

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

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an edition of Flóamanna Saga based on a selected number of its many manuscripts. The Introduction consists of three chapters: Chapter I deals with the textual history of the saga. First, the 67 extant manuscripts known to the present editor are listed. Special attention is then given to those used for this edition, which are as follows: AM 445 b, 4to (M); AM 516, 4to (K); AM 517, 4to (A); Cod. Holm. Isl. papp. fol. No. 60 (S); IB 45, 4to (B); AM 165 m, fol. (J); AM 515, 4to (P). While this last manuscript is being discussed, the fact that part of it is a(n) (inferior) copy of lost leaves of AM 445 b, 4to is stressed and an attempt to assess its value in this respect is made. The relationship between the texts of the seven selected manuscripts is then investigated. It is first demonstrated that while M and parts of P represent a longer redaction of the saga (M-version), the other manuscripts (and the remaining parts of P) (called the X-group) represent a shorter one (X-version). The manuscripts which represent the X-version are then discussed. It is argued that K, A and S (Y-group) represent a far better text of the saga than B, J and the majority of P (Z-group). Further, it is shown that, contrary to the belief of various previous editors, the latest common source for K, A and most of the variants added by Arni Magnússon in K (called AM) is a different and older manuscript (called *Y) than the latest common source for A and AM (called *y). The scribe of *y is, on the basis of Stefán Karlsson's investigations, identified as Magnús Þórhallsson and the manuscript itself is identified as one of those given by Peder Resen to the University of Copenhagen at the end of the seventeenth century. The relationship between the longer (M-) and the shorter (X-) versions of the saga is then given detailed attention: it is suggested that, wherever the two texts diverge, it is, in the vast majority of cases, the M-version which agrees most closely

with the saga as it was in its original form. Two older theories on the nature of the original text of the saga, that put forward by Dr. P. Nijhoff and that in Origines Islandicae, are discussed and dismissed. Previous editions and translations of Flóamanna Saga are enumerated and the method by which the text of the present edition is arrived at is explained.

Chapter II is divided into two sections. The first deals with the relationship between Flóamanna Saga and Landnámabók. An attempt is made to show that Flóamanna Saga and the Hauksbók-redaction of Landnámabók have as their latest common source a manuscript of the Sturlubók-redaction which was not identical with Sturla Þórðarson's original. The text of chapters 1-10 and 18 of Flóamanna Saga is compared with the parts of Landnámabók from which it borrows and various observations made on the way the author of the saga has adapted this particular source and on the borrowed elements he has worked into the framework it provides. It is also shown how borrowings from Landnámabók are probably to be found in chapters of Flóamanna Saga other than chapters 1-10 and 18. Some older theories on the relationship between the saga and Landnámabók are reviewed. The second section of Chapter II is devoted to borrowed and stereotyped elements in the body of the saga and a large number of sources and parallels (a number of which have gone unnoticed by previous investigators) are pointed to. Egils Saga is mentioned as the source for a number of borrowings as are also various fornaldarsögur. Further, various borrowings from hagiographic sources are mentioned, or sources which themselves show strong hagiographic influences. The Section is prefaced by various terminological and methodological considerations.

Chapter III falls into three sections. In the first of these it is argued that the historical elements in Flóamanna Saga are minimal and that it draws on oral traditions to no appreciable extent. The second section considers the art-

istry of the saga and its place in Old Icelandic literature; an attempt is made to account for the curious blend of religious and profane elements to be found in the saga. In Section C, it is firstly argued that Flóamanna Saga was written in Flói by a cleric, almost certainly between 1290 and 1385 and less certainly between 1290 and 1330. Finally, the more specific suggestion is made that the saga was written at Gaulverjabær in Flói for Haukr Erlendsson (died 1334), or was merely written for Haukr Erlendsson.

The Main Text of the saga is given on pages 1-61. This is an attempt to reconstruct the text of *Y (see above), a text which closely resembled the latest common source for the X-group. The Main Text is followed by the part of P which is mainly a copy of lost parts of M (pages 63-75). Finally the preserved fragments of M are to be found on pages 77-85 and 87-9. All the texts are given in normalized form. They are followed ^{by} the Textual Notes, which, in the case of the Main Text, give selected variants from other manuscripts.

After the Textual Notes comes the Commentary on the text ('Notes'), which is intended to be as comprehensive as possible. Points of particular interest or importance are discussed in the following Notes: 1/6; 12/4-6; 13/19; 13/22-3; 26/23-5, 27/3-4; 32/4-5; 40/6; 40/15-8; 47/6; 61/6-9; 61/8-9; 64/12-3; 70/5; 79/16-7; 79/18-9.

The thesis is concluded with three Appendices. In the first of these, a section of P is edited which has relevance to the question of the point at which the scribe of that manuscript started copying lost parts of *M (see pages *38 ff.). In Appendix II, the rune-inscribed oar mentioned in the M-version at 77/20-78/3 ~~are~~ fully discussed: it is argued that the verse itself is a rowing chant. Finally, in Appendix III, on the basis of a reading in Fló, an emendation to Hárbarðsljóð, verse 60 is suggested.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page *230: In the general remarks at the beginning of Section B of Chapter II, it is suggested that the term motif should be used only in a methodological context. Due to oversight, however, elsewhere throughout this thesis, the word 'motif' is used in a broader sense, often where the term borrowed element (see page *214) should have been employed. This confusion is regretted and it is by no means implied that the distinction made between the two concepts borrowed element/motif is not a useful one.

Page *270: Cf. Vatns, 80: Hann hjó á fót Hrómundi ok veitti honum svá mikit sár, at hann var alla ævi síðan ørkumlaðr ok var kallaðr Hrómundr halti.

Pages *309 ff. and *370 ff.: The fact that various of the main characters who take part in Þorgils's expedition to Greenland (e.g. Þórey, Starkaðr) are probably the invention of the Fló-author (cf. Note to 29/19-23) might be invoked to support the argument that the expedition itself never took place.

Page *465: The following has been omitted from the list of Bibliographical abbreviations: Darstellung - R. Heller, Die literarische Darstellung der Frau in den Isländersagas, 1958.

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I: THE TEXTUAL BACKGROUND

Section A: Manuscripts of Flóamanna Saga

The following manuscripts contain complete texts or parts of texts of Fló:

In the Arna-Magnæan Institute, Copenhagen (references in the first set of brackets are to Katalog): [1]

AM 140, fol. (i, 100) (in Asgeir Jónsson's hand)

AM 163 d, fol. (i, 127) (second half of 17th century)

AM 164 c, fol. (i, 133) (17th century)

AM 165 m, fol. (i, 138-9) (see below)

AM 395, fol. (i, 304-6) (18th century)

AM 398, fol. (i, 308) (last part of 18th century)

AM 426, fol. (i, 317-8) (last part of 17th century)

AM 445 b, 4to (i, 640-1) (see below)

AM 515, 4to (i, 671-2) (see below)

AM 516, 4to (i, 672) (see below)

AM 517, 4to (i, 672) (see below)

AM 932, 4to (ii, 268) (written 1821)

AM 937, 4to (ii, 269) (written 1685; according to Finnur Jónsson (Fló, 1932, v), this is a direct copy of AM 515, 4to)

AM 938, 4to (ii, 269) (beginning of the 19th century)

Rask 30 (ii, 519) (written about 1800)

Rask 37 (ii, 524-5) (written 1812-3 by Ólafur Sigurðsson)

In the National Library of Iceland, Reykjavík (unless otherwise stated, references in the first set of brackets are to Páll Ólason, Skrá um handritasöfn Landsbókasafnsins, 1918-37):

- Lbs. 445, fol. (iii, 270) (written about 1780)
- Lbs. 133, 4to (i, 155) (18th century)
- Lbs. 143, 4to (i, 157-8) (written 1823)
- Lbs. 357, 4to (i, 219) (ca. 1800-13)
- Lbs. 360, 4to (i, 220) (18th and 19th centuries)
- Lbs. 460, 4to (i, 246) (ca. 1830-50)
- Lbs. 673, 4to (i, 305) (ca. 1847-8)
- Lbs. 718, 4to (i, 328-9) (written ca. 1810)
- Lbs. 724, 4to (i, 330-2) (ca. 1710-30)
- Lbs. 1339, 4to (i, 501-2) (ca. 1790)
- Lbs. 1402, 4to (i, 510) (ca. 1852)
- Lbs. 1489, 4to (i, 535-6) (written 1810-4)
- Lbs. 1573, 4to (i, 553-4) (beginning of 19th century)
- Lbs. 1845, 4to (i, 607-8) (written 1787-1806)
- Lbs. 1972, 4to (i, 625) (written ca. 1820-30)
- Lbs. 2119, 4to (iii, 275-6) (18th and 19th centuries)
- Lbs. 2318, 4to (iii, 301) (beginning of 19th century)
- Lbs. 2473, 4to (iii, 323) (written about 1800 and later)
- Lbs. 2474, 4to (iii, 323-4) (ca. 1720)
- Lbs. 3019, 4to (see Lárus Blöndal, Handritasafn Landsbókasafns. II aukabindi, 1959, 28)
(first part of 19th century)
- Lbs. 3128, 4to (see Lárus Blöndal, op. cit., 46-7)

(part only; 19th and 20th centuries)

Lbs. 147, 8vo (ii, 34-5) (written 1812)

Lbs. 1849, 8vo (ii, 363-4) (written 1810)

JS 639, 4to (ii, 613-5) (17th-19th centuries)

JS 291, 8vo (ii, 674) (about 1810; in Dr. Hallgrímur
Scheving's hand)

IB 45, 4to (ii, 743) (see below)

IB 76, 4to (ii, 751) (written between 1797-1802)

IB 250, 4to (ii, 788) (written between 1834-8)

IB 295, 4to (ii, 797) (written ca. 1720)

IB 411, 4to (ii, 824) (written ca. 1825-30 by Síra
Þorgeir Guðmundsson; a copy of AM 517,
4to with variants from AM 516, 4to)

IB 425, 4to (ii, 826) (written ca. 1780)

IB 472, 4to (ii, 835) (written 1784-7)

IB 740, 8vo (iii, 163) (part only; written ca.
1810-30)

IBR 6, 4to (iii, 210-1) (written 1815-20)

In the Royal Library, Stockholm (references in the
first set of brackets are to V. Gödel, Katalog öfver
Kongl. Bibliotekets fornisländska och fornorska
handskrifter, 1897-1900):

Cod. Holm. Isl. papp. fol. No. 60 (172-5) (see
below)

Cod. Holm. Isl. papp. fol. No. 61 (175-6) (written
by Jón Vigfússon before 16/6/1689)

In the Royal Library, Copenhagen (references are to K.Kålund, Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske Håndskrifter i Det store kongelige Bibliotek, 1900):

Ny kgl. sml. 1743, 4to (218) (second half of 18th century)

Ny kgl. sml. 1744, 4to (218) (18th century)

Ny kgl. sml. 1838, 4to (241-2) (part(s) only; second half of 18th century; written by P.F.Suhm)

Thott 976, fol. (315-6) (end of 17th century)

Thott 984 I-III, fol. (317-9) (18th century)

Thott 1768, 4to (343-4) (Ásgeir Jónsson's hand; end of 17th century)

Kall 620, 4to (386-7) (part with Latin translation; second half of 18th century)

Add. 31, 4to (438) (written 1750)

In the British Museum, London (Information on these manuscripts is that given in the unpublished catalogue of Icelandic manuscripts in the British Museum: H.Ward and C.Wright, Catalogue of Icelandic MSS., ii, s.v.

Floamanna Saga.):

Brit. Mus. Add. 4861 fol. (18th century)

Brit. Mus. Add. 11,111 fol. (18th century)

Brit. Mus. Add. 11,123 fol.

Brit. Mus. Add. 11,141 fol. (part only; 18th century)

Brit. Mus. Add. 24,972 fol.

In Trinity College, Dublin:

MS L. 2. 22 (see O. Skulerud, Catalogue of Norse Manuscripts in Edinburgh, Dublin and Manchester, 1918, 39) (folio; 17th century)

In The Houghton Library, Library of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts (Notice of the existence of this manuscript is given by Dr. W. H. Bond, Curator of MSS. at Houghton Library, in a private communication to Mr. P.G. Foote dated 16/8/1958.):

[2]

MS Iceland 36

Section B: Manuscripts of Fló used for the present edition

The following ^(seven) of the manuscripts mentioned in Section A have been used in the preparation of this edition of Fló:

AM 445 b, 4to. This is, in fact, a small folio vellum measuring 28 x 23.8 cm. On each of its 22 pages there are two columns of writing. It contains only fragments of any given work. Folios 1 and 2, in addition to some genealogies, hold the surviving parts of the Melabók-version of Landnámabók (see page *150 below). Folio 3 carries part of a text of Vatnsdæla Saga. The fragments of Fló take up all of Folio 4 (recto and verso, 44 lines per column) and the first column (also 44 lines)

and 5 lines of Folio 5 (to the conclusion of the saga). Folio 4 begins with the words þar (hjá) konur ii. (77/1; cf. 38/17) and ends Þorgils mörg afreks- (85/22; cf. 44/17). In the manuscript in its original form, present Folio 5 did not follow directly after Folio 4. After the lacuna between them, Folio 5 begins with the words Hann kvez ix. (87/1; cf. 59/6-7); the remaining part of Folio 5 and the remaining six leaves of the manuscript carry parts of a text of Eyrbyggja Saga. AM 445 b, 4to was written by three scribes, the first of whom is responsible for the fragments of Landnámabók, Vatnsdæla Saga and Flóamanna Saga (i.e. ff.1-5rb5) as well as part of Eyrbyggja Saga (ff.5va14-7rb10). This first scribe has copied particularly carelessly, omitting words and corrupting names (cf. e.g. Gerðir, 55). Many of the manuscript's leaves are damaged by wear and sometimes by holes and tears at the edges and are often, in their present state, extremely difficult to read. As far as the text of Fló is concerned, while Folio 5 is fully intact, Folio 4 not only has torn edges but also two holes and small sections of its text are thus lost. At the bottom of Folio 4r and 5r, the words 'Ur Flóamanna saugu' are found in Árni Magnússon's hand. Folios 1-4 all, for a time, belonged to Additamenta. 20 fol.: this was still the case in 1843 (see Islandínga Sögur, 1843, xxvii) although by 1860 they belonged to AM 445 b, 4to. (see Fornsögur, xxiii). A diplomatic edition of the fragments of Landnámabók is to be found in Ldn, 235-42 and of

Vatns in Vatnsdælasaga, ed. Finnur Jónsson, 1935, 113-9.

There is a facsimile sample of the first scribe's hand (from Folio 1) in Íslendinga Sögur, 1843 (Facsimile 2).

Recently a British scholar, Mr. John McKinnell has made a special study of AM 445 b, 4to and two other manuscripts in the Arna-Magnæan Collection which has produced interesting results. These have been published in an article entitled 'The Reconstruction of Pseudo-Vatnshyrna' in the latest volume of Bibl, pages 304-37, the proofs of which Mr. McKinnell was generous enough to make available to the present editor in advance. In his article, Mr. McKinnell argues that AM 445 b, 4to, AM 564 a, 4to (which was once thought to be part of Vatnshyrna ; see Section D below) and AM 445 c, I, 4to are all fragments of a single codex which, in addition to the works in AM 445 b, 4to, contained Bárðar Saga Snæfellsáss, Pórðar Saga hreðu, three 'dream-pættir', Gísla Saga, Víga-Glúms Saga, Harðar Saga and possibly also certain other material. This he does largely on the basis of resemblance between the orthography of the different fragments, correspondence between the binding holes on various of the leaves and near agreement between the heights and widths of the columns on the individual pages. Mr. McKinnell's arguments seem convincing and, if correct, throw new light on the date and provenance of this copy of Fló: among the hands of 'Pseudo-Vatnshyrna', as Mr. McKinnell calls the reconstructed manuscript, is probably that of the priest Hóskuldr Hákonarson (heard of in Þingeyjarsýsla and Skagafjarðarsýsla) and possibly that of the priest Þórðr Þórðarson (heard of in Húna-

vatnssýsla, Skagafjarðarsýsla and Eyjafjarðarsýsla). Both men were living at the end of the fourteenth century or the beginning of the fifteenth and 'Pseudo-Vatnshyrna' may be dated to between about 1380 and 1430. Mr. McKinnell's conclusions will be of interest in connection with details elsewhere in this investigation (see e.g. Note to Introduction 45). Otherwise, however, we need concern ourselves only with what is now AM 445 b, 4to; this will be designated 445 b, and in its original form, *445 b; the text of Fló in it will be called M, and in its original form, *M.

The history of *445 b in later centuries may be discussed. As noted, the first two of the eleven preserved leaves of this manuscript contain a text of Landnámabók. It was the important contribution of the Icelandic historian Jón Jóhannesson (Gerðir, 19-36), if not to be the first to suggest, to demonstrate beyond doubt that not only these two leaves, but also a number of others from the same manuscript which are now lost, were used by the minister Þórður Jónsson (ca. 1609-70) when he made his eclectic redaction of Landnámabók which is preserved in AM 106 fol. and AM 112 fol., i.e. LdnÞðb (see page *154 below). Indeed, Þórður seems to have known Landnámabók in AM 445 b, 4to in a form which, while it was not complete, was considerably fuller than it is now. Jón Jóhannesson (Gerðir, 29 footnote 1) also drew attention to Þórður's reference to 'Landnáma mín' in LdnÞðb (148, line 22) as demonstrating that Þórður not only made use of this manuscript of Landnámabók but also owned it. Already on the

basis of this evidence, then, we might expect to find at least some of the other 9 extant leaves of this manuscript in Þórður's hands at some time or another. Of the other leaves of 445 b, we unfortunately know nothing of the way Folios 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 and 11 found their way to Copenhagen. Folios 6, 9 and 10, on the other hand, all carry notes by Árni Magnússon telling from whom or where he acquired them (see Katalog, i, 641): the note on Folio 6 reads: 'Þetta blað úr Eyrbyggja Sögu sendi mér Monsr. Ormur Daðason, 1724. En hann hafði það fengið á Skarði, sama ár, 1724, 8. maí'; that on Folio 9 is: 'Fengið anno 1715 frá Ormi Daðasyni í Flatey'; and that on Folio 10: 'Fengið anno 1716 frá Monsr. Ormi Daðasyni'. As Jón Jóhannesson points out (loc. cit.), the Skarð referred to here was the home of Þorsteinn ríki Þórðarson, son of Þórður Jónsson, who lived there from 1682 until his death in 1700. Ormur Daðason (1684-1744) was Þorsteinn Þórðarson's son-in-law.^[3] Jón Jóhannesson is perhaps going too far or putting it too bluntly when he asserts that 'Þorsteinn ríki á Skarði... hefur átt 445', although it does seem likely that he inherited at least Folio 6 from his father. But from Árni's notes, and from our knowledge that Þórður Jónsson owned Folios 1 and 2 of AM 445 b, 4to and other leaves, now lost, of that same manuscript containing a text of Landnámabók, it would be reasonable to conclude the following: That while, as stated, Þórður Jónsson may not have known *445 b in its complete form, and while he may not even have owned or had access to all the leaves of it which are

now preserved, he could well have owned, in addition to Folios 6, 9 and 10, the two preserved folios (4 and 5) which contain parts of the text of Fló. Further, he could well have owned leaves of *445 b now lost which also contained parts of the text of Fló. These conclusions will be of importance in the discussion of AM 515, 4to below.

Finally, it will be convenient at this point to mention various conclusions arrived at in this chapter about the text of Fló represented by M. It will be shown below that the M-version of the saga differs quite considerably, and often by virtue of being lengthier, from the version (called the X-version) represented by the next five manuscripts to be mentioned in this list (i.e. AM 516, 4to, 517 4to and 165 m, fol.; Cod. Holm. Isl. papp. fol. No. 60; IB 45, 4to; AM 515, 4to presents a special case). Further, in Section E of this chapter, it will be argued that in the majority of cases where one of the two versions can be shown to be more original than the other, it is the text of the M-version which must be closest to what the author of the saga wrote. M, then, is of particular value in the study of the text of Fló.

AM 516, 4to. This is a paper manuscript the main text of which was written by Ketill Jörundarson (1603-70). It contains only Fló. In his margin, Ketill has occasionally written alternative readings to those in the main text. The part of this manuscript written by Ketill will be referred

to as K.

Ketill's grandson, Arni Magnússon, has made certain alterations in and additions to K. These are written variously in the margin, between the lines or actually on top of words or letters written by Ketill so as to obscure them. Arni also underlines or crosses out words or letters written by the original scribe. In the majority of cases where he makes changes, Arni seems concerned with changing K's spelling, presumably to agree with that of his own exemplar: for example at 17/4, he alters big to bik by superimposing a k over Ketill's g; at 14/9, he underlines K's beisl and writes beils in the margin; and at 51/24, he underlines K's ljetst and writes letz above it. In other cases, however, Arni's additions represent semantic variants to what Ketill wrote: e.g. at 15/1, Arni underlines K's rammr and writes sterkr above the line; at 32/5, he crosses out K's aðra and writes eina above it; at 38/10, he adds bat all above the line before K's mikit. In about half a dozen cases, Arni encloses his variant readings to K's in square brackets. Further, he seems to have underlined the majority of Ketill's marginal variants mentioned above. Arni's variants in this manuscript are referred to as AM. A photographed sample of Ketill's hand from other manuscripts is to be found in Handritaspjall (plate opposite page 96; from AM 462, 4to) and, with alterations by Arni Magnússon, in H. Bekker-Nielsen and O. Widding, Arne Magnusson, 1963 (opposite page 33; from AM 453, 4to).

AM 517, 4to (called A) is also a paper manuscript and is written by Ásgeir Jónsson (ca. 1657-1707). It contains only Fló. Ásgeir was in Copenhagen in the years 1686-8 and also during the winter of 1697-8 and is likely to have written this manuscript during one of these two stays there (see A. Loth in Bibl, xx, 207 ff.). A is not written in Ásgeir's normal handwriting; it is in what Agnete Loth (loc. cit.) calls his "mere 'membranagtige' frakturskrift" which he seems particularly to have used when transcribing medieval vellums and which could well belong to his earlier years as a copyist (1686-8?); for a sample from AM 77 a, fol., see fig. 2 in Miss Loth's article. Ásgeir clearly makes some attempt to reproduce the spelling of his exemplar in A: among a large number of features unknown in normal seventeenth century handwriting but found in this manuscript, is the use of p medially and of æ for 'a' (cf. pages *82 f. below). Another feature of this manuscript is the way its scribe leaves the initial letter at the beginning of every chapter blank (e.g. aralldr (Haraldr), 1/1; iornolfr (Björnólfr), 2/7; m (Um), 4/14 and so on). Arni Magnússon has added a few variants in A.

Cod. Holm. Isl. papp. fol. No. 60 contains twenty items of which Fló appears as the ninth (ff.83-120r). With the exception of the last, all items are written in the hand of Jón Eggertsson (ca. 1647-89). There can be little doubt that Jón wrote this manuscript during his sojourn in Copen-

hagen in the years 1683-9 and he may well have done so while he was in prison there from early 1684 to early 1687. A full account of this paper manuscript and its scribe is to be found in Bjarni Einarsson's Introduction to his Munnmæla-sögur 17. aldar (1955). At the beginning of his copy of Fló in this manuscript, Jón has written in the margin: 'skrifað eptir mjög gamalli membrana'. The copy of Fló in this manuscript will be referred to as S.

IB 45, 4to is a paper manuscript written in several hands. It contains a number of sagas, as well as the Skarðs-árbók-version of Landnámabók. The greater part of it was written in the years 1683 and 1684 and the copy of Fló it contains was finished on 29/4/1684^[4]. There is nothing to support Finnur Jónsson's statement (Fló, 1932, iv) that it was written in Copenhagen. A description of it will be found in LdnSkb, xvii-xviii. The copy of Fló in this manuscript will be referred to as B.

AM 165 m, fol. (earlier in Additimenta 4, fol.) was originally part of a larger codex. In addition to Fló (ff.5-29), this paper manuscript contains copies of various bættir and also of Kjalnesinga Saga. All but the first and last folios are written in the hand of Jón Gissurarson undir Núpi (ca. 1590-1648). In the margin of the copy of Fló, variants have been added in a hand from the latter half of eighteenth century. A photographed sample of Jón Gissur-

arson's hand (from AM 340, 4to) is to be found in Handrita-spjall (plate opposite page 80). The copy of Fló in this manuscript will be referred to as J.

AM 515, 4to (referred to as P in this edition) is a paper manuscript containing only Fló. On a slip of paper attached to this manuscript, Árni Magnússon has written: 'Úr bók frá Skarði á Skarðsströnd, sem fyrrum hefur verið eign Síra Þórðar Jónssonar í Hítardal'. This note, and no doubt other factors, led Guðbrandur Vigfússon to suggest (Fornsögur, xxiv) that this manuscript was actually written by Síra Þórður (whom we have already mentioned in connection with 445 b). Guðbrandur's tentative suggestion on this point was stated as a certainty by various later scholars, for example, Kålund (Katalog, i, 671), Finnur Jónsson (Fló, 1932, iv) and Jón Jóhannesson (Gerðir, 29). In an article in Bibl, volume xxix (page 161), however, Miss Agnete Loth of Copenhagen asserts that the manuscript in question was written by another man, Einar Eyjólfsson, who was a somewhat younger contemporary of Þórður. Miss Loth does this only in passing and does not give her reasons for the ascription. She has, however, been kind enough to make her arguments and her conclusions on this point known to the present editor and in what immediately follows, these are being reproduced and built upon.

As mentioned, Árni Magnússon refers to P as part of a larger manuscript or book. Miss Loth produces good reas-

ons to show that what is referred to here is AM 486, 4to, which, as it is now, contains Hávarðar Saga, Hænsa-Póris Saga, Pórðar Saga hreðu, Bárðar Saga Snæfellsáss and Víglundar Saga. A list of contents at the beginning of this manuscript shows, however, that it originally also contained, among other things, a copy of Flóamanna Saga. And between folios 68 and 69 in AM 486, there is a slip (Slip e), again written by Árni Magnússon, which reads: 'Hér inn á milli lá Flóamanna Saga.' Miss Loth points out that the hands of P and AM 486 are similar enough to be those of the same man and in all probability is right in assuming that P was originally part of the larger manuscript.

The question of the scribe of AM 486, 4to, and thus of P, is answered by a further note, again by Árni, this time written on the reverse side of Slip h in this manuscript. Árni has first written: 'Sá sem þetta hefur ritað, hefur ætlað að imitera Síra Pórðar hönd, kannske Þorsteinn Pórðarson hefur skrifað það í ungdæmi sínu.' ('The person who wrote this has tried to imitate Síra Pórður's hand, perhaps Þorsteinn Pórðarson [Pórður's son; see page *18 above] in his young days.') Later, however, Árni has crossed out the second part of this note from 'Kannske' to 'sínu' and has written: 'Nóta: Það er hönd Einars Eyjólfssonar þá er hann var í Hítardal. Certum.' (Note: It is the hand of Einar Eyjólfsson when he was at Hítardalur. Certum.') [5]

How Árni arrived at the conclusion that Einar Eyjólfsson wrote AM 486, 4to is unknown. He was however a corr-

espondent of the man in question (see Jón Helgason in Manuscripta Islandica, iv, 1957, xi ff. and the references cited there) and we have no reason to doubt his statement on this matter, particularly when expressed with such certainty. Einar Eyjólfsson lived from about 1641 to 1695, for the last part of his life was a sýslumaðr^u and died at Traðarholt in Flói (see Æviskrár, i, 347 f.). While we know that he was at school at Skálholt, there is no record, other than Arni's, of his having stayed at Hítardalur. But that he did so does not seem at all unlikely. Þórður Jónsson, who was rector at Hítardalur from 1634 until his death in 1670, that is, during the whole of Einar's youth, is known to have tutored various young men. Einar's father, Eyjólfur Jónsson, had himself been rector at Hítardalur from 1623 to 1630 and from 1632 to 1672 was rector at Lundur in Lundareykjadalur which can be little more than thirty miles from Hítardalur. Einar could thus easily have been one of Þórður's pupils and if the latter had taught Einar to write, this would explain the likeness between the two men's handwriting implied by Arni's original remark on Slip h of AM 486, 4to. It would therefore seem most reasonable to date this manuscript of Fló to between about 1650 and 1660, that is, Einar's late childhood. It must at all events have been written before 1670 because we know Þórður Jónsson was an owner of the manuscript (see Arni's slip in P) and he died in that year. P and AM 486 4to were probably inherited from Þórður by his son.

Þorsteinn, who, as already noted, lived at Skarð á Skarðs-strönd (cf. Arni's slip in P) from 1682 until his death in 1700. Arni Magnússon visited Skarð in 1703 (see Katalog, i, 29) and may well have acquired P and AM 486, 4to while he was there.

As was first made clear by Guðbrandur Vigfússon in his edition of Fló in Fornsögur, one feature of P's text gives it particular importance in the study of the text of the saga. The remaining part of this section may be devoted to a discussion of this feature. It has already been noted that the redaction of the saga represented by M differs significantly from the X-version (represented by K, AM, A, S, B and J). From the beginning of the saga to the end of chapter 17, and from a point in chapter 25 to the end of the saga, P's text by and large resembles that of the X-version, agreeing most closely, as will be shown below, with J. It is true that in the early chapters where, as will be shown in Chapter II, the original of the saga borrowed from Landnámabók, there are occasional agreements between P and Landnámabók over against the X-version, e.g. fell Hákon jarl, P and LdnStb, 224/13] fekk Hákon jarl sigr, X-version, 2/1; Hróðmarr, P and LdnStb, 131/18] Hrómundr, X-version, 2/12. These must be due to direct reference to Landnámabók by Einar (cf. Fló, 1932, v). Further, there are other quite substantially different readings in P from those of the X-version: at 6/14-5, Einar omits Setstokkarnir...fram frá Stokkseyri and instead of þar sem braut skip Hallsteins at 6/20 has ok braut Hallsteinn þar skipit

en setstokkar hans kómu á Stallfjórú ok váru hafðir fyrir dyribranda á Stokkseyri; at 19/13, J has ok þurpti alls við, while P has ok þurptu þeir allra handa við greppu þá.

But these divergences from J in the early chapters of P, and one or two others like them elsewhere, are small compared with the ones we find from the beginning of chapter 18 to about the middle of chapter 25. In this part of P there are a large number of very marked differences from the text of J, here the text of P is considerably fuller than that of J. Further, a cursory comparison between Folio 4 of 445 b and the corresponding passage in P will reveal, if by no means a word for word agreement, a strong likeness between the two texts. From these, and probably also other facts, Guðbrandur Vigfússon drew the conclusion that in the parts of P under discussion (chapters 18-25), the scribe of P was in fact basing his text on Folio 4 of 445 b and parts of the same manuscript, since lost, which immediately preceded Folio 4. [9] The essence of Guðbrandur's conclusion in Fornsögur has not been disputed by later editors and there are indeed good reasons for accepting it. These are worth stating briefly here, however, firstly because of the special importance of the conclusion and secondly, one of them, because of the new light thrown on the identity of the scribe of P by Agnete Loth. They are as follows:

(i) That the scribe of P was copying from Folio 4 of 445 b can be seen from the very marked difference between

the extent to which P diverges from J before the word af-
reksverk (cf. 44/17), the word in the middle of which
Folio 4 of 445 b ends (cf. 85/22), and the extent to which
it diverges from J after this point. Thus in the passage
in P corresponding to 30 lines in F16, 1932 immediately preced-
ing this word, the following are only a ^eslection of a number
of substantial differences which are to be found between the
two texts:

P has með þvílíku bragði sem Þorgils ætlaði (cf. 84/18)
while J has með minna þokka veitt en Þorgils hugði (cf. 43/20).

P has með mikla kosti ok sögðu fátt frá ferðum sínum
(cf. 84/19-20) while J omits (cf. 43/21).

P has ok sá ek aldri slíkan fyrr, svá er hann mikill
(cf. 85/3-4) while J omits (cf. 44/1).

P has af miklu aflí ok reiði (cf. 85/9-10) while J
omits (cf. 44/6).

P has Þorgils hefði haft til þessa verks illan átrúnað
(cf. 85/16) while J has Eiríkr hefði haft fornan átrúnað á
dýrinu (cf. 44/11).

By contrast, in the passage in P corresponding to 30 lines
in F16, 1932, after the word afreksverk, P agrees practically
word for word with J, the only deviations, apart from slight
differences of word-order, being fyrir in P where J has í
(cf. 45/7, the second í) and hafna in P, where J has synja
(cf. 45/12). This evidence suggests that the exemplar Einar
used for P other than his X-group exemplar came to an end
at what seems to be practically the same point as Folio 4

of 445 b and thus, in all likelihood, was identical with Folio 4.

(ii) As already noted, P begins to diverge substantially from J from chapter 18. Folio 4 of 445 b does not start until the beginning of chapter 24. We have already shown it to be likely that from the beginning of chapter 24 to the middle of chapter 25, the scribe of P was using Folio 4 of 445 b. It is unwarrantably complicated to assume that between chapter 18 and 24, he was using an exemplar other than now lost leaves which immediately preceded Folio 4 in *445 b. Further, as will be shown in Section E of this Chapter, a certain continuity of plot, not to be found in the X-version can be demonstrated in the text of P before the beginning of chapter 24 and the text of M after it. [10]

(iii) But the whole matter is clinched by what we have learnt since Guðbrandur Vigfússon's day concerning the whereabouts of parts of *445 b in the seventeenth century (see pages *17-8). Jón Jóhannesson's researches have, as noted, shown that Þórður Jónsson not only had access to, but probably also owned, at least ff. 1-2 of 445 b and also, in all probability, other leaves of *445 b which now survive or are lost. These other leaves could well have included leaves of *M which now survive or are lost. At first sight, the realisation that P was not, as Guðbrandur Vigfússon and later editors assumed, written in Þórður Jónsson's hand might seem to weaken the case which is being made here. But Arni Magnússon's express statements that AM 486, 4to

(and thus, we may assume, P) was written at Hítardalur and that P was the property of Þórður Jónsson are almost as reassuring. When Einar wrote P, Þórður Jónsson must have been his host at Hítardalur and it therefore seems quite likely that he had access to fragments of *M, lost and surviving. Assuming at any rate that he did, these fragments will be referred to as MP. And to suggest that he used a manuscript which was similar to MP but was not identical with it and which was also at Hítardalur would seem to be unduly complicated.

P, then, is of particular value in that a section of it represents a copy of ~~xxx~~ parts of *M now lost. Its value in this respect is, however, limited by two areas of uncertainty. Giving the name PM to that part of P where its scribe is mainly following MP, we cannot be certain (A) (where MP is lost) of the faithfulness of PM as a copy of its exemplar or (B) of its extent. Both of these problems require further discussion.

(A) The faithfulness of PM as a copy of MP

On this question it is illuminating to compare Einar's copy of a surviving part of M (Folio 4) with its original and thus to get some idea of the type of changes he was liable to make when copying lost parts of MP. Einar's copy will be referred to as PM4, its exemplar as Folio 4. Divergences from Folio 4 by Einar in PM4 may be divided into two groups: (I) those which agree more or less with the manuscripts of the X-group (of which J is taken as a repres-

entative) and (II) those which do not agree with any of the other manuscripts used for this edition and which it is reasonable to suppose are independent changes made by Einar.

Examples of both these types will be given and discussed:

Type (I): (1) kómu_z, Folio 4 (77/11)] komaz, J (cf. 38/24) and PM4

(2) Ásgrímr, Folio 4 (79/2)] + Ellidá-Grímsson, J (cf. 39/21) and PM4

(3) 'Vera má, ' sagði Þorgils, 'at hon gæfi ef hon mætti.', Folio 4 (80/10-1)] Þorgils mælti: 'Þar mun af it harðasta kostun okkrum, er af v áru bárunar.', J (cf. 40/17-8); 'Vera má þat, ' segir Þorgils, 'at hon gæfi ef hon mætti ok mun af it harðasta kostum okkrum, er af v áru bárunar.', PM4

(4) Koma nú síðan viðr ey eina ok v áru þar iii. nætr áðr en þeir s á tjald af lérepti ok kenndu þar líntjald Þóreyjar ok fundu þar Þórarin brytja sjúkan. Þeir spyrja hverju faraldi hann hafði þangat komit. Hann sagði kostaboð þeira Snækolls viðr sik, ef hann vildi eigi fara, at þeir mundi drepa hann ok þeir hefði verit skammt frá Sel-eyjum um vetrinn. Þeir spurðu hann margs. Kvez hann nauðigr allt gert hafa ~~XXXXXX~~

- 'ok hafa þeir fé allt en Snækollr lagði
járni á Þóreyju.' Þorgils segir: 'Eigi
veit ek hvers þú ert af verðr en eigi skal-
tu hér vera.' Ok áðr þeir fari á burt, þá
deyr hann ok jarða þeir hann þar, Folio 4
(82/6-16)] At þrim nóttum liðnum, sjá þeir
tjald af lérepti. Þeir kenndu at þat var
tjald Þóreyjar. Þeir lögðu þar at ok fundu
Þórarin, brytja Þorgils, ok spyrja með hver-
ju faraldi hann var þar kominn. Hann sagði
þá kostaboð Snækolls við sik, ef hann vildi
eigi fara, at þeir mundi á drepa hann; - Snæ-
kollr stakk mjóvu járn á Þóreyju.' Þorgils
svarar: 'Eigi veit ek hvers þú ert af verðr
en ósannlig þykki mér þín sögn ok skaltu
ekki lengr lifa.' Síðan drápu þeir hann ok
grófu þar ok tóku með sér þat sem þar var,
J (cf. 41/22-42/3); Koma nú síðan viðr ey
eina ok váru þar iii. nætr áðr en þeir sjá
tjald af lérepti ok kenndu þar tjald Þórey-
jar ok fundu þar Þórarin brytja. Þeir spyr-
ja hverju faraldi hann hafi þangat komit.
Hann segir kostaboð þeira Snækolls við sik,
ef hann vildi eigi fara, at þeir mundi drepa
hann ok þeir hefðu verit skammt frá Seleyjum
um vetrinn. Þeir spurðu hann margs. Hann
kvez nauðugr allt gert hafa; - 'þeir hrífa

fé allt en Snækollr lagði með mjóvu járni Þóreyju. Þorgils segir: 'Eigi veit ek hvers þú ert af verðr. Osannlig þykki mér sögn þín ok skaltu ekki lengr lifa.' Síðan drápu þeir hann ok grófu þar en tóku með sér þat sem var, PM4

- (5) Hann kvað ekki þannig lita mjólk fðður síns, Folio 4 (82/24)] Sagði hann mjólk fðður síns eigi svá lita, J (cf. 42/10); Hann kvað ekki svá lita mjólk fðður síns, PM4
- (6) '...mættir þú mik í frið þiggja aptr í byggðina.' Folio 4 (83/7-8)] '...þá mættir þú mik í frið kaupa við byggðarmenn, því at ek er í ófriði við þá.' J (cf. 42/17-8); '...mættir þú mik í frið þiggja aptr í byggðinni, því at ek er í ófriði við byggðarmenn.' PM4
- (7) Farið, Folio 4 (83/16)] Fari þit, J (cf. 42/24) and PM4
- (8) ferr þegar, Folio 4 (83/23)] fór, J ^(cf.) (43/3); fór þegar, PM4
- (9) Þat varð þar, Folio 4 (84/22)] Þat þar til, J ^(cf.) (84/22) and PM4
- (10) kvað við, Folio 4 (85/7)] kvað við hátt, J (cf. 44/4) and PM4
- (11) Þorgils tekr, Folio 4 (85/11)] hann tekr J (cf. 44/7) and PM4

It is clear from this set of examples that while Einar was

was copying Folio 4, he was also constantly referring back to his X-group exemplar. Example (4) shows that he was capable of adopting essentially different versions of the story from this exemplar. (2) and (10) show that he was prepared to introduce words from it to make his own text more readable or comprehensible. In example (6), he unnecessarily borrows the causal clause from his X-group exemplar, despite the fact that in PM4, as in Folio 4 (82/25), Hrólfr has already told Þorgils that he was in outlawry. Examples (5) and (9) make it clear that Einar sometimes took from his X-group manuscript variants of quite inconsiderable difference in meaning from those in Folio 4. Such instances make it more credible that agreements between the X-group and PM4 on small points, as in examples (1), (7), (8) and (11) are more than mere coincidences. In example (3) he has merely combined the reading of Folio 4 with that of his X-group exemplar.

- Type (II): (1) konur, Folio 4 (77/1)] tróllkonur, PM4
 (2) árarstúf, Folio 4 (77/20-1)] árarstofn,
PM4
 (3) til Islands, Folio 4 (79/4-5)] ÷ PM4
 (4) Góðan (spelt: Goodan), Folio 4 (80/7-8)]
Soddan, PM4
 (5) Þær hurfu, Folio 4 (80/14)] Þar hlaupa,
PM4
 (6) þrekaðir, Folio 4 (80/27)] þjakaðir, PM4
 (7) farit hafa þar, Folio 4 (82/26-7)] farit

þar til fiska, PM4

(8) til kaupa, Folio 4 (84/27)] til fundar, PM4

(9) svipti, Folio 4 (85/6)] kippti, PM4

Examples (2), (6) and (9) make it clear that Einar was not greatly concerned with accurately reproducing Folio 4 provided that similar meaning was produced. (1) and (7) show that he was quite capable of introducing his own words and phrases into the text if he thought they improved the sense. Examples (5) and (6) give some idea of his careless approach to his exemplar and example (3) shows that he was liable to omit parts of its text. P's reading in example (4) is perhaps due to Einar's misreading of Folio 4.

There is no reason for supposing that Einar's attitude to the lost part of MP which he copied was essentially different to his approach to Folio 4. Not only must the part of PM based on lost parts of MP occasionally omit M-readings but it must, in many cases, contain X-group readings (more specifically Z- or z-group readings; see Section C of this chapter) in preference to M-readings now lost. In addition, it almost certainly contains words, phrases and perhaps even sentences which are nothing but the innovations, conscious or unconscious, of its seventeenth century scribe. These facts have not been sufficiently stressed by previous editors but should be constantly borne in mind when PM is used as a representative of the M-version; it can, in quality, only be regarded as a very

inferior substitute for the parts of MP on which it is based.

(B) The extent of PM

This problem will most conveniently be dealt with under two headings:

(I) PM's limit towards the end of the saga

In the Fornsögur-edition, the text of the shorter version (X-version) corresponding to Folio 4 of 445 b takes up 134 lines. ^[11] If we divide this figure into 328 which is the number of lines in the same version in the same edition between the point corresponding to the end of Folio 4 (Fornsögur, 149/14) and the point corresponding to the beginning of Folio 5 (Fornsögur, 159/16), we should arrive roughly at the number of leaves that ^(were to be found) in *445 b between present Folio 4 and present Folio 5. The figure produced is $2 \frac{30}{67}$, which is closer to 2 than to 3. The dangers of this sort of calculation are obvious and need not be specified here. But in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, we must assume that there were two leaves in *M between present Folio 4 and Folio 5. And if we do not assume there were two, then we must assume there were three (see Bibl, xxx, 332; cf. Orig, ii, 631 and 634).

From what has been said on pages *27-9, it will be clear that there was a lacuna of at least one leaf in MP after present ^(e)Folio 4. That this lacuna covered all two or three now lost leaves between Folios 4 and 5 can be concluded with reasonable safety from a study of the corresponding passage in P. As has been mentioned above, readings from the N-

version frequently distinguish themselves from those of the X-version, often by virtue of their being fuller and demonstrably more original than those of the X-version. But the present editor has been able to find no such readings in the passage in question in P (corresponding to the passage from about the beginning of chapter 27 to 59/6 in this edition) and can only conclude that all the leaves of *M between Folio 4 and 5 of 445 b (not merely that following Folio 4) were missing in MP. We may mention in this context the problem of P and Folio 5 of 445 b. We find that Einar has not copied M at the end of the saga but continues to follow his X-group exemplar and includes in his manuscript the genealogy down to Jón Hákonarson at the end of the saga. Finnur Jónsson's explanation of this fact in F1ó, 1932 (iv), was that the scribe of P did not know Folio 5: that is, that like the two (or three) leaves which immediately preceded it, Folio 5 was not part of MP. Guðbrandur Vigfússon, on the other hand, while he admitted this explanation as a possibility, thinks it more likely that the scribe of P had Folio 5 but did not use it, 'weil gerade der Schluss der Saga wegen Mangels jenes Geschlechtregisters [to Jón Hákonarson] hier [in M] kürzer ist, als in der Vatnshornsbók, ihm aber ankam, die Saga in möglichst ausführlicher Gestalt zu besitzen' (Fornsögur, xxiv). Preference must be given to Guðbrandur's explanation as the most likely and attention drawn to a fact which possibly supports it. At the end of P, after the words Hákonar, fóður Jóns (cf. 61/23), Einar has added Ok lykr so

savgu þessare and these words almost agree with those on which M ends: ok lýkr þar sögu þessi. It could well be that Einar knew Folio 5 but did not go over to it at 59/6 for the reason Guðbrandur suggests (and, indeed, because in the passage corresponding to 87/1 to 89/5, the X-version is only marginally shorter than the M-version^[12]). Having written fóður Jóns (61/23) however, Einar may have turned from his X-group exemplar (which was not the 'Vatnshornsbók'; see Sections C and D) to take a final look at Folio 5 and added this final sentence from its version of the saga.

For the purposes of this edition, PM is regarded as stopping at a point corresponding to 44/17 and 85/22.

(II) PM's limit towards the beginning of the
saga

Establishing the point at which PM begins is more difficult than establishing the point at which it ends.

We may begin by dealing with a ^{matter} ~~point~~ on which certain previous editors have disagreed: what is the minimum number of lost leaves of *M immediately preceding present Folio 4 to which the scribe of P can have had access? In his edition of 1860 (Fornsögur, xxiv), Guðbrandur Vigfússon assumed that he had two lost leaves and this view is repeated in Orig (ii, 630). Finnur Jónsson (Fló, 1932, iv), on the other hand, believed that he had only one and his statement on this point seems to have influenced at least one later scholar (see 'TgP', 434). There are very good reasons for rejecting the second of these opinions. It will be argued below (pages *94 ff.)

that in the passage corresponding to Fornsögur, 169/11-7 (this edition, 64/7-13), P contains readings which must be more original than the corresponding readings of the X-group of manuscripts. Their appearance in P can only be explained by assuming that they came from MP. In the edition of the M-version text in Fornsögur (see pages 169-77), these readings appear at a distance of over 255 lines from the point corresponding to that at which Einar started copying Folio 4. On the other hand, Folio 4 itself only takes up about 198 lines in the same edition. From these figures, we can be practically certain that the passage corresponding to Fornsögur, 169/11-7 cannot have been on the leaf of *M immediately preceding Folio 4. Finnur Jónsson attempted to defend his view by supposing that the writing on a single lost leaf could have been somewhat denser than that on Folio 4: 'Tilsyneladende har der da stået noget mere på det tabte end det bevarede blad, men det er vist kun tilsyneladende. Skriften kan have været noget tættere på det tabte blad.' A single leaf which covered the passage from Fornsögur, 169/11-7 (readings in question) to 177/6 (where Folio 4 begins) would have had to contain approximately 30 per cent more writing than Folio 4. That it did this is highly unlikely. The leaves of M are fairly regular in the amount they contain: in Fornsögur, folio 3 of 445 b (Vatnsdæla Saga) takes up approximately 193 lines compared with the approximate 198 lines, which, as noted, Folio 4 takes up; in Ldn, folio 2 recto of the same manuscript takes up

about 89 lines, folio 2 verso about 87 lines. It is true that on folio 5 verso (Eyrbyggja Saga), part of the text is written in the margin (see Katalog, i, 640); but that the writing in the margins of any given leaf should amount to 30 per cent of the normally placed writing is again unlikely. In view of these facts, we may confidently dismiss Finnur's statement on this point and assume that Einar had at least two now lost leaves of *M which immediately preceded Folio 4. These two lost leaves may be referred to as Folio *2 and Folio *3.

Having established the presence of Folio *2 of *M in MP, we may now go on to attempt to establish at what point this leaf began. As noted already, the part of the shorter version (X-version) which corresponds to Folio 4 of 445 b takes up 134 lines in the Fornsögur-edition. If, on the basis of this figure, we assume that Folio *2 and Folio *3 together contained material corresponding to about 268 lines (=134 lines x 2) in the same printed text, then Folio *2 can be reckoned as having started at a point corresponding to Fornsögur, 137/15, that is, 268 lines before the point which corresponds to the beginning of Folio 4. It would thus have begun approximately with the words corresponding to Práendr kvaz þat þiggja mundu (this edition, 27/2-3). Now the dangers of this type of calculation have already been stressed and should be stressed again. They can only produce very uncertain results. On the other hand, it should again be pointed out that in the absence of any

evidence to the contrary, we have no alternative but to accept the results they give us.

Assuming, then, that Folio *2 began at a point corresponding to Fornsögur, 137/15 (this edition, 27/2-3), and also, temporarily, that Folio *2 was the first leaf of MP, we may attempt to calculate the point at which PM began. Now there is no reason for ~~necessarily~~ supposing that the beginning of PM necessarily corresponded to the beginning of Folio *2 (that is, that the beginning of PM necessarily corresponded to the beginning of MP). One can think of a number of reasons why Einar may have copied his X-group exemplar beyond the beginning of Folio *2. He may not have become aware of or remembered the availability of MP until he had copied past the point corresponding to its beginning. Alternatively, he may not have noticed immediately that its text differed from that of his X-group exemplar; indeed, in its very beginning, it may not have differed very much from his normal exemplar. Another possibility is that he waited until the end of a chapter (chapter 17, his chapter 15), section, or episode before going over to MP. Finally, it is conceivable that the first column on the recto side of Folio *2 may have been illegible. We have here, then, a number of possible factors which must be reckoned with. Evenso, when we find that certain previous editors of the saga (Guðbrandur Vigfússon in Fornsögur; and Orig; Finnur Jónsson in F16, 1932; Þórhallur Vilmundarson) do not begin their texts of PM until a point corresponding to Fornsögur, 139/8, that

is about 58 lines after Fornsgögur, 137/15, we are certainly justified in wondering whether the part of P's text corresponding to these lines may not contain readings copied from Folio *2. The passage from P in question and the few lines immediately preceding it are edited in unnormalized form in Appendix I of this thesis (abbreviated: App).

As will be gathered from what has already been said (see e.g. pages *36-7), there is normally no very great difficulty in telling, from the extent to which P differs from J, whether P's scribe was using MP or not. Thus in App/1-24, where, apart from Einar's repetitions (see App/5 and 10), P agrees practically word for word with J, we have no reason to believe that he was using MP. P's chapter 16 (this edition, chapter 18, 27/16 - 29/12) presents special problems in this context however: App/25-81 corresponds to a part of the saga where its author has made direct borrowings (which often amount to word for word copying) from a version of Landnámabók (called LdnX) ~~very similar~~ to, or identical with, Sturla Þórðarson's redaction (see Section A of Chapter II). Now we do indeed find that in the passage in question, P differs quite considerably from J and thus (we may assume) from its X-group exemplar. This it often does by virtue of agreeing with LdnX more closely than J. Thus in the first few lines of chapter 18, where J has brúni, P adds tvennum above the line before this (cf. 27/16); there is a note in the margin telling from what part of Norway Oláfr came (see App/Note 3; cf. LdnX, 226/3), which information is not found in any of the

X-group of manuscripts; at App/29, the nickname drífa is added after Þorðer (cf. LdnX, 226/7). And when we read on in the chapter, we find further differences from J and very substantial ones: at App/59-60, we find a verse which ~~Helgi~~ Helgi trausti is purported to have declaimed to his mother after killing Þorgrímr; this was to be found in LdnX, 226/14-6; further, a passage telling of Helgi trausti's descendants and quoting a verse one of them is purported to have declaimed is found in App/76-81 (cf. LdnX, 226/23-7). Neither of these two items was to be found in P's X-group exemplar or indeed in any of the X-group of manuscripts (cf. this edition 28/25 and 29/12).

At first sight, these considerable differences between J and P and particularly the fact that P agrees more closely than J (and, in a number of cases, the whole of the X-group) with a source the original saga is known to have drawn on, might suggest that Einar was here using a different and better text of Fló than his X-group exemplar and this most reasonably MP. There is, however, reason to question that this was (in the early chapters in fact the case. As has been mentioned above (page *26), Einar himself has made occasional changes in the part of the saga which borrows from Landnámabók and this he must have done on the basis of direct reference to a copy of that work. We can then by no means be certain that much of the material we find in this chapter over and above J comes from MP rather than directly from a copy of Landnámabók which Einar was using. And there is indeed certain evidence that Einar was

making direct use of at least one version of Landnámabók in this particular passage: at App/78, he adds dwrs in brackets after dyrs in exactly the same way as Þórður Jónsson does in the redaction of Landnámabók he compiled (LdnSkb, 179/31; cf. LdnPðb, 22/28); Einar must here have been using the redaction of Landnámabók made by his host at Hítardalur (see page *151^[13]). And MP, which Einar must, at any rate, have had at hand, was part of a manuscript which also contained a nearly complete text of Landnámabók (see page *17 above); he may have referred to the relevant section in this when writing App/25-81. Finally, when Þórður Jónsson had compiled LdnPðb, he had had access to, if not owned, a copy of the Skarðsárbók redaction of Landnámabók (known as *y¹; see LdnSkb, xxviii ff.); this may still have been at Hítardalur when Einar was there and he could have made use of it for the passage in question.

When Einar wrote App/25-81 then, we can be certain that he was ~~referred to~~^{using} at least two sources: his X-group exemplar (to which, no doubt, he referred throughout the passage) and LdnPðb; further, we must at least reckon with the possibility that he referred to LdnM1b and/or the *y¹ copy of Skarðsárbók. With this number of possible sources for the passage in question, it is, of course, not easy to prove the use of yet another, MP, the text of which is lost, but which must have had much in common with the other two, three or four. Even so, despite these difficulties, there are certain readings in the passage in P in question which seem

more likely to have come from MP than elsewhere and we may go on to discuss these individually:

(i) At App/67, P has Teits Ketilbjarnarsonar, while the manuscripts of the X-group all have Teits Kolbjarnarsonar (see Textual Note to 29/3-4) and LdnSkb (179/5) and LdnPðb (22/22) both have (at finna) Teit Gizurarson (Gizursson). If LdnM1b had the passage in question and in it the reading Teit(s) Ketilbjarnarson(ar), it is strange that this is not reflected in LdnPðb, for, as far as we know, Ketilbjarnarson was the correct patronymic for the man referred to. Einar may, of course, by himself (possibly from Fló, 13/4-5) have concluded that both his X-group exemplar's Kolbjarnarson and LdnPðb's and LdnSkb's Gizurarson were factually wrong and substituted the reading he has. If he did this, however, we must be surprised by his care, and also wonder why he has not given the alternative readings of his usual sources in the margin. On the other hand, it is suggested in Note to 29/3-4, for other reasons than the presence of the reading Ketilbjarnarsonar in P, that Kolbjarnarsonar in the X-group goes back to Ketilbjarnarsonar in the original of Fló. If this were the case, Ketilbjarnarsonar would probably have been the reading of *M (which was closer to the original of the saga than *X was; see Section E) and Einar could well have taken the reading from there.

(ii) We may consider Helgi trausti's verse at App/59-62. The LdnStb-text of this is quoted on pages *193-4 and it is elucidated in Appendix I.

Finnur Jónsson (Fló, 1932, v) confidently states that the scribe of P introduced this verse into his text of Fló from Landnámabók (cf. Fornsögur, xxiii footnote 2). If he is right on this point, we are justified in thinking that Einar did this from one of the three redactions of Landnámabók mentioned above, LdnPðb or LdnMlb or LdnSkb (*y¹). It seems less likely that he had access to and used yet another version or manuscript of this work. (And in this connection, we remember that his host at Hítardalur, when he had written LdnPðb, had had no other copies of Landnámabók than LdnMlb and LdnSkb; see Gerðir, 121.)

In LdnPðb (22), the first strophe of Helgi's verse is: Vareg þar fell til fyllar fram svektu vinar drotter þrutin em unar itar tungur haatt sungu; in LdnSkb, ⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ it reads: Var ec þar er fell til fyllar framsotti vinr drottar errubeinn enn unnar itr tungur hatt sungu. It is a rough and ready rule that when LdnPðb differs from LdnSkb, the reading of the former may be said to come from LdnMlb. By this principle, we may assume that the words þrutin em unar itar tungur in LdnPðb come from lost parts of LdnMlb. If this is the case, then the third and fourth lines of the verse, as they appear in the main text of App (line 60: Orrabeinn...sprungu) can come neither from the Melabók- or the Skarðsárbók-redactions of Landnámabók and thus, on the assumption made above as to the redactions of this work available to Einar, would seem most likely to have come from MP.

Objections might however be made to this conclusion. *y¹,

the manuscript of the Skarðsárbók-redaction which Þórður Jónsson used, and which Einar is most likely to have had access to, is no longer extant. It was not a very faithful copy of the original of LdnSkb (see LdnSkb, xxix ff.) and it is possible that the readings in the third and fourth lines of the strophe in LdnPðb do not come from LdnMlb, but are scribal corruptions which came into existence between the original of the Skarðsárbók-redaction and *y¹; if this were the case, it is possible that the third and fourth lines of the verse in P come from the Melabók-version of Landnámabók. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that *y¹ should have had such a very different text from the original of Skarðsárbók as that found in LdnPðb. Further, we also note that, in the margin of P at the point where Helgi's verse appears, Einar adds a variant form of its third and fourth lines from another source (see Notes to App/8 and 9). On the whole, it seems most likely that this was the reading of *y¹. But whether it was or not, we have altogether in LdnPðb and LdnSkb and P four different readings for the third and fourth lines of Helgi's verse. LdnPðb's reading must be either that of LdnMlb or *y¹. Neither of the readings in App agrees with that of LdnPðb and one of them must therefore have come from a source other than LdnMlb and *y¹ and, assuming that Einar knew only three redactions of Landnámabók, from a source other than Landnámabók. As neither reading would seem to make sense, ^{neither} ~~xx~~ is likely to be Einar's own attempt to emend the verse. The simplest explanation is

that one of P's readings here (more probably that of its main text) came from MP where Helgi's verse was to be found [14] in its entirety.

We may consider in more general terms the possibility of Helgi's verse having been in *M. In Section A of Chapter II, it will be shown, on the basis of a study of the X-version, how the author of the saga, when he borrowed from Landnámabók, mainly concerned himself with filling out and expanding the excerpts from it which he incorporated into his saga; there is very little evidence of his having shortened them. Now it is true that the story of Þorgrímr, Áshildr and Helgi in which Helgi trausti's verse appears is of little relevance to the rest of Flóamanna Saga. But having committed himself, as he did, to the digression, the author of the saga (we have reason to believe) would have wanted to make his story as full as possible. He is not therefore likely to have omitted Helgi's verse from it. And the fact that the verse does not appear in the X-version is hardly of much significance; in the M-version, 77/23-78/3, we find a verse which is absent in the X-version but which must have been in the original of the saga. Further, we have at least reason to doubt that Einar Eyjólfsson introduced the verse into P without any lead from a text of Fló. Nowhere in the early chapters of the saga (chapters 1-10) does he make such lengthy interpolations directly from a text of Landnámabók. Lastly, as noted, neither version of the first half strophe of Einar's verse in P makes sense. One wonders therefore

what Einar's motive was in introducing a verse into his copy of Fló which he could not understand and which he found in neither of his exemplars for the saga.

(iii) The same general remarks about the possibility of Helgi trausti's verse having been in MP apply also to the passage App/76(Son)-81, although it must be admitted that this is a much greater digression from the main narrative of the saga than Helgi trausti's verse. Even^{so}, although, as noted, Einar clearly ^(referred to) LdnPðb for this passage, there are certain readings in it which diverge not only from that redaction of Landnámabók but also from LdnSkb: at hólmi á Albingi, App/79] í Óxará á Albingi, LdnPðb, 22/29; í Óxarárhólmi á Albingi, LdnSkb, ch. 375/27; Dýri, App/79] Helgi, LdnPðb, 22/30 and LdnSkb, ch. 375/28. Of course, App's readings here could have been taken from LdnM1b, although we have no more evidence that this was the case than that they came from MP. And the first word of Helgi dýr's verse should also be noted: App has Wand, while all extant manuscripts of Landnámabók, including those of LdnSkb, have Band. App's reading is obviously corrupt. It could again be argued that this reading came from LdnM1b. But if this was so, and if Einar was introducing the verse and the passage in which it was contained from Landnámabók merely to fill out the copy of the saga he was making, then it is peculiar that he should choose to cite the verse in a form that was corrupt rather than, for example, in LdnPðb's correct form. On the other hand, if he was faithfully reproducing the verse as it was

in MP, then the form Wand is more understandable.

Of the three arguments put forward here, most weight should probably be given to that in (ii) and least to that in (i). All three are somewhat tenuous. Taken together, however, they are not to be ignored and do suggest that at least some readings in the passage App/25-81 were taken by the scribe of P from a source which was not any of the three versions of Landnámabók we think it probable or possible he knew nor was the manuscript of Flóamanna Saga we have referred to as his X-group exemplar. This source is most likely to have been a passage of the M-redaction of Flóamanna Saga which on the calculation made above (pages *40-1), he is likely to have known from Folio *2.

It has, up to now, been assumed that Folio *2 was the first leaf of *M to which Einar had access (i.e. the first leaf of MP). One now wonders if there cannot have been at Hítardalur when Einar wrote P, the leaf or leaves of *M which immediately preceded Folio *2 (perhaps even going right back to the beginning of the saga) and whether Einar cannot have made use of this or these leaves in writing the corresponding part of P. As for the passage corresponding to 44/17-59/6 (see pages *36-7), any conclusion on a point like this can only depend on a study of the relevant parts of P. A scrutiny of the first 17 chapters of P has therefore been undertaken by the present editor but has produced negative results. As already noted (page *26), there are certain differences between the text of P and the

other X-group manuscripts in the early chapters of the saga. But it seems unlikely that any of these are due to borrowing from lost parts of *M. The few instances of agreement between P and Landnámabók over against the X-version must, we may confirm (cf. pages *43-4), be due to direct borrowing by Einar from Landnámabók. In the comparison between Folio 4 and PM4 carried out on pages *34-5, it has been shown how Einar was quite capable of making independent changes in the text of the saga; on the basis of the observations made there, such readings in P as those at 6/14-5, 20 and 19/13 could easily be explained as Einar's own (cf. Fló, 1932, textual note to 6/26-7). But what is decisive in this context is that, in the section of P concerned (i.e. 1/1-27/15), we fail to find any of the same sort of very substantial differences from the X-version which we find in chapters 18-23 of the same manuscript, nothing which can be clearly shown (as parts of PM based on Folios *2 and *3 can; see pages *94 ff below) to be more original to the text of Fló than the corresponding X-version reading. It is true that the M-version may not have differed from the X-version in the parts of the saga under discussion as much as it does in the parts which correspond to Folios *2, *3 and 4 (see pages *124^(f.) below); but if Einar was in fact using *M before the beginning of Folio *2, one would expect to find some definite, if small, piece of proof for this in his text. This the present editor has been unable to do, however, and must regard the simplest explan-

ation as being that Folio *2 was the first leaf of *M to which Einar had access.

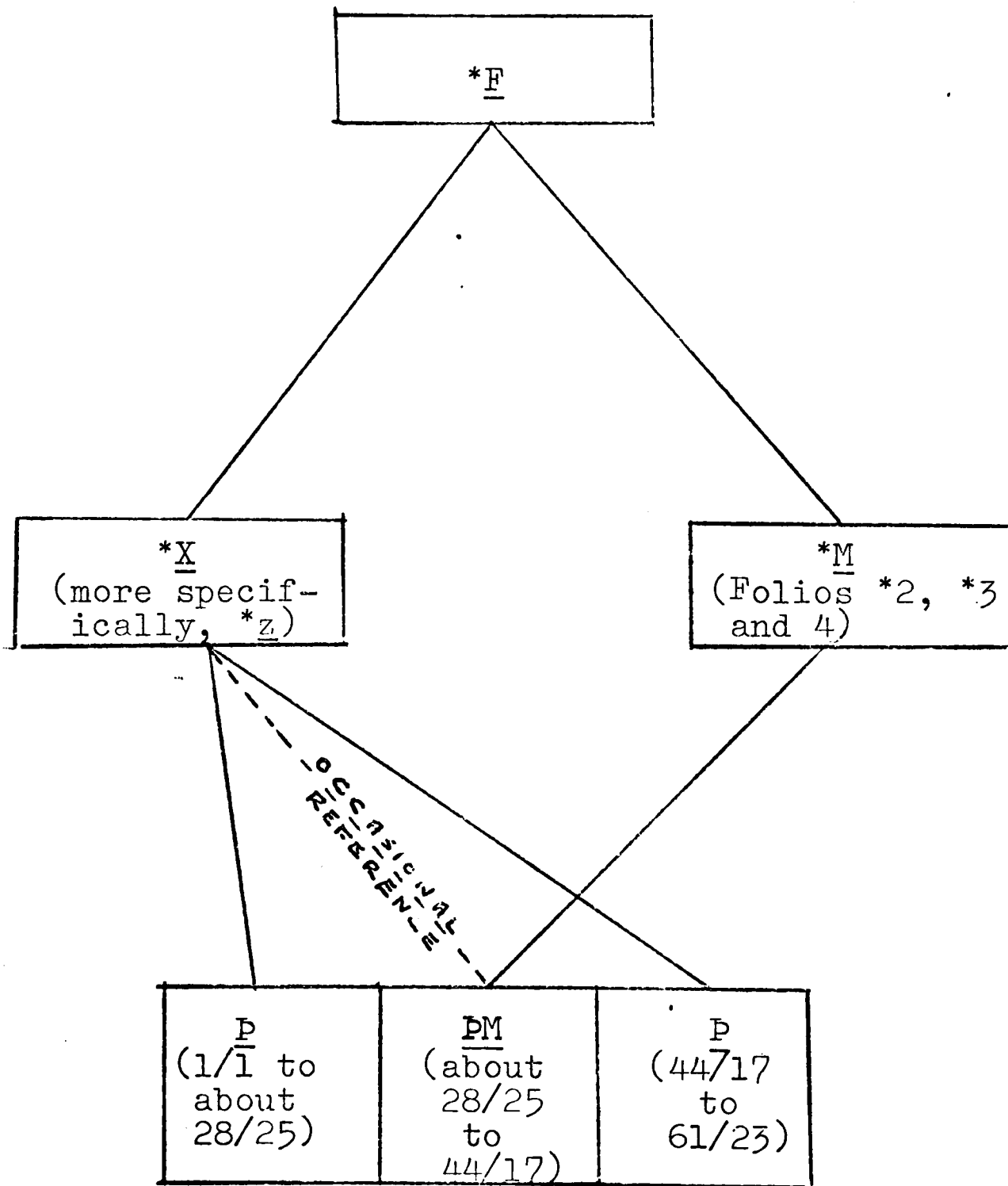
MP, then, as far as we can discover, began with Folio *2. If this leaf began at the point suggested above (i.e. about 27/2), one can, as noted, think of several reasons why Einar may not have started using it until a point corresponding to the beginning of chapter 18 or even later. Alternatively, it is by no means impossible that Folio *2 actually began with the words Oláfr tvennumbrúni hét maðr (27/16). Following Folio *2 from the beginning of chapter 18, Einar, to start with, may have been less concerned with any variants to his X-group exemplar it had to offer; there is, at any rate, no substantial difference from J in App/25-58 which could not be explained by reference to Landnámabók. Helgi's verse, however, if it was in Folio *2, could have shown him that the version of the saga in MP not only differed from his X-group exemplar on details but could also be lengthier than it. After having noted it and included it in his text, Einar would have been on the look out for other readings and passages in MP which had no equivalent in his X-group exemplar. And he would have found such a passage a few lines later in MP if the arguments on pages *49-50 about App/76-81 hold good. From then on, particularly after finding yet a third passage not in the shorter version at the place corresponding to 63/10-2, he would have become more and more dependent on MP as he progressed, and less and less on his X-group exemplar. That, however, he could revert to his X-group exemplar at

any time is suggested by the comparison of Folio 4 and the corresponding part of PM carried out above (pages *31-4).

What immediately precedes is a speculative interpretation of a more concrete conclusion arrived at in this section, i.e. that Einar started using MP before a point corresponding to 29/18 in this edition. This conclusion, however, is unfortunately of no real value in establishing a text of PM beginning earlier than that offered by previous editors; there are (as mentioned) five possible sources for App/25-81 and any attempt to distinguish further readings which might definitely be said to come from MP is unlikely to be fruitful. For these reasons, for the purposes of this edition, PM will be regarded as beginning in chapter 18 with the words Pórey hét kona (29/18); as noted above, it is soon after this point that P has a substantial section of text, 63/10-2, which is not found in the X-version; this passage cannot come from any redaction of Landnámabók and, it has been argued (see 'TgF', 434, 436-7), is unlikely to have come from *M. On the other hand, the evidence given by P's readings at App/59-62, 67, 76-81 is not to be ignored, particularly when, as far as we can calculate, Folio *2 should have gone back well beyond the point where they appear. We may note one detail here: The first word of Helgi trausti's verse in App, Vá, is not found in any manuscript of Landnámabók; it is a meaningful variant of Landnámabók's Var; it could well have come from MP and thither from the original of the saga; see further on this point the discussion of the verse in App. But perhaps the most useful

result to come out of this investigation is the realisation that Helgi trausti's and Helgi dýr's verses, whatever their texts, could well have been in *M. If we accept that they were, then we must also accept that *M not only had the borrowings from Landnámabók we find in the X-version, but had them in a fuller form than we find them there. This conclusion will be of interest elsewhere in this thesis.

The composition of P may be represented diagrammatically thus:



Section C: The relationship between the manuscripts used for this edition.

1.

K (with AM), A, S, B, J and P (excluding PM) (referred to as the X-group) form a separate group over against the M-version (M and PM) (X-group readings given before bracket):

hestabings, 31/15] + austr í herað, 65/10 (PM)

lx. hundraða mórent vi. álna aura, annat en staðfestur, annat en staðfestur, 33/15-6] lx. hundraða iii. álna aura, annat en staðfestu, 67/20-1 (PM)

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, 35/7-9] 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 er hans kanna væri á ok segir hann því þar hverfa mundu um skipit. Hon kvað þat vel fundit, 70/2-6 (PM)

Seleyra, 38/24] Seleyja, M, 77/11

dragaz.', 40/3] + 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 at sveinar hennar hefði tekit skip vart.' Þorleifr segir: 'Par munu vér í burtu komaz.', M, 79/14-21

Þorsteini, 43/13] Þorfinni, M, 84/9

'Ekki hafa menn þat mjök plagat hér til at gabba mik...,

59/22-3] 'Ekki hafa menn þat gert at færa spott at mér...,

M, 87/16-7

Hjalla til heimboðs, 61/3-4] til bús á Hjalla, M, 88/26

Frá honum er kominn mikill ættbogi. Börn þeira Þorgils ok Helgu váru þau Grímr glómmuðr, 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 Jörundar byskups. Sonr Gríms glammaðar Þorgilssonar var Ingjaldr, faðir Gríms, faðir Einars, faðir Hallkóttlu, móður Steinunnar, móður Herðísar, móður Bjarnar, fðður Gizurar galla, fðður Hákonar, fðður Jóns, 61/14-23] Er ok margt stórmenni frá honum komit ok víða dreifzt hér um land vart, M, 89/12-3

The relationship between the text of the X-group and the M-version will be dealt with in Section E of this chapter. It will be argued there that *X, the ^(latest) common source for K (with AM), A, S, B, J and P (excluding PM), cannot be derived from *M, nor can *M go back to *X. Both *X and *M must be derived independently from a common lost source which is called *F

2.

K (with AM), A and S (referred to as the Y-group) distinguish themselves as a separate group from B, J and P (excluding PM), called the Z-group (Y-group readings given

before the square bracket):

ix., 15/8] x., Z-group

margt, 15/10] allt (alltjafnt, P), Z-group

ok uggir mik at eigi megi fagnaðarðl heita, því at vér hafim (hðfum, K, S)^{nú}leitit hans marga daga, 19/27-20/1] en mik uggir þó at fagnaðarðl heita megi ok munum vér eigi þurfa marga daga hans at leita, Z-group

við sjá, 36/19] sjá við, B and J

hjálmmlaukar, 40/6] laukar, B and J

þá (1), 41/4] ÷ B and J

Tóku, 57/4] ok tók, Z-group

þeir, 57/22] + feðgar, Z-group

vanvirðu enga, 59/12] enga vanvirðu, Z-group

The latest common source for the manuscripts of the Y-group will be called *Y, the latest common source for the manuscripts of the Z-group will be called *Z. In order to demonstrate that *Y and *Z are two different manuscripts going back to *X, it would be necessary to point to (a) readings contained in the Y-group which are found in M or LdnStb (which, as will be shown in Section A of Chapter II, closely resembles a source for the original of the saga), but which are not to be found in the Z-group and (b) readings contained in the Z-group which are also found in M and LdnStb, but which are not to be found in the Y-group. Despite the fact that parts of the saga where M or LdnStb exists for comparison are limited to chapters 1-10, 18-25 and 33-4, it has been possible to find readings which fall into both Cat-

egory (a) and Category (b). (In this context, it would, of course, be unsafe to use PM as a representative of the M-version; since, as had been shown, while copying MP, Einar frequently took readings from his X-group exemplar which was more closely related to *Z than to *Y.):

Category (a) (Y-group readings given before bracket):

- (a) Harald konung, 1/23 and LdnStb, 224/11] konunginn,
Z-group
- (b) undan ok, 6/8 and LdnStb, 224/16] ÷ Z-group
- (c) hjálmmlaukar, 40/6; hálmmlaukar, M, 79/24] laukar, B, J
- (d) líkastr, 41/15 and M, 81/20] líkast, B, J
- (e) Póreyjar, 41/23 and M, 82/7] + Þeir lögðu þar at,
B, J
- (f) er (var, M) honum mjólk gefin, 42/9 and M, 82/23]
gefinn mjólk at drekka, B, J
- (g) hóggr, 60/6 and M, 88/2] hjó, Z-group
- (h) bera, 60/27 and M, 88/23] + en, Z-group
- (i) hálfníræðr, 61/5 and M, 88/27] hartnær níræðr, Z-
group

Category (b) (Y-group readings given after bracket):

- (a) at, Z-group and LdnStb, 224/18] eptir, 6/12
- (b) ok, B, J and M, 78/6] ÷ 39/5
- (c) hon, B, J and M, 79/11] ÷ 39/27
- (d) nú út, B (út, J)] út skjótt, 40/20
- (e) kvaz, B, J; kvez, M, 81/14] + þó, 41/10
- (f) leyfa, B, J and M, 81/14] lofa, 41/11
- (g) Pórarin, B, J and M, 82/8] ÷ 41/23

(h) falla, Z-group and M, 87/2] detta, 59/8

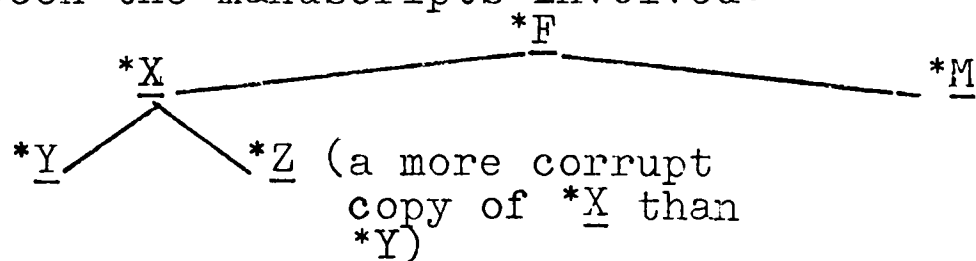
(i) var, Z-group and M, 87/26] ÷ 60/5

(j) við, Z-group and M, 88/2] neð, 60/15

(k) Þorgils, Z-group and M, 88/26] + bóndi, 61/4

The readings of Category (a) are decisive and represent only nine examples of a considerably larger number of similar instances. *Y must be independent of the latest common ~~exemplar~~ source ~~pkar~~ for the Z-group. Readings of the type in Category (b), on the other hand, are rare - this list probably contains the total number - and are much less convincing than those in Category (a); one is inclined to dismiss (a), (b), (c), (e), (i), (j) and (k) as, by themselves, worthless in this context. If we may generalize on the evidence both groups have to offer (and we have no reason not to do so), then we may conclude that the manuscripts of the Y-group represent a text of the saga much closer to *X, and thus to *F, than those of the Z-group do.

We are not, on the other hand, in a position to reject the evidence of Category (b) as a whole and examples (d), (f) and (h) of that group are quite convincing. It would therefore be going against the weight of available evidence to regard *Z merely as a corrupt copy, direct or indirect, of the latest common [16] exemplar for K (AM), A and S and we must, if a little hesitantly, regard the following stemma as representing the relationship between the manuscripts involved:



3.

Of the manuscripts of the Z-group, J and P form a separate group (called the z-group) distinct from B. Since there is no reason to doubt that most of the text of Fló in B was written in 1683 or 1684, and since we know that the scribe of J died in 1648 (on both these points, see page *22), it is impossible that J or P or a possible common source for them (called *z) is derived directly or indirectly from B. That B cannot be derived from the latest common source for the z-group is shown by the following agreements between the Y-group and B over against the z-group:

- (a) hann var, Y-group, 20/25 and B] ÷ z-group
- (b) sá einn, Y-group, 22/15; sá einn maðr, B] sá maðr,
z-group
- (c) varð, Y-group, 24/23 and B] var, z-group
- (d) ok, Y-group, 25/9 and B] + er, z-group
- (e) hófðingi þeira hingat, Y-group, 45/24 and B] hingat
hófðingi þeira, z-group
- (f) Stakanhófði, Y-group, 47/6 and B] Nákanhófði, J;
Nakanhófði, P
- (g) var, Y-group, 53/24 and B] er, z-group
- (h) hjá mér er (ef, B) hann vill, Y-group, 58/10 and B]
er hann vill hjá mér, z-group.
- (i) Þeir riðuz á móti, Þorgils, ok riðu hart. Ok er þeir
riðuz á víxl, Y-group, 59/17-8; Þeir riðu nú hart
hvárr mót ðörum. Ok er þeir riðuz at á víxl, B]
Þeir riðu nú hart hvárr mót ðörum ok á víxl, z-group

of these examples, (b), (f) and (i) are particularly decisive. We can safely say that the latest common source for the Z-group and B are both independent copies, direct or indirect, of the manuscript *Z.

4.

Within the Z-group, J cannot be a copy, direct or indirect, of P since it does not contain those parts of M which Einar copied into his manuscript. Further, there are a number of agreements between J and the other manuscripts of the X-group over against P; these not only help to demonstrate J's independence of P but also suggest that Einar made as unreliable a copy of his X-group exemplar as he did of MP (cf. pages *34-6). Thirdly, of course, the scribe of P was still a child when the scribe of J died (see pages *22 and *25). To show absolutely convincingly that P is not a copy of J, direct or indirect, is less easy. The following few agreements between P and the other manuscripts of the X-groups over against J suggest however that Einar's manuscript is in fact independent of J and this proposition is accepted for the purposes of this edition:

í véum, Y-group, 8/10, B and P] ÷ J

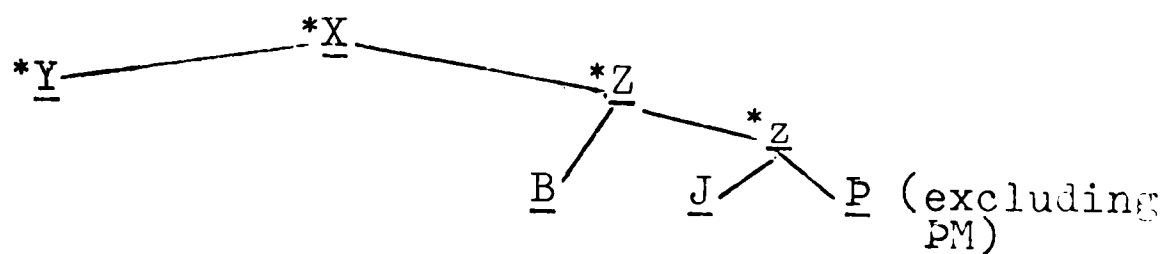
nú, Y-group, 15/15, B and P] ÷ J

fyrir ofan, Y-group, 23/10, B and P] yfir, J

varr við, Y-group, 51/7-8, B and P] varr, J

mundi gjalda, Y-group, 52/ 26; skyldi gjalda, P] gyldi, J

Z-group stemma:



5.

A study of the relationship of the texts of the Y-group (K, AM, A and S) to one another has produced results which require special attention. In their editions of the saga, Guðbrandur Vigfússon (Fornsögur, xxii; Orig, ii, 631) and Finnur Jónsson (Fló, 1932, ii f.) supposed that K and A are both direct copies of a single exemplar now lost. They also assumed that the alterations and additions made in K by Arni Magnússon (AM) are, in the majority of cases, made from this same lost manuscript and therefore have the authority of K's immediate exemplar. The present investigations have shown that in all probability neither of these assumptions is correct. Guðbrandur and Finnur were of course right in assuming AM's and A's independence of K; that these texts, together with S, form a group (called the y-group) separate from and independent of K is confirmed by a number of instances of agreement between the manuscripts of the y-group and the Z-group over against K, e.g.:

kómu, y-group, 3/9, and *Z] fóru, K

þessi orð, y-group, 9/16, and *Z] þetta, K

eru, y-group, 35/15, and B and J] váru, K

taka, y-group, 44/24 and *Z] + þegar, K

færir, y-group, 45/18, and *Z] færði, K

velktuz, y-group, 49/12, and *Z] velkjaz, K

ríðr, y-group, 53/26, and *Z] fór, K

spurði, y-group, 54/7-8, and *Z] spyrr, K

Helga sverar, y-group, 55/12, and *Z] ÷ K

What these two scholars, and others with them, have not recognized, and what requires special emphasis here, is that K contains a number of readings which agree with the Z-group over against the y-group and are therefore to be regarded as more original than the corresponding readings in AM, A and S. Such readings suggest that K is derived - directly or indirectly - from a manuscript (we shall call it *Y) which is older than the latest common exemplar for the y-group (called *y) and that *y is derived from *Y. The following nine examples are representative of the type of opposition in question:

vörn, K, 9/4, and Z-group] varnir, y-group

Konungi, K, 17/14-5, and Z-group] Konungr, y-group

Surt-, K, 22/1, 22/14, 22/17, 22/26, 23/12, 23/15, and Z-group] Svart-, y-group

hjólt þess, K, 23/4; þess hjólt, Z-group] hjólt sverðs þess, AM; hjólt þess sverðs, A and S

búit, K, 32/25, and B, J] verit, y-group

at, K, 45/1, and Z-group] + þeir, y-group

illmenni þessi, K, 46/13, and Z-group] illmennin, A and S

fórum, K, 56/11, and Z-group] ferðum, y-group

hvíkaði, K, 58/18, and Z-group] hinkaði, y-group

Let us assume temporarily, as Guðbrandur and Finnur did, that K on the one hand and the texts of the y-group on the other go back to the same latest common source. If this were the case, then agreements between K and the Z-group over against the y-group could be accounted for by two poss-

ible explanations:

(α) By assuming independent deviations from their exemplars by Ketill and the scribe of *Z. Thus, if *X and the latest common original for K, AM, A and S had the otherwise unrecorded verb hinkaði at 58/18, it is not impossible that the rareness of the word and minor confusion could have caused two scribes independently to change this to hvikaði. While this explanation might account for certain individual agreements between K and the Z-group, [17] it certainly could not be invoked to account for the group as a whole.

(β) It will be seen from the Textual Notes that Ketill, the scribe of K, sometimes adds alternative readings or additions to his main text in the margin of his manuscript. Now a large number of these marginal variants have proved to have been taken from some manuscript more closely allied to the Z-group than to the Y-group (see Textual Notes to 32/13, 53/10 and 56/13 for instance); [18] those which do go back to the Z-group manuscript may be designated as KZ and the manuscript on which they are based as ZK. Recognizing Ketill's access to ZK, it could be argued that he not only derived certain of his marginalia from this manuscript but that he also adopted certain variants from it into his main text. There are, however, two considerations which speak against such a theory:

a. It is quite clear from the colour of the ink in which KZ are written that they were added after the main text of the saga had been written out. If it is argued that Ketill's main text also contains variants from ZK, then

it would be necessary to assume that Ketill first copied out K occasionally substituting his normal exemplar's readings with readings from ZK, then, at a later stage, went over K adding variants from ZK in his margin. Such a method of procedure seems unlikely.

b. It is difficult to understand why Ketill should reject certain readings of his normal exemplar in favour of those of KZ. For example, there seems no good reason why he should take búit from KZ at 32/25 in preference to his normal exemplar's verit, nor at 56/11 prefer KZ's fórum to his normal exemplar's ferðum.

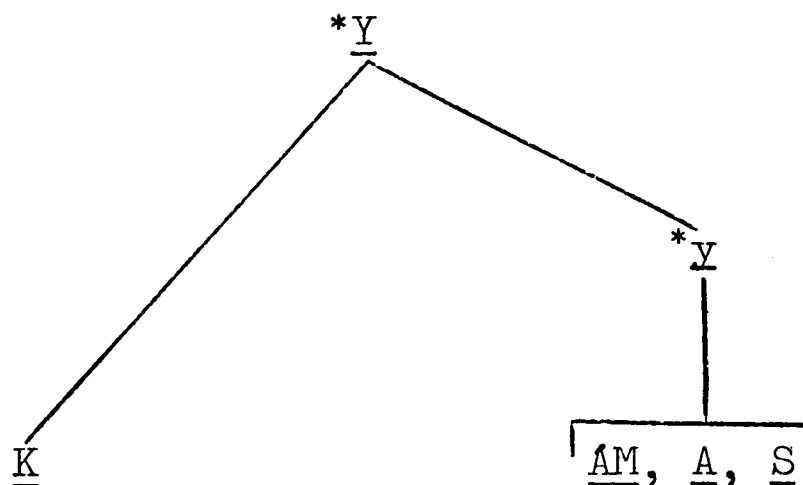
In view of these facts, there would seem to be no alternative to assuming that K is independent of the latest common exemplar for the y-group. And we may in this connection draw attention to one particular reading whose appearance in K can hardly be explained in any other way than by assuming that this manuscript is independent of *y. At 12/15, K reads Austmannsskelfis, while Árni Magnússon has superimposed an a over the second s of K's word to make Austmannaskelfis, which is also the reading of A and S. K's original reading on the other hand, is also shared by the manuscripts of the Z-group. Assuming once again that K, AM, A and S are all derived from the same youngest common exemplar, it would be necessary to account for a agreement between K and the Z-group by one of the two explanations mentioned above. At first sight, Explanation (∞) might appear feasible here as confusion between a and s is not altogether unlikely. There is however good

reason for believing that the appearance of this reading in K and the Z-group is more than mere coincidence. It has already been mentioned that Fló derives certain material from Sturla Þórðarson's redaction of Landnámabók and below (page *158) it will be shown how, in one case, certain manuscripts of Fló accurately reflect a textual peculiarity which is also to be found in LdnStb, and indirect copy of Sturla's original. When, therefore, we find at the place exactly corresponding to Fló, 12/15, LdnStb, 225/34, also reads Austmannsskelfis, we must tend to reject the possibility that the reading has arisen in three separate but corresponding places by coincidence; we must rather assume that it was also to be found in the intermediary manuscripts between LdnStb, *Z and K.^[19] Nor does it seem possible to invoke Explanation (β) to account for agreements between K and the Z-group on this point. The context of the reading as it appears in Fló is as follows:

Hann fekk Þórunnar, dóttur Ásgeirs Austmannaskelfis; var hann af því svá kallaðr at hann drap skipshöfn í Grímsárósi fyrir þat er hann var áðr ræntr af þeim. With such an explanation of the nickname immediately following, there is no reason whatsoever why Ketill should prefer a less understandable -manns- in another manuscript - a skipshöfn is more than one man - to a perfectly comprehensible -manna- in his normal exemplar. Ásgeir is known from no other source than Ldn and Fló and it is difficult to see why Ketill should wish to alter his nickname at all. The reverse alteration of -manns- to -manna- in view of the following explanation would be far

more understandable and indeed this change seems to have been made not only in the latest common exemplar for the y-group but also in the Hauksbók-redaction of Landnámabók (see LdnHkb, 117/15).

On the basis of the arguments produced here, we must assume the following relationship between the manuscripts of the y-group:



6.

We conclude this section with a discussion of the relationship of the texts of the y-group to one another. AM's independence of A and S is suggested by the following facts:

(i) At 10/16, Arni adds above K's frelsisgjófina the words Membr: lífgjófina sed prave (see Textual Note ad loc). Since it is most reasonable to assume that by Membr: (= membrana, 'vellum') , Arni is referring to his normal exemplar for AM, then this can hardly be A or S which are both paper manuscripts. (ii) It is clear that Arni Magnússon's orthographical 'corrections' in K (see page *20) are an attempt to reproduce the spelling of his exemplar. While the majority of these agree with the spelling of the corresponding word in A (see page * 74 below), some clearly represent a more arch-

aic spelling than that of A or S: 5/3 (inn): enn, AM] hiñ, A; hinn, S; 5/5 (flýr): flyr, AM] flyr, A and S; 8/15 (Özurar): ozfur^r, AM] auzfur^r, A; aufsurar, S; 15/17 (dró) d^o, AM] dro, A; drö, S. Árni must have been using an older manuscript than both A and S.

Further confirmation of AM's independence of A and S will be provided in the next Section.

A few other remarks should be made on Árni's alterations in K. Firstly to stress a fact which will become obvious after a reading of the Textual Notes (but which seems to have eluded certain previous editors of the saga) that Árni does not always make an alteration in K when there was a reading in *y other than the one to be found in K; there are a number of readings in A and S which agree with the manuscripts of the Z-group over against K but where in K any 'correction' by Árni Magnússon is absent:

- 5/14 njósn, A, S and Z] njósnir, K
 14/14 biðr, A, S and Z] bað, K
 19/3 Koma, A, S and Z] + beir, K
 22/27 mér bó, A, S and Z] bó mér, K
 30/18 tíðindin, A, S and Z] tíðindi, K
 43/4 kominn, A, S, B and J] koma, K
 45/11 en, A, S and Z] ok, K
 55/2 pótti, A, S and Z] sýndiz, K
 59/7 segiz, A, S and Z] kvaz, K

Secondly, there are a number of alterations by Árni in K which on the basis of readings in other manuscripts are diff-

icult to explain as coming from his normal exemplar for AM (see e.g. Textual Notes to 20/3, 37/9, 38/10, 38/11, 38/12, 41/24 (2) and 51/27). One wonders what authority Arni has for his readings here. Thirdly, there are those of AM's readings (see page *20 above) which are enclosed in square brackets; these are [rera], 1/14; [d^ez], 15/5; [allír], 41/19; [reikud], 46/25; v[\bar{v}]t:, 55/7. Finnur Jónsson's remarks on the first of these readings (Fló, 1932, iii) suggest that he considered that Arni used square brackets when he wished to suggest an emendation to K and *y, rather than that he intended the reading inside the square brackets to be taken as that of *y. ^{Finnur/}~~He~~ may have been right on this point. But it is also interesting to note that in three of the five instances of this type of reading, what Arni has inside square brackets agrees orthographically with A's reading: at 1/14, A has rera with a small initial r; at 41/19, A has allír while its usual spelling for allir is all² or allir; and at 55/17, Asgeir writes v \bar{v} tilli. Certain marginalia in A written by Arni Magnússon show that he had read this manuscript (see Textual Notes to 10/16 and 10/20) and he may even have had it before him when he wrote AM in A. There could then be some connection between A and the bracketed readings in AM. On the other hand, Arni's d^oz [d^ez] alongside K's jókz at 15/5 poses a problem: the reading in brackets is neither found in A which has d^oz nor, in contrast to dróz which has the evidence of the manuscript tradition behind it, seems to make sense.

A's independence of S is demonstrated by the following agreements between K and A over against S:

- 28/2 hugnar, K and A] hagar, S
 34/1 Draummaðrinn, K and A] Draumrinn, S
 39/12 Porleifr, K and A] ÷ S
 40/3 ok mun þat þó vel dragaz, K and A] ÷ S
 42/1 sögn, K and A] saga, S
 44/1 'Hér er úti, faðir, K and A] 'Faðir, hér er úti, S
 44/7 tekr, K and A] tók, S
 48/3 Berr, K and A] burt, S
 57/15 ráða sjálfr, K and A] sjálfr ráða, S

Instances of this type are very numerous and stress S's inferiority as a text of the saga as well as its scribe's carelessness. Furthermore, a number of cases where S agrees with the Z-group (see e.g. Textual Notes to 7/19, 8/6 and 8/25) show that he occasionally included readings from a manuscript other than his normal exemplar. On the other hand, there are certain readings in S which agree with K over against A and, although relatively few in number, are enough to establish S's independence of A. A complete list of significant examples is given here:

- 1/14 Rers|sonar, K; Rersonar, S] rera sonar, A
 2/18 slíks, K and S] líks, A
 3/1 saman, K and S] samt, A
 4/6 gerla kunna þetta, K and S] þetta gerla kunna, A
 5/2 Þar var, K and S] ok var þar, A
 5/22 í, K and S] á, A

5/26 burtu, K and S] ÷ A

6/20 mónum, K and S] ÷ A

6/24 hann, K and S] ÷ A

8/22-3 engan erfingja eptir, K and S] enga erfingja, A

25/21 var um, K; var, S] ÷ A

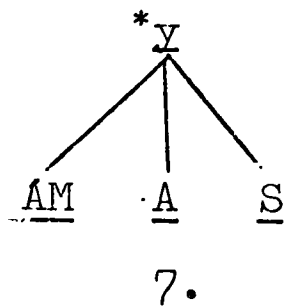
36/16 er, K and S] ÷ A [24]

K's and S's reading at 8/22-3 seems particularly decisive in this context.

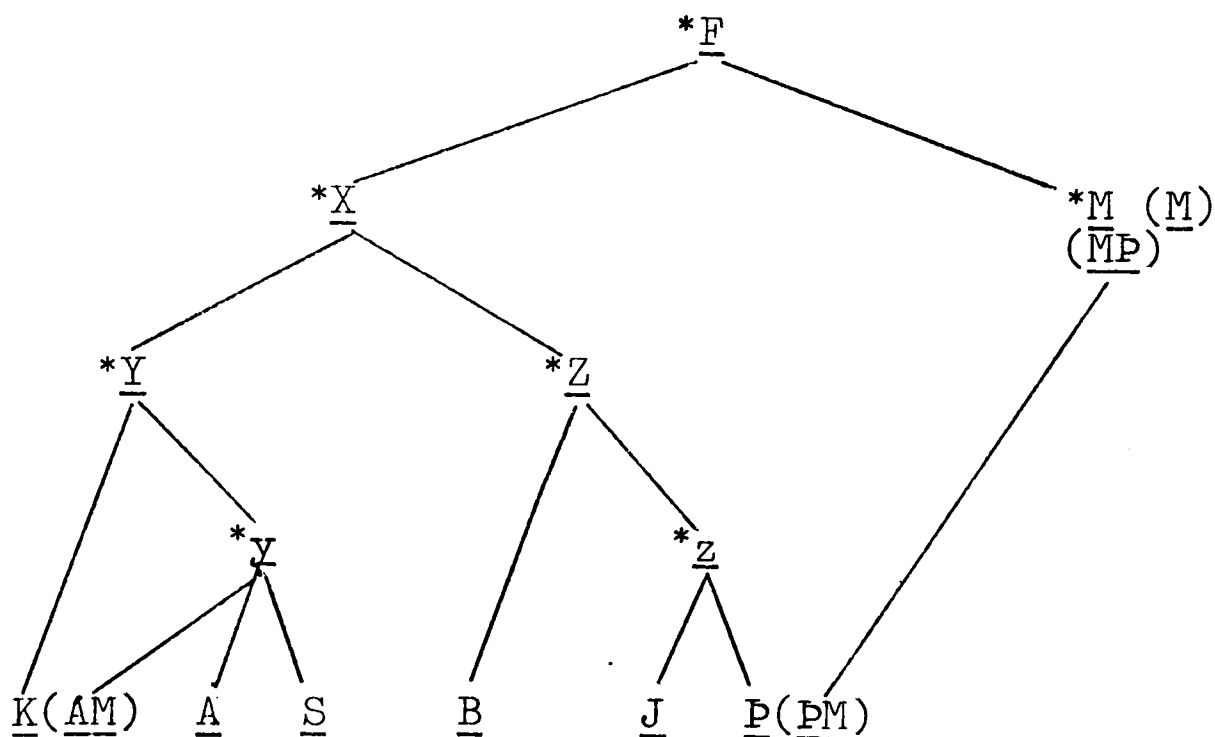
Jón's own statement that he copied Fló in S from 'a very old vellum' (see page *22) needs discussion here. If it is true, then S's independence of A would, of course, be confirmed beyond doubt. Unfortunately, however, it is not always possible to rely on statements of this kind by this man. On and off during the last years of his life, Jón was professionally engaged in collecting and copying manuscripts for sale to the Swedish Antikvitetskollegiet and would probably have been only too ready to enhance the value of his wares by adding notes of this kind to the copies he made, [25] irrespective of whether they were true. Now Bjarni Einarsson (Munnmælasögur 17. aldar, 1955, lxii f.) has described this manuscript of Jón's with which we are dealing, and which, of course, was written to be sold to the Swedes, as 'hrein verzlunarvara handa útlendingum'. And Jónas Kristjánsson (Svarf-dælasaga, 1966, xxxi f.) and Stefán Karlsson (Bibl, xxx, 282-3) have touched on similar notes to those (in S) which are to be found in Cod. Holm. Isl. papp. fol. No. 67, a manuscript also written by Jón: In a table of contents on the first page of No. 67,

Jón states that its first four items - Stjórnú-Odda Draumr, Bergbúa Þáttur, Kumlbúa Þáttur and Draumr Þorsteins Siðu- [26] Hallssonar were all copied 'epter miðg gamlri membrana'; next to the heading of Stjórnú-Odda Draumr in the same manuscript, Jón writes 'Skrifað epter miðg gamlri membrana [26] Kiðbenhafn Anno 1687'; and next to the heading of each of the [27] **three** following items he has 'skrifað eptir sömu membrana'. Jónas and Stefán draw attention to similar notes to these in copies by Árni Magnússon of the same items in AM 555 h, 4to and AM 564 c, 4to (e.g. 555 h: 'Skrifað epter miðg gamallri [28] Membrana: Kiðbenhafn: Anno 1686') and it is their conclusion, probably correct, that Jón was here in fact copying not from an old vellum but from a transcript from it by Árni Magnússon and that the notes he writes are merely in imitation of Árni's. These facts obviously have relevance to the question of the exemplar for S, particularly as the manuscript which contained the direct exemplars for the items in AM 555 h, 4to and AM 564 c, 4to in all likelihood also contained *y, the latest common source for AM and A (see Section D). S might then be a copy of a transcript (now lost) by Árni of a vellum manuscript containing Fló. But we can by no means be certain on this point: even though Jón may well have written S while in prison (see page *22), he could still have had access to old vellums and his marginal note in S, while perhaps in imitation of notes by Árni, could be valid. And even though he might not have used the manuscript in which *y was probably included (see next section) for the four items at the begin-

ing of Cod. Holm. Isl. papp. fol. No. 67 mentioned above, this does not necessarily mean that he did not use it for his copy of Fló in S. But whether we assume that Jón was using a vellum or a now lost copy of that vellum by Árni Magnússon, the agreements between K and S over against A adduced above make either alternative more attractive than assuming that Jón's exemplar was A or a manuscript derived from it. We may, then, posit the following stemma for the manuscripts of the y-group:



On the basis of the conclusions arrived at in this section and Section B, we may represent the relationship between M, K, AM, A, S, B, J, P and PM by the following stemma:



Section D: The identity of *y and its scribe

The discussion will now be devoted to the question of the identity of the latest common source for the manuscripts of the y-group, i.e. *y. First, the following points require notice:

(i) AM, A and S all share a number of readings not found in K and/or the manuscripts of the Z-group. Further, there is close agreement between most of the orthographical changes made by Árni Magnússon in K and the corresponding spelling in A. The following are a few examples:

at 6/22,	both	<u>AM</u>	and	<u>A</u>	have	<u>ofusa</u> (<u>aufúsa</u>);
" 14/8,	"	"	"	"	"	<u>gʰr</u> (<u>gerr</u>);
" 14/9,	"	"	"	"	"	<u>beils</u> (<u>beizl</u>);
" 25/6,	"	"	"	"	"	<u>eʰndi</u> (<u>erindi</u>);
" 35/4,	"	"	"	"	"	<u>alv°</u> (<u>alvǫru</u>);
" 41/13,	"	"	"	"	"	<u>sk</u> (<u>skalt</u>);
" 47/14,	"	"	"	"	"	<u>væn</u> (<u>ván</u>);
" 50/12,	"	"	"	"	"	<u>æfaull</u> (<u>áfóll</u>);
" 59/3,	"	"	"	"	"	<u>eýna</u> (<u>Eyna</u>).

(ii) AM's immediate exemplar is known to have been a vellum and A's exemplar, which was clearly of some age, was almost certainly one also (see page *21). From what has been said above (pages *71-3), it seems likely that S is either a direct copy of a vellum, or a copy of a copy by Árni Magnússon of a vellum.

(iii) Árni Magnússon and Jón Eggertsson did most of their work as copyists in Copenhagen at the end of the seven-

teenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth. Asgeir Jónsson copied manuscripts there from 1686 to 1688 and again during the winter of 1697-8.

Taking these facts together, there can be little doubt that the direct exemplar for AM and A was, in fact, a single manuscript (we shall call it *y), which was a vellum, and which was to be found in Copenhagen around the year 1700. S is either a copy of this vellum or at only one remove from it.

The only surviving vellum (fragment) which contains Fló is M, but, from what has been said in the two previous sections, it is clear that *y cannot have been identical with *M. Apart from *M, we hear of only one other vellum manuscript which contained Fló and we must now give our attention to this.

In the year 1675, Professor Peder Hansen Resen (1625-88) presented his library to the University of Copenhagen. The removal of the library (which was not completed until 1686) was the occasion for the compilation of a catalogue of it entitled Petri Johannis Resenii Bibliotheca Regiæ Academiæ Hafniensi donata. Although the title-page of this catalogue bears the date 1685, at least parts of it were not printed before 1686 and its Appendix not before 1687 (see S. Birket Smith, Om Kjøbenhavns Universitetsbibliothek før 1728, 1882, 45-51 especially 46 footnote 2). In it, details are given of several manuscripts which contained Fló but only one of them appears to have been a vellum. In the Appendix (Pag.

369-70, Capsa X. Ord. I fol., nr. 5), details are given of a manuscript described as 'Codex Islandicus membraneus M. SS.', which, if we accept the order of items given in the catalogue as those of the manuscript, contained Fló as its first item ('Historiam Incólarum Australis Islandiæ dictam Floamanna Saga'), followed by Laxdæla Saga, Hænsa-Póris Saga, Vatnsdæla Saga, Eyrbyggja Saga, Kjalnesinga Saga and Króka-Refs Saga in that order. A later description of the same manuscript by Árni Magnússon to be found in AM 226 a, 8vo (see Arne Magnussons i AM. 435 a-b, 4to indeholdte Håndskriftfortegnelser, ed. K. Kålund, 1909, 117; cf. Bibl, xxx, 271) states that the same manuscript, at its end, also contained Stjórnu-Odda Draumr, Bergbúa Þáttr and 2 Draumvitranir. It is interesting to note K. Kålund's supposition (Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske Håndskrifter i Det store kongelige Bibliotek, 1900, xvi) that because this manuscript appears in the Appendix to the Resenian catalogue, it must have been acquired after the year 1675. We must assume that the vellum, which we shall refer to as *R, perished in the Copenhagen fire of 1728.

The researches of Guðbrandur Vigfússon have given us further information about *R.^[29] On a slip of paper attached to folio 2 recto of the vellum manuscript AM 128, fol., which contains inter alia Vatnsdæla Saga, Árni Magnússon has written the following: 'Watnsdæla Sagann virdest mier vera eins og þær allmennelegu, id est, tekenn ur Vatnshornsbokeⁿ, sem nú ä heima in Bibliotheca Reseniana Hafniæ, enn er hier afleitt-

lega rängt skrifud' (quoted from Katalog, i, 92). Further, in AM 267, 8vo, in another note, Árni writes: 'Eyrbyggjur flestar ä Jslandi hygg eg sieu eptir Vatzhornsbok er nu stendr in bibliotheca Resen' (quoted from Bibl, xxx, 280). From these two statements, we may conclude that in Resen's library there was a single manuscript which contained both Vatnsdæla Saga and Eyrbyggja Saga and which was called Vatnshornsbók. The only manuscript listed in the Resenian catalogue which contains both these sagas, indeed the only one which contains Eyrbyggja Saga, is *R. Assuming the catalogue is complete (which we have no reason not to do), then we may identify the Vatnshornsbók with *R.

In his compendium of Icelandic history, Crymogæa, published in Hamburg in 1609, the Icelandic scholar and humanist Arngrímur Jónsson on four occasions makes mention of a manuscript he calls Vatnshyrna.^[30] From his references, it is clear that Vatnshyrna must have contained Kjalnesinga Saga, Pórðar Saga hreðu and Bárðar Saga Snæfellsáss. To make an identification between Arngrímur's Vatnshyrna and Árni Magnússon's Vatnshornsbók and thus between Vatnshyrna and *R would, at first sight, seem obvious. If we do this, however, we also have to assume that between the time Arngrímur used the manuscript and the time it entered Resen's library, a part of it containing Pórðar Saga and Bárðar Saga - *R contained neither of these - had become separated from the manuscript we know from the Resenian catalogue.^[31] Guðbrandur Vigfússon thought the second part of the manuscript describ-

ed in the Resenian catalogue was AM 564 a, 4to, which contained inter alia fragments of both Pórðar Saga and Bárðar Saga. Stefán Karlsson (Bibl, xxx, 279-87) has, however, produced convincing evidence to show that this cannot have been the case. But even though we must now look elsewhere for a lost part (or parts) of the manuscript we know from the Resenian catalogue, there still seems to be good reasons for identifying *R in its original form with Arngrímur's Vatnshyrna

Guðbrandur Vigfússon believed that Vatnshyrna was written for Jón Hákonarson of Víðidalstunga (Húnavatnssýsla) who lived from 1350 (see Flb, iv, 352) to an unknown date between 1398 and 1416. This Guðbrandur did because manuscripts of Flóamanna Saga, which he believed to be copied from *R (i.e. K, A and P), and the fragment of Pórðar Saga in AM 564 a, 4to, which he thought was part of Vatnshyrna, finish with genealogies down to Jón, and in Pórðar Saga's case, also down to Jón's wife Ingileif. It would not be at all difficult to accept that Guðbrandur was right on this point: It is beyond doubt that Flateyjarbók was written for Jón; it contains a collection of Kings' Sagas; that Jón should also commission the writing of a codex which, like Vatnshyrna, contained a number of important Icelanders' Sagas does not seem at all unlikely. Further, assuming that *R was written for and owned by Jón, Sigurður Nordal (Flb, i, xii-xiii), for instance, has been able to conveniently explain how in the centuries after Jón's death, the codex could have found its way from Víðidalstunga

to (Stóra-)Vatnshorn in Haukadalur (Dalasýsla), the farm from which it is usually assumed it took its name, and thence to Hólar at which place it is most natural to assume that Arngrímur Jónsson used it. Even^{so}, since it has now been shown that AM 564 a, 4to, with its genealogy down to Jón and Ingileif was never part of *R, the need exists for stronger evidence for a connection between Vatnshyrna and Jón.

In fact, Stefán Karlsson goes a long way to producing such evidence in the same article as he shows that AM 564 a, 4to can never have been part of Vatnshyrna (see Bibl, xxx, 287-300). His arguments and methods may be summarized thus: While *R itself is lost, there are three manuscripts or parts of manuscripts in the Arnamagnæan Collection written by Árni Magnússon which we have quite satisfactory grounds [34] for regarding as direct copies of *R. Two of these manuscripts have been mentioned already: AM 555 h, 4to and AM 564 c, 4to (designated respectively H and C). The third text Stefán uses is parts of AM 448, 4to (E), which contains Eyrbyggja Saga: for the greater part, this manuscript is written by Ásgeir Jónsson; pp. 33-44 (EI) of it are, however, written by Árni, as are the verses in the saga from p. 44 to the end (EII). In the three texts, Árni has attempted to a greater or lesser extent to reproduce the orthography of his original and while, of course, we cannot expect that he has done this perfectly, we can certainly get from H, C and E a good idea of *R's spelling. Now if *R was commissioned

by Jón Hákonarsson, there is a reasonable chance that it was written by one or both of the two scribes who wrote Flateyjarbók for him, Jón Þórðarson and Magnús Þórhallsson. Stefán has therefore undertaken a comparison of the orthography of H, C and E as representing *R on the one hand and Flateyjarbók on the other. His conclusion is that the part of *R from which H, C and E are copied was indeed written by Magnús Þórhallsson 'probably...within the period 1391-5'. (Jón Þórðarson is excluded; Bibl, xxx, 296 footnote 65.)

While, then, a connection between *R and Jón Hákonarson is not proven, the fact that part of it was written by his sometime scribe makes it seem very likely.

We may now return to *y and consider the following facts:

(i) *R was in Copenhagen at a time when all the scribes of the y-group could have used it.

(ii) We might suspect that the 'gömul membrana' referred to by Jón in S is identical with that which Arni and Jón refer to in H, C and Cod. Holm. Isl. papp. fol. No. 67 (see page *71-2 above) and which must be identical with *R (see Note to Introduction 34).

(iii) At least part of *R was written by Jón Hákonarson's sometime scribe, Magnús Þórhallsson; *y concludes with a genealogy from the hero of the saga down to Jón Hákonarson. Taken together, these facts would seem to make the identification of *y with the first item of *R a near certainty. On the other hand, they do not necessarily prove that the scribe of *y was identical with the scribe of ~~the exemplar for~~ H, C and E;

we must attempt to discover whether Magnús Þórhallsson wrote *y by more direct means.

It is unfortunate for the present editor that Stefán Karlsson, in his article just mentioned, does not take AM into account alongside H, C and E when he attempts to visualize the spelling of *R (cf. Bibl, xxx, 291 footnote 52). That he does not do this is quite understandable: AM is not a continuous text - Arni's changes in K ^(,of course,) are only occasional; he often represents the readings of *y merely by crossing out or adding to words or letters written by Ketill (see page *20). On the other hand, it is certainly possible to get some idea of the spelling of *y not only from AM but also from A, which, as suggested above (page *21), reflects the spelling of its exemplar at least to some extent (cf. Bibl, xxx, 287-8). To this end, the present editor has carried out a brief investigation of the orthography of Arni's 'corrections' in K and of Asgeir's manuscript A. It should be stressed that this investigation has been by no means exhaustive. As will appear obvious, it leans heavily on the groundwork provided by Stefán's article. But despite its limited nature, the results it produces are certainly sufficient to suggest a good deal in common to the spelling of the exemplar of AM and A, to that of the exemplar of H, C, and E and to those parts of Flateyjarbók which were written by Magnús Þórhallsson (columns 1-10, 535(last line)-754, 847-905).

First, a list may be given, without examples, of about thirty traits of spelling which Stefán (Bibl, xxx, 291-6)

finds in common to the direct exemplar of H, C and E and to the relevant parts of Flateyjarbók (see above) and which, from AM and A, *y can be seen to have had also. This does not pretend to be complete:

'á' is represented by æ and a; preterite plural of 'koma' is spelt kvomu; 'e' is written e before gi; both e and ei are found for 'e' before ng; 'é' is written e and ee; as endings, both -i and -e, and -ir and -er appear; the ending '-lig(-)' is spelt with i; past participle of 'verða' is written vordinn, vordit; the pronoun 'nokkurr' has u in the second syllable; 'fyrir', 'yfir' and the preterite of 'skulu' is spelt with a y, while parts of 'þykkja' are spelt with an i; for 'ö', o, ô and au are found; 'gjör'/'ger'- appears very frequently in abbreviated form (cf. page *74); the first element of the diphthongs 'ei' and 'ey' is written e; both f and fv (fu) are found medially between vowels; both G and Ġ are found for 'gg'; usually hl- and hr- appear initially, but even so a number of forms without h- are found, particularly in the words 'hlutr' and 'hross'; for 'k', q is found at the beginning of a word when abbreviated 'va', 'vá' and 'vé' follow; z is found for 'ok' (conjunction) in a large number of cases; for 'nn', both ñ and n̄ are found; ŕ and Ṛ are found for 'rr'; the occasional use of double 'r' for single 'r' (cf. e.g. AM's flyŕ mentioned on page *68); 'rl' is rendered by rl and rll; both fyst(-) and fyrst(-), næst(-) and nærst(-) appear; -iss occasionally appears for '--is'; for 't' in final position, d is written when the preceding root syllable ends

in t; the superlative ending is spelt zst; the middle voice ending is spelt z, z above the line or zst; c above the line is used for 'ik' in m^c ('mik'); the abbreviation π is used for 'ja', 'ra', 'rá', 'va' and 'vá'; ω is used for 'ur'; 'þeim' is represented by þ with a stroke through the lower leg.
[35]

Second, in his article, Stefán gives special attention to five features of Magnús Þórhallsson's spelling in Flateyjarbók which he also detects in the exemplar for H, C and E and which, taken together, he thinks are probably to be regarded as idiosyncratic to the one scribe's spelling. All but one of these features appears to have been found also in *y and special attention may therefore be given to them here (Stefán's remarks on Flateyjarbók (F) and H, C and E given before the bracket):

(1) 'þ er jafnan notað fyrir 'ð' í orðunum 'höfðingi', 'tíðindi', 'síðan' og 'meðan', þar sem 'in' og 'an' er bundið með því að draga þverstrik gegnum hálegginn á þ-inu, t.d. hofþingia H2r og v, tipindi H2v, C1r, tipinda E33, siban H2r, C1r, E34, meþan C1r, E41.'] In Fló, A has hoffþgi, 47/4 and hoffþgia, 21/8; tipþda, 29/14 and tipþdum, 47/9; sipþ, 23/15 (x 2) and 29/2; meþþ, 29/14.

(2) 'Tvístrikað k er notað fyrir 'konungs' (sem einnig er bundið ks), tvístrikað h fyrir 'hans' (einnig hs) og tvístrikað þ fyrir 'þess'(-) (og oftast 'þessu'- í þessum). Þessir tvístrikuðu stafir standa ugglaust fyrir einstrikaða límingarstafi k + f, h + f og þ + f, sem notaðir eru

með sama hætti í F.'] Fló: A has: k, 1/10 and ks, 6/10 (konungs); h, 21/24, 23/15, 27/26 and hs, 32/26 (hans); þ, 3/20, 17/1, 53/5 (þess).

(3) 'Notuð er nýmyndin burt fyrir 'brott', eins og títt er í F.'] Fló: AM has a number of examples of burt, e.g. at 49/11.

(4) 'n yfir línu er ekki aðeins notað fyrir 'an', heldur einnig fyrir 'in' og 'inn', skogⁿ H3r, draumⁿ H4r, bveingⁿ H7r og v, hofudⁿ H7v, harmbrungⁿ (fem.) C2r, hoGⁿ (part. fem.) E36, bryningⁿ E39. Þessi notkun á n yfir línu virðist mjög fátíð í F, en um hana hafa þó fundizt nokkur dæmi, megⁿ F1, hoGⁿ (part. masc.) F899, knelidⁿ F903, vogⁿ F903.'] Fló: Although a number of spellings have been found in A which suggest the use of n above the line for -an in *y. (e.g. gýlldⁿ, 4/25-6, utⁿ, 16/1, and vndⁿ, 23/12), an exhaustive search has revealed no examples either in AM or A of the use of n above the line for -in(n).

(5) 'Fyrir 'erendi' er skrifað erndi ('er'-band fyrir r) H6v, og á sama hátt er orðið skrifað í F6 and 671 og víðar.'] Fló: At 25/6, 45/14 and 60/22 both AM and A have eⁿndi.

(1) and (2) represent ways of spelling which were antiquated by the time Magnús was writing, (3) and (4) ways of spelling which were advanced for the end of the fourteenth century. That four of these five features would appear to have been in *y would seem to put beyond doubt that it was written by Magnús Þórhallsson. And the absence of n above the line for 'inn' and 'in' in copies of *y would not really

detract from the grounds for this conclusion: as Stefán notes, the feature in question only appears in those parts of Flateyjarbók which Magnús wrote after the main body of the work was complete, i.e. after 1387. Indeed the very non-appearance of this feature in *y might be shown to have particular significance in establishing the time at which Magnús started to write Vatnshyrna. [36]

There would seem to be little doubt then, not only that *y was an item in *R (probably the first), but that it was also written by Magnús Þórhallsson. Now it is not absolutely necessary to assume that Magnús wrote the manuscript for Jón Hákonarson; he might have written it for another patron or even have been working for himself. [37] But such propositions are less attractive for three reasons already inferred: for Magnús's writing Vatnshyrna for Jón, there is the parallel of his writing Flateyjarbók for the same man; in Vatnshyrna, first place seems to have been given to a saga, Fló, from whose hero Jón was descended; if Jón owned Vatnshyrna, we could explain how it found its way to a farm Vatnshorn from which it could have taken its name (see pages *78-9 above). And at least this last fact speaks against the suggestion that the manuscript was written for Jón but as a gift for another man (cf. Bibl, xxx, 300). On the other hand, if we do accept that the manuscript was written for Jón, then we must also assume that it was written in circumstances which, at first sight, may seem a little peculiar: as shown above (page *56), *X was the first manuscript to end with a gen-

ealogy down to Jón Hákonarson; on the other hand, a glance at the stemma on page *73 will show that *y was two removes from *X (see however page *59); one might think it more natural that *y should be the first manuscript in the tradition with a genealogy down to Jón. But in fact the two removes between *X and a *y written for Jón could be explained in a number of ways. *X might, for example, ^{even} have been written as early as the 1350's at the instigation of Jón's grandfather, Gizurr galli (died 1370), or father, Hákon (died 1381); and with the special interest the saga would have held for Jón, it would not be surprising if he had acquired his own copy of it (*Y?) before Vatnshyrna was written in about ^(or after) the fortieth year of his life. And here we should note that certain conclusions reached by John McKinnell, Stefán Karlsson and Sigurður Nordal, taken together, suggest the existence of a copy of Pórðar Saga hreðu which was older than that in Vatnshyrna but which, like that in AM 564 a, 4to, ended with a genealogy down to Jón and his wife (see Bibl, xxx, 300). There is, then, no reason why a *Y, and perfectly credibly an *X also, should not have been written for Jón or his family even though *y was also written for Jón. It is even possible that both *Y and *X were actually available to Magnús when he wrote *y. And with as little difference between these two manuscripts as the conclusions on page *59 suggest, there is little or no reason why he should have preferred *X to *Y as his exemplar. Indeed, if, as is possible, Magnús had written *Y himself (but not *X), he would

naturally have preferred to copy from it rather than from
[38]

*X.

Section E: The relationship between the M-version and the
X-version of F1ó

A comparison of the texts of the M-version (as represented by M and PM) and the X-version has been carried out above (pages *55-6) and has shown considerable differences between the two redactions. As will be clear from a reading of the two texts, these differences are ones of length - the saga in *M was appreciably longer than it was in *X - and also of style, tone and, to a certain extent, content and plot. The question of how these differences arose and which of the two redactions is closer to the latest common source for *M and *X (which we shall call *F) has so far been put aside, but now requires attention. First, however, it will be appropriate to review briefly the conclusions of previous scholars on this matter as the failure of some of them themselves to do this has led to an unnecessarily disjointed and protracted discussion. We may begin by considering Finnur Magnússon's views put forward in Grönlands historiske Mindesmærker.

When he edited F1ó in GhM, volume ii, in 1838, Finnur Magnússon knew Folio 5 of M but not Folio 4, possibly because the latter, as part of Additamenta 20, would have been separated from Folio 5. For this reason, Finnur had not fully recognized (as Guðbrandur Vigfússon had by 1860) that parts of P were copied from parts of M (see however Note to Intro-

duction 9); indeed, he regarded Folio 5 and P (his F) as representing two different redactions of the saga. On pages 20-1 of GhM, ii, he classifies the redactions represented by the manuscripts he uses 'efter deres formodede Alder og anden Beskaffenhed'. As the oldest redaction he ranks that represented by Folio 5: 'Det viser sig...at være den virkelig (os bekjendte) ældste Text, især derved, at ingen af Thorgils Orrabeinfostres Afkom deri nævnes ved Navn.' Next oldest Finnur classifies the version represented by his manuscript K which will be ignored for the moment but dealt with below (page *127). Third in the list comes P (Finnur's F) 'som er vidtløftigere end de övrige [Håndskrifter], især i Beskrivelsen over Thorgils's Grönlands-Reise, som muelig altsaa, forsaavidt, er udsprunget af andre Kilder...Slægtregistrene kunne her være tilföiede af en langt yngre Afskriver.' As representing a fourth and latest redaction, Finnur groups those manuscripts which we would identify with the X-group. Throughout his edition, Finnur translates and comments upon variants from P (his F) and, at the end of the saga, uses Folio 5 as his main text.

Unfortunately, Finnur does not give all his reasons for this classification and the ones he does give are not entirely decisive: while at least part of the genealogy down to Jón Hákonarson in the X-manuscripts is, of course, the addition of a later redactor of the saga, it might also be possible to interpret the absence of the greater part of it in M in a different way (see pages*423 f). Indeed one suspects that the main reason for making the redaction represented by Folio 5 the oldest is the fact that the manuscript itself is the oldest. But his remarks on P (his F) are interesting because they suggest that its extra length may be taken as a sign of age. And whatever the reasons for them, Finnur's main conclusions (apart from his view of his K) are broadly acceptable. It is, at any rate, unfortunate that later editors did not paid a little more attention to them.

When Guðbrandur Vigfússon edited the saga in 1860, he not

only knew Folio 4 of M but had also realized what relationship existed between P and M. And as Guðbrandur did not concern himself with Finnur Magnússon's K, there were for him only two major redactions of the saga, the M-version and the redaction represented by AM 516, 4to (K) and AM 517, 4to (A). The second of these we may for practical purposes equate with Finnur Magnússon's fourth redaction. But whereas Finnur considered his fourth redaction furthest from the original of the saga, Guðbrandur suggested that K and A were closer to it than the M-version. His statement on this point was as follows:

'Ob die kürzere oder die längere Flóamannasaga die ältere sei? - obwohl die Entscheidung darüber durch das geringe Fragment, das wir noch von der letztern übrig haben, erschwert wird, scheint es doch das Richtigere in der kürzeren die ursprüngliche, in der längeren eine Ausführung und Vermehrung jener zu erblicken. Wenigstens in den bei weitem meisten Islendingasögur, wo eine kürzere und eine längere desselben Inhaltes vorliegen, wie z. B. Gísla saga Súrssonar, Hallfreðar saga, Víga-Glúmssaga und verschiedenen andren, hat sich immer die kürzere als die ursprüngliche ergeben, ganz entsprechend dem Zeitgeiste, der je später um so mehr sich von ^{der} Kürze und Einfachheit der klassischen Saga entfernte. Namentlich gilt diess von den vorklassischen Saga's, deren mehrere am Schluss des 13. Jahrhundert. und Anfang des 14. umgeschrieben und erweitert wurden.

'Die kürzere Flóamannasaga ist durchaus treffender im Ausdruck und besser stilistirt als die längere, deren Ende eine gewisse Geschwätzigkeit zeigt, die den eigentlichen Sagaton ganz verdirbt; man vergleiche z. B. nur die Charakteristik des Þorgils am Schlusse der beiden Saga's. In der längeren Saga sind zum Theil einige nicht uninteressante Züge, die sich aber doch als verdächtig oder ganz falsch erweisen, wie z. B. dass die Männer sich an der Ostküste Grönlands von Eichhörnchen und andern kleinen Thieren [was für welchen?] ernähren. ^[39] Auch die Geschichte von dem

Ruder, das man fand und das mit Runen beschrieben war, ist bedenklich. ^[40] Bei alledem scheint es doch, also wenn die längere Saga vielleicht noch vom Ende des 13. Jahrhund. sei; man hat die Leiden und Gefahren des Þorgils in Grönland noch interessanter und zugleich vollständiger, ausführlicher machen wollen, einige dieser Zusätze mögen ja auch auf mündlicher Überlieferung beruhen' (Fornsögur, xxvii f.

This was Guðbrandur's opinion in 1860. It appears to be based on a rather desultory and superficial comparison of the two versions and partly on the rather doubtful generalisations of the first paragraph about style. It is, however, cautiously expressed and before he died in 1889, Guðbrandur seems to have come round to a very different view. In Origines Islandicae published after his death (1905), the version of the saga represented by K and A is seen as a considerably altered form of an older saga which dealt almost exclusively with Þorgils's life; further, the parts of the saga based on Landnámabók and many of the conventional motifs in the account of Þorgils's first journey abroad are regarded as later additions. An attempt to refute this part of Guðbrandur's argument (i.e. his view of what form the original of the saga and the M-version took) will be made later in this section. What interests here are the remarks made on the activities of the 'paraphrast' of the 'Waterhorn-book' whom we may, for practical purposes, identify with the scribe or redactor of *X: ^[41]

'It [i.e. the M-text] is also a far better text. The paraphrast [of the 'Waterhorn-book'] has not only abridged, leaving out many lines and sliding over obscure phrases, but he has tried to level the style to the ordinary fluent classic level, only, however, succeeding in part, so full of idiosyncrasy was the original he had before him. He has also gone so far as to try and alter the personality of Þorgisl; for he tries to turn the gaunt, rough, quick-tempered, giant-like man, whose unpromising exterior veiled his steadfast, patient mind and warm heart, into a cut-and-thrust hero of

the accepted type. To take a good instance, p. 656 [this edition, pages 41-2, 82]: one can see from the M-text, though the passage is corrupt, that Thorgisl spared the steward whom he suspected of complicity in his wife's murder - just as afterwards he sold the thralls, but slew them not - but this will not do for the paraphrast, who makes him take vengeance upon the man in the cruel bloodthirsty 13th-century fashion' (Orig, ii, 630).

This statement is of particular interest and some of the ideas expressed will be used or developed in what follows. Indeed, much of the introduction to the saga in Orig - pages 629-31 are referred to - is noteworthy for its views on the nature of the M-redaction, which, although often erroneous, are certainly thought-provoking (see pages *115-7). It is at any rate regrettable that when Finnur Jónsson edited the saga in 1932, he not only ignored the opinions expressed in Orig on the relationship between the two versions, but urged those of Fornsögur considerably less tentatively than Guðbrandur had done:

'Når man sammenligner bægge bearbejdelser, viser det sig straks, at den vidtløftigere ikke indeholder noget, som ikke findes i den kortere - med én enkelt undtagelse.^[42] Der tilføjes taler og replikker og ræsonnementer, som en bearbejder let kunde lave for ligesom at gøre det hele mere fyldigt og afrundet. Men flere af disse tilføjelser er lidet vægtige, og nogle er tilmed ret enfoldige. G. Vigfússon har sigtet hertil, når han siger, at den længere saga 'eine gewisse geschwätzigkeit zeigt, die den eigentlichen sagaton ganz verdirbt'. Dette er rigtigt nok, men er tillige et kriterium for, at den længere fremstilling er sekundær. Forholdet er noget lignende som ved de to former av Bandamannasaga' (Fló, 1932, vii-viii).^[43]

From what we know of Finnur's more general views of the sagas, it is not difficult to follow his train of thought here: The sagas, Finnur believed, are essentially oral compositions written down. As such, they have their idiosyn-

cratic style, taut, economic, ^(al) laconic. When in the sagas this style is absent, we may suspect the tamperings of later 'literary' redactors. The longer version of Fló lacks the proper 'saga style' and therefore must be secondary. But here, of course, Finnur's basic premise may be disputed. Nowadays the sagas are regarded as having largely literary origins. As such they have from the beginning a literary style. The style of medieval prose tends towards prolixity, repetitiveness, superfluity. When we find these features we may be closer to the original than when we find their opposites. A concise style may well be due to a later redactor. And one might do well to apply this crude touchstone to the two redactions of Fló.

The most recent discussion of the question is by Björn Sigfússon in an article entitled 'Tvær gerðir Flóamanna-sögu' in Saga, 1958, 429-51. Like Finnur Jónsson, Björn seems to be unaware of Guðbrandur Vigfússon's change of opinion on this matter as recorded in Orig, but even so reaches conclusions which in a number of ways resemble those of Guðbrandur. This he does after an examination of the two texts unprecedented in its detail. Björn argues that the plot of the saga in its shorter redaction contains a number of illogicalities, inconsistencies and obscurities and that where the M-version is preserved for comparison, its narrative can be shown to be more comprehensible on a number of points of difference. Further, in a number of cases where the M-version has extra material, this can be shown to be essential to a proper understanding of the story. As many of Björn's arguments are used or referred to in this thesis, there is no need to rehearse them here. His conclusion, however, is that the X-version (or 'Vatnshyrnutexti', as he calls it) 'ber þess merki, að hann hlýtur að vera eitthvað stytur í höndum eftirritara og það af ráðnum hug.' Moreover, various of Björn's remarks imply that he discerns a difference in tone between the two redactions and regards that of the M-version as original to the saga. Finally in his article, Björn an-

swers Guðbrandur's generalizations in Fornsögur on longer and shorter versions of Icelandic sagas and Finnur Jónsson's remarks on Bandamanna Saga (see above). He is able, on the basis of such recent studies as H. Magerøy's Studiar i Bandamanna saga (1957) and his own article to assert that while 'nokkrar [sögur] voru lengdar eins og Gíslasaga og Ljósveit-ingasaga,' 'fleiri [voru] styttaðar að orðalagi eins og Egla, Bandamannasaga, Eiríkssaga, Flóamannasaga, Glúma.' Even leaving Fló out of account, cases of shortening would seem to be in the majority. We are justified in approaching the two redactions of Fló ^{also} with this fact in mind. [44]

The present editor's own investigations have ^(, then,) led him to similar conclusions to those arrived at by Björn Sigfússon. The results which have been reached will be presented in the following manner: In (a), a number of specific instances will be discussed where the M-version can be shown reasonably convincingly to be more original than the X-version and the latter to have been shortened or altered in some other way. Some of the arguments here have been used before by Guðbrandur Vigfússon and Björn Sigfússon, others are new. In (b), *X's independence of *M will, however, be affirmed. [45] In a third section, (c), on the basis of (a) and (b) and other arguments, more general conclusions will be drawn on the nature of *F, the latest common source for *M and *X and some remarks will be made on the activities of the redactor of *X. At the same time, by way of a digression, the question of the relationship of *F to the original of the saga will be given some attention.

(a)

In the following instances, a comparison of the two versions of the saga, suggests the M-version's superiority to the

X-version:

1) The account in chapter 19 of Kolr's visit to Traðarholt to solicit Þorgils's protection against Ásgrímr after his killing of Sörli is rather different in the two versions:

M-version (PM), 64/1-17: Kolr kemr í Traðarholt. Þat var síð um kveld. Menn sátu yfir borðum en Þórey húsfreyja bar mat í stofu. Þá var barit á dyrr ok gekk hon til hurðar ok heilsar vel Kol, fóstbróður sínum, ok býðr honum bar at vera. Hann vill eigi bar 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 viðræður okkar Þorgils.' Hann gerir svá ok eptir þat ferr hon í stofuna....En er þau kómu í rekkju...

X-version, 30/15-26: Kolr kemr í Traðarholt. Þat var síð um kveld. Menn váru at mat. Þórey gekk fram ok til dyra ok bauð fósttra sínum bar at vera. Hann sagði henni tíðindin. 'Þú skalt þat,' segir Þórey, 'vita við Þorgils hvárt hann vill nokkut traust veita þér eðr ekki, ok láttu hljótt um þik.' Hon leiddi hann í skot eitt, síðan gekk hon til stofu....En er þau kómu í rekkju um kveldit...

In the M-version, Þórey makes it clear to Kolr that her husband might prove difficult to win over (indeed he might react against him) but that he will be of great help if he does agree to support him. So that Kolr can discover what Þorgils's

reaction will be without actually meeting him, Þórey hides him in a skot (see Note to 30/20) which runs behind her and Þorgils's bed; from here, he can hear her petition to Þorgils and leave unobserved in the event of a hostile reply. She then postpones mentioning Kolr's presence and business until she and Þorgils go to bed. The story in the X-version, although it has a number of the same features, is distorted. Instead of telling her foster-brother to eavesdrop, Þórey tells him to ask Þorgils for help himself, but in spite of the advice, she shows him into the skot. The real point of this last action is lost on the reader. It is clear that the M-version is the more original here and as will be shown in Chapter II (pages *284-8) the story as told in it constitutes a well-defined motif. Cf. 'TgF', 438 f.

2) In corresponding places, the M-version (PM) reads:

'...Ok gott hefir þér orðit til fjár í framgöngunni; klæði rautt hefir þú fengit.' (64/12-3), while the X-version has: '...enda hefir þú fengit rauðan lit.' (30/22-3). Both Guðbrandur Vigfússon (Orig, ii, 632 footnote) and Þórhallur Vilmundarson think that the M-version is corrupt. As is argued in Note to 64/12-3, however, it seems more probable that the author of the saga was here introducing some whimsical or teasing expression for 'to blush', which was either a known idiom or one of his own coinage. This has either been rejected or more probably misunderstood by the X-redactor. The possibility that it is an addition by a later redactor can be much more credibly dismissed. Here we seem to have a good example

of what Guðbrandur Vigfússon calls 'sliding over obscure phrases' by the redactor of the shorter version (see page *90).

3) In the M-version of the saga, but not in the X-version, there are certain phrases which suggest a local knowledge of the part of Iceland where the events of the saga take place: hann átti bú austr hjá Kálfaholti (PM, 64/22-3); austr í herað (PM, 65/10); fyrir neðan gringarð (87/19-20). Since, for other reasons, it seems likely that the original of the saga was written in Flói (see Chapter III, Section C), it seems reasonable to assume that these phrases belonged to it and that they were omitted by the X-redactor who lived in another part of the country and to whom they were of no interest, meaningless or irrelevant. The alternative explanation, that they were introduced into the text of the saga by a later redactor, seems far less likely.

4) At 31/11-4 and 65/2-9, the texts of the X- and M-versions are respectively as follows: Þorgils ríðr sem áðr um heraðit ok Kolr með honum; sækja mannamót ok verðr nú óbokki mikill manna á milli. Hófðingjum þykkir mein á þessu ok leita um sættir. Þorgils býðr ekki sættir./ Þorgils ríðr allt at einu um heraðit ok Kolr með honum. Sækja mannamót ok geriz af því óbokki millim heraðshófðingja. Heraðsmönnum þykkir mein at ok leita um sættir en Þorgils býðr engar bætr fyrir Kol. Heraðsmenn leggja nú fund til ok leggja allir fé til við Ásgrím ok bæta víg Sörla; 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 hǫfðingjum (PM). In both versions we are told how an attempt is made to bring about a reconciliation between Þorgils and Asgrímr, in the X-version by hǫfðingjar, in PM by heraðsmenn. After saying that Þorgils býðr ekki sættir, the X-version leaves the matter there. In PM, on the other hand, two further statements are made which are surely of relevance to the following narrative. First, we are told how the heraðsmenn all contribute money to compensate for Sǫrli and, as a result, the sentence of outlawry on Kolr is lifted: nowhere later in the saga does Kolr appear as an outlaw. Second, at the end of the passage, specific mention is made of coolness between Þorgils and Asgrímr, even after Sǫrli's slaying has been paid for: this provides a relevant lead-up to the next episode which tells of Asgrímr's conspiracy to kill Þorgils. The extra material in the M-version here must surely have been in *F. Cf. 'TgF', 440-1 and 445-6.

5) On page *312 below, it is shown how the M-version (PM) contains a sentence, Þorgils hafði allskonar fé ef hann vildi þar staðfestaz (67/14-5), which is found only in the M-version, but which has such similar wording to sentences in Eir and Gr that it must be a borrowing. Since it is probable that the original version of the saga borrowed from at least one of these two sources (see pages *309ff), the sentence in question is far more likely to have been borrowed into the original of the saga than added by a later redactor. Further mention of livestock on Þorgils's Greenland expedition in

both versions (35/24, 70/26-7) would seem to confirm this conclusion.

6) At 33/17-24, the X-version reads thus: 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 hans, þótt hon væri sjúk ...Lét hann hana eptir...Þorgils kvaz nú fyrir þykkja at fara en léz eigi nenna aptr at setjaz. On the other hand, the text of the M-version (PM) at the corresponding place is as follows: Þorgils gisti ok þau á Hjalla í Ólfusi. Þar var ok í ferð með honum Þórný, dóttir hans, ok ætlaði hann at hon skyldi fara. Þar tók hon sótt ok beið Þorgils iii. nætr ok kvað þat eigi mundu standa fyrir ferð sinni...Þorgils segir Þóroddi at hann kvez mundu mjök treystaz ummælum Eiríks rauða. Þóroddr segir: 'Ópt verðr vant til manna at ætla ok eigi at síðr at maðr leggi mikinn kost til.' Þorgils kvaz nú fyrir þykkja mikit at fara en kvez nú eigi nenna aptr at hverfa (67/22-68/4). The word nú in the last sentence of both quotations clearly implies that something has just happened to make Þorgils regret his projected journey to Greenland. But this can hardly be his daughter's sickness, as the X-version would seem to suggest, for he has already said, even in the X-version, that þat stæði ekki fyrir ferð hans. Þorgils's misgivings are clearly rather due to the dark warning of Eiríkr's poor hospitality that he gets from Þóroddr in the M-version and which subsequently proves to be justified (see e.g. X-version, 43/19-20). The passage Þorgils segir Þóroddi...

...mikinn kost til.' must surely have been in *F.

7) At 72/22-6 and 37/3-4, the texts of the two versions are as follows:

M-version (BM): Þeir Þorgils hófðu skip á stokka sett ok mjök gert at öðru ok hófðu hvárltveggju at skipbúnaði verit.

Nú líðr af vetrinn ok máttu þeir þó eigi á brott komaz fyrir ísum. Þeir fá sér vistir um sumarit.

X-version: Nú líðr á vetrinn ok máttu þeir eigi burt leita fyrir ísum ok fengu sér vistir um sumarit.

It is clear that the absconding slaves in chapter 23 could only escape by means of a ship or boat (note the mention of the chest they take with them at 37/26 and 73/27); and that they actually did this is stated in the M-version, 74/18-20: Þat er sagt at þeir Snækollr ok aðrir þrælur hófðu skipit í brott tekit (note the use of the definite article in skipit). Mention of shipbuilding somewhere in the narrative previous to the thralls' escape would therefore seem to be essential. Reference to the oncoming winter in the X-version (Nú líðr á vetrinn) is without mention of an intervening summer and the M-version's líðr af vetrinn seems to fit the context rather better: when the X-redactor remarks that the party could not get away in the winter because of ice, he seems to be stating the obvious; it is rather summer ice that must be implied as preventing them from leaving (cf. the X-version itself at 37/5 and M-version, 73/1-2). Cf. 'TgF', 439.

8) In the M-version, 74/10-1, we are told that when Þorgils and his men return from their expedition onto the glacier and find Þórey murdered, they also discover that a bed-hanging (hvílutjald; see Note to 74/10) is missing. This detail is not found in the X-version. In the next chapter, however, both versions tell how Þorgils's party comes across the bailiff Þórarinn by first catching sight of a tent of linen: sá þeir tjald af lérepti. Þeir kenndu at þat var tjald Þóreyjar, 41/22-3; þeir sá tjald af lérepti ok kenndu þar líntjald Þóreyjar, 82/7. If the X-version only of the saga survived, one would normally understand its words tjald Þóreyjar as 'Þórey's tent'. It seems, however, clear from the M-text that the author of the saga intended to suggest that the hvílutjald of the previous chapter has been converted into a tent and that the words líntjald Þóreyjar are rather to be understood as 'Þórey's bed-hanging'). (As the sick wife of the leader of the expedition, Þórey would be the most likely person to have a bed-curtain; see Note to 74/10.) What appears to have happened here is that the X-redactor has omitted the hvílutjald in chapter 23 along with a number of apparently meaningless details, not realizing that it reappeared in the narrative. The reverse explanation, that a redactor added the detail of the stolen bed-hanging to explain the tent, is far less likely.

9) At 39/22, *X had hótt (see Textual Note ad loc), while at the corresponding place in M (79/3), the reading is hónk. This latter reading was clearly that of the original of the

original of the saga (see Note to 39/20-2 and pages *328-9 below). If we assume that *M is derived from *X, we have also to assume that, unlike the scribes of a large number of manuscripts of the X-group (cf. Fló, 1932, iii), the scribe of *M (or a predecessor in the same manuscript tradition) has altered his exemplar's hótt to hónk. This is not entirely impossible but is a less attractive alternative to assuming that *M was independent of *X.

10) The death of the bailiff Þórarinn is reported rather differently in the two versions:

M-version, 82/8-16: ...fundu þar Þórarinn brytja sjúkan. Þeir spyrja hverju faraldi hann hafði þangat komit. Hann sagði...Þorgils segir: 'Eigi veit ek hvers þú ert af verðr en eigi skaltu hér vera.' Ok áðr þeir fari á burt, þá deyr hann ok jarða þeir hann þar.

X-version, 41/23-42/3: Fundu þar brytja Þorgils ok spyrja með hverju faraldi hann hafði þar komit. Hann sagði ...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.

According to the M-version, Þorgils and his men find Þórarinn sick and as far as can be understood from the words '...en eigi skaltu hér vera', Þorgils intends to take him with them. Before they leave, however, Þórarinn dies, presumably of his sickness. In the X-version, no mention is made of Þórarinn being ill and we are told that Þorgils and his men kill him. Guðbrandur Vigfússon's discussion of the

passage has already been quoted on page *91 and there seems little doubt that he and Björn Sigfússon ('TgF', 444) are right in assuming that the M-version is the more original here. It is difficult to see why a later redactor should wish to complicate the narrative by making Þórarinn die of an illness rather than be killed by Þorgils; as Björn Sigfússon remarks: '...eigi sést tilefni yngri ritara til þess að losa við það dráp, því að nóg voru önnur dráp eftir.' Further, as noted in Orig (see page *91), Þorgils does not even kill the thralls who are more closely connected with his wife's murder but rather sells them into slavery (see X-version, 48/1).

11) In the M-version, when Þorsteinn meets Þorgils in Greenland, he tells him that his property shall be as much at Þorgils's disposal as his own: '...allt mitt skal yðr jafnheimult sem mér', 84/4 (cf. Þorsteinn's kaupskip at 42/22 and 83/13). Later, at 84/27, when men come to Brattahlíð to trade, they do business with Þorsteinn as well as Þorgils. This version of the narrative is far more reasonable than that of the shorter redaction. There Þorsteinn's generous offer to the practically destitute Þorgils is absent. But even so at 43/24-5, it is with Þorgils alone that business is done, although it is nowhere stated from where he got goods to trade with. It is of course possible that the inconsistencies of the shorter version originate from the author of the saga himself and that M's text is the result of judicious improvement by a later redactor. But this seems

rather unlikely and it is far more reasonable to assume thoughtless shortening by the redactor of the X-version.

12) At 61/11-2, the X-version has Porgils...þótti inn mesti merkismaðr, vinfastr ok vel stilltr..., while at 89/6-7, M has Porgils þótti inn mesti merkismaðr, vinfastr ok vinveittr... While *X's vel stilltr alliterates with vinfastr as well as M's vinveittr, there is reason to believe that it is not the reading of *F. At various places throughout the saga, we are told how Porgils is in fact the opposite of vel stilltr, that is, how hasty of temper he is. At 39/9-11, his impetuosity nearly leads to the killing of his little son and at 51/8-9, in a moment of anger, he threatens to slay his trusted companion, Kolr. Further, in a passage in PM which, it has already been argued (pages *94-5), was probably to be found in much the same form in *F, the word vanstilltr is actually used of Porgils. It was possibly the repetition of the element vin- in *F's vinveittr which offended the X-redactor; but the word he substitutes is far less satisfactory from the point of view of meaning. Cf. 'TgF', 443 f.

(b)

Evidence that *X cannot be derived from *M is much less obvious than evidence that *M cannot be derived from *X considered in its entirety but even so is unequivocal. In the X-version, 33/13-4, but not in PM, 67/18, we are told that the ship which Porgils buys for his expedition to Greenland is docked in Leiruvágr. This would explain why he passed through Hjalli on the way

to its berth (33/17 and 67/22) and sailed out from its berth to the open sea along a fjord (i.e. Kollafjörður; see 34/15 and Note and 69/3); he would have done neither of these things, if, as one would otherwise assume from PM's statement at 67/18, the ship was docked at Eyrar. - *X's helgir at 41/2 alliterates with the nearby hjálpa, hreint, etc., while PM's dýrðligir does not (see page *309 below). - *X's hjálmmlaukar (40/6) is probably better than M's hálm-laukar (79/24); see Note to 40/6. - At 40/17-8, the X-version reads: 'Þar mun af it harðasta af kostum okkrum, er af váru bárunnar'; this has much more meaning than M's 'Vera má... at hon gæfi ef hon mætti' (see Note to 40/15-8). - *X's Þorsteini at 43/13 seems more reasonable than M's Þorfinni (cf. 43/17 and 84/15). - The reading of *X at 44/11-2, Sógðu sumir menn at Eiríkr hefði haft á því fornan átrúnað, is surely a more original reading than M's Sógðu sumir menn Eiríki at Þorgils hefði haft til þess verks illan átrúnað (85/15-6). [47]

(c)

Emphasis should first be given to the fact that the list of cases mentioned in (b) where *X is probably or possibly superior to *M includes all the examples the present editor has been able to find and one or two of these could easily have arisen as the result of the carelessness of the scribe of *M (cf. page *15 above). On the other hand, the list in (a) of cases where the M-version can be shown to be the more original is by no means exhaustive or intended to be. It would be possible to add a number of examples to

to it, which, while perhaps not all as decisive as those included, would certainly suggest the longer version's superiority. A few examples may be given: Porgils (36/5) is surely less original than Pórarinn Jósteynsson (71/15-6) (see Note to 36/5-6); the margar vikur of 81/2 are far more likely to have been in *F than the margar víkr of the X-version (see 41/2-3 and Note); there seems to be little doubt that Porgils had trouble with his lame leg in *F as well as in the M-version, 88/16-7 (cf. 50/4); the deaths of Porgils, Póroddr and Bjarni spaki were surely not as close together in time as *X's bessu nærri would suggest (see 61/5-6 and Note). And further cases where *M would appear to have been closer to *F than *X are discussed in 'TgF' and in the Notes to the present edition. But enough evidence has already been produced in (a) and (b) to form the basis for broader conclusions on the relationship between the two texts. The difference in number, extent and nature between *X's readings mentioned in (b) and the readings of the M-version which could be shown to be superior to those of the X-version, is sufficiently great to make quite clear that *M's text of the saga was much closer than X's to that of *F; also, that the text of the saga in *X has undergone a process of considerable adaptation and shortening which, in a number of cases, has impaired the intelligibility of its narrative and the cohesion of its plot. And one can go further than this: It is theoretically less complicated to assume merely that *X is a shortened and altered version of

*F than to assume that, in addition to *X being shortened and altered, the M-version has been lengthened and/or altered. Apart from the cases referred to in (b) and a few others like them which are not recognizable, there is no reason for assuming that, where the X-version differs from the M-version, the latter is significantly different from the version of the saga in *F. One might be tempted, of course, to ascribe some of the infelicities of style and composition we find in M and PM to a redactor rather than to the author of the saga. But this would be placing too much confidence in the abilities of saga-writers as writers of prose; as suggested above (pages *91-2), a reading which is aesthetically preferable is by no means necessarily the more original. There is no reason why the stylistic imperfections we find in the M-version should not also have been in the saga in its first form. Indeed, it may have been their very presence in *F - particularly the repetitious and rambling style - which, at least to some extent, encouraged the X-redactor to make the changes he did. On the basis of these considerations, we may then, at least methodologically, take the following approach to the two redactions of the saga. First, in the absence of any indication to the contrary, M and, with the reservations made above (pages *35-6), PM may be taken as reproducing the text of *F. Second, where the M-version is not preserved for comparison, the X-version must always be viewed with circumspection. It can only be regarded as an abridged,

adapted and, to no small degree, corrupt version of the text of Fló as it was in *F. Where we find signs of omission, distortion or adaptation in *X we must at least suspect changes by the X-redactor. It seems that in at least two places, 39/3-4 (cf. 77/20-78/3) and 40/3-4 (cf. 79/15-21), whole episodes have been omitted from *X that were in *F and this could well have been the case elsewhere. In view of all these facts, it is particularly regrettable that *M has not been preserved in its entirety.

From now on, then, *M will be viewed as a copy of *F subjected only to a few minor changes. We are now in a position to make more general observations on the differences between *F and *X and also various conjectures about the texts of *F in places where *M is lost. Before this is done however, it will be convenient at this point to make a somewhat lengthy digression to mention and, it is hoped, convincingly dismiss two theories of previous critics which suggest that the preserved texts we have of Fló go back scribally to an original of the saga which differed substantially from that of *F as we would visualize it. We may begin with [48] Nijhoff's theory, published in 1937:

(i) P. Nijhoff's theory.

In his doctoral thesis, Beschouwing, Piet Onno Nijhoff postulates not only one, but two older redactions of Flóamanna Saga behind the version represented by the main text of Finnur Jónsson's edition (Fló, 1932), that is, the shorter version. Neither of these older redactions is, however, identical with or similar to the M-redaction and any idea that the M-redaction in any significant way represents a

more original version of the saga is dismissed early in Nijhoff's book (page 3) for what, one can only feel, are totally unstated reasons. The crucial evidence in Nijhoff's main argument would seem to be a number of what he calls 'double passages' in chapter 4 of the saga (a part which borrows from Landnámabók) where the X-version seems to repeat itself. He may be quoted here in full as the quality of argument employed is not untypical of Nijhoff's whole thesis:

'Er doet zich in dit hoofdstuk [i.e. chapter 4] het merkwaardige feit voor, dat eenige passages hier twee keer opgenomen zijn, n.l.: Fl. p. 6/24-25 [this ed., 6/12-3] is hetzelfde als Fl. p. 6/27 [6/14-5]; Fl. p. 6/25-6 [6/13-4] is hetzelfde als Fl. p. 7/5-6 [6/19-20]; en Fl. p. 7/4 [6/18] is gelijk p. 2/10 [2/5]. L. St. [i.e. LdnStb] 224/17-20 geeft: Hásteinn skaut setstokkum fyrir borð í hafi at fornum sið. Þeir kvomu á Stálfjöru fyrer Stokseyri. En Hásteinn kom í Hásteins sund fyrer Stokseyri ok braut þar. Wanneer we dit vergelijken met onzen text, zien we, dat Fl. p. 6/24-25 [6/12-3]: þeim sveif á land, þar sem ^{síðan} heitir Stokkseyri hier te veel is, omdat Fl. p. 6/26-27 [6/14-5] nog ens zegt: Setstokkarnir komu fyrir dyrr á Stálfjöru fram frá Stokks-eyri. Het onlogische van L. [i.e. Ldn], die zegt: Hásteinnbraut þar is in onzen text p. 6/25 [6/13] beter, waar staat skipit....braut þar.

'Deze dubbele passage in onzen text kan ontstaan zijn, doordat de schrijver een bron afschreef en daarna met L. vergeleek, waarbij hij dan het woord Stálfjara moet hebben gemist, waarna hij dit nog eens in een zin heeft ingevoegd, Fl. p. 6/26-7 [6/14-5]. Als we dit aannemen, zien we uit de woordelijke overeenstemming met L., dat de bron, waaruit het grootste deel is afgeschreven, een oudere Flóamanna-text geweest moet zijn, waaruit L. ook materiaal ^{a/} heeft gehaald. Deze en anderen text noemen we dan, ter onderscheiding van Fl. 2, den lateren, Fl. 1' (Beschouwing, 12-3; references to Fló, 1932; references in square brackets as for this ed.).

After this, Nijhoff seems to take the existence of 'Fl. 1' for granted and the present editor has been able to find no other argument in his book to prove its existence stronger than the one cited here. But the conclusion we have reached that *X is a badly abridged version of *F makes it quite clear that it is impossible to subject its text to the same sort of close reading as Nijhoff does. The imperfections he notes in chapter 4 are far more likely to have arisen in the process of shortening or, if not that, in the process of borrowing from Landnámabók alone (cf. 'TgF', 430). Later, towards the end of his thesis (Beschouwing, 184 ff.), Nijhoff produces arguments too intricate and tenuous to reproduce here which, he thinks, suggests that 'Fl. 2' passed through the hands of another redactor ('een Christelijk bewerker'), who also left his mark on it. Otherwise, apart from a special theory about the relationship between Fló and Landnámabók which will be discussed in Chapter II, the rest of Nijhoff's thesis is, for the most part, taken up in ascribing various parts of the saga as it is preserved to 'Fl. 1' or to one or other of the two later redactions. 'Fl. 1' is conceived as a work almost entirely based on oral traditions which Nijhoff appears to think went back to the Saga Age. (K. Liestøl's theories on saga origins seem to be accepted with very little reservation.) To 'Fl. 1' are apportioned those sections of the preserved text which are regarded as 'old' or 'heathen' or 'historically credible'. Even accepting Nijhoff's arguments so far (which it is extremely difficult to do), one cannot help feeling that many of the arguments used by Nijhoff in this context are arbitrary, subjective or ill-founded. The story of Þórey's dream at 37/6-12, for instance, is considered to have appeared in some form in 'Fl. 1', 'want er schijnt nog een heidensche opvatting naast de Christelijke te staan' (Beschouwing, 179); cf. pages *307ff below. On page 60-1 of Beschouwing, the fact that Þorgils gave his son Þorfinnr a Þórr-name is taken as evidence to show that the story of the hero's conversion

is unhistorical and therefore was not in 'Fl. 1'. 'Deze sobere berichtgeving van dit drama,' we are told when the story of Þorgils's shipwreck on the coast of Greenland is discussed, 'maakt sterk den indruk echt te zijn, en als zoodanig in Fl. 1 te hebben gestaan' (Beschouwing, 69). Such arguments are hardly very convincing. 'Fl. 1', then, Nijhoff regards as almost entirely free of literary motifs, and where we find these in the preserved text of Fló, they are largely to be regarded as the later additions of the redactor of 'Fl. 2'. In singling out and ordering (according to Kersbergen's classification in Motieven) many of the literary motifs of the saga, Nijhoff (Beschouwing, 112-68) has probably made his most important contribution to the study of the saga. On the other hand, his failure to recognize a number of stories in Fló as literary borrowings has led him to assign to 'Fl. 1' certain elements which, after a more thorough investigation, he might have put in 'Fl. 2'. For example, on page 78 of Beschouwing, he argues that the story of Hrólfr the Outlaw (this ed., page 42) was in 'Fl. 1'; but it will be suggested below that we have here a purely literary motif which was probably borrowed from Færeyinga Saga (see pages *338f. below). Finally, it seems quite impossible to accept Nijhoff's suggestion that the 'Christian element' is a later addition to the body of the work. Indeed, if one were to agree that an older saga lay behind the version we can reconstruct from *X and *M, it would seem much more reasonable to suppose that this contained the 'Christian elements' we find in the preserved texts rather than that they were added by a redactor (cf. the discussion of Guðbrandur Vigfússon's theory which follows immediately). In Section A of Chapter III, the present editor will arrive at conclusions which suggest that the element of historicity and oral tradition in Fló is negligible and which therefore speak indirectly against Nijhoff's main theory. In the present context, however, there seems to be little reason for giving more attention to a hypothesis which in itself is ill-founded

and which is based on a more general view of saga origins which is nowadays not generally held. [49]

(ii) Guðbrandur Vigfússon's theory.

The views put forward in Orig about the superiority of the M-redaction of Fló, which have much to recommend them, have already been mentioned (see pages *90-1) but it has also been noted that they come within the framework of an erroneous theory about the nature of the M-version and the version represented by K and A (hereafter called the K, A-redaction). We may now discuss this theory at greater length. Largely because of differences of style between the M-version and the K, A-redaction and because of differences in the style and subject matter of the K, A-redaction before 29/18 and the same redaction after 29/18, Guðbrandur comes to the conclusion in Orig that the M-version, as we know it from M and parts of P, represents not fragments of a 'Floamanna Saga', that is, a saga of the style and scope of the K, A-redaction, but rather of a much older 'Thorgisl's Saga' which dealt exclusively with the hero. Parts of Guðbrandur's statement on this subject may be quoted (with notes in square brackets by the present editor): 'Further, on looking into Mela-book [i.e. 445 b (? and the relevant parts of P)], one is driven to conclude that it never had the early spurious matter which we find in the Floamanna text [i.e. the K, A-redaction]. In its place there probably stood a brief chapter containing pedigree matter...and two or three anecdotes of Thorgisl's early life, of which at least part are still preserved in the Floamanna text. In the Mela-book, the part missing [and here Guðbrandur is, rather confusingly, referring to the lacuna between Folio 4 and Folio 5], which we have to supply from the W-text [i.e. the K, A-redaction], amounts to ten pages in the 1860 edition [i.e. Fornsögur, 149/14-159/16]. Now as six pages of this edition equal one Mela-book leaf, this is too much for one leaf and too little for two; [50] but if from these ten pages we subtract four pages which, on internal evidence are plainly fictitious, there is just

enough matter left to have fitted the missing leaf' (Orig, ii, 630 f.). Later (Orig, ii, 634), Guðbrandur returns to the beginning of his 'Thorgisl's Saga': 'Now, we can calculate that the text of that part of Thord's copy [i.e. P], which is now in Mela-book takes up about nine pages in the 1860 edition, that is, an amount equal to one leaf and a half of the vellum. We believe that the original Saga did not take up much more of this leaf, hence the whole would have filled four leaves and a half [i.e. Folio *2; Folio *3; Folio 4; the single leaf Guðbrandur posits between Folio 4 and Folio 5; Folio 5].' Precisely what material in chapters 10-7 Guðbrandur thought to have been absent in 'Thorgisl's Saga', can be indirectly gathered from parts of the relevant chapters selected for translation on pages 634-6 of Orig and some rather sweeping remarks on page 629: thus the stories of Porgils's boyhood seem to have been in Guðbrandur's *M, as do those of Auðun's appearance to the hero in a dream (22/23-23/6), the duel with 'Swart' for the hand of Guðrún (23/7-17) and the jarðhús-adventure in Ireland (ch. 16). On the other hand, tales of 'the wicked queen Gundhild...wickinges, bearsarks and ghosts' and the kerganga-story (26/19-27/15) are regarded as the additions of the K, A-redactor. So were the borrowings from Landnámabók in chapters 1-10 and 18. And what passages in chapters 25-33 Guðbrandur imagined to have been absent in *M can be seen from his omissions in his edition of the relevant parts of K, A-redaction (Orig, ii, 660-9); the story of the outlaws (45/4-47/22), the stay in Ireland (48/3-49/11) and the duels with the ruffians Randviðr and Bjálfi (49/17-50/7 and 55/17-56/9) seem to have had no place in 'Thorgisl's Saga'. Guðbrandur regarded the saga in the form it appeared in *M as having been written at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

A number of arguments may be deployed against this theory, some of which may be listed as follows. (The saga visualized by Guðbrandur in Orig and represented by 445 b and parts of P is called 'Thorgisl's Saga'.):

(1) ^(argument produced) The ~~case made~~ on pages *45 ff. above suggests that the scribe of P found on one of the lost sheets of *M, a verse by Helgi trausti which had been borrowed from Landnámabók. If this was the case, then *M would also have had the prose borrowings from Landnámabók which we find at the beginning of chapter 18 in the shorter version. And if 'Thorgisl's Saga' contained the story of Áshildr, Helgi and Þorgrímr borrowed from Landnámabók, then it could easily have contained the other borrowings from that work which we find in the X-version.

(2) It will be suggested below (see pages *283 f) that, when the author of the saga introduced the motif of 'The Ambushed Lover' into a part of the saga which Guðbrandur clearly thought of as part of 'Thorgisl's Saga' (i.e. chapter 19; cf. Orig, ii, 637 f.), he was merely repeating a motif which had already been introduced in chapter 18 and which in fact comes from Landnámabók. If the story of Helgi's ambush of the lover Þorgrímr was a later addition by the redactor of the shorter version, then it is no small coincidence that this part of Landnámabók, which fits reasonably well into the train of events of the saga, should carry exactly the same motif as an early chapter of 'Thorgisl's Saga'.

(3) 'Thorgisl's Saga' has ghost stories at Orig, ii, 646-7; ^[51] why should it not have had them in the part of it corresponding to 18/2-19/22?

(4) Rather the same may be said of the stories of duels: in 'Thorgisl's Saga', Þorgils fights against Svartr (Orig, ii, 636) and Helgi (Orig, ii, 670-1); why should he not have duelled against the first Randviðr (cf. Orig, ii, 636 footnote), the second Randviðr (cf. 49/17-50/16) and Bjálfi (cf. 55/17-56/9) in the same saga?

(5) Guðbrandur wishes to omit from the lost text of *M a number of episodes which are found in the shorter version. But in the part of the saga where both versions are preserved, we find that the M-version is not only fuller than the shorter version but also has two episodes which are missing in

K and A (see page *107).

(6) In Section A of Chapter II (see pages *196 ff. below) it will be suggested that certain elements which are found in the M-version as well as the shorter version, are taken from a redaction of Landnámabók which was made about 1280. If this is right, then the version of the saga in *M can hardly be as old as Guðbrandur suggests. Further, it seems likely that the jarðhús-episode, which, as noted, was to be found in 'Thorgisl's Saga' is, at least partly, based on Órvar-Odds Saga (see pages *276 ff. below); but Órvar-Odds Saga can hardly have been written as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century.

s/ (7) As noted, Guðbrandur Vigfússon regards the fight with Randviðr at 49/17-50/7 as 'a fictitious scene' which was not to be found in 'Thorgisl's Saga'. For this reason, he leaves it out of his text at Orig, ii, 661 and Þorgils thus returns entirely óhaltr to Iceland (cf. 50/4). When, however, in the M-version at 88/16-7, Þorgils's lame leg lets him down, Guðbrandur has bravely to suggest that, at 88/1, 'a clause is probably lost ... telling how the Easterling [i.e. Helgi] cut at Thorgisl but only lamed his leg owing to the blunt axe [cf. 87/23-4]' (Orig, ii, 671 footnote). This is hardly convincing.

z/ Probably any one of these seven reasons by itself will not be considered sufficient to entirely dispose of the theory put forward in Orig. Taken together, however, they are decisive and are backed up by certain other facts which point the same way. There is no reason for assuming that the M-version did not contain largely the same material as the X-version including the borrowings from Landnámabók and all the stories told, not only in chapters 25-33, but also in chapters 10-7. Indeed when the editor of Orig set about cutting back the episodes of chapters 10-7, he must have been surprised at how many of them were presupposed by the narrative of the M-version. Thus the sword Jarðhúsnautr (M-version, 73/24, 85/8) takes for granted the jarðhús-advent-

ure in Ireland, while a son Þorleifr for Þorgils (M-version, 66/24-5 and elsewhere) takes for granted a mother, Guðrún, who in turn is won by a duel against a berserk, Surtr.

Further, it will be shown below (pages *281-3) that friendship with the lendr maðr Þorsteinn (cf. M-version, 83 ff.) is only one of a series of elements which the author of the saga has borrowed from Egils Saga and which include the helping of the son of a widow called Gyða (Fló, ch.13), a story which Guðbrandur seems to consider was only found in shortened form in 'Thorgisl's Saga' (see Orig, ii, 635).

But before entirely leaving the theory put forward by Guðbrandur in Orig, more attention must be given to the observations on which it is based, as these will lead on to further considerations about the possibility of an older written saga behind the versions of Fló to be found in *X and *M. [52] It has been noted that it is largely differences in style and subject matter which led Guðbrandur to the conclusions which have just been reviewed and argued against. Now, no one who reads Fló in the two redactions in which it exists can fail to be struck by certain stylistic differences and a certain heterogeneity of subject-matter within the saga. The first chapters clearly borrow from Landnámabók and remind one very much of that work. Chapters 10-7 are packed with a series of highly stylized borrowings which are well-known in other late sagas, including the fornaldarsögur. One of these stories ^(see 18/2-21) is so conventionally formed that it is possible to point to a parallel to practically every sentence it contains (see pages *255-8 below). On the other hand, the part of the saga from the beginning of chapter 20 to the end of chapter 24 not only distinguishes itself from the rest of the saga by virtue of its very idiosyncratic tone and content, but, as will be argued in Chapter III, is to be regarded as practically unique in the Íslendingasögur: in these chapters, Þorgils is changed from the ghost-layer, the Viking chief and the berserk-beater of chapters 13-9 into a pious, almost saint-like man, who shows a tenderness and Christian charity which

is rare among saga heroes. And in this part of the saga, we note not only that conventional elements are used somewhat more sparingly than before, but also that they are, for the most part, of an entirely different type from those found in chapters 10-9. In chapters 20-4, the sources and models seem to be such works as the two sagas of Óláfr Tryggvason by Oddr and Gunnlaugr from the end of the twelfth century, the vitæ and the heilagra manna sögur and, in one case, the Bible itself (see pages *291-309 below). While then, as has been stressed, *M must have had very much the same scope as the X-version, one wonders if, behind the latest common source for them both, *F (written, as will be shown, after about 1280), there did not lie an older saga which the author of the saga in *F drew on for the chapters in question and possibly also at one or two other places in the saga. This older saga would in no way have resembled the 'F1.1' visualized by Nijhoff (that is, a work based mainly on oral tradition), but rather a saga which, like Guðbrandur's 'Thorgisl's Saga', represented Þorgils as a 'Christian champion' (see Orig. ii, 629) and which modelled him on the two Óláfr's of the early 'Óláfs sögur' and on the holy men of the vitæ and the Bible. One would date such a work to the end of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth (cf. Guðbrandur's dating of his 'Thorgisl's Saga'). This proposition has been seriously considered by the present editor. It has, however, been dismissed for the following reasons. It seems that in chapters 20-4, the elements in question which do appear, are too closely bound up with borrowings from literature from the second half of the thirteenth century to have been independent of them and to have come from a saga of an earlier date. Thus throughout chapters 20 to 24, we find, alongside borrowings from 'religious' literature, elements taken from stories about discoveries in uninhabited countries, various of which are of later date rather than earlier (see pages *309 ff. below). To take a specific example: at 41/2-21 (X-version) and 81/1-82/5 (M-version), we find an episode which seems to form a

unity from an aesthetic point of view (see page *382) and also from the point of view of plot. The detail of the drink of sea-water and urine goes indivisibly with the driving away of the young razorbill. But it will be shown below in Chapter II that, while the bird has hagiographic origins and Þorgils, in cursing it away, is probably being modelled on Saint Benedict (see pages *304-5), the drink of sea-water and urine is, in all likelihood, an element taken from a work from the last quarter of the thirteenth century (i.e. Sturlubók; see page *317). For this sort of reason, the present editor is not only unwilling to take what at any rate would be a methodologically risky step in positing the use, by the author of the redaction of the saga represented by F, of an older 'religious' saga about Þorgils, but also feels convinced that the existence of such a saga is quite undemonstrable. But in this context another idea comes to mind which may be given the briefest attention. Might the curious heterogeneity of style, tone and subject-matter we find in Fló be explained by some theory of plural authorship? Could a second author have taken over the writing of the saga at the beginning of chapter 20 only to hand it back to the first author at the end of chapter 24? Again, we should tend to give a negative answer. After all, we do find in the midst of the early chapters of Fló (i.e. in ch. 11) a description of Þorgils which has certain features in common with descriptions of Icelandic bishops in the biskupa sögur (see pages *238-40). And not long after bisecting a berserk with a single stroke at 50/1, at 51/11-3, Þorgils is expressing a sentiment like 'women are to be excused if they love their nurselings more than other men.'

The above digression has been made here because the conclusions drawn in it are relevant to our view of the version of Fló in F on which attention is now partly focussed. They suggest that the saga in F does not, in fact, go back

to any older written work about Þorgils which differed significantly from it. (This does not mean to say, of course, that *F and the original of the saga were one and the same manuscript nor that *F corresponded word for word to the original of the saga.) They further suggest that the most profitable approach to the saga - indeed the only approach from a methodological point of view - is to regard it, in its *F-version, as a single structure from the pen of a single author. This leaves us, of course, with the problems just discussed, the dissimilarity of style and tone with ⁻ⁱⁿ the saga and the heterogeneity of ^(subject matter) ~~motifs~~. But at least a partial solution to the first of these problems is not difficult to find. If significant differences were to be found in *F between the style of one part of the saga and the next (and here we must avoid drawing too hasty conclusions from a comparison of chapters 1-17 of the X-version and chapters 20-4 of the M-version), then these could well be governed by differences of subject matter and source: If an author bases his narrative on Landnámabók in the way the Fló-author has done, then the style of that work will be difficult to conceal. And the Viking tale, the ghost story and the duel-episode (all found in chapter 10-7) all have their idiosyncratic mode of expression. The problem of the mixture of different types ^(borrowed elements) of ~~motifs~~ in Fló is, on the other hand, a more difficult one which needs special attention. An attempt to give an explanation will be made in Chapter III. On the basis of the conclusions reached here, however, the version of the saga in

*F will, from now on, be regarded as closely resembling the first written saga in the manuscript tradition with which we are dealing (cf. however Note to Introduction 44).

We may return then, to consider *X and, and the basis of *M and *X, *F. In (a), it has been shown how the changes made by the X-redactor in the text of *F often marred the cohesion and consistency of the plot of the saga and it is possible to find other places where this has happened (see page *105). On the other hand, as suggested above, on reading the two texts where the M-version is preserved, we find that the style and narrative technique of *F often left much to be desired and, in this respect, the X-redactor has not infrequently improved on his exemplar. In a number of the following cases where we find gaucheries or irrelevancies in the text of *M (and thus *F), the text of *X reads somewhat better: *F was repetitious: no less than three times (M-version, 71/2-3; 71/17-9; 72/7-10), we are told how Þorgils, í Grænlands óbyggðum, instructs his men to be quiet in the evening and conduct themselves well; at both 87/14-5 and 87/20-1, Þorgils is bjúgr á baki when he encounters Helgi austmaðr. (The same tendency can be seen in *F's repetition of motif (aptrgöngur, hólmgöngur and assassination attempts); in this respect, however, the X-redactor has been less inclined to make alterations.) *F was also rambling: we find, for example, platitudes interjected, particularly between the end of one episode and the beginning of the next: for example, at 66/19, Þorgils is, quite out of context, in

mesta mikilmenni, harðr maðr ok frækinn and Þórarinn at 70/17-8), somewhat repetitively (cf. 67/18), is knástr maðr annarr en Þorgils. Hann var þá tvítugr at aldri. Further, there are what seem to be complete irrelevancies in *F: the two cauldrons mentioned at 74/20 and 77/9-10 have not been referred to before and seem to be without significance to the plot; and the detail that it was síð dags when Þorgils and his men were wrecked in Greenland is of no relevance. Indeed, some details of *F's narrative seem so redundant that one even suspects some half-expressed idea behind them: what, for example, is the significance of the scanty rations Þorgils deals out to his men at 80/22 f. and of the following dialogue? Or of Hrólfr's statement (82/27-83/1) that 'leið [er] ekki svá [lǫng] sem [torsótt]'? In both these places, there are omissions by the X-redactor. Certain dialogues in *F seem pointless in view of following events: in spite of Þorgils's conversation with Þóroddr at 68/1-5, the former still leaves for Greenland; the deliberations about whether to leave Þórey alone with the thralls (73/14-21), although perhaps intended to be proleptic, really seems a little irrelevant in view of Þórey's subsequent murder. As has been noted, the X-redactor has omitted two complete episodes which were in *F and by doing so has enhanced the readability of the saga: at 78/27-80/11, four dreams are one too many; and the story of the finding of the rune-inscribed oar at 77/20-78/3 can only strike the casual reader as quite superfluous. Finally, of course, there are a number of ways in

which the X-redactor has made improvements in *F which have not been gone into here - shortening of dialogue was one of them. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that the deficiencies of style remarked on in *F are found mainly after the beginning of chapter 20: PM in chapter 19 reads relatively smoothly (cf. page *118 above).

It has already been noted that both Guðbrandur Vigfússon and Björn Sigfússon discern a difference in tone between the two redactions of Fló and consider that of the M-redaction to be original to the saga. We may go into this in a little more detail. In the discussion of Guðbrandur Vigfússon's theories on the original form of Fló reviewed above, we have referred to various elements in the saga which, it has and will be suggested, are unusual in later Islendingasögur. These are what, in the second chapter, will be referred to under the heading 'Porgils's dealings with Þórr; the religious element': they are mainly the confrontations Porgils has with the god in a series of dreams and various passages and remarks which represent Porgils as a pious, even a saintly man. It is probably an indication of how out of place in an Islendingasaga these elements were felt to be that the X-redactor has sought to de-emphasize or eliminate them in his version. Firstly, the characterization of Porgils: Guðbrandur Vigfússon's remarks on the attempt by the redactor of the shorter version to turn Porgils 'into a cut-and-thrust hero of the accepted type' have already been cited; to exemplify the tendency, Guðbrandur rightly draws attention to

the way Þorgils kills the bryti Þórarinn in *X instead of sparing him as he does in *F (see pages *90-1; cf. *101-2). Other signs of the same approach are less decisive but even so are present: At the end of the saga, for instance, differences in the description of Þorgils given in the two redactions are interesting: in *X, somewhat as in *F, we are told how Þorgils had certain 'cut-and-thrust'-type qualities - he was brautgóðr, djarfr, stórráðr - but not how he was sáttgjarn ok svinnr en móðugr ok mjök þungrækr við þá er eigi vildu sik vel siða...tryggr ok trúrækinn, Guðhræðr ok góðr vinum sínum (cf. M-version, 89/10-2). The story of the hero putting hot embers under his feet to watch over his small son (cf. M-version, 74/17-8) - an exceptional story for an Íslendingasaga - is omitted in *X. And in *F (^{cf.} 69/16-7; 72/8-11; 80/19-22), alliterative phrases of tendentious content were used by or of Þorgils, but were left out in *X. Secondly, 'Þorgils's dealings with Þórr': Björn Sigfússon shows in 'TgF' (441-2, 445) how, to begin with, the redactor of the shorter version has copied Þorgils's rather lengthy dialogues with Þórr almost without abridgement, but has later shortened them quite substantially: examples are to be found at 34/2-4 (cf. 68/9-15) and 34/18-21 (cf. 69/6-12). And when Þorgils finally does rid himself of the god's attentions, he is considerably less theological (and shorter) about the reasons for his deliverance in *X than he was in *F (compare 81/21-82/5 with 41/14-21). To sum up, a reading of the saga in its X-version gives a considerably more 'secular' impress-

ion (particularly chapters 20-4) than a reading of *F would have done.

Two minor points may be made here in connection with the X-redactor. The first is to note the way he has left out certain references to characters in the saga as goðar (see Note to 13/19). Why he has done this is not altogether clear. The second is to draw attention again to the omissions in the X-version of topographical references which suggest a local knowledge of Flói (see page *96 above). These omissions would certainly seem to localize the X-redactor in a part of Iceland other than the south-western lowland. There may, of course, have been other such local references not found in *X in parts of *M which have not been preserved.

We conclude this Section by making certain calculations and conjectures about the form *F had, and the changes the X-redactor made, in parts of the saga where the text of *M is not preserved. [54]

In spite of certain suggestions made to the contrary, it is clear that *F began with the borrowings from Landnámabók we also find in *X. And as will be obvious from the comparison made between LdnStb and the X-redaction in Section A of the next Chapter, the author of the saga made it his business to fill out as much as possible the bare outline plots he found in Landnámabók with extra, often redundant, material. When, therefore, we find, in the X-version, omissions from, rather than expansions of, the relevant passages of Landnámabók, we must suspect shortening by the X-redactor: for example,

there would, in all likelihood, have been some mention of Hæringr in the first paragraph of chapter 10 in *F (see Note to 13/14); it has been urged above (pages *45-9) that Helgi traustí's verse at LdnX, 226/14-6 was in *M and would therefore have been in *F; a passage corresponding to App/76-81 may well have been in *F (see pages *49-50) - it would have been no more irrelevant to the narrative of the saga than the passages 7/16-26 and 8/1-8, which were also borrowed from LdnX into *F; and the words ok ríki (cf. LdnStb, 224/3) would surely not have been omitted after nafn sitt in *F as they were in *X (1/6).^[55] And another rather different point here: the blemishes we find in *X's text in the passage 6/10-20 may well, as Björn Sigfússon suggests ('TgF', 430), be due to the clumsiness of the X-redactor (cf. page *109).^[56]

Some rather more tentative remarks than the above may be made on the form chapters 10-7 had in *F. It has been suggested already (*118) that the style of these chapters in *F may not have been very different from the style of the same chapters in *X. There are also reasons for believing that the X-redactor has not omitted much of the material he found in *F in this part of the saga. First, the chapters in question read relatively smoothly - there are few of the obscurities and inconsistencies we find in the X-version in chapters 19-24.^[57] Second, what we may conclude about the tastes of the X-redactor (see *121 f.) suggests that it was precisely stories of the type we find in these chapters, where Þorgils can be said to appear as a 'cut-and-thrust'-type hero, that

would have been to his liking. Third, to deal specifically with two types of episode: even in the X-redaction in these chapters, there are two fights with revenants and three duels; there are not likely to have been further stories of these particular types in *F.

We are on least certain ground when we attempt to visualize the form *F had in the part of the saga corresponding to the present lacuna in M between Folio 4 and Folio 5. If, as we have argued above (page *36) is most probable, there were only two leaves in *M between Folio 4 and Folio 5, then shortening in this part of *X would appear to have been less [58] drastic than in the part corresponding to Folio 4. Evenso, there are signs of a certain amount of shortening and adaptation to which attention may be drawn here: in Note to 47/10-8, it is suggested that there is something missing in *X in the story of Þorgils overcoming the outlaws; indeed, this may have been considerably different in *F than in *X. At about 47/22, there may have been an episode where Þorgils killed some 'dæmones montani' (see pages *134-5 below). In chapter 26 (49/7), we are told that Hugi jarl has Þorgils's ship repaired in Ireland although there has, in the X-version, been no mention of damage done to it. The passage 52/24-6 would have read somewhat differently in *F than it does in the X-group of manuscripts (see Note to 33/14). And at 53/18, the omission of the statement that Þórey was the sister of Þórvór (see Note ad loc) is very likely to have been the fault of the X-redactor.

The attempts which have been made above to visualize the form *F had in places where the M-version is now lost, have, it must be emphasized, been largely speculative. They have, however, produced one interesting result: they suggest that *F differed from *X most of all in those chapters of the saga (20-4) which were covered by Folios *2, *3 and 4 of *M. If this conclusion is right, then we have here something of a happy coincidence. While it is a happy coincidence, however, it is not an unduly remote one. Assuming, as is reasonable, that apart from Folio 5, *M took up no more than 10 leaves in *445 b, there is at least a one in eight chance that three consecutive leaves of it should begin with Folio *2.

Section F: Previous editions, translations, etc. of Fló; the present edition

1.

The first edition of any part of Fló was that of Finn Magnusen (Finnur Magnússon) in the second volume of Grönlands historiske Mindesmærker (pages 1-221) published in 1838. This consists of a text and parallel Danish translation from the beginning of chapter 9 to the end of the saga. Finnur uses altogether fourteen manuscripts, all of which it has not been possible to identify but which include K, A, P and Folio 5 of AM 445 b, 4to. As has been mentioned above (page *87 f.), Finnur realized that this last fragment represented a version of the saga more original than that found in his other manuscripts and he makes it the basis

for his text at the end of the saga. On the other hand, as has also been mentioned, he seems not to have known of the existence of Folio 4 of AM 445 b, 4to, possibly because this was still part of Additamenta 20 fol. The greater part of this edition is based on a manuscript which has not been identified but which can safely be said to derive from K (cf. Fornsögur, xxviii). Below the main text of the saga, Finnur gives an extensive, but not exhaustive, list of variants from the other manuscripts used. Among these is one, designated as K, which Finnur (GhM, ii, 19, 20) says is his own property and which he claims represents a more original redaction of the saga than that found in, for example AM 516, 4to (our K) or AM 517, 4to (cf. page *88). The present editor has been able to identify this manuscript with reasonable certainty with Brit. Mus. Add. 11,123 fol. (see page *13) which was purchased from Finnur Magnússon in July, 1837. On the other hand the reasons Finnur gives for the importance of this manuscript are not to be regarded as in any way decisive; nor has the present editor been able to find any reading peculiar to Finnur's K which, by virtue of closer agreement with the M-version or with LdnStb, or for any other reason, can be said with certainty to be superior to *X or *M. Further ~~other~~ ^[59] ~~hand~~, it should always be remembered that Finnur had a tendency to exaggerate the importance of manuscripts he intended to sell (cf. Handritaspjall, 118). Finnur's edition is accompanied by a lengthy introduction, which deals with the saga as an historical source, and a detailed series of

of general notes which have been helpful in the preparation of the present Commentary. Despite various obvious defects in this edition, its author makes certain points in his introduction to which later scholars would have done well to pay more attention. [60]

The saga was first published in its entirety in Fornsögur, 1860. While the title-page of this edition gives both 'Guðbrandr' Vigfússon and Theodor Möbius as the editors, a note at the end of the 'Vorrede' (page xxxi) states that, for practical purposes, it is to be regarded as the work of the Icelander. Some of the conclusions Guðbrandur arrived at in his introduction have already been discussed and reasons have been given for rejecting some of them. His great contribution in this edition was to put beyond doubt that parts of P are derived from lost parts of *M. The manuscripts used for the main text of this edition were K, A and P, although where they differ (except in the case of PM) variants are not given. The text of P thought to derive from lost parts of *M and Folios 4 and 5 are conveniently printed as a continuous text in an appendix ('Beilagen', Fornsögur, pages 168-85).

Before the turn of the century, the saga was published twice in popular form in Iceland, once with Þorleifur Jónsson as editor (1884) and once with Valdimar Ásmundarson (1898). Another popular ^(Icelandic) edition was that of Benedikt Sveinsson (1926). The texts of all three of these editions are based on that of Fornsögur.

Although Guðbrandur Vigfússon died in 1889, an edition of Fló published just after the turn of the century is probably to be regarded mainly as his work. This is the edition in Origines Islandicae which appeared in 1905 under Guðbrandur's name and that of F. York Powell, who died in 1904. It is difficult to tell who is responsible for what in Orig. O. Elton (Frederick York Powell, 1906, i, 101) writes of the work: 'The labour was shared much as before [a reference to Corpus Poeticum Boreale, also published under the names of these two men]; that is it is often indistinguishable. The textual part is substantially Vigfússon's, while the ordering, the English and many of the literary criticisms, portraits and parallels are also Powell's.' As far as the edition of Fló (volume ii, pages 629-72) is concerned, the following remarks (Orig, ii, 632) would certainly seem to suggest that the Icelander was responsible for the introductory material (that is, Orig, ii, 629-34) as well as the text: 'The saga was...published...in 1860 by the editor in Forn-sögur, Leipzig, at a time when he held very different views as to the historical criticism of the saga to those now set forth.' 'The chronology of the Saga demands a later date than the Editor formerly believed when he wrote Tíma-tal and edited Forn-sögur.' At any rate, at the risk of doing a disservice to Powell, the author of this edition of Fló (if not the translation it includes) is referred to in this thesis as Guðbrandur Vigfússon. The main ideas which underlie the method ~~method~~ by which the text of this edition is arrived at have

already been mentioned. They are : (i) that the M-version is, for the most part, superior to the version represented by K, AM and A, and (ii) that the preserved M-version represents not fragments of a Flóamanna Saga but of a 'Thorgisl's Saga' which did not contain anything corresponding to the greater part of chapter 1-17 of the shorter version. The form of the edition is as follows: First, excerpts from chapter 1-17 of the shorter version which Guðbrandur considers could have had correspondences in *M are given in translation only. Secondly, the text of PM (from the words Pórey hét kona, etc., 63/1) and, when it begins, of Folio 4 is edited; readings from the shorter version are occasionally introduced and several violent emendations are made. Third, the text of the shorter version corresponding to the lacuna between Folio 4 and 5 is given; but because the editor thought there was only one leaf between these two leaves in *M, various omissions are made. Finally, Folio 5 is edited. Nearly all the Icelandic text is given a parallel English translation. While as noted, many of the ideas expressed in the introduction are interesting, the impression of the actual edition is that it is arbitrary and confused. It is certainly inferior to the Fornsögur edition of 1860.

The edition of the saga normally regarded as the standard one is that of Finnur Jónsson which is volume LVI in the series published for the Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur. This ~~was~~ came out in 1932. Finnur's 'Inledning' can safely be said to have contributed little

to an understanding of the textual problems of the saga (see e.g. page *91) and the main advantage of this edition is the variant apparatus it gives. This covers most of K's readings, a number of P's, all of A's and all of Arni Magnússon's 'corrections' in K (i.e. AM). The M-version's text (PM and M) is printed not in continuous form but as variant readings, a number of P's, all of A's and all of Arni Magnússon's 'corrections' in K (i.e. AM). The M-version's text (PM and M) is printed not in continuous form but as variant readings at the bottom of the page. There is a short commentary (pages 72-4).

Since the last war, Flóamanna Saga has been published in a popular edition by Guðni Jónsson in volume XII of Íslendinga Sögur in Íslendingasagnaútgáfan (1946-9; reprinted 1953 and 1970). Professor Þórhallur Vilmundarson of the University of Iceland is preparing an edition of the saga for the Íslensk Fornrit-series but this has not yet been published.

A translation of Flóamanna Saga into Latin is found in Ny kgl. sml 1241, fol. K. Kålund (Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske Håndskrifter i Det store kongelige Bibliotek, 1900, 143) dates this manuscript to the second half of the eighteenth century. As already noted (page *13), the part of the saga in Kall 620, 4to also has a Latin translation.

The first printed translation of the saga was that into Danish by Børge Thorlacius under the title 'En nordisk Helt fra det 10de Aarhundrede, Thorgils, kaldet Orrabeens-Stif-

söns, Historie' in the seventh volume of Det skandinaviske Litteraturselskabets Skrifter, 1808, pages 194-336. This has an introduction by the translator and notes by his father, Skúli Thorlacius. As already mentioned, the parts of the saga edited in Grönlands historiske Mindesmærker (1838) and Origines Islandicae (1905) have parallel translations in Danish and English respectively. Two German translations of the saga have appeared in the Thule-series in the volume entitled Grönländer und Färinger Geschichten (volume xiii), the first in 1912 by E. von Mendelsohn (69-124), the second by F. Niedner in 1929 (86-138) (reprint 1965). A New Norwegian (nynorsk) translation of the saga by Albert Joleik (Soga um Torgjils errabeinstjup eller Floamanna saga) appeared in Bergen in 1925 with an introductory note by Gunnar Isachsen: 'Kor langt nord var Torgjils errabeinstjup?' The most recent translation is that into Swedish by Åke Ohlmarks in volume 5 of De isländska sagorna, 1962-5, pages 457-95. In the preparation of the present edition, use has been made of all these translations except von Mendelsohn's (translators referred to merely by their surnames).

Maurice Hewlett's Thorgils of Treadholt (1917) is a novel based on the parts of the saga in Origines Islandicae and in S. Baring-Gould's Iceland: its Scenes and Sagas (1863), chapter 12 ('Thorgils Nursling'), is an adaptation of chapters 20-4, 28 and 29 of the saga.

Lastly, mention should be made here of two Icelanders who, prior to the first edition (1838) or translation (1808) of

Fló, drew on it for various of their works. Thus Þormóður Torfason (Torfæus) (1636-1719) mentions Þorgils's adventures in Greenland in his Gronlandia Antiqua (1706; chapter 18) and the hero's first stay in Norway in his Historia Rerum Norvegicarum (1711, ii, 275-8). Again, Arngrímur Jónsson (1568-1648) uses the saga in his Crymogæa (1609) (see Opera, ii, 22-3, 89-90 and 129-30), in his Gronlandia (see Opera, ii, 244-5) and in his Specimen Islandiæ Historiæ (1643; see Opera, iii, 336-7). And one point should be made in connection with Arngrímur's use of Fló. In his edition of this man's works, Jakob Benediktsson (Opera, 94 and 334) states that the manuscript of Fló Arngrímur used was that to be found in Vatnshyrna (i.e. *y; see Section D). Now while there can be little doubt that Arngrímur had access to Vatnshyrna when he wrote Crymogæa (see page *77 above) and had presumably read the version of Fló to be found in it, there is evidence to suggest that he also knew another version of the saga which may, in certain respects, have been closer to the original of the saga than *y. This evidence is as follows: (i) In Crymogæa (cf. Opera, ii, 129), the pirata Þorgils duels against is called Surterus. On the other hand, while it is true that *y called the vikingr ok illgerðarmaðr of chapters 15 and 16 by the name Surtr the first time it mentioned him (see Textual Note to 21/22), elsewhere it called him Svartr (see Textual Notes to 22/1, 14, 17, 26; 23/12, 15). If Arngrímur had known Fló only in its *y-version, he would probably, in his précis of the passage, have used

the Latinized form of the name that appears there most, that is, the Latinized form of Svartr (cf. Opera, iv, 310).

(ii) In Note to 47/6, it is argued that the ship which was called Stakanhǫfði in the Y-group and B (see page *60 above) was called Stakarhǫfði in the original version of the saga. It is interesting to note that in Gronlandia (Opera, ii, 245) and Specimen (Opera, iii, 337) the ship in question is called Stiakarhoffde and Stiakarhøfde with ar in the second syllable.

(iii) But perhaps most interesting from the point of view of the textual history of Fló is the passage in Gronlandia (see Opera, ii, 245) which comes after the description of Þorgils killing the bear which has Þorfinnr in its grip (cf. 43/23-44/12). This reads as follows: 'Latronibus præterea siue piratis triginta, qui toti Gronlandorum habitationi formidabiles erant, deletis celebrior evasit, dæmones adhæc montanos, incolis non parum infestos, occidit, Ex quibus facinoribus non exiguum præmium ab incolis collegit...'

While we are told at the end of chapter 25 and in chapter 26 how Þorgils overcame thirty pirates, there is no mention of his killing any dæmones montani (tróll? bergrisar?).

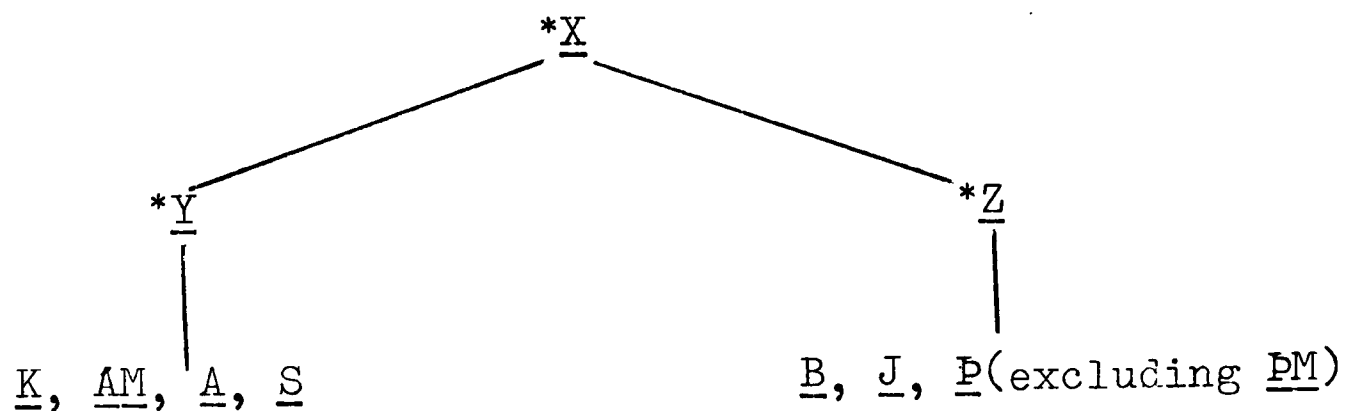
This last fact led Finnur Magnússon to suggest (GhM, ii, 14) that Arngrímur knew a version of the saga other than those preserved ('et Exemplar, som har indeholdt mere end hvad vi nu kjende') and point (ii) would seem to confirm his conclusion on this matter. On the other hand, there is no reason to assume that Arngrímur's second manuscript (i.e. that other than *y) was very different from *M or *F: even *Y

and *X had the reading Surtr rather than Svartr (as in *y); a mistake Stakanhófdi for a more original St(j)akarhófdi could easily have crept in between *F and *X; and it is by no means impossible that the X-redactor omitted a tróll-bashing episode which he found in his exemplar at about 47/22.^[61]

2.

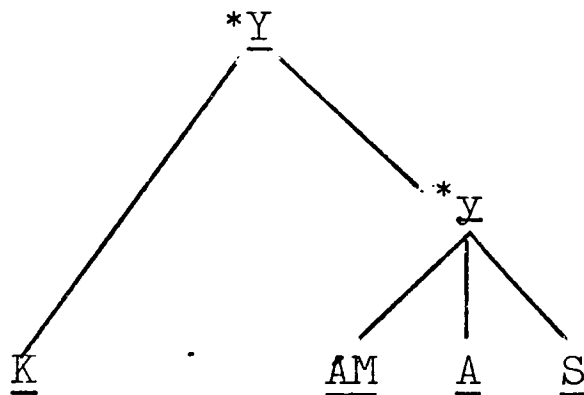
We may now discuss the present edition of Flóamanna Saga. First, attention may be drawn to the following conclusions reached in this chapter which either throw new light on the textual history of the saga, or have been disputed in the past, or have not been acted upon or sufficiently stressed by previous editors of the saga:

(a) That P (excluding PM), and with it B and J are not to be considered as deriving from the latest common source for K, AM, A and S but go back to a sister manuscript to that latest common source, thus:



B, J and P (excluding PM) are therefore to be regarded as containing readings potentially superior to those of K, AM, A and S (see pages *56-9).

(b) That K is not derived from the latest common source for AM, A and S but goes back to an older manuscript:



It is therefore theoretically possible that K contains readings superior to those of the y-group and a comparison between it and the manuscripts of the Z-group shows that this, in fact, is often the case (see pages *62-4).

(c) That Arni Magnússon does not always makes changes in K when his exemplar for AM (i.e. *y) read differently from K. By comparison with the Z-group, A and S can be shown to have contained readings which were in *y, *Y and *X but which are not recorded by Arni Magnússon in AM. This fact does not seem to have been properly acted upon either by the editor of Fornsögur or of Fló, 1932, and in the majority of cases where A agrees with the Z-group over against K, both these editions have K's reading in their main texts rather than A's (see page *68). [62]

(d) That PM is only to be regarded as an inferior copy of MP (see pages *30-6).

(e) Finally, it should be stressed that the present investigations have produced evidence which amply confirms the conclusion arrived at by previous scholars (Finnur Magnússon, Guðbrandur Vigfússon, Björn Sigfússon) that the M-version is independent of the latest common source for K, AM, A and P (excluding PM) and that its text, in the great

majority of cases is superior to that of these manuscripts. For this reason, as has been noted, a reading of the M-version, as far as it is preserved, is particularly important for the study of the saga. [63]

If the first of these conclusions, (a), is correct, then an edition of the saga based on the seven manuscripts mentioned in Section B should, theoretically, present as part of the variant apparatus, both the readings of *Y and *Z as the possible readings of *X. This should at any rate be the case unless, by virtue of agreement with the M-version or LdnStb, the reading either of *Y or of *Z would appear to be the more original. For various reasons, however, the present editor has decided not to give a full set of variant readings from the Z-group. First, it is felt that at least for the purposes of this thesis, it would be wisest to concentrate on conclusions (b) and (c) mentioned above and to establish, as far as is possible, which of the readings of the Y-group were, in fact, the readings of *Y. If a text of *Y can be established with reasonable certainty, any future editor of the saga would, the present editor believes, be provided with an important starting point for further investigations into its textual background. Secondly, evidence has been produced in this chapter (see pages *57-9 above) to show that *Y was considerably closer to older manuscripts of the saga (i.e. *X, *F and the author's autograph) than *Z was. While, on the one hand, a number of agreements between the M-version and LdnStb and *Y over

against *Z are to be found, agreements between these texts and *Z over against *Y are so rare and so relatively insignificant (see pages *58 f.), that one would, as noted, certainly be justified in having doubts about *Z's independence of *Y. Further, even though *X and *Y were two different manuscripts, the evidence produced in Section D suggests that they were very close to each other. They were probably written for the same family, if not for the same patron. *Y could well have been a direct copy of *X and it is even possible that both of them were written by the same scribe. It can safely be said, then, that a complete set of variants from the Z-group would contain a large number of readings which were nothing but the innovations of the scribe of *Z. For these reasons, therefore, and for certain others, variants from the Z-group are given in the Textual Notes only in the limited number of cases set out below (see pages *145-6).^[64]

The Main Text of this edition is, then, an attempt to reconstruct the text of *Y. It is, for this reason, just as Guðbrandur Vigfússon's text in Fornsögur and Finnur Jónsson's text in Fló, 1932, based on AM 516, 4to (K), Arni Magnússon's 'corrections' in K (AM) and on AM 517, 4to (A). It differs from Guðbrandur's and Finnur's text, however, by the application of conclusions (b) and (c) mentioned above to the method by which it is put together from these three sources. Whereas Guðbrandur and Finnur preferred all readings shared by AM and A over against K, this is only done in the Main Text of the present edition when such y-group

readings, by agreement with the Z-group over against K, can be presumed to have been the readings of *Y and *X. Further, when a reading of A, by virtue of agreement with the Z-group over against K would seem to have been the reading of *Y and *X, then this is introduced into the Main Text, even though there may be no 'correction' by Arni Magnússon in K. Otherwise, except in a few minor cases, the Main Text of this edition is that of K. By adopting such a method, a text is produced which probably resembles the original of the shorter version of the saga, *X, more closely than any [65] which has so far been published. With these new aspects of the edition of the Main Text stated, we may now go on (I) to describe in detail the way in which the Main Text has been arrived at, (II) to make certain points in connection with the Textual Notes and (III) to add a few remarks on the text of the M-version (PM, Folio 4, Folio 5) as it is given in this edition.

(I) The Main Text of this edition is that of AM 516, 4to (K) altered by the following processes:

(i) Normalization. The spelling of K is essentially that of the seventeenth century; indeed, Ketill distinguishes himself by the consistency of his orthography, even when copying medieval exemplars (cf. Handritaspjall, 96). For the purposes of the present edition, on the other hand, a normalized spelling has been adopted which attempts to approach and regularize the spelling of Icelandic manuscripts of the medieval period. This normalized spelling

is, for the most part, self-explanatory and neither Keřill's spelling nor the changes which have been made in it need be described here. A few points should be made in this connection however.

In Icelandic of the post-classical and early modern period, the particle at was often omitted after conjunctive svá, bó and því and also at the beginning of noun clauses; further, er was often omitted in the temporal conjunction þá er (see Syntax, 267 and Jakob Smári, Islensk setningafræði, 1920, 198). This is frequently true of the language of K (e.g. 17/1-2: 'því hann hefir þess háttar yfirbragð'; 9/14-5; '...Hygg ek meir eyðir þú málit fyrir féginni...'; 1/19: Þá Haraldr inn hárfagri gekk til ríkis í Noregi, mægðiz hann við Hákon...). In editing normalized texts, it is usual to supply the words at and er in these positions if it is missing and this is done in the present edition (-tt in the case of þó). It should be noted however that the insertion of these words into the Main Text is to be regarded as a normalization rather than an emendation or an adoption from the y-group. ^(see below) Their introduction into K's text is therefore neither marked in the Main Text nor mentioned in the Textual Notes. A similar procedure is adopted by Jónas Kristjánsson in the ninth volume of Islensk fornrit (see IF, ix, cxvii).

Recent researches have shown that the two phonemes 'ø' and 'ø', between which the First Grammarian, writing at some time in the twelfth century, makes such a careful

distinction, had fallen together by 1250 at the latest (see e.g. KL, vii, column 488). It is therefore better not to distinguish between these two sounds in a text, which, as will be shown, was probably written at least thirty years after they had become identical. The problem arises, however, of what symbol to use for the resulting lower front rounded sound, [ö], which, in Modern Icelandic, is represented by ö. The series Íslenzk fornrit, when printing the later Íslendingasögur (see e.g. IF, xiv), in fact uses the modern symbol. This, however, is perhaps less appropriate since ö was not introduced into Icelandic until the modern period, and then under the influence, direct or indirect, of German. It has therefore been decided to use a symbol ǫ for the present text; this is found in manuscripts of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (see Hreinn Benediktsson, Early Icelandic Script, 1965, 72) and was used for the phoneme in question.

Thirdly, it should be noted that there are certain varying forms in K which have not been normalized away. These are variants involving no semantic difference, such as á/í brott/braut/burtu, numerals in Roman figures/numerals in words, ekki/eigi, -igr/-ugr, etc. Further, when K has one variant of this type and AM, A or S has another, no mention is made of this fact in the Textual Notes. A similar approach is adopted by, for example, D. Slay in his edition of Hrólf's Saga kraka (1960; see page xix). Variations between K, AM and A in the tense or mood of verbs, the use or omission of

the article are, on the other hand, always recorded in the Textual Notes.

(ii) Punctuation. The punctuation of the Main Text is according to the conventions of the English language and needs no explanation here. The division into paragraphs is the present editor's. The chapter divisions, on the other hand are those of K; these correspond, except for a few minor points of difference, to those of A.

(iii) The introduction of readings from the y-group. The method by which the Main Text has been constructed from the variants of the Y-group of manuscripts (K(AM), A and S) has already been described in general terms (see pages *138-9) and it remains to mention some points of detail in this connection. In a number of cases (see e.g. 32/7-8 and Textual Note and 59/20 and Textual Note), preference for a y-group reading is made on grounds of likeness to, rather than complete agreement with, the corresponding reading of the Z-group. The method of selecting Y-group readings is maintained even though the corresponding Y-group reading not agreeing with the Z-group may, in fact, agree with the M-version (see 43/13, Textual Note ad loc and 84/17; 59/9, Textual Note ad loc and 87/3). In cases where K agrees with S over against A (cf. pages *70-1), the reading of K and S is normally preferred; at 2/8, 3/8, 20/1 and 49/11, however, the reading of A is adopted into the Main Text for various reasons. In a few cases, even though a reading of one or more texts of the Y-group agrees with the Z-group, another Y-group

~~Y-group~~ reading (e.g. leysimz, 37/8; allar, 41/19) is adopted into the Main Text because it is a lectio difficilior. Finally, where no Y-group variant agrees with the Z-group, occasional y-group readings are preferred to those of K for reasons which are not necessarily stated. Any arbitrariness which it is felt might exist in the selection of readings from the Y-group for the Main Text is adequately compensated for, it is hoped, by the fact that a complete set of variants from K, AM, and A (although not S) is given in the Textual Notes. Insertions from the y-group are not marked in any particular way in the Main Text.

(iv) Emendation. Readings introduced into the Main Text which could not have been the readings of *Y are regarded as emendations. These are made as little as possible and the present edition has fewer than previous ones (see Notes to: Hísnargafn, 4/21; bræðr, 6/2; fálkagreptri, 7/12; Hagavági, 11/25). ^(;cf. Note to 3/15) When, however, a *Y-reading, as it stands, either produces obvious inconsistencies in the narrative (see e.g. 2/5 and Textual Note; 10/16 and Textual Note) or does not make sense either by itself or in context (see 17/10 and 39/22), readings which were demonstrably or probably not those of *Y are inserted into the Main Text. Such emendations are always enclosed in square brackets in the Main Text and are always mentioned in the Textual Notes; where an emendation is based on a manuscript of the saga (as is often the case), this is also mentioned in the Textual Notes. In one case (13/13), rather than emend, the text

is left defective (cf. M-version, 75/2).

(II) The Textual Notes to the Main Text are found on pages 92-113 (abbreviations on page 91). As already stated, these are intended to give a comprehensive set of variants from K, AM and A; on the other hand, because S is clearly an inaccurate reproduction of its exemplar, variants from it are normally only noted when they agree with other variants given. The general principle of the Textual Notes is simply this: where there is divergence involving lexical or semantic difference between the readings of K, AM and A, the variant or variants not adopted in the Main Text are recorded in the Textual Notes. Some points of detail may be mentioned in connection with K(AM) (AM 516, 4to): Unless otherwise stated, a reading ascribed to K is that of the manuscript's main text (i.e. is not interlinear or marginal). The exact form in which AM's readings appear is not always described in detail. Thus at 19/12, when Arni Magnússon changes Ketill's kjem² to kemst by crossing out the j and the superscript tittle and adding st, the Textual Notes merely state that y has kemz; (kemz is also the reading of A and S). Further, where Arni substitutes another word for that in K, the fact that he deletes K's word (or, as is the case at 19/12 just mentioned, letters in K's word) is not always recorded. And crossings out and other deletions in AM 516 4to sometimes present problems: Because the colour of the ink in which many of these are made can be seen, even from microfilms, to be different from that in which K and KZ (cf. pages *63-4) are

written, it is reasonable to assume that the majority of them are the work of a scribe other than Ketill, and thus presumably Arni Magnússon. On the other hand, Ketill has also made certain deletions in his own text and it is sometimes not possible to determine with complete certainty whether a deletion is the work of Ketill or Arni Magnússon. Indeed, there are probably always risks involved in attributing such marks to particular scribes. For these reasons, there is sometimes an element of doubt involved when deletions in AM 516, 4to are ascribed to AM or K in the Textual Notes and this fact should be borne in mind. On the other hand, while some element of doubt may often be present in this connection, it is only appreciable in a limited number of cases and it has therefore been decided not to register in the Textual Notes the degree of probability with which a given deletion mark may be attributable to AM or K, but rather to present the most likely possibility as a fact.

As has been mentioned, the initial letter at the beginning of every chapter is left blank in A (see page *21). On the other hand, such forms as araldr at the beginning of chapter 1 (1/1) and jörnólfr at the beginning of chapter 2 (2/7) are not regarded as textual variants and are not remarked on in the Textual Notes. The title given to the saga is that in K and S; in A it has no title (see page 119).

As has already been noted, readings from the Z-group of manuscripts are normally only given in the Textual Notes in certain types of case. These are as follows: (i) when, by

agreement with or likeness to one of differing Y-group readings, they suggest that that reading was the reading of *Y and *X; (ii) when an emendment in the Main Text is based on a Z-group reading; (iii) when a Z-group reading agrees with Ketill's marginal additions to his own main text (cf. page *64 above; see e.g. Textual Notes to 21/22).

(III) The M-version of the saga is edited in three separate parts: (i) PM, the section of P which can safely be said to be mainly derived from lost parts of *M, is edited on pages 63-75. It should again be stressed that PM is a far less faithful copy of its original than hitherto may have been supposed; see pages *30-6, *136. Particularly at its beginning, its scribe is likely to have reverted to his X-group exemplar. This fact should constantly be borne in mind when reading PM.

(ii) Folio 4 of M, pages 77-85.

(iii) Folio 5 of M, pages 87-9.

Textual Notes to PM are to be found on pages 114-5 and to M on pages 116-7.

Similar rules for normalization and punctuation have been adhered to in the edition of the M-version as in the edition of the X-version. In the verse on pages 77-8, however, the archaic Vas (cf. M's Vaskaði) and es have been introduced; further, certain idiosyncracies of M's spelling have been spared normalization (e.g. hefi-k, 81/11; higat, 84/3; bagat, 84/12). One point in connection with M requires special notice: It has already been observed (page

*15), that Folio 4 not only has torn edges but also has small holes. These latter are in column b, recto (column a, verso). The gaps in the text caused by this damage can normally be safely filled out from the general context and the X-version. Where this is done, the reading in question is enclosed in round brackets (in contrast to genuine emendations which are given in square brackets) and details are given in the Textual Notes. Two gaps, at 79/25 (hole) and 83/19 (tear), present slight problems however. The editor of Fornsögur seems to have filled these in from P's text and has accordingly laukrinn, svá and gengu upp á (Fornsögur, 179/8 and 181/28). One wonders, however, if the hole and the tear in question were not in M when Einar Eyjólfsson wrote P. Folio 2 of 445 b was certainly damaged to some extent when Þórður Jónsson used it a little before Einar wrote P (see Gerðir, 28; cf. Note to Introduction 13) and the gap Einar leaves at 75/2 (cf. Textual Note ad loc) suggests that Folio *3 was damaged at the time he was writing. And that there was at least a tear in Folio 4 at 83/19 when Einar used it, is suggested by the indecision he shows at the corresponding point in P (f. 47r, line 26) by first writing inn í and then changing it to upp á; here he would seem to be guessing. In view of these facts, it seems better to disregard P's readings at these two places and to adopt *X's út á at 83/19 and, again as in *X, an accusative rather than a nominative at 79/25.

Finally, mention should be made of Appendix I here.

This contains that part of P, which, it has been argued above (pages *38-54), probably contains readings from lost parts of *M. The text is given in unnormalized form; accompanying it are Textual Notes and also explanations of the two verses which are to be found in the passage.

CHAPTER II: BORROWED AND STEREOTYPED ELEMENTS IN
FLOAMANNA SAGA

Section A: Flóamanna Saga and Landnámabók

(a) Landnámabók and its redactions

Landnámabók is an account of the colonization of Iceland from Norway and, to some extent, from the British Isles in the last decades of the ninth century and the first decades of the tenth. In its more original form, it can have been little more than a list giving the names of about four hundred of the first settlers of the island, demarcating the extent of their settlements (landnám) and naming their dwelling places. In addition, their most important ancestors, descendants and, as far as known, their close relatives were also mentioned. Frequently the part of Norway from which they came was given. The system of the work was geographical: working clockwise around the island, each landnám was dealt with in turn. Although later redactors have added more interesting matter, including short anecdotes, the essentially catalogue-like nature of the work can scarcely be concealed. As an historical document, however, Landnámabók is unique and its influence on Icelandic saga-writing is of the greatest importance.

The extant redactions of Landnámabók are as follows:

(i) AM 107, fol. (LdnStb) is a copy by Jón

Erlendsson (died 1672) of a lost vellum (hereafter called Resensbók), which was written about 1400 (see Ldn, iii), and which, at the end of the seventeenth century, was in the library of Professor Peder Resen in Copenhagen. This vellum was lost in the fire of 1728 (see Gerðir, 10). In LdnStb, a number of genealogies are traced down to Hvamm-Sturla Þórðarson and his wife, Guðný, and the redaction it represents has therefore been identified with that mentioned in the postscript to Haukr Erlendsson's redaction as having been written by Hvamm-Sturla's grandson, Sturla-Þórðarson (died 1284)^[66]. The original manuscript of this redaction will be referred to as Sturlubók.

(ii) The Hauksbók-redaction (LdnHkb) made by Haukr Erlendsson (died 1334) is found partly in autograph in the famous Hauksbók (AM 371, 4to; fourteen leaves out of an original thirty-eight) and partly in a copy of Hauksbók (in AM 105 fol.) by the same Jón Erlendsson who copied Resensbók. This latter preserves the matter of virtually twenty-two of the twenty-four lost leaves of the original (see Gerðir, 14). It seems most probable that Haukr made his redaction of Landnámabók between 1306 and 1308 (see Ldn, 1968, lxxxii and the references cited there).

(iii) The Melabók-redaction is represented by two leaves found in the carelessly written AM 445 b, 4to (LdnM1b) which also contains the longer version of Fló

(see page *14). In this redaction, a number of genealogies are traced down to a family living at Melar in Borgarfjörður around the beginning of the fourteenth century and it is therefore assumed that LdnM1b derives from an original made by a member of this family some time (the late thirteenth or) in the fourteenth century (cf. Gerðir, 55f.).

(iv) The Skarðsárbók-redaction (LdnSkb) exists in a number of copies of a lost original composed and written by Björn Jónsson of Skarðsá (died 1655) not later than 1636. The most important of these is AM 104 fol., written by Asgeir Jónsson, the scribe of AM 517, 4to.

(v) The Pórðarbók-redaction (LdnPðb), written by Pórður Jónsson of Hítardalur, is found in autograph in AM 106, fol. and AM 112, fol.

The relationship between these five known redactions of Landnámabók has been most thoroughly investigated by Jón Jóhannesson in his treatise Gerðir Landnámabókar, published in 1941. Although Jón's conclusions have been disputed on certain points of detail, they have, in their broad outlines, been widely accepted. [67] What follows is a summary of Jón's conclusions which will serve as a background to the more specific question of Landnámabók's relationship to Flóamanna Saga.

Basing his argument largely on Haukr Erlendsson's postscript to his redaction (cf. Note to Introduction 66), Jón traces all five extant versions back to a single lost version which was the work of Styrmir Kárason (died 1245).

Styrmir's redaction in turn went back to a yet older version, which, while mainly the work of Ari Þorgilsson (died 1148), also included information supplied either in oral or written form by a certain Kolskeggr inn vitri, who seems to have been Ari's older contemporary. Styrmir made his redaction at some time between 1222 and 1231. To his original, he made various additions including a list of law-speakers and a short statement giving his reasons for making his redaction.

According to Jón Jóhannesson's theories, it is the Melabók-version which gives the clearest idea of what these lost versions of Landnámabók were like. Firstly, it preserves most closely the concise nature of its original - that is, Styrmisbók according to Jón Jóhannesson's theories; although its author has added certain material, including the genealogies to the Melar-family just mentioned and borrowings, for ^(example) from Vatnsdæla Saga (see Gerðir, 64), [68] a reading of the preserved fragments of this redaction, LdnM1b, will give some impression of how free from digression and interpolation the older versions of Landnámabók must have been. Secondly, the disposition of the Melabók-redaction | ~~of the Melabók-redaction~~ | must be more original than that found in LdnStb, LdnHkb and LdnSkb: Jón argues convincingly that in Ari's and Styrmir's versions, the account of the various landnám began with the easternmost part of the Sunnlendingafjórðungr and continued thence around the island. This is the arrangement of LdnM1b and,

following it, LdnPðb.

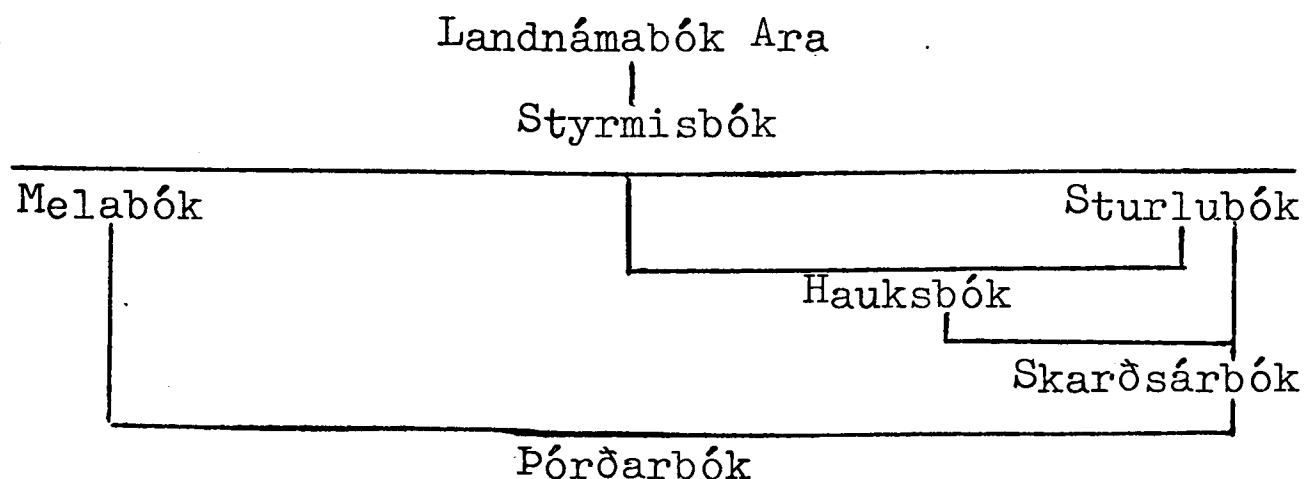
Jón Jóhannesson goes on to show that the most extensive changes in Landnámabók's original form were made by Sturla Þórðarson in Sturlubók. Sturla intended his redaction to be just one part of a larger work on Icelandic history from the earliest times down to his own century. This began with Landnámabók, continued with Kristni Saga, Þorgils Saga ok Hafliða and Sturlu Saga and concluded with Íslendinga Saga. Sturla worked into the version he had before him a great deal of material derived from the literary production of thirteenth century Iceland, particularly from the Íslendingasögur. The additions took the form of extra information and stories about the people and places already mentioned in his original. Sturla also altered the original arrangement of the work already described. As part of his larger plan to write a comprehensive history of Iceland, he prefaced his redaction with a number of introductory chapters describing the country and giving an account of its discovery by Naddoddr, Garðarr and Flóki. He then went on to tell of its first settlement by Ingólfr and Leifr. And while dealing with Ingólfr, it seemed natural to continue with an account of his landnám in the south-western part of the island. This Sturla does, and continues from the south-west clockwise around the island. The southern part of Iceland is therefore dealt with at the end of Sturla's redaction instead of at the beginning as in Styrmisbók.

The earliest version of Landnámabók based on two previous redactions of the work was written by Haukr Erlendsson. As will be seen from the postscript to this redaction (see Note to Introduction 66), Haukr knew both Styrmir's and Sturla's versions of the work and Jón Jóhannesson thinks he may even have had the autograph copies of these redactions before him, although he expresses himself very carefully on this point. For the most part, Haukr followed the fuller text of Sturla's redaction, but, in addition to the material derived from Styrmir's redaction, he also included information from other sources. In a number of cases, Haukr traces genealogies down to himself. On the whole, his copying of his originals is rather careless (cf. Gerðir, 175).

LdnSkb and LdnPðb are both redactions which came into being in the seventeenth century and are both composite texts based on earlier versions. LdnSkb is based mainly on the Hauksbók-version but also uses the Sturlubók-redaction as it was to be found in Resensbók. The value of LdnSkb lies in the fact that its author was using manuscripts or parts of manuscripts which are now lost and his version can therefore be used as a check against Jón Erlendsson's copy of the same material. LdnPðb, Jón argues convincingly, is a blend of LdnSkb and of LdnMlb in a considerably fuller form than it now exists. By a comparison between LdnSkb and LdnPðb, it is thus possible to glean material from lost parts of LdnMlb and thus to supplement

our knowledge of this important redaction (cf. e.g. Notes to 10/20 and 27/17).

Jón sums up his theories on the relationship between the various redactions of Landnámabók with the following stemma (Gerðir, 226):



(b) The redaction of Landnámabók used by Flóamanna Saga

That Fló contains material borrowed from Landnámabók is quite obvious. Without comparing the texts of the two works in detail, the casual reader of the saga will find much in the first chapters of Fló to remind him of the style and content of Landnámabók and at the end of the third chapter of the saga, there is a direct reference to the work. And a cursory comparison of Fló and Landnámabók makes it quite clear that the author of the saga must actually have had a manuscript of Landnámabók before him while he was writing. The question therefore arises: which of the three preserved ^{medieval} redactions of Landnámabók - Melabók, Sturlubók and Hauksbók - did the version used by the author of Fló (referred to as LdnX) most closely resemble?

First, the Melabók-version (and with it Styrmisbók) are clearly to be eliminated: if we compare the accounts of Ingólfr's parentage and the Atlasynir's attack on Ingólfr and Leifr in Melabók (and Styrmisbók) on the one hand (see Notes to 2/10-1 and 4/14-5/5) with those in Sturlubók (cf. LdnStb, 131/15-8, 27-32) and Hauksbók (see LdnHkb, 6/2-5, 14-20) on the other, then it is clear that Fló is following one of the last two redactions mentioned. Further, it is unlikely that the Melabók-version or Styrmisbók contained material borrowed from Heimskringla which is to be found in chapter 371 of the Sturlubók-redaction, chapter 326 of the Hauksbók-redaction and, following one or other of these two last mentioned redactions, chapter 1 of Fló (cf. Gerðir, 121-2). The choice, then, is between the Hauksbók and the Sturlubók-redactions. A comparison of the texts of Fló, LdnStb and LdnHkb has therefore been undertaken and this has shown that, in the majority of cases, the version of Landnámabók the Fló-author had before him must most closely have resembled the Sturlubók-redaction of the work. This conclusion had, in fact, already been arrived at by Guðni Jónsson in his article 'Flóamanna Saga og Landnáma' published in Afmælisrit helgað Einari Arnórsyni (1940, 126-34) and the examples he gives, coupled with one or two others, will serve to demonstrate this point:

(i) Corresponding to Fló, 5/15-8: ok fell þar Hólmsteinn. Eptir þat dreif lið at þeim fóstbræðrum, vinir þeira ok frændr ór Firðafylki. Váru þá sendir menn

~~sendir~~ til Hallsteins, we find on LdnStb, 131/35-7: ok fell þar Hersteinn. Eptir þat dreif at þeim fóstbræðrum vinir þeira ór Firðafylki. Váru þá menn sendir á fund Atla jarls ok Hásteins. On the other hand, LdnHkb, 6/22-3 has: fell þar Hersteinn. Eptir þat váru menn sendir á fund Atla jarls ok Hásteins.

(ii) Corresponding to Fló, 6/16-8, 26, 7/1-2: Hallsteinn...bjó at Stjórnusteinum...Bjó Ólvir at Stjórnusteinum; þat heita nú Ólvistóptir... Hafði Atli...Traðarholt, we find in LdnStb, 224/20-5: Hásteinn...bjó á Stjórnusteinum ok svá Ólvir, son hans, eptir hann. Þar heita nú Ólvisstaðir...Atli bjó í Traðarholti. In contrast LdnHkb, 115/16, 20-3 has: Hásteinn...bjó á Stokkseyri ok Atli, son hans, eptir hann, áðr hann færði sik í Traðarholt. Ólvir...bjó at Stjórnusteinum.

(iii) Corresponding to Fló, 11/3-4, 18-9: Þórðr hét son Atla. Hann var ix. vetra er þetta var tíðinda...Þá var Þórðr xv. vetra gamall, er hann hugsar um fósturhefndir, LdnStb, 225/27-9 has: Þórðr dofni, son Atla, var þá ix. vetra. En þá er hann var xv. vetra, reið Hrafn í Einarshöfn til skips. On the other hand, LdnHkb, 117/9-10 has: Þórðr dofni, son Atla, var þá xv. vetra er Hrafn reið til skips í Einarshöfn.

(iv) While Fló, 29/7-8 has: Peir Helgi váru þrír saman komnir af Eyrum sunnan, LdnStb, 226/22 has: Peir Helgi váru iii. saman komnir af Eyrum. LdnHkb, 118/9 has, on the other hand: Peir Helgi váru iii. saman.

(v) But perhaps the most remarkable correspondence between LdnStb and Fló is a case where certain manuscripts of the latter seem to reproduce a mistake in Sturla's original redaction (Sturlubók). At 10/19, K reads: Tveir fellu menn Hrafns; einn var þá særðr til ólífis. Árni Magnússon here corrects einn to en (spelt eñ) and en is also the reading of A. B, J and P all have en Atli var. The reading of LdnHkb (117/7-8) is: Einn fell Atla hús-karl en hann varð sárr banasárum. Meanwhile LdnStb (225/25-6) reads as follows: Einn fell af Atla en (new line) varð sárr banasárum. Finnur Jónsson (LdnStb, 225 footnote) thought that the omission of a subject for varð sárr banasárum in LdnStb was due to the line division in AM 107, fol. When however we find a similar mistake in AM and A (and thus *y), this must be more than mere coincidence and the most natural conclusion must be that Sturlubók and the older manuscripts of Fló (*Y, *X, *F and the original of the saga) also contained the reading. The various readings of LdnHkb, K and the Z-group must be independent attempts to emend the text. This example serves not only to show Fló's closer relationship with Sturla's redaction but is also a flattering testimony to the faithfulness of LdnStb in reproducing the text of Sturlubók.

An exhaustive comparison of the texts of LdnStb, LdnHkb and Fló has confirmed, then, that on all major points of difference between LdnStb and LdnHkb, Fló agrees with the former. There remain, however, a number of minor instances

where there is agreement between LdnHkb and Fló over against LdnStb. In his article already mentioned (Afmæl-
isrit, 128), Guðni Jónsson notices these and seeks to explain two of them, although not altogether satisfactorily. Further, more recently, their existence has been noted by Jakob Benediktsson (Ldn, 1968, cxxii and 37⁰, footnote 2). Because the explanation of these readings may throw more light not only on the identity of LdnX but also on the relationship between LdnHkb and LdnStb they will be discussed here in some detail.

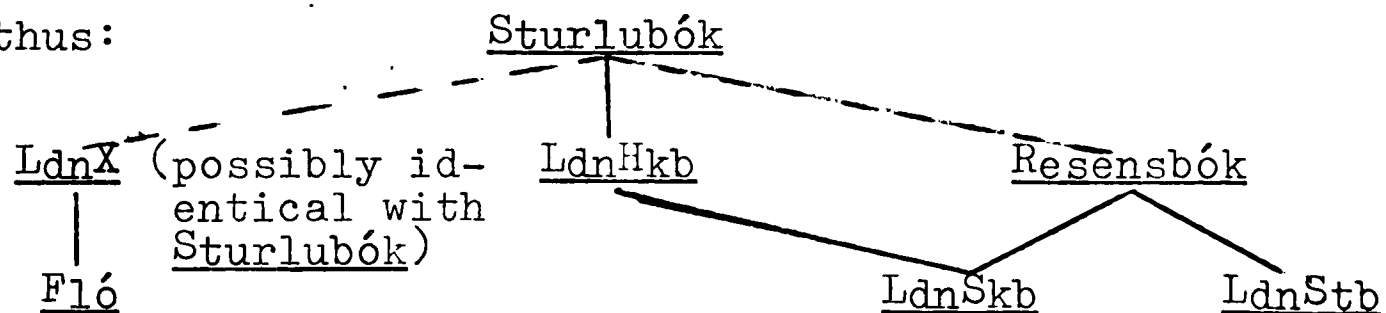
Fló (referred to first) agrees with, or resembles more closely LdnHkb (referred to second) over against LdnStb (referred to immediately after square bracket) in the following instances. (Where LdnSkb agrees with LdnStb, this is also mentioned.) :

- 1) 1/2: ǫlvǫru = 114/27] 223/38: Salvǫru = LdnSkb,
.ch. 369/2
- 2) 1/6: konungr = 115/1] 224/2: ÷ = LdnSkb, ch. 369/5
- 3) 1/7: fyrst = 115/2] 224/3: fyrstr = LdnSkb, ch.
369/6
- 4) 1/18: hjartar = 115/5] 224/6: hjarta
- 5) 1/18: inn = 115/6] 224/7: ÷
- 6) 1/22: eigi = 115/9] 224/10: ekki
- 7) 1/23: fyrr en = 115/9] 224/10: áðr = LdnSkb, ch.
369/12
- 8) 1/24: dró lið saman; 115/10: drógu her saman]
224/11-2: dróguz at her

- 9) 2/2: var = 115/12] 224/13: ÷ = LdnSkb, ch. 369/15
- 10) 2/2: ok (2) = 115/12] 224/13: hann
- 11) 2/10: Fjóllum = 6/4] 131/17: Fjóllum
- 12) 4/14: vill Leifr; 6/14-5: þjugguz þeir fóstbræðr]
131/27-8: þjugguz þeir fóstbræðr at fara
- 13) 5/15: fóru = 6/22] 131/34: gerðu
- 14) 6/17: Fúlalækjar = 115/19-20] 224/21: Fyllarlækjar
(LdnSkb, ch. 369/21 has: Fúlalækjar with Landn(áma)
s(egir) Fyllarlækjar in margin)
- 15) 6/26: at = 115/22] 224/21: á
- 16) 7/3: allan arf; 115/23-4: arf allan] 224/26: lönd
ok lausafé
- 17) 7/13: var = 116/5] 224/32: ÷
- 18) 7/14: Fróðasonar = 114/5] 223/20: fróða
- 19) 7/16: fór = 114/5] 223/20: kom
- 20) 7/17: land = 114/6] 223/21: ÷
- 21) 7/19: ins = 114/8] 223/23: ÷
- 22) 7/22: at Gaulum = 114/11 (Finnur Jónsson reads á here;
on the reading at, see Fortællinger, 54 footnote; it
is confirmed by LdnSkb.)] 223/26: ÷
- 23) 8/5: Puríðar = 112/13] 222/3: Pordar (so spelt in
ms.)
- 24) 8/5: Valla-Brandr = 112/13-4] 222/3: Vala-Brandr
- 25) 8/11: hrísa = 116/21] 225/9: risa
- 26) 12/5-6: Atlahaugr ok Ólvishaugr ok Hallsteinshaugr;
117/13: Hásteinshaugr ok Ólvishaugr ok Atlahaugr]
225/32: Hásteinshaugr ok Atlahaugr ok Ólvis

- 27) 13/3: ok spurðiz ekki til = 117/20-1] 225/39: ÷
- 28) 13/4-5: Hann var = 117/22] 226/1: ÷
- 29) 13/18: Órrabeinsstjúpr; 115/26: orrabeins stivp (so ms.)] 224/28: errubeinsstjúps = LdnSkb, ch. 369/29
- 30) 27/17: ok (2) = 117/25] 226/4: til
- 31) 27/22: órrabeinn; 117/30: orrabeinn (so ms.)]
226/9: ÷
- 32) 27/23: trausti = 117/28] 226/10: ÷
- 33) 28/17: kvaz = 117/33 (spelt q)] 226/12: léz = LdnSkb,
ch. 375/9
- 34) 29/3: vetra = 118/6] 226/18: + er = LdnSkb, 375/21
- 35) 29/7: Helgahvál = 118/8] 226/21: Helgahraun

As already pointed out, Jón Jóhannesson thought it possible that Haukr has before him Sturla's original (Sturlubók) when he wrote the Hauksbók-redaction (see page *154). This he argued on the basis of Haukr's words in the postscript to his redaction: Þessa bók ritaða [ek] Haukr... eptir þeirri bók sem ritat hafði herra Sturla. The verb at rita, Jón observes (Gerðir, 50 f.), is normally used only of the physical act of writing, not in the sense 'to compose'. Haukr would therefore be referring to Sturla's autograph here. Accepting this argument, the relationship between the texts we are here dealing with may be represented thus:



Accepting the above stemma, each of the agreements between LdnHkb and Fló over against LdnStb must be accounted for in one of the following ways:

A They might be due to differences between LdnStb and Resensbók, i.e. mistakes and even changes in LdnStb which originate from Jón Erlendsson. On the other hand, Jón's reputation as a copyist is good (cf. Gerðir, 10) and the number of the above readings to be explained in this way is probably rather small. We can, for example, definitely eliminate from this group, and thus assign to groups B and C, those cases where LdnStb agrees with LdnSkb (i.e. nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, 9, 29, 33, 34) and must ~~thus~~ ^{therefore} be reproducing the reading of Resensbók. And had LdnSkb mainly followed Resensbók rather than Hauksbók, it would undoubtedly have confirmed ^{that} LdnStb was accurately reproducing Resensbók's text in more of the thirty-five cases than these eight. ^[69] On the other hand, Resensbók may well have been difficult to read in places and this fact may have caused various minor mistakes in Jón's copy.

B They may be due to discrepancies between Resensbók and Sturlubók. Although Jón Jóhannesson is probably right in suggesting that Resensbók was a relatively accurate copy of Sturlubók (Gerðir, 36-50; cf. page *158 above), it is quite likely that certain changes, particularly small alterations of the type we are here dealing with, were to be found in it. This is especially so in view

of the fact that one or more intermediary copies may have been made in the century or century and a half which elapsed between the writing of Sturlubók and the writing of Resensbók. If we accept the stemma on page *161, then a substantial proportion of the agreements between F1ó and LdnHkb over against LdnStb would have to be accounted for in this way.

C It is possible that various of the agreements in the list arose as the result of independent changes by Haukr and the scribe of LdnX and the author of F1ó.

These might be:

(i) intentional corrections. For instance, if Helgahraun (see no. 35) was the reading of Sturlubók, it is quite possible, as Guðni Jónsson suggests (Afmælisrit, 128), that this should have been intentionally and independently changed to Helgahvål by Haukr and the author of F1ó who knew Helgahraun to be factually wrong (cf. Note to 29/6-7).

(ii) minor, fortuitous changes. In the process of copying, redaction or adaptation, the same minor changes may have been made in Sturlubók's text quite independently by Haukr on the one hand and the scribe of LdnX on the other. Thus léz (no. 33) could easily have been changed to kvaz spontaneously by two different men. Indeed, this explanation might account for a number of minor agreements between LdnHkb and F1ó mentioned in the list (e.g. nos. 10, 19, 21).

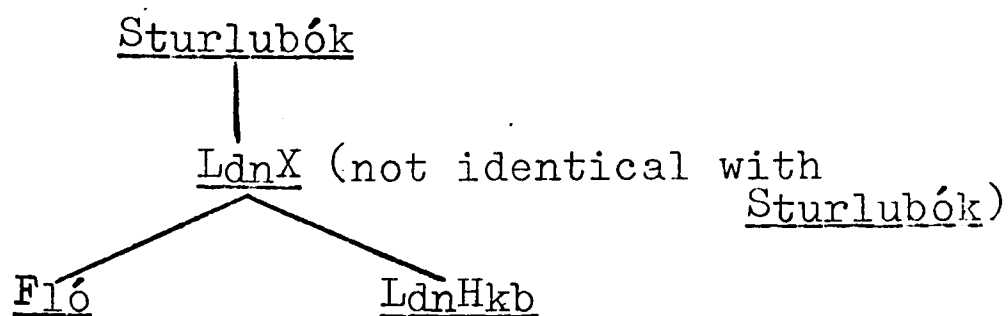
Nearly all the agreements in the list could be accounted for by one of the three explanations given above. There remain, however, two readings which, although they could possibly be explained in other ways, are best accounted for by assuming a common original for the Hauksbók-redaction of Landnámabók and for Fló which was different from and later than Sturlubók. We may discuss these in more detail:

(i) At 6/17, Fló agrees with LdnHkb in having Fúla-lækjar while LdnStb has Fyllarlækjar. Guðni Jónsson (Afmælisrit, 128) suggests that the reading of Fló and LdnHkb could be accounted for by explanation C (i) mentioned above, that is, by assuming that both Haukr and the Fló-author independently of each other changed Fyllarlækjar to Fúlalækjar because they thought this was more correct. Such an explanation can hardly be right. First, as Guðni himself notices elsewhere (Stokks, 40), Fúli-lækr is less likely to have been the name of the brook in question. Second, in describing the landnám of Þórir Asason in LdnHkb, ch. 328, Haukr himself refers to what must be the same brook as Fyllarlækjar. Jón Erlendsson in LdnStb has certainly not made an alteration of a reading *Fúlalækjar which was in Resensbók (see LdnSkb's reading noted in no. 14). Here the simplest explanation seems to be that Fúlalækjar arose as a change for Sturlubók's Fyllarlækjar in a common original for LdnHkb and Fló which was written later than Sturlubók.

(ii) At 5/15, Fló agrees with LdnHkb in having fóru, while LdnStb has gerðu. There are two reasons for believing that gerðu was the reading of Sturlubók. First, it is the lectio difficilior - it is hard to imagine a scribe, intentionally or unintentionally, changing fóru to gerðu. The second reason is as follows: Another work which has borrowed from Sturla's redaction of Landnámabók is Oláfs Saga Tryggvasonar en mesta (Ol mest) and, among other passages it takes over, is Sturla's account of the dealings between Ingólfr and Leifr and the sons of Atli jarl. And it has gerðu at the point corresponding to Fló's and LdnHkb's fóru (see Ol mest, i, 260, line 9). What text of Sturla's redaction the author of Ol mest had, we cannot be certain, but it cannot have been Resensbók and we have no especial reason for assuming that it was an intermediary manuscript between Sturlubók and Resensbók (see also below). We may then, with reasonable confidence, use Ol mest as a check for Sturlubók and assume that gerðu was also the reading of that text. This being the case, the reading fóru is best explained as an innovation may by the scribe of a common source for LdnHkb and Fló which was later than Sturlubók. [70]

If we accept the albeit rather slight evidence provided by these two readings, we must assume, despite Jón Jóhannesson's tentatively offered arguments to the contrary (cf. page *154), that there was an intermediate manuscript of Landnámabók between LdnHkb and Sturlubók and that this

manuscript, or a manuscript which went back to it, was LdnX, the text of Landnámabók used by the author of Fló, thus:



Since this conclusion about the possibility of an LdnX which was not identical with Sturlubók was arrived at, two Icelandic scholars have produced arguments which tend to confirm it. Helgi Guðmundsson (Um Kjalnesinga sögu, 1967, 20-36) and Jakob Benediktsson (Ldn, 1968, cxxii ff. particularly footnote 14; cf. lxxvi footnote 1) between them draw attention to similarities between Ol mest and Kjaln on the one hand and LdnHkb on the other, over against LdnStb. (As noted (page *159), Jakob also mentions the similarities between Fló and LdnHkb.) They express suspicions that the authors of Kjaln, Ol mest and LdnHkb were not using Sturlubók but a later copy of it which was not in the Sturlubók-Resensbók-LdnStb tradition. This external evidence would certainly seem to bear out the internal evidence from Fló and LdnHkb that LdnX and Sturlubók were not identical and that LdnHkb also went back to LdnX (or a manuscript later than Sturlubók from which it derives). And in this connection we must remember that the authors of Fló and Kjaln and ~~and~~ the scribes of the Hauksbók-redaction of Landnámabók were probably all working in the south-western part of Iceland (see e.g. Um Kjaln, 77-83 and the references cited

there; pages * 397 ff.); it would not be at all surprising if they had all used the same copy, or closely related copies, of the original of Sturla's redaction, Sturlubók.

(c) Landnámabók and Flóamanna Saga, chapters 1-10, 18

It is not intended in this thesis to give a detailed or exhaustive analysis of the way the author of Fló has adapted, expanded or altered LdnX to form the narrative of chapters 1-10 and 18 of his saga. For a fuller treatment of that type, the reader is referred to Guðni Jónsson's article in Afmælisrit and, with a number of reservations, to Beschouwing, pages 4-30. What follows here is rather a line by line comparison of the texts of LdnStb and Fló, on the basis of which the reader will have little difficulty in discovering the way the older source has been modified. To various items in this list, however, notes are added drawing attention to literary motifs the Fló-author has introduced into the framework of LdnX's story and also remarking on certain other changes he has undertaken. If any general statement is to be made on his methods here, it is that he has hardly altered the story of LdnX very radically or adapted it very skilfully. It is true that on one point he has changed the chronology of Landnámabók (see note to No. 19) and, unless we have textual corruption or a change by the X-redactor, has made Hákon gamli win his battle against Atli mjóvi rather than lose it (see note to No. 11). But these alterations, if

anything, tend to confuse the sequence of events in the saga (cf. however note to Nos. 98-119). Otherwise what the Fló-author seems mainly to have done is to have filled out the skeleton plots he found in LdnX. This, it must be admitted, he has sometimes done with effect: the account of Ólmóðr's arrival at 4/23-5/3 is a colourful addition to Landnámabók and the shepherd's goading of Hrafn at 10/5-9 certainly adds to the otherwise dry narrative of the source (cf. LdnStb, 225/23). But too often we find the author of the saga working in less interesting material (often speeches) and not always to much artistic advantage or even with much relevance to the narrative. Thus at 5/5-8, the conversation between Ólmóðr and Leifr after Hólmsteinn flees seems to be quite without point. When he introduces extra material at 6/20-4, he seems to be 'marking time', interjecting platitudes before continuing his narrative. Much the same may be said of the passage at 13/2-21. The expression used by Guðni Jónsson to describe his approach, 'að drýgja mjöðinn', is very apposite. Further, some of the Fló-author's additions seem only to confuse the story (see notes to Nos. 21 and 88); his proneness to repeat himself is in evidence (see notes to Nos. 42 and 80; cf. page *119); and one reading in the text of the saga (see page *158) makes it clear that at times the author of the saga was copying LdnX quite mechanically. All in all, we get the impression that the Fló-author has added very little of substance to the story of LdnX. One feels his general

method (apart, possibly, from in chapters 2 and 3) was to copy a sentence or two from LdnX, to add one or two or more of his own and then to revert to LdnX. In this way, he has, as noted, ill disguised his source. In his defence however, it should be stressed that the preserved text we have of the relevant chapters has undergone changes made by the X-redactor. While then, it is clear that the Fló-author's adaptation of LdnX was far from smooth, chapters 1-10 and 18 of the saga may have read somewhat better in *F than they do in the X-version.

In the list which follows, the quotation before the square bracket (with reference) is from LdnStb (normalized except for the verses in chapter 18). Because Fló and LdnHkb so rarely agree with each other over against LdnStb, it has been felt unnecessary to give a complete set of variants from LdnHkb. On the other hand, where this last text does differ from LdnStb, reference is made to it in round brackets immediately before the square bracket; and in cases where LdnHkb and Fló (X-version) do agree over against LdnStb, this reference is marked with asterisks representing to the number of agreements involved (cf. list on pages *159-61). Immediately after the square bracket, the ^{corresponding} ~~appropriate~~ section of Fló is referred to. For chapter 18 of Fló, further references are made to the passage of P edited in Appendix I, which, as has been argued above (pages *38-54), may contain readings from the M-version of the saga. Remarks on the various additions

and changes made by the Fló-author are added after each chapter of Fló has been dealt with.

Chapter 1

- 1 223/37: Haraldr gullskeggr hét konungr í Sogni] 1/1;
Haraldr...Sogni
- 2 223/37-8: Hann átti Salvöru, dóttur Hundólfs jarls,
systur Atla jarls ins mjóva (114/27-8*)] 1/1-3: Hann
...mjóva
- 3 223/39-224/1: Þeirra dætr váru þær Þóra, er átti Hálf-
dan svartí Upplendingakonungr, ok Þuríðr, er átti Ket-
ill Helluflagi (114/28-30)] 1/3-5: Þeirra...Helluflagi
- 4 224/1-2: Haraldr ungi var son þeirra Hálfðanar ok Þóru]
1/5-6: Haraldr...Þóru
- 5 224/2-3: Honum gaf Haraldr gullskeggr nafn sitt ok
ríki (115/1-2*)] 1/6: Honum...sitt
- 6 224/3-5: Haraldr konungr andaðiz fyrstr þeirra, en þá
Þóra en Haraldr ungi síðast. Þá bar ríkit undir Hálf-
ðan konung en hann setti yfir þat Atla jarl inn mjóva
(115/2-4*).] 1/7-9: Haraldr...mjóva
- 7 224/5-7: Síðan fekk Hálfðan konungr Ragnhildar, dóttur
Sigurðar hjarta, ok var þeirra son Haraldr hárfagri
(115/4-6**)] 1/9-18: Síðan...hárfagri
- 8 224/7-10: Þá er Haraldr konungr gekk til ríkis í Nor-
egi ok hann mægðiz við Hákon jarl Grjótgarðsson, fekk
hann Sygnafylki Hákonni jarli, mági sínum, er Haraldr
fór í Vík austr (115/6-8)] 1/19-22: Þá...austr
- 9 224/10-1: En Atli jarl vildi ekki af láta ríkinu áðr

- hann fyndi Harald konung (115/9-10**)] 1/22-3: en
...konung
- 10 224/11-2: Jarlarnir breyttu þetta með kappi ok dróguz
at her (115/10*)] 1/23-4: Jarlarnir...saman
- 11 224/12-4: Peir funduz á Fjöllum í Stafanessvági ok börð-
uz.. Þar fell Hákon jarl en Atli varð sárr ok fluttr
í Atley. Hann dó þar ór sárum (115/11-2**)] 1/24-2/2:
Peir...sárum
- 12 131/20-1: sonum Atla jarls ins mjóva af Gaulum, þeim
Hásteini ok Hersteini ok Hólmsteini] 2/3-5: Atli...
Hólmsteinn
- 13 224/15-6: Hásteinn...átti Þóru Ölvisdóttur] 2/5-6:
[Hall]steinn...hernaði

Notes

No. 7: The Fló-author adds: (i) the genealogy ^(from) of Sigurðr hjórtr to Óðinn, and (ii) the words er fyrst var kallaðr Dofrafóstri, þá Haraldr lúfa (for parallel phraseology to which, see Note to 1/17-8).

Finnur Jónsson (Fló, 1932, 72) and Þórhallur Vilmundarson state that the main part of the genealogy from Sigurðr hjórtr to Óðinn (i.e. from Sigurðr ormr-í-auga to Óðinn) could have been taken from Vøls and Ragn and this is quite possible, especially in view of the fact that these two sagas may well have been linked to each other before the writing of Fló (cf. Vøls, lxxxi; The Saga of the Volsungs, ed. R. Finch, 1965, xxxvi ff.). And as Þórhallur notes, Hálfðanar Saga svarta (see Hkr, i, 87 f.) could have been

the source for the connection between Sigurðr hjörtr and Sigurðr ormr-í-auga. But there are other possible written sources. For example, the Ragnarssona Þáttur (see Hauksbók, 458 ff.) traces Sigurðr Fáfnisbani's descendents via Aslaug, Ragnarr and Sigurðr hjörtr to Haraldr hárfagri and is certainly older than Fló. Again, a genealogy in the prologue to Sverris Saga in Flb (iii, 141-3) takes Haraldr hárfagri's ancestors back to Adam via Sigurðr hjörtr, Ragnarr, Sigurðr Fáfnisbani and Óðinn; while Sigurður Nordal thinks that this was an addition by Magnús Þórhallsson, (see Flb, iii, ix), E. Brekke (Sverre-Sagaens opphav, 1958⁽¹⁵⁹⁾) hints that it is considerably older than the end of the fourteenth century. Finally, it should be stressed that it is not entirely necessary to assume a given literary source here. As J. de Vries points out in Kleine Schriften (1965, 314 ff.), the connection between the characters of the Sigurðr-cycle and Ragnarr loðbrók and his descendants is older than the linking of Vols and Ragn. The Fló-author might therefore have known the genealogy from general oral tradition.

No. 11: Both Finnur Jónsson (Fló, 1932, 72) and Nijhoff (Beschouwing, 5 f.) believe that Fló's reading fekk Hákon jarl sigr is the result of textual corruption: Finnur points to the beginning of chapter 4, according to which, he claims, 'Sigurd, Hakons sön, vil hævne faderen'; and Nijhoff thinks that a given redactor or scribe ('de man, die ten slotte dit hoofdstuk afskreef') found this

'mistake' in his exemplar and suggests that he made certain alterations in accordance with it (e.g. omitted a statement in the saga that Hallsteinn ruled in Norway after his father's death (cf. No. 37)). Now there is one good reason for agreeing with these scholars in objecting to the reading of Fló here: if Hákon jarl did win the battle against Atli, the latter's sons would afterwards hardly have been in a position to go on Viking ex^opeditions with Ingólfr and Leifr as they do in Fló, nor Hallsteinn to banish Leifr from Firðafylki (cf. 5/25-7). But apart from this, there is nothing essentially illogical in the sequence of events as presented in Fló. (Contrary to what Finnur Jónsson says, there is nothing at the beginning of chapter 4 to say that Sigurðr sought to avenge his father's death.) We might then, just as well suspect clumsiness of adaptation of Landnámabók on the part of the Fló-author. Or another possibility is that the X-redactor made Hákon win the battle with a view to getting Hallsteinn to Iceland more quickly and to leaving out chapters 2 and 3; he may then have omitted to make this latter change for some reason.

No. 12: It may be conjectured that the Fló-author changed LdnX's Hásteinn to Hallsteinn because of a place-name Hallsteinssund he knew (cf. Note to 2/3).

Chapter 2

14 131/15: Björnólfr hét maðr en annarr Hróaldr] 2/7-8:

Björnólfr...menn

15 131/15-6: Peir váru synir Hrómundar Gripssonar] 2/8:

Peir...Gripssönar

16 131/16-7: Peir fóru af Pelamörk fyrir víga sakir ok staðfestuz í Dalsfirði á Fjöllum (6/2-3*)] 2/9-10:

Peir...Fjölum

17 131/17-8: Sonr Björnólfs var Örn, faðir þeira Ingólfs ok Helgu (6/4-5)] 2/10-2: Sonr...sjá

18 131/18-9: en Hróalds son var Hróðmarr, faðir Leifs] 2/12-3: En...Leifs

19 131/19-21: Peir Ingólfr ok Leifr fóstbræðr fóru í hernað með sonum Atla jarls ins mjóva af Gaulum, þeim Hásteini ok Hersteini ok Hólmsteini. Með þeim fóru öll skipti vel] 2/13-3/5: Peir...sumarit

20 131/21-2: Ok er þeir kómu heim, mæltu þeir til samfara með sér annat sumar] 3/5-10: ok...andaðr

21 131/22-3: En um vetrinn, gerðu þeir fóstbræðr veizlu sonum jarlssins (6/9-10)] 3/11-7: Hallsteinn...sæti

22 131/23-5: At þeirri veizlu strengdi Hólmsteinn heit at hann skyldi eiga Helgu Arnardóttur eða enga konu ella] 3/17-21: Helga...ella

23 131/25-7: Um þessa heitstrenging fannz mönnum fátt. En Leifr roðnaði á at sjá ok varð fátt um með þeim Hólmsteini er þeir skildu þar at boðinu (6/12-4)] 3/21-4/13: Kvaz...kyrrt

Notes

No. 18: The name of Leifr's father has been changed, either consciously or unconsciously, to be identical with that of his great-grandfather.

No. 19: A little further on in LdnX (i.e. at LdnX, 131/30-1) the Fló-author read that Ólmóðr inn gamli, the son of Hórða-Kári was a relation of Leifr, frændi Leifs. In order to connect Ólmóðr with Leifr, he invented (we may assume) the names of a mother and maternal grandfather for the latter, and made the maternal grandfather son of Hórða-Kári. For Leifr's mother he chose a name which alliterated with that of Leifr's paternal relatives while the name Ketill bifra Hórða-Kárason seems to be put together from the names of characters in other sources (see Note to 2/14-5).

According to the chronology of LdnX, the dealings between Ingólfr and Leifr and the sons of Atli jarl took place before Atli's death, for at LdnStb, 131/36-7, we note that, after Hersteinn and Hólmsteinn have been killed, offers of reconciliation are made by the foster-brothers to both Atli and Hásteinn. In Fló, on the other hand, the same events are represented as having taken place after Atli's death, and, at the end of chapter 3, it is Hallsteinn alone who banishes the foster-brothers from Firðafylki. The reason the Fló-author made this change was presumably that he did not wish to begin his work with stories of Ingólfr and Leifr but rather of Atli jarl, the ancestor of the saga's hero. In view of it, however, it is, as noted (see note to No. 11), peculiar that, at 2/1, Hákon jarl is said to have gained a victory over Atli and that the saga as we have it omits to mention that Hallsteinn

ruled in Norway after his father's death; this latter fact (cf. LdnStb, 224/14) should have been mentioned at about 2/5-6.

From 2/15-3/5, the author of the saga has filled out the narrative of LdnX with motifs from Viking stories found in other sagas, particularly the fornaldarsögur (cf. pages *272-4 below). Like Ingólfr and Leifr, young men are, in these stories, often equipped by their fathers with ships and men for pirate raids. The samlag-motif is common in stories of this type (see page *273). A lower age limit for those going on Viking raids is also known from Hálfs, chapter 10, as well as other sources (see Note to 2/21-2). What we are told of Ingólfr at 3/3-4 has an echo in Zwei Fornaldarsögur (ed. F. Detter, 1891, 85): Asmundr Akason var í hernaði ok þótti víkingum hann ósvifr í atlógum ok harðgerr. And like other young Vikings, the brothers and foster-brothers are, of course successful in their expeditions: with 3/4-5, we may compare, for example, Fas, ii, 198: At sumri lögðu þeir í hernað ok höfðu tíu skip ok herjuðu...ok varð gott til fjár ok heldu heim at hausti.

On er svá sagt (3/2), see Note to 3/2.

No. 20: According to LdnX, Ingólfr and Leifr only take part in one Viking expedition with the sons of Atli. Guðni Jónsson (Afmælisrit, 131) suggests that the changes may have been made in Fló 'til þess að koma þeim Hrómundi... og Erni á þægilegan hátt úr sögunni'.

At mæla mót með sér for an expedition the following spring is a typical 'Viking' habit in the fornaldarsögur: e.g. Qrv, 36: þeir...fara norðr til Hrafnistu ok mæla mót með sér um várit við Elfi.

No. 21: The account of the precautions taken by Ingólfr and Leifr (Þeir...skeraz) ^(is peculiar) as there seems to be no occasion for distrust between them and the three brothers until later (cf. Afmælisrit, 130-1).

No. 22: For some reason, the part played by Hersteinn in Ldn is always played by Hólmsteinn in Fló and vice versa.

No. 23: When the Fló-author found in LdnX the short notice of Hersteinn's vow to marry Helga (itself a literary motif; cf. Note to 3/19-21), he seems to have been only too pleased to make this the pretext for introducing a protracted heitstrenging-scene into his saga, with all the characters at the feast, except Hólmsteinn, making their particular vow. Ingólfr, by his oath, suggests that he will refuse a match between Hersteinn and Helga and this leads to the brothers' attack on Leifr in the next chapter.

The custom of swearing formal oaths at winter feasts might well have been a reality in Viking Scandinavia and could have had religious significance (see Rel, 1, 504). That the vows were accompanied by some formal gesture such as the placing of the foot on a stone (see Hœns, ch. 12) or stock (cf. Note to 6/10-1) is also quite possible. Moving to certainties, however, the heitstrenging was a

common literary motif for the writers of sagas which they frequently introduced, as in Ldn and Fló, as a means of motivating their characters' actions. I. Boberg (Motif-Index, M119.3 and M119.4) is able to refer to more than twenty instances, mainly from the fornaldarsögur, but also from Svarf, Hœns and Harð. Of these, it will perhaps suffice to mention the best-known, that found in Jóms, 28 f. Here, as in Fló, a number of vows are made, some more extravagant than others. Sveinn konungr swears that before three years are past, he will drive Aðalráðr of England from his kingdom. Sigvaldi says he will either drive Hákon jarl from Norway, or die in the attempt. Þorkell says he will follow Sigvaldi in this venture. Vagn Akason promises to kill Þorkell leira and go to bed with Ingibjörg, his daughter, without the consent of her relatives. Again as in Fló, the vows are introduced with the formula 'Þess strengi ek heit...'; Sveinn's 'Nú mun ek fyrir göra...' is similar to Hersteinn's statement at 3/21; and when Hersteinn in Fló calls on the next man to make his vow with the words 'ok áttu nú, Ingólfr', we may compare Sveinn's 'Nú áttu, N.N.' at Jóms, 28/22, 28/27, 29/2, etc.

Chapter 3

- 24 131/27-8: Um várit eptir, þjugguz þeir fóstbræðr at fara í hernað ok ætluðu til móts við sonu Atla jarls (6/14-6*)] 4/14-9: Um...þetta
- 25 131/28-9: Þeir funduz við Hísargafll] 4/19-21: Ferr...
Hísargafll

- 26 131/29-30: ok lögðu þeir Hólmsteinn bræðr þegar til orrostu við þá Leif (6/16-7)] 4/21-3: Þeir...Leifi
- 27 131/30-2: En er þeir hófðu bariz um hrið, kom at þeim Ólmóðr inn gamli, son Hórða-Kára, frændi Leifs, ok veitti þeim Ingólfi (6/17-9)] 4/23-5/3: Af...Leifi
- 28 131/32: Í þeiri orrostu fell Hólmsteinn, en Hersteinn flýði] 5/3-5: ok...flýr
- 29 131/32-3: Þá fóru þeir Leifr í hernað] 5/5-12: Ólmóðr...vetrinn
- 30 131/33-4: En um vetrinn eptir fór Hersteinn at þeim Leifi ok vildi drepa þá] 5/13-4: Þann...þá
- 31 131/34-5: En þeir fengu njósn af fór hans ok gerðu mót þeim (6/21-2*)] 5/14-5: En...honum
- 32 131/35: Varð þá enn orrosta mikil ok fell þar Hersteinn (6/22)] 5/15-6: Varð...Hólmsteinn
- 33 131/35-6: Eptir þat dreif at þeim fóstbræðrum vinir þeira ór Firðafylki (6/22-3)] 5/16-7: Eptir...Firðafylki
- 34 131/36-7: Váru þá menn sendir á fund Atla jarls ok Hásteins at bjóða sættir (6/23-4)] 5/17-21: Váru...sína
- 35 131/37-132/1: ok sættuz þeir at því at þeir Leifr guldu eignir sínar þeim feðgum] 5/21-6/1: Hallsteinn...Ingólfr
- 36 132/2 ff.: Ingólfr's and Leifr's journey to Iceland] 6/1-4 Síðan...viðskiptum

Notes

Nos. 24-9: In Ldn, both Ingólfr and Leifr are involved in the battle against Hersteinn and Hólmsteinn, in Fló, only Leifr.

No. 27: The Fló-author adds an idealized picture of a Viking chieftain standing before the mast of his ship. Such descriptions are common in both the fornaldarsögur and Íslendingasögur; Nijhoff (Beschouwing, 164 f.) gives a number of examples, e.g. Nj, ch. 84: En á því skipi, er fyrst fór, stóð maðr við siglu; sá var í silkitreyju ok hafði gyldan hjálm, en hárit bæði mikit ok fagrt; sjá maðr hafði spjót gullrekit í hendi; Svarf, ch. 5: stóð upp maðr á drekanum...sá var í rauðum skarlatskyrtli ok heklu blá yfir sér, hlaðbúna húfu á höfði; Hrólfs Saga Gautrekssonar, ch. 10 (see Zwei Fornaldarsögur, ed. F. Detter, 1891, 19): Maðr stóð upp í lyptingu á drekanum, mikill ok vænligr.

No. 34: The author of Fló intentionally omitted to mention Atli here; cf. note to No. 19.

Chapter 4

- 37 224/14-5: Eptir þat helt Hásteinn ríkinu þar til er Haraldr konungr ok Sigurðr jarl drógu her at honum
(115/13-4)] 6/5-7: Eptir...Hallsteinn
- 38 224/15-6: Hásteinn stókk þá undan ok brá til Íslandsferðar (115/14-5)] 6/7-10: Við...nókkur
- 39 224/17-8: Hásteinn skaut setstokkum fyrir borð í hafi at fornum sið] 6/10-2: Hallsteinn...sið
- 40 224/18-20: Þeir kómu á Stálfjóru fyrir Stokkseyri en

- Hásteinn kom í Hásteinssund fyrir austan Stokkseyri
ok braut þar] 6/12-6: þeim...numit
- 41 224/20-2: Hásteinn nam land milli Rauðár ok Ólfusár
upp til Fyllarlækjar ok Breiðamýri alla upp at Holt-
um ok bjó á Stjórnusteinum (115/19-21***)] 6/16-8, 19-
24: Hallsteinn...Stjórnusteinum, Hallsteinssund...sinni
- 42 224/16-7: Hann átti Þóru Ólvisdóttur; Ólvir ok Atli
váru synir þeira] ^{6/18-9:} Hallsteinn...þeira
- 43 224/22-4: ok svá Ólvir, son hans, eptir hann. Þar
heita nú Ólvisstaðir. Ólvir hafði landnám allt fyrir
utan Grímsá, Stokkseyri ok Asgautsstaði (cf. 115/21-3)]
6/25-6: Ok...Ólvistóptir
- 44 224/24-5: En Atli átti allt milli Grímsár ok Rauðár.
Hann bjó í Traðarholti (cf. 115/21-3)] 7/1-2: Hafði
...Baugstaði
- 45 224/25: Ólvir andaðiz barnlauss (115/23)] Ólvir...
ungr
- 46 224/25-6: Atli tók eptir hann lönd ok lausafé (115/
23-4*)] 7/2-3: Tók...maðr
- 47 224/26-7: Hans leysingi var Brattr í Brattsholti
(115/24)] 7/4-5: Præll...Brattsholti
- 48 224/27: ok Leiðólfr á Leiðólfsstöðum] 7/5-8: Slíkt
...Atla

Notes

No. 38: The words fyrir...nókkur (Fló, 6/8-10) are an addition to LdnX's text. Phrases like at flýja óðul sín and fyrir ofríki Haralds are conventionally used when

giving friction with Haraldr hárfagri or Hákon jarl (cf. Note to 1/20) as the reason for certain Norwegians emigration to Iceland (see e.g. LdnStb, 168/29, 169/34, 175/9; Harð, ch. 1; Vígl, ch. 1). And while we are not told that Hallsteinn performed any 'great deed' (stórvirki) before leaving for Iceland, the Fló-author was presumably here thinking of stories like that in Eg, ch. 27, where Kveld-Úlfr and Skalla-Grímr kill Haraldr hárfagri's agents out of pure spite just before leaving for Iceland (cf. Fló, 8/1-3).

No. 39: til heilla sér: an addition by the Fló-author and a set phrase in the context; cf. LdnStb, 132/26.

No. 40: The Fló-author adds that the setstokkar drifted ashore fyrir dyrr at Stálfjara. He is perhaps retailing a local tradition on this point.

No. 42: It has already been said at 2/5 that Hallsteinn was married to Þóra Ólvisdóttir; cf. Afmælisrit, 133.

Chapter 5

- 49 224/29: Hallsteinn hét maðr er fór ór Sogni til Íslands, mágr Hásteins] 7/9-10: Hallsteinn...Atlasonar
- 50 224/30: Honum gaf hann ytra hlut Eyrarbakka (116/4)] 7/10-1: Honum...Eyrarbakka
- 51 224/30: Hann bjó á Framnesi] 7/11: Hann...Framnesi
- 52 224/31-2: Hans son var Þorsteinn, faðir Arngríms, er veginn var at fauskagreptri] 7/11-2: Hans...fálka-greptri
- 53 224/32: hans son Þorbjörn á Framnesi (116/6*)] 7/12-3:

Hans...Framnesi

- 54 223/20-4: Loptr, son Orms fróða, kom af Gaulum til Islands, ungr at aldri ok nam fyrir utan Þjórsá milli Rauðár ok Þjórsár ok upp til Skúfslækjar ok Breiðamýri ina eystri upp til Súluholts ok bjó í Gaulverjabæ, ok Oddný, móðir hans, dóttir Þorbjarnar Gaulverska (114/5-9****)] 7/13-9: I...Gaulverska
- 55 223/24-6: Loptr fór utan it briðja hvert sumar fyrir hönd þeira Flösa beggja, móðurbróður síns, at blóta at hofi því er Þorbjörn, móðurfaðir hans, hafði varðveitt (114/9-11*)] 7/20-2: Loptr...Gaulum
- 56 223/26-7: Frá Lopti er mart stórmenni komit, Þorlákr inn helgi, Páll ok Brandr (114/11-7)] 7/23: Frá... komit
- 57 223/28-30: Þorviðr, son Úlfars, bróðir Hildar, fór af Vörs til Islands en Loptr, frændi hans, gaf honum land á Breiðamýri ok bjó hann í Ossabæ] 7/23-5: Þá ...Ossabæ
- 58 223/30-1: Hans börn váru þau Hrafn ok Hallveig, er átti Özurr im hvíti] 7/25-6: Hans...samtíða
- Chapter 6
- 59 221/39-222/2: Flosi hét maðr, son Þorbjarnar ins Gaulverska. Hann drap þrjá sýslumenn Haralds konungs hárfagra ok fór eptir þat til Islands (112/10-2)] 8/1-3: Flosi...Islands
- 60 222/2-3: Hann nam land fyrir austan Rangá, alla Rangárvöllu ina eystri] 8/3-4: Hann...Rangá

- 61 222/3: Hans dóttir var Asný, móðir Þordar (spelt so in ms.), er Vala-Brandr átti (112/13-4**)] 8/4-5: Hans...Valla-Brandr
- 62 222/4-5: Son Vala-Brands var Flosi, faðir Kolbeins, fóstur Guðrúnar, er Sæmundr fróði átti (112/14-5)
- 63 225/8: Ózurr hvíti hét maðr, son Þorleifs ór Sogni] 8/9: Ózurr...Sogni
- 64 225/8-9: Ózurr vá víg í véum á Upplöndum þá er hann var í brúðfór með Sigurði rísa (116/19-21*)] 8/10-1: Ózurr...hrísa
- 65 225/10-1: Fyrir þát varð hann landflótti til Íslands ok nam fyrst öll Holtalönd milli Þjórsár ok Hraunslækjar (116/21-2)] 8/11-3: Fyrir...Hraunslækjar
- 66 225/11-2: Þá var hann xvii. vetra er hann vá vígit] 8/13: Þá...vígit
- 67 225/12-4: Hann fekk Hallveigar Þorviðardóttur. Þeira son var Þorgrímr kampi, faðir Ózurar, fóstur Þorbjarnar, fóstur Þórarins, fóstur Gríms Tófusonar] 8/14-6: Hann...Jórusonar
- 68 225/14: Ózurr bjó í Kampholti] 8/16-7: Ózurr...Kampholti
- 69 225/19-20: Ózurr andaðiz þá er Þorgrímr var ungr] 8/17: Hann...ungr
- 70 225/20: Þá tók Hrafn Þorviðarson við fjárvarðveizlu Þorgríms] 8/17-8: Þá...hans
- 71 225/15: Hans leysingi var Bóðvarr er bjó í Bóðvars-tóptum við Viðiskóg (116/26-7)] 8/19-20: Bóðvar...

Viðiskóg

- 72 225/16-7: Honum gaf Özurr hlut í skóginum ok skildi sér eptir hann barnlausan] 8/20-3: Honum...eptir
- 73 218/37-219/4: Baugr hét maðr...hans son var Gunnarr ...ok Eyvindr...., briði Steinn in snjalli ok (blank space in ms.) er átti Örn í Vælugerði (107/26-32)] 8/24-5: Örn...Snjallshófða
- 74 225/17-8: Örn ór Vælugerði, er fyrr er getit, stefndi Bóðvari um sauðatöku] 8/25-9/3: Erni...stuld
- 75 225/18: Því handsalaði Bóðvarr Atla Hásteinn^{issyn/} íé sitt 9/4-8: Þykkiz...handsólum
- 76 225/19: En hann ónýtti mál fyrir Erni] 9/8-18: Stendr ...málinu

Note

Nos.59-62: For a possible explanation for the presence genealogy from Flosi ~~has been adapted~~ in Fló, see pages *416 ff.

Chapter 7

- 77 225/21-2: Eptir andlát Bóðvars taldi Hrafn til Viðiskógs ok bannaði Atla en Atli þóttiz eiga] 9/19-26
- 78 225/22-3: Peir Atli fjórir fóru eptir viði. Leiðólfr var með honum (117/3-4)] 10/1-3: Einhvern...skóginn
- 79 225/23: Smalamaðr sagði Hrafn þat] 10/3-9: Þat... sögu
- 80 225/23-4: En hann reið eptir honum við átta mann. Peir funduz í Orrostudal (117/5-6)] 10/9-14: ok... Hrafn

- 81 225/24-5: ok bórðuz þar] 10/14-5: Þegar...harðfeng
 82 225/25-6: Húskarlar Hrafns fellu tveir. Hann varð
sárr. Einn fell af Atla en varð sárr banasárum
 (117/7-8)] 10/15-9: Leiðólfr...ólífis

Notes

No. 79: Here the Fló-author found a literary motif already in his source (see Note to 10/3-8) and has been happy to expand it: He begins the episode with a conventional þat er sagt-formula (cf. Note to 3/2). With the words: sauðamaðr (cf. LdnX's smalamaðr) Hrafns hafði gengit at fé um daginn. Hann getr at líta..., we may compare Hœns, ch. 10: Sauðamaðr Þorkels...gekk þenna morgin at fé sínu; hann sér. (the story of Þorkell trefill being told of the arrival of Hersteinn and Þorbjörn by his shepherd). And as in other sources, the servant in Fló does not confine himself merely to letting his master know of his enemy's movements: Hrafn, ch. 8, for instance provides a parallel: here a serving-woman sees Eyvindr Bjarnason riding through the country-side. She hurries to the farm to tell Hrafnkell and by accusing him of cowardice and suggesting that the travelled Eyvindr is superior to him (cf. Fló, 10/8-9), she causes him to ride after Eyvindr and to kill him.

No. 80: With Atli's words to Hrafn, compare those of Ólmóðr to Leifr at 4/26-5/1.

Chapter 8

- 83 225/5-6: Ónundr bíldr, er fyrr var getit, nam land
fyrir austan Hróarslæk ok bjó í Ónundarholti (116/17-8)]

- 10/20-1: Önundr...Önundarholti
- 84 218/15-23: Sighvatr rauði hét maðr...hans son Sig-
mundr, faðir Marðar gígju...ok Þorgerðr, er átti
Önundr bíldr í Flóa (106/29 ff.)] 10/22-3: Hann...
gígju
- 85 225/26-7: Önundr bíldr skildi þá ok bauð Atla til sín
(117/8); 225/25: ok reið heim] 10/23-11/2: [Önundr]
...hans
- 86 225/27⁻⁸⁾: Þórðr dofni, son Atla, var þá ix. vetra
(117/9)] 11/3-17: Þórðr...blóðøx

Notes

No. 86: The way the Fló-author has Atli exhort his son to avenge his death and to prophesy (with a svá segir mér hugr um-formula) that he will be a great man are both common conventional elements in the Icelandic sagas (see Beschouwing, 120 and 140 ff. for parallels).

Phrases like sem þá var siðvenja til are conventionally used by saga-authors of the customs of the Saga Age, particularly when heathen practice is referred to (cf. þat var þá siðr and sem þá var siðr); see further on these B. Döring, Bemerkungen über Stil und Typus der isländischen Saga, 1877, 18.

The mention of a brother for Þórðr, who is nicknamed 'the Thin', and whom, we are told, is 'dissimilar in temperament' (óskaplíkr) to Þórðr, needs discussion. He is not mentioned in Ldn or any other source and the way he finally settles down outside Iceland and has no children is

also suspicious. When Nijhoff (Beschouwing, 21) suggests, therefore, that Ólvir is the invention of the saga-writer, introduced solely to bring in the motif of 'The Unlike Brothers', then one must agree that this seems very likely.

A. Kersbergen has given detailed attention to the motif in question in Old Icelandic literature (see Motieven, 113-7: 'De ongelijke zonen'). She cites a number of examples from the Íslendinga-, fornaldar- and konungasögur where two brothers are represented as being different in appearance, or temperament or mode of life. Perhaps the best-known example is in Eg, chapters 1 and 31, where the differences between Kveld-Úlfr's two sons, Þórólfr and Grímr, are transferred to his two grandsons, Þórólfr and Egill. Another example, from Ol helga (233) may be given: Peir bræðr, Einarr ok Brúsi, váru ólíkir at skaplyndi. Brúsi var hógværr ok samsmaðr mikill, vitr ok málsnjallr, vinsæll. Einarr var stirðlyndr, fálátr ok óþýðr, ágjarn ok fégjarn, hermaðr mikill. Finally, it is interesting to note that in Hreiðars Þáttr (IF, x, 247), while one brother, like Þórðr, is heima jafnan, another, like Ólvir, is í fórum. This motif in the Icelandic sagas comes, of course, from the folk-tale, where, when two characters are introduced at the same time, differences of character between them are often stressed (cf. A. Olrik, Danske Studier, 1908, 77).

The name the saga-author has given Ólvir is that of Þórðr's uncle, and nickname, that of his great-grandfather.

Chapter 9

- 87 225/28-9: En þá er hann var xv. vetra, reið Hrafn í Einarshöfn til skips. Hann var í blári kápu ok reið heim um nótt (117/9-10)] 11/18-25: Þá...búiz
- 88 225/30-1: Þórðr sat einn fyrir honum hjá Haugavaði skammt frá Traðarholti ok vá hann þar með spjóti (117/11-2)] 11/25-12/4: Þórðr...dauðan
- 89 225/31-2: Þar er Hrafnshaugr fyrir austan gótuna, en fyrir vestan Hásteinshaugr ok Atlahaugr ok Ölvis (117/12-3*)] 12/4-6: ok...Hallsteinshaugr
- 90 225/33: Vígin felluz í faðma. Þórðr hófz af þessu] 12/6-14: Þórðr...maðr
- 91 225/33-5: Hann fekk þá Þórunnar, dóttur Ásgeirs Austmannsskelfis, er drap skipshöfn Austmanna í Grímsárósi fyrir rán þat er hann var rænt austr (117/14-7) 12/14-9: Hann...um
- 92 225/36-7: Þórðr hafði þá tvá vetr ok xx. er hann keypti skip í Knarrarsundi ok vildi heimta arf sinn] 12/20-2: Þá...helt
- 93 225/37-8: Þá fal hann fé mikit. Því vildi Þórunn eigi fara ok tók þá með löndum (117/18-9)] 12/22-13/1: ok(2)...beira

Notes

No. 87: The author of the saga here found ^(a description) ~~mentioned~~ of Hrafn's clothes in his source and enlarges on this by giving him extravagant weapons. Both a sword and a spear, the head of which was inlaid with gold, would no doubt

have impressed the Fló-author's thirteenth or fourteenth century audience. Indeed, the gold-inlaid spear-head would seem to belong so much more to the world of literature than to reality that it may be regarded as a literary motif (cf. Note to 11/23). Again, while weapons were no doubt passed down from father to son in reality, inherited spears are also known in Old Icelandic literature (cf. the spjót gullrekit which belonged to Víga-Glúmr and his ancestors in VG1) and constitute therefore another literary element.

The remark Hann hafði eigi við bardaga búiz, 'He had not prepared himself for battle', is puzzling. The following explanation may, however, be hazarded: Having armed Hrafn to the teeth and, following LdnX, having dressed him in black clothes, the saga-author found that he had written a conventional description of a man about to perform a killing, rather than one about to be attacked on a perfectly peaceful mission. (Saga-writers frequently dressed men bent on slaughter in their best, black clothes; cf. The Saga of Gisli, trans. G. Johnston, 1963, 77.) To stress Hrafn's complete unawareness of the ambush which awaits him, the author therefore interjects this sentence.

Nos. 72-91: From 8/20 to 12/9, the Fló-author has been developing a literary motif he found in LdnX, the motif of 'Feud over the Ownership of Woodland' (cf. Note to 8/20 ff.). In No. 91, the Fló-author adds that Þórðr eventually got possession of Víðiskógr. We are not told of this in LdnX.

No. 92: Stories of Icelanders who go to Norway to recover

patrimonies are conventional elements in the Icelandic sagas (see Motieven, 120; Beschouwing, 153). Whether the arfr which Þórðr intends to claim in Norway is seen by Landnámabók (and the saga which may lie behind it; see pages *204 ff. below) as property lost to Haraldr hárfagri and Sigurðr jarl (cf. LdnStb, 224), this is the way the Fló-author has interpreted LdnX when he has Þorgils take up his father's claim (cf. 17/5-6 and pages *242-3).

No. 93: In LdnX, Þórunn will not go with Þórðr because he buries the money; in Fló, Þórðr seems to bury the money because Þórunn will not go with him. The story in Fló is similar in a number of ways to one in Eir (50), where Eiríkr, before leaving for Vínland suffers bad luck as a result of burying money and is rebuked by his wife. There may be some connection between Fló and Eir here, although the basic source for the motif in Fló was, of course, LdnX (cf. Beschouwing, 127 f.). See also Note to 12/24-5.

Chapter 10

- 94 225/38-9: Þorgils, son Þórðar, var þá tvævetr] 13/2-3:
Þorgils...utan
- 95 225/39: Skip Þórðar hvarf (117/20-1*)] 13/3: Pat...
síðan
- 96 225/39-226/1: Vetri síðar kom Þorgrímr errubeinn til
ráða með Þórunni, son Þormóðar ok Þuríðr Ketilbjarn-
ardóttur (117/20-1*)] 13/3-6: ok...mikit
- 97 226/2: Hann fekk Þórunnar ok var þeira son Hæringr;
224/28: Þorgils errubeinsstjúps (115/25-6*)] 13/6-21:

Hann...óll

Notes

No. 96: Ldn (unlike Fló) says nothing about Þorgrímr's being newly arrived in Iceland when he goes to live with Þórunn. Probably the Fló-author intends to represent him as newly returned from a Viking expedition (cf. 13/16).

The Fló-author adds an explanation of Þorgrímr's nickname. He may have some authority for this.

No. 97: An interval of three years between a proposal of marriage and the marriage itself is a common motif in the sagas (see Darstellung, 7 footnote 3).

The words ok váru samfarar góðar þeira í milli constitute a typical comment on marriages in the sagas; for further examples, see S. Jansson, Sagorna om Vinland, ^(1945,) 91 footnote 31; Darstellung, 68 and footnote 2).

On the omission of LdnX's mention of Hæringr in Fló, see Note to 13/14.

Chapter 18

- 98 226/3-4: Oláfr tvennumbrúni hét maðr. Hann fór af Lófót til Íslands. Hann nam Skeið óll milli Þjórsár til Sandlækjar (117/24-5*)] 27/16-7: Oláfr... Sandlækjar (App/25-6: Olafur...Sandlækjar)
- 99 226/4-5: Hann var hamrammr mjók] 27/17-8: Hann... mjók (App/27: Hann...miøg)
- 100 226/5: Oláfr bjó á Oláfsvóllum] 27/18: Oláfr... Oláfsvóllum (App/27: Hann...Olafsvøllum)
- 101 226/5-6: Hann liggr í Brúnahaugi undir Vörðufelli]

- 27/18-9: Hann...Vörðufelli (App/27-8: Hann...Vördu-
felli)
- 102 226/6-9: Oláfr átti Áshildi ok var beira son Helgi
trausti ok Þórir drífa, faðir Þorkels gullkárs, fóður
Orms, fóður Helgu, móður Odds Hallvarðssonar. Vaði var
inn briði son Oláfs, faðir Gerðar] 27/19-21: Oláfr
...Hallvarðssonar (App/28-30: og...Hallvardssonar).
4.
- 103 226/9-10: Þorgrímr lagði hug á Áshildi þá er Oláfr
var dauðr en Helgi vandaði ^{um} (117/30-2**)] 27/22-
28/13: Þorgrímr...búit (App/30-47: Þorgrijmur...
buit)
- 104 226/10-1: Hann sat fyrir Þorgrími við gatnamót fyrir
neðan Áshildarmýri] 28/14-5: Þorgrímr...gatnamóti
(App/47-9: Þorgr:...gatnamöti)
- 105 226/11-2: Helgi bað hann láta af kvámum] 28/15-7:
Ok...þessu (App/49-50: og...þessu)
- 106 226/12: Þorgrímr léz eigi hafa barnaskap (117/33-4*)]
28/17-9: Þorgrímr...okkr' (App/51-3: Þorgr:...ockur')
- 107 226/12: Þeir börðuz] 28/20: Síðan...lengi (App/
53-4: Síðan...snarplega)
- 108 226/13: Þar fell Þorgrímr (117/34)] 28/20-3: Þorgrímr
...Helga (App/54-7: Þorgr:...Helga)
- 109 226/13: Áshildir spurði hvar Helgi hefði verit]
28/24-5: Um...tíðinda (App/57-8: Vmm...verit)
- 110 226/13-6: Hann kvað vísu: 'Var ek þar er fell til
fullar fram sotti vinr drottar errubeinn en vnar itr
tvngur hatr sunghu Asmodar gaf ek Odni arfa þrottar

- diarfan gulldum gálga valldi Gautz tafn en na hrafni'
(118/1-4)] 28/25: en...váru (App/59-62: Hann...hrafni')
- 111 226/17: Ashildir kvað hann hafa höggvit sér höfuðs bana] 28/25-7: Hon...höfuðbani' (App/62-4: Hun...höfudbani')
- 112 226/17-8: Helgi tók sér far í Einarshöfn] 29/1: Helgi...utan (App/64-5: Helgi...utan)
- 113 226/18-9: Hæringr, son Þorgríms, var þá xvi. vetra er hann reið í Hófða at finna Teit Gizurarson með þriðja mann (118/5-7*)] 29/2-4: Þessi...mann (App/65-8: Þessi...mann)
- 114 226/20: Þeir Teitr riðu xv. at banna Helga far] 29/4-5: Þeir...farit (App/68-9: Þeir...farit)
- 115 226/20-1: Þeir funduz í Merkrhraunī upp frá Mörk við Helgahraun (118/7-8*)] 29/6-7: Eptir...Helgahvål (App/69-71: riða...Helgahvol)
- 116 226/21-2: Þeir Helgi váru iii. saman komnir af Eyrum (118/8-9)] 29/7-8: Þeir...sunnan (App/71-2: Þeir...sunnan)
- 117 226/22-3: Þar fell Helgi ok maðr með honum ok einn af þeim Teiti (118/9-10)] 29/8-11: Ok...liði (App/72-5: og...lide)
- 118 226/23: Í faðma felluz víg þau] 29/11-2: Var...faðma (App/75-6: Var...fadma)
- 119 226/23-9: Sonr Helga var Sigurðr inn Landverski ok Skefill inn Haukdælski, faðir Helga dýrs er barðiz við Sigurð, son Ljóts lǫngubaks í Óxarárhólmi á Al-

bingi. Um þat orti Helgi þetta: 'Band er a hægri hendi hlaut ek sar af Ty baru lyg ek eigi bat leygiar Linvengis bil mini.'] X-version: ÷ (App/76-81)

Notes

Nos. 98-119: Although in LdnX, the account of Óláfr tvennumbrúni's landnám and Helgi trausti's slaying of Þorgrímr (chapter 377) comes immediately after the report of Þorgrímr's marriage to Þórunn (end of chapter 376), the Fló-author resists the temptation to have the one event following immediately after the other in his saga. Instead, he interposes an account of his hero's childhood (Þorgils's nickname does after all mean 'Órrabeinn's step-son') and first journey abroad, and by the time he returns home from Norway, both his stepfather and mother are dead (see 29/15). This 'dovetailing' of the part of the saga directly based on LdnX and the part which tells of Þorgils's life is aesthetically more satisfactory than a simple joint and gives the chronology of the work greater depth.

Nos. 103-8: Here again the Fló-author found in LdnX a motif otherwise known in the Islendingasögur: elsewhere we hear how a man, who makes it his habit to pay amorous visits to a woman, is ambushed while returning home after such a visit, usually by, or at the instigation of, a relative of the woman who disapproves of the couple's affair. Examples are to be found in Fóstbr, ch. 9, Vatns, ch. 19 and Korm, 215 ff. The Fló-author has not failed to

fill out, albeit rather heavily, the bare story he found in LdnX and this he has done largely with further motifs. Helgi's words to his mother, her retort, his words to Þorgrímur and his retort, these all have a conventional ring. Conventional also is the account of Áshildr's and Þorgrímur's last farewell: often in the sagas, one of a couple parting for the last time has a premonition of what the future has in store; phrases like e-m kvaz grunr á are often used; gifts are sometimes given (see T. Andersson, The Icelandic Family Saga, 1967, 53 f. for examples). Unfortunately the effect of the scene in Fló is largely spoiled by the fact that the author has given both Áshildr and Þorgrímur reason to suspect that this farewell could be their last.

(d) Flóamanna Saga's relationship to Landnámabók in chapters other than 1-10 and 18

Up to now, the treatment of the relationship between Flóamanna Saga and Landnámabók has covered only borrowings from the latter found in chapter 1-10 and 18 of Fló. Attention should now be given to places elsewhere in the saga where there would seem to be connections between the two works. Most of these take the form not of verbal borrowings, as are found in chapters 1-10 and 18, but of the appearance ^(of the same) motifs in the two works. For practical purposes, they will be dealt with in detail in the second section of this chapter. But because insufficient attention has been paid to them and what they imply by previous

scholars, it will be appropriate to note them collectively here and confirm certain points in connection with them.

In Section B of this chapter, it will be suggested that Fló borrows motifs from Landnámabók at the following places:

(i) Fló, 24/16-25/17; cf. LdnStb, 132/7-11, where Leifr Hróðmarsson wins a sword in a jarðhús in Ireland, and this becomes a life-long possession (see pages *275 ff.).

(ii) Fló, 33 ff. (M-version, 69 ff.): in the account of Þorgils's expedition to Greenland (with, for example, the story of the absconding slaves), there are motifs which we also find in the story of Leifr's settlement of Iceland (cf. LdnStb, 132/35-133/24) and also in the account of Snæbjörn galti's expedition to Greenland (cf. LdnStb, 174) (see pages *312 f. and *316 f.).

(iii) Fló, 41/4-16 (M-version, 81/9-19); cf. LdnStb, 132/28-33, where Leifr's thirsty thralls make a minnbak out of flour and butter (see page *317).

(iv) Fló, 48/9-26; LdnStb, 196/5-9, where Hallsteinn strikes Eiríkr with a drinking horn in similar circumstances (see page *349).

(v) Fló, 58/19-20 (cf. Fló, 31/23-4; M-version, 65/18-9); cf. LdnStb, 174/19-20, where Snæbjörn galti strikes Styrbjörn who has a purse hidden on his person and this falls to the ground (see pages *290-1).

We cannot, of course, be sure that in all these cases there is a connection between Fló and Landnámabók. In at least (i) however, it seems likely that there is some

connection, and probably in (ii) and (iii) also; cf. Beschouwing, 160 and KL, iv, column 421. Assuming, at any rate, a connection in at least one or two instances, we have good reason to believe that Fló was the borrower rather than the lender and that the version of Landnámabók drawn upon is that used in chapters 1-10 and 18, i.e. the Sturlubók-redaction in its LdnX manuscript. There are the following arguments for this proposition. First, it is unduly complicated to assume that the Fló-author used two separate redactions of Landnámabók, LdnX and another, when all the borrowings could have come from one and the same redaction. Second, one of the passages in Landnámabók from which borrowings were probably made, i.e. the passage corresponding to LdnStb, 173/17-174/38, is considered by both Jón Jóhannesson (Gerðir, 106-7) and Jakob Benediktsson (Ldn, 1968, lx) not to have been found in a redaction of the work older than the Sturlubók-redaction; Sturla, these scholars think, was drawing here on a lost Snæbjarnar Saga galta. Third, as follows: it is true that Jakob Benediktsson (Ldn, 1968, xc f.) has now shown that not only the account of Leifr's and Ingólfr's quarrels with the Atlasynir, but also of Leifr's raid in Ireland and murder in Iceland (although not necessarily the story of the minnbak) were in the Melabók-redaction of Landnámabók as well as in Sturlubók (see Note to Introduction 67 and Note to 4/14-5/5). They would therefore have been in Styrmisbók and the Fló-author could theoretically have

drawn on this. But when he follows LdnX so closely from 131/15 to 132/2 (see pages *173-9), it would be peculiar if he should turn to another manuscript of Landnámabók for motifs he could have found at LdnX, 132/7-11 and 132/29 and the lines immediately following. If there are borrowings or influences in cases (i), (ii) and (iii), then these would definitely seem to come from chapter 6 and 8 of LdnX. Indeed, this fact seems so obvious that we are justified in reversing the argument: the appearance of certain motifs in Fló and in a passage of LdnX we can be almost certain the Fló-author had read, must tend to confirm us in the belief that there has been borrowing in cases (i), (ii) and (iii) mentioned above.

One further passage in Fló should be noted in the present context. On page 275 of the 1900-edition of Landnámabók (Ldn), Finnur Jónsson states that chapter 30 of Fló draws on Landnámabók and cites chapter 379 of LdnStb and chapter 334 of LdnHkb. The passage in Fló he must be referring to is 53/17-9, with which we may compare LdnStb, 227/11-3: Dætr Þormóðar vǫru þær Þórvör, móðir Þórodds goða, föður Lög-Skapta, ok Þórvé, móðir Þorsteins goða, föður Bjarna ins spaka. It is unlikely that the Fló-author could have written 53/17-9 from memory and the two passages are close enough to suggest that he was copying. He must here have referred back to LdnX, the manuscript of Landnámabók he used at the beginning of the saga.

Our conclusion here must be as follows: Not only did

the Fló-author actually have LdnX before him when he wrote the first chapters of Fló (chapter 1-10, 18), but he also had this manuscript at hand the whole time he was writing the saga. Occasionally he has taken motifs from stories told of other men in it (especially of Leifr (LdnX, chapters 6 and 8)). Further, he referred back to it for genealogical information about characters he wished to introduce into the later chapters of his work.

(e) Older views on the relationship between Landnámabók and Flóamanna Saga

Finally in this Section, it will be appropriate to mention three theories of previous scholars about the relationship between Landnámabók and Flóamanna Saga. The first, that put forward in Orig, has been dealt with already, and needs very little further discussion here. Finnur Jónsson's views, as expressed in Fló, 1932, may, however, be given more attention. Third, P. Nijoff's^(h) ideas on the matter may be dealt with, and, in connection with them, the possibility may be discussed of the existence of a saga which was older than the Sturlubók-version of Landnámabók, but which contained some of the same stories as those found in Flóamanna Saga.

In the introduction to the edition of Fló in Orig (ii, 629 f.), it is argued that the M-version of the saga did not contain the borrowings from Landnámabók which are found in the representatives of the X-version used in that edition (i.e. K, A and parts of P). There

are a number of facts which speak against this theory, two of which have been mentioned on page *113. A third may be noted here: The M-version, like the X-version, contains certain motifs which may be assumed to have been taken from LdnX (cf. pages *196-9); it could therefore not be as old as the beginning of the thirteenth century as suggested in Orig. And if the body of the saga in *M contained motifs from LdnX, there is no reason why its beginning should not have done so also.

In the 'Indledning' to his edition (F1ó, 1932, v ff.), Finnur Jónsson put forward a somewhat similar theory to that expressed in Orig about F1ó's relationship to Landnámabók, although, as noted, he regarded the body of the saga as represented by K and A as more original than the version represented by M and parts of P. He found the beginning of the saga, as it is in K, A and P, as not 'sagamæssig' and therefore, according to his broader views on saga-writing, not the original one. He felt that much of the material in the first half dozen chapters of the saga, and that in the first part of chapter 18, was so irrelevant to the rest of the work that it could hardly have been there from the beginning. He also thought that various blemishes and inconsistencies to be noted in certain of the initial chapters of the saga (e.g. 7/14-6; the fact that Brattr (7/4) is not mentioned again in the saga) pointed the same way. To explain imperfections like these, Finnur suggested that the beginning of the original saga

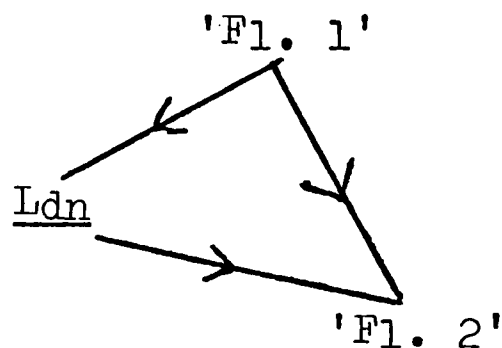
has been lost and that a redactor has provided it with a new one based on excerpts from Landnámabók. The original saga, Finnur conjectured, contained a short account of Atli mjóvi's dealings with Hákon jarl and of Hallsteinn's emigration to Iceland. The story then continued with the dispute over Víðiskógr and the way it led to Atli Hallsteinsson's death. There would then have been some coverage of Þórðr dofni's life, after which the story of Þorgils would have begun. Much of chapter 1, chapters 2 and 3, parts of chapter 5 and the beginning of chapter 18 were thus according to Finnur, secondary to the saga. And his remark: 'Bearbejderen har overhovedet gjort sig til opgave at benytte og afskrive sin Landnámatekst, hvor hann kunde få lejlighed dertil (således også i kap. 6, 8 og 18)' suggests that he thought that his redactor also had some of the matter of chapters 6 and 8 (and thus of 7 and 9?) in some form or other from Landnámabók.

The present editor cannot accept this theory. First, it seems unreasonable to exclude the parts based on Landnámabók from the original saga on the grounds that they were irrelevant and yet to ascribe them to a later redactor who did not care about their irrelevance. The view that the first written form of sagas approached the perfect is now out of date. Second, the same argument holds good here as that employed against the theory expressed in Orig just mentioned: Chapters 16 and 24 almost certainly, and chapters 26 and 32 less certainly (contain) various motifs

which have been taken from the same redaction of Landnámabók as the borrowings in chapters 1-10 and 18 (cf. pages *196-9). Further, as Finnur himself suggested in 1900, a section of text in chapter 30 in the body of the saga is taken from the Sturlubók-redaction of Landnámabók (cf. page *199). That the author of Fló and a later redactor quite independently of each other made borrowings from the Sturlubók-redaction is, of course, quite possible. On the whole, however, it seems unlikely. Further, there is no reason why the inconsistencies and blemishes which Finnur points to in the early chapters of the saga should not just as well be explained either as the fault of the author of the saga (cf. Afmælisrit, 134) or as left by the X-redactor (cf. 'TgF', 430).

P. Nijhoff's ideas on the relationship between Fló and Landnámabók are expressed in Beschouwing, 4-30, and in Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 1938, 3-6. We have already noted that Nijhoff believed in a redaction of the saga older than that represented by the X-version, which he calls 'Fl. 1', and which was not identical with, or more similar to the M-version. Largely because chapters 2 and 3 of Fló contain so much not found in the Sturlubók-redaction of Landnámabók, and because of certain 'double passages' which have already been mentioned and which, in fact, appear in parts of Fló which borrow from Landnámabók (see page *108; further, compare 28/15-7 with 28/6-8), Nijhoff assumes that in the relevant chapters, the author

of 'Fl. 2' was blending 'Fl. 1' with Landnámabók and certain other sources which need not be taken into consideration. ^[71] And, to quote Nijhoff's own argument and conclusion on the matter: 'That Landnáma knew an older version [of Fló] than the text we have now is...made clear by a vísa [Helgi trausti's verse, LdnStb, 224/14-6] which we find in Landnáma, and which has been omitted in the corresponding part of Flóamanna Saga, Ch. xvii [sic!].' The relationship Nijhoff postulates may be expressed diagrammatically thus:



Now there are indeed certain facts which suggest that a lost saga may lie behind some of the chapters of Landnámabók used by the Fló-author, although these are not really made use of by Nijhoff to make his point. In his Gerðir Landnámabókar (1941), Jón Jóhannesson has argued, and most scholars agree with him in principle, that when Sturla Þórðarson made his redaction of Landnámabók, he not only followed the Styrmisbók-redaction of that work, but also drew on other sources, many of which were sagas either lost or surviving (Gerðir, 67 ff.; cf. page *153 above). A reading of chapters 376 and 377 of the Sturlubók-redaction (corresponding to LdnStb, 225/8-226/2 and 226/3-29) gives us various reasons to suspect that Sturla

was drawing on a source or sources other than Styrmisbók when he wrote these chapters. First, much of the subject-matter of chapters 376 and 377, the stories of the quarrel over Víðiskógr and Helgi's ambush of Þorgrímr and subsequent fate, would seem to fall outside what we can gather from the Melabók-version of Landnámabók to have been the normal scope of Styrmisbók. Second, the chapters of Sturlubók in question contain a number of literary motifs to which we have parallels in other Íslendingasögur. These are as follows:

a) A quarrel over the ownership of a wood, the frame for the whole story of Sturlubók, ch. 376; cf. note to Nos. 72-91 on page *190.

b) A shepherd telling his master of the activities or movements of his enemies; cf. note to No. 79 on page *186.

c) A blá kápa; cf. note to No. 87, page *190.

d) A journey to Norway to claim an inheritance there; cf. note to No. 92 on pages *190-1.

e) A man buries his money before going abroad and is rebuked by his wife for this; cf. note to No. 93 on page *191.

f) A lover ambushed ^(when) returning home from an amorous visit; cf. note to Nos. 103-8 on page *195-6.

Third, it is quite possible, as Nijhoff's remark just quoted suggests, that Sturla took the verse at Sturlubók, 226/14-6 from a source other than the Styrmisbók-redaction

of Landnámabók he knew.

It seems therefore not unlikely that a lost saga may lie behind the two chapters of Sturlubók in question. [72] On the other hand, there is no reason whatsoever for assuming that this same source was used in other chapters of Sturla's redaction on which the author of Fló drew. If it did contain the same material as the first part of chapter 371 of Sturlubók (Sturlubók, 223/37-224/15), Sturla would seem not to have used it for the relevant passage; there he is following Heimskringla as various verbal similarities make clear (cf. Gerðir, 121 f.). And the second part of the same chapter and also chapters 359, 368, 369, 372 and 375 contain little or nothing that Sturla could not have taken from the version of Landnámabók he had as his source. Nor is it at all likely that he got his stories of Leifr's and Ingólfr's quarrels with the Atlasynir (Sturlubók, ch. 6) from the same source as may lie behind chapters 376 and 377 of his work (cf. Note to Introduction 67). But what is surely decisive in the question of the possibility of any work similar in scope to the existing Flóamanna Saga lying behind Sturlubók is the fact that the latter has nothing to say about Þorgils apart from giving the names of his parents, his nickname and saying that he was two years old when his father disappeared. If we are to assume that Sturla knew a saga which, like Nijhoff's 'Fl. 1' or the preserved Flóamanna Saga, in addition to recounting events of Atli's, Þórðr's and Þorgrímr's lives,

also had stories to tell about Þorgils, we must also assume that he consciously ignored these on the two occasions he mentioned him (Sturlubók, 224/28 and 225/38). This last proposition, although of course not out of the question, does seem unlikely, and we must therefore doubt that Sturla knew any saga which dealt with Þorgils or could, in any way, be referred to as an 'older Flóamanna Saga'. If he did, we should at least expect some mention in Sturlubók of Þorgils's visit to Norway or more especially to Greenland or his quarrels with Ásgrímur Elliða-Grímsson. And the fact that the present editor does not recognize the existence of a saga resembling Nijhoff's 'Fl. 1' (see pages *107-11) must necessarily mean that he rejects the hypothesis that Landnámabók drew on such a saga. But as noted, Sturla may well have had some other source source than Styrmisbók which at least touched on the adventures of Þorgils's father, grandfather and step-father. To decide whether the Fló-author also knew and used this source (if it existed) is practically impossible. There are verbal borrowings from LdnX throughout the chapters of Fló in question (see pages *184-95) and one might reasonably ask why, if the Fló-author also knew the fuller account of a saga here, he should continue to reproduce the wording of LdnX. On the other hand, the story of the Víðiskógr quarrel and its aftermath is considerably more circumstantial in Fló than in LdnStb. It is therefore not entirely impossible that the Fló-author was here adding material from a source

which he might not have had before him when he wrote the saga, but which he had heard or read at some previous time. [73]

Section B: Borrowed elements in the main part of Flóamanna Saga

In the previous section, it has been shown how chapters 1-10 and 18 of Fló have drawn on the Sturlubók-redaction of Landnámabók and, in addition, how we find worked in among the borrowings from Landnámabók, elements which are found in other sagas. We may now go on to consider the borrowed elements which are found in the remaining part of Flóamanna Saga, the body of the saga. Before this is done, however, it will be convenient at this point (a) to interpose a few general remarks on the mechanics of borrowing by saga-authors and (b) to make certain suggestions in connection with a possible methodological procedure by the investigator of a given saga's sources. This, it must be stressed, is done tentatively as little has been written on these subjects. Various statements made by Einar Ol. Sveinsson in his book Um Njálu (1933) have been found interesting in this context, as has the critique of Einar's approach by T. Andersson in The Problem of Icelandic Saga Origins (1964, 95 ff.) Further, Einar's book Dating has been found useful. It should be emphasized that what is said here is intended to apply only to what are called Family Sagas in English and

Íslendingasögur in Icelandic.

(a) The mechanics of borrowing by saga-authors

A work (and here we are thinking exclusively of one of the Íslendingasögur) which borrows from, or is influenced by another work is called a receiver. A receiver has an author who either writes it himself or dictates it to a scribe who writes it down verbatim. That which the author borrows from is called a source. Sources may be either written or oral. If they are written, they will normally take the form of a manuscript or part of a manuscript. Written sources will normally be read by the author himself, although written works read to the author by another person may also reasonably be classified as written sources. Oral sources are received aurally by the author in the form of sound waves emitted from the mouth of another person. [74] The following situation visualized by Einar Ól. Sveinsson in Dating (76) may be commented upon: 'The author of a saga might have written a summary of [an] older work, or some chapters of it, and he might have relied on this summary and not the work itself.' In a case like this, the summary, and not the older work must be regarded as the receiver's sole source. But the situation is unlikely to exist as the author will probably also remember something of the summary's source and what he remembers will probably coalesce (see below) with what he reads

in his summary. (And to mention a methodological consideration at this stage: the existence of the summary might well be undemonstrable.)

In the above, the words 'borrowed from' and 'influenced by' have been used and need further discussion. When what an author writes in his saga is in some way affected by what at some time previously he has read or heard in another work, then it may be said that the saga has been 'influenced' by that other work. On the other hand, the words 'influenced by' have extremely wide application. They may refer, for example, to conscious and extensive borrowing from a source which the author of the receiver actually has before him while he is writing. It may, for example, be said that Flóamanna Saga has been influenced by LdnX. But this type of connection (which is akin to copying and where the author clearly had the source before him as he wrote) is only at one end of a long scale of less direct connections between what an author found in his source and what he wrote in his receiver which may also be called 'influences'. Thus Einar Ólafur Sveinsson (Um Njálu, 1933, 154 f.) defines (literary) 'influences' - he uses the Icelandic word 'áhrif' - in the following very broad terms:

Vér höfum hér að framan talað um ,not', ,áhrif'. Ekki má hjá líða að geta þess, áður en horfið er frá þessu efni, að þau orð hafa viðtæka merkingu. Með þeim getur verið átt við heina töku efnis úr einu riti í annað, en þau geta líka átt við allt annað. Í þeim getur líka verið fólgið, að efni eða efnisatriði sé haft til hliðsjónar, fyrirmyndar - en ummyndist. Hugarstarfsemin getur verið vísvitandi - en líka óvitandi. En áhrifin geta verið enn öðruvísi. Orð eða setning, lýsing, frásögn hefur vakið enduróma í huga söguritara - og á bókfellið kemur setning, lýsing, sem hefur orðið til fyrir ,áhrif' frá öðru riti. Eða áhrifin eru blær, smekkur, stefna, skilningur á mönnum og mannlífi... Vér verðum að minnast, hve margbreytileg ytri ,áhrif' geta verið, hve langt er frá, að þau eigi öll að dæma með sama móti.

Now Theodore Andersson (Problem, 97) takes exception to this definition. He writes as follows: 'It is of course as difficult to argue against as it is to argue for this kind of subconscious influence ... influences of this sort can be so obscured by their transformation in a new context that they are imperceptible and therefore inconclusive.... The definition is one we would expect from a student of modern literature where in-

fluences are conceived not only in terms of matter but also in terms of attitude and technique.' And what Andersson goes on to say reveals the opinion that the study of 'influences' on Icelandic sagas should concern itself only with the study of 'motival and verbal similarities'.

Not all Andersson's strictures here are to be accepted. His objections seem to be made largely from a methodological point of view (i.e. of what can or cannot be demonstrated by the modern investigator), while Einar's definition is descriptive and seeks to cover what actually took place. Subconscious influences are certainly factors to be reckoned with, even though it may not always be fruitful (or relevant) to attempt to decide whether an influence is conscious or subconscious. ^[75] Nor need the source investigator of the Icelandic sagas necessarily confine his studies to 'motival and verbal borrowings and ignore matters of 'attitude and technique'. On the other hand, as Andersson suggests, Einar's definition does seem unduly broad in its scope and, as Einar would no doubt himself agree, distinctions are probably to be made within the area it covers. The present editor would suggest that within the area covered by Einar's definition of 'influence' ('áhrif'), there is a narrower one (which is not necessarily coincidental with that covered by Einar's 'not' (see above)), for which the term borrowing may be used,

and that it is primarily with 'borrowings' that the investigator of a given saga's sources need concern himself. When a saga has borrowed from another work, the following processes must have taken place:

(i) The author of a receiver reads or hears a source and stores its content or part of its content mentally.

(ii) After transmission processes (see below) have taken place, the author, either consciously or subconsciously, imitates what he has read or heard in the source by writing something in the receiver which, objectively considered, in some way resembles something in the source.

The words 'objectively considered, in some way resembles' used here are clearly open to different interpretations. The question of deciding how far two things resemble each other is, of course, necessarily a difficult one. But leaving this problem aside, this definition excludes certain cases which would be covered by Einar's definition of 'áhrif'. It excludes cases where purely personal associations in the mind of the author are essential links in the chain of mental connection between what he reads or hears in the source and what he writes in the receiver. It does not cover cases where an author reacted in an 'anti-suggestible' manner to what he found in his source and consciously wrote something different in the receiver. Such cases would not be covered by

the term borrowed from. The use of this term demands the presence of an element in the receiver which is identical with, or in some way resembles something to be found in the source. This element in the receiver is referred to as the borrowed element; that which the borrowed element corresponds to in the source is called the source element.

We may now briefly consider the various forms which borrowed elements in an Íslendingasaga may take.

Borrowed elements are elements which have their origins not in an author's inventive imagination nor in his experience of life, but in what he has heard, normally in the form of a narrative composition, or has read. The fact that an author may have known certain types of events from his own experience does not necessarily preclude the classification of stories of such events as borrowed elements: the giving of gifts, hestabing, bear-killings the contention of two men for the hand in marriage of one woman, such events (and even rarer ones) could well have been within the experience of a saga-author; but they were also the sort of events an author may have heard or read about (more frequently perhaps than he had experienced them) and would thus qualify for treatment as borrowed elements (cf. e.g. Motieven, 73 ff.) -

A borrowed element may consist of a few words which echo a source (see e.g. Note to 20/25); or they may consist of word-for-word copying, extending over several pages

It may be an idea which can be expressed in a short sentence; or it may take the form of a complicated plot which extends throughout a saga. - Formulae peculiar to, or particularly common in literary or oral narrative may be regarded as borrowed elements: for example, the introduction of a character with the words N.N. hét maðr, or his dismissal with Nú er hann ór sógunni. (On the other hand, set expressions or phrases in everyday use cannot, in isolation, be regarded as borrowed elements (cf. Andersson, Problem, 99 f.)) Certain stylistic devices (e.g. the use of alliterating adjective pairs; cf. page *239 below) may be regarded as derivative and dealt with under this heading.- As Einar Ól.Sveinsson suggests (see above), such features as 'blær, smekkur, stefna, skilningur á mönnum og mannlífi' may be regarded as borrowed elements: it will, for example, be argued below (see pages *291 ff.) that the 'tone' of certain parts of Flóamanna Saga is to some extent derived from religious or semi-religious writings. - Antiquarian embellishments and period background (whether historically accurate or not) are frequently borrowed: this applies to a good deal of information about, for instance, heathen belief and Viking Age conditions. - Passages where stock figures are introduced may be regarded as containing borrowed elements: in Fló, the descriptions of Gunnhildr konungamóðir, Þórr and to a certain extent,

Skapti Þórðarsson may be regarded in this way. So may the use of certain names for certain types of character: e.g. járnhauss as a nickname for a berserk, Hugi as a name for a jarl. - Then there are formal elements which must be common to practically every representative of the genre: there is, for example, normally a short passage devoted to the main protagonists' ancestors and a passage devoted to a description of their person and character.- Certain types of elements tend to be particularly associated either with written or oral sources. Thus from written sources, we would expect extensive verbal borrowings to be made; from oral sources, for instance, verses, stories explaining place-names and certain types of fictional story (such as ghost-stories) may be borrowed. Borrowed elements may then take a large variety of forms. We may now concentrate on what form they frequently (perhaps most frequently) take. Icelandic sagas are very often biographical in form and while they often have some other themes or larger plot, their narrative frequently consists of a number of (shorter) stories about a hero's experiences, actions or adventures. They are often a series of episodes in the life of a particular character or set of characters. Now the plots of these episodes are often elements borrowed from other sources. Typical episodes in the tradition with which we are dealing are ones where the hero fights a duel, makes a journey abroad from Iceland, lays a revenant, robs a grave-mound or

has a particular dream. The likeness between borrowed element and source element resides primarily in motivational likenesses rather than verbal similarities (although these last may often appear incidently). It is difficult (and probably dangerous) to attempt to say what space an episode may take up in a saga: usually, however, it would fill at least half a page in an edition in the Íslenzk fornrit-series and frequently a considerably greater space. The borrowed episode is then an element which may be regarded as particularly common in the Icelandic sagas and the concept of it is a particularly useful one to the investigator of sagas' sources.

An author will normally have read and have heard a number of sources. Further, he will normally introduce different borrowed elements or elements borrowed from different sources into his receiver.

As has been noted, a source is either read or heard by the author of the receiver. This may happen practically simultaneously with the writing of the receiver - an author may, for example, have a written source before him as he writes - or may have taken place when the author (who may, at the time of writing, be an elderly man) had just learnt to read the written word or was just old enough to understand meaningful speech. The period of time between the author's reading or hearing a source or part of a source and writing the related borrowed element(s) in the receiver is referred to as the period

of transmission. During the period of transmission, various processes (called transmission processes) take place in the mind of the author which give rise to differences between source elements and the corresponding borrowed elements. The most important of these may be mentioned here:

Obfuscation. Only in rare cases will authors be able to remember substantial sections of prose verbatim for any appreciable length of time after a single reading. Since, then, an author will by no means always be referring to a source as he actually writes the receiver, and since many of his sources will be in prose rather than in verse, a major transmission process to be reckoned with is the obfuscation of elements in the mind of the author during the period of transmission. Thus, when an author does not actually have a source before him, extensive verbal correspondence between source element and borrowed element are unlikely to exist. (This, of course, does not mean that there will not be echoes of the source in the receiver.) And an author is likely to forget far more of a source's content than just its wording. Names, descriptions, and all other types of element are liable to become opaque and distorted in the author's mind. And this may have happened by the time he had finished reading a source or hearing it. As a general rule, however, certain types of element will be forgotten or be-

come distorted more quickly than others: thus, while, as suggested above, wording is likely to be forgotten quickly, plots, whether of episodes or whole sagas, will tend to stay longer in an author's memory. (And even when an author is actually copying from a source he has before him, and the period of transmission is therefore minimal, obfuscation may have its effect: he may, for example, read the word för in his source, but, in a moment of distraction, write ferð; cf. page *179, no. 31.)

Coalescence. It will frequently happen that an author will read or hear elements on two or more different occasions (and probably in different works) - elements which will, to a greater or lesser extent, resemble each other. The effect of this may be (but not necessarily will be) as follows:

(i) The element(s) read or heard on (the) previous occasion(s) may be recollected by the author and/or confirmed in his memory.

(ii) The two or more elements involved will become confused in the mind of the author and will subsequently be remembered by him as a single element which will be a mixture of varying proportions of the different elements originally involved.

(iii) What may be called formalization may take place, and here we think particularly of the episode. When an author reads or hears a particular type of episode on a (large) number of occasions (for example, a ghost-

laying episode) he will tend to forget dissimilarities between the individual episodes involved (particularly those features which have no relevance to the point or outcome of the story) while his recollection of the similarities will be confirmed. He will tend to remember the plot of the different stories as a single recurrent story-form. To what extent complete formalization of episodes takes place in an author's mind may, however, be regarded as a matter of some doubt. However many times an author reads or hears similar episodes, it seems unlikely that he will entirely forget differing details of the individual stories.

(ii) and (iii) will not take place without (i) taking place; on the other hand, (i) may take place without (ii) or (iii) taking place.

A special form of coalescence occurs when an author re-reads the same written source on two or more occasions or reads or hears a source which only differs on minor points from one which he has already read or heard. The effect will be to reinforce the author's recollection of the elements involved (i.e. effect (i)).

Adaptation. This transmission process takes place towards the end of the period of transmission and normally in anticipation of the writing of the receiver. Whereas obfuscation and coalescence are involuntary processes, adaptation usually takes place as the result of conscious,

and frequently creative effort on the part of the author. An author may adapt elements he has read or heard for a variety of reasons, the most usual being aesthetic or narrative considerations. An author may, for example, wish to fill out and embroider a particular source (as the Fló-author has done in the case of Ldn X). He may wish to make a particular story he has heard more humorous, or more lively or more touching. He may be affected by considerations of tendentiousness: he may, for example, transfer (see below) an episode from a well-known hero to his own hero but adapt it so as to present his own hero in a more favourable light. On the other hand, an author may adapt an element so as to disguise its origin. Some special forms of adaptation may be dealt with: as noted above, an author 'will normally introduce different borrowed elements or elements borrowed from different sources into his single receiver.' Indeed, elements from different sources will often be found closely linked in the receiver. The process of linking one borrowed element to another (which is a conscious process and not to be confused with coalescence) and the process of linking borrowed elements to material of the author's own invention gives rise to various forms of adaptation. The most important of these is what may be called transference. This consists in an element (very frequently an episode) connected with one character in a source being

applied to another character in the receiver. Thus events which affect, action by, descriptions of, character X in a source may be transferred to character Y in a receiver (cf. Um Njálu, 101).

When a work consists entirely or largely of borrowed elements and these are not adapted by the author or are only adapted in certain ways, we may find it impossible to speak of an author (in contrast to, say, a scribe or a redactor) and the work in question therefore falls outside our terms of reference.

Translation. If the source element was in a language other than Icelandic, its author will, in the vast majority of cases, translate it into Icelandic.

(b) Methodology

It is the most important task of the source investigator to single out those elements in the receiver under investigation which may be regarded as borrowed elements, i.e. those elements which do not come either from the author's own imagination or from his experience of everyday life (i.e. his non-literary experience). The task of identifying the sources for the borrowed elements in the receiver is secondary to this. On the other hand, it is normally the case that the only way of recognizing borrowed elements in a receiver is by finding something in the corpus of sources which may have been known to the author, an element which is similar enough to an

element in the receiver to be regarded as a source element.

(The definition of a borrowed element demands the existence of 'something in the receiver which, objectively considered, in some way resembles something in the source'.)

The ^{primary} ~~main~~ task of the source investigator is therefore to search through the author's corpus of potential sources for elements which may be regarded as source elements.

The source investigator's main business, then, is the comparison of elements in the work under consideration with elements in other works, with a view to positing borrowing by the former from the latter. All else being equal, a connection between a work and a potential source may be considered as proven in direct proportion to the extent and degree of likeness between elements in the two works involved. Verbal similarities may be regarded as particularly significant in this context, especially if extensive. And the more complicated a plot or series of ideas found in two works, the more likely it is that a connection between the two exists. On the other hand, the degree of likeness between a possible source element and a possible borrowed element may be so slight that it may be regarded as insignificant. Further in comparing elements, the investigator should constantly be aware of, and make allowance for, the factor of coincidence. What an author writes in his receiver may well have its origins purely in his own imagination or experience or both (cf. Notes to 26/14-8 and 43/23-4), even though

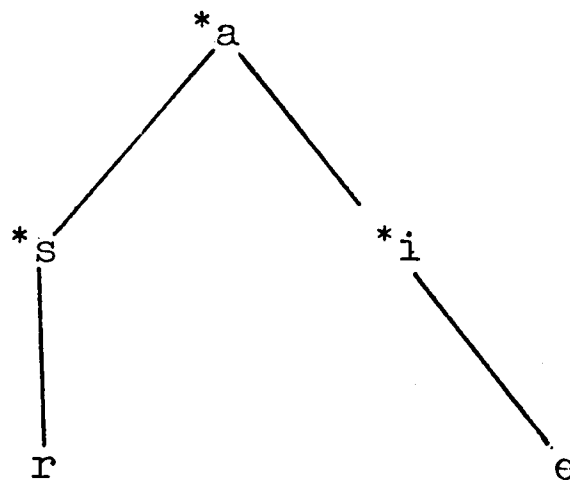
it resembles, perhaps closely, something in an older work which may have been accessible to him and which he may even have read or heard before, but which has been entirely obliterated from his conscious or subconscious memory.

It may be regarded as a rule that, all else being equal, the more widespread in the corpus of Íslendinga-sögur a borrowed element in a receiver is, the less interest it has in the study of that particular receiver's sources; conversely, the more isolated or rare a borrowed element is, the more worthy of comment it is. Indeed, certain elements are found so widely in the Íslendinga-sögur that to give attention to them in the study of a single saga's sources is barely necessary. For this reason, borrowed elements in a receiver may be ranked according to their relative frequency and a line drawn to mark off those which are considered to be too common to be worth mentioning. If, then, the definition of a borrowed element given above may seem to be unduly wide-ranging, we may methodologically exclude certain types of borrowed element as a subject for investigation at an early stage. Thus, for example, the appearance of the formula N.N. hét maðr when a character is introduced into a saga, need hardly be taken into account in the study of the sources of that saga.

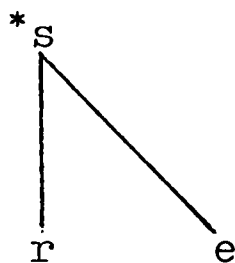
In the above, we have talked about the author's corpus of potential sources. This may be defined as

those works which, as far as the modern investigator may judge, could have been known to the author of the receiver and from which he could therefore have borrowed elements. In connection with this concept, the following two points should be made:

(a) Postulation of sources. Only in rare cases, if at all, will any of the author's sources have continued to exist: oral sources, by their very nature (see above), have never survived and written sources, which, as noted, are usually in the form of manuscripts, have normally [77] perished or been lost. It is therefore normally necessary to posit the existence of a given receiver's sources. Now this may be done with varying degrees of certainty. In Section A of this Chapter, we have posited the following relationship between Fló (= r(eceiver)), LdnX (= s(ource)), Sturlubók (= a(rchetype)), Resensbók (= i(ntermediary)) and LdnStb (= e(xtant manifestation of source)) (works no longer extant marked with asterisk):



Here e represents *s comparatively accurately: while there may have been further *i's between Resensbók and *a and *a and *s, these were probably relatively few in number; further, the men who wrote e, *i and *s were mere scribes (not authors or even redactors), who had no particular desire to make changes in the text they had before them. When a source investigator wishes to argue that a given receiver has been influenced by another work, he will frequently have to presume the same sort of relationship as we have ^(twe) been Fló, LdnX, Sturlubók, Resensbók and LdnStb, although he will frequently be able to leave out of consideration any *i's and to regard *a and *s as one and the same work; this last although it may not be identical with the actual source (see page *209 above), may be referred to methodologically as the *s(ource). Thus:



Now this type of relationship between Fló and LdnStb just mentioned is only one of a vast number of possible postulated relationships between e's and r's which are normally less 'close' but which are none the less admissible and, indeed, to be reckoned with, and which may be regarded as variants on the same basic stemma. Instead

of being relatively few, links between r's and e's may be innumerable and include *i's and *s's composed outside Iceland, in languages other than Icelandic. Instead of scribes (who have exemplars before them), redactors, authors and story-tellers may be at work. Links may be oral or written. Obfuscation, coalescence and adaptation may all have had their effect. To show the vastness of the range of possibilities, three random examples may be given:

(i) *s may be an oral tale made up in India in the first millennium A.D.; between *s and e, there may be a long chain of oral links by which the tale came into the hand of a twentieth century folklorist working in India; e may be his publication of the tale. There may also be a long chain of oral links between *s and *r by which the tale found its way from India to Iceland. (For this type of relationship, cf. S. Wikander, 'Från indisk djurfabel till isländsk ^(d)saga', Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund Årsbok, 1964, 87-114 and the references cited there.)

(ii) *s may be an Icelandic saga containing an episode applied to character X; e, another Icelandic saga, written later than r, may transfer that episode to character Y; r may apply the same episode to character Z.

(iii) *s may represent the archetype for a particular group, or even sub-group of manuscripts of a particular saga; e may be a copy (not necessarily direct) of *s;

r may contain a passage actually copied word for word from *s.

The responsibility of proving the existence of, or probable or possible existence of, an *s (and, if posited, a separate *a) lies, of course, in the last instance with the source investigator. The same is true of any *i's which may be posited. This responsibility will, however, in many cases have been borne by previous scholars and editors. - A source investigator need only concern himself with the actual texts of *i's, and *s's which are not identical with *a's, when extant reflexes of these supplement the information given by e about the form *s took.

(b) Delimitation of the corpus of potential sources.

An attempt should be made to delimit the corpus of potential sources known to the author of the work under investigation. This is normally best done by a process of elimination. Now it is not always possible to say with complete certainty that one work was not known to the author of an Icelandic saga. On the other hand, all else being equal, a work composed in Icelandic in Iceland (particularly a saga) is more likely to have influenced the author of an Icelandic saga than, say, a work composed in Latin in England. Further, while barriers of space and language may be, and very frequently are, transcended when the borrowing of elements is involved, the fact that the work under investigation ~~was written~~

was written before another work necessarily excludes the latter from the former's corpus of potential sources. For this reason, the source investigator should, as a preliminary to his investigation, endeavour to establish the date the work in question was written within the closest possible limits and by doing so exclude as potential sources those works which are known to have come into existence later than the saga to be investigated. The methods by which Islendingasögur are dated are described by Einar Ól.Sveinsson in his book Dating.

Special problems arise for the source investigator in the following two situations:

(i) Elements may be found in the work under consideration and another work similar enough to make borrowing from one to the other possible, probable, or certain; on the other hand, the comparative age of the two works may be unknown. In such cases, a close scrutiny of the elements in question themselves should be undertaken in an attempt to establish which way the borrowing has gone: the presence of such features as 'blind' elements or poor integration into the surrounding narrative may well be indicative in this context: for example, in Dating (81-5) Einar Ól.Sveinsson is able to demonstrate on the basis of 'blind' elements how a story in Njála can be seen to have been borrowed from Heiðarvíga Saga rather than vice versa. - Even though it may be impossible to decide

whether the work under consideration is the borrower or the lender, the source investigator should, of course, in any case, draw attention to likenesses between the two works.

(ii) It may happen that an element in the work under consideration resembles elements in more than one potential source. When this is the case, there may be the following explanations:

(a) The author of the work under consideration may have read or heard only one of the potential sources and the element in question is borrowed solely from it.

(b) The author had read or heard two or more or all of the potential sources and (1) the different elements had coalesced in his mind or (2) the different elements were linked by him

Frequently, then, it will be methodologically impossible to point to a single source for a given borrowed element in a receiver and when this is the case, we tend to refer to that element as a motif. Various points should be made here, however:

(I) While methodologically it may be impossible to single out the actual source for a borrowed element, this will frequently only be a methodological problem and motif is only a methodological term. In many cases, explanation (a) given above will obtain, even though possible

source elements are found in a number of potential sources.

(II) With regard to explanation (b), even though elements from different sources may have coalesced in the mind of the author or may have been linked by him, this does not necessarily mean that features of the individual elements will not have been preserved. For example, while the Fló-author may well have known a number of stories where a mannjófnuðr takes place and these had, to some extent, coalesced in his mind, there is special evidence that he knew the element as it appears in Færeyinga Saga, ch.5; cf. pages *340-1 below. The source investigator should look carefully for this type of evidence.

(III) It should be remembered that the task of pointing to particular sources for elements in a receiver is secondary to recognizing those elements as borrowed elements (cf. page *222 above).

When it is impossible to decide which of a number of potential sources was the author's actual source, then all of them should, of course, be cited.

It is finally the business of the source investigator to speculate on factors connected with the period of transmission and the transmission processes. It may be of interest, for instance, to attempt to establish that an author actually had a given source before him when he wrote his saga and copied from it (thus in the case of LdnX), or that he did not (cf. pages *207-8 above). And particular attention should be paid to the adaptation which the

various borrowed elements in a saga have undergone. In Um Njála (155) Einar Ól. Sveinsson writes: '...því má ekki gleyma, að gildi 'áhrifanna' fer ekki sízt eftir því, hve vel þau hæfa móttakandanum, hve vel þau eru fallin til að leysa bundin öfl í sál hans. Því er það ekki nema fyrsti áfangi á rannsóknarleið vorri, að gera oss ljósar 'heimildir', yrkisefni söguritarans. Allir hlutir eru gerðir úr nokkuru efni, og þó að það sé einskisvert, hvert efnið er, þá er þó miklu fleira sem máli skiptir.' We may whole-heartedly concur with Einar here. To observe the way an author has adapted his sources and to speculate on his motives for doing so must be regarded as an important part of the methodology of source study.

It is hoped that the above excursus, which lays no claim to being comprehensive, has made some progress towards defining and describing the factors and phenomena with which the source investigator must reckon to deal; further, that it will provide some methodological guide-line for the scholar embarking on the study of a single saga's sources.

We may now proceed to the investigation of borrowed elements in the parts of Flóamanna Saga not covered in Section A of this Chapter. It has been recommended above that an early attempt should be made by any investigator of a saga's sources to attempt to date that saga itself as accurately as possible with a view to

delimiting its author's corpus of potential sources. Now we may here anticipate conclusions arrived at in Section C of Chapter III of this Introduction about the age of Fló. The discussion there will suggest that while there is certain evidence that may help us to date our saga within narrower limits, the only perfectly reliable terminus post quem we have is the date of the completion of Sturlubók, and the only perfectly reliable terminus ante quem, the date of the writing of the *F manuscript of Fló, the latest common source for *M and *X. On this basis, we can date Fló no more closely than between the years 1285 (or perhaps a little earlier) and about 1385. Now such a dating makes it impossible to exclude the greater part of Old Icelandic literature from the Fló-author's corpus of potential sources. On the contrary, practically all the important monuments of the classical period, including the major Family Sagas could have been known to him. Thus accepting the conventional datings, we can say with reasonable safety that the following works and manuscripts were older than our saga:

Agrip; Band; Bj: Codex Regius of the Elder Edda; Dropl; Eg; Eyrb; Fgr; Fóstbr; Fær; Gísl; Gr; Grágás; Gunnlaugr Leifsson's lost Saga of Óláfr Tryggvason; Hallfr; Harð (in some form or other); Hálfs (perhaps an older redaction than that preserved); Heið; Hkr (and Ól helga);

Hv; Hœns; Islb; Íslendinga Saga; Jóms; Karlanagnús Saga;
Korm; Krist; Mar; Laxd; The Legendary Saga of St Óláfr;
Ljós; archetype for Mor kinskinna; Oddr, Óláfs; Orkm;
Reykd; SnE; Sturlubók redaction of Ldn; Sturlu Saga;
Sverris Saga; Vatns; VGl; Qrv; Þiðreks Saga; Porg.

Further, we have no definite proof that any of the following were written later than Fló:

Bárð; Eir; Finnb; Friðbj; Grett; Gríms Saga
loðinkinna; Gunnl; Hrólf's Saga kraka; Hauksbók; Háv;
Herv; Hrafn; Ket; Kjaln; Króka-Refs Saga; Nj (usually
dated to ca. 1280 and therefore probably older than Fló);
Ól mest; Ragn; Svarf; Vígl; Vols; PorstVík.

The Fló-author could then have been writing at the end of a long literary tradition and was thus quite possibly well-versed in Icelandic literature of the thirteenth century. Further, like any literate man of his time, he would, no doubt have been familiar with the religious and hagiographic writings of the Church. In view of these two facts, we must search through a relatively extensive corpus of potential sources in the attempt to detect borrowed elements in Flóamanna Saga. Otherwise the following points should be made in connection with the present treatment. It has been observed that certain borrowed elements in the Íslendingasögur are so frequent that they may be left out of consideration in the discussion of a single saga's sources. This has been done in what follows: Thus, while Nijhoff has sections on,

for example, fights (Beschouwing, 116), bónorð (Be-
schouwing, 120 f.) and premonitions (Beschouwing, 140 ff.)
no specific attention is given to these in the present
discussion. Second, the present editor has normally
attempted to deal only with cases of likeness between
Fló and other works where he is reasonable certain that
some connection exists. Broadly speaking, the system of
investigation is based on the episode: the hero of the
saga is the protagonist in a number of adventures and
experiences and these are dealt with, as far as possible,
in the order in which they appear in the saga. Where
there are elements which do not fall into this scheme
(for example, Names ; cf. pages *253-4), these are dealt
with at convenient points in the succession of episodes.
Further, certain borrowed elements, mainly those of a
less certain nature (see e.g. Notes to 21/17 ff. and
26/14-8) and various minor 'antiquarian embellishments'
(see e.g. Notes to 2/19-20 and 34/22-3) are dealt with
in the Commentary. Finally, while, as had been noted,
it is the source investigator's duty to discuss the
adaptation which borrowed elements have undergone, this
is clearly the more important, the greater the skill
and artistry which has gone into the adaptation. Thus
the adaptation of borrowed elements in a work like
Njáls Saga is clearly more worthy of discussion than the
adaptation of borrowed elements in a saga of lesser
literary value like Fló. For this reason, and to

avoid stating the obvious, attention is only given to adaptation in what follows when there is special reason for comment. Various remarks will be made on this subject in the Conclusion to this chapter and in Section B of Chapter III.

The knattleikr and the killing of Illingr

The first story of Þorgils's youth is told in connection with a game of knattleikr. At the age of five, Þorgils goes to a meeting at Lón where the game is being played and wants to join in. The other boys tell him that only those who have killed some living creature may take part. This Þorgils does not appear to have done, for he stands down. The following night, however, he decides that the same thing shall not happen again. He gets up, goes out, leads his step-father's horse Illingr into a stable and there kills it with a spear. Next morning, Þorgrímr's servants find the dead animal and Þorgils owns up. Þorgrímr says that he and Þorgils are of such different character that they will never be able to get on. He tells him to leave Traðarholt and go to his friend Loptr.

Games of knattleikr are often used in the sagas to trigger off more serious fights and feuds (see Grett, ch.15). Further, the author of Eg makes such a game the occasion for one of Egill's childhood deeds of prowess: in ch. 40 of that work at a knattleikr at

Hvítárvellir, the seven year-old Egill is beaten by an older boy but takes his revenge by plunging an axe into his brain. But although he may have known and been thinking of Eg here, the Fló-author has not developed the element along the same lines, possibly because he did not want so drastic an outcome for the story. Instead, not being able to join the game is made the occasion for the killing of Illingr and even this act is played down (cf. 14/6). This story belongs to a group of tales which tell of bad relations between a young hero and his father (in this case, by necessity, step-father); cf. Erzählungsgut, 9 ff.; Two Icelandic Stories, ed. A. Faulkes, 25 and the references cited there. It is particularly reminiscent of Grettir's childhood pranks. On one occasion Grettir is put to look after his father's poultry. This he dislikes and somewhat later the birds are found dead or maimed. Another time his father gives him his mare, Kengála, to look after. She causes him a lot of trouble and he plans revenge. One morning he gets up, goes to the stable and flays the horse's back. Later she has to be killed. Þorgrímr's words to Þorgils at 14/22-4 remind one of those of another step-father to step-son in a rather similar situation in Hkr, ii, 3 f.: here Sigurðr sýr asks Óláfr to make a horse ready for him. Instead the boy saddles a billy-goat and leads it to him. Sigurðr's remark is: 'Er þat auðsætt, at vit munum ekki vera

skaplíkir.' Finally, the way Þorgils is sent away from Traðarholt by Þorgrímr reminds one of the numerous cases where folktale heroes are sent from home by their parents, frequently because of their huge appetites but also for other reasons like their killing their playmates (see Erzählungsgut, 5; Motif-Index, F612, F612.2).

Descriptions of Þorgils

At the beginning of chapter 11, the author interpolates a description of Þorgils's physical qualities and character into the account of his hero's childhood adventures. A similar description, again of Þorgils, is found at the end of both redactions of the saga. Of these three passages, the one at the end of the M-version is most interesting, as it is probably the one which is in its most original form: Björn Sigfússon ('TgF', 443 f.) has shown that the description at the end of the X-version has been tampered with (cf. page *103) and in view of the usual relationship between the text of the two redactions, we have reason to suspect the same of that in ch. 11 of the X-version.

In an article in Acta Philologica Scandinavica, 1965 (68 ff.), Lars Lönnroth discusses the origins of saga portraits like these in Old Norwegian-Icelandic literature. He produces good reasons to suggest that they are, for certain stylistic and other features, indebted to historical and hagiographic works written in Latin. From

these, the features in question are first taken over into similar works in Old Norse, translation of saint's lives, biographies of native bishops and the older of the Kings' Sagas. Under the influence of these last, similar personal descriptions are found in the Íslendinga-sögur and other genres, where, however, they appear in a form considerably less stylized and, for obvious reasons, more secularized.

This last generalization is, however, less true of the description of Þorgils at the end of the M-version and to a certain extent, of those in the X-version. One would probably have to look far in the Íslendingasögur to find a personal description where alliterating pairs of adjectives are strung together at such length as in the M-version; this device is far more characteristic of the clerical literature mentioned above (cf. e.g. Hv, 99: Hann var ljúfr ok lítillátr við alla, stórlýndr ok staðfastr í skapi, fullræðasamr, frændrækin, margfróðr ok málsnjallr). Again, some of the virtues attributed to Þorgils seem to be more those of holy men, saintly kings or belauded bishops. Here we seem to discern the direct (rather than indirect) influence of clerical literature on Fló, an influence which contributes other important elements to the saga and which will be discussed at greater length below. On the other hand, the placing of these descriptions in the saga, although conventional, need not necessarily be ascribed to the influence of clerical

literature. Personal descriptions frequently appear in the family sagas just after a man's death, as for example on two occasions in Reyká (see T. Andersson, The Icelandic Family Saga, 1967, 60 f.; Alter, 214-7). They are also found early on in a hero's life: in Óláfs Saga helga (Hkr., ii, 4), for instance, a work which may have influenced the Fló-author in this part of the saga (see pages *237 f. above), a lengthy description of Óláfr is interposed between the first story of his childhood and the account of a viking expedition he undertook at the age of twelve (cf. Lönnroth's article; 98 f.; Alter, 119-23).

The fishing episode

At the age of nine (cf. Motif-Index, F611. 3.2), Þorgils asks to be allowed to go fishing with Loptr's servants: 'der starke Hans'-type sometimes figures as a fisherman in the folk-tale (cf. Motif-Index, F614.5) although often with more disastrous results than here. Þorgils immediately catches a large flatr fiskr (cf. Note to 15/11) and the Fló-author may here have been thinking of another fisher of flat fish, Hýmír in SnE (62). Þorgils then takes a turn at rowing and this is also a feat performed by young heroes, although again ^[79] often with more disastrous results than in our saga (see Origin, 170; Erzählungsgut, 15; Motif-Index, F614.4); the author of Fló seems to be taking care not to represent his hero as an 'Aschenbrödel'-type. Finally, Þorgils dragging his fish home

reminds one of Finnbogi doing the same thing in Finnb.
ch. 5..

The mound breaking

Chapter 12 begins by telling how Þorgils discovers some slaves breaking open a burial mound to get the grave-goods from it. Stories of men breaking into mounds are common motifs in the Icelandic sagas (see KL, s.v. Haugbrot; Alter, 138 ff.; Motif-Index N511.1.1 and N571); they have, no doubt, their basis in reality (cf. Kristján Eldjárn, Kuml og haugfé, 1956, 200 f.). But they are usually considerably more elaborate than this story in Fló; they frequently include, for instance, an account of a fight between the grave-robber and the denizen of the mound, the haugbúi. In Fló, the motif is hardly developed at all. The point in introducing this story seems rather to have been to provide an occasion for the acquisition of wealth by Þorgils and for him to show his prowess in dealing with the thralls. This last feature is perhaps ^(also) to be regarded as a borrowed element; we may compare Finnb, 260 and Herv, 11.

Þorgils's journey to Norway

Þá er Þorgils var xv. vetra, fýstiz hann utan at fara (16/1). With these words the section of the saga begins which deals with Þorgils's first journey abroad - to Norway and from there to the Western Isles. While he is abroad,

he not only recovers his ancestral property, wins a bride and by her begets a son, but also fights two duels, becomes a viking, collects taxes for the King of Norway and goes through a number of other adventures. When in chapter 18, he returns to Iceland, he is a travelled, experienced and wealthy man.

The authors of the Family Sagas frequently send their young Icelandic heroes abroad at an early stage in their lives: Svarf, Harð, Vatns, VGl (note ch. 5: Pá var Glúmr fimtán vetra, er hann fýstisk útan) and Eg are just a few of the many sagas which contain this motif. These episodes in the hero's life give the saga-writers an opportunity of introducing motifs which belong more to the fornaldarsögur than the Íslendingasögur - tales of Viking voyages, of combat with berserks for maidens or money, of the plundering of grave-mounds and similar more or less exaggerated stories. The Fló-author, as we shall see in what follows, makes lavish use of such conventional elements and this is without doubt the most stereotyped part of the whole saga. There is also evidence to suggest that for the general plan of events in this journey by Þorgils abroad, the Fló-author was thinking particularly of a journey made by Egill in Eg. This matter will be dealt with below. In this section it may be noted that the reason given for Þorgils's journey to Norway is a conventional one (cf. Motieven, 119 f.): some sagas make friendship with a Norwegian, or the need to

get timber, the occasion for a hero making the voyage; others give the reason which Fló has, to make a claim on inherited property abroad. Thus in Nj (10 ff.), Hrútr goes to Norway to take possession of an inheritance left by his brother Eyvindr; in Bj (ch.3), Þórðr also leaves Iceland to get a legacy left by his brother. Finally in Eg (151 ff.), Egill goes to Norway to assert his right to certain property belonging to the father of his wife Ásgerðr (cf. Motieven, 120). The element in Fló must partly have been suggested to the author of the saga by Ldnx which tells how Þorgils's father keypti skip í Knarrarsundi ok vildi heimta arf sinn (cf. pages *189, *190-1).

Þorgrímr refuses Þorgils's fare abroad

To get his fare abroad, Þorgils first approaches his stepfather for his share of the ancestral property but his request is turned down. He stays the winter with Loptr and makes the same request the following summer. Þorgrímr declares that he prefers to look after the property himself but Þorgils tells him he will succeed the third time he asks. Loptr also tells him that he does not think Þorgrímr will make objections next time he asks. Rather curiously, however, in the next sentence we are told that Loptr himself offers to give Þorgils the money and one may well wonder if something has not been lost here in textual transmission, and if *E did not tell

of another refusal by Þorgrímr. At any rate, Þorgils apparently accepts Loptr's offer but kvaz lítit fé hafa vilja at sinni. After giving his friends and Loptr various gifts, Þorgils then leaves Iceland from Knarrarsund with, it is stressed, only a little money.

In Alter (132) Vera Lachman mentions a number of examples where a young Icелander has difficulty in getting his fararefni from his father. In Gunnl (59 ff.), the twelve-year old Gunnlaugr asks his father to equip him to go to Norway; Illugi refuses and only when he tries again at the age of sixteen is Gunnlaugr successful. In Harð (139 f.), Grímkell reacts unfavourably to Hgrðr's request for money to go abroad. Again in Grett (ch. 17), Ásmundr refuses to give Grettir any equipment for his journey away from Iceland except a hafnest and a little homespun. The boy's plight awakes the sympathy of his mother who gives him a sword before he goes. Later, in a verse, Grettir bemoans the poor equipment his father has given him (cf. also Eg, 102). In Vatnsdæla Saga (ed. H. Vogt, 1921, 17 (cf. note)), a foster-father is particularly generous in financing an expedition by his foster-son. Finally Þorgils's remark to Loptr when the latter offers him fararefni (16/12-6) has a parallel: in Laxd (205), when Þorkell Eyjólfsson gives his step-son Þorleikr Bollason money for his passage to Norway, Þorleikr kvazk ekki mundu hafa mikið fé, - "bvi at ósýnt er, hversu mér gætisk til; em ek ungr ok í marga óráðinn; cf. Beschouwing, 153-4.

Porgils's playmates and the gifts he gives them

Before Porgils leaves for Norway, we are told that he assembles sínir leiksveinar and says he wishes to repay them the pleasure he has had from them and the company they have been to him. He then gives them the three marks he took from the thralls (16/13-7).

We have not been told before in the text that Porgils had any playmates. We have here, however, a motif so common in the riddarasögur and fornaldarsögur that if we do not assume that we are expected to take for granted that Porgils, like other heroes, had his own band of play-friends, then we might even suspect an omission by the X-redactor: in Drei Lyg (25 and 88) and Orvar-Odds Saga (ed. R. Boer, 1888 (7 f.), Ásmundr, Áli and Oddr all have their leiksveinar (for other instances, see footnote to Drei Lyg, 25). The same is true of Gunnlaugr and Sigurðr in Vígl (65); further, like Porgils in Fló, these two young men give their playmates presents (gull ok aðra góða grip).

Porgils and the Norwegian king

Porgils lands in Norway in Hórðaland and stays there with a certain Óláfr. At this time, we are told, Haraldr gráfeldr rules the country with his brothers and mother, Gunnhildr konungamóðir. The king and his mother come to a feast at Óláfr's and Porgils immediately impresses mother and son by his aristocratic appearance. Haraldr and Porgils play various (unspecified) games with each other and the

latter always gets the better of the king who asks him to be his champion. Later in the saga (20/5 ff.), Þorgils is at the court of Hákon Hlaðajarl.

IMPORTANT: see page *366

The games (leikar) Þorgils plays with the king need special attention: in Laxd (ch. 40), Kjartan engages in a ducking match with Óláfr Tryggvason and acquits himself honourably. Kings often arrange tests of strength for Icelanders visiting their courts: in Nj (ch. 31), Haraldr Gormsson has Gunnarr compete with his courtiers in various games and Gunnarr is always the winner. In Finnb (chs. 16 and 17), Hákon Hlaðajarl makes Finnbogi fight against a blámaðr and a bear. The element is also found in the fornaldarsögur: in Hrólfs Saga kraka (Fas, ii, 65) for instance, we read: Lét konungrinn þessa sína menn fremja alls kyns leika ok listir með allra handa gamni ok skemmtun. Ok reyndist Böðvarr allra mestr hans kapp, hvat sem reyna þurfti, etc. See further on this element, Beschouwing, 155 and Motieven, 127.

Gunnhildr konungamóðir

While Gunnhildr and Haraldr are staying with Óláfr, Þorgils takes the opportunity of broaching the question of his ancestral property in Norway. Haraldr tells him that his mother now controls the estate and that he must take the matter up with her. Þorgils does this and to begin with, Gunnhildr seems favourably disposed. When, however, she offers him a place at the king's court (hauð honum

hirðvist) and Þorgils bluntly declines, she becomes angry, kicks him away from her high-seat and rejects his petition out of hand. The king, on the other hand, maintains his sympathetic attitude to Þorgils, gives him silver in private and tells him to visit him when his mother is not present. He then leaves the feast. In the next chapter, Þorgils decides to go on a trading expedition to avoid persecution by Gunnhildr.

How far Icelandic and Norwegian writings of later centuries are to be trusted as historical in the account they give of Gunnhildr's life and character is highly questionable. That the picture they paint is at least partly distorted is shown by the fact that wherever the queen's ancestry is mentioned, all but one of them (i.e. Historia Norvegiæ) incorrectly assign her north Norwegian parentage, and thus Lappish connections, to account for her renowned powers of witchcraft. On the other hand, it would be surprising if the bad reputation almost unanimously accorded to her by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries did not have some fairly substantial foundation in fact. It is worth noting that her contemporary Egill Skalla-Grímsson, not of course the most impartial of witnesses, describes her temperament as cruel (greypt) in one of his lausavísa and claims she deceives her brother-murdering husband (Eg, 165). But whatever the historical background, by the end of the twelfth century, Gunnhildr had acquired notoriety for cruelty, greed, treachery and

licentiousness. In the Kings' Sagas she is represented as a Lady Macbeth-figure spurring her husband on to fratricide and tyranny. During the period of her sons' rule, she dominates them and virtually rules the country in their stead. Fgr (184) characterizes the time she controlled Norway as the worst the country ever had. Her patronage of rogues and scoundrels is commented upon in Hallfr, ch. 1 (variant) where a certain víkingr is said to be í vináttu við Gunnhildi konungamóður, sem mǫrg þunnur illmenni. In Fgr (24), she is described as 'greedy for wealth and land.' In Hkr (i, 135), we find her in Finnmörk learning magic from two Lapps whom she later betrays and it is she who, by her powers of sorcery, was able to compass the death of Hákon Aðalsteinsfóstri. Her reputed licentiousness was proverbial: she is described as nakkvat aldri orpen in the version of Jómsvíkinga Saga in Fms, xi (21), but in spite of that nokkvat vergjörn. Her relationship with the lecherous Hákon jarl is mentioned in Hkr, i, 211. And it may well have been this reputed trait of her character which caught the popular imagination: in an Icelandic folktale of recent centuries, she is found magically changing herself into various animals in order to enjoy sexual intercourse with the male of the species (see Þjóðhættir, 165).^[81]

When the author of Flóamanna Saga introduced Gunnhildr into his saga, therefore, he knew that the very mention of her name would conjure up very definite ideas in the minds

of his audience. In the story he tells of Þorgils's dealings with Gunnhildr, there are, however, specific likenesses to two other stories of an Icelander's encounter with her, that of Egill Skalla-Grímsson in Eg and of Hrútr Herjólfsson in Nj. These may be summarized briefly:

(i) Eg, chs. 56-7: Egill hears in Iceland that his Norwegian father-in-law has died and that his wife's half-sister's husband, Berg-Önundr, has appropriated the whole of their common father-in-law's property. He also hears that Berg-Önundr has the friendship of Eiríkr blóðöx and Gunnhildr (Önundr var kominn í vináttu mikla við Eirík konung ok við Gunnhildi bó miklu kærri). Although already outlawed in Norway he immediately sets sail for that country with the intention of claiming his part of the inheritance. On arrival he visits Berg-Önundr and demands his share. The latter claims that Egill's wife is illegitimate and refuses to give up any part of the patrimony whereupon Egill summonses him to the Gulapíng. He also invokes the support of his friend Arinbjörn who goes to the king and puts Egill's case to him. We are told that konungr var heldr styggr í þessu máli, Arinbjörn fann at dróttning myndi bó miklu verr viljuð. The case now comes before the court of the Gulapíng. When Egill seems to be in a strong position, a decision is referred to Eiríkr. He answers neutrally but, at this, Gunnhildr calls upon her brother to break up the court and Egill is driven away. Further similarities with Egils Saga will be dealt with below.

(ii) Nj, chs. 2-6: Unnr has just been betrothed to Hrútr when the latter's uncle, Ózurr arrives in Iceland and tells Hrútr that his brother has just died but before his death named him as his heir. If Hrútr does not go to Norway to claim his inheritance, his enemies will seize it. Hrútr quickly arranges for his betrothal to last three years and sets sail with Ózurr. The reigning king of Norway at this time is Haraldr gráfeldr who lives with his mother Gunnhildr. When the latter hears of Hrútr's arrival and mission, she immediately sends for him promising her help. When her message is received, Ózurr comments: 'Svá lízk mér, frændi, sem nú muni vit hafa gort ráð okkat, því at ek kann skapi Gunnhildar: jafnskjótt sem vit viljum eigi fara til hennar, mun hon reka okkr ór landi, en taka fé okkat allt með ráni; en ef vit förum til hennar, þá mun hon gera okkr slíka sœmð sem hon hefir heitit.' He and Hrútr then go to the king's residence. When they arrive Hrútr gets another message from Gunnhildr telling him to seek admission to the king's court (biðja hirðvistar). Hrútr goes before the king, is well-received and asks to join his court. The king is silent at first but when Gunnhildr recommends Hrútr, he promises to make him a courtier in a fortnight's time. In the meantime, he says, his mother will look after him. Gunnhildr now takes Hrútr away to her stone-built hall and entertains him there. At the end of the evening she tells him that they are going to sleep together, to which he replies: 'Þér skuluð ráða'.

They cohabit for the next two weeks. At the end of this time, Hrútr is made a courtier and is given a prominent position in the hall by Gunnhildr. The next two chapters tell how Hrútr, with Gunnhildr playing a major part, recovers his property from a certain Sóti. In chapter 6, Hrútr prepares to return to Iceland. At their parting, Gunnhildr lays a spell on him to prevent him enjoying the woman to whom he is betrothed and when he takes his leave of the king, the latter praises him for his courtly behaviour (Konungr ... kvað Hrútr ... vel kunna at vera með tignum mǫnnum). He then returns to Iceland and marries Unnr. The marriage does not, however, last long.

The story in Fló has in common with those in Eg and Nj that it deals with an Icelander who encounters Gunnhildr in connection with a claim to property in Norway. In Eg, Gunnhildr takes a more ruthless attitude to Egill than the Norwegian king. In Fló, the latter clandestinely helps Þorgils after he has lost the sympathy of Gunnhildr. Further likenesses between Fló and Eg in this part of the saga will be dealt with later on. The possibility of a connection between Fló and Nj needs attention here however. Although there are certain verbal reminiscences of Nj in Fló, it would be unwise to base any argument on them. But there are other likenesses. For example, in both stories the Norwegian king the Icelander encounters is Haraldr gráfeldr. Further, certain contrasting elements in the two stories are of interest: At the first meeting, Haraldr

immediately makes Þorgils one of his champions and Gunnhildr is quick to offer him hirðvíst; Hrútr, on the other hand, has to apply for a position in the court and is not granted it immediately. Þorgils's blunt rejection of Gunnhildr's overtures contrasts favourably with Hrútr's weak acquiescence and stress that, in spite of his interests being at stake, he is not the sort of man to submit to the queen's sexual demands. Nj was probably written in the south of Iceland and sometime before Fló (cf. page *234 above). It does not seem at all unlikely that there is some connection and that the Fló-author is trying to throw a favourable light on his hero by contrasting his reception and behaviour at the Norwegian court with that of a character in an older saga which would have been known to his audience (cf. Beschouwing, 43).

Þorgils, Gyða and Auðun

In ch. 13, Þorgils goes on a trading journey (kaupferð) and stays with a widow called Gyða and her son, Auðun. Later in the chapter, after dealing with Björn's dead father, Þorgils helps Auðun to bury his revenant mother.

In Eg, ch. 64, Egill befriends a widow called Gyða and her son Friðgeirr. He fights a duel against Ljótr inn bleiki on their behalf. In Grett, ch. 18, Grettir and a man called Auðun break into a grave-mound and Grettir wrestles with the haugbúi although he gets little support from Auðun in his fight.

Names

It will be appropriate at this point to note some of the ways the author of the saga selects names for the fictitious characters he introduces into Fló, as his methods here to some extent relate to the question of borrowings and motifs in the saga (cf. page *216 above).

In the preceding sub-section, it has been shown how certain characters in Fló play similar parts to characters of the same name in other sagas. We find this sort of 'borrowing' elsewhere in Fló: thus in chapter 15, a lendr maðr with whom the hero makes friends in Norway has a name, Þorsteinn, identical with a character who has a similar role in Eg (see page *283 below).

There is also in Fló the use of borrowed names for certain types of people. Thus Hugi may be regarded as a name for jarls (see Note to 25/12), Snækollr for berserks (see Note to 27/13), Kolr for scoundrels (see Note to 58/4) and Gyða (despite the more immediate model of Eg) possibly as a 'widow-name' (see Note to 17/23), Járnhaus (21/22) is a common [83] nick name for berserks. See further Notes to 46/16 and 48/7.

A third way the Fló-author seems to have selected names for the characters of his saga is as follows: he has taken the names of a group of historical people in the same family or families and applied them to a group of invented persons in his own saga. Thus in lines 29/18-24, he has probably taken names from the genealogies of the Oddaverjar and Svínfellingar, which must have been known to him (see Note

to 29/19-23). A similar use of the names of historical persons for fictional characters is probably to be found in Hrafn, ch. 17, where the sons of Hvamm-Sturla, Þórðr, Sigvatr and Snorri coincide with three of the four sons of Hallsteinn and Hrólfr, who are unknown from other sources (cf. Sigurður Nordal, Hrafnkatla, 1940, 21 footnote 1).

Aptrgöngur

In chapter 13, there is an account of Þorgils's fight with Björn's dead father and for the first time the supernatural is introduced into the saga. In the same chapter Þorgils and Auðun struggle with the dead Gyða and later in the saga the dead Þorgerðr and her companions terrorize the survivors of the epidemic in Greenland. Tales such as these have their origins in the belief that human beings had a continued material existence in the grave and that the bodies of the dead could rise and walk again. Such convictions were undoubtedly very real at the time the saga was written and have lived on in Iceland into recent centuries. [84] But despite the very genuine fear for revenants in medieval Scandinavia, we find that tales about them fall into very definite patterns containing stock elements. The story of Þorgils's fight with Björn's father, for instance, contains elements from a well-known folk tale, 'The Bear's Son's Tale', which is also the basis for the story of Beowulf's battle against Grendel and his mother. [85] This type of ghost story was clearly very common in Icelandic oral

tradition and although the Flá-author may have had certain literary models for the draugasögur in his saga, he undoubtedly knew such stories in oral form and took from them elements ~~motifs~~ which he has included in his saga.

a) Þorgils' s fight with Björn's father

The story of Þorgil's fight with Björn's father (18/2 - 21) contains the following conventional elements: [86]

A

General situation (18/2-6). As in the 'Bear's Son's Tale', the hero is very frequently a guest at the haunted house (cf. the Glámr episode in Grett; Beowulf). There is, as here, often some very definite indication that the hauntings are taking place, e.g. sometimes we are told that the household become depressed and fearful at the approach of winter.

B

Þat var opt um vetrinn at Þorgils heyrði lamit úti um þekjuna (18/7-8). Revenants had the habit of 'riding' houses, that is, sitting astride the roof and spurring with their heels: urðu menn ok þess varir, at opt var riðit skálanum (Eyrb, ch. 34); heyrði Grettir út dynur miklar; var þá farit upp á húsin ok riðit skálanum ok barit hælunum, svá at brakaði í hverju tré (Grett, 119).

C

tók óxi í hönd sér ok gekk út takaz þeir fangbrögðum, því at Þorgils hafði sleppt óxinni (18/9, 12-3).

In the 'Bear's Son's Tale', the hero often manifests his

ursine qualities by wrestling with his adversaries rather than using weapons against them. The Beowulf-poet has adopted ^{this element} ~~the motif~~ in his description of his hero's fight against Grendel. Further it is interesting that, as in Fló, the motif is rationalized: Beowulf has heard that Grendel 'does not care to use weapons' and wishes to meet him on equal terms (see Beowulf, lines 433 ff. and note to 435). The same motif, again rationalized, is found in Háv, ch. 2: Óláfr hljóp upp ok þreif til oxarinnar ok hafði ætlat at slá hann, en bráðara bar at, því at Þormóðr hljóp undir hendr honum. Varð Óláfr þá við at taka. Again in his fight against Glámr, Grettir does not use weapons although we are not told why.

D

Var þeira atgangr bæði harðr ok grimmligr svá at upp gekk jörðin undir fótum þeim (18/13-5). The effect of the wrestling pair on their surroundings is often mentioned: flest gekk ok upp, þat sem fyrir varð (Háv, 299); gekk nú upp allt þat, er fyrir varð (Grett, 58); gengu þá frá stökkarnir, ok allt brotnaði, þat sem fyrir varð (Grett, 120) also in Finnbogi's fight with a bear, out-of-doors: Þeir gangast at lengi, ok gengr upp fyrir þeim flest þat, er fyrir þeira fótangangi varð (Finnb, 274 f.) See also Beowulf lines 770 ff.

E

með því at Þorgilsi var lengra líf ætlat (18/15-6). A set phrase for giving a conventional reason for a hero sur-

viving in a life or death situation, cf. Laxd, 34: það því at ... þeim varð lengra lífs auðit.

F

en at lyktum varð svá ... at draugrinn fell á bak aptr, en Þorgils ofan á hann (18/15-7). Fights with revenants often end in this way: Þormóðr rekr hælana báða í tréit ok fellr á bak aptr. Óláfr lætr þá kné fylgja kviði ... (Háv, 299); en svá lauk, at haugbúinn fell á bak aptr (Grett, 58).

G

ok náir síðan óxi sinni. Höggr Þorgils þá af honum hófuð (18/17-8). A common motif (see Motif-Index, E446.3): e.g. Hálfðanar saga, ch.17; F1b, ii, 77; Hrómundar Saga Gripssonar in Fas (ii, 278). It must have its origins in reality (see Note to 18/18).

H

mælir síðan yfir...híbýlabót (18/18-21). Stories like the one in question often conclude with certain stereotype phrases and remarks. The words (engum manni) at meini verða are sometimes introduced, although not always, as here, as part of a magic formula (see Note to 18/18-9): Hann kvezk ætla, at þeim myndi ekki mein at honum verða (Háv, 299); Heðan frá verðr engum manni mein at aptrgöngu Hrapps (Laxd, 69; cf. Fló, 72/21-2. As in the second of these examples, and as in Fló, 18/20 (varð ok aldrigi vart við hann síðan), it is often stressed that there is no further trouble from the revenants which have been laid (e.g. Eyrð, ch. 55: tókusk af allar aptrgöngur at Fróðá). Quite naturally the

owner of the farm expresses his thanks to the hero and the general improvement made by the laying of the ghost is also stressed (18/20-1; cf. Grett, 218: pótti Grettir þar gort hafa mikla landhreinsun). One final point may be mentioned: It will be noticed how the episode in Fló concludes with a certain amount of alliteration, mainly on h, m, and v (also possibly l). The same can be said of the ghost story in Háv, ch.2: Þakkaði hvert mannsbarn honum, þat er mæla kunni. Hann kvezk ætla, at þeim myndi ekki mein at honum verða. Óláfr dvalðisk þar nokkurar nætr, fór síðan heim á Blámýri. Varð hann víðfrægr af þessu verki um ísafjörð ok alla landsfjórðunga, ok af öllu þessu óx mjök óþokki millum þeira Þorbjarnar. It has already been stressed that stories of revenants were common currency in oral tradition, and it is possible that the alliterative phrases and sentences found here are a feature taken over from these tales in their oral form.

b) The Gyða episode

Stories of the recently dead who, like Gyða, come to life before burial are also common in the sagas and in Icelandic folklore (see Erzählungsgut, 26-9; P. Sluijter, IJslands Volksgeloof, 1936, 69-72). The tales of Þórgunna (Eyrb, 137 ff.) and of Grímhildr (Gr, ch. 6) are of especial interest in this connection. Persons with a knowledge of magic or of evil disposition (cf. Fló, 17/25-6: Gyða var margkunnandi á fyrnsk[u] ok fróðleik) are far more likely

to come to life after death than others (so Þórgunna, Þórólfur bægifótr in Eyrb and Glámr in Grett). Their deaths like Gyða's, often cause fear in the household where they die (Eyrb, 92: gllum þótti óþokki á andláti hans). Members of the household often flee the farm: stukku ok allir menn á brottu, Fló, 18/26-7; en sumir stukku undan, Eyrb, 93 f.; stukku þá margir menn í brott, Grett, 113). As Auðun suggests in Fló (19/6-7), one way of dealing with such bodies is to give them a secure burial (cf. Eyrb, 92: dysjuðu þeir Þórólf þar rammliga). Þórgunna (Eyrb, 144), like Gyða, gets out of her coffin while it is being carried to the grave. The final solution is often to burn these living corpses (see Motif-Index, E446.2; cf. Note to 19/15-6). Lastly certain verbal reminiscences in Fló of the Grímhildr episode may be noted:

Gr, 259/8: ok brakaði þá í hverju tré í stofunni

Fló, 19/11: tekr at braka mjök í kistunni

Gr, 259/10-1: Hann var bæði mikill maðr ok sterkr,
ok þurfti hann þess alls, áðr hann kom
henni burt af bænum

Fló, 19/12-4: Þá fara þeir til báðir ok tóku hana ok
þurpti alls við ok váru þeir báðir sterkir
menn

Although it can hardly be maintained that the likenesses here are very great, they do come within the framework of

stories which are essentially of the same type. Gr is, of course, older than Fló and was probably known to its author (see pages *309 ff. below). He might, therefore, in addition to having a similar story, have taken over certain words and phrases from it.

Porgils leaves with Auðun without telling Björn

The frame for the story of Porgils's and Auðun's encounter with Gyða, 18/22 - 19/3 and 19/21 - 20/4, is also of interest. One night Auðun comes to the door and asks for Porgils's help in burying his mother. Porgils agrees to go with him and it is stressed that he leaves without telling his host (at óvitandi Birni). On missing Porgils, Björn starts a search for him but when this proves fruitless he decides to prepare a funeral feast for him - '... Skulum vér þat þó gera í heiðr við hann at drekka erfi hans ok uggir mik at eigi megi fagnaðaról heita ...' During the feast, however, Porgils returns home and it is made an occasion for rejoicing rather than sorrow.

Anna Kersbergen (Motieven, 74-5) sees in this story a well defined motive to which she gives the name 'Secret departure before a venture' ('Het heimelijk weggaan voor een onderneming'). Before setting off on dangerous enterprises, protagonists either conceal their intentions or leave without making their departure known at all. In Dropl (ch. 3), when Helgi and Grímr go off to kill Þorgrímr, they tell their hostess that they are going to hunt ptarmigan; in Nj (ch. 92), Skarpheðinn and his brothers tell their father

they are going to search for sheep when in fact they intend to attack Práinn and his band. In Finnb (ch. 11), Finnbogi slips away secretly in the night to kill a bear and a similar element is found in Grett, ch.21. A particularly interesting story in this connection is in Ket, ch. 3. One autumn Ketill prepares his boat, and, when his father asks what he is doing, he replies that he is going fishing. He then sails north to Finⁿmörk where he kills Gusi, king of the Lapps. His homecoming is described as follows: Eigi er fyrr sagt af ferðum Ketils en hann kom heim til Hrafnistu. Hann hittir bónda einn ok spurði, hvat skip þau skyldu, er fóru til eyjarinnar. Bóndi kvað þat vera boðsmenn, ok ætti at drekka erfi eptir Ketil, ef þá spyrðist ekki til hans. Ketill fór á vándu skipi til eyjarinnar ok gekk inn í skálann, ok urðu menn honum fegnir. Var nú veizlunni snúit í fagnaðaröl í mót Katli. Here we have a parallel example of a funeral feast being turned into a feast of welcome when a man thought dead returns safely after a deed of prowess. The similarities are close enough to make a direct connection between Fló and Ket possible. If one saga has borrowed from the other, it seems more likely that Ket is the lender rather than the borrower (cf. page *326 below).

The mission to the Hebrides to collect taxes.

After returning from his kaupferð, Þorgils joins the court of the new ruler of Norway, Hákon Hlaðajarl. After

he has been with the jarl for some time, he brings up the matter of his property with the new ruler. Hákon admits he is impressed by Þorgils but is not sure how he will be as a man of action. He says he will not give Þorgils the property until he has collected his taxes from the Hebrides which have not been paid for some time. Þorgils undertakes the mission. After an interlude where he is wrecked in Caithness and overcomes the berserk Járnhaustr, Þorgils (with the help of Þorsteinn) collects the taxes and brings them to Hákon jarl. He then gives Þorgils back his property.

There are parallel stories about the collection of delinquent taxes in Old Icelandic literature, three of them in the fornaldarsögur. In Friðþjófi, ch.5, Helgi makes it a condition of the reconciliation between himself and Friðþjófi that the latter shall collect his taxes from the Orkneys which have not been paid since King Beli died. After a storm-tossed journey (cf. Note to 21/17 ff.) Friðþjófi gets the money from the Orkneyingajarl and delivers it to Helgi. In Orv (87 ff.), Oddr wins Silkisif by collecting some long unpaid taxes from Álfr, king of Bjálkaland. In Yngvars Saga víðfjörla (ed. E. Olson, 1912, 10), the young Yngvarr and Ónundr collect taxes from the Semgalir who have not paid them for some time. In this type of story, two companions are often involved. Fourthly, an example from the Íslendingasögur: Hákon the Good gives Þorsteinn Þóruson the choice either of claiming some taxes due to him

from Norway, or of being outlawed. (Eg, 219). Egill undertakes to collect the taxes for his friend and after a number of adventures does indeed bring the money back to Norway. Eg's story is, however, rather different from that in the fornaldarsögur and Fló and does not, of course, involve a sea-journey.

Duels

It does not seem unlikely that during the Viking period, the duel was frequently resorted to as a means of settling disputes either out of court or when a court gave a disputed judgment or failed to give judgment at all. Further, the accounts of ritual and custom surrounding duels in the sagas, including the more circumstantial ones in Eg, ch. 65, Gunnl, ch. 11 and Korm, ch. 10 may well contain historical elements. [87] Whatever the historical realities, however, legal duel seems to have been abolished in Iceland in the first decade of the eleventh century (cf. Gunnl, ch.11) and by the middle of the thirteenth century, memories of single combat have largely developed into stock literary motifs often conforming to very stylized patterns. In many cases the motif is fused with motifs from stories where a maiden is saved from an undesirable suitor by weapons and is married to her rescuer, and four out of the five duels in Fló are of this type. [88] The stereotyped elements which go to make up these five episodes will be dealt with in isolation although it should be

noted that similar combinations of motifs to those found in Fló are also found in other sagas and the Fló-author may well have known, for example, the account of the duel in VG1, ch.4.

The duels in Fló are as follows:

- (a) Þorgils's duel against Surtr (21/22-23/17)
- (b) " " " Gyrðr (25/21-26/1)
- (c) " " " Randviðr (26/21-27/12)
- (d) " " " Randviðr (49/17-50/6)
- (e) " " " Bjálfi (55/17-56/9) [89]

These five episodes contain the following conventional motifs:

A

As in (a), (c), (d) and (e), the hero's opponent in duel is very frequently characterized as a ruffian of some sort (e.g. berserkr (see Note to 22/25), víkingr (see Note to 21/22), illgerðarmaðr, óeiðarmaðr).

B

In the vast majority of cases, duels for women are fought abroad, not in Iceland. Þorgils's duel with Bjálfi (e) is an exception to this rule as is Þorsteinn's fight with Þorsteinn in Reykð, ch.19; ~~cf. ØXXXXX, YXXX~~ in (c) as in Dropl, ch. 15 and VG1, ch. 6, the duel takes place in Upplónd; cf. Origin, 164.

C

In (a) it is said of Surtr : Þat var einn háttir hans,

ef konur váru fríðar ok vel at sér, at hann tók þær at sér um hriðar sakir en menn þorðu eigi í móti honum at standa. We may compare Grett, ch. 19: Þeir tóku á brott konur manna ok dætr ok hofðu við hond sér viku eða hálfan mánuð ok færðu síðan aptr þeim, sem áttu.

D

In a large number of cases the reason for the duel is, as in (a), (c), (d) and (e) that the challenger demands a female relation of the challenged in marriage (see Motif-Index, F610.3.4.2.1.^[90]). This relation can be the daughter, sister, or wife of the challenged man. The challenged man refuses because he does not wish to marry the woman to a man of such ill reputation (Þrándr vildi heldr berjaz en gipta dóttur sína svá illum manni; cf. Reykð, ch. 19: Hallr sagði, at hann myndi eigi gipta dóttur sína svá vándum manni sem hann var). The hero, who is usually a guest at his home, offers to take on the duel for him.

E

In (a), Óláfr jarl says he will marry his sister to the man who will fight against Surtr. This is a common motif. And although this is a good offer, there are no volunteers for evil is to be expected from the berserk (Engir urðu til at svara jarli, þótt ráðit þætti fýsiligt, því at mǫnnum þótti ills ván af Surti járnhaus, 22/16-8). Finally Þorgils undertakes the duel, defeats Surtr, and marries the jarl's sister. Two parallels may be cited. In Svarf,

chs. 7-10, a Swedish jarl offers his daughter Ingibjörg to the man who will undertake to duel against the víkingr or hálfberserkr Moldi. Þorsteinn volunteers, defeats the ruffian and is married to Ingibjörg. In an episode in VG1, ch.4, a certain Þorsteinn comes to two brothers and asks them to help him against a berserk called Ásgautr who has challenged him for his sister. Although Þorsteinn does not himself offer his sister as a prize for defeating Ásgautr, this seems to be taken for granted, as the brothers later ask their men who will win the woman by defeating the berserk. The saga continues: En bótt konan þætti fýsilig, þá varð bó engi búinn at vinna þetta til. (cf. Fló, 22/16-8). Finally Eyjólfur offers to ^(fight) but although victorious, he does not marry the girl. Cf. Dropl, ch.15.

F

In (a), Surtr tells Óláfr that he will be a níðingr if he does not attend at the arranged duel. Such admonitions are a conventional corollary to challenges to hólmganga in the sagas, e.g. Eg, ch. 56: 'Þá vil ek bjóða þér hólmgöngu ok þat, at vit berimsk hér á þinginu... en þú ver hvers manns níðingr, ef þú þorir eigi'; Korm, ch. 21: 'Nú býð ek Þorvarði af nýju hólmgöngu...verði hann hvers manns níðingr ef hann kemr eigi'; cf. Herv, ch. 2 and Vatns, ch.33. See, on possible background in reality, Note to 22/9-10.

G

The ploy in (a) by which Þorgils conceals from Surtr the fact that he has the magic sword Blaðinn is paralleled in a number of similar episodes in the Íslendinga- and the fornaldarsögur (for references see Motif-Index, K97.2). One common form of the motif is found in stories where the protagonist uses two swords (see e.g. Sturlaug's Saga starfsama in Fas, ii, 324). First, an ordinary sword is shown to the berserk or berserk-like opponent. This the latter proceeds to blunt with his 'evil eye' (cf. Note to 27/11-2); the protagonist then produces from concealment a magic sword, often borrowed especially for the duel, with this wins the victory. A particularly interesting parallel to the Fló story is found in Piðreks Saga (ed. Guðni Jónsson, 1951, i, 300): Piðrekr manages to borrow the magic sword Mímungr from Viðga to fight against Sigurðr. The latter declares that he will duel against Piðrekr only if he swears that he has not brought Mímungr to fight with. The narrative continues: En Piðrekr konungr brá á bak sér aftr sverðinu ok stingr nú í jörðina niðr oddinum, en hjaltinu styðr hann við bak sér, ok nú tekr hann ok vinnr henna eið ok biðr svá guð hjálpa sér, at eigi veit hann Mímungs odd fyrir ofan jörð ok eigi veit hann hans meðalkafla í nokkurs manns hendi. Ok nú bykkir Sigurði vel, ok bregðr hann sverði sínu... The two then fight and when Sigurðr realizes the trick that has been played on him he gives himself up.

One other parallel from farther afield will be mentioned. The Norwegian ballad Ormålen Unge (see Norske folkeviser, ed. A. Liestøl, 1964, 92-7) tells how the giant Fjalme comes to a king's palace and demands the hand of his daughter. Ormålen, however, offers to meet the giant in combat the following day and the giant agrees. Before he leaves the palace, however, Fjalme asks Ormålen:

'Høyre du, ungan Ormålen,
hot eg vil spørje deg:
veit du noko om Byrtingjen,
du dyl han inkje fyr meg!'

Since the sword Byrtingjen is buried in his father's gravemound, Ormålen can truthfully answer:

'Eg skò sverje eiden ein,
og eg skò sverje tvo:
inkje er skarpan Byrtingjen
meire på denne jord.'

Later he goes and borrows Byrtingjen from his dead father and with it overcomes the giant.

In his book Norske trollvisor og norrøne sogor (1915, 120-36), Knut Liestøl produces arguments to show that this ballad goes back to a lost Icelandic fornaldarsaga and that this saga must have contained the element of the hero's oath to the giant concerning the sword. Liestøl's discussion is on the whole convincing, but whether he is right or not we have here another example from the

Scandinavian area of essentially the same type of story as
 [91]
 that found in Fló.

It should in this connection be noted that as in (a), the concealed sword is often a borrowed one and the Fló-author goes to some pains to include this element. This accounts for the somewhat peculiar way that Auðun stresses that Blaðinn is only a temporary gift at 19/19-20 and his reclaiming of it in a dream at 24/3-8. A parallel situation where the person from whom the sword is borrowed appears to a victorious duellist in a dream is found in Reykð, ch. 19. Here Hallr takes the sword Skefilsnautr from Skefill's grave mound and gives it to Þorkell who defeats Þorsteinn with it. Afterwards Þorkell insists that the sword is returned to its owner. The following night, however, Skefill appears to Þorkell in a dream, praises him and gives him the sword. When Þorkell wakes, he finds the sword and bears it his whole life (see Origin, 164 f.).

H

In (a) we are told: þat vǫru þá lög at menn vǫgu til arfs þess er fell á hólmi. Fló may here be influenced by Eg, ch. 64: Þat vǫru hólmgöngulög í þann tíma, at sá er skorar á mann annan til einhvers hlutar... ef hann felli á hólminum, þá hafði hann fyrirvegit allri sinni eigu, ok skyldi sá taka arf hans, er hann felldi á hólmi.

I

In (a) Þorgils strikes off the pointed end of Surtr's shield and in the same stroke takes off his leg (höggr

Þorgils sporðinn af skildi Surts ok undan honum fótinn).

He then kills him. In (b) Þorgils again takes his opponent's leg off (nothing is said about the shield) but

it is stressed that Gyrðr lives on and is called 'Gyrðr

the lame' (Þorgils höggir til Gyrðs ok undan honum fótinn

fyrir neðan ókla... Lifði Gyrðr síðan ok var kallaðr Gyrðr

inn halti). The three motifs here (hewing off shield

point; cutting off leg (foot) in same stroke; opponent

living on as lame man) are found in conjunction in at

least two cases: VG1, ch.4: Eyjólfur ... hjó... at sverðit

kom á skjaldarsporðinn, ok gekk af sporðrinn ok [fótrinn]

af berserknum... Ásgautr lifði við orkuml; Gísl, ch.2: Gísl

hjó... af sporðinn skildinum ok af honum fótinn... Skeggi...

gekk ávallt við tréfót síðan. They are further found

separately or in twos in a number of other places, not

always in duels as in e.g. Dropl, ch. 15, Eg, ch. 64, Ket,

ch. 4, but also in ordinary fights (see e.g. Nj, ch. 130).

In (e) the laming motif is surprisingly turned onto Þorgils

himself. Cf. Motif-Index, S162; Origin, 164.

J

In (b) Þorgils says that it would be better for him and Gyrðr to fight together in single combat rather than in-

volve their followers in a battle. This is a motif to

which parallels are found elsewhere. We may compare:

'Engi frami er í því, at vit drepum verkmenn hvárr fyrir

gðrum, ok er næst, at vit sjálfir leikumsk við...' (Grett,

ch. 43); 'Þat er skaði, ef menn okkrir drepaz niðr,'
sagði Egill, 'ok berjumz tveir heldr.' Ásmundar kvez þess
allbúinn (Drei Lyg, 13 (see also note)); enda þicki
mier rad sagdi hann at vit beriumzt.ii. ok gialldi ecki
adrir saka minna edur ofurkaps ockars. Sigurdur kuez
þess ok bwin (Sigurðar Saga fóts ok Ásmundar Húnakongs,
 ed. J. Jackson, Publications of the Modern Language Society
of America, 1931, 1003); 'Þat þykki mér ráð, Beli konungr,
at vit spillum eigi mönnum okkrum lengr ok berjumst tveir
á hólmi, ok hafi sá sigr, er annan vinnr.' Beli játar
þessu (Þorst Vík, ch. 21). Certain verbal similarities
 to 25/17-9 of Fló will be noticed ^(here) and, in all but the
 first of these examples, the offer of single combat is
 accepted as in Fló.

K

In (c) Randviðr tells Þorgils to strike first because
 he is the challenged party. This is a motif found in a
 number of descriptions of duels in the sagas: Búi átti
fyrir at höggva, því at honum var á hólmi skorat (Kjaln,
 ch. 9); Eyjólfr átti fyrir at höggva (VGl, ch. 4); Hrafn
átti fyrir at höggva, er á hann var skorat (Gunnl, ch. 11);
Sá skal höggva, er á er skorat (Korm, ch. 10). Cf. Svarf,
 ch. 9: segir Moldi: 'ok högnú þegar, því at mér er ænt
at drepa þik...'

L

As in (d), the victor in a duel is sometimes offered
 money but declines and says he had not looked for reward;

cf. VGl, c. 4: Nú var honum boðit fé mikit at biggja,
en hann lézk þetta til fjár hafa gert né til konu, heldr af
vinfengi við þá bræðr. [92]

Viking stories

On pages *176-7, *180, it has been shown how the author of Fló embroiders the bare notice he found in LdnX of a joint expedition undertaken by Ingólfr, Leifr and the Atlasynir with motifs from the 'Viking tales' of the fornaldarsögur. After having prevailed against Surtr in chapter 16, the hero of the saga himself is engaged in Viking exploits with a certain Gyrðr around, it seems, the British Isles. And while neither here nor elsewhere in Fló is the Viking theme developed to the full (there is, for instance, no example of 'het klassieke wiking-gevecht' in Fló; cf. Beschouwing, 163), the relevant chapters do contain various motifs found in other Viking stories and these may be given attention here.

Porgils and Þorstéinn first encounter Gyrðr undir ey einni. This is a stock place for one Viking band to meet another (see Untersuchungen, 78 f.), although in the majority of cases where the motif appears hostilities follow.

The story in Fló is, however, similar to one in Svarf, ch.27: here Karl Karlsson rows in a skúta (cf. Fló, 24/10) to where he finds Björgólfr at einni eyju. Karl asks to join him and the two go raiding together. We may well have a case of direct borrowing here, but it is impossible

to say which saga ^(may have) ~~was~~ influenced the other.

At 24/11-3, we are told that Gyrðr enters a partnership (félag) with Þorgils and Þorsteinn and the terms of their agreement are stated. In the Viking Age, and to a certain extent later, it was a common practice for two or more parties to bind themselves in partnership for joint naval enterprises whether of piratical, commercial or colonial intent. Such félög were, no doubt, legally constituted and their members subject to a set of mutually agreed regulations (see Note to 2/19-20). In the Viking tales of the fornaldarsögur, the 'Fahrtgenossenschaft' becomes a stock motif, almost essential to stories of the type. In certain cases, it fuses with the fóstbræðralag-motif (see Untersuchungen, 73 ff.; Beschouwing, 150-1). Sometimes two bands of Vikings actually stop fighting each other. gera félag between themselves and after that fight side by side. More often, however, félög were formed without previous hostilities. And while the félag between Gyrðr, Þorgils and Þorsteinn begins peacefully, it ends in strife (see 25/18-26/1). Other stories of félög which end in this way might have been found in fornaldarsögur which are now lost; the present editor has, however, been unable to find parallel examples in representatives of the genre still preserved or in other Íslendingasögur.

Of Þorgils and his men, we are told that they eyddu mjók illbýði ok hernaðarmónum en létu bændr ok kaupmenn

fara í friði. Similar statements are made of other saga-heroes who go on Viking expeditions: of Friðþjófr (Friðþj, ch. 11), it is said that he drap illmenni ok grimðarfulla víkinga, en bændr ok kaupmenn lét hann í friði vera; in ÞorstVík (ch.22), Angentýr and Beli drápu víkinga ok ráns-
menn, hvar sem þeir gátu þá hent, en létu bændr ok kaupmenn fara í friði; Sigmundur in Fær (ch. 18) goes raiding in the Baltic but hann lætr þó fara kaupmenn í friði; two fóstbræðr in Sturlaug's Saga starfsama (Fas, iii, 314) létu fara í friði kaupmenn, en brutu undir sik spellvirkja; in Órvar-Odds Saga (Fas, i, 310), Hjálmarr says: 'Ek vil aldri kaupmenn ræna né búkarla meir en svá sem ek þarf at hafa strandhögg á skipi mínu í nauðsyn'; in Vatns (20), a viking band fóru ... í hernað ok fengu miklar tekjur fjár af reyfurum ok ránsmönnum, þeim sem lögðusk á fé bænda eða kaupmanna; in Jökuls Þátrr Búasonar (ÍF, xiv, 59) there are two men who drápu berserki og illbýðisfólk, en kaupmönnum gáfu þeir grið. In contrast to all these noble men, Jólgeirr in Göngu-Hrólf's Saga (Fas, ii, 374) fór illa með herskap sínum ok rænti mest búþegna ok kaupmenn.

The Ireland episode

In chapter 16, Þorgils, Þorsteinn, Gyrðr and their men go to Ireland. There they find a forest, go into it and come to a place where there is a leafless tree. Suspecting something to be underneath the tree, they pull it up and discover an underground house where there are

armed men. Þorgils says that the first of his band to go into the jarðhús shall have the three treasures that are there and all agree to this except Gyrðr. After this Þorgils rushes into the house, encounters no resistance and finds there blue cloth, two gold rings and a sword. He also discovers two women, one who is young and beautiful, another who is old and even so beautiful. With the help of Þorsteinn, he drives away the other inmates of the jarðhús and takes the women to the ships. They are pursued by a band of armed men, but manage to put away from land. One of the pursuers now delivers a long speech in a language they do not understand. The older woman, who, it transpires, is of Norwegian extraction, says that it is her son, Hugi jarl, who has spoken and that he will give up the treasures Þorgils has acquired if he releases her and the younger woman; he will also have greater advantage from the sword which is otherwise cursed (cf. Note to 25/11). Þorgils takes the women ashore and is rewarded with presents of rings. Later in the saga, the sword, which is given the name Jarðhússnautr, turns out to have magical properties. Þorgils is again rewarded for giving up the women on his second visit to Ireland (see 49/3-11).

This episode, although it fills only thirty lines or so in the text contains a number of borrowed elements all of which may be conveniently discussed under one heading. First, the central element, a jarðhús-adventure in Ireland. The author of Fló would have found a very similar story

(at which)

in LdnX, ch. 6, only a few lines below the point) he stopped copying it for chapters 2 and 3 of his saga, i.e. at LdnX, 132/7-11. After being expelled from Norway, we are told of Leifr that hann herjaði á Írland ok fann þar jarðhús mikit. Þar gekk hann í ok var myrkt þar til er lýsti af sverði því er maðr helt á. Leifr drap þann mann ok tók sverðit ok mikit fé af honum. Síðan var hann [94] kallaðr Hjör-Leifr. And if we turn to Órvar-Odds Saga, we also find a similar tale although rather longer. This may be summarised as follows (Qrv, 37 ff.; cf. Órvar-Odds Saga, ed. R. Boer, 1888, 70 ff.): Órvar-Oddr, harrying in Ireland, has his foster-brother killed by the Irish and now wishes to do them all the harm he can. He finds himself on a path through a forest and walks along it, pulling up by the roots any bushes which get in his way. He then comes across a bush which seems much looser than others, and when he looks more closely he finds that there is a door underneath it. This he pulls open and, finding it leads down into the ground, goes in and discovers there seven women. One is more beautiful than the others (var ein miklu fríðari en aðrar). He takes her by the hand and tries to pull her out of the jarðhús. She tells him that if he will leave her alone, she will make him a wonderful shirt that will be proof against fire, fatigue, hunger and the sword. It will be ready the following summer. Oddr accepts this offer and after exhorting her to keep her

promise, goes away. He returns the following summer and goes to the place where he met the girl the previous year. (It is now disclosed that she is Ólvör konungsdóttir.) She arrives and gives him the shirt. They marry. After three summers, Oddr declares his intention to leave Ireland but leaves behind him his new wife and his daughter by her.

Now we can be certain that the Fló-author knew the part of LdnX which told of Leifr's adventure (see pages *197 ff.). The episode in Ldn and Fló have the following features in common: Þorgils/Leifr goes to Ireland and there finds a jarðhús. In it he encounters men/a man with weapons/a weapon whom he puts to flight/kills. From the jarðhús he takes the sword and also other valuables. In Fló, the sword becomes Þorgils's life-long possession, in Landnámabók it gives Leifr his nickname. And apart from dealing with a jarðhús in Ireland, the story in Orv has the following in common with the story in Fló: (i) the jarðhús is in a forest; similar hints are given of its existence; (ii) hero finds women in jarðhús, one of whom particularly attracts him; (iii) hero attempts to abduct women/woman but is persuaded not to when a magic sword/magic shirt is promised; (iv) hero returns to Ireland a second time where the fact that he did not abduct the women/woman is remembered and rewarded (cf. Fló, 49).

Now there is both external and internal evidence to suggest that Fló was the borrower here rather than Orv.

It has been argued by Einar Sveinsson (Vatna, li ff.) that Qrv was written before 1275. It would thus be older than Fló. In Qrv, the episode seems far better integrated into its context than it does in Fló. The episode in our saga clearly takes elements from the story of Leifr; and its general untidiness suggests that its author was, in fact, interweaving two older models.

We may now turn to ch. 15 of Harð. This is a haugbrot story, but it has certain elements in common with the one in Fló. After five days of trying, Hórðr and his comrades eventually succeed in getting a grave-mound open. Hórðr asks who will go in first. His companions fall silent, whereupon he says: 'Nú mun ek...ganga í hauginn, ef ek skal eiga bá brjá gripi er ek kys ór hauginum.' Hróarr agrees for his part and also the rest of them. Hórðr then goes into the mound - he later gets help from a comrade (cf. Fló, 25/1) - and by overcoming the haugbúi wins himself a ring, a sword and a helmet. Later his comrades agree that he shall own all of these. And just as the sword in Fló carries a potential curse, so in Harð, the ring and the sword prove to bring bad luck. There could well be a direct connection here between Harð and Fló. Unfortunately it is difficult to know the age of the redaction represented by the manuscript of Harð in question (i.e. AM 556, 4to). The latest investigator, Sture Hast (Harð, 95 ff.) seems to think it may be from the end of the 14th century. On the other hand, he is very tentative on this point and Flóanna Saga could just as easily be the borrower. It may be added

that a similar element to the one here is also found in Þorskirðinga Saga (IS,iv,345 f.): before going into Valshellir, Þorir makes the proviso to his companions that he shall have the valuable objects he wins there. But the story has not the same specific similarity to the one in Fló as that in Harð. Cf. also Ol helga,717 f.; Fas,ii,276.

Of interest here is also a story in the Saga of Haraldr harðráði in Mks (67 ff.) and certain other manuscripts (see Fms,vi,148 ff.). Haraldr is harrying in Sikiley with a Byzantine fleet under the leadership of a certain Gyrgir; ok var svá mælt,at þeir skyldi gjalda Garðskonunginum hundrað marka af hverju skipi, en þeir skyldu eignaz sjálfir, ef þeir fengi meir. They besiege a town but cannot take it. Haraldr says he has a stratagem and asks what his reward will be if he is successful. Gyrgir spurði, hvers hann beiddi. "Ek vil taka," sagði [Haraldr], "iii,kostgripi af óskiptu því herfangi,sem vér fám hér." Gyrgir segir at því vilja þeir játta; ok var þat vitnum bundit. Haraldr has a tunnel (jarðhús) dug from a nearby ravine to underneath the town; then, with a chosen band, he climbs through, terrifies the townspeople (hlupu nú undan um alla borgina; cf.Fló, 25/1) and opens the gates to his army. After the town is won, Haraldr claims his reward, but Gyrgir says he must wait until they return to Miklagarðr because of the agreement with the Emperor. Haraldr tries again before they return to Miklagarðr, but is again refused and we are never told that

he gets his three valuable objects. Later, in *Niklagarör*, partly because of false rumours spread by Gyrgir and partly because of a relationship with the Empress's niece *María* (described as ung ok fríð, (cf. *Fló*, 24/25)), *Haraldr* is thrown into prison. He escapes, however, abducts *María* and puts out into the Black Sea. Before sailing off, however, he gallantly puts the girl ashore (*Fms*, vi, 169 ff.). This story is certainly old enough to have been known to the author of *Fló* (cf. page *234 above).

Attention may now be given to certain details of the story. The three valuable objects (iii. kostgripir) are not peculiar to the works already mentioned. We have here a common motif, found not only in the sagas, but also in the folk-tale. Lagerholm in *Drei Lyg* (54 footnote 7) gives a number of examples, to which may be added one from *Kjaln*, ch.8. And in connection with the klæði blátt... tveir gullhringar ok sverð gott in *Fló*, we observe the so-called Achterwichtsgesetz (cf. A. Olrik in Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum, 1909,7): in the folk-tale the most important of a series of people or objects is frequently mentioned last. Thus in *Fló*, while only the sword, the last of the three kostgripir, is mentioned again, so in *Drei Lyg*,⁽⁵⁴⁾ of a horn ok tafl ok gullhringr only the gullhringr is of any further significance. - In his fight in the *jarðhús*, Þorgils uses a rótakylfa (i.e. a club made from the root of a tree and thus particularly hard). This weapon is frequently resorted to by 'Starker Hans'-type

heroes in the sagas, often, as here, by way of improvisation (see e.g. Svarf, ch. 15 and Qrv, 92). It was also frequently used against opponents who might have magical powers. (Like Órvör in Qrv, an aura of magic surrounds the men in jarðhús.) Cf. Waffenkunde, 120-3 and Motif-Index, F614.2.2

Finally under this heading we may mention the sword Jarðhússnautr. By giving the two women back to Hugi, Porgils acquires an invincible sword which he uses throughout the saga, always with success. In ch. 17, for example, the berserkr Randviðr is unable to dull it with his evil eye and Porgils defeats him in the kerganga (cf. Note to 27/11-2). Again in ch. 24, Jarðhússnautr is effective against the tróllkonur of Greenland. Such swords, swords which always bite, are common motifs, not only in the sagas but also in the folktale. Blaðinn is another instance in Fló (cf. Beschouwing, 158 f.) and Angrvaðill and Snarvendill are just two examples of many from other sagas. Inger Boberg assembles the examples in her Motif-Index under D1653.1.1.1. Cf. A. Drachmann, De navngivne Sværd, 1967, 45-51.

Porgils's first journey abroad and Egils saga

In several of the preceding sections, of those which cover the account of Porgils's first journey abroad, Egils Saga Skalla-Grímssonar has been mentioned as providing parallels to the individual stories and motifs to those in Fló. At the risk of repetition it will be appropriate at

this point to consider these together and to draw attention to the strong likenesses which exist in the accounts of the visits to Norway by Þorgils and Egill (cf. Beschouwing, 47 ff. especially 55). It should be noted that while one journey by Þorgils is being discussed, parallels are drawn from accounts of three visits by Egill.

(i) In both Eg and Fló, the hero undertakes a visit to Norway to claim an inheritance. (The Fló-author may have got the idea for this motif from LdnX, 225/37, where Þorgils's father is said to leave Iceland in order to claim an inheritance; there can be no doubt, however, that he developed it according to the model of Eg.)

(ii) In both sagas (see Eg, 106 ff.), Þorgils and Egill are present at a feast to which Gunnhildr konungamóðir and the reigning king of Norway come (Fló: Haraldr gráfeldr/ Eg: Eiríkr blóðóx).

(iii) Because of events at the feast, animosity is quickly kindled between Gunnhildr and the hero (the king takes a less hostile approach than his mother (Fló)/wife (Eg)).

(iv) When the hero lays claim to the property, he meets the opposition of Gunnhildr (see page *249 above.)

(v) Both heroes have to wait until Gunnhildr and her son (Fló)/husband (Eg) have to leave Norway and the country comes under a new ruler (Hákon jarl, Fló/ Hákon Aðalsteinssfóstri, Eg) before they get their property back.

(vi) Even the new ruler of Norway is reluctant

to grant the Icелander his property (Fló, 21/5-8; Eg, 198).

(vii) We may note what Nijhoff calls 'het optreden van een bemiddelaar tusschen den held en den koning'. When the author of Fló has Björn (Fló, 20/12) flytr...fyrir [Hákoni jarli] mál Þorgils, he is possibly taking Arinbjörn (Egill's constant supporter and spokesman in Eg) as his model.

(viii) While in Norway, both Þorgils and Egill (Eg, 62) make friends with a man called Þorsteinn. Further, both undertake tax-collecting missions, to Suðreyjar (Fló) / to Vermaland (Eg, 219), in Fló with the help of Þorsteinn / in Eg on Þorsteinn's behalf.

(ix) In Norway, both Þorgils and Egill (Eg, 64) stay with a widow called Gyða and her son. Þorgils gives the son his help, Egill both of them.

(x) In both sagas, the heroes, while abroad, use up their spare time on Viking expeditions; and both (cf. Eg, 64) fight duels against berserks to free women from undesirable suitors.

It might be possible to point to other similarities. There are, however, quite enough here to make it clear that the author of Fló knew Eg (which, of course, is the older of the two) and was indeed well familiar with the plot of that saga.

[96]

The ambushed lover

In chapter 18, the author of the saga returns to LdnX

(ch.377) to provide the plot of his story: and as has been shown (pages *195-6 above), he found in the chapter in question in LdnX, the motif of 'The Ambushed Lover'. This, as stated, he has filled out on the model of other sagas. What is interesting to note is that in chapter 19, when he is on his own again, the first story he has to tell, that of Sǫrli who is killed by Kolr on the way home after a visit to the latter's sister, contains essentially the same motif. Coming where it does, it increases the impression of repetitiousness the saga gives in other respects. And although not quite as circumstantial as the story in ch. 18, it is clear that it is based, at least partly, on it. We may compare, for example, Kolr's words with Sǫrli at 30/8-10 with those of Helgi with Þorgrímr at 28/6-9,16-7. But the Fló-author also took details from other sources: the detail of the evening ambush, for example not found in ch. 18 or the corresponding part of LdnX, is present, for example, in a similar story in Vatns, ch. 19. Cf. Darstellung, 30 ff.

Þórey at the door.

After killing Sǫrli, Kolr goes to Guðrun and tells her what he has done. She says that the dead man was a protégé of the powerful Ásgrímr-Elliða(Gríms)son and that Kolr should seek protection from Þorgils. This advice Kolr acts upon and goes to Traðarholt. When he arrives, it is meal-time and Þórey, who has been serving at the table, comes to the door. She tells him that she will try to help

him, but that Þorgils is a little hasty and she does not know what his reaction will be. She therefore leads him into a skot (see Note to 30/20) which adjoins, it seems, her and Þorgils's bed; from here Kolr will be able to discover how sympathetic Þorgils will be without actually having to encounter him. When she returns to her household, Þorgils is immediately suspicious and presses her to tell him what has happened. She replies with obvious prevarications; her blushes, she says, are the result of a mouse jumping at her face. Later, when they are in bed and Kolr is listening from his skot, Þorgils asks her what has happened. Þórey now tells the truth. Þorgils says that Kolr has been a good friend and promises to help him. The following morning he takes immediate action to carry out his promise.

It has already been noted (pages *94-5) that the X-version is incomplete here and that one must follow the M-version to realise the point of the story. Had Finnur Jónsson (F1ó, 1932, 73) done this and regarded Þórey's words at 64/7-8 ('en þó er nokkut vanstillt til við Þorgils') as original to the saga, he would have been able to make a stronger statement than: 'Det synes som om forf. har tænkt sig en uvilje fra Þorgils side.' The whole point of Kolr's hiding in the skot is clearly the possibility of hostile reaction by Þorgils against him. On the other hand, Finnur (loc.cit.) is right in noting that ^{up to now} ~~up to this point~~ in the saga, no reason for Þórey's anxiety on this point has been

hinted at. And when we look closer at the whole episode, we see that the author of the saga is here introducing a blind motif with the sole purpose of bringing in a more complex series of elements. These last have been discussed by Dehmer (Erzählungsgut, 81 ff.) under the heading of 'Das Warnerinnenmotiv'.

Dehmer draws attention to three other episodes in Islendingasögur which correspond to this story in Fló. The type in its full form contains the following elements:

A. The hero of the story kills an enemy. B. He seeks help from a man who is married to a female relative of his. He first meets the woman in question (or has her called) and tells her everything. C. The woman gives him a warning about her husband's possible reaction but promises to try to get help for him. D. Meanwhile she hides him, often in a place where he can listen in on the conversation between herself and her husband. E. The husband notices that something is afoot but the wife finds an excuse for her exceptional behaviour. F. When she and her husband are alone, she tells him the whole story and asks for his help. G. The following morning, the hero comes out of hiding.

The story in Fló, Dehmer claims, contains all these elements. The other parallels he mentions (in Heið, ch. 10; Laxd, ch.14; Háv, chs.15-6) are, on the other hand, less complete. We may compare the one in ch. 10 of Heið, although we are here hampered by having only Jón Ólafsson's version of the saga: Gestr has killed the powerful Víga-

Styrr. After one abortive attempt to get assistance, he goes to the farm of Halldórr where the lady of the house is a relative. The door is answered by a húskarl who in turn calls Þordís. Þordís promises to try and get her husband's help for him but is not sure how he will react - he was a friend of Víga-Styrr's. She therefore hides him in an out-house for the night. The following morning, she is particularly warm towards her husband. He is suspicious, however, and, when he presses her, she tells him what Gestr has done. Halldórr is immediately enraged and says he will kill Gestr if he gets his hands on him. We are now told that þar mátti ganga í kringum innan veggja allt húsit (i.e. the house has a skot) ok hengu tjöld fyrir sænginni: Gestr stendr á bak við tjaldit at hofði honum [Halldórr's] ok heyrir alla þeira viðræðu. After declaiming a verse, [97] Gestr jumps onto his waiting horse and flees.

Behind 'das Warnerinnenmotiv' in the Icelandic sagas, Dehmer sees folk-tales of the type where the wife of an animal, giant or monster receives the hero into her husband's house and conceals him there. On returning home, the husband is immediately suspicious and says he can smell human flesh. The wife hits upon some such explanation as: 'Ja, her kom en Skjære flyvende med et Mandbeen i Næbbet og slap ned igjennem Piben' (Norske Folkeeventyr, ed. P. Asbjørnsen and J. Moe, 1852, 219) or avoids answering the question (see e.g. Malaisische Märchen, trans. P. Hambruch, 1927, 99). She rarely succeeds in allaying her husband's

suspicious, however. Here, then, we find the basis for Þórey's preposterous '... mús hljóp áðan á kinn mér ...' at 30/24-5.

For the use of the skot as a hiding place in sources other than Fló and Heið, see examples from Íslendingasögur cited in Note to 30/20.

Kolr as an outlaw; Þorgils refuses to pay compensation

The spring after the killing of Sǫrli, Ásgrímr prepares a suit against Kolr. Þorgils pretends to know nothing of this (lætr... sem hann viti eigi). At the Assembly, Kolr is sentenced to full outlawry. In spite of this, however, he carries on his normal way of life unconcerned: as before, he rides with Þorgils around the district and attends various meetings. Bad feeling arises between Þorgils and Ásgrímr as a result and the men of the herað attempt to effect a reconciliation between the two. Þorgils, however, refuses to pay any compensation. At last, the heraðsmenn themselves, án ráðs Þorgils, all contribute to pay for Sǫrli's slaying (see 65/5-7). The following summer, Kolr's sentence is lifted.

Here we find two well-defined, if uncomplicated, conventional elements. The first is a conventional lack of concern shown by a newly-convicted outlaw: in Grett (148), when Grettir hears that he has been condemned to full outlawry, we are told that he brygðir engan vög skapi vð þessum fréttir ok var jafnglaðr sem áðr. After Hrafnkell returns

the Alþing having been outlawed, hann...

lét sem ekki hefði í orðit. And of particular interest here from a verbal point of view is Dropl, ch.8, where we are told of the outlawed Helgi Droplaugarson and his brother that Peir fóru um allt herað til þinga ok mannfunda svá sem Helgi væri ósekr; cf. Fló, 31/11-2: Þorgils riðr sem áðr um heraðit ok Kolr með honum; sækja mannamót, etc. Cf. J. Spoelstra, De Vogelvrijen in de IJslandse Letterkunde, 1938, 63 f.

The second motif here is an extremely common one: Often we hear in the sagas of men who are either in a strong enough position or arrogant enough to refuse to compensate for killings they have committed. This is sometimes said of them in general, or there is a particular case in which they refuse to pay wergeld. Nijhoff (Beschouwing, 118 f.) cites a number of examples, to which may be added Hrafn, 99, where it is said of Hrafnkell at engi fekk af honum neinar bætr and Hrafn, 105 f., where the same man refuses to compensate Þorbjörn for his killing of Einarr.

Assassination

The way Þorgils gets away without paying compensation for Sǫrli obviously enrages the dead man's goði, Ásgrímr. One day when Þorgils and his foreman (verkstjóri) Svartr, are at a horse-fight, Ásgrímr has private words with the latter. Later, on their way home, Svartr strikes at Þorgils but he avoids the blow. He then learns that Ásgrímr has offered Svartr money for his head. He throws Svartr to the ground

and a purse containing three merkr of silver falls from beneath the cloak of the would-be assassin. A very similar episode is found later in the saga: Ásgrímr and Þorgils are still at odds and at a wedding feast at Bjarni spaki's, Ásgrímr surrepticiously offers Þorgils's slave, Kolr, three merkr for his master's head. On the way home, Þorgils notices that the slave's horse is lagging behind. He strikes the thrall and a purse falls from beneath his cloak. Þorgils asks him where he got it, Kolr tells him and Þorgils kills him on the spot.

'Het komt in de saga's meermalen voor, dat IJslanders, die metelkaar in conflict zijn, sluipmoordenaars op elkaar afsturen,' writes Kersbergen (Motieven, 66), when discussing Njála's escalating series of assassinations promoted by Hallgerðr, on the one side, and Bergþóra on the other. (Here a Kolr verkstjóri appears.) She is able to give a number of examples from the Family Sagas. Nijhoff (Beschouwing, 116) also discusses the assassination motif with, of course, special reference to our saga, and draw~~s~~ attention to the fact that, as in Fló, in Eyrb (ch. 32), three merkr of silver are offered to a prospective assassin, and, in Gísl (ch.21), the sum is brjú hundruð silfrs. Another point of interest may be noted here: it will be suggested below that the Fló-author made borrowings from the story of Snæbjörn galti he found in LdnX (173-4). In this last, we read: Styrbjörn ... fann fécjóð í kemli ok leyði; Snabjörn laust hann með óxi; þá fell sjóðrinn niðr. It