum vér,' segir Þorgils, 'at þú hefðir þik
 í hættu fyrir illmenni þetta ok vil ek heldr berjaz við
 hann.' Þorgils finnr Randvið ok bað hann láta bónda vera
 í friði, gamlan mann. Hann kvaz einskis mundu hans orð
 25 um þat virða. Þorgils mælti: 'Ek vil leysa bónda.' Þorgils
 gengr á hólum við Randvið ok hóggr þegar skjöld hans ónýtan.

Því næst höggur hann kappann sundr í miðju en við höggit
 skaut Randviðr sverðinu utan á kné Þorgilsi ok særði hann.
 Þat sár greri svá at fótr hans sá var skemmri síðan ok
 varð hann aldri óhaltr. Björn þakkar honum vel ok bauð
 5 Þorgilsi fé en hann kvaz þat ekki til fjár gert hafa.
 Skildu þeir vinir.

28. Eptir þat létu þeir í haf ok hófðu harða útivist þar
 til er þeir sá land. Þá tók af byrina ok kom á norðan-
 veðr hvasst ok rak þá undan xii. daga. Síðan kom sunnan-
 10 veðr hvasst ok sigldu tvau dægr at landinu. Þá vildi Þor-
 gils eigi lengr sigla láta. Hann var þá tvau dægr í
 austri. Þá hófðu gengit átta áföll. Starkaðr bauð honum
 at fara frá austri. Þá kom áfall it níunda ok var þat mest.
 Þat rak Þorgils af austrbitanum ok sló sveininn Þorfinn ór
 15 knjám honum ok utanborðs. Þá mælti Þorgils: 'Sú bylgja
 gekk nú yfir at eigi þarf at ausa.' Bárán kastaði inn aptr
 sveininum lifanda. Hann mælti þá: 'Stórum stöplar nú yfir,
 faðir minn.' Þorgils mælti þá: 'Ausi hverr sem má.' Þeir
 gerðu svá ok gátu upp ausit. Samdægris kom blóðspýja at
 20 sveininum ok andaðiz hann. Tveim nóttum síðar, þá sá
 þeir Hjörleifshöfða. Þeir kómu í Arnarbælisós.

Nú vildu þeir fara með lík Þorfinns til kirkju. Þorgils
 kvað þá lengi fylgz hafa; sagði þá ok ekki at svá búnu
 skilja mundu. Þorsteinn spurði Starkað hvárt hann vildi
 25 heldr teygja Þorgils á land eðr fara með líkit til graptrar.

29. Sigmundur hét maðr. Hann heimti skiptoll at Þorsteini því at hann átti land at annaz þar er þeir váru komnir. Nú gerðu þeir Þorsteinn ok Sigmundur þat ráð at þeir hnippuz við. Þá sagði Kolr Þorgilsi at Þorsteinn þyrpti manna 5 við. Þorgils hleypr þegar á land ok beit þetta ráð. Urðu þeir Sigmundur ok Þorsteinn vel sáttir. Kolr tók lík Þorfinns ok gróf í kirkjugarði. Ok er Þorgils verðr varr við hvat Kolr hafði gert, varð hann reiðr mjök ok hét honum bana. Kolr kvað þat tilvinnanda ef Þorgils raknar við þá 10 heldr en áðr ok við umtörlur Þorsteins sættuz þeir. Fjögur dægr hafði Þorgils hvárki mat né svefn. Þorgils kvaz mundu várkynna konunum þótt þær ynni brjóstbörnunum meira en öðrum mönnum.

Litlu eptir þing kómu þeir Þorgils út ok fór hann heim 15 í Traðarholt ok Þorsteinn með honum ok aðrir félagar. Hæringr, bróðir hans, tók við honum vel ok vildi at Þorgils tæki við fjám sínum. Þorgils kvaz eigi vilja við taka fyrr en at vári. Þorleifr fór utan samsumars. Skildu þeir Þorgils vel sitt félag.

20 Þorgils var í Traðarholti um vetrinn ok þeir bræðr með honum, Kolr ok Starkaðr. Með honum váru fleiri menn þótt eigi sé nefndir. Hæringr veitti þeim vel. Þorgils mælti eitt sinn við bróður sinn: 'Einn hlutr þykki mér at við þik, frændi, er þú léz svá mikit fé fylgja dóttur minni, 25 Þórnýju, þá er þú giptir hana Bjarna í Gröf.' Hæringr svarar: 'Vel þótti þá sét fyrir kosti hennar er hon hafði hundrað hundraða; en ef þér þykkir nokkut oftekit, þá haf

af mínu fé slíkt er þér vel líkar.' Þorgils vildi þat með engu móti.

30. At liðnum vetri tekr Þorgils við búi sínu ok ǫðrum fjárhlutum. Felldu menn þegar mikla virðing til Þorgils.

5 Hann var heldr fár við Bjarna, mág sinn.

Um várit kom fjǫlmennt til Árneshings. Kom þar Þorgils ok Bjarni, mágr hans, ok Þórný, dóttir hans. Þorgils gekk einn morgun til búðar Bjarna ok tók sverðit Jarðhússnaut í hönd sér. Ok er hann kemr í búðardýrrnar, sér
10 Þórný, dóttir hans, at hann er kominn ok bað Bjarna upp standa. Kvað honum eigi hlýða svá búit; sagði fǫður sinn reiðan. Bjarni spratt upp þegar, því at hann var vitr maðr; hann gekk í móti Þorgils ok fagnar honum vel ok bauð honum þar at vera - 'ok allt mitt góz er þér heimilt til þess at
15 þér megi þá betr líka við mik heldr en áðr.' 'Þetta er allvel mælt,' segir Þorgils, 'ok skal þetta þiggja, ella óvíst hversu farit hefði.' Bjarni bauð honum þá til heimboðs. Þorgils kvaz fara mundu af þinginu með honum ok hafa burt fé slíkt er honum líkaði. Bjarni bað hann því ráða ok
20 koma þeir í Grǫf ok leit Þorgils á féit ok kvaz burt mundu hafa xx. kýr ok c. ásauðar. Þórný bað hann taka slíkt er hann vildi ok sagði þat mundu bezt gegna at hann réði fyrir.

Maðr hét Þórólfr. Hann hafði verit með Þórði, fǫður
25 Þorgils, ok náinn frændi. Hann átti fé at Þorgils ok beiddi Þorgils at hann mundi gjalda Þórólfi xl. c. Bjarni

hét at hann skyldi ráða. Skildu við svá búit. Ok er Þorgils kom heim, kom þar Þórný, dóttir hans. Þorgils spyr hvat hon vill. Hon sagðiz vilja fylgja fé sínu ef honum þætti þat meiri sómi at skilja með þeim Bjarna - 'ok ráða
 5 þess manns traust undan mér er þér er mestr bati í; ok þér er sjálfrátt at láta þinn hlut fyrir neinum manni ef þit eruð at einu ráði báðir.' Þorgils svarar: 'Vel ferr þér, dóttir, ok vel ferr ykkur báðum. Nú skaltu heim fara ok vil ek eigi skilja ráðahag með ykkur Bjarna,' - ok leggr þeim
 10 nú svá penninga at þeim vel líkar. Ok um sumarit býðr Þorgils Bjarna ok báðum þeim heim í Traðarholt ok þágu þar góðar viðtökur ok miklar gjafir ok er nú góð vinátta með þeim Bjarna.

Einhvern tíma segir Þorgils Bjarna at hann vill leita
 15 sér kvánfangs. Bjarni kvaz þat gjarna vilja: 'Þú skalt biðja Helgu, dóttur Þórodds goða í Ólfusi Eyvindarsonar, frænda míns.' En þar var svá farit frændsemi at móðir Þórodds var Þórvör, dóttir Þórmóðar, en ^{Þórey}~~Þórvör~~ var móðir Þorsteins goða, fóður Bjarna spaka. Þorgils vegr nú bón-
 20 orðit. Skapti tók því seint ok svá Helga sjálf. Þótti maðr heldr stórlyndr ok þó heldr gamall. Annarr maðr bað ok Helgu; var þat Ásgrímr Elliða-Grímsson. Svarar Skapti þar vel til en Þóroddr vill heldr gipta Þorgilsi. Nú var þetta talat á þingi ok var ekki at gert. Líða nú þau
 25 misseri.

Ok annat sumar eptir, ríðr Þorgils til skips í Einarshöfn. Hann fréttir til ferða Skapta ok vildi fyrir víst

finna hann. Þorgils reið til Flóagafils við sétta mann. Þeir váru með honum bræðr, Kolr ok Starkaðr, ok Þórólfr, frændi hans, ok tveir húskarlar. Þeir váru í hrísnum nökkurum ok bíða svá Skapta. Þetta var nær Kallaðarnesi.

5 Skapti sá frá ferjunni at hestar með sððlum gengu með ánni. Skapti sagði at þeir mundu aptr snúa; kvaz frétt hafa at síðar mundi betri kaupin ok fóru þeir heim. Þóroddr spurði hví hann færi svá skjótt aptr - 'eðr hræddiz þú hann hraunskeggjann Þorgils? Ok þætti mér þat betra at ríða
10 óhræddum um heraðit ok gipta honum Helgu en vera hvergi óhræddr um þik.'

Á þingi um sumarit var talat um gjaforð Helgu. Dregr Þóroddr fram með Þorgilsi en Skapti með Ásgrími. Þóroddr mælti þá: 'Ek kann sjá hversu fara mun: ef Þorgilsi er
15 synjat konunnar, þá mun þat margra manna vandræði en ek væntir með vingjöfum góðum at Ásgrímr láti óhappalaust.' Nú við þessi atkvæði Þórodds var þat af ráðit at Þorgilsi var fðstnuð Helga ok var brúðhlaup at Hjalla. Þá var Þorgils hálfsextugr. Ferr hann nú hein í Traðarholt með Helgu
20 ok var hon mjök fálát.

Ok eitt sinn, er Þorgils var á burtu at byggja jarðir sínar, kvaz Helga vilja fara til Hjalla ok heim um kveldit ok það húskarl einn fara með sér. Ok er þau koma til Hjalla, kvað Helga húskarlinn ekki þurfa sín at bíða. Skapti tók
25 vel við Helgu en Þóroddr illa. Er hon þar margar nætr. Þorgils kemr heim ok lætr sem hann viti eigi. Ok einn dag býr hann ferð sína ok ríðr til Hjalla ok váru menn at mat.

Þorgils gengr með borðum alvápnaðr ok at Helgu, tekr í
 hönd henni ok leiðir hana út ok þótti þeim sem inni
 sátu, maðrinn ekki dælligr. Skapti biðr menn eptir sækja.
 Þóroddr svarar: 'Þorgils sækir eptir sínu ok skal mðnnum
 5 eigi hlýða at farar eptir honum.' Þorgils ríðr nú heim ok
 sendir hann orð Skapta at þeir hittiz. Er nú svá gert.
 Sættaz nú við tilstilli Þórodds ok gerðiz vinátta með þeim
 ok varð Þorgils höfðingi ok virðingamaðr mikill.

31. Frá því er sagt eitthvert sinn at þau Þorgils ok
 10 Helga sátu úti ok hrein hænán við hananum en haninn leggr
 at henni ok berr hana þar til hon mæðiz. Þorgils mælti:
 'Sér þú, Helga, sameign þeira hana ok hænu?' Helga svarar:
 'Hvers er þat vert?' segir hon. 'Svá má vera,' segir Þor-
 gils, 'annarra viðeign.' Geraz nú góðar samfarar þeira.
 15 Son áttu þau Þorgils ok Helga er Grímr glömmuðr hét. Þor-
 gils var nú gamall ok þó hraustr.

Sá maðr bjó skammt frá Þorgilsi er Sámr hét. Kona hans
 hét Þorfinna. Sá maðr var þar í sveit er Bjálfi hét,
 óeirðarmaðr. Hann glapti konu Sáms ok settiz í bú hans
 20 lǫngum en heitaðiz við bónda. Honum líkar þetta illa.
 Bjálfi bauð bónda hólmgǫngu - 'ella gef upp konu þína.'
 Sámr ferr nú at finna Þorgils ok segir honum at Bjálfi bauð
 honum einvígi. 'Ek skal hjálpa við þínu máli,' segir
 Þorgils. Ferr Sámr nú glaðr heim.

25 Annan dag ferr Þorgils ok hittir Sám. Hann fagnar honum
 vel. Ok litlu síðar kom Bjálfi ok spurði hví hann væri

þar ok kvaz engu þókk kunna hans kvámu. 'Ekki ferr ek at því,' segir Þorgils, 'því at vel má ek þar koma sem þú kemr ok þar sem þú hefir boðit Sámi einvígi, skaltu mér mæta en ekki honum.' Bjálfi svarar: 'Þat kemr til þess, 5 at Sámr greyt þorir eigi at berjaz við mik.'

Nú ganga þeir á hólm ok er ekki sagt frá viðskiptum annat en Þorgils drepr Bjálfa ok frelsti svá bónda; - 'ok nauztu þess at,' segir Þorgils, 'at þú vart svá nær mér.'

10 Ásgrímr Elliða-Grímsson var höfðingi mikill ok farmaðr ok átti skip í fórum. Hann átti tvá sonu ok hét hvárrtveggi Þórhallr. Inn eldri Þórhallr var þroskaðr mjök þá er þetta var. Gunnvör hét dóttir Bjarna í Gröf; hon var eigi dóttir Þórnýjar. Gizurr hvíti bjó þá í Hófða ok 15 átti Þórdísi, dóttur Þórodds. Móðir Ásgríms var Jórunn Teitsdóttir. [Þorgils] átti land nær skipalægi [Ásgríms] ok lá þar á hafnartollr ok heimti sá maðr skiptollinn er á landinu bjó ok galt Ásgrímr aldri toll þeim er á landi Þorgils bjó.

20 32. Eitthvert sinn hittir [Þorgils Ásgrím] ok biðr at hann minniz í nokkuru um tollinn. Ásgrímr segir at skip koma þar sem auðit verðr en kvaz eigi vanr at gjalda skiptolla sem smábændr ok bað hann eigi heimta slíkt. Þorgils kvaz þat fyrir annars hönd gera en eigi fyrir sína ok skilja 25 þeir nú við svá búit.

Um vórit vóru menn kvaddir af Ásgrími til skipsdráttar

ok kom fjöldi manns. Pyttar váru um sandan víða ok
váru fullir með vatni þó at fjara væri. Ásgrímr tók
á festum í fremra lagi ok váru þar mest konur hjá honum.
Hann var í litklæðum. Tóku nú fast á. Maðr reið á landinu
5 fyrir ofan, mikill vexti, ok hafði bolðxi í hendi. Hann
horfir á skipdráttinn. Ásgrímr eggjar nú fast at menn herði
sik vel. Ok er Þorgils var kominn at flæðarpyttinum, sá
hann at Ásgrímr helt á strenginum. Hleypr hann þá til ok
hogggr strenginn ok verðr aptrhlaupit hart ok hrapar Ásgrímr
10 í pyttinn ok konurnar á hann ofan. Urðu öll klæðin Ásgríms
vát ok þrekkótt ok svá hann sjálf. Þetta þykkir honum
mikil svívirðing ger til sín. Verðr nú viss hverr gert
hefir ok kvað þá Þorgils varla mega við svá búit skilja.
Þórhallr bað hann utan fara - ' ok megi þá sjatna þessi
15 óþokki er millum ykkar er.' Ásgrímr kvaz mundu ráða sjálf
ferðum sínum.

Þat var einhvern tíma at Þórhallr bað Ásgrím, fíður sinn,
fara með sér til kvánbæna til móts við Bjarna bónda í
Gröf. Ásgrímr sagði at þat var í mörqu lagi góðr kostur -
20 'en illt þykki mér at Þorgils er þar nokkut við riðinn.'
'At Þorgils er ekki mein,' segir Þórhallr. Síðan fara
þeir. Bjarni svarar vel ok er þessum ráðum ráðit. Ásgrímr
biðr at Þorgils skuli ekki bjóða til boðsins. Bjarni
svarar ok kvaz honum mundu allvel fagna af hann kæmi -
25 'en gera eigi mann til hans fyrir bæn þína.' Bjarni býz
nú við brúðhlaupinu.

Einn dag kemr Þórný inn ok segir at maðr reið ór skógum

neðan - 'ok er líkr fðður mínum.' Bjarni gekk út ok var
 Þorgils kominn ok þræll hans með honum. Bjarni fagnaði
 honum vel. Þorgils mælti: 'Hví bautt þú mér ekki til boðs-
 ins, mágr?' 'Þér er jafnan sjálfboðit,' segir Bjarni, 'ok
 5 þá velkominn er þú vill verit hafa.'

Ásgrímr kom um kveldit ok gekk Bjarni í móti honum ok
 fagnaði honum vel. Þá spurði Ásgrímr hvárt Þorgils væri
 þar. Hann kvað hann þar vera - 'ok mun hann hér dveljaz.
 Gerða ek nú sem þú mæltir, at ek bauð honum eigi, en ávallt
 10 skal hann vera hér hjá mér er hann vill.' Ásgrímr verðr
 óðr við ok vill ríða heim. Þórhallr biðr hann eigi þat
 gera. Ok þat verðr at hann er þar ok er heldr óglatt um
 boðit. Ok er menn búaz frá boðinu, sjá menn at þeir fara
 húsa á milli, Ásgrímr ok Kolr þræll, ok tóluðu.

15 Nú ríða menn um kveldit heim. Þorgils bóndi ok þræll
 hans, Kolr, riðu síð um kveldit ofan hjá Húsatóptum. Ás-
 grímr hafði fengit þrælnum þrjár merkr silfrs til hófuðs
 Þorgils. Kolr hafði hest latan ok hvikaði hestrinn undir
 honum. Þorgils laust þrælinn ok fell fésjóðrinn undan yfir-
 20 hófn hans. Þorgils spyr hvaðan féit kom at. Þrælinn
 sagði sem var. Síðan drap hann þrælinn þar sem nú heitir
 Kolslækr.

Nú þykkir Þorgils Ásgrímr sannr at fjórráðum við sik.
 lætr nú safna mǫnnum ok verða vel xl. Ætlar nú at fara
 25 stefnufoðr ^(til) móts við Ásgrím. Nú hittir Gizurr hvíti Þorgils
 ok spyr hversu hann ætlar til um ferðir sínar. Hann kvaz
 ætla at sækja heim Ásgrím Elliða-Grímsson. Gizurr sagði

þat er óráðligt því at hann er miklu fjölmennari en þú.'

Þorgils kvaz eigi hirða um fjölmenni hans. Nú letr Gizurr ferðarinnar ok, at bæn hans, reið hann í Eyna ok kvaddi níu búa. Eptir þat fara þeir í burt ok þykkir sem lögfullt sé.

5 33. Nú koma menn til þings fjölmennnt. Skapti spyrr mág sinn, Þorgils, hvern málatilbúnað hann hefði haft. Hann segiz hafa níu búa kvadda. Skapti svarar: 'Var-at af vóru, sleikti um ^{þvóru} ~~þvóru~~; sæll, mágrinn, láttu niðr detta; engu er nýtt.' 'Hverju mun þat sæta?' segir Þorgils. Skapti 10 svarar: 'Kunnug eru mér lög, mágr,' sagði hann, 'svá at ek sé gerla at engu er nýtt til búit ok er betr at niðr falli því at svá hafa farit skipti ykkur at þú hefir vanvirðu enga af fengit.' Sefaz Þorgils nú við umtölur mága sinna. Ríða menn nú af þingi ok fall niðr þessi mál öll.

15 34. Helgi hét Austmaðr er út kom í Einarshöfn ok átti ferð upp í herað ok fór með varning sinn upp í Þrándarholt. Þorgils reið at ór Gröf. Þeir riðuz á móti, Þorgils, ok riðu hart. Ok er þeir riðuz á víxl, stakaði Þorgils mjök svá af baki ok hló at honum við, Austmaðrinn, en Þor- 20 gils var allbjúgr á baki, því at veðr var kalt. Helgi mælti þá: 'Lítt sér þat nú á þér, Þorgils, at þú hefir verit kallaðr garpr mikill enda ertu nú gamall.' Þorgils svarar: 'Ekki hafa menn þat mjök plagat hér til at gabba mik en svá hæðiligr ok gamall sem þér þykkir ek vera, þá býð ek þér þegar 25 í stað einvígi ok er þá fullreynt hvárr af öðrum berr.'

Helgi kvað enga ván í at hann hrykki eigi við - 'ok mun
lítill frami í at bera af fretkarli þínum.' Austmaðrinn
hafði bolðxi í hendi. Þorgils mælti: 'Hvassara vápni muntu
hafa þurfa ef bíta skal höfuðbein mín.' Þorgils hafði
5 sverðit Jarðhússnaut ok alvápnaðr ok hljóp geyst at honum
ok högggr til hans með sverðinu ok kom á ðxlina ok vannz
honum þat skjótt til bana. Þorgils var þá lxx. ok kvað
þetta verit hafa it mesta glappaverk ok kvaz þetta mundu
bæta.

10 Tveim vetrum síðar kómu tveir bræðr Helga út ok varð
eigi vart við skipkvámuna. Hét annarr Einarr en annarr
Sigurðr. Þeir fóru þegar í Traðarholt ok var þat um kveld
ok váru eigi í almenningshúsum. Ok um morguninn, er verk-
menn váru farnir til starfs, fóru þeir bræðr heim í bæinn
15 ok námu staðar við skáladyrr ok tóluðuz með um hríð hversu
þeir skyldu með fara; - 'Ekki þykki mér gott at drepa gamlan
mann.' Þorgils heyrir nú þeira umræðu ok sprettr upp þegar
ok tekr sverðit Jarðhússnaut ok bað þá at ganga ef þeir
vildi. Einarr mælti: 'Ekki þarf at eggja okkr til bróður-
20 hefnda, því at fullvel megum vit þik yfirvinna ef vit viljum.
En ekki skal þér nú, bóndi, nokkurn ófrið gera ok skal nú
vera annat erindi okkar bræðra.' Þorgils tók þessu vel ok
svarar: 'Ek er ok þess miklu fúsari því at ek þykkjumz sjá
gerla at þú munt vera góðr ok þar sem ek drap bróður ykkarn,
25 þá vil ek þat fullu bæta; ok vil ek, Einarr, gefa þér nú
sverðit Jarðhússnaut, því at mér líz svá á þik at þú
megir þat vel bera. Bróður þínum vil ek fá fimm merkr

silfrs.' Síðan skildu þeir með góðum vinskap ok fóru þeir bræðr utan eptir þat.

Þat var einn tíma at þau Þorgils ok Helga fóru til Hjalla til heimboðs. Ok eptir þat tók Þorgils bóndi sótt. Hann 5 var þá hálfníræðr. Hann lá viku ok andaðiz síðan. Þessu nærri andaðiz Þóroddr bóndi ok Bjarni bóndi inn spaki. Váru þeir allir jarðaðir at þeiri kirkju er Skapti lét gera fyrir utan lækinn en síðan váru færð bein þeira í þann stað er nú stendr kirkjan, því at Skapti hét at gera kirkju þá 10 er Þóra braut fót sinn, þá er hon var at léreptum sínum.

Þorgils Örrabeinsstjúpr þótti inn mesti merkismaðr, vinfastr ok vel stilltr, þrautgóðr, djarfr ok þó stórráðr ef honum var á móti gert; þoldi vel ok karlmannliga stórar mannaunir. Frá honum er kominn mikill ættbogi. Börn 15 þeira Þorgils ok Helgu váru þau Grímr glömmuðr, Illhugi ok Þórðr. Þorlákr byskup var Þórhalls son. Móðir hans var Eyvör. Móðir Eyvarar var Jórunn, dóttir Þorgils Örrabeinsstjúps ok Helgu. Oddr hét son þeira; hann var faðir Gizurar, fðður Gríms, fðður Guðlaugar, móður Jórundar byskups. 20 Sonr Gríms glammaðar Þorgilssonar var Ingjaldr, faðir Gríms, faðir Einars, faðir Hallkøtlu, móður Steinunnar, móður Herdísar, móður Bjarnar, fðður Gizurar galla, fðður Hákonar, fðður Jóns.

M-VERSION

PM

(AM 515, 4to. ff. 27v, line
26 - 41v, line 19)

Þórey hét kona ok var Þorvarðsdóttir. Þorfinna hét móðir hennar; hon bjó í Odda. Þorvarðr var andaðr. Þórey var á fóstri í Kálfaholti með þeim manni er Jósteinn hét, gildir bóndi. Jósteinn átti systur Þorvarðs í Odda er Þorgerðr hét; þau váru börn Þórðar Freysgoða. Kolr ok Starkaðr váru fóstbræðr Þóreyjar. Guðrún hét systir þeira ok var hon líka fóstursystir Þóreyjar. Þórey var skörungr mikill ok fríð sýnum. Þeirar konu biðr Þorgils Örrabeinsstjúpr ok þann kost fær hann ok gerði brullaup til hennar. Samfarir 10 þeira váru góðar. Hæringr bjó nú á Stokkseyri. Þorgils bjó í Traðarholti ok gerðiz hann ríkr maðr svá at Ásgrímr Elliðason bar ekki af honum á þingum.

Sörli hét maðr. Hann bjó skammt frá Kálfaholti. Hann venr kvámur sínar í Kálfaholt á fund Guðrúnar, systur þeira 15 Starkaðar ok Kols. Einn tíma ferr Kolr á leið til Sörla ok biðr hann láta af kvámun til Guðrúnar, systur þeira. Sörli kva[z] mundu þat gera eptir hugþokka sínum en hirða ekki um orð hans. 'Þú munt ráða,' segir Kolr.

Annan dag eptir ferr Sörli samt á tal til Guðrúnar ok um 20 kveldit ferr hann seint heim. Ok er hann kemr skammt frá bænum, sprettr Kolr upp fyrir honum. Verðr ekki af kveðjum. Hógggr Kolr hann banahógg; ferr síðan heim ok segir Guðrúnu at stöðvaz muni um kvámur Sörla upp heðan. Hon kva[z] eigi þat lasta en kvað eigi svá búit hlýða mundu, því at hann var 25 gjafvinr ok þingmaðr Ásgríms Elliðasonar; - 'far nú ok hitt Þorgils; hann þykki mér líkligastr at veita þér nokkut lið.'

Kolr kemr í Traðarholt. Þat var síð um kveld. Menn sátu yfir borðum en Þórey húsfreyja bar mat í stofu. Þá var bar- it á dyrr ok gekk hon til hurðar ok heilsar vel Kol, fóst- bróður sínum, ok býðr honum þar at vera. Hann vill eigi þar .
 5 svá vera at eigi viti hon tíðindi er í hans ferðum váru ok segir henni síðan vígit. Hon lastar lítt ok kvez við skulu leita at veita honum ásjá - 'en þó er nokkut vanstillt til við Þorgils en ærit er traust ef hann vill veita þér ok mun ek fylgja þér í skot er hér er um skálann ok heyrðu þaðan á
 10 viðræður okkar Þorgils.' Hann gerir svá ok eptir þat ferr hon í stofuna. Þorgils mælti: 'Hví skulum vér svá lengi bíða matar í kveld? Ok gott hefir þér orðit til fjár í framgöngunni: klæði rautt hefir þú fengit.' 'Eigi veit ek þat,' segir hon, 'en satt er it fornkveðna at "spakir menn
 15 henda á mörgu mið"; mús hljóp áðan á kinn mér en hon er mér harla óþekk.' 'Svá má vera,' segir Þorgils. En er þau kómu í rekkju, þá kvaz Þorgils vita vilja hvað í framgöngunni hafði gerz. Hon segir honum allan atburðinn ok kvaz hon ásjá vilja veita Kol - 'ok muntu svá gera fyrir mína
 20 skuld.' Þorgils kvaz svá gera mundu; - 'hefi ek góða vin- áttu haft af Kol,' segir hann.

Um morguninn eptir fór Þorgils austr til bús Kols - hann átti bú austr hjá Kálfa Holti - ok tók upp féit allt ok lét fara Guð- rúnu með sér en lét eptir ómegð aðra. En er þeir váru burt
 25 farnir, kom Ásgrímr ok ætlar upp at taka fé Kols ok hafði hann ekki. Kolr sitr hjá Þorgils um vetrinn.

En um vórit eptir býr Ásgrímr málit á henda Kol. Lætr

Þorgils sem hann viti eigi. Verðr Kolr sekr um vígsmálit. Þorgils ríðr allt at einu um heraðit ok Kolr með honum. Sækja mannamót ok geriz af því óþokki millim heraðshöfðingja. Heraðsmönnum þykkir mein at ok leita um sættir en Þorg-
 5 ils býðr engar bætr fyrir Kol. Heraðsmenn leggja nú fund til ok leggja allir fé til við Ásgrím ok bæta víg Sðrla; gefa ok fé til sýknu honum ok var þetta gert án ráðs Þorgils. Sýkna Kols var færð annat sumar á þingi ok er þó fátt um með þeim höfðingjum.

10 Eitt sinn ríðr Þorgils til hestapings austr í herað ok Svartr, verkstjóri hans, með honum. Var þá góð gleði um daginn. Ásgrímr var þar ok tala^(-r) margt við Svart. At kveldi ríðr Þorgils heim en Svartr reið nær honum ok fann Þorgils at hann vill ætíð ríða seinna. Grunar hann þá ok gefr honum
 15 færi á sér. Ok er Þorgils varir minnst, hogggr Svartr til hans en Þorgils kastar sér ór sððlinum. Þorgils þrífr Svart ok spyr hverju gegnir. Hann segir at Ásgrímr bauð honum þetta. En þá er hann svipti Svarti, fell fésjóðr undan yfirhöfn hans. Segir hann þá at Ásgrímr hafi gefit
 20 honum fé til höfuðs Þorgils. Hann drepr Svart þegar í stað. Eptir þat ríðr Þorgils fram at sínum mönnum ok segir þeim hversu farit hefði. En hvert sumar er hann kemr á mannamót, sýnir hann fésjóðinn ok váru þar í iii. merkr silfrs, þess er bezt var, ok gekk engi við at ætti. Þor-
 25 gils kvaz þat fé hafa mundu ok hafa sitt satt við, hvar Svartr hafði feugit.

Nú kom kristni á land ok tók Þorgils í fyrra lagi sið

kristinn ok helt vel trú sína. Ok er hann hafði viðr kristni
 tekit, þá dreymdi hann einhverja nótt at Þórr kæmi at honum
 með illliligu yfirbragði ok kvað hann sér brugði[z] hafa -
 'ok hefir þú illa ór ráðit, valit mér þat ór þínu fé er þú
 5 áttir verst til. Þú kastaðir sífri því í fúla tjörn er
 ek átta ok skal ek þar í móti koma.' 'Guð mun mér hjálpa,'
 segir Þorgils, 'ok er ek þess sæll er okkat félag sleit.'
 Ok er Þorgils vaknaði ok kom út, sá hann at tóðugóltr hans
 var dauðr ok lét hann grafa hann hjá tópt nokkurri ok vildi
 10 eigi láta af neyta.

Enn barz Þórr í draum Þorgilsí ok sagði at sér yrði eigi
 meira fyrir at taka fyrir nasir honum en tóðugelti hans.
 Þorgils segir: 'Guð mun því ráða.' Þórr hét þá at gera
 honum fjárskaða. Þorgils kva[z] eigi um þat hirða. Aðra
 15 nótt eptir dó uxi gamall fyrir Þorgilsí. Þá sat hann sjálfir
 hjá um nóttina eptir yfir nautum sínum ok, er hann kom heim
 um morguninn, var hann víða blár. Hafa menn þat fyrir satt
 at þeir Þórr muni fundiz hafa. Eptir þat tók af fallit.
 Þorgils var it mesta mikilmenni, harðr maðr ok frækinn.
 20 Nú líða fram stundir. Ok er skip ganga landa á milli,
 þá koma orðsendingar af Grænlandi at Eiríkr rauði býðr
 Þorgilsí út til Grænlands til þeira kosta er beztra hefir
 hann fǫng á. Þorgils áhlýddiz lítt. Ok er hann hafði
 búit hér xiii. vetr kom skip af hafi. Þar var á Þorleifr,
 25 sonr hans, ok hafði góða gripá at færa honum. Þorgils
 tók vel við honum. Þorgils talar við konu sína ef hon
 vill fara með til Grænlands. Hon kvað vanbreytt um. Hann

kvað Eirík hafa sent sér orð - 'ok máttu vera eptir ef þú vill ok gæta bús okkars en ek fari.' Hon kvað því mundu misráðit at farit væri - 'en fara vil ek ef þú ferr.'

Þorgils fekk nú í hendr Hæringi, bróður sínum, fé sitt til
 5 varðveizlu ok svá tók hann við goðorði því er Þorgils haft hafði. Hann vill at landit í Traðarholti sé eign erfingja hans ef hann kemr eigi til. Þorný hét dóttir þeira Þorgils ok Þóreyjar; var hon þá viii. vetra gömul. Þessi ráða-
 breytni Þorgils spurðiz nú víða um sveitir. Þorleifr skal
 10 fara með honum, Kolr ok Starkaðr, bróðir hans, ok Guðrún, systir þeira, Snækollr ok Özurr, þrælur hans, ok Þórarinn ráðsmaðr. Þrælarnir váru alls x. Þorgils hafði nefnda menn mest fyrir því ef hann vildi bæ láta reisa á Grænlandi. Þeir váru allir öflugir menn. Þorgils hafði allskonar fé ef
 15 hann vildi þar staðfestaz. Jósteinn bóndi ór Kálfaholti réz ok til ferðar með honum ok brá búi sínu; hann var með xiita mann. Þorgerðr fór ok, kona hans, ok Þórarinn, son þeira; hann var inn knásti maðr. Þorgils kaupir nú skip. Þór-
 ólfr hét maðr er Þorgils fekk í hendr ómagabú en Hæringi,
 20 bróður sínum, seldi hann í hendr lx. hundraða iii. álna aura, annat en staðfestu.

Þorgils gisti ok þau á Hjalla í Ölfusi. Þar var ok í ferð með honum Þorný, dóttir hans, ok ætlaði hann at hon skyldi fara. Þar tók hon sótt ok beið Þorgils iii. nætr
 25 ok kvað þat eigi mundu standa fyrir ferð sinni ok gaf henni xl^c. iii [álna] aura ef hon þyrpti til at taka ok kvað vera mega at þat væri forlóg hennar. Þóroddr kvaz ætla at hon

mundi giptudrjúg vera. Þorgils segir Þóroddi at hann kvez
 5 mundu mjök treystaz ummælum Eiríks rauða. Þóroddr segir:
 'Opt verðr vant til manna at ætla ok eigi at síðr at maðr
 leggi mikinn kost til.' Þorgilsi kvez nú fyrir þykkja mikit
 10 at fara en kvez nú eigi nenna aptr at hverfa. Skilja þeir
 nú þeir Þóroddr ok Þorgils bíðr nú byrjar ok dreymir hann
 at maðr kemr at honum, mikill ok rauðskeggjaðr, ok mælti:
 'Ferð hefir þú ætlat fyrir þér ok mun erfið verða.' Draum-
 maðrinn sýndiz honum greppligr ok mælti til hans: 'Alla
 15 stund hefir þú mér verit gagnstæðligr, þóttú værir heiðinn
 maðr, en oss er mikill missir orðinn at siðaskipti þínu.
 Áðr var allt fólk leitandi til várs trausts ok fulltings
 ok ertu sem þeir er oss vilja þyngst ok mun illa faraz ef
 þú vill eigi aptr til mín hverfa um átrúnað. Mun ek þá
 20 enn um sjá yðar ráð.' Þorgils kvaz aldri hans umsjá vilja
 hafa; bað hann burt draga[z] ok skiljaz viðr sik sem skjót-
 ast - 'tekz ferð mín sem Guð vill,' hugðiz hann svara í
 svefninum. Síðan þótti honum Þórr færa sik á hamra nokkura,
 þar sem sjóvarstormr brast í björgum, ok nú segir Þórr:
 25 'Í slíkum stormi skaltu vera ok þó lengi í vólki vera ok
 kveljaz í vesöld ok háska nema þú geriz minn maðr.' 'Nei!
 nei!' segir Þorgils. 'Far^(þú) burt, inn leiði fjándi! Sá mun mér
 hjálpa sem alla leysti með sínum dreyra ok á líta ferð vára.
 Síðan vaknar hann ok segir drauminn Þóreyju, konu sinni, -
 25 'ok dvína munda ek láta ferðina ef mik hefði fyrri þvílíkan
 draum dreymt ok eigi vil ek segja láta Jósteini né ðörum
 mǫnnum þenna draum. Hon kvað þetta eigi góða furðu ok kvað

vel ráðit [þótt] hann ætti fátt við Þór - 'ok aptr munda ek setjaz ef mik hefði þvílíkan draum dreymt.'

Nú kemr byrr ok sigla þeir út eptir firði á haf góðan byr. Hafði Jósteinn skip fyrir framan siglu. Ok er þeir koma ór
5 landsýn, þá tekr af byri alla ok velkjaz þeir úti lengi þar til er bæði verðr átfátt ok drykkfátt á skipi þeira. Eina nótt dreymir Þorgils at sá sami maðr kæmi at honum ok mælti: 'Fór eigi sem ek gat? Því at þú hefir neitat mínu fulltingi ok ásjá. Má enn vera at betriz um hag þinn ef þú vill mik
10 þýðaz.' Hann kvez þat aldri vilja, þótt líf hans lægi við; það óvin á brott dragaz ok koma aldri optar ok vaknar hann eptir þat. Útivistin harnar mjök.

Tekr nú at hausta. Mæltu sumir menn at þeir mundu blóta Þór til byrjar; kváðu betr þá farit hafa ráð manna er þeir
15 blótuðu hann ok kváðu ráð at fella þangat hugi sína. Þorgils segir: 'Ef ek verð varr við þat at nokkurr maðr blótar ok geriz guðníðingr, þá skal ek þat harðliga hefna.' En viðr þessi orð hans treystiz engi at kalla á Þór.

Þá dreymdi Þorgils enn eina nótt at inn sami maðr kæmi
20 at honum ok mælti svá: 'Enn sýndir þú hverr þú vart mér, þar eð menn vildu mik þýðaz. Hefi ek nú beint fyrir yðr því at margir eru skipverjar þínir at bana komnir ok enn muntu hófn taka á vii. nóttu fresti ef þú vill mik athyllaz.' Þorgils segir: 'Þótt ek taka aldri hófn skal ek þér aldri gott gera
25 ok ef þú kemr optar, skal ek gera þér nokkura skómm.' Hann segir: 'Þótt þú gerir mér ekki gott, þá gjaltu mér þat er ek á ok þú hefir mér heitit.' Þorgils hrakti hann með mörg-

um orðum ok við þat fór hann á brott. Þorgils vaknar ok hugsar hvat hann muni þar eiga ok nú man hann at hann gaf fyrir löngu Þór kálf einn. Þorgils segir þetta Þóreyju ok var þetta þá gamall uxi ok kvað aldri þat skyldu innanborðs 5 er hans kanna væri á ok segir hann því þar hverfa mundu um skipit. Hon kvað þat vel fundit. En er Þorgerðr vissi þetta, at Þorgils ætlar at kasta út uxanum, þá falar hon uxann er þeim var vistafátt. Þorgils afsvaraði ok vill ónýta uxann. Hon reiddiz við orð hans - 'ok er eigi undar- 10 ligt þótt illa takiz, er Þórr várr er svá svívirðr ok mikit munu nú menn verr kunna fyrir sér en þá er menn sæmdu hann í mörgum hlutum.' Þorgils hirðir ekki um orð hennar ok lét skjóta útbyrðis uxanum ok kvað eigi kynligt þótt illa færiz er fé Þórs var innanborðs.

15 Ok eru þeir nú enn úti um hríð. III. mánuði váru þeir í hafi ok höfðu harða réttu ok litla byri. Þórarinn, son Jósteins, var knástr maðr annarr en Þorgils. Hann var ^(þá) tví- tugr at aldri. Þat er sagt at þeir brutu skip sitt síð dags undir Grænlandsjóklum í vík nokkurri við sandmöl. 20 Skipit tók í sundr í efra rúmi. Menn helduz allir ok fé. Báttr komz ok heill á land. Stafninn rak upp við it syðra landit. Þá var vika til vetrar. Jöklar miklir gengu fram ii. megin víkrinnar en til vestrættar væntu þeir byggðar. Gera sér nú skála allir saman ok í þverþili; búa nú sínu- 25 megin ^(hvárir) þílsins; hafa mjól nokkut sér til atvinnu; henda af rekum slíkt er þeir fengu ok eiga allir saman. Fé þeira var dautt flestallt. Hirzlur þeira váru í skála þeira.

Þorgils manna hlutr var jafnan betri af veiðifangi. Varð hann um flest hlutsælli. Þorgils beiddi at menn vildi vera hljóðlátir síð á kveldum ok siðsamir ok heldi vel trú sína. Þóreyju húsfreyju var mik[it] framat ok var lítt heil. Þat .
5 er sagt at Jósteinn ok hans menn váru löngum úti síð á kveldum ok gerðu mikit um sik ok höfðu náttleika. Jósteinn mælti eitthvert sinn við Þorgils; kvað sér þykkja mikinn mun veiðifangsins. Þorgils kvað þá eigi einn veg rækja - 'því at þér haldið lengr við á kveldin en vér erum at fyrri.'
10 Jósteinn vildi þá skipta láta öllu veiðifangi ok svá var gert ok varð Þorgils jafnan hlutsælli ok skortir þá hváriga. Svá er sagt at fátt var með þeim. Váru þeir Þorgils spakir ok hljóðir en hinir höfðu náttleika með miklu erfiði ok háreysti. Nær vetrnóttum varð Þórey léttari at sveini þeim er Þorfinnr
15 hét. Hon hjúkaðiz lítt við þessa fæðu er til var. Þórarinn Jósteinsson hafði útróðra með þrælum Jósteins.

Líðr nú á vetrinn ok dregr at jólum ok ræðir Þorgils um at hann vill at menn sé hljóðlátir ok siðsamir ok fari snemma í rekkju. Jólamorgun var á veðr gott ok váru þeir þá
20 lengi úti um daginn ok heyrðu óp mikit í útnorðr ok nú kemr annarr aptann í jólum. Þá náttar Þorgils snemma ok ferr í rekkju ok er þau höfðu sofit svefn, þá koma þar Jósteins menn ok er mikit um lið þeira ok búaz til matar. Þorgerðr var í öllu háreysti með þeim ok var hon sterk sem karlar.
25 Ok er þau eru at mat, þá er drepit á dyrr mikit högg ok snjallt. Þá mælti einn þeira: 'Góð tíðindi munu nú í nánd vera.' Sá hleypr út ok þykkir þeim er inni váru fresta

innkvámu hans. Nú ganga þeir Jósteinn út. Er sá þá ærr
er úti var. Ok um morguninn deyr hann. Mótligt ferr annan
aptan, at maðr æriz ok deyr skjótt ok þóttiz sjá þann hlaupa
at sér er fyrr dó. Nú kom sótt í lið Jósteins ok deyja vi.
5 menn ok þá tekr Jósteinn sótt inn xiita dag jóla en Þor-
gerðr sitr yfir honum ok lýr hann sótt ok deyr hann ok eru
þeir nú kasaðir þar í mðlinni. Þorgils helt þá sínum mðnn-
um ðllum ok ræðir jafnan um við þá at þeir sé hljóðlátir
ok siðsamir; bað þá láta sér annars víti at varnaði verða,
10 minnaz á guðliga hluti ok fremja nú skynsemd um kristnihald
sitt ok sðngva. Á bak jólum ganga þau ðll aptr ok einna
mest Þorgerðr. Þórarinn léz síðast af liði Jósteins; var
hann grafinn undir skipshræinu en ðll váru þau dauð í miðja
gói. Váru þá miklar aptrgðngur ok sóttu ðll at Þorgils.
15 Þorgils segir þá at Þorgerðr hefði lið sitt allt ok hon
þyrpti þá ekki fleira at kalla ok eptir þat léttir af sótt-
inni. Ekki máttu þeir Þorgils í brott hefjaz meðan aptr-
gðngur váru mestar. Í þeim hluta skálans gengu þau mest
aptr er þau höfðu áðr átt en þó gengu þeir í hinn hlut
20 skálans ok sótti Þorgerðr konur mest. Ok er svá hafði fram
farit um hríð, þá lét Þorgils brenna þau ðll á báli ok var
þá ekki mein at aptrgðngu þeira síðan. Þeir Þorgils höfðu
skip á stokka sett ok mjök gert at ððru ok höfðu hvárir-
tveggju at skipbúnaði verit.
25 Nú líðr af vetrinn ok máttu þeir þó eigi á brott komaz
fyrir ísum. Þeir fá sér vistir um sumarit. Ok annan
vetr eptir, þá andaðiz Guðrún, systir Kols. Kolr græfr

hana undir rúmi sínu ok, er várar, þá mega þeir eigi á brott komaz.

Þat er enn eitthvert sinn sem optar bar at at Þórey segir draum sinn Þorgilsi, at hon þóttiz sjá fðgr heruð ok 5 menn fagra ok bjarta - 'ok vænti ek,' segir hon, 'at vér leysimz heðan í burt ór ánauð þessarri.' Þorgils segir: 'Góðr er draumr þinn ok þó eigi ólíkari at viti meir til annars heims hluta ok muntu eiga fyrir höndum fagra staði ok munu dýrðligir menn hjálpa þér fyrir gott líf þitt ok 10 mannaunir.' Hon bað þá í burt leita ef þeir mætti. Þorgils kvez eigi yfir þat sjá.

Hon lá í rekkju jafnan ok einhvern góðan veðrdag ræðir Þorgils um at þeir muni ganga á jðkla upp ok vita ef þeir sæi ísinn nðkkursstaðar leysa. Þórey kvez þess ófús at hann 15 gengi nðkkursstaðar frá henni. Hann kvaz skammt fara mundu. Hon kvað hann ráða mundu enn sem fyrr. Þrælarnir skyldu róa at veiðifangi um daginn ok Þórarinn bryti skyldi ýta þeim ok vera hjá Þóreyju en Þorgils ætlaði at ganga á jðkulinn. Þeir Þorleifr ok Kolr ok Starkaðr beidduz at fara með honum 20 en Þorgils kvað forystulaust heima ef eigi væri nðkkrir þeira hjá Þóreyju - 'ok trúm vér ærit vel þrælunum í þessu.' Þeir fóru þó allir á jðklana. Þorgils hafði bolðxi í hendi ok gyrðr sverðinu Jarðhússnaut. Þeir gengu til eyktar ok hófðu farit árla morguns. Ok er nón var dags, þá sneru þeir aptr 25 ok gerði á veðr hart. Þorgils gekk fyrir þeim ok hitti vel leiðina. Kómu at skálanum ok sá eigi skipit; kómu inn ok váru á brott kisturnar allar ok svipt fénu ok mennirnir

á burt. Þorgils mælti: 'Nú munu ill efni í.' Koma innar
 í skálann ok var þar myrkt. Þeir heyra til rekkju Þóreyjar
 snórl ok þat sér Þorgils at hon er ónduð en sveinninn só
 hana dauða. Þorgils leitar um hana ok finnr einsstaðar at
 5 harðnat var holdit ok ben lítit undir hendinni, sem mjóvum
 knífsoddi hefði stungit verit. Mjök var þar allt blóðugt
 í rúminu. Þetta hafði svá orðit at Þorgilsi var mestr harmr.
 Grafa þeir hana hjá Guðrúnu. Þorleifr leggur á alla stund
 at gleðja föður sinn. Á burt var ok sópat öllum vistum.
 10 Hurðirnar höfðu þeir ok frá tekit húsunum ok hvílutjaldit
 var í burtu. Um nóttina vildi Þorgils vaka yfir sveininum
 ok minntiz þá drengiliga á karlmennsku ok kvaz eigi sjá mega
 at barn þat mætti lifa nema mikit væri til unnit ok vill
 hann eigi at þat deyi. Lætr hann nú saxa á geirvörtuna á
 15 sér ok kemr þar blóð út. Síðan lætr hann teygja þat ok
 kom þar út blanda ok eigi lét hann af fyrr en þat var mjólk
 ok þar fæddiz sveinninn við. Ok um nóttina trúði hann sér
 eigi til vöku fyrr en hann lét glóð undir fætr sér. Þat
 er sagt at þeir Snækollr ok aðrir þrælur höfðu skip^{lit}í brott
 20 tekit. Ketil inn meira höfðu þeir en lítill ketill var
 eptir, er Þórey hafði átt, ok flykkisstúfr einn ok svá
 nafrar í burt váru sem í tólakistunni höfðu verit. Þórarinn
 bryti var ok á brott horfinn. Þeir Þorgils eru þar enn
 nokkura hríð ok sækja fast at veiðiföngum ok verðr þeim
 25 mjök ekki mein at öðrum óvættum. Leita þeir enn við at
 gera sér farkost ok eru nú smíðartól heldr fá. Gerðu þeir
 sér einn húðkeip ok bjuggu innan með viðum. Líðr nú á

sumarit ok sjá menn ekki um vistaföng brýnligt. Þeir bjuggu um húðkeipinn okok byrgðu ok lifðu nú viðr reka ok smá-dýri íkorna.

Um morguninn, er Þorgils kom út, sá hann rekald mikit í 5 vðk einni ok þar* hjá tröllkonur ii. í skinnkyrtlum ok bundu sér byrðar ákafliga stórar.

* Folio 4 of AM. 445 b, 4to begins with the word þar (see p. 77).

M-VERSION

M

(AM 445 b, 4to, f.4)

...þar (hjá) konur ii. í skinnkyrtlum ok bundu sér byrðar ákaflliga (m)iklar. Þorgils hleypr þagat til ok högggr þegar til annarrar með sverðinu Jarðhússnaut í því er hon færðiz undir byrðina ok rekr af henni höndina uppi viðr ðxlina.

5 Byrðrin fell niðr en hon hljóp á burt. Þeir taka [reka]ldit undir sik ok er þá eigi vistaskortr um vetrinn.

Ok er v  rar er mj  k uppi vistin. Þorgils kvaz leiðaz þarvistin - 'ok losnar n   issinn,' sagði hann, 'ok munu v  r    burt leita.' Þeir fara ^(n  )    braut ok hafa með sér ket-
10 ilinn. Dragaz n   með j  klunum fram ok      sinn at   ðru hverju. Ok um sumarit k  muz þeir suðr til Seleyja    keipinum en l  tit m  ttu þeir hafa af f  ngum s  num. Þar fengu þeir sela n  ga ok v  ru þar um vetrinn.

At sumarm  lum f  ru þeir þaðan ok k  mu þ   vi   ey n  kkura
15 litla. H  lfum m  naði s  ðar, þ   fundu þeir svartbaksegg. Þeir sj  ða eggin ok etr sveinninn Þorfinnr eitt eggit ok eigi allt. Þeir spyrja hann því hann   ti eigi allt. Hann segir: 'Þ  r sparið y  varn mat ok vil ek ok spara minn mat.' Þeir v  ru    skipi s  nu    n  ttum en f  ru    land um
20 daga ok f   þ   l  tit fang. Ok einn dag fundu þeir   rarst  f einn ok v  ru    r  nar þessar:

Vas-k-a[t] ek d  si,

es ek þessa dr  ,

opt,   sjaldan,

  r at borðia

Sj   gerði m  r

sára lófa,
meðan heimdragi
hnauð at rauða.

Þeir dragaz nú enn fram fyrir jóklana ok koma þá at björg-
5 um nokkurum bróttum ok brýna þar upp skipinu ok hafa þar
dvöl ok reisa þar tjald ok höfðu nær engar vistir. Ok um
morguninn gengr Kolr út ór tjaldi ok sér hvergi skipit ok
við þat legguz hann niðr ok vill eigi segja Þorgilsi ok
þykkir áðr ærinn harmr hans. Litlu síðar gengr út Þor-
10 leifr ok sér eigi skipit. Getr hann ok eigi um. Síðan
ríss Þorgils upp ok litaðiz um ok sér eigi skipit ok sagði
þeim at skipit var í burt - 'ok má ek eigi sjá þat at við
sveininn megí leita ok tapi honum.' Þorleifr segir: 'Þat
liggr ekki til.' Þorgils biðr þat þó gera. Eptir þat taka
15 þeir við sveininum. Kolr bað Þorleif tapa honum; - 'þat
samir mér eigi,' sagði hann, 'ok skal ek þat eigi gera.'
'Þá er betr ok, Kolr,' sagði hann, 'fyrir því at eigi skal
ek honum týna. Hefi ek lengi verit með Þorgilsi ok á ek
honum margt gott at launa ok ef týnt er sveininum, þá mun
20 honum svá mikit þykkja at eigi er sýnt at hann lifi eptir.'
Nú láta þeir sveininn úti eptir en þeir ganga inn í tjaldit.
Þorgils spurði hvárt drepinn væri sveinninn. Þeir kváðu
eigi þat vera. Hann þakkar þeim ok sagði ósýnt hversu hann
bæri - 'ok er gott til góðra drengja at taka ok hafi þit
25 firrt mik miklum glæp ok mun ek aldri þykkja síðan dugandi
maðr. Ok svífr nú ýmsu á mik.'

Um nóttina eptir er sveinninn hjá Þorgilsi ok um morgun-

inn segir Þorgils draum sinn: 'Ek þóttumz vera,' sagði hann, 'á Íslandi á Alþingi ok þótti mér sem vit Ásgrímr toguðum eina hönk ok allr lýðr horfði á ok hann missti hankar[in]nar.' Þorleifr segir: 'Þar muntu enn koma til 5 Íslands, faðir minn,' sagði hann, 'ok skipta málum við Ásgrím ok mun þat vel ganga.' 'Slíkt má vera,' sagði Þorgils, 'þótt nú þykki eigi líkligt ok er vel ráðit.'

Aðra nótt dreymdi hann enn ok sagði enn Þorleifi.

'Ek þóttumz vera,' segir hann, 'heima í Traðarholti ok 10 var þar fjölmenn t mjök ok sá ek álpt eina ganga eptir gólfinu ok var hon blíð við aðra en mik. Þá hrísta ek hana ok var þá betr.' 'Þar muntu,' sagði Þorleifr, 'kvángaz ok mun kona þín vera ung ok muntu í fyrstunni missa ástar hennar ok mun þó vel dragaz.'

15 Ina iii. nótt dreymdi Þorgils enn at hann þóttiz vera heima í Traðarholti - 'ok kerti v. váru á kné mér,' sagði hann, 'ok fólski á inu mesta. Ok enn dreymdi mik at kona kæmi at mér ok kvað mik kominn í tún sitt, - "ok þykki mér illa er þér hafið etit egg Þorfinns," - ok hon segir mér 20 at sveinar hennar hefði tekit skip vart.' Þorleifr segir: 'Þar munu vér í burtu komaz.'

'Enn dreymdi mik,' sagði Þorgils, '(at ek vær)a heima í Traðarholti. Ek sá á kné mér inu (hægra at) þar váru vaxnir hálmlaukar v. saman ok þ(ar) af kvísl(uðu)z margir 25 laukar ok ofarliga yfir höfuð mér bar einn lauk(inn. Sv)á var hann hár ok svá var hann fagr at hann hafði gullslit á sér!' (Þorleifr segir): 'Sé ek draum þinn. Þar muntu

eiga v. börn ok frá þér munu kvíslaz margar ættir ok ótal
 manna mun frá þér koma. En ek mun eigi á Íslandi aldr
 ala ok mun ek æxla ætt mína annarsstaðar. En inn fagri
 laukr, þar mun nokkurr maðr sá frá þér koma er ágætari
 5 maðr mun vera en allir aðrir þínir ættmenn.' En þat gekk
 svá eptir at frá honum er kominn inn helgi Þorlákr biskup.

Þorleif dreymdi enn draum ok sagði fðður sínum: 'Góð-
 an draum hefir mik enn dreymt ok heðan af mun batna ráð
 vart. Mér þótti sem Þorný, systir mín, gæfi mér osthleif
 10 ok væri af b[á]rurnar.' 'Vera má,' sagði Þorgils, 'at hon
 gæfi ef hon mætti.'

Ok nú heyra þeir kall mikit ok biðja Íslendinga taka
 skip sitt - 'ok hafi þér illa við orðit.' Þeir ganga nú
 út ok sjá konur ii. er tekit hófðu skipit. Þær hurfu skjótt
 15 ok þá heyrðu þeir at björn einn brauz um í vök einni ok
 var brotinn á hramminn. Þorgils hleypr til bjarnarins ok
 leggr til hans með sverði. Björninn deyr við þat lag.
 Þorgils þrífr í hlustirnar ok lætr eigi sókkva. Síðan drógu
 þeir hann á ísinn ok hlóðu skipit. Dýrit var kalit á fyrra
 20 fæti ok má af slíku marka hve mikinn háska þeir Þorgils
 hófðu af fjúki ok frosti í þessari ferð, er dýrit var ör-
 kumat af kulda. Þat er sagt at Þorgils deildi stykki
 hverjum þeira. Þeim þótti of lítit ok ræddu um með sér
 því hann væri svá harðbýll. Þorleifr mælti: 'Matsparr
 25 þykkir þú nú, faðir minn,' sagði hann. Þorgils segir: 'Svá
 vill vera, son minn, því at eigi hæfir oss annat, svá mjök
 sem áðr erum vér þrekaðir.'

Róa nú fyrir fjórðinn fram ok verðr sein fórin.

Snúa nú til hafs meir ok róa af margar vikur; fóru gagnleiði. Þá rýmdiz íssinn ok breidduz sundin. Fóru utarliga fyrir fjórðu fram; drógu skipit stundum milli vakanna.

5 Nú koma þeir á einn mikinn fjórð; stefna fyrir utan mynnit til lægis. Ok um daginn gerðiz mæði mikil á þeim. Þorgils var þó miklu hraustastr um allt. Tekr þá nú at þyrsta mjök. Þeir váru þá v. með sveininum Þorfinni, Þorgils ok Þorleifr, Kolr ok Starkaðr bræðr. Vatnit var hvergi í nánd
10 ok verðr þeim nær farit af drykkleysi. Þá mælti Starkaðr:

'Þess hefi-k vitat dæmi at menn hafa blandat allt saman, sjó ok hland.' Taka nú ausskotuna ok míga í ok kváðu þat gert vera ef líf manna lægi við ok báðu Þorgils leyfis at.

En hann kvað várkunn á; kvez hvárki banna né leyfa - 'en
15 eigi mun ek drekka,' segir hann. Þeir gerðu drykkinn.

Þorgils kvez nú vilja taka við ausskotunni ok kvez skyldu mæla fyrir minni. Hann mælti svá: 'Þú, it arga ok it illa kvikindi, er vára ferð dvelr skalt eigi því ráða at ek skal hvárki drekka minn þarfagang né aðrir.' Ok í því bili fl(ó
20 fugl, því) líkastr sem álkuungi, ok skrækti við illiliga.

Þorgils (segir: 'Þetta) er enn lítil laun hjá því sem vert var en þér firðu(ð m)ik glæpnum en hugstætt má oss verða þessi skómm ok hneisa (ok he)ðan af mun batna um vart ráð.

Róm nú at ísnum ok v(erum) kátir ok glaðir ok lagði oss nú
25 nær ok vildi Guð at vér forðaðimz þessa skómm.' Taka þeir nú vatn á ís[num] ok var þat síð um daginn. Þá segir Þorgils at sjá mundi af hvers völdum var ok, er þeir váru á

sjónum, þá fló fuglinn í norðrætt frá skipinu ok var stórum
 illligr. Þorgils mælti: 'Seint hefir þessi fugl við oss
 skilit ok taki nú allar gramir viðr honum. En við þat unum
 vér at eigi kom hann því á leið sem hann vildi ok veldr
 5 Guð sjálfir því, sá er vér trúm á.'

Koma nú síðan viðr ey eina ok váru þar iii. nætr áðr
 en þeir sá tjald af lérepti ok kenndu þar líntjald Þóreyjar
 ok fundu þar ~~Þórarinn~~ ^{Þórarinn} brytja sjúkan. Þeir spyrja hverju
 faraldi hann hafði þangat komit. Hann sagði kostaboð þeira
 10 Snækolls viðr sik, ef hann vildi eigi fara, at þeir mundi
 drepa hann ok þeir hefði verit skammt frá Seleyjum um vetr-
 inn. Þeir spurðu hann margs. Kvez hann nauðigr allt gert
 hafa - 'ok hafa þeir fé allt en Snækollr lagði járn á Þór-
 eyju.' Þorgils segir: 'Eigi veit ek hvers þú ert af verðr
 15 en eigi skaltu hér vera.' Ok áðr þeir fari á burt, þá deyr
 hann ok jarða þeir hann þar. Fara (með) land[i] fram.

Tekr nú at hausta ok koma á fjórð einn ok inn í fjórð-
 inn ok kómu at nausti. Brýna þar upp skipi sínu ok ganga
 upp frá sjó ok sjá bæ lítinn ok þar var maðr úti fyrir.
 20 Hann heilsar þeim ok spyr hverir þeir væri eðr hvaðan þeir
 væri at komnir. Þeir sögðu sem farit var ok spyrja hann at
 nafni. Hann kvez Hrólfr heita ok býðr þeim þar at vera ok
 þat þiggja þeir. Konur geyma Þorfinns ok var honum mjólk
 gefin. Hann kvað ekki þannig lita mjólk fðður síns.
 25 Hrólfr kvez ^(hafa)stokkit fyrir víga sakir ór byggð. Var hann
 inn greiðasti við Þorgils; kvað skip farit hafa þar um
 sumarit ok komit ekki við land en sagði leið ekki svá

langa sem torsiotta. Ok þar eru þeir um vetrinn.

Ok er vórar býðr hann þeim þar at vera ok slíka kosti sem hann hefir til skips ef þeir vilja. Þorgils segir honum vel fara ok kvez skipit vilja þiggja - 'ok væri skylt at launa þér með góðu.' Hrólfr kvez ætla at hann myndi af honum giptu hljóta - 'því at ek væntir at þú munt í góða virðing koma ok, ef svá verðr, mættir þú mik í fríð þiggja aptr í byggðina! Þorgils heitr honum því ok mæla þar hvárir vel fyrir ððrum.

10 Fara nú suðr fyrir landit ok gefr þeim vel fararleiði ok haustar fyrir þeim. Koma við vetr á Eiríksfjörð; beita fyrir landit; heldu síðan inn í fjörðinn ok lögðu í lægi ok tjölduðu. Ok í [því] bili sá þeir kaupskip er utan sigldi í fjörðinn ok lögðu í lægi ok höfðu eitt veðr hvár-
 15 irtveggju. Kómu at einni höfn ok lendingu. Þorgils mælti: '(Petta eru) góð tíðindi. Farið, Þorleifr ok Kolr,' sagði Þorgils, 'ok hittið mennina ok (munu þeir) kunna at segja nokkur tíðindi.' Fóru nú ok koma at kaupskipinu ok gen(gu ^{út} ~~xxx~~ á) skipit. Aptr viðr lyptingina sat maðr í
 20 rauðum kyrtli ok sprettr upp (þegar) ok fagnar Þorleifi vel. Þar var Þorsteinn hvíti, fóstri hans ok stjúpaðir. Hann spyr at Þorgilsi. Þeir segja honum at hann var þar. Þorsteinn ferr þegar til fundar viðr hann ok verðr þar fagnafundr. Kvez Þorsteinn kominn af Íslandi ok kvað ráð
 25 hans standa heilt ok höfðu ekki til hans spurt á iiii. vetrum. Sagði Þórnýju, dóttur hans, gipta Bjarna í Gröf Þorsteinssyni rauða landnámanns - 'ok er Þorleifr kom

eigi til, bjó ek skip af Noregi ok fór ek út til Íslands ok var ek þar ii. vetr. Ok er ekki fréttiz til yðvar, þá fýsti mik at leita yðvar higat. Nú er ek feginn orðinn yðrum fundi ok allt mitt skal yðr jafnheimult sem mér.'

5 Þorgils kvað ~~at~~ ekki mætti stórum betr í hald koma, sem at honum væri ván. Halda nú um morguninn þangat; tjalda nú búðir á landi.

Menn kómu brátt til þeira ok bóndi sá er þar bjó næst hét Þórir; hann bauð Þorfinni til sín ok þangat fór hann.

10 Bóndi vísar þeim til hafnar. Ryðja skip ok bera af fðng sín. Eiríkr rauði býðr Þorgilsi til sín ok þat þekkiz hann ok óll[um] þeim er hann vildi at þagat færi ok þangat fóru xii. menn í Brattahlíð. Þorgilsi er skipat gagnvart Eiríki á annan bekk, þá Þorsteini it næsta honum utar frá, þá

15 Þorleifi, Kol ok Starkaði. Þorfinni var fengin fóstura ok vildi hann eigi mjólk drekka fyrr en myrkt var at ok þá var hann af brjósti vandr. Ekki var Eiríkr margr til þeira ok verðr vistin ekki meðr þvílíku bragði sem Þorgils ætlaði. Þorgils frétti at þrælarnir váru þar í landi með mikla

20 kosti ok sógðu fátt satt frá ferðum sínum. Þorgils lét sem hann vissi eigi.

Þat varð þar um vetrinn at bjarndýr lagðiz á fé manna ok gerði mikinn skaða mörgum manni. Eru þá stefnur at áttar ef þat mætti af ráðaz ok þar kom at fé var lagt til

25 höfuðs dýrinu ok gerðu menn ór hvárritveggju byggðinni. Fátt lét Eiríkr sér til finnaz. Ok um vetrinn, er á líðr, kómu menn til kaupa viðr þá Þorgils ok Þorstein, ok eru

menn margir í útibúri því er varningrinn var í ok þar var
 sveinninn Þorfinnr. Hann mælti við föður sinn: 'Hér er
 kominn úti rakki fagr, faðir minn, ok sá ek aldri slíkan
 fyrr, svá er hann mikill.' Þorgils segir: 'Hirð eigi um
 5 þat ok gakk eigi út.' Sveinninn hljóp þó út. Bjarndýrit
 var þar komit ok hafði gengit af jöklum ok svipti undir sik
 sveininum. Hann kvað við. Þorgils hljóp út þegar ok
 hafði brugðit sverðit Jarðhússnaut. Dýrit hafði leikit viðr
 sveininn. Þorgils hóggr milli hlustanna af miklu afli ok
 10 reiði ok klýfr allan hausinn á dýrinu ok fellr þat dautt
 niðr. Þorgils tekr upp sveininn. Var hann lítt sakaðr.
 Þorgils verðr nú ágætr af þessu verki ok þótti stór heill
 til hans falla. Lögðu margir góða þykkju til hans ok færa
 margir honum bjarngjöldin. Ekki fannz Eiríki margt um
 15 þetta verk; lét þó gera til dýrit. Sögðu sumir menn Eiríki
 at Þorgils hefði haft til þessa verks illan átrúnað.

Frá því er sagt eitthvert sinn um vetrinn at menn sátu
 í heimilishúsi þar í Brattahlíð ok þó eigi allir senn, því
 at sumir stóðu fram í húsin er mannmargt var. Þar var Kolr
 20 ok sveitungar hans. Pat er sagt frá tali þeira at þeir
 fóru í mannjöfnuð ok ræddu um Þorgils ok Eirík. Sagði
 Kolr Þorgils mǫrg afreks- ...

M-VERSION

M (cont.)

(AM 445 b, 4to, f.5ra1-b5)

...Hann kvez ix. búa kvatt hafa. Skapti segir: 'Var-at af vöru, sleikti um þvöru. Lát niðr falla; engu er nýtt.' Þorgils segir: 'Hví mun þat sæta?' Skapti segir: 'Kunnig eru mér svá lög, mágr, at ek veit at rangt er til búit ok 5 eru þau ein málaefni með ykkur Ásgrími at bezt er at niðr falli. Hafa svá farit skipti ykkur Ásgríms flest at þú ert ekki vanvirðr í, þótt þit skilið við svá búit. Unnum vér þér sæmdar ok hógsetu heðan af ok má af þér margt tala þat er mikilmannligt er ok skórnuligt.' Ríða menn nú af þingi 10 ok sefaz Þorgils við umtöflur mága sinna ok vina.

Helgi hét Austmaðr er út kom í Einarshöfn ok átti ferð upp í herað ok ferr með varning sinn upp í Práandarholt. Þorgils reið at ofan ór Gröf ok riðuz á móti. Helgi reið Þorgils næsta af baki ok hló at honum er hann var bjúgr á 15 baki; kvez eigi þat mega á sjá at hann hefði verit garpr mikill. Þorgils reiddiz við ok mælti: 'Ekki hafa menn þat gert at færa spott at mér. En svá hæðiligr sem þér þykki ek nú vera, þá býð ek þér einvígi þegar í stað ok er þá reynt hvárt þú berr skjótt af mér.' Þeir hittuz fyrir 20 neðan gringarð en veðr var á kalt í móti Þorgils ok sat hann því bjúgr á baki. Helgi kvað sér engan frama í - 'at bera af fretkarli þínum'-en kvez þó eigi vilja undan ganga. Austmaðrinn hafði óxi í hendi ok leit á óxina ok þótti sljó. Þorgils mælti: 'Hvassara vörn muntu þurfa ef 25 bita skal mín höfuðbein ok er vörn þitt ókarlmannligt.' Þorgils hafði sverð sitt, Jarðhússnaut, ok var alvápnaðr

sem hann var aldri þöruvís. Þorgils hljóp þegar geystur at honum Austmanninum ok höggur til hans með sverðinu Jarðhússnaut ok kom sverðit á ǫxlina ok var svá mikit sár at honum vannz þat skjótt til bana. Þá var Þorgils viitugr. Þorgils kvað þetta orðit glappaverk ok bráðræði ok kvez þetta helzt bæta vilja.

Ok ii. vetrum síðar kóm[u] út í Einarshöfn ii. bræðr Helga ok ætla til hefnda. Hét annarr Einarr en annarr Sigurðr ok varð ekki vart við skipkvámu. Þeir fóru þegar í Traðarholt ok kómu þar snemma dags ok var Þorgils í hvílu sinni en verkmenn váru á fótum ok konur. Ok er [þeir] bræðr kómu at bænum, þá tóluðuz þeir við hversu með skyldi fara. Einarr mælti: 'Illt þykki mér at drepa gamlan mann, frægjan ok vinsælan, ok er skaði mikill ef hann lætr af beraz.' Þorgils verðr nú varr við ok sprettr upp þegar ok tekr Jarðhússnaut ok bað þá at ganga ef þeir vildi ok bráz þó nokkut á fótinn halta. Einarr mælti: 'Eigi viljum vit bræðr gera þér ófrið ok skal annat verða eyrindi okkat ef ek ræð.' Þorgils tók þessu vel ok hýrðiz skjótt í viðbragði ok sagði svá: 'Ek er þess miklu fúsari ok muntu vera góðr drengur. Ok þar er ek drap Helga, bróður ykkarn, þá vil ek þat bæta ok gefa vil ek þér, Einarr, sverðit Jarðhússnaut - því at þú ert verðr at bera - bróður þínum v. merkr silfrs, nema þit skiptið annan veg,' - ok skildu þeir vel ok dreng- iliga. Fóru þeir utan eptir þat.

Eitt sinn er þau hjón fóru til bús á Hjalla, tók Þorgils þar sótt. Þá var hann hálfníræðr. Hann lá viku ok andaðiz

þar ok váru þeir í eina gróf lagðir, Þóroddr ok Þorgils ok Bjarni inn spaki, at þeirri kirkju er Skapti lét gera fyrir utan lækinn. En síðan váru færð beinin í þann stað sem nú er kirkjan því at Skapti hét at gera kirkju þá er Þóra, 5 kona hans, braut fót sinn, þá er hon var at léreptum sínum.

Þorgils þótti inn mesti merkismaðr, vinfastr ok vinveittr, þrautgóðr ok þróttigr, eljunarmaðr ok óáleitinn, ok helt sik við alla til jafns, þótt miklir menn ok sterkir ætti í hlut. Þótti hann ok inn mesti sveitarhófðingi.

10 Hann var sáttgjarn ok svinnr en móðugr ok mjök þungrækr við þá er eigi vildu sik vel síða. Hann var trygggr ok trúrækinn, ^{guðhræddr} ~~Guðhræddr~~ ok góðr vinum sínum. Er ok margt stórmenni frá honum komit ok víða dreifz hér um land vart. Munum vér nú hætta fyrst at segja frá Þorgilsi Örrabéins-
15 stjúpa ok lýkr þar sögu þessi.

TEXTUAL NOTES

Abbreviations used in Textual Notes

(Some of these differ from those used elsewhere in this thesis.)

- M: AM 445 b, 4to
- K: The part of AM 516, 4to written by Ketill Jörundarson
- AM: Árni Magnússon's variants in K's text
- A: AM 517, 4to
- S: Cod. Holm. Isl. papp. fol. No. 60
- B: IB 45, 4to
- J: AM 165 m, fol.
- P: AM 515, 4to
- PM: That part of P's text which is mainly a copy of M
- y: The group of texts comprising AM, A and S
- *Y: The latest common source for K, AM, A and S
- Z: The group of manuscripts comprising B, J and P
- X: The group of texts comprising K(AM), A, S, B, J and P
- *X: The latest common source for the texts of X

(Some of the above abbreviations are occasionally used of the scribes of the appropriate texts rather than the texts themselves.)

Textual Notes to Main Text

Chapter 1

- 1/1 gullskeggr K(in corner of page) A S Z] hárfagri
K(crossed out by K)
- 1/14 Rers sonar K S(Rersonar) B J] rera AM(in square
brackets in margin); rera sonar A
- 1/17 Dofrafóstri K Z] + en y
- 1/19 Noregi K B P] + þá y J
- 1/20 jarl Grjótgarðsson y Z] í Grjótgarði K; AM has
jarl over K's í and changes e in K's Grjötgarde
to sson; Grjótgarðsson written by K beneath Grjót-
garði but crossed out by AM
- 1/21 Sygnafylki y Z] K writes Firðafylki first; this is
crossed out by K and K writes Sygna underneath it;
AM puts diagonal stroke through Firða-
- 1/21 Haraldr konungr K(in margin) A S Z] Hákon konungr
K; this is crossed out and underlined by K and the
same scribe writes jarl above konungr
- 2/2 ór y B J] af K P
- 2/5 [Hall]steinn emendation from corrections in K, A
(cf. 6/18)] Hólmsteinn X; K writes Hallsteinn in
margin over which AM writes rectius but which he
crosses out; he also writes vide infra Cap. 4 by
the side of K's Hallsteinn; rectius Hallsteinn
Arni Magnússon in A
- 2/5 Ólvisdóttur A S Z] Ólfsdóttur K but underlined

and crossed out by K; Ólvis written in margin by K

Chapter 2

2/8 Gripssonar AM A Z] Greipssonar K S

2/10 Fjólum K A S Z] AM adds [i slöd] above line after
Fjólum; this is crossed out by AM who also writes
slöd slöt in the margin which he also crosses
out

2/10 Son K(in margin) A S Z] Bróðir K(crossed out by
AM)

2/18 slíks K S Z] líks A

2/21 Ingólf K A S Z] + en AM

2/24 ððrum A S J] + en K

2/25 ek K] + ok A

3/1 saman K S B J] samt A

3/4 atlógum K B J] álógum A; AM crosses out K's t and
adds accent over a

3/8 it AM A Z] ÷ K S

3/9 kómu y Z] fóru K

3/15 undir K A S] + sjálfum sér K(above line; crossed
out by AM) Z

3/15 meira K A S] + ððrum K(above line; underlined by AM)

3/20 þess K A J] þat S B Þ

3/21 fyrstr hafit hafa A S Z (B and J: fyrst)] hafit
hafa fyrstr K

3/23 mæla K Z] + segir hann A S

3/25 heit K Z] + segir hann A S ,

- 4/1 þín y J Þ] ÷ K B
- 4/6 gerla kunna þetta K S Z] þetta gerla kunna A
- 4/13 ok (2) K Z] ÷ A S
- Chapter 3
- 5/1 sagði hann A S J Þ (segir)] ÷ K B
- 5/2 Þar var K S Z] ok var þar A
- 5/6 Fjórðu y Z] fjórðinn K
- 5/10 mikit K S Z] + hafa A but underlined
- 5/11 ok (2) AM or K (above line) S Z] ÷ K(in main text)
A
- 5/14 vildi K (ætla Z)] + hann y
- 5/14 njósn A S Z] njósnir K
- 5/15 honum A S J Þ] + ok K B
- 5/15 ok A S Z] ÷ K
- 5/21 nú (1) y Z] ÷ K
- 5/22 í K S] á A
- 5/22 hefr K A] hóf AM(but crossed out by AM) Z
- 5/23 óhelgi sér AM A(A originally wrote óhelgis but final
-s crossed out) Z] óhelgis K
- 5/26 fallnir eignir ykkar K(in margin; underlined by
K (or AM)) A S Z] silfurs vegnar merkr K(crossed
out and underlined by K and AM)
- 5/26 burtu K S Z] ÷ A
- 5/27 þrír y Z] tveir K
- 6/2 bræðr y Z] báðir K
- 6/3 sunnanlands y Z] ÷ K

Chapter 4

6/20 mǫnnum K S] ÷ A Z

6/24 hann K S] ÷ A Z

Chapter 5

7/13 Þörn K(crossed out by AM or K) J] ÷ A S

7/13 á K J P] at A S

7/19 Gaulverska K(in margin) A] lenzka K(crossed out by K); Háleyska S Z

7/22 móðurfaðir hans A S Z] K has faðir hans (Atla) with (Atla) crossed out probably by K. AM adds móður before K's faðir

7/23 Þor[viðr] emendation from marginal note in K (see 8/14 and 9/2)] Þormóðr X. K has Þormóðr crossed out and Þorviðr s. Landnama fol. 94 in margin

Chapter 6

8/4 eystri K S Z] A writes ystri first and then adds e above line before it

8/5 Þórunn K A(crossed out by Arni Magnússon)] Asný Arni Magnússon in A P

8/6 Kolbeinn, faðir Þórunnar K A] Kolbeinn, faðir Jórunnar S B J; Arni Magnússon has a sign before A's Kolbeinn and writes at the bottom of the page in A: Corrige: var Flosi, faðir Kolbeins, fǫður Guðrúnar. He also crosses out A's Þó in Þórunnar and writes Guð above it; Flosi, faðir Kolbeins, fǫður Guðrúnar P

- 8/6 móður K S Z] something illegible (Björn?) is
added by A but is also crossed out by same scribe
- 8/14 Þorviðar K(in margin) A Z(P has Þorviðardóttir)]
Þormóðar K S
- 8/22 engan K S Þ] enga A
- 8/23 eptir K S Z] ÷ A
- 8/25 Stena K(with dotted line underneath) A] Steins S Z
- 9/2 Þorviðarson AM A Z] Þormóðarson K
- 9/4 vörn K Z] varnir y
- 9/11 málit K Z] + en A S
- 9/16 þessi orð y Z] þetta K
- Chapter 7
- 9/25 aptr y Z] ÷ K
- 10/6 segir K B Þ] sagði A S J
- 10/13 segir K J] sagði A S B
- 10/16 [frelsis]gjöfina emendation from K, Arni Magnússon
in A, B] frelsisgjöfina K(AM writes above Membr.
lífgjöfina sed prave), Arni Magnússon in A (1: frel-
sis) B; lífgjöfina A S J Þ
- 10/17 hafði A S] + þó K(added above line) Z
- 10/19 en [Atli] emendation from Z] einn var K; AM under-
lines K's einn and adds en above it; en var A S
- Chapter 8
- 10/20 Öundur K Arni Magnússon in A (rectius Öundur) Z]
Amundr AM A
- 10/23 [Öundur] emendation from K B Þ] Öundur K B Þ;

Amundi y J (Because y and J agree on the more difficult Amundi, it is reasonable to assume that this was the reading of *Y and *X; Ónundr is therefore to be regarded as an emendation.)

11/11 sýnum K B] + ok A S J P

Chapter 9

11/25 Hagavági X] hauga urð s. Landn. fol. 96 K(in margin)
(cf. LdnSkb, textual note to chapter 374, line 21)

12/3 á honum A] at (að honum K(with -ð in að crossed out by AM); á hann S

12/9 var A S B J] er K P

12/15 Austmannsskelfis K Z] Austmannaskelfis A S; AM
changes K's -manns- to -manna-

Chapter 10

13/4 Bjarnarsundi K A S] Knarrarsundi K(in margin; underlined by AM) Z

13/13 *X was defective here. K's reading at 13/14 is an attempt to emend the text.

13/14 Þá (Ok Z) er...hann y Z] at hann fekk K(underlined by AM)

13/17 af því (2) K Z] þar af A S

13/24 þangat veik K] fôr þangat AM; þangat fôr A S

13/24 ok y Z] hann K

14/14 Ok A S (En Z)] ÷ K

14/14 biðr A S Z] bað K

14/17 dauðan y Z] ÷ K

14/22 sagði A S B J] segir K P

Chapter 11

14/25 inn K Z] þann A S

14/26 Lofts A S Z] + ok K

15/1 viðbragði y Z] yfirbragði K (with yfir underlined by
15/2 sterkr y] rammr K

15/3 allra y] ÷ K

AM)

15/5 dróz y Z] jókz K; AM has d°z [d^ez] in margin

15/8 gamall K Z] + þá A S

15/19 fara y Z] koma K

Chapter 12

15/23 en A S Z] ok K

15/25 nú K J P] ÷ A S B

15/26 ungr y Z] ekki ennþá vígr K

16/1 þá A S Z] ÷ K

16/2 þroskaðr K S Z] A writes þokkaðr first but changes
it to þroskaðr

16/2 hann beiddiz K Z] Beiddiz hann A S

16/3 *X seems to have been defective here; AM has ok
fekk ekki in margin but this is underlined

16/7 ósvinn[r]i emendation from S] ósvinni A S

16/22-3 veizlum K Z] veizlu A S

16/26 vegligi A S Z] ungligi K

17/5 sik eiga K] at hann eiga y

17/5 erfðir y Z] eignir K

17/10 hirð[vist] emendation from AM Z] hriðina K; hirð-
ina A S; hirðvist AM Z

- 17/12 því y Z] ÷ K
- 17/12 reið A S Z] afareið K(with afa- crossed out by K)
- 17/14 Konungi K Z] Konungr y
- Chapter 13
- 17/21 Þorgils A S B J] + nú K
- 17/25 fyrnsk[u] emendation from Z] fyrnsk K A S; fyrnska, Z
- 18/8 um y Z] ÷ K
- 18/16 draugrinn K] draugr A S
- 18/22 lostit K Z] lagt A S
- 19/1 hana y Z] henni K
- 19/2 hann y Z] Þorgils A S
- 19/3 Koma A S Z] + þeir K
- 19/5 undir K S B J] undan AM A
- 19/12 kemz y Z] kemr K
- 19/13 þurpti A S B J] þurptu þó K; þyrpti AM
- 19/14 bragðs K (til bragðs Z)] bragða y
- 19/19 kalla AM(AM has kalli, here normalized as kalla);
kalla K A S Z
- 19/21 ok A S Z] ÷ K
- 19/24 af þessu K Z] þessu A S
- 20/1 hafim AM A] höfum K S
- 20/1 nú K] ÷ A S
- 20/3 aptr veizluna A S] (at nýju veizluna K)
vinaveizluna K; AM adds af after
þá
- Chapter 14
- 20/5 I þenna A S Z] K writes Þenna with capital letter;

I added later by AM

20/7 er A S Z] væri K

20/7 í Sogni] in margin in A

Chapter 15

20/22 Þorgils gaf Þorsteini K Z] Þorsteini gaf Þorgils
A S

20/24 rauð[i] emendation from AM and Z to agree with
32/23 and 43/14] rauðr K A S; rauði AM Z

21/4 [ek] emendation from AM Z] ek AM(above line) Z;
÷ K A S

21/5. eigi þessar eignir A S Z] þessar eignir eigi K

21/10 segir K B Þ] sagði A S J

21/16 koma K Z] kómu A S

21/20 fara K Z] + ok A S

21/22 Surtr járnhauss K A S] Surtr járnhöfði K(in margin;
underlined by AM) Z

21/25 hríðar sakir y Z] hríð K

22/1 Surtr K Z] Svartr y

22/5 neita K Z] níta y

22/13 orðinn K Z] undir A S

22/14 Surti K Z] Svarti y

22/17 ~~Surti~~ K Z] Svarti y

22/26 Surtr K Z] Svartr y

22/27 mér þó A S Z] þó mér K

23/1 hefir hátt y (háir Z)] hefr K

23/3 Blaðin K Z] Blaðni AM A

23/4 hjólt þess K (þess hjólt Z)] hjólt sverðs þess AM; hjólt þess sverðs A S

Chapter 16

23/8 ok y Z] ÷ K

23/9 Blaðin K Z] Blaðni AM A

23/12 Surts K Z] Svarts y

23/15 Surti K Z] Svarti y

23/17 né A S Z] ok K

23/20 vilja A S Z] vili K

23/21 Hákonni jarli A S Z] Hákonar jarls K

24/4 Blaðin K Z] Blaðni AM A

24/5-6 hafa skyldu y Z] skyldu hafa K

24/7 vaknaði K J P] + þá A S B

24/9 finna K Z] fundu A S

24/20 niðri K J P] inn A S

24/21 gengr y Z] gengi K

24/23 ok K S Z] + ok A, but varð superimposed

24/25 en K J P] ÷ A S

24/27 henni y] hana K

25/2 gengur ^{A S}/Z] + upp K (crossed out by AM)

25/10 þá ok K Z] ok þá A S

25/11 þungi K Z] þungt A S

25/13 ok y Z] ÷ K

Chapter 17

25/21 var S Z] + um K; ÷ A

26/21 dóttur A S Z] + þá K

- 26/26 berjaz K S Z] giptaz berjaz A(with giptaz crossed out and underlined by A and possibly also Arni Magnússon)
- 27/8 en þú haf keflit ok y (en (ok J)) haf þú keflit ok Z)] ok K(crossed out by AM)
- 27/9 segir K B] kvað A S J P
- Chapter 18
- 28/2 at (2) K S Z] added by A above line
- 28/2 heldr A S Z] síðr ekki K
- 28/3 sitja K S Z] A writes setja first but later changes it to sitja
- 28/3 slíkar svívirðingar A S] þessa svívirðing K;
slíka svívirðing AM Z
- 28/6 Helga K Z] ÷ A S
- 28/6 ræðir K S Z] A writes ræðr first but this is changed to ræðir
- 28/19 reynim AM] reynum K A S Z
- 28/25 en A S B J] ÷ K
- 29/3-4 [Ketil]bjarnarsonar emendation from correction in K and from P (cf. 13/5)] Kolbjarnarsonar K(with et written over o probably by K) A S B J; Ketilbjarnarsonar P
- 29/15 ok A S Z] ÷ K
- 29/18 kona A S B J] + hans K(crossed out by AM)
- 29/21 [systur] emendation from P (cf. 29/22)] dóttur systur K(underlined by AM) A S; systur dóttur

systur dóttur K(in margin; underlined by K) B J

Chapter 19

- 30/1-2 Kálfholti K A S B J] Kolsholti K(in margin; underlined by AM)
- 30/2 venr y B J] vandi K
- 30/10 kveðjum K J] + með þeim A S B
- 30/16 ok A S J] ÷ K B
- 30/17 til K S B J] added above line in A
- 30/18 tíðindin A S B J] tíðindi K
- 30/27 verit K B J] orðit A S
- 31/4 bús K S B J] A writes búrs first but r is crossed out
- 31/7 fé K B J] féit A S
- 31/23 gegni y] gegnir K B J
- 31/24 svipti K B J] + honum y
- 31/25 höfuðs K B J] höfuð A S
- 32/1 hann A S B J] + þar K

Chapter 20

- 32/4 í fyrra lagi y] ok menn hans K
- 32/5 eina nótt AM A S] aðra nótt eptir K
- 32/6 sér brugðiz y] trú brugðit K
- 32/7 segir K] sagði A S
- 32/7-8 er þú áttir verst til A S (~~þú~~ versta B J)]
er þú ættir sízt K
- 32/10 er y B J] at K
- 32/10 sleit K(in margin) A(added in margin) S B J] er

- slétt K(underlined and crossed out by K and AM)
- 32/13 væri K A S] yrði K(in margin; underlined by AM)
B J
- 32/20-1 af fallit K B J] af affallit A S
- 32/23 rauði y B J] rauðr K
- 32/25 lítt y] brátt K
- 32/25 búit K B J] verit y
- 33/1 xx. A S B J] + vetra K(underlined by AM)
- 33/6 tók K B J] tekr A S
- 33/14 Leiru- K(in margin) A S B J] leyni- K(crossed out by K and/or AM)
- 33/19 ferð K B J] ferðum A S
- 33/22 xl. A S B J] lx. K
- Chapter 21
- 34/1 erfið K B J] erfitt AM; erfit A S
- 34/2 greppligr K B J] greypligr A(with final r changed to t) S
- 34/7 hamra nökkura y (hamra bratta B J)] hamar nökkurn K
- 34/8 brast y B J] barz K
- 34/12-3 svá y] ÷ K
- 34/14 ok eigi y (ok eigi heldr B J)] ok K
- 34/15 út ór firði K(in margin; underlined by AM) A S B J]
af í Borgarfirði K
- 35/4 af A S B J] með K
- 35/4 taka K S B J] added in margin in A
- 35/4 segir K] sagði A S

35/7 um y] ÷ K

35/10 þess K(crossed out by AM) B J] ÷ A S

35/13 færiz y B] færi K

35/13 er K S B J] added in margin in A

Chapter 22

35/15 eru y B J] váru K

35/18 sandmól y B J] sandfjórú K(crossed out by AM)

35/25 manna y B J] mǫnnum K

36/11 svefn K A S] dúr K(in margin; underlined by AM)

36/15 deyr hann K S B J] added in margin in A

36/16 er K S B J] ÷ A

36/18-9 mjóllinni K A(A writes moldinni first; he then underlines it but uses final i as first minim of mjóllinni) S B J] mólinni K(in margin; underlined by AM)

36/22 Þórarinn K A S B J] Þorgerð K(in margin; underlined by AM)

37/4 gróf K B J] gref AM S; grefr A(with final r added later)

Chapter 23

37/8 ok K B J] ÷ A S

37/8 leysimz AM A] leysumz K S B J

37/9 þó eigi ólíkastr A S] þat er líkligt K; þó eigi ólíkast AM

37/13 eigi yfir þat sjá K A S] eigi sjá ráðrúm til þess K(in margin; underlined by AM) B J

37/15 vita K S B J] viti A

- 37/16 nökkut A S B J] + burt K(crossed through by AM)
- 37/21 þrælunum A S B J] þrælum K
- 37/26 munu y B J] eru K
- 38/6 allt blóðugt K B J] alblóðugt A S
- 38/7 mestr harmr í vera y B J] mestr í vera harmr K
- 38/8 Þorgils y B J] hann K(crossed out by AM)
- 38/10 mikit K A S B J] þat allmikit AM
- 38/11 á geirvörtuna [mér] emendation from B] á geirvörtuna K; af mér geirvörtuna AM; geirvörtuna A S J
- 38/12 út K(crossed out by AM) A S B J] ór AM
- 38/14 sér y B J] K has sjern with final n crossed out by AM

Chapter 24

- 38/16 sér K S B J] above line in A
- 38/20 rekr y J] tekr K B
- 38/23 þá K B J] ÷ A S
- 39/1 þeir K B J] + þar A S
- 39/4 koma A S B J] kómu K
- 39/6 gengr y B J] kemr K(crossed out by AM)
- 39/6 skipit A S B J] + ok K
- 39/18 þeim A S B J] þat K
- 39/22 togaðim AM A] toguðum K S B J
- 39/22 [eina hǫnk] emendation from M] einn hǫtt K A S B J
- 39/24 þat y B J (after ganga)] ÷ K
- 39/27 en K S B J] + við A(added above line)
- 40/5 inu K] því A S

- 40/23 með sverði y B J] ÷ K
- 40/24 þrífr A S B J] ÷ K
- 41/17 ok taka sér vatn K A S] K has in margin ok sjá vatn renna and, in main text, af added between taka and sér and til added between sér and gagns; all these changes are underlined by AM; ok sjá vatn renna ok þat taka þeir sér B; ok sjá vatn renna ok taka sér J
- 41/19 allar AM] allir K AM(allir in square brackets) A (allir) S B J
- 41/24 spyrja K B J] + hann y
- 41/24 hverju K A S B J] hverri AM
- 42/16 gott af honum hljóta K B J] af honum gott hljóta A
- 42/22 eitt K B J] ÷ A S
- 42/23 ok K B J] ÷ A S
- 42/25 eru K S B J] A writes erut first but final t crossed out
- 43/1 stjúpfaðir K B J] + hans A S
- 43/3 varð K B J] var A S
- 43/4 kominn A S B J] koma K
- 43/7-8 ok...Íslands y B J] ÷ K
- 43/10 segir K J] sagði A S B
- 43/12 næst K B J] nærri A S
- 43/19 Eiríki margt K B J] Eiríkr margr A S
- Chapter 25
- 43/23 á K B J] at A S

- 43/25 því y B J] þar K(crossed out by AM)
- 44/3 Sveinninn hljóp út sem áðr K S B J] written twice
in A
- 44/21 en K A S] eðr AM Z
- 44/24 taka A S Z] + þegar K(crossed out by AM and possibly
also K)
- 45/1 at K Z] + þeir y
- 45/1 gera um K (um gera Z)] gera A S; AM underlines K's
um
- 45/4 varð A S B P] var K J
- 45/10-1 illmenni K Z] illmennin A S
- 45/11 en A S Z] ok K
- 45/14 til lykta áðr sín erindi K] áðr til lykta sín erindi
A S
- 45/18 færir y Z] færði K
- Chapter 26
- 46/13 munim AM] munum K A S Z
- 46/13 illmenni þessi K Z] illmenninn A S
- 46/25 reikuð AM(in square brackets) A S] rekkuð K(spelt
rekuð)(crossed out by AM); reikhús K(in margin;
underlined by AM) Z
- 47/14 biðja K B] beiða y J P
- 47/18 Tóku þeir K B] Þeir tóku y J P
- 47/21 misst K S(added above line)] ÷ A
- 48/6 sér y Z] ÷ K
- 48/7 Anakol A S Z] Anakol K(with very faint length mark)

- 48/9 Anakol (K: Anakol with very faint length mark)
 var vanr K Z] Anakol var vanr A(with var vanr
 crossed out); var S(with Anakolr added later
 above line after it)
- 48/12 Gíparrr S (K has Gípar- at 48/15 and 48/26; A's
 evidence on the length of the i is inconclusive]
 Gíparrr K; Gunnarr K(in margin; underlined by AM) Z
- 49/7 ok y Z] ÷ K
- 49/11 honum A J P] þeim K S
- Chapter 27
- 49/12 velktuz y Z] velkjaz K
- 49/17 um y Z] við K(crossed out by AM)
- 49/23 bónda vera K Z] vera bónda A S
- Chapter 28
- 50/20 þá y Z] ÷ K
- 50/22 lík K S Z] + Þorsteinn A, but underlined
- Chapter 29
- 51/18 Þorleifr fór utan K A S] K adds Þorsteinn ok before
 Þorleifr and u to end of fór (K's additions under-
 lined by AM); Þorsteinn ok Þorleifr sigldu aptr Z
- 51/24 svá K S Z] + þú A(but underlined)
- 51/27 oftekit K A S Z] + í AM
- Chapter 30
- 52/13 hann A S J P] ok K
- 52/20 leit A S Z] lítr K
- 52/21 taka K(underlined with dashes by AM) (hafa Z)] ÷ A S

- 52/26 hann y Z] Bjarni K
- 53/10 penninga K A S] + fyrir féit K(in margin; underlined by AM) Z
- 53/12 ok (2) K Z] ÷ A S
- 53/16 biðja K S J P] + P A, but crossed through
- 53/21 heldr (1) K(crossed through by AM) A S] ÷ Z
- 53/26 ríðr y Z] fór K(crossed out by AM)
- 54/7-8 spurði y Z] spyr K
- 54/9 þat y Z] þér K
- 54/24 húskarlinn y Z] húskarl K
- 54/24 ekki þurfa sín K Z] sín ekki þurfa A S
- 55/2 þótti A S Z] sýndiz K
- 55/2-3 þeim sem inni sátu maðrinn AM S (þeim er inni sátu maðrinn B; mǫnnum þeim er (+ þar P) inni sátu maðrinn J P)] maðrinn þeim inni sátu K; maðrinn sem inni váru A(with váru crossed out and sátu added in margin by A)
- 55/7 tilstilli K Z] AM writes v̄[v̄]st: (= við[um]stilli ?) over K's tilstilli and also underlines K's til-; umstilli A S
- 55/7 gerðiz y Z] geriz K
- Chapter 31
- 55/12 Helga svarar y Z] ÷ K
- 56/2 segir K J P] sagði A S B
- 56/4 þess K J P] + segir hann A S B
- 56/11 fǫrum K Z] ferðum y

- 56/13 Gunnvör AM A S] Guðvör K(underlined by AM);
Geirvör K(in margin; underlined by AM) Z
- 56/14 Hófða K S Z] A writes Gróf first but underlines it
and writes Hófða
- 56/16 [Þorgils] átti land nær skipalægi [Asgríms] AM's
emendation] Asgrímr átti land nær skipalægi Þor-
gils K J (both with Þorgils written in margin after
skipalægi) Þ; Corrige Þorgils a: l: n: sk: l: asgrims
AM; Asgrímr átti land nær skipalægi A S; Asgrímr
átti land með skipalægi Þorgils B
- Chapter 32
- 56/20 hittir [Þorgils Asgrím] AM's emendation] hittir
Asgrímr Þorgils K A S; Corrige hittir Þorgils As-
grím AM
- 56/23 smá AM A S Z] síra- K
- 57/2 fjara K Z] fjaran γ
- 57/5 bolóxi K S Z] + mikill A(but underlined; followed
by some word with ok superimposed)
- 57/5 Hann K Z] ok A S
- 57/13 þá K B] ÷ A S J Þ
- 57/13 þá Þorgils varla mega γ (Þorgils varla við svá búit
skilja mega Z)] varla mega þá Þorgils K
- 57/19 sagði A S B J] segir K Þ
- 57/20 nokkut γ Z] í nokkuru K
- 57/21 mein K Z] + faðir A S
- 57/24 honum mundu K A S J Þ] mundu honum AM

- 58/4 er K S Z] + al A(but underlined)
- 58/18 hvikaði K(K's vi underlined by AM) Z] hinkaði y
- 58/25 til móts y J (á móts P)] móts K B
- 58/27-
59/1 sagði þat K (kvað þat Z)] svarar: 'Þat er y
Chapter 33
- 59/7 segir A S Z] kvaz K
- 59/9 hverju K Z] hví y
- 59/10 sagði hann y Z(segir P)] ÷ K
- 59/11 gerla K Z] ÷ A S
- Chapter 34
- 59/17 á móti K A S] + Helgi ok AM
- 59/20 allbjúgr y (áðr bjúgr J P)] bjúgr K B
- 59/21 nú á þér K Z] á þér nú A S
- 59/25 hvárr K AM Z] hverr A S
- 60/1 eigi y J P] ÷ K
- 60/6 óxlina K Z] óxl honum A S
- 60/6 ok (2) y Z] ÷ K
- 60/11-2 Einarr en annarr Sigurðr K Z] Sigurðr en annarr
Einarr A S
- 60/13 váru K Z] + þeir A; + þar S
- 60/19 mann K A S] + segir Einarr K(in margin; underlined
by AM) (sagði Einarr B; J has Einarr sagði and P
Einarr segir before 'Ekki þykki...60/16)
- 60/22 okkar K S] okkat A
- 60/26 at K Z] sem A S
- 60/27 vil K Z] skal A S

Chapter 35

- 61/8 lækinn K A S] AM crosses out - \bar{n} in K's læki \bar{n} ; læk Z
- 61/16 var Þórhalls son K Z] ÷ A S
- 61/18 faðir A S Z(fóður J)] faðir Jóns, fóður K
- 61/20 Sonr y Z] Börn K
- 61/21 faðir (1) K J S] fóður AM A B
- 61/21 faðir (2) K J] fóður y B
- 61/22 galla y Z] gamla K

Textual Notes to PM

- 63/13 Kálfaholti] hjá Kolsholti er Sörlabær en ekki
Kálfholti P in margin
- 63/17 kva[z] emendation] kvað P
- 63/23 kva[z] emendation] kvað P
- 64/9 þér] + um P but underlined
- 65/1 vígsmálit] P has cross over this word and skógar-
maðr in margin
- 65/14 ríða] + frammi P in brackets; dotted line under-
neath
- 65/22 hvert] + sinn P but crossed out
- 66/3 brugði[z] emendation] brugðit P
- 66/14 kva[z] emendation] kvað P
- 67/25 eigi] + svá nær P but underlined
- 67/26 [álna] emendation] ÷ P
- 68/15 yðar] + mál P with dotted line underneath
- 68/16 draga[z] emendation] draga P
- 68/18 Þórr] + síj P but crossed out (or underlined ?)
- 68/19 sjóvarstormr] P has cross over this word and
sjóvarströnd in margin
- 69/1 [þótt] emendation] því P
- 69/6 átfátt] P has cross over this word and matar-
fátt in margin
- 69/26 mér] P has cross after this word and góz mitt
in margin
- 70/6 Þórarinn] + Þorgils P but underlined

- 70/26 þeir] + mega þ with dotted line underneath
- 71/4 mik[it] emendation] mik þ with Þórey var mjök
þunguð in margin
- 71/8 veg] vel written in þ first but corrected to veg
- 71/21 aptann] þ has cross over this word and
dagr in margin
- 72/6 hann] added later in þ at line division
- 73/21 ærit] þ' has cross over this word and eigi in
brackets in margin
- 74/14 saxa] þ has cross over this word and skera in
margin
- 74/26 nú] + fark þ but underlined
- 75/2 ok(1)] followed by space in þ'

Textual Notes to M

Folio 4

- 77/1 (hjá) cf. 38/17] M has torn edge
- 77/2 (m)iklar cf. 38/17] M has torn edge (takaldit M)
- 77/5 taka [reka]ldit emendation from X-version (38/12)]
- 77/20 Vas-k-a[t] emendation (cf. Mediaeval Scandinavia, 1969, 93 and 95 footnote)] Vaskaði M
- 78/25 aldri] aldri aldri M (with line division in between)
- 79/4 hankar[in]nar emendation] hankarnar M
- 79/22 (at ek vær)a cf. 40/4] M has hole
- 79/23 (hægra at) cf. 40/5] M has hole
- 79/24 þ(ar) cf. 40/6] M has hole
- 79/24 kvísl(uðu)z cf. 40/6] M has hole
- 79/25 lauk(inn. Sv)á cf. 40/7 and Introduction, page *147] M has hole
- 79/27 (Þorleifr segir) (No room for svarar which is the shorter version's reading at the corresponding place (40/8))] M has hole
- 80/10 b[á]rurnar emendation from the X-version (40/16)]
b[?]orurnar M (cf. Note to 40/15-8)
- 81/12 ausskotuna spelt örskotuna in M: ó is to be re-
garded as a back spelling for 'au' and rs as a
back spelling for 'ss' (cf. Altisl, 198). Further
on this word, see Note to 81/12).
- 81/16 ausskotunni spelt aurskotunni (cf. Textual Note to
81/12)

- 81/19-20 fl(ó fugl, því) cf. 41/15] M has hole
- 81/21 (segir: 'Petta)] M has hole
- 81/22 en M] Þórhallur Vilmundarson emends to er
- 81/22 firðu(ð m)ik] M has hole
- 81/23 (ok he)ðan] M has hole
- 81/24 v(erum)] M has hole
- 81/26 ís[num] emendation] ísinn M; Finnur Jónsson (Fló, 1932, 48 footnote) believes that this could be read as ísnum but this is doubtful although not inconceivable (at 81/24, M spells ísnum thus: isnū).
Both Guðbrandur Vigfússon (Fornsögur, 180/22) and Þórhallur Vilmundarson read ísinn here
- 82/16 (með)] M is illegible (cf. Introduction, page *15)
- 82/16 land[i] emendation] land M
- 83/16 (Petta eru) cf. 42/23-4] M has torn edge
- 83/17 (munu þeir)] M has torn edge
- 83/19 gen(gu út á) cf. 42/26 and Introduction, page *147]
M has torn edge
- 83/20 (þegar) cf. 42/27] M has torn edge
- 84/12 öll[um] emendation] öll M
- Folio 5
- 88/7 kóm[u]
~~kóm~~ emendation] kom M
- 88/11 [þeir] emendation] ÷ M

