

A STUDY OF THE ORKNEYINGA SAGA

with

A NEW TRANSLATION.

A THESIS

submitted for the degree of Doctor
of Letters of the University of
Edinburgh

By

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PART I.

I N T R O D U C T I O N .

I desire to thank the librarians in the following libraries for their courtesy and assistance during my investigations: Library of University of Edinburgh; National Library of Scotland; Edinburgh Public Library; Library of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; Royal Library, Copenhagen; Columbia University Library, New York, N.Y.; Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn.

I would also express my thanks to Professor Bruce Dickins, Leeds, and to Dr Hugh Marwick, Kirkwall, for much encouragement and for helpful advice and criticism at various points; to Miss A.M.Oliver, M.A., Edinburgh Public Library, and to Mr R. Rendall, Kirkwall, for answering inquiries when reference books and local records were inaccessible to me; and to Miss F.S.Smillie Falkirk, who typed my manuscript.

ABBREVIATIONS

GREEK

A. J. Anderson's

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GREEK

- D. Dasein's translation of the
See part I, p. 101.
- d. dia.
- Dan. Danish.
- E. Easy.
- espec. especially.
- Fær. Færøer, Farøer.
- F.J. Professor Jørgen Jørgensen.
- Fl., Plat. Plataniardak. See part I, p. 101.
- Fns. Fornmannasögur, a printed collection of the Sagas of the Kings of Norway, the Vikings.
- F.N. Fundinn Nórrenn, the title given in Flak. to the first chapter of the
- Fok. Fokskinn, a thirteenth century collection of Sagas of the Kings of Norway. See part I, p. 101.

Gael. Gaelic.

Gr. Greek.

gen. genitive.

H.G. Hjalteinn and Gessle's translation of the Orkneyinga Saga. See part I, p.167.

Hkr. Hversu Noregskonungarinn lifði, a collection of Norway. See

ABBREVIATIONSH.S. Dr. USED.H.V.3. Hveru Noregskonungarinn lifði, another version of Orkneyinga Saga. See part I, p.41.

Icel.

A. J. Anderson's Orkneyinga saga. See Bibliog.acc. according or accusative.

AM. The Arna-Magnaean Collection in the University Library, Copenhagen.

c. circa.

Celt. Celtic.

ch. chapter, chapters.

cp. compare.

C.V. Cleasby' and Vigfusson's Icel. Dictionary. See Bibliog.D. Dasent's translation of the Orkneyinga Saga. See part I, p.167.

d. died.

Dan. Danish.

Hkr. Hversu Noregskonungarinn lifði, a thirteenth century collection

E. Early. Lives of the Kings of Norway. See

espec. especially.

Faer. Faeroes, Faeroese.

F.J. Professor Finnur Jónsson.

Fl., Flat. Flateyjarbók. See part I, p.13.Fms. Fornmannasögur, a printed collection of the Sagas of the Kings of Norway. See Bibliog.F.N. Fundinn Nóregr, the title given in Flat. to the first chapter in the Orkneyinga Saga.Fsk. Fagrskinna, a thirteenth century collection of Lives of the Kings of Norway. See part I, p.56.

- Gael. Gaelic.
- Gr. Greek.
- gen. genitive.
- H.G. Hjalptalín and Goudie's translation of the Orkneyinga Saga. See part I, p.167.
- Hkr. Snorri Sturluson's Heimskringla, a collection of Lives of the Kings of Norway. See part I, p.55.
- H.M. Dr. Hugh Marwick.
- H.N.B. Hversu Nóregr byggðisk, another version of Fundinn Nóregr (F.N.). See part I, p.61.
- Icel. Iceland, Icelandic.
- J.J. Jakob Jakobsen. See Bibliog.
- J.S.C. Mr J. Storer Clouston.
- Lat. Latin.
- l.c. loco citato.
- Ldn. Landnámabók, a history of the settlement of Iceland. See part I, p.57.
- lit. literally.
- M. Magnúss Saga. See part I, p.13.
- Magn.B.S. Magnus Bare-legs' Saga in any one of the great Collections of Kings' Lives.
- Mnld. The Mainland in the Orkneys.
- Mod. Modern.
- Mork. Morkinskinna, a thirteenth century collection of Lives of the Kings of Norway. See part I, p. 56.
- M.Sc. Middle Scots.
- n. note.
- n'n. nickname.
- N.N. Nynorsk.
- Norw. Norway, Norwegian.
- O. The sixteenth century Danish translation of the Orkneyinga Saga. See part I, p;13.

- O.E. Old English.
- O.Icel. Old Icelandic.
- O.Ir. Old Irish.
- Ol.H.S. Olafur Helgi's Saga in any one of the Collections of Kings' Lives.
- Ol.Tr.S. Olafur Tryggvi's son's Saga in any one of the Collections of Kings' Lives.
- O.N. Old Norse.
- orig. originally.
- Orkne Orkney.
- O.S. Orkneyinga Saga, and, in particular, Nordal's edition of the text.
- p. page.
- pcp. participle.
- pers.n. personal name.
- pl.n. place name.
- plur. plural.
- prob. probably.
- q.v. quod vide.
- ref. reference.
- Rolls. The Rolls Series of historical documents, published by His Majesty's Stationery Office.
- S. Saga.
- Shetl. Shetland.
- sing. singular.
- S.N. Sigurður Nordal, editor of the text of the Orkneyinga Saga used in the present study.
- sugg. suggested.
- supp. by. supported by.
- suppl.by. supplemented by.
- Swed. Sweden, Swedish.
- trans. translated as.
- Pul. Pulur, a collection of mnemonic verses printed in F.Jónsson's Skjaldedigtning, B.I. 656-680.

* An asterisk prefixed to the name of a Saga signifies that it is not extant, but that its existence is known or may be deduced from other sources. Prefixed to a word, an asterisk signifies that the form is hypothetical and does not occur in extant sources.

x The multiplication sign has been used, as in Mr A.O.Anderson's Early Sources of Scottish History, to link the anterior and the posterior limits of a date. For instance, 1162 x 1184 means that the event dated happened at some time during that period, but was not necessarily co-extensive with it. See part I, p.179.

Abbreviations for the MSS. of the Orkneyinga Saga will be found in part I, pp.11 - 14.

Abbreviations for the authorities cited will be found in the Bibliography (part III, pp.89 - 105). These, unless otherwise stated, are referred to by volume and page.

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the point of view of the authors, although the sagas were written by

scribes who composed and wrote down the sagas by word of mouth

and the scribes who first put them down were probably often

family priests. The old sagas, however, are now mostly in

prose, ITS RELATION TO OTHER SAGA LITERATURE.

of a dramatic - Saga literature and the sagas - as for its psycho-

logical implications and its dramatic value, even as historical view-

of a tragic situation. The Family Saga.

Believable history could be written from the sagas.

1. THE ORKNEYINGA SAGA.

ITS RELATION TO OTHER SAGA LITERATURE.

The Family Saga.

Among the Sagas which were written down in Iceland in the late twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, three main types can be distinguished. Of these the Family Sagas, commonly called Islendinga Sogur, "the Sagas of the men of Iceland," are the largest and the most interesting group. They include such tales as Grettis Saga, Laxdoela Saga, and Brennu-Njals Saga, and had their origin in the aristocratic traditions and genealogical interests of the older Icelandic families. The events dealt with consist mainly in the adventures and relationships of the chief men in these families in the late tenth and the eleventh centuries. They have the characteristics of what Professor Chadwick in his recent volume The Growth of Literature calls the Post-Heroic Period. The point of view is aristocratic. The interest is centred in a hero and his exploits, but without that often humourless exaggeration which marks the narratives of a Heroic Age proper - as in Beowulf, and indeed often in Homer - or of the later Age of the Romance of Chivalry. The Saga narrative is sober and matter-of-fact, the prose style straight-forward and conversational, with no trace, except in isolated passages, of that verbosity which - in the Middle Ages - spells Latin influence. Manslayings, blood-feuds, law-suits, outlawries, voyages to distant lands, fill many pages in these Sagas. Family genealogies are an essential part of them. Christianity has little influence on either the motives of the characters, or the/

the point of view of the authors, although both the Saga-tellers or spakir-menn who composed and handed down the Sagas by word of mouth and the scribes who first put them in writing were probably often family priests. The old Destiny-motif of the Heroic poems is present, but is less oppressive; it is viewed not so much in the form of a doctrine - Gæþ ā wyrd swā heo sceal - as for its psychological implications and its dramatic value, even as Euripides viewed the tragic situations of Greek Heroic Legend - bizarre as only a malevolent Diety could make them - with an eye of pity, and yet an eye for art. When Gunnarr in Njáls Saga is overborne by circumstance he seems to become a stronger and a finer man. When the coils of fate begin to close round the outlaw Grettir, his bewilderment is crystalized into one terrible emotion, the fear of the dark. Few things in any literature are so impressive as these two re-interpretations of the predestination of the Heroic Age. With few exceptions these Family Sagas give the impression of vivid narrative founded on fact, and both for their artistic excellence and their bulk - they occupy 3500 pages in the Reykjavik edition - they are unique in their kind among early literatures.

The "Kings' Lives."

The second type of Saga literature - contemporary with the first - is that which we regard today as more purely historical - the Sagas of the Kings of Norway and of Denmark, composed no doubt during or immediately after their lifetimes, but surviving only in such compilations as Ágrip af Nóregs konunga sǫgum, Fagrskinna, Morkinskinna, Snorri's Heimskringla, Hulda, and, for Denmark, Knytlinga Saga. The sole isolated Saga surviving in approximately its original form is that of Sverrir, King of Norway 1184-1202, written partly in Norway at Sverrir's dictation and partly in/

in Iceland. To this class also belongs Jómsvíkinga Saga, a vivid account of the foundation and history of the viking fortress at Wollen in Pomerania. The compilations above-mentioned cover each a wide period of time. Those dealing with Norway normally begin with Halfdan the Black in the ninth century and come down to the death of King Eysteinn in 1177; this appears to have been accepted as the natural stopping place on the ground that the succeeding period was covered in Sverris Saga. Knyttlinga Saga begins with the reign of Haraldr Gorm's son c.930 and comes down to 1190. All these compilations make use of oral tradition - anecdotes and verses that have found their way to Iceland on the tongues of traders and wandering skalds. All in varying degrees make use of written sources - Sagas, Latin annals, genealogies; these sources being sometimes used freely and critically, as in Ágrip and Heimskringla, and sometimes more slavishly, as in Fagrskinna and Hulda. The striking feature of these Kings' Lives is the mass of historical detail in them regarding places, people, movements and of men and ships, negotiations between rival kings and earls. Anecdotes of peculiar human situations, or revealing significant traits in the characters of the chief personages, scraps of conversation, quick retorts, sudden fits of daring or of violence -- all have an air of truth. There are, it is true, continual discrepancies between the various Lives, which create a Synoptic Problem very similar to that which faces the student of the Gospels. But Ari, the first Icelandic historian, set a noble example in accuracy of statement which was not lost on his successors. As one would expect in an historical work, the narrative in these Lives is mainly episodic; interest is in events more than in personages; and the Destiny-motif is almost entirely absent.

The "Sagas of Olden Time."

The third type of Saga literature is known as Fornaldar Sögur, "the Sagas of olden time." This name was given to those Sagas/

Sagas based on early legends such as are found in Heroic and Mythological poems. Among them are Ynglinga Saga with which Snorri began his Heimskringla, the lost Skjoldunga Saga which preceded Knytlinga Saga in a similar way, Hrólf's Saga kraka, and Hervarar Saga. These do not appear to have come into existence until the thirteenth century, and probably had no "oral" history as Sagas. They are products of the great literary and historical movement in Iceland to which we owe the writing down of all Old Icelandic poetry and prose. But the material of these Sagas is clearly of great antiquity. The personages are but shadows, insubstantial things; the tale is often broken music. They are truly Sagas "of olden time."

Other types of Saga literature.

Other minor types of Saga are the fictitious Sagas (lygisögur or "lying Sagas"), the romantic Sagas of foreign origin, and the ecclesiastical Sagas. Examples of the last of these are Kristni Saga telling the story of the introduction and growth of Christianity in Iceland down to 1118, and Biskupa Sögur, a collection of ecclesiastical biographies. These are characterised by a simplicity of narrative style and a general naiveté of outlook; the sanctity of the personages and the significance of the incidents are deemed to be self-evident and self-explanatory.

To the same class belong translations of Latin "Saints' Lives." These are verbose in style, prolix in detail yet without verisimilitude, and display an avid belief in all that is miraculous. One of the largest of these is a life of St. Thomas à Becket called Thomas Saga erkibiskups, available in an English translation in the Rolls Series.

The Orkneyinga Saga and the Family Sagas.

That the Orkneyinga Saga stands somewhat apart from other Saga literature has already been noted by Vigfusson in a short study/

study of the Saga in his Prolegomena to Sturlunga Saga, and by Professor Finnur Jónsson of Copenhagen in his Litt. Hist. II, 653.

One does not expect it to resemble the Icelandic Family Saga. The scene is remote from Iceland and it cannot have had in Iceland the stimulus of family pride in its compilation. Indeed, certain features of the Family Saga are noticeably absent.

In the first place, there are few private law-suits. It might be argued that these are not to be expected in a Saga dealing with earls and kings. But there are many private individuals, goethingar and lendirmen, who had occasion to make use of arbitration at a Thing. We read of many Things in the Orkneys, but they are political and not judicial assemblies. We hear much of arbitration and "going-between", of saetti and compensation, but negotiations are informal, and not infrequently little information is given regarding the terms of settlement. We can only conclude that a system of civil law had not developed so fully in the Orkneys as in Iceland, and that there was lacking among Saga-men and Saga audiences in the Orkneys that enthralling interest in legal procedure which existed in Iceland at the same period.

In only two sections of the Saga is there a strong legal interest. The first þáttur or "Short-Saga" about Earl Thorfinnr (O.S. ch.13-19) is^a well written account of the diplomatic struggle between Earls Thorfinnr, Einarr and Brusi for the favour of King Olaf Helgi and the possession of as large a share as they could get of the Orkney Earldom. The authorship of the þáttur is unknown. It appears to have so impressed Snorri that he included it, none too relevantly, in his Saga of Olaf Helgi in Heimskringla (Hkr., Ol. H.S. ch.97-103). The second instance of a legal interest is the tale of the feud between Kolr, father of Rognvaldr Kali, and John Limp-leg in Norway, which has considerable intrinsic interest but is related mainly for the influence it had in the fortunes of Rognvaldr. (1)

The/

(1) See J.S.C.: Hist. Orkn. 182-185 for a discussion of the absence of law-suits in O.S.

The second feature noticeably absent is the genealogy which in a Family Saga normally accompanies each new personage who enters the tale. For example, in introducing a new character, Njáls Saga usually reads like this:

"There was a man called Skapti. He was the son of Thoroddr. Thoroddr's mother was Thorvor. She was the daughter of Thor-mothr Skapti's son, son of Olafr the Broad, son of Oliver Old-child. That father and son were great chiefs and well skilled in the law....." (Nj.S.ch.56).

The Orkneyinga Saga in similar circumstances reads as follows:

"There was a man called Amundi. He was rich and well-to-do and lived on the Mainland at Hlaupandanes in Sandwick. He had a son called Thorkell, in every way the most accomplished of all men born and bred in the Orkneys....." (O.S.ch.14).

There are, it must be admitted, two longer genealogical passages in the Saga, the first in ch.33, and the second spread over chs.53,55, and 56. After a careful study of these in relation to the rest of the Saga I have come to the conclusion that they were written by the compiler to introduce succinctly and for easy reference the persons who were to play a part in the succeeding narrative, so that such paragraphs as those on Skapti Thoroddr's son and Thorkell Amundi's son would be unnecessary. That this was his purpose in the second set of genealogies I have little doubt; all the people mentioned occur later in the tale. His purpose in the first (ch. 33) is a little less clear. It is more of a genealogy per se. Although we are told that "all these men come into the Saga later" (O.S.89¹⁸⁻¹⁹), many of them do not. The compiler probably had at hand a written genealogy of the family of the Earls Paul and Erlendr, copied it into his text, and added the above conventional sentence in the genuine belief that its promise would be fulfilled.

In two families, it may be noted, the Saga shows peculiar interest, that of Frakokk the virago of Caithness, and that of Kolbeinn Hruga of Wyre. The interest in Frakokk's family (O.S. ch.53-55,78) may be accounted for by the probability that the compiler had resided for a time in Caithness. The genealogies of Kolbeinn's family occur in passages that were fairly certainly later/

later additions to the Saga text, at the end of ch.84 (O.S. 213²⁸ - 214⁶), and the end of ch.108 (O.S.321¹⁷⁻¹⁹), and in ch.109 (O.S.321²⁴⁻²⁶; the consecration of Bjarni, son of Kolbeinn, as Bishop of the Orkneys). This interest in Kolbeinn's family is all the more noticeable in that it has little relevance to its context. It may be explained by the fame of Bishop Bjarni in Iceland as churchman, poet, and diplomatist.

Such points of contact with the Family Saga as have been described above are found mainly in the latter half of the Orkneyinga Saga, which tells the Saga of Earl Rognvaldr Kali. Other points of contact can be found in this section of the Saga. The scrapes of Sveinn of Gairsay and his cronies have the same picaresque appeal as one meets in Grettis Saga and Víga-Glúms Saga, two of the great Sagas of Outlawry. The presentation of Sveinn's character, the position he occupies in the centre of the drama, the admiration of the author for the hard realism of his personality - an admiration apparent but without explicit expression until we read of his death in ch.108 - all these are in the best manner of the Family Saga. So also are the aristocratic point of view, the careful dating of events season by season, and the revelation from chapter to chapter of the essence of the story-teller's art - the continued gratification of expectant curiosity.

The Orkneyinga Saga and the "Kings' Lives."

The Orkneyinga Saga as a whole, however, seems more closely related as regards its structure and its intention to the Kings' Lives than to the Family Saga. Its compiler seems to be trying to do for the Earls of the Orkneys what Snorri did for the Kings of Norway and what the unknown author of Knytlinga Saga did later for the royal house of Denmark. Our Saga is a compilation of individual Earls' Sagas and þættir, some of which had survived orally and some in written form; and this collection is preceded by a Mythological Introduction (O.S. ch.1-3) giving a mythological ancestry to/

to the Orkney Earls, just as Snorri's introductory Ynglinga Saga did for the Kings of Norway and Skjoldunga Saga did for the Kings of Denmark. Our Saga has the same efforts at chronology, the same reliance on skaldic verses for confirmation of anecdotes surviving orally, the same mass of historical detail as these collections of Kings' Lives. It claims implicitly to be history rather than art. The Destiny-motif is absent. There are frequent references to sources of information - skaldic poems, eye-witnesses, and (more rarely) written Sagas.

In one feature the Orkneyinga Saga can claim a certain individual quality in its technique. The various Earls' Sagas and Þættir are very skilfully linked together, sometimes by a genealogical chapter such as has been described above, more often by brief abstracts from the same Kings' Sagas which were used in extenso by Snorri and his fellows. These original Kings' Sagas or Lives, as has been said, are now lost, but their existence can be deduced from the similarities and dissimilarities between these linking chapters in our Saga and the relevant chapters in Snorri's work and in Fagrskinna or Morkinskinna. For example, the latter part of O.S. ch. 8 is drawn in all probability from a lost Saga of Eiríkr Bloody-Axe, and bridges the gap between the punitive expedition of Haraldr Fair-hair (894 x) and the ^{reign} ~~Þættir~~ (O.S. ch.9-11) of the sons of Thorfinnr Skull-splitter (977 x). In the latter part of the Saga, ch.91, based probably on the lost Saga of Ingi and Sigurthr, deals with King Eysteinn's expedition to the British Isles in the summer of 1151 and serves as a transition from the conclusion of the Þáttir of Earl Rognvald's Crusade (ch.85-89) to the narrative of events in the Orkneys during his absence (ch.92-93).

There are traces of these linking chapters in Knyttlinga Saga. Ch.20 is an excursion into Norwegian history to explain Haraldr Gilli's flight to Denmark and the events consequent thereon, and is probably based on the lost Saga of Haraldr. But as/

as a principle of composition the linking chapter is not employed with the conscious purpose apparent in the Orkneyinga Saga. The latter has at least five such chapters (ch.8, 21, 34, 62, 91); and perhaps ch.12 and the group of chapters (ch.39-43) based on the lost Saga of Magnus Bare-legs may be classified in the same manner.

The Orkneyinga Saga and other types of Saga literature.

With the remaining types of Saga literature the Orkneyinga Saga has affinities only in parts. The Mythological Introduction (O.S. ch.1-3) already referred to belongs to the third main type, "the Sagas of olden time." It may have had a poetic origin; for the myth of Fornjotr is very old. It appears to have been an independent document which the compiler found suited to his purpose and used with little alteration.

Again, the Saga of Saint Magnus (O.S. ch.44-52, and ch.56 (end only)-57) stands apart from the bulk of the Orkneyinga Saga in being neither a cool historical narrative nor a tale told by the chimney corner, but a Saint's Life of the orthodox medieval variety. In unctuous terms are described his early sanctity, his martyrdom, burial, and the reburial of his relics within the sanctuary, and the miracles supposedly performed at his shrine. It says much for the historical sense of the compiler that, of the three extant versions of the Saga of Saint Magnus, the most sober is that contained within his Orkneyinga Saga.

Lastly, there are romantic elements in the tale of Earl Rognvald's Crusade (O.S. ch.85-89) which are out of harmony with the tone and temper of both the Family Saga at its best and the Kings' Lives. Its gaiety and spirit of adventure, its love interest and knight-errantry, are equally removed from the solemn purposefulness of Kari or even Olafr Peacock on their voyages abroad, and the more sober chronicles of the expeditions of the Norwegian Kings "West over the sea." It would be dangerous to assert the influence of the French Romance of Chivalry here at so early a period. We know that in Norway in 1226 a translation of the/

the romance of Tristram was made for King Hakon. It is possible, although no direct evidence can be adduced, that similar tales had found their way to Iceland on the mouths of travelling skalds by 1210-1220, during which period our Saga was probably compiled.

X X X X X X X X

To sum up, the Orkneyinga Saga is a clever compilation made on the model of the Collections of Kings' Lives, but in its various parts it has affinities to all the other classifiable types of Saga literature - in the Mythological Introduction to the "Sagas of olden time," in the Sagas of the early Orkney Earls to the Kings' Lives themselves, in the Saga of Saint Magnus to the ecclesiastical Saints' Lives, and in the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali to the typical Family and Outlaw Sagas and the late Romantic Saga. Where the compiler found all this diversity of material, how far he copied, adapted, or wrote from what he himself had heard are problems which will be dealt with in the studies which follow.

Appendix H.

- 23. MS. 823 III; etc in the University of Copenhagen. Two leaves, also fairly old, the first covering parts of ch. 29 and 30, and the second extending from near the end of ch. 33 to the middle of ch. 42. Referred to by Vigf. as p. Facsimile in Vigf.'s ed. of S.G.
- 24. Bibl. Isl. R. 902 No. 31 etc in the University of Upsala. A collection of the verses and the related prose passages of Q.S. copied by Hagane Claesson of Vellis and Ingvald (1543-1556) from MS. 325a when it was complete. Quotations are copied very sparingly from this MS., since the prose text underwent such changes in the process of making it into a book of stanzas. But the MS. is of value in supplying us with the

2. MANUSCRIPTS and EDITIONS.MANUSCRIPTS.

A descriptive list of the manuscripts of the Orkneyinga Saga is to be found in Nordal's Introduction to his edition of the Saga, pp. x-liv. It is sufficient here to enumerate and describe very briefly the MSS. which contribute to his text and are referred to in the margin of the present translation. The abbreviations used in the margin are shown.

- 325b - MS. AM. 325 III β 4to in the Arna-Magnaean Collection in the University of Copenhagen. A single leaf, covering part of ch. 20, ch.21, and part of ch.22. Probably the oldest extant MS. of O.S. (c.1275). A study of its orthography, dialect and date is to be found in Appendix E.
- 325a - MS. AM. 325 III α 4to in the University of Copenhagen. Two leaves, also fairly old, the first covering parts of ch. 29 and 30, and the second extending from near the end of ch.39 to the middle of ch.42. Referred to by Vigf. as b. Facsimile in Vigf's ed. of O.S.
- 702 - MS. Bibl. Isl. R:702 No.81 4to in the University of Upsala. A collection of the verses and the relevant prose passages of O.S. copied by Magnús Ólafsson of Vellir and Laufás (1573-1636) from MS. 325a when it was complete. Emendations are accepted very sparingly from this MS., since the prose text underwent some editing in the process of making it into a book of anecdotes. But the MS. is of value in supplying us with the tales of/

of the "Man with the Cowl" and "Earl Rognvaldr and the Madman," and the best version of "The Shivering Servant Girl" (all in ch.85). Referred to by Vigf. as M.O.

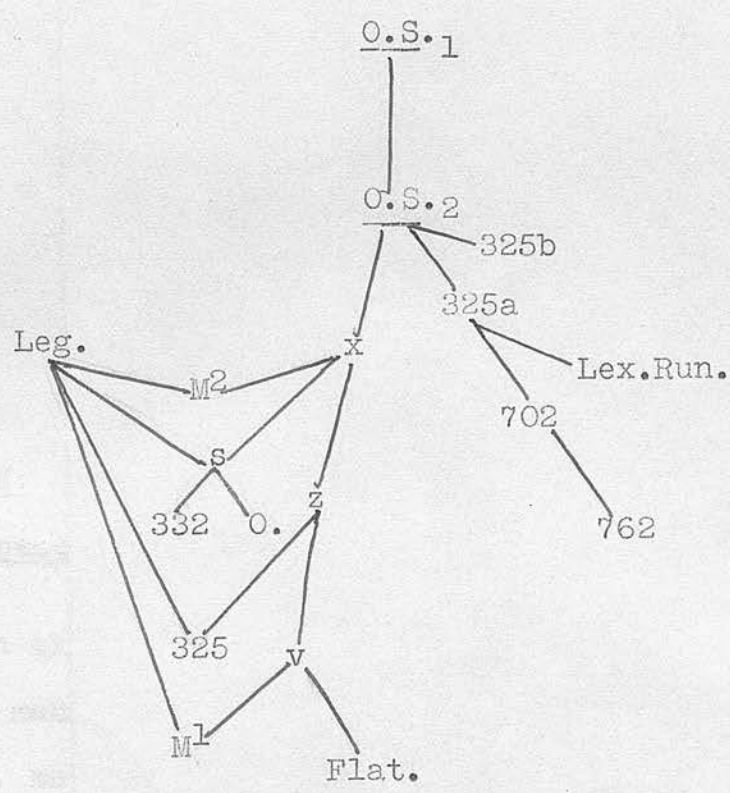
- 762 - MS. AM.762 4to in the University of Copenhagen. The greater part of this MS. - also written by Magnus Ólafsson - is a copy of MS.702.
- Lex. Run. - Specimen Lexici Runici, Collectum a Domino Magno Olavio, Nunc....auctum....ab Olao Wormio, Copenhagen, 1650. This lexicon, as first noted by Vigfusson, contains about 100 citations from O.S., some of them not too accurate, made from MS.325a.
- 332 - MS. AM.332 4to in the University of Copenhagen. This contains four sections of O.S. (ch.2-8, 19-22, 89-92, part of ch.95). It is a paper copy, made by Ásgeir Jónsson, of an MS. lost in the great Copenhagen fire of 1728; Arni Magnusson (1663-1730), the great manuscript collector, has noted on it "Ex fragmento membr. Universit. Hafn." Of great textual value.
0. - MS. Cod. Isl. Papper 39 fol. in the Royal Library, Stockholm. A copy, dated 1615, of a Danish translation (c.1570) of the same text as was used for MS. 332 above. Although only a translation, its accuracy and completeness (there are only two lacunae of importance, in ch.57, and in ch.92-94) give it great value in supplementing the text. Additions and variants are fully supplied in the footnotes to Nordal's edition of O.S., and have been freely introduced into the present translation (See Introd.: Present Translation). Referred to by Vigf. as Tr. A full discussion of its date and general characteristics is given by Nordal in O.S. xxxiv-xli.

- Fl., Flat. - Flateyjarbók, folio, the largest Icelandic MS. in existence, since 1656 in the Royal Library, Copenhagen. Written in the late 14th century on Flatey in the North of Iceland for Jón Hákonarson by two priests. The MS. is beautifully illuminated by Magnus Þórhallsson. It contains almost the whole of the Saga, divided into five sections which are distributed over the various "Lives" of the Kings of Norway. It is therefore of value for its completeness, but is frequently inaccurate in detail, especially in the spelling of unfamiliar place and personal names. Facsimile page in Vigf's ed. of O.S.; complete text in facsimile by E. Munksgaard, Copenhagen, 1930.
- 325 - MS. AM.325 I. 4to in the University of Copenhagen. A fragment of 18 leaves, copied from the same original as Flat. It has many slips of the pen, and proper names are frequently mis-spelt, so that, although it is an early MS., it is of limited textual value. Facsimile in Palaeog. Atlas: Oldnorsk-isl. Afd. No.32, and in Vigf's ed. of O.S.
- M₁ - MS. AM. 350 4to in the University of Copenhagen. Usually known as the Shorter St. Magnus Saga. Based mainly on the Saga of St. Magnus in an early MS. of O.S., with additions and modifications from traditional sources. Full text in Vigf's ed. of O.S. 281-298.
- M₂ - MS. AM. 235 fol. in the University of Copenhagen. Usually known as the Longer St. Magnus Saga. Based on the same text of O.S. as was used for Flat., with additions - homiletic more than biographical - from a Latin Life of Magnus written by a certain Master Rodbert. Full text in Vigf's ed. of O.S. 237-280. The liberties taken/

taken with fact and language in this recension of Magnus' Saga render it of little value in supplementing the text of O.S.

Other MSS. There are more than a dozen other MSS. of O.S., all of paper, and mostly 16th and 17th century copies of Flat. A list is given in Nordal in his O.S. xliv-xlv. Three of these are in English Libraries; one in the British Museum (Bank No.5^b), and two in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (F.Magn. No.1^l fol.; J.Sig. No.7 Fol). In 1931 I discovered another paper copy of Flat. (unrecorded by Nordal) in the Library of Yale University, U.S.A.; a brief description of it appears in my article Studies in the Orkneyinga Saga in P.O.A.S. xi,45.

The relationship of the principal MSS. described above has been carefully studied by Nordal. Throughout my study of the Saga text I have found no reason to doubt the general soundness of his conclusions as shown in the diagram on p.liv of his edition. The diagram is reproduced here for reference in connection with the notes on the additions made to the translation from variant readings in Nordal's footnotes.



Here s, x, z and v signify lost MSS., OS' the original Orkneyinga Saga, OS² the revised Saga, and Leg. the oral traditions which have influenced all/

all copies of the Saga of St. Magnus. The edition has an interesting introduction, several good facsimiles, an exhaustive set of genealogical tables, and it contains the two separate Sagas of Saint Magnus, a variant text of the Mythological Introduction, and variants from other Sagas where there are references to the Orkneys.

EDITIONS.

There have been **three** editions of the text of the Orkney-yinga Saga.

JONAS JONAEUS (Dan. JÓN JÓNSSON): Orkneyinga saga, sive Historia Orcadensium cum versione latina, varietate lectionum et indicibus, chronologico, reali et philologico, Copenhagen, 1780.

This first printed edition of the text was based on two MSS:-

- (a) AM.325 vii 4to, an MS. of Snorri's Óláfs Saga helga, of which ch.96-103 are reproduced. These chapters consist of a summary of O.S. ch. 4-12, and a ? copy of O.S. ch. 13-19.
- (b) AM.48 fol., a paper copy of the last section of O.S. found in Flateyjarbók. This supplied O.S. ch.20-112.

The editor knew of MSS.332 and 325, but only one reading is taken from them. Except, then, for the omission of the Mythological Introduction and the abbreviation of ch.4-12, the text is a remarkably complete one. But the MSS. used are late ones, and the text often corrupt.

The edition also contains the text of the Longer Magnus Saga.

GUDBRAND VIGFUSSON: Icelandic Sagas, vol. I, Orkneyinga Saga and Magnus Saga, with Appendices, Rolls series, No.88, H.M.S.O., London, 1887.

No one in the latter half of the nineteenth century had a wider knowledge of O.N. manuscripts than Vigfusson, and as he had at hand almost all the MS. material of O.S. that is now available, and had worked out at least partially the relationships of the MSS., his edition can only be regarded as a brilliant piece of work. The spelling in his text/

text is normalized, and is therefore more easily read by the average student of O.N. than the "diplomatic" text of Nordal. The edition has an interesting introduction, several good facsimiles, an exhaustive set of genealogical tables; and it contains the two separate Sagas of Saint Magnus, a variant version of the Mythological Introduction, and extracts from other Sagas where there are references to the Orkneys. The few textual emendations are sound. The limitations and defects of the edition - defects such as warranted Nordal's edition - are as follows:-

(i) An insufficient number of variant readings is given in the footnotes, especially for the study of place and personal names.

(ii) Variants and additions from the Danish translation O. are translated back into O.N. by Vigfusson himself and inserted in smaller type in the text. This proceeding is difficult to justify in an historical work. And Nordal has pointed out instances where it is not done accurately or discriminatively (Aarb. 1913, 32-35).

(iii) The table of relationship of MSS. is incomplete (see his Introd. xxii), so that, for example, he prefers MS.332 to 325b, and to 325, whereas Nordal's preference, on the basis of his study of the MSS., is in favour of 325b and 325.

(iv) The Index is marred by a considerable number of misprints.

SIGURDUR NORDAL: Orkneyinga Saga, Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur, Copenhagen, 1913-16.

This edition was issued in three parts between 1913 and 1916 in pursuance of the publishing policy and programme of the above Samfund, "the Society for the Publishing of Old Norse Literature" founded in Copenhagen in 1879 and with now about forty Icelandic texts to its credit. The edition has an Indledning or Introduction of 60 pages giving a preliminary sketch of the main literary and historical features/

features of the Saga, and then dealing exhaustively with the MSS. and the two previous editions. The text follows whichever of the available MSS. gives - on the basis of the genealogy of MSS. worked out in the Introduction - what is nearest to the earliest version of the Saga; and all other reputable variants are given in footnotes. Except in the transcription of MSS. 332 and 702 the spelling of the MSS. used is retained. This "diplomatic" text - the term is an ambiguous one in English - is of considerable value in studying the spelling of the many place and personal names that are of doubtful origin. As Nordal occasionally used different MSS. from Vigfusson, the chapter divisions in the two editions do not correspond. (A parallel list of the chapter numbers in the two editions is given in Appendix G.). The edition contains Indexes of Personal Names, Place Names (identifications based on Munch and Vigfusson), Tribal Names, Festivals, and Miscellaneous Proper Names. No attempt is made to date the events in the margin of the text as Vigfusson did and as is done in the present translation; but the Personal Names are accompanied by dates of death wherever possible - based mainly on Vigfusson. The edition, however, makes no special claim to add information beyond what can be derived directly from the text.

The defects pointed out in Vigfusson's edition have been fully remedied in the present one. The plentiful quotations from the Danish translation O. are of particular value. The defects of the edition lie in the difficulty of reading a text where there are four or five systems of orthography, and the second-hand nature of the identification of the place names. But text, footnotes and introduction are indispensable to the serious student of the history of the Orkney Earldom, and Professor Nordal's edition is the main justification for the existence of the present translation.

Extracts from the Orkneyinga Saga are found in various compilations and readers:-

JOHNSTONE/

JOHNSTONE, J: Antiquitates Celto-Scandiae, Copenhagen, 1786; pp.171-274. Extracts from O.S. ch. 21-108 and the Váttur Brenna Adams Biskups (Jónsson's text), with Latin translation.

Antiquités Russes, II (1852) 211-221; extracts from the above.

VIGFUSSON, G. and POWELL, F.Y: Icelandic Prose Reader, Oxford, 1887; pp. 151-153.

Although the Íslendinga Saga is not a detailed history of the country, it differs in certain important features from the typical Sagas of Iceland. There is no doubt that it was first written down in that language in the 13th century. The Íslendinga Saga and S. Njordal (O.S. vol. 1) have been written in the same language. It is well, however, to specify in order the evidence for the date of composition and even to suggest that it is possible to locate the Íslendinga Saga in any particular part of the country.

The evidence for the date of composition is as follows:-

(i) The two earliest editions of the Íslendinga Saga (1815 and 1820) are known as 1815 and 1820 and are written in Icelandic. A careful study of the vocabulary and morphology of the former (the earlier of the two) has revealed less than a dozen words, some of them included and probably non-lexical. There is no trace of distinctive non-lexical forms, such as would suggest the possibility of an early origin for the Saga.

(ii) The vocabulary of the Íslendinga Saga is the standard vocabulary of the Sagas of Iceland. There are, it is true, some words that are used in a sense that is particular to the Íslendinga Saga:- gullfingur (gold ring), skinnþing (skin ring), skinnþingur (skin ring), skinnþingur (skin ring). There are also some words which are non-Icelandic:-

- gull: "gold" (in the sense of "gold ring")
- skinn: "skin" (in the sense of "skin ring")
- skinnþingur: "an ornament" (in the sense of "skin ring")

But these may all be accounted for by the foreign origin of the oral traditions on which the written Saga was based, and by the fact that although non-Icelandic they would not be strange to the author.

3. PLACE OF COMPOSITION.

Although the Orkneyinga Saga deals in such a detailed manner with the history of the Orkneys for three centuries, and although, as has been shown, it differs in certain important features from the typical Sagas of Iceland, there can be no doubt that it was first written down in that Northern island. F. Jónsson (Litt. Hist. II. 655) and S. Nordal (O.S. VII - VIII) have no doubt upon the matter. It is well, however, to display in order the evidence for place of composition and even to inquire if it is possible to localize the Saga in any particular part of Iceland.

The evidence for Iceland as the place of composition is as follows:-

(i) The two earliest extant MS. fragments, A M 325 IIIβ 4to (known as 325b) and A M 325 IIIα 4to (known as 325a), are Icelandic. A careful study of the orthography and phonology of the former (the earlier of the two; see Appendix E) has revealed less than a dozen O.Norw. forms, all of them isolated and probably mere scribal aberrations. There is no trace of distinctively S.W. Norwegian forms, such as would suggest the possibility of an Orkney origin for the Saga.

(ii) The vocabulary is, in the main, the standard vocabulary of the Sagas of Iceland. There are, it is true, terms that are used in a sense that is peculiar to the Orkneys:- goeðingr, raðgjafi, hōldr, (q.v. in Index of Legal Terms). There are also several land and property terms that are non-Icelandic:-

- ból: "a farm," used alone (52⁸).
- garðr, in the sense of "a house in a town" (142⁵)
- boer, in the sense of "an unfortified town or village;" of Bergen, 153⁷, 225¹⁴; of Oslo, 154¹³.
- skytning: "an alehouse" where each paid his own "skot" (53⁵, 141⁹, 144⁶).

But/

But these may all be accounted for by the foreign origin of the oral traditions on which the written Saga was based, and by the fact that although non-Icelandic they would not be strange to the compiler who, it will be shown (see Introd.: Author), must have resided for some length of time in Caithness and the Orkneys.

On the other side we find several usages typically Icelandic. In 149¹⁰ we find O. Icel. jorð for O. Norw. ból. In 315³ we find O. Icel. sel for O. Norw. setr: "a shieling", a term used to explain the word erg (for Celt. airigh) earlier in the same chapter (309n). Indeed, the need for explaining the word erg would not have arisen in the Orkneys or in Caithness where there are numerous farm names derived from it, usually ending today in -ary. Lastly, though of less value as evidence, the standard spelling throughout the different parts of the Saga of O. Norw. Þróndheimr (Trondhjem) is O. Icel. Þrándheimr (3⁷, 5³, 57¹⁶, 142¹⁶).

(iii) The majority of the skalds whose verses are quoted in the Saga were Icelanders. The only important exceptions are Turf-Einarr, five of whose verses appear in his own Saga, and Rognvaldr Kali who is responsible for thirty-two in his. It is probable that Turf-Einar's verses found their way to Iceland at an early period, and those of Rognvaldr Kali during his life-time, probably on the lips of Oddi the Little and Armothr and the other Icelandic skalds who visited Earl Rognvaldr in the Orkneys.

(iv) The ~~repeated~~ mention of the Sagas of the Orkney Earls in almost contemporary Icelandic literature is fairly certain proof, as S. Nordal points out (O.S. l.c.), of its Icelandic provenance.

(v) One would expect that an Icelander who had travelled in the "Western" Isles would, in writing for his countrymen/

countrymen, take pains to explain the relative positions of places and give a little more topographical detail than is usual in Sagas where the scene is laid in Iceland. We do not find this to be so. Indeed, it is not the Saga way. The Saga rarely explains people, and often describes them most meagrely; and it rarely describes places. Only by an acquaintance with the scene of action can one appreciate the skill of Sveinn in kidnapping Paul in Rousay, or in escaping from Lambaborg. Only by a visit to Caithness can one follow Earl Rognvaldr on his last ride to his death at Forsie. In a few instances one finds an explanatory sentence:-

"Northumbria ... which is a fifth part of England" (14n).

"Anglesey is a third part of Wales" (103').

"... the whole of Cantyre; it is better than the best island in the Suðreyjar, with the exception of the Isle of Man. It projects to the West from Scotland and [there is] a narrow isthmus at the landward end, so that ships are frequently hauled over" (105⁸⁻¹¹).

"... Dufeyri; that is a market-town in Scotland" (197").

"... Galloway, where Scotland and England meet" (62').

But the first three of the above occur in parallel passages in Hkr., and the second and third in similar passages in Mork.; so that they belong originally not to O.S. but to the lost Kings' Sagas on which portions of it are based.

(vi) Akin to actual description are "sailing directions." One might expect that an Icelander would betray his point of reference, as it were, by his use of the points of the compass and of verbs of coming and going. Actually, the most contradictory of results can be obtained from such phrases. A few, however, seem definite:-

"Thorbjorn was by turns out in the Orkneys" (út í Orkneyjum, 196").

"There were not at that time two men out in the West (fyrir vestan haf) not of higher birth who were thought more powerful than Sveinn and his brother-in-law Thorbjorn" (196⁷⁻⁸).

"... West to the Isle of Man" (199⁸; really South, but, to the sea-faring Icelander in British waters, further West meant merely further from home).

(vii) Finally, our Saga is too close an imitation of

the Icelandic collections of King's Lives to have been compiled far away from where they were put together.

As to the actual part of Iceland where the Orkneyinga Saga was compiled we have little evidence. F. Jónsson (Litt. Hist. II.656) suggested the North. One type of evidence - though of the negative variety - is the compiler's ignorance of facts known in other parts of Iceland. For example, the early history of Norse rule in the Hebrides, and the great personalities of Anthr the Deep-minded and Ketill Flat-neb, and the rebellion of the latter against Haraldr Fair-hair appear to have been well-known in the West of Iceland, for they play a considerable part in Laxdoela Saga, and are mentioned in Eyrbyggja Saga, Landnámabók, and elsewhere as part of the common stock of the Saga-teller's knowledge. Had he been in possession of this information, the compiler would surely have used it to explain Haraldr Fair-Hair's attack on the Hebrides on his second expedition to the West (894x), instead of confusing the two expeditions and making a mere mention of the attack in the account of the first (cp. O.S. ch. 4 and ch.8). Again, much more seems to have been known in the South and West regarding the reign of Sigurthr the Stout, whose reign receives but scant attention in O.S. ch.11-12. In Njals Saga, a Southern Saga, there survives a long story of the visit of Kari, and of Helgi and Grimr, sons of Njall, to the Orkneys (976x990) and of their fight with the Scots Earls Hundi and Melsnati at Dungalsgnípa (perhaps to be identified with Skíðamyrr in O.S. ch.11). The same Saga gives an account of the battle of Clontarf in 1014 and the events that led up to it - a much better account from the point of view of the history of the Orkney Earldom than our compiler seems able to give us. There are many other Icelandic visitors to Earl Sigurthr mentioned in the Sagas. The skald Gunnlaugr Serpent's-tongue paid two visits (999 and 1008x1012) and he and/

we may again suggest - but only suggest - the North as the locus of our Saga.

and Sigurthr plundered in the Hebrides together (Gunnl. S. ch.11,20; - a Saga of the West). Between 1012 and 1014 Thorsteinn, son of Hallr of Sida, was in Sigurth's service (Porst. Siðu-Halls S. 215-216; - a Saga of the East). Thoroddr, an Icelandic merchant returning home from Dublin, sold his small boat to agents of Sigurthr to enable them to return with taxes from the Isle of Man, x1014 (Eyrb. S. ch.29; - a Saga of the West). Bjorn, a Norwegian, and Thorkell, a relative of Sigurthr, plundered widely with him in Scotland, x1012 (Vatzd.S. ch.43; - a Saga of the North). (1). *see Introd.: Names.*

The three last instances are perhaps not of much importance. The rest, if they prove anything at all, point to the North as the probable place of composition. The North was the home of Grettir and of Viga-Glum, two potent personalities beside whom Sveinn of Gairsay may fitly stand. In the North was composed Vatzdoela Saga, the only Family Saga which quotes from O.S. (But see Introd.: Date of Comp.) Vigfusson (Prol. to Sturl. S. lxvii) professed to see in O.S. a similarity in style and treatment to Ljóstvetninga Saga, another Family Saga of the North. But beyond the fact that Ljóstvetninga Saga is a compilation of disconnected Þættir written in a somewhat pedestrian style, there seems to me ^{rather little} ~~no~~ point in the comparison.

A further piece of evidence, also somewhat negative in character, deserves mention. Our compiler must have had at hand a collection of Lives of the Kings of Norway which was not Ágrip or Heimskringla or Fagrskinna or Morkinskinna but one similar to them. The compilation of O.S. and of Hkr. were almost contemporary, but the discrepancies between the two, especially in the accounts of Haraldr Fair-hair and of Magnus Bare-legs, must preclude the possibility of any consultation between the two compilers. As Snorri probably compiled Hkr. at home on his estate of Reykjaholt in the South-East, we may again suggest - but only suggest - the North as the locus of our Saga.

(1) A list of all the main omissions in O.S. is given in Appendix D.

Finally, two important instances where extensive use was made of the whole Saga can be located in the North. The Flateyjarbók was compiled in the late 14th century in Viðidalstunga and made use of a MS. of O.S. preserved ^{perhaps} in the neighbouring monastery of Þingeyrar. And in the 17th century, Magnús Ólafsson must have had an earlier copy at Laufás in Eyjafjorð from which he made quotations in his Lexicon.

The ~~whole~~ Saga was also known to Bjorn Jónsson (1574-1655) of Skarðsá at the head of Skagafjorð; see Introd.: Name.

The lateness of these instances of course reduces their value as evidence. But that the three districts are in neighbouring valleys in the North of Iceland is certainly suggestive.

The History of Earl Rogvaldur Rætt and of Sveinn Asleif's son (ch. 100-101, 103-104).

The added chapters (ch. 100-112) he did not include in his at all.

In making a study of the sources of the Grænlendinga Saga, its disunity became still more evident to me. Even further division and sub-division became necessary. The Saga as we have it appeared as a compilation, from many sources, which had been augmented, after its completion, by a number of interpolations and additions by more than one scribal hand. Although the evidence for the separateness of the various sections will not be given until I come to the study of the Reykdal (Iceland), a full list of this is given here, including the interpolations as they occur, in order to demonstrate the extraordinary complexity of the work.

Interpolations of O.S.

- Ch. 1-3. Mythological Introduction.
- Ch. 4-6 (10th). The case of the Reykdal.
- Ch. 8-11 (10th). History of the Reykdal as told by the Reykdal.
- Ch. 12 (10th)-13. The description of the case of the Reykdal, and the signature of the Reykdal.
- Ch. 14.

4. THE PROBLEM OF UNITY.

Even on a casual reading it is clear that the Orkneyinga-Saga is a compilation of shorter Sagas or Paettir. Vigfusson in his Prolegomena to his edition of Sturlunga Saga first divided it up, distinguishing five sections:

1. The Mythological Introduction (ch.1-3).
2. Jarla Sogur (ch.4-33).
3. Magnus Saga (ch.34-52).
4. Saint Magnus' "Miracle-Book" (ch.57).
5. The History of Earl Rognvaldr Kali and of Sveinn Asleif's son (ch.53-56; 58-108).

[The added chapters (ch.109-112) he did not include in O.S. at all].

In making a study of the Sources of the Orkneyinga Saga,¹ its disunity became still more evident to me. Even further division and sub-division became necessary. The Saga as we have it appeared as a compilation, from many sources, which had been subjected, after its completion, to a number of interpolations and additions by more than one scribal hand. Although the evidence for the separateness of the various sections will not be given until I come to the study of the Sources (infra), a full list of them is given here, including the interpolations as they occur, in order to demonstrate the exceeding complexity of the work.

Divisions of O.S.

Ch.1-3.	Mythological Introduction.
Ch.4-8 (14 ¹²)	The Saga of Turf-Einarr.
Ch.8 (14 ¹² -16 ³)	Linking ch. based on <u>S.</u> of Eiríkr Bloody-Axe.
Ch.8 (16 ⁴)-11	Two <u>Paettir</u> ₍₁₎ of the sons of Thorfinnr Skuli-splitter, and one of Sigurthr the Stout.
Ch./	

(1) O.N. pa'atr, plur. paettir: "a Short Saga" or "short story."

- Ch.12 An introduction to ch.13-19 drawn mainly from *S. of Olaf Trygviss' son.
- Ch.13-19. A þáttur of the sons of Sigurthr the Stout (I refer to it usually as the "first þáttur of Thorfinnr")
- Ch.15 (26²³ - 28³) An episode perhaps drawn from *S. of Saint Olaf.
- Ch.20. The second þáttur of Earl Thorfinnr.
- Ch.21 (- 57¹⁹) An introduction to the next þáttur, drawn from *S. of Haraldr the Tyrant and *S. of Magnus the Good.
- Ch.21 (57¹⁹) - 31. A þáttur of Earls Thorfinnr and Rognvaldr (I refer to it usually as the "third þáttur of Thorfinnr").
- Ch.32 (- 87¹⁰) Conclusion to the whole Saga of Earl Thorfinnr.
- [Ch.32 (87¹⁰ - end) Interpolation: Two verses of Arnorr].
- Ch.33. A genealogy of the families of Earls Paul and Erlendr.
- Ch.34 (- 91¹⁴) An introduction to the þaettir of Earl Hakon drawn from *S. of Haraldr the Tyrant.
- Ch.34 (91¹⁴) - 38. A Saga, or group of þaettir, of Hakon Paul's son.
- Ch.39-43. An introduction to the Sagas of Saint Magnus and of Earl Rognvaldr Kali, drawn from *S. of Magnus Bare-legs.
- [Ch.42 (107¹⁸⁻¹⁹). Interpolation: a reference to Snorri Sturluson].
- Ch.44-52. The Saga of Saint Magnus.
- Ch.45. A "copy-book" eulogy of Saint Magnus.
- [Ch.51. Interpolation: Dating of the death of Saint Magnus].
- Ch.53-56 (130¹⁵) A series of genealogies and þaettir introductory to the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali.
- [Ch.56 (130¹⁵)-57. Interpolation: A Jarteinabók or "Miracle-Book" of Saint Magnus].
- Ch.58 - 108 (321¹²) The Saga of Rognvaldr Kali.
- Ch.62. Interlude, based on *Sagas of Kings Sigurthr and Magnus the Blind, to show/

show how Rognvaldr Kali retained the title of "Earl of the Orkneys."

- [Ch.84. Interpolation: a genealogy of Kolbeinn Lump].
- Ch.85-89 A self-contained páttir of Rognvaldr Kali's Crusade.
- Ch.85 (220n). A folk tale: "The Man with the Cowl."
- Ch.85 (223n). Episode and verse on Rognvaldr Kali and the Madman.
- Ch.91 (262¹³- 263¹⁸) Interlude on King Eysteinn's expedition to the West, ?based on * S. of Ingi and Sigurthr.
- [Ch.104 (315²²⁻²³). Interpolation: Dating of death of Earl Rognvaldr Kali].
- [Ch.108 (321¹⁶) Sveinn's death speech].
- [Ch.108 (321¹²)-112. The Saga of Earl Haraldr Maddadh's son; an addition bringing events down to the year 1214].

Unifying Factors.

Disregarding the interpolations (enclosed in square brackets in the above list), one is faced with the problem of whether the compilation of the rest of the above material was the work of one or of more men. Vigfusson made little or no attempt to explain how the various sections of the Saga were put together. He was more concerned with their disparity than with the marks of a compiler's hand. Jónsson (Litt. Hist. II. 654), however, has an important paragraph on the unity of the Saga. He mentions the general similarity of the style throughout - although I cannot wholly agree with this -, the general coherence of the narrative (except for the hiatus after the "Miracle-Book"), the presence of remarks like "All these men come into the Saga later" (O.S. 89¹⁹, 130¹⁴), and - his most important point - the fact that the Saga is built upon a single plan. This last point has been enlarged upon already in the first chapter of this Introduction. There is, in addition, the same method throughout of using verses, of linking section to section, of dating events with reference to known reigns of/

of Norwegian kings (see Appendix B). With regard to style, although the prose vocabulary is uniform on the whole, an exception must be made of the syntax, which is more loose in the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali than in the earlier half of the O.S., is most complex in the first þáttur of Thorfinnr, and is most simple and paratactic in the Mythological Introduction, the "Miracle-Book" and the Tale of the Man with the Cowl. In support of unity of compilation, however, is the fact that the geographical knowledge shown in the Saga does not vary from part to part. A topographical error which recurs in widely separated sections of the Saga is a good illustration of this.

The compiler appears to think that Ekkjalsbakki ("Oikell-Bank", usually rendered "the Dornoch Firth") is on the coast of Morayshire, and that Elgin is at the head of it. In the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali we read of Sveinn's journey to Athole:

"[Sveinn] sailed south to the Moray Firth, and caught a north west wind to Banff, which is a market-town in Scotland. And thence he sailed along the coast of Moray and to the Dornoch Firth and lay at a place called Elgin. Thence he travelled to Athole..." (O.S. ch.78).

Sveinn would hardly have gone north to the Dornoch Firth on his way from Banff to Elgin and Athole; he would put ashore at Spey Bay or Garmouth. A similar itinerary occurs a few pages previously:

"[Sveinn with Earl Paul sailed] East of the Swelchie, thence into the Moray Firth, and along the coast of it to the Dornoch Firth. There he left his ship behind, and twenty men, while he and the rest went on until they came to Athole to Earl Maddadh" (O.S. ch.74).

It is hardly probable that Sveinn would take his captive Paul overland as far as from the Dornoch Firth to Athole.

The same mistake is made in the second þáttur of Thorfinnr in another way (O.S. ch.20). A verse of Arnor's quoted in the chapter (O.S. 50") refers to the fight "at Torfnes (Tarbatness) south off Ekkjall (R.Oykell)" - a correct description. But in the author's preceding prose account of the battle this is interpreted as á Torfnes fyrir sunnan Breiðafjörð: "at Tarbatness in the south of the Moray Firth" (O.S. 49²³). Torfnes and Ekkjall are imagined as/

as being on the south coast of the Moray Firth.

Again in the Saga of Turf-Einarr Torfnes is described as being "in Scotland" (O.S. 10⁴). Now the Saga does not normally confuse Sutherland or Ross with Scotland. The term "Scotland" is admittedly used vaguely in this as in other O.N. Sagas, but it does not include either of these provinces. For example, we read:

"Thorfinnr took Sutherland and Ross under him, and harried far and wide round the coast of Scotland" (O.S. 49⁴).

To the compiler, Torfnes á Skotlandi probably meant Torfnes on the Moray coast.

In the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali (O.S. 262⁴) Torfnes is again described as being in Scotland. A common error thus unites three widely separated sections of O.S.

The deliberate linking of section to section has been mentioned as evidence of careful compilation. This is achieved not only by the use of linking chapters (see Introd.: O.S. in Rel. to other Saga Lit.), but by the preparation made in one section for events which are to follow in another. Three instances may be cited. Nordal notes one of them (O.S. VI); he points out how Frakokk and her kin appear in the chapters on Earls Paul and Haraldr Hakon's son (ch.53-56) although they do not play their most important part in O.S. until the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali. A second instance is the fact that all the genealogical chapters in O.S. are by one hand and lead up to the largest section, the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali; (see Sources of ch.33,53,55,56). Again O.S. ch.39-43 are based mainly on a lost Saga of Magnus Bare-legs; but they are linked to the succeeding Saga of Saint Magnus by references to his behaviour and adventures on his cruise with King Magnus, and to the still later Saga of Rognvaldr Kali by five references to Kali and his family not found in any other of the many separate versions of the Saga of Magnus Bare-legs; (see Sources of ch.39-43).

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All this goes to prove that the Orkneyinga Saga is a clever compilation/

compilation of material drawn from very diverse sources, made by a single worker and welded by him into a fairly coherent whole; together with, as has been said, a number of later interpolations and additions.

Studies of the text... have already been made by... by R. ... (1885, II, 555) and by ... (1887, I, 155). These studies are written on the ... the complete ... usually had a name. ... the absence of a title ... as the ... of the ... With this consideration in view, I feel ... the following fresh ... of the evidence.

As to the first ... in the ... 17th century. ... is the ... of the ... 18th century. ... of the ... 19th century. ... of the ... 20th century. ... of the ... 21st century.

The form ... is ... in ... of the ... 17th century. ... of the ... 18th century. ... of the ... 19th century. ... of the ... 20th century. ... of the ... 21st century.

(i) In a reference to ... on. 105 (Mar. 275²²) ... on. 29 (ed. 1885, 105)

(ii) In a reference to ... valid ... 270/

5. NAME.

Studies of the vexed question of the name of our Saga have already been made by Vigfusson (Rolls 88.I.xi-xii), by F. Jónsson (Litt. Hist. II. 653), and by Nordal (Aarb. 1913, 36-37). These studies are written on the a priori assumption that the complete Saga actually had a name. But in medieval "books" the absence of a title was as common as the omission of the name of the author. With this consideration in view, I feel justified in giving the following fresh survey of the evidence.

We do not find our Saga called Orkneyinga Saga in any document until the 17th century. The nearest approach to this name in a 13th century MS. is the heading to ch. 89 in the "Historical" Ol. Helg. S. (ed. 1853, 90): Upphaf Orkneyinga Sagna: "Beginning of tales of the Orkneymen." Sagna might be the genitive plural of saga, but is more probably the genitive plural of sogn: "a tale" or þáttur. The next nearest equivalent (in the 14th century) is Saga Orkneyinga jarla in a reference to O.S. ch.8 in the Longer Ol. Trygg.S. ch. 95 (Fms.I. 196).

The form Jarla sognur: "Earls' sagas", assumed in previous studies to be the normal and indeed common name of the Saga in early sources, occurs really only three times - twice in 13th century sources and once in a 14th century source. The apparent multiplicity of occurrences of this form is due to the first two of these sources being frequently copied. The form occurs as follows:-

(i) In a reference to O.S. ch. 4-19 in Hkr., Ol Helg.S. ch.103 (Hkr. 275³²); copied in the Hist. Ol. Helg. S. ch.89 (ed. 1853, 100).

(ii) In a reference to the quarrels of Thorfinnr and Rognvaldr Brusi's son (O.S. ch. 21-31) in Mork. (in Flat. III

270); the passage appears also in Fsk. ch. 40 (ed. F.J., 201; MS. B.) and in Hulda (Fms. VI. 45).

(iii) In a reference to the fate of Rognvaldr Brusil's son (as told in O.S. ch.21-29) in the Flat. version of Ol. Helg. S. (14th century; Flat. II. 347; also printed in Fms. V. 201).

To the above references to Jarla sogur may be added one to the Saga of Turf-Einarr (O.S. ch. 4-8) in Vatnsdoela Saga, ch. 9 (ed. Vogt, 26⁵): af honum eru komnir allir Orkneyinga jarlar sem segir í aefi þeirra: "... from him (Turf-Einarr) are descended all the Orkney Earls, as is told in their Lives". This could be used to support an original name of either Jarla sogur or Orkneyinga jarla sogur.

Apart from the use of Jarla sogur in Flat. in (iii) above, that large compilation is of little value in supplying data on the problem. The phrase Þáttir Orkneyinga jarla is normally used in headings of and references to the sections of the Saga incorporated in it (e.g. Flat. II. 55). But the phrase is not a name for the Saga but for the passages copied.

The next form of note is Jarla saga, which occurs twice. The first instance is a variant reading in MS.B. of Fsk. for Jarla sogur as in (ii) above; it is probably a scribal error. But it is used, probably quite intentionally, by Magnús Ólafsson in his citations from our Saga in his Specimen Lexici Runic, Copenhagen, 1650. And he applied the name Jarla saga to the whole work, whereas, so far as is known, the 13th and 14th century writers used the plural form Jarla sogur in references to O.S. ch.4-32 only.

Finally, - and here I quote Vigfusson as my sole authority for the facts - "At the revival of Icelandic letters (i.e. in the 17th century), Biorn of Scarðsá uses the form Orkneyia Jarla Saga, and later the incorrect but common usage of Orkneyinga Saga crept in." I have/

have been unable to discover the first occasions where this new form "crept in." It would appear at any rate to have been suggested by such forms as the headings in Flat. mentioned above, on the precedent and analogy of Family Saga names like Ljóstvetninga Saga and Vapnfirðinga Saga.

That is all the evidence. It is certainly possible that the original name of the whole Saga was Jarla sogur (as Jónsson has it) or even Orkneyinga (or Orkneyja) jarla sogur (as Nordal tentatively suggests). But the varied and indefinite nomenclature in the references enumerated above suggests to me that the complete Saga did not have a name at all, although the earlier part of it known to Snorri and some of his contemporaries (i.e. ch. 4-32) was apparently known as Jarla sogur.

A nameless book is an inconvenience. Throughout the present work I have followed the usage that "crept in" in the 17th century and called the whole compilation Orkneyinga Saga. Where the term Jarla Sogur is used, it is to be taken to imply the version of ch.4-32 known to Snorri.

6. DATE.

Two dates are to be determined:

1. The date of the original compilation of O.S.
2. The date, or dates, of the interpolations and additions.

Date of Compilation.

The evidence relating to the date of the original compilation of O.S. is as follows:-

A. Evidence of MSS.

According to Nordal (O.S. xix, liv) MS. AM. 325 III β (325b) is the oldest MS. of the Saga. A study of the orthography and phonology of this MS. (see Appendix E) shows it to belong to the second half of the 13th century. The compilation of O.S. would therefore appear to belong to the first half of that century. *? or earlier*

B. External Evidence.

The early chapters of O.S. (ch.4-32) are referred to or used in several 13th century works. Full details of such use as is made of the Saga are given in the relevant parts of the study of its Sources. The crucial references are as follows:

- (i) Hkr., Ol. Helg. S. ch.97-103, and especially the reference to Jarla sogur in ch.103; copied in Hist. Ol. Helg. S. ch.89. See Sources of O.S. ch.13-19. This dates these chapters of O.S. before c.1230.
- (ii) Fsk. ch.40 (ed. F.J., 201), a reference to the quarrels of Thorfinnr and Rognvaldr Brusil's son; also in Hulda (Fms. vi, 45) and Mork. (in Flat. III 270). See Sources /

Sources of ch.21-31. This dates these chapters of

O.S. before c.1240.

(iii) Vatnsdoela S. ch.9 (ed. Vogt, 26) (c.1250), a reference to "the Orkney Earls.... their Lives," which, however, probably refers to their Sagas in oral form.

See Introd.: Name and Sources of ch.4-8.

(iv) Ldn. ~~17, 14, 2~~^{96-97, 2}, a version of O.S. ch.6, with a reference to the "Saga of Turf-Einarr," but probably to its oral form. See Sources of ch.4-8. Like Vatn.S.

it is of limited value in dating the written O.S.

(v) Hist. Ol. Helg.S. ch.232 (ed. 1853, 221), a probable reference to O.S. ch.21. See Sources of ch.21.

This dates this chapter before c.1250.

The Saga as a whole appears to have been known in its entirety to only one 13th century historian, the compiler of Hulda, which was probably put together before 1250, although the only surviving MS. belongs to the following century. Use is made of O.S. as follows:

Hulda (Fms.vi.45-47) - O.S. ch.21-31.

Hulda (Fms.vii.40-51) - O.S. ch.39-43.

O.S. ch.85-89 may also have been known, although direct use is not made of them; see Sources of these chapters.

C. Historical Range and Accuracy.

(i) The last event mentioned in the unrevised O.S. is the canonization of Earl Rognvaldr Kali in 1192 (O.S. 316¹⁻⁴). The report of the miracles in this chapter suggests that it was written some time after his death in 1158, - at least a generation. This gives us a date after c.1200.

(ii) The detail and apparent accuracy of the narrative in Rognvaldr Kali's Saga suggests that it was written more than one but not much more than two generations after the main events of 1136-58.

(iii) In O.S. ch.108 we read of Sveinn Asleif's son that "it/

"it is the judgment of men that he has been the biggest man in every way in the British isles...." The tense suggests that the passage was written soon after his death (c.1170). But the evidence of the tense of a single verb can carry little weight when it is remembered that variety and even laxity in the use of tenses is a feature of O.N. prose.

D. Use of Written Sources.

Apart from mention of verses and lays, there are only three specific references to written sources of information.

(i) * S. of Magnus the Good, O.S. 57¹³. See Sources of ch. 21.

(ii) * Lives of Kings of Norway, O.S. 57¹⁹. See Sources of ch.21.

(iii) * S. of Erlingr Crick-neck, O.S. 260⁹. See Sources of ch.85-90.

None of these are extant in their original form, and it is impossible to assign exact dates to them. Erlingr Crick-neck died in 1179; and since his Saga appears to be used also in Hkr., we may date it 1190x1220. The Kings' Sagas used not only in ch.21 but in almost all chapters in O.S. touching on Norwegian history (ch.4,8,12,21,30,34,39-43,62,91) can be dated as before 1220, or more reasonably before 1210; for they also are used in Hkr. (1220-30), as well as in Morkinskinna (1220-30), Fagrskinna (1230-40) and Hulda (c.1250).

The dates of the known sources of O.S., then, add little to our knowledge of the date of O.S. itself.

But there is one fact of significance. When we find O.S., Hkr., Fsk., and Mork., continually using the same sources for material in a period of much scribal activity, we may argue that these four works are as nearly contemporary as other factors will allow them to be. Since probably neither Hkr. nor Mork. were begun before 1220, and since O.S. is/

is used in Hkr., we may argue that the compilation of O.S. was begun and perhaps completed not long before 1220, - say 1210-20. It will be noted that this corresponds closely with the probable date as deduced from the evidence of range and accuracy of information.

It has been already pointed out in the first chapter of this Introduction that O.S. was compiled on a plan similar to that of Hkr. (1220-30) and Knýtlinga Saga (c.1270). The evidence of date adduced above, however, has placed O.S. prior to both of these. Here is a dilemma not easily solved. But some explanation must be ventured. If the alternative explanations I am about to offer seem to be making more vague and indefinite ^{the} facts already stated regarding the compilation of O.S., my defence is that the truth must be sought however vague and indefinite it may be.

In the first place, the compiler may have had before him between 1210 and 1220 a collection of Kings' Lives similar in nature to Hkr. We know that collections of a sort did exist; Ágrip af Nóregs konunga sögur (c.1180) is a short one. We know that the compiler must have had such a collection at hand in putting together O.S. - a collection that was not Hkr. (see Introd: Sources). This collection of course may not have had a Mythological Introduction like Hkr. But the Mythological Introduction may have been added to O.S. by the compiler later, after he had seen or heard of Hkr.; the transition from the Mythological Introduction in O.S. to the next chapter is good, but not perfect.

Alternatively, between 1210 and 1220 the compiler of O.S. had done no more than collect or write the component parts for O.S., one of which, the original Jarla sögur (O.S. ch.4-32), found its way into the hands of Snorri and was used by him in Hkr. The actual compilation of a continuous O.S. would then be made after the compiler had seen Hkr. (either partially or wholly/

wholly completed). This would explain why Snorri knew only a small part of O.S., and would fit in with Nordal's theory that parts of O.S. ch.8 and 12 are taken directly from Hkr.; (but see Sources of these chapters).

This latter theory of compilation in two stages, the first between c.1210 and c.1225 and the second between c.1225 and c.1235, seems to explain most facts, and is accepted, albeit tentatively, throughout the remainder of this Introduction

Dates of Interpolations and Additions.

The dates of these interpolations cannot be determined with much exactitude. Such deductions as I have been able to make on the matter are given in the discussion of their nature and origin under Sources.

7. THE AUTHOR.

Only one attempt has been made to identify the compiler of the Orkneyinga Saga with a known historical person. In two articles in the Orkney and Shetland Old Lore Series of the Viking Club, Jan. and Apr. 1907, Mr Jón Stefansson sought to prove that Bishop Bjarni, son of Kolbeinn Hruga of Wyre and brother-in-law of Sveinn Asleif's son, was the author of O.S. He argued that the peculiarly distinctive literary features of O.S. render it probable that it was composed outside Iceland; that the intimate knowledge shown of the Orkneys almost necessitates an Orkney author; that Bjarni's authorship fits the known facts regarding the date of composition of the Saga; that he had travelled in Norway and was the only Orkneyman who had the requisite knowledge and ability to compose a long and complex work like O.S.; that his authorship would explain the interest in the family of Sveinn Asleif's son; and that his "sense of history and his sympathy with the viking life as shown in Jómsvikingadrápa" are repeated in the Orkneyinga Saga.

Few of these arguments are entirely satisfactory, and the first one, that of non-Icelandic authorship, has been proved to be contrary to fact; see Introd.: Place of Comp. The knowledge shown of the Orkneys is not intimate enough to warrant the assumption of an Orkneyman as being the author. The remaining arguments take a partial view of the evidence; they are statements of mere possibilities. Bishop Bjarni probably composed Jómsvikingadrápa, but he was fairly certainly not the compiler of O.S. We must turn to Iceland if we are to solve the problem.

We can best begin by building up a synthetic personality for the author from the evidence of his work -

~~for him from the evidence~~ - by enquiring into such matters as his social position, his mental equipment for his work, and the means he took to acquire the necessary information for it, and thence perhaps proceed to speculate on his identity.

The first question that arises is whether he was layman or cleric. The view that most of the Family Sagas were written by the priestly class is held, on the internal evidence of these Sagas, by Professor F. Jónsson (Litt. Hist. II. 274-282) and by Professor E. Mogk (Geschichte der norw.-isl. Lit. 174-190). The opposite point of view is put forward by Professor R. Meissner (Die Strengleikar, 1-104) for the reason that much of the internal evidence of style and attitude is illusory, and on the less certain ground that the clergy must have regarded the Sagas as being contrary to the spiritual ideals of the church. I say "less certain" because the copying of secular manuscripts in monasteries was a common and indeed universal medieval phenomenon. Further evidence against compilation of Family Sagas in monasteries has been collected by Professor H. Hermannsson (Islandica, XIX. 31-37). He shows by an analysis of the extant inventories of the libraries in Icelandic churches during the 13th and 14th centuries that, while Saints' Lives and even Kings' Sagas were not uncommon, Family Sagas were conspicuously absent. The probability is that, in the words of Hermannsson (l.c.30), "the greater part of the secular literature was written by, or committed to parchment at the instance of laymen, although in many cases a cleric may have held the quill." I venture only one personal contribution to the controversy. The unhistorical and legendary nature of sections of Sagas like the Saint Magnus chapters in O.S. indubitably written by clerics shows very well what all Sagas would have been like had they been of entirely priestly origin.

So far as the internal evidence in O.S. is concerned, the hand/

hand of a pious scribe is visible in the interpolations, including the "Miracle-Book" (ch.57); see Sources of Interpolations. But in the original compilation there is no evidence of an ecclesiastical bias. The Saga of Saint Magnus was fairly certainly not originally written by the compiler (see Sources of ch.44-52), so that its more unctious tone cannot be used to prove the compiler a priest. The church and the clergy play little part in the rest of O.S. Bishop John of Athole and his priests are treated with scant reverence (ch.77). Bishop William the Old appears in the tale as diplomatist rather than as priest. The references to Bishop Bjarni occur all but one (O.S. 316³) in later additions to the Saga. Of the acute controversy over the appointment to the Orkney see between 1110 and 1125 there is not a hint in the Saga (see Appendix D). The interest shown in the building of Saint Magnus Cathedral is very mild; one would expect more information even from a practically-minded layman. In a word, the internal evidence is against O.S. being written by a member of any religious order. A family priest may have acted as amanuensis, and if the Saga of Saint Magnus is a translation from a Latin Life, this is almost a certainty.

If then, our compiler was a layman, he must have been a man of considerable wealth and importance. He possessed, or had access to a collection of Kings' Sagas. He was able to travel widely, and met the most noble families in Caithness and the Orkneys. He is quite at home in tales of earls and kings and large landowners. They are human beings like himself. As Mr J. Storer Clouston notes (Hist. Orkn. 180), we meet only a few of the common people in his tale - Havarth, Solmund's "house-carle," two of Sveinn's tenants, Asa the kitchenmaid, and a few others. His interests, like those of most Saga-writers, are aristocratic. But he was not, it would seem, of the Earl's blood, for in his enthusiastic summing-up of the character of Sveinn in ch.108 he reveals/

reveals a significant respect for rank:

"Now is Sveinn's story ended. And it is the judgment of men that he has been the biggest man in every way in the British Isles, both in days present and days past, among men who were not of higher rank than he." (O.S. 321⁸⁻¹²).

We cannot tell what brought him to Caithness and the Orkneys, or whether he paid more than one visit. But he came at least once between 1190 and 1210, sailing probably via Bergen, Shetland and the Orkneys to Caithness, staying there with some branch of the family of Sveinn in Duncansby, where they owned an estate (O.S. 129⁹, 198¹⁵). For it is of Caithness people, and of the scenery of Caithness and the Pentland Firth that he shows the most ready knowledge. The complicated pedigree of the family of Frakokk has only a minor bearing on the main narrative of the Orkney Earldom; but considerable interest is shown in it (see O.S. ch.53-55, 63, 77) and the relationships were quite clear to the author, as the bewildered reader will discover if he puts the names together and constructs a tabular genealogy. (See Vigf.: Rolls 88. I. xlv.). The most accurate geographical knowledge shown anywhere in O.S. is of two districts in Caithness - Freshwick in ch.82, 83, and 93, and the township of Forsie in ch.103; see the notes on these chapters. In ch.20, 26, 94, and 97 an accurate knowledge is shown of the Pentland Firth, its islands, and its tides. The description of Sveinn's return voyage after kidnaping Earl Paul in Rousay is unmistakably the result of actual observation:

"And they stood out to sea and sailed back the same way round the West of the Mainland, and turned in between Hoy and Graemsay, and so round the East of the Swelchie, thence into the Moray Firth, and along the coast of it to the Dornoch Firth" (O.S. 188⁴⁻⁸).

Residence for a time at Duncansby would explain such knowledge.

About the rest of Scotland he is a little vague, although his only obvious error is in thinking that Ekkjalsbakki, the Dornoch Firth, ~~was~~^{is} on the coast of Moray. (See Introd.: Problem of Unity). There is nothing to suggest that he ever sailed down the East/

East or the West of Scotland, or visited the Hebrides, Man, or Ireland; but the narrative is so impersonal that he might easily have done so without betraying the fact in a single individual detail of topography.

Of the Orkneys not much more knowledge is shown than the names of the islands, the relative positions of them, and the names of the estates of the chief men, as listed, for example, in ch.56. Occasionally we find a phrase that suggests an actual visit to the spot:

"... in Westray, in the village that was then there" (O.S. 129^a).

"Cairston... into the castle that was then there" (O.S. 27¹). Such touches are rare. There is only one other, and that is in the interpolated "Miracle-Book":

"At that time the market town in Kirkwall had few houses" (O.S. 134²).

Apart from the references to the Pentland Firth given above, the only incidents where a knowledge is shown comparable to that of Freshwick and Forsie are the battle of Tankerness (ch.65), the murder of Sveinn Breast-rope at the Hall of Orphir (ch.66), the kidnapping of Earl Paul (ch.74), and Sveinn Asleif's son's escape in the cave on Eynhallow (ch.95). But the first and last are meagre in detail. And the locus of the kidnapping of Earl Paul is rendered a little uncertain owing to the author's apparently faulty idea of the orientation of Røhsay; see note on ch.74. An instance occurs of confusion between two similar names; Knarrarstaðir (Knarston) and Kjarrekstaðir (Cairston); see notes on 269^b and 270¹. Such errors may seem small among sixty other Orkney place names correctly used. But at least they reveal a lack of complete intimacy with the scenery of the Orkneys.

With Norway the compiler shows as much knowledge as is adequate for the requirements of his narrative. Nordal (O.S. VIII) has pointed out one error which he regards as a trifle surprising in an Icclander. Alversund (Alviðra) appears to be regarded as lying/

lying to the South of Bergen instead of to the North (O.S. 145).

To Iceland there are only five incidental references in the whole Saga - a striking tribute to the singleness of purpose with which the compiler kept to his southern theme.

On the rest of Europe he is on unknown ground. Many places, like Þrasnes and Imbolar, are mere names to him. Some, like Nerbón and Engilsnes are clearly misplaced. Such places were probably known to him as landmarks or ports of call on the standard Crusaders' route to the Holy Land, and are so used by him. The range of European names he is able to employ with accuracy can be found by examining the Index of Place Names.

The above survey of his geographical knowledge might be followed by a similar study of the extent and accuracy of his historical learning. But that can only be judged by examining the array of sources he employed (see Introd.: Sources), by noting his omissions (see Appendix D), and by an enquiry into his discrimination between the true and the false, the probable and the possible. The summary of the results of such an enquiry is given later in this Introduction in the chapter on The Orkneyinga Saga as History, and shows him to be, by strictly medieval standards, a fairly competent master of his craft.

To the above facts is ^{to be} added the information already deduced that he must have been compiling the Saga at some time between 1210 and 1220 and perhaps as late as 1230 or 1235 (see Introd. Date); and that he possibly lived in the North of Iceland (see Introd.: Place of Composition). In the study of Place of Composition his ignorance of many facts apparently well known in the West and the South of Iceland has been noted. A certain individuality in his methods of working has been likewise noted in the first chapter of this Introduction. But an explanation other than one of mere geographical remoteness (such as residence in the North of Iceland)/

Iceland) may be found for this distinctiveness. The first half of the 13th century in Iceland was a period of civil war. The protagonists were Snorri Sturluson, in alliance with his brother Thorthr and other magnates of the West and South; and the third Sturlung brother, Sighvatr, and his son Sturla; with a following from the North. The kaleidoscopic changes in the conflict and the bitterness it engendered are fully described in Sturlunga Saga by Thorth's son Sturla, and explain how it was possible among a relatively small educated population for the compilation of large works like Heimskringla, Morkinskinna, and O.S. to proceed simultaneously without almost any collaboration. The conditions of the time, indeed, throw some light on both the matter and the manner of these compilations. The conflict of rival kings or earls, which is the staple thematic material of Hkr. and O.S., was but a reflection of the daily lives of Snorri and his contemporaries. The scheming and sudden irresponsible violence of Sveinn Asleif's son is paralleled in the careers of Urþkja, Snorri's illegitimate son, and of Sturla Sighvatsson. The compiler of O.S. was probably a participant in the feuds of the period, for few men of importance could stay out. Indeed it is difficult to believe that the author of Rognvaldr Kali's Saga was other than a man of action. As to finding time to compile his work, one need only recall that Snorri contrived to write Hkr. in the intervals of farming, fighting, and settling law-suits. We read of even the fiery and unscrupulous Sturla Sighvatsson that in 1231 "he was much at Reykholt with Snorri and made it his business to have copies written of the histories which Snorri composed" (Sturl. S.I. 299). Historical research has been a not uncommon avocation of men of affairs at all periods of history.

At this point speculation as to exact identity may begin. There is what at first sight seems a promising field of enquiry in the extensive genealogies in Sturlunga Saga; (see in particular Sturl.S. I. 189 - 194). Most of the chief men in the North of Iceland/

Iceland during the period concerned seem to be included. The obvious procedure is to make a list of possible "candidates" and, proceeding by elimination, to find the man.

The only man who fulfils the requirements of our specification and for whose claim additional circumstantial evidence can be produced is Sighvatr Sturluson (1170-1238), Snorri's brother and sometime rival. Sighvatr might have made the usual young man's voyage abroad and have visited Caithness and the Orkneys between 1190 and 1200. Between 1210 and 1220 he would have access to the same Collection of Kings' Lives as Snorri. But after 1220, on Snorri's return from Norway, the brothers saw little of each other. Sighvatr kept to the North, where he had taken up house some time previously on his marriage with Hall-dora, daughter of Kolbeinn Tumason of Skagafjorð. This dissociation with Snorri would explain how the latter apparently saw nothing of O.S. except the early chapters (ch.4-32). Further, in the study of the Date of O.S. it was suggested that O.S. may not have taken its final form until after the compilation of Hkr. The visit of his son Sturla to Snorri at Reykholt in 1231 would explain how he got to know of the general form of his brother's great History.

But the name of Sighvatr Sturluson can be suggested only because we know a good deal about him. His authorship is possible, but cannot be described as probable. For there are many other men named in the genealogies who might fit our specification equally well if we knew more about them.

I am convinced that the secret of the authorship of O.S. lies in these pages of Sturlunga Saga. But a secret it will probably remain.

classified

8. SOURCES: A Detailed Study.

In the following lengthy study of the sources of the Orkneyinga Saga an endeavour has been made to examine every extant piece of writing that might have contributed material to its compilation, and to collate the Saga with any contemporary work that might furnish evidence of the existence of a common but non-extant source. For the convenience of the reader I begin with a classified list of these sources (both the "proved" and the "probable") with notes on the nature and extent of their contribution. This I follow with a similar list of contemporary and later works that have points of textual contact with O.S. Thereafter comes a detailed study of each section of the Saga, with reference to structure, style and historical value as well as to source. For the study of the source of a group of chapters has often given a clue to the structure of the Saga, or an explanation of a change in style or an anomaly in the narrative. Without this study, the division and sub-division described in the chapter on The Problem of Unity would have been impossible. The study is an omnium gatherum of all the textual evidence regarding the compilation of the Saga from which conclusions are drawn throughout the rest of this Introduction.

Classified/

Classified List of Known Sources.

A. Written Sagas and Pættir of the Orkney Earls.

A* Saga of Turf-Einarr, contributing much or all of ch.4-8 (14¹²).

A* Páttir of the sons of Sigurthr the Stout, transcribed in ch.13-19, and used in ch.32.

A* Páttir of Earls Thorfinnr and Rognvaldr Brusil's son, used in ch.21-31 and in part of ch.32.

A* Páttir of Hakon Paul's son, used in ch.34 (91⁴)-38, and ch. 752 (121⁶ to end).

B. Oral Sagas and Pættir of the Orkney Earls.

The Páttir of Ragnhildr, told in ch.9.

The Páttir of Ljotr and Skuli, told in ch.10.

The Páttir of Earl Thorfinnr and Karl Hundi's son, told in ch.20.

The Páttir of the death of Earl Haraldr Hakon's son told in ch.55.

The Saga of Earl Rognvaldr Kali, told at length, with additions from other sources, in ch.58-108. The oral Saga may not have included the extant version of the chapters on his Crusade. Its beginning is also probably lost.

The Tale of the Man with the Cowl, told in ch.85 (220n-221n)

Written Sagas of the Kings and Chiefs of Norway.

? The* Saga of Haraldr Fair-hair, perhaps used directly by the compiler in ch.4 and 8.

The* Saga of Eirikr Bloody-axe, probably used in ch.8 (14¹² to end).

- The * Saga of Olaf Tryggvi's son, probably used in ch.12.
- ? The * Saga of Saint Olaf, perhaps used in ch.15.
- The * Saga of Magnus the Good, used in ch.21 (55' - 57'¹⁸)
- The * Saga of Haraldr the Tyrant, used in ch.21 (- 51').
- The * Saga of Magnus Bare-legs, used in ch.39-43.
- The * Saga of Sigurthr, Eysteinn and Olaf, used in ch.62.
- The * Saga of Magnus the Blind, used in ch.62.
- ? The * Saga of Ingi and Sigurthr, possibly used in ch.91.

All the above may have formed a single collection of Kings' Sagas possessed by, or accessible to the compiler. In addition there were:-

? * Hryggjarstykki or "Back-bone-piece," a history of the Kings of Norway, 1130-1161, by Hririkr Odd's son, possibly used in ch.54 as a source of information regarding Sigurthr Sham-deacon.

The * Saga of Erlingr Crick-neck, mentioned in ch.89 (O.S. 260⁹), and used to an indeterminable extent in the Páttir of Earl Rognvald's Crusade (ch.85-89).

Heimskringla by Snorri Sturluson, referred to in an interpolated sentence in ch.42 (O.S. 107¹⁸⁻¹⁹), and possibly used in the compiler's final revision of the Saga in ch.8 and 12.

Written Genealogies or Family-Registers (O.N. langfeðgatal)

A * Register of the children of Earls Paul and Erlendr, used in ch.33.

Skaldic Poetry.

(i) Skaldic poems (O.N. kvaeði).

Óláfsdrápa (or Höfuðlausn) (c.1023) by Ottar the Black.

One/

Óláfsdrápa

One verse (the nineteenth) used near the end of the first Páttir of Earl Thorfinnr (ch.13-19). See note on 41^o, and Skjalldg. B.I. 268-272.

Porfinnzdrápa by Arnorr Earls' Skald, named in O.S. 46^o, 61n and 64n. Twenty of its twenty-five extant verses (see Skjalldg. A.I. 344-348) are quoted in the second and third Paettir of Earl Thorfinnr (ch.20-32); the missing verses, nos.1,3,4,13,18 and 25 in F.Jónsson's enumeration, are preserved in Mork.126 (no.1) and in Snorri's Prose Edda (Sn.Ed.I.232,454,460,464,514).

Rognvaldzdrápa by Arnorr Earls' Skald, named ⁱⁿ Sn.Ed. I. 462. One of its three extant verses is quoted in ch. 21. The others are fragmentary, and preserved in Sn. Ed. I. 320, 462 (Skjalldg. A. I. 332).

Kálfsflokkur by Bjarni Gullbra's Skald, a short lay commemorating Kalfr Arni's sons' adventures in Scandinavia, Russia, England and the Orkneys. One verse quoted in the third Páttir of Earl Thorfinnr (ch.21-31) to corroborate the account of Kalf's joining Earl Thorfinnr in the sea-fight against Earl Rognvaldr. See note on 70²⁶ and Skjalldg. B.I. 363-365.

* Hákonsdrápa, of unknown authorship, referred to at the end of O.S. ch.43 as a source of information; (sem segir í drápu þeirri, er ort er um Hákon Pálsson, O.S. 108²¹⁻²³). It appears to have dealt with Hakon's travels in the East, notably his accompanying Magnus Bare-legs on a raid on Gothland. The drápa may have been used by the compiler throughout the rest of Saga of Hakon Paul's son - i.e. O.S. ch.34-38. It is probably also the kvaeði referred to early in the Saga of St. Magnus (O.S. ch.46, 111^{7,11}) as a source of information regarding/

regarding the joint rule of Hakon and Magnus.

?Magnúsdraþa (c.1104) by Thorkell Hammer-skald. One of five extant stanzas is quoted anonymously in ch.39. The rest are preserved in Hkr., Fsk., and Mork. (Skjaldbg. A. I. 438) It is probable, however, that the compiler found this verse in the ^{*}Saga of Magnus Bare-legs he was using in this chapter.

All the poets named above were Icelanders. Hakonsdraþa is possibly anonymous and non-extant because its author was not an Icelandic.

(ii) "Occasional" verses (O.N. lausavisur). Many of these, however, may have been stanzas in poems the rest of which have been lost. The list is compiled according to the alphabetic order of the skald's names.

Armothr, an Icelandic, 12th cent. - 4 verses in the Crusade Þáttur, in ch.85, 86, 88.

Arnorr Earls' Skald, an Icelandic, 11th cent. - 1 verse in the third Þáttur of Earl Thorfinnr (the first verse quoted in ch.26).

Botolfr Bungle, an Icelandic, 12th cent. - 1 verse in ch.94; no others known.

Eirikr, an Icelandic, 12th cent. - 1 verse in ch.78; no others known.

Hallr Thorarinn's son, an Icelandic, 12th cent. - 1 rhymed verse in ch.81.

Haraldr the Tyrant, King of Norway, 1047-1066. - 1 half verse in ch.21.

Ingimarr, a Norwegian, d.1133. - 1 verse in ch.62; probably found by the compiler in the ^{*}Saga of Magnus the Blind he was using in this chapter; no other verses of his extant.

Kali Saebjorn's son, a Norwegian, d. ?1098. - 1 half verse in ch.41; no others known.

Magnus/



Magnus Bare-legs, king of Norway, 1093-1103. - 1 half-verse in reply to Kali's in ch.41. Five more of his verses are extant in Hkr. and Mork.

Oddi the Little, an Icelander, 12th cent. - 5 verses in the crusade Pátrr, three in dróttkvætt in ch.85, 86, 87, and two elegiac verses on Thorbjorn the Black in kviðuhátrr in ch.88; no other verses known.

Rognvaldr Kali, a Norwegian, Earl of the Orkneys, 1136-1158. - 32 verses in his Saga (ch.58-108). The first three (in ch.58, 60, 61) ^{were composed} in Norway in his youth; the next three relate to incidents soon after his coming to the Orkneys; the remaining twenty-six are all in the Crusade Pátrr and were composed during or after the voyage (1150-51). No verses of his are quoted in the remaining part of his Saga, ch.91-108. Three other verses of his are extant in Sn.Edda (II.498, 633) together with HattaLykill, the "Metre-Key" referred to in ch.81, in which he collaborated with Hallr Thorarinn's son above.

Sigmundr Angle, of uncertain nationality, 12th cent. - 2 verses in the Crusade Pátrr, in ch.87 and 88; no others known.

Thorbjorn the Black, d.1151; his nationality is not stated, but he was probably an Icelander like his friend Oddi the Little who wrote his elegy. - 1 verse in ch.88; no others known.

Turf-Einarr, a Norwegian, Earl of the Orkneys, c.900. - 5 verses in his Saga, in ch.8; no others known.

Anonymous; A couplet in ch.7 and a verse of warning to Rognvaldr Kali brought by a spy to Rognvaldr Kali, in ch.73.

F. Ecclesiastical Literature, possibly in Latin.

A* Life of Saint Magnus, used a little in ch.39-43, and at length in ch.44-52.

A* Eulogy of Saint Magnus, homiletic in nature, used in ch.45; but perhaps an integral part of the Life above.

A* Miracle-Book (O.N. Jarsteinabók) of Saint Magnus, also homiletic in nature, interpolated between ch.56 (130¹⁵) and ch.58.

G. Mythological Tales.

A* Pátttr of the discovery and settlement of Norway, probably called Hversu Nóregr byggðisk, transcribed in part to form ch.1-3.

H. Oral Tradition: Miscellaneous. There is evidence throughout

of the use of scattered scraps of oral tradition picked up by the compiler in Caithness and the Orkneys. It is, however, difficult to say whether it was he who heard them, or whether they had already found their way into writing in the written works he was using, or were part of the oral Saga he was writing down. It is probable that the latter alternatives cover most of the thirty-six references to oral tradition enumerated in Appendix C. But there are certain instances where this compiler gives the impression of using information of his own hearing:-

A genealogy of the family of Earl Rognvaldr of Móren, used at the end of ch.3.

A confused and scrappy account of Sigurthr the Stout's strife in Caithness and his death at the/

the battle of Clontarf, used in ch.11,12.

Cp. Introd.: O.S. as History and Appendix D.

Variant versions of the death of Rognvaldr Brusi's son in Papa Stronsay, ch.29.

Information regarding the Caithness families, ch.53-55, 63, 77.

Information regarding the chief men in the Orkneys, used throughout the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali, and in particular in ch.56 (-130¹⁵).

Variant versions of the fate of Earl Paul in Athole, including "Sveinn's account of the story," ch.75.

Information regarding Gilli Odran and Sumarlithi in ch.100.

With the exception of the "Miracle-Book", all the later interpolations enumerated in Introd.: The Problem of Unity appear to be based on scraps of oral tradition of doubtful authenticity.

Note:- It is interesting to compare the seven above types of sources with those enumerated by Snorri in his Prologue to Heimskringla. These are:

- (i) Oral tradition - "old stories (fornar frásagnir) about chiefs which I have heard wise men (fróðar menn) relate" (Hkr.1⁴).
- (ii) Family registers (langfeðgatal, Hkr. 1⁴⁻⁵).
- (iii) Old poems and lays (forn kvæði and söguljóð) like Ynglingatal, which, he says, must be used critically (Hkr. 1⁷⁻⁹).
- (iv) Skaldic poems (kvæði) and occasional verses (lausavisur) (Hkr.2⁴⁻⁵).
- (v) Ari's Islendingabók (1122-1133) (Hkr.2¹⁶ -3¹³). This first and classical example of Icelandic historical scholarship may also have been known to the compiler of O.S.; there is no textual evidence of his having made use of it, but there is little in the extant version of it that was relevant to his purpose.

The significant omission in Snorri's list is Written Sagas of which continual use is made; these are, however, occasionally mentioned in the text as use is made of them.

Contemporary and Later Works with points

of contact with O.S.

In the following list only those points of contact are cited which have been found of material significance in the study of the sources of O.S. The sole exception to this is the Icelandic Annals, included here for convenience of reference. The names of other works having points of contact with O.S. not of material significance in the study of sources will be found scattered in the notes and in Appendix E.

Ágrip af Noregs konunga sögum, a short compilation of Kings' Lives made 1180-86; ed. F. Jónsson, Halle, 1929.

<u>Ágr.</u> ch.5.	<u>O.S.</u> ch.8 (14 ² - end).
ch.16.	ch.12
ch.31,34	ch.21
ch.50-51	ch.39-43.

Theodrici monachi Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagiensium, a 12th century Latin history of the Kings of Norway; ed. G. Storm in Mon. Hist. Norv. 1-68 (Oslo, 1880).

<u>Theod. Hist.</u> ch.2	<u>O.S.</u> ch. 8 (14 ² -end).
ch.9	ch.12
ch.28	ch.34
ch.31-32	ch.39-43.

Historia Norwegiae, an anonymous Latin history of Norway, written 1211-30; ed. G. Storm in Mon. Hist. Norv. 71-124. In the chapters entitled De tributariis insulis and De Orchadibus insulis (Storm, l.c., 89-92) there are references to early, indeed pre-Norse, Orkney history. Otherwise, the only point of contact is a brief account of Walking-Hrolfr and his descendants; cp.O.S. ch. 4.

Heimskringla, the greatest of the collections of Lives of the Kings of Norway from the earliest times to 1177, made c.1220-30 by Snorri Sturluson at Reykholt in Iceland. See Appendix F. for a study/

study of the use Snorri makes of O.S.

<u>Hkr.</u> , <u>Har. Harf.S.</u> ch.22,24,27,30-32	<u>O.S.</u> ch. 4-8
<u>Hak. G.S.</u> ch.3-5,10	ch. 8 (14 ¹² - end)
<u>Ol. Trygg.S.</u> ch.32,47	ch. 12
<u>Ol. Helg.S.</u> ch.86	ch. 15 (26 ²³ - 28 ³)
<u>Ol. Helg.S.</u> ch.96-103	ch. 4-19
<u>Ol. Helg.S.</u> ch. 251	ch. 21.
<u>Magn. G.S.</u> ch.1	ch. 21.
<u>Har. Harð.S.</u> ch. 1,2	ch. 21.
<u>Har. Harð.S.</u> ch.83-98	ch. 34.
<u>Magn. Berf.S.</u> ch.8-11,23,25	ch. 3, 39-43.
<u>Sig.-Eyst.-Ol.S.</u> ch. 1-13	ch. 43,85-89.
<u>Magn-Blind.S.</u> ch.1-8	ch. 62.
<u>Sig.-Eyst.-Ol.S.</u> ch.33	ch. 62.
<u>Magn. Blind.S.</u> ch.13	ch. 54.
<u>Ingi-Sig. S.</u> ch. 17,20	ch. 85-91.

Fagrskinna, "Fair-skin," a second collection of Lives of the Kings of Norway from the ninth century to 1177, written in Norway by an Icelander c.1230-40. The connection between O.S. and Fagrskinna has been thoroughly discussed by Professor Gustav Indrebø in a study of Fsk. publ. in Oslo in 1917; as regards his conclusions, however, see Sources of ch.21-31.

<u>Fsk.</u> (ed.F.J.) p. 24,27.	<u>O.S.</u> ch. 8-11.
p. 113.	ch. 12.
p. 201	ch. 21-31.
p. 283-296	ch. 34.
p. 296	ch. 4.
p. 316-328	ch. 39-43.
p. 338-341	ch. 62.
p. 391-392	ch. 58-112.

Morkinskinna, "Rotten-skin," a third collection of the Lives of the Kings of Norway from Magnus the Good (1035) to the death of Eystein Harald's son (1157), compiled in Iceland c.1220-30. The surviving MS. has several lacunae and is defective at the end; the collection probably originally came down like the rest to 1177.

<u>Mork.</u> (ed.Unger) p.112-143	<u>O.S.</u> ch.34.
p.143-156	ch. 3,39-43.
p.202	ch.54.
p.223-224.	ch.85-89.
p.225-226	ch.91.

Hulda, a 14th century MS. (AM.66 fol.) of a 13th century collection of the Lives of the Kings of Norway from 1035-1177, but defective at/

at the beginning. Printed in Fornmanna Sogur (Fms.) vi-vii.

Significant points of contact are:

<u>Fms.</u> vi.	45-47.	<u>O.S.</u> ch.21-31.
vii.	40-51.	ch. 3, 39-43.
vii.	231-233	ch.85-89.
vii.	234-237	ch.91.

Flateyjarbók, the large 14th century collection of Kings' and other Sagas, including O.S. Points of contact with O.S. are found in:

<u>Flat.</u> I.	21-22.	<u>O.S.</u> ch.1-3.
III.	260-261.	ch.21.
III.	270.	ch.21-31.

Odd's Ol. Trygg. S., a Latin work written c.1190, surviving only in an O. Icel. translation; ed. P.A. Munch, Oslo, 1853.

<u>Odd's Ol. Trygg. S.</u> ch.23.	<u>O.S.</u> ch.12.
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Longer Ol. Trygg.S., compiled probably in the 14th century from various sources, including an O. Icel. translation of a Life of Olafr. Tryggvi's son by Gunnlaugr Leif's son (d.1219); used in the compilation of Flat.; ed. by itself in Fms. I-III.

<u>Longer Ol. Trygg. S.</u> ch.95-97	<u>O.S.</u> ch.4-8.
ch.97-98.	ch.9-12.

"Legendary" Ol. Helg. S., a recension (mid-13th century) of the oldest Ol. Helg. S. written in Iceland c.1155-1180; ed. R. Keyser and C.R. Unger, Oslo, 1849.

<u>Leg. Ol. Helg. S.</u> p.102	<u>O.S.</u> ch.21.
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"Historical" Ol. Helg. S., composed (c.1250) out of Snorri's Ol. Helg. S., with additions from other sources, including perhaps O.S.; ed. P.A. Munch and C.R. Unger, Oslo, 1853.

<u>Hist. Ol. Helg. S.</u> p. 9.	<u>O.S.</u> ch. 8.
p.189,221,234	ch.21.
p.244.	ch.21-31.

Landnámabók, a detailed account of the settlement of Iceland, the earliest/

earliest extant version being that of Haukr Erlend's son (died 1334) which he says is based on those of Sturla (1214-1284) and Styrmir (d.1245); ed. F. Jónsson, Copenhagen, 1900. ~~The following references, however, are to the abridged version given in Vigfusson and Powell's Origines Islandicae.~~

Ldn. ~~iv.14.1~~ 96²⁵⁻³² O.S. ch.3,4.
~~iv.14.2~~ 96³²⁻⁹⁷¹³ ch.6

Vatnsdoela Saga, c.1250, a Family Saga of the men of Vatnsdal in the North of Iceland, covering a period of nearly two centuries.

Vatnsd. S. ch. 9. O.S. ch.4.

Egils Saga Skallagrímssonar, one of the greater Family Sagas belonging to the first half of the 13th century.

Egils S. ch.59 O.S. ch.8 (14² -end).

Magnúss Saga: The two versions of this are based on O.S.

Brennu-Njáls Saga, the greatest of the Family Sagas; its extant form belongs to the second half of the 13th century.

Nj.S. ch.83-86 O.S. ch.11.
ch.157 ch.12 (end).

Icelandic Annals: These are late annals, the earliest versions being compiled as late as the early 14th century. The facts and dates were derived from the Sagas, from oral tradition, and by conjecture of varying reliability. A composite text is to be found in G. Storm: Islandske Annaler indtil 1578, Oslo, 1888. A brief description of the principal versions is given by A.O. Anderson in E.S.S.H. I.lxv. The Annals are of no assistance in the study of the sources of O.S., but will be occasionally referred to in the notes on the text.

Use of Sources in O.S.

A detailed study.

Chapters 1 - 3.

Sources: A mythological Þáttur of the discovery of Norway.

A genealogy of the family of Earl Rognvaldr of Móre.

Some folk-lore etymologies.

The Saga begins with a mythological introduction, giving an account of how Norr and Gorr, sons of Thorri, left Finland to search for their lost sister Goi, and how in so doing they conquered Norway, Norr having the mainland, and Gorr the isles to the West; and how from Gorr was descended that Earl Rognvaldr of Móre to whom Haraldr Fair-hair first gave the title of "Earl" of the Orkneys.

These chapters do not appear to have been written by the compiler of O.S. The style has a folk-lore simplicity unlike that of most of the rest of the Saga; Vigfusson (Rolls 88.I.X) notes its similarity to that of "the late introductory parts of the Prose Edda". There are many words and idioms peculiar to these chapters (e.g. vatn: "stream", for normal á, 2¹⁶; herað: "district", for normal land, 3³; stefna: "to go", for normal ganga, 3⁵; and the simile "like tares in a cornfield", 3'). Even more distinctive are the folk-etymologies (of Hlésey, Sóknadalr, Norafjörðr, Nórvegr, Beitissstöð and Beitissaerr) which are all attempts at eponymy - at deriving each name from the name of a person. There is, moreover, another version of the tale in a Þáttur called Hversu Nóregr byggðisk preserved in Flat. I. 21-25, with several details not found in O.S.

These considerations led Vigfusson (l.c.) and F. Jónsson (Litt. Hist. I. 658) to conclude that the chapters were a later addition/

addition to O.S. Jónsson urges the general irrelevance of the chapters to the Saga in support of his contention.

But there is much evidence that, if the chapters were not written by the compiler of O.S., they were borrowed by him to give his Saga a mythological introduction similar to ~~that~~ found at the beginning of Heimskringla. The MSS. of O.S. certainly suggest that Fundinn Noregr (to give the chapters their title in Flat.) was part and parcel of a very early version of the Saga. It occurs in Flat., and in O. The first fragment of MS.332 begins in the middle of it, at the end of ch.2 (4¹). Lexicon Runicum has two quotations from it, as from Jarlasögur. Further, the dovetailing of these introductory chapters on to ch.4 is neatly done. The compiler leads the reader up to the genealogy of the sons of Gorr, concluding with Rognvaldr of Møren whose assistance to Haraldr Fairhair introduces ch.4. The intention of the compiler is more clearly shown in O. through its chapter divisions than in Flat. and 332, the texts used by Nordal. Chs.1 and 2 occur as one ch. in O. (without title); and ch.3, entitled in Flat. "Beiti conquers Norway," is in O headed "Of the sons of Gorr" - the subject up to which the compiler has been patiently leading. There is only one hitch in the transition to ch.4, - the ambiguous, unexplained word land in the first line of that chapter; this, however, is probably a transcription from the compiler's source at this point. (See Sources of chs. 4-8).

Still another link calls for notice. I have said that Fundinn Noregr was unique in having five examples of eponymous folk-etymology. This was not quite accurate. In ch.7 the compiler tries his 'prentice hand in the same direction. He derives Torfnes (perhaps from Celt. tairbeart) from O.N. torf: "turf" on the unlikely assumption that it was there that Turf-Einarr first cut peat for fuel. Is it unreasonable to argue that this one etymological adventure on the part of the compiler was inspired by/

by the derivations of Sóknadalr etc., which he had just copied in his introductory chapters ?

I have tried to show that as an introduction these chapters are less irrelevant than Jónsson, or indeed any reader, might suppose. To the compiler they furnished a mythological beginning and the genealogy with which the great collections of Kings' Lives began. Nordal goes further (O.S. xlvii) and suggests that the mythological genealogy may have been a tradition in the Orkneys as early as the days of Arnorr Earls' Skald (11th century) who, in a verse not quoted in O.S. (see Skjalldg. B.I.306), refers to Rognvaldr Brusil's son as Heita konr: "son of Heiti," in the same way as Thorfinnr is called "son of Earl Rognvaldr the Old," "kinsman of Hlothver" and "friend of Einarr." Nordal adds that, in being at the beginning of the genealogy, Gorr is in an entirely suitable position, since by the agreement with his brother he gained rule over all the islands West of Norway, which legally, if not in actual fact, included Shetland and the Orkneys.

Of the origin of the mythological personages little can be said. Apart from the other version of Fundinn Nóregr called Hversu Nóregr byggðisk and a few references in mnemonic verses, we have little further information about Fornjotr and his descendants. They are but shadowy creatures. Perhaps they were so from the beginning. They do not belong to the vivid world of Thor and Odin and Frey, but to a subsidiary and possibly imitative order of mythological beings. There seems no reason to doubt their antiquity. In Ynglingatal, 140 (10th cent.) there is a reference to Logi, "fiery-hot son of Fornjotr," who put to death a king of the Swedes. Occasional use of the names Hler, Aegir, Heiti and Beiti in metaphors or "kennings" by the skalds is likewise suggestive of respectable antiquity. I have collected all the references to the names in the Index of Personal Names.

Two problems remain - the relationship of Fundinn Nóregr
(to/

(to be referred to as F.N.) to Hversu Noregr byggðisk (to be referred to as H.N.B.); and the relation between the "boat-dragging" story as found near the end of the above short stories or Þættir and the same story as told of Magnus Bare-legs at the isthmus of Cantyre in 1098 in O.S. ch.41 (105⁴⁻⁹).

F.Jónsson (Litt. Hist. II. 658) regards F.N. as being based on H.N.B. Nordal (O.S. xlvi) thinks H.N.B. "a compilation based on F.N. and other sources." Vigfusson more cautiously (Rolls 88.I.xi) called H.N.B. "another version" of the tale. This appears to be the farthest we can go. The two versions differ markedly in style. The sentences of H.N.B. are simple and staccato designed to give the largest amount of detail in the briefest compass. The manner of F.N. is less "encyclopaedic"; it omits many mythological names such as those of the four children of Snaer, the four kings slain by Norr on Kjólen, etc; but it tells an interesting and circumstantial tale of Norr's battles with the Lapps and with Hrolfr of Bjarg which is not found in H.N.B. From such internal evidence alone it is impossible to decide the question of priority. But a common written source seems fairly probable.

Further proof of this is obtained by a study of the relation of the different versions of the boat-dragging story. On grounds of mere geographical probability, Vigfusson (Rolls 88.I.x) regarded Cantyre in Scotland as the original scene of the trick, not the isthmus of Elden in Norway; "no such partition of land," he says, "could have suggested itself to a Norwegian King." This of course means that however old the myths of Norr and Gorr may be, the tale of their dividing Norway between them in this manner dates after 1098. And this is by no means impossible. But textual as well as geographical evidence may be used in exploring the question of priority, and the following paragraphs are an attempt in this direction.

In the first place, the version of Magnus Bare-legs' exploit/

exploit in O.S. ch.41 is fairly obviously a curtailed version of the full tale as it is preserved in the various collections of Kings' Sagas - Hkr., Mork., Fsk., and Hulda. To curtail the story was a natural thing for the compiler to do; he had already told the same anecdote in his Mythological Introduction. Of the four other versions those in Fsk. (ed. F.J., 319) and Mork. (ed. Unger, 146) are more verbose than that in Hkr. (ed. F.J. 524) and contain nothing that is not in the latter. The version in Hulda (Fms. vii. 47¹¹⁻²³) is identical at all significant points with that in Hkr. I think, then, that if we take the Hkr. version to represent the Magn. B. version of story for comparison with the two mythological versions, we shall not go far wrong. Here are the three of them:-

Hkr.- ...þá fóru menn milli þeira Melkólms Skotakonungs, ok gerðu þeir sætt milli sín; skildi Magnús konungr eignask eyjar allar, þær er liggja fyrir vestan Skotland, allar þær, er stjórnfestu skipi mætti fara milli ok meginlandz. En er Magnús konungr kom sunnan til Saltíris, þá lét hann draga skútu um Saltíris-eið ok leggja stýri í lag; konungr sjálf settisk í lypting ok helt um hjálmunvöl ok eignaðisk svá landit, þat er þá lá á bakborða. Saltíri er mikit land, ok betra en in bezta ey in Suðreyjum nema Mon. Eið mjótt er á milli ok meginlandz á Skotlandi; þar eru opt dregin langskip yfir. (Hkr. 524³¹⁻³⁵).

F.N.- ...Beiti lagðisk inn í Þrándheim ok herjaði þar; hann lá þar er nú heitir Beitsær ok Beitsstöð. Þar lét hann draga skip ór Beitsstöð innanverðri ok norðr yfir Eldueið; þar gaga Naumadalir at norðan. Hann settisk í lypting ok helt um hjálmunvölinn ok eignaðisk hann land alt, þat er þá lá á bakborða, ok er þat margar byggðir ok mikit land. (O.S. 5²⁻⁹).

H.N.B.- ...Þá skipu þeir bræðr ríkinu með sér, svá at Nórr skyldi hafa meginland allt norðan frá Jötunheimum ok suðr til Alfheima. Þar heitir nú Nóregr; en Górr skyldi hafa eyjar allar þær er lagu á bakborða elliða hans, er hann faeri norðr með landi. Þeir voru synir Górs sækonungs - Heiti, ok Beiti, Meitir, ok Geitir. Beitir sækonungr fór með elliða inn í Þrándheim ok inn í Beitsjó; hann lét gera skip-sleða undir elliðan; en snjó var mikill ok sleð-faeri gött. Þá settisk Beitir í lypting, ok lagði stýri í lag, ok lét draga upp segl; ok lét menn sína draga elliðan norðr um Elliða-eið til Naumudals, ok eignaði sér land allt þat er lá á bakborða.
(From Appendix to Vigf.'s O.S., Rolls 88.I.310¹⁹⁻³²)

It/

It will be noted that all the significant details in Hkr. are also in H.N.B. with the exception of two - the condition of sailing stjornföstu skipi: "with rudder set," and the phrase held um hjalmvölinn: "held the tiller"; but both of those details are found in F.N. H.N.B., moreover, contains what neither of the other versions have, the explanation of the means of transport across the isthmus:-

"Beiti.... had a ship-sledge put under the ship; and the snow was deep and the going good."

And in H.N.B. only is the sail set.

Mathematically speaking, then, the sum total of the textual material of the mythological story contained in F.N. and H.N.B. is not merely co-extensive with but greater than the sum total of material of the Magnus Bare-legs story. Although not proof positive, it is suggestive that the mythological story was the original one - a tale of **amoral** ingenuity reminiscent of Odysseus among the Cyclopes. In which case we must either assume that the exploit was foisted upon Magnus Bare-legs or (more probably) that that adventurous young man amused himself by repeating a time-honoured trick on an ingenuous King of Scots. In an oral *S. of Magn. B. it was natural that the very words of a well-known folk-tale should be used, and so preserved in the written versions of his Saga that are now extant.

Chapters 4 - 8 (14).

Sources: A *S. of Turf-Einarr.

A *S. of Haraldr Fair-hair.

Verses of Turf-Einarr.

Oral tradition.

These four and a half chapters represent what survives in O.S. of Turf-Einar's Saga. The narrative is introduced by the orthodox genealogy, apparently based on the *S. of Haraldr Fair-hair; and/

and it continues, without dates, in episodic fashion.

The abruptness of manner and the suddenness of the transitions in parts of these chapters (espec. in ch.4 and 5) show that they are a summary of a written source. Most striking is the mention of the feud between Earl Sigurthr and Maelbrigte Tusk (O.S. 7²) as if the reader knew all about it.

There are numerous references to the incidents in these chapters in other O.N. sources, and the relation between them is the subject of the following notes.

The whole passage appears to be used by Snorri in Hkr., Har. Harf. S., where it is cut up and distributed over the narrative in ch.22,24,27,30-32. Hkr., however, has several features peculiar to itself.

- (i) In ch.22 (Hkr.55²¹), Earl Sigurthr is described as conquering "Caithness and all Sutherland as far as the River Oykell;" in O.S. 6²³ "Caithness, Moray and Ross" - a larger and probably less truthful estimate.
- (ii) In ch.24 (Hkr. 55) is a much fuller account of the family of Earl Rognvaldr of Møren and of the descendants of his son Walking-Hrolfr than in O.S. ch.4.
- (iii) Ch.27 (Hkr.58) omits some details found in O.S. ch.6-7, but adds one sentence, a remark of Earl Rognvald's à propos of the feckless Hallathr, that "his sons must be very unlike their ancestors." (Hkr. 58²⁴).
- (iv) Ch.30-31 (Hkr. 59-60) on the expedition of Halfdan Longlegs to the Orkneys, while less picturesque than the narrative in O.S. ch.8, has one or two small and significant details not in O.S. Halfdan is caught by Einarr óvart: "unawares" and a short fight followed (Hkr.60¹); and "that night Einarr and his men slept without the awning" in case of a surprise (Hkr.60³).
- (v) Ch.32 (Hkr.60) has the verse Margr verðr sekr of sauði in its right place after the invasion of the Orkneys by Haraldr Fairhair; whereas O.S. has it wrongly after the slaying of Halfdan (O.S. 12⁹).

Unless/

Unless we assume that all these additions were made by Snorri from the lost *S. of Haraldr Fair-hair which he was using at the time - a possible process - the conclusion must be that O.S. and Hkr. are drawing here from a common source, a lost Saga of Turf-Einarr.

The existence of this lost Saga is verified by references to these O.S. chs. in Ldn.

- (i) In Ldn. ^{96²⁵⁻³²} ~~iv.14.1~~ there appears to be a summary of O.S. ch.3 (last sentence) and ch.4. Ldn., however, mentions in the genealogy Bergljot daughter of Thorir the Silent and mother of Hakon the Mighty, who is mentioned in the same genealogy in Hkr. 65³⁶, but not in O.S.
- (ii) Ldn. ^{96³² - 97¹²} ~~iv.14.2~~ gives another version of O.S. ch.6. There is only one significant difference. In O.S. 9² we read that "Hrolfr was then on a harrying cruise." In Ldn. he was with his brothers when they came to their father; - "then Hrolfr came forward and offered to go. Rognvaldr said that he was well fitted by reason of his following and courage; but he assured [him] that there was too much adventure in his nature to allow him to settle down to rule an Earldom." (I do not venture to discuss the reliability of this traditional variation of the tale.) The ch. in Ldn. concludes: "After that Einarr sailed West and laid the Isles under him, as is told in his saga" (sem segir í sǫgu hans). Here we have a solitary but definite reference to the Saga of Turf-Einarr postulated above to explain the relationship of O.S. and Hkr.

The above chs. in Ldn. have so little verbal similarity to O.S. that we may conclude that the writer was quoting from memory. It is to this *S. of Turf-Einarr or to the oral tradition which lay behind it that we may ascribe references in O.N. sources to two other children of Turf-Einarr not mentioned in O.S. In Ldn. ~~35²⁴ 36¹~~ we read of a daughter Thordis (born to him in Norway) who was fostered by Rognvaldr his father; she married Thorgeirr Clumpy, and their son/

son Einarr, after a visit to the Orkneys, settled in Iceland. In the Longer Ol. Tr. S. ch.216 (Fms. II. 210⁴) in a genealogy in a speech of Gizur mention is made of another daughter Hlif.

Other references to the events in O.S. ch.4-8 contribute nothing new to the source-problem, but fit in with the hypothesis I have sought to substantiate.

In Fsk., Ol.K.S., ch.64 (ed. F.J., 296) the genealogy of Walking-Hrolfr is given more fully than in either O.S. 5¹⁸⁻²¹ or Hkr. 56¹⁹⁻²⁶. Fsk. then proceeds to quote Turf-Einar's verses a trifle irrelevantly to show the political connection between the Orkneys and Norway.

There is a reference in Vatnsdoela Saga, ch.9 (ed. Vogt, 26¹⁻⁵) to the account in O.S. of the beginning of the Orkney Earldom.

"..... Rognvaldr sent West his son Hallathr, and he had no control over the vikings. Then he sent his son Turf-Einarr in the hope that he would hold the realm. He was the first earl in the Orkneys and from him are descended all the Earls of the Orkneys, as is told in their lives" (sem segir í aefi þeirra).

The last sentence is in error, for Sigurthr, brother to Earl Rognvaldr of Mōren, was the first Earl. Moreover Gutthormr Sigurth's son, the second Earl, is also omitted. In fact, as Vogt remarks (l.c. xxxv, xxxvii), the above is not a conscious summary of the corresponding chapters in O.S., but merely a cursory reference to a book once read.

Finally, the Longer Olaf Tr. S. preserves the story in an interesting way in ch.95-97 (Fms.I.192-198).

Up to Fms.I.197²⁵, the narrative corresponds very closely to Hkr. Har. Harf.S., ch.22,27,30-32, with a few facts (such as the name of Rognvald's wife Hildi) drawn from Hkr. ch.24. Ol. Tr. S. is here noticeably related to Hkr., (O.S. differing) by the statement that Earl Sigurthr gained possession of "Caithness and Sutherland as far as the River Oykeall" (Fms. I. 194; cp. Hkr. 55²¹ and

O.S. 6²³); it also agrees with Hkr. (O.S. differing) in having Einar's verse Margr verör etc. in the right place. F. Jónsson indeed says (Aarb. 1930, 129) that the chs. in Ol. Tr. S. are taken directly from Hkr. Har. Harf. S. ch.22,26,31, and that only the conclusion comes from O.S.

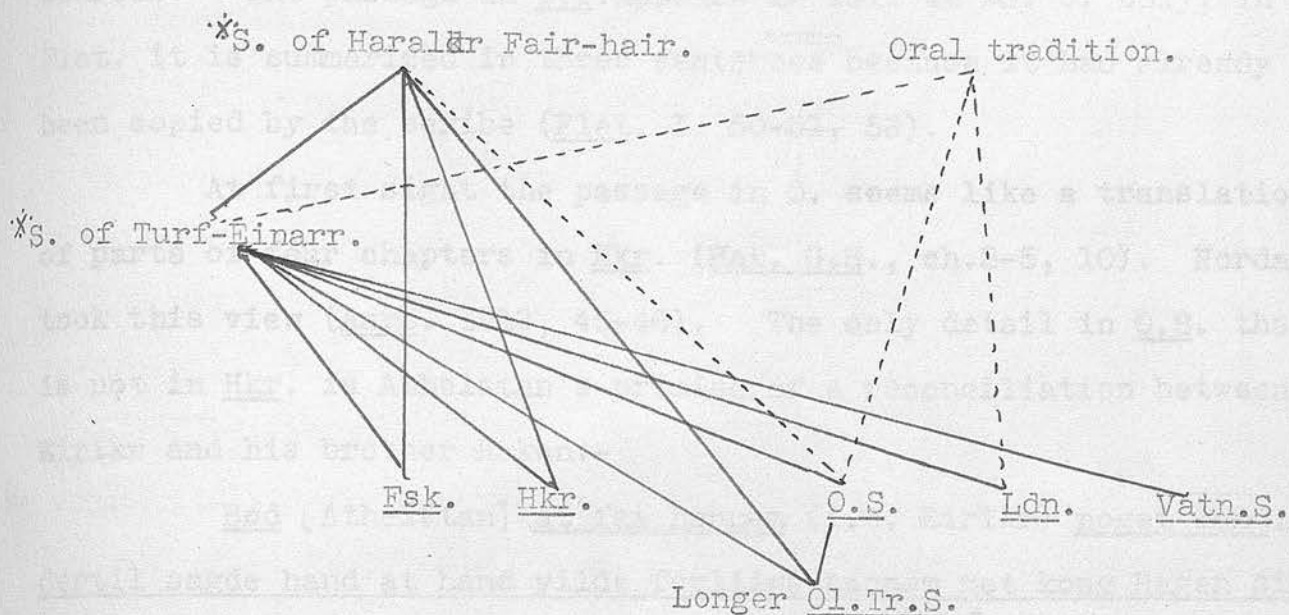
But there is evidence that the passage is not derived from Hkr. at all.

- (i) After Fms. I. 197²⁵, ch.97 and 98 go on without a break to a summary of the reigns of Thorfinnr Skull-splitter, his sons, and Sigurthr the Stout, a narrative not found in Hkr., but only in O.S. ch.8-11.
- (ii) Further, the general arrangement up to Fms. I. 197²⁵ corresponds to the narrative in O.S. more closely than to that in Hkr. (This is espec. noticeable in Ol. Tr. S., ch. 95). It is difficult to imagine the compiler of Ol. Tr. S. dovetailing together again so accurately passages already separated by Snorri.
- (iii) While the Longer Ol. Tr. S. ch.95 (Fms. I. 192) refers to S. of Haraldr Fair-hair as a source of information on Harald's conquests in Norway, there is also mention of something that is probably Jarlasogur in ch.97 (Fms.I.196): "The Earl (i.e. Turf-Einarr) slew Halfdan Long-legs, as is told in the Saga of the Orkney Earls" (i sogu Orkneyinga jarla).
- (iv) A few turns of phrase are common to Ol. Tr. S. and O.S. (Hkr. differing). e.g. ofstopamenn miklir, Fms. I. 196 and O.S. 10¹⁶ (cp. Hkr. 59¹⁹⁻²³).

The conclusion must be that Ol. Tr. S. here is making use of an early version of the first chapters of O.S. used also in Hkr. - probably the S. of Turf-Einarr already referred to.

The following chart shows the relationships described above for the Turf-Einarr story. It will be noted that O.S. may not have made use of the S. of Haraldr Fair-hair directly, but only through/

through the *S. of Turf-Einarr.



Chapters 8 (14¹²) to 11.

Sources: A *S. of Eirikr Bloody Axe.

An oral Þátttr of Ragnhildr.

An oral Þátttr of Ljotr and Skuli.

Miscellaneous oral tradition regarding
Sigurthr the Stout.

This section of the Saga begins like the last with a passage based on a King's Saga which happens to touch upon Orkney history. It proceeds as before in episodic fashion through ch.9, 10,11. Ch.9 is the piquant short story of Ragnhildr; ch.10 treats of the rivalry of Ljotr and Skuli; and ch.11 of the hostility of Sigurthr the Stout and the Scots Earl Finnlaech. The episodes as before are told in brief curt sentences. Except in ch.8 there is no attempt at dating.

Chapter 8. (14¹² to end).

The King's Saga from which the latter part of ch.8 is taken may have been a separate *S. of Eirikr Bl., or merely the *S. of Hakon G. in which Eirik's story is embedded in extant historical sources/

sources. The passage in O.S. appears in full in MS. O. only; in Flat. it is summarized in three sentences because it had already been copied by the scribe (Flat. I. 50-51, 53).

At first sight the passage in O. seems like a translation of parts of four chapters in Hkr. (Hak. G.S., ch.3-5, 10). Nordal took this view (Aarb. 1913, 45-46). The only detail in O.S. that is not in Hkr. is Athelstan's promise of a reconciliation between Eiríkr and his brother Hakon:-

Bóð [Athelstan] at faa hannem (i.e. Eiríkr) noget land...
dertil sagde hand at hand vilde forliige hannem met kong Hagen sin
fostresón (O.S.14) . But in Hist. Ol. H.S., ^(c. 1250) 9/ we have: ok vildi
þat vinna til saettar með þæm broeðrum, Eiríki ok Hákonu. Here
 is the missing clause. It is therefore probable that Hkr., O.S.
 and the Hist. Ol. H.S. are here using a common original, a ^{*} S. of
Eiríkr Bloody-axe.

Points of contact with other works may now be noted.

I can find only one point of contact between O.S. here and Agrip (ch.5) and Theod.: Hist. (ed. Storm, 7). All three agree (rightly, according to A.O.Anderson in E.S.S.H. I. 426n.3.) that Eiríkr reigned 2 years before the death of Haraldr Fair-hair, whereas Hkr.68 makes the number 3. But the chron. of Eiríkr Bl. is so confused that it is dangerous to draw conclusions from such small particulars.

Fsk. ch.7 (ed. F.J., 27) gives the same story as O.S. and Hkr. But the similarity is only factual, there being a different order in the presentation of events. Fsk. may be based on the common original of O.S. and Hkr.; but clear evidence is lacking.

Egils S. ch. 59 (ed. F.J., 193) makes use of the story of Eiríkr Bl's expedition in the West; but it is apparently based on oral tradition rather than a written document.

Chapters 9-11.

These three chapters read like narrative based directly upon oral tradition. It is significant that the only other account of the episodes in the Longer Ol. Tr. S. ch. 97-98 (Fms. I. 197 foll.) is a section that is obviously based directly on Jarlasögur. (See Sources of ch.4-8 above).

There are references to some of the incidents in Fsk. - Ragnhild's marriage to Havarthr and the deaths of Arnfinnr and Erlindr (Fsk. 24,27). Fsk. has the mistake of making Havarthr the first husband of Ragnhildr, whereas O.S. 16¹³, Hkr. 75¹³, and Egils S. ch.59 (ed. F.J., 193) agree in making him the second and Arnfinnr the first. The general vagueness of Fsk. at this point suggests that it is not indebted to O.S., or indeed to any written source.

It may be noted that there is considerable variation in the order in which the names of Thorfinn's sons are listed in different Sagas. (~~See note on 16¹⁰~~). But no deductions regarding relationship of sources can be made from them.

There is a clear reference to these chapters in Hkr. 266¹⁴⁻¹⁶ (Ol. H.S. ch.96):- "Earl Thorfinnr died in his bed. After him his sons ruled the land and there are great stories (miklar frásagnir) told about them." The two stories in ch.9 and 10 are well told and have an air of authenticity. But the account of Sigurthr the Stout's conflict with Finnlaech has an air of unreality and superstition. It is too close a repetition of the Ljotr-Skuli episode. It may have been picked up by the compiler during his visit to Caithness. For the compiler's comparative ignorance of the reign of Sigurthr the Stout see Introd.: O.S. as Hist., and Appendix D.

Chapters/

Chapters 12 - 19.

Sources: A^{*}S. of Olafr Tryggvi's son.

? A^{*}S. of Saint Olafr.

A Þáttur of the sons of Sigurthr the Stout.

Oral tradition.

Ólafsdrápa by Ottarr the Black.

The next section of O.S. on Brusi, Einarr and Thorfinnr is as usual prefaced by the compiler with an introduction (ch.12) drawn from a King's Saga, - in this case the tale of the baptism of Earl Sigurthr the Stout by King Olafr Trygg. at Osmundwall in 995.

Chapter 12.

The beginning of ch.12 relating the baptism episode is preserved only in translation in MS. O.

The close similarity of this passage to Hkr., Ol. Tr. S., ch. 32, 47 (Hkr. 126⁵⁻¹⁰, 127³⁻⁴, 139¹⁻⁷) led Nordal (Aarb.1913,46) to assume that along with part of ch.8 and 30 it was interpolated in O.S. directly from Hkr. to replace a shorter and less detailed narrative.

But a textual study of both versions does not corroborate this theory.

O.S. and Hkr. are identical except at the following points:

- (i) Hkr. gives certain details not in O.S. E.g. Olafr sailed W. "and first to the Hebrides" (Hkr. 139¹). Sig. had one longship (Hkr.139⁴), not three as in O.S. Hkr. gives reasons why they happened to meet at Osmundwall. Sig. was there because "he meant to sail over to Caithness" (Hkr. 139⁴); Olafr took shelter there "because the Pentland Firth was impassable" (Hkr.139⁶).
- (ii) O.S. on the other hand has details not in Hkr. E.g. Sigurth's son's baptismal name of Hlothver, and the fact that he lived only a short time in Norway, after which his father dropped his allegiance to King Olafr. (It should be noted that these facts, except the name Hlothver, appear in the summary of the beginning of O.S. in Hkr., Ol. H.S., ch.96).

The/

The above facts seem to me to suggest that O.S. is not here borrowing directly from Hkr., but that both are following closely a common original, some *S. of Ol. Tr.

The next step is to examine other versions of Ol. Tr. S.

Odd's Ol. Tr. S., ch.23 (c.1190) tells the story of the baptism with great unction, and with no verbal similarity to O.S. and Hkr. There is more detail (probably apocryphal in nature); and there is no mention of Osmundwall.

The Longer Ol. Tr. S. is more useful. In ch.98 (Fms. I. 200-202) it tells the story similarly to Hkr.; it has one longship, like Hkr. It resembles O.S., however, in mentioning the baptismal name Hlothver. Finally it has three distinctive features of its own. Into the mouth of Olaf is put a long speech (fairly certainly apocryphal) summarizing relations between the Orkney Earl and the Norwegian Kings up to Olaf's time. Mention is made of Olaf's leaving kennimenn or "priests" behind in Orkneys. Most important is the correct við Rognvaldzey instead of the incorrect i R. in O.S. 22n and Hkr. 139³ (see Asmundarvágr in Index of Pl.Ns.).

I conclude from the above variations that the Longer Ol. Tr. S. draws upon the common original of O.S. and Hkr., and does so more fully and accurately than these.

Other references to the incident contribute little further information.

Ágr. ch.16 and Theod. ch.9 (ed. Storm, 16) refer to the baptism, but have no verbal similarity to O.S. or Hkr. Theod. makes the baptismal name Thorfin instead of Hloðver; but he gives the additional information that he was puerulum annorum trium: "a little boy of three years."

In Fsk. ch.21 (ed. F.J., 113) the christianization of Orkney is merely mentioned along with that of Icel., Shetl. and the Faroes.

The second half of ch.12 appears to be the work of the compiler/

compiler of O.S., based on the body of oral tradition upon the battle of Clontarf in 1014, which he dates wrongly as five years after the battle of Svoldr - i.e. in 1005 (See note on 23^a).

Chapters 13 - 19.

These chapters constitute a self-contained Pátr of the sons of Sigurthr the Stout, of unknown authorship, and used by the compiler of O.S. for the first part of his Saga of Earl Thorfinnr. In order to make it fit 'in, he has preceded it with a chapter on the baptism and death of Sigurthr the Stout. Indeed he refers to this introductory chapter on Sigurthr in the Pátr; see note on 33^{g-15}. He also refers back to it later in ch.21 (O.S. 55⁴⁻⁷). Into the succeeding narrative, however, he has not dovetailed it very well; see study of ch.20.

The literary characteristics of this Pátr are rather striking. The style is eminently clear and logical, and the diction precise and possessing a certain legal quality which distinguishes it from that of the rest of the Saga. The main interest is in diplomacy and intrigue; the only fight is the slaying of Earl Einarr. The author would appear to have been a lawyer and politician rather than a soldier or cleric. It is by far the best-written section of the Saga.

Significantly absent are the verses of Arnorr which fill the rest of Thorfinn's Saga. The only verse is one from Ottarr the Black's Óláfsdrápa (near the end).

The same chapters are found in Hkr., Ol. H.S., ch.97-103 (Hkr. 267-276; copied in the Hist. Ol. H.S., ch. 81-89). Snorri precedes these chapters with a summary of the earlier part of O.S. in ch. 96 (Hkr. 265-267). And he concludes his narrative with a general estimate of Thorfinnr and his reign which appears to have stood at the end of the Pátr in O.S., but which survives only in MS/.

MS.Flat. (O.S. 42n).

That the passage was made by Snorri an integral part of his Ol. H. S. is shown by two references, one in the passage to another ch., and one in another ch. to the passage. In Hkr. 268³⁸⁻⁴⁰ is a reference to the battle of Ulfreksfjorðr and other events as already described more fully in Ol. H.S., ch.86. In Hkr. 281¹⁷⁻¹⁹ is a reference to the visit of Thorfinnr and Brusi to King Olafr as told in the chapters under discussion. Each reference has the phrase svá sem fyrr var ritit.

There is no reference to the Pátrr that I can find in any other O.N. source, although there are two references in other sources to the third Thorfinnr Pátrr (See study of ch. 22-32).

The simple deductions one may make from the above facts are that the compiler of O.S. found the Pátrr somewhere and inserted it in his work; Snorri found it in O.S. and, after summarizing what led up to it, inserted it in his work.

Two other interpretations of the facts exist; and these I shall now discuss.

Nordal (Aarb. 1913, 39 foll.) argued that ch.13-19 were copied from Hkr. by a reviser as a substitute for a weak or inadequate account of the quarrels of the Earls which he found in the MS. he was copying; cp. Nordal's similar argument on ch.8,12 and 30.

Now there are several general reasons why O.S. cannot at this point be derived from Hkr.

(i) The narrative in Hkr., Ol. H.S., ch.96-97 runs continuously.

Ch.96 must be based on O.S.; and so it seems more than probable that ~~that~~ ch.97 foll. will be also.

(ii) At the end of the passage in Hkr. is an actual reference to Jarlasogur as source:- Pátrr þó þat sagt í Jarlasogunum (Hkr. 275³¹)

(iii) Finally, as has been already proved, the compiler of O.S. made the/

the Pattr an integral part of his Saga.

All the evidence is in favour of Hkr. borrowing from O.S. Nordal's hypothesis is unnecessary and improbable.

A second problem is raised by the suggestion of A.O. Anderson in E.S.S.H. I. 481 that there were two versions of the first chapters of O.S. One of these was used by Snorri in the earlier part of Hkr. and survives today in O.S. The other, now lost (he names it Jarlabók), furnished Snorri with material for the section of Ol. H.S. we have just been discussing. His argument is based partly on certain discrepancies between the earlier part of Hkr. and Ol. H.S., and partly on discrepancies between Ol. H.S. and O.S. itself. I shall now examine these discrepancies.

In Hkr. 114³⁷ - 115⁴ (Ol. Tr. S. ch.16) is a reference to a visit paid by Gunnhildr and her sons to the Orkneys in the reign of the sons of Earl Thorfinnr Skull-splitter. In Hkr. 266¹⁻¹⁴ (Ol. H.S. ch.96) they came in the reign of Thorfinnr himself. But the discrepancy is illusory; for they were in Orkney twice, once after their hurried return from England, during the reign of Thorfinnr (referred to in O.S. 15-16 and Hkr. 75); and again later when in exile before Earl Hakon in the reign of Thorfinnr's sons (not mentioned in O.S. at all). Even Snorri is confused, and in Ol. H.S. (l.c.) makes the mistake of deducing that the visit in the reign of Thorfinnr must have been when they were in flight before Hakon - a fact which he did not find, so far as we know, in O.S.

Two further discrepancies are noted by Nordal (Om Olaf den Helliges Saga, 194).

- (i) In Hkr., Ol. H.S., ch.96 (Hkr. 265³⁹ - 266⁶) it is stated that Haraldr Fair-hair took from the Orkney bondar their odal rights. But in Hkr., Har. Harf. S. (Hkr. 61²⁻¹⁰) it is Turf-Einarr who does so in order to raise money to pay tribute to Haraldr; and this latter version of the transaction appears in/

in O.S. 14⁴⁻¹², 21⁶⁻¹⁵, and is probably the correct one. But it is not necessary to assume that Hkr., Ol. H.S. ch.96 must have got its variant from something other than our version of O.S. The chapter is a rapid summary of events, and too much must not be demanded of it in the way of accuracy. Nordal, however, (l.c.) offers an ingenious explanation of the passage. He suggests that Styrmir in his S. of Ol. H. (a probable source for Snorri's Ol. H. S.) made Haraldr Fair-hair assume the odal rights in order to improve his hero Olaf's claim to the islands. The explanation seems to me too ingenious to be convincing.

- (ii) In Hkr., Ol. H.S., ch.96, only one of Haraldr Fair-hair's voyages to the West is mentioned. But in his own Saga in Hkr. two are referred to, with relevant quotations from Glymdrápa; and in O.S. ch.4-8 two are also (somewhat confusedly) referred to. But again the fact that Ol. H.S. ch.96 is a summary may easily account for the omission.

If the discrepancies between the various versions in Hkr. can be explained away, what of those between O.S. and Hkr., Ol. H.S., ch.96 ?

Briefly, Hkr. has the following features peculiar to itself.

- (i) Hkr. 265³¹ states that before the Orkneys were colonized in the reign of Haraldr Fair-hair they were a vikingabodli : "a haunt for vikings." This is not explicitly stated in O.S., (although suggested in ch.6), but was a well-known fact (cp. Hkr. 54³⁶), and was probably added by Snorri.
- (ii) After making Turf-Einarr submit to him, Haraldr, according to Hkr. 266⁴, "harried in Scotland, as is told in Glymdrápa"; not in O.S.
- (iii) Hkr. 266¹⁰ mentions the wife of Thorfinnr Skull-splitter as "Greloth, daughter of Earl Dungathr of Caithness; her mother was Groa, daughter of Thorsteinn the Red." Not in O.S.
- (iv) Hkr. 266¹⁴ says that when the sons of Gunnhildr came to the Orkneys "they acted in a very overbearing fashion." Not in O.S.
- (v) Among the adjectives applied to Earl Thorfinnr the Mighty in Hkr.

267² are grimmr and forvitri: "grim" and "very wise." Not in O.S.

Now any and all of these phrases or details might have come from a different version of O.S. than we now have. But they might equally well be additions of Snorri's own. If Snorri was using a different version of the early chapters of O.S., it might well have ^{been} an earlier and fuller one of what we now have.

Reference has been made to a concluding paragraph to the Pátrr found only in Hkr. and Flat., but not in the other MSS. of O.S. 332 or O. Nordal prints it in his footnotes (O.S. 42); and previous editors have likewise omitted it from the text, for the very good reasons of its absence in two important MSS. and the repetition of most of its facts in the general estimate of Thorfinnr which appears later, at the very end of his Saga, in ch.32. But the paragraph seems to be a genuine and integral part of this first Pátrr. It makes a natural and suitable conclusion to it. If it was not part of the original Pátrr, it is difficult to explain how the identical passage found its way so appropriately into Hkr. and Flat. The fact that the compiler of O.S. was acquainted with it is shown by his use of it in ch.32 (see Sources of this ch.) Redundant though it may be in the present text of O.S., it is fairly certain that it stood in the text of the early chapters of O.S. that Snorri used, and it is probable that it should so still stand. I have included a translation of it in the notes.

Chapter 15 (26^{2b} - 28³).

Sources: ? A^{*} S. of Saint Olafr.

This short section in ch15 describing the slaying of Eyvindr Buffalo-horn by Earl Einarr at Osmundwall requires special attention. As Nordal noted (Aarb. 1913, 37), the fact that Eyvindr is mentioned without the usual introduction at once suggests an interpolation - and a rather weak interpolation, as no motive whatsoever/

whatsoever is given for Einar's sudden attack.

The passage is, however, an integral part of its narrative context in O.S. and it occurs in both available MSS. (Flat. and O.) and in the transcript of the chapter in Hkr., Ol. H.S., ch. 98. It can hardly be a late interpolation. It was probably inserted in the Pátrr when our compiler first copied it, and was probably derived from that part of the ^{*}S. of Saint Olafr which survives in Hkr., Ol. H.S., ch.86. There we learn the reason for Einar's enmity: Eyvindr had been with the Irish king Conchobhar when the latter defeated Einarr in Lough Larne. The omission of such a vital piece of information suggests to me that the compiler was writing here from memory, not with the text beside him. The ^{*}S. of Saint Olafr is not used elsewhere in O.S.

Chapter 20.

Sources: An oral Pátrr of Thorfinnr and Karl Hundi's son.

Eight verses from Arnorr Earls' Skald's Porfinnzdrápa.

This long chapter appears to be a self-contained Pátrr of Thorfinnr written by the compiler of O.S.

Its self-contained and separate nature is shown by the following features.

- (i) It is an exceedingly long chapter, longer than any other in the earlier chapters of O.S.
- (ii) It possesses unity of subject. Karl Hundi's son is not mentioned elsewhere.
- (iii) Its first sentences are a good and normal introduction to the chapter as a Pátrr, but repeat in the main the description of Thorfinnr in ch.13; hence the need of sem fyrr er ritað immediately after it.
- (iv) For the first time Arnorr's verses are used freely to corroborate the narrative; so also in ch.22-32.
- (v)/

(v) It contains the first clear references to oral tradition; see Appendix C. Cp. also similar but less frequent references in ch.22-32.

As to its origin, I venture the opinion that it was an oral Pátrr surviving in Caithness and written down by the same man as wrote down the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali, - i.e. the compiler of O.S. There is no evidence, internal or external, of any written source. The uniqueness of the narrative, and indeed its doubtful historicity, suggest a non-Icelandic origin. The plentiful references to oral tradition (see above), and the "freshness" of the narrative of the sea-fight suggest direct reliance on oral tradition. The accurate knowledge shown of the Pentland Firth, the rather vague knowledge of Scotland as a whole, and the error in the placing of Torfnes and the Oykell (see Introd.: Problem of Unity) connect it with the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali, and with the Orkneyinga Saga as a whole. The combination of these factors inclines me to the view expressed above.

The repetition of the description of Thorfinnr referred to under (iii) above may be accounted for by the fact of the Pátrr being composed separately, and added, without alteration, to the first Thorfinnr Pátrr. The phrase sem fyrr er ritað: "as is written before" (O.S. 43^y) need not have been the compiler's. Some scribe - perhaps his own scribe - may have inserted it; it occurs in MSS.332 and O., but not in Flat.

Chapter 21 (to 57¹⁹).

Sources: A^xS. of Haraldr the Tyrant (Harðráði)

A^xS. of Magnus the Good.

Oral tradition.

Verses of Haraldr the Tyrant and Arnorr.

This chapter, which is intended as an introduction to the/

the Páttir of Rognvaldr Brusi's son's relations with Thorfinnr, reads like the summary of a written document. The narrative does not flow smoothly; there are gaps in the sequence of events and sudden changes of topic. People appear without introduction who have not been previously mentioned in the Saga, - Einarr Bowstring-shaker, Kalfr Arni's son, Haraldr Sigurth's son, Jaroslav, Magnus Olaf's son.

It is therefore no surprise to find two references to extraneous sources of information at the end of the chapter: "the S. of King Magnus", O.S. 57¹³, and "the Lives of the Kings of Norway," O.S. 57¹⁹.

The chapter is best handled in sections.

The first section (O.S. 53¹⁵ - 55¹) is found also in Hkr. Har. Harð. S., ch.1,2 (Hkr. 448² - 449¹⁵). There is a general similarity in wording. But it does not seem likely that Hkr. is drawing upon O.S. The passage in O.S. is written from the point of view of Rognvaldr Brusi's son, and in Hkr. from that of Haraldr. Hkr. has verses from Thjodolfr and Bolverkr not in O.S., together with the following phrases not in O.S.

í skógi. Hkr. 447¹¹.

vissi bondason ekki til, hverjum hann fylgði. Hkr. 447¹⁴

austr um Jämtaland ok Helsingjaland. Hkr. 447¹⁹

O.S. likewise has several small details not in Hkr., most notably the description of the bondi as litill (O.S. 54¹), the reference to King Onundr (O.S. 54³) and the idiomatic phrase huldu hofði: "with hooded head"; i.e. by stealth (O.S. 54⁴).

The usual conclusion may be drawn that Hkr. and O.S. are using a common source, a lost †S. of Haraldr the Tyrant.

The next section in the chapter (O.S. 55¹ - 57¹⁸) is avowedly a summary of a relevant chapter at the beginning of the †S. of Magnus G., now preserved in Hkr. 419-421 (Ol. H. S., ch. 251 and Upp. Magn. G., ch.1). Comparison shows the diction to be dissimilar on the whole; but there are several similarities sufficiently/

sufficiently significant to justify the assumption of a common source:

fylgja honum. Hkr. 419^{2b}; O.S. 57⁴.

tryggr ok trúr. Hkr. 420³; O.S. 57¹.

sitt ríki meira eða frjálsara en áör. Hkr. 420⁵; O.S. 57⁶.

er ísa leysti um v'arit. Hkr. 421³; O.S. 57¹⁰.

Oral tradition round the exploits of Rognvaldr probably contributed directly to this section. Rognvald's doings in Norway and in the East appear to have been well-known. In Ágrip they are referred to in ch.31 and 34, although without any textual connection with other narratives. In Fsk. ch.40, in the "Legendary" Ol. H.S. (ed. 1849) 102, and in the "Historical" Ol. H.S. (ed.1853) 189, 221, 244, there are references to his travels.

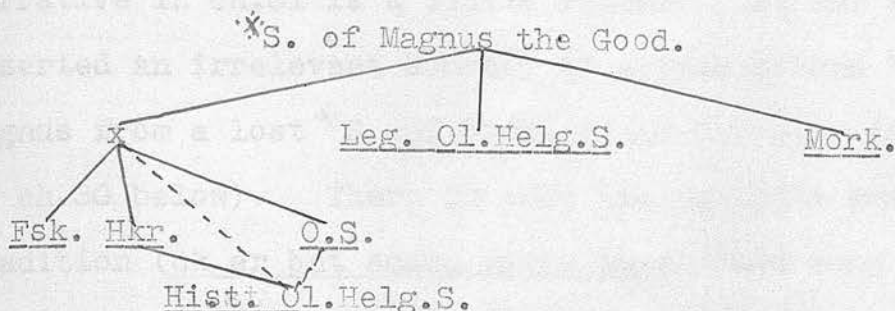
The relation between all these documents at this point is uncertain owing to the brevity of the narrative. But two factors give us some assistance.

The first is a point of contact between O.S. and the Hist. Ol. H.S., pointed out by Nordal in his Om Olaf den Helliges Saga, 188. In Ol. H.S. ch.232 (ed. 1853, 221) we read: "So says Arnorr Earls' Skald that Rognvaldr Brusil's son was for long in the defence force in Novgorod, and fought in many battles there," followed by the half-verse "Eager for battle..." This is also found in O.S. 54¹⁹, 55⁷⁻¹³, with the number of battles stated as "ten." But these facts and the half-verse do not occur in the parallel accounts in any other version. This does not mean that we must postulate a special source for O.S. and the Hist. Ol. H.S. apart from all other versions, because Hist. Ol. H.S. is a copy of Snorri's Ol. H. S. in Hkr. with additions from other sources - in this case, perhaps, from O.S.

The second factor is a variation in a minor item in the narrative. O.S. 54¹⁴, Hkr. 419, Fsk. 191 and Hist. Ol. H.S. 234 agree that Kalfr Arni's son and Einarr Bowstring-shaker went together to Russia. According to the Mork. version of Har. Harð. S. in Flat./

Flat.III, 260-261, Kalfr went first and later Einarr and Sveinn Bryggjufotr. According to the "Legendary" Ol. H.S. ch.102 and Agr. ch.34 they all went together.

This gives us a relationship as follows:



The last section (O.S. 57¹⁸⁻¹⁹) is a mere reference to the subsequent relations of King Magnus and King Sveinn as told "in the Lives of the Kings of Norway" (i aefi Noregskonunga). This might refer to Agrip af Noregs Konunga Sogum, as suggested by Stefánsson. (Orkn. and Shetl. Old-lore, Apr. 1907). But there is no reason to believe that Agr. is the particular collection of Kings' Sagas meant. Indeed, Agr. gives a very meagre account of the dealings of Magnus and Sveinn Ulf's son (Agr. ch.37-40); and the rest of the chapter in O.S. conveys the impression that its author has before him a fairly full and detailed S. of Magnus the Good - such as we find preserved in Hkr., for example. There is nothing to tell us what collection of Lives is meant; but it was probably the collection which on other grounds we have concluded to have been in the possession of the compiler when he put together his Saga.

Chapter 21 (57¹⁹) - 31.

Sources: A Páttir of Earls Thorfinnr and Rognvaldr, Brusi's son.

Oral tradition.

A *S. of Haraldr the Tyrant.

Porfinnzdrápa by Arnorr.

Kálfsflokkur by Bjarni Gullbra's Skald.

This section is a third Páttir of Earl Thorfinnr worked into/

into O.S. It is really a tale of Rognvaldr Brusi's son and Thorfinnr, for there is a good deal of sympathy with Rognvaldr in it. It appears to be curtailed a little towards the end; the narrative in ch.31 is a little rushed. At the end of ch.30 is inserted an irrelevant summary of events around the death of King Magnus from a lost ^XS. of Haraldr the Tyrant. (See separate study of ch.30 below). There is only one definite reference to oral tradition (ok er þat sumra manna soǵn: "and some men say," 78¹⁵). The compiler makes further and more successful efforts to date events (e.g., 62¹⁻³, 63¹⁸⁻²⁰, 65¹¹⁻¹²). For the first time the method of dating events - voyages or raids - by the season is employed regularly.

The Pátrr is written in good plain prose, more clean cut than that of the second pátrr (ch.20), but less formal than that of the first (ch.13-19). The story of Rognvaldr and Thorfinnr is told clearly and pointedly. The death of Earl Rognvaldr is narrated with a genuine tragic simplicity and reticence.

Not only method of dating and literary style suggest the separate identity of this pátrr. Whereas the first and second Paettir are nowhere quoted, or the events in them referred to outside O.S. (except for the transcript of the first Pátrr in Hkr.), there are three separate references to the incidents narrated in this, the third Pátrr.

- (i) In the Hist. Ol. H.S. (ed. 1853, 244; trans. in E.S.S.H. I. 585) there is a reference to Rognvaldr Brusi's son's travels in the East. After mention of his return to the Orkneys, we read: "These were the beginnings of strife between the kinsmen; and thereis a long story about that" (ok er frá því löng saga).
- (ii) In Fsk. ch.40 (ed. F.J., 201) is a similar reference: "He (Magnus G.) came West to the realm of Rognvaldr Brusi's son in the Orkneys, gave him the title of Earl, and in his days created strife between Rognvaldr and his uncle Thorfinnr, as is/

is told in the Earls' Sagas" (sem getit er í jarla sǫgunum, MS. B. MS. A has the variant sǫgunni: "saga"). This passage appears almost identically in Flat. III, 270, and in Hulda (Fms. VI 45). Professor Gustav Indrebø in his study of Fsk. explains its appearance in Fsk. and Flat. by the fact that it originally appeared in a lost section of Morkinskinna from which Flat. and probably Fsk. drew material. This hypothesis requires confirmation; for Indrebø's arguments are not completely convincing. Chronologically, it is quite possible that the compiler of Fsk. did see a copy of these early chapters of O.S.

(iii) The passage in Hulda referred to in (ii) above (Fms. VI, 45) continues the account of the rivalry of Thorfinnr and Rognvaldr, mentions the battle at Rauðabjörg, and remarks finally that "the dealings between the Earls afterwards were as is told in their Saga" (i sögu þeirra, Fms. VI, 45). This looks like a direct reference to these chapters in O.S.

Of the verses used, one is from Bjarni Gullbra's Skald's poem on Kalfr Arni's son, and eight are taken from Arnorr Earls' Skald's ode on Earl Thorfinnr. Full use is not made, however, of the latter poem. Eight other verses are extant which might have been used had the compiler known them - or perhaps known them accurately enough. Two of them have been inserted clumsily at the end of ch. 32 by some later scribe. The others are preserved in Snorri's Prose Edda and in Mork.

Chapter 31.

The extreme sketchiness of the last chapter of this Páttir (ch. 31) suggests that the compiler is summarizing rather rapidly a much longer document. The reference to "the most famous of Thorfinn's cruises" (O.S. 86^{3v}) is evidence of a lengthy narrative known to the compiler but not now extant. Then we find

a/

a general abruptness and formlessness of style, and a repetition of information already given regarding Thorfinn's marriage to Ingibjorg, Finn's daughter (O.S. 86^{8v}). Apparently the compiler had decided that his Thorfinn's Saga must not drag out much longer.

Chapter 32.

Sources: The first Þáttur of Thorfinnr.

The third Þáttur of Thorfinnr.

Oral tradition.

This chapter was written, it would appear, to form a conclusion to the Saga of Earl Thorfinnr as told in the three preceding Þáttir. It is more closely connected with the first Þáttur than with the third. Its separateness from the third Þáttur is fairly clear, however, even in O.S., for the third Þáttur is written in sympathy with Rognvaldr Brusi's son (see ch. 30, O.S. 79¹⁸ 80⁴), whereas this chapter is a eulogy of his enemy Thorfinnr. In fact, it appears to be based primarily on the concluding paragraph of the first Þáttur preserved only in Hkr. and Flat. (See Sources of ch. 13-19 and note on ch.19).

But in using this written source the compiler has - none too judiciously - added material of his own. He has expanded the eulogy of his hero, has defined the number of Thorfinn's Earldoms as nine (an erroneous or, at least, meaningless estimate), and has increased the number of years he reigned from "more than 60" to either 70 (MS.Flat.) or "nearly 80" (MS. O.) Cp. his erroneous dating of the death of Sigurthr the Stout (O.S. 23), or his exaggerated estimate of the greatness of Sveinn in ch.108. The sentence on the building of Christ's Kirk in Birsay (87¹) also seems to be his - or at any rate carried over from the previous chapter (O.S. 86⁵); this is the one link with the third Thorfinnr Þáttur. Interesting too is the omission of a minor slight on Thorfinn's/

Thorfinn's reputation - that he died in his bed. cp. Hkr.276^u.

Chapter 33.

Sources: A^x Register of the children of the Earls Paul and Erlendr.

This is the first specifically genealogical chapter in the Saga. In Flat. it stands as a chapter by itself. In O. it is joined to the previous chapters, but has a blank page after it as if something had been omitted; indeed O. stops short one sentence before the end of the chapter as we have it in Flat. The chapter, then, not only has some sort of existence of its own, but also may have been originally longer than we now have it.

At first sight the genealogy appears to be merely an introduction to the Paul - Erlendr - Hakon - Magnus chapters of the Saga (ch.34-52), after which a fresh set of genealogies appears (ch. 53, 55, 56). But the matter is much less simple. After listing the descendants of Earl Paul the chapter reads: "All these men come into the Saga later" (89^{18,19}). Now many of them, such as Hakon the Younger and Archdeacon Erlingr, play no part in the Saga at all. And some, such as Sigurthr of Westness, Hakon Claw, Brynjolfr Sigurth's son and the sons of Havarthr Gunni's son, play an active part in the Saga, but not until Earl Rognvald's Saga (ch.58-108); their names are not even mentioned in the Paul - Erlendr - Hakon - Magnus chapters, but their genealogies are repeated before Earl Rognvald's Saga. These facts not only preclude the supposition of ch.33 being of the same authorship as ch. 34-52, but suggest that it was inserted at this point by the compiler of the complete Saga. He made use of one or more genealogies in documentary form, and added the brief and not too accurate sentence of his own ("All these men come into the Saga later"). This becomes all the more probable when we find that the later genealogical chapters above-mentioned (ch.53/

(ch.53, 55, 56) bear a strong resemblance to ch.33 and are fairly certainly by the compiler of O.S. and author of Earl Rognvald's Saga. See study of ch.53-56.

Chapter 34 (- 91¹⁴).

Sources: A^{*} S. of Haraldr the Tyrant (Harðráði)

Oral tradition.

This introduction to the Þættir of Earl Hakon (ch.34 to 38) is drawn, like similar introductory chapters (e.g. ch.8,12), from a lost King's Saga used also in Hkr., Fsk., and Mork., - the Saga of Haraldr the Tyrant. It is very closely linked with the succeeding chapters; indeed it ends in the middle of a chapter in all MSS.

The usual comparison may be made of the use of this lost source by O.S., Hkr., Fsk., and Mork.

The longest versions of the story of Harald's invasion of England are found in Hkr., Har. Harð. S., ch.83-98 (Hkr.502-511) and in Mork., 112-123. Mork gives one English pl.n., Hundatun, not found in any other source; it omits Holderness, however, like Fsk, although both Hkr. and O.S. have it. Mork likewise has several verses not found in Hkr or Fsk. Mork. 112¹⁰ makes the error of calling Harald's wife Thora instead of Ellisif; cp. Fsk. 283¹⁴; O.S. 90⁷; Hkr. 502⁶.

Fsk., Har. Harð. S., ch. 53-63 (ed. F.J., 283-296) omits a number of details at the beginning, including some pl. ns. - Holderness and Stamford Bridge. But otherwise the story is told at considerable length, with a liberal quotation of verses.

In comparison with these versions, O.S. gives but a bare summary of events. The story of the death of Haraldr, told at full length in the other accounts, is dismissed in a sentence (O.S. 90^{19¹²}). The story of Tosti is altogether omitted. No verses are/

are found, although the other versions quote two by Arnorr. The chapter in O.S. is very obviously written not for its own sake but as an introduction to the succeeding narrative.

The compiler has inserted one sentence of his own, of which there is no trace in any other account. O.S. states that Olaf Harald's son while in the Orkneys "was the greatest friend of the Earls his kinsmen; [for] Thora mother of King Olaf and Ingibjorg Earls' mother were cousins" (O.S. 91¹⁰⁻¹²).

Chapter 34 (91¹⁴) - 38.

Sources: * Several Paettir of Hakon Paul's son.
Hakonsdrápa.

Although this section deals with the reign of Earls Paul and Erlendr, it is really a Saga of Hakon Paul's son. The peaceful reign of the two Earls is summarily dealt with. Between the departure of Olaf Harald's son for Norway in 1067 and the rise to importance of Hakon Paul's son c.1090 we read of no incident whatsoever. The unity of the section is not only attested by the interest in the central figure Hakon, but by the fact that it appears in O. as one unbroken chapter (including the introductory part of ch.34). Peculiar to it also is the absence of the dating by seasons found prominently in ch.21-31; there are two attempts at comparative dating, both typical of the compiler. (See Appendix B).

Although no quotations are made from it, a drápa or ode on Hakon (not extant) was probably made use of in this Pa'ttr. It is referred to later:-

- (i) In ch. 43: "As is told in the drápa that was made on Hakon Paul's son (O.S. 108²²).
- (ii) In ch.46, of Hakon and Magnus' quarrel with a chief called Dufnjall we read: "So is it said in the poem (kvaeði) on the subject, that they fought...." (O.S. 111⁴).
- (iii) In ch.46 of their further exploits we read: "Many were the deeds of which the poem (kvaeði) tells which they both had a hand in;

but here they are not told at length." (O.S. 111¹¹⁻¹⁴).

Chapters 39-43.

Sources:

A^{*} S. of Magnus Bare-legs.

Oral tradition.

Verses of Thorkell Hammer-skald, Kali, and King Magnus.

* Hákonsdrápa.

? Heimskringla.

The unity of this section, which deals with the relation of Magnus Bare-legs' Western expeditions to Orkney history, is suggested not only by its unity of subject but by the fact that it is uninterrupted by chapter divisions in O. until the end of ch.42. The abrupt opening to the section (ch.39) is conspicuous. MS. O. has here one of its rare chapter headings, "Of King Magnus' War-Cruise" (S.N. note). At the end, however, it is well dovetailed into the succeeding narrative. It is in fact the usual introduction based on a King's Saga to a section on Orkney history.

One minor item in ch.41 attests the separate identity of these Magn. B. chapters. In 105^{12/13}, Skotlandzfirðir is used in its original sense of the sea-lochs in the West of Scotland, whereas elsewhere in the Saga it signifies the West Coast in general. See Index of pl. ns. The original separateness of these chapters of the Saga of Saint Magnus which follows is proved by the relative absence of the unctious tone assumed in his Saga when he is mentioned; it is significant that in these chapters he is Magnus Erlendzson, but in his Saga proper he is Magnus jarl, hinn helgi Magnus jarl, hinn virðuligi Magnus jarl.

Nine versions exist of the story (including that in O.S.) and the relation between them is the most complex synoptic problem presented/

presented in the whole Saga. The following study is not to be regarded as anything more than a preliminary contribution to the problem.

Two of the versions are brief ones - those in Agrip, ch. 50-51 and Theodericus' Historia, 31-32. These, however, have no peculiar factual or verbal points of contact with the other versions and may be omitted from the discussion. The only additional item of information contributed to the narrative in O.S. is that Magnus Erlend's son was eighteen years of age when he entered King Magnus' service (Theod.: Hist., ch.31).

The remaining versions are found in

- (i) Mork. 143-156.
- (ii) Fsk., Magn. B. S. ch.69-71 (ed. F.J., 316-328).
- (iii) Hkr., Magn. B.S. ch. 8-11, 23-26.
(Hkr. 522-525; 530-532).
- (iv) Hulda, Magn. B.S. ch.20-25 (Fms. VII, 40-51).
- (v) Magnúss Saga hin skamma, (The Shorter Magn. S.)
ch.3-5 (M_2 , in Rolls 88.I.282-285).
- (vi) Magnúss Saga hin lengri (The Longer Magn.S.) ch.9-13
(M_1 , in Rolls 88.I.246-251).

There can be no doubt as to the existence of a common source, a lost written Saga of Magnus Bare-legs. The wide-spread similarity in words and factual details in all five versions is ample proof of that. There is a reference to a S. of Magn. B. in the Shorter S. of St. Magnus (M_2 ; see below) which may be this original lost Saga. At the same time there are enough dissimilarities (as will be shown below) to preclude the possibility of one group of versions being derived exclusively from ^{any} single other one.

We may note first that M_2 and M_1 are, as Nordal proved, based respectively upon two MSS. of the revised O.S. (S.N. xliii-xliv, liii-liv).

M_2 's source (S.N., l.c.) is an MS. copied from the same

MS. as 325a. It omits the names of King Magnus' followers, the verses, the boat-dragging incident; and it abbreviates the whole narrative generally. Its additions to O.S. are as follows:-

(i) A reference to the \times S. of Magn. B. as a source of information;- Magnus b..... svá sem ritað er í sögu hans: "Magnus B... as is written in his saga" (M₂ 282). This, of course, might refer to any of the recensions of the original \times S. of Magn. B. as well as to the original one itself.

(ii) A longer dialogue between King Magnus and Magnus Erlend's son when he refuses to fight (M₂ 283¹⁰⁻¹³; cp. O.S. 101²⁰). M₂ reads after beriazst: "fight", - "Take thy weapons and help thyself," said the King. He answers: 'May God protect me; I shall not die if he wills that I live. I would rather die than fight an unrighteous battle.' "

The M₁ version is based mainly on that in Flat. and is of small historical importance (S.N., l.c.). Like M₂ it is an abbreviated version. Its additions are chiefly pietistic in nature; the escape of Magnus Erlend's son from the flying spears in the battle at Anglesey is turned into a miracle. An important addition is a paragraph describing how Magnus Erlend's son heard of his father's death while in the Bodyguard of the King of Scots, and how with an army furnished by the latter he went to Caithness and was there given the title of Earl (M₁ 249¹⁹⁻²⁶; cp. O.S. 108²⁶, where Magn. Erl. appears immediately in Orkney). This additional information was apparently drawn from the legendary accounts of St. Magnus postulated by Nordal (S.N. liv).

The second conspicuous relationship between versions is that between O.S. and Hulda. The latter version is longest of all, containing a number of verses by Bjorn Cripple-hand, Thorkell Hammer-skald, and Gisl Illugi's son, several of them in no other version. Between it and O.S. there is a constant similarity in detail/

detail and in word and phrase. It is the only one of the versions which has the references to Kali and his family found in O.S. (O.S. 100^{2d} - 101¹; 103¹⁻⁵; 106¹⁻¹⁰; 107^{1b-16}; 107¹⁹-108⁵); these were fairly certainly inserted there by the compiler of O.S. to lead up to the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali.

There are, of course, discrepancies. The following items in the extant MSS. of O.S. (325a, Fl., O.) are not found in Hulda:-

- (i) All incidents relative to Magnus Erlend's son (O.S. 101¹⁵ 102²; 103¹⁰ - 104^{2b}), referred to at least in all the other versions. In Hulda they must have been omitted purposely as irrelevant.
- (ii) A sentence telling of the death of Sigurthr Skewer (O.S. 107⁵⁻⁷); again irrelevant.
- (iii) The reference to "what Snorri Sturluson said" (O.S. 107^{18,19}); this was probably added in a later version of O.S. (See study of Interpolations).

Hulda likewise has several features unknown to O.S. The list of Magnus B.'s lendirmenn is given at the beginning of the second voyage, as in Hkr. 530¹⁵⁻¹⁸, whereas O.S. prefaces them to the first; and among them is Ulfr Hrani's son, also only in Hkr. Further, it has a series of verbal similarities ^{to} ~~with~~ Hkr. - phrases which appear to have merely dropped out of the narrative in O.S. as we have it.

- (i) á nefbjörg hjálmsins, Hkr. 524¹³; O.S. 102¹¹ omits the last word.
- (ii) settisk í lypting, Hkr. 524³⁴; omitted in O.S. 105⁷.
- (iii) leggja styri í lag, Hkr. 524³⁴; omitted in O.S. 105⁷.
- (iv) Ref. to the land that lá á bakborða, Hkr. 524³⁶; O.S. 105⁸ calls it merely Sátiri.
- (v) Description of the islands annexed by King Magnus as baeði byggðar ok óbyggðar: "both inhabited and uninhabited/

uninhabited," Hkr. 525⁴ ; not in O.S.

[Nos.(ii) to (v) occur in the boat-dragging story, which is curtailed in O.S. owing to its having occurred already in ch.3. See Sources of ch.1-3].

From the above collation of O.S. and Hulda we can conclude that Hulda makes direct use of O.S., but supplements this source by reference to another ^xS. of Magn. B. - probably that used in Hkr.

Let us now turn to the pair of versions which are in the next degree of similarity. These are Mork. and Fsk. Their principal points of contact are as follows:

(i) The general plan of narrative is similar, but unlike that in any other version.

(ii) They have sundry references to the Kings of Scotland at the time—absent in the other versions.

(iii) The full story of the Hughs of Wales is told as we have it in O.S. and Hulda; in Hkr. it is considerably abbreviated.

(iv) Thorkell Hammer-skald is mentioned as the author of the verse Dundi broddr... (Fsk. 318; Mork. 145), which is anonymous in O.S. and Hkr., although correctly ascribed in Hulda.

(v) The list of lendirmenn, which occurs at the beginning of the second expedition in all versions except O.S. and Ágr., is much curtailed in Mork., and even more so in Fsk.

(vi) Magnus and Erlingr, as in all versions except Hkr., enter King Magnus' service in the first expedition.

(vii) Although the two versions of the boat-dragging story differ considerably in diction (Mork. giving a particularly verbose account of the incident), they both are at one in using the term Satirismuli (Fsk. 319; Mork. 146) in place of Satíri which is normal in all other versions. It may be added that neither version of the tale in Fsk. or Mork. bears half as much resemblance to those in Hkr. and O.S. as those in Hkr. and O.S. bear to each other.

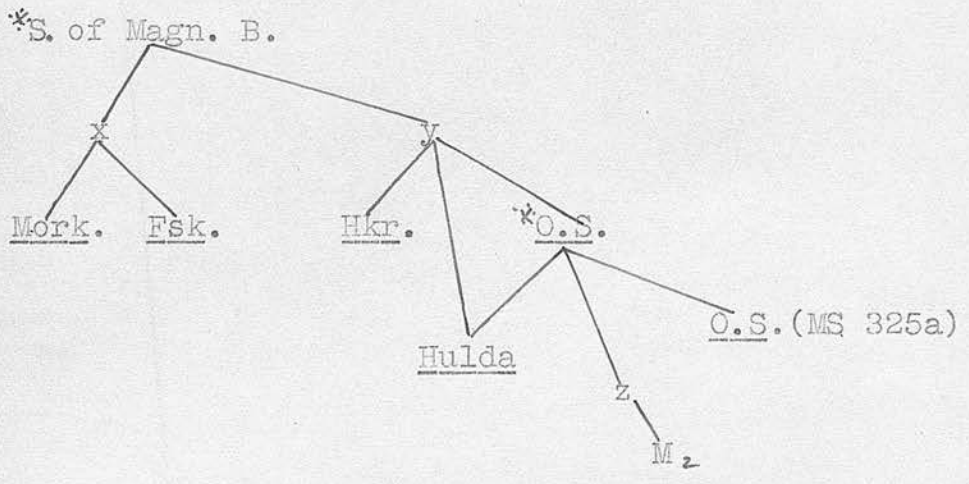
The two facts elicited from a collation of Mork. and Fsk.

are/

are:-

- (i) that they are based, possibly directly, on a common written source not used by any other version.
- (ii) that since they are linked with each of the other versions about equally, probably they are nearer to the source of these versions than to these versions themselves.

The following table meets the requirements of the above conclusions. The position of M₁ is omitted as being relatively unimportant; but see MSS. chart in S.N.liv.



It will be noted that Hulda may have made use of y or some copy of it as well as of *O.S. Whether Mork. and Fsk. made immediate use of x is uncertain.

I make no attempt to relate the versions on the basis of historical accuracy, a factor which might amplify or even modify the table of relationship. It may be remarked, however, that Hkr. gives by far the most confusing narrative. A new study of Magnus Barelegs' expeditions to the West is much required.

For the possible use of *Hakonsdrápa in ch.43, see Sources of ch.34-38.

The verses of Thorkell Hammer-skald and King Magnus were of course found in the *Saga of Magnus used. But the half-verses of Kali and Magnus in ch.41 and the accompanying anecdote are additions of/

of the compiler's own. The compiler, indeed, shows considerable skill in working into his borrowed narrative the references to Kali already mentioned, which link this part of O.S. to the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali that is to come.

Chapters 44-52.

Sources: A (?Latin)* Saint's Life of Earl Magnus.

?* Hákonsdrápa.

Oral tradition.

With the exception probably of the end of ch.51 (119⁸⁻¹⁵; an interpolation) and the end of ch.52, this section appears to be drawn from a separate (lost) "Saint's Life" of Earl Magnus. Its unctious tone and edifying purpose mark it out as of different authorship from the other biographies of O.S. The complete absence of dating, except in the interpolation in ch.51, may be noted as evidence of the separate unity of this section. But it is an integral part of the compilation. At the beginning it is well dovetailed on to the preceding chapters on Magnus Bare-legs by references to the dealings of Saint Magnus with King Magnus in ch.39 and 40 and with King Eysteinn in chapter 44. In fact, ch.44 reads like a linking chapter written for the main part by the compiler; the reference to Norwegian kings, and to the Paplay family mentioned in ch.33 and 56 (which are definitely by him) suggest that it is his. The eulogy in ch.45 is a more natural beginning to a ^{separate} Saint's Life than ch.44.

At the end, however, the linking is not so well done. Ch.52, at about O.S. 121⁶, passes from an edifying tale of martyrdom to a mild eulogy of his murderer, Hakon Paul's son. The eulogies in O.S. are very much of a piece, and as the suggestion of a source/

source can never be found for them, one may infer that they are the work of the compiler, aided by such oral tradition as has come his way; cp. ch.12, 32, 108. In this case it is as if he had been rather dissatisfied with the very un-Saga-like partisanship shown in the account of the relations of Magnus and Hakon, and, while remaining faithful to his written sources, seeks in this addendum to redress the balance.

It is not unlikely that the Life of Saint Magnus was originally written in Latin - a Vita Sancti Magni. The verbose introductory chapter fairly certainly was; see the separate study of this chapter. It is instructive to compare this Saint's Life with one of which the original Latin version exists. A remarkably interesting parallel of this nature is found in Thomas Saga Erkebyskups which C.R.Unger printed with the Latin Life on the lower half of the page. T.S.E. begins with a eulogy similar to that in ch.45. The account of the beginning of strife between Magnus and Hakon is closely paralleled in even the phraseology of the chapter which describes the growing differences between Henry II and Thomas à Becket (T.S.E. 54-57). Earl and Archbishop meet death with the same placid fortitude (O.S. ch.50; T.S.E. 259-265); the two accounts are alike in their use of terms of adoration, their quotation of the last prayers of the martyr, their minute description of the wounds inflicted, ~~and the account~~ ^{tale} of the miracles performed at the shrine of the martyr, and the penance undergone by those responsible for the murder. The style of T.S.E. is more diffuse than that in the O.S. version of the Life of Saint Magnus, but the vocabulary is similar, and it is not difficult to see that if T.S.E. is a free translation of a Latin Life, so also the Saga of Saint Magnus may have been.

For its relation to the separate Longer Magnúss Saga (M₁) and Shorter Magnúss Saga (M₂), see Introd.: MSS.

In ch.46 (O.S. 111⁷) there are two references to a (lost) kvaeði/

kvaeði or poem on the subject of Magnus and Hakon's attack on a certain Dufnjall and other exploits, probably the ^xHákonsdrápa referred to in ch.43 (O.S.111^{''''4}). See Sources of ch.34-38.

It is possible that this Vita Sancti Magni was of quite early date. Latin Saint's Lives were not uncommon in the 12th century. The present tense in "So says Holdbothi" (O.S. 117^{''}), a Hebridean who witnessed the capture of Earl Magnus, suggests composition within a generation of ?1117 - say before 1150; but not much weight can really be placed on tenses in O.N. prose. Nevertheless, the dedication of a cathedral to ^{Saint Magnus}~~him~~_A in 1137 was probably accompanied by the collection of all stories relating to his life for propaganda purposes. The reality of his "sanctity" while he lived is to be doubted; see Mr Clouston's interesting discussion of this in Hist. Orkn. 65-70. We may assume the lapse of at least a generation after his death to allow for his "legend" to grow. We may put the Vita Sancti Magni in the second half of the 12th century. It was probably of Icelandic authorship, although, unlike the rest of O.S., the possibility of Norwegian or even Orkney being its place of composition is an open one.

Chapter 45.

Sources: A^x Latin Eulogy of St. Magnus.

This bombastic eulogy of Saint Magnus exists in three forms, one in M₂ and O., another in Flat., and a third in M₁. It is quite dissimilar to the neighbouring chapters in style; and in O. it appears as a chapter by itself - a fact that usually signifies separate identity. F. Jónsson (Litt.Hist. II, 656) thought it a later interpolation. But there are no awkward transitions; the last sentence in ch.44 leads up to it, and the first sentence in ch.46 picks up the thread of narrative again as if ^{the latter} had been interrupted, as indeed it is.

Some/

Some information on its origin is gained by comparison of the three versions.

(1) Flat. (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.; present trans.)

gives the longest and most coherent version.

(2) M₂ and O. (S.N. note; V. and D. in Shorter Magnúss Saga,

ch. 7) have a version which contains no facts regarding Magnus that are not in Flat. From Flat., however, it differs in three ways:

(i) M₂ adds the pietistic fyrir guðs sakir: "for God's sake" after huggan, "charity" (O.S. 110¹³)

(ii) The M₂ and O. version is half the length of the Flat. version through the omission of unnecessary words (e.g. i orrostum after sigrsæll, O.S. 110²; etc.), and of redundant sentences (e.g. the last in the chapter, O.S. 111¹⁻³).

(iii) M₂ paraphrases Flat. systematically by means of synonyms. E.g.

M₂ sidgodr ok sidvandr - Fl. sidgodr i hattum.

M₂ vigdiarfr - Fl. dreingiligr.

M₂ riklyndr - Fl. riklundadr.

M₂ i sifellu - Fl. iafnan.

M₂ stuldu - Fl. byfskur.

M₂ odadir - Fl. oknytti.

and so on.

N.B. O. differs from M₂ in having the same title as

Flat.

(3) M₁ (V. and D. in Longer Magnúss Saga, ch.15) has a ver-

sion almost as long as that in Flat., to which it

bears most resemblance. But it has six definite

points of resemblance with M₁, not shared with Fl.

(-vandr; -djarfr; hafði hvers manns lof; stuldi;

meinlaetisamr; rikt.) And it has several peculiari-

ties of its own:-

(i) Paraphrases by means of synonyms, as in M₁,

e.g. M₁ rikborna - Fl. hinnar dyrdligstu aettar

M₁/

M, gjerði brúðlaup. - Fl. drak brudhlaup.

M, hjalp Fl. huggan.

(ii) Pietistic additions regarding Earl Magnus' rule in the Orkneys.

I have given these peculiar variations in full because of the importance of the conclusion I am going to draw from them. The presence of synonymous expressions in the different versions creates a synoptic problem quite different from that presented by any other part of O.S. No single common source in Old Norse could account for them. But three separate and fairly free translations from a single Latin eulogy would produce just such variety. The similarity of the eulogy to that of Thomas à Becket in his Life has already been noted (Sources of ch.44-52). The eulogy probably formed the introductory chapter of the Latin Life of Saint Magnus used by our compiler. Originally, however, it may have been a separate work - a short exercise in pious Latinity. But the very considerable probability of ch.45 being a translation from Latin is my main reason for regarding the whole Saga of Saint Magnus (ch.45-52 and perhaps ch.44) as being of ~~the~~ like origin.

Chapters 53-56 (130¹⁵).

Sources: Oral tradition.

?Eirikr Odd's son's ^xHryggjarstykki.

One's first impression is that this is a section (consisting mainly of genealogies and episodes) written to fill the gap between the end of Magnus' Saga and the beginning of Rognvaldr Kali's Saga.

The link between these chapters and Rognvald's Saga is very close. Examination shows that, except for a few lines at the end of

ch.53 (see below), the section refers forward to Rognvald's Saga.

The genealogies in ch.53, 55, 56 and the episodes in ch.54 and 55 all deal/

deal with families (e.g. that of Frakokk) which play a part in the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali and that only. The genealogies are of an ad hoc nature, not merely inserted from some written source as in ch.33. This is especially true of ch.56 which gives a very full list of the principal men in the Orkneys who come into Rognvaldr Kali's Saga, including the families of Sigurthr of Westness and Havarthr Gunni's son already fully dealt with in ch.33 (cp. 128¹⁶⁻¹⁹ with 89¹⁻¹⁰; and 129²⁻⁵ with 89¹⁴⁻¹⁷).

But the fact that links ch.53-56 most closely with Rognvaldr Kali's Saga is the intimate knowledge of the family of Frakokk shown in both, based upon good and, of course, recent, oral tradition. One can have no hesitation in accepting the author of Rognvaldr Kali's Saga as also the author of ch.53-56.

Chapter 53.

As noted above, the last few sentences in this chapter (122²⁰ - 123⁷) differ from the rest. Their unctious references to Hakon Paul's son and his sons link it with the conclusion of ch.52 which, as has been noted in the study of ch.44-52, is on its own evidence a probable addition to the Saga of Saint Magnus made by the compiler.

Chapter 54.

Sources: ? Eirikr Odd's son's^{*} Hryggjarstykki.

It is an Oral tradition.

Eirikr Odd's son's non-extant Hryggjarstykki or "Backbone piece" is referred to in Mork. 210¹⁹, and Hkr. 576¹⁷, 578³⁹, 579³⁰ as a source of information regarding the doings of Sigurthr Sham-deacon. It is described in Hkr. 579³⁰ as dealing with "Haraldr Gilli and his sons, Magnus the Blind, and Sigurthr Sham-deacon, to their deaths" - a rather confusing list interpreted by F. Jónsson (Litt. Hist. II.383) to mean the period 1130-61.

Even/

Even if we did not possess the name of this work, we would deduce the existence of some sort of Saga of Sigurthr Sham-deacon. Mork. Hkr. and Fsk. all give a large place to his exploits. Hkr. 567 (Magn. Bl. S., ch.13) and Mork. 202 each give a preliminary chapter on his family, character and early career such as we normally find at the beginning of a Saga. I do not think it rash to infer that Eirik's work is the source of information used by the authors of Mork., Fsk., Hkr., and, finally, of the compiler of O.S. in ch.54.

Oral tradition in the Orkneys or Caithness may have supplied some of the facts regarding his relations with Earls' families there, which are not referred to in the parallel chapters in Hkr. and Mork. (Hkr. 567; Mork. 202).

Fsk. does not mention his visit to Scotland at all.

A comparison of the other three versions shows certain discrepancies. Mork. corresponds closely to Hkr. in the description of his family and character; this ^{description} is not found in O.S. But Hkr. differs from both O.S. and Mork. in putting his pilgrimage to Jerusalem before his visit to the Orkneys. In fact, the narrative in Hkr. is here somewhat perfunctory in comparison with that in Mork.; and probably Mork. and O.S. are in this point right.

Chapter 55.

Source: Oral tradition.

It is curious to find an obvious folk-tale so late in the Saga, especially in the midst of matter of fact and realistically detailed genealogies. The compiler has apparently heard the tale told of Frakokk and Haraldr, and inserts it in its appropriate place in the narrative.

Chapter/

Chapter 56 (-130¹⁵).

Source: Oral tradition.

That we have in this chapter a fairly carefully compiled list of the chief men in the Orkneys is shown by the following comment of Mr J. Storer Clouston: - "In this list is included every man who is either specifically termed a goeðing in the course of the Saga, or who at the time clearly must have been, with the exceptions (a) of one or two of the men named in chapter 33 as being 'all earl's kin and goeðings in the Orkneys' (the others being named in ch.56); and (b) of Eyvindr Maelbrigte's son." (Two Features of the Orkney Earldom, in Scot. Hist. Rev., XVI, No.61, p.24)

Chapter 56 (130¹⁵) - 57.

This section, the "Miracle-Book" of Earl Magnus, is dealt with under Interpolations.

Chapter 58-108 (321¹²).

Sources: An oral Saga of Earl Rognvaldr Kali.

(11) Sagas of Kings Sigurthr the Crusader, Magnus the Blind and ? of Ingi and Sigurthr.

A Saga of Erlingr Crickneck.

Miscellaneous oral tradition.

A folk-tale: "The Man with the Cowl."

Verses of Rognvaldr Kali and many others; see study of ch.85-89.

This section of O.S., equivalent to more than half of the whole compilation, is that part of it which bears most resemblance to the Icelandic Family Saga. Its main affinities with this type of literature have been pointed out in the first chapter of this Introduction. It is full of references to oral tradition; see Appendix/

Appendix C and studies of ch.61, 64, 66, 75, 85-89). The circumstantiality of the narrative, the accurate dating season by season (especially between 1151 and 1156), the clearness of the characterisation and the unhurried directness of the narrative mark it as a conscientious transcript of an oral Saga that has survived two generations' telling unusually well.

Here and there in this study of Sources I have hinted that it was the compiler of the whole Saga who wrote this major section of it, the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali. The evidence already adduced for the unity of the Saga - the system of linking chapters, of using verses, of references to Norwegian Kings for dating - is of course evidence for this view, provided the immediate oral origin of Rognvaldr Kali's Saga be admitted. The following phenomenon has still further influenced me in adopting this view. In those passages in the earlier half of the Saga where the compiler appears to be supplementing his written source with material of his own, such matter often, and indeed usually, bears some resemblance to, or has some connection with, the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali. The salient examples of this are as follows:-

(i) In the chapters drawn from the S. of Magnus Bare-legs the added references to Kali and his family prepare the way for the Rognvaldr Kali chapters (see Sources of ch.39-43).

(ii) The second Þáttur of Thorfinnr (ch.20), also apparently based directly upon oral tradition, is similar in style to and has geographical information similar to that in the Rognvaldr Kali's Saga. The River Oykell error in Rognvaldr Kali's Saga occurs also in the Saga of Turf-Einarr (ch.4-8) and in this Þáttur of Thorfinnr (see Introd.: The Problem of Unity).

(iii) The eulogy of Sveinn in ch.108 has affinities to that of Thorfinnr in ch.32 and that of Hakon Paul's son in ch.52; see Sources of these chapters.

(iv) Ch.53-56 are clearly designed as an introduction to the Saga/

Saga of Rognvaldr Kali; and ch.33 is fairly certainly by the same hand as ch.53-56; See Sources of these chapters.

In the studies of the separate parts of the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali which follow, it will be shown that although a unity, it has certain sections with some sort of original separate identity - most notably the Crusade--Þáttur in ch.85-89.

Chapter 61.

A Note on Chapter 61.

Sources: Oral tradition.

Few chapters are so obviously based directly on oral tradition as this one, a Þáttur of the feud that arose over the "matching" of men, between John Peter's son and Kali Kol's son. The following are the main points of significance.

(i) The narrative is unhurried yet straightforward; the style unstudied, and indeed a trifle slipshod; the dialogue brief and pertinent but obviously composed for the occasion. One feels that one is reading a fresh narrative, - as one does not, for example, in reading the Earl Thorfinnr chapters (excepting ch.20).

(ii) A clumsy inversion of facts such as the following is the mark of a "fresh" narrative.

"And now Uni led him (Kali) out of the stable which stood opposite the outer doors and concealed him there in the manger. (This was before men were up; but he had slept the night indoors)." O.S. 150¹⁶⁻¹⁷.

(iii) There are many references to "what is told" and "what is not told." E.g. "It is not mentioned that anything worthy of note happened on their voyage." O.S. 144⁴. Cp. three others quoted in Appendix C.

(iv) One incident displays an anomaly that may be due to the author's/

author's general slipshodness. Brynjolfr, says Uni, is coming to fetch his mistress' clothes (O.S. 150¹⁶). But later (O.S. 150³⁰ - 151¹⁰) he seems to have come for her as well. (It is of course possible that there is a misreading in O.S. 150¹⁶; or that the woman who prepared to leave with him (O.S. 150²²) was a seamstress).

Chapter 62.

Sources: * Sagas of King Sigurthr and Magnus the Blind.

Oral tradition.

A verse of Ingimarr of Aske.

This chapter dealing with events in Norway, 1130-1134, is designed to show how Rognvaldr Kali retained the title "Earl of the Orkneys," under the change of monarchs in Norway (O.S. 156²⁷). Like the "introductory" chapters in the early part of the Saga (ch.8,12, etc.), it is based on lost Kings' Sagas also used in Hkr., Sig. Eyst. Ol. S., ch.33 and Magn. Bl. S. ch.1-8 (Hkr. 554-560) and in Fsk., ch.78-80 (ed.F.J., 338-341), - the * Sagas of King Sigurthr and Magnus the Blind.

Hkr. and Fsk. as usual give versions very much fuller than that in O.S., although they differ markedly in diction and arrangement. (Mork. does not have any version of the tale owing to a lacuna in the MS.).

Of the three versions, O.S. and Hkr. are the more closely associated. Fsk. and O.S. have no details in common not found in Hkr.; and Fsk. lacks several details common to O.S. and Hkr.

(i) Statement of the size of the armies at Ferlþov (O.S. 155²³; Hkr. 556²⁸⁻²⁹).

(ii) List of Harald's chief followers at Ferlþov (O.S. 156¹⁻³; Hkr. 556 passim).

But what links Hkr. and O.S. most closely is similarity of detail and/

and diction.

cp. <u>O.S.</u> 154 ¹⁰⁻¹⁶	with <u>Hkr.</u> 554 ⁶⁻¹⁴
<u>O.S.</u> 154 ¹⁶⁻¹⁸	" <u>Hkr.</u> 555 ¹³⁻¹⁵
<u>O.S.</u> 155 ²⁻¹⁴	" <u>Hkr.</u> 555 ¹⁵⁻²⁷
<u>O.S.</u> 155 ²⁰ -156 ¹	" <u>Hkr.</u> 556 ^{5-8, 29-30}
<u>O.S.</u> 156 ¹⁵⁻¹⁸	" <u>Hkr.</u> 557 ^{24-25, 27-28}
<u>O.S.</u> 156 ²⁰⁻²³	" <u>Hkr.</u> 559 ³²⁻³⁵
<u>O.S.</u> 156 ²³⁻²⁵	" <u>Hkr.</u> 560 ²¹⁻²²

The compiler of Rognvaldr Kali's Saga has done more, however, than merely summarise a document. He has added a number of sentences of his own showing the relation of Rognvaldr to the rapid passing of events (O.S. 154¹⁸ - 155²; 155¹⁴⁻²⁰; the names of Rognvaldr and Solmundr, 156²⁻³; and 156²⁵⁻²⁷). None of these sentences are found in Hkr. or Fsk.

To the compiler also appears to be due the insertion (O.S. 156⁵⁻¹⁴) of a verse of Ingimarr of Aske; he may have found it, however, in the original ^{*}S. of Magn. Bl.

A Note on Chapter 64.

Source: Oral tradition.

The three final semi-recapitulatory sentences in this chapter are after the manner of a man telling a story for the first time, yet not from a personal contact with the events; in other words, from a traditional story. Again also we have the "En þat er at segia: "Now it must be told." (O.S. 159¹⁴).

A Note on Chapter 66.

Source: Oral tradition.

Noticeable in this chapter is the careful and accurate topography/

topography with regard to the position of the Earl's Hall in Orphir, and the position of Firth and Damsay with relation to it (see O.S. 168¹⁶⁻¹⁹ and note thereon).

Yet there is nothing to prove or even suggest that this narrative of the murder of Sveinn Breast-rope is that of an eye-witness. There is a faint reminiscent strain in the chapter, but only with regard to the scene, not to the incidents. The latter have reached the compiler by oral tradition.

A Note on chapter 74.

Source: Oral tradition.

Like the chapter on the murder of Sveinn Breast-rope, this chapter on the kidnapping of Earl Paul appears to be the work of a man who was not present at the time, but had once visited the scene. His one error of thinking that the headland or høfði where the kidnapping took place (fairly certainly Scabrae Head) is at the South of Rousay is such a mistake as might be made by one who had not been in the Orkneys for many years. See note on this chapter.

There is one reference to tradition. "Nothing is told of the conversation of Earl Paul and Sveinn." (O.S. 188¹⁸).

A Note on chapter 75.

Source: Oral tradition.

In this chapter we find the author of the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali sifting the evidence of the various traditions current regarding the fate of Earl Paul in Athole.

First an account is given at length of how, in response to his entreaties, the Earl was placed in a monastery and Sveinn returned to the Orkneys with the report that he was maimed. Then we/

we read: "No more than this is told of the Earl's words..... And that is Sveinn's account (frásogn) of the incident" (O.S. 189^{21,23}).

There was also a tradition, however, that Earl Paul was actually blinded and then killed (O.S. 189²⁴⁻²⁸). "But we do not know," says the Saga, "which is the truer tale. But all men know that he never came back again to the Orkneys, and he had no realm in Scotland" (O.S. 189²⁸ - 190²).

This reads like a genuine attempt to elucidate the truth. There is not, I think, any suggestion that the author put most faith in Sveinn's story, although he gives it first and in full detail, and although Sveinn is one of his heroes.

Chapter 85-89 (1)

Sources: A. S. of Erlingr Crick-neck.

Oral tradition.

Verses of Rognvaldr Kali, Oddi the Little, Armothr, Sigmundr Fish-hook and Thorbjorn the Black.

The narrative of Earl Rognvald's Crusade in these chapters is rightly described by Mr Clouston in his History of Orkney as without rival in Old Norse literature as a tale of sheer adventure. In translating the Saga, however, I sensed in these chapters when I came to them a certain immaturity and formlessness of style as compared with the rest of Rognvaldr Kali's Saga. This syntactical formlessness - if it may be so called - is not sufficiently marked to suggest separate authorship, nor is it inconsistent with the vividness and rapidity of the narrative. But it suggested some sort of separate identity for the crusading chapters. Closer study revealed a series of factors which indicate that these chapters form a þáttur or "Short-saga" such as we find commonly incorporated in the longer Sagas. These factors are as follows:-

(i) These chapters have a definite unity of subject - the Crusade/

(1) This study has already appeared substantially in P.O.A.S. XI, 46-47.

Crusade of Earl Rognvaldr Kali to the Holy Land.

(ii) There is a definite break in the narrative in the Saga between ch.84 and ch.85, and between ch.89 and ch.90. As a self-contained páttir the tale has a clear beginning and ending.

(iii) Ch.85 begins in the year 1148, the year of the accession in Norway of the sons of Haraldr Gilli. This appears to jump a few years from the events in the previous chapter - the death of Earl Valthjofr.

(iv) Ch.89 carries the narrative chronologically further than the succeeding chapters of the Saga (until, of course, we come to the last group of chapters, chs.109-112). Ch.89 concludes with a summary of the careers of Erlingr Crick-neck and Eindriithi the Younger until the latter's death in Feb. 27, 1163; but the next chapter, ch.90, returns to Earl Rognvaldr in Hordland in the summer of 1153.

(v) The chapters are peculiar in their exceedingly liberal use of skaldic verses.

(vi) Most of the chapters are unusually long - in all MSS. - for Rognvaldr Kali's Saga.

(vii) People appear in ch.85 without the usual formal introduction - "There was a man called...." E.g. Eindriithi the Younger in O.S. 215¹⁴.

(viii) The interest of the narrator seems to be oriented towards Norway rather than, as in the rest of Rognvaldr Kali's Saga, towards the Orkneys and Caithness. This may be due to the use of the lost Saga of Erlingr Crick-neck as a source of information; see below.

(ix) The prose style, as has been already mentioned, is immature and formless.

Such an array of facts leaves it beyond doubt that we have here a distinct Crusade páttir, possibly an earlier work of the author.

(1) A more complete commentary is needed.

(11)

author of Rognvaldr Kali's Saga, and later worked into that by him.

At first sight the þáttur appears to be based directly upon oral tradition around the nuclei of a large number of occasional verses composed by several of the Crusaders - Rognvaldr Kali, Oddi the Little, Armothr, Sigmundur Fish-hook, and Thorbjorn the Black. No part of the Saga has so many references to oral tradition; eg. "Eindrithi and five others, who are not named" (231¹); "Nothing is told of their voyage until..." (231¹⁴, 245¹¹, 257²⁰); and 224¹⁰. Of special interest was the occasion after the storming of the dromond when Rognvaldr Kali made a verse for the purpose of preserving a true tradition regarding the first man to board the enemy ship; see O.S. 251¹⁻¹⁴. Much of the narrative consists of brief episodes surviving through their commemoration in only a single verse.

In spite, however, of the apparent freshness of this oral tradition, it is possible that the lost Saga of Erlingr Crick-neck already referred to contributed a large portion, perhaps the major portion, of the facts and verses. This Saga is referred to as a source of information for part of ch.89 (O.S. 260⁹). How far can it have contributed to the rest of the þáttur?

As often, the most fruitful method of inquiry is to compare the þáttur with any other versions of the facts which may be extant. In this case we find parallel chapters in Hkr., Ing. Sig.S., ch.17, in Mork. 223-224, and in Hulda, Ing. S. ch.17.

Hkr. and Mork. give a very brief summary of the þáttur in about forty lines, and are almost identical. Gustav Storm (Snorre Sturlassöns Historieskrivning, 199) argued that Snorri in Hkr. got his chapter from Mork. and made a few alterations after collation with O.S. (e.g. Eindrithi was given, rightly, "six" ships instead of "five" as in Mork.) But the relationship is much less simple. Exact textual study shows that each chapter has certain features peculiar to itself.

A. Features peculiar to Hkr.

- (i) A more complete preliminary genealogy.
- (ii)/

(ii) A verse from Erlingsdrápa of Thorbjorn Skakki's skald - not even in O.S.

(iii) A sentence (Hkr. 583¹⁻²) coming immediately upon the statement that Erlingr Crick-neck and Rognvaldr ran their ships under the drommond:-

"Then the infidels attacked them both with weapons and stones and pots full of burning pitch and oil."

The last item, oil, is not mentioned in O.S.

B. Features peculiar to Mork.

(i) A mistake, in the preliminary genealogy, of Ormr Skoptason for Ormr Eilifsson which appears normally in Hkr. and elsewhere.

(ii) The mistake of "five" for "six" ships under Eindrithi.

(iii) After the sentence describing Authun's boarding the dromond, Mork. reads: "That is called a great feat" (fregparverk).

C. Features common to Hkr. and Mork., O.S. differing.

(i) The genealogy of Erling's family at the beginning of both chapters is absent in O.S.

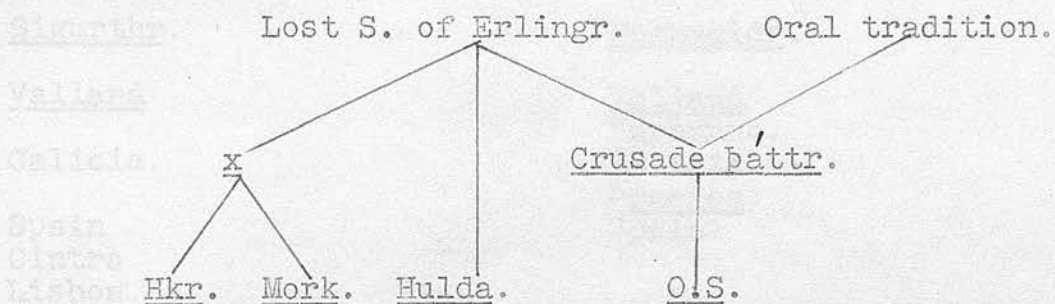
(ii) There is a common geographical error. Mork. 223 and Hkr. 582³⁰ say that Rognvaldr sailed first to the Hebrides and thence South to France. But this is impossible if, as Arnor's verse says, they visited the Humber (O.S. 231⁵). O.S. probably rightly describes the route as "South to Scotland and so to England," apparently down the east coast (O.S. 231²). (F. Jónsson repeats the error of making them take the West coast route in his article on the Crusade in Historisk Tidskrift, 8 R. iv. 153).

The above analysis shows that Hkr. and Mork. are here based on a common source which cannot be the þátrr as it appears in O.S.

We notice further that the chapter in Hkr. and Mork. is inserted to tell us about Erlingr and not about Rognvaldr Kali. This orientation of interest suggests that the common source is the lost Saga of Erlingr Crick-neck already referred to, which appears to be used extensively in the final sections of Hkr., of Mork. and also of Fsk. Granted this, there is sufficient similarity between the presentation of the facts in the Hkr.-Mork. version and the O.S. version to warrant the conclusion that the O.S. þáttur also drew material in no small measure from this ✕ Saga of Erlingr.

The version in Hulda (in Fms. VII. 231-233; quoted in Rolls 88. I. 315-317) is longer than those in Hkr. and Mork., and is even more exclusively concerned with Erlingr than they. Like Hkr. it has the verse from Erlingsdrápa, so that it is probable that this was included within the ✕ Saga of Erlingr which is behind each.

A hypothetical diagram of relationship may now be drawn:-



It will be noted that it is necessary to postulate an intermediary between Hkr. and Mork., and the original ✕ Saga of Erlingr, in order to account for the similarity and brevity of the versions in the two former works; a ✕ Saga of Erlingr must have given a much longer account of the Crusade than appears in them.

The conclusion appears to be that the þáttur was based mainly on the written account of the Crusade in the lost Saga of Erlingr Crick-neck, supplemented to an indeterminable degree by verses and anecdotes (such as those concerning Rognvaldr Kali in Shetland, ch.85) which had come down in oral tradition.

There is some evidence that, in writing these chapters, the author was influenced by the Crusade þáttur of King Sigurthr the/

the Crusader of Norway. The reference at the end of O.S. ch.88 to the pomp with which Sigurthr the Crusader sailed into Istanbul suggests the possibility of his story having influenced that in O.S. In this báttur as it survives in Hkr., Sig. Eyst. Ol. S., ch.1-13, we find several interesting points of contact. In ch.4, Sigurth's company like Earl Rognvald's made special arrangements for a market in a barren land, and reprisals were made on the castle of an Earl; cp. O.S. ch.86. In ch.6, in a fight with a band of heathens in North Africa, the latter hung costly cloth on a wall protecting their cave in the same manner as the heathens on the dromond hung cloth over their bulwarks in view of Earl Rognvaldr and his men (O.S. ch.88) In ch.13, there is reference to the honour in which Sigurthr was held after his Crusade; cp. O.S. ch.89: "And this Crusade became the talk of the day. And they all passed for men of more importance after the journey they had made." Most significant of all are the parallel lists of places visited.

<u>Sigurthr.</u>	<u>Rognvaldr.</u>
<u>Valland</u>	<u>Valland</u>
Galicia.	Narbonne.
	Galicia.
	<u>Prasnes</u>
Spain	Spain
Cintra	
Lisbon	
Alcasse	
<u>Norvasund</u>	<u>Norvasund</u>
<u>Serkland</u>	<u>Serkland</u>
Formentera	Marseilles
Iviza	
Minorca	
Sicily	Sardinia.
	Crete
Acre	Acre
Jerusalem	Jerusalem
Jordan	Jordan
Acre	Acre
Sidon	
Cyprus	
<u>Engilsnes</u>	<u>Engilsnes</u>
	<u>Imbólar</u>
Istanbul	Istanbul
Bulgaria	Bulgaria
Hungary	Durazzo
etc.	Rome
	etc.

The similarity is certainly striking; more than half of the names/

names in each list are common to both. But the similarity can be accounted for by their being well-known names on the standard sea-route to the Holy Land. There is no verbal similarity between the two accounts apart from these names, so that we cannot deduce a direct textual influence of the one upon the other. But influence of some kind there has been.

Sources:

A. S. of Erlingr Gylf-gaust.

Chapter 85 (214⁹ -215¹³).

Here is a section of a chapter touching Norwegian history. When we find such a section in O.S., we regularly come upon parallel passages in Hkr., Mork., or Fsk. In this case there is no such parallel, and no proof of any written source.

Two possible reasons may be found for this:-

- Either (i) the author knew his facts and composed the section himself as an introduction to his Þáttur, or (ii) the author found the facts in the Á.S. of Erlingr he was probably using. The hypotheses are equally probable.

Chapter 85 (220-221n).

Sources: A folk-tale: "The Man with Cowl."

The tale of the Man with the Cowl is found in MS.702 (quoted in Lex. Run.) but is absent in Flat. and O; it would appear to have been omitted from an early copy (perhaps Nordal's x) because of its length.

The circumstantiality of the tale proclaims it as a genuine tradition. But its folk-lore narrative style and pietistic conclusion are far removed from the rest of Earl Rognvald's Saga. It fits/

fits none too well into the narrative at beginning and end. But there is not sufficient evidence to show whether it was inserted during or after the compilation of the complete Saga.

Chapter 89 (259¹⁵ - 260²⁰).

Sources:

A * S. of Erlingr Crick-neck.

This section, devoted to an account of the later lives of Erlingr and Eindrithi the Younger - irrelevant in a Saga of Rognvaldr Kali - quite obviously comes from the lost * S. of Erlingr which is referred to in the passage (260⁹).

Chapter 91 (262¹³ - 263¹⁶).

Sources:-

? * S. of Ingi and Sigurthr.

Parallel passages describing Eysteinn's expedition to the West in 1151 occur in Hkr., Ing. Sig. S., ch.20 (Hkr. 584-585), Mork. 225-226, and in Hulda (Fms. VII. 234-237). There is as usual some relationship between them pointing probably to a common source. But significant evidence is lacking.

The following differences in the versions may be pointed out.

(i) In O.S., Hulda, and Mork., Eysteinn sails first to the Orkneys and thence to Caithness. Hkr. erroneously sends him straight to Caithness.

(ii) In O.S. and Hkr. and Hulda, Haraldr pays 3 marks of tribute; in Mork., 7.

(iii) In Mork. and O.S. (263¹⁵) we are told that the reason for Eysteinn's/

Eysteinn's harrying of England was that of vengeance for the death of Haraldr Sigurth's son; no reason at all is given in Hkr. or Hulda.

(iv) For the obvious reason of irrelevance O.S. omits the series of verses from Einarr Skuli's son's Eysteinsdrapa which are found in all other versions.

The author of Rognvaldr Kali's Saga appears himself to have been conscious of some confusion in the tale. He remarks at the end: "And there are very diverse stories told of his expedition." (O.S. 263¹⁸).

The interpolations and additions come under four heads:-

1. Additions by some reviser, bringing the Saga up to date.
 2. "Old" additions, probably the work of one of our early scribes.
- Chapter 100 (307¹)-101.

3. Sources: Oral tradition.

The Gilli Odran-Sumarlithi episode is vague and puzzling in its historical details. As stated in the Index of Personal Names, Sumarlithi the Freeman appears to be confused with the great Sumarlithi of Argyll slain in Renfrew in 1164. It is probable that the author is relying here not on his oral Saga but on sundry traditional information he had picked up on his visit to Caithness.

The reference to "that Earl Erlendr son of Earl Erlendr" in the concluding paragraph of ch. 100 and 101, and Saga of Haraldr Goddardh's son at the end.

(a) In ch. 100, l. 107¹⁴ we read: "As far as Erlendr son of Earl Erlendr, some men say that he fell in Nona's Strait, but Snorri Sturluson says that he had fallen in Nona's Strait with King Magnus." Snorri's statement occurs in l. 133¹⁴: "Erlendr son of Earl Erlendr fell in Ireland with King Magnus." It will be noted that Snorri has "Ireland" and not "Nona's Strait". "Nona's Strait" however, in l. 133¹⁴. The sentence occurs in all available

MS. of O.S. at this point (MS. A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z, AA, AB, AC, AD, AE, AF, AG, AH, AI, AJ, AK, AL, AM, AN, AO, AP, AQ, AR, AS, AT, AU, AV, AW, AX, AY, AZ, BA, BB, BC, BD, BE, BF, BG, BH, BI, BJ, BK, BL, BM, BN, BO, BP, BQ, BR, BS, BT, BU, BV, BW, BX, BY, BZ, CA, CB, CC, CD, CE, CF, CG, CH, CI, CJ, CK, CL, CM, CN, CO, CP, CQ, CR, CS, CT, CU, CV, CW, CX, CY, CZ, DA, DB, DC, DD, DE, DF, DG, DH, DI, DJ, DK, DL, DM, DN, DO, DP, DQ, DR, DS, DT, DU, DV, DW, DX, DY, DZ, EA, EB, EC, ED, EE, EF, EG, EH, EI, EJ, EK, EL, EM, EN, EO, EP, EQ, ER, ES, ET, EU, EV, EW, EX, EY, EZ, FA, FB, FC, FD, FE, FF, FG, FH, FI, FJ, FK, FL, FM, FN, FO, FP, FQ, FR, FS, FT, FU, FV, FW, FX, FY, FZ, GA, GB, GC, GD, GE, GF, GG, GH, GI, GJ, GK, GL, GM, GN, GO, GP, GQ, GR, GS, GT, GU, GV, GW, GX, GY, GZ, HA, HB, HC, HD, HE, HF, HG, HH, HI, HJ, HK, HL, HM, HN, HO, HP, HQ, HR, HS, HT, HU, HV, HW, HX, HY, HZ, IA, IB, IC, ID, IE, IF, IG, IH, II, IJ, IK, IL, IM, IN, IO, IP, IQ, IR, IS, IT, IU, IV, IW, IX, IY, IZ, JA, JB, JC, JD, JE, JF, JG, JH, JI, JJ, JK, JL, JM, JN, JO, JP, JQ, JR, JS, JT, JU, JV, JW, JX, JY, JZ, KA, KB, KC, KD, KE, KF, KG, KH, KI, KJ, KK, KL, KM, KN, KO, KP, KQ, KR, KS, KT, KU, KV, KW, KX, KY, KZ, LA, LB, LC, LD, LE, LF, LG, LH, LI, LJ, LK, LL, LM, LN, LO, LP, LQ, LR, LS, LT, LU, LV, LW, LX, LY, LZ, MA, MB, MC, MD, ME, MF, MG, MH, MI, MJ, MK, ML, MM, MN, MO, MP, MQ, MR, MS, MT, MU, MV, MW, MX, MY, MZ, NA, NB, NC, ND, NE, NF, NG, NH, NI, NJ, NK, NL, NM, NN, NO, NP, NQ, NR, NS, NT, NU, NV, NW, NX, NY, NZ, OA, OB, OC, OD, OE, OF, OG, OH, OI, OJ, OK, OL, OM, ON, OO, OP, OQ, OR, OS, OT, OU, OV, OW, OX, OY, OZ, PA, PB, PC, PD, PE, PF, PG, PH, PI, PJ, PK, PL, PM, PN, PO, PP, PQ, PR, PS, PT, PU, PV, PW, PX, PY, PZ, QA, QB, QC, QD, QE, QF, QG, QH, QI, QJ, QK, QL, QM, QN, QO, QP, QQ, QR, QS, QT, QU, QV, QW, QX, QY, QZ, RA, RB, RC, RD, RE, RF, RG, RH, RI, RJ, RK, RL, RM, RN, RO, RP, RQ, RR, RS, RT, RU, RV, RW, RX, RY, RZ, SA, SB, SC, SD, SE, SF, SG, SH, SI, SJ, SK, SL, SM, SN, SO, SP, SQ, SR, SS, ST, SU, SV, SW, SX, SY, SZ, TA, TB, TC, TD, TE, TF, TG, TH, TI, TJ, TK, TL, TM, TN, TO, TP, TQ, TR, TS, TT, TU, TV, TW, TX, TY, TZ, UA, UB, UC, UD, UE, UF, UG, UH, UI, UJ, UK, UL, UM, UN, UO, UP, UQ, UR, US, UT, UY, UZ, VA, VB, VC, VD, VE, VF, VG, VH, VI, VJ, VK, VL, VM, VN, VO, VP, VQ, VR, VS, VT, VU, VV, VW, VX, VY, VZ, WA, WB, WC, WD, WE, WF, WG, WH, WI, WJ, WK, WL, WM, WN, WO, WP, WQ, WR, WS, WT, WU, WV, WW, WX, WY, WZ, XA, XB, XC, XD, XE, XF, XG, XH, XI, XJ, XK, XL, XM, XN, XO, XP, XQ, XR, XS, XT, XU, XV, XW, XX, XY, XZ, YA, YB, YC, YD, YE, YF, YG, YH, YI, YJ, YK, YL, YM, YN, YO, YP, YQ, YR, YS, YT, YU, YV, YW, YX, YY, YZ, ZA, ZB, ZC, ZD, ZE, ZF, ZG, ZH, ZI, ZJ, ZK, ZL, ZM, ZN, ZO, ZP, ZQ, ZR, ZS, ZT, ZU, ZV, ZW, ZX, ZY, ZZ).

The Interpolations and Additions:

Their Nature and Origin.

The passages that are probably interpolations and additions in O.S. have already been noted in situ in the list of sections of the Saga given in the chapter on the Problem of Unity. These may now be classified and dealt with in detail, evidence being adduced to show that they are interpolations, and some attempt being made to settle their origin and date.

The interpolations and additions come under four heads:-

1. Additions by some reviser, bringing the Saga up to date.
2. "Pious" interpolations, probably the work of one or more priestly scribes.
3. Addition of verses and anecdotes in certain MSS.
4. Addition of further abstracts from Kings' Lives.

1. Additions of a reviser:

These reviser's additions can be recognized by their presence in most of the extant MSS., and by their obvious intention of making the Saga more complete and up-to-date. These are the reference to "what Snorri Sturluson says" in ch.42, the concluding paragraphs of ch.84 and 108, and Saga of Haraldr Maddadh's son at the end.

- (a) In ch.42, O.S. 107¹⁶⁻¹⁹, we read: "As for Erlingr son of Earl Erlendr, some men say that he fell in Menai Strait, but Snorri Sturluson says that he had fallen in Ulster with King Magnus." Snorri's statement occurs in Hkr.532¹⁹: "Erlingr son of Earl Erlendr fell in Ireland with King Magnus." It will be noted that Snorri has "Ireland" and not "Ulster"; "Ulster" occurs, however, in Mork.155. The sentence occurs in all available MSS. of O.S. at this point (325a, Flat., O.) and might have been inserted by the compiler himself if we imagine him having met/

met Snorri after O.S. was composed; he cannot, at any rate, have inserted it on the authority of Snorri's Hkr., as the text of Hkr. shows. The factor that declares it an interpolation is not so much the probability of its later date as the fact that it refers to the death of Magnus Bare-legs which is described in the next chapter as if unknown to the reader (O.S. 108¹¹).

The sentence does not occur in the transcript of the passage in Hulda (Fms. VII, 40-51). It was probably omitted as irrelevant, along with a number of other sentences; see Sources of ch.39-43.

(b) In ch.84 the concluding sentences on the family of Kolbeinn Lump (Hruga) (O.S. 213²⁸ - 214⁸) seem to be an interpolation. The evidence is as follows.

(i) The paragraph is quite irrelevant. It interrupts the narrative. It mentions people and places which play almost no part in the Saga before or after.

(ii) Its presence appears to be due to the interest of some reviser in the family of Kolbeinn Lump - revealed similarly in the probable interpolation at the end of ch.108 (321¹²⁻¹⁸).

(iii) The passage, although complete in O., is badly mangled in Flat. This is - curiously - the reverse of the case of the end of ch.108. It suggests, however, an abnormality of some sort in the source of Flat. at this point.

(iv) There are several idiosyncracies of vocabulary. afarm-aðr, steinkastali, and mikils háttar are not elsewhere used, so far as I have noted, by the author of Rognvaldr Kali's Saga. Vigi (see note on 214³) is used in an unusual sense.

(c) The last paragraph in ch.108 (O.S. 321¹²⁻¹⁸) is probably an interpolation by the reviser who added the succeeding chapters; witness the interest in Bishop Bjarni not previously shown.

The/

The evidence is as follows:

- (i) The author of Rognvaldr Kali's Saga does not give way to irrelevances. He is therefore unlikely to have gone off at a tangent when he really finished his story, in order to describe certain hitherto unmentioned structural alterations in Sveinn's hall.
- (ii) The passage does not occur in O.
- (iii) The passage bears a strong resemblance to the fairly certainly interpolated paragraph at the end of ch.84 (213²⁸ - 214^d). Both have a knowledge of, and an interest in, the family of Kolbeinn Lump apart from its importance in the Saga. The author of Rognvaldr Kali's Saga is not very interested in genealogies except in so far as they affect his narrative.
- (iv) The author of Rognvaldr Kali's Saga normally gives his personages their full titles on first mention, omitting the title (or nickname) on future occasions. Bjarni is casually mentioned in 316³ as Bjarni-byskup. But in this paragraph, instead of appearing as plain Bjarni, he is Bjarni Orkneyinga-byskup. (Note that in ch.84 he is Bjarni skald).
- (v) The immediately preceding sentence about the greatness of Sveinn (O.S. 321^{8.12}) is a normal ending to a Saga.

(d) Ch. 109-112: That these final chapters, like the conclusion of chapter 108, are by a different author from those preceding is beyond doubt. The evidence is as follows:

- (1) Ch.109-112 do not occur in the Danish translation O.; they are extant only in Flat. (To be exact, O. concludes near the end of the previous chapter, 321^{'2}). This suggests that these chapters are a later addition, made apparently to one of the MSS. from which Flat. is derived.
- (ii) These chapters are written at a later date than the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali. Only this can account for their chronological inconsistencies. The expedition of the

"Island-beardies" against King Sverrir in 1194 is told (ch.112) after the story of the struggle between Haraldr Maddadh's son and Haraldr the Younger that ended in the battle at Wick in 1198 and the attack of William the Lion in 1202. Indeed the struggle between the two Haralds is telescoped into a year or two, whereas we learn from Roger de Hoveden's Chronica, IV, 10-12, that it was of considerable duration. Only at the end of ch.112, where the author gives the lengths of the reigns of Earls Rognvaldr and Haraldr is the dating accurate and comprehensive. This looseness in chronology is in sharp contrast with the "Spring - Summer - Autumn - Winter" dating of the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali.

The last event referred to in Rognvaldr Kali's Saga was the death of Sveinn in ?1171. Ch.112 says that "Earl David died on sick-bed in the year in which Hakon Madcap died in Norway," i.e. 1214 (O.S. 329¹³). As was shown in the study of the date of the Saga, Rognvaldr Kali's Saga was probably being written about that time; and I would not hesitate to date the final chapters twenty years later. Too much need not be made of the tense in the sentence near the end of ch.112: "His (Earl Harald's) son Henry has Ross in Scotland" (329⁴). A scribe might easily make a mistake in tense. But if genuine it does not limit the interval between the composition of the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali and the reviser's additions any further than I have suggested.

- (iii) Corresponding to the ignorance of the order or duration of events in the Orkney Earldom is an ignorance of Orkney topography. Few place names occur. No site is mentioned for any battle, except for those in Norway. On two occasions (323¹⁵ and 326³) ships from the Orkneys are said to sail "North to Thurso" - a mistake that the author of the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali would never have made - nor indeed any one who had ever been in either the Orkneys or Caithness.
- (iv) The author is interested in ~~the family of~~ Bishop Bjarni and his/

his family. It is probable that he adds the tale of the "Island-beardies" at the end merely because of Bjarni's part in making their peace with King Sverrir. This interest in Bjarni, whose father was Kolbeinn ^{Lump} ~~Wage~~ of Wyre, links these chapters with the earlier interpolations at the end of ch.84 and 108.

The reviser is likewise interested in the fortunes of Earl Haraldr Maddadh's son, who had little more than the tolerance of the author of the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali. So little is the reviser interested in Earl Rognvaldr that he does not mention him in his list of "the most powerful of the Orkney Earls" in ch.112.

- (v) In ch.109 (O.S.322²⁻⁴) the list of the sons of Eirikr Stay-trickster appears to have been copied from the end of ch.104 (O.S. 316¹²⁻¹⁴).
- (vi) The reviser, in spite of some fairly good material, does not possess the narrative technique ^{displayed in the} ~~of~~ preceding chapters. New personages are introduced ineptly. In 326⁴ is mentioned "the Bishop" at Scrabster, but his name John is not given until 13 lines below. The writer's vocabulary, sentence structure and idiom are peculiarly his own.

In enquiring into the sources of the author's information, we do not have here the usual advantage of parallel passages in Hkr., Mork., or Fsk. For the story of the "Island-Beardies" expedition in ch.112 we have Sverri^os Saga, but there is no apparent relationship; the facts were in any case probably well-known in Iceland. At the end of Fsk., however, (ed. F.J., 391-392) there is an added genealogy, concluding with a genealogy of the Orkney Earls as relatives of Finnur Arni's son (Ingibjorg Earls' Mother being his daughter). It gives Paul and Erlendr, Rognvaldr Kali, Gunnhildr his mother, Ingigerthr and Eirikr Stay-trickster; Earl Haraldr who fell at Wick and Magnus Mangi who fell in Sogn. It then goes further back, giving Paul Thorfinn's son, Earl Hakon, Paul/

Paul Hakon's son and Earl Haraldr father of Earl Erlendr slain at Damsay; and then Ingibjorg (who married Olaf, King of the Hebrides) and Margaret (who married Earl Maddadh). Lastly come Earls Haraldr, John and David. All this would appear to have been added to Fsk. by a scribe who had read the Orkneyinga Saga with its additions. Although confusedly set down, the genealogy is not inaccurate. The sole difficulty is that O.S. does not tell us that Magnus Mangi fell in Sogn. Whatever the origin of the passage, it conveys no suggestion of a common written source.

If there is no suggestion anywhere of a written source, there is abundant evidence of reliance upon oral tradition. In 324¹⁴ we are told what "the Caithness men say" of the battle between the Haralds - Caithness men, no doubt, who visited Iceland. In 327²⁵ Earl Haraldr Maddadh's son raised forces against William the Lion, and "it is said that he raised 6000 men." At 324²¹ we read that "they (the Caithness men) call the Earl (Haraldr the Younger) a very saint, and there is now a church where he fell." The chaotic chronology and fragmentary nature of the tale are added proof that the author is relying on a few scraps of narrative that have reached him in Iceland on the lips of sea-farers from Norway and Caithness. As to the origin of the three last additions, Nordal (O.S. 1.) makes the probable suggestion that the information came from Andreas, son of Rafn the Lawman of Caithness, and Andreas, great-grandson of Sveinn Asleif's son who, according to Sturl. S. I. ³³⁸⁻³³⁹ 477 (ed. Kalund) settled in Iceland in the winter of 1234-35. This would explain the references to Rafn, the information regarding the partitioning of Sveinn's drinking-hall, and the interest in the related family of Kolbeinn Lump. The late date of the revision would also explain the confused nature of the narrative. Now that the writing of Sagas had become universal, the remembering of them weakened, and forty years was sufficient to/

to reduce the annals of the reign of Haraldr Maddadh's son to what they are in O.S. ch.109-112.

2. "Pious" interpolations:

These are of two types, the first consisting of three very short passages found only in Flat., and the second of the lengthy "Miracle-Book" interpolated between ch.56 and 58.

- (a) In ch.51 (O.S. 119⁸⁻¹⁶) there is in Flat. an attempt to date the death of Saint Magnus. The dating is inaccurate and the explanations themselves inconsistent. See the note on the passage.
- (b) In ch.104 (O.S. 315²²⁻²³) a similar but correct estimate of the date of Earl Rognvaldr Kali's death is found, in Flat. only.
- (c) In ch.108 (O.S. 321¹⁻⁶) a pious death speech is put into the unlikely mouth of Sveinn Asleif's son. As it occurs in Flat. only, I assume it to be the work of the same clerical scribe. The reference to Saint Rognvaldr shows it to be apocryphal, for Sveinn appears to have met his death about twenty years before the canonization of Rognvaldr in 1192.
- (d) Ch.56 (130¹⁵)-57:

It seems fairly certain that this account of the transference of Saint Magnus' relics to Kirkwall and of the miracles performed by them is derived from a particular Jarteinabók or "Book of Miracles" similar to Saint Olaf's Jarteinabók in Flat. II.376-392, or the group of miracle chapters in Thom.S.Erk. 460-483, and composed for homiletic purposes.

The pedestrian nature of the prose style (see below) suggests that, like the two parallels above, it is a translation from Latin. But of this we cannot be certain.

What proof have we of the existence of such a Jarteinabók?

- (i) It is explicitly referred to in the Flat. version of O.S.:
ok segir i iarteinabok hans: "as is told in his
 Miracle-Book." O.S. 121⁶ note.

(It/

(It may be noted that this clause is not found in MS.325, in O., or in the Shorter and Longer Magnus Sagas, M₂ and M₁. It is therefore always possible that the clause is a scribal interpolation in Flat., and of no particular significance).

- (ii) There is a reference at the end of O.S. ch.57 to the concluding of a frásogn or "story", or a saga, which had been "written", "recited" and "heard" by an audience (O.S. 138^{24,25}; MS.325 only). This might refer to the whole original ^{*}Magnúss Saga; but a long saga is not usually called a frásogn. It can only mean a Book of Miracles suitable for "reciting" i.e. for amplifying pulpit discourses.

That this translation (or copy of a translation) is an interpolation in the completed Orkneyinga Saga has been generally agreed (See Vigf: Rolls 88, I.xiii; S.N. 1-li; F.J. Litt. Hist. II 657). The evidence is as follows:

- (i) It breaks in very seriously on the narrative. The compiler of O.S. gives in ch.56 a series of genealogies, and we expect him, as he did after the genealogies in ch.33, to proceed immediately with a fresh stage of his narrative. We would expect ^{a Miracle-Book} ~~it~~ to come, if at all, after ch.52.
- (ii) As Nordal points out (l.c.), the passage repeats facts regarding Bishop William's attitude to the reputed miracles which have already appeared in 121²⁻⁶. This repetition (in O. and 325 only) can scarcely be due to the original compiler, and reads rather as a reviser's insertion to make an easy transition to the Miracle chapter.
- (iii) The fact that the whole passage referred to (O.S. 130¹⁵ - 139³) is omitted in Flat., though difficult to explain (see below) is suggestive of interpolation ^{at some time.} ~~somehow~~.
- (iv) Its manner is even more unctious than that of the other chapters on Saint Magnus. Its sentence structure is monotonous and puerile. Phrases are repeated ad nauseam.

E.g./

E.g. toc hon þar heilsu sina, 137¹⁴, 138¹⁴, 138²⁰.
heitit fyrir honum subrgaungu, 136²⁸, 137²⁸.

(v) As well as such idioms there are several single words peculiar to this section of the Saga.

E.g. orcneyskr (1), katneyskr, 136²⁸, hialltlendzkr, 136
hybylum, 137²³.

To these must be added the fact that most of the miracles are performed upon Shetlanders, whereas the interests of the compiler of O.S. lie very obviously in Orkney and Caithness.

In the usual manner I will now give a few notes on the various versions of the Miracle-Book, although a comparison of these yields a disappointingly small amount of information.

The version in the Shorter Magnúss Saga (M₂) is derived from an early MS. of O.S. (S.N.liii), and, although shorter, has an additional Icelandic miracle, the healing of Eldjarn, a cripple from Keldukverfr in the North of Iceland.

The version in the Longer Magnúss Saga (M₁), derived from MS.325 of O.S. (S.N.liii), is again shorter, but has five additional miracles. Four cripples are healed: Ragnhildr, Asa, Guthrun, and Sigurthr of Hnotasandr; these are apparently localized in Shetland or the Orkneys. The fifth is a ghastly tale of maiming from Norway.

These extra miracles probably came from written legends (in Latin or Old Icelandic) regarding the saint.

325 is the MS. of O.S. that gives the longest version of the Miracle passage. Nordal (l.c.) is right in saying that we probably have it here almost in its original form in O.S.² For it is closely paralleled by O. so far as O. goes. The omissions in 325 are merely scribal.

O. continues the narrative only so far as the end of the first/

(1) Orkneyskr does occur once elsewhere, in O.S. 210²³, but only once.

first miracle - that of Bergfinnr recovering his sight (O.S. 135⁸)
 And what is given is re-arranged as regards chapter divisions.
 The genealogical chapter runs on to Bishop William's lack of
 faith, the first healing of Bergfinnr and the voyage of the Bis-
 hop. A new chapter begins at 132¹⁶ with the title "Saint Magnus
 the Earl is moved" (S.N. note). O. therefore gives us a cur-
 tailing and a not very skilful re-heading of the longer passage
 in O.S.

Flat., as has been said, omits the passage altogether.
 But that something probably stood there in Flat's source is prov-
 ed by the presence in the blank of four verses, three of which
 have already appeared as an interpolation at the end of ch.32,
 and the fourth, Em ek, sitz ytar hnektu, does not appear else-
 where, but seems to refer to the Battle at Roberry. Nordal
 (O.S.li) conjectures thus: "From Flat's reference to a Jarteina-
 bók, and especially from the accompanying headings of the chapters,
 one is constrained to believe that the original had a legendary
 narrative in its place. The scribe might have left it out, be-
 cause the owner had it in another MS. But that is nothing more
 than a conjecture."

The extraordinary nature of the miracles, rising to the
 highest pitch of absurdity in the tale of the Englishmen and
 their dice, need not surprise us, nor compel us to place the com-
 position of the ?Latin Miracle-Book more than two generations
 after the saint's death. In an age when the concepts of Natural
 Law and what the modern world calls Common Sense were transcended
 by the concept of Divine Omnipotence, any coincidence or apparent
 abnormality in the normal course of events was interpreted as an
 intervention of God in terrestrial affairs - a special act of
 grace or the reverse. Only a very little time was required be-
 fore an accretion of significant detail turned the incident into

a/
 R. Poedick's English Use of the Latin Miracle-Book (London, 1926).

a miracle, bizarre perhaps, yet, because of that, useful to the preacher and the confessor(1). In this manner are to be explained the miracles of Saint Magnus. They were probably collected by some Icelandic priest visiting Shetland in the latter half of the 12th century.

Additional verses and anecdotes in certain MSS.

- (a) At the end of ch.32, MS. Flat. has three verses concerning Earl Thorfinnr. The first is from Kalfsflokkur by Bjarni Gullbra's Skald, and MSS. 702 and O. have it in its correct position in ch.26. The other two are from Arnor's Þorfinnzdrápa, and probably also ought to be in ch.26. See notes on 70^{ab} and 87¹⁰.
- (b) In ch.85, the folk-tale of the Man with the Cowl in ch.85, in the Crusade Páttur (O.S. 220n-221n). This may be an interpolation, as it occurs in MSS.702 only, there being no trace of it in Fl. or O. See Sources of ch.85.
- (c) In ch.85, the episode and verse concerning Rognvaldr Kali and the madman in the same chapter (O.S. 223n) - also extant in MS.702 only. If the "Man with the Cowl" is an interpolation, so also is this.

Additional passages from "Kings' Lives."

Nordal, in his article on the Saga in Aarb. f. nord Oldkyn, 1913, 45-48, sought to prove that three passages surviving only in O. were later additions - abstracts, in fact, of Hkr. In regard to the first two passages I have ventured to disagree in my study of their sources; see Sources of ch.8 and ch.12. Apart from textual considerations, they seem to be too much a part of the Saga not to have/

(1) A valuable study of medieval miracle is found in Bishop Stubbs' Introduction to Roger de Hoveden: Chronica, IV, ix-xxii, and of miracle in general in a chapter on "Miracle and Law" in Dr. H. E. Fosdick's Modern Use of the Bible, 131-168 (London, 1926).

have been in the original. In the parallel text in Flat. there is evidence of something having been missed out.

In the third case, however, the passage preserved in O. at the end of chapter 30 (text in O.S. 83n-85n) is quite irrelevant to the context, and there are no signs in Flat., as Nordal notes, of anything being omitted. It deals with events in Denmark and Norway consequent upon the death of Magnus the Good. It is drawn from some Saga of Haraldr the Tyrant but not that in Hkr., Har. Harð.S., ch.28-31, or in Mork. (Flat. III.330-331). The Hkr. account bears relatively little textual resemblance to it, although the same facts - and more - are covered. The O.S. account has two peculiarities of its own, although neither is very important. One man brings the news of King Magnus' death to Sveinn Ulf's son instead of several as in Hkr. 466⁵, or Magnus' brother Thorir in Mork. 331. And then Sveinn goes straight to Zealand, whereas in Hkr. 466¹⁰ he appears to spend some time in Skanør in the south of Sweden gathering an army for the conquest of Denmark.

The passage, then, was probably interpolated - for some reason unknown - by the scribe of the common original of MSS. 332 and O. So irrelevant is it that I have taken the liberty of omitting it altogether from my translation.

of some son of the family of Sveinn Ulf's son. He probably stayed at Duncansby where according to G.S. Sveinn's father had an estate.

While in Duncansby he contrived to mingle pleasure with business, by indulging in his hobby of Saga-collecting. He had already written a vivid and romantic short-Saga or hættu on the Crusade of Rogvaldr Kalf, in imitation of the Þátta of the Crusade of King Sigurdr the Crusader of Norway; his information being drawn from the Saga of Erlingr Crisp-son and a collection of anecdotes and verses which travelling Icelandic skalds - Oddi, Arnathr/

9. METHOD of COMPOSITION: A RECONSTRUCTION.

So far the approach to the problem of the sources and compilation of the Orkneyinga Saga has been analytical. I wish now to try to gather together the conclusions drawn in the preceding chapters and to reconstruct in narrative form what I imagine our nameless author may have done when he compiled the Saga. So far I have tried to draw no conclusions but those strictly warranted by the evidence. But this chapter is at many points frankly speculative; I have occasionally selected with little or no comment merely the most probable out of a group of alternative theories. But such a reconstruction seems to me the most suitable way of recapitulating the scattered conclusions of the preceding chapters, and it can be said of it that it is at least one reasonable explanation of the data available.

At some time between 1200 and 1210 a North Icelandic gentleman of literary interests set off on a trading voyage, sailing via Bergen to Shetland, the Orkneys and Caithness, and staying for some time in the latter province. He was the guest, perhaps for a winter, of some scion of the family of Sveinn Asleif's son. ~~In Caithness~~ ~~near~~ He probably stayed at Duncansby where according to O.S. Sveinn's father had an estate.

While in Duncansby he contrived to mingle pleasure with business, by indulging in his hobby of Saga-collecting. He had already written a vivid and romantic short-Saga or þáttur on the Crusade of Rognvaldr Kali, in imitation of the þáttur of the Crusade of King Sigurthr the Crusader of Norway; his information being drawn from the ^XSaga of Erlingr Crick-neck and a collection of anecdotes and verses which travelling Icelandic skalds - Oddi, Armothr/

Oddi, Armothr, and others - had brought to Iceland. In Duncansby he heard many tales told of the Orkney Earls, and in particular he heard a short-Saga about Earl Thorfinn's struggle with an almost legendary Scots chieftain Karl Hundi's son, and a long Saga composed of tales and anecdotes regarding Earl Rognvaldr Kali and his friends and rivals. These Sagas he committed very carefully to memory. His host took him to Forsie one day to see the spot where Rognvaldr Kali met his death. On another afternoon he rode over to Freshwick to see the stronghold at Lambaborg and the cliffs over which Sveinn and Margathr climbed down into the sea.

On his return to Iceland his new interest prompted him to collect as much as he could of relevant oral and written Saga material surviving there. He borrowed a large collection of the Lives of the Kings of Norway to search for passages relating to the Orkney Earldom. But before long he felt that it behoved him to get the Sagas he had brought from Caithness into writing. He might forget them, for there was less time for Saga-telling than in the old days. Moreover, the making of books of Sagas was all the fashion. The tales of Earl Rognvaldr and his contemporaries would make a good Family Saga - a Saga of the Orkneyingar: "the men of Orkney" (1). After making a fair collection of sheep skins for parchment - and this took a season or two - he spent part of every evening for a time dictating this Saga to the family priest.

The Family Saga model was followed. The typical Family Saga began in the generation previous to the main period of action, first with genealogies, and then with a few anecdotes to whet the appetite, after which the Saga proper began. O.S. ch.53-56 form just such a beginning. First we have genealogies of Caithness families, followed in ch.54 by an account of Sigurthr Sham-deacon's visit to Scotland and in ch.55 by the tale of the accidental

(1) If the name Orkneyinga Saga has any authority behind it at all (see Introd.: Name), this Saga of Earl Rognvaldr and his contemporaries might have been the original "Saga of the men of Orkney," akin to the Ljóstvetninga Saga and Vapnfirðinga Saga.

poisoning of Haraldr Hakon's son. Ch.56 is a list of all the men in the Orkneys "who will come into the Saga later." In the blank now filled by the "Miracle-Book" (ch.57) there probably stood an account of the family of Kolr Kali's son, leading up to the beginning of the Saga proper in ch.58:-

"Kolr Kali's son lived at home on his estates in Agder....." Thereafter the dictation proceeded freely and rapidly, with accounts of Rognvaldr Kali's early life in Norway, his expeditions to the Orkneys and the strategy they called forth, followed by the dramatic appearance of Sveinn Asleif's son and his first recorded exploits. In chs.62 and 91 reference was made to the Collection of Kings' Lives for material for the narrative. After ch.84 our author interpolated his already written Crusade-pátttr, with probably a few alterations and additions, but without instructions to his scribe to omit the end of the pátttr which (see end of ch.89) continued the careers of Erlingr Crick-neck and Eindriithi down to 1163 - the very exact chronological sequence of events in the Saga being thus disturbed. After the Crusade-pátttr he returned to events in the Orkneys from 1152 to 1156 in great detail, jumped to the murder of Earl Rognvaldr Kali in Caithness in 1158, and concluded with the last days of Sveinn and his death in Dublin in ?1171.

When his Saga of Rognvaldr Kali was finished, or, more probably, while he was still at work upon it, the idea came to our author of making a complete history of the Orkney Earls on the model of the Collection of Kings' Lives he had been using for reference.

His material was largely such as had survived in Icelandic tradition.

First he had an oral Saga of Turf-Einarr with accompanying verses - O.S. ch.4-8 (14¹²) - which he eked out a little with the Saga of Haraldr Fair-hair in his Collection of Kings' Lives.

His/ allowed fairly closely at first, but to have been abridged/

His next material consisted of two short oral baettir of the sons of Thorfinnr Skull-Splitter. This material - which forms O.S. ch.9-10 - he linked to the Saga of Turf-Einarr with an abstract from the Saga of Eirikr Bloody-axe drawn from his Collection of Kings' Lives; see O.S. ch.8 (14¹² - 16⁴).

For the reign of Sigurthr the Stout (x991 - 1014) he was apparently unable to glean much information. He had heard of Sigurth's great battle in Caithness with the mormaers of the Northern provinces of Scotland. But the account he gives of it in ch.11 seems to confuse it with the struggle of Ljotr and Skuli, and with the battle of Clontarf in which Sigurthr lost his life; the battle-site, Skitten Mire, seems to be borrowed from the former, and tale of the banner from the latter. To this meagre narrative he added (in ch.12) a brief account of Sigurth's baptism (995) transcribed from the Saga of Olaf Tryggvi's son in his Collection of Kings' Lives, following this immediately with a (faulty) attempt to date the death of Sigurthr at Clontarf. This served as an introduction to the long Saga of Earl Thorfinnr which was to follow (ch.13-32).

For the Saga of Earl Thorfinnr he had at hand three baettir of fair length:

- (i) A written þáttur dealing with the struggle of Thorfinnr and his brothers for control over the Orkneys (ch.13-19).
- (ii) The þáttur of Earl Thorfinnr and Karl Hundi's son which he had heard in Caithness. He apparently gave an earlier written copy of this to his scribe to form ch.20 - without taking the trouble to excise from the beginning the description of the Earl he had already used in ch.13.
- (iii) A þáttur of Thorfinnr and Rognvaldr Brusi's son, probably written (ch.21-31). This appears to have been followed fairly closely at first, but to have been abridged/

abridged somewhat towards the end; see ch.31.

The second páttir follows the first without any formal linkage. The third is preceded by the usual linking chapter, describing the adventures of Rognvaldr Brusil's son in Scandinavia and Russia, drawn from the Sagas of Haraldr the Tyrant and Magnus the Good in the Collection of Kings' Lives. This abstract forms the greater part of ch.21 (O.S. 53¹⁵ - 57¹⁹). To sum up the Saga of Earl Thorfinnr, ch.32 was added, drawn partly from the end of the first páttir and partly from the author's own information.

The first version of O.S. ch.4-32 - the Jarlasogur of the thirteenth century historians - was now complete.

At this point the work seems to have been interrupted, perhaps by another voyage abroad, or by stress of public or private strife. Quite conceivably our author stopped at this point for lack of further material. Even in its final form, O.S. has little to tell us of Thorfinn's successors, Paul and Erlendr (1065 - 1099). The little collection of Jarlasogur, however, excited some interest, and several copies were made. One of these was made for Snorri Sturluson at Reykholt to add to the collection of MSS. material on which he proposed to base his own projected Collection of Kings' Lives - the Collection we call Heimskringla.

But our author took up his work again. Perhaps new material had come to his hand which he felt might fill the gap between the death of Earl Thorfinnr in 1065 and the beginning of the Saga of Rognvaldr sixty years later. Whatever the reason, he started afresh after the manner of Heimskringla with a Mythological Introduction (O.S. ch.1-3), which he abridged as he dictated from a fuller version of the páttir known as Hversu Nóregr byggðisk. This gave him a mythological genealogy for the line of Orkney Earls. Then he got his scribe to recopy Jarlasogur, with perhaps a few alterations and omissions here and there. Or possibly the original vellums/

vellims were merely stitched on the back of the new Introduction. He then proceeded to fresh ground.

For the reign of Paul and Erlendr, as I have said, he appears to have been scantily supplied with information. He began by having copied out a long genealogy of the families of these Earls (in ch.33), which has ^{really} less reference to their Saga, or to the Sagas of Hakon Paul's son or of Saint Magnus which follow, than to the later Saga of Rognvaldr Kali. Following this, in O.S. ch.34 (-91th), we find one of those sectional introductory chapters drawn from his Collection of Kings' Lives - an abstract from the Saga of Haraldr the Tyrant. Then follows in ch.34 (91th) - 38, not a Saga of Paul and Erlendr, but a Saga of Hakon Paul's son, which leads on naturally to the next important section of O.S., the Saga of Saint Magnus.

The material for the Saga of Saint Magnus was of three kinds. There were scattered traditions about the saint which our compiler had picked up in Caithness, in the Orkneys, and in Iceland itself where there was a considerable Magnus cult. From a neighbouring monastery, of which there were several in the North of Iceland, he borrowed or purchased a Latin Vita Sancti Magni. He could not read this, but his priestly scribe could be left to translate it when the time came. And thirdly, the Saga of Magnus Bare-legs in his Collection of Kings' Lives gave some information regarding Saint Magnus' early years not found elsewhere.

He began with a lengthy abstract from this Saga of Magnus Bare-legs (O.S. ch.39-44), with occasional additions of his own; these additions included the transfer of information regarding Kali Saebjorn's son and his son Kolr from the early chapters of the long Saga of Rognvaldr Kali to their chronological position in the reign of Magnus Bare-legs. Then he left his scribe to translate the Vita Sancti Magni, which forms O.S. ch.45-52. He himself probably dictated the final sentences in ch.52 describing Hakon's pilgrimage to Jerusalem and his firm but popular rule in the Orkneys, which are quite out of harmony with the preceding/

preceding account of his cruelties to his cousin Magnus, and were apparently intended to form the transition to the beginning of the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali:

"At that time, when Earl Hakon ruled in the Orkneys, there lived a man in Dale in Caithness called Moddan....."

The next step was to take the vellums containing this Saga of Rognvaldr Kali and bind them on to the back of the Saga of Saint Magnus to form ch.53-108. Our author's compilation was now complete.

Later there came additions and interpolations. These were made most probably after the death of our author, but when, where and by whom it is impossible to indicate very definitely. I do not propose to add anything here to what has been said about them in the preceding chapter.

10. THE ORKNEYINGA SAGAAS HISTORY.

Although an Icelandic Saga is to be regarded as a piece of literature before being considered as history, it was the claim of the Saga teller that what he told was true. This claim is, of course, implicit in an avowedly historical work like Hkr. or Fsk. or O.S. In these the general intention is to produce a work of genuine history, although the form and content and even the original intention of the component parts may have been literary and artistic rather than historical. It follows that a work like O.S. must be viewed from two angles - first as a historical compilation, and secondly as a mere written record of historical fact. In other words, two questions are to be answered:

- (a) What use did the compiler make of his material ?
- (b) What is the historical value of the extant document, viewed impersonally, which the compiler and his revisers have left us ?

The historian of today is animated by a desire to apply the keenest scientific methods of collation and deduction to every scrap of historical evidence he can find, be it documentary, traditional, or archaeological. The resultant distillation of truth is his "history"; it is his own writing, his own product, and his evidence is relegated to footnotes or appendices.

The Icelandic historian of the 12th and 13th centuries is best thought of not as a scientist but as a collector. He gathers material oral and written, and arranges it into a book - a big book usually, for the production of a worthy heirloom is not/

not the least part of his motive as a collector. Like the numismatist and the philatelist he studies his material mainly for the purpose of arranging it. If he goes so far as to make conjectures of his own based upon it, these are most probably interpolated between portions of his source material. Evidence and deductions, therefore, instead of being separated, and preference given to the latter, appear ~~both~~^{together} in the text and on the same level; they may appear alternatively, or mixed in an undeterminable degree ~~together~~^{one with the other}. The appearance of annals is of course given to the book: an endeavour is made, as has been said, to arrange the material in chronological order, to date events of importance, and even to fill in gaps in the narrative with unattached anecdotes. And as the motive of making a big book is strong, incidents even if improbable or irrelevant are less likely to be omitted than included.

It is not to be supposed that every Icelandic historian conforms to this type. The extant work of Ari, the first of the Icelandic historians, belongs almost to the scientific school of to-day. Snorri, while compiling, appears to be more often than not retelling in his own words the narrative he has before him. But the motives of collecting and of "bookmaking" were behind their work, and indeed behind most of the historical works of the Middle Ages; and in their manifestations as outlined above these motives certainly account for the form and intention of a compilation like the Orkneyinga Saga.

It will thus be seen that our compiler's merits as a medieval historian are not to be judged from his skill in forming hypotheses from a mass of scattered facts or in collating parallel documents, but from:

- (i) the completeness and comprehensiveness of his collection of material,
- (ii) the faithfulness of his transcription of this, and
- (iii) the accuracy of his chronology as shown in his placing of events in order and his actual dating of them/

them.

(i) Of the comprehensiveness of the Orkneyinga Saga as a history of the Orkney Earls only a little need be said. It is the intention of the compiler to give a complete account of the history of the Orkney Earldom from its foundation c.874 to the death of Earl Rognvaldr Kali and Sveinn Asleif's son in the latter half of the 13th century. He is mainly concerned with the political dealings of the Earls with their rivals - the powerful landed aristocracy in the Orkneys and Caithness, and the kings and chiefs of Norway, Scotland, Ireland, and the Hebrides. To attempt a complete catalogue of the compiler's known omissions would be a hazardous and not very profitable task. But a list of the main omissions is given in Appendix D. The absence of any account of the early settlement of the Orkneys by the Norsemen - an Orkney Landnámabók - has often been regretted. But this really fell outwith the scope of a history of the Earldom, even if the compiler had known anything about it. The most serious deficiencies lie in the ignorance shown of the relations of the Orkneys and the Hebrides, of the expeditions of Haraldr Fair-hair, and of the reigns of Sigurthr the Stout and of Paul and Erlendr. (See Introd: Place of Comp. on these.)

But the omissions are less remarkable than what is actually included. It is a continual source of wonder to me that an Icelander has been able to gather so much material about three centuries in the history of a scrap of country six hundred miles over the sea from his own.

(ii) With respect to accuracy of transcription of oral and written material, there is no reason to doubt the honesty of the compiler's purpose. In the many passages where his narrative can be checked by comparison with parallel passages in other/

compiler/

other works (e.g. ch.8, 12, 21, 34, 39-43, 62, etc.; see Sources) such similarity is found as to make it necessary to assume a common source from which each work is drawn. Our compiler may omit, but he does not consciously falsify. These parallels can be found only for isolated chapters in O.S. It would be rash to hold that elsewhere the compiler has not occasionally remoulded his narrative. Such may be the origin, for example, of the romantic flavouring given to the chapters on the Crusade of Rognvaldr Kali.

How far oral Sagas and Þaettir were merely written down as he heard them or were retold in his own words is a question the answer to which is dependent upon what view is taken on the matter in regard to Saga-writing in general. Space forbids a discussion of this problem. I hold to the view of Liestøl that "not only the content but the wording of the family sagas might be tolerably fixed even in the oral stage of tradition, and this oral form might be committed almost verbatim to parchment" (K. Liestøl: Orig. of Icel. Family Sagas, 54). Only such an adherence to a many-times-told tale seems to me to account for the enormous amount of circumstantial detail in the passages directly based on oral tradition - most notably, the long Saga of Rognvaldr Kali. The continual references to an oral source of information in that section of the Saga (see Appendix C) are added proof of the writer's historical honesty.

(iii) In arranging his material the compiler shows as much skill as in collecting it. As is shown in the notes, there is some transposition of events and consequent confusion in the accounts of the battle of Tankerness (ch.65) and of the Crusade (ch.85-89). But in no case is there a case of one narrative overlapping upon another for which an adequate explanation cannot be found. Chronological gaps are usually filled in by extracts from the Lives of the Kings of Norway, although the compiler/

compiler seems hard put to it in ch. 11-12 to make a Saga of Sigurthr the Stout, and there is hardly any Saga of Paul and Erlendr at all. Some periods, notably 1136-1154, are so carefully dealt with that almost every season can be accounted for; see ch.91-101.

The success of the compiler's ordonnance of events seems to be due to the fact that he based it on the known dates of the reigns of the Kings of Norway who are constantly mentioned in connection with the Orkney Earldom. This is shown in his method of dating events in the Orkneys by a reference to the contemporary Norwegian king. A complete list of these "datings" is of interest and is given in Appendix B. Where, as in ch.12, 20, and 32, he deserts this fairly safe method in trying to date the lives of Earls Sigurthr the Stout and Thorfinnr, his estimates are unreliable.

(It should be noted that the date of the deaths of Saint Magnus (ch.51), of Rognvaldr Kali (ch.104), and of Haraldr Maddadh's son (ch.112) are interpolations.)

There is only one suggestion of such a "dating" in Rognvaldr Kali's Saga (O.S. 214^o) and none at all in the Saga of Saint Magnus. In the former case the explanation is that Rognvaldr Kali's Saga was first written as a Family Saga in which the "seasonal" dating system was usual; i.e. "next spring," "in the following autumn," "when winter set in." The Family Saga was a literary rather than an historical product, and all that was necessary was to suggest the passage of time. This the "seasonal" system did quite effectively and naturally. In the second case, some kind of dating of the death of Saint Magnus may have been displaced by the interpolated dating now found at the end of ch.51; but even if this were never present in the text, the passing references to the death of Magnus Bare-legs (1103; ch.43) and to the Crusade of King Sigurthr the Crusader (1106-?1112; ch.44) are an indication of the date of the reign of/

The reconstruction of events in the Orkney Earldom for the Saga period in Mr. J. Steiner Gleason's *Orkney Saga* is an implicit commentary on the historical value of the various sections of *Orkney Saga*.

of Hakon and Magnus.

I have tried to show, then, that by the standards of his own period and his own school the historian of O.S. was on the whole a good historian. I might add that the impersonal manner of the Saga is well suited to the impartial treatment of political history. Our historian is truly medieval in having no national prejudices - unless perhaps a low opinion of the Scots as expressed in ch.20. In Rognvaldr Kali's Saga, however, his sympathies lie with Earl Rognvaldr and Sveinn, not with Earls Erlendr and Haraldr; whereas the author of the additional chapters is clearly an admirer of Earl Haraldr (See Sources of ch.109-112).

We now approach the second problem, the actual historicity of O.S. chapter by chapter as it lies before us. Its reliability varies from page to page, in accordance with the nature of the source and the use being made of it at each point. Particular problems of historical accuracy are dealt with in the study of Sources and in the Notes. (1) But a brief summary of these scattered studies may be given here. In the remarks which follow, the term "fragmentary" is used to denote a section where only a selection of facts has been taken from an oral or written source, or the source itself has been inadequate. The term "literary" signifies that the events are fashioned into an anecdote or tale, with probably a certain clarifying of the motives of action, a dramatic ordonnance of events, and the addition of dialogue more or less apocryphal in nature.

Chap.

- 1 - 3 Unhistorical (Mythological).
 4 - 8 Historical but fragmentary; confused in ch.4 and 8 regarding the expeditions of Haraldr Fair-hair. "Literary" dialogue in ch.6.
 9 - 10. Historical; "literary" dialogue in ch.9.

11/

(1) The reconstruction of events in the Orkneys during the Saga period in Mr J. Storer Clouston's Hist. Orkn. is an implicit commentary on the historicity of the various sections of O.S.

Chap.

11. Fragmentary and probably inaccurate, but on a basis of fact.
12. Historical, except for the dating of Sigurthr the Stout's death. Very fragmentary.
- 13 - 19 Semi-historical. Narrative heightened by clarifying of motives and dramatising of situations created; "literary" dialogue throughout.
20. Semi-historical. Sequence of events and scenes of most events historical, but identity of Thorfinn's enemy probably in error. Chronology perhaps confused.
- 21 - 31. Historical, although fragmentary towards the end of ch.31.
32. Of historical intent, but of doubtful accuracy in certain points, notably with regard to the extent of Thorfinn's realm and the length of his reign.
33. Historical.
34. Historical but fragmentary.
- 35 - 38. Semi-historical. Main movements of Hakon Paul's son historical. His meeting with the soothsayer (ch.36) perhaps entirely apocryphal.
- 39 - 44. Historical, but, so far as Magnus Bare-legs' expedition is concerned, fragmentary and confused.
45. Apocryphal (The eulogy of Saint Magnus).
- 46 - 52. Historical, except as regards the interpretation of the characters of Hakon and Magnus.
53. Historical.
54. Historical but fragmentary.
55. Unhistorical, but probably on an unexplainable basis of fact.
56. Historical.
57. Unhistorical and semi-historical; the description of events leading up to the removal of Saint Magnus' relics to the sanctuary must have some basis on fact.
- 58 - 60. Historical.
61. Historical but "literary."
62. Historical but fragmentary.
- 63 - 90. Historical in the main, but "literary". Apocryphal elements probable in the Crusade chapters, 85-89.
91. Historical but fragmentary.
- 92-100 (306²⁷) Historical though "literary." Very careful dating of events by seasons.

Chap.

- 100 (306²⁷)-101. Semi-historical. Sequence of events and scenes of events historical, but identity of Sumarlithi probably in error.
- 102-103. Historical, though "literary," especially in dialogue.
- 104-108. Historical but fragmentary; "literary."
- 109-112. Historical ~~but=fragmentary=~~="literary=" in intention, but very fragmentary, and confused in chronology.

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11. THE ORKNEYINGA SAGA

AS LITERATURE.

Much has already been said about the Orkneyinga Saga as literature. Its characteristics as a literary genre or complex of genres have been discussed in the first chapter of this Introduction. The continual alternation between the "literary" and the "historical" handling of events has been pointed out in Introd.: O.S. as History. The varied styles in which it is written are discussed in the relevant sections of the study of Sources, and will be further remarked upon in the chapters on Previous Translations and The Present Translation.

Something is said of ^{its} the general attitude to life in Introd., ch.1, and in the study of Heathenism and Christianity in O.S.

The literary qualities of the verses are briefly discussed in Introd.: Verses.

It is not proposed to recapitulate here what is said on all these topics. Two subjects remain, however, which may be discussed here - the narrative power as shown in the handling of plot and episode, and the skill shown in the presentation of character. In addition some general remarks will be made on the narrative style.

Narrative Power: Plot and Episode.

The two main factors influencing the treatment of both plot and character in a Saga are the basis of reality underlying the narrative, and the process of oral telling and retelling which the narrative underwent for anything from fifty to two hundred years.

Both of these factors are jointly responsible for the characteristic steady, orderly march of events noticeable in O.S., as in other Sagas. The listener is enabled to "see things as they become."/

"become." W.P.Ker in his chapter on the Sagas in Epic and Romance has many appreciative and penetrating things to say of this subtle manner of unfolding a tale. The anecdotes of the Murder of Earl Haraldr (ch.55) and of the kidnapping of Earl Paul on Rousay (ch.74) illustrate it well, the latter especially. The author attends to each point in the narrative as it comes to him, and remains coolly unconscious of the tragedy that he knows is to follow. There is thus an inevitability about the tale which grips listener and reader. The workings of fate are not insisted upon, but they never seem to be far off.

As to the treatment of what Dame Bertha Phillpotts calls "that refractory stuff reality," something has been said in the study of O.S. as History. The "literary" treatment referred to there is the result of the need for sustaining the immediate interest of a visible audience. The events unfolded are grouped into episodes. These may become detachable short stories or baettir, like the three baettir of Earl Thorfinnr. Or single incidents may be crystallized into brief anecdotes that come as "balancing points" of interest in a longer narrative, after the manner of exempla in a sermon. Examples of the latter are: Sveinn's slaying of Arni Spindle-shanks (ch.85), Erlingr Crick-neck falling over the wharf at Imbólar (ch.88), Arni Hrafn's son sticking in the door of Saint Magnus Cathedral (ch.92), and the many anecdotes to which point is given by one of Earl Rognvald's occasional verses. In oral transmission over a long period, sometimes only the baettir and anecdotes survived, as for example in O.S. ch.5-12. And other accidents happened. Sometimes anecdotes became misplaced; e.g. the episode of Arni Hrafn's son (see notes on ch.92), and Earl Rognvald's verse on the sixteen monks (see notes on ch.72). Sometimes an anecdote is duplicated, as for example the controversial "boat-dragging" story (see Sources of ch.1-3), and the tale of the raven banner (in ch.11 and 12). Sometimes an anecdote survived, but the point is lost or obscured/

obscured; e.g. the incidents at the burning of the house in Papa Stronsay that led to Earl Thorfinn's remark: "Lend a hand to the deacon" (see notes on ch.29), and the tying of knots on the further side of Jordan (see notes on ch.88). But in spite of these accidents, the most notable product of the narrative skill shown in O.S. is, after the orderly unfolding of the tale, the succession of well-turned anecdotes it contains - sea-fights, house-burnings, manslayings, kidnappings, escapes, feats of daring, diplomacy^{and violence.} The neatest is undoubtedly Sveinn's slaying of Arni Spindle-shanks (ch.85). It is worth quoting here apart from its context:

There was a man called Arni Spindle-shanks, one of the crew of Eindrithi. He sailed South into the Orkneys during the winter along with nine of his fellows. Arni was an overbearing man, a bold man and strong. The company lived at their own expense on an island that winter. Arni bought malt and fat cattle from a tenant of Sveinn Asleif's son. But when he asked payment, Arni put him off. And when he asked it a second time he was paid with abuse; and before they parted, Arni dealt him a blow with the back of his axe, and said this: "Go now and tell that champion Sveinn thou art always calling upon, and get him to settle thy account. Thou couldst not do better."

The bondi went and told Sveinn, and asks him to settle his account. Sveinn answers little, and says that he can make no promises in the matter.

It happened one day in spring that Sveinn went to collect his rents. He went with three others in an eight-oared boat. Their course lay past the island where Arni had taken up house. Sveinn gave orders to lie inshore. Now the tide was strongly on the ebb. Sveinn came ashore alone with a hand-axe in his hand and no other weapon. He bade them watch the boat lest she be stranded.

Arni and his men were sitting drinking in a bothy not far from the sea. Sveinn went up to the bothy and entered. Arni and five of his men were within, and they greeted Sveinn.

Sveinn acknowledged their greeting, and told Arni he must settle his bondi's account.

Arni said that there was plenty of time for that.

Sveinn asked him to settle the affair as a favour to himself.

Arni said he would do nothing of the kind.

Sveinn said that he had little time to spare, and there-upon drove the axe into Arni's head, so that it sank over the blade up to the haft, and he lost hold of the axe.

Sveinn ran out, and Arni's retainers bent over their leader, while some ran after Sveinn down on to the damp beach. So/

So they ran along the wet sand, and one was faster than the rest. He was now close at Sveinn's heels. Huge stems of sea-tangle lay in the ooze under the ebbing tide. Sveinn pulled up a stem, and thrust it in the face of his nearest pursuer, sand and all. The man flung both hands up to his eyes to wipe out the sloppy sand. But Sveinn got back to his boat, and sailed home to Gairsay to his estate.

The modern novel reader, brought up on Scott and Dickens and Hardy, regards the setting of a tale as an essential part of it, and expects the narrative to be interspersed with descriptions of the scene of action. But, like the immature schoolboy who is given Ivanhoe to read, the Icelander had no patience with description. Action was more important. Gunnar's few words about his farm as he is about to leave it are quite out of keeping with the Saga manner and may well be a later addition to Njáls Saga:

"Fair is the Lithe; so fair that it has never seemed to me so fair; the cornfields are white to harvest, and the home mead is mown; and now I will ride back home and not fare abroad at all." (Nj.S. ch.75; Dasent's trans.).

The weather is rarely mentioned except when it is stormy and affects the movements of the characters. The paucity of geographical detail regarding the two hundred place names in O.S. has already been referred to in Introd.: Author. Where we do find detail regarding things, as in the descriptions of the halls at Orphir or Freshwick, or the farm and farmyard at Forsie, it has no aesthetic quality; it is given because without it we could not understand the events which follow. It is to the accounts of events that we must go for details which by their individuality stand out vividly in the Saga:— Earl Rognvaldr Brusil's son being betrayed by his little dog (ch.29); Earl Paul, red as blood, keeping silent "as if he had water in his mouth" (ch.57); Sveinn rubbing his nose in his hall in Gairsay (ch.93); and other such items in the various anecdotes that have been mentioned.

Presentation of Character.

The predominant interest in action in Saga literature did not over-ride interest in character as it did in medieval Romance.

Plot/ "The/

Plot and character are of equal importance in most Sagas, and the action provided the chief means of portraying character. On his first appearance in the tale a new personage is presented to us in a thumb-nail sketch. The description of Earl Thorfinnr is typical:

"Earl Thorfinnr developed early, and was the tallest and strongest of men, with black hair, sharp features, and grisly aspect. And when he grew up it was obvious that he was of an ambitious and warlike disposition." (O.S. ch.13).

But after such an introduction the portraiture is normally "dramatic" through significant deed and word. The absence in the Sagas of that omniscience whereby the modern novelist analyses the motives of his characters has often been noted. In O.S., the villainy of Ragnhildr, Magnus Erlend's son's refusal to fight in Menai Strait, and the whole complex personality of Sveinn all call for explanation; but the listener must make his own. The actual presence of an audience, perhaps a critical one, was probably the main contributory cause of this reticence on the part of the Saga-teller. The explanation of motives always sounds lame; and an opinionative listener might interrupt with an alternative theory. And the way is left open for a discussion of motives after the tale is told - like a "post mortem" at bridge.

There is, of course, impersonal comment of a kind - "what the countryside thought," to use another phrase of Dame Bertha Phillpotts (Edda and Saga, 178). Hallath's expedition to the Orkneys (ch.5) "was thought a huge joke"; hin haeðiligsta is the O.N. phrase, and sounds contemptuous enough. Einarr Butter "was thought a great nothing" for slaying Earl Havarthr (ch.9). The drowning of Valthjofr of Stronsay was felt to be a particularly "sad piece of news" (ch.66).

It may be noted, however, that there are sections of the Saga where the motivation has been clarified in the process of putting the narrative into writing. The most striking examples are found in the first þáttur of Earl Thorfinnr, where the following interesting but un-Saga-like passage occurs:

"The/

The directness and simplicity of the prose of the Sagas.

"The King (Olafr) observed that Thorfinnr was made of sterner stuff than Brusi and had less liking for such coercion as this. For this reason he trusted Thorfinnr less than Brusi. The King saw that Thorfinnr must be counting on the support of the King of Scots if he broke off this agreement. The King was shrewd enough to observe that during all the negotiations Brusi was acting with reluctance and made no promises but what he meant to keep. But where Thorfinnr was concerned, as soon as he had decided what course he would take, he went into the terms cheerfully and made no scruples whatsoever over the conditions the King demanded on the first evening; but the King had a suspicion that the Earl meant to go back on some of his promises." (O.S. ch.18).

For the rest of the Saga the dramatic method suffices. And what a gallery of portraits! - the greater Earls:- Turf-Einarr, "a tall man and ugly, one-eyed, yet of all men the most keen-sighted," the strong-willed Thorfinnr, the far-travelled Rognvaldr Brusi's son, the colourless Magnus Erlend's son, the mild and reserved Paul Hakon's son, the gay and adventurous Rognvaldr Kali; then the greater chiefs:- Kolr Kali's son, shrewd and far-sighted, the ubiquitous Sveinn Asleif's son, the cantankerous Thorbjorn Clerk, peace-making Kugi of Westray, the arrogant Eindrithi; then the lesser portraits of the shrewd and cautious Amundi of Deerness whose first speech is a complete revelation of character:

"Amundi said that the Earl would turn a deaf ear, - 'and little will come of it. The Earl and I are at present good friends, but it will be a risky thing for us two to quarrel, with our tempers as they are. Indeed,' says he, 'I will have nothing to do with it.'" (O.S. ch.14);

and Arnorr Earls' Skald, the crafty Uni, Sveinn Breast-rope who practised the black art and was "unlucky-looking," the diplomatic Bishop William, and Asolfr, the faithful retainer who lost an arm in defence of his master. Then there are the women:- the heartless Ragnhildr, and Sigurthr the Stout's mother who said he should have been brought up in her wool-basket; Thora, Magnus' mother who feasted the murderers of her son, Frakokk, virago and amazon of Caithness, the self-assured Ragna of North Ronaldsay, and Ermen-garde the beautiful. These and a multitude of others pass before us; and by their deeds we know them.

Style.

The directness and simplicity of the prose of the Sagas, its/

its compactness, its tripping movement, its colloquial tang and its conventions all arise from the Sagas being tried and tested orally in the process of transmission. Icelandic prose is indeed the first satisfying vernacular prose in Northern Europe.

The style of O.S., as has been pointed out in the study of Sources, is not everywhere the same, for many different written sources have been used. The clerical unction and diffuseness of the chapters on the martyrdom and miracles of St. Magnus, and the folk-tale manner of the account of the poisoning of Earl Haraldr Hakon's son (ch.55) and the tale of the Man with the Cowl (ch.85) differ from the firm and well-knit sentences in the first chapters on Earl Thorfinnr (ch.13-19) and the plain and easy narrative style of most of the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali. The verbose eulogy of St. Magnus in ch.45 is clearly influenced by Latin, and is probably a translation from Latin. Chapters like 8 and 12 are summaries of longer documents and have no stylistic pretensions at all. But in spite of such variations the Saga as a whole is a representative example of thirteenth century Icelandic prose of average quality.

Its merely average quality must be accepted. At the tragic moments - the deaths of Rognvaldr Brusil's son, of Rognvaldr Kali or of Sveinn Asleif's son - it is adequate, but not much more than that. It never reaches the height of Njáls Saga at the siege of Bergthorshvoll or of Faereyinga Saga at the death of Sigmundr. We miss also the wealth of proverbial wisdom in Njáls Saga. There are exactly six proverbs in O.S.

"Much happens that is least expected" (O.S. 83⁵; ch.30).

"Many are a king's ears" (O.S. 173³; ch.67).

"Few are so wise as to see everything as it is" (O.S. 205⁶; ch.81).

"Monsters are a match for each other" (Lit., "Monsters sit best together") (O.S. 207⁷; ch.82).

" 'Tis ill knowing an Earl in fisherman's garb" (O.S. 221n; ch.85).

"Shoot at a bird before you get him" (O.S. 237⁷; ch.86).

Similes/

Similes and metaphorical idioms in the narrative are also few, but they are vivid. The most interesting are as follow:

- "Norr and his men over-ran them, like tares in a cornfield (O.S. 3' ; ch.1).
- "The Earl (Thorfinnr) did not fall asleep over the journey" (O.S. 29⁸; ch.15).
- "Thou must not be surprised if dale comes to meet hill" (O.S. 36" ; ch.18).
- "Caught in a cleft stick" (O.S. 45⁸; ch.20).
- "Cowering like a cat in a cairn" (O.S. 70²⁰; ch. 26).
- "Earl Paul kept silence as if he had water in his mouth and turned red as blood (O.S. 134²² ch.57).
- "And he never once came under sooty rafter" (i.e. slept ashore in a house) (O.S. 325⁵; ch.110).

Again, the cool and matter-of-fact tone of Icelandic prose is well suited to unobtrusive irony and litotes or "understatement." There is less of these in O.S. than there seems to be opportunity for. Many of the examples that occur are not obvious and are difficult to render in translation. Among these are Hallvarthr the Ice-lander's remark about leaving the Earl in the fire (ch.16), and the author's comment on Hallvarthr of Forsie's shouting to Earl Rognvaldr - "and he could have been heard well enough had he been even further away" (ch.103). It requires some familiarity with the Saga manner to recognise in such phrases that subtle understatement in which the Icelanders delighted. Among the more obvious instances one must mention the delicious irony of Sveinn settling an account with Arni Spindle-shanks by driving an axe into his head, because he "has little time to spare." In general, however, the reader of O.S. must be content with a rather plainly told tale, and must look to episode, situation and character-portrayal for literary excellences.

12. THE VERSES.Use of Verses in O.S.

"... With Haraldr Fair-hair there were skalds, and even now men know their poems by heart, as well as the poems about all the kings who have since ruled in Norway; and we find the best evidence in the poems that were recited in the presence of the chiefs themselves or of their sons; we take everything to be true that is found in these poems about their journeys or battles. It was the way of skalds to give most praise to those in whose presence they were reciting; but no one would dare tell the chief himself what he and all the listeners knew to be false and imaginary; that would be mockery, not praise."

Snorri Sturluson: Prologue to
Heimskringla.

It is not proposed here to discuss at length the origin, growth, metre and diction of the poetry of the skalds. That has been done excellently elsewhere⁽¹⁾. The above quotation from Snorri testifies to the early origin of skaldic poetry and to its value to the historian. The typical skaldic stanza was one of eight lines, the commonest line having three feet, and an elaborate use being made of alliteration, internal rhyme, and metaphorical phrases or "kennings". Like the Pindaric ode and like Provençal lyric, it was from the beginning a highly self-conscious form of composition both in content and in form. Yet since the majority of verses were composed almost contemporaneously with the events to which they refer, and could hardly be altered without damage to their complicated metrical and alliterative structure, all the Saga compilers of the thirteenth century regarded them, as Snorri did, as of great historical value.

In the Orkneyinga Saga there are altogether eighty-two verses/

(1) See the following in the Bibliography: G.Vigfusson, E.Sievers, F.Jónsson, R.Meissner. Good short accounts in English of skaldic poetry will be found in E.V.Gordon: Introd. to Old Norse, xxxix-xliv, and 292-297; Bertha S. Phillpotts: Edda and Saga, 180-186; E.R.Eddison: Egil's Saga, 247-249; and Margaret E. Ashdown: English and Norse Documents, 255-272.

verses, and, assuming the existence of two anonymous improvisers, eighteen skalds are represented. Two of them, however, Arnorr Earls' skald and Earl Rognvaldr Kali, contribute two-thirds of the verses, the former twenty-two and the latter thirty-two. Twelve of the skalds contribute but one verse apiece.

A complete list of the poems and of the skalds named is given in Introd.: Sources.

The compiler's purpose in using these verses is to confirm a statement or authenticate a brief anecdote in his prose narrative. Many of them, of course, give little information beyond a name or two, a metaphorical reference to a battle or a voyage, and sometimes a day of the week. But there is some confirmation even in that: the narrative is at least proved to be in touch with reality. And many anecdotes concerning Rognvaldr Kali, for example, would never have survived had it not been for the "loose verses" or lausavisur which he composed upon the occasion.

So vague are many of the verses that mistakes were not infrequently made by the Icelandic historians regarding the exact allusions contained in them. In O.S., apparent errors of this kind occur in only a few instances. In ch.72, the verse about the sixteen monks in Westray should probably be in ch.77: an anecdote has been duplicated (see note on ch.72). In ch.85, the past tense in Rognvaldr Kali's verse on Einarr of Gulberwick's inhospitality (O.S. 219) shows it to have been composed after his visit to Einarr and not before as the Saga has it. Throughout the Crusading chapters which follow, as Professor Jónsson has pointed out (Hist. Tidsskr. 8 R.IV.151 foll.) there is considerable transposition of verses. But the appositeness of the verses in O.S. is more noticeable than their occasional misapplication. Furthermore, most of the extant verses that were relevant to his purpose have been used by the compiler. Eight additional verses or fragments of

such place names - Ljóðhis, Skjal, Lyrist, Særlin, for example.

of verses from Arnor's Porfinnzdrápa preserved in various sources have not been used by the compiler; a reviser, however, has added two of them to the end of ch.32. One whole verse and two fragments are all that is extant of Arnor's Rognvaldzdrápa, but the compiler has used only the whole verse. It is worth while quoting these verses in full (in plain prose translation) in order to see that little is lost by their omission, and that the compiler, if he did know them, would have had considerable difficulty in quoting them with the requisite appearance of relevance.

Porfinnzdrápa.

1. "I drank to the warrior while I sat opposite him. The prince drank every winter to his stalwart men." (This might have been quoted at the end of ch.20).
3. "My young sons begin to grieve deeply for me on the occasion of the death of the war-keen prince."
4. "Now I shall tell men of the greatness of the high-souled Earl. My sorrow does not lighten. Poetry gushes forth."
13. "Hearken, O people, how the brave chief among the Earls put to sea. The glorious prince feared not to face Aegir."
18. "Shetland's lord, the invincible, won the victory in every battle. The poet will exhalt the prince's might!"
25. "O God, deliver the mighty scion of the children of Turf-Einarr from all sorrow; and I pray for such grace for the warlike prince."

Rognvaldzdrápa.

2. "The noble and beneficent son of Heiti made me of his kin. The kinship with the Earl brought me rank."
3. "True prince of the awning of the sun (heaven), help the mighty Rognvaldr." (Apparently a refrain).

(Both poems in Skjaldg. A. I.332-348).

The only other significant omission is the absence of any verses from Bjorn Cripple-hand's Magnúsdrápa in which there are references to Magnus Bare-legs' expedition to the Orkneys and the West of Scotland in 1098 (Skjaldg. B.I. 404-405). These occur in all versions of the expedition except the abbreviated one in O.S. (ch. 39-42). The stanzas referred to are more rich in real detail than most skaldic verses: they contain quite a number of Scottish place names - Ljóðhús, Skiði, Tyrvist, Santíri, for example.

If/

If the compiler knew them, as seems quite likely in this case, he may have omitted them purposely in the process of abbreviating the narrative of the expedition.

So far as the evidence goes, then, our compiler's collection of verses is fairly comprehensive, and his use of them judicious and apposite.

Types of Verses.

There were four main types of skaldic poetry:

(i) Laudatory poems in the epic manner - the short flokkr and the longer drápa.

(ii) Commemorative verses - usually single stanzas or lausavisur.

(iii) Satiric verses.

(iv) Love lyric.

Each of these types is represented in O.S.

To the first type belong Arnor's verses which, with one exception, are all from his eulogistic odes Þorfinnzdrápa and Rognvaldzdrápa. Arnor's verses are the most grandiloquent and the most florid in style in the Saga. Indeed there were few skalds with the same command of rich and highly coloured imagery - most of which is irreproducible in translation. He praises his patrons with a wealth of striking metaphor. Thorfinnr is "the reddener of the raven's claw," "the flight-scorning prince," "Shetland's lord," "the battle-tried one," "the giver of rings," and so on. One of Arnor's most vivid verses is the second last one in Þorfinnzdrápa. It is an imitation of a stanza in the old Eddic poem Voluspa. A literal translation of both verses shows the similarity better than a comparison of the O.N. texts, as Arnorr has disguised his imitation by the use of new kennings.

"The sun shall turn to darkness, the earth sink into the sea, the bright stars vanish from out of the heavens, fume and flame rage together, the lofty blaze play against the very heavens."

Voluspa, 175-178 (C.P.B. I. 200).

"The bright sun shall turn to darkness, the earth shall sink into the dusky sea, heaven shall be rent in twain, the whole sea shall roar up over the hills, before a prince greater/

incident greater than Thorfinnr be born in the Isles. May God help the protector of his body-guard."

O.S. ch.32.

The most obvious examples of the commemorative type of verse are those by Rognvaldr Kali and his company of skalds in the second half of the Saga. The most interesting example is the stanza composed by Rognvaldr at the request of his men to preserve a true tradition regarding the first man to board the Saracen dromond: 85), on Erlingr Crick-neck falling over the wharf (ch.83)

"Authun the Red
Was foremost in pressing
Aboard the dark dromond...." in O.S. ch.88.

A boastful tone was usually assumed in such verses. It is especially noticeable in Turf-Einar's verses (ch.8):

"O'er Longlegs cast a cairn.
Hard skatt I pay him!
Victory is ours, brave lads!
The Norns give just judgment,"

and in most of the verses in chapters 87 and 88 made by the Crusaders. Rognvaldr Kali's verse about his own accomplishments in ch.58 - an imitation of a similar verse by King Haraldr the Tyrant - is a variation of this boasting type. Much finer are the two commemorative stanzas composed by Oddi the Little upon the death of his fellow-skald Thorbjorn the Black:

"Round Prasnes
The barons' ships
Bore along
Thorbjorn the Black.
The Sea-bear
To Acre trod
Ati's ground
With the chief of skalds.

"There I saw him,
The King's friend,
Buried in
The High Church.
O'er him now lies
Earth, - and stones
Bright with sunlight
of the South." O.S. ch.88.

The satiric and facetious verses are a variety of the commemorative type. They were probably composed soon after a comic incident/

incident in order to make a good tale even better in the telling. The Saga of course refers to them as extemporaneous, but the complicated nature of the verse form makes this very improbable indeed. About half of Rognvaldr Kali's verses are of this kind. To the modern reader the satire often seems lame and the wit forced, as in the comic dialogue of the minor Elizabethan dramatists. Rognvald's stanzas on the sixteen monks (ch.72) and on Ragna's head-dress (ch. 81) are merely mildly amusing. The best are his verses on the mad-man (ch.85), on Erlingr Crick-neck falling over the wharf (ch.89) - which is quite subtly ironical - and on what the Shetland maid-servant said between her shiverings after slipping into the well (ch. 85):

"Warm by the fire
 You sit, but Asa
 - Atatata-
 Lies in water.
 Hutututu!
 Where shall I sit?
 I am frozen
 To the marrow."

The line between satiric and commemorative verses, however, is hard to draw. There is a contemptuous and sarcastic tone about many of the boasting verses that is half way to satire.

Love poems are equally difficult to separate from mere occasional verses about sea-fights and voyages. There is little or no pure love-lyric in O.S. There are many references to the fair Ermengarde in the Crusaders' verses. But Earl Rognvaldr did not write of her with the passion of Kormakr for Steingerth. Hers was a name to give colour to verses of the common commemorative type, and so he used it:

"The snow-white lady
 Of the silver bracelet
 Brought wine to her guests.
 The beauty of Ermengarde
 Was shown forth to men.
 Now the stalwart crew
 Lay fire to this castle
 And all that are in it.
 Sharp swords spring
 Each from the sheath." O.S. ch.87.

The best of the love verses is one by Oddi the Little, because it has/

has least that is irrelevant:

"Scarce worthy of Ermengarde
Are we, I ween.
A chief among maidens,
This lady of bracelets;
Worthy of honour
Who weareth the crown.
Blessed in all things
She lives under heaven
The home of the sun."

O.S. ch.86.

Metre.

Drott Kavanaugh, "Court-metre", was the most popular of the skaldic measures and is used in all but about a dozen of the verses quoted in O.S. It consists of a stanza of eight lines divided into two half-verses of four lines. Each half-verse contains one to four sentences, one or even two of which may be interpolated parenthetically within the main one. The metrical pattern is the trochaic trimeter, but a free rhetorical rhythm is interwoven - the skaldic verses are essentially rhetorical - and disturbs the position of the stresses in many of the lines; but the last word in each line always forms a trochaic foot. For purposes of alliteration and rhyme the lines are conceived in couplets. In the first line of each couplet there are two vowels or consonants in stressed syllables alliterating (O.N. skothending); and the second line is linked to the first by further alliteration of the vowel or consonant in the first stressed syllable. Internal syllabic rhyme (O.N. aðalhending) occurs in the second line of each couplet on two syllables with either main or secondary stresses.

The following example illustrates the above scheme, alliterating and rhyming sounds and syllables being shewn in italics:

Týnduz ból þár brendu,
bráskat þat dægr háski,
stokk í reyr enn roknu
rauðr eldr, Skota veldi.
Morðkennir galt monnum
mein;/

/	u	/	u	/	u
/	u	/	u	/	u
u	/	/	u	/	u
/	/	u	u	/	u
/	u	u	/	/	u

mei¹n; a¹ sumri einu
 fengu þeir við þengil
 þrim sinnum hlut minna.

/	/	\	u	/	u
/	u	/	u	/	u
u	/	u	/	/	u

(O.S. 52).

A clever imitation of this complicated stanzaic form in English will be found in Dame Bertha S. Phillpotts' Edda and Saga, 184.

The other metres used are as follows:

(i) Torf-Einarshátt, the name given by Snorri in his Háttatal or "Metre-List" to the metre used by Turf-Einarr in his five verses preserved in the early chapters of O.S. Although Snorri has classified it separately, it is really only a loose form of dróttkvaett, more variety occurring in the placing of the stresses, and the internal rhyme being occasionally imperfect.

(ii) Runhenda, a variety of dróttkvaett in which disyllabic end-rhyme takes the place of internal syllabic rhyme. This occurs in only two verses in O.S., - in Armoth's verse in ch.86, and in the fine ringing lines composed by Rognvaldr Kali on the voyage to Istanbul. The end-rhymes and more regular metrical pattern bring the latter verse nearer to the modern manner, and it is worth quoting for this reason as well as for its own sake:

Riðum Raefils vakri,	"Let us ride Raefil's sea-steed
rekum þi plóg af akræ,	To Istanbul;
erjum úrgu barði,	Let us leave the ploughshare
út at Miklagarði.	In field untouched;
Þiggjum þengils mála,	Let us cleave our way
þokum fram í gny stála,	With dripping prow;
rjóðum gylðiz góma,	Let us take the bounty
gjörum ríks konungs sóma.	Of the mighty monarch
(O.S.258)	Push on to clash of sword,
	Redden the wolf's jaws,
	And honour the king."

(iii) Kviðuhátt, the metre of the old lays and of Old English/

English epic, consisting of couplets of two-stress lines linked by alliteration. There are four eight-line stanzas of this type in O.S., one by Ingimarr of Aske (ch.62), one by Eirikr the Icelander (ch.78), and two in Oddi's dirge on Thorbjorn the Black (ch.88).

Kennings.

What Dr Johnson said of the conceits of the Metaphysical poets might also be said of the kennings of the skalds:

"Their thoughts are often new but seldom natural.... And the reader, far from wondering that he missed them, wonders more frequently by what perverseness of industry they were ever found."

The old Eddic mythology and vocabulary supplied the material for metaphor and periphrasis of great complexity, so that, for example, a lady became "the linden tree of the dress," the sea became "Ati's ground," and winter "the bane of the thong of the road" - "the thong of the road" being itself a kenning for "serpent." An appreciation of such kennings calls for literary taste of a distinctly sophisticated order.

It is not proposed here, however, to give an excursus on the kennings in O.S. They do not differ in character from those in skaldic verses in general, upon which we have the valuable studies of Vigfusson, Jónsson, and Meissner. The kennings used by Rognvaldr will be found classified separately by Vigfusson in his O.S. (Rolls 88, I. xxxix-xl).

In its attitude to the new and the old faiths the Græneyinga Saga is fairly typical. So far as the attitude to christianity is

concerned/

13. HEATHENISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN THE
ORKNEYINGA SAGA.

By the beginning of the 11th century, when the great Family Sagas were being enacted and began to be composed, the heathen religion of Thor and Odin had ceased to have a hold over the more intelligent members of the Icelandic commonwealth. And the new faith, adopted by law in the year 1000, occupied the same relatively unimportant position in the life of individual and community. By the 13th century, when these Sagas began to be committed to writing, the old faith had reached the stage of being viewed from an almost ^{antiquarian} ~~archaeological~~ standpoint, and the new faith had not outgrown either its political origins or its general weakness as a moral or social force.

It is therefore not surprising that the Sagas, whether as they were first composed or as we now have them, should be neither heathen nor christian in outlook. The attitude of the Saga-man was, at the worst, neutral or matter-of-fact, but normally, and more properly, aesthetic. Heathenism and christianity were part and parcel of his thematic material - material awaiting artistic treatment. There were often dramatic possibilities in outworn beliefs and customs and these might be used as Shakespeare later used similar beliefs in Julius Caesar and Macbeth. Of the spiritual clash between the old and the new faiths the Saga-man knew little. His world was a world of action, not of contemplation. And the actions of men were viewed with an aesthetic clearness of vision, a "steadiness of imagination" - I quote W.P. Ker - which few medieval authors could command.

In its attitude to the new and the old faiths the Orkneyinga Saga is fairly typical. So far as the attitude to christianity is concerned/

concerned, it leans strongly to the neutral and matter-of-fact. The compiler, as has been indicated (Introd.: Author), was fairly certainly a layman; and in his material, if we exclude the definitely clerical interpolations, together with the borrowed Saint's Life and "Miracle-Book" of Earl Magnus⁽¹⁾, there is little that shows more than a man-of-the-world's knowledge of the faith of the medieval church. The baptism of Sigurthr the Stout (ch.12), Earl Thorfinn's pilgrimage to Rome (ch.31), King Ingi's suppression of heathen customs in Sweden (ch.35), Rognvaldr Kali's visit to the holy places in Palestine (ch.88) - these are related in an entirely matter-of-fact fashion. Similarly treated are the frequent references to the daily services of the church. Although eight clerics appear in the pages of the Saga, none of them play a prominent part except in the field of diplomacy (Bishop William, ch.76; Bishop John of Athole, ch.77). As has been pointed out in the study of the compiler's personality, the description of the appearance of Bishop John is not the work of a man with a single-minded reverence for the priesthood. This detachment is not of the sceptical Chaucerian variety. Church, priesthood, nones and matins are mere narrative material to the compiler and are treated as such.

Although I give in the Indexes lists of clerics, of churches, and of ecclesiastical terms in the Saga, we do not learn very much in it of the church of the Orkneys in Norse times. That little must be supplemented from other sources, mainly archaeological, and the results may be read in the studies of Orkney church history by Archdeacon Craven, Mr John Mooney, and Mr J. Storer Clouston. (See especially the latter's Hist. Orkn. 140-156).

It is fairly certain, however, that the compiler as well as the original composers of most of the Sagas and paettir he used were nominally christian. There are many christian sentiments scattered throughout the Saga, of which the following are the more striking/

(1) The "christian" qualities of these are discussed in the study of their Sources.

striking:

Earl Thorfinn's speech to King Magnus the Good: "But my fate shall lie wholly in God's power and thine, because of the grave deeds I have done against thy will" (O.S. 81¹⁰).

Eyvind's remark to Sveinn Asleif's son regarding his namesake's muttered threats, that "the Fiend must have put the words into his mouth" (O.S. 170²⁰).

Rognvaldr Kali's prayer for victory over the dromond and his promise to give every fiftieth penny to the poor (O.S. 247¹⁵).

The author's aside regarding the Saracens: "... whom we call Mahomet's Infidels" (O.S. 249¹⁴).

When we turn to heathenism in our Saga we find not only a far greater number of allusions but a wider variety in attitude.

The sole reference to any of the old gods is in the incident of the cutting of the bloody eagle on Halfdan's back "as a sacrifice to Odin" (ch.8). The incident is described as sober history. A similar simple historical outlook seems to have inspired the careful preservation of the myths of Thorri and Goi, Norr and Gorr, in the Introductory Chapters of the Saga (ch.1-3), and the tales of the raven banner (ch.11,12).

Bad omens are used as in Julius Caesar for their dramatic value - Rognvaldr Brusi's son's slip of the tongue (ch.29), the wave that broke Earl Magnus' ship (ch.47), Sveinn's itching nose (ch.77), Rognvaldr Kali's sneeze (ch.103).

For purely anecdote-value the compiler gives us ch.55, the Tale of the Poisoned Shirt, and ch.36, Earl Paul and the Soothsayer. The former tale he may have disbelieved heartily. But soothsaying and "second-sight" appear to be to him essential features in the direction (or misdirection) of conduct. Earl Rognvaldr of Mōren has "second-sight" (ch.6). A soothsayer warns Einarr Butter against slaying Havarthr Harvest-happy on a particular day (ch.9). Sigurthr the Stout's mother foresees disaster at Skitten Moor unless she make her son a raven banner (ch.11). And Sveinn Asleif's son was forspar in many things (ch.77, 93; see O.S. 196¹⁸, 272¹³, 276²⁴). Similarly the Black Art practised by Sveinn Breast-rope in his "out-sittings" (ch.65, 66) is believed in, and apparently as thoroughly disapproved as it was by Bishop William, who regarded Sveinn's death/

death as "a good riddance." (See O.S. 160²⁴, 169¹⁷, 171²⁶, 192¹¹). As in many Sagas we read of men who were innately lucky or unlucky. Havarth Harvest-happy "was a good chief and lucky in his harvests" (O.S. 16¹⁵). "Thorkell was a lucky man and was thus granted longer life" (O.S. 31¹⁷). Sveinn Breast-rope was "rather unlucky-looking" (O.S. 160²⁴) - like Skarphethinn in Njáls Saga.

There are no ghosts rising from their barrows in O.S. Few Sagas dealing with the 10th and 11th centuries are without them. But we remember that two of Earl Harald's men went mad through having to spend a few hours in the chambered mound of Maeshowe while a snowstorm drove past (ch.93). This took place in January, 1153. Some then must have believed in spirits with a conviction unassailable. Yet our author merely states that "two men went mad there, and that caused much delay" (O.S. 273²³). Why this reticence? Was this too obvious a result or, alternatively, too mysterious a result for further explanation? The attitude here is quite uncertain.

Of the nobler aspects of the old faith - of what is usually called the Heroic Ideal - there is hardly any explicit mention in O.S. Says Haraldr Maddadh's son to Sveinn before his last viking cruise: "It is hard to tell, comrade, which will come first, death, or lasting fame" (O.S. 319¹⁹). That is the Heroic Ideal - that sublimated fatalism of all Heroic Ages, an unflinching courage in the face of the unknown whether it be in life or in death. But the Ideal is implicit at the great tragic moments of the Saga - Rognvaldr Brusi's son's betrayal by his lap-dog (ch.29), Thora, Magnus' mother, confronting the murderer of her son (ch.52), Asolfr losing an arm in defence of his lord (ch.103), Sveinn defying age and luck in going on his last cruise to Dublin (ch.106-108). At such moments characters become "heroically uncompromising" - the phrase is Professor E.V. Gordon's - like the figures of Epic. We are reminded of the other great moments of Saga story - Gunnarr turning back home to Hlithar-endi, Sigmundr Bresti's son in the Faeroes setting out to swim from Scufey to Suðrey, Grettir the Strong making a stand against his foes

on/

on the island of Drangey, Egil Skallagrim's son in his old age composing Sonatorrek on the loss of his sons.

A wealth of mythological lore is of course to be found in the kennings and metaphors of the eighty-two skaldic verses in the Saga. In avenging the death of Earl Rognvaldr of M~~o~~ren upon Halfdan Long-legs, Turf-Einarr remarks that "the Norns gave just judgment" (O.S. 13⁵). Arnorr calls Thorfinnr unnar Baldr: "the Balder of the sword" (O.S. 62^{6,8}). Heaven is "Austri's burden" (O.S. 88⁷). Poetry is "the draught of Grimmir" (O.S. 217⁴). The sea is "Ati's ground" (O.S. 254^o). More than half of the verses have similar phrases, often almost meaningless if translated literally. They are part of the common stock of poetic vocabulary used by the skalds; a study of them belongs properly to a general study of skaldic poetic diction; they tell us nothing about the attitude to the old mythology in our Saga.

Such, then, is the treatment of heathenism and christianity in O.S. It will be readily seen that it is too varied to be summed up in one concluding sentence. But of the relative strength of the influence they have on the Saga something may be said. The Saga owes much more to the old faith than to the new. It owes to the old faith most of its moments of greatness - excepting the death of Saint Magnus as it is told to us - and much of what the reader finds most piquant and interesting in the narrative. In comparison, the christian element seems a thin veneer. And it is so. The residue of Scandinavian heathenism in the Saga is an essential part of it. But it is only a residue. That is ^{one reason} why, in common with the other Sagas of Iceland, it may be described as belonging not to Heroic literature proper, but - to repeat Professor Chadwick's phrase - to the literature of the Post-Heroic period.

14. PREVIOUS TRANSLATIONS.

There have been six previous translations of the Orkneyinga Saga, one into 16th century Danish, one into Latin, two into English, one into German, and one into Norwegian (Nynorsk). The 16th century Danish translation has been dealt with under Manuscripts. The rest are as follows:

JONAS JONAEUS (Dan. Jón Jónsson): Orkneyinga Saga ... cum versione latina, Copenhagen, 1780.

The Latin translation is of course, like the text which it accompanies, incomplete. So far as a cursory examination can show, it appears to be a reasonably faithful rendering of its original.

JON A. HJALTALIN and GILBERT GOUDIE: The Orkneyinga Saga, edited with introduction and notes by Joseph Anderson, Edinburgh, 1873.

The text used for this pioneer English translation was that of Jónsson above, supplemented by the edition of the Flateyjarbók published by G. Vigfusson and C.R.Unger, 3 vols., Oslo, 1860-68. The translation is readable but has little feeling for the original. The style is over-Latinized. Long sentences are often curtailed beyond recognition. Many of Anderson's own historical notes, however, are of great value still, and his Introduction is a useful and interesting summary of the then-known facts relating to the Earldom and the Bishopric of the Orkneys. The translation, however, is of uncertain reliability for historical research owing to the uncritical text on which it is based.

SIR G.W.DASENT: Icelandic Sagas, vol. I., The Orkneyingers' Saga, with appendices, etc., Rolls series No.88, H.M.S.O., London, 1894.

The name of Däsent leads one to expect something better than/

than this severely literal translation of Vigfusson's text. Except in an occasional turn of phrase or rendering of a nickname, we miss the rich idiomatic flavour of his Story of Burnt Njal. Old Norse forms of sentence and even word-order are reproduced. There are no paragraph divisions beyond those supplied by the opening of a new chapter. The style is marred by an unnecessary leaning to an Anglo-Saxon or pseudo-Anglo-Saxon vocabulary. This leaning, popularised by William Morris and exhibited more recently in Mr E.R. Ed-ison's translation of Egils Saga, was begotten of the opinion that a Latinized vocabulary was unsuited to convey the spirit of Old Norse vernacular prose. This opinion is sound where by a Latinized vocabulary is meant the use of "words in -osity and -ation" - the Johnsonian vocabulary, and the post-Johnsonian vocabulary used by Scott, by Macaulay, by the re-viewers and the historians of the nineteenth century; by Samuel Laing in his translation of Heimskringla and by Hjaltalin and Goudie in their translation of the present Saga. But the fact remains that much of the brevity and tripping utterance of O.N. prose can be reproduced in English only if words of Latin origin are used, and mere barbarism will result if they are neglected. For example, there seems to be no advantage in describing Thorfinn's disabled men as "unfightworthy" (Dasent's trans. 48); or of stating that the sixteen monks at Pierowall were thought to be "wonderously boun" (D.127) instead of merely "strangely dressed;" or of rendering a clause that can be translated quite neatly as "King David... asked them to estimate their losses" by "King David... let them put their worth upon their scathe" (D.149). It is scarcely surprising that not a few readers have found Hjaltalin and Goudie's translation to/

to be easier and more pleasant reading than Dasent's.

Dasent, it is true, contrived to make the skaldic verses more interesting than Hjaltalin and Goudie were able to do, but the accuracy of his rendering is frequently in inverse ratio to the entertainment provided. He was much less successful than the previous translators in understanding the paratactic and parenthetic sentence structure of the half-verses, even where Vigfusson's punctuation should have assisted him; he tended to read the verses straight through as if they were prose - a sensible proceeding, but one rarely permitted to the translator of skaldic poetry. A number of his mis-interpretations are referred to in the notes on the verses.

The truth is that, whereas the translation of Njals Saga was a labour of love to Dasent, that of O.S. was not. The former was composed under the immediate spell of his early studies in Norse literature. The latter was written more than thirty years later, and written under the obligation - imposed by the historical function of the Rolls series of national records - to produce a scrupulously accurate rendering of the text. In this accuracy lies the principal value of his translation - of the prose at least - to the historical student, and not least to the present translator in checking many of his own renderings.

Apart from its defects as a piece of literature, it has the general limitation of being based on Vigfusson's good, but not entirely satisfactory text (see Introd.: Manuscripts and Editions). Very little, it may be noted, was added by Dasent to what Vigfusson supplied in the way of historical and geographical notes.

H.H.BAETKE: Die Geschichten von den Orkaden, Danemark und der Jomsburg, Thule series, No.19, Jena, 1924.

This volume in artistic modern binding contains a translation of the greater part of the Orkneyinga Saga, and of Knýtlinga Saga, Jomsvikinga Saga and Bishop Bjarni's Jomsvikingadrápa. The translation of O.S. lacks the Mythological Introduction and the Saga of Saint Magnus. It is based on Nordal's text but does not take advantage/

advantage of the valuable textual variants in Nordal's foot-
notes. There are a few topographical and biographical notes
derived, it would appear, from Vigfusson's and Nordal's indexes
of names. The translation is like Dasent's a literal one.
It has been of occasional assistance in verifying my rendering
of the verses. But its style is somewhat pedestrian, and if
the German reader gains from it a knowledge of the content of
the Saga, he will learn little of its manner.

GUSTAV INDREBØ: Orknøingasoga, Norrøne Bokverk, nr.25, Oslo, 1929.

In this volume, which also has an artistic cover design,
we have a translation of the Saga into Nyorsk^m. The text used
is that of Nordal, occasional use being made of footnote read-
ings. There is a short introduction (of eight pages) based
mainly on Nordal's.

The translation is a literal one, but, as the kinship of
Nynorsk and Old Norse is very close, the spirit and movement of
the original are well preserved. In this respect it is super-
ior to Baetke's. Some of the renderings, however, are so
archaic as to require explanation in footnotes.

Translations of parts of the Orkneyinga Saga are to be
found in many works. The following are the more important:

JOHNSTONE, J.: Antiquitates Celto-Scandiae, Copenhagen, 1786;
pp.171-274. Latin translation of extracts from Jónsson's
text.

SKENE, W.F., in Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, ed. The Iona Club,
Edinburgh, 1839; pp.339-45 (O.S. ch.4); p.346 (O.S. ch. 32,
part of ch.34); pp.355-356 (Brenna Adams Biskups). Jónsson's
text used.

HEAD, SIR EDMUND: Ballads and other Poems, original and translated,
London, 1868; pp.55-60. A ballad on the visit of Earl
Thorfinnr/

Thorfinnr to King Magnus.

Die National-Literatur der Scandinavier, ed. A.E. Wollheim da Fonseca, Berlin, 1874; I. 150-154. German translation of O.S. ch.1, 2, 6, 15, 43, and Brenna Adams Biskups, based on Jónsson's text.

GOUDIE, G.: The Diary of John Mill, Edinburgh, 1889; pp.173-175. Translation of the tale of the Man with the Cowl entitled "Earl Rogvald and the Dunrossness Man," based on the text in Vigfusson and Powell's Icel. Prose Reader, ed. 1875.

MAJOR, A.F. and SPEIGHT, E.E.: Stories from Northern Sagas, London, 1899; pp.244-262. Translation of the tales of the Man with the Cowl, the capture of the dromond, and the death of Sveinn, based on Vigfusson's text.

GUNN, J.: The Orkney Book, Edinburgh, 1909; pp.59-66 (O.S. ch.45-51, with some omissions); 74-88 (O.S. ch.86-89); 92-96 (O.S. ch.106-108). Extracts from Dasent's translation.

ANDERSON, A.O.: Early Sources of Scottish History, Edinburgh, 1922. Extracts translated passim from Nordal's text.

given in the margin, and any secondary explanation appearing in the notes. The two separate methods have been very sparingly employed, as

15. THE PRESENT TRANSLATION.

Text used.

The text used in the present translation is that of S. Nordal, published by the Danish Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur ("Society for the publication of Old Norse literature"), Copenhagen, 1913-16; (see Introd.: MSS. and Editions). In the first draft of my translation I adhered closely to Nordal's text. But before I had completed it, I saw, after frequent reference to the variant readings in the footnotes, that the 16th century Danish translation of the Saga (Nordal's O.) often gave obviously authentic readings not found in the Old Icelandic MSS. For example, in the narrative of the death of Earl Rognvaldr, the itinerary of the Earls and of Thorbjorn Clerk does not become intelligible until the text of Flat. is emended by collation with O; see notes on ch. 103. I have not had the opportunity of examining O. in the Royal Library in Stockholm. But from the citations made by Nordal I have gained the impression that it is a straightforward literal translation of its original, poorly punctuated, it is true, of little value for the spelling of place and personal names, and occasionally paraphrasing a sentence rather wordily, but otherwise an honest and accurate piece of work. On revising my translation I therefore made regular use of variant or additional readings from O., except where a collation with other MSS. showed the reading of O. to be erroneous.

A similar, but very much more sparing use has been made of variants from other MSS. No footnote reading has been added to Nordal's text unless there was a clear gain in syntax or in completeness or accuracy of detail. Such additions to the text have been enclosed in square brackets, the name of the MS. used being given/

given in the margin, and any necessary explanation appearing in the notes. The two separate Magnus Sagas have been very sparingly employed, as both of them contain matter from other sources to an extent difficult to estimate exactly.

Nordal's own emendations have been accepted, and renderings of them have been enclosed in square brackets, without comment.

Style of the Translation.

I have tried to keep my translation literal enough to be of value to the historical student, and at the same time to reproduce in modern English as much as possible of the directness, the tripping movement, and the colloquial, idiomatic flavour of the original. I have often been compelled to translate a highly idiomatic Old Norse phrase into plain and pedestrian English. But I have frequently balanced that by rendering a plain Old Norse statement by an English idiom of good pedigree. The style of a Saga must talk to the reader. I have tried to make my translation do that. And where the style varied from chapter to chapter, I have tried to vary mine also.

Although I have eschewed archaism and Wardour Street English, it is impossible to escape a general flavour of both in translating a prose where past and present tenses may alternate in one paragraph, where sentences are commonly paratactic in structure, where pronouns are often ambiguous, where characters "thæe" and "thou" one another, where names and technical terms are at times repeated ad nauseam - where, in a word, one is dealing with a vernacular prose uninfluenced by that Latin prose which has formed the literary prose styles of Western Europe. I have not felt bound to avoid entirely the participial phrases and complex sentences of modern English. Rather than use "the former" and "the latter" I have retained the O.N. usage of a personal pronoun whose antecedent is not the subject of the previous sentence but the last name in it; e.g./

e.g. "Thence Sveinn travelled to Athole to Earl Maddadh; and there he got for Sveinn a large force and guides" (197¹²⁻¹⁵). The reader will not find this usage troublesome if he imagines himself reciting the Saga aloud in the ancient manner and emphasizes the pronoun significantly.

The Verses.

In translating the eighty-two skaldic verses I selected as my text that given by Professor Finnur Jónsson in his Skjaldedigtning rather than that in Nordal's O.S., because Jónsson, from the nature of his task, frequently collates more MSS. than Nordal, and because, the verses in the Saga being the primary authorities for many historical facts, the highest degree of textual accuracy was desirable.

Three difficulties face the would-be translator of a skaldic verses; first, the understanding of the complicated syntax of the half-verses, where parentheses are enclosed within parentheses; secondly, the rendering of the elaborate metaphors by which common things are named; and thirdly, the finding of an English metre capacious enough to hold the mass of metaphor and parentheses translated, and succinct enough to preserve the epigrammatic neatness of the original.

In meeting the first problem, the Danish renderings given in Jónsson's Skjaldedigtning, vol. B.I., have been of most assistance. In meeting the second I have gone much further than is usual in simplifying the metaphors. I have retained only those which seemed to be readily comprehensible without footnotes and could be constrained within the limits of the metre adopted. Sometimes a paraphrase was satisfactory: Ullr undleygs: "Ullr of the wood-flame" (241^{5,6}) becomes "Prince of the burning brand." But Bil brima bauga: "Bil of the arm-rings of fire" (235^{5,6}), which is Oddi's way of naming Ermengarde, must be simplified into "this Lady of bracelets." Much typically skaldic "poetry" is thus sacrificed, but the few historical facts embodied in the verses stand out more clearly, and every effort has been made to state them accurately.

form ill. The problem of a suitable English metre has been avoided rather than solved. I was tempted at first to use the Hiawatha metre of unrhymed trochaic tetrameters employed with considerable success by Hjaltalin and Goudie. I experimented unsuccessfully with imitations of the O.N. metres, such as Mr E.R. Eddison has used in his Egil's Saga; but my verses seemed neither English nor Icelandic, and too much liberty had to be taken with the sense in making them. I had begun by translating the verses into plain prose. I now set about trying to read some of the prose renderings rhythmically, to see what metrical form their disjointed phrases and clauses would take. They seemed to fall into short two-stress lines chiefly dactylic or trochaic in movement, like Beowulf half-lines. In accordance with this simple but vigorous verse pattern I rewrote them, sometimes with hardly an alteration except in word-order, working in such alliteration as I could, and continuing for eight or ten or twelve lines until all the "sense" was used up. Sometimes eight lines sufficed:

"Shooting of spears made
 Long battle-thunder.
 My mighty Lord routed
 His mightier foe.
 Screamed high the battle-bird.
 Reddened our brands in blood.
 Won was the victory
 South off Sandwick."

Arnorr Earls' Skald (O.S. ch.20)

But oftener more were required:

"A churl clutched firm
 At the Prince's cloak.
 Stoutly he pulled
 At his generous Lord.
 Sturdy this fellow!
 Bjarki's warrior-son!
 He nearly pushed over
 - So runs the story -
 The sword-edge wielder,
 Truly this fellow hath
 More brawn than brains."

Earl Rognvaldr Kali (O.S. ch.85).

It has been possible to reproduce something of the colour and even the wit of the originals as well as the literal sense. But the reader must not imagine that the rugged rhythm and diffuse stanza form/

form illustrated above in any way represent the pregnant and polished verses of the Icelandic court poets.

Spelling of Proper Names.

Place names have been rendered by their modern English equivalents. The Morris-Dasent method of translating them, still common in German translations of the Sagas, has really nothing to commend it. Breiðafjörðr is rendered Moray Firth, not Broadfirth. Miklagarðr is Istanbul, not Micklegarth. Sometimes a paraphrase is necessary; Skotlandzfirðir can usually be rendered only "the West coast of Scotland."

Lesser Scandinavian names, however, are given in the Scandinavian form; e.g. Heiðmörk is Hedemarken; Kilir becomes Kjølen.

Unidentified place names are left in the original O.N. spelling so ~~that~~ far as that can be ascertained: e.g. Hlaupandanes in Deerness, Orkney (ch.14); Jarlsnes in Wales (ch.78).

Personal names are retained in the O.N. spelling unless they are of foreign origin. If the origin was Celtic, the contemporary Celtic form is used so far as I have been able to ascertain it. Kjarvalr appears as Cerball; Finnleikr as Finnlaech, Maddaðr as Maddadh. Where there is a cognate and non-archaic English form it is used, as when Andréas is rendered Andrew, and Heinrekr, Henry. But Sigurðr is rendered not in the Morris manner by Siward or in the Dasent manner by Sigurd - although the latter method has much to commend it - but simply as Sigurthr.

The O.N. nominative termination -r is retained after consonants as well as vowels, for the sake of consistency. If the reader does not like it, he need not pronounce it. It is dropped, however, in the possessive case after consonants; it is possible to say Thorfinnr, but not Thorfinnr's.

O.N. þ and ð are both spelled th, except in the well established English form Odin.

Nicknames/

Nicknames are translated as accurately and picturesquely as possible. No little part of the fascination of the Sagas lies in the vividness of the nicknames. Variant renderings will be found in the Glossary of Nicknames at the end.

Technical Terms.

Technical terms - a stumbling block to all translators - have been rendered by the nearest English equivalent, and their precise significance explained in the notes and glossaries. But some, such as bondi (plur. bondar) and goeðingr (plur. goeðingar), have no adequate English equivalent, and have to my regret to be retained, with the O.N. plurals, in the translation. None of the legal terms in particular - e.g. lendirmenn: "landed-proprietors"; í lén: "in fief" - can be regarded as being accurately translated, the English word usually differing slightly both in connotation and in associations.

The Chapter Titles.

At first it was hoped to rearrange the chapter divisions into what must have been their original form. The Danish translation O. seemed to give both divisions and titles more logically than any of the early MSS. But this early hope was abandoned. Apart from the inconvenience of chapter divisions differing from those in Nordal's edition, it was found that O. frequently omitted chapter divisions for a space altogether, where they existed - and seemed necessary - in 325 and Flat. It was therefore adjudged unwise to use O. as a sole guide.

I have therefore adopted the chapter divisions of Nordal's edition. (It may be noted that these differ slightly from those of Anderson and Vigfusson. See Appendix G.). I have likewise adopted the chapter titles of Nordal's text (usually from 325 and Flat.), except where the footnote gave one from O. These titles from/

from O. are usually superior, in the sense of being a better description of the subject-matter of the chapter. For example, ch.13 is headed in Flat., Of the Brothers, but in O., Of the Sons of Sigurthr; Ch.56 is entitled in Flat., Of Earl Paul, but in O., Of Earl Paul and the most outstanding Men in the Orkneys, a much better summary of the chapter.

In several cases, however, the O. title has not been substituted. In these instances, the O. title served for a series of chapters which appear in O. as one long chapter, but was not strictly applicable to the immediately succeeding narrative which forms a chapter by itself in Nordal's text. For example, ch.34-38 appear in O. as one chapter with the heading Of Magnus Bare-legs. But this would be an unsuitable title to ch.34, which hardly mentions him. The title in Flat. is retained, Here is told of the Slaying of King Haraldr and the Death of his Daughter - although even this title does not cover the events in the Orkneys narrated at the end of the chapter.

Indeed none of the MSS. give either chapter divisions or chapter headings that are uniformly satisfactory. Many, like ch.50 The Beheading of Earl Magnus, are quite misleading; for it is specifically stated in the chapter that Earl Magnus was not beheaded. But for the reader's convenience I should have been tempted to omit the chapter headings altogether.

Chronology.

In fixing the chronology of a series of events reconstructed from written sources, there are three types of dates:

- (i) Primary dates, or Key dates, fixed more or less definitely by the reliability of the written source or by the agreement of independent written sources.
- (ii) Secondary dates, deduced with an equal degree of certainty from the above. For example, if an event occurred in 1153 (a Primary date) and the next event is said to occur in the following spring, then "Spring, 1154" is a Secondary date.
- (iii) Conjectural dates, based on the above dates as anterior and/

and posterior limits, and, if possible, narrowed down to the most probable year (or month or day) by a study of the duration of the events narrated. Where only the limits may safely be given, the date is expressed thus: 1162 x 1184, meaning at some time between 1162 and 1184 but not necessarily extending through that whole period. A simple conjectural date is expressed thus: ?1117, meaning "probably in 1117, and, if not, then not far from it."

My main authority for Primary and many Secondary and Conjectural Dates has been Mr A.O.Anderson's Early Sources of Scottish History, to which the student of early Scottish and indeed early Scandinavian chronology must ever return with increasing respect. The method of expressing a date by limits, thus: 1162 x 1184, I have borrowed from him. As a rule I have not discussed chronology in the notes unless my dating differed from his, or a more ample discussion seemed necessary than was possible in the footnotes of his more comprehensive work. If my marginal dates seem sometimes too dogmatic to the historical student, I can only refer him to my notes and to the relevant year in Anderson's Early Sources.

MS. A. 10. 1. 10