TWO TALES OF ICELANDERS

ÖGMUNDAR ÞÁTTR DYTTS
OG GUNNARS HELMINGS

QLKOFRA ÞÁTTR

EDITED BY

IAN WYATT AND JESSIE COOK

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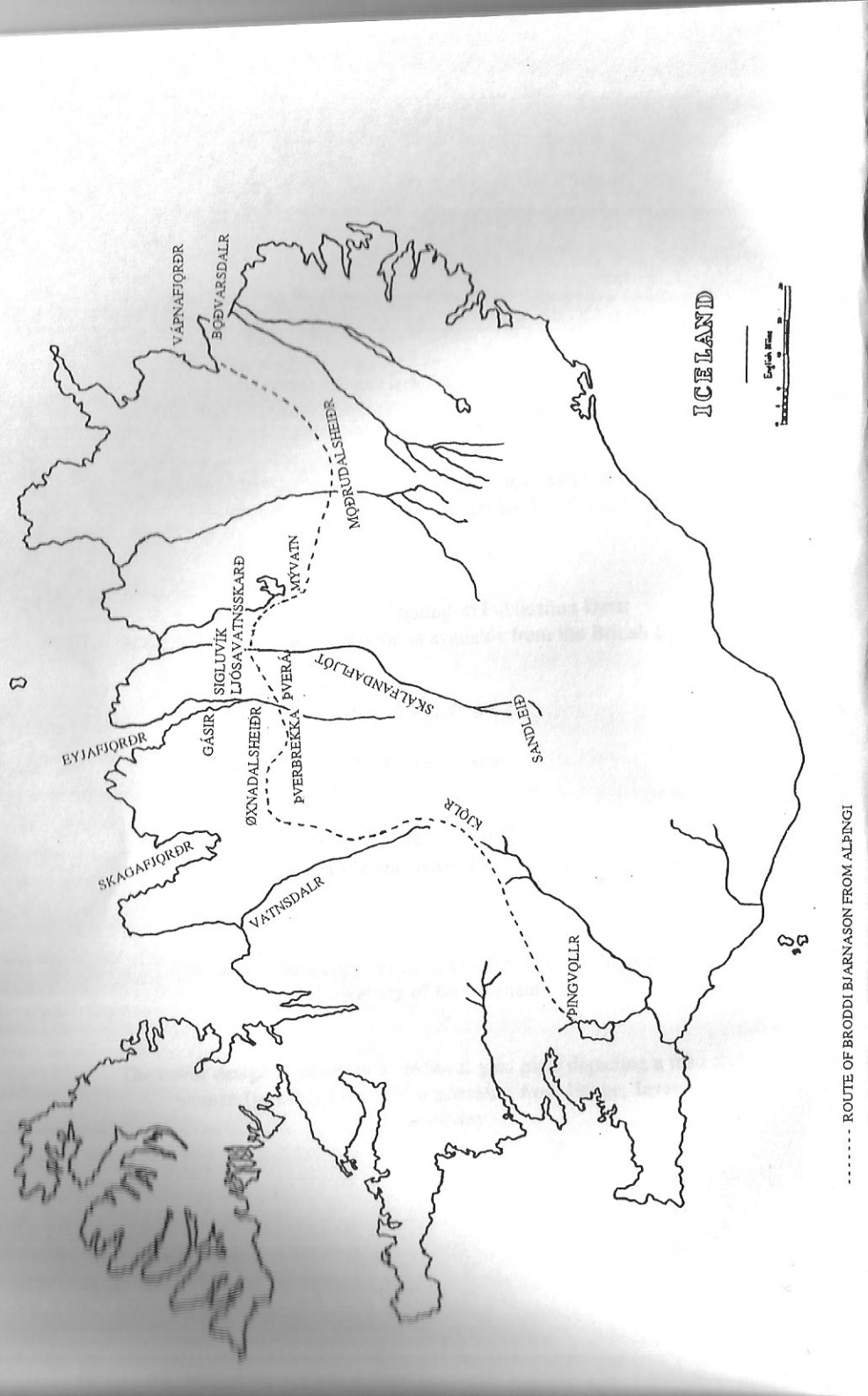
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PREFACE

These two editions were first compiled as theses for the degree of M. Phil. at the University of Birmingham. Jessie Cook's edition of *Qlkofra þáttr* was submitted in 1986, Ian Wyatt's edition of *Ögmundar þáttr dytts* in 1989. They are now presented together, with combined glossary and index, in a form in which it is hoped it will be possible for students of Old Icelandic to enjoy these two interesting and entertaining stories. Both were probably first written down in Iceland in the thirteenth century, and *Qlkofra þáttr* is normalised in the usual way. But for *Ögmundar þáttr* it was decided to base the text on a fourteenth-century version, which although it is probably not the closest to the original, is still an interesting and authentic redaction which has not before been printed separately; and the spelling of this text is normalised in a way which reflects the stage of development of the Icelandic language in the fourteenth century. The introductions give some information about the differing backgrounds and contexts of the two stories, one of which has close affinity with *Bandamanna saga*, also now accessible to English students, the other with the cult of the god Freyr.

Anthony Faulkes

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Ian Wyatt

INTRODUCTION TO ÖGMUNDAR ÞÁTTR DYTTS

Ögmundar þáttr dytts is found as one of the many *þættir* (episodes, probably originally independent stories, included as chapters in sagas) in eight independent manuscripts of *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta* (always in the same part of the saga, which is an expanded version of the corresponding saga in Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, about half way through), and as part of a fragmentary version of *Víga-Glúms saga* (AM 564 a 4to), where it is however incomplete. Of these nine manuscripts, three are of particular importance: AM 61 fol., which is thought to be the most original version; AM 564 a 4to, which contains only the first part of the *þáttr*; and GkS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók, abbreviated F), the version used for this edition. On the relationships of the manuscripts of *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta* see Ólafur Halldórsson 1982, 30–31; 1987, xvii–liv. Briefly, they are as follows: AM 61 fol. is the best and most original manuscript. AM 53 fol. contains the same redaction (as does AM 54 fol., but this manuscript is incomplete and does not contain *Ögmundar þáttr dytts*). AM 325 VIII 2 e 4to is a copy of AM 54 fol. (but this manuscript does contain a fragment of *Ögmundar þáttr dytts*, and may be used to help fill in the lacunae of AM 54 fol.). From AM 325 VIII 2 e 4to when it was complete are descended Perg. fol. nr. 1 (Bergsbók), Papp. fol. nr. 22 (Húsafellsbók) and AM 325 IX 1 b 4to. AM 62 fol. and F represent a revised redaction of the AM 61 fol. version.

Flateyjarbók is a large vellum containing 225 leaves written in two columns. *Ögmundar þáttr dytts* is on fols 44ra–45ra, columns 170–74, and comprises chapters 275–78 of *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*. The main part of the manuscript was written between 1387 and 1394 (dated by the annals at the end) in two hands, the scribes being Jón Þórðarson (columns 11–535) and Magnus Þórhallson (columns 1–10, 535 (one line) to 754, 847–905) who also did the illumination. It seems to have been designed as a comprehensive history of Norway, and the largest items in it are the sagas of St Óláfr and Óláfr Tryggvason. Columns 755–846 (columns 844–846 are blank) contain the sagas of Haraldr harðráði and Magnús the Good, and were added about a hundred years later. The manuscript has headings in red, initials in red, green, blue or brown, and some are multicoloured (that is with ornamentation in a complementary colour). The manuscript is in excellent condition and was written at Víðidalstunga. The first owner was Jón Hákonarson and the manuscript spent many generations in his family on the island of Flatey in Breiðafjörður.

AM 61 fol. is another large vellum with 132 (133) leaves in two columns. *Ögmundar þáttr dytts* is on fols 41ra–42va, chapter 174 of *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*. The manuscript, which also contains *Óláfs saga hins helga*, was written *c.*1400 in three different hands. There are no headings, but the manuscript has open spaces for large initials (except where these have been inserted at a later date). It is generally well preserved, though fol. 132v is almost illegible through wear and tear, and there is one leaf missing. There are personal names and marginal notes throughout the manuscript, and there are also various corrections made by the manuscript collector Árni Magnússon (1633–1730). Amongst the names written in the manuscript is that of Gísli Þorlákssson, bishop of Hólar 1657–84; there is also a note saying that the book had been obtained from Oddr Jónsson of Reynir (1648–1711).

The fragment AM 564 a 4to is a smaller vellum, 28cm x 23.4cm. It has 7 leaves in two columns, and *Ögmundar þáttr dytts* is on fol. 5r–v. Written probably in the last years of the fourteenth century, the manuscript is in a very poor condition. Fols 4–6 have suffered from the cutting of their margins, fol. 7 is ripped and so badly worn that one column is almost totally illegible. There is no sign of any coloured initials or running headings (except those put in by a much later hand). It is indeed a fragmentary codex. Árni Magnússon received this manuscript from Ormur Daðason (1684–1744). It contains *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*, *Þórðar saga hreðu*, *Draumvitranir þrjár*, *Víga-Glúms saga* and *Harðar saga Grímkelssonar*. It was formerly thought to be part of Vatnshyrna (see Stefán Karlsson 1970 and McKinnell 1970).

AM 325 VIII 2 e 4to is a one-leaf vellum fragment written in two columns c.1400.

AM 53 fol. consists of 72 vellum leaves in two columns written at the end of the 14th century.

Perg. fol. nr. 1 (Bergsbók) is a vellum manuscript of 209 leaves in two columns (except fols 122 and 209) written about the end of the 14th or beginning of the 15th century. *Ögmundar þáttr dytts* is on fols 58v–61v, and comprises chapters 145–48 of *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*.

AM 62 fol. consists of 53 vellum leaves in two columns written in the 15th century.

AM 325 IX 1 b 4to is a paper manuscript with 26 leaves in two columns written in the 17th century.

Papp. fol. nr. 22 (Húsafellsbók) is a paper manuscript of 198 leaves (+ 2) written in the first half of the 17th century.

All previous editions and translations of *Ögmundar þáttr dytts* have used AM 61 fol. as the base text, as this is accepted as the most original version of the *þáttr*. I have chosen to use F not as a competitor for the status of most 'original' text, but because it has literary qualities, different from those of AM 61 fol., which make it a worth-while study in its own right. Although both stories contain the same narrative, they differ quite markedly in style. F clearly has the same basic recension of *Ögmundar þáttr* as AM 61 fol., indeed in many places the wording of the texts is identical, but the style and tone have been altered in such a way as subtly to alter the characterisation of Ögmundr. He is not a total idiot in F, as in AM 61 fol., more a victim of circumstance; by no means a clear-headed, cool-thinking hero, but somewhat lacking in common sense. The narrative of F moves along at a steady pace, with rather less direct speech than AM 61 fol. This helps in creating a greater causal unity between the two halves of the *þáttr* than is achieved in AM 61 fol.

A summary of *Ögmundar þáttr dytts*, as it appears in *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*, is as follows:

We are given the genealogy of the eponymous hero (of the first half of the *þáttr*), Ögmundr Hrafnsson. The story then opens in Iceland. Ögmundr buys a ship and sails to Norway; it is his first journey abroad. They leave Iceland late in the summer, and as they approach the Norwegian coast the wind drops. When the wind picks up again it is night, and Ögmundr decides to sail by moonlight rather than risk having to stand offshore for another day. In doing this they run into and sink a longship belonging to a man called Hallvarðr, a friend and retainer of Earl Hákon. Various attempts are made to reconcile the two parties but all are unsuccessful because of Ögmundr's obstinacy. Eventually Hallvarðr deals Ögmundr a severe, though not fatal, blow.

Upon his return to Iceland Ögmundr is treated coolly by everyone, especially by Glúmr who kicks him out of his household because of the dishonour he has brought upon the family. In spite of this Ögmundr acts as if his venture has enhanced his reputation, by involving himself in the disputes of others. Two years later Ögmundr returns to Norway to avenge himself (Óláfr Tryggvason has now come to power). He meets and exchanges cloaks with a man called Gunnarr helmingr (a complete stranger). Disguised as Gunnarr he finds and kills Hallvarðr, then flees to Iceland, whilst Gunnarr is blamed for the killing.

Gunnarr escapes to Sweden, where he obtains the help of a priestess of Freyr. He ingratiates himself with the locals and is taken on the winter feastings held in honour of Freyr. During their journey they are overtaken

by a blizzard; Gunnarr, the priestess and Freyr are separated from the rest of the party; a fight ensues between Gunnarr and the idol. Gunnarr thinks about the true faith (Christianity) and reconciliation with King Óláfr; with these in mind he defeats the demon within the idol. Gunnarr now dons the idol's clothes and with the help of the priestess poses as Freyr. The Swedes now believe they do indeed have a powerful god that can walk, talk, eat and drink as other men do.

King Óláfr hears of this powerful god (the priestess is now pregnant) and suspects that it may be Gunnarr in disguise. He also now knows that it was Ögmundr, and not Gunnarr, that killed Hallvarðr. He sends Sigurðr (Gunnarr's brother) to Sweden to bring Gunnarr and the priestess to his court with the promise of reconciliation. The brothers and the priestess escape from the Swedes (who now suspect some deception) with a great deal of treasure. The priestess is taken into the Christian church and they all keep the true faith ever after.

The latter half of this story (which will be referred to as *Gunnars þáttr*) fits in very well with a whole genre of stories that deal with the cult of Óláfr Tryggvason and his Christianising mission. Gunnarr's fight with the idol is successful because he promises to turn to the true faith and become reconciled with King Óláfr. The story is both an example of the power of Óláfr's sanctity and another layer in the tradition of his holiness and greatness. As in Ormr's fight with Brúsi in *Orms þáttr Stórólfssonar* (see Faulkes 1967, 80), it is the power of Christianity that provides the victory, and the glory of this victory is then (in *Gunnars þáttr*) reflected onto Óláfr. In this way a great many small fibres of such material are gathered together to create the Greatest Saga of Óláfr Tryggvason and within that a genre of stories that illustrate his power, sanctity and influence. So it is easy to see why the story of Gunnarr helmingr was included in *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*; the difficulty is why the rest of *Ögmundar þáttr dytts* should be there. I have no solution to this question, but below (pp. xx–xxix) there is a discussion of the differing ways in which the *þáttr* has been preserved and of the so-called two versions.

Freyr

As with most, if not all, pagan Scandinavian cults there is no precise delineation of the cult of Freyr in medieval sources. There is no one specific quality that one could describe as being the exclusive essence of

Freyr; even his association with fertility is shared not only with his sister Freyja (the two form a divine pair with similar functions) but also with Þórr. One is, therefore, always dealing with a blurred image, a picture that is never quite in focus but is nonetheless perceivable. This is true not only of the extant material dealing with the cult, but also of how we are able to interpret this material. For example, there can be little doubt that *Gunnars þáttr* is designed to be comic, but is it designed to satirise and debunk the image of Freyr or is the cult so strong that the comedy is to be taken in good part, and therefore supporting the cult? If this were so, we would have to suppose that the story dates from much earlier than the thirteenth century, by which time all traces of the cult of Freyr must have died out throughout Scandinavia. There is the very same problem with *Þrymskviða* (PE 111–15). A simplistic approach would be to argue for pagan or Christian authorship, but as we shall see with the questions of date and authorship (see below), these are complex issues. I do not intend to argue around these points extensively; rather I shall attempt a more general discussion of the cult of Freyr with *Gunnars þáttr* as its hub. I should also add here that much of my secondary material is drawn from Turville-Petre (1964) and Ólafur Briem (1945), both of which are very valuable for their full discussions of the cult of Freyr.

If frequency of reference can be seen as a sign of significance, then *Gunnars þáttr* must indeed be significant, as there is hardly a book on Northern religion that does not mention it. The reason that such a small tale has come to be mentioned in so many learned works is that it contains unique descriptions of some aspects of the cult of Freyr. However, before moving on to discussing the material in *Gunnars þáttr*, I feel that a brief outline of the cult would be useful. Although the three main sagas that deal with Freyr are *Víga-Glúms saga*, *Gísla saga* and *Hrafnkels saga*, none of these gives us as good an outline of the cult of Freyr as that given by Snorri Sturluson. In his characteristically lucid and succinct way, Snorri gives us a very handy summary of the cult in chapter 10 of his *Ynglinga saga* (ÍF XXVI, 23–24):

> Freyr tók þá við ríki eptir Njǫrð. Var hann kallaðr dróttinn yfir Svíum ok tók skattgjafar af þeim. Hann var vinsæll ok ársæll sem faðir hans. Freyr reisti at Uppsǫlum hof mikit ok setti þar hǫfuðstað sinn, lagði þar til allar skyldir sínar, lǫnd ok lausan eyri. Þá hófsk Uppsalaauðr ok hefir haldizk æ síðan. Á hans dǫgum hófsk Fróðafríðr. Þá var ok ár um ǫll lǫnd. Kenndu Svíar þat Frey. Var hann því meirr dýrkaðr en ǫnnur goðin, sem á hans dǫgum varð landsfólkit auðgara en fyrr af friðinum ok ári. Gerðr Gymisdóttir hét kona hans. Sonr þeira hét Fjǫlnir. Freyr hét Yngvi ǫðru nafni . . . En er Freyr var dauðr, báru þeir hann leyniliga í hauginn ok sǫgðu Svíum, at hann lifði, ok

varðveittu hann þar þrjá vetr. En skatt ǫllum helltu þeir í hauginn, í einn glugg gullinu, en í annan silfrinu, í inn þriðja eirpenningum. Þá helzk ár ok friðr.

(Freyr took over the kingdom after Njǫrðr; he was called lord over the Swedes and received tribute from them. He was popular and prosperous, as his father had been. Freyr built a great temple at Uppsala and made this his capital; he gave to it all of his taxes, lands and property. Then the prosperity of Uppsala began and has continued ever since. In his days began the Froði-peace. Then there was also abundance in all lands; the Swedes ascribed this to Freyr. He was the more worshipped than the other gods, in that during his days the people of the land became wealthier than before, because of the peace and good seasons. Gerðr Gymisdóttir was the name of his wife; their son was called Fjǫlnir. Freyr was given a second name, Yngvi . . . And when Freyr was dead, they bore him secretly into the mound and told the Swedes that he was alive, and kept him there for three winters. And all the tribute they poured into the mound, in at one window the gold, and in through another the silver, in through the third copper coins. Then peace and good seasons continued.)

The information that we gain from *Gunnars þáttr* on the cult of Freyr can be summarised thus: a winter procession, the use of a dressed idol, a priestess, the use of sacrifices and, of course, Sweden as the setting. These items will form the basic structure of the following discussion.

In book four, ch. 26, of Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* we are told of a great temple that was decked out in gold, in which stood statues of Óðinn, Þórr and Freyr. Þórr is given primacy and governs (we are told) the weather and the crops; Freyr bestows peace and pleasure on mortals. His likeness, too, they fashion with an immense phallus (*cum ingenti priapo*). To some extent (and certainly for my purposes) this overlap of attributes between Þórr and Freyr can be ignored, as we are told in the *Viðbætir við Ólafs sögu hins helga* by Styrmir fróði (*Flateyjarbók* 1944–45, IV 11) that Þórr is the god of the English, Óðinn the god of the Saxons, Skjöldr the god of the men of Skáni and Freyr the god of the Swedes. Furthermore this association of different gods with different countries is borne out by the large number of references to Freyr as the god of the Swedes. However, place-name evidence (see de Vries 1956–57, II 50–55) suggests areas of worship rather than whole countries, though clearly one could say that a particular god was predominant in a particular country. We learn from *Flateyjarbók* that Þrándheimr was also a centre of Freyr worship; *Ólafr konungr braut goð Prænda* tells of how King Óláfr destroyed an idol of Freyr that was worshipped by the people of Þrándheimr, and *Kristniboð Ólafs konungs* tells of two wooden idols that were placed in Freyr's burial mound. They were subsequently stolen, one left in Sweden and the other taken to

Þrándheimr (*Flateyjarbók* 1944–45, I 445–50). There are a couple of points that I wish to draw out of this in a little while, but for the time being I am simply trying to show how, for my purposes, I am able to ignore the overlap (and any implications contained therein) between Þórr and Freyr as they are nominally assigned to two different countries.

An important point to be drawn from Adam's description is that idols were used in the worship of these gods; this is further supported by the wooden idols mentioned in *Flateyjarbók*. However, we have no mention of such idols being clothed, unless the reference in *Hávamál* 49 (PE 24) to wooden men being clothed can be seen as related to this point:

Váðir mínar gaf ec velli at
tveim trémǫnnum;
reccar þat þóttuz er þeir rift hǫfðo;
neiss er nøcqviðr halr.

(I gave my clothes to two wooden men in a field; they thought themselves champions when they had that clothing; shamed is a naked man.)

On the significance of the *trémaðr*, see Evans 1986, 93–95, 97; and McTurk 1991, 16–39.

Given that such idols would at the very least have been painted (after all, rune-stones were), and if the above strophe is any indication that idols would have been garbed in some way, then we can assume that when Gunnarr fights the idol and dons its clothing, neither the idol nor its being clothed would have come as a surprise to the audience, who may still have had memories of such a tradition. However, I have no doubt that the image of the defeated fiend leaping out of the idol, followed by Gunnarr putting on the idol's clothes, must have brought out at least a smile or two (ll. 269–80).

Whilst on the subject of the fight between Gunnarr and Freyr, it is worth noting that this is by no means the one and only occurrence of such a conflict. I mentioned above Ormr Stórólfsson's success in his fight against Brúsi and his mother; this was as a direct result of his being a Christian and promising to go on a pilgrimage to Rome (Faulkes 1967, 80). Of course this fight was with a giant and not a god, but the principle remains the same: pray to the Christian God and overcome any adversary, no matter how powerful. In his opening chapter to *The Golden Bough*, Frazer (1922, 1) tells us of the priest of Nemi: 'A candidate for the priesthood could only succeed to office by slaying the priest, and having slain him, he retained office till he was himself slain by a stronger or a craftier.' One cannot help but notice the parallel here with *Gunnars þáttr*,

but although Gunnarr goes on to become Freyr there is not sufficient evidence to argue a connection with Frazer's Mediterranean example. But the parallel is an interesting one and the fight in *Gunnars þáttr* may represent some ancient ritual of kingship, though this is mere speculation and it would be unprofitable to attempt to pursue it any further.

Any description of any aspect of a pagan cult is quite a rarity in Old Norse, but one must treat such material with the utmost care. The description of the priestess of Freyr is the most detailed of a priestess in Scandinavian literature, and this has led to two general assumptions: (1) that she is the only priestess we have any details of, and (2) that Freyr was ministered to only by priestesses and not by priests.

One question that needs to be asked is, when is a priestess not a priestess? Or to put it another way, can we include the farmer's wife in *Völsa þáttr* among the short list of priestesses? I see no reason why not; it is she who takes charge of the horse's phallus, covering it in herbs and wrapping it up in order to preserve it (Faulkes 1980, 53). She also brings it out every night and starts off the round of verse-recitation that takes place. She acts in all ways as one might expect a priestess to act, except that the words priestess, temple, sacrifice and other such religious terms are not introduced. Nor is Freyr mentioned, though it seems fairly obvious that he is the object of their ministrations; a horse (widely acknowledged as central to the worship of Freyr), a phallus, an agricultural family, all indicate quite clearly that Freyr is at the centre of this act of worship. Ibn Faḍlān's account of the Rūs (Smyser 1965, 100), mentions an 'Angel of Death', a lady whose task it is to make sure that the sacrificial slave is sacrificed, and surely she must also be a priestess:

> The old woman known as the Angel of Death re-entered and looped a cord around her neck and gave the crossed ends to the two men for them to pull. Then she approached her with a broad-bladed dagger, which she plunged between her ribs repeatedly, and the men strangled her with the cord until she was dead.

Although we have no idea which deity all of this was in aid of (if any), or of how accurate a description it is (and there is no reason to assume that it is at all accurate, though it is claimed to be an eyewitness account; Ibn Faḍlān's knowledge of the Norse language may not have been fluent, and he may have misunderstood what was going on), this woman must be seen as fulfilling a very specialised priestly role.

As a final note on this point, I should make mention of the titles *gyðja* (goddess or priestess) and *hofgyðja* (priestess). There are about half a dozen women that carry one or the other of these titles, but interestingly

they are never connected with a particular deity; for example in the Melabók text of *Landnámabók* (ÍF I, 220 n. 2) there is one Þuríðr *gyðja* Solmundardóttir. Although we are not told to which god she is a priestess, the rest of her family are, in one way or another, connected with Freyr, so one might assume that she is also. In ch. 5 of *Vápnfirðinga saga* (ÍF XI, 33) we are told of a certain Steinvǫr *hofgyðja*, but she seems to be taking the part of a female *goði*, and not that of a priestess. There are other similar examples in *Ynglinga saga* ch. 7 (ÍF XXVI 19) and *Hyndluljóð* 13 (PE 290). Given such brief and tantalising references to priestesses, it is easy to see how tempting it would be to say that the priestess in *Gunnars þáttr* must be a sort of model for all the others, and to say that they too must be priestesses of Freyr (as it is felt that only women might minister to Freyr, and that therefore all priestesses must be priestesses of Freyr). This is something which cannot be shown to be so, as there is not sufficient evidence. However one can say that for the marriage ceremony in the worship of Freyr one must have a priestess, since this represents a monogamous, heterosexual relationship. But in the general worship of the god I do not see that priests need be excluded. In ch. 9 of *Víga-Glúms saga* Þorkell enn hávi sacrifices an ox to Freyr in order to get Glúmr out of Þverá. Not only is Þorkell not female, he is not even a *goði*. He is an ordinary man making a sacrifice to his chosen deity. One may find a similar incident in *Brandkrossa þáttr* (ÍF XI, 186), though this is now seen as a direct copy of the above example in *Víga-Glúms saga*. Þorkell is acting in a role that we would describe as that of a priest, but he is not a priest as such, therefore we must question our perceptions of the roles of priests and priestesses in this period. It seems that these roles were not strictly delineated; perhaps *goðar* and *gyðjur* only came into play on special occasions, and that for everyday worship each individual tended to their own needs. Under these conditions priests and priestesses would have no authority over anyone, and men as well as women could sacrifice to Freyr. (The role of *goðar* as political or administrative officers is of course a different matter; it is interesting that *gyðjur* never seem to have had non-religious roles, though it is possible that they ran the day-to-day administration of the temple or holy place; this may be the explanation of the activity of Steinvǫr in *Vápnfirðinga saga*.)

The description of Freyr *cum ingenti priapo* clearly relates to his being a god of fertility, but it seems to me that it is intended to be more specific than this, and that it refers to his being particularly associated with human fertility. In *Gunnars þáttr* as well as in the depictions of sacred marriages (see below) there are a number of overtly sexual references. As part of

her duties the priestess is expected to act as a sexual partner to Freyr, to fulfill his needs in *hjúskaparfar* ('sexual relations', l. 231) as if she were married to him. However, we are not to view this as simple immorality on the part of the priestess, but as a sacred act of union which was aimed at promoting fecundity in all of nature, as if by example, indeed as is noted by Frazer (1922, 140) in his chapter entitled 'The Sacred Marriage': 'plants reproduce their kinds through the sexual union of male and female elements, and . . . on the principle of homoeopathic or imitative magic this reproduction is supposed to be stimulated by the real or mock marriage of men and women.' It may be that in *Skírnismál* (PE 69–77) we are witnessing the build-up to precisely such a nuptial. I would also like to draw attention to the quite large number of gold plates (27 in all) that have been found in western Norway depicting a man and a woman (she often holds a branch of some sort, perhaps intended to be a cornstalk), which many have interpreted as being depictions of Freyr and Gerðr. Similar items have been found in the Swedish Uppland. Ólafur Briem has also come across descriptions of sacred marriages in Northern Europe, at which ceremonies sexual acts would take place between the betrothed couple in public. These ceremonies were designed to promote good seasons and plentiful crops. Ólafur Briem also notes two place-names which, according to Barði Guðmundsson, contain traces of these customs, Saurlífisgjá in Breiðafjörður and Blóthvammur. Barði thought that both these names represented sites of ancient fertility worship where public sexual acts took place (Briem 1945, 45–46).

I hope that it is now becoming apparent that when the priestess invites Gunnarr into her bed (l. 237), and is made pregnant by him (ll. 290–91), the joke is a double-edged one. On the one hand, a joke about sex is always good for a laugh, but on the other, because of the tradition involved, the priestess is able to co-habit with the man of her choice since he is disguised as the god of fertility. In other words tradition states that the priestess of Freyr can act in an overtly sexual (though monogamous) way, as by virtue of the sacred marriage she is no longer bound by mortal conventions; but the tradition as *Gunnars þáttr* presents it appears to legitimise immoral behaviour, whilst at the same time poking fun at the Swedes for being duped so easily. Along with the pagan/Christian conflict, these themes combined create the humour of the story. Nevertheless immoral behaviour does seem to have been frowned upon, despite what Ibn Faḍlān has reported in his account of the Rūs (Smyser 1965, 96):

> Each man has a couch on which he sits. With them are pretty slave girls destined for sale to merchants; a man will have sexual intercourse with his slave girl while his companion looks on. Sometimes whole groups will come together in this fashion, each in the presence of others. A merchant who arrives to buy a slave girl from them may have to wait and look on while a Rūs completes the act of intercourse with a slave girl.

It seems unlikely that Ibn Faḍlān actually witnessed events such as these; indeed this is exactly the sort of hearsay that is often distributed as genuine information about foreigners, in order to show that we are better than they.

Strophe 30 of *Lokasenna* (PE 102) gives us a very interesting case of the goddess of fertility, Freyja, being upbraided by Loki for being rather too liberal with her favours (see also McKinnell 1986–89):

> Þegi þú, Freyja! þic kann ec fullgerva,
> era þér vamma vant;
> ása ok álfa, er her inni ero,
> hverr hefir þinn hór verið.

(Shut up, Freyja! I know you well, you are not lacking in flaws; each of the Æsir and elves who are here indoors has been your lover.)

Here we have a goddess being judged as if she were a mortal woman; Freyja may be a goddess of fertility but that does not give her the right to sleep with anyone and everyone. The moral stance of his poem, of course, suggests that it is of rather late date (see Ruggerini 1979, 157 ff.).

It seems then, that there is a time and a place for everything, and public displays of sexual intercourse are reserved for the ceremony of the sacred marriage, which also seems to be taken as a monogamous relationship. Further support for this may be found in the laws of early Scandinavia, which deal with immoral behaviour quite severely, and especially adultery (e.g. *Grágás* 1852–83, II 51–56; *Gutalag* 1905–07, 34–36). Although one must bear in mind that these law-books are Christian and were written many years after the supposed date of the events of the story, which take place in pagan Sweden, they appear to represent a monogamous society, which was not inclined towards public displays of sexuality. Nevertheless we know that in reality many Icelanders do seem to have kept mistresses without becoming social outcasts, both in Saga times and in the thirteenth century. The most celebrated of such real-life adulterers was Snorri Sturluson. So we are now back with a familiar problem: can we infer anything from the laws (which are contemporary with the writing of the *þáttr* but not with the events it represents) about pagan Sweden? I think not. One could use this evidence to show that the Swedes acted in a fairly restrained way, or to show that Ibn Faḍlān was telling the truth. It is most

likely that in reality life took a middle road, and the activities of the likes of Snorri were neither unusual nor the norm.

For *Gunnars þáttr* to work as an amusing story, it is essential that at least some of the details I have outlined above should strike a chord with the audience, because for humour to work at all it must relate directly to its audience's experience. Therefore we must be able to see, in the activities of Freyr, Gunnarr and the priestess, remnants of an old tradition of fertility, which we now know as the cult of Freyr. These remnants might be summed up in the following way: the use of an idol that was painted and/or dressed; a marriage ceremony between either the idol and its priest(ess) or two humans, one playing the part of the god(dess) the other the priest(ess)—obviously one would expect the latter scenario if a public consummation of the marriage took place, with the expectation that human fertility would have an effect on the rest of nature—and finally the use of a waggon to transport the idol on its processions.

The waggon is perhaps the most interesting detail of *Gunnars þáttr*. The parallels between this waggon and that mentioned by Tacitus and the waggon found in the Oseberg ship burial (see Brøgger, Schetelig and Falk 1917–28, II 3–33) have been widely discussed. The details in Tacitus' account are in fact remarkably close to those in the *þáttr*. In chapter 40 of his *Germania* (1948, 133–34) he describes the procession of the goddess Nerthus as follows:

> They believe that she interests herself in human affairs and rides through their peoples. In an island of Ocean stands a sacred grove, and in the grove stands a car draped with a cloth which none but the priest may touch. The priest can feel the presence of the goddess in this holy of holies, and attends her, in deepest reverence, as her car is drawn by kine.

The function of the waggon is similar, there is a 'progress' of the god, whose name, Nerthus, is so close to that of Freyr's father Njǫrðr, and a 'marriage' between the god(dess) and a priest(ess) of the opposite sex (this relationship seems in itself more important than whether the attendant to the deity is male or female). Each of the fertility gods seems to have had a male and a female form (Tacitus's Nerthus was female, the Norse Njǫrðr was male, Norse mythology pairs Freyr and Freyja, Adam of Bremen has Frikko parallel to the Norse Frigg). The waggon, or course, is simply a means of transport, so that the god may be worshipped in different areas, in order to promote good seasons and plentiful crops, and there is evidence for the use of village idols (of both sexes) in early times, at least in Denmark (see Glob 1971, plates 71–5). Little is known, however, about the status of such idols or their frequency in Sweden, or

about the rituals associated with them. Freyr as the provider of plenitude is well documented (see above), but the use of a waggon for transporting an idol of him is less so; indeed this story is the major source of information on this aspect of the cult. The accounts in Tacitus and *Gunnars þáttr* have been connected with the elaborate waggon that was found in a ship-burial at Oseberg (see Brøgger, Schetelig and Falk 1917–28, II 3–33; a ceremonial chariot from the early Iron Age has also been found in Jutland as well as a model of a sun-chariot drawn by a horse from the Bronze Age in Zealand, see Turville-Petre 1964, 173). Although the Oseberg waggon almost certainly had ceremonial significance, it is unlikely to have paraded an idol to the people, if for no other reason than that the axles have no pivots in them; it would, therefore, not have gone round corners and would have been generally useless. Also, fifteen horses were found in the grave, but nothing with which to attach any of these horses to the waggon. Horses are animals which are of great significance to the cult of Freyr (see Turville-Petre 1964, 167–68, 254), but are not specifically mentioned in *Gunnars þáttr*. It therefore seems much more likely that the waggon, which is believed to date from *c.*800, had only funerary significance and cannot be shown to have any actual relationship to *Gunnars þáttr*. In any case it seems to me that the waggon has received such a great deal of attention largely because of the immediate (and rather hopeful) comparison with Freyr's waggon in *Gylfaginning*, ch. 49 (Faulkes 1982, 47). Interestingly the *Gutalag* (1905–07, 37) makes some provision for waggons in marriages in *Af bryllaupum* ('concerning marriages'), stating that *vm wagnicla ferþir þa schulu ai flairin aca þan tueir a huarum wagni* ('during a journey there shall be no more than two [persons] in each waggon'). Perhaps this is the most conclusive piece of evidence for the accuracy of the details in *Gunnars þáttr*, and may be regarded as being applicable to the needs of a secular, pagan or Christian society. It would be nice to see in this the final, clinching proof of the authority of *Gunnars þáttr*, but as always one must be careful not to press the point too far. Other questions, such as whether waggons were necessary because each village did not have its own idol, how they were made and sanctified, and their relationship to any temples that may have existed, cannot now be answered.

The accounts in Tacitus, Adam of Bremen and *Gunnars þáttr* seem to be independent witnesses to the cult of fertility gods in northern Europe at different dates, and the amount of continuity over several centuries is striking. Like Adam of Bremen, however, the author of the *þáttr* is clearly Christian in his viewpoint, and it is this that makes it difficult to trust

absolutely the details of his descriptions. He is obviously inclined to mock the rather crude religious practices of the Swedes, and has little sympathy (and perhaps like Ibn Faḍlān, little understanding) of the religion of his pre-Christian forbears. Nevertheless *Gunnars þáttr* has details confirmed by Adam of Bremen and Tacitus, showing that it probably does contain genuine memories of eleventh-century religious practices, and two centuries is not an unreasonable time to expect such memories to have lasted in oral tradition.

As a final note on the humour of the story, Hilda Ellis Davidson (1964, 94) comments on the pathetic picture of the waggon stuck in the snow (she is arguing that fertility cults could not have been as popular in Northern Europe as in the Mediterranean, because of the climate). I think that the audience would all have been stuck in the snow, or generally at the mercy of the elements, at some time, and it is from this personal experience that the humour arises; not from what the audience may have known about the Mediterranean climate. Similarly on the more general question of humour, one can see the joke as being at the expense of the Swedes, Freyr or paganism in general. On the other hand it could be seen as an example of parochial humour, as in *Völsa þáttr* (Faulkes 1980, 51–61) where the sophisticated town-dwellers are laughing at the ways of the country folk; here the pagan Swedes are receiving similar treatment from the sophisticated, Christian, Icelanders/Norwegians. But in the end it does not matter, because ultimately the joke is for the recipient of the story; a pagan audience may laugh at their own customs, the Christians may laugh at the pagans, the Icelanders may laugh at the Swedes and we may laugh at the whole story, including our attempts at explaining it.

Two versions, two stories and literary style

In this section I shall be looking at the two distinct versions of *Ögmundar þáttr dytts*; that is to say, two versions in that one of them does not now contain *Gunnars þáttr*. As well as looking at the textual differences, and their implications, I shall also look at the two halves of the *þáttr* with regard to the question of whether it is one story or two.

All but one of the extant copies of *Ögmundar þáttr dytts* are found in the greatest saga of Óláfr Tryggvason; the other is in a fragmentary version of *Víga-Glúms saga*, AM 564 a 4to. Unfortunately the *þáttr* as we have it here is incomplete, and the killing of Hallvarðr as well as *Gunnars þáttr* are missing. It has been shown by John McKinnell (1970) that the one leaf missing at this point in the codex would have provided just sufficient space for the missing part of the *þáttr*. Although the leaf is not

there and there is no sure way of knowing what was on it, it can be assumed (as most commentators do) that the missing leaf did contain the rest of the *þáttr*, in more or less the form it has in the other manuscripts. Thus we have two versions of the *þáttr* that are similar in content though stylistically very different, sharing enough details to show a common origin.

The inclusion of the complete *þáttr* at this point in *Víga-Glúms saga* has led to a number of inconsistencies. The *þáttr* is placed at the end of ch. 15 of the saga, whilst Glúmr is still living at Þverá (*c.*986), approximately nine years before the accession of Óláfr Tryggvason. But in order for the narrative to work Ögmundr's first journey to Norway must take place *c.*992, because of the mention of the battle of the Jómsvikings (*c.*994) and the accession of King Óláfr (995) in *Gunnars þáttr*. If the missing leaf had not contained *Gunnars þáttr*, then *Ögmundar þáttr dytts* would have fitted quite neatly into the chronology of *Víga-Glúms saga* at the end of ch. 15. Glúmr is still living at Þverá, and Þverá is mentioned in this version of the *þáttr* (*Víga-Glúms saga* 1960, 98, line 9; Glúmr lived at Þverá until *c.*986, Earl Hákon ruled Norway from *c.*974–95), and Hrafn (Ögmundr's father) is said to have been the chief slave of those accused by Þorkell (cf. ch. 7 of the saga) of the theft of his cattle (*Víga-Glúms saga* 1960, 96, line 25). All the details that place *Ögmundar þáttr dytts* in the period *c.*992–995 are in the latter part of the *þáttr* (*Gunnars þáttr*), though Vigfús's presence in Norway at the time of Ögmundr's arrival there, and before he has been introduced into the saga (Glúmr's children are introduced in ch. 17, after the *þáttr*) is difficult to fit in to the chronology of the saga too. The same thing happens with Glúmr's other son Már, who appears in ch. 13, which is also taken to be an interpolation into the saga, before his formal introduction in ch. 17. There is a narrative flaw of a slightly different kind in AM 564 a 4to as well, where Vigfús seems to know who has run into Hallvarðr's ship without there being any indication of how he came by that knowledge (*Víga-Glúms saga* 1960, 97, lines 21–22). This suggests that the scribe was reading the text ahead (or already knew the text) and anticipated Vigfús's learning of the crew of the merchant ship. This does not necessarily mean, however, that the scribe was working from a version of the saga that already contained this *þáttr*.

Vigfús Glúmsson is an important character in both *Víga-Glúms saga* and *Ögmundar þáttr dytts*, and this may be enough to account for the inclusion of the *þáttr* in the saga; his absence from *Gunnars þáttr* is what makes that part of the text fit uncomfortably into the saga (though it

shares with the saga an interest in the cult of Freyr). The *þáttr*, as it appears in *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*, is simply there to add another small layer to the greater glory of Óláfr Tryggvason, and this is supplied by *Gunnars þáttr*, whilst *Ögmundar þáttr dytts* has no real connection at all with its surrounding text there, other than the rather tenuous link with Óláfr Tryggvason in the introductory genealogy.

It seems clear, therefore, that the *þáttr* was an interpolation into both *Víga-Glúms saga* and *Óláfs saga*, and that *Gunnars þáttr* was already a part of it before the interpolations were carried out. Turville-Petre (*Víga-Glúms saga* 1960, xxxii–xlii) argues very strongly and convincingly that the block of text forming chs 13–16 is all an interpolation in the saga. Nevertheless, in his previous discussion of Textual History (xxii–xxxii), he made use of these interpolations to suggest that the longer AM 564 a 4to version of *Víga-Glúms saga* was older and more original than the Möðruvallabók version (on which his edition is based). So we have the situation which appears in other texts too, of a version of the saga which is closer to the original in terms of its verbal style, though it contains episodes that were not part of the original work. The Möðruvallabók text seems to be closer to the original in content, though its style has been modified, largely by compression. At this point I would refer the reader to my own attempts at discussing the date of *Ögmundar þáttr* below, and state that these texts should be viewed as existing in a state of flux; a main narrative thread that is malleable rather than rigid, which is shaped and polished according to the tastes of each successive reciter/scribe. A text such as this is very much a part of the public domain, being altered subtly with each successive copying, and that which is now extant is a particular moment frozen in time. I am not suggesting that we should cease hunting for the 'original' text, but that we should recognize and accept that we are experiencing only the hunt and not an approaching kill; and that this uncertainty is sure to be reflected in any scholarly work, as it indeed is in Turville-Petre's edition of *Víga-Glúms saga*.

Another notable difference from F in the text of *Ögmundar þáttr* in AM 564 a 4to is the lack of an introductory genealogy. This version does not need such a detailed genealogy because it is already closely integrated with its surrounding text, unlike the version in *Óláfs saga* where some sort of link is necessary. Finally there is the difference of style; the version in *Víga-Glúms saga* has a very compressed style, little direct speech and a greater amount of reported speech. Indeed the first half of what remains of this version reads very like a précis of a longer *þáttr*. This might also suggest that the scribe was working from a damaged copy and

knew the basic details of the beginning of the story, which he then grafted onto the text he could copy, but it is perhaps more likely that in order for the *þáttr* not to take up too much space in the saga, he was simply abbreviating it as much as he could.

I will now move on to look rather more closely at the style of the various texts of the *þáttr*. To illustrate it I have decided to quote the passages corresponding to lines 21–31 (which follow the F version) in AM 564 a 4to and AM 61 fol. This section of narrative concerns Ögmundr's journey to Norway and his crash landing in Þrándheimr, which is crucial to the plot as well as establishing Ögmundr's character.

AM 564 a 4to:

Nú býsk Qgmundr útan með fé mikit, ok á hann einn skipit. En þar váru frumferlar einir á skipinu, ungir menn ok rǫskvir. Qgmundr skyldi hafa forráð fyrir þeim. Koma um haustit at Eyrum, en byrr var hraðr at landi, ok vildu sumir kasta akkerum ok liggja þar um nóttina, en Qgmundr segir, at nýta skyldi góðan byr. Ok fullr skriðr er nú á skipinu, en í eyrasundum váru mǫrg langskip í tengslum. Ok er mikill skriðr var á skipinu, máttu þeir eigi skjótt at gera, ok sigla þeir á flotann, er fyrir þeim var, ok í kaf eitt langskipit ok svá inn at meginlandinu ok svá í hǫfn. (*Víga-Glúms saga* 1960, 97, lines 2–10.)

(Now Ögmundr prepared himself to go abroad with a lot of money; and he was the sole owner of the ship. But this was the first venture abroad for all those in the ship, young and bold men. Ögmundr was to be in charge of them. During the autumn they came to Eyrar, and there was a swift breeze towards the land, and some wished to cast anchor and lie there during the night, but Ögmundr said that they should make use of a good wind. And the ship is now full speed ahead, but in the Eyrar sound there were many longships tied together. And since the ship was going at great speed, they were not able to do anything quickly about it, and they sailed into the fleet which was in their course and sank a longship and so in to the mainland and so into the harbour.)

AM 61 fol.:

Keypti Glúmr honum skip at norrœnum mǫnnum, ok bjó Qgmundr ferð sína ok mikinn fjárhlut, er faðir hans fekk honum. Skyldi Qgmundr vera forráðandi skips þess ok manna; váru þar á fáir menn aðrir en íslenzkir, þeir er ekki hǫfðu fyrr farit útan. Þeir létu í haf heldr síð sumars; gaf þeim vel byri; fengu þeir stór veðr ok hagstœð. En er þá bar ór hafi, sá þeir land at áliðnum degi, ok var blásandi byrr at landi; mæltu þá norrœnir menn, þeir er leið sǫgðu, at varligra væri at lægja seglit ok leggja skipit í rétt um nóttina, en sigla til lands at ljósum degi. Qgmundr svarar: 'Ekki skulum vér ónýta byr svá góðan; er eigi víst, at slíkr byrr sé á morgin, en tunglsljós mikit í nótt.' Gerðu þeir sem hann mælti, at þeir sigldu. En er þeir áttu skammt til lands, lágu fyrir þeim langskip mǫrg í tengslum í eyjasundi nǫkkuru, ok sá þeir eigi fyrr skipin en þeir sigldu eitt í kaf ok svá inn at meginlandi til hafnar. (ÍF IX, 102–03.)

(Glúmr bought him a ship from some Norwegians, and Ögmundr prepared his journey with many goods which his father had given him. Ögmundr was to

be in charge of the ship and the men; there were few men on it, other than Icelanders who had not been abroad before. They set out to sea rather late in the summer, [but] they got a fair wind; they received a strong and favourable wind. But when they had crossed the sea they sighted land late in the day, and the wind was blowing towards the land. The Norwegians, who were the pilots, said that it would be safer to drop the sail, let the ship drift during the night, and sail to land in the daylight. Ögmundr replied 'We must not waste such a good wind; it is not certain that such a wind will be here in the morning, and there is much moonlight tonight.' They did as he said and sailed. But when they were a short way from land there lay before them many longships tied together, in a certain channel. But they did not see the ships until they sank one and so [continued] to the mainland into the harbour.)

Each of these extracts may be summed up as follows: Ögmundr is bought a ship, he sails to Norway and there runs down Hallvarðr's ship. It is around this accident that the rest of the *þáttr* is constructed. A quick glance at these extracts will tell us that AM 61 fol. is longer than F, and that F is longer than AM 564 a 4to; also, that the differences in length are due largely to the amounts of direct speech in each. But that is not all; one may also see in each differing representations of the character of Ögmundr. AM 564 a 4to contains no direct speech, and only one short reported speech. This extract is short, punchy, and carries with it all the authority that only straight narrative can have; that is, the appearance of objectivity. Ögmundr acquires a ship, goes on his first journey abroad with a young crew; and makes the wrong decision by sailing into a harbour at night. Notice also, he arrives at Eyrar in the autumn, in other words he left Iceland late in the summer (which is how it is put in all the other manuscripts) at the earliest. This is indeed an inadvisable act due to the bad weather in the Atlantic, but the wording is such that it is a detail almost missed. The redactor seems to be trying to say that Ögmundr's foolishness is due to youth (the crew are stated to be *ungir menn*) and inexperience; this was his first journey abroad. The good wind, that Ögmundr does not wish to waste, is so good that the ship is travelling at full speed, and the crew cannot see the other ships in the sound; an accident is inevitable, and a real sense of urgency comes through this tight narrative. It seems that the only crime Ögmundr and his crew were guilty of was to go to sea without an experienced sailor on board, which was undeniably stupid. It is also interesting to note that the AM 564 a 4to redactor seems to be of quite a conservative nature. In the opening preamble to the *þáttr* Ögmundr's mother is mentioned as being *gipt til peninga* ('married for money') to Hrafn (*Víga-Glúms saga* 1960, 96, l. 26); she is a woman of good breeding who has married a freedman (who will always be of low social status, regardless of wealth). Ögmundr's

mother has, therefore, let the side down by marrying for money and not status. (This is the explanation of how Ögmundr, though son of a slave, is related to Glúmr.) Later, when Vigfús is inquiring about his father, Ögmundr replies *at hans sœmd ok virðing vaxi einart en þverri aldri* ('that his honour and reputation constantly grow, but never dwindle')(*Víga-Glúms saga* 1960, 97, ll. 25–26). Both these statements are only found in this version of the *þáttr*, and suggest that this is a redactor who thinks a great deal of the older way of life where honour and status were paramount, which is perhaps more in keeping with Glúmr's own attitudes.

AM 61 fol., in which the extract is the longest, contains the most direct speech and uses this, and other details, to compound Ögmundr's foolishness. He leaves Iceland late in the summer, with a number of Norwegian pilots among his crew, the rest of which are inexperienced. When they sight land, late in the day, the pilots advise Ögmundr to drop sail and wait until morning, but he says he does not wish to waste such a good wind (*Ekki skulum vér ónýta byr svá góðan*). This is almost identical to the statement reported in AM 564 a 4to (*at nýta skyldi góðan byr*), the difference being that in the former he is ignoring the advice of his pilots, worried that there might not be such a good wind the next day, and in the latter he simply knows no better, or although he is the one with authority, he has less common sense than those under him. It is interesting to note that these two differing versions of Ögmundr's character are achieved simply by the use of the negative *ó-* prefix. We are then told that the crew do as he has ordered; this puts all the blame firmly on to the shoulders of Ögmundr. As in AM 564 a 4to, the crew do not see the ships before them, but the speed of the ship is not mentioned; the narrative continues at its easy, steady pace which lacks the urgency of AM 564 a 4to, and running into another ship is just clumsy. AM 61 fol. does a very good job of portraying Ögmundr as a narrow-minded and cowardly fool at this point in the story. The rationale for this may well be that it enhances the contrast with his subsequent 'reformed' behaviour when he finally redeems his honour.

Flateyjarbók does its utmost to free Ögmundr from the burden of being an idiot. His ship is purchased from Norwegians, but (as in AM 564 a 4to) there is no mention of any pilots. The sea crossing is dealt with in detail; land is sighted late in the day, they lower sail and drift during the night. But the next day the wind has dropped and they have to wait for it to pick up again; when it does the day is almost done; *Ekki skulum vér ónýta byr svá góðan* is here represented by Ögmundr's *kvað þá eigi fara skylldu sem fyrr* (l. 27). Ögmundr now has good reason for worrying about the

wind dropping; on his first journey abroad he has for one day been in the doldrums. This is parallel to, and may be compared with, the statement in AM 61 fol. that they cannot be certain of having such a good wind tomorrow. In other words, what in one manuscript is a suspicion actually happens in the other. As in AM 564 a 4to this episode is entirely in reported narrative, and portrays Ögmundr as young and inexperienced, rather than a complete fool.

One way of viewing these slightly varying characterisations of Ögmundr might be to think of them as differing layers which are applied or removed as desired, and more or less at random. It does not seem to me possible to reconstruct the order (if any) in which these thin layers were applied or removed. However, given the basic story line of 'local lad buys a ship, goes to Norway and wrecks a ship belonging to one of Earl Hakon's closest friends', one can see how each of three hands (at some stage in the transmission of the text) has handled the characterisation of Ögmundr. Indeed one might even suggest, and I do so hesitatingly, that these characterisations represent three differing themes: AM 564 a 4to, the folly and wilfulness of youth; AM 61 fol., the idiot abroad; F, a combination of the previous two.

All three extracts use very similar language, the only real difference being the amount of direct or reported speech used. This difference in the amount of direct speech used is also found in other samples of each version of the *þáttr*; in the text from lines 7–63 I found that 25% of the text in F was direct speech, 20% of that in AM 564 a 4to and 40% of that in AM 61 fol. (such comparisons are limited by the fragmentary nature of the text in AM 564 a 4to). These figures, along with some of the details outlined above, might suggest that F and AM 564 a 4to are closer to each other than F and AM 61 fol. However, this does not seem to be the case, for although F and AM 564 a 4to share a similar sympathetic attitude towards Ögmundr, there are a couple of phrases in AM 564 a 4to that suggest it is closer to AM 61 fol., or at least shares with AM 61 fol. details that F has omitted. For example, *virðing minni en peninga meiri* (AM 564 a 4to; *Víga-Glúms saga* 1960, 97, lines 1–2) is very reminiscent of the end of a speech of Víga-Glúmr in AM 61 fol.: *at þú fengir heldr af fǫrinni sœmð ok mannvirðing en mikit fé* (ÍF IX, 102); the essence of both these statements is that it will be better for Ögmundr to receive honour from his journey rather than wealth. This speech is crucial to the characterisation of Ögmundr in AM 61 fol., as it establishes certain expectations within the reader which are then not fulfilled by Ögmundr, thus making him seem witless. We have only the fragment in AM 564 a 4to, and so it is

not possible to know how this motif would have been used; and in F, this part of the speech is omitted. Further support for the notion of a direct relationship between AM 61 fol. and AM 564 a 4to may be found in the similarity of the versions of the statement about making use of the favourable wind quoted above (the use of the words *(ó)nýta góðan byr*, which are not in F). However, given the differing attitudes of these texts towards Ögmundr, one would have to assume that one redaction was based on the other and that the same reinterpretation of the character of Ögmundr took place twice independently, which is rather unlikely.

This comparison of the two versions and their styles leads on to another question that is inextricably linked to these two topics: is this one story or two? Stylistically there is little difference between the two parts; the latter part (*Gunnars þáttr*) uses less direct speech, relying more on straight narrative, than the first part. However, both use very similar language, with occasional use of specialised terms; in the first part one finds various nautical terms, such as *vinda segl* 'hoist sail' (l. 202), *tengsl* 'rope for binding ships together' (l. 29), *kastar vindi innan af firðinum* 'the wind blows out from within the fjord' (i.e. there is an offshore wind, l. 201); and a rather peculiar use of *lokarr* 'carpenter's plane' (l. 47, see note). Then in the second part we have words such as *hofstaðr* 'sanctuary' and *goðahús* 'temple' (l. 232), words of such a fine distinction of meaning that they may show a detailed knowledge of religious matters or of an antiquarian reconstruction of them. It would be a bold reader who claimed to deduce from this whether we were dealing with one catholic source of knowledge or two lesser sources.

Most scholars, when presented with a story that is two thirds revenge tale and one third religious satire, with two sets of dramatis personae, deduce that it is a story that has its origins in two separate traditions, a view that is very difficult to support with concrete evidence, but by the same token is almost impossible to deny. Joseph Harris (1975) modifies his earlier thesis (1972), that *Ögmundar þáttr dytts* fits into his group of thirty one *þættir* which share a common structure (of Introduction/Journey in/Alienation/Reconciliation/Journey out/Conclusion) by transference of roles, to combine it with Arthur K. Moore's (1967–68) discussion of unity through heterogeneity. Moore argues (and to my mind quite rightly) that our notion of unity and the medieval notion of unity are two very different things, and no amount of historical research will give us a truly medieval viewpoint. Narratives that, to us, appear to have multiple origins, such as *Beowulf* or the *Morte d'Arthur*, probably do have multiple origins, but this does not matter. These texts were put together to please

someone's tastes and it is our loss if they do not suit ours. Discussions of unity or disunity are of value in attempting to build a context around a text, but there is nothing to be gained by trying to break a text into its constituent parts and serving it up piecemeal. So it is with *Ögmundar þáttr dytts*: one can separate out the parts in order to discuss the problems of date, but in order to appreciate the story one has to read all of it, not just the parts considered to be most 'original' or of most value.

That *Ögmundar þáttr dytts* has at least two sources seems obvious; there are two narrative threads that overlap briefly on a slender plot device, the exchange of cloaks. (It is interesting that in another of the interpolations in *Víga-Glúms saga*, deception is performed by similar means (ch. 16)). *Ögmundar þáttr dytts*, a fairly ordinary revenge tale, moves along steadily until the entrance of Gunnarr helmingr. It is at this point that flaws in the narrative begin to appear; Gunnarr is not formally introduced, and this is quite unusual for a major character. Compare the introduction of Gunnarr, a major character, with that of his brother, a minor character: *Þá gekk maðr ofan ór bænum* (l. 158–59, 'Then a man walked down from the town' [Gunnarr]); *Gunnarr átti sér bróður er hét Sigurðr. Hann var auðigr ok hirðmaðr Óláfs konungs ok hans kærr vinr* (ll. 217–18, 'Gunnarr had a brother who was called Sigurðr. He was wealthy and a retainer of King Óláfr and his dear friend'). Sigurðr is introduced as a more important character than he actually is. It is similar with the description of Gunnarr as liking to wear parti-coloured clothes. He and Ögmundr exchange cloaks because Ögmundr's is even more elaborate than Gunnarr's, but nothing is made of Ögmundr being fond of fancy clothes. Line 174 has a very abrupt change of subject, Gunnarr suddenly moves from telling Ögmundr of the news in Norway to congratulating him on his beautiful cloak; and l. 187 uses *garðr* in a way that does not really work in this context (see note). Both of these examples are suggestive of either one or two lines having been lost in transmission, or are indications of where the two stories may have been linked together, which would account for the general uneveness of this part of the *þáttr*. Alternatively they could simply be clumsy lines, that have always been so, and always will be so. After the death of Hallvarðr, *Gunnars þáttr* continues without further ado; Ögmundr is mentioned once more (l. 304) so that Gunnarr may be exonerated from the murder of Hallvarðr. Thus we have two stories which have been brought together to create *Ögmundar þáttr dytts* in the form in which it is now extant, a single causally constructed narrative; to repeat Moore's phrase, it has 'unity through heterogeneity'. However, the question that I have not addressed is why

these two stories were brought together in the first place, and at present this seems impossible to answer. It could be argued that they are thematically related, each offering a story of self-redemption after going astray, the first in conformity with the old heathen ethic of achieving honour by blood-revenge, the second following the Christian ideal of repentance and reform.

Date and provenance

The dating of sagas (and *þættir*) is always a difficult and often tendentious business. These difficulties are many and varied, but the particular problems of dating *Ögmundar þáttr dytts* may be seen as being generally representative of the problems of dating medieval Icelandic texts (or indeed any medieval text). A major problem in the dating of such texts is the anonymity of the author or compiler; this is then closely linked to the question of whether the tale was originally written or orally composed. There is then the question of the date of the manuscript (though this is not a problem with F, as we know the dates between which it was written, 1387–94). Also, with *Ögmundar þáttr dytts* there is the additional question of whether it is one tale or two.

There is a number of ways of trying to solve these questions (see Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1958 for an excellent discussion). One can look for historical evidence within the text; at the language of the text (does it contain any early, late or loan words?); compare different versions; consider manuscript relationships; and finally look for any external evidence by which to date the text. These procedures, alas, rarely provide definite answers. Moreover in this case we are now looking for three dates: the date of *Ögmundar þáttr dytts*, the date of *Gunnars þáttr*, and the date at which they were brought together. Another method of trying to ascertain date is by comparison of the style or genre with other works; however this is the least reliable method of all. Helga Reuschel (1934) has tried to argue that *Gunnars þáttr* was written during the late fourteenth century by comparing it with some fabliaux. However, in doing this she completely failed to take into account the textual history of the story, which is a more reliable indicator and suggests a date in the early fourteenth century.

Ögmundar þáttr dytts as far as the beginning of the account of Gunnarr's adventures in Sweden is a straightforward tale of tenth-century revenge, showing no inclination towards either Christianity or paganism. Therefore, one could argue that it has its origin in tenth-century oral tradition. However, it does show signs of a comic/ironic tone with regard to the character of Ögmundr, which is often taken to suggest a later date. The

orthography of the text gives us little or no help as that is contemporary with the manuscripts (late fourteenth century), but we may make some deductions from the dramatis personae, that is to say Víga-Glúmr and Vigfús Víga-Glúmsson. Vigfús plays a large part in the tale, and the text must rely quite heavily upon *Víga-Glúms saga* for this character. One may therefore say that this *þáttr* must have been written after *Víga-Glúms saga*, which is thought to have been written between 1230 and 1240 (see *Víga-Glúms saga* 1960, xxii). Indeed John McKinnell (1987, 12) is rather more specific on this and says that it is likely to have been written around 1230. This gives us a date of between 1230 and 1387 (the date when F began to be written). However it is probable that the tale would have been in existence some time before 1387 in order for it to have become part of a manuscript tradition of Kings' Sagas. How long before 1387 could the tale have been written? It is thought that *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta* was compiled in the early part of the fourteenth century (see Ólafur Halldórsson 1987, xv), so *Ögmundar þáttr dytts* must have been written between 1230 and say 1300. However, dating the first manuscript version of the story does not exclude the possibility of its originating in oral tradition. It is entirely possible that the tale was known from oral sources, and that the author/compiler/scribe of the tale, as we have it, was familiar with *Víga-Glúms saga* and adapted the tale in order to give it a context within the saga tradition. Indeed a brief comparison of the chronologies of the two will show how familiar the creator of *Ögmundar þáttr dytts* was with *Víga-Glúms saga*: Glúmr leaves Þverá about 987–88, he spends one winter at Mǫðruvellir in Hǫrgárdalr (*c.*988–9), then two winters in Myrkárdalr (*c.*989–91). From 991–92 until his death Glúmr lived at Þverbrekka in Øxnadalr (see *Víga-Glúms saga* 1960, li). Our tale begins *c.*992, and we are told that Glúmr is living at Þverbrekka and is *hniginn á hinn efra alldr* ('stricken in years', l. 12), indeed he is now about 65 years of age. I think we can be quite certain that the accuracy with which these two chronologies tie in is no accident, and that it shows a very close knowledge of the saga on the part of the author of the *þáttr* (though since the outline of Glúmr's career can also be deduced from Icelandic annals independent of both narratives, this is not entirely certain; see ÍF IX, xlii–xlvii). Although this is evidence for a date after the composition of the saga, it is worth bearing in mind the observation made by Björn M. Ólsen (1937–39, 413): *Það er ljóst, að þessi þáttur hlítur frá upphafi að hafa verið sjálfstæð saga, þar sem hann hefur geimst sem partur af tveimur ólíkum sögum* ('It is clear that this *þáttr* must originally have been an independent story, as it has been preserved as part of two dissimilar sagas').

Any attempt to put a date on *Gunnars þáttr* will be much more difficult than that of trying to date *Ögmundar þáttr dytts*; the reasons for this may be summarised in the following way:

a) Is the story a genuinely remembered piece of lore, that has been passed down through oral tradition?

b) Is this a story from the transition period to Christianity, written to debunk the pagan gods?

c) Is it simply a story that the scribe knew of (or created) that he thought could be worked into the saga?

Clearly it will not be practical for me to treat these as separate questions, as there are areas of overlap between them. So I shall simply use them as markers for discussion, rather than trying to work through them individually.

Since the days of Snorri (and probably before) it has been recognised that Freyr was the chief god of the Swedes, with a centre at Uppsala (see *Ynglinga saga* ch. 10, ÍF XXVI , 23–4) and Styrmir fróði's *Viðbætir við Ólafs sögu hins helga* (*Flateyjarbók* 1944–45, IV 11). This is also supported, independently, by the account of Adam of Bremen in his *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* (book four, ch. 26), of the existence of a large temple at Uppsala. Adam's account is supposed to be based on that of a contemporary eyewitness. Yet there is, to my knowledge, only one Swedish source to confirm the role of Freyr in Swedish religion: on the Sparlösa stone there is a strophe concerning king Øyuls residing in Uppsala, and although the runes seem to refer to the god Ullr, the carved pictures (a ship that appears to be Skíðblaðnir, and a horse) on the stone indicate that it was dedicated to Freyr; thus we have the crucial link between Freyr and Uppsala in a Swedish source (Nielsen 1969, who also puts forward an interesting argument for the identity of Freyr and Ullr). This leaves us without the means to confirm the details of the story, whilst making the story a major source of material for the customs of the cult of Freyr. Such arguments tend to be circular, the evidence for the nature of the cult of Freyr being based mainly on the *þáttr*, which is then declared to be a reliable source for the nature of the cult. Unfortunately there are no direct parallels to *Gunnnars þáttr* extant, though one may find parallels for portions of the story. One such, oft noted, parallel is that found in Tacitus's account of the goddess Nerthus, quoted above. This bears some resemblance to *Gunnars þáttr*, where Freyr is taken on the winter feastings in a waggon (ll. 257–89). The similarities are general and not specific, and neither account can have had a direct influence on the

other. Both probably originate in independent accounts of actual practices. But this does not of course mean that the *þáttr* has its origins in the first century, the time of Tacitus (or earlier), as the practice must have lasted for several centuries—the continuity of such a cult down to the eleventh century is vouched for by Adam of Bremen, by whose time it was clearly well established in Sweden. For the *þáttr* to preserve memories of cult practices in eleventh-century Sweden it is not necessary for it to have been compiled before the thirteenth century. The author's perspective is consistently a Christian one.

One may also draw parallels between the fight scene (ll. 269–76) and that in *Orms þáttr* (Faulkes 1967, 80–81). Both heroes win their fights after a prayer to the true God, and both episodes belong to the tradition of miraculous stories associated with the missionary kings Óláfr Tryggvason and St Óláfr. But any such comparison which tries to ascertain which way textual influences (if any) are travelling would have to rely heavily upon circular arguments and will therefore be inconclusive. One may also turn to the poems of the Poetic Edda for clues as to date. Poems such as *Lokasenna* (PE 96–110) have a similarly ironic/comic tone, but this does not further our quest for a date as it does not contain any direct parallel or point of contact, other than the presence of Freyr. But even if it did the date of this poem is also a question of much debate.

Interestingly, most scholars are prepared to date *Gunnars þáttr* later than *Ögmundar þáttr dytts* without producing any firm evidence to prove it. On the other hand, scholars of religion find the description of the winter feastings so useful that one does not wish to upset them by giving the *þáttr* a post-Christian date. Thus, the date of *Gunnars þáttr* remains an enigma. However, I hope that I have been able to show that it is possible to pick out some aspects of the cult of Freyr in it without recourse to completely circular arguments.

As to the question of when these two stories were brought together, the most positive thing one can say, is that it must have been before 1387 (the date of Flateyjarbók). One could go a little further by saying that as *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta* is thought to have been compiled in the early part of the fourteenth century, then the joining of these two stories must be earlier than this, in order for the *þáttr*, as a whole, to become part of that manuscript tradition. So if *Ögmundar þáttr dytts* was written after 1330, we can say that the two were joined at some time between *c.*1230 and *c.*1300.

The question of the date of the text is therefore a complex one, to which there can be no simple answer. The story did not have a particular origin,

but was constantly evolving. The hunt for an original text is interesting, but diverts attention from the text that we do have. Thus the F version of *Ögmundar þáttr dytts* may not be as original as that in AM 61 fol., but it is a text that has literary value of its own, independent of that of AM 61 fol. This is not to say that the question of date is completely without value; after all if one can define a date for a text, then it can be placed within a historical context. This in turn may then have some bearing upon the interpretation/evaluation of the text.

The question of provenance is no less complex than that of date. The *þáttr* exists in an Icelandic manuscript that is written in Icelandic; one cannot deny therefore that the story must be Icelandic. However, the question of 'original' now rears its head once again, and along with that the problem of unity. If one takes this as being two stories, then *Ögmundar þáttr dytts* can be seen as a very straightforward revenge tale of a typically Icelandic nature. The action takes place between Iceland and Norway, and centres on the conflict between the Icelander and the Norwegian nobility. As far as the *Ögmundar þáttr dytts* part of the story is concerned Joseph Harris's arguments (1969, 1972, 1975, 1976) work quite well and, indeed, support my contention that this is a very traditional sort of tale. His theory founders on *Gunnars þáttr*, which unfortunately presents us with a quite different case.

All the action in *Gunnars þáttr* is concerned with a Norwegian, Gunnarr helmingr, and takes place in Norway and Sweden; if one were to remove *Ögmundar þáttr dytts* there would be nothing to associate this story with Iceland, except of course the language. However, if one takes the line that the story is making fun of the Swedes' paganism, and bearing in mind that Norway was Christianised about one hundred years before Sweden and that it is in general a parochial sort of joke, the argument for a Norwegian origin looks somewhat stronger. But although the centre for the cult of Freyr was Uppsala in Sweden it is worth noting that Þrándheimr, in Norway, was also reputed to have been quite a centre for Freyr worship (see the story in *Flateyjarbók* 1944–45, I 445–50, quoted above). Sweden as well as Norway might be suggested as a possible place of origin. But given the tone and direction of the *þáttr* (the Swedes do seem to be mocked in it for their crude beliefs and credulity) I think that this is unlikely, and if anywhere other than Iceland is to be suggested as a place of origin, it must be Norway. But, as usual, there is little or no hard evidence: the text contains many Norwegian spellings, but these are common in Icelandic manuscripts and in themselves tell us little. We must, therefore, return to content: a Norwegian hero, Norwegian and

Swedish locations, Freyr the focus of conflict. Although there is no other story directly related to this *þáttr*, there are other *þættir* that deal solely with foreign parts and people, such as *Völsa þáttr* and *Rauðúlfs þáttr* (Faulkes 1980, 51–61; J. E. Turville-Petre 1947). Indeed it is possible that these three stories are all that remains of a separate genre of such *þættir*, now largely lost. One could now go on to speculate how the story may have been transported by some ancient Norwegian sailor to an Icelandic reciter/scribe; but this would be pure speculation. The fact of the matter is, *Gunnars þáttr* is in an Icelandic manuscript tradition although its subject matter is alien to that tradition. On the evidence currently available, it seems to be either a Norwegian import or part of a separate Icelandic genre that dealt with foreign matters.

This edition

The text is based on the version of the story in F, since this has not been edited separately before and seems to represent a distinct and interesting redaction of the text. While the original *þáttr* may well have been compiled in the thirteenth century, like *Qlkofra þáttr*, the version in F can be regarded as in many ways a distinct work which belongs to the fourteenth century. Accordingly, the spelling is normalised, but to a standard appropriate to a text of the fourteenth century rather than to the usual thirteenth-century standard (as used with the text of *Qlkofra þáttr*) which would involve archaising the language considerably. Not all the changes in pronunciation that would have taken place by the late fourteenth century have, however, been represented, but many of the characteristic fourteenth-century spellings have been retained, such as *vó-* rather than *vá-*; *-s* rather than *-ss* in stressed syllables; *ǫ* and *ø* are not distinguished, the modern symbol *ö* being used for both; *ú-* rather than *ó-* is used for the negative prefix; *i* rather than *y* in low-stressed words (*þikja*, *firir*); *-ft* rather than *-pt*. The usual doubling of *l* before *d* is also retained. Diphthongisation and lengthening of vowels before *-ng* is not represented, however, because the scribe of F is inconsistent in this; and *ð* has been substituted for the scribe's *d* in appropriate positions. Archaic or unusual word forms such as *þí* for *því* and *ei* for *eigi* have been retained. Accents have been added as required, and the punctuation, of which there is little in the MS, is editorial. Abbreviations are expanded in the usual way.

INTRODUCTION TO QLKOFRA ÞÁTTR

The manuscript and this edition

The story of Þórhallr Qlkofri is extant in only one medieval manuscript, Möðruvallabók (abbreviated M), known as AM 132 fol., formerly in the Arnamagnæan collection in Copenhagen, but since 1974 one of the treasures of Stofnun Árna Magnússonar in Reykjavík (Jónas Kristjánsson 1981, 27). The facsimile, edited by Einar Ól. Sveinsson (1933), was the chief source for this edition, but passages which were difficult to read because of fading have been verified as far as possible in the original. The following words remained obscure, and have been taken from ÍF XI:

l. 30 *hǫfðu orðit*
l. 32 *ørendi* (see note)
ll. 59–62 *miklir þykkjask fyrir sér. Nú er þat . . . at veita honum lið, ok mun þér . . . Veittu honum lið*
l. 63 *ek þér brautargengi*
l. 65 *Stóð*
l. 68 *grátfeginn*

I have normalized the spelling in accordance with the general principles followed by standard texts like the *Íslenzk fornrit* series, and have referred to interesting variations in the notes. In particular, I have written *ð* in such words as *dœmðir*, *skilðusk* and *sekðar* where the manuscript has the later forms *dœmdir*, *skildusk*, *sektar* (Noreen 1923, 174–76, § 238).

There are several later paper manuscripts, but all of these derive from the M version (ÍF XI, xxxviii). Möðruvallabók is thought to have been compiled in or somewhat before the middle of the fourteenth century (Jónas Kristjánsson 1981, 27; Halldór Hermannsson 1929, 22; Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1933, 9). It contains eleven Icelandic family sagas: *Njáls saga*, *Egils saga*, *Finnboga saga*, *Bandamanna saga*, *Kormáks saga*, *Víga-Glúms saga*, *Droplaugarsona saga*, *Qlkofra saga*, *Hallfreðar saga*, *Laxdœla saga* and *Fostbrœðra saga*. Every part of Iceland is represented in these sagas, and Möðruvallabók has been seen as presenting the matter of Iceland in a manner comparable with the great medieval cycle compilations of Europe (Clover 1982, 57–58; Lönnroth 1965, 7). Comparisons of the M versions of these sagas with those in other manuscripts suggest that the compiler was fairly faithful to his sources, but had his own concise, fluent style, and made vigorous use of direct speech (ÍF II, lxxxii–lxxxv; ÍF VII, xcviii; ÍF IX, v; ÍF XI, lviii–lix; ÍF XII, clvi; *Víga-Glúms saga* 1960, iii, xxx–xxxii). More will be said of this in due course.

Qlkofra saga or Qlkofra þáttr?

One of the manuscript's coloured headings appears at the beginning of the story: *Aulkofra saga*. The scribe has divided the text into four sections, the second (beginning at line 54) being headed *Af Brodda Bjarnasyni* and both the third and fourth (lines 150 and 215) *Capitulum*. The final words are *Ok lýkr þar sǫgu Qlkofra*. On this evidence, the story should be called *Qlkofra saga*, but in the paper manuscripts and in printed editions and bibliographies it is known as *Qlkofra þáttr*. As far as we know, the story has always been independent, whereas most *þættir* are preserved as episodes in longer sagas. The strict definition of a *þáttr* as a 'strand', and the development of the word to indicate a chapter in a longer work, supports the thesis that it was not applied early to independent stories, although it is now used to describe a short work as compared with the longer sagas (Faulkes 1967, 1–5; Whitelaw 1981, 33; Lönnroth 1964, 19–21). It is interesting to note that *Vápnfirðinga saga* has also been known as *Vápnfirðinga þáttr* or *Brodd-Helga þáttr* (in paper manuscripts; see Schach 1970, 132).

The story

The action of *Qlkofra þáttr* purports to take place during the Saga Age, in the early eleventh century, that is three generations after the settlement of Iceland and at least two hundred years before the story was written down (Finnur Jónsson 1933, xxiii–xxv). Its chief characters are well-known literary and historical figures, except for Þórhallr Qlkofri himself, whose present fame rests entirely on his appearance in this story. It is easy to believe that a man made money by selling ale at the *Alþingi* and acquired the name Qlkofri thereby. But one wonders how historical was the fire which burned his forest, and whether the flames really did scorch land owned jointly by the six great *goðar*. Of those six, two are anachronisms: Þorkell trefill and Eyjólfr Þórðarson are unlikely to have been living in 1010 or later, when Broddi Bjarnarson was in his twenties (ÍF XI, xxxvi; Finnur Jónsson 1933, xxiv). It seems an extraordinary stroke of fate that two of the six (Skapti *lǫgmaðr* and Þorkell Geitisson) have reputations connected with skill at law, and two others (Snorri goði and Þorkell trefill) should be known for shrewd judgment (see notes to ll. 25–27). By coincidence, too, the author of *Kristni saga* names the following as among the greatest men in Iceland at the time preceding the conversion: Eyjólfr Valgerðarson (father of Guðmundr inn ríki and Einarr Þveræingr), Starri Eiríksson, Eyjólfr grái, Snorri goði, Þóroddr (father of

Skapti *lǫgsǫgumaðr*), Síðu-Hallr, Bjarni (father of Broddi) and Þorkell's father Geitir (*Kristni saga* 1905, 2–5). In *Heimskringla* it is said that in the days of Haraldr Gormsson of Denmark, *Þá var Brodd-Helgi í Vápnafirði, Eyjólfr Valgerðarson í Eyjafirði, Þórðr gellir í Breiðafirði, Þóroddr goði í Qlfusi* (ÍF XXVI, 271). Five of the *þáttr*'s chief characters are also involved in King Óláfr Haraldsson of Norway's attempt to establish sovereignty over Iceland. It is told that when he was trying to make himself lord of Iceland he invited five men to meet him. The first four were Guðmundr Eyjólfsson, Snorri goði, Þorkell Eyjólfsson (ins gráa) and Skapti lǫgsǫgumaðr. The fifth was Þorsteinn Hallsson, who also appears in the story of Qlkofri (*Heimskringla*, ÍF XXVII 217). At the outset, therefore, it is clear that the story, as told here, is not historical. The author has chosen *goðar* traditionally considered to be the most powerful in their time (Magerøy 1981, xxviii; Baetke 1960, 9).

Examination of the story shows that it was written by a man of purpose, both in the construction of the work and in the creation of essential relationships between selected characters. Taking relationships first, and looking at the passage where Þorsteinn and Broddi first appear, the following situations may be noted: Broddi, the hero, takes the lead; Þorsteinn humours him. The man sent for Qlkofri has a poor opinion of him; Qlkofri may be in a wretched state, but he knows Broddi and how to flatter him; Þorsteinn becomes impatient but reaffirms his support for Broddi. All these attitudes are portrayed by means of direct speech, well known to modern writers as a vehicle for liveliness, naturalness and intimacy, engaging the reader in whatever emotion is being conveyed. In choosing this way of writing, the author makes it clear that he wants his story to have an emotional effect. A large part of *Qlkofra þáttr* consists of direct speech. But this can also be said of certain other works in Möðruvallabók, and in comparing two manuscripts of *Droplaugarsona saga*, Jón Jóhannesson has shown that there are more occurrences of direct speech in the M version (ÍF XI, lviii–lix). This raises the possibility that direct speech in any text in the manuscript may be due to editing by the compiler. There is no other manuscript of *Qlkofra þáttr* with which to make comparison. But *Bandamanna saga*, which is also in Möðruvallabók and is more than half direct speech, can be seen to follow a similar pattern in Konungsbók, Gks 2845 4to. Konungsbók is a much later manuscript, which is thought to derive, not from Möðruvallabók, but from another source probably shared with Möðruvallabók (Magerøy 1981, xlv). If that is so, then this is one text that does not owe a significant amount of direct speech to the Möðruvallabók scribe. It may be thought,

therefore, that although *Qlkofra þáttr* may be tidier in Möðruvallabók than it would have been elsewhere, it is not changed substantially, and the author may be given credit for its style (compare the account of the text of *Víga-Glúms saga* in Möðruvallabók on p. xxii above).

The story is constructed in four clear stages, corresponding with the four sections in the manuscript. In the first, Qlkofri burns the forest, defies Skapti, and comes to grief when all his former clients refuse to dispute with the six *goðar*. At this point, Qlkofri attracts no sympathy. The author now revives his tale, and uses great skill to turn the tables on Skapti the lawspeaker. A young man is introduced. Broddi is reckless but no fool, and is supported, albeit reluctantly, by Þorsteinn Síðu-Hallsson, whose chief role elsewhere in Icelandic literature is to epitomise Icelandic bravery, such as at the battle of Clontarf (see note to ll. 52–53). Through the use of dialogue, the author establishes his two heroes as sympathetic, reveals Qlkofri's ability as a salesman, and foreshadows Broddi's use of that ability to trick Skapti and Guðmundr. At the end of the second section, the story appears to be over; it is certain that the arbitrators will find in Qlkofri's favour.

But the author chooses to develop his story further, with a device familiar to his audience. Broddi, again, is the instrument of change, and what began as a clever tale now becomes a channel for invective. Five of the six *goðar* are charged with cowardice. Humiliated, they retreat and Qlkofri is out of the story.

There remain Broddi, who can expect retaliation for his ruthlessness, and the sixth *goði*, Guðmundr inn ríki, who is the proudest of all. In the final section, Broddi defies Guðmundr, whose shame is made known throughout the *Alþingi*. Broddi, who has made peace with Þorkell, rides safely home.

The import of the story

At the opening of each of the four sections mentioned above, there is a question to be asked. Why does Broddi Bjarnarson undertake a case which is compared to baiting a bear? Why does he exacerbate the effect of his verdict by insulting his antagonists? Why is Guðmundr spared in section three, and then treated most harshly in section four? Is this the author's way of giving structural balance to his story, or has he been working towards a climax of meaning, the culmination of a literary or social satire?

In answering these questions, it is helpful to look at what is known of the context in which the *þáttr* may have been written. There are several

literary works to which *Qlkofra þáttr* can be related. In *Hrafnkels saga*, Sámr and Þorbjǫrn go from one booth to another, but no one will support their case against Hrafnkell. As Þorbjǫrn weeps, they see a stranger, Þorkell Þjóstarsson, who persuades his brother that it would be *drengskapr* to help them: *Er þat nú drengskapr at veita gǫmlum manni ok þurftigum* (ÍF XI, 109–16). Broddi uses the same argument with Þorsteinn on Qlkofri's behalf: *Nú er þat drengskapr, mágr, at veita honum lið* (l. 60). The *senna*, in which Broddi exchanges insults with the chieftains, has been compared with Skarpheðinn's provocation of the men whom Ásgrímr Elliða-Grímsson is asking for help in *Njáls saga* (ÍF XII, lxx, 297–306). Both Broddi and Skarpheðinn refer to Snorri goði's failure to avenge his father and to the slander against Guðmundr inn ríki which is most fully reported in *Ljósvetninga saga* (see notes to ll. 203, 235–37). The author obviously knew the story of Brodd-Helgi and Geitir Lýtingsson, which is recorded in *Vápnfirðinga saga* (see notes to ll. 210–12). *Ljósvetninga saga* and its attendant *þættir* portray certain characters in an interesting light: Guðmundr is a proud and showy man; Broddi plays a conciliatory role in a dispute involving Guðmundr's son, Eyjólfr; Brodd-Helgi, Þorkell Geitisson and Þorsteinn Síðu-Hallsson are allies against Guðmundr; Guðmundr's brother, Einarr, becomes Þorkell's father-in-law (ÍF X, 92, 109, 125–39). When arranging Þorkell's marriage, Þorsteinn is helped by Ófeigr Járngerðarson, the grandfather of Ófeigr Skíðason (ÍF X, lv; ÍF VII, lxxxvii, 293). Ófeigr Skíðason is the chief character of the enigmatic *Bandamanna saga*, whose connections with *Qlkofra þáttr* are too many to be ignored (Baetke 1960, 26–29; Magerøy 1981, xxix, xl–xli; ÍF VII, lxxxv–lxxxvii). Also, there are references in *Qlkofra þáttr* to incidents concerning Skapti, Þorkell trefill and Eyjólfr which the author may have taken from sources now lost. It is not possible to tell whether he knew the sagas mentioned here, but it seems certain that much of his raw material is borrowed, and, given the skill with which he writes, that he was well read.

It would be reasonable to assume that such a man wrote his story as a literary caprice, in which a hero motivated by *drengskapr* comes to the aid of an unsympathetic character against impossible and unlikely odds. (In this respect it differs from, for instance, *Hrafnkels saga* and *Bandamanna saga*, in both of which the victim is basically sympathetic, and it may be that the author of *Qlkofra þáttr* was deliberately departing from convention in making his victim so unattractive.) Again, Broddi's vehement attacks against the moral standards of the *goðar* must be explained. In denigrating such pillars of the old saga tradition, he seems to imply a sense of disappointment in what has become of that tradition.

But the final word about that can only be said when the social context has been examined.

Comparison with *Bandamanna saga* is now inevitable. The similarities are in subject (a court case is used to show that the *goðar* are corrupt and the law is an ass) and in certain linguistic phrases, mostly of a legal nature (see notes to ll. 151–53, and Baetke 1960, 27–28). There are some interesting differences in the treatment of this subject. *Drengskapr* is present only in the early part of *Bandamanna saga*, in the character of Váli, whose death turns the once fortunate Oddr into a luckless litigant. By contrast, Qlkofri, who has also grown rich by trade, is rescued from misfortune by the *drengskapr* of Broddi. Oddr's saviour, Ófeigr, may be like Broddi in lineage and family pride, but is most to be compared with Qlkofri himself, having the same cunning approach to the law as the brewer has to his business, and exhibiting a similar, though finer, ability to manipulate people. In the second half of *Bandamanna saga*, *drengskapr* is lacking. Both the courts and the chief men of the land are portrayed as corrupt. The author has conceived a people quite devastated by greed and the misuse of power. Albeit with a heavier touch, the author of *Qlkofra þáttr* separates his villains from the heroes. Even one of the six *goðar*, Þorkell Geitisson, keeps his dignity. Above all, the law in *Qlkofra þáttr* survives the attempt to abuse it. Broddi wins his case not by bribing the judges but by arbitrating according to the law. If the *þáttr* is social satire, the accusations of cowardice may reflect the author's disillusion with the morals of some powerful men in his own time, but no more than that. Magerøy makes a similar judgment on *Bandamanna saga* (1981, xxx).

Barði Guðmundsson has suggested in fascinating detail how neatly *Qlkofra þáttr* could refer to incidents in the lives of the Sturlungar and their contemporaries (Barði Guðmundsson 1958). The thirteenth century was a time during which some chieftains increased the number of their followers and established considerable personal power, often supported by force of arms (Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1953, 2, 15–17, 48–49). Such force could be the deciding factor in a case at law. But it was also a sign of insecurity among the leading men, who depended on the support of wealthy farmers (Gunnar Karlsson 1972, 17, 40, 43–45).

Bandamanna saga has been linked with the increasing power of these farmers, and the tension which may be supposed to have developed between them and the surviving *goðar* (Gunnar Karlsson 1972, 48). The author of *Qlkofra þáttr* is certain to have been influenced by the attitudes and economic conditions of his time, but the issues may not have been as clear to him then as they appear to us now. Social satire was not highly

developed in medieval Iceland. But an author might use ribaldry and rhetoric to provoke laughter. Broddi's wild accusations against the morals of his antagonists, which form such a substantial part of the story, are far more likely to be a disinterested display of verbal wit than disguised protestations about the state of society in his day, or even than a literary comment on the popular conception of an earlier society as preserved in the sagas (Steblin-Kamenskij 1978–79, 160–61; Sverrir Tómasson 1977, 108–09; Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1953, 91–97). This should be borne in mind when considering individual interpretations of the *þáttr*, such as Preben Meulengracht Sørensen's view that it illustrates pride coming before a fall (1980, 42–47; 1983, 34–39). For W. P. Ker *Bandamanna saga* was an early modern comedy (1908, 229). *Qlkofra þáttr* should be seen as very much a comedy of its own time.

The date of the story

It remains to establish as far as is possible when that time was. Unfortunately, there is little reliable internal evidence. Not only is M the only medieval manuscript, but there is no mention in the text of contemporary people, and no overt reference to sources. The chief factors to be considered are: references to incidents recorded elsewhere; similarities with other writings; the author's concept of the law; and linguistic evidence. All of these are largely matters of conjecture.

The circumstances of Snorri's father's death are related in *Gísla saga* and *Eyrbyggja saga*. According to Jón Jóhannesson, the story was well known in the thirteenth century, but the author may have been acquainted with *Ævi Snorra goða* or *Gísla saga* (ÍF XI, xxxvii). *Eyrbyggja saga* has been dated both to the second decade of the thirteenth century and to the middle of the same century (ÍF IV, li; ÍF VI, xxxix; ÍF XII, lxxxi). The date of *Gísla saga* is thought to be just before 1250 (ÍF VI, xli). The story of Brodd-Helgi, Geitir, Bjarni and Þorkell Geitisson is told in *Vápnfirðinga saga*, which Jón Jóhannesson would place in the second quarter of the thirteenth century (ÍF XI, xxvii). There is no reference in *Qlkofra þáttr* to Þorkell Geitisson's move from Krossavík to Hof at Bjarni's invitation, as related in *Vápnfirðinga saga* (ÍF XI, 65). At the end of the *þáttr*, Broddi invites Þorkell to visit him, presumably from Krossavík, so if the author knew about the move he chose either to ignore it, or to time his story before then. He knew that Þorkell Geitisson was married to Jórunn Einarsdóttir, a factor which links *Vápnfirðinga saga*, *Qlkofra þáttr* and *Vǫðu-Brands þáttr*. As has already been shown, Broddi's final words to Guðmundr may refer to an incident in *Ljósvetninga saga*, to which *Vǫðu-*

Brands þáttr belongs. But *Ljósvetninga saga* was written at the earliest about the middle of the thirteenth century (ÍF X, l).

If the author of *Qlkofra þáttr* knew *Gísla saga*, *Vápnfirðinga saga* and *Ljósvetninga saga*, or any of the three, the earliest date of composition would have to be about 1250. If its apparent associations with *Bandamanna saga* and *Njáls saga* are taken into account, then it may have to be dated not much later than that. *Bandamanna saga* is thought by Guðni Jónsson to have been written by the middle of the thirteenth century, but both Hallvard Magerøy and Sverrir Tómasson would place it later, in the last quarter of the thirteenth century (ÍF VII, xci–xcii; Magerøy 1981, xlii; Sverrir Tómasson 1977, 111). It is generally considered that the *þáttr* is earlier than *Bandamanna saga*, and may well have been a source for it. Guðni Jónsson lists five reasons for taking this view, all of which are acknowledged to be matters of opinion. They include the apparently more subtle and skilful art of the saga author; his turning of the tables on Broddi, in making him one of the conspirators; the saga's evident derivation from several *þættir*, of which *Qlkofra þáttr* would be one; and the likelihood that Oddr and Ófeigr are both based on aspects of Qlkofri, rather than the single character of Qlkofri being a fusion of Oddr and Ófeigr (ÍF VII, lxxxv–lxxxvi). Guðni Jónsson also refers to the opinion that the *senna* in *Qlkofra þáttr* is a model for that in *Bandamanna saga*. Like Jón Jóhannesson and Hallvard Magerøy, he prefers to look towards older sources, such as *Lokasenna*, for them both (ÍF VII, lxxxvi–lxxxvii; ÍF XI, xxxvi; Magerøy 1981, xvii–xviii). In my view this kind of game was probably familiar to the medieval audience in several traditions, and not only in Iceland (KLNM XV, 149–52). The phrase *sitja fyrir svǫrum*, which also occurs in *Bandamanna saga*, suggests that there may have been practised, even in the lawcourts, a kind of rhetoric in which the aim was to outface one's antagonist. Even if that is conjecture, the highly developed state of the device as seen in *Qlkofra þáttr* seems to imply that it was a familiar form, one constantly practised by performers and enjoyed by the audience.

Although it cannot be said with conviction that *Qlkofra þáttr* is earlier than *Bandamanna saga*, there is even less evidence that it might have been written later. The same may be said of the apparent connection between *Qlkofra þáttr* and *Hrafnkels saga*, which is thought to have been written *c.*1300 (ÍF XI, lvi). And Einar Ól. Sveinsson thinks that *Qlkofra þáttr* could have been one of the sources for material in *Njáls saga*, which he dates at *c.*1280 (ÍF XII, lxxxi–lxxxiv).

These last three sagas are, like *Qlkofra þáttr*, greatly concerned with the law. In 1262–64, the Icelanders accepted the sovereignty of the

Norwegian king, on condition that they might keep their own law (Jón Jóhannesson 1974, 282). As far as it is recorded at all, the law of the commonwealth period is preserved in *Grágas*. In 1271, a new lawbook, known as *Járnsíða*, was introduced, but it was quickly superseded by *Jónsbók* in 1281. By relating certain legal material in *Njáls saga* to *Járnsíða*, Einar Ól. Sveinsson felt that he could attribute to the saga a date preceding, or not long after, the introduction of *Jónsbók* (ÍF XII, lxxxiv). Both *Bandamanna saga* and *Hrafnkels saga* have been assessed as the work of men who had known the Commonwealth, so that their composition can reasonably be assumed to have taken place within a lifespan of its demise, but certain elements in *Bandamanna saga* may also have been influenced by *Járnsíða* (Sverrir Tómasson 1977, 110–11; ÍF XI, lv–lvi). The law as applied in *Qlkofra þáttr* accords fairly well with *Grágas* (see notes to ll. 35–38, 43, 166–67). That would suggest that the *þáttr* was written before the new law was well known. However, the law is unreliable evidence in a text which has been shown to reshape its source materials for literary purposes. Gunnar Karlsson has also cast doubt on the value of lawbooks as a reflection of real life (1972, 6).

It is equally difficult to draw definite conclusions from the language of the *þáttr*. Four metaphorical phrases can be linked tenuously by association with the sea, and although most Icelanders lived close to the sea and would presumably have been acquainted with fishermen's jargon, language that can be specifically connected with seafaring is in fact rather uncommon in Icelandic prose texts. *Þeim birni beitask* and *draga bust ór nefi* can both be said to have hunting origins, and the most familiar bears to an Icelander would be white bears, found near the sea (though not often in Iceland itself). *Fyrir borði* is obviously a shipping term, though used elsewhere in other contexts. One of the interpretations of *Rán ok regin* is that Rán is the sea-goddess. Of all four phrases only *fyrir borði* is certainly a colloquial phrase. The other three could be either literary or colloquial. As *draga bust ór nefi* is only to be found in *Qlkofra þáttr*, it may be supposed that it is either original or has colloquial roots (see notes to ll. 47–48, 91–92, 190–92).

Two other words can be linked together, as legal terms associated with money. *Argaskattr* is known only from *Qlkofra þáttr* and the compound *mútugjafir* seems to be fairly rare, although it occurs in *Laxdœla saga* and *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*. *Klengisǫk*, also a legal term, is only found elsewhere in a Norwegian context (see notes to ll. 70–71, 172, 181).

While these terms may suggest that the author was associated with both the sea and the law, they shed little light on the date of the *þáttr*. The

vocabulary is rich enough to imply that it was written at the height of Icelandic literary prowess, but there are no obviously foreign loan words to connect the story with European or continental Scandinavian influences.

Taking all evidence into account, the most satisfactory date for the *þáttr* would be some time between about 1250 and the introduction of *Járnsíða* in 1271.

The author

The unusually full description of Qlkofri suggests that the author had a particular person in mind when he drew the character, whether he was thinking of a brewer of the eleventh century of whom he had heard stories or of someone contemporary with himself. Later, he chooses to say where the forest is which provides Þorhallr's charcoal, and when Broddi takes Qlkofri in search of Skapti and Guðmundr it is implied that the author knows where on the plain the *lǫgrétta* was held. Altogether, the impression is given that the author knew the *Alþingi* and its surroundings. It is less certain that he knew the road to Vápnafjǫrðr, which is described at the end of the story. It has already become apparent that he knew many sagas and sources of history, and the law of the Commonwealth. Unlike the author of *Njáls saga*, he does not display knowledge of legal formulae, such procedure being incidental to the story, except on significant occasions, such as Skapti's withdrawal of the charge. He is a skilled storyteller, particularly in the use of direct speech for dramatic, often comic effect.

Early in the story, the author comments on the variable quality of *mungát*, sharing a wry joke with his audience: *Var þá sem opt kann verða at mungátin eru misjafnt vinsæl ok svá þeir er seldu* (ll. 7–8). Later, Broddi says to Þorsteinn, *er þat lítilræði at sekja hann þeim er miklir þykkjask fyrir sér* (ll. 59–60). Here lies the foundation of his story. He intends to ridicule great men who persecute little men. As his little man is also unlikable, his work is surely not to be taken as serious satire, but rather lighthearted entertainment.

It can be concluded that the author of *Qlkofra þáttr* was an educated man who had access to libraries and met a variety of people. He was a man of confidence and authority, who knew his audience and expected them to understand his references to legal and literary matters. It is possible that he came from eastern Iceland, and probable that he knew Þingvǫllr. He may well have been a member of one of the leading families, or the son of a farmer whose wealth gave him many opportunities. At a time when Icelanders were experiencing political and social change, this man drew on his knowledge and skill to make them laugh.

Ögmundar þáttr dytts og Gunnars helmings

Utanferð Ögmundar ok áverki Hallvarðs

Í þenna tima vóru margir göfgir menn á Íslandi þeir at í frændsemistölu vóru við Óláf konung. Einn af þeim var Víga-Glúmr, son Eyjólfs hrúgu ok Ástríðar Vigfússdóttur hersis, sem fyrr er sagt. Helga hét systir Víga-Glúms, var hon gift Steingrími í Sigluvík. Þorvalldr hét son þeira ok var kallaðr tasalldi.

Sá maðr hafði vaxit upp með Víga-Glúmi, er Ögmundr hét; hann var Hrafnsson. Hrafn var auðigr maðr ok bjó vestr í Skagafirði. Hann hafði verit þræll Glúms ok Ástríðar, móður hans, ok hafði Glúmr gefit honum frelsi. Móðir Ögmundar var skylld Víga-Glúmi at frændsemi. Ögmundr var fríðr maðr sýnum, mikill ok görviligr. Hann hafði gott yfirlæti af Glúmi, frænda sínum. Glúmr var þá hniginn á hinn efra alldr ok bjó at Þverbrekku í Öxnadal, en Ögmundr var þá roskinn. Vigfús son Glúms var þá í Noreg með Hákoni jarli. Þat var á einu sumri, at Ögmundr sagði Glúmi, at hann fýstist utanferðar.

'Villda ek,' sagði hann, 'kaupa mér skip á Gásum. Vil ek þar til kosta fé föður míns, at gnógt er til, en hafa af þér ásjá ok orðafullting at þessu.'

Glúmr svarar, 'Margir fara þeir utan, at ekki eru mannvænligri at sjá en þú.'

Keypti Glúmr honum skip at norrænum mönnum ok bjó Ögmundr ferð sína við mikinn fjárhlut, er faðir hans fékk honum. Þeir létu í haf helldr síð sumars. Gaf þeim byri, fengu veðr stór ok hagstæð, ok er þá bar ór hafi sá þeir land ok leggja skipit í rétt um nóttina, en sigla til lands at ljósum degi. Ok er þeir höfðu eigi lengi siglt, þá minnkaði veðrit ok tók af byrinn, ok er náttaði tók at hvessa í annan tíma. Ögmundr kvað þá eigi fara skylldu sem fyrr, at þeir lægi af sér byrinn. Tunglskin var mikit, sigldu þeir nú um nóttina. En er þeir áttu skamt til lands, lágu firir þeim mörg skip í tengslum. Þat vóru langskip. Þat var í eyjasundi nokkuru, ok sá þeir eigi fyrr skipin en þeir sigldu eitt í kaf ok svó inn at meginlandi til hafnar. Sögðu þá sumir menn, þeir er á kaupskipinu höfðu verit, at þeir hefði siglt úvitrliga. En Ögmundr svarar at hverir yrði sín at geyma. En firir langskipum þeim átti at ráða Hákon jarl, en þat skip er þeir höfðu í kaf siglt hafði átt sá maðr er Hallvarðr hét. Hann var ríkr maðr ok hinn mesti vin jarls. Honum var sagt um morgininn hver svívirðing ok skaði þeim var görr. Jarl varð reiðr mjök við þessi tíðendi ok mælti svó,

'Þessir menn munu vera snápar, ok hafa ekki fyrr komit í önnur lönd. Nú gef ek þér, Hallvarðr, orlof til at refsa þeim ok hefna þinnar svívirðingar, því at þeir einir munu þessir menn vera, at þér mun ekki ofrefli í við at eiga. Skortir þik hvórki til hreysti né harðfengi at gera þeim slíka skömm eðr meiri, hverir sem þeir eru.'

Þá svaraði Vigfús Víga-Glúmsson, 'Þér munuð vilja, herra, taka sætt af þessum mönnum, ok haldi þeir lífi sínu ef þeir vilja sitt mál leggja á yðarn dóm. Mun ek fara ok vita hverir þeir sé ok leita um sættir, ef þess er kostr.'

Jarl svarar, 'Gera máttu þat, en frekr get ek þeim þiki lokarr minn til fégjalda um slík mál.'

Vigfús fór til kaupskipsins ok kenndi þar Ögmund, frænda sinn, ok fagnaði honum vel ok spurði tíðenda af Íslandi ok at föður sínum. En Ögmundr sagði slíkt er hann spurði. Síðan mælti Vigfús,

'Yðvart mál horfir til mikilla vandræða af tilfellum þessum, er orðit hefir af yðvarri hingatkvómu.'

Sagði hann þeim þá hvat at var orðit, ok svó þat at Hákon jarl hafði seinliga tekit á sættargerð við þá.

'Nú er eyrendi mitt til þín, frændi, at biðja at þú leggir á dóm jarls. En ek skal flytja þitt mál sem ek kann, ok mun þá með nokkuru móti vel fram fara.'

Ögmundr svarar, 'Þat eitt frétti ek af jarli þessum, at ekki gef ek allt mitt ráð á hans dóm ok einna sízt ef hann heitr illu, því at þat mun hann efna. En eigi firirtek ek at bæta þetta tilfelli, ef hann mælir lítilliga til.'

Vigfús mælti, 'Á þat máttir þú líta hvat þér hæfir, því at þú átt við þann um, at ekki er berandi hans reiði at neita hans dómi.' Vigfús fór út til skips jarls ok sagði honum at þeir menn vóru hans fóstbræðr ok sumir frændr. 'Vilja þeir ok sitt mál leggja á yðvart valld.' Þá sagði einn maðr jarls,

'Rangt segir þú þínum herra, þeir bjóða engi nýt boð firir sik.'

Hallvarðr mælti, 'Þetta er sannast, at mér er hæfiligt at hefna mín sjálfr ok þurfa þar ekki annarra manna við.'

Jarl bað hann svó gera. Vigfús mælti,

'Þess manns skal ek bani vera, ef ek má, at drepr Ögmund, frænda minn.'

Hallvarðr mælti, 'Þó at þér séð ofrhrugar miklir Íslendingar, þá er þess vón hér í landi at menn vili eigi þola skömm bótlaust helldr af yðr frændum Víga-Glúms en öðrum mönnum, þeir er nokkurs þikja verðir.'

Reri Hallvarðr þá til kaupskipsins, en Hákon jarl lét hafa styrk varðhöld á Vigfúsi. Hallvarðr kom at kaupskipinu ok spurði hverr þar var formaðr. Ögmundr sagði til sín. Þá mælti Hallvarðr,

'Vér félagar eigum við yðr stórsakir, ok erum nú til þess hér komnir at vita ef þér vilið bjóða firir yðr nokkurar sæmdir ok sæmiligar bætr.'

Ögmundr svarar, 'Eigi mun bóta synjat ef eigi er frekliga til mælt.'

Hallvarðr svarar, 'Þeir menn eiga hér í hlut, at eigi vilja smáhluti þiggja firir stórar svívirðingar.'

Ögmundr mælti, 'Þá viljum vér varna bóta, ef mjök stórliga er látit.'

'Ek ætla þat ok líkast,' sagði Hallvarðr, 'at biðja yðr ekki þess er þér ættið at bjóða.'

Hljóp hann þá upp á kaupskipit ok laust Ögmund mikit öxarhamarshögg, svó at hann fell þegar í úvit. Fór Hallvarðr við þat á fund jarls ok sagði honum, en jarl kvað miklu minna at gört en makligt væri. Hallvarðr svarar,

'Höfðingi þeira var mest sakbitinn hér um, ok sýndist mér því at gera hér eigi meira at í þessu sinni en ljósta hann í svima. Var þat makligt at láta svívirðing koma svívirðing mót. En þat er enn firir hendi at auka enn hefnd síðar, ef sýnist.'

En þegar at Vigfús vissi þetta, þá eirði honum illa ok villdi vinna á Hallvarði eðr drepa hann, en honum urðu á því engi færi, svó lét jarl geyma hans.

Ögmundr vitkaðist ok hafði þó fengit mikla ákvómu. Lá hann lengi vetrar ok varð þó heill um síðir ok varð hann af þessu efni mjök gabbaðr, svó at hvar sem hann kom var hann kallaðr Ögmundr dyttr. En hann lét sem hann vissi eigi hvat hvergi talaði. Vigfús kom oft til hans ok bað hann hefna sín. 'Vil ek þar til,' sagði hann, 'veita þér mitt liðsinni, at þú rekir þinnar svívirðingar.'

Ögmundr svarar, 'Þetta mál veit eigi svó við, frændi. Sýnist mér at ek sé eigi meir vanvirðr af Hallvarði en at líkendum var, ok eigi vón at minna mundi firir koma, svó harðliga sem vér höfðum vóra sök til búit í fyrstu. Er þat úráð at hefna þessa. Er Hallvarðr hinn mesti vin Hákonar jarls, en þú kominn hér á valld hans. Á ek annat at gjalda Glúmi, föður þínum, en hafa þik í þeirri hættu at þér sé vís vón meiðsla eðr bana af mínu tilstilli.'

Vigfús svarar, 'Firir þat kann ek þér enga þökk ok ei man faðir minn kunna at þú látir sem þú skulir sjá firir mínum kosti þar um, er ek vil eigi sjálfr. Ætla ek þér helldr til ganga hugleysi en varygð, ok er illt at fylgja þeim manni er hérahjarta hefir í brjósti. Er þat ok líkast at þér bregði meir í þrælaættina en Þveræinga.'

Skildu þeir við þat, at Vigfús var hinn reiðasti.

Leið á vetrinn, ok um vórit bjó Ögmundr skip sitt ok fór út til Íslands um sumarit, ok hafði aflat mikils fjár í ferð þessi. Kom hann skipi sínu í Eyjafjörð. Glúmr frétti skjótt skipkvómuna, var honum ok sagt hverja svívirðing Ögmundr hafði fengit í ferð þessi. En er Ögmundr hafði fengit ráð firir gört skipi sínu ok fé, þá fór hann til Þverbrekku ok dvaldist með Glúmi um hríð. Var Glúmr við hann fálátr ok fannst þat á honum at engi þokki var Glúmi í hans þarkvómu. Ögmundr var hinn kátasti ok barst á mikit. Hann fór til allra mannafunda er þar vóru í sveit ok var helldr hlutsamr um mál manna ok ef nokkura menn greindi á, þá þótti engi maðr skjótligri til stórræða en Ögmundr. Hann var ok tiltakasamr, þat er Glúmr þurfti við um bús tilskipan eðr atflutningar, ok lét yfir sér hit vænligsta. En þat var lengi at Glúmr villdi ekki við hann mæla, ok einn dag mælti Glúmr til hans,

'Vita skaltu þat, Ögmundr, at ek kann enga þökk starfa þíns, ok þiki undarligt er þú ert svó framgjarn eðr hlutsamr um mál manna þar sem engi dáð fylgir þér ok er herfilig þín hin fyrsta ferð, svó at ek villdi gjarna alldri sjá þik, er þú vilt verða sjálfum þér at skömm ok brigzli ok öllum frændum þínum, ok bera ævinlig klæki at þora eigi at hefna sín.'

Ögmundr svarar, 'Á þat máttu líta, frændi, hvat er mér gekk til er hefndin fórst firir, því at mér þótti mikit í hættu er Vigfús var son þinn.'

'Þar máttir þú,' segir Glúmr, 'ekki firir sjá er hann villdi eigi sjálfr. Þætti mér þat til vinnanda at þit værið báðir dauðir ok hefðir þú sýnt af þér hugprýði um hefndina. Nú er þat annathvórt at þú ert frá því þróttigr ok þolinn sem aðrir menn, ok muntu sýna þá af þér karlmennsku, þó at síðar sé, því at í annan stað værir þú ekki svá bleyðimannligr í bragði, ella ertu með öllu únýtr ok verðr þat þá ríkara, sem verr gegnir, at oft verðr yðr údrjúg hin úfrjálsa ættin til drengskaparins, ok ekki vil ek hafa þik lengr með mér.'

Fór Ögmundr þá til föður sins ok var með honum síðan.

Hefnd Ögmundar

Þá er Ögmundr hafði verit tvó vetr á Íslandi, þá bjó hann skip sitt um sumarit ok fekk menn til ok sigldu til Noregs. Kom hann af hafi norðr við Þrándheim ok helt inn á fjörðinn. Hann lagði skipi sínu síð dags undir Niðaróshólm. Þá mælti Ögmundr,

'Nú skal skjóta báti fram, vil ek róa inn í ána ok vita tíðendi af landinu.'

Ögmundr tók yfir sik hálfskiptan felld ok hlöðum búinn um handveginn. Var þat ágætr gripr. Gekk Ögmundr á lítinn bát við þriðja mann, þat var um morgininn snemma. Reru þeir inn at bryggjunum. Þá gekk maðr ofan ór bænum, sá var í heklu, hon var gör af skarlaki ok saumuð öll brögðum. Heklumaðrinn spurði hverr firir bátinum réði. Ögmundr sagði til sín. Bæjarmaðrinn mælti, 'Ertu Ögmundr dyttr?'

'Kalla svó sumir menn,' segir hann,'eðr hvat heitir þú?'

'Ek heiti Gunnarr helmingr, en því er ek svó kallaðr at mér þikir gaman at hafa hálflit klæði.'

Ögmundr mælti, 'Hvat er tíðenda hér í landi?'

Gunnarr svarar, 'Þau þiki mér stór tíðendi, at Hákon jarl er dauðr, en kominn til ríkis ágætr konungr Óláfr Tryggvason.'

Ögmundr mælti, 'Hvat veiztu til hvar sá maðr mun vera er Hallvarðr heitir, þrænzkr maðr, ættstórr ok auðigr?'

Gunnarr sagði, 'Þat er eigi undarligt, þó at þú fréttir at honum. Hann er nú kallaðr Hallvarðr háls, því at hann var í Jómsvíkingabardaga með Hákoni jarli í fyrra vetr ok fekk þar sár mikit á hálsinn firir aftan eyrat, ok berr hann síðan hallt höfuðit. En nú er hann hér í bænum með Óláfi konungi ok hefir hann fengit af honum virðingar. En felld hefir þú góðan, Ögmundr, ok vel litan er tvískiptr er, ok villda ek at þú selldir mér felldinn.'

'Eigi vil ek selja felldinn,' segir Ögmundr, 'en ef þér lízt vel á, þá vil ek gefa þér.'

'Ok gef manna heilastr,' sagði Gunnarr, 'ok ek villda geta launat þér þessa gjöf, en heklu þessa skaltu fyrst hafa. Má vera at þér verði hon at gagni.'

Gekk Gunnarr þá upp í bæinn ok var í felldinum. En Ögmundr fór í hekluna. Hann mælti þá til sinna manna,

'Nú skulu þit festa bátinn við bryggjuna at skutstafninum, svó at eigi svífi frá, meðan ek geng upp. En þit skuluð sitja í rúmunum ok hafa búnar árar til róðrar.'

Síðan gekk Ögmundr upp í garðinn ok var lítt við menn varr. Hann sá opnar dyrr á einu herbergi ok stóðu þar nokkurir menn við handlaugar, ok var einn mestr ok fríðastr sýnum ok bar hallt höfuðit, ok kenndi Ögmundr at frásögn Gunnars at þar mundi vera Hallvarðr. Gekk Ögmundr at dyrunum ok þóttust allir þeir, er inni vóru, þar kenna Gunnar helming í heklu sinni. Hann var helldr lágtalaðr. Bað hann Hallvarð ganga út, því at hann lézt við hann eiga skyllt eyrendi. Sneri Ögmundr þá annan veg frá dyrunum ok brá sverði er hann hafði í hendi. Gunnarr var þar öllum mönnum kunnigr ok gekk Hallvarðr út einn saman en Ögmundr

hjó hann þegar banahögg er hann kom at honum. Hljóp Ögmundr þá ofan til bátsins. Kastaði hann af sér heklunni ok lét koma stein í höttinn ok fleygði út á ána, ok sökk hon til grunna. Ögmundr gekk á bátinn ok bað þá róa út eftir ánni, en er þeir kvómu til kaupskipsins, mælti Ögmundr til sinna manna,

'Hér er úfriðr mikill í landi, en nú kastar vindi innan af firðinum. Munu vér vinda segl vórt ok sigla út aftr til Íslands.'

Þeir kölluðu hann enn sem fyrr helldr hræddan er hann þorði eigi at koma á land, þó at þarlenzkir menn ættist illt við. Þeir görðu svó sem hann mælti firir, kvómu aftr til Íslands, tóku Eyjafjörð. Fór Ögmundr á fund Víga-Glúms ok sagði honum sína ferð, kvað þá hefndina fram komna, þótt frestin væri löng. Glúmr lét þá vel yfir ok kallaði hann þat ok verit hafa sitt hugboð at hann mundi reynast nýtr maðr. Var Ögmundr þá með Glúmi í góðu yfirlæti.

Gunnarr stökk til Svíþjóðar firir vígit

Nú er þar til at taka at mönnum Hallvarðs þótti seinkast innkvóman hans, gengu þeir út ok fundu hann dauðan í blóði sínu. Vóru þá sögð þessi tíðendi Óláfi konungi ok þat með, at menn hugðu at Gunnarr helmingr hefði drepit Hallvarð. Konungr sagði,

'Hann munda ek sízt til kjósa, en þó skal nú þegar leita at honum ok festa upp, ef hann er þessa valldr.'

Gunnarr átti sér bróður er hét Sigurðr. Hann var auðigr ok hirðmaðr Óláfs konungs ok hans kærr vinr. Var Sigurðr þar í bænum, en þegar hann varð þess varr at bróður hans var ætlaðr dauði, þá leitar hann at honum ok finnr hann. Spurði Sigurðr ef hann væri sannr vígs þess er honum var eignat. Gunnarr kvað þat fjarri fara. Sigurðr mælti,

'Veiztu ok ekki til hverr þetta hefir gört?'

Gunnarr mælti, 'Þat segi ek hvórki þér né öðrum.'

Sigurðr mælti, 'Forða þér þá.'

Gunnarr gerði svó ok komst í skóg ok varð eigi fundinn. Létti hann eigi fyrr sinni ferð en hann kom fram í Svíþjóð. Þar vóru stór blót í þann tíma ok hafði Freyr þar verit mest blótaðr, ok svó mjök var magnat líkneski Freys, at fjándinn talaði við menn ór skurgoðinu, ok Frey hafði verit fengin kona ung. Var þat átrúnaðr landsmanna at Freyr væri lifandi, sem sýndist í sumu lagi, ok ætluðu at hann mundi þurfa at eiga hjúskaparfar við konu sína. Var þessi kona ok fríð sýnum. Skylldi hon ok mest ráða firir hofstaðnum ok öllu því er þar lá til goðahússins. Gunnarr helmingr kom þar fram um síðir ok bað konu Freys hjálpa sér,

ok beiddi at hon mundi hann þar láta vera. Hon leit við honum ok spurði hverr hann væri. Hann lézt vera leysingi einn útlendr.

Hon mælti, 'Eigi muntu vera í alla staði gæfumaðr, því at Freyr lítr ekki vinaraugum til þín. Nú hvíl þik hér þrjár nætr ok vitum þá hversu Frey þokkast til þín.'

Gunnarr mælti, 'Miklu þiki mér betra at þiggja þína hjálp ok hollostu en Freys.'

Gunnarr var glaðr ok skemmtanarmaðr mikill, ok er hann hafði þar verit þrjár nætr mælti Gunnarr við konu Freys, ok spurði hversu at þá skylldi vera um hans þarvist.

'Ek veit þat eigi görla,' sagði hon, 'þú ert maðr félaus ok kann þó vera at þú sér góðra manna, ok væri mér um þat meira at veita þér nokkura ásjá. En Frey er lítit um þik, ok uggi ek at hans reiði liggi á. Nú vertu hér hálfan mánuð ok sjám þá hvat í gerist.'

Gunnarr sagði þá, 'Svó skiptir um sem ek munda kjósa. Freyr hatar mik, en þú hjálpar mér, því at ek vil eigi með Frey vera.'

Gunnarr var í Svíaríki ok hitti þar bróður sinn

Gunnarr þokkaðist mönnum því betr sem hann hafði þar lengr verit firir skemtan ok annan vaskleik. Kom hann enn at máli við konu Freys ok spurði um sinn hag. Hon svaraði,

'Vel þikir mönnum hér til þín ok þiki mér ráð at þú sér hér í vetr, ok farir á veizlur með okkr Frey, þá er hann gerir mönnum árbót, en þó er honum illa við þik.'

Gunnarr þakkaði henni vel. Líðr nú at þeiri stundu er þau búast heiman, ok skylldu þau Freyr ok kona hans sitja í vagni, en þjónustumenn þeira skylldu ganga firir. Þau áttu at fara yfir fjallveg mikinn. Þá gerði at þeim hríð mikla. Gerðist þá færðin þung, en Gunnarr var til ætlaðr at fylgja vagninum, ok kom þá svó um síðir at allt fólkit dreif frá þeim, svó at Gunnarr einn varð eftir ok þau Freyr ok kona hans í vagninum. Tók Gunnarr þá at mæðast fast er hann gekk ok leiddi eykinn. En er svó hafði farit um stund, þá gefr hann upp firirgönguna ok sezt í vagninn, ok lætr eykinn ráða ferðinni. Litlu síðar mælti hon til Gunnars,

'Dugi enn ella mun Freyr upp standa at þér.'

Hann gerir enn svó um hríð. En er hann mæðist, mælti hann, 'Til mun ek hætta nú at taka í móti Frey, ef hann ræðr á mik.'

Freyr reis þá ór vagninum ok takast þeir fangbrögðum, ok verðr Gunnarr mjök aflvani. Hann sér þá at honum mun eigi svó búit duga. Hugsar hann þá með sér, ef hann getr yfirkomit þenna fjánda ok verðr honum auðit at koma aftr til Noregs at hann skal hverfa aftr til réttrar

trúar ok sættast við Óláf konung, ef hann vill við honum taka. Ok þegar eftir þessa hugsan tekr Freyr at hrata firir honum, ok því næst fellr hann. Hleypr þá ór líkneskinu sá fjándi sem þar hafði leynzt ok var þá skrokkrinn einn tómr eftir. Síðan braut hann þat allt í sundr, gekk svó at vagninum ok gerði konunni tvó kosti: at hann mundi hlaupa frá henni ok leita firir sér, ella skal hon segja at hann sé Freyr, þá er þau koma til byggða. Hon kveðst þat gjarna helldr vilja segja. Ferr Gunnarr þá í umbúning skurgoðsins. En veðr tók at birta, kvómu þá síðan til veizlu þeirar er þeim var boðit. Var þar firir mart þeira manna er þeim skylldi fylgt hafa. Þótti fólkinu nú mikils um vert hversu Freyr sýndi mátt sinn er hann skylldi komast til byggða með konu sína í slíku veðri, þar sem allir menn höfðu hlaupit frá þeim, svó ok þat at hann gekk nú með mönnum ok át ok drakk sem aðrir menn.

Fóru þau at veizlum um vetrinn. Var Freyr jafnan fátalaðr við aðra menn nema konu sína, ok eigi vill hann láta sæfa kvikvendi firir sér sem fyrr, ok engi blót vill hann þiggja ok ekki offr utan gull ok silfr, klæði góð eðr aðrar gersimar.

En er stundir líða fram þá þikjast menn finna at kona Freys ferr eigi ein saman ok er með barni. Þat verðr mönnum allágætt ok þikir nú mörgum allvænt um Frey guð sinn. Var ok veðrátta blíð ok allir hlutir svó árvænir, at engi maðr mundi slíkt. Spurðust þessi tíðendi víða um heim hversu blótguð Svía var máttugr. Kemr þetta ok firir Óláf konung Tryggvason, ok grunar hann um hverju gegna muni. Ok einn dag um vórit kallar Óláfr konungr til tals við sik Sigurð bróður Gunnars helmings. Konungr spurði ef hann frétti nokkut til Gunnars bróður síns. Sigurðr kveðst ekki til hans frétta. Konungr mælti,

'Þat hefir hugr minn, at sá blótguð Svía er nú ganga mestar sögur frá ok þeir kalla Frey, at þat muni vera reyndar Gunnarr bróðir þinn, því at þau verða mest blót er lifandi menn eru blótaðir. Nú vil ek senda þik austr þangat eftir honum, því at þat er hörmuligt at vita ef kristins manns sála skal svó hörmuliga fara. Vil ek gefa honum upp reiði mína ef hann vill auðvelliga fara á minn fund, því at ek veit at Ögmundr dyttr hefir drepit Hallvarð, en eigi Gunnarr.'

Sigurðr brá við skjótt ok fór þar til er hann fann Frey þenna ok kenndi þar Gunnar, bróður sinn. Bar hann honum orð ok eyrendi Óláfs konungs. Gunnarr svarar,

'Fús væra ek at fara ok sættast við Óláf konung. En ef Svíar verða varir við hvat um er, þá munu þeir vilja taka mik af lífi.'

Sigurðr mælti, 'Vér skulum leyniliga leita héðan í burt ok hafa á þí traust, sem vera mun, at meiri er gæfa ok góðvili Óláfs konungs með guðs miskunn en eftirleit Svía.'

Gunnarr býr sik nú ok konu sína ok höfðu með sér lausafé, slíkt er þau máttu með komast, riðu síðan leyniliga í burt um nótt. En er Svíar verða þessa varir þá þikjast þeir sjá allt hversu farit mun hafa, senda þegar menn eftir þeim. En er þeir vóru skamt á leið komnir, þá villtust þeir vegar ok fundu þau eigi. Fara Svíar við þat aftr, en þau léttu eigi fyrri sinni ferð en þau fundu Óláf konung. Tók hann Gunnar í sætt við sik, en lét skíra konu hans ok helldu þau síðan rétta trú.

Qlkofra þáttr

Þórhallr hét maðr. Hann bjó í Bláskógum á Þórhallsstǫðum. Hann var vel fjáreigandi ok heldr við aldr er saga sjá gerðisk. Lítill var hann ok ljótr. Engi var hann íþróttamaðr en þó var hann hagr við járn ok tré. Hann hafði þá iðju at gera ǫl á þingum til fjár sér, en af þessi iðn varð hann brátt málkunnigr ǫllu stórmenni þvíat þeir keyptu mest mungát. Var þá sem opt kann verða at mungátin eru misjafnt vinsæl ok svá þeir er seldu. Engi var Þórhallr veifiskati kallaðr ok heldr sínkr. Honum váru augu þung. Optliga var þat siðr hans at hafa kofra á hǫfði ok jafnan á þingum. En af því at hann var maðr ekki nafnfrægr, þá gáfu þingmenn honum þat nafn er við hann festisk at þeir kǫlluðu hann Qlkofra.

Þat varð til tíðenda eitt haust at Qlkofri fór í skóg þann er hann átti ok ætlaði at brenna kol, sem hann gerði. Skógr sá var upp frá Hrafnabjǫrgum ok austr frá Lǫnguhlíð. Hann dvalðisk þar nokkura daga ok gerði til kola ok brenndi síðan viðinn ok vakði um nótt yfir grǫfunum. En er á leið nóttina, þá sofnaði hann. En eldr kom upp í grǫfunum ok hljóp í limit hjá ok logaði þat brátt. Því næst hljóp eldr í skóginn. Tók hann þá at brenna. Þá gerisk á vindr hvass. Nú vaknaði Qlkofri ok varð því feginn at hann gæti sér forðat. Eldrinn hljóp í skóginn. Brann sá skógr fyrst allr er Qlkofri átti, en síðan hljóp eldr í þá skóga er þar váru næstir, ok brunnu skógar víða um hraunit. Er þar nú kallat á Sviðningi.

Þar brann skógr sá er kallaðr var Goðaskógr. Hann áttu sex goðar. Einn var Snorri goði, annarr Guðmundr Eyjólfsson, þriði Skapti lǫgmaðr, fjórði Þorkell Geitisson, fimmti Eyjólfr son Þórðar gellis, sétti Þorkell trefill Rauða-Bjarnarson. Þeir hǫfðu keypt skóga þá til þess at hafa til nytja sér á þingi. Eptir kolbrennu þessa fór Qlkofri heim. En tíðendi þessi spurðusk víða um heruð ok kómu fyrst til Skapta þeira manna er fyrir skǫðum hǫfðu orðit. Um haustit sendi hann orð norðr til Eyjafjarðar með þeim mǫnnum er ferð áttu milli heraða, ok lét segja Guðmundi skógabrennuna, ok þat með at þat mál var févænligt. Slík ørendi fóru ok vestr í heruð til þeira manna er skóga hǫfðu átt. Fóru þá sendiboð um vetrinn eptir milli þeira allra ok þat með at goðar þeir sex skyldu hittask á þingi ok vera allir at einu ráði, en Skapti skyldi mál til búa, þvíat hann sat næst. En er vár kom ok stefnudagar, þá reið Skapti til með marga menn ok stefndi Qlkofra um skógabrennuna, ok lét varða skóggang. Qlkofri var málóði ok heldr stórorðr, lét þess ván, ef vinir

hans kœmi til þings, at Skapti myndi eigi jafnstórliga láta. Skapti segir fá ok reið á brott.

Um sumarit eptir kómu goðar þeir sex til þings er skóga hǫfðu átt ok hǫfðu brátt stefnu sín á milli, ok var þat ráðit at mál skyldi fram hafa en gera fé allmikit ella hafa sjálfdœmi. Qlkofri kom til þings ok átti mungát at selja, kom þá til fundar við vini sína, þá sem vanir váru at kaupa ǫl at honum. Hann bað þá liðs ok bauð þeim ǫl at selja, en þeir svǫruðu allir á einn veg, at þau ein kaup hefði þeir við átzk, at þeim var ekki vilnat í, sǫgðu at þeir mundu eigi þeim birni beitask at deila um mál hans við ofreflismenn slíka, ok vildi engi maðr heita honum liði ok engi vildi eiga kaup við hann. Þótti honum þá heldr vandask málit. Gekk hann þá milli búða ok fekk þá engi annsvǫr, þótt hann bæði menn liðs. Var þá lokit stórleika hans ok drambi.

Þat var um dag einn at Qlkofri kom til búðar Þorsteins Síðu-Hallssonar ok gekk fyrir hann ok bað sér liðs. Þorsteinn veitti honum slík annsvǫr sem aðrir. Maðr er nefndr Broddi Bjarnason, mágr Þorsteins. Hann sat it næsta honum. Broddi var þá á tvítugs aldri. Qlkofri gekk út með búðinni þá er Þorsteinn hafði synjat honum liðs. Broddi mælti þá,

'Svá lízk mér, mágr, sem þessi maðr muni ekki vel til skógarmanns felldr, ok er þat lítilræði at sekja hann þeim er miklir þykkjask fyrir sér. Nú er þat drengskapr, mágr, at veita honum lið, ok mun þér þat sýnask ráð.'

Þorsteinn segir, 'Veittu honum lið, ef þú ert allfúss til, en veita mun ek þér brautargengi til þess sem annars.'

Broddi mælti við mann einn at ganga skyldi eptir Qlkofra. Sá gerði svá, gekk út, ok þar hjá búðarvegginum hitti hann Qlkofra. Stóð hann þar ok grét aumliga. Þessi maðr bað hann ganga inn í búðina ok taka af sér ópit, 'Ok eigi skaltu snǫkta er þú kemr til Þorsteins.'

Qlkofri varð grátfeginn ok gerði svá. En er þeir kómu fyrir Þorstein, þá tók Broddi til orða:

'Svá þykki mér sem Þorsteinn vili þér lið veita ok þykkir honum þetta klengisǫk vera. Máttir þú eigi gæta skóga þeira er þú brenndir þann er þú áttir.'

Qlkofri mælti, 'Hverr er sjá inn sæli maðr er nú mælir við mik?'

'Broddi heiti ek,' segir hann.

Þá mælti Qlkofri, 'Hvárt er hér Broddi Bjarnason?'

'Svá er,' segir Broddi.

'Bæði er,' kvað Qlkofri, 'at þú ert gǫfugligri at sjá en aðrir menn, enda áttu til þess varit.'

Fór hann þar mǫrgum orðum um ok gerisk þá hraustr í máli.

'Hitt er nú til,' kvað Þorsteinn, 'ef þú ert allfúss til, Broddi, at veita honum nokkut lið, er þó lofar hann þik svá mjǫk.'

Broddi stóð þá upp ok mart manna með honum. Gekk hann út ór búðinni. Hann brá þá Qlkofra á einmæli ok rœddi við hann. Síðan ganga þeir upp á vǫlluna. Var þar fyrir mart manna. Hǫfðu þeir þá verit í lǫgréttu, en er aðrir menn hǫfðu í brott gengit, þá sátu þeir eptir Guðmundr ok Skapti ok rœddu um lǫg. Broddi ok fǫrunautar hans reikuðu um vǫlluna, en Qlkofri gekk í lǫgréttuna. Hann fell til jarðar allr ok kraup til fóta þeim ok mælti,

'Sæll er ek orðinn er ek hefir ykkr fundit, hina dýrligu menn ok hǫfðingja mína. Eða munu þit nokkut vilja mér hjálpa, hinir góðu menn, þótt ek sé ómakligr? Þvíat ek verð nú allr fyrir borði nema þit dugið mér.'

Seint er at telja qll orð Qlkofra þau er hann mælti, ok lét hann sem aumligast á allan hátt. Þá mælti Guðmundr til Skapta,

'Allvesalliga lætr þessi maðr.'

Skapti svarar, 'Hvar er nú, Qlkofri, stórlæti þitt? Ólíkligt þótti þér í vár, þá er vér fórum stefnufǫr, at sá mundi þinn inn bazti kostr at leggja málit undir mik. Eða hversu drjúgir verða þeir þér nú í liðveizlunni hǫfðingjarnir er þú hœttir mér í vár?'

Qlkofri segir, 'Œrr var ek þá ok þó verr, er ek vilda þat eigi at þú dœmðir um mitt mál. Enda gettu eigi hǫfðingja þvíat þeir eru ørhjarta allir, þegar þeir sjá ykkr at koma. Sæll væra ek þá ef ek næða því at koma undir ykkr mínu máli. Eða á ek nokkura ván þess? En várkunn er þat, Skapti minn, at þú hafir mér svá reiðzk at nú sé þess engi kostr. Var ek þá fól ok afglapi er ek neitaða gørð þinni, en ek þori eigi at sjá þá grimmu menn er þegar munu drepa mik ef þit hjálpið mér eigi við.'

Hann mælti opt it sama, sagði svá at hann þóttisk sæll ef þeir skyldu dœma hans mál, 'Þykki mér þat mitt fé bazt komit er þit hafið.' Guðmundr mælti til Skapta,

'Ekki ætla ek þenna vel til sekðar fallinn, eða mun eigi hitt heldr ráð at vit gerim hann feginn, ok látum hann kjósa menn til gørðar þessar? Þó veit ek eigi hversu hinum líkar er þetta mál eigu við hann.'

'Nú þá hinir góðu menn,' segir Qlkofri, 'veitið mér þá nokkurn dugnað eptir.'

Skapti mælti, 'Undir mér er lykð máls þessa, þvíat ek fer með sǫkina. Munu vit til þess hætta, Qlkofri, at vit Guðmundr gerim um ok lúkim málinu. Get ek at þér muni þat duga við fullting okkart.'

Þá stóð Qlkofri upp ok takask þeir síðan í hendr. Nefndi Qlkofri þegar vátta hvern at qðrum, ok er váttnefna kom upp, þá drifu menn at. Nefndi Qlkofri fyrst Brodda ok fǫrunauta hans. Skapti mælti,

'Sǫkunautr várr biðr okkr Guðmund til gørðar um mál þetta, en þó at vér hafim þat staðfest með oss er skaða hǫfum fengit, at sjálfdœmi skyldi fyrir koma, þá viljum vit Guðmundr þat nú veita honum at vit gerim heldr um en aðrir, ef Þórhallr vill þat kørit hafa. Skulu þér þess nefndir váttar at fyrir mál þetta skal fé gera en eigi mannsekðir. Ek handsala niðrfall at sǫkum þeim er ek stefnda í vár.'

Síðan slitu þeir handlaginu. Þá mælti Skapti við Guðmund,

'Hví mun eigi vel at vit lúkim þessu af?'

'Vel má þat,' segir Guðmundr.

Qlkofri mælti, 'Ekki skulu þit hrapa því svá, þvíat ek er ekki ráðinn í at kjósa ykkr heldr en aðra menn.'

Guðmundr mælti, 'Svá var skilit at vit skyldim gera, nema þú kørir heldr þá aðra er þetta mál eigu með okkr.'

Qlkofri segir, 'Því neitaða ek allan tíma at þeir skyldu gera, en svá var skilit í handlagi at ek skylda kjósa tvá menn til, þá er ek vilda.'

Þá var leitat um handsalsvætti, en þingmenn Guðmundar ok Skapta deildusk allmjǫk at hversu skilit var, en Broddi ok fǫrunautar hans skáru skýrt ór at svá hafði skilit verit sem Qlkofri segir, at hann skyldi kjósa menn til gørðar. Þá mælti Skapti,

'Hvaðan rann sjá alda undir, Qlkofri? Sé ek at þú heldr nokkuru rakkara halanum en fyrir stundu áðan. Eða hverja menn muntu kjósa til gørðar?'

Qlkofri mælti, 'Ekki skal lengi at því hyggja. Ek kýs Þorstein Hallsson ok Brodda Bjarnason, mág hans, ok ætla ek at þá sé málit betr komit en þit gerið um.'

Skapti sagði at hann ætlaði at þat mál væri vel komit, þótt þeir gerði um, 'þvíat málaefni vár eru brýn ok góð, en þeir eru svá vitrir at þeir munu sjá kunna hversu þungs þú ert af verðr.' Qlkofri gekk þá í lið Brodda, ok fóru menn heim til búða.

Eptir um daginn skyldi upp segja sætt. Báru þeir þá ráð sín saman Þorsteinn ok Broddi. Vildi Þorsteinn meira gera, en Broddi kvað þat skýrst at gera svá sem hann vildi ok segja þá sjálfr sátt upp. Broddi bað hann kjósa hvárt er hann vildi, segja sátt upp eða sitja fyrir svǫrum, ef nokkurir menn yrði til at leita á gørðina. Þorsteinn lézk heldr vilja segja sátt upp en skipta hnœfilyrðum við þá goðana. Síðan sagði Þorsteinn at Qlkofri skyldi eigi lengi þurfa síns hluta at bíða, kvað þá skyldu gjaldask féit allt at lǫgbergi. Síðan gengu þeir til lǫgbergs. En er lokit

var þar lǫgskil at mæla, þá spurði Þorsteinn Hallsson hvárt goðar þeir væri at lǫgbergi, er mál áttu at kæra við Qlkofra.

'Mér er svá sagt at vit Broddi skylim gera um mál þat. Munu vit nú upp lúka gørðinni ef þér vilið til hlýða.' Þeir sǫgðusk góðs at vænta, at þeir mundu réttlátir í gørðinni. Þá mælti Þorsteinn,

'Svá lízk okkr á sem lítils sé fyrir vert um skóga yðra félaga. Váru þeir félitlir ok fjarlægir yðr til gagns. Var eigingirni mikil í þeim mǫnnum er góðs áttu kost ok kalla þat með eigu sinni annarri. En hann mátti eigi ábyrgjask yðvarn skóg er hann brenndi sinn skóg, ok eru slíkt váðaverk. En fyrir því at þat er í gørð lagt, þá skal gera nokkut fyrir. Þér sex menn hafið átt skógana. Nú viljum vér gera sex álnar hverjum yðrum, ok skal þat gjaldask hér þegar.'

Broddi hafði við búizk ok stikað vaðmál í sundr ok kastar hann þá sér hverjum stúf til þeira ok mælti,

'Slíkt kalla ek argaskatt.'

Skapti segir, 'Auðsætt er þat, Broddi, at þú ert fúss til at eiga illt við oss. Hefir þú mjǫk stungizk til þessa máls ok ferr þú lítt þverafœti at fjándskap við oss. Kann vera at oss falli ǫnnur mál léttara.'

Broddi svarar, 'Þurfa muntu þess, Skapti, at taka meira á qðrum sakferlum, ef skríða skal í þat skarð er Ormr, frændi þinn, reytti af þér fyrir mansǫngsdrápu er þú ortir um konu hans. Var þat illa gǫrt, enda var þat illa goldit.'

Þá mælti Þorkell trefill, 'Allmjǫk missýnisk slíkum manni sem Broddi er. Hann vill hafa vináttu Qlkofra eða nokkurar mútugjafir ok kaupa svá at gera sér at óvinum slíka menn sem hann hefir í fangi.'

Broddi segir, 'Ekki er þat missýni at halda einurð sinni, þótt mannamunr sé með yðr Qlkofra. En hitt var glámsýni í vár, er þú reitt til várþings, at þú varaðisk eigi þat er Steingrímr hafði stóðhest selfeitan, ok lagðisk hann upp at baki þér, en merrin sú er þú reitt var mǫgr ok fell hon undir þér. Ok hefir ek eigi spurt til sanns hverjum þá slauðraði, en hitt sá menn at þú vart lengi fastr, þvíat hestrinn lagði fœtrna fram yfir kápuna.'

Eyjólfr Þórðarson mælti, 'Þat er satt at segja at sjá maðr hefir allmjǫk dregit bust ór nefi oss, enda mælir rán ok regin við oss á sogurt ofan.'

Broddi segir, 'Eigi hefi ek dregit bust ór nefi yðr. Þá var dregin bust ór nefi þér er þú fórt norðr til Skagafjarðar ok stalt øxnum frá Þorkeli Eiríkssyni, en Guðdala-Starri reið eptir þér ok sáttu þá eptirfǫrina er þér váruð komnir í Vatnsdal. Varðtu þá svá hræddr at þú brátt þér í

merar líki, ok váru slíkt firn mikil. En þeir Starri ráku aptr øxnina, ok var þat satt at hann dró bust ór nefi þér.'

Þá mælti Snorri goði, 'Allt er oss annat tiltœkiligra en deila hér illyrðum við Brodda. En þat er líkast, at vér gerim oss minnisamt um fjándskap þenna er Broddi lýsir við oss ef vér komumsk í fœri.'

Broddi segir, 'Um snýr þú þá sœmðunum, Snorri, ef þú leggr allan hug á at hefna mér, en þú hefnir eigi fǫður þíns.'

Þá mælti Þorkell Geitisson, 'Þetta er líkast, at þú hafir þat helzt af nafni því er þú ert eptir heitinn, at hann vildi hvers manns hlut óhæfan af sér verða láta, ok þat annat at menn þoli eigi ok liggir þú drepinn er stundir líða.'

Broddi segir, 'Engi vegr er okkr í, frændi, at yppa hér fyrir alþýðu ógæfu frænda várra, en ekki skal þess dylja er margir vitu, at Brodd-Helgi var veginn. Var mér ok þat sagt at faðir þinn tœki ofarliga til þeira launanna, en hitt ætla ek, ef þú leitar at, er þú munir fingrum kenna þat er faðir minn markaði þik í Bǫðvarsdal.'

Eptir þat skilðusk þeir ok gengu heim til búðar. Er nú Qlkofri ór sogunni.

Annan dag eptir gekk Broddi til búðar Þorkels Geitissonar ok inn í búðina ok kastaði orðum á Þorkel. Hann svarar fá ok var hinn reiðasti. Broddi mælti,

'Því er ek hér kominn, frændi, at ek sá missmíði á því er ek talaða við þik. Vil ek þess biðja at þú virðir mér þat til bernsku ok óvizku en látim eigi frændsemi okkra at verri. Er hér sverð búit er ek vil gefa þér. Vil ek at þat fylgi at þú farir at heimboði til mín í sumar, ok skal þat lýsa at eigi skulu betri gripir í minni eigu en þeir er þú skalt þiggja.'

Þorkell tók þessu þakksamliga, sagði at hann var þess fúss at þeir gerði góða sína frændsemi. Gekk þá Broddi heim. Þat var aptaninn fyrir þinglausnir at Broddi gekk vestr yfir á, en við brúarsporðinn hittask þeir Guðmundr ok varð ekki at kveðjum, ok er þeir skilðusk, þá veik Guðmundr aptr ok mælti,

'Hverja leið skaltu ríða af þingi, Broddi?'

Hann sneri aptr ok mælti, 'Ef þér er forvitni á því, þá mun ek ríða um Kjǫl til Skagafjarðar, þá til Eyjafjarðar, þaðan Ljósavatnsskarð ok svá til Mývatns ok síðan Mǫðrudalsheiði.'

Guðmundr mælti, 'Efn orð þín ok ríð Ljósavatnsskarð.'

Broddi segir, 'Efna skal þat, eða ætlar þú, Guðmundr, at verja mér skarðit? Allmjǫk eru þér þá mislagðar hendr ef þú varðar mér Ljósavatnsskarð svá at ek mega þar eigi fara með fǫrunautum mínum, en

þú varðar þat eigi it litla skarðit sem er í milli þjóa þér, svá at ámælislaust sé.'

Skilðusk þeir við svá búit, ok spurðusk þessi orð um allt þingit. En er Þorkell Geitisson varð þessa víss, þá gekk hann til fundar við Brodda ok bað at hann skyldi ríða Sandleið eða ella it eystra. Broddi segir,

'Ek mun ríða þá leið er ek hefi sagt Guðmundi, þvíat hann mun virða mér til hugleysis ef ek fer eigi svá.'

Þorkell mælti, 'Vit munum þá ríða báðir saman, frændi, ok flokkr okkarr lítill.' Broddi sagði at honum þótti sœmð í fǫruneyti hans ok lézk þat gjarna vilja. Síðan ríða þeir Þorkell ok Broddi báðir saman með flokka sína norðr Øxnadalsheiði. Váru þeir í einni ferð ok Einarr Eyjólfsson, mágr Þorkels. Riðu þeir Broddi ok Þorkell til Þverár með Einari ok váru þar um nótt. Síðan reið Einarr á leið með þeim með fjǫlmenni mikit ok skilðusk eigi fyrr en við Skjálfandafljót. Reið þá Einarr heim, en þeir Þorkell ok Broddi léttu eigi sinni ferð fyrr en þeir kómu austr í Vápnafjǫrð til búa sinna. Þat sumar fór Þorkell at heimboði til Brodda frænda síns, ok þá þar allgóðar gjafir. Hǫfðu þeir þá hina beztu frændsemi með vináttu ok helzk þat meðan þeir lifðu. Ok lýkr þar sǫgu Ǫlkofra.

NOTES TO ÖGMUNDAR ÞÁTTR

1 This heading is found only in F (where it is followed by *Cap(itulum)*), though some of the other manuscripts also have headings: *Hér segir af Ögmundi Hrafnssyni* AM 62 fol., *Af Íslendingum cap(itulum)* Perg. fol. nr. 1, *144 Cap(itulum)* AM 325 IX 1b 4to. AM 61 fol. has a simple chapter number (174). The other manuscripts of ÓTM have no heading.

3 *Einn*: the manuscript actually reads *En*, but other manuscripts of ÓTM read *Einn*, and this makes better sense. For Víga-Glúmr's relationship to King Óláfr, see *Víga-Glúms saga* 1960, 109.

4 *sem fyrr er sagt*: the genealogy of Víga-Glúmr is also in *Kristni þáttr* in *Flateyjarbók* (1944–5, I 295) and also agrees with that in *Víga-Glúms saga* ch. 5, thus placing this part of the *þáttr* quite firmly into the tradition and chronology of the saga.

6 *tasalldi*: According to de Vries (1961) this is a nickname that is related to the modern Norwegian *tase*, 'bungler', and *tas*, 'chattering, gossip'. This is the only known usage of this word as a nickname, and is perhaps best translated as 'chatterbox' (McKinnell 1987, 145). But Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon (1989, 1028–29) relates the nick-name to words which imply a meaning 'tatters'. Cf. also ÍF IX 119, n. 2.

This genealogy of Þorvalldr tasalldi is in agreement with V*íga-Glúms saga* ch. 5 and *Þorvalds þáttr tasalda*, see *Flateyjarbók* 1944–5, I 421. This constitutes another link between *Ögmundar þáttr*, *Víga-Glúms saga*, and other parts of *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*; *Þorvalds þáttr* is rather similar in its tone and religious viewpoint to *Gunnars þáttr*, and is also designed to emphasise the holiness of Óláfr Tryggvason.

8 *vestr*: AM 61 fol. reads *norðr*. This may be due to the manuscript having been written, it is thought, at Helgafell in the west of Iceland. From there Skagafjörðr is to the N. E. But Skagafjörðr would be regarded as north of most places in Iceland; the use of *vestr* in F suggests a standpoint in the east or north-east of the country.

10 *Móðir Ögmundar*: other manuscripts of ÓTM add at this point that Ögmundr's mother came from a good family but that her name is not known: *Móðir Ögmundar var Guðdælaættar ok er hon eigi nefnd.*

12 *Glúmr*: Víga-Glúmr, the eponymous hero of *Víga-Glúms saga* (b. *c.*927, d. 1003/5) would have been about 65 at this time.

14 Hákon jarl Sigurðarson was ruler of Norway *c.*974–95.

AM 53 fol. says that Vigfús was *með Eiríki jarli.* This most probably means Eiríkr Hákonarson (ruler of Norway 1000–13, died *c.*1022). According to *Heimskringla, Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* ch. 20, he was made earl of Raumaríki and Vingulmörk (now called Østfold; these are two adjoining districts in the S.E. corner of Norway on the border with Sweden, see Foote and Wilson 1970, 30–31 and 37–38) by King Haraldr Gormsson of Denmark while Hákon was still the ruler of Norway. Thus while it is historically correct for the scribe to refer to Eiríkr as earl in the last decade of the tenth century, insofar as the reference implies that Eiríkr was already ruler of Norway it must be a mistake, since the story must take place before the accession of Óláfr Tryggvason in 995 while his father was still ruler. Furthermore the only earl referred to from this point on, in all manuscripts, is Hákon. It is possible that the substitution of the name of Eiríkr was motivated by the statement that *Glúmr var þá hniginn á hinn efra alldr* (the date of Glúmr's death being *c.*1003), which might have made a scribe assume that the story was set early in the eleventh century.

sumri: so F and AM 62 fol.; other manuscripts of ÓTM have *ári* (year) or *vóri* (spring).

16 *Gásar*: now Gæsir, about 12 km. north of Akureyri, on the west side of Eyjafjörður. Throughout the Middle Ages Gásar was an important trading station.

20 *þú*: AM 61 fol. (and other MSS of ÓTM with minor variants) add at this point: *Nú þætti mér miklu skipta, at þú fengir helldr af förinni sæmd ok mannvirðing en mikit fé, ef eigi er hvórstveggja kostr* ('now it seems to me very important that you receive honour and reputation from your journey rather than great wealth, if you do not have the opportunity of both').

22 *honum*: AM 61 fol. (and other MSS of ÓTM with minor variants) add that Ögmundr goes abroad with an inexperienced crew: *skylldi Ögmundr vera forráðandi skips þess ok manna; vóru þar á fáir menn aðrir en Íslenzkir, þeir er ekki höfðu fyrr farit utan.*

24 *sá þeir land*: the details of this sea-crossing are given more fully in other manuscripts of ÓTM: . . . *at áliðnum degi ok var blásandi byrr at landi. Mæltu þá norrænir menn þeir er leið sögðu at varligra væri at lægja seglit.* This omission puts a completely different emphasis on the following clause, *ok leggja skipit í rétt um nóttina.* In F this is a statement of what they actually do, whereas in the other manuscripts it is the advice of the Norwegian pilots to Ögmundr, advice which he ignores, thereby compounding his own foolhardiness.

25–28 *Ok er þeir höfðu . . . um nóttina*: AM 61 fol. (and other manuscripts of ÓTM with minor variants) reads: *Ögmundr svarar, 'Ekki skulum vér ónýta byr svó góðan. Er eigi víst at slíkr byrr sé á morgin, en tunglsljós mikit í nótt.' Gerðu þeir sem hann mælti at þeir sigldu.* ('Ögmundr replies, "We must not waste such a good wind. It is not certain that there will be such a wind tomorrow, and there is plenty of moonlight tonight." They did as he suggested and sailed.') Although this is quite similar to the text that we have in F, it differs in that Ögmundr is here acting upon the expectation of the wind dropping, whereas in F the wind actually does drop and pick up again. Once again we see that F is trying to make Ögmundr look less of a fool.

29 *tengsl* were ropes by which ships were bound together during battle. The ships would have been tied broadside on to one another across the harbour, as opposed to being tied bow to stern along it, according to Eiríkr Magnússon (1905–06, 233).

31 *í* omitted in F.

35 Hallvarðr is not known from any other source.

Honum var: AM 61 fol. (and other manuscripts of ÓTM with minor variants, except AM 62 fol., which simply omits the two words and therefore makes little sense) reads *Hafði þar týnzt fé allt þat er á var skipinu, en mönnum varð borgit. Jarlinum var . . .* ('all the property that was on the ship was lost, but the men were saved. The earl was . . .').

41 *ofrefli*: spelled *ofreli* F.

44–45 *leggja á yðarn dóm*: to submit oneself to the judgement of the earl meant that one could expect heavy fines but that they would be accepted in full settlement, thus avoiding a feud.

47–48 *en frekr get ek þeim þiki lokarr minn til fégjalda um slík mál*: literally 'I expect they will think my plane greedy for payment in such a case.' In other words 'they will not think they have got off lightly'. This is the only extant record of *lokarr* (a carpenter's plane) being used in a metaphorical sense.

75 *bótlaust*: F seems to have *bost-*, but this makes no sense, so I have emended it in line with the other manuscripts.

83 *smáhluti*: written *hluti* in F; emended to the reading of the other manuscripts.

101 *kom, var hann*: this has been repeated (dittography) by the scribe.

106 *af Hallvarði en at líkendum var, ok eigi*: AM 61 fol. (and other manuscripts of ÓTM with minor variants) have: *í þessu máli en Hallvarðr ok er varla*; insofar as there is a difference of meaning, the text of F emphasises that Ögmundr's treatment was in accordance with what Hallvarðr regarded as honourable, while AM 61 fol. emphasises that it was to be regarded objectively as suitable to his offence.

116 There may have been an association between slavery and cowardice or failure to take vengeance, and line 146 *Oft verðr údrjúg hin úfrjálsa ættin til drengskaparins* has the ring of a proverb about it, though it is not recorded elsewhere. The proverb in *Grettis saga, Þræll einn þegar hefnisk, en argr aldri* ('Only a slave takes immediate vengeance; a coward never does,' ÍF VII 44) makes a different point, though it would not be inapposite here.

127 *skjótligri til stórræða*: this is probably ironic. Although *stórræði* has the general meaning of 'great undertakings' it is also a word with violent overtones, so that the phrase could mean 'quicker to be in the thick of it' or 'the first to jump into action'.

149 This heading is found only in F (which adds *Capitulum*), though some other manuscripts also have headings: *Ögmundr drepr Hallvarð* Perg. fol. nr. 1, *Ögmundr drap Hallvarð ok hefndi sín* AM 62 fol., *145 Cap(itulum)* AM 325 IX 1b 4to.

151 *norðr*: Papp. fol. nr. 22 reads *suðr*. This is clearly a scribal error, because although Þrándheimr is about half way along the Norwegian coastline it is well to the north of the most densely populated areas.

151–2 *norðr við Þrándheim ok helt inn á fjörðinn*: the medieval port was bounded by the fjord to the north and by the river to the east and south, with quays along the lower part of the river; Niðaróshólmr is an island to the north of the town of Niðarós (modern Trondheim)(McKinnell 1987, 138, note).

154 *bátr* means a small open boat of no more than two or four oars, which may have been carried on the ship. Any vessel of eight or more oars was considered to be a ship.

156 *hálfskiptan felld*: the cloak was of two colours. This is usually taken to mean that the lining and the outside were of different colours, though it may mean that the cloak was divided in two vertically. F reads *fell*, but this makes little sense and is clearly a simple scribal error. The other manuscripts of ÓTM read *felld*.

159 *af skarlaki*: on the form with -k see Noreen 1923, § 263, Anm. 4. The word refers to a kind of rich cloth, not necessarily scarlet in colour. Cf. NED, *scarlet* A.1.a.

160 *brögðum*: some manuscripts of ÓTM add here that the man *gekk ofan á bryggjurnar*.

164 *gaman*: omitted in F, but present in the other manuscripts of ÓTM, and clearly required for the sense.

167 Óláfr Tryggvason became king of Norway about 995.

171 *Jómsvíkingabardaga*: according to Icelandic tradition this battle took place in 994. For further details of the battle see *Jómsvíkinga saga* 1962, *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* chs. 35–42 in *Heimskringla*, and *Flateyjarbók* 1944–45, I 103–14, 168–226).

187 *garðinn*: it is not quite clear what this refers to, as up until this point the narrative has spoken of a *bær*. A *garðr* is usually an enclosed area such as a *konungsgarðr* or a *biskupsgarðr*, nothing as substantial as a town. However one finds *garðr* used as an element in place names such as Mikligarðr (Constantinople), so its use in connection with towns is not unprecedented. But there is no other record of *garðr* on its own being used to mean a town.

192 *út*, 193 *hann* (1) omitted in F.

210 Only one other manuscript has a heading: *Hér s(egir) af Gunnari helmingi* AM 62 fol.

223 There is no apparent reason for Gunnarr's desire to shield Ögmundr, though one might assume that it was due to gratitude for his new cloak (cf. line 179 above).

225 *fundinn*: AM 61 fol. and some other manuscripts of ÓTM add here *Fór hann síðan austr um fjall ok um Upplönd, allt huldu höfði* ('He then went eastwards over the mountain and through Upplönd, under cover'). Interestingly, *huldu höfði* can also mean 'in disguise'; to imply this would clearly spoil the surprise of the next episode.

227 *Freyr* spellt *Frey* in F. Freyr was a god of fertility, see Introduction. *blótaðr*: omitted in F, but the other manuscripts of ÓTM include the word which is necessary to make full sense of the sentence. *ok svó mjök*: repeated by the scribe of F after a column break; *var* is omitted.

228 The narrator's use of the term *fjandinn* to refer to Freyr reveals his Christian (and maybe clerical) bias. It was the preachers rather than the historians who tended to regard the heathen gods as devils (see Faulkes 1978–79, 110).

232 *ráða:* the other manuscripts of ÓTM add *með Frey.*

hofstaðnum ok öllu því er þar lá til goðahússins: this fine distiction between the area around, and belonging to, the temple and the temple itself is only brought out in F. The other manuscripts of ÓTM leave out *goðahússins* so that the phrase there means 'the temple area and all that belonged to it'. This may indicate that the scribe of F had some special knowledge of pagan religion; though if it is true that in pagan times worship rarely took place in an actual building that was designed for the purpose, it may indicate that like other writers his conception of paganism was largely based on reading the Old Testament. Cf. Olsen 1966.

235 *leysingi einn*: in other manuscripts of ÓTM Gunnarr describes himself as a wanderer of little importance: *brautingi einn lítils háttar.* This is quite different from being a freed-man, and it is possible that the copyist has conflated the background details of Gunnarr and Ögmundr's father. But *leysingi* can also mean the same as *lausungi*, 'a man of no fixed abode'.

236 *gæfumaðr*: a person who is by nature lucky and predisposed to success is said to possess *gæfa.* Although this is a quality which can rub off onto another person, it is usually one that one is either born with or without, and is thus similar to *hamingja* (see Turville-Petre 1964, 227–30), though *gæfa* is more often found in Christian contexts, and sometimes may have been regarded as more analogous to 'grace'. At this stage of the story Gunnarr, like Grettir Ásmundarson, does not possess this quality.

239–40 Gunnarr, as a Christian (cf. line 303) is reluctant to accept any sort of friendly relationship with Freyr. See also lines 248–49, and 287–89, where he refuses pagan sacrifices.

245 *um þat*: written twice by the scribe of F (dittography).

249 *því at ek vil eigi með Frey vera*: AM 61 fol. and some other manuscripts of ÓTM read: *því at ek ætla hann eigi meðalfjánda vera* ('because I think he is no middling fiend'). In other words, Gunnarr thinks Freyr is a real devil and this is why Freyr hates him.

250 Only one other manuscript has a heading at this point: *Hér glímir Gunnarr h(elmingr) við Frey guð heiðingja* AM 62 fol.

255 *veizlur*: on the god's 'progress' round the winter feastings see Introduction, pp. xviii–xix, xxxi.

260 *var*: written twice by the scribe of F (dittography).

266 *enn*: the other manuscripts of ÓTM add *ok leið hestinn* ('and lead the horse').

271–75 Other descriptions of fights where victory is gained by prayer are to be found in *Orms þáttr* and elsewhere (see Introduction, pp. x, xiii, xxxii and Faulkes 1967, 34 note 5).

272–73 *réttrar* written with abbreviation for *-ra* in F, and *trúar* is omitted.

276 *skrokkrinn*: here this is clearly intended to be derogatory ('carcass'). The word may however be related to the Orcadian *skrog*, 'an old tree trunk' (see de Vries 1961) and perhaps to English dialectal *scrog, shrog* ('bush or underwood'), *scrag* ('stump of a tree'); and the other manuscripts of ÓTM have *tréstokkr*, 'a block of wood'. Both words therefore may be used with reference to the idol's being made of wood.

302 *þat* omitted in F.

311 *þí*: F has *þíj*, where *íj* = *ii* either indicates length, or a minim is missing and the second letter should be *u;* or there is an abbreviation sign missing.

317 There is a suggestion of divine intervention or the benign influence of King Óláfr here, as well as the association of the word *villast* 'go astray' with spiritual error (*villa* f. 'heresy').

NOTES TO QLKOFRA ÞÁTTR

2 *Hann bjó í Bláskógum á Þórhallsstǫðum*: Kålund (1877–82, I 156) concluded that the Bláskógar included all the woodland to the north, west and south of Þingvǫllr. *Íslendingabók* tells the story of a man outlawed for killing a slave; his land in Bláskogar became common property (*allsherjarfé*) and was made the home of the annual *Alþingi* (ÍF I 8–9). All men had the right to cut wood in the forest for use at the *Alþingi*.

The site of Þórhallr's farm is uncertain, but it may have been to the north-east of Þingvǫllr (Kålund 1877–82, I 153; ÍF XI 83, note 1).

5 *Hann hafði þá iðju at gera ǫl á þingum til fjár sér*: this reference to Þórhallr's trade is often quoted as evidence of commercial activity at the *Alþingi* (Beck 1931, 4). The best ale was brewed from barley, but in poor areas mixed grains or oats were used. The Icelanders had to supplement their home-grown resources with imported barley malt. Ale was flavoured with herbs, superseded by hops in the later Middle Ages (KLNM XX, 689; Jón Jóhannesson 1974, 303). Their preservative property made it possible for the Hanseatic ports of Northern Europe to export hopped beer to Scandinavia and Britain. From the end of the fourteenth century the word 'beer' in English seems to have been applied to this imported commodity and 'ale' to have been used as a contrastive term for the home-brewed variety. Evidence for this kind of distinction in Iceland is not conclusive; the words *ǫl* and *bjórr* may have been freely-used alternatives (Kylstra 1974, 10–13; Fell 1975a, 88, 91).

The *þing* was a Scandinavian institution, a meeting or assembly for legislation and jurisdiction, local or regional (KLNM XVIII, 359; Jón Johannesson 1974, 35). During the settlement of Iceland some local assemblies were held, but there seems also to have been an early demand for a national assembly. According to *Íslendingabók*, Úlfljótr sent Grímr Goatbeard to look for a good place for such an assembly, and he finally recommended Þingvǫllr east of present day Reykjavík (ÍF I, 7–9). The *Alþingi* was held there annually from about 930 until it was transferred to Reykjavík in 1799 (Jon Jóhannesson 1974, 41; Einar Arnórsson 1937, 376). The business of the *Alþingi* was the recital and amendment of the law and the settlement of lawsuits. Inevitably, as a meeting of the chief men in the land, it was also an occasion for business transactions and interchange of news. Tradesmen and entertainers would find custom there (*Grágás* 1852–83, II 347). The *Alþingi* lasted for two weeks every summer, starting on a Thursday between the eighteenth and twenty-fourth of June (*Grágás* 1852–83 Ia 37; *Laws* 51).

5–6 The relationship between *ǫl* and *mungát* is not clearly definable from extant sources, except that *ǫl* seems to be a more general term (cf. ÍF II 225). *Mungát* seems always to refer to home-brewed ale, as opposed to imported beer (KLNM XX, 710, 712; Fritzner 1886–96, II 748). Some authorities would say that *mungát* was *ǫl* of an inferior quality (Baetke 1960, 142). Variations in quality might depend upon the ingredients and the care taken in brewing. But there are examples in the sagas of *mungát* being served by people of wealth and honour who would be expected to offer good fare (*Laxdœla saga*, ÍF V 12). The inferiority of *mungát* might depend as much upon comparison with *bjórr* or *mungát* of better quality as with *ǫl* (Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1953, 86–87; Guðbrandur Jónsson 1943, 97).

8–9 *Honum váru augu þung*: *þungr* can describe parts of the body in the same way as English 'heavy', i. e. to mean 'slow' (Fritzner 1886–96, III 1052). But the word *þungeygr* means shortsighted or poor sighted, as can be seen in a context like *Bjarnar saga Hítdœlakappa* (ÍF III 192). Shortsightedness may also be implied in *Qlkofra þáttr* (ÍF XI 84, note 2). The description of Þórhallr is long by saga standards, and he is the only character in the story to be described, except for Broddi's being *á tvítugs aldri* ('twenty years old', l. 55). All other aspects of the description have a bearing on the tale: that Þórhallr is *lítill ok ljótr* ('small and ugly') for instance, marks him as one of literature's misfits, likely to be attended by disaster; and his skill with metal makes it probable that he would need to burn charcoal. But unlike Bjǫrn's shortsightedness, which contributes to the drama of the final ambush in *Bjarnar saga* (ÍF III 197–200), the quality of Qlkofri's vision has no effect on the rest of his story.

14 *ok ætlaði at brenna kol*: charcoal was made by placing pieces of wood in layers in a pit, covering them and submitting them to slow partial burning. Charcoal was used in ironwork, both for smelting and to provide heat for hammering out the edges of blades for tools and weapons. Qlkofri was said to be *hagr við járn* 'skilful with iron' (l. 4; cf. Jón Jóhannesson 1974, 300; KLNM XVIII 581–87; Þorkell Jóhannesson 1943, 49, 55).

14–15 *Skógr sá var upp frá Hrafnabjǫrgum ok austr frá Lǫnguhlið*: Kålund describes Hrafnabjǫrg as *en hvælet anselig fjældmasse* ('a good-sized dome-shaped mountainous heap') east of Þingvǫllr (1877–82, I 149, map facing p. 73). Langahlíð is unknown. Kålund (1877–82, I 154) identifies it cautiously with Tindaskagi, between Hrafnabjǫrg and Skjaldbreiður. Jón Jóhannesson thinks it may be Raftahlíð, the western edge of Hlíðargjá (ÍF XI 84, note 4).

16–17 *ok vakði um nótt yfir grǫfunum*: in the manuscript, *nótt* is followed at the end of the line by a *y*-shaped character. The following line begins with *f* and a superscript which looks like *r*, which could be for *-ir*. Jón Jóhannesson (ÍF XI 84) reads *nóttina yfir*, Baetke (1960, 48) and Finnur Jónsson (1933, 64) read *nótt yfir*.

22–23 *Er þar nú kallat á Sviðningi*: the name Sviðningr has not survived in the area (Kålund 1877–82, I 154). A comparable story is told in *Laxdœla saga* (ÍF V 109) of a man called Stígandi, at the moment of capture in Hundadalr, taking a final evil look at the landscape: *Þar var fagrt landsleg ok grasloðit; en því var likast, sem hvirfilvindr komi at; sneri um jǫrðunni, svá at aldregi síðan kom þar gras upp. Þar heitir nú á Brennu.* ('There the landscape was beautiful and thick with grass, but it was just as if a whirlwind had come at it, turning the earth over so that grass never grew there again. The place is now called "at the burning".') On place-names in the form of prepositional phrases see Faulkes 1967, 96.

24 *Þar brann skógr sá er kallaðr var Goðaskógr*: the name Goðaskógr occurs in connection with Skapti *lǫgsǫgumaðr* in *Grettis saga* (ÍF VII 109). Skapti recommends to Þórhallr of Forsœludalr a *sauðamaðr* called Glámr. Þórhallr *gekk upp undir Sleðaás ok suðr með fjalli því, er Ármannsfell heitir. Þá sá hann, hvar maðr fór ofan ór Goðaskógi ok bar hrís á hesti*, ('Þórhallr was walking up under Sleðaás and south along the mountain which is called Ármannsfell. There he saw a man coming down from Goðaskógr carrying brushwood on his horse'). Both Kålund (1877–82, I 154) and Guðni Jónsson (ÍF VII 109, notes 4, 5) think that the saga writer is confusing south and east here. They would place Goðaskógr somewhere between Tindaskagi and Hofmannaflöt, north of Hrafnabjörg.

Hann áttu sex goðar: according to *Grágás*, *goðar* were responsible for maintaining law and order. They inaugurated local assemblies and appointed judges to the courts at the *Alþingi* (*Grágás* 1852–83, Ia 38–39, 97; *Laws* 53–54, 99). If a man was outlawed, a *goði* would nominate the court which disposed of his confiscated goods (*Grágás* 1852–83, Ia 84; *Laws* 88–89, 112). We are not told who was Qlkofri's *goði*, but he lived in the district of Þingvǫllr itself, and may well have given allegiance to the *allsherjargoði*; descendants of Iceland's first settler, Ingólfr Arnarson, were given this title and were responsible for opening the *Alþingi*, which was held in their district (ÍF I 46–47; Jón Jóhannesson 1974, 36, 45). The *goðar* whose forest Qlkofri has burned are renowned in literature, and are frequently mentioned among the great men of the land (see Introduction p. xxxvii).

25 *Snorri goði*: the historical Snorri, born in 964, was an ancestor of Snorri Sturluson (ÍF I 182; *Sturlunga saga* 1946, I 52). His nickname *goði* is usually translated as 'priest': *Hann varðveitti þá hof; var hann þá kallaðr Snorri goði* ('He was in charge of the temple then; he was called Snorri goði')(ÍF IV 27). After Iceland became Christian, Snorri transferred the priestly function of his *goðorð* from the heathen to the Christian religion; he is said to have built one church at Helgafell, and another at Sælingsdalstunga, where he was buried (ÍF IV 186). Whether his reputation as a powerful secular *goði* was acquired in his lifetime cannot be known, but in all the sagas which refer to him he is portrayed as a man of influence and one who was not lightly crossed. *Eyrbyggja saga* and *Heiðarvíga saga* are concerned with him as a young man building up power with a certain amount of cunning and ruthlessness. The writer of *Eyrbyggja saga* even suggests that his name was changed from Þorgrímr to Snerrir or Snorri because he was *ósvífr* ('overbearing') as a child (ÍF IV 20; ÍF VI 57; Lind 1905–15, 933; the noun *snerra* means a sharp attack in a battle). In *Njáls saga* and *Grettis saga* he appears as older and wiser, not committing himself quickly but showing his support for people by not entering the conflict against them (ÍF XII 299, 372). In *Eyrbyggja saga* he is credited with being deep-sighted (*djúpsær*), that is, able to foresee the consequences of events. There are several occasions in *Njáls saga* where he makes shrewd remarks which might be interpreted as prophecy, but the author of *Njáls saga* says he was *vitrastr maðr kallaðr á Íslandi, þeira er eigi váru forspáir* ('said to be the wisest man in Iceland of those that did not have prophetic powers')(ÍF XII 287, 300, 315, 369; ÍF IV 119).

Guðmundr Eyjólfsson was a descendant of the settler Helgi inn magri (ÍF I 27). Called *inn ríki*, he appears in several of the sagas as a man both powerful and proud (ÍF X 16, 31, 109–13, 117, 121; ÍF XII 285, 373). The author of *Ljósvetninga saga* sometimes shows Guðmundr's pride taking a fall, but others saw him in a more favourable light (*Valla-Ljóts saga*, ÍF IX 243; *Njáls saga*, ÍF XII 413; *Grettis saga*, ÍF VII 218; *Bolla þáttr*, ÍF V 243).

Skapti lǫgmaðr: in his own time, Skapti would have been called *lǫgsǫgumaðr*. This title was given to a man with great knowledge of the law, elected for three years at a time as president of the *lǫgrétta*, the law council. His most important duty was to recite the whole of the law in three parts over three successive meetings of the *Alþingi*, and the law concerning assembly procedure every year (*Grágás* 1852–83, Ia 208–09; *Laws* 187). After Skapti's time, part of the law was written down, but the office of *lǫgsǫgumaðr* continued until Iceland became subject to the king

of Norway in 1262–64 (ÍF I 23–24). The king introduced new law books and new officials of his own, including two *lǫgmenn* to appoint judges and approve their judgements (KLNM I 125). It is this latter word *lǫgmaðr* which the fourteenth-century scribe of Möðruvallabók uses to describe Skapti.

Skapti Þóroddsson was a particularly distinguished *lǫgsǫgumaðr*. He held office for twenty-seven years, during which time the Fifth Court was established for the judgement of cases referred from the quarter courts (ÍF I 19; *Grágás* 1852–83, Ia 77; *Laws* 83; Jón Jóhannesson 1974, 70–71; ÍF XII 242–46). *Íslendingabók* records that many powerful men were exiled for killings in Skapti's day, and Einar Ól. Sveinsson thinks this may account for his unpopularity in *Njáls saga*. This saga's author gives him a humiliating fall in the fighting at the *Alþingi* (ÍF XII 141 note 4; 406–07). But in *Grettis saga* he is said to have been a good lawman and a supporter of the outlaw hero as far as his office permitted (ÍF VII 108, 164, 178).

26 Þorkell Geitisson is described in both *Vápnfirðinga saga* and *Njáls saga* as experienced in legal matters. In *Droplaugarsona saga*, Helgi Droplaugarson learns the law from Þorkell (ÍF XI 65; ÍF XII 364; ÍF XI 147).

Eyjólfr, son of Þórðr gellir, was a descendant of Auðr djúpúðga and Óláfr feilan. Eyjólfr, nicknamed *inn grái*, was an ancestor of Ari fróði (ÍF I 28). He is known best for the ignominious way in which he goes about seeking, and finally killing, the hero of *Gísla saga Súrssonar* (ÍF VI 69–116). Snorri's mother, Þórdís Súrsdóttir, tries to avenge Gísli in *Eyrbyggja saga*, but Snorri and Eyjólfr are shown as allies in *Qlkofra þáttr*, and Eyjólfr's son Þorkell is Snorri's friend in *Laxdœla saga* (ÍF IV 24; ÍF V liii–liv, 171–201).

Eyjólfr's father, Þórðr gellir, is famous for the part he is said to have played in dividing Iceland into four quarters, each with its own court at the *Alþingi*. Cases could be brought directly to the quarter courts, *fjórðungsdómar*, or they could be referred there from local assemblies (ÍF I 12; *Laws* map 1; Jón Jóhannesson 1974, 49–50; *Hœnsa-Þóris saga*, ÍF III 36–39, 39 note 1).

26–27 *Þorkell trefill Rauða-Bjarnarson*: Þorkell's father was called Rauða-Bjǫrn because *hann blés fyrstr manna rauða á Íslandi*, 'he was the first man to smelt iron in Iceland', according to *Þórðarbók* (ÍF I 87, note 10). Þorkell's nickname *trefill* indicates a fringe or ragged clothing. Two sagas have depicted him as a man of tricks: in *Laxdœla saga* Þorsteinn surtr is drowned with several of his family. A witness is asked to say in

what order they died, as the line of inheritance depends upon this. Þorkell bribes the witness to tell the story in his favour, and subsequently survives a test of veracity by deception (ÍF V 42). In *Hœnsa-Þóris saga* he uses deceit and a little mild intimidation to gain Gunnarr Hlífarson's support for Hersteinn after the burning of Blund-Ketill (ÍF III 29–30).

32 *þat mál var févænligt*: see below note to 37–38; if Qlkofri were found guilty of wilful damage, his property might be confiscated and awarded in part to the plaintiff.

32–33 *Slík ørendi fóru ok vestr í heruð*: the manuscript has *slíkt*, a singular form, but as the verb *fóru* is plural it seems reasonable to take the subject, *ørendi*, as plural and amend the pronoun/adjective to agree with it. This construction is different from the one in ll. 166–67, where *slíkt* is the subject and the plural noun is complement.

35 *en Skapti skyldi mál til búa*: it was usual for one man among the injured parties to take responsibility for preparing a case. He would deliver a summons at or near the offender's home at a specified time before the assembly at which he intended to prosecute (two weeks in the case of a local assembly, four weeks or less if it was the *Alþingi*). When the assembly opened, he would go to the *þing*-slope or the law rock and publish the charge, calling witnesses to support him (*Grágás* 1852–83, Ia 39, 54, 58, 69; II 118; III 355). The charge had to be brought to the quarter court for the district in which the accused man owed allegiance, *þingfesti* (*Grágás* 1852–83, Ia 40–41; cf. ÍF XII 142, 356–58).

36 *þviat hann sat næst*: Skapti lived at Hjalli, east of Qlfusá and south of Þingvǫllr (ÍF I 367; Kålund 1877–82, I 76, map facing p. 73). The next nearest of the six *goðar* was Þorkell trefill, to the west at Svignaskarð, east of Gljúfrá in Borgarfjǫrðr (Kålund 1877–82, I 367, map facing p. 287; ÍF I 90). Snorri lived first at Helgafell on Snæfellsnes, further north (Kålund 1877–82, I 439, map facing p. 395; ÍF I 125). Later he moved to Sælingsdalstunga in Breiðafjarðardalir (ÍF V 169–170; ÍF VII, map facing p. 408). Eyjólfr's home was still further north west at Otradalr in Arnarfjǫrðr (Kålund 1877–82, I 557, map facing p. 505; ÍF I 186, note 1; ÍF VI, map facing p. 396). Guðmundr was near the north coast at Mǫðruvellir in Eyjafjǫrðr (Kålund 1877–82, II 119, map facing p. 91; ÍF I 268, note 2; ÍF X 60; ÍF XII 283). Þorkell Geitisson lived furthest away, on the north-east coast at Krossavík in Vápnafjǫrðr (Kålund 1877–82, II 201; ÍF XI, map facing p. 380).

En er vár kom ok stefnudagar: the summons must be brought by *miðviku dag þann it síðarsta er sex vikur eru af sumri inn næsta dag eptir*,

that is, by the Wednesday which is the day before six weeks of the summer are over, the Wednesday between the twentieth and the twenty-sixth of May (*Grágás* 1852–83, Ia 179; II 360; *Laws* 165, note 128). The deadline was extended to the end of the seventh week of the summer for later cases (*Grágás* 1852–83, Ia 179). Summer began on a Thursday between the ninth and the fifteenth of April (*Grágás* 1852–83, Ia 37; *Laws* 51, note 100). On the summoning days see *Laws* 259 and McKinnell 1987, 19–20.

37–38 *ok lét varða skóggang*: a man who had damaged property wilfully could be punished by outlawry. Lesser outlawry, *fjǫrbaugsgarðr*, was banishment for three years; full outlawry, *skóggangr*, was for life (*Grágás* 1852–83, Ia 88–90, 96; *Laws* 7–8, 246). The banished man's property was confiscated and divided between the injured parties or their families, the chieftan who organised the confiscation, and sometimes the man who brought the prosecution. This was done at a special confiscation court or *féránsdómr* (*Grágás* 1852–83, Ia 83–86; KLNM III 218). The penalty for damaging property was *skóggangr* (*Grágás* 1852–83, Ia 117). Men who set out to burn a building merited *fjǫrbaugsgarðr*, until they took up the fire; then the penalty became *skóggangr* (*Grágás* 1852–83, Ia 184; II 378). A charcoal burner whose burning spread *víðara en hann vildi* incurred a fine, but if the damage were worth *fimm aurar* or more, *þá varðar fjǫrbaugsgarðr* (*Grágás* 1852–83, II 474). Qlkofri's fate would seem to depend on whether he is found guilty of burning further than he intended, or of causing wilful damage to property, though even if he had set out to burn the wood, since no buildings were involved *skóggangr* would seem to be an excessive penalty.

The *eyrir* was originally an ounce of silver. Its value fluctuated and was complicated by the existence of two kinds of silver, pure and alloyed. As a point of reference it is useful to take a cow as equal to twenty *aurar* (Jón Jóhannesson 1974, 333–34). In practice, the Icelanders often used *vaðmál*, homespun cloth, as currency, and the *lǫgeyrir*, law ounce, was set at six ells of cloth. Though the relationship varied, the actual value of the law ounce was always several times less than that of the silver ounce (*Grágás* 1852–83, Ib 141, 192; *Laws* 253; Jón Jóhannesson 1974, 331–32; Luðvík Ingvarsson 1970; McKinnell 1987, 85 note 3).

39–40 *Skapti segir fá*: the verb *segja* is frequently abbreviated to *.ſ.* in the manuscript. The scribe is careful to write in full such forms as *sagði* and *svǫruðu*, and varies the abbreviation to indicate *svarar*, so I have interpreted all occurrences of *.ſ.* as *segir*.

43 *hafa sjálfdœmi*: the offender in a case could offer the injured party self-judgement as a token of acknowledgement that compensation was deserved. Instances of such offers in the sagas imply that the offender respects the injured man and trusts him to act fairly, as in the series of cases in which Gunnarr and Njáll offer each other self-judgement in *Njáls saga* (ÍF XII 94, 99). A man who felt deeply injured by the offence might demand self-judgement as being the only fitting way to conduct the case. Once this was granted, he was free to award himself large amounts of the other man's property, but he could not impose outlawry unless his opponent had included the possibility in their agreement (*Grágás* 1852–83, Ia 108–09, 121; *Laws* 109, 119).

47–48 *sǫgðu at þeir mundu eigi þeim birni beitask at deila um mál hans við ofreflismenn slíka*: Halldór Halldórsson points out that *beita*, 'hunt', is an active verb, and thinks that the middle voice is used here to indicate a reflexive meaning; in seeking his prey, the hunter exposes himself to attack from that prey. Halldór Halldórsson sees support for his theory in Jón Jóhannesson's interpretation of the phrase *beitask birni* as *egna björn á sig*, to draw a bear upon oneself (Halldór Halldórsson 1954, 124; ÍF XI 86, note 1). Fritzner cites *Qlkofra þáttr* under *beita*, meaning *give en noget at bide*, 'to give [someone] something to bite' (1886–96, I 122). This comes very close to the English verb *to bait*, 'to set on [a dog] to bite' (OED). Halldór Halldórsson thinks that Fritzner also has in mind a reflexive sense for *beitask*. Such a meaning would give a nice irony to the phrase as used in *Qlkofra þáttr*, but may not be appropriate in such a context as the eve of the battle of Qrlygsstaðir:

> Hverir munu birni beitask?
> Hverr býsk mest við rómu?
>
> (Who will fight the bear? Who has made greatest preparations for battle?)

Here, Guðni Jónsson translates *beitask* as *berjast við*, 'to fight' (*Sturlunga saga* 1948, II 338). This is supported in LP 40.

50 *Gekk hann þá milli búða*: each *goði* had a booth for himself and his followers. Its walls were of stone and turf and it was roofed with cloth awnings, brought by his supporters when they came to receive assembly attendance dues (Jón Jóhannesson 1974, 43; *Grágás* 1852–83, Ia 44; *Laws* 57). The building and repair of booths was a way of earning a living (*Grágás* 1852–83, II 267).

annsvǫr: the manuscript has this spelling for *andsvǫr*. Where three consonants came together in a word, the middle consonant could be assimilated or lost (Noreen 1923, 212–13, § 291).

52–53 *Qlkofri kom til búðar Þorsteins Síðu-Hallssonar*: Þorsteinn's father, Hallr á Síðu, is recorded as having been instrumental in establishing Christianity in Iceland, and was the ancestor of several great men, including, through Þorsteinn himself, Snorri Sturluson (ÍF I 14–17, 310, 318; *Kristnisaga* 1905, 20–21, 39; ÍF XII 256–72; Haukr Valdísarson 1874, 48–49). Þorsteinn appears in several stories as a resourceful and courageous man. In particular, he is said to have refused to run away after the battle of Clontarf (*Þorsteins saga Síðu-Hallssonar*, ÍF XI 302; ÍF XII 452).

There is an interesting link between *Qlkofra þáttr* and *Þorsteins saga Síðu-Hallssonar*, besides the presence in both of Þorsteinn himself. Just as the court case in *Bandamanna saga* has similarities with that in *Qlkofra þáttr*, so the story in that saga of Oddr entrusting his *goðorð* to Óspakr, and having to reclaim it by force, can be compared with the dispute between Þorsteinn and Þórhaddr (ÍF VII 307–09; ÍF XI cix, 305–06).

Another nice coincidence is that one of the occurrences of the phrase *beitask birni* is in a *þáttr* about Þorsteinn. Einarr þambarskelfir suggests to his son that to associate with Þorsteinn, who has angered the king, is to *beitast birni við Magnús konung* (*Þorsteins þáttr Síðu-Hallssonar, Flateyjarbók* 1944–45, IV 92). The sense is the same as that of *þeim birni beitask* at l. 47.

Þorsteinn's death is described elaborately in *Draumr Þorsteins Síðu-Hallssonar*, ÍF XI 323–26).

54–55 *Maðr er nefndr Broddi Bjarnason, mágr Þorsteins*: Broddi was the son of Víga-Bjarni and grandson of Brodd-Helgi (ÍF I 290, 292). Their story is told in *Vápnfirðinga saga* (ÍF XI 23–65). Broddi, called Skegg-Broddi, is one of the conspirators in *Bandamanna saga*, and is more kindly treated by its author than are his fellow *goðar* (ÍF VII 348–49). He also appears in *Ljósvetninga saga*, supporting Þorvarðr in his dispute with Eyjólfr, son of Guðmundr inn ríki Eyjólfsson (ÍF X 84–92, 101–02). Broddi's sister, Yngvildr, was married to Þorsteinn (ÍF I 291–92).

70–71 *ok þykkir honum þetta klengisǫk vera*: *klengisǫk* is a charge brought about without sufficient evidence and with malicious intent. The term seems to have been rarely used in literature, but it occurs in king Magnús Hákonsson's instructions to his bishops that his subjects are not to be charged bail under false pretences for profit: *En eigi vilju vér at þegnar várir sé taksettir eða stefndir fyrir fépretta sakir eða nǫkkurra klengisaka* ('We do not want our subjects to be charged bail or summonsed in order to trick them out of their money or on any malicious

charges')(NGL II 482). The combination of injustice and covetousness is also apparent in the words *klengingar* and *klengzk* used in *Sturlu saga* and *Reykdœla saga*. In the former, Oddr Jósepsson speaks of *klengingar* when Einarr Þorgilsson tries to claim property from him in Búðardalr, and in the latter Áskell goði considers Vémundr *mjǫk klengzk hafa* in abducting another man's bride (Fritzner 1886–96, II 295; *Sturlunga saga* 1946, I 83, 543; ÍF X 194).

73–9 It appears to be intended as a part of Qlkofri's character that he often uses a high-flown verbal style (cf. *stórorðr*, line 38). At lines 89–92 and 100–06 he uses words reminiscent of the language of religious contrition, though the other characters seem to take it as a sign of lack of heroism.

83–84 *Síðan ganga þeir upp á vǫlluna*: the work of the *Alþingi* was done in the open. The grassy areas here referred to would be the low ground which gave Þingvǫllr its name, and on which meetings of the courts and the legislature would be held. The adverb *upp* would imply merely that the men move from even lower ground, perhaps along the river or on a path.

84–85 *Hǫfðu þeir þá verit í lǫgréttu*: the *lǫgrétta* was the law-making and -amending body of the assembly. It was made up of the *goðar* and their advisers, with the lawspeaker and the bishops. The place where they met was also called *lǫgrétta* (*Grágás* 1852–83, Ia 211–12).

89–90 *Sæll er ek orðinn er ek hefir ykkr fundit, hina dýrligu menn ok hǫfðingja mína*: the *goðar* are often referred to as *hǫfðingjar* in the sagas, *goði* being the official name of a man having certain powers and duties, and *hǫfðingi* being a more general descriptive word implying high rank and status. The conspirators in *Bandamanna saga* are called *hǫfðingjar* (ÍF VII 316, 329, 356; M version).

Er and *hefir* are late forms of the first person singular present tense (extended from the third person) which often replaced the earlier *em* and *hefi*.

Hina dýrligu menn is an example of the article preceding a form of address (Nygaard 1905, 50–51).

91–92 *Þvíat ek verð nú allr fyrir borði nema þit dugið mér*: Halldór Halldórsson gives the original meaning of the phrase *vera allr fyrir borði* as *lenda utanborðs*, 'to fall overboard' (1954, 132; 1978–80, I 81). The meaning would be, 'I shall lose everything; it will all be up with me.' Þorgerðr Þorbeinisdóttir uses the same phrase of a lawsuit in *Eyrbyggja*

saga, when she asks Vermundr mjóvi to help her sue Snorri goði for the death of her husband Vigfúss (ÍF IV 68).

105–06 *en ek þori eigi at sjá þá grimmu menn er þegar munu drepa mik ef þit hjálpið mér eigi við*: Skapti's associates will have the right to kill Qlkofri if he is made an outlaw (*Grágás* 1852–83, Ia 88–92; *Laws* 93–95).

110 *Ekki ætla ek þenna vel til sekðar fallinn*: *sekð* implies a penalty of outlawry (Foote 1970, 168–170).

113–14 *veitið mér þá nokkurn dugnað eptir*: I have not been able to find a reference to *veita eptir* in dictionaries. Jón Jóhannesson equates *eptir* with *eftir á* or *síðan* (ÍF XI 88, note 3). Or *veita eptir* may mean to give help in the sense of support from behind.

118 *ok takask þeir síðan í hendr*: it was usual to signify an agreement of any kind by the shaking of hands (*Grágás* 1852–83, II 344; *Laws* 219).

118–19 *Nefndi Qlkofri þegar vátta*: all legal procedures had to be attended by witnesses, who must be named, and who would testify to the procedure in court (*Grágás* 1852–83, Ia 54, 121–22; *Laws* 65, 119–20).

124–25 *Skulu þér þess nefndir váttar at fyrir mál þetta skal fé gera en eigi mannsekðir*: see notes to ll. 43 and 118–19. The infinitive *vera* may be understood after *skulu*.

125–26 *Ek handsala niðrfall at sǫkum þeim er ek stefnda í vár*: Skapti is withdrawing his original prosecution in the belief that Qlkofri wants him to judge the case himself.

151–52 *en Broddi kvað þat skýrst at gera svá sem hann vildi ok segja þá sjálfr sátt upp*: *hann* and *sjálfr* refer to Þorsteinn. In the light of what is said here, the following sentence begins awkwardly, and even prompts the thought that it may have been copied from another source. It is remarkably similar to a part of a conversation between Egill and Gellir in *Bandamanna saga* (ÍF VII 351): '*Ger hvárt er þú vill*,' *sagði Egill*, '*seg up sættina eða sit fyrir svǫrum*.' '*Þat kýs ek*,' *sagði Gellir*, '*at segja upp*' ('"Do whichever you wish," says Egill, "announce the terms or face the questions." "I choose," said Gellir, "to make the announcement."'). But the immediate contexts are quite different in construction and vocabulary. It may well be the *þáttr* author's intention that Broddi should offer Þorsteinn two reasons for announcing the verdict: one, that he has himself decided the amount of compensation to be awarded; the other, that he will thereby escape having to argue with the *goðar*. It would fit Broddi's character that he should prefer to *sitja fyrir svǫrum* himself and persuade the more prudent Þorsteinn to choose another role.

152–53 *Broddi bað hann kjósa hvárt er hann vildi, segja sátt upp eða sitja fyrir svǫrum*: as in *Bandamanna saga*, one of the arbitrators is to announce what judgement has been decided and the other will defend their decision against any objections raised by the parties in the case (ÍF VII 351).

157 *at lǫgbergi*: the *lǫgberg* was the ceremonial centre of the *Alþingi*. The *lǫgsǫgumaðr* took his seat there at the beginning of the assembly and from there led out the procession of judges to the courts. It was usual to make formal announcements of legal transactions there before witnesses (*Grágás* 1852–83, Ia 45, 84, 209; *Laws* 59, 89, 187).

166–67 *ok eru slíkt váðaverk*: it is not unusual to find a singular pronoun with a plural complement, the verb agreeing with the complement (Heusler 1950, 141, § 445).

Grágás (1852–83, Ia 166–67; *Laws* 155–56) states clearly that there are no accidents (*váðaverk*) in law: if a man is injured, and it is judged that the injury was not intentional, then there is no crime. When Þorsteinn says that the burning of the *goðaskógr* was *váðaverk*, he implies that Qlkofri is not legally responsible and cannot be penalised.

168–69 *Nú viljum vér gera sex álnar hverjum yðrum*: see note to l. 37. Six ells of cloth was one law ounce, the smallest unit that Þorsteinn could award.

172 *Slíkt kalla ek argaskatt*: this is the only known use of *argaskattr* (ÍF XI 91, note 1). *Skattr* is a tax or tribute. *Argr*, or *ragr*, is one of three words so insulting that anyone using them merited outlwary and could be killed (*Grágás* 1852–83, II 392; Sørensen 1980, 20; 1983, 17). Its insult lies not so much in the implication that a man is a homosexual as that he has taken the female or passive part in an unnatural act (Ström 1974, 4–5; Sørensen 1980, 22–23; 1983, 18–20). There is a connotation in this of unmanliness and cowardice (Ström 1974, 17–18). Broddi is taking up Þorsteinn's judgement that the *goðar* acted from greed rather than a sense of justice in bringing a suit against Qlkofri. He now suggests that in their meanness they have lost their manhood (Sørensen 1980, 45; 1983, 37). In contrast, he himself is almost a caricature of the valiant man. But in this story all men are vulnerable. Þorsteinn Síðu-Hallsson is the object of a *ragmæli* (charge of moral perversion) in his own saga: it was said that he became a woman every ninth night. The accusation was clearly not true, but nevertheless it damaged Þorsteinn's reputation severely and he

was urged to vengeance (ÍF XI 308). As Broddi goes on to develop his metaphor, accusing each *goði* in turn, it will be seen that some of his stories are patently untrue. The purpose of his obscenities is not to convince anyone, but to wound and humiliate his adversary (Ström 1974, 20; Dronke 1981, 13; Sørensen 1980, 47; 1983, 38–39).

178 *fyrir mansǫngsdrápu er þú ortir um konu hans*: *Grágás* (1852–83, II 392) forbids the making of verse about another person and condemns to outlawry (*skóggangr*) a man who makes a *mansǫngr* about a woman. The act might be seen as *en grov forulempelse*, a gross outrage, against the woman's husband (Sørensen 1980, 43; 1983, 35). The goddess Freyja was fond of *mansǫngr* (Faulkes 1982, 25). Such a heathen connection may have been in the mind of Bishop Jón of Hólar (1106–21) when he forbade *mansǫngskvæði, en þó fekk hann því eigi af komit með öllu* ('and yet he did not get this abolished entirely') (*Byskupa sögur* 1953, II 38). Nothing is known of Ormr, or of the penalty he exacted from Skapti for the love poem (ÍF XI 91, note 5).

181 *Hann vill hafa vináttu Qlkofra eða nokkurar mútugjafir*: *múta* was originally a legal fee, but also came to mean a bribe, as in Arnbjǫrn Jónsson's accusation that lawmen received payment (*mútugjafir*) for supporting Skuli's claim to Norway (*Flateyjarbók* 1944–45, III 393; cf. also *Laxdœla saga*, ÍF V 105). The wealthy Qlkofri might well offer Broddi gifts to mark their friendship, as Broddi himself gives presents to Þorkell Geitisson at their reconciliation (ll. 220–22, 252). Jesse Byock (1982, 76) has discussed the 'brokerage' by which *goðar* found it profitable to take over the legal affairs of lesser men.

184 *En hitt var glámsýni í vár*: like *missýni*, *glámsýni* is a failure to see things as they are, but because of its association with the moon (*glámr*) *glámsýni* is more emotive, suggesting enchantment (de Vries 1961, 172). The author of *Grettis saga* claims that his monster, Glámr, has influenced the popular meaning of the word, but Guðni Jónsson thinks it may be the other way round (ÍF VII 123 n. 2). Hermann Pálsson (1980, 101) would wish to emphasise the richness of the Glámr association for *Grettis saga*, and thinks the author of *Qlkofra þáttr* also intended a special meaning, one of sexual perversion, with *glámsýni* here.

er þú reitt til várþings: the *várþing* was a local assembly held every spring. Like the *Alþingi* it was opened formally, by one of the three local *goðar*, and one of its functions was to be a court of law (Jón Jóhannesson 1974, 81–82; *Laws* 98–101; *Grágás* 1852–83, Ia 96–99).

185 *at þú varaðisk eigi þat er Steingrímr hafði stóðhest selfeitan*: Hugo Gering (1880, 11) identifies this Steingrímr as the son of Eyjólfr inn grái mentioned in *Landnámabók*, but there is no obvious connection between the two (see ÍF I 186; ÍF XI 91, note 8).

187–89 *Ok hefir ek eigi spurt til sanns hverjum þá slauðraði, en hitt sá menn at þú vart lengi fastr, þvíat hestrinn lagði fœtrna fram yfir kápuna*: the implication is that Þorkell has taken the part of the mare in a sexual act (*hverjum slauðraði* means 'who had something dragging behind him', i. e. 'who (Þorkell or the mare) had the stallion on their back'). Accusations of this grotesque kind are not unusual in Old Norse literature, and there are certain recurring motifs, such as this one of the mare which Broddi also employs against Eyjólfr inn grái. As horses were sacred to Freyr, there may have been religious connotations. The most famous instance of the mare motif is Loki's mating with the stallion Svaðilfœri (Faulkes 1982, 35). In *Íslendinga saga* Þorbjǫrn Bergsson and his family are said to be the various parts of a mare (*Sturlunga saga* 1946, I 263). The Gulaþing Law condemns this kind of slander with the penalty of outlawry (NGL I 57; Sørensen 1980, 18, 119; 1983, 15–16, 100).

190–91 *Þat er satt at segja at sjá maðr hefir allmjǫk dregit bust ór nefi oss*: Jón Jóhannesson connects this phrase with hunting, and suggests that *draga burst ór nefi einhverjum* is to seize someone's prey from his mouth. Halldór Halldórsson prefers the simpler meaning, *svipta rándýr veiðihárum*, to deprive a beast of his whiskers. Either interpretation would imply that the hunting animal had been discomfited or disabled at close quarters, and that is what has happened to Eyjólfr and his companions. Halldór Halldórsson gives the plain meaning as *snúa á einhvern*, to turn on someone (ÍF XI 92, note 1; Halldór Halldórsson 1954, 143–44).

191–92 *enda mælir rán ok regin við oss á sogurt ofan*: de Vries gives three meanings for *rán*. The first is 'robbery' or 'plunder'. The second is Rán of the sea, mentioned in poetry as catching sailors in her net and, according to Snorri Sturluson, wife to Ægir who once brewed ale for the gods (*Edda Snorra Sturlusonar* 1931, 121; *Lokasenna*, *Reginsmál*, in PE 109, 173; *Egils saga*, ÍF II 248–49; Fell 1975b, 197). Though Jón Jóhannesson (ÍF XI 92, note 2) and Walter Baetke (1960, 145) prefer this interpretation, it is difficult to associate the goddess of the sea precisely with the context of *Qlkofra þáttr*. De Vries's third meaning is 'godly powers', making *rán* synonymous with *regin* (1961, 433, 436–37). He refers to Vogt's interpretation (1925, 47) of *rán ok regin* as a formula,

associated with *rǫð ǫll ok regin* in *Hákonarmál* 18 (ÍF XXVI 196). Such a formula links two words which alliterate and have similar meaning, as in *glaumr ok gleði* (*Þorgils saga ok Hafliða, Sturlunga saga* 1946, I 27; Gordon 1957, 245). Vogt argues that *regin* and, by implication, the phrase *mæla rán ok regin*, is strongly linked with the verb *ragna* 'to conjure', and refers to magic rather than godly power.

Since the context here is a secular one, the author may well have had in mind a more general meaning of the word, coloured, as Vogt suggests, by the associations of *regin* as well as by those of the word in the meaning 'robbery, plunder' (note the tenor of Broddi's next accusation). The same might be said of another author who uses *mæla rán ok regin* to refer to slander of a down-to-earth kind, in which Droplaug is accused of adultery (*Fljótsdæla saga*, ÍF XI 241–42, 246). Whether read as Rán or *rán*, Eyjólfr's words imply that Broddi is adding insult to injury by following his impertinent action with verbal abuse or foul language (cf. the modern Icelandic use of *blóta* meaning 'swear') and, perhaps, particularly by imputing to Þorkell a practice associated with the heathen gods (see note to 187–89).

194–96 *er þú fórt norðr til Skagafjarðar ok stalt øxnum frá Þorkeli Eiríkssyni, en Guðdala-Starri reið eptir þér ok sáttu þá eptirfǫrina er þér váruð komnir í Vatnsdal*: Skagafjǫrðr on the north coast is hardly north of Eyjólfr's home on Arnarfjǫrðr, or even of Broddi's home in Vápnafjǫrðr on the north-east coast, but it was in the Northern Quarter, and that may explain the author's choice of word. Þorkell and Guðdala-Starri were sons of Eiríkr Hróaldsson of Hof in Guðdalir, on Jǫkulsá in Skagafjǫrðr. Eiríkr's son Þorgeirr was Broddi's maternal grandfather (ÍF I 231; Kålund 1877–82, II 69). The author of *Kristnisaga* names *þeir Starri bræðr í Guðdǫlum* among *stœrstir hǫfðingjar á landinu* when Þorvaldr Koðránsson brings Friðrekr biskup to Iceland (*Kristnisaga* 1905, 2–3). Starri appears as Hólmgǫngu-Starri in Gísli Konráðsson's version of *Hellismanna saga*, where he offers to help the outlawed Hellismenn to go abroad, and helps Eiríkr skáld to escape after the rest of the Hellismenn have been killed (*Íslendinga sögur* 1946–47, II 447–48). Starri's role is missing from the shorter *Hellismanna saga* in Jón Árnason 1961, II 290–93). The author of *Bolla þáttr* gives him a reputation for sheltering outlaws, and also for quarrelling (ÍF V 234). His duelling (*hólmganga*) is referred to in *Vatnsdœla saga* and *Íslendingadrápa* 27 (ÍF VIII 127; Haukr Valdísarson 1874, 52; Jónas Kristjánsson 1975, 86, note).

Þorkeli, as in the manuscript, is a later form of *Þorkatli* (Noreen 1923, 252, § 359).

Vatnsdalsá flows through Vatnsdalr on its way north into Húnafjǫrðr, west of Skagafjǫrðr (Kålund 1877–82, II 31, map facing p. 1).

Nothing further is known of the incident to which Broddi refers here (see ÍF XI 92, note 3).

196–97 *at þú brátt þér í merar líki*: the mare motif used against Þorkell trefill reappears here, closely associated with cowardice. There may be an implication that in transforming himself Eyjólfr practised magic; a defence for women and for men afraid to fight.

197 *ok váru slíkt firn mikil*: see note to 166–67.

203 *en þú hefnir eigi fǫður þíns*: according to *Gísla saga* and *Eyrbyggja saga* Snorri's father Þorgrímr was killed in his bed by his wife's brother, Snorri's uncle, Gísli Súrsson. Snorri was not born until after the killing. The two sagas tell of how Gísli's years of outlawry ended in death at the hands Eyjólfr inn grái, and how Snorri's mother sought to avenge him (ÍF VI 54, 57, 116; ÍF IV 20, 24). Snorri was at that time a young man, though since he must have been nearly 14 he would have been legally an adult. His justification for not attempting vengeance would in fact not have been his youth but that the responsibility for the case had been handed over to Eyjólfr while Snorri was still a child (if we are to believe *Gísla saga*, ÍF VI 69). Skarpheðinn Njálsson also taunts Snorri with failure to avenge his father (ÍF XII 300).

204–05 *at þú hafir þat helzt af nafni því er þú ert eptir heitinn*: Broddi was named after his grandfather, Helgi Þorgilsson, who is said to have acquired the name Brodd-Helgi when he bound spikes (*mannbroddar*) used for walking on ice to the forehead of a fighting bull (*Þorsteins saga hvíta*, ÍF XI 19). According to *Þorsteins saga hvíta*, Brodd-Helgi was *engi jafnaðarmaðr*, and *Vápnfirðinga saga* tells of many of his activites in detail.

208 *frændi*: Broddi's grandfather Brodd-Helgi was married to Halla, sister of Þorkell's father Geitir.

209–10 *Brodd-Helgi var veginn*: *Vápnfirðinga saga* tells the story of Brodd-Helgi and Geitir Lýtingsson; relations between them grew so bad that, with their followers, they engaged in a skirmish and both Helgi and his son Lýtingr were killed (ÍF XI 49).

210–12 *Var mér ok þat sagt at faðir þinn tœki ofarliga til þeira launanna, en hitt ætla ek, ef þú leitar at, er þú munir fingrum kenna þat er faðir minn markaði þik í Bǫðvarsdal*: *ofarliga* refers to the head-wound, dealt by

Bjarni Helgason, which caused Geitir's death. The incident is treated with greater sympathy by the author of *Vápnfirðinga saga*. Bjarni, Broddi's father, is unwilling to kill Geitir, but is goaded to avenge his father, Brodd-Helgi. After dealing the fatal blow, Bjarni takes Geitir's head in his lap, *ok andaðisk hann í knjám Bjarna*. After this Þorkell Geitisson is a constant threat to Bjarni. They, too, meet in a fight and it is implied that Bjarni wounds Þorkell. It is told that, by his subsequent generosity, Bjarni persuades Þorkell to be reconciled (ÍF XI 52–53, 58–65).

Bǫðvarsdalr is on the south side of Vápnafjǫrðr (Kålund 1877–82, II 200).

225–26 *Broddi gekk vestr yfir á, en við brúarsporðinn hittask þeir Guðmundr*: the river at Þingvǫllr is the Øxará, which has changed its course since the Middle Ages. The bridge was an important means of passage across the river, and a natural meeting place (ÍF VII 345; ÍF XII 405; ÍF XI 93, note 5). Runólfr goði is even said to have held a court there when he wanted to outlaw Hjalti Skeggjason for his verse abusing the heathen gods (*Kristnisaga* 1905, 30–31).

229–30 *ríða um Kjǫl*: Kjǫlr or Kjalvegr was a pathway from south to north, passing between Langjǫkull and Hofsjǫkull and along the Blanda river to Húnafjǫrðr. Broddi would turn east from Kjǫlr, crossing the district of Skagafjǫrðr to Eyjafjǫrðr, Guðmundr's home country (Kålund 1877–82, II 49, 350, map facing p. 1). From there his way east would be similar to that followed by the modern *hringvegur* or ring road, through Ljósavatnsskarð, the pass between the Fnjóská in Eyjafjǫrðr and Skjálfandafljót; thence by lake Mývatn, and across Jǫkulsá to Mǫðrudalsheiðr (Kålund 1877–82, II 139, 165, 174, 180, 186, maps facing pp. 133, 193).

234 *Allmjǫk eru þér þá mislagðar hendr*: *misleggja* is to misplace in the sense of 'to put the wrong way', 'put askew', and is used to suggest that someone has done one thing rather than another. Rannveig chides her husband Bjarni with the same words for failing to avenge his servants in *Þorsteins þáttr stangarhǫggs*. Jón Jóhannesson thinks that the phrase *eru þér mjǫk mislagðar hendr* there indicates not only that Bjarni is wrong to delay now, but conversely that he was wrong to act violently on an earlier occasion (Halldór Halldórsson 1978–80, II 43; ÍF XI 74; Fritzner 1886–96, II 711).

235–37 *en þú varðar þat eigi it litla skarðit sem er í milli þjóa þér, svá at ámælislaust sé*: Skarpheðinn Njálsson also uses the word *ámæli* ('reproach') of Guðmundr: *Ek hefi ámæli af vígi Hǫskulds Hvítanessgoða,*

sem várkunn er. En þeir gerðu illmæli um þik Þorkell hákr ok Þórir Helgason, ok hefir þú af því ámæli ('I am subject to reproach for the killing of Hǫskuldr Hvítanesgoði, as is right. But Þorkell hákr and Þórir Helgason have spread slander about you, and you are subject to reproach because of that'; ÍF XII xli, 302). This may be a reference to Þórir Helgason's accusation in *Ljósvetninga saga* that Guðmundr is *eigi snjallr*, 'not valiant' (ÍF X 18–20, 40). Sørensen (1980, 45–46; 1983, 37) has indicated a similarity between Broddi's words to Guðmundr and another scurrilous comment by Þorkell hákr. Guðmundr has tricked his way into Þorkell's house intending to kill him. In the skirmish Guðmundr falls into a milk pail, and Þorkell says *Nú kveð ek, [at] rassinn þinn hafi áðr leitat flestra lœkjanna annarra, en mjólkina hygg ek hann eigi fyrr drukkit hafa*, ('Now I declare that your behind has sought most other springs, but I don't think it has drunk milk before') (ÍF X 52).

In making Broddi's final insult the most explicit of all, the saga-writer may be implying that Guðmundr is the most culpable, or cowardly, of his adversaries. On the other hand, he may be demonstrating that in spite of his meek words to Þorkell Geitisson, Broddi's spirit is not subdued; or perhaps that he knows how to distinguish between those one should seek reconciliation with and those who really are disgraceful.

In the phrase *þat . . . it litla skarðit* demonstrative pronouns are used with the adjective as well as the suffixed article for emphasis (Nygaard 1905, 51; Noreen 1923, 315, § 469, note 5; Heusler 1950, 126–27, §§ 410–11).

240 *ríða Sandleið eða ella it eystra*: Sandleið (later known as Sprengisandsvegur) was a route from south to north, an alternative to Kjǫlr. It passed between Hofsjǫkull and Tungnafellsjǫkull, giving access to Eyjafjǫrðr and to the districts further east. If Broddi were to follow this path he could avoid Ljósavatnsskarð (Kålund 1877–82, II 153, 351, 353). An impression of the journey is given in *Hrafnkels saga*: Sámr travels from Hrafnkelsdalr over Mǫðrudalsheiðr and past Bláfjǫll south of Mývatn to Skjálfandafljót, and so by way of Sandleið to the south and Þingvǫllr (ÍF XI 109; Kålund 1877–82, II 353, map facing p. 133).

At the same time Hrafnkel himself travels to the *Alþingi* by a route east of Vatnajǫkull and through Síða on the south-east coast (Kålund 1877–82, II 312, map between pp. 346 and 347; ÍF XI, map facing p. 381). Þorkell's advice to ride *it eystra* may mean this route. Alternatively, there is evidence of a way called Vánarskarð, between Tungnafellsjǫkull and Vatnajǫkull; Bárðr, son of Heyangrs-Bjǫrn, is recorded as having passed

that way on his journey from Bárðardalr west of Skjálfandafljót in the north to Gnúpar in Fljótshverfi south of Vatnajǫkull (ÍF I 273–74, end map 'Suðrland eystra'; Kålund 1877–82, II 351, map facing p. 133). Hrafnkell's route would take Broddi near the home of Þorsteinn Síðu-Hallsson in Álftafjǫrðr on the east coast (Kålund 1877–82, II 263, map facing p. 236). The *þáttr* does not say which way Þorsteinn goes home.

245–46 *ríða þeir Þorkell ok Broddi báðir saman með flokka sína norðr Øxnadalsheiði*: an area between the sources of Norðrá, which flows into Skagafjǫrðr, and Hǫrgá in Eyjafjǫrðr (Kålund 1877–82, II 72).

246–47 *Einarr Eyjólfsson, mágr Þorkels*: *Vǫðu-Brands þáttr* tells how Þorsteinn Síðu-Hallsson asks Einarr for the hand of his daughter Jórunn on behalf of Þorkell Geitisson. The match is intended to divert Einarr's allegiance from his brother, Guðmundr inn ríki, who is pressing a lawsuit against Þorkell's guest, Brandr. Einarr is persuaded not to consult Guðmundr before agreeing. The law case is settled, *en þó eldi hér lengi af með þeim bræðrum* (ÍF X 135–39). The author of *Qlkofra þáttr* seems to be making a deliberate contrast between the good family relationship between Þorkell and Broddi and the bad one between Guðmundr and Einarr; the latter, we may note, rides with Broddi right past Ljósavatns-skarð, risking a confrontation with his brother.

247 *Riðu þeir Broddi ok Þorkell til Þverár*: now Munkaþverá, on Þverá, and just east of Eyjafjarðará, which runs into Eyjafjǫrðr (maps: Kålund 1877–82, II, facing p. 91; ÍF X, facing p. 284). To the south is Mǫðruvellir, home of Einarr's brother, Guðmundr inn ríki. In *Víga-Glúms saga* the land is taken from Glúmr's mother by Þorkell inn hávi. Glúmr recovers it, but loses it again to Einarr (ÍF IX 15, 34, 87–89). Einarr is sometimes called Þveræingr (ÍF XII 306).

249 Skjálfandafljót is a long river flowing north from Vatnajǫkull into the bay of Skjálfandi. It lies east of Ljósavatnsskarð (Kålund 1877–82, II 149, map facing p. 133).

251 *til búa sinna*: Broddi's family home was Hof in Vápnafjǫrðr in the north east, not far from Þorkell at Krossavík (ÍF XI, map facing p. 380; Kålund 1877–82, II, map facing p. 193; ÍF I 291).

GLOSSARY

All words and idioms in the text are glossed except common pronouns and articles, generally only with the meanings that they have in these texts. The references given are selective and in most cases refer to the first occurrence of a meaning. On the orthography see p. xxxiv. In the alphabetical order ǫ, ø and ö are treated as one letter, as are æ and œ, and accents are ignored. Numbers refer to line numbers, 1 before the stroke referring to *Ögmundar þáttr*, 2 to *Qlkofra þáttr*.

The following abbreviations are used:

absol.	absolute(ly)	*metaph.*	metaphorical(ly)
acc.	accusative	*n.*	neuter
adj.	adjective	*neg.*	negative
adv.	adverb	*num.*	numeral
art.	article	*obs.*	obsolete
aux.	auxiliary	*ord.*	ordinal
card.	cardinal	*o-self*	oneself
collect.	collectively	*p.*	past
comp.	comparative	*pp.*	past participle
conj.	conjunction	*part.*	participle
dat.	dative	*pass.*	passive
demonstr.	demonstrative	*pers.*	person
ellipt.	elliptical	*pl.*	plural
e-n	*einhvern*	*poss.*	possessive
e-m	*einhverjum*	*prep.*	preposition(al)
e-s	*einhvers*	*pres.*	present
e-t	*eitthvert*	*pret.-pres.*	preterite-present
e-u	*einhverju*	*pron.*	pronoun
f.	feminine	*rel.*	relative
gen.	genitive	*sg.*	singular
imp.	imperative	*s-one*	someone
impers.	impersonal	*s-thing*	something
indef.	indefinite	*subj.*	subjunctive
inf.	infinitive	*subst.*	substantive
intens.	intensive	*sup.*	superlative
interrog.	interrogative	*sv.*	strong verb
intrans.	intransitive	*trans.*	transitive
m.	masculine	*vb.*	verb
md.	middle voice	*wv.*	weak verb

á (1) *prep.* (1) with dat. (rest) in, on, at 2/2, 5, 176; in 1/2; on 1/78, 2/9; *á Sviðningi* at the scorched place 2/23; (time) during 1/14; *á tvítugs aldri* over twenty 2/55. (2) with acc. (motion) to, in, on, at; into, onto 1/198, 2/84; (manner) 2/46, 94.

á (2) *f.* river 1/154, 2/225.

á (3) see **eiga** 1/109.

ábyrgjask *wv. md.* be answerable for, be in a position to protect 2/166.

áðan *adv.* before, ago 2/141

aðrir pl. of **annar** 1/143.

af *prep.* with dat. of (partitive) 1/3; from 1/12, 2/5; because of 1/52; *af því at* because 2/10; about 1/59.

afglapi *m.* fool, simpleton 2/105.

afla *wv.* with gen. gain; *ok hafði aflat mikils fjár* and had gained much wealth 1/119.

aflvani *adj.* short of strength 1/270.

aftan *adv.* behind; *firir ~* with acc. behind 1/170.

aftr, aptr *adv.* back (again) 1/202, 2/197.

ágætr *adj.* excellent, splendid 1/157.

ákvóma *f.* wound 1/99.

alda *f.*wave (metaphorical) 2/140 (see **renna**).

alin *f.* (pl. **álnar**) an ell (about half a yard); a measure of *vaðmál* used as currency 2/168.

allágætr *adj.* much spoken of, celebrated 1/291.

al(l)dr *m.* age, lifetime; *hniginn á hinn efra ~* stricken in years 1/12; old age: *við aldr* elderly 2/3.

alldri *adv.* never (again) 1/134.

allfúss *adj.* very eager; *~ til* very eager for it 2/62, 2/80.

allgóðr *adj.* very good, very fine 2/252.

allmikill *adj.* a very great deal of 2/43.

allmjǫk *adv.* very much 2/137.

allr *adj.* all 1/125; the whole of; entire 1/59; every 2/94; *með öllu* completely 2/88, 91, in every way, entirely 1/145; *allan tíma* all the time, continually, repeatedly 2/134; n. as subst. everything, anything (else) 2/199.

allvesælliga *adv.* very wretchedly 2/95.

allvænn *adj.* very promising; n. as adv. *þikir nú mörgum allvænt um* now many are very pleased with 1/292.

alþýða *f.* the people; *fyrir alþýðu* in public 2/208.

ámælislaust *adj.* blameless, free from criticism or shame 2/237.

annarr *pron.* other 1/38; another, second 2/25; next 2/215; *í annan tíma* again 1/26; as pron. 2/54; *annat* something else, differently 1/109; anything else 2/63; *þat annat* this in addition 2/206; *allt . . . annat* anything else 2/199; *annan veg frá* to one side from 1/194; *öðrum* anyone else 1/223.

annarrhvórr *indef. pron.* one of two things 1/140; n. *er þat annathvórt . . . ella* the case is either . . . or 1/142.

annsvar (= *andsvar*) *n.* answer, response 2/50.

aptann *m.* evening 2/246.

aptr = **aftr.**

ár (pl. **árar**) *f.* oar 1/186.

árbót *f.* beneficial harvest, good crops 1/254.

argaskattr *m.* coward's or effeminate person's tribute, payment for cowardice or services of a female kind 2/172 (see note).

árvænn *adj.* promising a good season 1/293.

ásjá *f.* help, support 1/17; protection 1/246.

at (1) *conj.* that; (as rel.) such that, who 1/2, 17, 19, 72, 83, 2/46 (2).

at (2) particle with inf. to 1/41, 1/65, 2/9.

at (3) *prep.* with dat. at, in, to; *~ norrænum mönnum* from some Norwegians 1/21; *~ ljósum degi* by the light of day 1/25; towards 1/31; from 1/190; because of this 2/220.

át see **eta**; **átzk** see **eiga.**

atflutningar *f. pl.* obtaining of supplies or provisions 1/129.

átrúnaðr *m.* belief 1/229.

átta, átti see **eiga.**

auðigr *adj.* wealthy, rich 1/8.

auðit *n. part.* of an obs. vb., *e-m verðr ~* it is granted to s-one, one manages (to) 1/272.

auðsær *adj.* clear to see, evident, obvious 2/173.

auðvelliga *adv.* of one's own free will 1/304.

auga *n.* eye 2/9.

auka *sv.* increase, add to 1/94.

aumliga *adv.* wretchedly, miserably 2/66; sup. *sem aumligast* in the most wretched way possible 2/94.

austr *adv.* east(wards) 1/302.

áverki *m.* wound (*e-s* caused by s-one)1/1.

báðir *dual pron.* both 1/141, 2/243.

bak *n.* back; *at baki þér* at your back 2/186.

banahögg *n.* death blow 1/196.

bani *m.* death; *e-s skal ek ~ vera* I will be the death of s-one 1/72.

barn *n.* child; *með barni* pregnant 1/291.
bátr *m.* (ship's) boat 1/154 (see note).
bazt, bazti see **vel, góðr.**
beiða *wv.* ask, request 1/234.
beita *wv.* (cause to) hunt (trans., with acc. of quarry and dat. of the hunting animal); md. with dat. provoke (an animal against o-self) 2/47 (see note).
bera *sv.* carry 1/173; bring, convey 1/307; *báru þeir ráð sín saman* they consulted together 2/150; impers. *e-n bar ór hafi* s-one reached the other side of the sea 1/24; md. *berast á mikit* bear o-self proudly, strut about 1/125; pres. part. *berandi* endurable 1/64.
bernska *f.* childishness 2/219.
betr, betri, bezti see **vel, góðr.**
bíða *sv.* wait for (with gen.) 2/156.
biðja *sv.* ask 1/56; with acc. of pers., gen of thing, beg, ask s-one for s-thing 2/45; tell, order (s-one to do s-thing, with acc. and inf.) 1/71, 199, 2/66; *biðr okkr . . . til gørðar* invites us to act as arbitrators 2/121.
birni see **bjǫrn.**
birta *wv.* brighten; impers. clear up (of the weather) 1/280.
bjóða *sv.* offer 1/66, 2/44; *er þeim var boðit* which was offered to them (i. e. in their honour) 1/281.
bjǫrn (dat. *birni*) *m.* bear 2/46.
bleyðimannligr *adj.* cowardly-looking, behaving like a coward 1/144.
blíðr *adj.* mild 1/292.
blóð *n.* blood 1/212.
blót *n. pl.* idol-worship, sacrifice to heathen gods 1/226; *mest* ~ the most powerful kind of worship 1/301.
blóta *wv.* worship (a heathen god, perhaps with sacrifice) 1/227.
blótguð *m.* a heathen god 1/293.
boð *n.* offer; *bjóða* ~ make an offer 1/68.
borð *n.* board, side of ship; *ek verð allr fyrir borði* I shall be entirely overboard, i. e. lost 2/92.
bótlauss *adj.* without redress or atonement; n. as adv. 1/75.
bragð *n.* (1) appearance, behaviour; *bleyðimannligr í bragði* behaving like a coward 1/144–45. (2) pl. figures, designs; *saumuð öll brögðum* embroidered all over with designs 1/160.
brátt *adv.* (n. of *bráðr*) soon 2/6; see also **bregða.**
braut see **brott.**
brautargengi *n.* help, support, backing 2/63.
bregða *wv.* with dat. move (s-thing) quickly; ~ *sverði* draw a sword

1/194; absol., ~ *við* respond, take action 1/305; ~ *e-m á e-t* draw s-one into (a conversation) 2/76; ~ *sér í e-s líki* change o-self into the form of s-thing 2/196 (2nd pers. sg. *brátt*); impers. *e-m bregðr* one turns out; *e-m bregðr meir í þrælaættina en Þveræinga* one takes after the line of thralls rather than the men of Þverá 1/116.
brenna *wv.* (trans.) burn 2/14, 16.
brenna *sv.* (intrans.) burn 2/19.
brigzli *n.* reproach, shame 1/135.
brjóst *n.* breast 1/115.
brjóta *sv.* break 1/276.
bróðir *m.* brother 1/217.
brott, á brott, í brott, í burt *adv.* away 1/311, 2/40, 85.
brúarsporðr *m.* the end of a bridge (where it touches land) 2/225.
bryggja *f.* landing stage, quay 1/158.
brýnn a. clear 2/147.
bú *n.* household, dwelling, farm, home 1/128, 2/251.
búa *sv.* (1) live, dwell 1/8, 2/2. (2) prepare (for) 1/21; ~ *til* organise, conduct 1/107; legal term, ~ *mál til* prepare, conduct, bring forward a case 2/35; pp. *búinn* ready (*til e-s* for s-thing) 1/186, adorned, decorated (*e-u* with s-thing) 1/156, 2/220 (*búit* implies dressing or ornamentation, perhaps in this last case by the addition of jewels to a handle made of metal, wood and leather; see KLNM XVII 518–33); md. *hafði við búizk* had got ready for this 2/170. (3) pp. (*við*) *svó* (*svá*) *búit* with things as they were 1/270, 2/238.
búð *f.* booth, shelter at the *Alþingi* 2/50, 66.
búðarveggr *m.* wall of a booth 2/65.
burt see **brott.**
bu(r)st *f.* bristle, whisker 2/191 (see note).
bygð *f.* settlement; pl. inhabited area 1/279.
byrr *m.* a fair wind 1/23 (acc. pl.).
bæði *adv.* both; ~ *er . . . enda* it is not only . . . but also (in the sense that the second clause explains the first) 2/77.
bæjarmaðr *m.* man from the town 1/161.
bær *m.* town 1/159.
bæta *wv.* atone for, pay compensation for 1/61.
bætr *f. pl.* atonement, compensation, amends 1/81.

dáð *f.* valour 1/133.
dagr *m.* day 1/130, 2/52; *at ljósum degi* in full daylight 1/25.
dauðr *adj.* dead 1/141.

deila *wv.* contend; get involved 2/47; ~ *e-u við e-n* contend in s-thing with s-one, exchange s-thing with s-one 2/199; md. *deilask at* argue among oneselves about, differ about, disagree about 2/137.
dómr *m.* judgment, decision (see **leggja**) 1/45 (see note).
draga *sv.* draw, pull; ~ *bust ór nefi e-m* pull a bristle out of s-one's nose, trick s-one 2/191, 193, 198.
dramb *n.* arrogance 2/51
drekka *sv.* drink 1/285.
drengskapr *m.* honourable deed 2/60; noble behaviour, act of courage 1/147.
drepa *sv.* strike, kill 1/305, 2/106.
drífa *sv.* drift (away) 1/261; ~ *at* gather for it, crowd to it 2/119.
drjúgr *adj.* effective, constant 2/98.
duga *wv.* with dat. (1) help 2/92; abs. do one's best (pull one's weight) 1/266; *e-m dugir þat* this will serve s-one, be adequate for s-one 2/117. (2) impers. *e-m dugir* one manages, one can cope 1/270.
dugnaðr *m.* help 2/114.
dveljast *wv. md.* dwell, stay 1/123, 2/15.
dylja *wv.* with gen. conceal, deny 2/209.
dýrligr *adj.* glorious, illustrious; with art. in direct address, *hina dýrligu menn* you illustrious men 2/89.
dyrr *f. pl.* doorway 1/188.
dyttr *m.* a blow, used as a nickname (for Ögmundr Hrafnsson) 1/101, 161, 304.
dœma *wv.* pronounce judgment (with acc. or *um*, on, about) 2/101, 108.

eða, eðr *conj.* or 1/42, 2/153; introducing a question, and, but 2/90, 141.
ef *conj.* if 1/45, 2/39.
efna *wv.* perform, fulfil 1/61; imp. *efn orð þín* keep your word 2/232; ~ *skal þat* it shall be kept 2/233.
efni *n.* matter; *af þessu* ~ about this matter 1/100.
efri *adj. comp.* latter; *á hinn efra alldr* into the latter part of life 1/12.
eftir, eptir *prep.* (1) with dat. after (in pursuit of, to fetch) 1/302; along (i. e. downstream) 1/199; (2) with acc., of time, after 2/28. (3) as adv. after(wards), following 2/34; behind 2/85; *annan dag* ~ the next day 2/215; ~ *um daginn* during the following day 2/150; *verða* ~ be (left) behind 1/261.
eftirleit *f.* search(ing), pursuit 1/313.
ei *adv.* not 1/112.
eiga *f.* property, ownership, possession 2/222; *með eigu sinni annarri* (as belonging) with their other property 2/165.

eiga (átta) pret.-pres. vb. (1) have 2/43, 103; ~ *sér* have (to o-self) 1/217; own, possess 2/24, 72; ~ *mál við* be bringing a lawsuit against 2/112; ~ *mál með* bring a suit (jointly) with 2/133; ~ *við* deal with (them) 1/41; ~ *illt við* have a quarrel with 2/173; ~ *kaup við* trade with 2/49; *átti at ráða firir Hákon jarl* earl Hakon had command of 1/33. Md. *hefði þeir við átzk* had they taken part in with him, had he and they had together 2/46; *eigast illt við* be engaged in fighting among themselves 1/204; (2) subj. ought 1/87.
eigi *adv.* not 1/25, 2/40.
eigingirni *f.* selfishness, avarice 2/164.
eigna *wv.* attribute (*e-m* to s-one); *er honum var eignat* he was accused of 1/221.
einmæli *n.* private talk 2/83.
einn (n. **eitt**) *pron. adj. and num.* (1) one 1/3, 2/25. (2) a certain 1/14, 2/64. (3) only 1/40, 59, (alone) 1/262, 2/46; ~ *saman* on one's own 1/195, 291 (see **fara**). (3) the same 2/35, 46; ~ . . . *ok* the same as 2/246. (4) gen. pl. as intens. einna sízt least of all 1/60.
einurð *f.* integrity 2/183.
eira *wv.* impers. with dat. *þá eirði honum illa* then he became displeased, was unable to contain himself 1/96.
ekki (1) *adv.* not 1/19, 2/10.
ekki (2) pron. (n. of **engi**) no, not any 1/288.
eldr *m.* fire 2/17.
ella *conj.* or else, otherwise 1/145, 2/43, 240.
en *conj.* and, but; after comp. than 1/20, 2/77; followed by subj., than that, than if 2/145.
enda *conj.* and besides, moreover 2/101; and indeed (indicating the cause of the preceding statement) 2/78.
engi *neg. adj. and pron.* no, not a, not any 1/112, 2/4; no one 2/49.
enn *adv.* still, yet 1/94; once more 1/252.
eptir = eftir.
eptirfǫr *f.* pursuit 2/195.
er *rel. particle and conj.* who, which, that; when 1/23, 2/3; *er þó* especially when 2/81.
eta (át) *sv.* eat 1/285.
eyjasund *n.* a narrow strait between two islands, sound 1/30.
eykr *m.* a draught animal 1/263.
eyra *n.* ear 1/172.
eyrendi *n.* a mission, errand, business, message, charge 1/56, 307.

eystri *adj. comp.* easterly; *it eystra* the eastern (more easterly) road 2/240.

fá (fékk) *sv.* (1) get, gain, receive, meet with, suffer 1/23, 2/50, 122; with gen. (or acc. pl.?) 1/174. (2) ~ *e-m e-t* provide s-one with s-thing 1/22, 229. (3) with pp. be able to do; *er Ögmundr hafði fengit ráð firir gört* when Ögmundr had managed to make arrangements for 1/122.

faðir (gen. **föður**) *m.* father 1/17, 2/187, 203, 210.

fagna *wv.* with dat. welcome, greet 1/50.

fálátr *adj.* silent, reserved 1/123.

falla *sv.* fall 1/89; turn out (*e-m* for s-one) 2/175; pp. *fallinn til* suited to, worthy of, deserving of 2/110.

fang *n.* grasp; *hafa í fangi* grapple with, have as one's opponents 2/182.

fangbrögð *n. pl.* wrestling 1/269.

fár *adj.* few; n. pl. as subst. little 2/40, 216.

fara *sv.* (1) go, travel 1/19, 2/235; fare 1/303; with acc. go on a journey 2/97; *fara eigi ein saman* be pregnant 1/290; ~ *at heimboði til e-s* go to stay with s-one 2/251; *fara í* be dressed in 1/280; ~ *með* manage, conduct 2/115; ~ *þar um* go on about it 2/79. (2) impers. happen 1/27 (or with *þá* as subject, behave, act), 1/316; ~ *vel fram* turn out well 1/58; *fjarri* ~ be far from it, not be the case 1/221. (3) md. *farast firir* come to naught 1/138.

fast *adv.* hard, quickly; *mæðast* ~ become very tired 1/262.

fastr *adj.* fast, stuck to the spot 2/188.

fátalaðr *pp.* of few words, silent 1/286.

fé (gen. **fjár**) *n.* money, property, wealth 1/17, 2/43.

feginn *adj.* glad 2/20.

fégjald *n.* payment 1/48 (pl.).

fekk see **fá.**

félagi *m.* companion, partner, fellow 1/80, 2/163.

félaus *adj.* penniless, destitute 1/244.

félítill *adj.* of little value, providing little income 2/165.

fella *wv.* fit; pp. fitted (*til* for being, to be), deserving (of being) 2/59.

felldr *m.* cloak 1/156.

fenginn *pp.* of **fá.**

ferð *f.* journey, expedition 1/22; business 2/31; venture abroad 1/133; a band of men travelling 2/246.

festa *wv.* fasten (við to) 1/184; ~ *upp* hang 1/216; md. stick 2/11.

févænligr *adj.* likely to be profitable 2/33.

fimmti *ord. num.* fifth 2/26.

fingr *m.* finger 2/211.

finna *sv.* find, discover 1/212; meet, come across 2/89; notice 1/290; md. be noticeable, people noticed 1/123.

firir, fyrir *prep.* (1) with dat. in front of, before 1/29, 2/208; beyond, over 2/91; faced with, affected by 2/30; *mikill* ~ *sér* of great power or influence 2/59; of time, ~ *stundu áðan* a little while ago 2/141; ~ *því at* because 2/167. (2) with acc. on behalf of 1/68; because of 1/210; ~ *þat* on account of that 1/110; in relation to, in compensation for 2/125; in payment for 2/178; of time, before 2/224. (3) as adv. *þar* ~ already present 1/281, 2/84; *mæla* ~ prescribe, order 1/205.

firirganga *f.* walking ahead, leading 1/264.

firirtaka *sv.* refuse; *eigi firirtek ek* I will not refuse 1/61.

firn *n. pl.* a shocking thing 2/197.

fjallvegr *m.* mountain road; ~ *mikill* a high, long, difficult road 1/258.

fjándi *m.* fiend, devil 1/228.

fjándskapr *m.* hostility 2/201.

fjár gen. of **fé.**

fjáreigandi *pres. part.* wealthy 2/3.

fjárhlutr *m.* a share (portion) of money 1/22.

fjarlægr *adj.* far off; ~ *e-m til e-s* too far off to be s-thing for s-one 2/164.

fjarri *adv.* far off (see **fara**) 1/221.

fjórði *ord. num.* fourth 2/26.

fjǫlmenni *n.* crowd, large number of men 2/249.

fjörðr *m.* fjord 1/152.

fleygja *wv.* with dat. throw 1/198.

flokkr *m.* company, band of men 2/243.

flytja *wv.* deliver, convey; ~ *þitt mál* plead your case 1/57.

fól *n.* fool, madman 2/105.

fólk *n.* people 1/261.

forða *wv.* with dat. save 1/224; ~ *sér* escape with one's life 2/20.

formaðr *m.* leader; (ship's) captain 1/79.

forvitni *f.* curiosity (*á e-u* about s-thing; *e-m* in s-one) 2/229.

fóstbróðir *m.* fosterbrother, sworn brother 1/65.

fótr *m.* foot 2/88.

frá *prep.* with dat. from 2/14, 194; away from 1/194; *þú ert* ~ *því . . . sem* beyond, to a greater extent than 1/142; about, concerning 1/299; as adv. away 1/185.

fram *adv.* forward; into the water 1/154; out (of the forest) 1/226; ~ *yfir* over the front of 2/189.

framgjarn *adj.* eager, assertive 1/132.

frásögn *f.* description 1/190.

frekliga *adv.* excessively, demandingly 1/82.
frekr *adj.* greedy (til for)1/47.
frelsi *f.* freedom (from being a bondman) 1/10.
frest *n.* delay 1/207.
frétta *wv.* (1) hear 1/59; ~ *til* hear of 1/297. (2) ~ *at* ask, inquire about 1/170.
fríðr *adj.* fair, handsome, beautiful; ~ *sýnum* beautiful in appearance (face) 1/11, 231; sup. 1/189.
frændi *m.* kinsman, relation 1/12, 2/177.
frændsemi *f.* kinship (*at* in)1/10; relationship 2/220, 253.
frændsemistala *f.* relationship; *í frændsemistǫlu við* among the number of those related to 1/2.
fullting *n.* help, support 2/117.
fundr *m.* meeting; *á fund e-s, til fundar við e-n* meet, see s-one 1/89, 2/44.
fundu *p. pl.* of **finna**.
fús(s) *adj.* willing, eager 1/309; ~ *til at* eager (to do s-thing) 2/173; with gen. willing, wishful for s-thing 2/224.
fylgja *wv.* with dat. (1) accompany; go with (i. e. be accepted also) 2/221; walk along with 1/260; help 1/115. (2) belong to, be in (s-one's character) 1/133.
fyrir see **firir**.
fyrr *adv. comp.* before, earlier; above (in a book) 1/4; ~ *en* as conj., until, before 1/30, 2/249, 250.
fyrri *adj. comp.* previous; *í fyrra vetr* the previous winter 1/172.
fyrst *adv. sup.* first 2/21.
fyrsta *f.* beginning; *í fyrstu* in the first place 1/108.
fyrstr *adj. sup.* first 1/133.
fýsast *wv. md.* with gen. be eager for 1/15.
færð *f.* the condition of a road, the going 1/259.
færi, fœri *n. pl.* opportunity *(á e-u* for s-thing)1/95; *komask í* ~ get the chance 2/201.
föður see **faðir**.
fǫrunautr *m.* companion 2/86.
fǫruneyti *n.* company 2/244.

gabba *wv.* mock, make fun of 1/101.
gagn *n.* advantage, gain, profit; *e-m til gagns* to be a profit to s-one 2/164;*verða at gagni* be of use (*e-m* to s-one) 1/181.
gaman *n.* amusement, fun; *e-m þikir* ~ one enjoys 1/164.
ganga *sv.* (1) go 1/157, 2/67; ~ *eptir* go and fetch 2/64; ~ *fyrir e-n*

approach s-one 2/53; of stories, circulate 1/299. (2) ~ *e-m til* be the cause (of s-one's doing s-thing) 1/114, 137.
garðr *m.* enclosing wall, rampart; enclosure, enclosed place 1/187 (see note).
gefa *sv.* give 1/9, 2/220; *gef manna heilastr* give most blessed of men, may you be the most blessed of men in your giving (a blessing on such generosity) 1/179; ~ *upp* give up, abandon 1/264; impers. *gaf þeim byri* they got fair winds 1/23.
gegna *wv.* with dat. (1) signify, mean 1/295. (2) be profitable; *sem verr gegnir* which is of less use, value or significance, importance, which is less fitting 1/145.
gera *wv.* (1) do, make, cause, provide 1/36, 2/14; brew 2/5; *gerði svó* did so 1/225; ~ *e-m e-t* offer s-one s-thing 1/277; ~ *sér e-n at e-u* make s-one into s-thing for o-self 2/182; ~ *til* prepare to make 2/16; ~ *sér minnisamt um* remember, bear in mind 2/200; impers. *þá gerði at þeim hríð mikla* then they were overtaken by a great storm 1/259; md. happen, take place 2/3; become 1/259, 2/79; *gerask á* arise, come up 2/19; *hvat í gerist* how it turns out 1/247; *sogurt* so done; *á sogurt ofan* on top of everything else, into the bargain 2/192. (2) as a legal term, award (*fyrir* in compensation) 2/43, 168; ~ *um* arbitrate 2/116, 124.
gersimi *f.* costly thing, treasure, jewel 1/289.
geta *wv.* (1) expect, guess; *get ek* I expect 1/47, 2/117. (2) with gen. speak about, mention 2/101 (imp.). (3) with pp., be able 2/20; *ef hann getr yfirkomit* if he can manage to overcome 1/271.
geyma *wv.* with gen. take care of; *hverir yrði sín at* ~ each should look after himself, see to his own affairs 1/33; *svo lét jarl* ~ *hans* so well did the earl have him guarded 1/98.
gifta *wv.* give in marriage, marry (a woman to a man) 1/5.
gjalda *sv.* with dat. pay, repay 1/109; pp. *goldit* i. e. avenged or atoned for 2/179; md. be paid 2/157, 169.
gjarna *adv.* willingly 1/279, 2/245; *ek villdi* ~ *alldri sjá þik* I would be happy never to see you again 1/134.
gjöf *f.* gift 1/180, 2/252.
glaðr *adj.* merry, cheerful 1/241.
glámsýni *f.* moonshine, illusion, mistake 2/184 (see note).
gnógr *adj.* enough, sufficient; *at gnógt er til* (of) which (there) is sufficient 1/17.
goðahús *n.* temple 1/232 (see note).
goði *m.* chieftain, priest 2/24.
góðr (n. **gott**) *adj.* good, fine 1/175, 2/147; n. as subst. 2/161, see **vænta**;

góðra manna of good family 1/245; *gera góða* improve, affirm 2/224; with art. in direct address, *hinir góðu menn* you good men 2/90, 113. Comp. *betri* 1/239, 2/222; sup. *bazti* 2/97, *bezti* 2/253.

góðs *n.* goods, wealth 2/165 (gen. with *kost*).

góðvili *m.* goodwill, benevolence, good wishes 1/312.

gráta *sv.* weep 2/66.

grátfeginn *adj.* weeping for joy 2/68.

greina *wv.* impers. *menn greinir á* people quarrel, disagree 1/126.

grimmr *adj.* fierce 2/106.

gripr *m.* object of value, treasure 1/157, 2/222.

gruna *wv.* impers., *e-n grunar um* one suspects 1/295.

grunnr *m.* bottom (of sea or water); *til grunna* down to the bottom 1/198.

grǫf *f.* pit 2/17.

guð *m.* god 1/292.

gull *n.* gold 1/288.

gæfa *f.* luck, good influence 1/312.

gæfumaðr *m.* a lucky man 1/236 (see note).

gæta *wv.* take care of, protect, save 2/71.

gæti see **geta.**

gǫfugligr *adj.* noble-looking, splendid; comp. (*at sjá* to look at) 2/77.

göfugr *adj.* noble 1/2.

gørð *f.* arbitration 2/105.

görla *adv.* quite, fully, precisely 1/244.

görviligr *adj.* accomplished, able 1/11.

haf *n.* the (open) sea 1/24.

hafa *wv.* (1) have; wear 2/9; receive 1/17; put, place 1/110; ~ *fram* bring forward, prosecute 2/42; ~ *með sér* take 1/314. (2) as auxiliary 1/7, 2/27.

hafnar see **höfn.**

hagr *adj.* skilful, skilled, handy 2/4.

hagr *m.* state, condition; *spurði um sinn hag* inquired about his position 1/253.

hagstæðr *adj.* fair, favourable (of wind and weather) 1/23.

halda *sv.* with dat. hold 2/140; keep 2/183; *haldi þeir lífi sínu* let them keep their lives (stay alive) 1/44; absol. (i. e. *skipinu*) maintain, hold a course, continue 1/152; md. continue 2/253.

hálfr *adj.* half 1/247.

hálflitr *adj.* of two colours, with a different colour on each side (see note to 1/156) 1/164.

hálfskiptr *adj.* = **hálflitr** 1/156.

hali *m.* tail 2/141.

hallr *adj.* leaning (to one side); *bera . . . hallt höfuðit* carry one's head to one side 1/173.

háls *m.* neck 1/172; used as a nickname 1/171.

handlag *n.* handshake (which seals an agreement) 2/127.

handlaugar *f. pl.* (water for) washing the hands; *við* ~ engaged in washing their hands 1/188.

handsala *wv.* seal (an agreement) by shaking hands 2/126.

handsalsvætti *n.* witness, testimony to an agreement by shaking hands 2/136.

handvegr *m.* arm-hole 1/156.

harðfengi *f.* toughness, hardihood 1/41.

harðliga *adv.* obstinately 1/107.

hata *wv.* hate 1/248.

háttr *m.* manner; *á allan hátt* in every way 2/94.

haust *n.* autumn 2/30.

héðan *adv.* hence; ~ *í burt* away from this place 1/311.

hefna *wv.* with gen. avenge, take vengeance for 1/39, 2/203; with dat. take revenge upon (s-one) 2/203.

hefnd *f.* revenge, vengeance 1/95, 138.

heill *adj.* whole, in good health, recovered 1/100; sup. (see **gefa**) 1/179.

heim *adv.* home 2/28.

heiman *adv.* from home; *búast* ~ set out from home 1/258.

heimboð *n.* invitation to s-one's home; *fara at heimboði til e-s* accept an invitation to pay a visit to s-one, go to be s-one's guest 2/221.

heimr *m.* world 1/294.

heita *sv.* (1) be called, named (with the subject after the vb.) 1/4, 2/2; pp. *heitinn eptir* called after (by?) 2/205 (i. e. from the man whose name you have inherited?). (2) with dat. threaten; *heita illu* threaten evil, make nasty threats 1/60; promise 2/48.

hekla *f.* a hooded cloak 1/159.

heklumaðr *m.* a man wearing a *hekla* 1/160.

hel(l)dr *comp. adv.* rather 1/23, 2/3; after neg. any more (*en* than) 1/75; sup. most of all, more than anything else 2/204.

helmingr *m.* half; s-thing divided into two equal parts; used as a nickname 1/163.

hér *adv.* here, in this place 2/75; ~ *í landi* in this country 1/75; ~ *um* in this matter 1/92.

hérahjarta *n.* the heart of a hare 1/115.

herað *n.* district, inhabited area 2/29.

herbergi *n.* apartment, inn, room 1/188.

herfiligr *adj.* disgraceful 1/133.
herra *m.* lord, sire (used when addressing a king or an earl) 1/43.
hersir *m.* lord (a high rank in Norway) 1/4.
hestr *m.* horse 2/188.
hét see **heita.**
hingatkvóma *f.* coming here, arrival 1/53.
hinn *demonstr. pron.* with sup. adj. see **kátr, reiðr**; with adj. in direct address see **góðr, dýrligr**; *n. hitt* this (for a change) 2/80, this on the contrary 2/110; that other thing 2/184, 187, 211.
hirðmaðr *m.* a sworn retainer, follower of a king or earl 1/217.
hitta *wv.* meet, go to see 1/250, 2/65; md. meet one another; *hittask þeir Guðmundr* he (Broddi) and G. met 2/225.
hjá *prep.* with dat. by, beside 2/65; as adv. nearby 2/18.
hjálp *f.* help 1/239.
hjálpa *sv.* with dat. help 1/233, 2/90; ~ *við* help against (them) 2/106.
hjó see **höggva.**
hjúskaparfar *n.* sexual relations 1/231.
hlað *n.* decoration, embroidery 1/156.
hlaupa (hleypr, hljóp) *sv.* (1) leap 1/275, 2/18. (2) run 1/196; ~ *frá* run away from, abandon 1/277.
hluti *m.* share, what is allotted to s-one 2/156.
hlutr *m.* (1) lot 2/205. (2) thing 1/292. (2) participation; *eiga hlut hér í* be involved in it 1/83.
hlutsamr *adj.* inclined to get involved, meddlesome 1/126.
hlýða *wv.* listen (*til* to it) 2/161.
hnígа *sv.* decline 1/12.
hnœfilyrði *n. pl.* taunts, abuse, insults, gibes 2/155.
hofstaðr *m.* sanctuary, area sacred to a temple 1/232 (see note).
hollosta *f.* loyalty, friendship 1/240.
horfa *wv.* face, point (*til* towards); *yðvart mál horfir til mikilla vandræða* your case is heading for great problems 1/52.
hrapa *wv.* with dat. rush, hurry 2/130.
hrata *wv.* stagger, stumble 1/274.
hraun *n.* wilderness, lava field 2/22.
hraustr *adj.* brave, bold 2/79.
hreysti *f.* valour, prowess 1/41.
hríð *f.* (1) a while; *um* ~ for a while 1/123. (2) storm, snow-storm 1/260.
hrúga *f.* heap, lump; used as a nickname 1/4.
hræddr *adj.* afraid, frightened 2/196; fearful, timid, timorous 1/203.
hugboð *n.* expectation, feeling 1/208.

hugleysi *n.* faint-heartedness, cowardliness, timidity 1/114, 2/242.
hugprýði *f.* courage, valour 1/142.
hugr *m.* mind, thought 2/203 (see **leggja**); *þat hefir* ~ *minn* it is my belief 1/299.
hugsa *wv.* think; ~ *með sér* plan, make up one's mind 1/271.
hugsan *f.* thought, planning, decision 1/274.
hvaðan *interrog. adv.* whence 2/140.
hvar *adv.* where 1/168, 2/96; ~ *sem* wherever 1/101.
hvárr *interrog. pron.* which (of two things); n. *hvárt* 2/153.
hvárt *interrog. adv.* whether 2/158; introducing a direct question 2/75.
hvass *adj.* sharp, keen 2/19.
hverfa *sv.* turn; ~ *aftr* return, be converted again 1/272.
hvergi *pron.* anyone 1/102.
hverr pron. (1) each (one), every one (pl.) 1/33, 2/169; ~ *at qðrum* one after another 2/119; *sér hverjum* each one separately (with *stúf*, i. e. the separate pieces?) 2/171; ~ *sem* whoever 1/42. (2) interrog. who, which 2/73, 141, 187; what 1/36.
hversu *adv.* how 1/237, 294 (with *máttugr*), 2/98, 112; ~ *at* 1/242.
hvessa *wv.* impers. of weather, blow more sharply, blow a gale 1/26.
hví *adv.* why 2/128.
hvíla *wv.* rest; ~ *sik* stay, sleep (in a bed) 1/237.
hvórki *adv.* neither; ~ . . . *né* neither . . . nor 1/41.
hyggja *wv.* think; *menn hugðu* it was assumed 1/213; ~ *at e-u* think s-thing over 2/143.
hæfa *wv.* be fitting; *hvat þér hæfir* what is fitting (sensible) for you to do 1/63.
hæfiligr *adj.* proper, fitting (*e-m* for s-one) 1/69.
hœta *wv.* with dat. threaten 2/99.
hætta *f.* danger, risk 1/110.
hætta *wv.* risk; ~ *til þess* take a risk on this 2/116; ~ *til at* venture, risk 1/268.
höfðingi *m.* leader, captain 1/92; in Iceland a man of high status, usually a chieftain 2/99.
höfðu see **hafa.**
höfn *f.* harbour 1/31.
höfuð *n.* head 1/173, 2/9.
höggva (hjó) *sv.* strike (with an edged weapon); with two acc. strike s-one a blow 1/196.
hönd *f.* hand, arm; *takask í hendr* clasp, shake hands 2/118; *firir hendi* possible, available as an option 1/94.

hörmuliga *adv.* miserably 1/303.
hörmuligr *adj.* sad, distressing 1/302.
höttr *m.* a hood (of a cloak) 1/197.

í *prep.* (1) with acc. in, to, into 2/12; *létu í haf* put to sea 1/22; of time, at, in 1/2, 2/96. (2) with dat. in 2/2; *í heklu* in (wearing) a cloak 1/159. (3) as adv. *at . . . í* in which 2/47; in this 2/131, 208.
iðja *f.* work, business; *þá iðju at gera ǫl* the business of brewing ale 2/5.
iðn *f.* occupation, trade 2/5.
illa *adv.* badly; dearly, bitterly? 2/179; *e-m er ~ við e-n* s-one is ill-disposed towards s-one, dislikes s-one 1/256; comp. *verr* worse 1/145, 2/100.
illr *adj.* bad; *illt er at* it is hard to 1/114; n. as subst. 2/173 (see **eiga**); *heita illu* threaten evil 1/60; comp. *at verri* (be) the worse as a result 2/220.
illyrði *n. pl.* abuse, insults 2/200.
inn *adv.* in 2/66, (towards land) 1/31, 152.
innan *adv.* from within, away from land 1/201.
inni *adv.* inside 1/191.
innkvóma *f.* coming in; *innkvóman hans* his coming (back) in 1/211.
íþróttamaðr *m.* man of accomplishments, abilities 2/4.

jafnan *adv.* always, continually 1/286, 2/10.
jafnstórliga *adv.* as greatly, as proudly, with the same arrogance 2/39.
jarl *m.* ruler next in rank to a king, earl 1/14.
járn *n.* iron 2/4.
jǫrð *f.* earth, ground 2/87.

kaf *n.* a plunge into water; *þeir sigldu eitt í ~* they sailed into one (ship) and sank it 1/31.
kalla *wv.* (1) call 1/6, 2/11, 172. (2) say, declare (*þat verit hafa* it to have been) 1/207, declare (s-thing to be), claim 2/165; with acc. and adj., say s-one is s-thing 1/203. (3) summon 1/296.
kápa *f.* cloak 2/189.
karlmennska *f.* manhood, valour 1/143.
kasta *wv.* with dat. throw 1/197; *~ e-u til e-s* throw s-thing to s-one 2/170; *~ orðum á e-n* speak to s-one, address s-one (abruptly) 2/216; impers. *nú kastar vindi innan af firðinum* now the wind is blowing from within the fjord (i. e. it is an offshore wind) 1/201.
kátr *adj.* cheerful; sup. *hinn kátasti* very cheerful 1/125.
kaup *n. pl.* business dealings 2/46.

kaupa *wv.* buy 1/16, 2/6; trade, make a bargain, do business, have as a result of one's bargain 2/182; *~ at* buy from 2/45.
kaupskip *n.* merchant ship 1/32.
kenna *wv.* recognize 1/49; feel (*e-u* with s-thing; *þat er* how, what . . . with) 2/212.
kjósa *sv.* choose 2/111; *~ til* choose (for the purpose) 2/135; *hann munda ek sízt til ~* I would not have expected this of him, he is the last person I would have expected to have done it (I would have preferred it not to have been him?) 1/215.
klengisǫk *f.* a trumped-up charge 2/71.
klæði *n. pl.* clothes 1/164.
klæki *n. pl.* shame 1/135.
kofri *m.* hood, cap 2/9. Probably derived from the Old French *coverchef* (English *kerchief*) which was primarily a woman's head-covering of linen or silk, sometimes lined with fur. See Falk 1919, 93; de Vries 1961, 324.
kol *n. pl.* charcoal 2/16.
kolbrenna *f.* charcoal-burning 2/28.
koma *sv.* (1) intrans. come, go 1/38, 101, 2/36; *~ at* approach, enter into it 2/102; *~ firir* approach 2/68, come to the notice of 1/294, come in exchange (in payment, atonement) 1/107, 2/123; *~ upp* rise up 2/17, come about, begin to take place 2/119. (2) trans. with dat. bring; *kom hann skipi sínu* he brought his ship 1/119; *~ e-u undir e-n* submit s-thing to s-one 2/103; *kominn fram* brought about, achieved 1/207; *vel (betr, bazt) komit* in good (better, the best) hands 2/108, 145, 146; md. manage to get 1/225, 2/201.
kona *f.* wife 1/229, 231, 2/178.
konungr *m.* king 1/3.
kosta *wv.* spend, lay out 1/16.
kostr *m.* choice; chance, opportunity 2/104; plenty 2/165; *þinn inn bazti ~* your best course of action 2/97; *ef þess er ~* if this is an option 1/46; *mínum kosti* my interests 1/113.
kristinn *adj.* Christian 1/302.
krjúpa *sv.* creep 2/88.
kunna (kann) *pret.-pres vb.* be able 2/148; *kann vera* it may be 1/244, 2/175; *kann verða* can happen 2/7; *sem ek kann* as best I can 1/57; feel: *kann ek þér enga þökk* I am not grateful to you 1/112, 113.
kunnnigr *adj.* known (with dat., to) 1/195.
kveða *sv.* say 1/27, 2/77; md. say that one 1/279.
kveðja *f.* greeting; *varð ekki at kveðjum* they did not greet each other 2/226.

kvikvendi *n.* living creature 1/287.
kýs *pres.* of **kjósa**.
kæra *wv.* plead, bring (a case) (*við* against) 2/159.
kærr *adj.* dear; ~ *vinr* close friend 1/218.
kør *n.* choice 2/124.
kørir pret. of **kjósa** 2/132.

lag *n.* position; *í sumu lagi* in some ways, to a certain extent 1/230.
lágtalaðr *adj.* , *vera* ~ speak in a low voice, whisper 1/192.
land *n.* land 1/24; *hér í landi* in this country 1/75.
landsmaðr *m.* native of a country 1/229.
langr *adj.* long 1/207.
langskip *n.* long-ship, warship 1/29.
láta *sv.* (1) with inf., let, cause s-thing to be done 1/77, 94, 2/206; have (s-thing done) 1/287; allow 1/234, 264; ~ *e-t koma í* put something in 1/197; *láta í haf* put to sea 1/22; ~ *e-t at verri* let s-thing be the worse 2/220. (2) with adv. behave, go on 1/85, 2/39, 93, 95; *láta sem* act as if 1/102; *láta yfir sér* (put on an) act 1/128. (3) express, say; let s-thing be known, declare 2/39; with acc. and inf. 2/38; ~ *sem* claim that 1/113; ~ *vel yfir* express pleasure at s-thing 1/207; md. say that one 1/193, 2/154, 245.
laun *n. pl.* reward 2/211 (*þeira launanna* payment for that?).
launa *wv.* repay (*e-m e-t* s-one for s-thing) 1/179.
lausafé *n.* movable property, wealth 1/314.
laust see **ljósta**.
leggja *sv.* lay, put 2/189; submit 1/44; ~ *skipi* moor a ship 1/152; ~ *allan hug á* use all one's energies (on doing s-thing), devote all one's mind, set one's heart on (doing s-thing) 2/202; ~ *e-t undir e-n* place s-thing in s-one's hands 2/97; md. *leggjask upp* mount up 2/186.
leið (1) *f.* way, road 1/317, 2/228; *á* ~ along the road, on (further) 2/248.
leið (2) see **líða**.
leiða *wv.* lead 1/263.
leita *wv.* (1) seek; ~ *á e-t* contest, object to s-thing 2/154; ~ *at e-m* search for s-one, seek s-one out 1/215, *ef þú leitar at* if you look for it 2/211; ~ *firir sér* look after o-self 1/278; ~ *í burt* get away, make off 1/311; ~ *um sættir* seek an agreement or settlement 1/45; impers. *var leitat um* they sought out, sent for 2/136.
lengi *adv.* long, for long, for a long time 1/25; *ekki skal* ~ it will not take long 2/143; ~ *vetrar* for a long part of the winter 1/99.
lét(u) see **láta**.

létta *wv.* with dat. halt, stop 1/225, 2/250.
léttr *adj.* light, easy; comp. n. as adv. more favourably, more easily 2/175.
leynast *wv. md.* hide, conceal o-self 1/275.
leyniliga *adv.* secretly 1/315.
leysingi *m.* a freed man; a man of no fixed abode 1/235 (see note).
lézk, lézt see **láta**.
lið *n.* help 2/45, 60; following, band, company 2/148.
líða *sv.* pass 2/207; ~ *fram* pass by 1/290; impers. *leið á vetrinn* the winter drew to an end 1/118; *er á leið nóttina* towards the end of the night 2/17.
liðsinni *n.* help, assistance 1/104.
liðveizla *f.* help 2/98.
líf *n.* life 1/44.
lifa *wv.* live 2/253; pres. part. living, alive 1/230.
liggja *sv.* lie 2/206; *e-t liggr á* s-thing lies upon (s-one), i. e. one is subject to s-thing 1/246; ~ *af sér . . . byrinn* wait until the wind had dropped 1/27; ~ *til* belong to 1/232.
líka *wv.* with dat. please; *hversu hinum líkar* how they will like it 2/112.
líki *n.* form, shape 2/197.
líkindi *n.* likelihood; *en at líkendum* than was to have been expected 1/106.
líkneski *n.* a graven image, statue 1/228.
líkr *adj.* likely, probable; sup. *ek ætla þat líkast* it is my intention 1/86; *þat er líkast* it is our intention 2/200; *þetta er líkast* it is my belief or expectation 2/204.
lim *n.* (collective) foliage, branches 2/18.
líta *sv.* see, look; ~ *á* look at, consider 1/63; md. *e-m lízk (á)* it seems, appears to one 2/58, 163; *e-m lízt vel á* it pleases one, one likes it 1/177.
lítill *adj.* little, small 1/157, 2/3, 244; *e-m er lítit um e-n* s-one does not care for s-one, does not like s-one much 1/246.
lítilliga *adv.* humbly; *ef hann mælir* ~ *til* if he makes a moderate claim 1/62.
lítilræði *n.* mean behaviour, pettiness (*e-m* for s-one or in s-one?) 2/59.
litr *adj.* coloured; *vel* ~ nicely coloured 1/175.
lítt *adv.* little, i. e. not at all 1/187, 2/174.
ljós *adj.* light, bright 1/25.
ljósta *wv.* hit, strike 1/88.
ljótr *adj.* ugly 2/4.
lofa *wv.* praise 2/81.
loga wv. burn, flare up 2/18.

lokarr *m.* carpenter's plane 1/47 (see note).
lúka *sv.* with dat. bring to an end, conclude 2/117; ~ *af* finish off 2/127; ~ *upp* deliver (judgment, arbitration) 2/161; impers., *e-u lýkr* s-thing ends 2/254; *e-u var lokit* an end was brought to s-thing 2/51; *lokit var* with *at* and inf. an end was made of, they finished 2/158.
lykð *f.* conclusion, outcome 2/115.
lýsa *wv.* show, reveal 2/201, 222.
lægi see **liggja.**
lǫg *n. pl.* law 2/86.
lǫgberg *n.* the law-rock 2/157 (see note).
lǫgmaðr *m.* lawman, lawspeaker 2/26 (see note).
lǫgrétta *f.* Court of Legislature 2/85 (see note).
lǫgskil *n. pl.* legal procedure 2/158.
lǫng see **langr.**

maðr (pl. **menn**) *m.* man 1/8, 2/2.
magna *wv.* charm, make strong by spells or as the result of being worshipped 1/227.
magr *adj.* thin 2/187.
mágr *m.* relative(-in-law), relative by marriage 2/54, 58.
makligr *adj.* fitting, proper 1/90.
mál *n.* (1) speech 2/79; *koma at máli við* go to speak with 1/252. (2) affair, matter 2/174, 175; case 1/48, 66, 2/49. (3) legal case, lawsuit 1/44, 2/32.
málaefni *n. pl.* the substance of a case, cause 2/147.
málkunnigr *adj.* known (*e-m* to s-one) to speak to 2/6.
málóði *adj.* vehement, blustering, violent in speech 2/38.
man see **munu.**
mannafundr *m.* meeting, assembly, gathering 1/125.
mannamunr *m.* difference of quality or status (between men) 2/183.
mannsekðir *f. pl.* outlawry 2/125.
mannsǫngsdrápa *f.* love poem, erotic poem 2/178.
mannvænligr *adj.* fine in appearance, promising, likely to turn out manly; comp. 1/19.
mánuðr *m.* month; *hálfan mánuð* for two weeks 1/247.
margr *adj.* many, a large number of 1/2, 2/37; n. *mart* as collective noun with gen. many, a large number 2/82, 83.
marka *wv.* mark, scar 2/212.
máttr *m.* power 1/282.
máttu see **mega.**

máttugr *adj.* mighty, powerful 1/294.
með *prep.* with dat., with 2/82; in (s-one's) household 1/7, in (s-one's) retinue 1/14; among, between 2/122; along, through 2/56; by means of 2/31; ~ *öllu* entirely 1/145; ~ *barni* with child, pregnant 1/291; with acc., taking, accompanied by 2/37, 245, 248; as adv. ~ *komast* manage to take with one 1/315; *ok þat* ~ and that besides 1/213, 2/32, 35.
meðan *conj.* while 1/185; for as long as 2/253.
mega *pret.-pres. vb.* be able, can 1/47, 315, 2/71.
meginland *n.* mainland 1/31.
meiðsl *n.* injury, mutilation, maiming 1/110.
meiri *adj. comp.* greater, more (i. e. worse) 1/42; more powerful 1/312; n. as subst. more 1/93; more compensation 2/151, 176; *e-m er meira um* one would prefer 1/245.
merr *f.* mare 2/186.
mestr *adj. sup.* most 2/6 (n. as adv., most of all?); greatest; *hinn mesti vin* a very great friend 1/35; biggest of all 1/189.
mikill *adj.* great 2/164, 197, 249; tall, large 1/11; *mikit öxarhamarshögg* a great blow with the back of an axe 1/89; ~ *fyrir sér* powerful, important 2/59; much, a great deal of 1/28, 2/164; serious 1/52; ~ *skemtanarmaðr* a very entertaining person 1/241; dat. with comp. *miklu* much 1/239.
milli *prep.* with gen. between 2/31; *í milli* 2/236; *sín á milli* among themselves 2/42; ~ *búða* from booth to booth 2/50.
minnisamr *adj.* memorable, fixed in the memory 2/200 (see **gera**).
minnka *wv.* diminish; *þá minnkaði veðrit* then the weather calmed 1/25.
misjafnt *adv.* unequally, unevenly, variously, i. e. not invariably 2/7.
miskunn *f.* mercy, grace 1/313.
misleggja *wv.* misplace; *þér eru mislagðar hendr* your hands are in the wrong place, you are doing the opposite of what you should 2/234.
missmíði *n. pl.* mistakes, faults 2/218.
missýnask *wv. md.* impers., *e-m missýnisk allmjǫk* s-one is greatly mistaken, it is a very great mistake for s-one, s-one is making a very great mistake 2/180.
missýni *n.* error of vision, mistake; *eigi er þat* ~ it is not a mistake 2/183.
mjök *adv.* much, greatly, very, a great deal 1/37, 2/81, 174.
móðir *f.* mother 1/9.
morginn *m.* morning; *um morgininn* in the morning 1/36.
mót (1) *n.* manner; *með nokkuru móti* in some way, somehow 1/57.
mót (2) *prep.* with dat. in exchange for, as payment for 1/94; *í moti* against 1/268.

muna *pret.-pres. vb.* remember 1/293.
mungát *n.* a kind of ale brewed in Iceland and Scandinavia 2/6, 44; pl. 2/7.
munu *pret.-pres. vb.* indicating future tense, or what the speaker thinks is probable: will, shall 1/40, 45, 143, 2/60; shall be 1/82; pres. *man* 1/112; ~ *vera* must be 1/38; *mundu* with adj. would be 2/162.
mútugjǫf *f.* bribe 2/181 (see note).
mæðast *wv. md.* become weary, exhausted 1/262.
mæla *wv.* speak, say 1/37, 63; ~ *til e-s* or *við e-n* speak, say to s-one, tell s-one 2/64, 94; *mæla til* claim, make a demand 1/61, 82; ~ *e-t við e-n* address s-one with s-thing, call s-thing down on s-one? 2/191.

ná *wv.* with dat. achieve, obtain 2/102.
nafn *n.* name 2/11, 205.
nafnfrægr *adj.* well known by name 2/10
nátta *wv.* become night, grow dark 1/26.
né *neg. conj.* nor 1/41.
nef *n.* nose, muzzle 2/193.
nefna *wv.* name, call by a name 2/54; ~ *vátta* name as witnesses 2/118; *þess nefndir váttar* be named as witnesses to this 2/125.
neita *wv.* with dat. refuse 2/105; *at* ~ *hans dómi* if one refuses his judgment 1/63.
nema *conj.* except, unless 1/287, 2/91.
niðrfall *n.* the dropping (*at sǫkum* of charges) 2/126.
nokkur *adj. and indef. pron.* a certain 1/30; some (kind of) 1/81, 2/113; pl. some, a few 2/15; n. as subst. something, anything 1/76, 297; n. as adv. somewhat, at all *nokkut* 2/90, *nokkuru* with comp. somewhat 2/140.
norðr *adv.* north, northwards 2/31, 246; ~ *við* in the north off 1/151.
norrænn *adj.* Norwegian 1/21.
nótt *f.* night 2/17; *um nótt* during the night 2/16, for the night 2/248; *um nóttina* by night 1/28.
nú *adv.* now 1/28, 2/19.
nyt *f.* use; pl. *til nytja sér* for their use 2/28.
nýtr *adj.* fit, useful; acceptable, reasonable 1/68; ~ *maðr* a worthwhile man 1/208.
næst *adv. sup.* next; closest 2/35; *því* ~ immediately after that 1/274, 2/18.
næstr *adj. sup.* nearest 2/22; adv. phrase *it næsta e-m* next to s-one 2/55.

ofan *adv.* down, from above; ~ *ór* down from 1/159; on top (of everything else) 2/192.

ofarliga *adv.* high up, with the upper part (of the body) 2/210 (see note).
offr *n.* offering, sacrifice 1/288.
ofrefli *n.* superiority in power (*e-m* over s-one), something beyond one's power; *þér mun ekki* ~ *í við at eiga* you will not have too much trouble in dealing with them 1/41.
ofreflismenn *m. pl.* exceedingly powerful men, men of unmatchable power 2/48.
ofrhugi *m.* man of enormous courage 1/74.
oft, opt *adv.* often, frequently 1/102, 2/7.
ógæfa *f.* ill luck, misfortune 2/209.
óhæfr *adj.* intolerable; ~ *af sér* intolerable in itself (as a result of his actions?) 2/205.
ólikligr *adj.* unlikely 2/96.
ómakligr *adj.* unworthy 2/91.
óp *n.* crying 2/67.
opinn *adj.* open 1/189.
opt = **oft.**
optliga *adv.* often 2/9.
ór *prep.* out of, from 1/159, 2/82; ~ *hafi* across the sea (into coastal waters) 1/24.
orð *n.* word, message 1/307, 2/30; pl. 2/232.
orðafullting *n.* verbal support, backing 1/17.
orðit see **verða.**
orlof *n.* permission 1/39.
ortir see **yrkja.**
óvinr *m.* enemy 2/182.
óvizka *f.* lack of wisdom or wit, stupidity 2/219.
oxi (pl. **øxn**) *m.* ox 2/194.

ráð *n.* (1) (good) counsel; (a good) plan, what is advisable 1/253; a good thing to do 2/61, 110; *bera* ~ *sín saman* take counsel together, discuss things together 2/150; *vera at einu ráði* be of one mind, act in accord 2/35. (2) affairs, future 1/60; arrangements: *gera* ~ *firir* see to 1/122.
ráða *sv.* (1) rule; *eiga at* ~ *firir* be in command of 1/33; *hverr firir bátinum réði* who was in charge of the boat, whose boat it was 1/160. (2) ~ *á e-n* attack s-one 1/268. (3) decide 2/42; pp. *ráðinn í* decided (on a course of action) 2/130.
rakkr *adj.* straight, upright; comp. 2/141 (the comparison is with a dog).
rán *n. pl.* godly powers; ~ *ok regin* imprecation, fulmination, vituperation, abuse, foul language 2/191 (see note).

rangr *adj.* wrong; n. as subst. (what is) false 1/68.
refsa *wv.* with dat. punish 1/39.
regin *n. pl.* the gods; see **rán** 2/191.
reiðask *wv. md.* with dat. become angry with 2/104.
reiði *f.* anger, wrath 1/64.
reiðr *adj.* angry 1/37; sup. *hinn reiðasti* very angry, as angry as could be 1/117, 2/216.
reika *wv.* wander, stroll, walk 2/87.
reka *sv.* drive 2/197; with gen. take vengeance for, avenge 1/104.
renna *sv.* run; ~ *undir* roll up (of a wave) 2/140 (metaphorical, i. e. 'where has all this arisen from?' The reference is perhaps to a ship being lifted by an unexpected wave).
réttlátr *adj.* just 2/162.
réttr (1) *m.* drifting before the wind; *leggja í rétt* allow to drift 1/24.
réttr (2) *adj.* right; *rétt trú* the True Faith (Christianity) 1/272–3.
reyna *wv.* test; md. prove to be 1/208.
reyndar *adv.* in fact, really 1/300.
reyta *wv.* pick, pluck 2/177.
ríða *sv.* ride 1/315; ~ *eptir e-m* pursue s-one 2/195; ~ *til* ride there 2/37; with acc. ride over, by way of 2/228, 230, 240.
ríki *n.* rule; *kominn til ríkis* come to power 1/167.
ríkr *adj.* mighty, powerful 1/35; comp. more dominant 1/145.
rísa *sv.* rise, get up 1/269.
róa (reri) *sv.* row 1/77.
róðr *m.* rowing; *hafa búnar árar til róðrar* have your oars ready to row 1/186.
roskinn *adj.* full grown, adult 1/13.
rúm *n.* space, place; rowing position 1/185.
ræða *wv.* speak (*við* to), have a talk (with) 2/83; ~ *um* talk about, discuss 2/86.

saga *f.* story, tale 1/299, 2/3, 254.
sakbitinn *pp.* responsible, guilty of an offence, at fault 1/92.
sakferli *n.* lawsuit 2/177.
sála *f.* soul 1/303.
saman *adv.* together 2/150; *einn* ~ alone, on one's own 1/196, 291 (see **fara**).
samr *adj.* same; *it sama* the same thing 2/107.
sannr (n. **satt**) *adj.* (1) true 2/198; n. as subst. truth, s-thing true 2/190; *til sanns* truly 2/187; sup. *þetta er sannast* this is most true, the truth of the matter is 1/69. (2) with gen. guilty of 1/220.

sár *n.* wound 1/172.
sátt *f.* terms of settlement, judgment 2/152.
sauma *wv.* sew; *saumuð öll brögðum* embroidered all over 1/159–60.
sé(ð) see **vera.**
segja *wv.* say, tell 1/31, 2/31; *sem fyrr er sagt* as has been said before (above) 1/4; *e-m er sagt* s-one is told 1/36, 2/160; ~ *upp* announce, pronounce 2/150; md. say that one 2/161.
segl *n.* sail 1/202.
seinkast *wv. md.* be delayed, take a long time 1/211.
seinliga *adv.* reluctantly, with hesitation; *hafði* ~ *tekit* had been reluctant to accept 1/55.
seinn *adj.* slow; *seint er* it would take a long time 2/93.
sekð *f.* outlawry; being found guilty 2/110.
sekja *wv.* make an outlaw, have condemned 2/59.
selfeitr *adj.* fat as a seal 2/186.
selja *wv.* sell 1/175, 2/45.
sem (1) *conj.* as 1/4, 2/7; as if, that 2/58, 70; *svó* ~ just as 1/204. (2) as rel. who, which, that 2/13, 44; *hverir sem* whoever 1/42. (3) with sup. ~ *aumligast* as wretchedly as could be 2/94.
senda *wv.* send 1/301, 2/30.
sendiboð *n.* message 2/33.
sétti *ord. num.* sixth 2/26.
sex *card. num.* six 2/24.
síð (1) *f.* in the phrase *um síðir* at last, finally, in the end 1/100.
síð (2) *adv.* late 1/23.
síðan *adv.* later, then, afterwards 1/51, 2/16.
síðar *adv. comp.* later on 1/95; *þó at* ~ *sé* although belatedly 1/144.
siðr *m.* custom 2/9.
sigla *wv.* sail 1/25.
silfr *n.* silver 1/288.
sínkr *adj.* miserly, stingy 2/8.
sinn *n.* time; *í þessu sinni* at this time, for the time being 1/93.
sitja *sv.* sit 2/55; sit waiting 1/185; stay, remain (*eptir* behind) 2/85; ~ *fyrir svǫrum* defend (a decision against opposition), be ready to answer, face questions or responses, be in charge of replying? 2/153; ~ *næst* live closest 2/36.
sízt *adv. sup.* least (*einna* of all), especially 1/60.
sjá (sá) *sv.* see 1/24, 2/77; *sáttu* you saw 2/195; look upon, face 2/105; realise 1/270; *sjám* let us see 1/247; ~ *firir* look after 1/113, be concerned about 1/140.

sjálfdœmi *n.* self-judgment, the right to assess one's own compensation or damages 2/43 (see note).
skaði *m.* harm, damage, injury, loss 1/36, 2/30.
skammr *adv.* short; n. *skamt* a short distance 1/28.
skarð *n.* gap 2/177; opening, cleft 2/236; mountain pass 2/234.
skarlak *n.* 'scarlet', a kind of fine cloth 1/159.
skemtan *f.* entertainment 1/252.
skemtanarmaðr *m.* entertainer; ~ *mikill* a great entertainer 1/241.
skera *sv.* cut; ~ *ór* decide, settle, determine the issue 2/137.
skilja *wv.* (1) part company 1/117; md. part 2/213. (2) stipulate 2/132.
skip *n.* ship 1/16.
skipkvóma *f.* arrival of a ship 1/120.
skipta *wv.* exchange (*e-u við e-n* s-thing with s-one) 2/155; impers. *skiptir um* it turns out 1/248.
skíra *wv.* baptize 1/320.
skjóta *sv.* with dat. push (*fram* into the water, i. e. launch) 1/154.
skjótligri *adj. comp.* quicker, readier (*til* for, to undertake) 1/127.
skjótt *adj. n.* as adv. quickly, soon 1/120.
skógabrenna *f.* burning of woods, forest fire 2/32.
skógarmaðr *m.* outlaw 2/58.
skóggangr *m.* (full) outlawry 2/38.
skógr *m.* wood, forest 1/225, 2/13.
skorta *wv.* impers. *e-n skortir e-t til at* s-one lacks s-thing (does not have enough of s-thing) in order to (do s-thing) 1/41.
skríða *sv.* slide; probably impers. *ef skríða skal í þat skarð* if it is to slide down (like scree on a mountain?) into the gap, i. e. if the gap is to be filled 2/177.
skrokkr *m.* body, carcase 1/276 (see note).
skulu *pret.-pres. vb.* (1) indicating necessity, must, shall 2/130; p. inf. 1/27, 2/157; *vita skaltu* you can be sure of this 1/131; with inf. understood 2/124. (2) indicating intention; *þess manns skal ek bani vera* I will be the death of the man 1/72; *ok skylldu þau Freyr ok kona hans* and Freyr and his wife were (to) 1/257.
skurgoð *n.* idol, image 1/228.
skutstafn *m.* stern, rear stem 1/184.
skylldr *adj.* (1) related 1/10. (2) urgent, pressing 1/193.
skýrr *adj.* clear, distinct; n. as adv. decisively 2/138; sup. the best (most obvious) thing to do 2/152.
skömm *f.* shame, disgrace, ignominy 1/42.
slauðra *wv.* impers. *e-m slauðrar* s-one has s-thing dragging behind him 2/187.
slíkr *adj.* such 2/180; the like, similar 1/42; n. as subst. *slíkt* such a thing, such things (with pl. vb. and complement) 2/167; anything like it 1/293.
slíta *sv.* bring to an end, break up (with dat.) 2/127.
smáhlutir *m. pl.* trifles 1/83.
snápr *m.* idiot, fool 1/38.
snemma *adv.* early 1/158.
snúa (sneri) *sv.* turn 1/193; ~ *aptr* turn back, turn round 2/229; ~ *e-u um* turn s-thing topsy-turvy, back to front 2/202.
snǫkta *wv.* sob, whine, snivel 2/67.
sofna *wv.* fall asleep 2/17.
sogurt see **gera**.
son *m.* son 1/3.
spyrja *wv.* (1) ask, inquire (*at, um* about) 1/50, 253, 2/158. (2) hear (tell), be informed 2/187; md. be reported 1/293, 2/29.
staðfesta *wv.* determine, decide 2/122.
staðr *m.* place; *í annan stað* on another occasion 1/143; *í alla staði* in all ways, altogether 1/236.
standa *sv.* stand 1/188, 2/65; ~ *upp* stand up 2/82; ~ *upp at e-m* rise to attack s-one 1/266.
starfi *m.* labour 1/131.
stefna *wv.* summon 2/37; issue a summons for 2/126.
stefna *f.* meeting 2/42.
stefnudagar *m. pl.* summonsing days, days when summonses had to (could) be issued 2/36 (see note).
stefnuför *f.* summoning, a journey for summoning 2/97.
stela *sv.* with dat. steal 2/194.
stika *wv.* measure out (using a stick as a measure) 2/170.
stinga *sv.* stick; md. *stingask til* meddle in, interfere in 2/174.
stóðhestr *m.* stallion, stud-horse 2/185.
stórleiki *m.* arrogance, swaggering 2/51.
stórliga *adv.* arrogantly; *láta* ~ behave uppishly, arrogantly 1/85.
stórlæti *n.* assertiveness, arrogant behaviour, airs, bounce 2/96.
stórmenni *n.* (collective) great, important men 2/6.
stórorðr *adj.* pompous (in speech), talking big, haughty 2/38.
stórr *adj.* large, great, a lot of 1/226; *veðr stór* strong winds 1/23; *stór tiðendi* important news 1/166.
stórræði *n. pl.* great undertakings 1/127 (see note).
stórsakir *f. pl.* serious charges (*við* against) 1/80.
stúfr *m.* stub, short piece 2/171.

stund *f.* time 1/256; *fyrir stundu áðan* a little while ago, just now 2/141; *um ~* for a while 1/263; *er stundir líða* after a while, eventually 2/207; *er stundir líða fram* as time goes on 1/290.
styrkr *adj.* strong, secure 1/77.
stökkva *sv.* flee 1/210.
sumar *n.* summer 1/14, 2/41; *um sumarit* in the summer 1/151; *síð sumars* late in the summer 1/23.
sumr *adj.* some 1/31.
sundr *adv.* asunder; *í ~* into pieces 2/170; *allt í ~* all to pieces 1/276.
svá, svó *adv.* so, thus; as 2/63; also 1/54, 2/7; *~ at* so much that 2/104, in such a way as to 2/182; as conj. so that 1/133, 2/235; *~ sem* as if, that 2/58, 70.
svar *n.* reply, response, objection 2/153.
svara *wv.* reply, answer 1/19, 2/46, 96.
sveit *f.* district, area 1/126.
sverð *n.* sword 1/194, 2/220.
svífa *sv.* impers. with dat. s-thing drifts 1/185.
svimi *m.* giddiness, faint; *ljósta í svima* stun, knock silly 1/93.
svívirðing *f.* disgrace, dishonour, humiliation 1/36.
svó = svá.
sýn *f.* sight; *fríðr sýnum* handsome, beautiful in appearance 1/11.
sýna *wv.* show; *~ af sér* display (in o-self) 1/141; md. seem 2/61; *sýndist mér* it seemed to me fit, I was inclined, I felt like 1/92.
synja *wv.* deny, refuse (*e-m e-s* s-one s-thing) 2/56; *eigi mun synjat* you will not be refused 1/82.
systir *f.* sister 1/5.
sæfa *wv.* kill (for sacrifice) 1/287.
sæll *adj.* blessed 2/73, 89.
sæmd, sœmð *f.* honour 2/244; pl. sense of honour 2/202; honourable settlement, redress, satisfaction 1/81.
sæmiligr *adj.* reasonable, honourable 1/81.
sætt *f.* (terms of) settlement 2/150; pl. settlement 1/45.
sættargerð *f.* mediation, the making of a settlement 1/55.
sættast *wv. md.* become reconciled 1/273.
sök, sǫk *f.* charge 2/126; affair, side of the case 1/107; prosecution 2/115.
sökkva *sv.* sink 1/198.
sǫkunautr *m.* associate (opponent) in a lawsuit, person against whom one has charges 2/121.

taka *sv.* (1) take, accept, receive 1/43; get, win 2/176; *~ e-u* with adv. receive, accept s-thing in a certain way 2/223; *tóku Eyjafjörð* they reached land at Eyjafjörðr 1/205; *~ á* accept, allow 1/55; *~af sér* put aside, stop 2/66; *~ af lífi* kill 1/310; *~ í móti* grapple with 1/268; *~ til* reach out for 2/210; *nú er þar til at ~* at now we must take up the story where 1/211; *~ til orða* begin to speak 2/69; *~ við* receive, accept, take in 1/273; *~ yfir sik* put on 1/156. (2) impers. *tók af byrinn* the wind dropped 1/26. (3) with inf. *~ at* begin to 1/26, 2/19. (4) md. take hold of one another; *takast þeir fangbrögðum* they set to wrestling 1/269; *takask í hendr* shake hands 2/118.
tala *wv.* speak, say (*við* to) 1/102, 2/218.
tasalldi *m.* chatterbox or 'tatters'; used as a nickname 1/6 (see note).
telja *wv.* tell, recount 2/93.
tengsl *n.* mooring-rope, rope for binding ships together 1/29 (see note).
tíðendi *n. pl.* news, tidings, information, event 1/37, 2/29; *verða til tíðenda* happen, come about 2/13.
til *prep.* with gen. to, towards 1/24, 2/29; of function or purpose: for, to earn 2/5; *~ þess at* in order to, for the purpose of 2/27; as 2/219; *segja ~ sín* say who one is 1/79; as adv. possible, an available course of action 2/80.
tilfelli *n.* occurrence, accident 1/52, 61.
tilskipan *f.* management 1/129.
tilstilli *n.* management, agency 1/111.
tiltakasamr *adj.* enterprising, eager to undertake things 1/128.
tiltœkiligr *adj.* expedient; comp. better to do 2/199.
tími *m.* time 1/2, 2/134.
tómr *adj.* empty, hollow 1/276.
traust *n.* trust, confidence, faith (*á e-u* in s-thing) 1/312.
tré *n.* wood 2/4.
trú *f.* faith; *rétt trú* the True Faith (i. e. Christianity) 1/272–73.
tunglskin *n.* moonlight (*mikit*: bright) 1/28.
tveir (acc. **tvá, tvó**) *card. num.* two 1/150, 2/135.
tvískiptr *pp.* divided into two (colours) 1/175.
tvítugr *card. num.* twenty; *á tvítugs aldri* about the age of twenty 2/55.

údrjúgr *adj.* falling short, insufficient (*til e-s* to provide s-thing); *oft verðr yðr údrjúg hin úfrjálsa ættin til drengskaparins* it often happens that the unfree ancestry of you people does not provide material for valour, you slave-born are often short on valour 1/146.
úfriðr *m.* warfare, unrest 1/201.
úfrjáls *adj.* unfree, subject to slavery 1/146.

ugga *wv.* fear 1/246.
um *prep.* with acc. (1) (time) in, during 1/24, 2/30; for the duration of, through 2/16; *um dag einn* one day 2/52. (2) about, concerning, in 1/48, 2/121; *e-m er meira ~ e-t* one would prefer s-thing 1/245 (cf. **lítill**). (3) (place) around, over 1/156, 2/22.
umbúningr *m.* garb, clothing, gear, outfit 1/280.
undarligr *adj.* strange 1/132.
undir *prep.* with acc. and dat. under; dependent on 2/115; *~ Niðaróshólm* off Niðaróshólmr 1/153 (see note to 151–52).
ungr *adj.* young 1/229.
únýtr *adj.* useless, worthless 1/145.
upp *adv.* up 1/7, 187; ashore 1/185; *upp frá* inland from, beyond 2/14.
úráð *n.* ill-advised action, unwise thing to do 1/108.
urðu see **verða.**
út *adv.* out 1/65; i. e. west: *~ til Íslands* out to Iceland 1/119.
utan (1) *adv.* from out; abroad (from Iceland: the position of the speaker is always as if in Norway) 1/19. (2) *conj.* except 1/288.
utanferð *f.* a journey abroad (from Iceland) 1/1.
útlendr *adj.* foreign 1/235.
úvit *n.* unconsciousness 1/89.
úvitrliga *adv.* unwisely, carelessly, recklessly 1/32.

váðaverk *n. pl.* accident, accidental deed 2/167.
vaðmál *n.* broadcloth, homespun cloth (used as currency) 2/170.
vagn *m.* a vehicle, waggon 1/257.
vaka *wv.* be awake, stay awake; *~ yfir* watch over 2/16.
vakna *wv.* awake 2/19.
valld *n.* power, authority; *á e-s ~* into s-one's hands 1/66.
valldr *adj.* with gen. responsible for, guilty of 1/216.
ván, vón *f.* expectation (*e-s* of s-thing); *lét þess ~* said it was likely 2/38; *er þess ~* it is to be expected 1/75.
vandask *wv. md.* become more difficult or problematical 2/49.
vandræði *n. pl.* trouble, difficulty, problems 1/52.
vanr *adj.* accustomed 2/44.
vanvirða *wv.* dishonour, shame, disgrace 1/106.
vár, vór *n.* spring 1/118, 2/36.
varask *wv. md.* notice 2/185.
varð see **verða.**
varða *wv.* forbid (*e-m e-t* s-one s-thing), defend (s-thing against s-one), prevent s-one from going somewhere 2/234, guard 2/236; be the penalty 2/38.
varðhald *n.* guard, watch 1/78 (pl.).
varit see **verja (1).**
várkunn *f.* a matter for excuse, something excusable or understandable 2/103.
varna *wv.* with dat. refuse, deny 1/85.
varr *adj.* aware; *vera lítt við menn ~* see little sign of anyone 1/187; *verða e-s ~* become aware of s-thing, discover s-thing 1/219.
varygð *f.* caution, prudence 1/114.
várþing *n.* spring assembly 2/185.
vaskleikr *m.* manliness, fine quality 1/252.
váttnefna *f.* naming of witnesses, naming of men to witness, calling upon men to witness 2/119.
váttr *m.* witness (*e-s* to s-thing) 2/119, 125.
vaxa *sv.* grow 1/7.
veðr *n.* weather, wind 1/23; object of *birta* 1/280.
veðrátta *f.* (state of the) weather 1/292.
vega *sv.* kill 2/210.
vegr (1) *m.* way 1/319, 2/46; in adv. phrase *annan veg frá* to one side from 1/194.
vegr (2) *m.* honour 2/208.
veifiskati *m.* open-handed person, spendthrift 2/8.
veit see **vita.**
veita *wv.* give, grant 1/103, 2/60, 113 (see note).
veizla *f.* feast; *fara á veizlur* go on the feastings (the 'progress', official tour, on which the god would be feasted like a king) 1/254.
vel *adv.* well, very, rather 2/3; warmly 1/50; *~ litr* nicely coloured 1/175; comp. *betr* 2/144 (see **koma**), sup. *bazt* 2/108.
vera *sv.* (1) be 2/35; subj. *sé(ð)* 1/45, 74, 106, 2/91. (2) stay 1/234, 1/247.
verða (pp. **orðinn**) *sv.* (1) become 1/36, 2/206; *~ eftir* be left 1/262. (2) happen 2/7; *honum urðu á því engi færi* he did not get the opportunity for that 1/97; *~ af* result from 1/52; *~ at* happen 1/54; *varð ekki at e-u* there was nothing of s-thing, s-thing did not take place 2/226; *~ fyrir* meet with, be subject to, suffer 2/30; *~ til at* come forward to, turn out to want to 2/154; *~ til tíðenda* come about 2/13. (3) *~ at* with inf. have to, must 1/33.
verðr *adj.* worth (with value in gen.), worthy, deserving (*e-s* of s-thing); *nokkurs verðr* of some (any) status 1/76 (the clause belongs with *menn* l. 75); *þótti fólkinu nú mikils um vert* the people now thought this very significant, important, they were very impressed 1/282; *hversu þungs*

þú ert af verðr how heavy the penalty you deserve for it 2/148; *lítils sé fyrir vert um skóga* little should be paid (in compensation) for the woods 2/163.

verja (1) wv. invest (*til* in); *áttu til þess varit* this has been invested in you, this is a quality you have inherited, this is in your make-up, you have been endowed with this 2/78.

verja (2) *wv.* defend *(e-m e-t* s-thing against s-one), prevent (s-one from entering s-thing) 2/233.

verr, verri see **illa, illr.**

vestr *adv.* westwards, to the west, in the west 1/8, 2/33, 225.

vetr *m.* winter 2/34; *lengi vetrar* for a great part of the winter 1/100.

við *prep.* with acc. with 2/44; to 1/184, 2/11; against, towards 1/80, 2/201; with regard to, in the use of 2/3; as a result of, in response to 1/37; near, by, off 1/152, 2/225, 249; taking 1/22; engaged in 1/188; *við fullting okkart* provided that you have our help 2/117; *við aldr* getting old 2/2; *við þat* thereupon 1/89; ~ *at eiga* to have dealings with 1/41; adv. *þurfa við* need for it 1/70.

víða *adv.* widely 1/293, 2/22.

viðr *m.* tree; wood 2/16.

víg *n.* homicide; *firir vígit* because of the killing 1/210.

víkja *sv.* turn; ~ *aptr* turn back, turn round 2/226.

vilja *wv.* wish, want, be willing 2/90; *villda ek* I would like 1/16; *eigi vilja* not be willing 1/83; *ek vil eigi* I do not wish to 1/113.

villast *wv. md.* get lost; ~ *vegar* lose one's way 1/317.

vilna *wv.* with dat. show favour (to s-one); *at þeim var ekki vilnat í* in which no favour was shown to them 2/47.

vin = vinr.

vinarauga *n.* friendly eye; *lítr ekki vinaraugum til þín* does not look at you with a friendly eye, dislikes you 1/237.

vinátta *f.* friendship 2/181.

vinda *sv.* wind; ~ *segl* hoist sail 1/202.

vindr *m.* wind 1/201, 2/19.

vinna *sv.* work, labour; pres. part. *til vinnanda* worth having, achieving, worth the exchange or sacrifice (*ok*: if) 1/141; ~ *á* attack, do (s-one) an injury 1/96.

vin(r) *m.* friend 1/35, 2/38.

vinsæll *adj.* popular 2/7.

virða *wv.* (put a) value (upon), account; ~ *e-t e-m til e-s* consider s-thing as due to s-one's s-thing, put it down to s-one's s-thing 2/219, 242.

virðing *f.* honour 1/174 (gen. object of *fengit* or pl., honourable treatment or position).

vís(s) *adj.* certain 1/110; *verða e-s* ~ find s-thing out, learn of s-thing 2/239.

vita (vissi) *pret.-pres. vb.* know 2/112, 209; get to know 1/96; find out 1/45; ~ *til* know s-thing, anything, about it 1/168, 222; *vita við* signify; *þetta mál veit eigi svó við* this affair does not have that meaning, that is not the way to take it, it is not like that 1/105.

vitkast *wv.* regain consciousness 1/99.

vitr *adj.* wise, sensible 2/147.

vón = ván.

vór = vár.

vænligr *adj.* promising, fair-looking; sup. *láta yfir sér hit vænligsta* put on the most cheerful air 1/129.

vænta *wv.* with gen. expect; *þeir sǫgðusk góðs* ~ *at* they said they had a good expectation that 2/161.

vǫllr *m.* plain 2/84, 87.

yfir *prep.* with dat. and acc. over, across 1/259, 2/199, 225.

yfirkominn *pp.* overcome (see **geta**) 1/271.

yfirlæti *n.* treatment, favour 1/12.

yppa *wv.* with dat. lift up; make known, broadcast 2/208.

yrði see **verða.**

yrkja (orta) *wv.* compose (a poem; *um* about) 2/178.

þá (1) *adv.* then (denoting time or consequence) 1/25, 43, 2/7, 19; at that time 1/12; introducing main clause after *af því at* 2/10, after *ef* 2/229, after *þó at* 1/74, 2/123, after *er* 2/17, after *fyrir því at* 2/167; ~ *er* when 2/56.

þá (2) see **þiggja.**

þaðan *adv.* from there, after that 2/230.

þakka *wv.* with dat. thank 1/256.

þakksamliga *adv.* gratefully 2/223.

þangat *adv.* there, to that place 1/302.

þar *adv.* (1) there 2/15, 24; that place, in that place 2/22 (2)(see note). (2) as pron. ~ *fyrir* present, to be seen facing them 2/84; ~ *næstir* closest to it 2/22; ~ *til* for that purpose 1/16; ~ *um* in this matter 1/113; ~ *við* for this purpose 1/70. (3) with conj. ~ *sem* since 1/132; ~ *til er* to the place where, until 1/306.

þarkvóma *f.* arrival, coming there 1/124.

þarlenzkr *adj.* native, local 1/204.

þarvist *f.* stay (on a visit) 1/243.

þegar *adv.* at once, immediately 1/89, 2/106; as conj., as soon as 2/102.
þí = **því**, *pron. n. dat.* 1/311, see note.
þiggja (þá) *sv.* accept, receive 1/84, 239, 2/222, 252.
þikja = **þykkja.**
þing *n.* assembly 2/5.
þinglausnir *f. pl.* the closing, dissolution of the þing 2/225.
þingmaðr *m.* man attending an assembly 2/11; follower, man allied to a *goði* 2/136.
þjó *n.* buttock 2/236.
þjónustumaðr *m.* servant 1/258.
þó *adv.* though, yet, nevertheless, even so 1/99, 2/4, 100, 112; ~ *at* although, even though 1/74, 2/121.
þokkast *wv. md.* with dat. be liked by, please; *Gunnarr þokkaðist mönnum* Gunnarr was liked by people 1/251; impers. *hversu Frey þokkast til þín* how Freyr likes you, how you get on with Freyr 1/238.
þokki *m.* good opinion, pleasure; *e-m er engi ~ í* s-one takes no pleasure in, is not pleased by 1/124.
þola *wv.* bear, endure, put up with 1/75; absol. tolerate, put up with it 2/206.
þolinn *adj.* long-suffering, patient 1/143.
þora *wv.* dare (with *at* and inf.) 2/105; *at ~ eigi at* for not daring to 1/135.
þótt *conj.* although 1/207, even though, when 2/50.
þótti see **þykkja.**
þriði *ord. num.* third 2/25; *við þriðja mann* with a third man, with two other men 1/157.
þrír *card. num.* three 1/237.
þróttigr *adj.* able to endure, patient 1/143.
þrælaætt *f.* slave ancestry 1/116.
þræll *m.* slave 1/9.
þrænzkr *adj.* from Þrándheimr (Trøndelag, a district in Norway) 1/169.
þungr *adj.* heavy, difficult 1/259; of a penalty: *hversu þungs* what heavy penalty 2/148; of eyes, bleary, weak-sighted 2/9.
þurfa *pret.-pres. vb.* with gen. need; ~ *(þess) at* need, be obliged to 2/156, 176; ~ *e-s við* have need of s-one in it (to do it), require, need s-one's help or involvement to do it 1/70.
þverafœti *adv.* with feet pointing the wrong way; *fara ~ at* walk indirectly towards, try to avoid 2/174.
því at, þvíat *conj.* for, because, for this reason that 1/40, 2/6, 36; so that 1/144; therefore to (not part of the same phrase) 1/92; *því . . . at* because, for this (reason) . . . that 2/218.

þykkja, þikja *wv.* seem 1/47, 127, 2/108; be considered, consider o-self 1/76; impers. it seems 2/70; md. think o-self, think that one (is s-thing) 2/59, 107.
þökk *f.* thanks, gratitude (*e-s, firir e-t* for s-thing) 1/112, 131.

œrr *adj.* mad 2/100.
ætla *wv.* think, consider 2/110; intend 2/14, 233; *ek ætla þat ok líkast* I guess I am likely, i. e. it is my intention 1/86; *at bróður hans var ætlaðr dauði* that death was intended for his brother, that his brother was condemned to death 1/219; *Gunnarr var til ætlaðr at* it was Gunnarr's job to 1/260.
ætt *f.* ancestry, descent 1/146.
ættstórr *adj.* high born, of great lineage 1/169.
ævinligr *adj.* everlasting, life-long 1/135.

ǫðrum see **annarr.**
ǫl *n.* ale 2/5, 45.
ørendi *n.* errand, message 2/32 (pl.).
ørhjarta *indeclinable adj.* fainthearted 2/101.
öxarhamarshögg *n.* a blow with the back of an axe 1/88.
øxn see **oxi.**

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