

RAUÐÚLFS ÞÁTTTR

Edited with translation and notes by
ANTHONY FAULKES

VIKING SOCIETY FOR NORTHERN RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON
2011

PREFACE

Rauðúlfs þátr is an interpolation found in some manuscripts of *Óláfs saga helga*, where it replaces Snorri Sturluson's ch. 156 (almost identical with ch. 164 of *Óláfs saga helga* in *Heimskringla*). It is edited in *ÓH* 655–82.

There is a full study of the *þátr* and its analogues in *Rauðúlfs þátr: A Study*, Reykjavík 1996 (*Studia Islandica* 25; <http://vsnrweb-publications.org.uk/Raudulfs%20thatr.pdf>; cf. also supplementary note at <http://vsnrweb-publications.org.uk/Raudulfr%20note.pdf>). This may be regarded as the introduction to the normalised text printed here, which is based on St. perg. 4to nr 4 with corrections from the other independent manuscripts listed below. The text, translation and notes here, together with the *Studia Islandica* study, are based on a B. Litt thesis presented at Oxford University in 1965.

The numbered notes will be found at the end of the text.

MANUSCRIPTS

St. 4:	St. perg. 4to nr 4 (early fourteenth century)
F:	GkS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók, late fourteenth century)
Bergsb.:	St. perg. fol. nr 1 (Bergsbók, circa 1400)
Tóm.:	GkS 1008 fol. (Tómasskinna, circa 1400)
75 c:	AM 75 c fol. (early fourteenth century, fragmentary)
325	AM 325 V 4to (late fourteenth century)
Bæjarb.	AM 73 b fol. (Bæjarbók, circa 1400, fragmentary)
75 a	AM 75 a fol. (circa 1300, defective)
321:	AM 321 4to (seventeenth century, copy of 75 a)
68:	AM 68 fol. (beginning of fourteenth century)

CONTENTS

Rauðúlfs þátr	4
The Story of Rauðr	5
Notes	26
Books Referred to	43
Index of Names	45

RAUÐÚLFS ÞÁTTUR

THE STORY OF RAUÐR

Frá Birni ármanni^a

Björn¹ er maðr nefndr, gauzkr at kyni. Hann var vinr ok kunningi Ástríðar² dróttningar ok nakkvat skyldr henni at frændsemi, ok hafði hon fengit honum ármenning ok sýslu³ á ofanverðri Heiðmörk.^b Hafði hann ok yfirsókn í Eystridali. Ecki var Björn konungi kærr, ok ekki var hann þokkasæll af bóndum.

Pat hafði at borizk í byggð þeirri, er Björn réð fyrir, at þar urðu hvörf ok stulðir á haustum⁴ á nautum ok sauðum ok svínum. Björn lét þar kveðja þings til ok lýsti þar eptir hvörfum. Hann kallaði þá menn líkligsta til slíkra illbrigða, er sátu í markbyggðum⁵ fjarri öðrum mönnum. Veik hann nokkut því máli til þeirra manna, er byggðu Eystridali. Sú byggð var mjök sundrlaus, byggð við vötn eða rudd⁶ í skógum, en fástadar stórbyggðir saman.

Rauðúlfs þátrr^c

Rauðr⁷ er maðr nefndr, er öðru nafni hét Úlfr, er þar byggði í Eystridöllum. Ragnhildr er nefnd kona hans. Dagr ok Sigurðr hétu synir þeirra. Þeir váru hinir efniligstu menn. Þeir váru staddir á þingi því ok heldu upp svörum af hendi þeirra Dælanna ok báru þá undan sökum þessum. Birni þóttu þeir láta stórliga ok vera drambsmenn miklir at klæðabúningi ok vápna. Björn sneri þá ræðunni á hendr þeim bræðrum ok talði þá eigi ólíkliga til at hafa slíkt gort. Þeir synjuðu fyrir sik ok sleit svá því þingi.

Litlu síðar kom til Bjarnar ármanns Óláfr konungr með liði sínu ok tók þar veizlu.⁸ Var þá kært fyrir konungi mál þetta, er fyrr var uppi haft. Sagði Björn, at honum þóttu Rauðssynir líkligstir til at valda slíkum ótíla. Þá var sent eptir sonum Rauðs. En er þeir hittu konung, þá taldi hann þá óþjófliga menn ok bar þá undan kennslum Bjarnar ok lézk þat ætla, at þeir væri eigi valdir. Þeir buðu konungi til föður síns ok taka þar þriggja náttu veizlu.⁹ Konungr hét því ok var ákveðinn dagr, nær hann skyldi koma.

Björn latti ferðarinnar, en konungr fór eigi at síðr, ok var þat heldr síð dags, er konungr kom til Rauðúlfs. Hann hafði með sér tvau hundruð manna. Konungr sá þar garða háva ok vel lukta. En er þeir koma at hliðinu, þá var þat opit ok vel um búit. Lék þar grind á járnum ok ekki auðvelt inn at komask, ef læst væri hliðit. Ok er konungr ok lið hans reið í hliðit, þá stóð fyrir innan í garðinum Rauðúlfr^d bóndi ok synir hans ok fjölmenni mikit

^a Chapter heading: Frá Birni ármanni: so St. 4

^b Heiðmörk: so St. 2; St. 4 appears to have Hemmörk or Heinmörk

^c Title: Rauðúlfs þátrr: so St. 4

^d Rauðúlfr: St. 4 often abbreviates the name R., as here (also on four later occasions), which might equally well stand for Rauðr; in expanding such abbreviations, the edition in ÖH has been followed

Of Bjørn the steward

There was a man called Bjørn, who came from a Gautish family. He was a friend and acquaintance of queen Ástriðr, and was a distant relative of hers, and she had procured him a stewardship and official position in upper Hedmark. He also had the right to collect taxes in Österdalen. Bjørn was not liked by the king and he was not popular with the local inhabitants.

It had come about in the district Bjørn was in charge of that there had been losses and thefts every autumn of cattle and sheep and pigs. Bjørn had a meeting called there and made an announcement at it about these losses. He gave as his opinion that those men were most likely to have committed such crimes who lived in forest districts remote from other people. He more or less implied that those who lived in Österdalen were guilty. This district was very scattered, the houses were clustered around lakes or in clearings in the forests, and there were few large communities.

The story of Rauðúlfr

There was a man called Rauðr, whose second name was Úlfr, who lived there in Österdalen. His wife was called Ragnhildr. Dagr and Sigurðr were the names of their sons. They were most promising young men. They were present at this assembly and were representing the valley-dwellers and defending them against these accusations. They seemed to Bjørn to be behaving arrogantly and to be very showy in clothing and weapons. Bjørn then turned the accusations against the brothers and declared that they were not unlikely people to have done such things. They denied their own guilt and with that the meeting was adjourned.

Soon after, King Óláfr came to Bjørn the steward's with his retinue and there received official entertainment. Then this affair which had previously been discussed was brought before the king. Bjørn said that he thought the sons of Rauðr were the most likely people to be responsible for such losses. Then Rauðr's sons were sent for. But when they met the king, he declared that they did not look like thieves and released them from Bjørn's charges and said that it was his opinion that they were not responsible. They invited the king to their father's to be entertained there for three days. The king promised to go and the date was arranged when he was to come.

Bjørn was against him going, but the king went nevertheless, and it was rather late in the afternoon when the king reached Rauðúlfr's. He had two hundred men with him. The king saw there an enclosure, high and well-built. But when they got to the gateway they found it open, and it was very well constructed. The gate turned on iron hinges and it would not have been easy to get in if the gate were locked. When the king and his retinue rode through the gate, they found Rauðúlfr the master of the house and his sons and a great crowd of people with them standing inside in the courtyard, and

með þeim og fagnaði hann ok allir þeir vel konungi ok hans mǫnnum, ok stigu þeir af hestum sínum. Þar hafði Rauðr bóndi ok synir hans gǫrvan virduligan bæ. Spyrir konungr síðan bónda:

‘Er þetta kirkja, it fagra hús, er ek sé hér í garðinum?’

Bóndi svarar: ‘Þat er svefnskemma mín, herra, er gǫr var í sumar ok nú it fyrsta algǫr.’

Öll ráf vǫru þar spánþǫkt á húsum¹⁰ ok þá nýþǫkt^a ok nýbrædd. Síðan gengu þeir til stofunnar ok sá konungr, at þat var allmiklit hús. Stofan var ok nýþǫkt ok brædd vel. Konungr sá þar í garðinum mǫrg hús ok stór, en sum smá ok öll fagrliga gǫr. Spurði konungr ef þar væri kirkja¹¹ nokkur í garðinum.

‘Engi,’ segir bóndi, ‘þvíat ekki hefir byskup komit hér fyrr en nú með yðr.’

Síðan lét byskup¹² reisa landtjald sitt á vellinum fyrir stofunni úti ok sǫng þar aptantíðir ok var því lokit í dagsátr.¹³ Eptir þat gekk konungr til stofunnar ok vǫru kerti borin fyrir honum, ok er hann kemr í stofuna, var þar vel um búizk.¹⁴ Settisk konungr í hásetit, þat er búit var, ok byskup til hægri handar, en til vinstri handar sat dróttning ok þar ríkiskonur út í frá. Björn stallari¹⁵ sat gegnt konungi á inn óæðra bekk ok þá hirðmenn út í frá til beggja handa. Næst byskupi sat Finnur Árnason, þá Kálfr bróðir hans, þá Þorbergr Árnason útar frá honum, þá Arnbjörn Árnason þá Kolbjörn Árnason, þá Árni Árnason.¹⁶ Þeir bræðr vǫru allir lendir menn¹⁷ Óláfs konungs. Ok þá er skiþat var öllu fǫruneyti konungs upp á pallana, þá var alskipuð stofan it efra með veggjunum, en heimamenn ok boðsmenn¹⁸ sátu á reiðustólum ok forsætum. Rauðúlfr bóndi sat at framan at þeim reiðustóli, en fyrir lendum mǫnnum stóð. Þar var in fegrsta veizla ok margskonar drykkir ok allr góðr. Synir Rauðs gengu um beina ok skipuðu^{b19} öllu eptir því sem bezt samði. Konungr gerði sik þar blíðan ok kátan ok fannsk mikit um list þá, er þar var á öllu, ok kurteisi, ok hversu stórkostliga veitt var ok skǫruliga fǫr allt fram. Konungr átti þá tal við Rauð bónda ok fannsk honum þat brátt, at bóndi var orðsvinnr maðr ok forvitri. Gerðisk þá gleði mikil^c um alla stofuna við drykkinn.

Konungr spurði Úlf margra hluta ókunnra, en Úlfr hafði til allra órlausnir. Var þat sumt, er konungi var áðr kunnigt ok hann vissi hversu háttat var, en sumt <var>^d honum ókunnigt, svá at hann vissi ekki til áðr. En allt þat, er konungr vissi, þá var allt eptir því sem Úlfr sagði. Nú lagði konungr því trúnað á ræður hans. Úlfr sagði ok ekki lengra en konungr spurði. Óláfr konungr spurði þá þeirra hluta, er eigi vǫru þá enn fram komnir, hvernig verða mundi. En Úlfr veitti órskurð um flest. Þá spurði konungr:

^a ok nýþǫkt: so St. 4; the other manuscripts all have borðþǫkt

^b skipuðu: so all manuscripts except St. 4, which has skiptu; see note on p. 30

^c mikil: written twice in St. 4

^d var: supplied from the other manuscripts; lacking in St. 4

he and everyone else welcomed the king and his men, and they dismounted. Master Rauðr and his sons had built a fine homestead there. Then the king asked the master of the house:

‘Is that a church, that fine building I can see here in the courtyard?’

He replied: ‘That is my bedroom, my lord, which was built this summer and is only just finished.’

All the rooves of the buildings there were shingled, and had just been re-roofed and tarred. Then they went to the living room and the king saw that this was a very big building. The living-room had also recently been re-roofed and well tarred. The king saw many large buildings there in the courtyard, and some small ones, but all finely built. The king asked if there was any church there in the homestead.

‘None,’ said the master of the house, ‘because no bishop has ever been here before until now with you.’

Then the bishop had his tent put up on the open space in front of the living-room and sang evensong there, and this was finished about sunset. After that the king went to the living-room and candles were carried in front of him, and when he came into the living-room everything had been excellently arranged. The king sat down in the place of honour which had been got ready for him, and the bishop on his right. On his left sat the queen and her ladies-in-waiting beyond her. Bjørn the marshal sat opposite the king on the lower bench with the courtiers along on either side of him. Next to the bishop sat Finn Arnason, then his brother Kálfr, then Þorbergr Arnason beyond him, then Arnbjörn Arnason, then Kolbjörn Arnason, then Árni Arnason. The brothers were all thanes of King Óláfr. When all the king’s party had been accommodated on the wall-seats, the part of the room with the raised floor along the walls was fully occupied, and the members of the household and the ordinary guests sat on the moveable seats and inner benches. The master of the house, Rauðúlfr, sat out in front on the seat facing the thanes. It was a very fine banquet and there were many kinds of drink, and all of them good. Rauðr’s sons waited on the guests and arranged everything in the most seemly manner. The king became genial and merry and was very impressed by the polish and breeding which was evident in everything there, and with how magnificent the entertainment was and how excellently everything was done. The king then got into conversation with Rauðr, the master of the house, and he soon realised that he was sensible in speech and very wise. The whole room soon became very cheerful from the drink.

The king asked Úlfr many obscure questions, and Úlfr had answers for all of them. Some of these things the king had knowledge of already, and knew all about, but some were unknown to him, and he did not know about before. But everything the king knew was exactly as Úlfr said. So the king began to place confidence in what he said. And Úlfr never said anything beyond what the king asked. Then King Óláfr began to ask him about things that had not yet taken place, how they would turn out. Úlfr gave an answer to nearly everything. Then the king asked:

‘Ertu spámaðr, Úlfr?’

‘Eigi er þat, herra,’ sagði hann.

‘Hvi veiztu slíkt þá fyrir,’ sagði konungr, ‘er eigi er fram komit?’

‘Legg ekki trúnað á slíkt, herra,’ sagði Úlfr, ‘þó at ek geipa mart fyrir yðr, er ek nenni eigi at þegja við yðr.²⁰ En ekki veit ek slíkt með sannindum.’

Konungr svarar: ‘At hefi ek nú hugt nokkut, ok finnsk mér svá, at þú segir engan hlut framar en þú þykkisk vita, ok seg mér hvat til berr, er þú veizt óorðna hluti, enda sér þú eigi spámaðr. Veit ek ok, at þú ert vel kristinn ok muntu ekki fyrir því hafa fjölkynngi til slíks.’

‘Sumt marka ek af vindum,’ sagði Úlfr, ‘en sumt af himintunglum, sól eða tungli eða stjörnum, en sumt af draumum.’

Konungr spyr þá *at sérhverjum*^a hlut þessa greina, en Úlfr veitti þann órskurð öllum ræðum konungs, er honum líkaði vel. Ræddu þeir flest um hátt draumanna. Þá mælti konungr:

‘Muntu kenna mér ráð nokkut til þess, at mér birtisk draumr um þat, er mér er mest forvitni á at vita?’

‘Ekki má ek yðr kenna ráð,’ sagði Úlfr, ‘þviat þér kunnið öll áðr, ok vitið miklu gørr en ek. En þat geri ek stundum,’ sagði Úlfr, ‘þá er ek vil forvitnask í draumi sannindi stórra hluta, at ek tek ný klæði ok fer ek í nýja sæng eða rekkju, þá er stendr í nýjum stað, svá at engi maðr hafi fyrr sofnat í þeim stað eða klæðum eða sæng eða húsinu. Ok slíkt sem þá dreymir mik, marka ek, ok mun mjök ganga eptir því, sem þá fæ ek ráðit drauminn.’

Konungr spurði: ‘Hverja íþrótt kanntu bezt, Úlfr?’ saga hann. ‘Sé ek at margra hluta muntu vel kunnandi.’

Úlfr sagði, at hann er engi íþróttamaðr—‘en ef ek skal nokkurn hlut til þess taka, þá þykkjumk ek helzt drauma kunna at skilja eða at ráða, eftir því sem ganga mun.’

Konungr spyr: ‘Hvært hefir þú kennt sonum þínum allar þínar íþróttir?’

Úlfr svarar: ‘Spyr þá eptir því, herra.’

Síðan lét konungr þá kalla til sín ok mælti: ‘Úlfr, faðir ykkar, kannask mér vitr maðr. Hafi þit numit allar hans íþróttir?’

Sigurðr svarar—hann var ellri þeirra bræðranna: ‘Kann ek at síðr allar hans íþróttir, at ein er sú er hann hefir mér kennt, ok skil ek, at ek hefi þá þó eigi jafnvel numit, sem hann kann hana, ok er sú ein af hans íþróttum mörgum.’

Hver er sú?’ segir konungr.

Sigurðr sagði: ‘Þat er at greina gang himintungla, þeirra er ek sé, ok kenna stjörnur, þær er stundir merkja, svá at ek mun vita lengd um dag ok nótt. Þó at ek sjá eigi himintungl, ok²¹ veit ek þó grein allra stunda bæði dag ok nótt.’

^a at sérhverjum: *so all the other manuscripts*; sér at hverjum St. 4

‘Are you a prophet, Úlfr?’

‘Certainly not, my lord,’ he said.

‘How is it, then, that you have foreknowledge,’ said the king, ‘about things which have not yet taken place?’

‘Put no faith in such statements, my lord,’ said Úlfr, ‘even if I chatter to you about a lot of things that I do not care to be found at a loss about in front of you. But I have no certain knowledge of such things.’

The king replied: ‘I have been thinking about what you have been saying, and it seems to me that you never say anything beyond what you think you are sure of, so tell me how it is that you know about things that have not yet taken place, if you are not a prophet. I know also that you are a good Christian, and so you will not be using magic for such purposes.’

‘I deduce some things from the winds,’ said Úlfr, ‘and some from the heavenly bodies, the sun or the moon or the stars, and some from dreams.’

The king then asked about each of these subjects, and Úlfr answered all the king’s questions to his satisfaction. They discussed at most length the nature of dreams. Then the king said:

‘Can you give me any advice about how I can get revealed to me in a dream what I am particularly curious to know about?’

‘I cannot give you any advice,’ said Úlfr, ‘because you know it all already, and you know much more about it than I. But what I sometimes do,’ said Úlfr, ‘when I want to find out from a dream the true outcome of important matters, is that I put on new clothes and lie down on a new bed or couch which stands in a new place, so that no one has slept in that place or in those clothes or in that bed or that building before. And I pay particular attention to what I then dream, and things will mostly turn out according to the interpretation I then put on the dream.’

The king asked: ‘What accomplishment are you best at, Úlfr?’ he said. ‘I can see that you must be good at many things.’

Úlfr said that he was not a man of great accomplishments—‘but if I must put forward anything, I think I am best at understanding and interpreting dreams in accordance with future events.’

The king asked: ‘Have you taught your sons all your accomplishments?’

Úlfr replied: ‘Ask them about that, my lord.’

Then the king had them called to him and said: ‘Your father Úlfr has shown himself to me to be a wise man. Have you learnt all his accomplishments?’

Sigurðr replied—he was the elder of the brothers: ‘I have the less knowledge of all his accomplishments in that there is only one that he has taught me, and I realise that I haven’t learnt it as well as he can do it, and this is only one of his many accomplishments.’

‘What is it?’ said the king.

Sigurðr said: ‘It is to define the course of these heavenly bodies that I see, and to distinguish the stars which indicate the hours, so that I can calculate the passage of time by night and day. Even when I cannot see the heavenly bodies, I can still work out all the hours both night and day.’

Konungr svarar: ‘Þetta er mikil íþrótt. En hver er þín íþrótt, Dagr?’ segir konungr.

‘Lítilsvægi mun þér þat þykkja, herra,’ segir hann.

‘Hvat er þó?’ segir konungr.

‘Eina íþrótt hefi ek numit af feðr minum, þá er mér þykki helzt frásagnar verð ok kann faðir minn þó miklu meira þar af en ek.’

Konungr spurði, hver sú væri.

Dagr sagði: ‘Þat ætla ek, ef <ek>^a sé vandliga í augu manni, ok mega ek sjá allt athæfi hans ok yfirbragð manns, at ek mun skynja háttu hans ok vita, hvers háttar maðr hann er, ok vita þá kost ok lqst á honum.’

Konungr svarar: ‘Þetta er mikit augnabragð, ef svá er, sem þú segir. Fæ ek ok þetta skjótt reynt.’

Þá mælti konungr til byskups: ‘Svá lízk mér sem nú hafim vér þann bónda heim sótt, er mik væntir, at vér fáim eigi í várum flokki hans maka at viti eda íþróttum eða sona hans, ok þykkjumsk vér hér hafa mjök gott mannval, ok eigi skal hér í Nóregi kostr þeirra manna, er betr sé menntir en þeir, sem hér eru nú með oss. Ok hygg ek þó at oss skorti flesta við þá feðga, eða hverja íþrótt vili þér til taka, herra byskup, þá er þér þykkizk helzt til færir?’

Byskup svarar: ‘Þat mun ek helzt til taka, ef ek skal nakkvat, at ek skal syngja tíðir tólf mánuðr alla, þær allar er hafa skal, þótt ek hafa engva bók við.’

Konungr sagði: ‘Þetta er mikil íþrótt með þeim hætti, sem er, ok yðr samagóð, herra.’

Síðan mælti byskup: ‘Heyra viljum vit nú, konungr, hvat þú tekr til íþróttar þér.’

Konungr svarar: ‘Svá skal vera. Þat mun ek helzt til taka um hvern mann er ek sé um sinn ok vilja ek vandliga at hyggja, þá skal ek kenna hann síðan, hvar sem ek sé hann.’²²

‘Þessi íþrótt er af miklu viti,’ sagi byskup, ‘ok skynsemi.’

Þá mælti Óláfr konungr: ‘Þessi skemmtan, sem vér høfum upp tekit, skal fara nokkuru víðara um stofuna. Seg, Kálfr Árnason, hvat þú tekr til íþróttar þér.’

Kálfr sagði: ‘Eigi mun ek melta reiði mína, hversu lengi sem ek þarf at bera hana.’²³

Enn mælti konungr: ‘Finnr, segja verðr þú ok þínar íþróttir.’

Finnr svarar: ‘Eigi fær þat sagt, herra, er ekki er til.’

Konungr mælti: ‘Fær til nokkut.’

‘Þat færi ek þá til íþróttar mér, at ek mun eigi flýja ór ne einum háska frá lánardróttni mínum, meðan hann vill við haldask ok standi hann upp.’

^a ek: *supplied from the other manuscripts; lacking in St. 4*

The king replied: 'That is a great accomplishment. And what is your accomplishment, Dagr?' said the king.

'It will seem of small moment to you, my lord,' he said.

'But what is it?' said the king.

'There is one accomplishment that I have learnt from my father which I think is most worthy of mention, and yet my father knows much more about it than I.'

The king asked what it was.

Dagr said: 'I maintain that if I look closely into a man's eyes, and if I can see all his behaviour and the look of the man, I can understand his nature and know what sort of man he is, and see both his good and his bad qualities.'

The king said: 'That is a powerful glance, if it is as you say. And I can soon put it to the test.'

Then the king said to the bishop: 'It seems to me that we have come to visit the home of a man whose equal I shouldn't think we will find in all our company in wisdom or accomplishment, nor his sons' equal either, and yet we consider that we have a fine selection of men here, and there are no men in all Norway to be found who are more accomplished than those that are here with us. But I think that we fall short of this family in most things. But what accomplishment would you like to put forward, my lord bishop, as the one you think you are best at?'

The bishop replied: 'I would mention principally, if I must choose anything, that I can sing all the offices that are prescribed for all the twelve months of the year, even if I have no book before me.'

The king said: 'That is a great accomplishment in its own way, and very fitting for you, my lord.'

Then the bishop said: 'Now we want to hear, king, what you choose as your accomplishment.'

The king replied: 'You shall do so. I would mention primarily that with any man I once see, if I consider him carefully, I shall recognise him afterwards wherever I see him.'

'This accomplishment shows great wisdom,' said the bishop, 'and perception.'

Then King Óláfr said: 'This entertainment that we have taken up must go further round the room. Tell us, Kálfr Árnason, what you choose as your accomplishment.'

Kálfr said: 'I will never digest my anger, however long I have to nurse it.'

The king went on: 'Finnr, you also must tell us your accomplishments.'

Finnr replied: 'I cannot tell you about what does not exist.'

The king said: 'Mention something.'

'Then I will put this forward as my accomplishment, that I will not desert my liege lord to run away from any danger as long as he holds out and remains on his feet.'

Konungr mælti: ‘Þat er víst líkligt, at þér endisk þat vel.’ Enn mælti konungr: ‘Þú, Þorbergr, heyra viljum vér hvat þú tekr til íþróttá þér.’

Þorbergr svarar: ‘Þat tek ek þá til, at ek skal hvárki rjúfa orð mín né eið við lánardröttin minn.’²⁴

⟨Konungr svarar:⟩^a ‘Þetta er mikít mál, ok er alllíkligt, at slíkum manni endisk þat vel, sem þú ert. En allmargir halda nú um hríð litlum trúnaði við mik, þeir er fyrir skömmu var mér þess lítil ván at eða engi.’²⁵

Þá mælti konungr til Arnbjarnar: ‘Hverja íþrótt hefir þú framast?’

Arnbjörn var sterkr maðr. ‘Þat mun ek til taka,’ sagði Arnbjörn, ‘at vera kann, at eigi verði satt, at ek þykkjumk vel fœrr at bogaskoti: ætla ek at engi skyli sá bogi finnask hér í landi, at mér skyli eigi vera vápnfœrr.’²⁶

Konungr sagði, at svá mundi vera. Síðan spyr konungr Kolbjörn, hverjar hans íþróttir væri, þær er hann vildi helzt til taka. Hann svarar:

‘Þrjár eru þær mínar íþróttir, er ek kalla allar jafnar, en þó enga frammar en góða fyrir sik: beinskeyti ok skíðfærð ok sund.’²⁷

Konungr sagði, at hunn tæki eigi meira af, en vert var—‘því at þú ert búinn at þessum íþróttum sem þeir, er bezt eru, jafnsterkr maðr. Seg nú, Árni,’ sagði konungr, ‘hvat þú vill til finna.’

‘Árni svarar: ‘Ef ek sigli með landi fram snekkju²⁸ minni ok sitja ek í aktaumum,²⁹ at engi snekkja önnur jafnmikil tvítugsessa siglir sú hjá mér, at ek muni fyrr svipta en þeir.’

Konungr sagði, at engi mun þess frýja honum, því at engi ⟨kynni⟩^b nær ætla en hann, hvat næst mundi hlýða ófærinni.³⁰ Konungr spurði Björn stallara, hverja íþrótt hann þættisk fremsta hafa.

‘Þann hlut mun ek helzt til taka,’ sagði hann, ‘ef ek tala á þingum orð eða erindi lánardröttins míns, at engi skal svá ríkr á heyra, at ek skyla fyrir þá sök mæla lægra eða skelfra, hvárt sem honum líkar vel eða illa.’

Konungr svarar: ‘Þessi trúi ek allvel, síðan er þú vart á Uppsalaþingi ok talaðir ok gerðir reiðan Óláf Svíakonung,³¹ þvíat flestum mönnum mundi þat verða heldr framaskortr.’

Síðan töludu þetta tveir ok tveir sín í milli ok sögðu til sinna íþróttá, ok varð af þessu mikil skemmtan ok gleði.³² En konungr gekk þá at sofa. Þá fylgði Rauðúlfr bóndi honum til skemmu þeirrar innar nýju, er konungr hafði sét um kveldit, ok ætlaði at kirkjan væri. Þá var á logn veðrs ok heið, svá, at hvergi sá annat en heiðan himin. Konungr spurði Sigurð, son Úlfs:

‘Hvat nun veðrs á morgin?’

‘Drífa,’ sagði Sigurðr.

‘Þat þykki mér allólíkligt,’ sagði konungr.

^a Konungr svarar: *supplied from the other manuscripts; lacking in St. 4*

^b kynni: *supplied from other manuscripts (68, 75 c, Bergsb.); lacking in St. 4*

The king said: 'It is indeed probable that you will carry this out.' The king went on: 'You, Porbergr, we want to hear what you choose as your accomplishment.'

Porbergr replied: 'I will choose this as mine, then, that I shall neither break my word nor my oath to my liege lord.'

The king replied: 'That is a great thing, and it is very likely that such a man as you will succeed in this. But very many people have recently been keeping little faith with me, men of whom a little while back I should scarcely have expected it.'

Then the king said to Arnbjörn: 'What is your chief accomplishment?'

Arnbjörn was a strong man. 'I will choose this,' said Arnbjörn, 'which perhaps will not turn out to be true, that I consider myself quite good at shooting with a bow: I declare that there is no bow to be found in this land that I shall be unable to handle.'

The king said that this was probably true. Then the king asked Kolbjörn what his accomplishments were, that he would principally mention. He replied:

'My accomplishments are three, which I reckon to be all equal, and yet none of more than average standard: accurate shooting, skiing and swimming.'

The king said that he did not claim more than was just—'for you are as good at these accomplishments as those who excel in them, for a man of your strength. Tell us now, Árne,' said the king, 'what you want to put forward.'

Árne replied: 'If I sail my light galley along the coast and sit holding the sheets, that no other forty-oared ship of equal size will sail alongside me and make me reef sail before they do.'

The king said that no one would taunt him with such a charge, for no one could judge more finely than he how close it was possible to go to the danger point. The king asked Björn the marshal what accomplishment he thought he was best at.

'I will mention primarily this,' he said, 'that if am announcing the decrees or business of my liege lord at assemblies, there will be no one listening so important that I shall because of him speak lower or more hesitantly, whether he likes it or not.'

The king replied: 'I can well believe it, after your being at the Uppsala assembly and speaking and making King Óláfr of the Swedes angry, for most people would not have had the face for that.'

After this they all carried on with this among themselves, each with his neighbour, and named their accomplishments, and it was a source of great entertainment and fun. But then the king retired to bed. The master of the house, Rauðúlfr, conducted him to the new room that the king had seen earlier in the evening and had thought was a church. The weather was now calm and clear, so that there was nothing to be seen anywhere but clear sky. The king asked Úlfr's son Sigurðr:

'What will the weather be like tomorrow?'

'Snow,' said Sigurðr.

'That seems to me very unlikely,' said the king.

Síðan gekk konungr til rekkju sinnar ok var þar vel um búizk. En er konungr gekk inn í svefnskemmuna, var kerti loganda borit fyrir honum. Hann litaðisk um úti í svölnun³³ ok hugði at smíðinni hússins ok skilði þegar setningina hússins, at þat var kringlótt. Gekk hann þá inn ok sá at fyrir innan svalirnar var skjaldþili umhverfis húsit. Fjórar váru útdyrr á skemmunni ok allra jafnlangt í milli. En út með veggjunum váru rekkjur búnar allvegliga, en allt tjaldat þar^a er þat þótti bæta. En í þessu húsi váru reistir upp tuttugu stafir hávir ok digrir. Stóðu þeir í hring. Þar var upp af hvelft ráfit ok var þat allt steint ok purtréat.^{b34} En milli stafanna váru bríkr³⁵ ok þar fyrir innan váru rekkjur búnar ríkismönnum ok máttu þar rúmliga liggja í hverjum fjórðungi tuttugu menn, en fjórir tigur í útskemmuni.³⁶ Þar var skipat hirðmönnum konungs. Í miðju húsinu var arinn kringlóttur ok víðr, með tré gorr, ok pallar umhverfis upp at ganga. En uppi á arninum stóð sæng mikil ok gorr með hinum mesta hagleik. Flest tré váru þar með kopparajárnum³⁷ gorr ok steint allt, en sumt gulllagt. Upp af hornstöfunum váru stórir knappar af eiri gorrvir ok gylldir. En út ór hornstöfunum váru járnslár en þar af upp kertistikur ok stóðu þar á upphaldskerti með þrim kvíslum. Úlfr sagði konungi at hann skal fara í þá sæng, er þar var búin, ef hann vildi drauma forvitnask, en dróttning skal liggja í annarri sæng náttlangt.³⁸ Konungr sagði, at svá skal vera.

Ok er hann var afklæddr, sté hann í rekkjuna, lagðisk síðan til svefnis. Hann sá þá til hægri handar sér í inu iðra sætinu,³⁹ at þar var skipat byskupi ok kennimönnum hans. En til vinstri handar hvíldi dróttning ok konur hennar. En út í frá höfðafjölinni, þá lágu í þeim fjórðungi Kálfr, Arnbjörn, Kolbjörn Árnasynir, ok þeirra menn. En út í frá fótáfjölinni lá Finn, Þorbergr, Árni Árnasynir.

Óláfr konungr vakti lengi um nóttina, sem hann var vanr, sǫng fyrst bœnir sínar, síðan hugsar hann mart. Þá sá hann upp yfir sik í ráfit. Hann sá þar skrifaðan Guð sjálfan ok veldishring hans,⁴⁰ en þar ofan í frá englafylki, ok þar fyrir neðan himininn, þann er hvelfðr er útan um lopt ǫll. En þar með váru mörkuð himintungl, en neðast ský ok vindar ok þá fuglar margskyns, en neðast jörðin, ok þar með grǫs ok víðir ok margskonar kykvendi, sjár ok vǫtn ok sjákykvendi á marga lund. En á neðra ræfrinu fyrir útan stafina váru markaðar fornsǫgur ok frásagnir frá ágætum konungum, ok leit konungr þar lengi á. En er hann hugsadi hér um, þá var þó sá einn hlutr, er honum þótti undarligri en allt annat, at honum þótti sængin snúask undir sér eða húsit ella. Síðan fell svefn á hann ok svaf hann um hríð.

^a þar: *so the other manuscripts*; þat St. 4

^b purtréat: *emendation*; purcréat St. 4, putréat 68, F, puterat 325, pentat 75 a, Tóm., Bæjarb.

Then the king went to bed and found that everything there had been very well arranged. As the king went into the bedroom a lighted candle was carried before him. He looked around while he was outside on the veranda and noted how the building had been built, and realised immediately the plan of the building, that it was circular. Then he went in and saw that on the inside of the veranda there was a partition around the building. There were four doors leading out of the room, with an equal distance between each of them. Along the outside walls were finely furnished beds, and there were hangings everywhere they could be thought to be pleasing. Inside the building twenty high and thick pillars had been built. They stood in a circle. The ceiling was vaulted up from these, and it was all coloured and painted with designs. Between the pillars were partitions and on the inside of these, beds had been prepared for the noblemen, and there was easily room for twenty men to sleep in each quarter of the circle inside, and for forty more in the outer part of the room. There the king's courtiers were accommodated. In the middle of the building there was a wide circular dais, made of wood, with steps round it to get up onto it. Up on the dais stood a large bed made with the finest craftsmanship. Most of the woodwork was decorated with chiselling and it was all coloured and in some places gilded. On top of the bed-posts were great knobs made of brass and gilded. Iron bars were fixed to the sides of the posts with candle-sticks on them, and on these stood three-branched processional candles. Úlfr told the king that he was to sleep in this bed which was prepared here if he wanted something to be revealed to him in a dream, but the queen was to sleep in another bed for the night. The king said that this should be done.

And when he was undressed he got into bed and then lay down to sleep. Then he saw that the bishop and his clergy were accommodated in the inner part of the room on his right. On his left slept the queen and her ladies-in-waiting. Beyond the head of the bed, the sons of Árne, Kálfr, Arnbjörn and Kolbjörn and their men lay in that quarter of the room. Beyond the foot of the bed lay the sons of Árne, Finn, Þorbergr and Árne.

King Óláfr lay awake for a long time during the night, as he usually did, and first of all recited his prayers and then meditated on many things. Then he looked up at the ceiling. He saw there depicted God himself and his aureole of glory, and beneath him the hosts of angels, and beneath them the firmament that is vaulted over round all the skies. And there also were depicted the heavenly bodies, and lowest of all the clouds and winds and then many kinds of birds, and right at the bottom the earth, with plants and trees and many species of living creatures, seas and lakes and sea-creatures of many kinds. And on the lower part of the ceiling, on the other side of the pillars, were depicted stories of ancient times and the histories of outstanding kings, and the king looked at these for a long time. But while he was thinking about all this, there was one thing in particular that he thought was more amazing than everything else, which was that the bed, or else the building, seemed to him to be revolving under him. Then sleep fell upon him and he slept for a while.

En er hann vaknaði, hugsar hann drauma sína ok því næst dagaði. Stóð byskup þá upp til óttusöngs. Konungur klæddisk þá ok gekk til tíða ok hlýddi þeim. Síðan gekk hann í málstofu⁴¹ ok lét kalla til sín Rauð bónda ok sagði honum draum sinn, at hann hefði sét í drauminum kross með abbragðligum⁴² hætti ok greindi um síðan með hverjum hætti var. Ok er því var lokit, mælti konungur:

‘Þú skalt segja mér í dag eptir hámessu, hvat draumr þessi merkir.’

‘Merkiligr þykki mér draumr þinn,’ sagði Rauðr, ‘ok af mun ek gera nakkvat, en þér skuluð bæta mér, herra, ef þér hugsio at hann þýði annat, en ek geri af.’

Veðr var þykkt (ok drífanda),^a sem Sigurðr hafði sagt. Þá lét konungur kalla til sín Sigurð ok Dag. Síðan lét konungur sjá út ok sá hvergi himin skýlausan. Þá bað (hann)^b Sigurð segja, hvar sól mundi þá. komin. Hann kvað glöggt á. Þá lét konungur taka sólarstein⁴³ ok helt upp, ok sá hann hvar geislaði ór steininum ok markaði svá beint til, sem Sigurðr hafði sagt. Þá spurði konungur Dag:

‘Hvern skapløst sér þú á mér?’

‘Ekki fæ ek þat sét, herra,’ sagði hann, ‘en þó at ek geipa eitthvat um hversdagliga menn, þá er þat öðruvísan, en hér hefi ek hvárki til vit né skilning. Er þat ok ætlan mín at fátt muni vera aftækt um yðra skapsmuni.’⁴⁴

‘Seg nú,’ sagði konungur, ‘ekki stoðar nú undan (at fara).’

Dagr svarar: ‘Þann þá, herra, er flesta hendir, þat er kvennanna ást.’⁴⁵

‘Rétt segir þú,’ sagði konungur, ‘ok eru þér feðgar langt um fram aðra menn flesta, þá er ek veit, at viti ok hyggjandi.’

Síðan gekk konungur til messu, en er tíðum var lokit, þá gekk hann til málstofu ok með honum byskup, dróttning, ok lendir menu. Þar var ok Rauðr ok synir hans.

‘Úlfr, sagði konungur, ‘má svá vera sem mér sýndisk í nótt, at sængin, er ek svaf í, snerisk undir mér eða húsit ella?’

Úlfr svarar: ‘Því var svá smíðat, herra, at þér skylduð jafnt horfa á sólina, ok draumr þín skyldi ganga at sólu, ok allt athæfi þitt ok forvitni.’

Þá mælti konungur: ‘Nú vil ek at þú segir, Úlfr, draum minn, ok hvat hann merkir.’

Úlfr svarar: ‘Hitt mun ek fyrst segja, er þú spurðir eigi, hvat þú hugsaðir áðr þú sofnaðir. Þú batt Guð birta fyrir þér nakkvat, hvern enda eiga mundi órói þessi ok nokkur styröld, er nú hefir hafizk,⁴⁶ eða hvernig fara mundi ríkit heðan af. En síðan signdir þú þik, áðr þú sofnaðir, með marki kross hins helga.’

^a ok drífanda: *supplied from other manuscripts* (68, F, Bergsb., 325, 321, Bæjarb.); *lacking in St. 44*

^b hann: *supplied from other manuscripts* (68, F); *lacking in St. 4*

^c at . . . svarar: *supplied from other manuscripts* (F, Bergsb., Tórn.); *lacking in St. 4*

When he awoke he thought about his dreams, and very soon dawn broke. Then the bishop got up for matins. Then the king got dressed and went and heard the service. Afterwards he went into the hall and had Rauðr, the master of the house, sent for, and told him his dream, that he had dreamed he saw a cross of a most remarkable kind, and then he went on to describe what it was like. When he had finished, the king said:

‘You shall tell me today after High Mass what this dream means.’

‘I think your dream is very significant,’ said Rauðr, ‘and I expect I shall be able to make something of it, but you must correct me, my lord, if you think it means something other than what I make of it.’

The weather was cloudy and it was snowing, as Sigurðr had said it would be. Then the king had Sigurðr and Dagr called to him. After that the king had someone look around outside, and there was no clear sky to be seen anywhere. Then he told Sigurðr to say where the sun had got to. He gave a precise indication. Then the king had a sun-stone brought out and held it up, and he saw where the beam of light pointed from the stone, and it pointed in exactly the direction that Sigurðr had said. Then the king asked Dagr:

‘What bad quality do you see in me?’

‘I cannot see that, my lord,’ he said, ‘and even though I babble things about ordinary men, that is a different matter, but for this I have neither the intelligence nor the understanding, and anyway it to my opinion that there is not much fault to find in your character.’

‘Speak now,’ said the king, ‘it is no good trying to get out of it now.’

Dagr replied: ‘This, then, my lord, which afflicts most people, that is the love of women.’

‘You are right,’ said the king, ‘and your family is far superior to most other men I know of in intelligence and understanding.’

Then the king went to Mass, and when the service was finished, he went to the hall and with him the bishop, the queen and the thanes. Rauðr and his sons were also there.

‘Úlfr,’ said the king, ‘can it have been as it seemed to me during the night, that the bed I was sleeping in, or else the building, was revolving under me?’

Úlfr replied: ‘It was made like that for this reason, my lord, that you should always be facing the sun, and so that your dream should follow the course of the sun, and all your actions and questionings as well.’

Then the king said: ‘Now I want you, Úlfr, to relate my dream, and what it means.’

Úlfr replied: ‘I will tell you something else first, that you haven’t asked me, what you thought about before you went to sleep. You prayed God to reveal to you something about what would be the end of this unrest, more or less war, which has recently come about, and what will happen to the kingdom from now on. Afterwards you signed yourself, before you went to sleep, with the sign of the Holy Cross.’

‘Rétt sagðir þú,’ sagði konungr. ‘En hvat segir þú af drauminum?’

Úlfr sagði: ‘Þér sýndisk í svefninum kross standa á jörðunni mikill ok grœnn sem gras, ok líkneski á krossinum. En er þú sátt hofuð róðunnar, þá var þat af rauðu gulli⁴⁷ gørt, en er þú sátt í andlitit, þá þótti þér sem þar væri um útan hringr, litr sem regnbogi, en vaxinn sem veldishringr Guðs.⁴⁸ En innan í hringinum þá váru markaðir englar ok himinríkis dýrð. En kross þessi ok krossfesting boða ófrið, en svá sem þú ert hofuðsmaðr, þá muntu ok eiga hofuð líkneskisins í drauminum. Ok sem þér þótti hofuðit af rauðu gulli gørt, ok þar lýsti af sem forðum af lýsigulli,⁴⁹ þar mun birtask tign þín um fram alla menn aðra á þessu landi, svá sem rautt gull er dýrra hverjum málmí. En þar sem andlitit var, er bæði fylgir mál ok sýn, ok þar er ok heyrnin viðföst⁵⁰ — þá var þér sýnt í þeim stað himinríki ok himnesk dýrð: þar var þér sýnd í þín ǫmbun góð,⁵¹ er þú hefir snúit mǫrgum lýð til réttar trúar með orðum þínum ok ríkdómi. En mannshofuð er meir þollótt en langt: þar get ek þér sýnt hafa verit ekki langt líf eða veraldar ríki.’

Konungr spurði: ‘Hvat mun veldishringr sá vita, er mér sýndisk?’

‘Hringr sá merkir ævi þína,’ sagði Úlfr, ‘ok tign ríkis þíns. Hringrinn var endalaus,⁵² svá mun ok vera frægð þín. Hringrinn sýndisk þér hvass upp ok niðr: svá ferr ok ævi þín, hvöss váru upphöfin, létuð⁵³ fǫður þinn ok marga aðra frændr þína gofga. Hǫrð munu ok verða endimǫrk ríkis þíns. Hringrinn var vaxandi til miðs en þverrandi síðan til endalykta: svá hefir ok farit ríki þitt ok þessa heims veldi,⁵⁴ sagði Úlfr.

‘En hálsinn á líkneskinu sýndisk þér ór kopar gørt. Þat^a er inn harðasti málmr ok þar af eru klukkur gǫrvar, er mest hljóð fylgir: þat ríki,⁵⁵ er næst kemr eptir þik, mun vera fagrt ok birtask fyrir hvers manns eyrum, svá sem hljóð stórra klukkna. Þar lék útan um skoteldr:⁵⁶ þat er it grimmosta herskaparfœri, hræðiligt ok óstaðfastligt.⁵⁷ Kopar er harðr ok stökk: þat ríki mun vera ok ópolligt. En þar er slétt var fyrir neðan ok ofan málmaskiptit,⁵⁸ þar mun þat ríki ekki langt vera, ok engvar kvíslir munu þar af lifna í þessu landi. Þér sýndisk sem ofan ór hǫfðinu^b greiddisk gulligr lokkr allt á axlir ofan: þar mun þat í merkja at yður vegsemd mun mest prýdd í þessu landi ok víða annarsstaðar.’⁵⁹

Úlfr sagði enn: ‘Þá leiddir þú fyrir augu þér faðm ok brjóst róðunnar, ok út hendrnar á krossinum. Þat sýndisk þér gørt af brenndu silfri, þar var á markaðr⁶⁰ himintungla gangr, sól ok stjornur, tungl með birti ok fegrð: þat ríki er þá kemr næst⁶¹ mun vera harðla vegsamligt. Svá sem himintungl lýsa lopt ok jörð ok allir menn fagna birti sólarinnar, ok hon er nytsamlig heiminum, hon gefr ljósit í veröldina, hon vermir jörðina til ávaxtar: svá

^a þat: *so the other manuscripts*; þar St. 4

^b hǫfðinu: St. 4 *adds a redundant sem after this word*

‘You are quite right,’ said the king. ‘But what have you to say of the dream?’

Úlfr said: ‘There appeared to you in your dream a cross standing on the ground, large and green as grass, and a figure on the cross. And when you saw the head of the crucifix, it was made of red gold, and when you saw into the face, then it seemed to you as if there was a ring round it, coloured like the rainbow, but shaped like God’s aureole of glory. And within the ring were drawn angels and the glory of heaven. But this cross and crucifix forebode warfare, and as you are a head man, so the head of the figure in the dream applies to you. And as you dreamed the head was made of red gold, and it emitted light as once upon a time from shining gold, so your glory will shine more brightly than that of all other men in this land, just as red gold is more precious than every metal. But as for the face, wherein lies speech and sight, and where the hearing is also situated—then was shown to you in that place the kingdom of heaven and heavenly glory: therein was shown you your good reward for having turned many people to the true faith with your words and power. But the human head is more ball-shaped than long: in that I guess there has not been shown for you long life or worldly power.’

The king asked: ‘What will the aureole mean, that appeared to me?’

‘That ring represents your life,’ said Úlfr, ‘and the glory of your reign. The ring was endless, so will be your fame. The ring seemed to you pointed at top and bottom: that is how your life will turn out, the beginning was sharp, you lost your father and many other noble kinsmen. Sharp will the conclusion of your reign be, too. The ring was waxing as far as the middle, and then waning to the end: that is how your reign has gone, and your power in this world,’ said Úlfr.

‘But the neck of the figure seemed to you to be made of copper. This is the hardest metal, and the bells that make the loudest sound are made from it: the reign which comes next after you will be beautiful and will resound in all men’s ears like the sound of great bells. Greek fire played round it: that is the grimmest weapon of war, fearful and impossible to withstand. Copper is hard and brittle: that reign will likewise be unbearable. But in that there was a clean break at the joints with the metals above and below, so that reign will not be long, and no offshoots from it will survive in this country. It appeared to you that a golden lock from the head fell right down to the shoulders: in this it must be symbolised that your honour will be most highly celebrated in this country and in many other places.’

Úlfr went on: ‘Then you brought your eyes to bear on the arms and breast of the crucifix, and the arms outstretched on the cross. This seemed to you to be made of refined silver, and on it were depicted the host of heavenly bodies, the sun and stars, the moon with its brightness and beauty: the reign that comes next will be very glorious. Just as the heavenly bodies illumine the earth and sky, and all men rejoice in the brightness of the sun, and it is beneficial to all the world, giving light to the earth, and warms

mun ok þat ríki kært ok ársamt ok gott ok þarfsælt öllu landsbúinu. En þá er þú sátt líkneskit breiða faðminn, þar mun sá höfðingi hafa miklu meira í fangi⁶² en allir aðrir höfðingjar hafa haft hér í landi, ok vera víðfaðmari at þrøngva undir sik ríki ok fólki af öðrum löndum. En er lokkar þeir inir gulligu⁶³ fellu ofan um brjóstit,⁶⁴ þar mun sá inn ágæti höfðingi vera <yðr>^b nokkut hendilangr⁶⁵ ok prýðask af yðarri dýrð. En svá breiðr sem hann var, þá var hann þó stuttr,⁶⁶ ok mun ríki hans vera eigi langt.’

Úlfr sagði enn: ‘Þar næst sáttu fyrir neðan brjóstin á röðunni breiða gjörð liggja um hana, ok tók nær undir hendr upp. Gjörðin var gǫr af járn ok skyggð sem sverð. Þat má kalla megingjörð:⁶⁷ ríki þat, er þá kemr næst,⁶⁸ mun vera styrkt með máttugum höfðingja. En er þér var sýnt skyggt járn, þar mun vera mart skyggt sverð á lopti, bæði fyrr ok síðar. Sú gjörð var fáð með brøgðum við góðum hagleik, at því er þér sýndisk, sum⁶⁹ ristin eptir fornunum sǫgum: þér sýndisk þar á saga Sigurðar Fáfnisbana⁷⁰ ok Haralds hilditannar⁷¹ ok enn nakkvat af verkum Haralds hins hárfagra.⁷² Sá konungr mun fremja stórbrøgð, þau er mǫnnum munu þykkja stórmannlig ok vitrlig ok haglig, með sinni framkvæmd. En er þér váru þar á sýnd stórvirki inna ágætustu höfðingja, konunga ok annarra inna vitrustu manna, þat mun hann allt sýna með sjálfum sér ok eptir þeirra líking mun hann fremjask.⁷³ En járn er harðr málmr ok mǫrgum manni til skaða lagðr:⁷⁴ þat ríki vænti ek at mǫrgum þykki hart ok skaðasamt frá upphafi ok til enda ok þar á milli.’

Úlfr sagði enn: ‘Þá er þú sátt kviðinn fyrir neðan gerðina, þá var hann litr sem næstagull eða bleikt gull.⁷⁵ Þat var líkat⁷⁶ ok skyggt fagrt. Þar var á skrifuð flúr ok viðir ok allskonar blóm, þat er á jörðu vex, ok margskonar kykvendi, er á jörðu ganga. Allt þetta var gǫrt með hinum mesta hagleik. Þat ríki var þér sýnt, er þar næst mun koma:⁷⁷ þat var gulligt sem uppi höfuðit, en rautt gull ok bleikt gull á ekki saman nema nafn eitt. Þat munda ek ok ætla, at sá konungr mundi hafa nafn þitt ok vera gǫfugr konungr, ok þó ekki þinn maki. Pa<r>^c var á markaðr jarðar ávǫxtr, fegrð ok prýði heimsins: svá mun sá konungr prýða þetta ríki með góðri stjórn. Hans ævi mun vera með góðri stjórn ok blóma miklum. Ok svá mikill hagleikr sem þér var þar sýndr, svá margfaldliga hagligr⁷⁸ mun hann vera sínu landsfólki.’

Úlfr sagði enn: ‘þar er^d þú hugleiddir ok sátt ofan lengra of⁷⁹ þann sama mann, sýndisk þér niðr frá nafla allt um sköpin silfrs litr á, þess er óskírt er,⁸⁰ ok var þó vel litt. Þat silfr gengr hér í landi ok má með því hér allt kaupa, en útanlands er þat eigi gjaldgegent. Nú mun höfðingi sá⁸¹ vera mikill ok öllum vegr at hér í landi, en útanlands mun tími hans verða ekki svá

^a brjóstit: ok váru holdgrónir *adds* 75 c

^b yðr: *supplied from other manuscripts; lacking in St. 4*

^c þar: *so all the other manuscripts; þá St. 4*

^d er; *so the other manuscripts; þér St. 4*

the ground so that it brings forth fruits: so will that reign be popular and prosperous and good and profitable for everyone in the country. And in that you saw the figure stretching out its arms, so this ruler will have much more within his grasp than all other rulers in this land have had, and will be more widely-embracing in subjugating kingdoms and peoples of other countries. And in that those golden locks fell down over the breast, so this fine ruler will be to some extent subservient to you and will shine with the reflection of your glory. But broad as was his embrace, yet it was short in length, and his reign will not be long.'

Úlfr went on: 'Next you saw below the breast of the crucifix a broad belt going round it, which reached up almost as far as the arms. The belt was made of iron and burnished like a sword. It might be called a girdle of might: the reign which comes next will be upheld by a mighty ruler. But in that you were shown burnished iron, so there will be many a burnished sword aloft both early and late. The belt was decorated with designs with fine craftsmanship, as it seemed to you, some of them engraved after stories of ancient times: you seemed to see on it the story of *Sigurðr Fafnisbane* and of *Haraldr wartooth*, and also something of the deeds of *Haraldr finehair*. This king will achieve mighty works, through his strength of will, which will be considered princely, wise, and decorous. In that you were shown on it the great deeds of the finest rulers, kings and other very wise men, so he will display all this in his own person, and he will become great by following their example. But iron is a hard metal and is used for causing harm to many: so I presume that his reign will seem hard and harmful to many from beginning to end and in between.'

Úlfr went on: 'When you saw the belly below the belt, it was of the colour of gold alloy or pale gold. It had likenesses on it and was finely polished. On it were engraved flowers and trees and every kind of plant that grows on earth, and many kinds of animals that walk on the earth. All this was done with the greatest craftsmanship. Here you were shown the reign that will come next: this part of the figure was golden like the head up above, but red gold and pale gold have nothing in common except only the name. And so I should suppose that this king would have your name and be a noble king, and yet not your equal. Here were engraved the fruits of the earth, the beauty and glory of the world: so this king will adorn this kingdom with good government. His life will bring good government and a great flowering. And as excellent as was the craftsmanship that you were shown here, so will he in many ways be excellent to his countrymen.'

Úlfr went on: 'When you considered and looked at this same man further down, it seemed to you that from the navel right down over the genitals there was the colour of silver, the sort that is not pure, but a fine colour all the same. This sort of silver is current here in this country and can be used for all transactions, but abroad it is not legal tender. Accordingly, this ruler will be great and a source of pride to everyone in this country, but abroad his value will not be held as high as that of him who was symbolised by

mikill sem þess, *er hit skíra silfr birtisk fyrir*.^a En er þat silfr var vel líkat ok var fagr, þar mun hann ǫllum vel líka,⁸² ok hans ríki mun standa með *fegrð*^b ok þrýði. Hann mun ok fylgja skǫpum sínum ok forlǫgum^c allt til enda lífs síns. Mun af honum kvíslask valdit ok dreifask,⁸³ svá sem þá er komit ofan til fóta mann(s)ins. Ok svá sem þar fylgir bolrinn, þá mun hann í flestum hlutum vera maki sinna fyrirmanna.’

Úlfr sagði enn: ‘Þar er þér sýndisk lærin ok hǫrundarlitr á fagr, at ríki mun vera þar næst, er tvískipt mun vera landi ǫllu. Mun þá koma landit í brœðraskipti.⁸⁴ En er þér sýndisk á báðum lærunum hǫrundarlitr, þá munu þeir deila mannlíga ok jafnlíga sín á milli,⁸⁵ ok svá sem foetnir halda upp ǫllum líkam mannsins, svá munu þeir halda upp siðum ok dæmum sinna fyrirmanna, ok mun þeirra ríki fara eptir *réttri skipan*^d ok almenniligri mennsku.’

Úlfr sagði enn: ‘Þar er þér sýndisk ofan frá kné fótleggir tveir af tré—en þat er fornt mál, at þess manns ráð gangi á tréfótum,⁸⁶ er margir hlutir takask illa: þat ríki er þá kemr næst mun vera hart ok illt undir at búa ok tvískipt með frændum.⁸⁷ Hygg ek at ill endimǫrk verði á þeirra skiptum ok munu þeir þó vera af einum kynkvíslum.⁸⁸ Þar mun upp hefjask frændaróg ok illar deilur. Þar næst sáttu á ristrnar fram ok var þat allt af tré gørt. Þér sýndisk sem foetnir væri mislǫgum lagðir á krossinum ok settr járn-gaddr í gǫgnum báðar ristrnar, en tærnar lǫgðusk hver fram yfir aðra: þar var þér sýnt hverjar mislǫgur þeir mundu hafa ok misgørðir. Þar munu brœðr berask banaspjót eptir. Þar er þú sátst einn járn-gadd standa í gǫgnum báðar ristrnar, en tærnar lǫgðusk hver fram yfir aðra, svá <sem>^e börn gera hrúta með fingrum sér.⁸⁹ Þeirra afkæmi mun lengi síðan hverr ǫðrum mýgja⁹⁰ vilja ok til jarðar koma. Nú er drauminum lokit, herra,’ sagði Úlfr, ‘ok hefi ek nú af gørt slíkt, er mér þykki líkast at hann þýði.’

Konungr bað hann hafa þökk fyrir, ok lézk þat ætla, at hans jafningi mundi varla finnask fyrir vitru sakir, nema synir hans stigi honum í spor. Gekk konungr síðan brott ór málstofunni ok til borða.

Um daginn eptir spurði konungr Úlfr, hvat manna hann væri, eða kona hans. Rauðúlfr sagðisk vera scenskr maðr at ætt ok auðigr ok ættstórr.

‘En ek hljópumk þaðan,’⁹¹ sagði hann, ‘með konu þessa, er ek hefi átt síðan. Hon er systir Hringis konungs Dagssonar.’⁹²

^a er hit skíra silfr birtisk fyrir: *emended according to the texts of the manuscripts of classes A and B (the class C manuscripts have similar readings with minor variants);* hins óskíra silfrs St. 4, *which is clearly wrong, since the contrast must be with the pure silver*

^b fegrð: *so the other manuscripts; frægð St. 4; fegrð is required in the context, corresponding to fagr in the previous line*

^c forlǫgum: *written ‘fǫrlǫgum’ in St. 4*

^d réttri skipan: *emended according to the text of F and Bergsb.; almenniligri St. 4 (dittography from next line)*

^e sem: *supplied from the other manuscripts; omitted in St. 4*

the pure silver. But as this silver had likenesses on it and was beautiful, so everyone will like him very much, and his reign will go on with beauty and glory. He will also fulfil his destiny and fate right to the end of his life. From him the kingdom will branch out and be divided, just as from here begin the legs of the man. And just as this is also a part of the trunk, so he will in most things be the equal of his predecessors.'

Úlfr went on: 'As you saw the thighs, of a beautiful flesh-colour, so a reign will come next in which the whole country will be divided in two. Then the country will be divided between brothers. And in that both thighs seemed to you to have the colour of human flesh, so their dealings with each other will be humane and just, and as the legs hold up the whole of a man's body, so they will uphold the customs and examples of their predecessors, and their reign will be conducted in the right way and with common humanity.'

Úlfr went on: 'In that there appeared to you down below the knees two legs of wood—it is an old saying, that a man's affairs go on wooden legs when things are going badly: so the reign that comes next will be hard and bad to live under, and will be divided in two between kinsmen. I think that there will be a bad end to their disputes, and yet they will be descended from the same ancestral lines. Here will arise strife between kinsmen and evil quarrels. Next you passed on to the insteps, and these were made entirely of wood. The feet seemed to you to be laid on the cross crookedly, and an iron spike stuck through both insteps, and the toes were all bunched up on top of each other. In this it was shown you what crooked dealings and evil deeds they would indulge in. Here brothers will raise spears of enmity against each other. Whereas you saw an iron spike going through both insteps, and the toes were all bunched up on top of each other, as when children make rams with their fingers: so their descendants for long afterwards will all try to cast each other down into heaps and fell each other to the earth. Now the dream is finished, my lord,' said Úlfr, 'and I have made of it what it seems to me most likely that it means.'

The king thanked him, and said he thought that his equal in wisdom could scarcely be found, unless his sons followed in his footsteps. Then the king left the hall and went to dinner.

The next day the king asked Úlfr who he and his wife were. Rauðúlfr said he was from a Swedish family and was wealthy and high-born.

'But I eloped from there,' he said, 'with this woman, who has been my wife ever since. She is the sister of King Hringr Dagsson.'

Þá vaknaði konungr við ætt þeirra beggja.⁹³ Fann hann þat, at þeir feðgar váru menn forvitri. Konungr spurði þá Dag, hvern skapløst hann sæi Bjarnar ármanns. Dagr sagði, at Björn var þjófr, ok þat með, at hann segir, hvar Björn hafði fólgit á bæ sínum bæði horn ok bein ok húðir af nautum þeim, er hann hafði stólit um haustit en kennt öðrum.

‘Er hann,’ segir Dagr, ‘allra þeirra stulða valdr, er í haust hafa monnum heðra horfit⁹⁴ ok hann hefir öðrum kennt.’

Sagði Dagr þá konungi öll merki til hvar konungr skyldi leita^a láta. En er konungr fór frá Rauðs bónda, var hann í brott leiddr með stórum gjöfum, ok fóru synir Rauðs með konungi,⁹⁵ því at hann þóttisk þá eigi mega án vera. Fór konungr þá fyrst til. Bjarnar ármanns ok reyndisk allt eptir því, sem Dagr hafði sagt. Síðan lét konungr Björn fara í brott ór landi, ok naut hann dróttningar at, er hann helt lífi ok limum.

^a leita: *written twice in St. 4*

Then the king realised the ancestry of both of them. He recognised that the father and his sons were very wise men. Then the king asked Dagr what bad quality he saw in Bjørn the steward. Dagr said that Bjørn was a thief, and he said besides whereabouts on his farm Bjørn had hidden both the horns and bones and the hides of the cattle he had stolen during the autumn and accused others of stealing.

‘He,’ said Dagr, ‘is responsible for all the thefts of things that have disappeared from people in this district this autumn, and which he has accused others of.’

Then Dagr told the king all the clues to where the king should have searches made. When the king left Rauðr’s, he was set on his way with great gifts, and Rauðr’s sons went with the king, for he felt that now he could not do without them. Then the king went straight to Bjørn the steward’s, and everything turned out to be just as Dagr had said. Afterwards the king made Bjørn leave the country, and he had the queen to thank for the fact that he escaped with life and limb.

¹ This is ch. 155 of Snorri Sturluson's *Óláfs saga helga*; it forms the introduction to the *þátttr*. Björn áramaðr (the steward) is only known from this and the following chapter of *Óláfs saga helga*, the corresponding chapters in *Heimskringla*, and *Rauðúlfs þátttr*. He is unlikely to have been a historical character.

² Ástríðr was the queen of Óláfr Haraldsson (Óláfr II of Norway, 1015–1030, St Óláfr). She was the daughter of King Óláfr Eiríksson of Sweden, and married Óláfr Haraldsson in 1019.

³ *ármenning ok sýslu . . . yfirsokn*: these three terms seem to refer to the same office, that of the king's steward or administrative head of a district. The last (meaning the same as *yfirfor*) refers particularly to such a steward's right to travel round the landowners and collect taxes (*tekjur*), which were usually paid in the form of entertainment of the king (or his steward) with his retinue, which might comprise a large number of men. This maintenance of the king and his court, the burden of which was thus spread over all the landowners in the country, was called *veizlur*, see note 7 below.

It seems to have become the standard literary tradition in the sagas that the king's *ármaðr* should not be one of the nobility, and should be generally unpopular in his district; cf. *Egils saga* 41 ff. The additional motive found here, of his being a favourite of the queen, is more common in folk stories; see Faulkes 1966, 9.

⁴ *á haustum* is not in some manuscripts, and may not be original. At the end of the *þátttr* Dagr refers to the thefts *í haust* 'this autumn', which implies that the thefts had only been noticed that one year. Some manuscripts also do not mention the sheep.

⁵ *markbyggðum*: forest settlements; *mark* and the related *mork* meant originally 'mark', 'border'. Because many national borders are formed by natural boundaries such as forests, *mork* comes to mean 'forest'. In the present context, *mark-* could have either meaning: the reference could either be to 'forest districts' which would naturally be remote, or to 'border settlements', i.e. the no-man's-land between two countries. Eystridalir, besides being forest country, was also close to the Swedish border, so that both descriptions would be appropriate.

⁶ *rudd*: passive participle of *ryðja* 'clear', to be taken with *sú byggð*. But *ð* and *d* are rarely distinct in the manuscripts, and double consonants are not always marked, so it is possible that the author wrote *ruð* 'clearings' (neuter plural), parallel to *votn*. the parallel passage in *Heimskringla* has the synonymous *rjóðr*.

⁷ Rauðr (Rauðúlfr, Úlfr) and his family are not known from other sources than the *þátttr* and the chapters in *ÓH* and *Hkr* based on it, except that his son Dagr is involved in some of the events of the following chapters in *ÓH* and *Hkr* (the detection of a traitor by means of his gift for seeing men's true characters). It is probable that his part in these events was invented by Snorri on the basis of the events of the *þátttr*, see Faulkes 1966, 61.

The names Rauðúlfr, Rauðr and Úlfr are used interchangeably in nearly all manuscripts of the *þátttr*, although some are more consistent than others. All manuscripts agree that he was called by more than one name, although Snorri's shortened version of the *þátttr* in *ÓH* and *Hkr* only uses the name Rauðr. It is clear that the variations in the name go back to the original version of the *þátttr*, and that the attempts at consistency in various manuscripts are those of the copyists. The

variations in the name need not necessarily imply that there has been confusion with some other character (e.g. with Rauðr inn rammi, *Flat* I 393 ff., as suggested in Margaret Schlauch, 1934, 159, note 24), for names and nicknames are often used interchangeably in Old Norse, e.g. Ketill hængr, who is known both as Ketill and as Hængr, or Úlfr/Kveld-Úlfr in *Egils saga*. Even if the author of the *þátrr* has combined stories about two (or more) characters, he would not have been so incompetent as to leave traces of the different characters in the name of his hero. Consistency of this sort would not have been beyond his powers if he had wanted to achieve it.

⁸ *tók þar veizlu*: the maintenance of the king and his household was largely provided by landowners, who were obliged to support the king and his following for a certain length of time each, in rotation: the duty of supplying these ‘feasts’ (*veizlur*) was thus a form of taxation. In *Hkr* II 100 we read: *Þat hafði verit siðr inna fyrri konunga at fara at veizlum inn þriðja hvern vetr yfir Upplönd*.

⁹ *þriggia náttu veizlu*: three days was the customary length of a guest’s stay, see *Egils saga* 272: *Þat var engi siðr, at sitja lengr en þrjár nætr at kynni*, and other references in *Víga-Glúms saga* 63, note to 15.4.

¹⁰ *spánþokt á húsum*: to have shingled roofs was probably considered a sign of wealth, cf. Valtýr Guðmundsson 1889, 162 ff. But possibly this applies less to Norway, where timber was plentiful, than to Iceland, where it was scarce, and where most buildings would have been roofed with turf. It is evident from the context here, however, that for this author at least, shingled roofs were sufficiently uncommon to require comment.

húsum: in Scandinavia in the Middle Ages each room was often built as a separate building: cf. the expressions *húsin* (plural), used synonymously with *bær* (dwelling), *eldhús* for kitchen, &c. Cf. Valtýr Guðmundsson 1889, 25 and 27–31.

¹¹ The king’s preoccupation with the question of the existence of a church here recalls the frequent stories of how he kept finding pockets of heathenism in remote parts of Norway, and his efforts to stamp them out; see *Hkr* II 101 and 174–5. His doubts about Rauðúlfr’s religion, however, are evidently satisfied later, see his remark at 8/8–9.

¹² *byskup*: this was probably Grímkell, who was King Óláfr’s *hirðbyskup* (the bishop attending the king’s household) throughout his reign (cf. *Hkr* II 72–73) and was instrumental in getting the king’s sainthood recognised after his death, see *Hkr* II 403–405. He would use a tent (*landtjald*, as opposed to one used for shelter on board ship) for services when the king’s travels led them to a place where there was no consecrated building available, compare *Njáls saga* 257, where Þangbrandr uses a *tjald* for singing mass in on his mission to the then heathen Iceland (so also *Kristni saga* 18).

¹³ *dagsátr*: *-sátr* is an ablaut variation of *-seta* (which is the reading of some of the other manuscripts), related to *sitja/setja*, meaning ‘a sitting, a setting’.

¹⁴ In the type of medieval hall referred to here, there were raised wooden platforms along the two longer walls (*bekkir*, *pallar*, *langpallar*) which were used as benches in the day-time, and, with appropriate coverings &c., as beds at night. The floor between the platforms would be bare earth, and on this there would generally be a fire. At mealtimes, tables would be erected in front of the platforms, and if necessary other seats could be placed in between the tables to supplement

the accommodation on the platforms. These are what is meant in the *þátrr* by the terms *reiðustólar ok forsæti* (a few lines below), in which *reiðu-* seems to refer to the fact that these seats were moveable (cf. *reiða* ‘move’) as opposed to the built-in seats on the side-platforms, and *for-* to the fact that these seats were in front of or between the tables. In contrast, *stofan it efra* (*it efra* is adverbial accusative singular neuter) ‘the upper part of the room’, refers to the raised platforms, which were fully occupied by the king’s party. That this is the correct interpretation of the phrase (rather than ‘the upper end of the room’) is confirmed not only by the author’s addition of the words *með veggjunum* ‘along the walls’, but by a parallel passage in *Egils saga* 29, where *it efra* is contrasted with *it fremra* ‘in front’ i.e. of the tables, on the *forsæti*: *er alskipat var it efra ok it fremra*. Cf. Valtýr Guðmundsson 1889, 180–186 and 190. *Hásætit* ‘the high seat, the place of honour’ was in the middle of the platform running down one of the long walls of the hall, see below.

There are descriptions of the seating arrangements customary in the king’s court in *Msk* 289–90, *Fsk* 300, *Hkr* II 72–3 and III 204. All these, and that in the *þátrr*, are probably based on a description in the original compilation of the king’s sagas from which the surviving *Morkinskinna* is derived, which was probably made about 1220. *Msk* 289–90 reads: *En þat var forneskju siðr í Nóregi, svá ok í Danmørk ok Svíþjóðu, þar sem váru stór konungsbú ok veizlustofur, at konungs háseti var á langpallinn (á miðjan langbekk Fsk) þann er vissi í móti sólu. Sat þá dróttning á vinstra veg frá konungi, ok var þat þá kallat öndugi, ok sá sess vegligastr út í frá hvárntveggja stað til kvenna ok karla er næst var öndugi, en hinn övegligastr er ýztr var ok næst dyrum. Ok inn gøfgasti maðr, sá er gamall var ok vitr, ok væri konungs ráðgjafi kallaðr, sem konungum hafði lengi títt verit at hafa með sér gamla spekinga, til þess at vita forna siðu ok dæmi forellra sinna—þessi maðr skyldi sitjá á inn óæðra pall (annann langpall Fsk) gegnt konungi, ok hét þat it óæðra öndugi. Var frá honum til hægra vegs kvenna sæti, en á vinstra veg karla sæti.*

Only *Msk* and *Fsk* expressly say which side of the hall was the *æðri bekk*; *Fsk* adds the detail that the hall had doors at each end (*váru dyrr á hvárumtveggja enda stofunnar*), and this fact is also included in *Hkr* II 72, although Snorri does not seem to have a clear idea about the layout of the hall: he says that the bishop sat *innar frá (hásetinu)*, and if the high seat was in the middle of the hall, this phrase could only be used if one end of the hall had no entrance. *Hkr* II 72 and the *þátrr* both have the details of where the bishop sat (on the right of the king), and both make the person opposite the king his *stallari* (instead of the *ráðgjafi* of the older accounts); these two facts Snorri may well have taken from the *þátrr*. He also puts the king’s *ráðgjafar* on his left, instead of the queen and the ladies, as in *Msk* and the *þátrr*, and does not assign a place to the latter at all. He puts the bishop’s *kennimenn* where the sons of Árni sit in the *þátrr*.

Hkr III 204 gives us the information that Óláfr kyrri was the first of the kings of Norway to have the high-seat on a cross-bench at the gable end of the hall instead of in the middle of the long wall, and this information Snorri has also taken from the version of *Msk* that was known to him.

Thus it seems that the description in the *þátrr* is based on a description in the original *Morkinskinna* compilation (or possibly on a parallel description, or even

on the source of the *Morkinskinna* passage), although the author of the *þáttr* has altered the details somewhat, particularly regarding the bishop and the *stallari*; and that Snorri in *ÓH* and *Hkr* has based his description on the *Morkinskinna* version, but also adopted some of the changes introduced by the author of the *þáttr*, besides making some innovations on his own account.

¹⁵ Björn stallari (the marshal) comes frequently into the sagas of Óláfr helgi and was clearly a historical character, through his genealogy does not seem to be recorded anywhere. He is sometimes called Björn digri (the fat), and is represented as one of the king's most faithful followers. He fell with the king at Stiklarstaðir.

On the duties of the *stallari*, see *Hirðskrá* chapter 22 (*NGL* II 410 f.): *Næst lendum mǫnnum ok kanceler í hirð konungs eru stallarar at ǫllum sæmdum . . . stallari skal ræða allt þat sem konungr býðr honum, bæði á þingum ok á hirðstefnum*, and note Björn's *íþrótt* and the king's comment on it (p. 12 above). In *Hkr* II 88–89 it is said of Björn: *Björn var frægr maðr, af mǫrgum mǫnnum kuðr bæði at sýn ok at máli, þeim ǫllum, er sét hǫfðu Ólaf koning, því at Björn stóð upp á hverju þingi ok talaði konungs ǫrendi*.

On the abrupt introduction of this and the following characters into the *þáttr* (without the customary formulas *Björn hét maðr* &c.), and its bearing on theories about the origin and composition of the *þáttr*, see Faulkes 1966, 63–64.

¹⁶ The only extant version of *Óláfs saga helga* that mentions all the six brothers who appear in the *þáttr* is Snorri's. Snorri also names a seventh brother, Ámundi (only once), The Legendary saga does not mention Ámundi or Arnbjörn.

Snorri is careful to mention shortly before he summarises the events of the *þáttr* the fact that the sons of Árne were among the king's following (*Par váru með honum allir synir Árna Armóðssonar Hkr* II 292). It is probable that his only source for this statement is the *þáttr*, for there is no other source to suggest that there was any tradition that they always travelled around with the king, though it is well established that some of them (or all that were still living, except Kálfr) followed him when he fled to Russia in 1029.

¹⁷ *lendir menn*: *lendr maðr* ('landed man') was a man holding land in fief from the king in return for various services (providing soldiers in wartime, providing maintenance for the king and his retinue when he travelled about the country). The term corresponds exactly in meaning to 'thane' as it was used in medieval Scotland and by Shakespeare (*OED* *thane*' senses 3 and 4). The brevity and accuracy of the term 'thane' perhaps justify the translation in spite of the archaism. According to *Hirðskrá* ch. 19 (*NGL* II 407), *Lendir menn skulu vera næst hertoga ok jarlum*.

¹⁸ *boðsmenn*: apparently 'the ordinary guests', i.e. those who were not of the king's party, Rauðúlfr's personal friends. There seems to be no other example of this distinction in Old Norse. It may be noted, however, that St. 4 is the only manuscript which has *boðsmenn*: all the others have *fyrirboðsmenn*, which may well be the original reading. This word is elsewhere used only in connection with wedding feasts, where it apparently means the guests of the bride's family, who usually arrived before the other guests (see *Íslenzk fornrit* III 33, note 3, *Njáls saga* 21, note 8). In *Rauðúlfs þáttr*, *fyrirboðsmenn* might mean those Rauðúlfr was already entertaining before the arrival of the king.

¹⁹ All manuscripts have *skipuðu* ‘arranged’ except St. 4, which has *skiptu*: this is probably a mistake, although the meaning ‘divided’, hence ‘shared out, served’ would be possible here. But *skipta* seems not to be used elsewhere in the sense ‘serve out food’.

²⁰ *er ek nenni eigi at þegja við yðr*: ‘which I do not care to be silent about before you’ (i.e. he makes rash answers because he does not want to have to admit that he does not know with certainty) rather than ‘which I dare not be silent about before you’. Úlfr is not under any compulsion to answer, the point seems rather to be that he is admitting to being so conceited that he prefers to give answers he is not certain about, rather than admit that there is a limit to his knowledge. He does not want to appear at a loss, and so is trapped into rash statements. *Þegja* seems to be used transitively here (unless *er* means ‘when’, which gives less satisfactory sense), and it is sometimes found elsewhere with an object in the genitive, e.g. *Prymskviða* 18: *Þegi þú, Þórr, þeira orða* and *Guðrúnarkviða in fyrsta* 24: *Þegi þú, þjóðleið, þeira orða* (*Poetic Edda* 113 and 205).

²¹ An apparently redundant *ok* introducing a main clause after a subordinate clause is not uncommon in Old Icelandic; it is an alternative to the more frequent correlative *þá*. See *NION* I 261.

²² This accomplishment of the king’s is not mentioned in other sources.

²³ Kálfr, alone of the sons of Árni, turned against the king in the last years of his reign, and fought against him at Stiklarstaðir. According to *Hkr* II 385, Kálfr gave the king one of the three wounds from which he died. His chief reasons for turning against the king seem to have been, according to Snorri, his resentment for the death on the king’s orders of Þórir Ólvisson, who was Kálfr’s stepson (*Hkr* II 300–301) and the death of Áslákr fitjaskalli (*Hkr* II 322–323). See also the complaints of his wife Sigríðr against the king, *Hkr* II 333.

²⁴ Both Finn and Þorbergr remained faithful to King Óláfr to the last, and fought with him at his last battle, where they were both wounded. They had sworn oaths of loyalty to the king before the events related in the *þáttr*, see *Hkr* II 249. Kolbjörn and Árni also fought for the king at Stiklarstaðir, and these two died in the battle.

²⁵ This is the winter of 1027–8, when King Óláfr’s authority in Norway was beginning to slip from his grasp. In the following year, Knútr inn ríki invaded Norway and most of Óláfr’s followers deserted him, and he fled to Russia. Among those of his subjects who deserted him or turned against him shortly before the events related in the *þáttr* were Erlingr Skjálǫgsson (see *Hkr* II 268), Þórir hundr (*Hkr* II 253), Einarr Þámbarskelfir (*Hkr* II 267), Hárekr ór Þjóttu (*Hkr* II 290–91), and Hákon Eiríksson, who had been captured by the king when he first came to Norway in 1015 and then released after he had sworn oaths never to fight against the king again, see *Hkr* II 295. A similar complaint to that found here is expressed by the king in *Hkr* II 324: *Erfiða ferð hafa þeir fengit mér í hendr, lendir menn mínir, er nú hafa skipt um trúnaðin, er um hríð váru vinir mínir ok fulltrúar*.

²⁶ The bending of particularly strong bows as a trial of strength is several times mentioned in Old Norse, e.g. *Hkr* III 260/3–4; compare also the episode in *Orms þáttr*, Faulkes 2011, 78. That the motive is an old one is shown by its occurrence in Homer’s *Odyssey*, book 21.

Vápnfærr is usually used of a man, ‘able to handle weapons’, i.e. in an active sense, but here it is used in a passive sense, of the bow, ‘able to be handled as a weapon’. Cf. note 57 below.

Arnbjörn is killed by Grjótgarðr Qlvisson in mistake for the king shortly after the episode of the *þáttr* (*Hkr* II 302–03).

²⁷ These three accomplishments seem often to be associated together in Old Norse accounts of heroes, e.g. Hemingr in *Hemings þáttr* competes at all three, and all three are included in the boasts of the kings Eysteinn and Sigurðr in *Hkr* III 259–62, and are among the eight *íþróttir* of Haraldr harðráði (*Msk* 86; *Skj* A I 357). Bow-shooting and skiing are among Rognvaldr kali’s nine *íþróttir* (*Orkneyinga saga* 130), and swimming and archery are among Qrvar-Oddr’s accomplishments (*Qrvar-Odds saga* 147–57) and also feature together in *Eindriða þáttr* (*Flat* I 456–64).

²⁸ a *snekkja* was a warship, apparently smaller than a *dreki* or *skeiðr*, being usually a *tvítögsessa* as here (i.e. having twenty benches, with twenty oars each side, forty in all; a *skeiðr* would have 60 or more oars) with a full complement of 90 men. The term is used especially of vessels built particularly for speed. A *snekkja* is described in *Flat* I 325 (*Fms* II 50), although in this case it is a *þrítögsessa*, but even so smaller than Ormr inn skammi. See Falk 1912, 97 and 104–105.

²⁹ *aktaumar* were the ropes attached to the upper yardarms supporting the sail, to turn them from side to side when sailing in a cross-wind (Falk 1912, 64–65); *sitja í aktaumum* thus means ‘to control the sailing of a ship’.

³⁰ *hvat næst mundi hlýða ófærinni: hlýða* is here impersonal, ‘to be permitted’: ‘the closest it is permitted to go to the point where it becomes impossible’. The reference is to daring to sail in a high wind without reefing sail (cf. *at ek muni fyrr svipta en þeir* in Árni’s boast above). Árni claims that even when sailing along the shore (*með landi fram*), where a high wind makes fast sailing especially dangerous because of the rocks, he would not be the first to reef sail so as to reduce speed. In a high wind a ship under full sail is of course liable to overturn or lose its rigging. The sense of the king’s remark is therefore that Arni knows how much sail it is possible for a ship to carry in a strong wind without it being damaged. Arni’s boast therefore does not primarily refer to racing, but to a sort of chicken run, each ship wanting to make the other reef sail first. *Sigla hjá mér* therefore in this context means ‘sail alongside’, not, as often, ‘overtake’.

The same *íþrótt* is mentioned in *Hálfs saga ok Hálfsrekka* (*Fas* II 37): *Þat var annarr siðr þeira að tjalda aldri á skipi ok aldri hálsa segl fyrir ofviðri* (v. l.).

³¹ This refers to the events related in *ÓH* 165–66 (*Hkr* II 114), where Björn brought King Óláfr Eiríksson of Sweden the offer of Óláfr of Norway for a peace settlement in 1018. The Swedish king had refused all dealings with Norway and refused to recognise Óláfr as king, and would not even allow his name to be mentioned in his court, referring to him always as *inn digri maðr* (that fat man). He was very angry whenever anyone spoke of him, but Snorri tells us that at an assembly called by the king at Uppsala, Björn announced the Norwegian king’s message, and that *Björn mælti hátt, svá at Svíakonungr heyrði gorva*. The king of Sweden was very angry, but Björn managed to complete his mission successfully: settlement of all disputes was agreed and Óláfr of Norway was to marry the king

of Sweden's daughter Ingigerðr. Unfortunately, the settlement was short-lived. The king of Sweden changed his mind, and neither he nor Ingigerðr turned up for the wedding: instead he married her off to the king of Russia. Óláfr of Norway consoled his honour by marrying the Swedish king's other daughter, Ástriðr, without her father's knowledge (cf. note 2 above).

Björn's part in these events is very different in Snorri's version from what it is in the earlier extant versions of *Óláfs saga*; and the reference in the *þáttur* must be to a version of the story similar to Snorri's, rather than to one of the earlier versions. On the significance of this for the dating of the *þáttur* and theories of its origin, see Faulkes 1966, 64–65.

³² This form of entertainment is traditional in Icelandic sagas, and even in other European literature, see Faulkes 1966, ch. 4.

³³ *Svalir* seem to have been a balcony or open passage running round the whole building. In Icelandic they are most frequently mentioned in connection with buildings having an upper storey, which was usually approached by an exterior staircase leading to *svalir*, which encircled the building at first floor level. See Valtýr Guðmundsson 1889, 100–101. In this case, however, the building has only one floor and the *svalir* are evidently on a level with the ground, or only slightly raised. Between the *svalir* and the inside of the building was the *skjalþili* or wooden partition: since this in effect would be the exterior wall of the building, the word perhaps means rather 'wooden (or panelled) wall'. It is uncertain whether the *d* is radical, as the form *skjalþili* is also found. If the latter is the more original form, the first element would be related to *skilja* 'divide'; if the former, to *skjöldr* 'shield' (so Alexander Jóhannesson 1956, 846: '*skjöldr* bedeutet urspr. "gespaltenes Holzstück, Brett"'). Cf. Valtýr Guðmundsson 1889, 95 ff.

³⁴ *purtréat*: a loan-word from French (cf. *portrait*). The use of the foreign word has caused some difficulty to the copyists, see textual note. This must be its first occurrence in Old Icelandic (it becomes quite common in *Riddarasögur*), and is a further example of the foreign influence which pervades the *þáttur*. It perhaps suggests that the author could read French, and possibly used a French source.

³⁵ *bríkr*: screens separating the outer room from the inner. These evidently did not go right up to the roof, for later ('*á neðra ræfrinu fyrir útan stafanna*') we are told that the king could see the roof of the outer part of the room from his bed, so they were probably only head-high.

³⁶ *ffjórir tigir í útskemmuni*: i.e. forty in each quarter of the outer part of the room. There would naturally be room for about twice as many beds round the outer walls as around the inner partition. This would mean that there were beds for 160 altogether in the outer room, and 80 in the inner, making 240 in all. We were told above (when he first arrived at Rauðúlfr's dwelling, p. 4) that the king had 200 men with him.

³⁷ *kopparajárnum*: apparently chisels. *Koppari* is a man who makes *koppar* 'cups', or anything hollow, i.e. a turner or woodworker, whose most typical tool (*járn*) is a chisel. *Með kopparajárnum gor* therefore means either 'finished (i.e. smoothed) with chisels', or, perhaps better, 'finished, i.e. decorated, with chiselling'.

³⁸ The necessity for the queen to sleep in another bed is obviously so that the purity of the king, which is necessary if he is to receive a revelation from heaven,

may not be sullied by carnal intercourse. For other examples of this taboo in dream ritual in Old Icelandic, see Faulkes 1966, 12–13.

³⁹ *inu iðra* (i.e. *innra*) *sætinu*: the inner position, i.e. inside the screen dividing the *ríkismenn* from the *hirdmenn*.

⁴⁰ *veldishringr* ‘ring of power’, is the usual word for ‘halo’ in Old Icelandic. But *veldishringr Guðs* seems to mean not the usual round ring such as is often depicted above the heads of angels and saints, but rather what is technically known as a *vesica* or *vesica piscis*, a pointed oval figure completely surrounding a divine figure. This is shown by the description of the aureole in the dream (p. 18 above) which was *vaxinn* (‘shaped’) *sem veldishringr Guðs*, that is, it was shaped like the aureole usually found round pictures of God, though in this case it was only round the head of the crucifix. This aureole is a little later described as oval and pointed at top and bottom. That the *veldishringr Guðs* was traditionally regarded as different from ordinary haloes is also implied by the quotation from *Mariu saga* given below, note 48.

The *vesica* is in general only found associated with divine figures (or the Virgin Mary), and is especially common in representations of the transfiguration, where the figure of Christ is often surrounded by one, while the watching apostles have only the usual round halo round their heads; cf. Dalton 1911, 682–83, 655, and illustrations of such scenes in that book. Illustrations containing vesicae are also found in Selma Jónsdóttir 1959, plates 2 (Torcello), 6 (Mount Sinai) and 8 (S. Angelo in Formis). In that book the author demonstrates that the medieval carvings from Bjarnastaðarhlíð and Flatatunga show close connection with the art of Monte Casino in the late eleventh century, where the influence was predominantly Byzantine. The author of the *páttir* may well have seen such works of art showing strong Byzantine influence, and thus have been acquainted with the Byzantine convention of reserving the *vesica*-shaped aureole for God, while lesser figures had only an ordinary halo. At any rate it must be admitted that his description of *veldishringr Guðs* accords with this convention.

⁴¹ *málstofa* ‘speech-hall’, ‘public hall’: the large hall in a medieval dwelling was usually used for eating, sleeping and business. One would therefore expect the room mentioned here to be the same as that in which the events of the previous evening took place, *stofan* (p. 6), but later on (p. 22) it is made clear that the *málstofa* was not used for eating in this case (*Gekk konungr síðan brott ór málstofunni ok til borða*). It might perhaps be rendered ‘conference room’ (cf. Valtýr Guðmundsson 1889, 192 where it is glossed ‘audiensstue’). The fact that Rauðúlfr’s house had such a hall emphasises the magnificence of the establishment.

⁴² *abragðligum*: i.e. *afbragðligum*. In *afbragð* and *afburðr* the *f* is often assimilated to the following *b*, and the change is often shown in the spelling *abb-*, which represents the usual modern Icelandic pronunciation, see Blöndal under *afbragð* &c., and Noreen 1923, § 269.

⁴³ *sólarsteinn* ‘sunstone’ is thought to have been a piece of Iceland spar, a transparent variety of calcite that is common in parts of Iceland, which polarises light and can be used to determine the position of the sun on a cloudy day. P. G. Foote (1956, 26–40) has drawn attention to the fact that sunstones are referred to in *Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar*, *Guðmundar saga góða* and in church inventories.

The fact that in Old Icelandic, these stones are always the property of the church or of bishops, suggests that they were commonly used for keeping the time for church services, though it is also possible that they were used for navigation.

⁴⁴ *fátt muni vera aftækt um yðra skapsmuni*: compare Hreiðarr's words when asked a similar question (but with reference to physical rather than moral defects) by King Magnús in *Hreiðars þátr* (Faulkes 2011, 46, lines 162–4). This whole conversation is remarkably similar to that between Hreiðarr and Magnús: both Hreiðarr and Dagr are asked to point out defects in the kings, and both unexpectedly give the right answer (after protestations), and, even more unexpectedly, both kings take the criticisms good-humouredly.

⁴⁵ *kvennanna ást*: nowhere else is this explicitly said to be one of the king's vices, although, like many other kings, he had a mistress, Álfhildr. Their son was Magnús góði, who became king of Norway in 1035; see *Hkr* II 209. This fact is given in all versions of *Óláfs saga helga*, but Styrmir, in his saga, gives some details about irregularities in the king's conduct that are not in other versions. In the additions to Flateyjarbók from Styrmir's saga (*Flat* III 237–48) we hear of another mistress of the king, Steinvör, but according to Styrmir, Óláfr conquered his desire for her because *hann virði meira vilja Guðs í himinríki en sína eiginliga fýst*. He also says that Óláfr *barðisk dagliga við hinn forna fjánda*, although he does not specifically say that the king's chief temptation was to lust. Compare also the verses attributed to King Óláfr in interpolations in *Óláfs saga helga*, *Skj* B I 210–212, verses 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, where he confesses to desire for Steinvör (4 and 7), Ingibjörg Finnsdóttir (8) and Ingigerðr, wife of Jarzleifr of Garðaríki (cf. note 31 above). All these verses were probably interpolated into Snorri's *Óláfs saga* from Styrmir's saga (cf. *ÓH* 771, 820), though no. 8 is also in the *Legendary saga*. This is another indication that the author of the *þátr* knew *Óláfs saga* in Styrmir's version, where this side of the king's character is most strongly stressed.

It is noteworthy that in Snorri's shortened version of the *þátr* in *ÓH* and *Hkr*, he does not specify the vice that Dagr found in the king, but merely says that *Dagr fann þat til er konungi þótti rétt*. This, and the fact that Snorri also omits all Styrmir's details about the king's relations with Steinvör and Ingibjörg, suggests that Snorri did not agree about this aspect of the king's character, or that he wished to suppress it. Cf. Sigurðr Nordal 1920, 240: 'En Snorra hefur ekki þótt slikt sama um Ólaf konung á síðasta ríkisári hans, og rétt áður en jarteinir hans hófust.' See also Nordal 1953, 207–08.

⁴⁶ *er nú hefir hafizk*: this refers to the disintegration of Óláfr's power in Norway in the last few years of his reign, when he began to be threatened, not only by the disgruntled nobility of Norway, but also by the threat of invasion from abroad, see note 25 above.

⁴⁷ *rauðu gulli*: red gold, i.e. pure gold, contrasted with *næstagull* and *bleikt gull* 'gold alloy' on the belly below, just as pure silver (*brennt silfr*, on the breast) is contrasted with impure silver (*óskírt silfr*, below the navel to the genitals).

⁴⁸ *vaxinn sem veldishringr Guðs*: see note 40 above. *Vaxinn* here means 'shaped', cf. Fritzner under *vaxa* 8. A similar phrase is used in *Maríu saga* 170: *svá vaxinn hringr sem veldishringr várs herra er víða markaðr*, referring to a halo completely

surrounding a figure of St Mary and the infant Jesus on a *tabula* given to a man in a dream, which was therefore probably a *vesica*.

⁴⁹ *sem forðum of lýsigulli*: most of the manuscripts read *sem forðum (firr) var (er) sagt*, but *lýsigull* has not been mentioned before, nor has the fact that the head threw off a beam of light, and these are probably rationalising emendations made by scribes who did not realise the significance of the phrase. *Lýsigull* seems to be used with varying meanings in Old Icelandic, sometimes in contrast with *rautt gull*, as the equivalent of *bleikt gull*, see Fritzner under *lýsigull*, and in Modern Icelandic it is used to mean platinum. But often, as here, it is used of pure gold with reference to the superstition that it shines in the dark (like fairy gold); compare the many stories which tell of the beam of light which shines out from where gold is buried, e.g. *Grettis saga* 57 (cf. Blöndal under *lýsigull*). *Forðum* ‘in days gone by, in days of yore’: the author evidently thinks of *lýsigull* as being a substance belonging exclusively to old stories, as belonging to the world of romance. Compare also *Skáldskaparmál* 40/38–41/1: *pá lét Ægir bera inn á hallargólf lýsigull þat er birti ok lýsti höllina sem eldr ok þat var þar haft fyrir ljós at hans veizlu*.

⁵⁰ The symbolism here seems to be that the face, which contains the organs of speech (*mál*) represents the fact that Óláfr converted many people to Christianity with his words (*með orðum sínum*), and that the glory shown in (or round?) the face represents the glorious reward he has earned through his words. Whether the organs of hearing (*heyrnin*) are supposed to represent the many people (*lýðr*, cf. *hlýða* ‘to hear’) he has converted is more doubtful: such a word-play would depend on the loss of initial *h* before *l*. This sound-change was Norwegian (see Noreen 1923, § 289), but such Norwegian pronunciations could easily have been heard and noticed by an Icelandic writer at this time, especially if he had travelled. Snorri seems to make word-play of this kind in *Skáldskaparmál* 109/17–19, see note on p. 226. The undoubted use of word-play in many other parts of the interpretation of the dream (see Faulkes 1966, ch. 2), in many cases not less tortuous than this, makes it the less incredible that the author is intending a pun here, even though it depends on a foreign pronunciation (or inaccurate identification of sounds?). If the pun is not intended it is difficult to see why the author mentions *heyrnin* at all. It must be admitted, however, that there is no explanation possible at all for the mention of *sýn*, except perhaps that in this part of the vision the king is being shown (*sýnt*) the glory of heaven.

Although Óláfr Tryggvason was credited with having introduced Christianity to Norway, it was St Óláfr who was accorded the greater honour for the conversion: the first laid the foundations, the second completed the work (cf. the prologue to Oddr’s saga of Óláfr Tryggvason). Large parts of *Óláfs saga helga* are devoted to accounts of the king’s proselytising and forcible conversion, or re-conversion, of the people of Norway.

⁵¹ *þín qmbun góð*: some manuscripts (e.g. F, Bæjarb.) have *því* instead of *þín*, ‘in this you were shown the good reward’ (the two words can look very similar in a medieval manuscript). The reading of St. 4 makes *í* an adverb; but the use of the strong adjective form *góð* is unusual in combination with a possessive adjective, though perhaps not sufficiently unusual to justify the rejection of the reading: the phrase perhaps signifies ‘what a good reward yours will be’.

⁵² *endalauss*: J. E. Turville-Petre (1947, 8) sees a contradiction between this sentence and the following one where the aureole is said to be sharp at top and bottom; but there is no real reason why a pointed oval should not be described as having no end. But the symbolism here, as elsewhere, is rather tortuous, and the meanings of words are often stretched.

⁵³ *létuð*: some manuscripts (Bergsb., Tórn.) read *látit* (i.e. past participle, = *þú hefir látit*) might be preferred instead of the verb in the second person plural, since Úlfr uses the second person singular in the rest of the sentence. But he uses the plural form *yðr* at the end of this paragraph, in a sentence which begins with a singular form (*þér*, dative), and sporadically elsewhere in his speech. Consistency in such details is not to be expected, and there seems insufficient ground for altering the text of St. 4.

King Haraldr grenski, St Óláfr's father, died in 994, before the king was born. Óláfr was fostered by his stepfather Sigurðr sýr.

⁵⁴ Yet another reference to the king's declining power, cf. notes 25 and 46 above. For many years before he became king and won back his birthright, he had been a wandering viking with no territorial power, so the symbolism of the pointed oval is very suitable.

⁵⁵ This refers to the rule of Sveinn Álfússon (Knúttsson), a Dane, who was put on the throne of Norway by his father Knútr inn ríki, king of Denmark, after Óláfr's death in 1030. He fled the country in 1035 when Óláfr's son Magnús góði came to Norway to claim the throne, and died soon afterwards. His reign was very unpopular.

⁵⁶ *skoteldr*: flaming arrows used for warfare, 'Greek fire'.

⁵⁷ *óstaðfastligt*: 'unsteadfast', but rather than 'unsteady, intermittent', the context seems to require a transitive meaning, 'causing unsteadfastness, difficult to withstand'. There is no parallel for this usage of the word, but cf. note 26 above, where *vápnfærr*, usually active, is used in a passive sense. It may be noted, however, that for *óþolligt* in the next line here, some manuscripts have *óþolit* (Tórn.) 'unenduring', or *óstöðugt* (Bergsb.), *óstöðugligt* (F) 'unsteady, unstable'. If any of these is the correct reading, and it is the shortness and unstable nature of the reign that the author is emphasising, then perhaps it is the intermittent aspect of Greek fire that he is meaning to call attention to, rather than its terror as a weapon. Cf. the word *stökkr* 'brittle' in the next sentence.

⁵⁸ The meaning seems to be that as the joins between the copper and the other metals were smooth and straight, so this reign will be cut off sharp, will come to a sudden end, and there will be nothing left over from it into the next (i.e. Sveinn's descendants will not succeed him: *engvar kvíslir munu þar af lifna*). Sveinn had no sons.

⁵⁹ There is a parallel to the symbolism of the golden locks here and below (at the end of the next paragraph) in *Hkr* I 90–91, see Faulkes 1966, 19.

⁶⁰ *markaðr*: this could mean either 'engraved' or 'painted'. In the description of the sleeping chamber above, p. 14, *marka* and *skrifa* are used as synonyms. There they probably refer to paintings on wood, here more probably to engravings on metal.

⁶¹ This symbolises the reign of Magnús Ólafsson (inn góði 'the good'), son of St Óláfr, who reigned from 1035 to 1047. He was popular and his reign was a time of internal peace and prosperity.

⁶² Magnús, besides ruling Norway until his death, also became king of Denmark on the death of Hǫrða-Knútr in 1042. None of the other kings referred to here ever managed to keep control of both kingdoms. He also tried to claim the throne of England from Edward the Confessor, but without success. Nevertheless, *miklu meira ífangi* seems rather an exaggeration, and the author is perhaps led into overstatement by the demands of the symbolism he has committed himself to.

⁶³ *lokkar þeir inir gulligu*: in slight contradiction to the end of the preceding paragraph, where only one golden lock is referred to.

⁶⁴ J. E. Turville-Petre (1947, 32, note 9) accepts the reading *ok váru holdgrónir* ‘and (they) were fast-rooted in the flesh’ in 75 c only, saying of this manuscript: ‘this is one of the earliest MSS., and is described as a reliable text, written by an intelligent scribe from a good, exemplar (referring to ÓH 914). But this applies only to the text of ÓH in this manuscript: the text of the *þáttir* there is by no means so reliable, see Faulkes 1966, 73–4.

⁶⁵ *hendilangr: vera e-m hendilangr* means ‘to be the servant of someone, to serve someone (well)’ hence ‘to be obedient, obliging’. Cf. *Bandamanna saga* 299–300: *Nú vildu vér hingat ráðask undir yðra hönd . . . Hann gerðisk Oddi hendilangr ok hollr sýslu ok vinnr mart*. In the context of the *þáttir* the meaning seems to be ‘subservient’.

⁶⁶ *svá breiðr sem hann var, þá var hann þó stuttr*: grammatically *hann* apparently refers to *hǫfðingi*, although the logic of the symbolism requires that it refer to *faðmr* (two sentences before), unless it be taken to refer loosely to the part of the figure which symbolises this king.

⁶⁷ *megingjörð*: ‘girdle of might’. The same term is used (in the plural) of Þórr’s mighty belt, one of his three magic possessions: *Annan grip á hann beztan, megingjarðar, ok er hann spennir þeim um sik, þá vex honum ásmegin hálfu* (*Gylfaginning* 23/6–7). Cf. the modern Icelandic expression *spenna sig megingjörðum* ‘gird up one’s loins, exert oneself to the utmost’ (cf. the literal use in *Gylfaginning* 38/4–5). Compare also Psalm 18: 39 ‘thou hast girded me with strength unto the battle’ (Vulgate 17: 40: ‘Et præcinxisti me virtute ad bellum’). The word in Icelandic is usually used in the plural, and this seems to be the only example of it in the singular.

⁶⁸ This refers to the reign of Haraldr harðráði, son of Sigurðr sýr and half-brother of St Óláfr: their mother was Ásta Guðbrandsdóttir. He reigned jointly with Magnús góði for one year until the latter’s death in 1047, and then alone until 1066, when he died at the battle of Stamford bridge. There are varying traditions about his popularity (see Faulkes 2011, 6–9), but all sources agree that as a ruler he was forceful and successful. The last sentence of this paragraph reflects the tradition exemplified by his nickname *inn harðráði* ‘the Harsh Ruler’. The figure of this king seems to have powerfully affected the imaginations of Icelandic writers, and there is scarcely any other king about whom more stories are told in Old Icelandic literature.

⁶⁹ *sum*: sc. *brögð* ‘designs’.

⁷⁰ *saga Sigurðar Fáfnisbana*: *saga* here, as often elsewhere (e.g. *Háttatal* 35/13), refers to the story in the abstract, not to something written, since the

'story' is written in pictures. Sigurðr must have been the most famous of legendary Germanic heroes in medieval times. Some of the eddic lays of the Sigurðr cycle would almost certainly have been known to the author of the *þáttr*. A *Sigurðar saga* is thought by some to have probably been written down in some form by about 1200, although the surviving *Völsunga saga* version was not made until the thirteenth century (see Jónas Kristjánsson 1988, 348; Jón Helgason 1961, xiii–xiv.). That the deeds of Sigurðr were a favourite subject of artists in the Middle Ages is shown by the twelfth-century carvings from the church of Hylestad and the runestone at Ramsundsberget (see Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1962, 464–5 and 226). Cf. also *Flat* III 244: *Þat var markat á tjalðinu, at Sigurðr vann at Fáfni*. The association of Haraldr harðráði and Sigurðr is also made in a poem of Illugi Bryndælaskáld (*Skj A I 384*).

⁷¹ Haraldr hilditǫnn ('war-tooth') Hrœreksson was a legendary king killed in the Battle of Brávellir. He is mentioned in many of the heroic sagas, including *Ragnars saga* (*Fas I 238*) and *Söggubrot af fornkonungum* (*Danakonunga sögur 46–71*). See Turville-Petre 1951, 55–57.

Fornar sögur, like *fornasögur* in the description of the sleeping chamber (p. 14 above), refers particularly to such stories as these, dealing with legendary heroes of pre-historic Scandinavia and Germany; the equivalent modern term is *Fornaldar sögur*.

⁷² Haraldr hárfagri ('finehair') Hálfðanarson was king of Norway from circa 885 to 931, and it is with him that the known history of Norway can be said to begin. He was the first king to extend his rule over the whole of the country.

⁷³ *epitr þeirra líking mun hann fremjask*: 'he will mould himself in their image'. But *fremjask* should perhaps be taken in a more literal sense (cf. *fram*): 'he will advance himself (i.e. become great) by following their example'.

⁷⁴ *mörgum manni til skaða lagðr*: cf. *Gylfaginning 25–6: allar spár sögðu, at hann mundi vera lagðr til skaða þeim*. But in the latter context *lagðr til* means 'destined to (bring)', but in the former apparently 'used for' (see Fritzner under *leggja til 4* (II 449 b)). The expression also sometimes means 'apt to (do), suited for' (Fritzner II 450 a).

⁷⁵ *næstagull eða bleikt gull: bleikt gull* ('pale gold') is obviously put in contrast with *rautt gull* (note 47), and must mean gold which is impure in some way, probably an alloy of gold, and *næstagull* ('near-gold') implies the same thing. J. E. Turville-Petre (1947, 32, note 10, and 8–9, note 19) suggests that electrum (alloy of gold and silver) is meant. The following sentences in the text show that whatever it was, it was considered inferior to gold. Cf. *bleikt silfr* (note 80).

⁷⁶ *líkat*: Fritzner glosses *líka* 'polere' ('polish'), Cleasby-Vigfusson glosses *líkaðr* 'painted with images'. The word occurs in *Hkr I 110: hans menn höfðu ǫll ný ker ok horn ok búin ǫll með gulli, váru þau ǫll líkuð ok skyggð sem gler*, and in note 3 the editor glosses *líka* 'skreyta með (upphleyptum) myndum' (decorate with pictures (in relief)). In the other instances adduced by Fritzner, *líka* is found parallel with *grafa* (*Mariu saga 199*), *pollizera* (*Thomas saga erkibyskups 301*), and in the following collocation: *allan hagleik frammi at hafa, grafa ok gimsteinum setja, líka ok samkvámur sundrteknar undarliga vel formera* (*Heilagra manna sögur II 130*).

In the two occurrences of the word in the *þáttr* (here and in the next paragraph), either meaning would fit: in both cases the metal referred to is shiny (*skyggt fagrt, vel litt*), and in the first case it is also engraved or painted. The translation ‘had likenesses on it’ is chosen for the second instance because it allows the pun on *líka* (polish, engrave, paint) and *líka* (‘please’) to be preserved.

⁷⁷ This refers to the reign of Óláfr kyrri Haraldsson, 1067–1093. After the death of Haraldr Sigurðarson in England in 1066, his son Magnús ruled alone for one year, and then for another two years jointly with his brother Óláfr. Magnús died in 1069, and from then on Óláfr ruled alone. His reign was popular, a time of peace and prosperity.

⁷⁸ The pun on *hagligr* and *hagleikr* puts some strain on the meaning of the former, which usually means ‘skilful’ and also ‘proper, convenient’. The meaning intended here is perhaps ‘beneficial (to his people)’.

⁷⁹ *of* is an archaic word which came to be replaced by *um*. See Peter Foote 1955, who shows that *of* was replaced by *um* during the first half of the thirteenth century (in prose). But the isolated instance we have here cannot be the basis of any definite deductions about the age of the *þáttr*, though it does help confirm other evidence that it was probably composed early, rather than late, in the thirteenth century. Since all the manuscripts were written considerably later than the probable date of the *þáttr*’s composition, in most cases such archaisms as may have been in the original text would have been modernised by the scribes. In this case, *of* is found only in St. 4: all the other manuscripts either have *um*, or omit the word altogether.

⁸⁰ Impure silver, or silver alloyed with copper, was known as *bleikt silfr* (‘pale silver’), cf. *bleikt gull* (note 75 above). That it was sometimes used for coinage in Norway is attested also by *Halldórs þáttr Snorrasonar* II, see *Laxdæla saga* 269, note 5. Impure silver is obviously chosen to represent Magnús berfœttr because he had the same name as, but was considered inferior to, Magnús Ólafsson (who was represented by pure silver), just as the two Óláfrs are symbolised by the corresponding two types of gold (cf. the preceding paragraph) although in this case the contrast is not made so explicit. It will be noticed that using similar metals for the kings with the same name, as well as the relating of the value of the metals to the author’s estimate of the worthiness of the kings, has altered the plan of the dream as it was presented in the author’s original in the Book of Daniel, where the metals are arranged in descending order of value; see Faulkes 1966, 15.

⁸¹ This refers to Magnús berfœttr, son of Óláfr kyrri, who ruled Norway 1093–1103. The author’s anatomy seems here somewhat confused, as this king is symbolised by the part of the body from the navel down past the genitals, while the previous reign was symbolised by the belly below the belt. There does not seem to be any particular historical justification for the assertion that Magnús was less honoured abroad than at home, though he was not one of the kings of Norway who had any great influence on the course of history in other countries; he did however carry out his share of warlike expeditions abroad, especially to the British Isles. He died in Ireland on such an expedition in 1103. Of course in this context, the author is probably thinking particularly of a comparison between Magnús berfœttr and his namesake Magnús inn góði, who was certainly a greater king.

⁸² According to Snorri, Magnús was not popular with everyone, see *Hkr* III 237: *Var Magnús konungr inn vinsælsti við sína menn, en bóndum þótti hann harðr.*

⁸³ *kvíslask valdit ok dreifask*: i.e. after his death the kingdom would be divided between his sons.

⁸⁴ From 1103 to 1123, Sigurðr Jórslafari and Eysteinn, the sons of Magnús berfœttr, ruled jointly. In 1123 Eysteinn died and Sigurðr ruled alone until his death in 1130. In fact the kingdom was at first nominally divided into three, for Magnús's third son, Óláfr, also shared the throne, but he was only a child and took no part in the government of the country. He died in 1116. Anyway, the symbolism chosen by the author does not allow of the representation of a tripartite division of the kingdom.

⁸⁵ Surprisingly, the two brothers managed to rule together with very little discord. An interesting account of how they started the dangerous same of *mannjafnaðr*, which nearly led to a serious quarrel, is given in *Hkr* III 259–262. Snorri sums up: *Fleiri hlutir urðu þeir í skiptum þeira bræðra, er þat fannsk á, at hvárir dró sik fram ok sitt mál ok vildi hvárr vera ǫðrum meiri, en helzk þó friðr milli þeira, meðan þeir lifðu.*

Of Sigurðr's reign, Snorri writes: *Ok var hans ǫld góð landsfólkinu, var þá bæði ár ok friðr* (*Hkr* III 277).

⁸⁶ *á tréftótum*: 'on wooden legs'. The word is found in several sagas referring to artificial legs (e.g. *Eyrbyggja saga* 40) and it is sometimes found as a nickname (e.g. *Ǫnundr tréftótr* in *Grettis saga*), but does not seem to be used elsewhere in Old Icelandic in a metaphorical sense. But the expression *ganga á tréftótum* is used metaphorically in Modern Icelandic, cf. Blöndal under *trjefótur* and Halldór Halldórsson 1954, 376.

⁸⁷ This paragraph refers to the time of unrest and civil war after the death of Sigurðr Jórslafari in 1130. The period is divided into three stages (they hardly correspond to three reigns), represented by the lower legs, the feet, and the toes of the figure. At first the kingdom was divided between Sigurðr's son Magnús and Haraldr gilli, who claimed to be the illegitimate son of Magnús berfœttr. It was not long before the two kings were at war, and Haraldr captured Magnús and had him blinded and maimed (1135: hence his nickname *blindi*). This is the first stage, represented by the lower legs of the figure. *Ill endimörk* probably refers to Haraldr's treatment of Magnús.

Magnús went into a monastery for a time. Then came the appearance on the scene of Sigurðr slembidjárn, who also claimed to be a son of Magnús berfœttr. Having failed to get a part of the kingdom peaceably, he managed to murder Haraldr gilli in 1136 (cf. *Par munu bræðr berask banaspót eptir* a few lines further on). This is the second stage, represented by the crossed feet.

Sigurðr still did not manage to get the kingdom, and he was defeated and killed by the sons of Haraldr gilli, Ingi and Sigurðr, in 1139; Magnús blindi was killed at the same time, having come out of his retirement to join forces with Sigurðr slembidjárn against his cousins. The kingdom was then ruled for a time by Haraldr gilli's sons Ingi and Sigurðr together, and from 1142 also by their brother Eysteinn. This is the third stage, represented by the toes of the figure. Quarrels soon arose between these

brothers also, and in 1155, Sigurðr was killed by Ingi, who then went on to bring about Eysteinn's death in 1157 (cf. *þeirra afkvæmi mun lengi síðan hverr öðrum mýgja vilja ok til jarðar koma*). From then until his death in 1161, Ingi was continually threatened by Hákon herðibreiðr, who was the son of Ingi's brother Sigurðr. Norway continued to be in a state of unrest until the reign of Sverrir (1177–1202).

This period is in several sources spoken of as a particularly bad time in the history of Norway, cf. *Hkr* III lxi–lxii. In the similar prophetic dream in *Hemings þáttur* (43–44), which also ends with a reference to the same events, the time is spoken of thus: *Ok eptir hann* (i.e. Sigurðr Jórsalafari) *verða mǫrg illvirki. Ok mun ek nú eigi segja framar.*

⁸⁸ *af einum kynkvíslum: kynkvísl* means family line' and also 'generation'. It evidently has the first meaning here, although the use of the plural is odd.

⁸⁹ *svá sem börn gera hríta með fingrum sér*: this, game is described in *Íslenzkar gátur, skemtanir, vikivakar og þulur* II 163. The essence of the game seems to be that the fingers of each hand are bunched up together to represent the heads and horns of two rams, and that these rams charge and butt each other until the fingers of one of the hands are knocked out of position. Such a reference to a humble children's game must be unique in the literature of the period (though cf. *Njáls saga* ch. 8), and shows that the author, besides being learned, was also a man of observation.

⁹⁰ *mýgja* means 'to fell, overthrow, destroy' but the word-symbolism depends on the literal meaning of the word, 'to throw down, mow down into heaps' (cf. *múgr*, *múgi*, 'heap', and the related English verb *mow*). This is symbolised by the toes of the figure being 'heaped' on top of one another (*tærnar lögðusk hver fram yfir aðra*). Or is the symbolism simply that as each toe was trying to get on top of the others, so each of the offspring would try to overcome the other?

⁹¹ Possibly this implies that Rauðúlfr was in some trouble in Sweden and had to flee the country; perhaps his marriage with Ragnhildr was against the wishes of her family. Cf. next note.

⁹² Hringr Dagsson was king over Heiðmǫrk in eastern Norway. His father was a grandson of Haraldr hárfagri (*Hkr* II 348). He supported King Óláfr when he first came to Norway to claim the throne (*Hkr* II 48), but later supported the uprising of the petty kings against Óláfr which was put down in 1017 (*Hkr* II 101–105). After the failure of this rebellion, Hringr swore oaths of loyalty to Óláfr and was then banished. After this, Hringr settled in Sweden. Nowhere else is there any mention of his having a sister called Ragnhildr. See genealogical table II e in *Hkr* III.

⁹³ *vaknaði konungr við átt þeirra beggja*: i.e. he realised who they were, what family they belonged to. Both Ragnhildr and the king were descended from Haraldr hárfagri. Note that we are not told any details of Rauðúlfr's genealogy. He was almost certainly a fictional character (cf. note 7 above) and the author evidently did not care to invent a family for him.

The king does not seem to hold it against Ragnhildr that she is the sister of his old enemy. Her brother's son Dagr fought for Óláfr at Stiklarstaðir, but was overcome by Kálfr Árnason and his followers and fled the battle-field (*Hkr* II 386)

⁹⁴ *horfit*: properly speaking, it is not the thefts that disappear, and for this reason the reading *orðit* (Bergsb., F, Tóm.) may be preferred. But *stuldir* could perhaps be

used in a concrete sense, ‘things stolen’. In any case the grammatical illogicality is not objectionable, and is of a kind not unusual in colloquial speech.

⁹⁵ *fóru synir Rauðs með konungi*: Snorri also includes this information, and in *ÓH* and *Hkr*, Dagr takes part in the events related in the next chapter, and is instrumental in uncovering the treachery of Þórir Ölvisson. His part in this, however, was probably invented by Snorri, and was evidently suggested by the events of the *þátr*; Snorri’s source for the discovery of Þórir’s treachery perhaps did not say in detail how it came about. None of Rauðúlfr’s sons are mentioned elsewhere in *ÓH* or *Hkr* or in the older sagas of St Óláfr. It is very unlikely that the Þórir episode was part of the original *þátr*, since it is closely connected with other events in *ÓH* which could not have been dealt with in the *þátr*, and the addition of the extra episode would have upset the balance of the construction of the *þátr*.

Books Referred to

- Alexander Jóhannesson. *Ísländisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern 1956.
- Bandamanna saga*: see *Grettis saga*.
- Biskupa sögur* I. Ed. Sigurgeir Steingrímsson, Ólafur Halldórsson and Peter Foote. Reykjavík 2003. Íslenzk fornrit XV.
- Blöndal, Sigfús. *Íslenzk-dönsk orðabók*. Reykjavík 1920–24.
- Cleasby-Vigfússon: Richard Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*. With a Supplement by William A. Craigie. Oxford 1957.
- Dalton, O. M. *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*. Oxford 1911.
- Danakonunga sögur*. Ed. Bjarni Guðnason. Reykjavík 1982. Íslenzk fornrit XXXV.
- Egils saga Skalla-Grimssonar*. Ed. Sigurður Nordal. Reykjavík 1933. Íslenzk fornrit II.
- Einar Ól. Sveinsson. *Íslenzkar bókmenntir í fornöld*. Reykjavík 1962.
- Eyrbyggja saga*. *Brands þáttur orva*. *Eiríks saga rauða*. *Grænlandinga saga*. *Grænlandinga þáttur*. Ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson and Matthías Þórðarson. Reykjavík 1935. Íslenzk fornrit IV.
- Falk, Hjalmar. *Altmordisches Seewesen*. Heidelberg 1912. Wörter und sachen IV.
- Fas : Fornaldar sögur Nordrlanda I–III*. Ed. C. C. Rafn. Kaupmannahöfn 1829–30.
- Faulkes, Anthony. *Rauðúlfs þáttur. A Study*. Reykjavík 1966. *Studia Islandica* 25. <http://vsnrweb-publications.org.uk/Raudulfs%20thattr.pdf>
- Faulkes, Anthony (ed.). *Two Icelandic Stories. Hreiðars þáttur. Orms þáttur*. London 2011. <http://www.vsnrweb-publications.org.uk/Text%20Series/2IcelSt.pdf>
- Flat: Flateyarábók I–III*. Kristiania 1860–68.
- Fms: Fornmannasögur I–XII*. Kaupmannahöfn 1825–37.
- Foote, Peter. ‘Notes on the Prepositions OF and UM(B) in Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian Prose’. Reykjavík 1955. *Studia Islandica* 14.
- Foote, Peter. ‘Icelandic sólarsteinn and the medieval background’. *Arv* 12 (1956), 26–40.
- Fritzner, Johan. *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog I–III*. Kristiania 1886–96.
- Fsk: Ágrip af Nóregskonunga sögum. Fagrskinna—Nóregs konunga tal*. Ed. Bjarni Einarsson. Reykjavík 1984. Íslenzk fornrit XXIX.
- Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar. Bandamanna saga. Odds þáttur Ófeigssonar*. Ed. Guðni Jónsson. Reykjavík 1936. Íslenzk fornrit VII.
- Gylfaginning*: Snorri Sturluson. *Edda: Prologue and Gylfaginning*. Ed. Anthony Faulkes. London 2005.
- Halldór Halldórsson. *Íslenzk orðtök*. Reykjavík 1954.
- Háttatal*: Snorri Sturluson. *Edda: Háttatal*. Ed. Anthony Faulkes. London 2007.
- Heilagra manna sögur I–II*. Ed. C. R. Unger. Christiania 1877.
- Hemings þáttur Áslákssonar*. Ed. Gillian Fellows Jensen. Copenhagen 1962. *Editiones Arnarnagæanæ* B 3.
- Hkr*: Snorri Sturluson. *Heimskringla I–III*. Ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson. Reykjavík 1941–51. Íslenzk fornrit XXVI–XXVIII.
- Íslenzkar gátur, skemtanir, vikivakar og þulur I–IV*. Ed. J. Árnason and Ó. Davíðsson. Kaupmannahöfn 1887–1903.
- Íslenzk fornrit I–* . Reykjavík 1933– .

- Jón Helgason (ed.). *Eddadigte* III. København 1961.
- Jónas Kristjánsson. *Eddas and Sagas*. Reykjavík 1988.
- Kristni saga*: in *Biskupa sögur* I, 1–48.
- Laxdeila saga. Halldórs þáttir Snorrasonar. Stúfs þáttir*. Ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson. Reykjavík 1934. Íslenzk fornrit V.
- Legendary saga: *Ólafs Saga hins helga*. Ed. O. A. Johnsen. Kristiania 1922.
- Maríu saga*. Ed. C. R. Unger. Christiania 1871.
- Msk. Morkinskinna*. Ed. Finnur Jónsson. København 1932. Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur.
- NGL: Norges gamle Love indtil 1367* I–V. Ed. R. Keyser and P. A. Munch (Gustav Storm and Ebbe Hertzberg). Christiania 1846–95.
- NION I*: Michael Barnes. *A New Introduction to Old Norse*. Part I. Grammar. London 2008.
- Njáls saga: Brennu-Njáls saga*. Ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson. Reykjavík 1954. Íslenzk fornrit XII.
- Nordal, Sigurður. *Snorri Sturluson*. Reykjavík 1920.
- Nordal, Sigurður. *Litteratur-Historie* B. Norge og Island. Nordisk Kultur VIII. Uppsala 1953.
- Noreen, Adolf. *Altisländische und Altnorwegische Grammatik*. Halle (Saale) 1923.
- ÓH: Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga*. Ed. Oscar Albert Johnsen and Jón Helgason. Oslo 1941.
- Orkneyinga saga*. Ed. Finnbogi Guðmundsson. Reykjavík 1965. Íslenzk fornrit XXXIV.
- Poetic Edda: Edda. Die Lieder des Codex Regius nebst verwandten Denkmälern* I. Text. Ed. Gustav Neckel. Fourth edition, ed. Hans Kuhn. Heidelberg 1962.
- Schlauch, Margaret. *Romance in Iceland*. London 1934.
- Selma Jónsdóttir. *An 11th Century Byzantine Last Judgement in Iceland*. Reykjavík 1959.
- Skáldskaparmál: Snorri Sturluson. Edda: Skáldskaparmál*. Ed. Anthony Faulkes. London 1998.
- Skj: Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtning*. Ed. Finnur Jónsson. A I–II, B I–II. København 1912–15.
- Thomas saga erkibyskups*. Ed. C. R. Unger. Christiania 1869.
- Turville-Petre, G. *The Heroic Age of Scandinavia*. London 1951.
- Turville-Petre, J. E. (ed.). *The Story of Raud and his Sons*. London 1947. <http://vsnrweb-publications.org.uk/The%20Story%20Of%20Raud%20And%20His%20Sons.pdf>
- Valtýr Guðmundsson. *Privatboligen på Island i Sagatiden samt delvis i det øvrige Norden*. København 1889.
- Víga-Glúms saga*. Ed. G. Turville-Petre. Oxford 1960.
- Qrvar-Odds saga*. Ed. R. C. Boer. Leiden 1888.

Index of Names

- Arnbjörn Arnason 6, 12, 14.
Árni Árnason 6, 12, 14.
Árni (Ar(n)móðsson) 6, 10, 14.
Ástríðr (Óláfsdóttir Svíakonungs), queen of Óláfr helgi 4.
Björn armaðr 4, 24.
Björn stallari 6, 12.
Dagr (Hringsson Haraldssonar hárfagra) 22.
Dagr Rauðúlfsson 4, 10, 16, 24.
Dælir, the inhabitants of (Eystri)dalir 4.
Eystridalir (a group of valleys in eastern Norway lying between the river Glomma and the Swedish border) 4.
Fáfñir (the dragon killed by Sigurðr) 20.
Finnr Árnason 6, 10, 14.
Guð (God) 14, 16, 18.
Haraldr (Hálfðanarson) hárfagri, king of Norway c. 885–931 20.
Haraldr hilditönn (Hræreksson) 20.
Heiðmörk (Hedmark in Opland, eastern Norway) 4.
Hringr Dagsson (king in Heiðmörk) 22.
Kálfr Árnason 6, 10, 14.
Kolbjörn Árnason 6, 12, 14.
Nóregr (Norway) 10.
Óláfr (sænski Eiríksson), king of Sweden (d. 1022) 12.
Óláfr (Haraldsson, the saint; Olaf II of Norway), king of Norway 1015–1030 4, 10, 14.
Ragnhildr Dagsdóttir (wife of Rauðúlfr) 4.
Rauðr: see Rauðúlfr.
Rauðúlfr (Rauðr, Úlfr) 4, 6, 8, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24 (Rauðúlfr 4, 12, 22; Rauðr 4, 6, 16, 24; Úlfr 4, 6, 8, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22).
Sigurðr Rauðúlfsson 4, 8, 12, 16.
Sigurðr Fáfñisbani (Sigmundarson) 20.
Svíar (the Swedes) 12.
Úlfr: see Rauðúlfr.
Uppsalaþing (the assembly at Uppsala) 12.
Þorbergr Árnason 6, 12, 14.