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GENERAL EDITORS

Sigurður Nordal and G. Turville-Petre

ǪÓMSVÍKINGA SAGA

*

THE SAGA OF THE ǪOMSVIKINGS

Jómsvíkinga Saga

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The Saga of the Jomsvikings

Translated from the Icelandic
with Introduction, Notes and Appendices
by

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N.F.B.

INTRODUCTION

I *The historical background*

Just below Stettin the River Oder runs into a lake, the Stettiner Haff. This lake has three outlets to the Baltic, which from east to west are the Dievenow, the Swine and the Peene. The two islands which are formed by these three waterways are the island of Wollin between the Dievenow and the Swine, and the island of Usedom between the Swine and the Peene. A little way up the Dievenow from the Baltic lies the town Wollin built on the island of the same name. This town is the site of the old Jónsborg, the home of the famous band of vikings known as the Jomsvikings.

According to the *Jónsvíkinga saga* Jónsborg was founded by a certain Pálna-Tóki from Fyn. The Jomsvikings lived a monastic-type existence and harried extensively in the Baltic. After Pálna-Tóki's death Sigvaldi, the new leader, kidnapped King Sveinn of Denmark and made him marry one of the daughters of the Wendish king, Búrisleifr. Sveinn's revenge took the form of inviting the Jomsvikings to a banquet at which he made them drunk and tricked them thus into making extravagant vows against Earl Hákon of Norway. In the ensuing campaign the Jomsvikings were soundly beaten at the battle of Hjörungavágr. But the saga is of no historical worth. It is the culmination of imaginative story-telling based on the minimum of historical fact. Most of the main personages, but not Pálna-Tóki, are historical. There was a town Jónsborg and there was a battle at Hjörungavágr, in which, as far as we can tell, the Jomsvikings did in fact take part. Otherwise the rest of what the *Jónsvíkinga saga* has to tell us is pure fantasy. It is the end product of many years of literary accretion.

Jónsborg itself was a typical market town of the time, as was made clear by a series of excavations carried out by O. Kunkel and K. A. Wilde just before the Second World War.¹ Before the excavations were carried out many scholars had looked for the site of Jónsborg elsewhere, the most popular theory being that Jónsborg was now a submerged

¹ Kunkel, O. and Wilde, K. A., *Jumne, Vineta, Jomsburg, Julin, Wollin*, 1941.

city to be found off the coast of Usedom at either the Vineta Riff or the Veritas Ground.¹ One scholar denied the very existence of Jónsborg and the Jomsvikings.² But the majority of scholars, especially the older ones, pointed consistently to Wollin as the site of Jónsborg.

The dispute arose because the Jónsborg we know from the Old Norse sagas is not mentioned in any contemporary source. The first reference to it is found in a poem by Arnórr jarlaskáld dating from the middle of the eleventh century, in which mention is made of a town *at Jómi*.³ Adam of Bremen, who was writing about 1072, mentions a town called *Jumne*, which is described as a merchant town. The town was said to be situated at the mouth of the Oder, although no specific location is given. The town was a heathen Wendish one, but Christians were allowed to live there provided they did not openly propagate their faith.⁴ Helmold, who wrote his *Chronicon Slavorum* about 1170–80, followed Adam's description of the town almost word for word, but he called the town *Iummeta*, he said it had been besieged by a Danish king (incorporated from Adam, scholion 56), and he claimed that the town was then in ruins, which could still be seen.⁵ It has been assumed by many that Helmold and Adam were referring to the same place, but this has never been proved. Indeed, the archaeological investigations show that Helmold could not have been referring to Jónsborg, and it is probable that, as he had never visited Usedom or Wollin, he identified Adam's Jumne with some other ruined citadel he had heard of. The surroundings of Wollin are rich in the ruins of old Slavic fortifications, and such a mistake would be quite understandable.

Later Latin writers call the town *Julin* and this is the name it has in Saxo. But in Svend Aggesøn we meet the name *Hyumsburgh* (MS *Hynnishburgh*) which corresponds to the Old Norse *Jónsborg*, the name given to the town in all Icelandic works. According to Svend Haraldr fled to Sclavia after being defeated by his son and founded the city of Hyumsburgh, and it is to this city that Pálna-Tóki later took Sveinn. Svend, like the Old Norse writers, describes the town as an exclusively viking settlement. That Svend's Hyumsburgh is the same as Wollin

¹ See especially Hennig, R., *Wo lag Vineta?*, Mannus-bücherei LIII, 1935, and references there.

² Weibull, L., *Kritiska undersökningar i Nordens historia omkring år 1000*, 1911, 178–95; and *Historisk-kritisk metod och nordisk medeltidsforskning*, 1913, 79 ff.

³ *Skj. Digt.* I, B 313.

⁴ *Adam von Bremen, Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, 3rd edition, ed. B. Schmeidler, 1917, bk. II 22.

⁵ Bk. I 2.

(Julin) and Old Norse Jómsborg is certain, for Svend, Saxo and the Old Norse writers all describe the same Danish expeditions to Wendland in which the town figures, and they call it respectively Hyumsburgh, Julin and Jómsborg. The name Jómsborg is composed of two elements, the Old Norse *borg*, 'a citadel', and an unidentified *jó*m. This element is probably not Germanic, but Slavonic meaning 'a ditch, cutting'.¹ If this is so the name is an unusual example of a Dano-Slavic hybrid, for the Danes usually called the Wendish towns by purely Danish names, e.g. *Steinborg* and *Seeborg*. The element *jó*m corresponds to Adam's *ǰumne*. The difference in the vowel is probably due to the fact that Adam got his information from German merchants, who may have pronounced the Wendish word in a slightly different form from that used by the Danes. Helmold's *Iumneta* is a development of Adam's *ǰumne*. We are left then with two groups of names, Julin/Wollin on the one hand and Jóm/Jumne/Iumneta on the other. The relationship between the two is still uncertain, although the latter seems to be the older group. The difference in the description of the town by the two sets of writers is not of great importance. Adam, who got his information from German merchants, described it as a merchant town. The Old Norse writers described it as a viking camp. The excavations have shown that it was a market town with citadel attached, as was normal at that time. Each has described only one aspect of the town.

O. Kunkel and K. A. Wilde began a series of excavations at the site of Wollin in 1934. The excavations were broken off at the outbreak of the war, but the findings were published each year.² The excavations began in the market place of Wollin itself. Here the strata of three different cultures were found. The uppermost and youngest was the burnt remains of a medieval German town hall, which had been burnt down in 1628. Beneath this there was a layer of late Wendish-type houses, the walls of which were built either of rough-hewn tree trunks, *Blockhouse construction*, or of intertwining branches, *Wattle construction*. Under the Wendish layer there was a third level, which could in its turn be divided into two periods. In the younger period were found houses, which had been constructed by driving clumps of posts into the ground at regular intervals and then filling up the gaps between the posts with clay; the inside was panelled, *Post and infill*. The older

¹ See Hennig, R., *op. cit.*, 92 ff. and references there; and Berneker, E., *Slavisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 1908-13, under *jama*.

² In *Nachrichtenblatt für deutsche Vorzeit* XX (1934) ff.

period contained houses of two types: the first was constructed by laying posts longways on top of one another, *Timber-framed building*, and the second by the posts being driven into the ground alongside one another, *Stave construction*. Of these five types the first two are found commonly among the Slavs, but the last three are found rarely, if at all, in the rest of Wendland. But these three types are all found at Hedeby.¹ Stave construction is limited to the North Germanic peoples, whereas timber-framed building and post and infill are also known to the West Germanic peoples. The approximate datings given by the archaeologists for these periods of construction are:

Stave construction	950-1050
Post and infill	1050-1170
Blockhouse	1170-1340.

The earliest period had been witness to many destructions and rebuildings though these may have been caused by fire rather than marauders. The houses in this period were built to a definite plan and no deviation from this plan was allowed. If a house was destroyed it was rebuilt on exactly the same spot so that the stakes of the new house were driven into the remains of the stakes of the old one. But in the latest period there was no evidence of planning. Both Nordic and Slavic types of pottery were found. Virtually no armour was found, but the other small finds indicated that the trading connections were extensive and widespread. Parts of ships which were undoubtedly of northern construction were found built into the walls of houses.

Later excavations were carried out at Silberberg and Mühlenberg, two small hills just outside the town. The latter was the old burial place, where little of importance was found. But Silberberg had been the citadel of the town, which had been fortified with a wall. This wall showed various periods of construction which corresponded exactly to the periods of construction in the town. The building technique of the wall has much in common with that used in the viking camps in Denmark. Good trenching tools and iron spades must have been used. The archaeologists thought that the evidence pointed to a dense population of both the market place area and Silberberg, and they estimated that the combined population was not less than 5,000 and not more than 10,000.

¹ Rudolph, M., 'Grundsätzliches von den Holzbauten in Haithabu', *Nachrichtenblatt f. deutsche Vorzeit* XII (1936) 248-52.

The archaeological evidence shows that the northern affiliations of Jónsborg were very strong. It shows that the market town and citadel were founded at the same time, approximately 950. So it is probable that they were both founded by Haraldr Gormsson as Svend Aggesøn and the earlier Old Norse sources relate. The town was principally a market town, although there must have been a garrison in the citadel. This was also the case at Hedeby and Björkö. Jónsborg can never have been the home of an isolated viking community.

In order to assess the historical importance of Jónsborg it is necessary to glance at the history of Denmark. Godofridus, who came to the throne in 804, was the first Danish king to impinge on European history. By his time the Danish kingdom must have achieved a certain measure of unity. Even though this might not mean much when weak kings were on the throne, those of Godofridus' calibre were no doubt able to both rule and reign. According to Adam, Godofridus was master of Frisia, Nordalbingia and Wendland,¹ and south Sweden and the area round the Vik in south Norway were also subject to the Danish king. The Vik did not remain constantly in the hands of the Danes throughout the ninth and tenth centuries, and most of the Dano-Norwegian wars of this period were caused by the Norwegians trying to throw off the Danish yoke.

Godofridus' reign is important for in 808 he attacked the Abodriti.² One of the results of the campaign was that he destroyed the market town Reric, which had previously been a source of revenue to the Danish kings. The merchants were resettled in Schleswig. The town Reric has a Danish name, which can be compared with Reregi, the name Adam gives to the people living in this area.³ It had been a source of revenue to the Danish crown and there must have been Danes living there. The Danes had probably occupied a part of the Wendish coast, either with or without Abodrite permission, and started trading with the inhabitants. Reric was then an earlier Jónsborg, and must have been one of the first Baltic towns—the other major ones in the ninth and tenth century being Hedeby in Denmark, Björkö and Sigtuna in Sweden, Jónsborg on the Oder and Truso on the Vistula. Although the Swedes dominated the north Baltic and the Russian trade routes, the south Baltic came within the Danish sphere of influence. It is

¹ Bk. I 14.

² *Einhardi dicti Annales* 808. The ascription of these annals by Pertz to Einhard is now generally rejected.

³ Bk. II 21.

recorded in the *Vita Ansgarii* that the Danes attacked a town in Sclavia and looted it, and that they tried to subjugate the Kures after they had thrown off the Swedish yoke.¹ There are many place names in the Baltic which point to a Scandinavian (probably Danish) origin; archaeological remains from the Viking Age, especially boats, are found frequently along the Baltic coast; and the finds of Danish and Arabic coins point to the growth of trade in this area.² It is not impossible that the Danes had set up settlements at vantage points along the trade route to the great trading stations in Russia.

Godofridus was killed in 810, and for the next sixty years his descendants squabbled over the inheritance among themselves. Sometimes a strong king would emerge and restore some order. But the energies of the Danes were really devoted to the Viking raids in the West and, no doubt, in the Baltic as well. For the following seventy years, from approximately 870 to 940, we know almost nothing of what was happening in Denmark. The period seems to have been one of extreme weakness, perhaps owing to the exhaustion of the Viking raids. The Swedish kingdom was consolidated and the Swedes probably controlled Hedeby, if not the whole of Denmark, and Norway was achieving unity under Haraldr hárfagri. The Vikings had been checked in England, France and Germany.

But with Gormr a new period of Danish history begins, although we know little about him—the only reliable source being the two Jelling stones.³ It is not known where he came from, and his nickname *inn gamli* is a later addition, for in Svend Aggesøn he has the name *løghæ*, 'the slothful'. Adam's statements that Gormr was a fierce anti-Christian and that Gormr was king of Denmark when Unni came in 935–6 have been largely rejected by modern scholars. All that we know of Gormr is that he was king of Denmark, he had a wife Þyri who was known as the 'glory of Denmark', and he had a son, Haraldr, who succeeded him. Yet the revival of the Danish kingdom dates from his reign, which must have been approximately 940–50.

Haraldr succeeded his father. On one stone he is called 'the good',⁴ although later Old Norse tradition knows nothing of this name. This runestone is important as it also tells us that Haraldr was married to

¹ *Vita Ansgarii* ch. 30.

² Bugge, A., 'Die nordeuropäischen Verkehrswege im frühen Mittelalter', *Vierteljahrschrift für Social und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* IV (1906) 227 ff.

³ *DRI* No. 41 and 42.

⁴ *DRI* No. 55.

Tóva, the daughter of Mistivoj. This Mistivoj must be the king of the Abodriti who destroyed Hamburg in 983. Another source tells us that Sveinn also was married to a Slavic princess.¹ It would seem as though Haraldr had embarked on a series of marriage alliances to extend his influence in the Baltic. The founding of Jónsborg shows that Haraldr, like Godofridus, was trying to capture the Baltic trade.

The later Jelling stone tells us a great deal about Haraldr. It reads: 'King Haraldr ordered this monument to be made for Gormr, his father, and Þyri, his mother—that Haraldr who won the whole of Denmark and Norway and made the Danes Christian.'² Quite exactly what is meant by the 'whole of Denmark' is uncertain, and scholars have suggested various explanations. It is possibly best to read the two claims together, 'Haraldr won the whole of Denmark and Norway', and to interpret it as a rather pompous statement to the effect that Haraldr was king of both these lands. Haraldr began to show an interest in Norwegian affairs shortly after his accession. The sons of Eiríkr blóðøx and Gunnhildr, who was a Danish princess and probably Haraldr's sister, came to seek protection at Haraldr's court. Haraldr gave them help in their bid to regain the throne of Norway, which was ultimately successful. Haraldr probably demanded in return for his help that the Vik should pass into Danish hands again and that the king of Norway should recognise his authority; for it may well have been a refusal to meet the Danish demands that led to Haraldr gráfeldr's death. He was killed at the instigation of Earl Hákon from Trøndelag at Limfjord in Denmark. That Hákon immediately became Haraldr Gormsson's man in Norway and recognised Haraldr's overlordship suggests strongly that Haraldr had connived at his nephew's death. That Earl Hákon accepted Haraldr's overlordship is abundantly proved by his participation in the battle of the Danavirki. Haraldr's claim to have won Norway must refer to this period.

Haraldr's third claim, that he christianised the Danes, is borne out by the German writers. Widukind mentions that Haraldr was converted by Poppo, though even before that time the Danes knew of Christianity and had introduced Christ into the Northern hierarchy of gods.³ Ruotger has that many Danes were converted in Bruno's lifetime, so it is probable that Haraldr and the majority of the Danes were

¹ *Thietmari Chronicon* bk. VII 39.

² A full bibliography is to be found in *DRI* No. 42; see also Appendix I.

³ *Widukindi res gestae Saxonicae* bk. III 65.

converted between 953 and 965.¹ How far Haraldr was himself responsible for the general conversion is uncertain, but his own conversion must have accelerated the spread of Christianity.

Haraldr seems to have had dealings with the Wends throughout his reign. Saxo tells us that he was able to recruit forces in the east, though this evidence may not be reliable.² Right at the beginning of his reign Haraldr founded Jómsborg and embarked on a series of marriage alliances. It is possible that a Danish earl was made chief in Jómsborg, although Pálna-Tóki is an entirely fictitious character. Jómsborg was a link in the Danish expansion along the south Baltic littoral, but it would be wrong to overemphasise the part played by the Jomsvikings in Danish history. They almost certainly took part in the battle of Hjørungavágr, but nevertheless it would have been only as one contingent in a larger army.

The date of the battle of Hjørungavágr remains uncertain; indeed it is not quite clear who was king of Denmark at the time. It must have been fought between 974, when Hákon helped Haraldr against the Emperor of Germany, and 995, the date of Hákon's death. The older Old Norse sources have that the battle took place in Haraldr's reign, and this is probably correct. Unfortunately, however, we do not know when Haraldr died. But in 983 he led an expedition to Germany, and his final years were troubled by quarrels with his son, which would have precluded any campaign against Norway. It is probable that the battle took place between 974 and 983. The geographical location of the battle clearly shows that it was a Danish attack, probably directed at Hlaðir, the centre of Hákon's power. The purpose of the expedition may well have been to punish Hákon for rejecting Danish suzerainty and refusing to pay tribute. The battle left Hákon master of north Norway and the Danish claims were not taken up again in his lifetime; but the Danes still retained the area of the Vik. And as early as 1000 we hear of Sveinn claiming Eiríkr Hákonarson as his earl in Norway. The results of Hjørungavágr should not be overemphasised; the Norwegians were as yet too weak to become entirely independent of the Danes.

The battle is mentioned in contemporary verses, which give us the following information.³ A Danish fleet, which included Wends among

¹ *Ruotgeri vita Brunonis* ch. 40.

² *Saxonis grammatici gesta Danorum*, ed. A. Holder, 1886, 323, 325.

³ Jónsson, F., 'Jomsvikingerne', *Historisk Tidsskrift (Dansk)* 8 R., iii (1911) 263-74.

its numbers, came from the south to attack Norway. The fleet was under the command of Sigvaldi, who was accompanied by Búi and Vagn. Hákon and Eiríkr summoned out the levy in defence and met the attacking fleet off Møre. In the ensuing battle the Norwegians were victorious and captured twenty-five of the enemy ships. Sigvaldi fled home to Denmark and Búi threw himself overboard. Although the Jomsvikings are not, in fact, mentioned by name, it is probable that they did take part in the battle, as most scholars have accepted.

Haraldr's last years were troubled by a conflict with his son Sveinn. The *Encomium Emmae*, written in 1040–2, mentions this quarrel. The dispute arose over the inheritance. War broke out and Sveinn, assisted by the army, defeated Haraldr who fled to the Sclavi, where he died shortly afterwards. Many have thought that this meant that Haraldr fled to Jómsborg; but it is more likely that he fled to Mistivoj, his father-in-law, who would be more likely to give him assistance. As we have already seen, the date of Haraldr's death is unknown; and even a narrow period of certainty cannot be suggested. He must have died after 983–4 when the Danes attacked the Germans. Sveinn is mentioned first in 994 in England, although it is not clear whether he was already king by then. As the records for the last two decades of the tenth century are so sparse, all we can say is that Haraldr died after 984.

Except for a period at the end of the ninth century Denmark was the leading Scandinavian power at this time. Apart from its Western conquests, it was constantly expanding in the Baltic. Its policy, which we can trace back as far as the beginning of the ninth century, was to capture the trade of the Baltic littoral by the establishment of strategic trading posts along the coast. Throughout the period Denmark tried to extend its influence over Norway and frequently controlled the area of the Vik directly. Norway, except in Haraldr hárfagri's reign, remained weaker than and often subordinate to Denmark.

2 *The saga*

(a) *The redactions*

The *Jómsvíkinga saga* is extant in four Icelandic versions and the Latin translation of Arngrímr Jónsson. There are also numerous paper manuscript versions, but all these are copied from one of the main Icelandic versions.¹ The five main versions are:

¹ *Krijn* 2.

1. MS AM.291 40. The manuscript is not complete as the first and last leaves are illegible, there are certain small lacunae and one page is missing. The manuscript was written by an Icelander in the latter half of the thirteenth century.¹ 291 has interpolated several passages and is much wordier than *Flat.*, the redaction to which it is most closely allied.²

2. MS AM.510 40. was written towards the end of the fifteenth century.³ It does not contain the first *páttir*, but begins *Maðr er nefndr Tóki*. 510 is much fuller than any other redaction and has interpolated widely from several sources.⁴

3. Codex Holmianus 7 40. is edited here. The manuscript can be dated to the early part of the fourteenth century. This redaction is shorter than the others, having summarised or omitted several episodes.

4. Flateyjarbók I, ch. 70–87, 123–63. In this manuscript the *Jómsvíkinga saga* has been combined with the *Greater saga of Óláfr Tryggvason*, which has resulted in a radical alteration of the beginning of the saga.⁵

5. The Latin translation of Arngrímr Jónsson was made in 1592–3. The story in this version is shorter than that in 291, but longer than that in *H*.⁶

The battle of Hjörungavágr is referred to in several contemporary scaldic verses, though there is no explicit mention of Hjörungavágr or the Jomsvikings.⁷ There are two later Old Norse poems extant about the battle, though both are fragmentary. The first is the *Jómsvíkingadrápa* by Bjarni Kolbeinsson, and the second the *Búadrápa* by Þorkell Gíslason. Both were written about 1200.⁸

The story of the Jomsvikings also appears in several sagas, notably the kings' sagas. But in these it is more cursorily treated, as it forms only a small part of a much wider story. The more important sagas in which the Jomsvikings are mentioned are *Heimskringla*, *Fagrskinna*, the *Greater saga of Óláfr Tryggvason*, *Knytlinga saga* and the Icelandic translations of the Latin saga of Óláfr Tryggvason by Oddr Snorrason.

Scholars have disagreed about the relationship and the primacy of the various redactions of the *Jómsvíkinga saga*. S. Krijn proved that they were all related and that they all came from one text, now lost.⁹

¹ 291 Introduction vi.

² *Krijn* 2–6.

³ 510 Introduction xxvi.

⁴ *Krijn* 19–26; 510 Introduction xviii ff.

⁵ *Krijn* 6–9.

⁶ *Benediktsson* 117 ff.

⁷ Jónsson, F., op. cit.

⁸ 510 120 ff.; *Litt. Hist.* II 105.

⁹ *Krijn* 27 ff.

This text I shall call *Z. It is generally agreed that *291* and *Flat.* are very closely related and that this similarity is caused by their sharing a common descent through a subordinate text *x. For example, in the description of the battle order both *291* and *Flat.* deal with Þorkell's opponents before Sigvaldi's. The other redactions agree in putting Sigvaldi first, which must be the original reading as Sigvaldi was the leader of the Jomsvikings. It has been suggested that *H* represents the original text most closely and that later redactions have expanded the original.¹ But the majority of scholars are agreed in rejecting this view because the scribe of *H* appears to have shortened his original,² and because what is common to *Fgsk*, which represents an older version of *Jómsvíkinga saga*, and *291* is often missing in *H*.³ *H* and *x share certain omissions, notably the omission of the third stage when Sveinn comes aboard Sigvaldi's ship,⁴ and this has been accepted as proof that they both come from a common text *X, which is in its turn an offshoot of *Z. Convincing reasons have been put forward to show that *291* represents *Z better than any other redaction, even though it is at least three stages removed from *Z.⁵

The two other redactions are thought to be descended independently from *Z. Both have interpolated from the *Jómsvíkinga saga* used by *Hkr* and *Fgsk*, but as each redaction differs as to how much was borrowed, the interpolations must have been made independently in each text.⁶ The original of *510* had the first *þáttr* and its absence cannot be used as an argument for the primacy of that redaction.⁷ There is nothing to show that the interpolations in *510* were not made by the redactor of *510* himself. Gjessing, the first editor of *Aǧ*, held that this redaction represented the original most closely, but this theory has been convincingly rejected by Benediktsson, the latest editor.⁸ It comes, like

¹ *Hollander* 193–210; *Litt. Hist.* II 656–7; Vigfusson, G., *Sturlunga saga* I xcii.

² See particularly *Krijn* 27 ff. and Krijn, S., 'Nogle Bemærkninger om Jómsvíkingasaga', *Arkiv* XXXIV (1918) 166–71. It is also important to note that some erasures and alterations in the manuscript indicate that the redactor of *H* was copying from a fuller text. Where the other texts read *vatni ausa ok nafn gefa*, *H* reads *ausa vatni* (2/1). But the *vatni* has been altered from *nafn(i)*, which suggests that *ok nafn gefa* was to be found in *H*'s original. Cp. also *H* 4/27 where the word *undr*, which is found in the other texts, has been deleted and *býsn* added for it.

³ *Aðalbjarnarson* 203.

⁴ *Krijn* 36–7.

⁵ *Aðalbjarnarson* 203; *Krijn* 27 ff.

⁶ *Krijn* 14–55; *Aðalbjarnarson* 214; *Benediktsson* 119 ff.

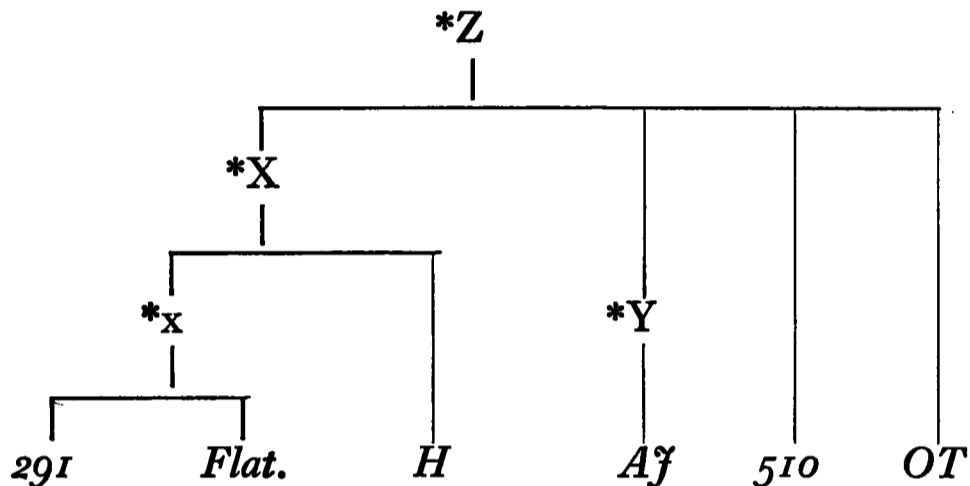
⁷ *Krijn* 56 ff.

⁸ *Jómsvíkinga-saga i latinsk Oversættelse af Arngrim Jonsson*, 1877, Introduction xvii; *Benediktsson* 117 ff.

the other redactions, from the original *Z, although there must have been an intermediate stage *Y in which the interpolations were made.

The account of the Jomsvikings in *OT* is very similar to that found in the redactions of the *ǫ́msvíkinga saga*. The scribe of *OT* used *Hkr* as his main source, but he expanded his account by using *Z as well. Hempel's theory that the scribe of *OT* drew on a subsidiary text also used by *510* and *Aǧ* has been rejected,¹ and it is now accepted that *OT* used *Z.

In view of the foregoing the following table of the manuscript tradition of *ǫ́msvíkinga saga* can be constructed.



It was realised at an early date that *Fgsk* and *Hkr* had both used a version of *ǫ́msvíkinga saga*, which I shall label *A. But the relationship between *A and *Z is disputed. There seems little doubt that *A was written before *Z, because *Hkr* and *Fgsk* are comparatively early texts and because *A appears to have a less developed version of the story, which has much in common with that in *ǫ́msvíkingadrápa*. *A was probably written about 1200. *291*, the oldest extant version of *ǫ́msvíkinga saga*, was written in the latter half of the thirteenth century. As it is at least three stages removed from *Z, the latter may have been written about 1230. Krijn thought that *A and *Z were so similar in so many ways (but particularly in the account of the wedding feast) that they must be scribally related.² Aðalbjarnarson rejected this conclusion and held that the two were not scribally related, the similarities between them merely springing from the use of common verses and a common tradition. He thought that *Z could not have used *A, for there is much in *Fgsk* that *291* would have used if it had been in its

¹ Hempel, H., 'Die Formen der Iómsvíkinga saga', *Arkiv* XXXIX (1923) 37 ff.; *Krijn* 91 ff.; *Aðalbjarnarson* 97-8.

² *Krijn* 75 ff.

source, for 291 is a full text. He regarded the alternative, viz. to posit another lost *Jómsvíkinga saga* as source for them both, as unlikely.¹ But 291 is too far removed from *Z for us to be able to tell what principle the scribe of *Z followed when using his sources. Nor is it sound to draw such sweeping conclusions from the general nature of a redaction, for *H* which is a shortened text has several interpolations. It is unlikely that two distinct oral traditions would have built up a similar story of such length merely on the basis of a handful of scaldic verses. It is more reasonable to suppose that *Z and *A are scribally related, for they differ no more between themselves than do the two versions of *Bandamanna saga*.²

It is very difficult to trace the earliest development of the story of the Jomsvikings. It is possible that Sæmundr mentioned the battle of Hjørungavágr in his Latin history of the kings of Norway which is now lost.³ If he did, he must have based his story on oral tradition and possibly scaldic verses. Oddr certainly mentioned the Jomsvikings in his Latin saga of Óláfr Tryggvason, for the extant Icelandic translations have an account of the battle. This differs in many points from later versions of the battle. Oddr also had an account of the kidnapping of Sveinn, though this is entirely unconnected with the story of the Jomsvikings. It is very likely that a later author (possibly the author of *A) used Oddr as a source and amalgamated these two episodes into one story. It is only at this stage that an independent *Jómsvíkinga saga* came into being. The first *þáttr* was then added by the scribe of *Z.⁴

(b) *Codex Holmianus* 7 40.

Although 291 is thought to represent *Z more closely than any other redaction, *H* has been chosen as the text for this edition. The *Jómsvíkinga saga*, as was pointed out above, is not a historical text and has no value as a historical document. The main claim that the saga has to our attention is its literary excellence. Consequently *H* has been selected as the text for editing here. Firstly it is complete, and though the story has been shortened, all the essential features have been re-

¹ *Aðalbjarnarson* 202 ff.

² Jónsson, G., *Bandamanna saga*, 1936, Introduction xcv f.

³ This suggestion is favoured by Gjessing, G. A., 'Sæmund frodes forfatterskab', *Sproglig-historiske studier tilegnede Prof. C. R. Unger* 1896, 125-52, and *Aðalbjarnarson* 69, 81; but it is rejected by Turville-Petre, G., *Origins of Icelandic Literature*, 1953, 85.

⁴ *Krijn* 56-61; Indrebø, G., *Fagrskinna*, 1917, 58.

tained. Secondly it is without doubt the best redaction of the saga from a literary point of view. 291 is unsuitable for the beginning and the end are missing and there are various gaps in the text. It is also too verbose and discursive. Its literary excellence is small in comparison with H. 510 and *Flat.* are also unsuitable. The former has been interpolated extensively and lacks the first *páttr*; the latter has been incorporated into *OT* and could with difficulty stand by itself.

Codex Holmianus 7 40. is now at The Royal Library, Stockholm. It came to Sweden as part of the Jörgen Seefeldt Collection, though nothing is known of its earlier history.¹ The manuscript is well preserved and is clearly legible. As it now stands it contains fifty-eight parchment folio leaves, each being 16 cm. by 22½ cm. Four white pages have been bound into the manuscript at the beginning, two between folios 9 and 10, and three at the end. The manuscript is now paginated, but traces of two older foliations are visible. In the bottom right-hand corner the first nine folios are numbered 51–9, the remaining 49 are numbered 75–122; but there are two folios with the mark 110, two with 114 (numbered 114a and 114b), and folio 120 follows directly on folio 118. The second foliation is in the top right-hand corner and was made for the manuscript as it now is. Each page contains thirty-six lines of writing. There is no ornamentation in the manuscript, though the saga titles, the chapter headings and the initial letter of each chapter have been written in a dull red. The chapter headings are to be found on the right-hand side of the page either in the same line as or the one above that with the capital letter. The spaces left for the headings have so often been used for extra words etc. that many titles appear only in a shortened form and some are entirely missing. The headings have not been retained in the present edition.

The manuscript contains the greater part of *Konráðs saga keisarasonar* (folios 1–9), all except the first folio of *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, *Jómsvíkinga saga*, *Ásmundar saga kappabana*, *Ørvar-Odds saga* and the beginning of *Egils saga*. It has been shown the MS AM.580a and b and Codex Holmianus 7 were originally parts of the same manuscript.² AM.580a contains parts of *Elis saga*, *Bærings saga* and *Flovents saga*; AM.580b contains some folios of *Mágus saga*. The last folio, numbered 73, contains the title of *Hrólfs saga* at the foot of the page, so only folio 74 is missing from *Hrólfs saga*. The language and palaeo-

¹ Gödel, V., *Formnorsk-isländsk litteratur i Sverige I*, 1897, 103–13.

² *Cederschöld* Introduction v f.

graphy suggest that the manuscript was written in Iceland shortly after 1300.¹

3 *A literary appreciation*

The hallmark of *H* is its elliptical style. The other versions tend to be longwinded and verbose, whereas the redactor of *H* has compressed everything and has created a crisp, pithy saga style. He omitted all connecting phrases, making one clause follow baldly on the next. Nouns and pronouns which the scribe thought unnecessary were done away with: *Konunginum leizk vel á sveininn* became *Honum leizk vel á* (1/18). Similarly all explanatory phrases of person, place and time were ruthlessly expurgated where possible: *Ok er þeir nálgask þangat þá leggja þeir menn í lægi skip sín* became *Þeir leggja í lægi* (21/8). He often made one clause do the service of two, either by omitting the second completely or by compressing the two into one. *Gaf hann honum grið ok frið ok rann nú konunginum reiði við mág sinn* became *Gaf konungr honum upp reiði sína* (6/5–6). This compression and omission often result in a rather jerky style and in a too rapid transition from one action to the next. In several cases it has been carried so far that it is impossible to understand *H* properly unless one compares it with the other texts. At 1/12 *H* has that Hallvarðr and Hávarðr made their way to the coast, but this would be meaningless if the other texts had not told us that they were taking the coastal road home.² Yet the gain is far more important than these few blemishes, for the scribe has created a language that is wonderfully alive and powerful and a style that is full of suspense and interest.

By comparing *H* with the other redactions one can see that the scribe had gone over the text carefully rearranging and rephrasing where he thought necessary. Even small details have been rearranged to make the story more convincing or more straightforward. Thus Fjólñir only takes up Pálma-Tóki's arrow after he and the rest of Haraldr's retainers have agreed on what they should do (14/17), whereas in 291 and *Flat.* he picks it up half way through his speech. In *H* the shooting of Guðbrandr is followed immediately by the search on Búi's ship to

¹ Rydquist, J. E., *Svenska språkets lagar* I, 1850, xvii f.

² It is also confusing when *H* introduces people into the action without our knowing who they are, as at 1/7, 20/15, 30/25; and when the pronoun has no antecedent, as at 31/23, 43/17.

find the culprit (39/5). In all the other versions, however, the two episodes are separated by Þorleifr's death. At times the reason for the rearrangement is not so clear, as, for example, making Fjölfnir the eldest, not the youngest, son of Pálnir (8/18), and the rearrangement of the laws (17/18ff.).

It is typical of the redactor of *H* that he tries never to repeat himself. What is tedious in the other versions becomes interesting and alive in *H*. The result is achieved in this way. Whenever a plan is made or an action decided upon, it is only hinted at in *H*, and we are left in ignorance of what is actually going to happen until it takes place. This makes the story far more dramatic, though perhaps it has less of that fatalistic quality which is characteristic of so many Icelandic sagas. When Haraldr Gormsson comes to Pálna-Tóki for the second time, all the other versions have a lengthy account of what Pálna-Tóki advised Saum-Æsa to do. But *H* has merely *Nú er Pálna-Tóki í tilstilli með Saum-Æsu* (11/30). We do not know what is to happen until it takes place,¹ whereas in the other redactions as we know what is to happen the second account is only tedious. But there are times, and the case of the visions is one of them, when it would have been dramatically weak not to relate what had happened at the first time. It would be unconvincing for Klakk-Haraldr to return home without our knowing the full reason. As the redactor wished to avoid repeating himself, he was faced with a dilemma here, for when the interpretations were given, a second account of the visions was needed so that the reader would know which interpretation belonged to which vision. In this case it is the second account which is usually drastically shortened, so much so that it is almost meaningless without the first. The second account merely contains a few reminders of what the vision actually was. Thus the first account of one vision is this:

Þá sá þeir boða rísa í innanverðum firði en annan í útanverðum firði ok gekk hvárr í móti qðrum ok varð sjórinna ókyrr mjök. En er þeir mættusk fell hvárr í kverk qðrum ok varð sjórinna allr í blóði einu. (5/8-11).

In the second account it appears as:

Þá sá vér boða rísask í móti með gny miklum ok blóði. (6/1-2).

But the account of Gormr's dreams, on the other hand, was successfully held back till the feast when the interpretations were given. When something is repeated several times, such as the sending of messengers

¹ Cp. 27/10 and 29/25.

on the same errand, the description becomes shorter and shorter, and sometimes completely disappears. Note, for example, the second appearance of Sveinn in his father's hall:

Um várit ferr Sveinn á fund Haralds konungs ok ferr allt á sama leið.
Sveinn fær nú sex skip af konungi. . . . (13/1-2).

Note also how Þorkell's question put to each man at the beheading scene becomes shorter and shorter (40/13 ff.).

There are several important interpolations in *H*. The most important is perhaps the insertion of the expedition to England by Gormr's sons during which Knútr was killed (6/15 ff.). This was almost certainly taken from the *Greater saga of Óláfr Tryggvason*. The original version had that Knútr was killed by Haraldr, his brother, at Limfjord. The alteration is unfortunate as it makes Klakk-Haraldr's vision meaningless. The interpretation of the vision in *H* is that some of the Danish nobles would come to blows (6/2-5). The Sigmundur Brestisson episode, also interpolated from the *Greater saga of Óláfr Tryggvason*, is an even greater blemish, as it introduces an unknown character and a second differing account of an episode already dealt with. There can be little doubt that the interpolations were made by the redactor of *H*, as they show none of his characteristic omissions which one would have expected to find if the interpolations had been made at an earlier stage. It is strange that a scribe, who went over the text so carefully, should have introduced these clumsy interpolations. Their inclusion lacks any justification. This, however, is not true of the shorter additions, which tend to give local colour and a more rational explanation of events. Many of these come from *Hkr*. *H* has that Sveinn made sure that the Jomsvikings were served with the strongest drink (28/10-11), that it was on account of the great shout that Vagn and his men gave that Eiríkr Hákonarson noticed how serious the position was on that quarter (35/10), and that the Norwegians could not make their swords bite on Áslákr's skull *heldr en þeir hrökði tálknskiði* (35/17).

The redactor omitted or severely shortened several episodes mostly concerned with people who play only a small part in the saga. He omitted the account of the assembly at the death of Gormr inn barnlausí and that of the meeting between Eiríkr Hákonarson and Þorkell miðlangr. More important shortenings are those of the Haraldr gráfeldr and the Otto episodes. The first *þáttr* as a whole was considerably shortened, but if one wanted to criticise it could be suggested that

the shortenings were not drastic enough. The rearrangements have led to some inconsistencies and weaknesses, and the first part as a whole has little relevance to the main story. Gormr's dreams, for example, refer mainly to the coming famine in Denmark, which is of little importance in the saga and serves only to enhance Þyri's glory. And as the episode concerning the death of Haraldr gráfeldr and Gull-Haraldr has been so drastically shortened, it makes the warning in the dream (4/6-8) appear a little out of proportion. The result is an anti-climax. The same is true of the visions seen by Klakk-Haraldr. The fulfilment of two of these has been ruined by shortening or rearrangement. In the vision which forebodes the change of faith the emphasis has been lost as the Otto episode has been shortened. The vision has become more important than its fulfilment, no doubt because the scribe thought the vision more colourful and dramatic. Klakk-Haraldr's third vision is completely pointless as Knútr is killed by the English in England. There is no hint of enmity between the two brothers. It is only the barking of the unborn hounds that remains fully comprehensible and self-sufficient in the text. But this has meant that the proportion of the visions is upset, for it is the third vision which is the most terrible, though it is the fulfilment of the second which is recorded in most detail. The miracles, though interesting in themselves, add little to the story. The redactor of *H* would have done better to omit the whole of the first *þáttr* which is not essential to the story. He has failed to fuse the two *þættir*; and the first part with its supernatural tone remains very different from the second, which is a record of action.

The second *þáttr*, the main story, is well developed, the events following naturally and logically one after the other. Everything looks forward to the final episode and nothing is given so much weight that it detracts from the thrill of the battle and its aftermath. There is, however, one break in the story which occurs after Pálna-Tóki's death. The first part deals with the conflict between Pálna-Tóki and Haraldr leading to the foundation of Jónsborg. This forms a satisfactory introduction to the main events of the story, and in it we are introduced to the principal characters. Pálna-Tóki alone plays no part in the latter half of the second *þáttr*. He remains an ideal viking: brave, generous, wise and almost always victorious. The break in the story is no doubt the result of the way in which the saga took shape. The battle was always the principal event, but saga-tellers were constantly adding new details to the introduction. Possibly the main outlines of the

battle were so well known that it would have been impossible to add a new important personage to the battle scenes; so Pálna-Tóki remains in the introductory part only. The first part then is the story of Pálna-Tóki, the second the story of the Jomsvikings.

There is not much characterisation in the saga, for the saga-teller is more interested in action and situations. The characters tend to fall into well defined types; the saga-teller did not have time to develop them. But he manages to convey these types with great economy, and some of them, like Ástríðr, almost come to life. The situations, though, are the most important thing in the saga and these are varied and striking: the kidnapping, the funeral feast, the Úlfr episode, the battle and the beheading. The story is crammed with action, and though some of the motifs are found commonly in Old Norse sagas they are vividly described by the author of *H*.

The culmination of the saga is the attack on Norway. The battle and the beheading scene form one of the highlights of Old Norse literature. The Geirmundr episode was shortened and in this the redactor was at fault. The loss of Geirmundr's arm becomes pointless in his account, and it would have been more in keeping with the character of the mean and resentful Hákon if the redactor had retained Hákon's suspiciousness of the news brought by Geirmundr. From now on, though the language has been compressed, nothing important has been omitted. The redactor of *H* realised that this was the kernel of the story and he tampered little with it. He makes it a little more compact, a little more vivid, but *H* represents the original *Jómsvíkinga saga* much more closely here than anywhere else. After the fighting begins our interest never slackens; each new action follows quickly on the last; and the break in the battle, when Hákon sacrifices his son, only increases the suspense. The redactor does not let his subject run away with him. We can follow clearly the changing fortunes of the battle, though the scribe does not forget to mention individual feats. It is in this that the battle scenes in *H* differ from the description of the battle in the *Battle of Maldon*. There the general picture of the battle is confused, if not misleading; in *H* we always know what the exact position of each side is. And though in the end the Jomsvikings lose the battle, the beheading scene shows they were not defeated. In a few words the author gives a clear and vivid account of each man, for though all have courage, all manifest it in a different way. The Jomsvikings died as they had lived.

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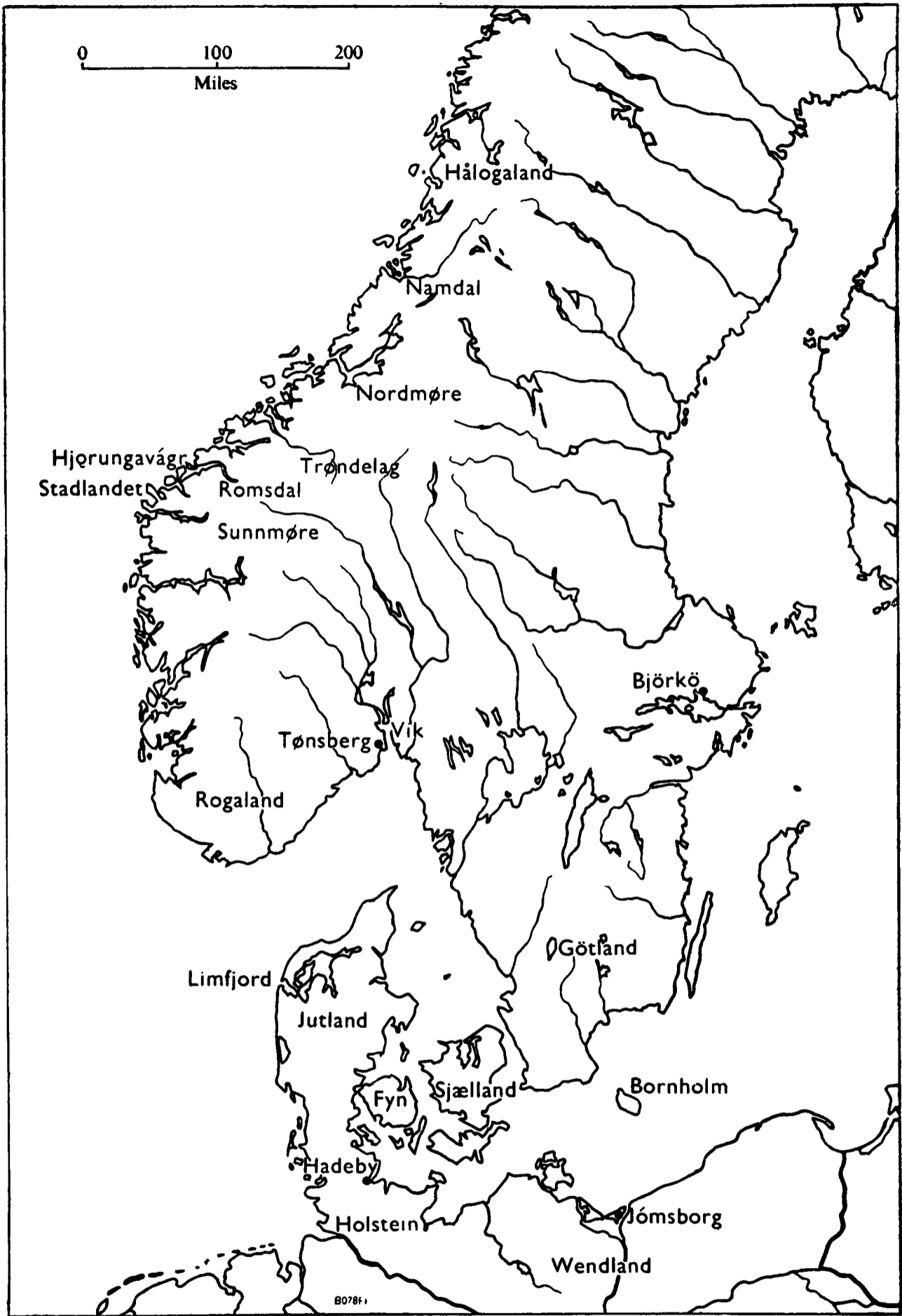
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Scandinavia and the Baltic in the tenth century

*ICELANDIC TEXT
AND
ENGLISH TRANSLATION*

ÞÓMSVÍKINGA SAGA

I

Gormr hét konungr er réð fyrir Danmörku, er kallaðr var hinn barnlausi. Hann var ríkr konungr ok vinsæll við sína menn. Hann hafði þá lengi ráðit ríkinu er þetta er tíðenda. Þá var í Saxlandi Arnfinnr jarl er ríki helt af Karlamagnúsi konungi.¹ Þeir váru vinir góðir ok Gormr konungr ok hófðu verit í víking báðir saman. Jarl átti systur fríða, en hann lagði á hana meira hug en skyldi ok gat við henni barn. En því var leynt ok sendi jarl² á braut ok bað þá eigi við skiljask fyrr en þeir vissi hvat af yrði barninu.³ Þeir kómu í Danmörk ok við einn skóg. Urðu þeir þess varir at Gormr konungr er á skóginum ok hirðin.⁴ Þeir koma barninu undir eik eina en forða sér. Um kveldit fór konungr heim ok öll hirðin nema tveir bræðr, hét annarr Hallvarðr, annarr Hávarðr; þeir urðu eptirstaðsi. Þeir gengu fram at sjó⁵ ok þá heyrðu þeir barns grát ok gengu eptir, en vissu eigi hverju gegndi. Þeir fundu þar sveinbarn undir eik einni ok knút^a mikinn í limunum yfir uppi. Barnit var vafit í guðvefjar pelli ok knýtt silkidregli um hófuð barninu ok þar í örtugar gull.⁶ Þeir tóku upp barnit ok hófðu heim. Koma svá heim at konungr sat við drykkju, ok sögðu konungi hvat þeir hófðu fundit ok sýndu honum sveininn. Honum leizk vel á ok mælti: ‘Sjá sveinn mun stórra manna vera ok betra fundinn en eigi’—ok lét svein

^a knut’ (=knúttinn?)

¹ Charlemagne, king of the Franks and Holy Roman Emperor, conquered North Germany in 775. He died in 814.

² It is unnecessary to include *barnit*, which is found in the other versions, for *H* commonly omits the object of verbs. It is possible to understand the *því* of the phrase *því var leynt* as being the neut. dat. sg. referring to the child. But it is more likely that *því var leynt* means ‘the matter was kept secret’.

³ Exposure of children was a common phenomenon among the North Germanic peoples. But this exposure is different from the usual kind as the child is obviously meant to be found by someone. In *OT* it is said that Knútr later in life discovered who his true father was, and this helps to explain why Arnfinnr was so anxious to know what had become of his child. The use of the pronominal form without an antecedent, viz. *þá* ‘the men’, is common in *H*, cp. 20/15, 30/25 etc.

THE SAGA OF THE JOMSVIKINGS

I

In Denmark there reigned a king called Gormr, who was known as the childless. He was a powerful monarch and beloved of his people. When this story took place he had already ruled the kingdom for a long time. At that time an Earl Arnfinnr, who held his kingdom in fief from the Emperor Charlemagne,¹ lived in Germany. Arnfinnr and King Gormr were good friends and had been on viking expeditions together. The earl had a beautiful sister, of whom he was fonder than he ought to have been, and she bore him a child. But the matter was kept secret and the earl sent the child away,² telling the men not to part with it before they knew what had befallen it.³ They came to a forest in Denmark, where, as they discovered, King Gormr and his hirdmen⁴ were hunting. They put the child at the foot of a tree and made off. When evening came the king went home together with all his hirdmen except for two brothers; one of these was called Hallvarðr, and the other Hávarðr. These two remained behind. As they were making their way to the shore⁵ they heard a child crying and turned their steps in that direction, not knowing what it meant. There they found a manchild at the foot of a tree with a great cloth knotted in the branches above him. The child was swaddled in garments of a costly material, and a silk ribbon, in which there was a ring of gold,⁶ was tied round his head. They picked up the child and took it home with them. When they arrived back, the king was sitting at table drinking. They told the king what they had found and showed him the boy. The king was delighted with the lad and said: 'This boy is of good stock and it's a good thing that he was found.' He had the boy baptised and called

⁴ See Glossary, s.v. *hirð*.

⁵ The two hirdmen had taken the coastal road home, cp. *Aǧ: maritima via domum repedantes*.

⁶ See Glossary, s.v. *örtug*.

ausa vatni^a ok kalla Knút af því at gull var knýtt um enni hans.¹ Konungr fekk honum fóstr ok kallaði sinn son ok unni mikit. Ok er Gormr konungr er gamall þá gaf hann ríkit Knúti, fóstra sínum, ok eptir þat lætr Gormr konungr líf sitt. Nú tekr Knútr við ríki því öllu er átt hafði Gormr konungr ok er vinsæll. Hann getr sér einn son er Gormr hét; sá var fyrst kallaðr Gormr hinn heimski, en þá er hann var roskinn Gormr hinn gamli eða hinn ríki.

2

Haraldr hét jarl er réð fyrir Holtsetalandi; hann var kallaðr Klakk-Haraldr. Hann var vitr maðr. Jarl átti dóttur er Þyri hét. Hon var spök at viti, kvenna fríðust at sjá, ok réð betr drauma en aðrir menn. Jarl unni henni mikit ok þar þóttisk hann eiga öll landráð sem hon var.

Nú er Gormr rosknaðisk ok hafði tekit við konungdómi, þá ferr hann ór landi með mikinn her ok ætlar at biðja dóttur Haralds jarls. Ok ef hann vill eigi gefa honum konuna þá ætlar hann at herja á hann. En er Haraldr jarl ok dóttir hans spyrja til fara Gorms konungs ok hans fyrirætlan, þá senda þau menn móti honum ok bjóða honum til ágætrar veizlu. Ok konungr þekkisk^b þat. Ok er hann hefir upp borit ørendi sín fyrir jarl, þá veitir jarl þau svör at hon skal sjálf ráða 'því at hon er miklu vitrari en ek'. Konungr skorar þá þetta mál við hana sjálfa. Þá segir hon svá: 'Eigi mun þetta ráðask at sinni ok skaltu fara heim með góðum gjöfum ok virðuligum. En ef þér er um ráðahag við mik þá skaltu, er þú kómst heim, láta göra hús þar sem eigi hafi fyrr verit,² þat er þér sé skapligt at sofa í. En þar skaltu sofa í vetrarnótt hina fyrstu ok þrjár nætr í samt. Ok mun þú glöggt ef þik dreymir nokkut ok lát segja mér. Mun ek þá segja sendimönnum hvárt þú skalt vitja þessa ráðahags eða eigi; en eigi þarftu at vitja ef þik dreymir ekki.'

^a altered in MS from nafn(i)

^b þekkisk, MS þeck/ciz

¹ The saga-writer understood Knútr to mean 'knot' and so an explanation is given for its origin, as so often in the sagas. But the name Chnuz occurs among the Alemanni, Bach, A., *Deutsche Namenkunde* II 342, 350, and the ON word may be a loan word from OHG.

² A dream was regarded as particularly efficacious when everything was new and when the dream took place on a certain night, see Henzen, W., *Über die Träume in der altnordischen Sagaliteratur*, 1890, 87 ff., and Larsen, S., 'Antik og nordisk Drømmetro', *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*

him Knútr on account of the gold knotted in the ribbon round his head.¹ The king found foster parents for him, adopted him and loved him dearly. Later in his old age King Gormr bestowed the kingdom on his fosterson Knútr and after that he died. Knútr took charge of the whole kingdom which King Gormr had had, and was very popular. He had a son who was called Gormr; at first he was known as Gormr the foolish, but later when he was older as Gormr the old or Gormr the mighty.

2

In Holstein there reigned an earl called Haraldr, who was known as Klakk-Haraldr. He was a wise man. He had a very intelligent daughter called Pyri, who had no equal either in beauty or in the art of interpreting dreams. He loved her dearly and in his administration of the country relied entirely on her.

When Gormr had grown up and assumed control of the kingdom, he took a great army abroad with the intention of asking for the hand of Earl Haraldr's daughter. If his suit was unsuccessful, he intended to ravage his land. But when Earl Haraldr and his daughter heard of King Gormr's journey and his intentions, they sent men to meet him to invite him to a splendid banquet. The king accepted the invitation. When Gormr had broached his suit to the earl, he replied that Pyri should decide for herself 'as she is much wiser than I am'. Thereupon the king addressed his suit to her. She gave this reply. 'I shall not make a decision at once. First you must return home with good and honourable gifts. And if you are really interested in marrying me, when you come home you must have a house, which is suitable for you to sleep in, built where none has stood before.² You must sleep in it for the first three nights of the winter. Remember clearly anything you dream and let me know of it. I shall then tell the messengers whether you shall come to fetch me as your bride or not. And you don't need to come if you have no dreams.'

(1917) 37 ff. The dreams in the *Jómsvíkinga saga* have lost their typical ON note of warning and are merely used as a vehicle for giving information in a fanciful way. See also Turville-Petre, G., *Folklore* 69 (1958) 93-111. Prof. Turville-Petre has kindly informed me that he has written another article on this subject which he hopes to publish soon.

Eptir þetta ferr Gormr konungr heim með virðuligum gjöfum ok vill víst reyna vitru hennar. Ok er hann kœmr heim þá ferr hann svá með þessu sem hon hafði til kent. Konungr søfr nú þrjár nætr í húsinu; en þrjú [hundruð]¹ hans manna lét hann halda vörð um húsit at eigi væri með svikum um setit. Síðan sendir konungr menn sína á fund jarls ok dóttur hans at segja drauma sína. En er hon hefir heyrt drauma, þá mælti hon at þeir^a segði konungi at hon mun ganga með honum. Sendimenn segja nú svá skapað konungi ok verðr hann nú allkátr við þetta. Bjósk hann nú heiman brátt með miklu liði at vitja þessa ráða. Gormr konungr kœmr nú við Holtsetaland. Haraldr jarl fréttir nú til ferða konungs. Býr hann nú dýrliga veizlu í mót honum ok tóksk þar ráðahagr.

3

En þat var haft at skemtan at veizlunni at Gormr konungr sagði drauma sína en Þyri dróttning réð eptir. Konungr sagði at hann dreymði hina fyrstu nótt at hann þóttisk úti staddr ok sjá yfir allt ríki sitt. Honum þótti sjór falla frá landi svá langt at hann mátti eigi auga yfir reka ok þurr váru ǫll eyjasund ok firðir. Þá sá hann at øxn þrír gengu upp ór sjónum hvítir ok bitu af gras allt af jörðu ok gengu aptr í sjóinn síðan. Sá var annarr draumr at honum þóttu enn þrír yxn ganga upp ór sjónum; þeir váru rauðir allir ok hyrndir mjök. Þeir bitu enn gras af jörðu ok gengu aptr síðan í sjóinn. Sá var draumr hinn þriði at konungr sá enn øxn þrjá ganga ór sjó; þeir váru allir svartir at lit ok miklu mestir ok mest hyrndir. Ok bitu enn gras af landi ok gengu aptr í sjó síðan.² Ok eptir þat heyrði hann brest³ svá mikinn at hann hugði at heyra mundi um alla Danmörk, ok sá hann at þat varð af sjófarganginum er hann gekk at landinu. ‘En nú vil ek, dróttning, at þú ráðir draumana til skemtanar mǫnnum.’ Hon kvað svá vera skyldu. ‘Þar er øxn gengu á land ór sjó hvítir, þar munu koma vetr þrír snæmiklir svá at af mun taka ár í Danmörku. En þar er upp gengu

^a þeir, *MS* (þér)

¹ Neither *Cederschöld* nor *Joleik* include *hundruð*, although it is found in all the other redactions and syntactically seems to be required by the gen. pl. *manna*.

² The dream of the cattle coming from the sea may have been based on Pharaoh's dream in Genesis ch. 41, see *Hollander* 219 ff.

³ *Brestr* can mean either ‘a cracking, breaking hence a noise’ or ‘a calamity’. At times, however, the word seems to have both meanings, especially in com-

Whereupon King Gormr went home with magnificent presents and was very eager to put her wisdom to the test. When he came home he carried out her instructions faithfully. He slept in the house for three nights, letting three hundred¹ of his men keep watch round it in case of treachery. Then the king sent men to the earl and his daughter to tell them his dreams. When she had heard the dreams, she told the men they might inform the king that she would marry him. The messengers told the king how everything had turned out and he was overjoyed at the news. He made speedy preparations to leave home with a large force in order to attend the wedding. He arrived in Holstein. When Earl Haraldr heard that the king was on his way, he prepared a sumptuous banquet for him; and the marriage was celebrated.

3

At the banquet they entertained themselves in the following way: King Gormr related his dreams and Queen Þyri interpreted them. The king said that on the first night he had dreamed that he was standing outside looking over the whole of his kingdom. It seemed to him as though the sea receded from the land so far that he could not see it, and all the sounds and fjords dried up. Then he saw three white oxen come on land from the sea. They stripped all the grass from the ground and went back in the sea afterwards. In his second dream it seemed as though another three oxen, which were all red and had large horns, made their way ashore from the sea. They too stripped all the grass from the ground and went back afterwards into the sea. In his third dream the king saw another three oxen come out of the sea. These were all black and were the biggest and had the largest horns. They also stripped the land of grass and went back into the sea afterwards.² And then he heard such a loud crash³ that he thought it could have been heard in every corner of Denmark. He saw it had been caused by the rush of the sea as it returned to the shore. 'And now, my queen, I would like you to interpret the dreams for the entertainment of the men.' She agreed to this. 'When the white oxen came ashore from the sea, it signified that three winters shall come with such heavy snows that all the crops in Denmark will fail. When the next three oxen, the red ones,

pounds, e.g. *heimsbrestr*, *heraðsbrestr*, *hýbýlabrestr*, *vábrestr*. Both meanings of the word are applicable here.

aðrir þrír ðxn rauðir þar munu koma aðrir þrír vetr snælitlir ok þó eigi góðir. Þá gengu upp hinir þrír ðxn svartir, þar munu koma hinir þriðju vetr; þeir munu vera svá illir at engir munu muna þvílíka. Ok þat svart hallæri mun koma at varla munu dæmi til finnask at slíkt hafi orðit. Ok þar er ðxninir váru hyrndir mjök þar munu margir verða hornungar alls þess er eigu.¹ Þá heyrðir þú brest mikinn af sjófargang. Þat mun vera fyrir ófriði stóreflismanna hér í landi ok þér nánir at frændsemi.² Ok ef þik hefði þat dreymt hina fyrstu nótt sem nú var hina síðustu, þá mundi ófriðrinn verða á þínum dögum ok þá hefða ek eigi gengit með þér. En við hallæri mun ek gørt geta.'

Eptir þessa veizlu fóru þau Gormr konungr heim ok Þyri dróttning til Danmerkr ok létu hlaða mörq skip af korni ok annarri gæzku ok flytja í Danmörk. Ok á hverjum misserum þaðan frá þar til er hallærit kom. En þá sakaði þau alls ekki ok enga þá, er í nándir þeim váru, því at þau miðluðu mikil gæði sínum landsmönnum. Ok hefir Þyri vitrust kona komit í Danmörk ok var kolluð Danmarkarbót.³

Gormr konungr ok Þyri dróttning áttu tvá sonu; hét Knútr hinn ellri, en Haraldr hinn yngri. Þeir váru báðir efniligir ok var Knútr vitrari. Hann var fóstraðr með Klakk-Haraldi jarli, móðurfoður sínum.^a Jarl unni honum mikit ok hann var hinn vinsælsti. Haraldr var heima með hirðinni ok hinn óvinsælsti í uppruna sínum.

4

Gormr konungr sendir nú menn til Haralds jarls at bjóða honum til jólaveizlu. Jarl tók því vel. Fóru nú aptr sendimenn konungs. Nú býsk jarl til ferðar þessar ok þeir fara þar er Limafjörðr verðr fyrir þeim. Þar sá þeir standa eik undarlíga; þar váru vaxin á epli smá ok græn ok blómguð. Þeir undruðusk mjök ok segir jarl at honum þóttu þetta vera^b býsn mikil at í þann tíma var þetta, því at þeir sá stað þeira epla er um sumarit hofðu vaxit; váru þau stór ok forn. 'Ok munu vér hverfa aptr'—ok svá göra þeir. Sat jarl heima þau misseri.

^a I (=jarl?)

^b *after vera the scribe has deleted unðr*

¹ This interpretation is not found in any of the other versions. It contains a play on the words *horn* : *hornungar*; see Glossary, s.v. *hornungar*.

² Gormr's kinsmen were Haraldr gráfeldr and Gull-Haraldr, who were both his grandsons.

came ashore it signified that there will be three winters with little snow—and yet they will not be good winters. The coming of the three black oxen signified the third group of winters, which will be so severe that no one will be able to remember their like. And such a dire famine will arise that it will be almost impossible to find a parallel to it. The significance of the oxen having big horns is that many shall lose all they possess.¹ Then you heard a great crash from the return of the sea. This meant that here in Denmark there is going to be strife between men of importance who are closely related to you.² If you had dreamed the first night what you dreamed the last one, the conflict would have taken place in your own lifetime and then I would not have married you. But I shall take steps to combat the famine.'

After the banquet King Gormr and Queen Þyri returned to Denmark. Many ships were loaded with corn and other provisions, which were then transported to Denmark. This was continued every year until the famine came. But then it harmed neither them nor any of their neighbours, for they distributed the abundance among their countrymen. And Þyri was the wisest woman who ever came to Denmark and she was known as The Glory of Denmark.³

King Gormr and Queen Þyri had two sons. The elder was called Knútr, who was the wiser of the two, and the younger Haraldr; but they were both promising young men. Knútr was fostered by Earl Klakk-Haraldr, his grandfather. The earl loved him dearly and he was very popular. Haraldr stayed at home with the hirdmen and was very unpopular in his youth.

4

King Gormr sent men to Earl Haraldr with an invitation to a Christmas banquet, which the earl readily accepted. The king's messengers returned home and the earl made ready for his journey. He and his men travelled as far as Limfjord, where they saw a strange tree. They were amazed to see small green apples and blossom growing on it. The earl said that he thought it was a great portent that this should happen at that time of the year, as they saw that large, ripe apples had grown there in the summer. 'Let us turn back'—and they did so. The earl remained at home that year.

³ See Appendix I.

Konungi þótti kynligt er jarl kom [eigi].^a Annan vetr sendi konungr menn ins sama ørendis ok jarl hét ferðinni. Jarl fór með liði sínu til Limafjarðar; en þar váru hundar margir á skipi jarls. Þá heyrðu þeir at hvelparnir gó í greyhundunum. Jarl kvað þetta vera býsn mikil ok kvað þá skyldu aptr hverfa. Ok svá var.

Nú líðr vetrinn ok hinn þriðja vetr sendir konungr enn menn at bjóða jarli til jólaveizlu. Hann hét ferðinni.^b Ok nú ferr jarl þar til er hann kómr at Limafirði. Þá sá þeir boða rísa í innanverðum firði en annan í útanverðum firði ok gekk hvárr í móti qðrum ok varð sjórinn ókyrr mjök. En er þeir mættusk fell hvárr í kverk qðrum ok varð sjórinn allr í blóði einu.¹ Þá mælti jarl: 'Þetta eru stór býsn ok skulu vér aptr hverfa.' Sat jarl heima þau jól.

Gormr konungr verðr nú reiðr mjök jarli er hann hafði eigi þekkt heimboð hans, ok ætlar hann nú at herja á jarl ok launa honum þessa svívirðing. Ok er Þyri dróttning verðr þessa vqr, kvað hon þat eigi^c sama at gøra mein jarli ok kvazk mundu fá til betra ráð. Konungr gørir nú sem dróttning vill. Eru nú sendir menn eptir jarli at vita hverju sæti. Ok jarl fór þegar. Konungr tekr nú at hófi við mági sínum ok gengu þeir konungr ok jarl brátt á málstefnu. Ok spurði konungr nú hverju gegndi er hann kom engu sinni 'ok svívirðir svá mik ok mín boð'. Jarl kvazk eigi til svívirðingar gørt hafa, heldr aðra hluti til bera. Sagði nú konungi undrin þau er þeir hófðu sét. 'Mun ek nú skýra fyrir yðr hvat ek ætla þessi fákynsl munu boða?' Konungr játir því.

Jarl mælti: 'Þar mun ek þá fyrst til taka er vér sáms eik um hávetri með grœnum eplum, en forn ok stór lágu hjá niðri. Þat hygg ek vera munu fyrir siðaskipti því er koma mun á þessi lqnd. Mun sá siðrinn vera með meira blóma ok jartegna hin föguru eplin, en hinn mun leggjask niðr sem in fornu eplin ok verða at dusti einu. Þat var annat undr at hvelpar gó í greyhundum. Þar munú ungir menn taka máli fyrir munn inum ellrum mōnnum ok gørask svá hvatvísir, ok meiri ván at þeir hafi meira hlut ráða þó at hinir sé ráðgari. Ok hygg ek þó vera

^a supplied by Cederschöld

^b ferðinni, MS ferði/inni

^c eigi, MS eig

¹ The visions refer to the change from heathendom to Christianity in Denmark, the rebellion of Sveinn against his father and the conflict between Knútr Gormsson and Haraldr Gormsson. The fulfilment of the visions does not, however, follow the same order as that of the visions themselves. The sense of the last vision has been lost because the redactor of *H* interpolated the account of Knútr's death in England while he was on a viking expedition. 291

The king was puzzled when the earl did not turn up. Next year the king sent men with a similar invitation, which the earl accepted. He went with his men to Limfjord and there were many dogs aboard the earl's ship. When they heard the whelps still in their mothers' wombs barking, the earl said it was a great portent and that they should return home. They did so.

The winter passed and yet for the third year the king sent men to invite the earl to a Christmas banquet, which he promised to attend. He travelled as far as Limfjord. Then they saw two waves rise up one in the inner and one in the outer end of the fjord which proceeded to race towards each other, and the sea became very rough. When the waves met they thundered against each other, and the whole sea became red with blood.¹ The earl said: 'This is a great portent and let us turn back.' The earl remained at home over Christmas.

King Gormr was very angry with the earl as he had not accepted his invitation. So he decided to ravage the earl's land in order to repay him for this insult. When Queen Þyri got to hear of this, she said that it was not fitting to attack the earl. She said she would think of a better plan. The king fell in with the queen's wishes. Messengers were sent to the earl to find out the reason for his absence. The earl came immediately to the king who received his father-in-law courteously. Both of them went straight into council. The king then asked what the reason might be for his not having come at all, 'and why have you thus dishonoured me and my invitation?' The earl replied that he had not done it to insult him, but for other reasons. He related to the king all those portents they had seen. 'Shall I now tell you what I think these strange events signify?' The king agreed to this.

The earl said: 'I shall start with the green apples which we saw growing on the tree in the middle of winter, while the old large ones were lying at its foot. I think that this forebodes a change of faith which is coming to these lands. The beautiful apples signify that the new faith will flourish, but the old one, as the old apples show, will pass out of use and perish. The second portent, when the whelps barked in their mothers' wombs, forebodes that the young men will assert themselves over the older ones and become very reckless. It is rather likely that they will have more influence in matters of state than their elders, even though the latter are wiser. But I don't think the

and *Flat.* have that Haraldr killed Knútr in Limfjord when he was on his way to a feast given by Gormr.

eigi komna¹ í heiminn því at hvelþarnir váru eigi lagðir. Þá sá vér boða rísask í móti með gny miklum ok blóði. Þat mun vera fyrir missætti nakkvarra stóreflismanna hér innanlands, ok munu þar gørask af stórir bardagar ok mikil styrjöld, ok meiri ván at þessum firði verði afspringr nokkurr.² En konungi skildisk vel orð jarls ok þótti spaklig vera. Gaf konungr honum upp reiði sína. En setta hafði konungr menn til at bera vápn á jarl ef honum þætti honum órækt ein til hafa gengit. Skilja þeir nú málstefnu. Dvalðisk jarl þar nú slíka hríð sem konungr vildi ok fór heim síðan.

5

Litlu síðarr gaf Haraldr jarl ríki sitt allt Knúti, fóstura sínum. En jarl fór út í lönð ok tók þar við kristni ok kom aldri síðan til ríkis. Gormr konungr ok Haraldr son hans urðu ósamþykkir þegar Haraldr gørðisk vaxinn. Fekk þá Haraldr skip nokkur ok lagðisk hann þá í víking hvert sumar en sat um vetrinn í Danmørk.

Í þann tíma réð Aðalsteinn konungr Englandi.³ Hann var góðr konungr ok gamall. Á hans dögum ofarla kom Danaherr í England ok váru synir Gorms konungs hofðingjar fyrir, Knútr ok Haraldr. Þeir herjuðu víða um Norðrimbraland, ok lögðu undir sik mikit ríki ok tölðu þat arftekinn hluta sinn er átt hofðu Loðbrókarsynir ok aðrir þeira forellrar.⁴ Aðalsteinn konungr hafði liðsafnað mikinn ok fór í mót þeim bræðrum ok hitti þá fyrir norðan Kliflönð ok drap hann fjölða af Dönnum. Nokkuru síðarr gengu þeir upp Gormssynir um Skarðaborg ok þorðusk þar ok hofðu Danir sigr. Eptir þat ætluðu þeir til Jórvíkr suðr ok gekk þá allt fólk undir þá. Ugðu þeir þá ok ekki at sér. Einn dag er heitt skin var á fóru menn á sund milli skipanna ok konungar báðir.⁵ Þá hljópu menn af landi ofan ok skutu á þá. Þá var Knútr lostinn oru til bana ok tóku þeir líkit á skipit. En er þetta spurðu landsmenn þá drósk þegar saman herr óvigr. Ok því næst kom Aðal-

¹ *Komna* is acc. pl. masc. agreeing with a *þá* understood in the acc. and infin. construction; cp. 23/25.

² For a discussion of the meaning of this phrase see *Hollander* 194, *Krijn*, S., 'Nogle Bemærkninger om Jómsvikingasaga', *Arkiv* XXXIV (1918) 169, and *Hollander*, L. M., 'Gjenmæle', *Arkiv* XXXV (1919) 207.

³ This introduces an interpolation in *H* from *OT*, see Introduction 3. Æðelstan was king of England from 925 to 939.

⁴ In ON the sons of Ragnar Loðbrók were traditionally Ívarr beinlausi, Björn hvítserkr and Sigurðr ormr-í-auga. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle mentions Ingwar, Healfdene and Ubba as the main Danish leaders of the ninth century.

young men are alive yet,¹ since the whelps were not then born. Then we saw the great tumult and blood caused by two waves rising against each other. That forebodes the conflict of great men here in the land, which will lead to great battles and heavy fighting, and probably it will all start in this fjord.'² The king understood the earl's words and thought they were wisely spoken. The king was no longer angry with him, but he had set men in ambush to kill the earl, should he think that negligence was the earl's only reason. The council broke up. The earl stayed there as long as the king wished and went home afterwards.

5

Not long afterwards Earl Haraldr bestowed all his kingdom on Knútr, his fosterson. The earl went abroad and while away he became a Christian. He never returned to his country. As soon as Haraldr was grown up he and his father were at loggerheads. Haraldr got hold of some ships and every summer he went on viking expeditions, but the winters he spent in Denmark.

At that time Æðelstan was king of England; he was a good and old ruler.³ At the end of his reign the Danish army, of which Knútr and Haraldr, King Gormr's sons, were the leaders, came to England and ravaged the length and breadth of Northumbria. They conquered a large part of the kingdom and claimed it as their inheritance from the sons of Ragnar Loðbrók and other of their ancestors.⁴ King Æðelstan gathered together a large army and went in search of the brothers. He encountered them north of Cleveland where he slew a great number of Danes. A little later Gormr's sons went ashore near Scarborough, where they fought a battle in which they were victorious. After that they planned to go south to York and, as all the people submitted to them, they felt themselves to be out of danger. One day when the sun was shining fiercely and both the kings⁵ and their men had gone swimming among the ships, men rushed down the beach and began shooting at them. Knútr was mortally wounded by an arrow and his body was lifted on to the ship. When the English heard of this a huge army was

In 291, *Flat.* and *OT* Knútr, the father of Gormr inn gamli, is said to have been Hǫrða-Knútr, the son of Sigurðr ormr-í-auga.

⁵ That Knútr and Haraldr were called kings is an oversight on the part of the redactor of *H* when interpolating, as neither was a king yet in this version of the saga. It was, however, not unusual for viking bands to call their leaders kings if they were of royal birth. *LMHollander* 40 has 'the two king's sons'.

steinn konungr ok snerisk þá til hans allt fólk þat er áðr hafði gengit undir þá Knút, ok eptir þat fá Danir engar uppgöngur fyrir liðsafnaði landsmanna. Ok eptir þat fóru Danir aptr til Danmerkr.

Þá var Gormr konungr staddr á Jótlandi. Haraldr fór þegar þangat ok sagði móður sinni tíðendi. En Gormr konungr hafði þess heit strengt at hann skyldi deyja ef hann spyrði fall Knúts, sonar síns, ok svá sá er honum segði. Þá lét dróttning tjalda höllina grám vaðmálum.¹ En er konungr kom til borðs þá þogðu allir þeir er inni váru. Þá mælti konungr: 'Hví þegja allir menn; eru nokkur tíðendi at segja?' Þá segir dróttning: 'Herra, þér áttuð tvá hauka, annarr hvítr, en annarr grár. Hinn hvíti hafði flogit langt í eyðimörk. Þar kómu at honum krákur margar ok plokkuðu^a hann svá at allar fjaðrar váru af honum reyttar. Ok nú er hinn hvíti folginn en hinn grái aptr kominn, ok mun hann nú drepa fugla til borðhalds yðr.' Þá mælti Gormr konungr: 'Svá drúpir Danmörk sem dauðr sé Knútr, son minn.' Þá segir dróttning: 'Sonn munu vera þessi tíðendi er þér segið, herra'²— ok sonnuðu þat þá allir er inni váru. Þann sama dag tók Gormr konungr sótt ok andaðisk annan dag at jafnlengd. Þá hafði hann verit konungr tíu tigi vetra. Haugr mikill var orpinn eptir hann.³

Nú var Haraldr tekinn til ríkis yfir öll þau ríki er faðir hans hafði átt. Ok síðan gærði hann erfi eptir feðr sinn ok sezk síðan fyrst um kyrt.

6

Þessu samtíða réð fyrir Nóregi Haraldr gráfeldr ok Gunnhildr, móðir hans.⁴ Ok þá stókk ór landi Hákon jarl Sigurðarson. Hann hafði tíu skip ok lagðisk í víking.⁵ En of haustit kom hann í Danmörk ok mælti til vinfengis við Harald konung, en konungr tók því vel. Ok er hann

^a plokkuðu, *MS* flockuðu

¹ The halls were frequently hung with hangings or tapestries, see *Kleid.* 201 f.

² *Hollander* 200 holds that these two sentences are part of an earlier lay and in *LMHollander* 41 they are given in a verse translation. But a similar means of giving bad news is found in Lorenzen, M., *Gammeldanske krøniker*, 1887–1913, 10–13, and other phrases of this nature are found in ON; cp. *svá þótti drúpa* (*MSS driúpa*) *Ísland eptir fráfall Gizurar biskups . . . Byskupa Sögur* I, ed. J. Helgason (1938) 91.

³ The length of Gormr's reign and the burial mounds are not mentioned in the other versions. But in the margin of 291 there is an insertion stating that Gormr had reigned for a hundred years (p. 14, n. 2). The grave mound is at Jelling in Jutland.

quickly assembled; and King Æðelstan arrived shortly afterwards. All those who had previously submitted to Knútr and his brother now went over to Æðelstan, with a result that the Danes were unable after that to land on account of the English levy, and they sailed home to Denmark.

King Gormr was staying in Jutland then. Haraldr made his way there immediately and told his mother what had happened. King Gormr had sworn that if he ever heard of the death of his son Knútr both he and the man who told him the news would die. The queen had the hall draped with grey wadmal.¹ All the people in the hall stopped talking when the king took his seat and so he asked: 'Why has everyone stopped talking? Is there any news?' The queen said: 'Sir, you had two hawks, one white and the other grey. The white one had flown a long way into the desert when a flock of crows attacked him, plucking and stripping him of all his feathers. And now the white one has gone, but the grey one has returned and he shall now hunt the birds for your table.' Then King Gormr said: 'So droops Denmark as my son Knútr is dead.' The queen replied: 'These are true tidings which you speak of, sir.'² And all those in the hall confirmed this. King Gormr took ill the same day and died at the same hour the following day. He had reigned for a hundred years. A great burial mound was thrown up over his grave.³

Haraldr was elected king over all his father's domains. Later he held a funeral feast for his father and things were quiet for a time.

6

At the same time Norway was ruled by Haraldr gráfeldr and Gunnhildr, his mother.⁴ Earl Hákon Sigurðarson fled the land, and taking ten ships with him he adopted a viking life.⁵ In the autumn he arrived in Denmark and he asked for King Haraldr's friendship which was readily

⁴ Haraldr gráfeldr was the son of Eiríkr blóðøx. Gunnhildr was a Danish princess and may have been Haraldr Gormsson's sister. See *Turville-Petre* 124-6.

⁵ Earl Hákon's father, Sigurðr, had been treacherously killed by the sons of Gunnhildr, which accounts for Earl Hákon's enmity against Haraldr gráfeldr. On the death of the latter, Hákon took charge of Norway as Haraldr Gormsson's earl. He helped Haraldr his overlord at the battle of the Danavirki against the Emperor Otto. But soon afterwards he rejected the Danish overlordship and this might account for the battle of Hjørungavágr. He died in 995. See *Turville-Petre* 125 ff.

þar um vetrinn með hundrað manna. Knútr son Gorms konungs átti son eptir sik. Sá hét Haraldr; hann var kallaðr Gull-Haraldr. Hann kom litlu síðarr ór víkingu en Hákon. Hann hafði ok tíu skip ok øróf lausafjár. Hann fór ok til hirðar¹ Haralds konungs. Þenna vetr settu þeir Haraldr konungr Gormsson ok Hákon jarl vélræði um Harald, Nóregs konung, ok móður Haralds, Gunnhildi. Ok um várit sviku þeir hann í Limafirði eptir því sem segir í Konungabók² at Gull-Haraldr feldi Harald. En Hákon jarl lét síðan festa Gull-Harald á gálga. En síðan tók Hákon jarl við einvaldi yfir Nóregi ok skyldi gjalda skatta Danakonungi.^a

Litlu síðarr kom Otta^b keisari af Saxlandi til Danmerkr með miklu liði ok þá kom Óláfr Tryggvason til liðs við hann.³ Þeir brutu Harald konung til kristni ok Hákon jarl. Var þá kristnuð öll Danmörk. En Hákon jarl gekk aptr til heiðni^c þegar hann kom^d aptr til Nóregs ok galt aldri skatta síðan.

7

Maðr er nefndr Tóki í Danmörk, í heraði því er á Fjóni heitir. Þórvör hét kona hans. Hann átti tvá sonu; Áki hét inn ellri, en annarr Pálnir. Hinn ellzti hét Fjólnir; hann var frilluson. Tóki var þá gamall ok tók hann sótt ok andaðisk; litlu síðarr Þórvör, kona hans. Tóku þeir bræðr arf, Áki ok Pálnir. Þá spurði Fjólnir bræðr sína hvat þeir ætlaði honum af fé. Þeir kváðusk mundu miðla honum þriðjung af lausafé, en ekki af lönnum; ok þóttusk þeir þó gøra hans hluta góðan. En hann mælti til þriðjungs alls fjár sem hann væri arfgengr,⁴ en þeir bræðr hans níttu því. Fjólnir lét sér illa líka ok ferr í brott ok til Haralds konungs ok gørðisk hirðmaðr hans ok ráðunautr. Hann var vitr maðr ok ráðugr ok illgjarn. Hann tekr nú^e ok rægir Áka, bróður sinn, við

^a the scribe first wrote skatta af nor(egi), he changed the nor' to dana and added a k, but forgot to erase af

^b the a was first written as an l and then changed to a, the top of the l being erased; Cederschöld and Joleik read Otti

^c altered in MS from nor(egs)

^d MS hann hann kom, the h of the second hann altered in MS from k

^e hann tekr nú written twice, the first one erased by scribe

¹ See Glossary, s.v. *hirð*

² Konungabók and Konungasögur (44/3) refer to *Hkr* or *OT*, both of which were known and used by the scribe of *H*.

³ The expedition of the Holy Roman Emperor, Otto II, took place in 974. For Óláfr Tryggvason see *Turville-Petre* 130-9.

⁴ A bastard could be given the full rights of inheritance by being led *í ætt*

granted. He and a hundred and twenty men spent the winter with Haraldr. Knútr, the son of King Gormr, had left a son Haraldr, who was known as Gull-Haraldr. He returned from a viking expedition a little after Hákon with ten ships and a huge quantity of valuables. He likewise joined King Haraldr's hird.¹ During the winter King Haraldr Gormsson and Earl Hákon planned treachery against Haraldr, king of Norway, and his mother Gunnhildr. And in the spring he succumbed to their treachery at Limfjord, for he was slain there by Gull-Haraldr as is told in the *Konungabók*.² But then Gull-Haraldr was strung up on the gallows at Earl Hákon's command. Following this Earl Hákon assumed sole control over Norway, but he had to pay tribute to the king of Denmark.

Shortly afterwards the Emperor Otto came from Germany to Denmark with a large army and Óláfr Tryggvason³ came to assist him. They forced King Haraldr and Earl Hákon to become Christians and the whole of Denmark accepted the Christian faith. But Earl Hákon reverted to heathendom as soon as he returned to Norway and subsequently never paid tribute.

7

There was a man called Tóki who lived in the district of Denmark known as Fyn; and his wife was called Þórvǫr. He had two sons, the elder of whom was called Áki and the younger Pálnir. The eldest of them all was called Fjǫlnir, but he was a bastard. Tóki was already old by then and he fell ill and died. He was followed shortly afterwards by his wife Þórvǫr. The two brothers, Áki and Pálnir, divided the inheritance between themselves, so Fjǫlnir asked his brothers what portion of the inheritance was to be his. They offered to give him a third share of the chattels but not of the lands, which they thought was a generous offer. But Fjǫlnir demanded a third of all the property, as though he were a legal heir.⁴ His brothers rejected this demand. Fjǫlnir, who was very displeased with this, went away and became King Haraldr's hirdman and counsellor. He was wise, cunning and malevolent. He began to calumniate Áki, his brother, before the king.

provided the other inheritors agreed to this. According to *Laxdæla saga* (ed. E. Ó. Sveinsson, *Íslensk Fornrit* V, 1934) 7a a bastard was entitled to inherit by law twelve *aurar*; see Maurer, K., *Vorlesungen über altnordische Rechtsgeschichte* III, 1908, 124-80, 201-03.

konung. Engi maðr í þau mund ótiginn var meiri fyrir sér í Danmörk en Áki Tókason. Hann lá hvert sumar í hernaði ok hafði nær ávalt sigr. Fjólur sagði svá Haraldi konungi at hann mundi eigi þykkja einn konungr yfir Danmörk meðan Áki Tókason væri uppi. Svá gat hann um talit fyrir konungi at eigi var óhætt milli þeira konungs ok Áka.

Áki átti friðland ok gott vinfengi við Óttar jarl í Gautlandi. Ok þangat fór hann eitt sinn at heimboði ok hafði tvau skip ok hundruð manna, ok allir vel búnir at vápnum ok klæðum. Þar var hann nokkura hríð ok þá Áki gjafar góðar at^a skilnaði af jarli. Fór aptr síðan. Þetta fregn Haraldr konungr at Áki var ór landi farinn. Hann lætr búa tíu skip ok fimm hundruð manna, ok bað þá fara ok sæta því er hann færi aptr ok taka hann af lífi ok allt fgruneyti hans. Konungsmenn fóru síðan ok heldu njósnum til um ferðir Áka. Var þat hægt því at þeir kunnu eigi at varask þetta. Þar kómu konungsmenn at þeim með her þenna á óvart ok létu bera á þá vápn ok feldu á þá tjöld,¹ en þeir váru ekki við búnir, ok drepa þá alla. Eptir þetta færa þeir konungi herfang þetta allt. Konungr lætr nú vel yfir ok kvazk nú mundu vera einn konungr fyrir Áka. Fjólur þótti nú allvel ok þóttisk goldit hafa nokkuru er hann náði eigi arfinum.

8

Nú spyrjask^b þessi tíðendi á Fjón, ok er Pálnir heyrði þetta þykkir honum svá mikit at hann leggsk í rekkju af.² Honum þóttu hefndir ósýnar við þann sem at eiga var, er konungr var.

Sigurðr hét maðr. Hann var fóstbróðir þeira, vitr maðr ok auðigr. Pálnir leitaði ráða við hann hvern veg^c hann skyldi með fara. Sigurðr kvezk vildu biðja konu handa honum. Pálnir spyr hver sú væri. Sigurðr kvað vera Ingibjörgu, dóttur Óttars jarls af Gautlandi. Pálnir segir: 'Þat uggi ek at ek muna eigi geta þessa konu, en víst ætla ek at þat mundi vænst til umbóta minna harma ef ek fenga þessa konu.' Nú

^a altered in MS from af

^b spyrjask, MS syriaz

^c hvern veg, MS hver veg

¹ The other versions have that Áki pitched his tents on land, but *Hollander* 195 has suggested the awnings set up on board are meant here.

² Cp. *Hávarðar saga* (ed. G. Jónsson, *Íslensk Fornrit* VI, 1943) 308.

At that time no one who was not of noble birth enjoyed so much respect in Denmark as Áki Tókason. Every summer he went on viking raids and was almost always victorious. Fjǫlnir hinted to King Haraldr that he would not really be sole king in Denmark as long as Áki Tókason was alive. He managed to raise the subject so often before the king that there was a great deal of tension between the king and Áki.

Götland was a place where Áki was always sure of a friendly reception and he was on very good terms with Óttarr, the earl there. He went there once to attend a banquet, taking with him two ships and a hundred and twenty men all of whom were well equipped with clothes and weapons. He was there for some time and when he left the earl gave him some splendid presents. He made his way home. When King Haraldr learned that Áki had gone abroad, he equipped ten ships and six hundred men and ordered them to go off and lie in ambush for Áki when he returned and to kill both him and his men. The king's men went their way and set out spies to track down Áki. They had little difficulty in this as Áki and his men could not have suspected this. The king's men with their entire forces fell upon them unawares, attacked them straightway, cut their tents down on top of them¹ and, as Áki's men were taken by surprise, killed them to a man. After this they took all the booty to the king, who was well pleased at the way things had turned out and said that Áki should not hinder him from being sole king now. Fjǫlnir was also pleased by the turn of events and he thought he had had his revenge on the brothers for not dividing the inheritance with him.

8

The news reached Fyn and when Pálnir heard it, he took it so much to heart that he took to his bed.² He thought the chances of getting revenge against such a man as the king were small.

There was a wise and rich man called Sigurðr, who was the foster-brother of the two brothers. Pálnir asked his advice about what he should do. Sigurðr said that he would ask for the hand of a woman on his behalf. When Pálnir asked who the woman was, he replied that it was Ingibjörg, the daughter of Earl Óttarr of Götland. Pálnir said: 'I'm afraid I might not get this woman, but I certainly do think that if I got her it would make the chances of my getting revenge for my wrongs much better.' Sigurðr made ready to leave. Taking with him

býsk Sigurðr heiman. Hann hafði eitt skip ok sex tigi manna, ok ferr norðr til Gautlands. Sigurðr lýsir yfir ørendi sínu fyrir jarli ok biðr dóttur hans til handa Pálna; kvað hann eigi skorta fjárlut á Fjóni ok kvað bana Pálna við liggja fyrir harma sakir. Þær verða málalyktir at jarl heitr dóttur sinni ok skal færa heim konuna.¹ Síðan ferr Sigurðr heim ok segir Pálna þessi tíðendi, ok léttisk honum mikit við þetta.

Búa þeir nú veizlu ágæta á Fjóni ok spara ekki til. Ok á nefndum degi kœmr jarl ok mikit lið, ok var þar^a drukkit vegligt brúðhlaup ok síðan leidd í eina rekkju Pálnir ok Ingibjörg. Hon^b sofnar brátt ok dreymir hana ok er hon vaknar sagði hon Pálna drauminn. 'Þat dreymði mik,' segir hon, 'at ek þóttumk hér stödd á þessum bæ, en ek þóttumk uppi eiga einn vef. Hann var grár at lit. Mér þótti kljáðr vefrinn ok var ek at at slá vefinn. Þá fell af einn kléinn^c af miðjum vefnum á bak. Þá sá ek at kljárnir váru manna höfuð ein.² Ok ek tók upp þetta höfuð ok kenda ek.' Pálnir spurði hvers höfuð væri, en hon kvað vera höfuð Haralds konungs Gormssonar. Pálnir kvað: 'Betra en eigi dreymt.' 'Svá þykki mér ok,' segir hon. Eptir þessa veizlu ferr Óttarr jarl heim í Gautland með gjöfum virðuligum.

9

En með þeim tókusk upp ástir góðar, Pálna ok Ingibjörgu, ok brátt gátu þau son saman; sá var kallaðr Pálna-Tóki.³ Hann óx upp á Fjóni ok er snemmendis bæði mikill ok vitr ok vinsæll. Ok er Pálna-Tóki er af inum mesta barnsaldri þá tekr faðir hans sótt ok andask. Pálna-Tóki tekr nú fjárluti alla með móður sinni til forráða. Hann leggsk nú í hernað hvert sumar ok þykkir nú frægr maðr ok engum manni þykkir hann jafnlíkr í sinni lýzku sem Áka, fōðurbróður sínum.

^a þar, *MS* þ(at)

^b from eina to hon the top of the page has been cut away, only the bottom half of the letters are now visible; the ok after brátt possibly en

^c kleinn, *MS* keinn

¹ The marriage feast would normally be held at the house of the bride's father. On this occasion it was held in Denmark as Pálnir was too ill to travel.

² The *Darraðarljóð* also has that the weights were men's heads:

Sjá er orpinn vefr ýta þormum
ok harðkléaðr höfðum manna.

(*Brennu-Njáls saga* ed. E. Ó. Sveinsson, *Íslensk Fornrit* XII, 1954, 455).

The loom was erected in an upright position, the web hanging from the top strut of the loom. In order to keep the web taut, stones (*kléar*), usually with a hole in the middle, were attached to the threads at the bottom and allowed to

one ship and sixty men he made his way north to Götland. Sigurðr revealed the purpose of his visit to the earl and asked for his daughter's hand for Pálnir. He added that Pálnir did not lack possessions in Fyn and that Pálnir lay at death's door because of his grief. The matter ended in this way that the earl promised to give his daughter to Pálnir and to let her get married in Denmark.¹ Sigurðr went home afterwards to tell these tidings to Pálnir, who was very relieved when he heard them.

They prepared a magnificent banquet in Fyn and spared no cost. The earl together with a great following came at the appointed time and the marriage was celebrated very nobly. Thereupon Pálnir and Ingibjörg were led to the marriage bed. She soon fell asleep and she had a dream which she related to Pálnir on awakening. 'I dreamed,' she said, 'that I was staying here on this estate and I thought that I had a grey-coloured cloth in the loom. It seemed as though the weights were attached to the cloth and I was weaving. When one of the weights fell down behind from the middle of the cloth, I noticed that the weights were the heads of men.'² I took up that head and recognised it.' When Pálnir asked whose head it was, she said that it was King Haraldr Gormsson's. Pálnir said: 'It's better dreamed than not.' 'That's what I think, too,' she said. When the banquet was over, Earl Óttarr who had been given magnificent presents went home to Götland.

9

A firm bond of love developed between Pálnir and Ingibjörg. Soon they were blessed with a son, who was called Pálna-Tóki.³ He grew up in Fyn and from an early age he was big, clever and popular. Pálna-Tóki had hardly reached manhood, when his father took ill and died. He and his mother took charge of all the property. He went raiding every summer and he became a famous man, and in his behaviour he resembled nobody so closely as his uncle Áki.

hang freely. See *Kleid.* 9 ff.; Holtsmark, A., 'Vefr Darraðar', *Maal og Minne* (1939) 74-96.

³ Pálna-Tóki is a legendary figure whose exploits are based on the Tell legend; see Klockhoff, O., 'De nordiska Framställingarna af Tellsagan', *Arkiv* XII (1896) 171-200. His connection with Wales is likewise fictitious, for there is little proof of permanent Scandinavian settlements in Wales. But see Charles, B. G., *Old Norse relations with Wales*, 1934, 100-05.

Þenna tíma réð jarl sá fyrir Bretlandi er Stefnir hét. Hann átti dóttur eina er Álof hét; hon var vitr ok vinsæl. Pálna-Tóki kœmr þar við land skipum sínum ok ætlaði at herja á ríki Stefnis jarls. Ok er þetta spyrsk, þá tekr Álof þat ráð ok þau Björn hinn brezki, hann var ráðgjafi hennar: þau bjóða Pálna-Tóka til veizlu ok mikillar vegsemðar, ok átti hann þar friðland ok herjaði eigi. Ok þetta þekkisk Pálna-Tóki ok sækir til veizlunnar með qllu liði sínu. Ok á þeirri veizlu biðr Pálna-Tóki Álofar ok var þat mál auðsótt. Ok þá þegar er brugðit til brúðhlaups, ok þar með gefr Stefnir jarl Pálna-Tóka jarlsnafn ok hálftríki sitt; en hann átti allt eptir hans dag. Pálna-Tóki var þar um sumarit ok um vetrinn. En um [várit]^a mælti Pálna-Tóki við Björn hinn brezka: 'Nú ætla ek heim til Danmerkr, en þér ætla ek hér eptir með Stefni, mági mínum, ok hafa landráð fyrir mína hönd.' Eptir þat ferr Pálna-Tóki á braut með Álof, konu sína, ok heim á Fjón í Danmörk.

Hann sitr nú heima at búum sínum um hríð ok þykkir nú hann annarr mestr maðr í Danmörk ok ríkastr ok bezt at viti búinn annarr en konungrinn.

10

Haraldr konungr ferr nú at veizlum um landit. Pálna-Tóki býr nú veizlu ok býðr til Haraldri konungi, ok konungr þekkisk þat. Hann var þar lengi á veizlu. En kona sú var fengin til þjónostu við konung, er Æsa hét ok kqlluð Saum-Æsa. Hon var snauð kona ok þó vel kunnandi. Nú fór konungr af veizlu ok var reifðr mörqum gjofum. Um sumarit eptir var Saum-Æsa með barni. Ok Pálna-Tóki talaði ok spurði hvern í hlut ætti með henni. Hon kvað þar engan til nema konunginn. 'Þá skal ek taka þik af starfi þar til er hagr þinn léttisk.' Nú líða stundir ok fœðir Æsa barn. Er nafn gefit ok hét Sveinn; ok kallaðr Saum-Æsuson.¹ Hann vex upp á Fjóni ok gørir Pálna-Tóki vel til hans ok svá menn hans.

Ok er Sveinn var þrívetr tekr Haraldr konungr þar veizlu á Fjóni.^b Nú er Pálna-Tóki í tilstilli með Saum-Æsu.^c Um daginn er konungr

^a supplied by Cederschöld

^b Fjóni, MS fio.

^c at Saumæsa altered in MS to m(eð) Saumæsu

¹ Cederschöld and Joleik read *Saum-Æsu Sveinn* for the MS *Saumæsus*. This is the reading in 291, but *Flat.* and 510 have *Saum-Æsuson*. The story of the birth of Sveinn is paralleled by that of Hákon Sigurðarson, *Hkr* III 325-6.

At that time Wales was ruled by an earl named Stefnir, who had a wise and popular daughter called Álof. Pálna-Tóki landed there with his ships and intended to ravage Earl Stefnir's kingdom. When they heard of this, Álof and Björn the Welshman who was her counsellor decided to invite him to a banquet and to bestow great honour on him. They suggested also that he should regard it as a friendly territory and that he should not harry there. This was accepted by Pálna-Tóki who attended the banquet with all his men. At the banquet Pálna-Tóki asked for Álof's hand and the suit was readily granted. The banquet was immediately transformed into a wedding feast, and thereupon Stefnir created Pálna-Tóki an earl and gave him half of his kingdom, the rest of which was to fall to him on Stefnir's death. Pálna-Tóki stayed there that summer and the following winter. But when the spring came he said to Björn the Welshman: 'I intend to go home to Denmark now, but I want you to stay here with my father-in-law Stefnir to rule in my name.' After that Pálna-Tóki and his wife Álof left and returned to Fyn in Denmark.

He remained at home on his estates for a time and in Denmark he was thought to be second only to the king in importance, magnificence and wisdom.

10

King Haraldr made a progress through the land. Pálna-Tóki prepared a banquet to which he invited King Haraldr, and the king accepted the invitation. He spent a long time at the banquet. A woman called Æsa, who was known as Saum-Æsa, was detailed to attend the king. Although she was a poor woman she was by no means ignorant. The king left the banquet and was presented with many gifts. The following summer Saum-Æsa was pregnant, and when Pálna-Tóki asked her who was the child's father, she said that it could be only the king. 'Then I shall relieve you of your duties until the child is born.' Time passed and Æsa gave birth to a boy, who was called Sveinn and was known as Saum-Æsuson.¹ He grew up on Fyn, and Pálna-Tóki and his men treated him very well.

When Sveinn was three years old King Haraldr attended a banquet on Fyn. Pálna-Tóki made a plan with Saum-Æsa. During the day as

sat yfir borði kœmr Æsa fyrir borðit ok leiðir sveininn ok mælti: 'Herra konungr,' segir hon, 'hér leiði ek einn svein ok kalla ek þar engan mann í tigi til at eiga þenna svein með mér en yðr, konungr.' Konungr segir brátt er hon hafði lokit máli sínu hver hon væri. Hon segir til nafns síns. Konungr mælir: 'Firna djörf kona ertu ok heimsk, ok dirf þik eigi at mæla slíkt ef þú vilt vera ómeidd.' Pálna-Tóki mælti: 'Því mun hon þetta mæla, herra, at henni mun þetta þykkja satt vera; ok ekki er hon lausungarkona. Höfum vér ok fyrir yðrar sakir skotit skjóli yfir hana.' Konungr svarar: 'Eigi var mér þess ván at þú mundir þetta ræsa á hendr [mér].'^a 'Svá skal ok vera,' segir Pálna-Tóki, 'en svá skal ek hefja hans kost sem hann sé þinn son.' Konungr mælti: 'Enga ofúsu kann ek þér fyrir þat.' Pálna-Tóki segir: 'Engu skal þat skipta. Skulu vér nú láta falla þessa rœðu at sinni.' Eptir þat ferr konungr af veizlu með engum gjöfum ok er fátt um með þeim Pálna-Tóka.

Litlu síðarr fœddi Álof svein; sá var kallaðr Áki. Hann var fœddr upp á Fjóni með feðr sínum.

II

Sveinn er nú þar til þess er hann er fimtán vetra. Þá biðr Pálna-Tóki hann fara á fund föður síns ok krefja hann liðs ok segjask hans son, hvárt er honum þykkir betr eða verr. Sveinn gœrir nú svá sem fóstri hans lagði til. Haraldr konungr segir: 'Þat skil ek á orðfari þínu at eigi man logit til móðernis þíns. Muntu vera eitt fól ok afglapi.' Þá mælti Sveinn: 'Ek munda vilja eiga gœfgari móður ef þú hefðir svá fyrir sét. En at sonnu ertu minn faðir. Nú fá þú mér þrjú skip, en fóstri minn mun fá mér önnur þrjú. En ef þú vill eigi þat þá skal ek göra þér þat nokkut illbýli er meira sé vert.' Konungr mælti: 'Ek ætla at þú munir vera því braut kaupandi ok komir aldri aptr.' Eptir þat fær konungr Sveini þrjú skip ok hundrað manna. Pálna-Tóki fær Sveini önnur þrjú skip. Hann herjar á ríki föður síns allt þat sumar. Gœrisk illr kurr í bóndum. Konungr leiðir hjá sér. Líðr svá til hausts. Ferr Sveinn þá heim á Fjón ok er með Pálna-Tóka um vetrinn.

^a *supplied by Joleik*

the king sat at table, Æsa approached the table leading the boy and said: 'Your majesty,' she said, 'I have a child with me here and I declare that no one else is the boy's father but you.' When she had finished speaking, the king asked her immediately who she was. She told him her name. The king said: 'You are a very rash and foolish woman, and don't dare to say such things again if you want to remain unharmed.' Pálna-Tóki said: 'She would only say that, your majesty, if she thought it was true; and she is not a loose woman. It's for your own sake that I have given her my protection.' The king replied: 'I didn't expect that you would bring this charge against me.' 'So shall it be,' he said, 'but I shall forward him in all things as though he were your son.' The king replied: 'I shall not give you any thanks for that.' 'That won't make any difference,' said Pálna-Tóki, 'and let us give up this conversation for the time being.' After that the king left the banquet without any gifts, and relations became very strained between the king and Pálna-Tóki.

Not long after Álof gave birth to a boy who was called Áki. He grew up on Fyn with his father.

II

Sveinn remained on Fyn until he was fifteen. Then Pálna-Tóki told him to go and find his father to demand some men from him and to claim that he was his son, whether Haraldr liked it or not. Sveinn acted now in accordance with the advice his fosterfather gave him. King Haraldr said: 'I can see from your words that the stories which are told about your mother are not legends. You must be a fool and a dotard.' Then Sveinn said: 'I would have been glad to have a nobler mother, if you had provided me with one. Certainly you are my father. Now give me three ships and my fosterfather will give me another three. And if you don't give them to me, then I shall injure you in some way which will be of more consequence.' The king said: 'I think that you can be bought off in this way, and never come back.' After that the king provided Sveinn with three ships and a hundred and twenty men, and Pálna-Tóki provided him with another three ships. The whole of that summer he harried in his father's kingdom with a result that there were many complaints from the farmers, though the king took no notice. Things went on in this way till autumn when Sveinn went home to Fyn to spend the winter with Pálna-Tóki.

Um várit ferr Sveinn á fund Haralds konungs ok ferr allt á sama leið. Sveinn fær nú sex skip af konungi, en Pálna-Tóki fær honum önnur sex. Sveinn herjar enn á ríki feðr síns ok er nú hálfu ákafari. Gengr nú aldri af þeim. Hann herjar bæði of Sjáland^a ok Halland. Þeir drepa nú margan mann. Þessi tíðendi spyrjask nú víða. Bændr fara á konungs fund ok segja honum til sinna vandræða, en konungr lætr enn líða hjá sér. Um haustit fór Sveinn til Pálna-Tóka með öllu liði ok er þar um vetrinn.

En er várdagar koma býr Sveinn lið sitt. Gørir allt eptir því sem fóstri hans lagði ráð á með honum. Hann ferr nú á konungs fund ok biðr hann fá sér tólf skip. Konungr segir: 'Þú ert maðr svá djarfr at ek veit eigi þinn maka, er þú þorir at koma á minn fund þar er þú ert bæði þjófr ok ránsmaðr. Ok við þinni frændsemi geng ek aldri.' Sveinn segir: 'At vísu em ek þinn son ok sonn er okkur frændsemi; en þó skal ek þér eigi þyrma, því at nú þegar skulu vit berjask ef þú fær mér eigi slíkt er ek vil ok skaltu nú hvergi undan hokra.' Konungr segir: 'Vandræðamaðr ertu ok þannig er þitt lyndi sem þú munir vera eigi smára manna nokkurra. Ok muntu hafa verða þat er þú kallar. Far síðan á braut ok kom aldri aptr.' Nú ferr Sveinn á fund Pálna-Tóka með þrjá tigi skipa. Hann tók nú vel við honum 'ok þykki mér þú vel hafa þat er ek legg til með þér. Nú skaltu herja því mest á Danmörk í sumar sem nú hefir þú mestan aflann. En nú mun konungr eigi þola þér lengr. En þú flý eigi þótt lið sé gørt til þín því at ek mun koma at veita þér. En ek ætla til Bretlands í sumar til Stefnis jarls, mágs míns, með þessi níu skip.' Nú skilja þeir ok fara báðir senn ór landi.

12

Sveinn herjar nú á Danmörk nótt með degi: drepr menn, en rænir fé öllu ok brennir heruð. Landsmenn flýja nú undan illa leiknir ok segja konungi. Honum þykkir nú eigi vera mega svá búit. Konungr lætr nú búa fimm tigi skipa; ok fylgir sjálfr. Leita nú Sveins ok um haustit finnask þeir við Borgundarhólm. Þat var svá síð at eigi þótti mega til bardaga leggja. En um morguninn þegar vígljóst var leggja þeir saman

^a Sjald MS; Sjælland *Cederschöld and Joleik* (also at 20/12, 26/8, 28/8, 43/12)

When spring came Sveinn went to find King Haraldr and things turned out in much the same way. Sveinn was given six ships by the king, and another six by Pálna-Tóki. Once more Sveinn ravaged in his father's kingdom, but this time the harrying was far more vehement and he never let up. He harried both Sjælland and Halland, and many men were slaughtered. This news spread far and wide. The farmers went to find the king to tell him of their difficulties, but once more the king took no notice. Sveinn went to Pálna-Tóki in the autumn with all his men to spend the winter there.

When spring came, Sveinn prepared his force and did all that his fosterfather advised him. He went to find the king and demanded twelve ships. The king said: 'You are such a brave man that I don't know your equal in that you dare to come here to me, seeing that you are both a thief and a robber. But I shall never accept you as my son.' Sveinn said: 'Certainly I am your son and there's no denying our relationship. But I shall not spare you on that score, for if you don't give me what I ask of you, we'll fight it out here and now and you'll have no chance of slipping away.' The king replied: 'You are a difficult man to deal with and you have such a brave spirit that you may well have been born of noble parents. You shall have what you demand, and go away afterwards and never come back again.' Sveinn went with his thirty ships to find Pálna-Tóki, who welcomed him with open arms. Pálna-Tóki said: 'It looks as though my advice is turning out well for you. As you now have a larger force than ever before, this summer you shall ravage Denmark ceaselessly. The king will not endure your raids any longer. But do not flee even though an army should be sent against you, for I shall come to your assistance. This summer I intend to visit Earl Stefnir, my father-in-law, in Wales taking with me these nine ships.' They parted and both left the land at the same time.

Sveinn harried in Denmark day and night: he killed men, looted all the property and set fire to the countryside. The country people fled in dismay before him and informed the king. He thought that matters could not rest here. He had fifty ships made ready and sailed with them himself in their search for Sveinn. In the autumn they met off Bornholm. It was so late in the evening that they thought it impossible to begin a battle. In the morning as soon it was light enough they grappled

skip sín ok berjask þann dag allan til kvelds, ok váru þá hroðin tíu skip af Haraldi konungi en tólf af Sveini. Sveinn leggr nú skip sín inn í vágsbotninn um kveldit, en konungr leggr sínum skipum um þveran váginn ok verpa Svein þar inni.

Þetta sama kveld kœmr Pálna-Tóki þar við land; hann hefir fjogur skip ok tuttugu. Hann leggr qðrum megin undir nesit ok tjaldar þar. Eptir þat gengr Pálna-Tóki á land einn saman; hann hafði með sér boga sinn ok orvamæli. Þenna sama aptan gengr Haraldr konungr á land upp við tólfta mann. Þeir fara í skóg ok gœra sér bakeld. Þá var myrkt af nótt. Konungr afklæðisk ok bakask. Pálna-Tóki sér eldinn í skóginn; ferr hann þar í svig við; þekkir mennina; leggr nú or á streng; ok skýtr í gegnum Harald konung. Fell hann þegar dauðr niðr. Pálna-Tóki snýr þegar aptr til liðs síns, en forunautar Haralds konungs styrma yfir honum. Þeir mæltu með sér hversu með skyldi fara. Fjqlnir mælti: 'Þat er mitt ráð at vér hafim eina soĝn allir at konungr hafi skotinn verit í bardaga, því at þat má sízt várri vangeymslu kenna.' Ok nú binda þeir þetta fastmælum. Fjqlnir tekr orina ok varðveitir; var hon auðkend því at hon var gulli reyrð.¹

Pálna-Tóki kallar með sér tuttugu menn, kvezk^a vildu finna Svein. Fara nú yfir þvert nesit; ok gœra ráð sín. Segir Sveinn at hann vill at Pálna-Tóki^b gœri ráð fyrir þeim. Pálna-Tóki segir engum manni líflát konungs.^c Hann mælti: 'Eigi skulum vér seint til ráða taka. Vér skulum ganga á skip með yðr, en síðan skulum vér leysa skip vár ql ok veita atróðr flota konungs. Er mér leitt at konungr kvíi oss hér ok drepi.' Nú er svá gœrt: veita þeir nú atróðr flotanum. Þar fórusk þrjár snekkjur af liði konungs ok kómusk þeir einir menn af er syndir váru.² En þeir Pálna-Tóki ok Sveinn reru út í þat hlið qlum skipum ok svá til liðs þess er Pálna-Tóki hafði þangat haft.

Um morguninn leggja þeir at konungsmönnum ok spyrja þau tíðendi at konungr hefir látizt. Þá mælti Pálna-Tóki: 'Þá eru tveir kostir at berjask við oss eða taka Svein til konungs.' Þeir vilja nú heldr taka við Sveini. Síðan fóru þeir báðir ok kveðja þings: var þá Sveinn til konungs tekinn yfir alla Danmqrk.³

^a m(enn) quez *altered in MS from m(eð) s(ér)*

^b *altered in MS from vill at*

^c *after konungs, ks erased by scribe*

¹ Arrows in viking times usually bore the owner's mark, see *Falk* 100-03.

² A *snekkja*, a small, narrow type of longship designed for greater speeds.

³ Succession to the throne was based on a mixture of heredity and election.

their ships together and fought all that day till evening, by when ten of King Haraldr's and twelve of Sveinn's ships had been captured. In the evening Sveinn anchored his ships at the bottom of the creek, but the king anchored his across it thus cutting off Sveinn's means of escape.

Pálna-Tóki landed the same evening with twenty-four ships. He anchored on the other side of the headland and set up his tents there. After this Pálna-Tóki went ashore alone, taking his bow and quiver with him. King Haraldr with eleven men also went ashore that evening and they went into the forest to make a fire at which they might warm themselves. Night had already fallen and it was dark. The king undressed and warmed himself by the fire. Pálna-Tóki saw the fire in the forest, and made a detour towards it, and recognising the men, he put an arrow in the bow and shot it through King Haraldr, who straightway fell dead. Pálna-Tóki turned back immediately to his men, and King Haraldr's companions thronged round him discussing among themselves what they should do. Fjǫlnir said: 'My advice is that we all stick to the same story that the king was shot in the battle, as that will reflect least discredit on our care of him.' They swore oaths to keep this agreement. Fjǫlnir took the arrow, which was easily recognisable as it was bound with gold, and kept it.¹

Pálna-Tóki summoned twenty men and said he was going to meet Sveinn. They crossed over the headland. When Sveinn and Pálna-Tóki were discussing what to do, Sveinn said that he wanted Pálna-Tóki to hit on a plan for them. Pálna-Tóki told no one of the king's death. He said: 'It won't take us long to make a plan. We shall go aboard with you and afterwards we'll draw anchor and row straight at the king's fleet. I don't like being penned in and killed by the king here.' They followed his plan and attacked the fleet. Three of the king's ships capsized and only those escaped who could swim.² Pálna-Tóki and Sveinn rowed through the gap with all their ships and joined up with the fleet that Pálna-Tóki had brought.

Next morning they attacked the royal fleet and learned that the king was dead. Then Pálna-Tóki said: 'You have two alternatives: to fight with us or to accept Sveinn as king.' They decided in favour of the latter. Afterwards Pálna-Tóki and Sveinn both left and summoned an assembly at which Sveinn was elected king over the whole of Denmark.³

The king had to be elected at the main *þing* in the land, but usually only members of the royal family were eligible for election. See *Christensen* 8 ff.

Nú er Sveinn er konungr orðinn þykkir honum skylt at erfa feðr sinn ok býðr Pálna-Tóka. En hann kvezk eigi mega fyrir þær vetrnætr 'því at mér er sagt at Stefnir, mágr minn, sé dauðr, en ek á þar ríki allt.' Nú eyðisk erfi þat haust, en Pálna-Tóki fór ór landi. En hann setr Áka, son sinn, eptir á Fjóni ok bað honum virkta af Sveini konungi. Konungr hét því ok svá gærði hann. Pálna-Tóki ferr nú til Bretlands ok tekr nú þar við ríki ok liðu af þau misseri.

Um sumarit eptir sendi Sveinn konungr menn til Pálna-Tóka at bjóða honum til erfis. En Pálna-Tóki kvezk enn eigi fara mega ok eyðisk erfit þau misseri.¹

Ok nú er sumrar lætr Sveinn konungr efna til erfisgørðar. Sendir enn menn til Pálna-Tóka, biðr nú hann koma til erfisgørðar ok segir nú á reiði sína ef hann ferr nú eigi. Pálna-Tóki segir sendimönnum at hann mun nú koma ok konungr láti búa veizluna. Konungr lætr nú búa erfit ok býðr til fjöldá manns. Ok þá er allt var til búit ok boðsmenn komnir líðr á daginn ok kómr eigi Pálna-Tóki. Ok ganga menn til drykkju. Konungr lét liggja rúm í ǫndvegi á inn óæðra bekk ok hundrað manna útar frá.² Síðan taka þeir ok drekka.

Nú er at segja frá þeim Pálna-Tóka ok Birni hinum brezka. Þeir hafa þrjú skip ok hundrað manna, ok hálftr hvárt Danir eða Bretar. Þeir koma þetta hit sama kveld fyrir konungs bæinn. Þá var veðr allgott. Þeir snúa skipum sínum ok bera upp skutfestar ok leggja árar í háreiðar. Þeir ganga nú til konungs bæjar með ǫllu liðinu. Pálna-Tóki gengr nú í hǫllina ok allir þeir ok fyrir konunginn ok heilsar konungi. Konungr tók vel máli hans ok vísar honum til sætis ok ǫllum þeim. Taka nú at drekka. Fjǫlnir hneigðisk at konungi ok talaði við hann hljótt um hríð. Konungr brá lit við ok gærði rauðan sem blóð.

¹ According to the other versions Pálna-Tóki took to his bed and feigned illness when the messengers arrived.

² *Cederschöld* (and *Joleik*) read *konungr lét liggja rúm [Pálna-Tóka] í ǫndvegi á inn óæðra bekk ok hans manna útar frá*. For *hundrað* (*Cederschöld* *hans*) the manuscript has *h*, and although the usual abbreviation for *hundrað* is *c.*, *h* is also found at 9/12. The inclusion of the word *Pálna-Tóka* is unjustified; cp. 291: *konungr lætr liggja rúm á inn óæðra bekk í ǫndvegi ok hundrað manna útar frá*. For the internal arrangement of the hall see *Guðmundsson* 184 ff.

Now that Sveinn had become king, he thought it his duty to hold a funeral feast for his father to which he invited Pálna-Tóki. But he said that he could not come that year 'as I am told that Stefnir, my father-in-law, is dead and I am the heir to all his kingdom.' The feast did not take place that autumn and Pálna-Tóki left the country. He installed Áki, his son, in Fyn and recommended him to King Sveinn's special charge. The king promised to look after him, which he did. Pálna-Tóki went now to Wales and took control of the kingdom, and so the year passed.

Next summer King Sveinn sent men to Pálna-Tóki to invite him to the funeral feast, but as Pálna-Tóki said he was still unable to go, it did not take place that year.¹

When the following summer came King Sveinn ordered preparations to be made for the funeral feast. He sent men again to Pálna-Tóki to invite him to the feast with the message that if he did not come he would incur the king's displeasure. Pálna-Tóki told the messengers he would come this time and that the king should make the necessary preparations for the feast. The king did this and invited a host of guests. When all was ready and the guests had come, Pálna-Tóki made no appearance though the day wore on. The guests sat down at table, and the king left a place free on the opposite high seat and places for a hundred men on the lower benches.² Afterwards they began to drink.

Now it is time to turn to Pálna-Tóki and Bjørn the Welshman. They had three ships and a hundred and twenty men, half of them Danes and half Welshmen. They landed that very evening at the king's estate. The weather was then perfect. When they had turned their ships round, fastened the stern ropes on the shore and put the oars in the rowlocks, the whole force made its way to the king's hall. Pálna-Tóki together with his men went into the hall, approached the king and greeted him. The king graciously returned his greeting and showed him and his men to their seats. They began to drink. Fjólur leaned over to the king and spoke with him in whispers for a time. The king changed colour and his face became as red as blood.

Maðr hét Arnoddr, kertisveinn¹ konungs, ok stóð fyrir borði hans. Fjqlnir selr honum qr eina ok biðr hann bera fyrir alla menn, þá er váru í hollinni, þar til er nokkurr kannaðisk við at ætti. Hann gengr fyrst innar frá sæti konungs, þá útar frá konungi til gáttar. Þá gengr hann innar fyrir Pálna-Tóka ok spyr hvárt hann kenni nokkut þetta skeyti. Pálna-Tóki segir: 'Hví mun ek eigi kenna skeyti mitt? Sel mér, ek á.' Þá skorti eigi hljóð í hollinni þegar nokkurr eignaði sér þetta skeyti. Sveinn konungr mælti: 'Þú, Pálna-Tóki, hvar skilðisk þú við þetta skeyti næsta sinni?' Pálna-Tóki segir: 'Opt hefi ek þér eptirlátr verit, fóstri, ok svá skal enn. Ek skilðumk við á bogastrengnum þá er ek skaut í gegnum feðr þinn.' Konungr mælti: 'Standi menn upp sem tíðast ok hafi hendr á þeim Pálna-Tóka ok skal drepa þá alla, því at nú er niðr^a slegit qlum góða þeim er verit hefir með okkr.' Nú hlaupa upp allir í hollinni. Pálna-Tóki bregðr nú sverði sínu ok hoggv Fjqlni, frænda sinn, í tvau. Ok síðan leitar hann út ok allir hans menn, því at svá átti hann þar vel vingat at engi vildi honum grand gøra.

Nú eru þeir Pálna-Tóki komnir allir út ór hollinni nema einn maðr af liði Bjarnar. Pálna-Tóki mælti: 'Ekki var minna at ván, ok skundum nú til skipa.' Bjorn segir: 'Eigi mundir þú svá renna frá þínum manni, ok eigi skal ek'—snýr inn aptr í hollina. Þeir kasta þá inum brezka manni yfir hofuð sér ok hafa nær rifit í sundr. Bjorn ferr nú ok tekr manninn ok kastar á bak sér dauðum; ok mest gørði Bjorn þetta til ágætis sér. Fara nú síðan til skipa sinna. Fellu nú við árar ok reru í braut. Létta nú eigi fyrr en þeir kómu heim til Bretlands. Þeir Sveinn konungr drekka nú erfit ok unir hann illa við.

It næsta sumar eptir tekr Álof sótt, kona Pálna-Tóka, ok andask. Ok nú unir hann eigi í Bretlandi ok setr þar til ríkis Bjorn inn brezka. En hann býr nú ór landi þrjá tigi skipa ok leggsk nú í hernað. Hann herjar nú um Skotland ok Írland ok hefir nú þessa iðn^b þrjá vetr ok aflar sér

^a the scribe first wrote an insular s which he altered to n without deleting the top of the insular s; Cederschöld and Joleik read suðr ^b iðn, MS iðrn

¹ See Glossary, s.v. *kertisveinn*.

14

The king had a page¹ called Arnoddr who stood in front of his table. Fjólnir gave him an arrow and told him to show it to everyone who was in the hall until someone recognised it as his own. First he went down the further side of the upper bench and then down the nearer side of it towards the door. Then he went up the lower bench towards Pálna-Tóki and he asked him whether he recognised the arrow. Pálna-Tóki said: 'Why shouldn't I recognise my arrow? Give it to me, it's mine.' As soon as someone claimed the arrow there was complete silence in the hall. King Sveinn said: 'Pálna-Tóki, where did you part with the arrow last?' Pálna-Tóki said: 'I have often been indulgent to you, my fosterson, and I shall continue to be so. I parted with it from my bowstring when I shot your father.' The king said: 'Stand up, men, as quickly as possible, seize Pálna-Tóki and his men and kill them all, since whatever friendship there was between us is now past.' Then everyone in the hall leapt to their feet. Pálna-Tóki drew his sword and cut his kinsman Fjólnir in two. Afterwards he and his men made their way out of the hall for he had so many friends there that no one would do him harm.

When they had all escaped from the hall except for one man of Bjørn's party, Pálna-Tóki said: 'We couldn't expect to get away scotfree, and let us hurry down to the ships.' Bjørn said: 'You would not run from your own man in this way and I'm not going to either'—and he entered the hall a second time. They were tossing the Welshman up in the air and had almost torn him apart. Bjørn went and took the man and threw him on his shoulders though he was dead. And he did this mainly for the sake of his own glory. They took then to their ships, fell to the oars and rowed away, not stopping before they came home to Wales. King Sveinn and his men sat down to the feast again and he was chagrined at the turn of events.

15

The following summer Álof, Pálna-Tóki's wife, took ill and died. Pálna-Tóki was no longer content to stay in Wales and put Bjørn the Welshman in charge there. He made ready thirty ships to leave the land and went raiding. He harried in Scotland and Ireland. He con-

mikils fjár ok ágætis. Hit fjórða sumar siglir Pálna-Tóki austr undir Vindland ok hefir hann þá fjóra tigi skipa.

Í þenna tíma réð fyrir Vindlandi konungr sá er Búrisleifr hét.¹ Hann spyr til Pálna-Tóka ok hyggir illt til hernaðar hans, því at hann hafði nær ávalt sigr ok var hverjum manni frægri. Þat ráð tekr konungr at hann sendir menn á fund Pálna-Tóka ok býðr honum til sín ok kvezk vilja leggja við hann vináttu. Þat lætr konungr ok fylgja þessu boði at hann vill gefa honum eitt fylki^a af landi sínu, þat er heitir at Jómi, til þess at hann verði land hans ok ríki ok staðfestisk þar. Þetta þiggr nú Pálna-Tóki ok staðfestisk nú þar ok allir hans menn, ok bráðliga lætr hann göra þar eina borg mikla ok rammgørva. Sumr hluti borgarinnar stóð á sjó út ok þar í lætr hann göra höfn svá mikla at liggja mátti við þrjú hundruð langskipa, svá at öll váru læst innanborgar. Var þar búit um með mikilli list svá at þar váru dyrr á, en steinbogi mikill yfir uppi. En fyrir dyrunum váru járnhurðir ok læstar innan ór höfninni. En á steinboganum var gørr kastali mikill ok þar valslongur í.² Þessi borg er kölluð Jómsborg.

16

Eptir þetta setr Pálna-Tóki lög í Jómsborg með vitra manna ráði til þess at þeira ágæti yrði sem víðfrægast ok afli þeira yrði sem mestr.³ Þat var upphaf laga þeira at þangat skyldi engi maðr ráðask sá er ellri væri en fimtugr, ok engi yngri en átján vetra; þar á meðal skyldu allir vera. Hvárki skyldi því ráða frændsemi, þó at þeir menn vildi þangat ráðask er eigi væri í þeim lögum. Engi maðr skyldi þar renna fyrir jafnvígligum ok jafnbúnum. Hverr skyldi þar annars hefna sem bróður síns. Engi skyldi þar æðruorð mæla ne kvíða neinum hlut hvégi óvænt sem um þœtti. Allt þat er þeir fengi í herförum þá skyldi til stangar bera minna hlut ok meira, þat er fémætt væri; ok ef hann hefði þat eigi gørt

^a after fylki, at Jómi erased by scribe

¹ The name Búrisleifr appears as Búrisláfr in some ON sources. It comes from Slavic Boleslav. But it was Miesco, Duke of Poland, who reigned over the Slavs from 964 to 992. It was possibly his son Boleslav (992–1025) or Boleslav the Wry-mouthed, who allied himself with Nicholas of Denmark in 1130, whom the saga-writer had in mind. See Cross, S., 'Scandinavian-Polish relations in the late tenth century', *Studies in honor of H. Collitz* (1930) 139 f.

² The *kastali* was a little tower, *castellum*, built over gates and bridges. There is no reliable evidence that slings were used in Scandinavia before 1100, but the Vikings had probably seen them on their expeditions to Western Europe, see *Falk* 193 f.

tinued in this way for three years winning for himself extensive wealth and fame. The fourth summer Pálna-Tóki sailed east to Wendland and he then had forty ships.

At that time the king of Wendland was called Búrisleifr.¹ He heard about Pálna-Tóki and was worried about his harrying, as Pálna-Tóki was almost always victorious and had a reputation second to none. The king decided to send men to find Pálna-Tóki to invite him to come to him and to say that the king would be his friend. The king added to the invitation an offer to give him a district of his country called Jóm, provided that he would settle there and defend his country and kingdom. Pálna-Tóki accepted the offer and he and his men settled there. Soon he had a huge and strongly constructed city made there. A part of the city extended out in the sea, and in that part he constructed a harbour which was so big that three hundred and sixty longships could be berthed there so that all of them were locked inside the city. It was designed very cunningly in that there was an entrance to it, over which a great stone arch was made. There were iron doors at the entrance to the harbour which could be locked from the inside; and a huge tower was erected on top of the stone arch in which catapults were installed.² The city was called Jómsborg.

16

Afterwards Pálna-Tóki with the advice of wise men gave Jómsborg laws with a view to increasing their fame and strength as much as possible.³ The first section of their laws was that no man should become a member who was older than fifty or younger than eighteen; members must be between these two ages. Kinship was not to be taken into consideration when those who were not members wished to be enrolled. No man must run from anyone who was as doughty and well-armed as himself. Each must avenge the other as his own brother. No one must speak a word of fear or be frightened in any situation however black things looked. Anything of value, however big or small it was, which they won on their expeditions was to be taken to the banner, and anyone

³ The laws belonging to various bodies of men are mentioned now and again in the sagas, but they seem to refer to a code of conduct or to prevailing customs rather than to a definite set of laws. A close parallel to the laws of the Jomsvikings is found in *Hálfs saga ok Hálfsrekka* (ed. A. Le Roy Andrews, 1909) 92-3. Individual laws echo some of the customs of the hird as found in the *Hirðskrá*.

þá skyldi hann í brottu verða. Engi skyldi þar róg kveikja. En ef tíðendi fregndisk þá skyldi engi svá hvatvísst at þau skyldi í hávaða segja, því at Pálna-Tóki skyldi þar öll tíðendi segja. Engi maðr skyldi konu hafa í borgina; ok engi í brott vera þrim nóttum lengr. Ok þó at við þeim manni væri tekit er vegit hefði fōður eða bróður þess manns er þar væri áðr eða nakkvarn náinn man, ok kæmi þat síðan upp er við honum væri tekit, þá skyldi Pálna-Tóki þat allt dæma ok hvatki missætti annat er þeira yrði á milli. Með þessu efni sitja þeir nú í borginni ok halda vel lōg sín. Þeir fara hvert sumar í hernað á ýmsi lōnd ok fá sér ágæti. Þóttu vera inir mestu hermenn ok nálīga engir þeira jafningjar í þann tíma; ok váru kallaðir Jómsvíkingar.

17

Í þenna tíma réð fyrir Sjálōndum jarl er Haraldr hét; hann var kallaðr Strút-Haraldr. Því var hann svá kallaðr at hann átti hatt er búinn var með tíu merkr gulls.¹ Ingibjōrg hét kona hans. Sigvaldi hét son þeira, annarr Þorkell hávi.² Dóttir þeira hét Tóva. Maðr hét Véseti; hann réð fyrir Borgundarhólmi. Kona hans hét Hildigunn. Búi hét son þeira, annarr Sigurðr kápa.³ Dóttir þeira hét Þórgunn. Áki, son Pálna-Tóka, býr á Fjóni ok lætr Sveinn konungr alla hluti við hann sem bezt. Þessar konu biðr Sveinn konungr til handa Áka. Ok við Þórgunnu getr hann son; sá hét Vagn.⁴ Hann vex upp heima þar. Ráðahagr Áka stendr með miklum blóma. Nú er Vagn nokkurra vetra þá er svá frá honum sagt at hann var meiri vandræðamaðr í skapi en aðrir menn. Barði hann allt ok beysti. Hann var þá ýmist heima eða í Borgundarhólmi með Véseta, móðurfōður sínum, því at hvarigir þykkjask mega um hann tōla. Við Búa er hann bezt allra sinna frænda ok þat hafði hann helzt er hann mælti. At engu hafði hann þat er aðrir mæltu. Allra manna var hann vänstr ok inn mesti atgørvismaðr um alla hluti, sterkr at afli. Búi, móðurbróðir hans, var hljóðlyndr ok skapmikill, sterkr svá at menn vissu óglōggt afl hans, ekki fríðr ok þó

¹ A *strútr* is a cone-shaped top to a hat. According to the other versions Haraldr had a hat of this type.

² Sigvaldi was certainly at the battle of Hjōrungavágr as the scaldic verses show. He may also have been at the battle of Svōldr later, see *Hkr* I cxxxiii ff. It is doubtful whether Þorkell was at Hjōrungavágr. But he took a prominent part in the conquest of England at the beginning of the eleventh century. See *Campbell* 73 ff.

who failed to do this was to be expelled. No one was to stir up contention there. If there was any news, no one must be so rash as to repeat it to all and sundry, as Pálna-Tóki was to announce all the news there. No one must have a woman in the city and no one must be away longer than three days. And if a man was enrolled who had killed the father or brother or some other near relative of someone who was already a member and if that came to light after his enrolment, then Pálna-Tóki was to have the final word in the matter and in any other dissension which arose among them. They lived in the city in this way and kept their laws well. Every summer they went harrying in various lands and won fame. They were thought to be great warriors and they had few equals at that time. They were known as the Jomsvikings.

17

At that time Sjælland was ruled by an earl called Haraldr, who was known as Strút-Haraldr. He had got this name because he had a hat on which the ornaments were valued at ten gold marks.¹ His wife was called Ingibjörg. One of their sons was called Sigvaldi, the other Þorkell the tall,² and their daughter was called Tóva. Bornholm was ruled by a man called Véseti, whose wife was called Hildigunn. One of their sons was called Búi, the other Sigurðr kápa,³ and their daughter was called Þórgunn. Áki, the son of Pálna-Tóki, lived on Fyn. King Sveinn treated Áki well in every respect and he asked for Þórgunn's hand on Áki's behalf. Their marriage flourished and they had a son called Vagn.⁴ Vagn grew up at home. When Vagn was a few years old, people said he was of a more unruly temperament than other boys. He was always fighting and bullying. He lived then either at home or with Véseti, his grandfather, on Bornholm, since neither of them seemed to be able to control him. Búi was the one relative of his with whom he was on good terms and he did whatever Búi asked him to; but he never did what other people suggested. He was very handsome and very strong, and he was a man of all-round accomplishments. Búi, his uncle, was taciturn and proud, so strong that men were not aware how strong he actually was, ugly and yet dextrous. Sigurðr

³ The scaldic verses show that Búi was a historical character, but his brother Sigurðr is probably fictitious.

⁴ Vagn is mentioned as being at the battle of Hjörungavágr in one scaldic verse, otherwise nothing is known of him.

liðmannligr. Sigurðr kápa var vænn maðr ok inn mesti í skapi ok allfámálugr. Sigvaldi, son Haralds jarls, var fólleitr, eygðr manna bezt, nefljótr,¹ hár á vøxt, ok snøfrligr. Þorkell, bróðir hans, var manna hæstr ok sterkr ok forvitri, ok hvártrveggi þeira.

18

Þeir Sigvaldi spyrja fōður sinn hversu ráðligt honum þykki at þeir leiti til Jómsborgar. Jarl segir at þat væri ráðligt 'ok er ykk allt mál at reyna ykk'. Þeir spyrja ef hann vili fá þeim vápn eða vistir. Jarl kvað annathvært vera skyldu at fara hvergi eða fá sér sjálfir hvártveggja.^a Nú vilja þeir eigi fara at síðr. Búa nú tvau skip ok hundrað manna ok vönduðu lið þat sem mest fengu þeir. Síðan fara þeir til Borgundarhólms. Þeir runnu þar upp ok tóku upp bú Véseta, þat er auðgast var, ok ræntu hann því fé öllu ok báru á skip síðan.

Nú er ekki sagt frá ferð^b þeira fyrr en þeir koma til Jómsborgar. Pálna-Tóki gekk jafnan með miklu liði á kastala þann er var yfir sundinu at tala þaðan við þá menn er kómu til borgarinnar. Nú verðr hann varr við kvámu þeira Sigvalda. Gengr Pálna-Tóki nú í kastalann með miklu liði ok spyr hvern fyrir skipunum réði. Sigvaldi segir: 'Hér ráða fyrir bræðr tveir, synir Strút-Haralds jarls, en þat er ørendi okkat at vit vildim ráðask til liðs við yðr með þeim mönnum sem þér þykkja nýtandi í liði váru.' Pálna-Tóki rézk um við féлага sína; kvað sér kunnigt um kynferði þeira ok kvað þá vel borna. Þeir báðu Pálna-Tóka fyrir ráða. Ok nú er lokit upp borginni ok róa þeir í borgina; ok síðan reynt lið þeira ok var nýtr annarr helmingr, en annarr fór í brott. Ok eptir þat eru þeir bræðr í lög leiddir.

19

Nú er þar til at taka er Véseti er ræntur búi sínu. Hann ferr á fund Sveins konungs ok segir honum hvat títt er; en hann setr aptr sonu sína at öllum geysingi. Konungr ræðr honum þau ráð at hann skal nú fyrst láta kyrt vera, 'en ek mun senda orð Strút-Haraldi jarli ok vita

^a hvártveggja, *MS* hvarteggja

^b fð, *no abbreviation mark*

¹ A verse by Stefni Þórgilsson (*Skj. Digt. I. B 146*), which is commonly thought to refer to Sigvaldi, also makes mention of his nose: *niðrbjúgt es nef*.

kápa was a handsome man and very proud and taciturn. Sigvaldi, the son of Earl Haraldr, had sallow features and an ugly nose.¹ But he was very tall and very nimble and had excellent eyesight. Þorkell, his brother, was strong and exceedingly tall; and both of the brothers were wise.

18

Sigvaldi and Þorkell asked their father whether he thought it advisable that they set out for Jómsborg. The earl said that he thought it was a good idea 'and it's high time you proved yourselves'. They asked him if he would provide them with weapons and provisions, but the earl said either they should not go or else they must provide for themselves. They wished to go nevertheless and they made ready two ships and a hundred and twenty men, equipping them as best they could. Afterwards they sailed to Bornholm, where they landed, seized the richest farm that Véseti owned, robbed him of all the provisions there and took them off to their ships.

The rest of the journey to Jómsborg was uneventful. Pálna-Tóki was in the habit of going with a great following to the tower which was built over the approach to the harbour in order to speak with those who came to the city. He was informed of the brothers' arrival, went to the tower with a great host and asked who was the commander of the ships. Sigvaldi said: 'Two brothers, the sons of Earl Strút-Haraldr, are in command here, and our message is that we want to join your company with as many of our men as you think serviceable.' Pálna-Tóki took counsel with his fellows and said that he knew their kin and that they were of good stock. They told Pálna-Tóki to decide. Then the gates of the city were opened and they rowed into the city. Afterwards their men were put to the test, half of whom were found serviceable and the other half left. Then the two brothers were enrolled in the company.

19

Now we return to Véseti whose farm had been plundered. Having checked his sons from embarking on any impetuous action, he went to find King Sveinn to tell him what had happened. The king advised him to do nothing for the time being 'and I shall send word to Earl

ef hann vili gjalda fé fyrir sonu sína, svá at þú sér haldinn af. Ok vil ek þá at þú látir þér líka.' Nú ferr Véseti heim. En Sveinn konungr sendir menn eptir Haraldi jarli ok ferr hann á konungs fund. Ok segir konungr honum hversu synir hans höfðu gørt við Véseta ok beiddi at hann bætti fjárlutum fyrir þá ok væri þá kyrt. Jarl sagði svá: 'Ófengit hefi ek enn þess fjárins er ek mun fyrir þá bæta, þó at ungir menn tæki sér naut eða sauði til matar.' Konungr segir: 'Þá máttu fara heim því at ek hefi nú sagt þér hvat ek vilda. En þú ábyrgsk þik sjálf ok fé þitt fyrir Véseta ok sonum hans.' Haraldr jarl kvezk vera óhræddr fyrir Véseta ok sonum hans. Eptir þetta ferr Haraldr jarl heim.

Véseti ok synir hans spyrja viðræðu þeira konungs. Þeir búa skip þrjú sem bezt ok tvau hundruð manna. Síðan fara þeir í Sjáland. Þeir taka upp þrjú bú, þau er auðgust váru þeira er Haraldr jarl átti, ok fara heim eptir þat. Nú spyr Haraldr jarl at hann er rænt. Hann sendi nú menn ok bað hann sætta þá ok kvezk nú vilja þat gjarna. Sveinn konungr segir: 'Haraldr jarl skal nú hafa ráð sín hin góðu, því at hann vill ekki^a hafa mín ráð. Nú mun ek eiga í engan hlut.' Fara sendimenn aptr ok segja honum svá búit. Jarl segir: 'Vér munum þá verða at taka til várra ráða ef konungr vill hjá sitja.' Haraldr jarl býr nú tíu skip ok ferr síðan í Borgundarhólm, ok rænir þar Véseta þrim bóm þeim er eigi váru verri en þau er fyrir honum váru tekin. Vendir Haraldr jarl nú aptr ok þykkir ofraðarvel gengit hafa.

20

Véseti spyr þetta ok ferr hann þegar á konungs fund. Konungr tók vel við honum. Véseti mælti þá: 'Þann veg leggsk nú á of stund með oss Haraldi jarli at ek hygg at ófriðr muni gørask milli landsmanna ef eigi áttu hlut í. Kann vera at þér þykki nú eigi verra en síðarr.' Konungr segir: 'Ek mun nú bráðliga til þess þings fara er Íseyrarþing¹ heitir. Mun ek þá boða til Haraldi jarli ok skulu þit þá sættask.' Véseti ferr nú heim.

^a ekki, *MS* eckci

¹ Íseyrr is probably situated on or near the modern Isefjord in Sjælland; see *Danmarks Stedenavne* II, 1929, 74.

Strút-Haraldr to find out if he will pay a settlement on behalf of his sons so that you would be satisfied. And I would expect you to fall in with the settlement.' Véseti went home and King Sveinn sent men to summon Earl Haraldr, who went to the king. The king told him what his sons had done to Véseti and asked him to pay compensation on their behalf so that the peace could be kept. The earl said: 'I have not yet received any of these goods that I am to pay compensation for on their behalf—even though it might be that the young men took cattle or sheep for their food.' The king said: 'Then you may go home for I have told you what is my wish, and you must take your own precautions to safeguard your life and your property against Véseti and his sons.' Earl Haraldr said that he was not frightened of Véseti and his sons. After that he went home.

Véseti and his sons learned of the conversation between the king and Haraldr and they prepared three ships and two hundred and forty men as best they could. Afterwards they sailed to Sjælland. They looted three of the richest farms that Earl Haraldr owned and sailed home afterwards. When he learned that he had been robbed, Earl Haraldr sent men to King Sveinn to ask him to reconcile them adding that this was now his own wish. King Sveinn said: 'Earl Haraldr must abide by his own excellent counsel, since he won't listen to mine. I shall take no part in the matter now.' The messengers went back and told Haraldr how things stood. The earl said: 'We shall have to take matters into our own hands if the king is not going to act.' Earl Haraldr made ready ten ships, sailed to Bornholm and plundered three of Véseti's farms which were as good as his own which had been plundered. Earl Haraldr returned home and was delighted at the way things had gone.

Véseti got to hear of this and went immediately to the king, who received him well. Véseti said then: 'Matters have come to such a pass between Earl Haraldr and myself that I think there is going to be civil war in the land unless you intervene. It could be that you will find it more advisable to act now rather than later.' The king said: 'I shall soon be going to the assembly known as the Íseyrarþing,¹ to which I shall summon Earl Haraldr. I shall arrange a reconciliation between you two there.' Véseti went home.

Líða nú stundir til þingsins. Sveinn konungr sækir nú þingit með miklu fjölmenni því at hann vill nú einn ráða milli þeira. Hann hefir fimm tigi skipa. Haraldr jarl átti skamt at fara ok hefir hann tuttugu skip. Véseti ferr ok til þings ok hefir fimm ein skip; en synir hans váru eigi þar. En Haraldr jarl hafði sín tjöld upp stundu lengra frá sjó. Véseti setr tjöld sín við sjóinn hjá sundi því er þar gengr hjá þingstöðinni. Ok er á leið kveldit þá sá þeir fara frá heimili Haralds jarls tíu skip til þingsins. Þeir leggja í lægi ok síðan ganga þeir upp til þings; ok eru þar synir Véseta. Búi var ítarliga klæddr því at hann hafði tignarklæði Haralds jarls, er til kómu tuttugu merkr gulls. Hött jarls hafði Búi ok á höfði, þann er búinn var með tíu merkr gulls. Þeir höfðu ok tekit frá jarli kistur tvær ok var í hvárri tíu hundruð marka gulls.¹ Þeir gengu fram á þingit alvápnaðir ok með fylktu liði.

Þá tekr Búi til orða: 'Hitt er nú ráð, Haraldr jarl, ef þú þorir at berjask, enda sé nokkur dáð í þér, at þú takir vápn þín því at nú em ek búinn at berjask við þik.' Sveinn konungr heyrði orð Búa ok þykkisk sjá at hann mun eigi halda tign sinni ef þetta ferr fram. Gengr konungr nú í milli þeira ok ná þeir eigi at berjask. Ok þar kómr nú at hváirtveggju hljóta at játa konungs umdæmi. En þat skorar Búi í sættina at hann kvezk aldri mundu lausar láta gullkistur jarls. Er þat ok mál manna at hann þykkir þat ent hafa.

Síðan lýkr Sveinn konungr upp sættargörðinni ok ferr þaðan at 'at þú, Búi, skalt laus láta tignarklæði jarls, en gullkistur skaltu hafa báðar. Þér skuluð ok gjalda aptr þau þrjú bú jarls er tekin váru fyrir honum með því móti at jarl skal gipta Tóvu, dóttur sína, Sigurði kápu. Skal þetta vera hennar heimanfylgja² þessi þrjú bú.' Þeir taka nú vel þessu hváirtveggju. Leggr Véseti til við Sigurð þriðjung alls fjár, ok þykkir Sigurði it vænsta um kvánfang sitt. Fara þeir nú þegar af þinginu til brúðhlaupsins. Þangat buðu ok hváirtveggju Sveini konungi. Er nú drukkit brúðhlaup þeira Sigurðar ok Tóvu með mikilli tign. Véseti ferr nú heim ok sezkr um kyrt.

¹ For *tíu hundruð* the manuscript has *x.c.*; *Joleik* read *níu tigr* and *LM Hollander* 70 has 'ninety'. But cp. *vi.c.* (= *sex hundruð*) 26/17; and 291 has *í hvárri kistunni váru tíu hundruð marka gulls*. The story of Búi and the chests of gold can be compared with the story of the chests in *Egils saga*.

² See Glossary, s.v. *heimanfylgja*.

The date of the assembly arrived and King Sveinn went there with a huge following as he intended to have the final say in the matter. He had fifty ships with him. Earl Haraldr did not have far to go and he took twenty ships with him. Véseti also went to the assembly and had only five ships, but his sons were not present. Earl Haraldr had set up his tents a fair distance from the sea, whereas Véseti had put his up by the sea near the creek which ran alongside the assembly place. As the evening passed ten ships were seen sailing in the direction of the assembly from Earl Haraldr's home. The ships anchored and then the men went ashore to the assembly. The new arrivals were Véseti's sons. Búi was magnificently dressed as he had on Earl Haraldr's robes of state, which were valued at twenty gold marks. On his head Búi was wearing the earl's hat, which with its ornaments was valued at ten gold marks. They had also robbed the earl of two chests in each of which were a thousand gold marks.¹ They advanced to the assembly fully armed and in battle array.

Búi spoke: 'If you dare to fight and if you have any courage, I advise you, Earl Haraldr, to take up your weapons since I am ready to fight with you now.' King Sveinn heard Búi's words and realised that he would suffer a loss of prestige if they came to blows. The king interposed his men between them so that they did not manage to come to grips with each other. It ended by their both agreeing to accept the king's arbitration, but Búi insisted as part of the settlement that he would never let go of the earl's chests of gold. It is generally accepted that he kept his word.

Afterwards King Sveinn announced the terms of the reconciliation in the following way. 'You, Búi, shall give up the earl's robes of state, but keep both the chests of gold. You and your kinsmen shall pay compensation for the earl's three farms which were plundered in this way. The earl shall give his daughter Tóva in marriage to Sigurðr kápa and the three farms shall be her dowry.'² The terms were well received by both sides. Véseti bestowed a third of all his property on Sigurðr, who was well pleased with the wife he had got. They went straight from the assembly to the wedding to which both parties invited King Sveinn. The marriage of Sigurðr and Tóva was celebrated with great pomp. Véseti returned home and lived in peace.

Ok er synir hans hafa skamma hríð heima verit þá fýsisk Búi at fara til Jómsborgar ok auka svá ágæti sitt. Sigurðr vill^a ok fara þótt hann sé kvángaðr. Nú búask þeir heiman bræðr ok hafa tvau skip ok hundrað manna ok vilja gøra sem líkast því sem gørðu synir Strút-Haralds. Þeir koma til Jómsborgar ok leggja útan at hafnardyrum. Nú ganga hofðingjar í kastala með miklu liði. Kennir Sigvaldi menn þessa. Nú segir Búi sitt ørendi; kvezk vildu ráðask þangat til liðs við Pálna-Tóka ef hann vildi við honum taka ok þeim báðum bræðrum. Sigvaldi mælti þá: 'Hversu hafi þér Strút-Haraldr sett málum yðrum áðr þér fóruð ór landi?' Búi sagði: 'Þat er lōng saga um vár viðskipti ok má ek nú ekki segja þat, en sáttir erum vér eptir konungs dómi.' Nú mælti Pálna-Tóki við sína menn: 'Vili þér til hætta hvárt þessir menn segja satt eða eigi? En allfúss væra ek til þeira því at fáir munu slíkir í váru liði.' Þeir segja: 'Vér viljum at þú takir þá í lōg með oss ef þér sýnisk; en ef nōkkurir hlutir koma þeir upp síðan um hagi þeira, er vér vitum eigi, þá sé þat sem annat á þínum dómi.' Eptir þat var lokit upp borginni ok leggja þeir Búi nú skipum sínum í hōfnina; ok síðan reynt lið þeira ok þóttu þar átta tigur manna hlutgegnt, en fjórir tigur fóru heim. Sitja nú enn í borginni með mikilli frægð; en eru hvert sumar í víking ok vinna nú enn mōrg snildarbrōgð.

Nú er at segja frá Vagni Ákasyni at hann var ýmist með feðr sínum eða með Véseta, móðurfōður sínum. Hann var maðr svá óeirinn at hann hafði drepit þrjá menn þá er hann var níu vetra. Hann er nú þó heima þar til er hann^b er tólf vetra. Ok nú segir hann fōður sínum at hann fái honum lið. Ok Áki fær honum hálf tundrað manna ok skip; en Véseti fær honum ok hálf tundrað manna ok annat langskip. Ok er engi sá maðr er honum fylgir ellri en tuttugu, en engi yngri en átján vetra nema Vagn; hann var tólf vetra. Hann kvazk mundu sjálfr fá sér vista ok vápna. Nú heldr Vagn á braut liði sínu ok þarf nú brátt at

^a Sigurðr vill *altered in MS from Sigval(di)*

^b hann *written twice*

But when his sons had been at home a short time Búi grew eager to go to Jómsborg to add to his fame. Sigurðr wanted to accompany him even though he was married. The brothers made ready to leave with two ships and a hundred and twenty men, and they intended to do exactly as the sons of Strút-Haraldr had done. They arrived at Jómsborg and anchored at the entrance to the harbour. The chieftains with a great following went to the tower and Sigvaldi recognised the newcomers. Búi told them his message and said that he wanted to join Pálna-Tóki's company if he would accept him and his brother. Then Sigvaldi said: 'How did you and Strút-Haraldr settle your differences before you left the country?' Búi said: 'It would take too long to tell you of our hostilities and this is not the right moment to tell you of them. But the king reconciled us.' Pálna-Tóki said now to his men: 'Will you risk whether they are telling the truth or not? And I would be very willing to admit them as there are few in our company who are their equals.' They said: 'We are quite satisfied that you enrol them in the company if you wish to do so. And if any of their actions in this business come to light later which we don't know now, let that be submitted to your judgment like everything else.' After that the gates were opened and Búi and his brother berthed their ships in the harbour. Then their men were tested and eighty were thought fit for service, and forty went home. The Jomsvikings remained now in the city with great fame, and every summer they went raiding and performed many valiant deeds.

Vagn, it is related, stayed alternately with his father and with Véseti, his grandfather. He was such an unruly fellow that by the time he was nine he had already killed three men. He stayed at home, though, till he was twelve. Then he asked his father for some men, so Áki fitted him out with a ship and sixty men, and Véseti gave him another longship with sixty men. Nobody in his company was older than twenty or younger than eighteen, except for Vagn himself, who was twelve. He said he himself would provide the weapons and provisions. Vagn and his men had not been gone long before they felt the need of pro-

fá til vista. Hann ferr fyrir endilanga Danmörk ok hæggr strandhogg ósparliga. Rænir hann ok bæði herklæðum ok vápnum. Hann léttir eigi fyrr en hann hefir bæði gnóg vápn ok herklæði áðr hann siglir ór Danmörk.

Hann heldr nú skipum sínum til Jómsborgar ok kœmr þar snemma dags þegar í sólar upprás. Hann leggr útan skipum sínum at steinboganum. En hofðingjar borgar gengu fram með miklu liði ok spyrja hverir komnir væri. Vagn spyr í mót hvárt Pálna-Tóki væri í kastalanum.^a Pálna-Tóki segir at svá var 'eða hverr ertu er svá lætr rík-mannliga?' 'Ekki skal því leyna þik at ek heiti Vagn ok em ek Ákason, ok því hér kominn at bjóða þér mitt lið. Ek þótta eigi dæll heima.' Pálna-Tóki segir: 'Þykki þér ráðit, frændi, at þú þykkir hér dæll ef menn mega trautt heima um þik tæla?' Vagn mælti: 'Logit er þá at mér, frændi, ef slíkir eru eigi nýtir í lögum yðrum.' Pálna-Tóki mælti þá til sinna manna: 'Hvárt þykkir yðr ráð at vér takim við þeim?' 'Þat þykki mér ráð,' segir Búi, 'ok er [hann þó]^b við mik bezt sinna frænda, at vér takim eigi við honum.' Pálna-Tóki mælti: 'Vagn frændi, við þér rísa várir menn ok jafnt frændr þínir sem aðrir.' Vagn segir: 'Eigi varði mik þess, Búi frændi, af þér.' Búi mælti: 'Þar em ek saðr at því.' Vagn mælti: 'Hvat leggja þeir til synir Strút-Haralds?' Sigvaldi mælti: 'Hafa skulum vit til þess einqrð at vit vildim at þú kœmir aldri í várn flokk.' Nú segir Pálna-Tóki: 'Hversu gamall ertu, frændi?' Vagn segir: 'Ekki skal ljúga til þess: ek em tólf vetra.' Pálna-Tóki mælti: 'Þá mælir þú eigi lög við oss því at þú ert maðr miklu yngri en vér hafim í lög tekna. Ok bítr þetta fyrir at þú mátt eigi hér vera.' Vagn segir: 'Ek mun ekki halda til þess at brjóta lög þín; en þá eru þau sízt brotin ef ek em sem einn átján vetra eða ellri.' Pálna-Tóki mælti: 'Haltu ekki til þessa, frændi. Ek mun heldr senda þik til Bretlands á fund Bjarnar ok fyrir vára frændsemi þá gef ek þér ríki þat hálf er ek á í Bretlandi.' Vagn segir: 'Vel er þat boðit, en eigi vil ek þann.' 'Hvar til ætlar þú, frændi,' segir Pálna-Tóki, 'er þú vill eigi slíkt?' 'Því skal nú lýsa,' segir Vagn. 'Ek býð Sigvalda, syni Strút-Haralds, at hann leggi ór borginni tveim skipum, ok reynum með oss hvárir undan láta eða hvárir meira hlut hafi.¹ Ok skal þat vera mark til

^a *MS* kast'; kastala *Cederschöld and Joleik*

^b *supplied by Cederschöld*

¹ *H* has mixed two constructions here; cp. 291: *hvárir undan skulu láta qðrum ok hvárir meira hlut skulu hafa*, and *Flat.*: *hvárir undan léti eðr hvárir meira hlut hafi*.

visions. He went from one end of Denmark to the other ravaging ruthlessly, and he stole both weapons and armour. He did not stop until he had sufficient of both and then he sailed away from Denmark.

He set his course for Jónsborg and arrived there early one day as the sun was rising. He anchored his ships outside the stone arch. The city chieftains came out with a great company and asked who the new arrivals were. Vagn asked in reply whether Pálna-Tóki was in the tower. Pálna-Tóki said that he was, 'and who are you who behave in such a high-handed manner?' 'I shan't keep it hidden from you that my name is Vagn and I am the son of Áki. I have come here to offer you the services of my company. At home I was not thought easy to handle.' Pálna-Tóki said: 'Do you think it's likely, kinsman, that you'll be able to get along here, if men could hardly control you at home?' Vagn said: 'I have been misinformed then, kinsman, if such men are of no service to your company.' Pálna-Tóki said to his men then: 'Do you think it advisable to admit them?' 'In my opinion,' said Búi, 'we should not admit them, and yet he respects me most of all his kinsmen.' Pálna-Tóki said: 'Vagn kinsman, our men are opposed to your joining our ranks—your kinsmen just as much as the others.' Vagn said: 'I didn't expect this of you, kinsman Búi.' Búi said: 'But that is exactly what I think.' Vagn said: 'What do the sons of Strút-Haraldr say?' Sigvaldi said: 'We are both agreed that we would prefer that you should never join our company.' Then Pálna-Tóki said: 'How old are you, kinsman?' Vagn said: 'I shan't tell you a lie about this: I am twelve.' Pálna-Tóki said: 'Then you are not abiding by our laws, as you are much younger than any man we have admitted into our company. And let that be the reason why you cannot join our company.' Vagn said: 'I shall not strive to break your laws, and yet there is no infringement to speak of if I am the equal of one who is eighteen or older.' Pálna-Tóki said: 'Don't set your mind on that, kinsman. Instead I shall send you to Wales to Björn and because of our kinship I give you half of my kingdom there.' Vagn said: 'That is a generous offer, but I won't accept it.' 'What do you intend to do, kinsman,' said Pálna-Tóki, 'if you won't accept such a good offer?' 'I am just going to tell you,' said Vagn. 'I challenge Sigvaldi Strút-Haraldsson to row out of the harbour with two ships and to see which of us retreats and which of us comes off best.¹ And let that be a bargain between us that if they

með oss at þér skuluð við oss taka ef þeir láta undan ella skulu vér í brott leggja. Ok eigi býð ek honum þetta með minna kappi en Sigvaldi berisk við oss ef hann er óragr karlmaðr ok hefir hann heldr mannhug en berkykvendis.' Pálna-Tóki mælti: 'Hvært heyrir þú, Sigvaldi, hvat Vagn segir ok ekki vandar hann boð at þér? Ok þat ætla ek at þér komið í gilda raun. En við þat er svá mikít er um mælt þá kann ek eigi at letja at þér leggið at þeim ok gørið þeim þat illt er þér megið. En eigi vil ek at þér drepið Vagn þó at hann þykki eigi alldæli.'

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Eptir þetta herklæðask þeir Sigvaldi ok róa at þeim tveim skipum. Ok þegar slær þar í harðan bardaga. Láta þeir Vagn ganga grjóthríð svá harða at þeir Sigvaldi máttu ekki annat gøra en hlífa sér, ok höfðu þó ærit at vinna. Þeir lögðu síbyrt, ok þegar er grjót fættisk þá láta þeir eigi þurfa at bíða hoggvanna. En svá kómrví máli at Sigvaldi lætr síga undan inn til lands ok vill fá sér grjót, en þeir Vagn þegar eptir. Ok finnask nú á landi ok verðr Sigvaldi nú við at hrökkva ok er sjá miklu meiri bardagi. Fellr nú liðit Sigvalda. Þeir Pálna-Tóki eru nú í kastalanum ok horfa á. Pálna-Tóki þykkisk nú sjá hversu fara mun. Kallar nú á Sigvalda at þeir skyli hætta 'því at yðr mun eigi endask at þreyta þetta. Er þat mitt ráð at vér takim við Vagni ok hans mōnnum, þó at hann sé yngri en í lōgum várum er mælt. Ok er góð ván á at sjá maðr muni verða mikil kempa^a at því er mér sýnisk.' Nú gøra þeir sem Pálna-Tóki mælti: hætta nú bardaganum ok taka við Vagni ok hans félōgum. Ok eru þeir nú lōgteknir. Þrír tigr manna höfðu fallit af Sigvalda en fáir af Vagni; en margir váru sárir. Vagn fylgir þeim nú í hverja herfōr ok stýrir skipi,¹ ok þykkir nú engi jafnmikill bardagamaðr sem hann. Þessu fōr nú^b fram þrjú sumur.

^a kempa, *MS* kenpa

^b fōr nú *written twice*

¹ A steersman was an important person and nobles usually steered their own ships. When Sigvaldi fled from Hjørungavágr it is clear that he normally steered his own ship (38/7). To be a steersman may have implied a social position; see Aakjær, S., 'Old Danish Thegns and Drengs', *Acta Philologica Scandinavica* II (1927) 1 ff., and *DRI* 1.

retreat you will admit us; otherwise we will sail away. Yet I shan't phrase my challenge in mincing terms, but let Sigvaldi fight with us if he is a dauntless warrior and has a man's rather than a she-wolf's courage.' Pálna-Tóki said: 'Do you hear what Vagn says, Sigvaldi, and he certainly hasn't toned down his challenge to you? In my opinion you're going to find it a stiff task. But as so much has been said, I cannot prevent you from attacking them and doing them as much mischief as you can. Yet I do not want you to kill Vagn, even though he doesn't seem to be very easy to deal with.'

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After that Sigvaldi and his men made themselves ready for battle and rowed out to meet them with two ships. And immediately a fierce battle ensued. Vagn and his men bombarded them with stones so fiercely that Sigvaldi and his men could do nothing else but protect themselves—and they had their hands full even then. They grappled the ships together, and as soon as Vagn and his men ran out of stones they wasted no time in taking to their swords. It came to this that Sigvaldi retreated to the shore to gather stones, but Vagn and his men followed straight on their heels. They came to blows again on land and Sigvaldi continued to retreat, the battle being even more bitterly contested. Sigvaldi's ranks began to get thinner. Pálna-Tóki and the rest were in the tower watching the battle. When Pálna-Tóki realised how things were going, he told Sigvaldi that they should stop fighting 'as there's no point in your thrashing it out to the bitter end. I propose that we admit Vagn and his men even though he is younger than our laws allow. In my opinion it's very likely that he'll turn out to be a great warrior.' They did as Pálna-Tóki had said: the battle was stopped and Vagn and his companions were received and enrolled in the company. Thirty of Sigvaldi's men had fallen, but few of Vagn's; though there were many wounded on either side. Vagn accompanied them on every expedition and he was in command of a ship.¹ No one seemed to be as great a warrior as he was. Things went on in this way for three years.

Nú er Vagn fimtán vetra. Þá tekur Pálna-Tóki sótt. Lætr hann þá senda eftir Búrisleifi konungi. Ok þá er konungr kómr til Pálna-Tóka þá mælti hann: 'Þat er hugboð mitt, herra konungr, at ek muna eigi taka fleiri sóttir en þessa.' Konungr mælti: 'Þat er mitt ráð at þú kjósir mann í stað þinn at skipa þeim málum er þú hefir áðr fyrir sét. Ok sé sá hofðingi í borginni ok hafizk þér enn hér við.' Pálna-Tóki segir at honum þótti Sigvalda minst til skorta at sjá yfir mál manna 'ok þykki mér þó alla þá nakkvat skorta á þat sem ek hefi verit.' Konungr mælti: 'Opt hafa oss þín ráð vel gefizk ok skal þetta enn hafa it síðasta. Skulu standa 9ll hin fornu lög í borginni.' Ekki er Sigvaldi þessa trauðr ok gengr hann at allglatt. Nú gefr Pálna-Tóki Vagni, frænda sínum, hálf Bretland til eignar ok forráða með Birni hinum brezka ok bað Vagni virkta á alla vega við liðit. Ok litlu eftir þat andask Pálna-Tóki ok þykkir þat 9llum inn mesti skaði.

Sigvaldi hefir skamma stund stýrt lögum þeira áðr nokkut breytisk ór því sem áðr var. Þá vóru konur þar tveim nóttum saman eða þrim ok svá eru menn nú ór borginni lengrum en þá er Pálna-Tóki lifði. Verða ok stundum áverkar eða einstaka víg.

Búrisleifr konungr átti þrjár døtr. Hét in ellzta Ástríðr; ok var hon hin vænsta kona ok hin vitrasta. 9nnur hét Gunnhildr, þriðja Geira; hennar fekk Óláfr Tryggvason. Sigvaldi ferr nú á konungs fund ok býðr honum tvá kosti at hann muni eigi vera í borginni ella gefi hann honum Ástríði, dóttur sína. 'Þat hafða ek ætlat,' segir konungr, 'at hon mundi þeim manni vera gipt er tignari væri fyrir nafns sakir en þú ert. En þó væri mér nauðsyn at þú værir í borginni; ok skulu vér ráða um 9ll saman.' Konungr hittir nú Ástríði, dóttur sína, ok spyrr hversu henni væri at skapi sá ráðahagr at hon sé gipt Sigvalda. Ástríðr segir: 'Þér satt at segja þá vilda ek Sigvalda aldri eiga. Ok þat skal hann til vinna at koma af 9llum sköttum af landinu þeim er vér hofum

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When Vagn was fifteen Pálna-Tóki fell ill. Pálna-Tóki sent men to summon King Búrisleifr. On the king's arrival Pálna-Tóki said: 'I think, your majesty, that this illness is going to be my last.' The king said: 'Then it's my advice that you select a man to fill your place so that he can attend to the matters which you have looked after up to now. Let him be the ruler of the city; and let the Jomsvikings remain here.' Pálna-Tóki said that he thought that Sigvaldi was the most suitable person to take charge of the Jomsvikings, 'but yet I think that all of them fall short of what I have been.' The king said: 'We have often benefited from your advice and we shall follow these your last counsels. Let the old laws remain unchanged here in the city.' Sigvaldi jumped at the chance of assuming command and accepted it gladly. Pálna-Tóki gave his kinsman Vagn half of Wales to own and govern together with Björn the Welshman, and commended him to the care of the whole company. Pálna-Tóki died a little later and all thought it a great misfortune.

Sigvaldi had not been head of the company very long before the discipline began to deteriorate. Women remained in the city for two or three nights at a time and the men also stayed away from the city longer than when Pálna-Tóki had been alive. And from time to time injuries were inflicted and a few isolated killings took place.

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King Búrisleifr had three daughters. The eldest was called Ástriðr, who was the most beautiful and wisest of women. The second was called Gunnhildr and the third Geira, who was married to Óláfr Tryggvason. Sigvaldi went to the king and offered him two alternatives: that either he should leave the city or else the king should give him Ástriðr, his daughter, as his wife. 'I had thought,' said the king, 'that she should marry someone whose rank was more exalted than yours. But yet it is essential for me to keep you in the city. We shall all discuss the matter together.' The king met Ástriðr, his daughter, and asked her what she thought about being married to Sigvaldi. Ástriðr said: 'To tell you the truth I would rather never marry Sigvaldi. But before he shall call me his wife, let him first accomplish the liberation

áðr goldit Danakonungi áðr hann komi í mína sæng. Hinn er annarr kostr at hann komi Sveini konungi hingat svá at þú eigir hans vald.' Konungr berr þetta nú upp fyrir Sigvalda. En hann er fúss til ráðahags við Ástríði. Kœmr þar at Sigvaldi játar þessu; ok binda þetta fastmælum. Skal þetta komit fram fyrir hin fyrstu jól elligar eru qll mál þeira laus. Sigvaldi ferr nú heim til Jómsborgar.

Ok litlu síðarr býr hann þrjú skip ok þrjú hundruð manna ór borginni ok ferr nú þar til er hann kœmr við Sjálönd. Hann hittir menn at máli ok spyr at Sveinn konungr tekr veizlu skamt þaðan. Þá leggr hann skip sín við eitt nes. Þar vátu hvergi skip í nánd. Þat var skamt frá bæ þeim er konungr drakk með sex hundruð manna. Þeir Sigvaldi snúa skipum sínum ok láta framstafna horfa frá landi. Þeir^a tengja skipit hvert af stafni annars. Síðan sendir Sigvaldi tuttugu menn á fund Sveins konungs 'ok segið honum svá at ek sé sjúkr ok at bana kominn ok ek vilja fyrir eins finna hann ok líf hans liggi við.'

Nú finna þeir konung ok bera upp þessi ørendi. Konungr bregzk við skjótt ok ferr þegar með þau sex hundruð manna. En er Sigvaldi verðr varr at konungr er kominn þá lá hann á því skipi er first var landi. Hann mælti við sína menn: 'Þá er þrír tigur manna eru komnir á it skip er næst er landi, þá skulu þér kippa bryggju af landi ok mæla at menn troði eigi skipit svá at sökki. Ok get ek at konungr gangi í fyrra lagi. En þá er tuttugu menn eru komnir á miðskipit þá skulu þér þar kippa bryggju.'

Nú er konungr kominn á skipit. Þá göra þeir sem mælt var. Nú er konungr kominn á skip Sigvalda við tíunda mann. Þá spurði konungr hvárt Sigvaldi hefði mál sitt. Honum var sagt at mátt hans var sem minstr. Konungr gengr þá at rekkju Sigvalda ok spurði hvárt hann mætti mæla. Sigvaldi svarar: 'Lúttu at mér nú.' En er konungr laut at honum þá tók Sigvaldi annarri hendi um þverar herðar honum en annarri undir hönd honum. Ok þá kallaði Sigvaldi at qllum skipum skyli í braut róa sem skjótast; ok svá göra þeir. En menn konungs stóðu eptir á landi ok sá á. Þá mælti konungr: 'Hvat er nú, Sigvaldi, viltu svíkja mik eða hvat ætlask þú fyrir?' Sigvaldi segir: 'Eigi mun ek svíkja yðr en fara skulu þér til Jómsborgar, ok skulu þér vera þar

^a þeir, *MS* þ(ér)

of these lands from all the tribute which we have previously paid to the king of Denmark. The alternative is that he bring King Sveinn here so that you have him in your power.' The king told this to Sigvaldi who was still eager to marry Ástriðr. It ended with Sigvaldi agreeing to the conditions, which they all then confirmed by oaths. Sigvaldi was to carry out his part of the agreement by the following Christmas or else they were all released from their obligations. Sigvaldi went home to Jónsborg.

Not long after he made ready three ships and three hundred and sixty men and sailed from the city to Sjælland. He met some men from whom he learned that King Sveinn was at a banquet not far from there. He anchored his ships by a headland, where there were no other ships in the neighbourhood and which was a short distance from the farm where King Sveinn was at the feast together with seven hundred and twenty men. Sigvaldi and his men turned their ships round letting the bows face the sea, and they tied the ships up alongside each other. Then Sigvaldi sent twenty men to find King Sveinn 'and tell him that I am sick and at death's door, and that I want to see him desperately about something in which his life is at stake.'

They met the king and delivered their message. The king reacted quickly and set out immediately with the seven hundred and twenty men. When Sigvaldi learned that the king had come he was lying on the ship which was furthest from the land. He said to his men: 'When thirty men have come aboard the ship nearest the land, pull up the gangplank from the shore and tell them not to overcrowd the ship lest it sink. And I imagine that the king will be among the first. And when twenty men have come aboard the middle ship, pull up the gangplank.'

The king arrived on the ship and Sigvaldi's men carried out his instructions. When the king had come aboard Sigvaldi's ship with nine men, he asked whether Sigvaldi could speak or not. He was told that he was very weak. The king went to Sigvaldi's bed and asked him whether he could speak. Sigvaldi replied: 'Bend down to me.' When the king bent down to him, Sigvaldi gripped him with one arm round his shoulders and the other under his arm and shouted to his men that they should row away as quickly as possible. They did so. But the king's men remained behind on the shore and looked on. Then the king said: 'What is going on, Sigvaldi? Are you going to betray me or what are your plans?' Sigvaldi said: 'I shall not betray you, but you must go to Jónsborg where you will be made welcome. We shall show

velkomnir. Ok vér skulum veita yðr alla virðing.' Konungr segir: 'Þat munum vér nú ok þekkjask.'

Þeir fara nú til Jómsborgar, ok göra Jómsvíkingar veizlu mikla móti honum ok kallask hans menn. Þá sagði Sigvaldi konungi at hann hefði beðit til handa honum dóttur Búrisleifs konungs er Gunnhildr hét, 'sú er vænst er; en mér er fóstnuð systir hennar, er Ástríðr heitir. Nú mun ek fara á fund konungs ok vitja þessa mála fyrir þína hönd.' Konungr bað hann svá göra. Sigvaldi ferr nú á fund Búrisleifs konungs með hundrað manna,^a ok talask þeir við. Lézsk Sigvaldi nú kominn til ráða við Ástríði. Göra þeir nú Búrisleifr konungr ok Sigvaldi ráð sitt. Eptir þat ferr Sigvaldi heim. Sveinn konungr spurði hversu gengi málin. Sigvaldi kvað þat á hans valdi 'ef þú, konungr, vilt gefa upp Búrisleifi konungi skatta áðr hann gipti þér dóttur sína. Ok er þat meiri sómi báðum ykkur at þú eigir þess konungs dóttur at eigi sé skattgildr.' Svá kómur Sigvaldi nú sínum fortölum at konungr vill þenna kost.

Er nú á kveðin brúðhlaupsstefna ok skulu vera bæði senn brúðhlaupin. Sækir Sveinn konungr nú til veizlunnar ok fylgja honum allir Jómsvíkingar. Ok er þar ríkulig veizla svá at menn mundu eigi vegligra boð í Vindlandi. Inn fyrsta aptan^b hafa brúðirnar síðfaldit.¹ En um morguninn eptir eru þær kátar ok skupla þá ekki. Ok hyggr þá Sveinn konungr at yfirlitum þeira því at hann hafði hváriga fyrr séna. En Sigvaldi hafði sagt at sú væri konan vænni er konungr átti, en konungi leizt þá eigi svá ok þykkir Sigvaldi hafa sagt eigi satt. Sér nú konungr allt ráð hans ok færir þó í nyt sér allt þat er honum þótti sér til virðingar snúask mega. Nú er slitit veizlunni. Ferr konungr nú heim með konu sína ok hafði þaðan þrjá tigi skipa ok mikit lið ok margar görsimar. En Sigvaldi ferr til Jómsborgar með konu sína ok Jómsvíkingar með honum.

Litlu^c síðarr spyrjask þau tíðendi ór Danmørk at Strút-Haraldr jarl er andaðr, faðir þeira Sigvalda ok Þorkels. En Hemingr, bróðir þeira,

^a manna, *MS* liði

^b ap/ta aptan *MS*

^c Litlu, *MS* Itlu

¹ For the use of veils at marriages, cp. *Þrymskvíða* str. 19, 27.

you all the honour we can.' The king said: 'I shall have to accept that.'

They went to Jónsborg and the Jomsvikings prepared a great banquet for him and they called themselves his men. Then Sigvaldi said to the king that he had asked for the hand of King Búrisleifr's daughter, called Gunnhildr, on his behalf. 'She is the most beautiful one. And I am engaged to her sister Ástriðr. Now I'll go to the king to settle the terms of the marriage for you.' The king told him to do so. Sigvaldi went now with a hundred and twenty men to King Búrisleifr and they discussed the matter together. Sigvaldi claimed that he had now won Ástriðr. King Búrisleifr and Sigvaldi made their plans, after which the latter went home. King Sveinn asked him how the suit was going. Sigvaldi said that it lay in his power 'as Búrisleifr will not give you his daughter until you relinquish the tribute which Búrisleifr pays to you, your majesty. It will add to your honour and his if you marry the daughter of a king who does not pay tribute.' Sigvaldi was so persuasive that the king accepted the terms.

The date of the weddings was announced and they were both to be on the same day. King Sveinn made his way to the banquet accompanied by all the Jomsvikings. The banquet was so magnificent that no one could remember that there had ever been a finer one in Wendland. The brides were veiled the first evening,¹ but next morning they were merry and left off the veils. King Sveinn looked carefully at their features as he had seen neither of them before. Sigvaldi had said that the one the king had married was the more beautiful, but the king did not think so and he realised that Sigvaldi had not told him the truth. The king fathomed all Sigvaldi's plans, but yet he turned to his advantage all that he thought would redound to his honour. The banquet finished and the king went home taking with him his wife, thirty ships, a great following and many precious gifts. Sigvaldi returned to Jónsborg with his wife, and the Jomsvikings accompanied him.

Not long after it was reported from Denmark that Earl Strút-Haraldr, the father of Sigvaldi and Þorkell, had died. Hemingr, their brother,

var ungr.¹ Nú sendir Sveinn konungr orð Sigvalda at þeir kæmi í Danmörk at erfa feðr sinn.² Þeir sendu þau orð at konungr láti búa veizluna ok spari eigi fé þeira, en þeir kváðusk mundu til koma um vetrnáttu skeið. Þetta sýnisk flestum mönnum óráðligt ok gruna at vinátta þeira Sveins konungs ok Sigvalda muni grunn vera, þann veg sem farit hafði. En þeir vilja ekki annat en fara. Þeir búask nú ór borginni Jómsvíkingar ok hafa hálfu annat hundrað skipa. Fara þeir nú í Sjálfond.

Sveinn konungr er þar fyrir ok búin ágæt veizla. Þar er ok allmikit fjölmenni. Sveinn konungr lætr nú þegar it fyrsta kveld bera þeim Jómsvíkingum inn sterkasta drykk; en þeir drekka ok afarfast. Sveinn konungr finnr nú at þeir gørask dauðdruknir ok málgir mjök. Þá tekr Sveinn konungr til orða: 'Hér er nú glaumr mikill. Væri nú þat sœmiligt at vér tækim upp gleði nokkverja til skemtunar mönnum, þá er menn hefði at minnum eptir síðan.' Sigvaldi segir: 'Þat þykkir oss upphafligast ok bazt fyrir sét at þér hefði fyrst, því at vér eigum allir til yðvar lúta.' Konungr mælti: 'Þat veit ek menn gøra at veizlum slíkum at hafa fram heitstrengingar til ágætis sér.'³ Nú svá sem þér eruð ágætir um öll lönd svá mun þat ok af bera er þér mælið um. Nú mun ek fyrir gøra. Ek strengi þess heit at ek skal rekit hafa Aðalráð Englakonung af ríki sínu fyrir hinar þriðju vetrnætr^a eða feldan hann elligar ok nát svá ríki.⁴ Nú áttu, Sigvaldi, ok mæltu eigi minna um.' Hann kvað svá vera skyldu. 'Herra, þess strengi ek heit,' segir hann, 'at ek skal herja í Nóreg fyrir inar þriðju vetrnætr með því liði er ek fæ til ok hafa eltan ór landi Hákon jarl eða drepit eða liggja þar eptir.' Þá segir konungr: 'Nú ferr vel at,' segir hann, 'ok er þessa vel heitstrengt ok ver hálfu at heilli ok efn þetta vel. Nú áttu, Þorkell inn hávi, ok er einsætt at láta verða stórmannliga.' Þorkell segir: 'Hugat hefi ek mína heitstrenging at fylgja Sigvalda, bróður mínum, ok flýja

^a the scribe first wrote *jol* which he changed to *vetr*, the *l* being the first minim of the *v*; the *jo* were not deleted

¹ A *Hemming dux Danorum*, mentioned by Florence of Worcester 1009, may possibly be the historical brother of Þorkell inn hávi, see *Campbell* 73, 87.

² It was customary for heirs to drink the *erfiöl* of the deceased before they could take possession of the inheritance. One method of holding the feast is described in *Hkr* I 66. According to *Fgsk* 84 the feast should be held within a year of the deceased's death.

³ The swearing of extravagant vows at feasts is referred to in many sagas. In *Hoensa-Þóris saga* (ed. S. Nordal and G. Jónsson, *Íslensk Fornriti* III, 1938) 33-5 it is also used by unscrupulous men to trap the unwary. In this saga the man who is to swear the oath gets up from his seat and goes to a stone in the

was still a boy.¹ King Sveinn sent word to Sigvaldi that they should come to Denmark to take part in their father's funeral celebrations.² They sent a message back that the king should have a banquet made ready and that he could make unlimited calls on their own resources. They said they would arrive at the beginning of the winter. Most men thought it inadvisable and suspected that the friendship between Sveinn and Sigvaldi was rather thin the way things had gone. But they insisted on going. The Jomsvikings made ready now to leave the city and they had a hundred and eighty ships. They went to Sjælland.

King Sveinn was there to greet them and an imposing banquet had been prepared; and there were a great many guests present. The very first evening King Sveinn let the Jomsvikings be served with the most potent drink which they drank without restraint. When King Sveinn saw that they were becoming drunk and very talkative, he said: 'Everyone is enjoying himself well here, but it would be fitting if for the general entertainment we took to some sport which would be remembered long afterwards.' Sigvaldi said: 'As we are all your men, we think it would get the best and most fitting send-off if you began.' The king said: 'I know it's the custom at such banquets to make oaths to enhance one's reputation.'³ Since you are famous throughout the world, the vows you make will far surpass all others. Now I shall begin. I swear that before three years are past I shall drive Æðelred, king of England, from his kingdom or kill him otherwise and so gain possession of his domain.⁴ Now it's your turn, Sigvaldi, and let your vow be as far reaching as mine.' He said that so it should be. 'Your majesty, I swear,' he said, 'that before three years are past I shall ravage Norway with as many men as I can assemble and drive Earl Hákon out of the land or kill him; or else my lifeless body will remain in Norway.' The king said: 'This is going nicely,' he said, 'and that was a brave vow. Good luck to you and carry it out well. Now it's your turn, Þorkell the tall, and the only thing to do is to set about it nobly.' Þorkell said: 'I have thought of my oath. I shall follow Sigvaldi, my brother, and I shall not flee before I see the stern of his

hall. There putting one foot on the stone he makes his vow. See also Grønbech, V., *The Culture of the Teutons*, 1931, II 192 ff.

⁴ Æðelred the unready was king of England 978-1016. Sveinn made three expeditions to England during his reign, in 994, 1003-04 and 1013-04. It was only on the last expedition that he managed to drive Æðelred from his throne. But the expedition of the Jomsvikings had taken place long before.

eigi fyrr en ek sé á skutstafn skipi hans.' 'Þetta er hraustliga mælt ok þetta muntu vel efna. Þú, Búi digri,' segir konungr, 'nú áttu ok muntu nakkvarninn merkiliga láta verða.' 'Þess strengi ek heit,' segir Búi, 'at ek skal fylgja Sigvalda í fõr þessa, sem ek hefi karlmennsku til ok haldask við meðan Sigvaldi vill.' 'Svá fõr sem vér gátum,' segir konungr, 'at skõruliga mundi verða af þinni hendi. Nú áttu, Sigurðr kápa, eptir bróður þinn.' 'Skjótt er þat,' segir Sigurðr, 'ek skal fylgja bróður mínum ok flýja eigi fyrr en hann eða hann er dauðr.' 'Slíks var ván,' segir konungr. 'Nú áttu, Vagn,' segir konungr, 'ok er oss mikit um at heyra þína heitstrenging. Þér eruð kappar miklir, frændr.'^{1a} Vagn mælti: 'Þess strengi ek heit at fylgja Sigvalda í fõr þessa ok Búa, frænda mínum, ok haldask við meðan Búi vill ef hann er lífs. Þat skal ok fylgja þessi heitstrenging ef ek køm í Nóreg at ek skal drepa Þorkel leiru en ganga í rekkju Ingibjargar, dóttur hans, án frænda ráði.' Björn inn brezki var þar með Vagni. Þá mælti konungr: 'Hvers strengir þú heit, Björn?' Hann segir: 'Fylgja Vagni, fõstra mínum, svá sem ek hefi drengskap til.' Nú slítr tali þessu ok fara menn at sofa.

Sigvaldi ferr í rekkju^b hjá konu sinni, Ástríði, ok sofnar hann brátt ok fast. Ok er hann vaknar spyrr Ástríðr hvárt hann muni heitstrenging sína. Hann kvezk eigi muna. Hon mælti: 'Eigi mun þér at því verða sem engi hafi verit'—ok sagði honum—'ok mun bæði við þurfa vits ok ráðagørðar.' Sigvaldi mælti: 'Hvat skal nú til ráða taka? Þú ert vitr ok góðráð.'² 'Eigi veit ek þat,' segir hon, 'en til skal nakkvat leggja, því at þú hefir lítinn styrk síðarr af Sveini konungi ef þú fær nú eigi.' Eptir þetta gøra^c þau ráð sín.

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Køm'r Sveinn konungr í sæti sitt ok allir Jómsvíkingar. Sigvaldi var kátr mjök. Sveinn konungr spyrr þá hvárt Sigvaldi myndi heitstrenging sína. Sigvaldi kvezk eigi muna. Konungr segir honum nú. Sigvaldi kvað ǫl annan mann 'eða hvat muntu til leggja at ek efna mína heit-

^a frændr, *MS* frændi

^b rekkju, *MS* reck/kiu

^c gøra *written twice*

¹ The manuscript has *frændi* which has been emended to *frændr* as there is no indication that Sveinn was related to Vagn. A comparison with the other versions reveals that the meaning is that given in the translation above; cp. 291: *því at ér langfeðgar eruð garpar miklir*.

² The adjective *góðráðr* is rather rare and a comparison with the other

ship.' 'That is bravely spoken and you will carry that out well. You, Búi the stout,' said the king, 'now it's your turn and you'll let it be something out of the ordinary.' 'I swear,' said Búi, 'that I shall follow Sigvaldi in this journey with as much courage as I have and I shall stay as long as Sigvaldi does.' 'It went as I thought it would,' said the king, 'that you would make a valiant vow. Now, Sigurðr kápa, it's your turn after your brother.' 'That's quickly done,' said Sigurðr, 'I shall follow my brother and I shall not flee before he does or before he is dead.' 'That was to be expected,' said the king. 'Now it's your turn, Vagn,' he continued, 'and I am very curious to hear your vow as your family is noted for its bravery.'¹ Vagn said: 'This is my vow that I shall follow Sigvaldi and Búi, my kinsman, in this journey and I shall stay as long as Búi does if he is alive. The second part of my vow is that if I get to Norway I shall kill Þorkell leira and go to bed with Ingibjörg, his daughter, without the consent of her relatives.' Björn the Welshman was there with Vagn. Then the king said: 'What is your vow, Björn?' He said: 'I shall follow Vagn, my fosterson, with as much courage as I have.' That was the end of this interchange and everyone went to bed.

Sigvaldi went to bed with his wife Ástríðr and he soon fell into a deep sleep. When he woke up Ástríðr asked him whether he remembered his vow. He said he had no recollection of it. She said: 'It will be no good your acting as though nothing has happened'—and she told him the whole story. 'We'll have to act wisely and with foresight.' Sigvaldi said: 'What's the best plan? You are clever and resourceful.'² 'I don't know about that,' she said, 'but I shall think of something, as you will not get much support from King Sveinn later on if you don't get any now.' After that they made their plans.

27

King Sveinn and all the Jomsvikings went to their seats in the hall and Sigvaldi was in good spirits. King Sveinn asked then whether Sigvaldi remembered his vow. Sigvaldi said that he did not. The king told him it. Sigvaldi said that a man was not himself when drunk, 'and what are you going to give me to help me carry out my vow?' The

versions suggests that the scribe might have intended to write *ok muntu leggja til góð ráð*.

strenging?’ Konungr kvezk ætla þá er Sigvaldi er búinn at hann muni til leggja tuttugu skip. Sigvaldi segir: ‘Þat er gott tillag einum bónda, en ekki er þetta konungligt.’ Þá mælti Sveinn konungr ok varð nokkut brúnólfi¹: ‘Hversu mikils beiðisk þú?’ Sigvaldi segir: ‘Skjótt er þat: sex tigi stórskipa. En ek mun fá í staðinn eigi færi þó at smæri sé því at ósýnt er at ǫll komi aptr.’ Þá mælti konungr: ‘Búin skulu ǫll skipin þá er þú ert búinn.’ ‘Þá er vel við orðit,’ segir Sigvaldi, ‘ok end þetta vel, því at nú skal þegar fara er lokit er veizlunni.’ Þá varð konungr hljóðr ok mælti [þó]^a ván bráðara: ‘Efna skal þetta, en þó rézk þetta skjótara en ek ætlaða.’ Þá mælti Ástríðr, kona Sigvalda: ‘Eigi er þess ván at þér sigrizk á Hákonni jarli ef hann fréttir fyrir, ef ér sigrizk þó eigi^b at hann viti enga ván í.’ Nú skipa þeir þegar til ferðarinnar þar at veizlunni.

Tóva, dóttir Haralds jarls, mælti við Sigurð, bónda sinn: ‘Þess vil ek beiða þik at þú fylgir sem bezt Búa, bróður þínum,^c því at hann hefir mart vel til mín gørt. En ek mun þat í litlu sýna. Hér eru menn tveir, Búi, er ek vil gefa þér; annarr heitir Hávarðr hoggvandi, en annarr Áslákr hólmskalli.’ Búi þiggr mennina ok biðr hana hafa þokk fyrir. Búi gefr þegar Áslák Vagni, frænda sínum. Nú slítr boðit ok búask Jómsvíkingar þegar af veizlunni. Ok eptir þat fara þeir ok hafa hundrað stórskipa.

28

Þeim gaf vel byr ok taka Vík í Nóregi. Þeir kómu síð um aptan til bæjarins í Túnsbergi á óvart. Sá maðr hét Geirmundr hvíti lendr maðr er bæinn varðveitti.² Ok er herrinn kom í bæinn þá tóku þeir nálíga allan bæinn upp, drápu mart manna ok ræntu ørófi fjár. Þeir vöknudu eigi við góðan draum. Geirmundr vaknar ok þeir er sváfu í herbergjum næst honum. Þeir hlaupa upp í lopt³ þat er þeir þóttusk lengst mega

^a supplied by Cederschöld

^b eigi, MS eig

^c þínum, MS þins

¹ *Brúnólfi*. This is the form found in *H* and 291, and *Flat* has *brúnvólvi*; but 510 has *reiðugligr* instead. Cleasby/Vigfusson derive the word from *brún* ‘eyebrow’ and *úlfr* ‘wolf’, and they translate ‘frowning, with a wolfish brow’. An explanation along these lines is probably right and the word could perhaps be translated ‘with furrowed brow, anxious, frowning’; cp. *láta síga brynn á nef fyrir brár, fyrir augun*.

² Geirmundr hvíti is known as Qgmundr hvíti in 291 and *Flat*. *H* probably

king said that he intended to provide him with twenty ships when he was ready to go. Sigvaldi said: 'That would be a good offer from a farmer, but it is not one from a king.' King Sveinn frowned¹ somewhat at this and said: 'How many ships would you like?' Sigvaldi said: 'That's quickly answered—sixty big ships. I for my part shall provide as many even though they are smaller, as it's not likely that all of them will come back.' The king said: 'The ships will be ready when you are.' 'Then everything has turned out for the best,' said Sigvaldi, 'and carry that out well as we are going as soon as the banquet is over.' The king fell silent, yet said quicker than might have been expected: 'That will be carried out, and yet you are going sooner than I had imagined.' Then Ástriðr, Sigvaldi's wife, said: 'There is no hope of your defeating Earl Hákon if he gets wind of this, even should you defeat him when he knows nothing about it.' They made ready for the journey there at the banquet.

Tóva, Earl Haraldr's daughter, spoke with Sigurðr, her husband: 'I want to ask you to follow your brother Búi as best you can, for he has done me many a good turn. And I will acknowledge it myself in a small way. Here are two men, Búi, whom I shall give to you, one of them is called Hávarðr the hewer, the other Áslákr hólmskalli.' Búi accepted the men and thanked her warmly for the present. Búi gave Áslákr to Vagn, his kinsman, there and then. The feast came to an end and the Jomsvikings prepared to leave the banquet immediately. After that they departed and they had a hundred and twenty large ships.

28

They had a good wind and arrived in the Vik in Norway. Late one evening they fell unawares upon the town of Tønsberg. Geirmundr the white was the king's official who was in command of the town.² When the Jomsvikings came to the town they plundered nearly the whole of it, killed many men and robbed huge quantities of property. Those inside did not have a pleasant awakening. Geirmundr and those who slept in the room next to him woke and fled to an outhouse,³ where they thought they would be able to put up the longest resistance. The

took the name from *Hkr*. For the details of Norwegian geography in the saga see Appendix II.

³ See Glossary, s.v. *lopt*.

verjask. Þá drifu Jómsvíkingar at loptinu ok hoggva loptit í ákafa. Sér Geirmundr at þeir munu þar litla hrið fá varizk. Tekr hann þat ráð at hann hleypr ofan ór loptinu á strætutit ok kœmr standandi niðr. Vagn varð nær staddr ok hœggr þegar til hans ok tók af höndina ok fylgði gullhringr. Geirmundr kœmsk við þetta til skógar. Hann fór um merkr sex dœgr. Síðan kœmr hann til bygða ok leitar norðr á slíkt er hann má nótt ok dag.

Hann spyr hvar Hákon jarl er á veizlu á bæ þeim er á Skugga¹ heitir með hundrað manna. Geirmundr kom síð um aptan ok sat jarl við drykkju. Geirmundr gekk fyrir hann ok kvaddi hann. Jarl spyr hverr hann væri; en hann sagði. Jarl spyr tíðenda. Geirmundr segir: 'Lítil tíðendi eru enn, en gørask mætti þetta at tíðendum.' 'Hvat þá?' segir jarl. Geirmundr mælti: 'Herr er kominn í landit austr í Vík, ok fara með styrjöld mikilli ok ófriði.' Þá mælti jarl: 'Veit ek at þú munt eigi segja hersögu nema sönn sé; eða hverr ræðr fyrir her þessum?' Geirmundr mælti: 'Sigvaldi heitir sá er fyrir ræðr; ok heyrða ek nefnda Búa ok Vagn. Ok hefi ek þess nokkverjar minjar'—ok bregðr upp hendinni ok sýnir honum stúfinn.² Jarl mælti: 'Illa ertu leikinn ok sárliga; eða vissir þú hverr þér veitti þetta sár?' Geirmundr mælti: 'Réð ek at líkendum því at þeir mæltu þat þá er sá tók upp hringinn er fylgði hendinni "Fénaði þér nú, Vagn," sögðu þeir; en mér þótti sem herrinn hétu Jómsvíkingar.' Jarl mælti: 'Sannfróðr muntu um þetta, enda munda ek þessa³ sízt kjósa.'

29

Jarl ferr þegar af veizlunni ok stefnir ofan til Raumsdals. Hann gørir menn alla vega frá sér ok lætr herqvar⁴ upp skera. Hann sendi ok menn norðr í Þrándheim til Sveins, sonar síns, at hann safni liði um Þrándheim. Eiríkr jarl ferr norðr til Naumudals ok svá hit ýtra norðan um Norðmœri ok um eyjar.⁵ Skyldi liðit saman koma í ey þeirri er

¹ *á Skugga* is 'a farm which lies in the shade and has little sun'. This one has been traced by Rygh to a farm in Borgund herred in Romsdals Amt; see Rygh, O., *Norske Gaardnavne* XIII, 1908, 178.

² In the other versions Earl Hákon does not believe Geirmundr's story and Geirmundr shows him the stump of his arm to convince him. The alteration of the story in *H* makes the account of the arm-stump redundant.

³ There is no antecedent which *þessa* can refer to. As 291 has *þenna herinn* and 510 *þessa menn*, it is best to take *þessa* as acc. masc. pl. agreeing with *menn* understood. Cp. 36/8.

⁴ See Glossary, s.v. *herqvar*.

Jomsvikings flocked to the outhouse and began to cut it down vigorously. Geirmundr realised that they would not be able to resist for long and he decided to jump down from the outhouse on to the road. He landed on his feet. Vagn was standing nearby and immediately made a blow at him which took off his arm, on which there was a gold ring. Nevertheless Geirmundr managed to reach the forest. He went through forests for six days before arriving at some dwellings. Thence he made his way north as quickly as he could without stopping day or night.

He learned that Earl Hákon was at a banquet with a hundred and twenty men at a farm called Skuggi.¹ He arrived late in the evening when the earl was at table. Geirmundr came before him and greeted him. The earl asked who he was and he told him. The earl asked if there was any news. He replied: 'There is not much news yet, but it might develop into something important.' 'What then?' said the earl. He replied: 'An army has landed here in the east in the Vik, and they are ravaging and harrying without restraint.' The earl said then: 'I know you would not spread rumours of war unless the news was true. But who is the leader of this army?' Geirmundr replied: 'The leader is called Sigvaldi, and I heard Vagn and Búi named. And I have a souvenir of this'—and he lifted up his arm and showed him the stump.² The earl said: 'You have been very badly wounded; but do you know who gave you that wound?' Geirmundr said: 'I have a good idea who it was, as they said "You've got a good haul, Vagn," when he picked up the ring which was on my arm. I think that they are known as the Jomsvikings.' The earl said: 'You are certain to be right about that—and these are the last men I should chose to deal with.'³

29

The earl left the banquet immediately and made his way down to Romsdal. He had messengers sent in all directions and had the war arrows sent out.⁴ He sent messengers to his son Sveinn, who was north in Trøndelag, that he should assemble forces up there. Earl Eiríkr went north to Namdal and then he sailed from the north to Nordmøre and the islands.⁵ The fleet was to assemble off the island

⁵ On the death of Óláfr Tryggvason at Svøldr Eiríkr Hákonarson became earl of Norway under Danish overlordship. In 1014 he went to England with Knútr inn ríki and he was made earl of Northumberland in 1016. His brother Sveinn ruled Norway after Eiríkr's departure and until the arrival of Óláfr Haraldsson. See *Campbell* 66 ff.

Hqð heitir. Erlingr, son jarls, fór um Rogaland; Hákon jarl sjálfr um Sunnmæri ok Raumsdal. Þeir koma nú saman herinum qllum undir eyrna Hqð ok á vág þann er Hjørungavágr heitir, ok hafa þeir aukin þrjú hundruð skipa. Nú ráða þeir ráðum sínum.

Nú er at segja frá Jómsvíkingum at þeir fara sunnan með landi; ok flýr undan þeim^a allir þeir er því koma við, ok þó drepa þeir fjöldu fólks ok hoggva stór strandhogg. Nú sigla þeir norðr fyrir Staði ok leggja at Hereyjum. Ok var þá enn ekki spurt til jarls. Þeir leggjask þar með allan flotann. Þeir þykkjask þá þurfa strandhoggva. Vagn ferr þá með skeið sína til eyjar er Hqð heitir. Þeir finna þar mann ok rekr fyrir sér þrjár kýr ok geitr tólf. Vagn spurði hann at nafni. Hann kvezk Úlfr heita. Þá mælti Vagn: 'Rekið ofan féit til strandar.' 'Hverr er sjá maðr?' segir Úlfr. Hann sagði. Úlfr mælti: 'Svá þætti mér ef þér eruð Jómsvíkingar sem vera mundi stærri slátraefni ok eigi allfjarri komin.' Vagn segir: 'Seg þú oss ef þú veizt nokkut til jarls ok muntu undan koma bæði kúm þínum ok geitum.' Úlfr mælti: 'Hér lá hann í gærkveld einskipa fyrir innan eyrna á Hjørungavági.' Þá segir Vagn: 'Þá skaltu fara með oss ok segja oss leið.'

Nú gengr hann á skip með Vagni ok snúa þeir þegar til Hereyja ok sumt liðit. Búask þeir nú Jómsvíkingar sem til bardaga þótt Úlfr tæki auðveldliga. Nú grunar Úlfr at þeim muni þykkja fleiri skipin. Fleygir sér nú útanborðs ok til sunds. En Vagn grípr snærisspjót¹ ok keyrir á honum miðjum ok lætr Úlfr þar líf sitt.

30

Þeir Jómsvíkingar sjá nú at vágrinn er allr þakiðr af skipum. Þeir fylkja nú þegar liði sínu. Leggr Sigvaldi fram í miðri fylking ok Þorkell, bróðir hans, á aðra^b hönd honum; Búi ok Sigurðr, bróðir hans, í fylkingararm inn nyrðra; en Vagn Ákason ok Björn inn brezki í inn syðra.

Hjørungavágr er svá háttaðr at sker liggr í miðjum váginum en ey fyrir norðan er Prímsignd heitir; en Hjørund liggr fyrir sunnan.

^a þeim, *MS* þ(eir)

^b aðra, *MS* aðrra

¹ A *snærisspjót* is a spear provided with a thong to increase the speed with which it could be thrown, see *Falk* 87.

Hqð. Erlingr, the earl's son, went up and down Rogaland, and Earl Hákon himself went to Sunnmøre and Romsdal. The whole fleet assembled off the island Hqð in that creek which is called Hjørungavágr, and they had more than three hundred and sixty ships. They made their plans.

As for the Jomsvikings they sailed northwards along the coast. All those who could fled before them, and yet they killed many men and plundered extensively. They sailed north past Stadlandet and anchored off the Herøy islands; and they had not then heard any news of the earl. The whole fleet was anchored there and it was not long before they felt the need of provisions. Vagn sailed with his sloop to the island called Hqð, where he and his men came across a man who was driving three cows and twelve goats. Vagn asked him what he was called, to which he replied that he was called Úlfr. Then said Vagn: 'Drive the animals down to the shore.' Úlfr asked: 'Who is this man?'—and Vagn told him. Úlfr said: 'If you are the Jomsvikings, I should have thought that you had bigger cattle to slaughter and not very far away at that.' Vagn said: 'Tell us if you know anything about the earl and in return you shall have your cows and goats back.' Úlfr said: 'He was anchored here yesterday evening with one ship in Hjørungavágr on the other side of the island.' Then Vagn said: 'You shall go with us and show us the way.'

He went aboard with Vagn and they and some of the force made their way to the Herøy islands. The Jomsvikings prepared themselves for a hard battle, although Úlfr made light of it. When Úlfr suspected they would think that there were more ships than he had said, he threw himself overboard and began swimming. But Vagn took hold of a spear¹ and cast it at his middle so that he died on the spot.

The Jomsvikings saw then that the creek was covered with ships. They drew up their ships immediately into battle order. Sigvaldi stationed himself in the middle of the line and Þorkell, his brother, was on one side of him. Búi and Sigurðr, his brother, were on the northern flank, and Vagn Ákason and Björn the Welshman on the southern one.

The lay-out of Hjørungavágr is such that a skerry is situated in the

Nú sjá jarlar hvar Jómsvíkingar eru komnir ok nú skipa þeir sínu liði í móti. Þeir ætla Svein jarl Hákonarson móti Sigvalda ok Guðbrand af Dolum, Styrkár af Gimsum. Móti Þorkatli, bróður hans, Yrjar-Skeggi, annarr Sigurðr steiklingr af Hálogalandi, Þórir hjörtr; í móti Búa Þorkell miðlangr, Hallsteinn kerlingr, Þorkell leira; móti Sigurði kápu þeir feðgar Arnmóðr ok Árni ok Fiðr; móti Vagni Eiríkr jarl Hákonarson, Erlingr af Skugga, Geirmundr hvíti; móti Birni brezka Einarr litli, Hávarðr af Flyðrunesi.¹ En Hákon jarl skal leika lauss ok styðja allar fylkingar.

Fjórir váru Íslenzkir menn með þeim feðgum: Skjaldmeyjar-Einarr, skáld jarls. Hann hljóp þá upp á bryggjuna ok mælti: 'Til Sigvalda skal ek. Jarl sjá tímir engu.' Ok þá kvað hann:

Sækjum jarl þanns auka
 úlfs verð þorir sverðum,
 hlöðum borðróinn barða^a
 baugskjöldum Sigvalda;
 drepr eigi sá^b sveigir
 sárlinns,² er gram finnum,
 rønd berum út á andra
 Endils,³ við mér hendi.

Nú finnr jarl at Einarr vill í brott ok biðr at hann komi til tals við hann. Síðan tekr jarl skálin góðar gørvar af brendu silfri ok^c gyldar allar ok fylgðu tvau met, annat af gulli, en annat af silfri; þar var á líkneskja manns; ok hétu þat hlutar. Ok fylgði sú náttúra at þá er jarl lagði þá í skálinnar ok kvað á hvárt skyldi merkja ok, ef sá kom upp er hann vildi, þá breytti sá í skálinni svá at glamm varð af. Jarl gaf Einari skálinnar ok varð hann glaðr við; ok síðan kallaðr Einarr skálaglamm.⁴

^a hlöðum vér borð á barða *H*, emended hlöðum borðróinn barða from *Egil. 271* ^b svá *H*, sá 291, *Flat.*, 510, *Egil.*

^c brendu silfri ok *written twice, the second erased by scribe*

¹ In shortening the redactor of *H* omitted the verb, which must be understood as a part of the verb 'to be'. Cp. 291: *en þrim monnum var skipat í móti Þorkatli háva, ok var þar Yrja-Skeggi einn, en annarr. . .* Both *Joleik* and *LM Hollander* have arranged the names in a different order. The other versions have that apart from Einarr litli and Hávarðr, also Hallvarðr, Hávarðr's brother, was to fight against Björn. As *H* takes pains to make the odds 3 : 1, possibly the manuscript should be emended to include Hallvarðr.

² *sveigir sárlinns* 'the bender of the wound-snake', i.e. the wound-snake is a spear or sword, and he who bends (or wields) a spear is a warrior.

middle of the creek and there is an island called *Prímsígnð* to the north of it. *Hjørund* lies to the south.

The earls saw the arrival of the Jomsvikings and drew up their battle line against them. Earl *Sveinn Hákonarson*, *Guðbrandr* from *Dalir* and *Styrkárr* from *Gimsar* were to fight against *Sigvaldi*; *Yrjar-Skeggi*, *Sigurðr steiklingr* from *Hålogaland* and *Þórir hjörtr* against *Þorkell*, his brother; *Þorkell miðlangr*, *Hallsteinn kerling* and *Þorkell leira* against *Búi*; *Arnmóðr* and his two sons, *Árni* and *Fiðr*, against *Sigurðr kápa*; Earl *Eiríkr Hákonarson*, *Erlingr* from *Skuggi* and *Geirmundr the white* against *Vagn*; and *Einarr the tiny* and *Hávarðr* from *Flyðrunes* against *Björn the Welshman*.¹ And Earl *Hákon* was to lie in reserve and support all the detachments.

There were four Icelanders in the earls' army. One was *Skjaldmeyjar-Einarr*, the earl's skald. He leapt up on the gangplank and said: 'I'm off to join *Sigvaldi*; this earl gives grudgingly.' And then he said:

I shall seek the earl who dares to increase
the wolf's meal with the sword;
I shall load the ring-adorned shields
on *Sigvaldi's* oar-decked ship.
The bender of the wound-snake² will not repulse me
when I meet the warrior;
I shall bear out my shield to the sea-king's ski.³

The earl realised then that *Einarr* intended to leave and he summoned him to speak with him. Afterwards the earl took a fine pair of scales made of burnished silver and gilt all over. With it were two weights, one of gold, the other of silver, on each of which the figure of a man was engraved. They were called lots. The peculiarity of the weights was this that when the earl put them on the scales and said what they were to signify, if that one came up which he wanted, then it trembled in the bowl so that it gave off a tinkling sound. The earl gave the scales to *Einarr* who was delighted with the gift. He was afterwards called *Einarr skálaglamm*.⁴ The second Icelandic was called *Vígfúss*

³ *á andra Endils* 'to the sea-king's ski', i.e. *Endill* is a sea-king whose ski is a ship.

⁴ This passage which explains the origin of the name *Einarr skálaglamm* is rather difficult. The old name, *Skjaldmeyjar-Einarr*, is found only in the *Jómsvíkinga saga*. An account of *Einarr's* family is found in *Egil*. 268-72. He was the court poet of Earl *Hákon* and a close friend of *Egill Skalla-Grímsson*. He composed his most famous poem, *Vellekla*, before the battle, and, according

Annarr hét Vígfúss, son Víga-Glúms. Þórðr hét inn þriði, er [kallaðr var]^a qrvhond; fjórði Þorleifr skúma, son Þorkels ór Dýrafirði.¹ Hann fekk sér kylfu í skógi eða hálfroteldi,² ok sviðr í eldi ok hefir í hendi. Hann fór á skip Eiríks jarls. Jarl mælti: 'Hvat skal þér klumba sú in mikla?' Þorleifr kvað:

Hefi ek í hendi
til hofuðs gørva
beinbrot Búa,
bql Sigvalda,
vá víkinga,
vorn Hákonar;
sjá skal verða,
ef vér lifum,
eikikylfa
óþqrf Dqnum

Vígfúss var ok á skipi Eiríks jarls. Hann tók spjót sitt ok hvatti ok kvað^b:

Oss er leikr, en lauka
liggr heima vinr feimu,³
þryngr at Viðris veðri
vandar,⁴ góðr^c fyrir hondum.
hlýs^d kveð ek hæla bósa,
hann vættir sér annars,
vífs und vqrmum bægi,
vér skreytum spjór, neyta.

to *Egil.*, Einarr was angry with Hákon for he would not listen to the poem. Many viking scales have been found and many of them are elaborately decorated. In *Aʃ* the figures inscribed on the weights are described as *imagines Jovis et Plutonis seu Odini (qvos Haqvinus venerabatur)*.

^a er kallaðr var qrvhond 291, er qrvhond [var kallaðr] *Cederschöld*

^b kvað, *MS* hvatti

^c góð *H*, góðr *Flat.*, 510, *Fgsk A B*

^d loð *H*, hlyss *Flat.*, hlys 510, *Fgsk A*, lys *Fgsk B*

¹ Accounts of Vígfúss' genealogy and history can be found in *Landnámabók* 73, 253 and *Víga-Glúms saga*. Þorleifr is not mentioned elsewhere in ON literature, but Þórðr, according to *Landnámabók* 46, is the son of Þorkell auðgi.

Víga-Glúmsson. The third was Þórðr, who was known as the left-handed, and the fourth Þorleifr skúma, the son of Þorkell from Dýrafjörðr.¹ He got himself a club or cudgel in the forest and singed it in the fire.² He took it along with him and when he went aboard Earl Eiríkr's ship, the earl asked: 'What do you want that mighty cudgel for?' Þorleifr said:

Ready in my hand I have
the shatterer of Búi's skull,
Sigvaldi's bane,
the vikings' destruction,
and Hákon's defence.
If I live,
this cudgel shall bring
scathe to the Danes.

Vígfúss was also on Earl Eiríkr's ship. He took his spear, whetted it and said:

We have a good fight before us; the storm
of Óðinn's stave⁴ draws near; but the friend
of the woman of the leeks³ lies at home.
I say that the woman's man enjoys
the warm shelter of the woman's embrace.
We are sharpening our spears; he expects something else.

² A *hálfroteldi* was probably some form of club or cudgel made from the root of a tree together with part of the trunk, cp. *rótakylfu*, *rótaklumba*. The element *hálf-* usually means 'half', but occasionally it has the extended sense of 'two or double' as in *hálfskiptr*, *hálfliðr*, 'two coloured, i.e. half one colour and half another'. Possibly here we could assume that the root, which formed the head of the club, was cleft so that the club appeared to have two heads. See *Falk* 120-3.

³ *lauka feimu* 'the woman of the leeks'. This means merely 'woman', but the phrase is not a proper kenning as *laukr* is superfluous here. *Laukr* is, however, used in kennings for 'woman' as *lauka lind*, *lauka eik*.

⁴ *Viðris vandar veðri* 'the storm of Óðinn's stave', i.e. Viðrir is he who commands the storms, Óðinn, and his stave is a sword, and sword-storm is battle.

Nú síga saman fylkingar ok hefsk þar ákøf orrosta ok var hvárigum sóknar at frýja.¹ Er svá sagt þar sem þeir Sigvaldi eigask við ok Hákon jarl ok Sveinn jarl at þar standi við ok láti hvárigir undan síga sín skip.² Jafnleikit var ok með þeim Eiríki jarli ok Vagni. En þar sem Búi sækir fram ok þeir bræðr varð þeim Búi stórhoggr ok þykkir betra firr honum. Láta þeir síga undan skipin ok rær Búi á bug mikinn á fylking jarla. Var þar óp mikit ok ákafr lúðragangr.³ Nú sér þetta Eiríkr jarl. Leggr hann nú til þangat ok leggr at Búa. Varð þar hin grimmasta atlaga. Getr jarl rétta fylking sína ok ekki betr.

Heyra þeir óp mikit til þeira Vagns. Rær jarl þá þangat. Hefir Vagn þá gørt mikit fletroð; hafði gengit í gegnum fylking jarls ok leystan allan þann arminn. Ok er Eiríkr jarl sér þetta þá leggr hann Járnbardann⁴ síbyrt við skeiðna Vagns ok berjask nú af nýju. Ok er þat alsagt at eigi hafi ein sókn røskligri verit. Ok í því bili hlaupa þeir Vagn ok Áslákr hólmskalli upp á bardann fram í ok gengr með sínu borði hvárr, ok ryðjask svá um at allt hrækkr fyrir. Áslákr hafði beran skallann ok þó at þeir hoggvi í hans skalla þá beit eigi heldr en þeir hrökði tálknskiði. Þá var veðr gott ok heitt af skini ok fóru margir menn af klæðum. Þeir Vagn ok Áslákr drepa nú margan mann. Nú [eggjar]^a Eiríkr jarl menn sína í ákafa. Þá tekr Vígfúss Víga-Glúmsson nefsteðja mikinn ok rekr í hofuð Ásláki ok nefit sökkr þegar á steðjanum ok fellr Áslákr þegar ok lætr líf sitt. En Vagn gengr með qðru borði ok drepr menn í ákafa. Þorleifr skúma hleypr móti honum ok lýstr til Vagns með eikikylfunni. Þat hogg kom á hjálminn ok varð svá mikit

^a *one letter only in MS, possibly E; eggjar supplied by Cederschöld*

¹ Sea battles during the Viking Age were merely land battles fought at sea. Thus the engagements usually took place in a sheltered bay or creek. The sails were lowered and the oars would be used for manœuvring into position. The fighting began at a distance, each side hurling stones and spears and shooting arrows at the other. After this the two lines would converge and ship would be grappled to ship. Hand-to-hand fighting followed, in which ships with the higher gunwale had the advantage. Each side tried to capture as many enemy ships as possible. As soon as one side felt the battle was going against it, the men tried to cut their ships free and sail away. See *Shetelig* 223 ff.

² According to the deployment of the forces given in the saga Earl Hákon should have been in reserve in the rear. But he fought against Sigvaldi in the older versions of the story and the redactor must have forgotten to correct this.

³ The viking trumpet was probably a straight hollowed-out piece of wood.

The two fleets joined battle and soon a furious fight was raging with both sides fighting as fiercely as they could.¹ It is said that it was an even contest between Sigvaldi and the Earls Hákon and Sveinn, who were fighting together, and neither side gave ground.² There was likewise no advantage gained by either side in the fight between Earl Eiríkr and Vagn. But on that side which Búi and his brother were attacking, Búi was dealing out such vigorous blows that all thought it better to get as far away as possible from him. They withdrew their ships and Búi created great disorder in the earls' line. A great war cry was uttered and trumpets were blown vigorously.³ When Earl Eiríkr saw that, he rowed over there and attacked Búi. Bitter fighting ensued. Yet the best the earl could manage to do was to get the line straightened out.

When Earl Eiríkr heard a great shout from Vagn and his men he rowed over there. Vagn had caused a great deal of havoc and had made a gap in the earls' line so that the whole flank was disintegrating. When Earl Eiríkr saw that, he laid his ship *Járnbarðinn* alongside Vagn's sloop and the battle began anew.⁴ All are agreed that no engagement was fiercer than this. At that moment Vagn and Áslákr *hólmskalli* leapt on to the prow of Eiríkr's ship and they advanced down opposite sides creating such havoc that all gave way before them. Áslákr had no helmet on, but however hard they hewed at his skull, it had no more effect than if they were striking him with a piece of whalebone. The weather was so fine and the sun so warm that many took their clothes off. Vagn and Áslákr killed many men and Earl Eiríkr urged on his men unceasingly. Then Vígfúss Víga-*Glúmsson* took a huge anvil and drove it into Áslákr's head. The entire point sank in his skull and Áslákr fell down dead. Vagn meanwhile was going down the other side killing men furiously. Þorleifr *skúma* rushed towards him and struck him with his oak club. The blow landed on his helmet and it was so hard

See Holtsmark, A., 'Det norrøne ord *lúðr*' *Maal og Minne* (1946) 49 ff., and Broholm, H. C., Larsen, W. P. and Skjerne, G., *The Lures of the Bronze Age*, 1949, 49-51.

⁴ The ship *Járnbarðinn* was also at Svoldr according to *Egil*. 300 and *Illuga saga Tagldarbana* (*Íslendinga sögur* III, 1946, 502). Parts of the ship were probably covered with iron to give added protection; see *Shetelig* 218 f. Cp. *Járnmeiss*, *Kristnisaga* (ed. B. Kahle, 1905), 29.

at hjálmrinn rifnaði. En Vagn hallaðisk út at borðinu ok skaut við Þorleifi sverði. En stiklaði við þat út yfir borðit ok á skeið sína ok barðisk it snarpligsta.

32

Eiríkr jarl leggr þá frá barðann því at hann var mjök svá ruddr framan at siglu. Þá hafði ok Hákon jarl lagt at landi öllum herinum ok varð nú á hvíld nokkur á bardaganum. Ok hittask þeir feðgar allir samt. Hákon jarl mælti: 'Þat þykkjumk ek sjá at á oss tekr at hallask bardaginn ok hugða ek til þess verst at berjask við þessa menn enda reynisk mér at því. Nú mun oss eigi hlýða svá búit nema vér takim nakkvat gott ráð. Mun ek ganga á land upp en ér séð eptir með herinum á meðan ef þeir leggja at.'

Nú ferr jarl upp í eyrna Prímsignd ok gengr í skóg á brott ok leggsk niðr á kné ok bizk fyrir ok horfir í norðr.¹ Þar kœmr bœnarorðum hans at hann skorar á fulltrúa sinn, Þorgerði Hølgabruði.² En hon vill eigi heyra bœn hans ok er hon reið. Hann býðr henni mart í blótskap, en hon vill ekki þiggja; ok þykkir honum óvænt um. Þar kœmr at hann býðr henni mannbót, en hon vill eigi þiggja. Hann býðr henni um síðir son sinn er Erlingr hét sjau vetra gamall; ok hon þiggr hann. Fær jarl sveininn nú í hendr Skopta, þraeli sínum, ok ferr hann ok veitir sveininum skaða.

33

Eptir þat ferr jarl aprt til skipa sinna ok eggjar nú lið sitt af nýju, 'ok veit ek nú víst at oss mun sigrs auðit. Ok gangið nú fram at betr því at ek hefi heitit til sigrs oss á þær báðar systr, Þorgerði ok Irpu.' Nú gengr jarl á skip sitt ok búask um af nýju. Ok síðan greiða þeir atróðrinn ok teksk þar nú af nýju inn grimmasti bardagi. Ok því næst tekr veðrit at þykkna í norðr ok dregr yfir skjótt. Líðr ok á daginn. Því næst flugu eldingar ok reiðar,^a ok því næst gœrir á él mikit. Þeir Jóms-

^a reiðar, *MS* reíðar

¹ The north was regarded as the home of the heathen gods and devils, see *Grimm's Teutonic Mythology* (Stallybrass, 1880) I 34. This is more likely to be a Christian innovation than that the north actually played an important part in pagan worship.

² For Þorgerðr Hølgabruðr see Appendix III. Human sacrifices were common among the Germanic peoples, see Mogk, E., 'Die Menschenopfer

that the helmet was ripped open. Vagn leaned over on the gunwale and lunged at Þorleifr with his sword. With that he leapt overboard onto his own sloop and carried on fighting bravely.

32

Then Earl Eiríkr withdrew his ship from the battle as so many men in the bows had been killed. Earl Hákon had also landed with the rest of the army and there was a lull now in the fighting. When Hákon and his sons met, Earl Hákon said: 'It looks as though the battle is beginning to go against us, and it's turning out as I thought when I feared it would be a hopeless task to fight with these men. It's pointless our carrying on with this unless we adopt some shrewder course. I shall go ashore; but you remain here with the fleet in the meantime in case they attack.'

The earl went ashore on Prímssígn and went away into a wood. He knelt down facing the north and prayed.¹ In his prayers he called upon his protector Þorgerðr Hólgafrúðr.² But being angry she would not hear his prayers. She rejected all the offers of great sacrifices which he made, and Hákon thought things were looking very black. It came to his offering her a human sacrifice which she likewise rejected. Finally he offered her his seven-year-old son called Erlingr, and she accepted him. The earl delivered up the boy to his thrall Skopti, who proceeded to kill him.

33

After that the earl went back to his ships and encouraged his men anew 'and I know now for certain that we shall be victorious. Go forward more bravely in the knowledge that I have invoked the two sisters Þorgerðr and Irpa for our victory.' The earl went aboard his ship and they made ready again. Afterwards they attacked and fierce fighting broke out once more. And thereupon clouds began to gather in the north and, as the day drew on, they soon covered the whole sky. This was followed by lightning and thunder, accompanied by a violent hail-storm. The Jomsvikings had to fight against the storm and the hail-

bei den Germanen', *Abh. der phil.-hist. kl. der Kgl. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* XXVII, (1909) 601-43.

víkingar áttu at vega í gegn veðrinu. Þetta él var með svá miklum býsnum at menn máttu varla standask. En menn höfðu áðr farit af klæðunum fyrir hita sakir, en nú tók at kólna. Sækja þó bardagann frýjulaust. Ok þó at þeir Jómsvíkingar kastaði grjóti eða vápnum eða skyti spjótum, þá bar veðrit þat aprt á þá allt ok þar með vápnagangr sinna óvina.

Hávarðr höggvandi sá fyrstr Hølgabruði í liði Hákonar jarls ok margir sá ófreskir¹ menn. Ok þá er líttat linaði élinu sá þeir at or fló af hverjum fingri flagðinu ok varð maðr fyrir hverri; ok sögðu þeir Sigvalda. Ok hann mælti: 'Eigi þykki mér þá sem vér berimsk við menn eina, en þó er nauðsyn at hverr dugi sem má.' Þá er nokkut linaði élinu heitr Hákon jarl í annat sinn á Þorgerði ok kvezk nú hafa mikit til unnit. Nú tekr í annat sinn at rökkva at élinu ok er nú miklu meira ok harðara en fyrr. Ok þegar í qndverðu élinu þá sér Hávarðr höggvandi at tvær konur eru komnar á skip jarls ok hafa eitt atferli. Sigvaldi mælti þá: 'Nú vil ek brott flýja ok gøri svá allir mínir menn. Ekki strengðu vér þess heit at berjask við tröll. Er nú ok því verra en áðan at nú eru tvau flogð.' Nú leysir Sigvaldi skip sitt^a ok kallar á þá Búa ok Vagn at þeir skyli flýja. Vagn mælti at hann skyldi fara manna armastr.

Ok í þessu svarfi hleypr Þorkell miðlangr af skipi sínu á skip Búa ok høggr þegar til hans, ok berr þetta allt at bráðum. Høggr af honum vörrina ok hokuna alla frá niðr í gegnum ok fjúka tennrnar ór höfðinu. Þá mælti Búi: 'Versna mun nú hinni dōnsku þykkja at kyssa oss í Borgundarhólmi.' Búi høggr þá í mót til Þorkels. En hált var á skipinu ok fellr hann á skjaldrimina er hann vildi forða sér. Ok kom hōggit á Þorkel miðjan ok tók í sundr í tvá hluti við skipsborðinu. Ok þegar eptir þat tók Búi gullkistur sínar ok kallaði hátt: 'Fyrir borð allir Búa liðar'—ok hleypr síðan fyrir borð með kisturnar.

Þá dregsk Sigvaldi út frá flotanum. Þá kvað Vagn vísu þessa:

Sigvaldi hefir setta
sjálfa oss und kylfu,

^a *The MS has an insular s; Cederschöld suggested sín, but 291, Flat. have skip sitt*

¹ *Ófreskr*. This word describes a man who can see spirits or ghosts which are not visible to the normal man. It is related to ON *ófreski* (f) 'ability to see ghosts', ModIce *ófreskja* (f) 'ghost, phantom', and Norwegian dialectal *ufriskje* (n) 'ghost, what causes fear (especially evil spirits)'. Bugge suggests

storm was so fierce that men could hardly keep on their feet. Many had taken off their clothes earlier because of the heat, but now it began to freeze. But they fought the battle fearlessly. Though the Jomsvikings hurled stones or weapons or shot spears, the storm brought it all back on themselves together with their opponents' weapons.

Hávarðr the hewer was the first to see Hølgabrúðr among Hákon's men, but many others endowed with second sight¹ saw her, too. When the hail let up a little, they saw that an arrow flew from every finger of the witch and each one found its mark. They told this to Sigvaldi. And he said: 'I don't think that we are fighting against men alone, but yet everyone must fight as well as he can.' When the hailstorm slackened somewhat, Earl Hákon called on Þorgerðr a second time reminding her how much he had sacrificed to her. Then the hailstorm began a second time though much harder and fiercer than before. As soon as the storm began Hávarðr the hewer saw that there were then two women on the earl's ship both doing the same thing. Then Sigvaldi said: 'Now I'll flee and do so all my men. We didn't swear any vows to fight against witches. It is now worse than it was before as there are two of them.' Sigvaldi moved his ship back out of the line and called on Búi and Vagn to flee. Vagn said that he was the most despicable of men to flee.

In the confusion Þorkell miðlangr leapt from his ship on to Búi's and made a sudden blow at him. All this happened in the twinkling of an eye. He hewed off his lip and chin all the way down so that his teeth flew out of his head. Búi said: 'The Danish woman in Bornholm won't think it so pleasant to kiss me now.' Búi hewed at Þorkell in return. It was slippery on board and, in trying to save himself, Þorkell fell on the gunwale. The blow landed on Þorkell's waist cutting him in two as he lay across the gunwale. Immediately after that Búi took his gold chests and shouted loudly: 'Overboard all Búi's men'—and then he leapt overboard with the chests.

As Sigvaldi was retreating from the fleet, Vagn composed this verse:

Sigvaldi led us into danger,
but little-hearted he has fled,

it is a variant of **ófriðskr*, built up from a substantival adjective *ófritt*, from *ófriðr*. That it was not written **ófriðskr* shows that its origin was forgotten. See Bugge, S., *Arkiv* II (1885) 242 f.

en fárhugaðr flýði,^a
 fór heim til Danmarkar;
 hyggr í faðm at falla
 fljótt orr konu sinni,
 en fyrir borð it breiða
 Búi gekk með hugrekki.

Sigvaldi hefir orðit kalt ok hleypr hann til ára ok rær, en annarr stýrði. Þá fleygir Vagn spjótinu at Sigvalda. En sá varð fyrir er stýrði ok nisti þann út við borðit. Þorkell hávi sneri þegar í brott er Sigvaldi var farinn, ok svá Sigurðr kápa þegar er Búi var fyrir borð genginn; ok þykkisk hvárrtveggi efnt hafa sína heitstrenging. Þeir hafa fjogur skip ok tuttugu. Fara heim til Danmerkr.

Í því hljóp at Sigmundr Brestisson, inn mesti kappi, ok sótti Búa ok lauk svá at Sigmundr hjó af Búa báðar hendr í úlflið. Þá stakk Búi handarstúfunum í hringa á kistunum ok kallaði hátt: 'Fyrir borð allir Búa liðar.'¹

34

Nú er at segja frá Vagni at hann tekr nú af nýju drengiliga vörn ok allir hans menn. Gengu þeir þá ok allir á skeiðina er vápnfærir váru. En Eiríkr jarl ok margir aðrir hofðingjar lögðu þá at skeiðinni ok varð þar þá in snarpasta orrosta. Kom þá at því sem mælt er at ekki má við marginum. Fellu þá svá gørsamliga menn Vagns at þeir urðu eigi eptir meirr en átta tigr manna. Vörðu þeir þá lyptingina á skeiðinni. Gørði þá svá myrkt af nótt at eigi var vígljóst. Lætr Eiríkr jarl þá taka reiðann allan frá skipinu ok frá öllum skipum ok róa við þat frá. Létu nú halda vörð yfir skipunum um nóttina, en skjóta yfir sik skjöldum ok eiga at hrósa sigri miklum; síðan vega í skálum haglkornin at reyna ágæti þeira Þorgerðar ok Irpu ok vá eyri eitt kornit.

Nú talask þeir Vagn ok Björn inn brezki við hvat til ráða skal taka. 'Annat tveggja,' segir Vagn, 'at bíða hér dags ok láta handtaka oss ella leita til lands ok göra þeim nokkut illt ok forða oss síðan.' Þá taka þeir siglutréit ok rána ok flytjask þar á átta tigr manna í mykrinu. Þeir

^a flæði *H*, flýði *Flat.*, 510, fnauði 291

¹ This short passage about Sigmundr is interpolated from *OT* and is not found in the other versions, see Introduction 3

betaken himself home to Denmark.
The nimble man thinks to fall quickly
in his wife's embrace, but Búi
leapt bravely over the broad gunwale.

Sigvaldi had felt cold so he had taken hold of an oar and begun rowing, leaving someone else to steer. Then Vagn flung a spear at Sigvaldi and it hit the steersman and pinned him to the side of the ship. Þorkell the tall withdrew from the battle as soon as Sigvaldi had gone, as did Sigurðr kápa as soon as Búi had jumped overboard. Each of them thought he had accomplished his vow. They had twenty-four ships and sailed home to Denmark.

At that moment Sigmundr Brestisson, a great warrior, leapt forward and attacked Búi. It ended with Sigmundr cutting off both of Búi's hands at the wrists. Then Búi stuck the stumps in the handles of the chests and shouted loudly: 'Overboard all Búi's men.'¹

34

As for Vagn he and all his men were defending themselves bravely once more. All who could wield weapons went aboard Vagn's sloop. Earl Eiríkr and many other chieftains attacked the sloop then and a furious fight developed. The situation is summed up by the saying that you cannot make headway against heavy odds. Vagn's men began to fall so fast that only eighty of them were left alive. They defended the ship's poop. When night fell and it became so dark that it was impossible to carry on fighting, Earl Eiríkr had all the rowage removed from the sloop and all the other ships. He and his men then rowed away. They set a guard over the ships for the night and took precautions for their own safety. They could now boast of a great victory. Afterwards they weighed the hailstones in the scales to determine Þorgerðr's and Irpa's greatness, and one stone weighed an ounce.

Vagn and Björn the Welshman discussed what their best plan would be. 'We must,' said Vagn, 'either wait for daybreak here and let them capture us or else make for the land, do them some mischief and then make a getaway.' Then they took the mast and the sailyard and eighty men clambered aboard these in the dark. They reached a skerry and

kómusk í skerit ok váru þá raunmjök þrekaðir flestir af sárum ok kulða. Var þá ok ekki fœrt lengra. Létusk þar tíu menn um nóttina.

35

En er lýsti um morguninn fóru jarlsmenn at binda sár sín. Þá heyrðu þeir at strengr gall ok fló ǫr af ok varð þar fyrir Guðbrandr, frændi jarls, ok þarf hann eigi fleira. Þeir róa nú til ok kanna skipin ok á skipi Búa finna þeir Hávarð hoggvanda íendan ok váru undan honum báðir fœtr. Hann mælti þá: 'Hverr lét sveina sígask áðan fyrir skoti mínu?' Þeir sögðu. Hávarðr mælti: 'Minna varð þá happ mitt en ek vilda: jarli hafða ek ætlat.' Þeir drápu þá Hávarð.

Eiríkr jarl gekk þar hjá sem Þorleifr skúma stóð ok spurði: 'Hví ertu þann veg yfirlits sem þú sér at bana kominn?' Hann segir: 'Eigi munda ek vita nema blóðrefillinn hans Vagns kæmi við mik líttat í gær, er ek laust hann kylfuhoggit.' Jarl mælti: 'Illa hefir þinn faðir þá haldit.' Þetta heyrði Einarr skálaglamm ok kvað vísu:

Þat kvað jarl at æri
 unnvigs¹ fyrir haf sunnan,
 þá er á seima særi²
 sárelda spor³ váru:
 'ǫllungis hefir illa
 eybaugs, ef skalt^a deyja,
 ver hyggjum þat, viggja
 valdr,⁴ þinn faðir haldit.'⁵

Þá deyr Þorleifr.

36

Nú sjá þeir hvar menn eru margir í skerinu. Biðr jarl nú fara eptir þeim ok taka hǫndum. Róa nú til þeira ok vǫrðusk þeir þá ekki. Váru

^a skal *H*, *Flat.*, *Fgsk B*, skalt *291*, *Fgsk A*, *510*

¹ *æri unnvigs* 'the man of the sea-horses', i.e. sea-horses are ships, and the man of the ships is a warrior.

² *seima særi* 'the wounder of gold', i.e. one who breaks gold up to distribute it, a generous man.

³ *sárelda spor* 'the marks of the wound-fire', i.e. wound-fire is a sword, and the marks of a sword are wounds.

⁴ *eybaugs viggja valdr* 'the guider of the horses of the ring of the island',

most of them were then utterly exhausted from their wounds and the cold. They could not manage to go further and ten of them died there during the night.

35

When it grew light next morning the Norwegians set about bandaging their wounds. Then they heard the twang of a bowstring and the arrow sped away and struck Guðbrandr, a kinsman of the earl, who died. They rowed to the ships and searched them. On Búi's ship they found Hávarðr the hewer alive, but he had lost both of his feet. He said then: 'Who was the warrior that my shot killed?' They told him. Hávarðr said: 'I didn't have the luck I wanted, for it was meant for the earl.' Then they killed Hávarðr.

As Earl Eiríkr was walking past the place where Þorleifr skúma was standing, he asked: 'Why do you look as though you are at death's door?' He said: 'I don't know unless I got a little graze from Vagn's sword yesterday when I hit him with the cudgel.' The earl said: 'Your father has suffered a great loss.' Einarr skálaglamm heard that and he composed this verse:

When the marks of the wound-fire³
 were on the wounder of gold,²
 the earl said this to the man
 of the sea-horses¹ south of the sea:
 'Guider of the horses of the ring of the island,⁴
 your father has suffered a great loss,⁵
 if you die. We think that.'

Then Þorleifr died.

36

They saw then that there were many men on the skerry. The earl ordered men to go after them and take them prisoner. The Norwegians

i.e. the ring of the island is the sea, sea-horses are ships, and the guider of ships is a warrior.

⁵ For a discussion of this phrase and the parallel one in the prose which introduces this verse see *Hollander* 197, Krijn, S., 'Nogle Bemærkninger om Jómsvikingasaga' *Arkiv* XXXIV (1918) 170, and Hollander, L. M., 'Gjenmæle' *Arkiv* XXXV (1919) 208.

þar þá fluttir til lands sjau tígir manna. Lét jarl þá alla setja í einn streng. Þá váru skip þeira flutt öll at landi ok skipt öllum fjárhlutum þeira. Síðan brjóta jarls^a menn upp vistir sínar ok snæða ok gambra allmikit. Ok er þeir eru mettir ganga þeir þangat sem bandingjarnir váru; ok var Þorkell leira ætlaðr til at hoggva þá Jómssvíkinga.

Þá váru leiddir þrír menn ór strenginum; þeir váru sárir mjök. En þrælur váru settir til at varðveita þá ok snúa vönd í hárit. Þorkell leira gengr nú at hoggva höfuð af þeim ok mælti síðan: 'Finni þér nokkut at mér hafi brugðit við þessa sýslu, því at þat mæla margir ef maðr hoggv þrjá menn?'¹ Eiríkr jarl segir: 'Ekki sjám vér þér við þetta bregða, en þó sýnisk oss þér mjök brugðit.'

Þá var leiddr inn fjórði maðr ór strenginum ok snúinn vöndr í hár; sá var sárr mjök. Þorkell mælti: 'Hversu hyggv þú til at deyja?' 'Gott hygg ek til bana míns: þat mun mér verða sem mínum feðr.' Þorkell segir hvat þat væri. Hann segir: 'Hoggv þú; dó hann.' Þá hoggv Þorkell þann.

Þá var til leiddr inn fimti ok spyr Þorkell hversu hann hygði til at deyja. Hann segir: 'Eigi man ek þá lög Jómssvíkinga ef ek kvíði við bana eða mæla ek æðruorð. Eitt sinn skal hverr deyja.' Hoggv Þorkell þann. Nú ætla þeir at spyrja hvern þeira áðr þeir sé drepnir ok reyna svá liðit hvárt svá sé fræknt sem sagt er. Ok þykkir þá reynt ef engi mælir æðruorð.

Þá var til leiddr inn sétti maðr ok snúinn vöndr í hár. Þorkell segir með sama hætti honum. Kvezk gott þykkja at deyja við góðan orðstír, 'en þú, Þorkell, munt lifa við skömm.' Hoggv hann þenna.

Þá er þangat leiddr inn sjaundi ok spurði Þorkell eptir vanda. 'Ek hygg allgott til at deyja. En þú hoggv mik skjótt: ek held á tygilknífi,² því at vér höfum átt opt um at ræða Jómssvíkingar hvárt maðr vissi nokkut, ef hann væri allskjótt hoggvinn, þá er höfuðit væri af. En þat mun til marks at ek mun vísa fram knífinum ef ek veit nokkut ella mun hann niðr falla.' Þorkell hoggv þann ok fauk af höfuðit, en knífrinn fell niðr.

Þá var tekinn inn átti maðr ok spurði Þorkell eptir vanda.

^a jarls, *MS* jarl

¹ A change in colour was usually taken to mean that a man was fated to die shortly afterwards.

² A knife that was usually worn hanging from a belt, though this belt was often hung round the neck; see *Falk* 125.

rowed out to them, but the Jomsvikings put up no resistance. The seventy of them were taken ashore and the earl had them all tied to one rope. Their ships were all beached and their goods distributed. Afterwards the earl's men unpacked their provisions and ate, bragging and boasting all the while. When they had finished eating they went over to the prisoners. Þorkell leira was appointed to act as the Jomsvikings' executioner. Three gravely wounded men were freed from the rope, and thralls were appointed to guard them and twist sticks in their hair. Þorkell leira now proceeded to cut off their heads. He said afterwards: 'Do you think I have changed colour on account of this deed, for many say that this happens if a man beheads three men?'¹ Earl Eiríkr said: 'We didn't see you change colour at that, but yet you don't look the same at all.'

Then a fourth man was taken from the rope and a stick was twisted in his hair. He was very badly wounded. Þorkell said: 'What do you think about dying?' 'I am well content to die: I shall suffer the same fate as my father.' Þorkell asked what that was. He said: 'Strike; he died.' Then Þorkell cut off his head.

Then the fifth one was brought forward and Þorkell asked him what he thought about dying. He said: 'I would forget the laws of the Jomsvikings if I was afraid of my death or spoke words of fear. No one can escape death.' Þorkell cut off his head. They thought then to pose the same question to each one of them before he was killed to see whether these men were as brave as they were reputed to be. They thought it a sufficient proof if none of them spoke words of fear.

A sixth man was led forward and a stick was twisted in his hair. Þorkell put the same question to him. He said he thought it was best to die with a good reputation, 'but you, Þorkell, shall live with shame.' Þorkell cut off his head.

Then the seventh one was led forward and Þorkell asked him as usual. 'I'm very content to die. But deal me out a speedy blow. I have here a dagger.'² We Jomsvikings have often discussed whether a man knew anything after he had lost his head if it was cut off speedily. Let us make the following arrangement that I shall hold the dagger up if I know anything, otherwise it will fall down.' Þorkell struck him and his head flew off, but the dagger fell down.

Then the eighth man was brought up and Þorkell put the usual

Hann kvezk gott til hyggja. Ok þá er honum þótti sem skamt mundi at bíða 'Hrútr,' segir hann. Þorkell stöðvaði höggit ok spurði hví honum yrði þetta á munni. Hann segir: 'Þó mun eigi ofskipat til ána þeira er þér nefnduð í gær jarlsmenn, þá er þér fenguð áverka.' 'Manna armastr,' segir Þorkell, ok lætr skjalla honum höggit.

Þá var leystur inn níundi maðr. Þorkell segir eptir vanda. Hann segir: 'Gott hygg ek til bana míns sem allir várir félagar. En ek vil eigi láta mik höggva sem sauð; heldr vil ek sitja fyrir. En þú högg framan í andlit mér ok hygg at vandliga hvárt ek blöskra nokkut, því at vér höfum þar opt átt um at ræða.' Nú er svá gørt at hann sitr fyrir. En Þorkell gengr at framan ok höggr í andlit honum ok blöskrar hann eigi nema sigu saman augun þá er dauðinn fór á.

Þá var til leiddur inn tíundi maðr ok spyr Þorkell. En hann segir: 'Þat vil ek at þú bíðir meðan ek bjarga brókum mínum.' 'Þat skal veita þér,' segir Þorkell. Ok er hann hafði þat gørt mælti hann: 'Mart verður annan veg en maðrinn ætlar. Ek hugða at koma í rekkju hjá Þóru Skagadóttur, konu jarls'—ok hristi félagann. Kippir upp síðan brókunum. Hákon jarl mælti: 'Höggvi þenna sem tíðast. Sjá hefir lengi illt haft í hug.' Höggr Þorkell þann.

37

Þá var leiddur til maðr ungr; sá hafði hár bæði mikit ok gult sem silki. Þorkell spurði eptir vanda. Hann segir: 'Lifat hefi ek nú it fegrsta. Þeir hafa nú látit líf fyrir skömmu er mér þykkir ekki í veitt at lifa. En eigi vil ek at mik leiði þrælar til höggs, heldr sá maðr er eigi er verri drengur en þú; ok mun sá óvandfenginn. Ok haldi hárinu fram frá höfðinu ok hnykki höfðinu at hárit verði eigi blóðugt.' Hirðmaðr einn gengr til ok tekr hárit ok vefr um hönd sér. En Þorkell höggr með sverðinu. Ok í því hnykkir hann höfðinu ok hlýtr sá höggit er helt ok tók af hendr báðar í qlbogabótum. Hinn sprettr upp ok mælti: 'Hverr á hendr í hári mér?' Hákon jarl mælti: 'Stórófarar gørask nú ok drepi þenna sem skjótast ok svá aðra þá sem eptir eru, því at miklu eru menn þessir verri viðfangs en vér fáim við þeim sét.' Eiríkr jarl segir: 'Vita viljum vér nú áðr hverir þeir sé. Eða hvat heitir þú, inn

question to him. He said he was content to die. When he thought the blow was almost on him he said 'Ram'. Þorkell checked his hand and asked him why he said that. He said: 'Yet you would not have too many for those ewes you Norwegians called upon yesterday whenever you got hit.' 'Wretched fellow,' said Þorkell and let the blow crash down on him.

Then the ninth man was released and Þorkell asked him as usual. He said: 'I am well content to die as are all our comrades. But I will not let myself be slaughtered like a sheep: I would rather face the blow. Strike straight at my face and watch carefully if I pale at all, as we have often spoken about that.' He was allowed to face the blow and Þorkell approached him from the front and hewed into his face. He did not pale, but his eyes closed as death overtook him.

Then the tenth man was led forward and Þorkell put his question. He replied: 'I would like you to wait while I relieve myself.' 'You have permission to do that,' said Þorkell. When he had finished, he said: 'Much turns out otherwise than one expects. I had thought to sleep with Þóra Skagadóttir, the earl's wife'—and he shook his member and then pulled up his trousers. Earl Hákon said: 'Cut off his head without delay for he has long had wicked intentions.' Þorkell cut off his head.

37

Then a young man was led forward whose long hair was as golden as silk. Þorkell posed his usual question. He said: 'I have had the best part of my life; and I am not interested in living longer than those who have just fallen. Yet I don't want to be led by thralls to my death, but rather by a warrior who is of no less account than you are; and it won't be difficult to find someone. Let him hold the hair away from the head and pull the head sharply so that the hair does not become blood-stained.' A hirdman came forward, took hold of the hair and twisted it round his hands. Þorkell made a blow with a sword. At that very moment he pulled his head away sharply so that the blow fell on the man who was holding the hair and cut off both his arms at the elbows. The other sprang up and said: 'Whose hands are in my hair?' Earl Hákon said: 'Things are turning out very badly and kill him and all those who are left without delay, as these men are much too difficult for us to handle.' Earl Eiríkr said: 'We want to know first who they

ungi maðr?’ Hann segir: ‘Svein kalla mik.’ Jarl spurði: ‘Hvers son ertu?’ Hann segir: ‘Ek em kenningarson Búa.’ Jarl spurði: ‘Hvé gamall maðr ertu?’ Hann segir: ‘Ef ek líð yfir þenna þá em ek átján vetra.’ Eiríkr jarl mælti: ‘Nú skaltu yfir líða.’ Tekr jarl hann þá til sín. Hákon jarl mælti þá: ‘Eigi veit ek nú ef sjá skal undan ganga er oss hefir slíka skömm gørt; en þó muntu ráða verða. Ok hoggvi enn mennina.’

Þá var maðr leystur ór strenginum, ok brásk strenginn á fótinn svá at hann var fastr. Sjá var mikill ok ungr ok inn frálígsti. Þorkell segir hvé gott hann hygði til at deyja. ‘Gott,’ segir hann, ‘ef ek gæta efnt aðra heitstrenging mína.’ Eiríkr jarl mælti: ‘Hvert er nafn þitt?’ ‘Ek heiti Vagn,’ segir hann. Jarl spurði hvers son hann væri. Hann kvezk vera Ákason. Jarl mælti: ‘Hvers strengðir þú heit er þér þætti þá gott at deyja?’ ‘Þess,’ segir hann, ‘at ek skylda koma í rekkju Ingibjargar, dóttur Þorkels leiru, án frænda ráði, en drepa sjálfan hann ef ek kæma í Nóreg.’ ‘Ek skal því renna,’ segir Þorkell. Ganir at honum ok hogggr til hans tveim höndum. En Björn inn brezki spyrndi til Vagns foeti sínum svá at hann fell við. Þorkell hogggr yfir Vagn ok steypisk við; en sverðit varð honum laust ok kom á strenginn ok varð Vagn lauss. Spratt hann þá upp ok greip sverðit ok hjó Þorkel leiru banahogg. Þá mælti Vagn: ‘Nú hefi ek enda hálfu heitstrenging mína ok uni ek nú við sýnu betr.’ Hákon jarl mælti þá: ‘Láti hann eigi lausan ok drepi hann sem tíðast.’ Eiríkr jarl mælti: ‘Eigi skal hann heldr drepa en mik.’ Hákon jarl segir: ‘Eigi þurfum vér nú til at hlutask er þú vill einn ráða.’ Eiríkr jarl mælti: ‘Gott er mannkaup í Vagni ok sýnisk mér vel keypt^a at hann sé í stað Þorkels leiru.’ Tekr Eiríkr jarl nú við Vagni. Þá mælti Vagn: ‘Því at eins þykki mér betra at lifa at þeim sé grið gefin öllum várum félagum ella farim vér eina for allir.’ Eiríkr jarl segir: ‘Ek mun nú hafa orð við þá, ok fyrtek ek eigi at göra þetta.’

Þá gengr Eiríkr jarl at Birni inum brezka ok spurði hann at nafni. Hann sagði. Jarl mælti: ‘Ertu sá Björn er bazt sóttir manninn í holl Sveins konungs eða hvat áttir þú at oss sækja gamall maðr ok hvítr fyrir hæru? Er þat sannast at segja at öll strá vildu oss stanga. Eða viltu þiggja líf at oss?’ Björn segir: ‘Þiggja vil ek ef Vagn, fóstri minn,

^a keypt vel, *with marks over both words to signify one should read vel keypt*

are. And what is your name, young man?' He said: 'I am known as Sveinn.' The earl asked: 'Who is your father?' He said: 'I am reputed to be Búi's son.' The earl asked: 'How old are you?' He replied: 'If I survive this year then I shall be eighteen.' Earl Eiríkr said: 'You shall survive it'—and made him a member of his own following. Earl Hákon said then: 'I don't know whether we should let him go free who has done us so much shame; but yet you shall decide. Carry on beheading the men.'

Then another Jomsviking was released from the rope, but it twisted round his foot so that he could not move. He was big, young and very nimble. Þorkell asked him what he thought about dying. 'It won't worry me,' he said, 'provided I first fulfil the other part of my vow.' Earl Eiríkr asked: 'What is your name?' 'I am called Vagn,' he said. The earl asked who was his father. He said that he was Áki's son. The earl said: 'What was the vow you made the fulfilment of which would enable you to die contentedly?' 'It was this,' he said, 'that if I came to Norway, I should lie with Ingibjörg, the daughter of Þorkell leira, without the consent of her relatives and that I should kill Þorkell himself.' 'I shall prevent that,' said Þorkell. He rushed at him and swung his sword at him with both hands. But Björn the Welshman pushed Vagn with his foot so that he fell over. The blow went over Vagn causing Þorkell to stumble. He lost his grip on the sword which cut the rope and set Vagn free. Vagn sprang up, seized the sword and slew Þorkell leira. Then Vagn said: 'Now I have accomplished half of my vow and I'm that much more satisfied.' Then Earl Hákon said: 'Don't let him go free, but kill him immediately.' Earl Eiríkr said: 'He's not going to be killed any more than I am.' Earl Hákon said: 'It's no good my trying to interfere if you want to have the last word.' Earl Eiríkr said: 'Vagn is a great acquisition, and I think it would be a good exchange if he were to fill Þorkell leira's place.' Earl Eiríkr let Vagn join his own following. Then Vagn said: 'Only if all my companions are spared would I think it better to live rather than to die. Otherwise we will all endure the same fate.' Earl Eiríkr said: 'I'm going to have a word with them first and I'm not ill disposed to doing that.'

Then Earl Eiríkr went to Björn the Welshman and asked for his name. He told him. The earl said: 'Are you that Björn who made such a brave return for the man in King Sveinn's hall? Or what reason have you, an old man with white hair, for attacking us? The truth of the matter is that all are against us. Will you receive your life from me?'

er undan þeginn ok allir þeir er eptir lifa.' 'Þat skal nú veita þér ef ek má ráða.' Eiríkr jarl biðr nú fǫður sinn at þeim sé nú grið gefin Jómsvíkingum sem eptir eru. Hákon jarl bað hann ráða. Váru þeir nú leystir ok tryggðir veittar.

38

Eptir þat ferr Vagn með ráði Eiríks jarls austr í Vík ok mælir at hann skyli þannig göra brúðkaup til Ingibjargar sem hann vill. Þar er Vagn um vetrinn. En um várit ferr hann suðr til Danmerkr heim á Fjón til búa sinna ok réð þar lengi fyrir. Ok er mart stórmenni frá honum komit ok frá þeim Ingibjörgu; ok þótti hon kvenskǫrungr mikill.

En Björn fór heim til Bretlands ok réð þar fyrir meðan hann lifði ok þótti inn bezti karlmaðr.

En er Sigvaldi kom heim til Danmerkr, fór hann á Sjalǫnd til eigna sinna ok var Ástríðr þar fyrir, kona hans. Ástríðr lætr göra honum kerlaug ok strauk honum sjálf ok mælti: 'Verit get ek nokkura þá hafa í Jómsvíkinga bardaga¹ er raufóttara belg muni þaðan haft hafa. Ok þykki mér sjá bezt til fallinn at hirða í hveiti.'² Hann segir: 'Þat mætti enn verða minnar æfi at þú ættir eigi þessu at hrósa ok lát þér þá líka.'³ Sigvaldi réð fyrir Sjalǫndum ok þótti vitr maðr ok kœmr hann við fleiri sǫgur.

En Þorkell inn hávi þótti inn vitrasti maðr ok reyndisk þat opt síðan.

Sigurðr kápa tók við fǫðurleifð sinni í Borgundarhólmi ok þótti nýtmenni mikit. Ok er mikill áttbogi kominn frá þeim Tóvu.

En þat er margra manna sǫgn at Búi hafi orðit at ormi ok lagzt á gull sitt. Er þat til þess haft at menn hafa sét orm á Hjǫrungavági. Kann þat ok vera at nokkur vánd véttr hafi lagzt á þat fé ok sýnisk þar síðan.⁴

¹ The rather unusual phrase *í Jómsvíkingabardaga* is also found in *Qgmundar þátr dytts* (ed. J. Kristjánsson, *Íslensk Fornrit IX*, 1956, 109), whereas *Flat.* has *í bardaganum í liði Jómsvíkinga*.

² Whole wheat was used by women to keep their skin white; cp. R. of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne* 3219–20:

With blanchette and other flour
To make thaim qwyttter of colour.

³ There is no antecedent for the *þessu*. It is perhaps best to interpret it as 'this thing, i.e. that I have returned home with a whole skin'. *Flat.* reads *at þú ættir slíkum sigri at hrósa*. Sigvaldi is mentioned in *Hkr*, *Fgsk*, *OT*, *Knytlinga*, *Kristni saga*, *Stefnis þátr Þorgilssonar*, *Egil*. (verse) and *Hallfreðar saga*.

Björn said: 'I will, if Vagn, my fosterson, and all those who are left are spared.' 'I shall see that this is done if I can.' Earl Eiríkr asked his father to give the remaining Jomsvikings quarter. Earl Hákon told him to do as he wished. The Jomsvikings were then released and assurances were given on either side.

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After that Earl Eiríkr gave Vagn permission to go east to the Vik and Earl Eiríkr said that he should marry Ingibjörg as he wished. Vagn stayed the winter there. When spring came he went south to Denmark to his estates in Fyn and held sway there long afterwards. Many famous men are descended from him and Ingibjörg, who was esteemed a great lady.

Björn went home to Wales and ruled there while he lived, and he was reckoned a mighty warrior.

When Sigvaldi came home to Denmark, he went to his estates in Sjælland. Ástríðr, his wife, was there and she had a bath prepared for him and she herself rubbed him down. She said: 'I imagine that some of the Jomsvikings who were in the battle¹ have returned with skins more riddled than yours. It would be better to care for this one by applying powder.'² He said: 'You might yet live to experience a time when you won't even have this to boast of, so take it as it is.'³ Sigvaldi ruled over Sjælland and had a reputation for wisdom. He appears in several sagas.

Þorkell the tall was considered a shrewd man as proved to be the case many times afterwards.

Sigurðr kápa took over his patrimony in Bornholm and was esteemed a worthy man. A long lineage stems from him and Tóva.

It is common report that Búi was transformed into a serpent and guarded his gold. The proof that is given for this story is that a serpent has been seen in Hjørungavágr. But it is also possible that some evil being has settled on the gold and appeared there since.⁴

Sigvaldi's remark (43/16-17) would lead one to think that the author had some definite episode in mind. But the only action which we know Sigvaldi took part in after this was the battle of Svǫldr, though the remark does not seem to refer to that episode.

⁴ According to OE poetry it was in the nature of dragons to seek out treasure, see *Beowulf* 2275-7.

En Hákon jarl réð eigi lengi Nóregi síðan ok varð inn frægsti af sigri þessum. Kom þá í Nóreg inn ágæti Óláfr konungr Tryggvason. Var þá tekinn af lífi Hákon jarl eptir því sem segir í Konungasögum. En Óláfr konungr kristnaði þá allan Nóreg.

Munum vér hér lúka at segja frá Jómsvíkingum.

Though Earl Hákon won great fame on account of this victory, his reign in Norway did not last much longer. The famous King Óláfr Tryggvason then came to Norway, and the story of how Earl Hákon lost his life is told in the *Konungasögur*. The whole of Norway was converted to Christianity by King Óláfr.

That is the end of the story of the Jomsvikings.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

DANMARKARBÓT

Whatever might have been the original meaning of this word on the smaller Jelling stone, later medieval authors appear to have understood it as meaning 'the glory of Denmark'. Thus Svend Aggesøn translates it as *Regni Decus* and Saxo has a similar phrase *Danice maiestatis caput*.¹ In our text the word *Danmarkarbót* must be translated 'the glory of Denmark'.

The word occurs first on the smaller Jelling stone, which reads *Kurmr kunukr k(ar)þi kubl þusi a(ft) þurui kunu sina tanmarkar but*, 'King Gormr set up this monument for Þyri his wife *Danmarkarbót*.'² Up to 1927 the word *Danmarkarbót* was taken to apply to Þyri. But in that year H. Brix published his new interpretation, which gave rise to two interrelated problems: the meaning of the word and to whom the word actually applies.³ The new theory was based on the principle of 'framing' (*omramning*), i.e. that runic inscriptions of this period have a subject at the beginning and a free apposition referring to the subject at the end, which form a kind of framework for the rest of the inscription which comes in the middle. Other runic inscriptions used to support this view were the larger Jelling stone, the Sønder-Vissing stone 1, the Kolind stone, the Ferslev stone 1, the Skærn stones 1 and 2, and the Vedelspang stone 2.⁴ The *Danmarkarbót* of the smaller Jelling stone is taken to be a free standing apposition or a kind of elliptical shortening for (*hann var*) *Danmarkarbót*, which refers to King Gormr. It is translated as 'the saviour of Denmark'.

The theory of 'framing' was rejected by A. Kock, 'Anmärkningar om vissa danska runinskrifter' *Arkiv XLIV* (1926) 226 ff. Many of the examples in Kock's opinion were not really analogous. Thus on the larger Jelling stone the carver wrote *sa haraldr ias sar* ('that Haraldr who') before introducing the final apposition.⁵ This speaks against rather than for the new theory, as that addition would have been unnecessary if 'framing' had been usual at that time. Although ODan. word order was much freer than that in the modern language and although the separation of a noun and the word

¹ Gertz, M. Cl., *Scriptores Minores Historiæ Danicæ mediæ ævi*, 1917-20, I 108, and Holder, A., *Saxonis grammatici gesta Danorum*, 1886, 329.

² *DRI* 41, where a full bibliography is to be found.

³ Brix, H., 'Inscription on the Older Jelling Stone,' *Acta Philologica Scandinavica* II (1927) 110-4.

⁴ *DRI* 42, 55, 108, 145, 80, 81, 4.

⁵ The inscription reads 'King Haraldr ordered this monument to be set up in memory of Gormr, his father, and Þyri, his mother, that Haraldr who won the whole of Denmark and Norway, and christianised the Danes.'

standing in apposition to it was allowed provided the sense was clear, Kock felt that on the smaller Jelling stone there was too big a gap. There were, however, three stones which did seem to support the new interpretation, viz. the Kolind, Ferslev and Sønder-Vissing stones.

K. M. Nielsen examined the question philologically.¹ He came to the conclusion that words ending in *bót* preceded by an objective genitive mean 'that which gives respect, adds honour'. Thus a bell in Niðaróss called *bæjarbót* is translated in Latin as *oppidi ornamentum*. Other examples of this type of word formation are *Þorbjörg bekkjarbót* 'someone who adds adornment to the bench', *sveitarbót* 'the glory of the hird', and *Álof Árbót* 'someone who influences the quality of the crops'. As this word formation is known as late as the fourteenth century, e.g. Peder Jensen Husaboot, Nielsen saw no reason why Svend Aggesøn should have misunderstood it. That the medieval chroniclers understood it to mean 'the glory of Denmark' is one of the strongest points in favour of the old interpretation. It should also possibly be pointed out that there is no historical evidence to support the theory that *Danmarkarbót* agrees with *Gormr*. It is most reasonable to accept that the word meant 'the glory of Denmark' in the tenth as in the fourteenth century.

¹ 'Danmarkar bot' *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (1943) 159 ff. and 'Kan Danmarkar bot betyde Danmarks bødning?' *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (1946) 267 ff.

APPENDIX II

THE LOCALISATION OF EVENTS IN NORWAY

The Jomsvikings landed first at Túnberg, modern Tønsberg, on the S.W. entrance of Oslofjord. If we are to make sense of the account found in *H*, then Geirmundr when he fled from Tønsberg must have fled northwards in the direction of Oslo. From there he would have proceeded up Gudbrandsdal, the main internal traffic route, to Dombås. Thence he could go down Romsdal to the farm Skuggi. The Jomsvikings, in the meantime, must have sailed northwards along the coast.¹

On hearing the news Hákon gathered men in Romsdal and Sunnmøre, which lies a little further south. He ordered the fleet to assemble off Hqð, modern Hareidland, just off the coast of Sunnmøre. His sons raised troops to the north of Romsdal. It was in these areas that Hákon was most likely to find support. It is improbable that Erlingr raised men in Rogaland, situated in the S.W. corner of Norway, if we accept the account in *Jómsvíkinga saga*, which says that neither side had exact news of the other. The Jomsvikings would have had to pass Rogaland on their way north.

A more detailed account of Hjørungavágr is given in 291 p. 108. There we learn also that the fjord faced the west, that there were three little skerries near its mouth, and that the island in the fjord lay in the same distance from the land on either side as from the bottom end of the fjord. Not all these details are correct.

The Herøy islands lie just south of Hareidland. The old name Hqð no longer survives, but Hareidland is called *Hadareid* in Archbishop Aslak's *Jordebog*, i.e. the *eid*, 'small connecting tongue of land', of Hqð. Other derivatives of the word are to be seen in Hadal or Haadal, Haabakke, Haaheim and Haasund, all place names on the island. Hjørungavágr, which actually faces N.E., is now called Livaag or Liavaag. But the name can be seen in Hjøringnæs and Hjøringdal, which are place names near the fjord. Possibly Livaag is a new name as the fjord is called merely *vaag* or *vaagen* in early seventeenth-century tax accounts. Strøm reported that in his day the peasants of the valley had a tradition that the fjord had previously been called Hjøringevaag and that there had been a sea battle there in the old

¹ The localisation of the battle was investigated by Storm, G., 'Historisk-geografiske Studier i det nordenfjeldske Norge, I. Slaget i Hjørungavaag', *Historisk Tidsskrift (Norsk)* IV (1877) 413-31. In the older versions of the story the Jomsvikings attacked Jaðarr on the W. coast of Norway. Storm regarded this as being more probable, Tønsberg being at that time in Danish hands.

days.¹ There is a small island in the fjord, which lies nearer the southern than the northern bank. Just outside the fjord there are two skerries, Övrefluerne, but Storm reported that there were originally three. The island Prímsignd must be the modern Sulø, although the name is not found in any other source. The description of Prímsignd does not harmonise with the topography of Sulø, which has steep fells, a few small beaches and a few small farms. Storm thought that the fjord, which is about $1\frac{1}{4}$ kilometres long, would have been a very suitable assembly point for the Norwegian ships as it is sheltered from the winds on all sides except the N.E. He thought it quite feasible that a battle could have been fought in the inner and outer fjord here. The saga-writer did not have an exact knowledge of the locality, but for the most part his account is fairly accurate.

¹ Strøm, H., *Beskrivelse over Fogderiet Søndmør II*, 1766, 409.

APPENDIX III

ÞORGERÐR HQLGABRÚÐR AND IRPA

Þorgerðr's second name appears in the following forms:

Hqlga-, Hqlða-, Hqrða-, Hqrða-brúðr
Hqlga-, Hqlða-, Hqrða-, Hqrða-troll.¹

Of these various forms it seems that Hqlgabrúðr is the oldest, and this is the form which occurs in Snorri and Saxo. The element *-brúðr* means 'friend or bride', and the name can be compared with *Freyja Vanabrúðr* and *Skaði godbrúðr*.² These were vegetation goddesses worshipped at a cult ceremony, so Þorgerðr may also have originated as a cult goddess. The name *troll* means 'enemy' and we meet it for the first time in *Jómsvíkinga saga*, where Þorgerðr does troll's work. The name may have been invented by the scribe of *Jómsvíkinga saga*. The other names are later inventions meaning respectively 'the friend (or enemy) of the people of Holde, of the people of Hordaland, of the altars'.

In Saxo we find that King Helgi of Hålogaland wooed Thora, the daughter of Gusi, the king of the Finns, and that he was rejected by her father. But Helgi managed to win his bride with the help of one Hotherus.³ In the *Snorra Edda* it has *Svá er sagt at konungr sá er Hqlgi er nefndr, er Hålogaland er við kent, var faðir Þorgerðar Hqlgabrúðar*.⁴ Then the first element of the name Hqlgabrúðr must be connected with this Hqlgi, the eponymous founder of Hålogaland. The original name meant 'the friend or bride of Hqlgi'.

Þorgerðr Hqlgabrúðr is closely connected with Earl Hákon and from the *Jómsvíkinga saga* it is clear that Hákon had a special reverence for her. At first she was possibly a tutelary goddess, worshipped by the family and those in the vicinity. But Hákon was a great heathen and Hákon's rise to power might have been accompanied by a spread of Þorgerðr's worship.⁵ The cult would have developed first in Trøndelag and Gudbrandsdal, where we find a temple dedicated to her situated in the saga era.

In this temple there were images of Þorgerðr, Þórr and Irpa, though possibly Þórr is a later substitution for Hqlgi. Each of them had a gold ring on his or her arm, and each was extravagantly clad in fine clothes.⁶ In *Færeyinga saga* it is said that that Hákon had a temple at Hlaðir, in which

¹ For the various forms and their age see Storm, G., 'Om Thorgerd Hölgebrud' *Arkiv* II (1885) 124 ff.

² De Vries, J., *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, 1957, II 341.

³ ed. A. Holder 116 f. ⁴ ed. F. Jónsson, 1931, 142. ⁵ cp. *Vellekla* str. 15.

⁶ *Brennu-Njáls saga* (ed. E. Ó. Sveinsson, 1954) 214, cp. *Flat.* I 407.

there were various images, but notably one of Þorgerðr.¹ Þorleifr jarlaskáld mentions a temple of Þorgerðr and Irpa, and mentions a spear, *atgeirr*, which Hákon took from the temple and which Hǫrgi, i.e. Hǫlgi, owned.² Later on, no doubt largely through the influence of Christianity, the troll side of Þorgerðr's nature began to predominate.³

In all the accounts we have, Irpa is but a subsidiary and complementary goddess to Þorgerðr. She is first mentioned in *Jómsvíkinga saga*. Little is known of her otherwise.

¹ *Flat.* I 144.

² *Flat.* I 213.

³ Thus we find her among the *trollaheiti* in *Snorra Edda* and it is largely as a troll that she appears in the later folk stories.

GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL TERMS

Heimanfylgja This was the property and/or possessions which a woman received from her father and mother on the occasion of her marriage, cp. *heimanfylgð*, *heimgjof* and *heimanmundr*. The gift remained the wife's personal property and in the event of a divorce, she took it with her. Her children inherited it. The gift, unlike the *mundr*, was in no way compulsory, but it was usually considered desirable.

Herqr This was the arrow which was sent round the countryside to announce the *herboð* or *hersaga* (the news of the arrival of an enemy force). It was a summons for all men to take up their arms and join the levy, *leiðangr*. Usually the arrow was made of wood, cp. *skera upp herqr*, though it could be of iron. It was carried by hand from farm to farm, and each man was responsible for seeing that it went on to the next farm. Everyone had to obey the summons, and failure to do so was punished with outlawry.

Hirð Cp. OE *hired*, *hird*. Although the *hirð* sometimes refers to the king's household in general, it normally signifies the following or comitatus of a king or earl. The members of the *hird*, the *hirdmen*, were recruited from among the leading families. They swore an oath of allegiance to their lord and their particular duty was to protect his person. Failure to do so was considered reprehensible, cp. 14/16. Later in such works as the *Hirðskrá* their duties tended to become more formalised.

Hornungr This is related to *horn* 'a corner'; cp. OE *hornung*. The word developed from the meaning 'someone who was pushed into a corner' the sense of 'bastard, outcast'. On the position of illegitimate children in ON times see Maurer, K., *Vorlesungen über altnordische Rechtsgeschichte* III, 1908, 124–80, 201–3. A man was born a *hornungr* if his mother or father was a thrall or if the marriage of his father and mother had not been legally performed.

Kertisveinn The office of *kertisveinn* is not one that belongs to the Viking Age proper, and it was introduced later from the South. Its occurrence in *Jómsvíkinga saga* is anachronistic. The activities and duties of the *kertisveinar* are described in the *Hirðskrá*. Their main duty was to hold the candle before the king at Christmas or at any other festival that the king wished. They were chosen from among the leading families and were

usually employed at a young age. The *kertisveinar* had their own ship and followed the hird to battle. But they did not rank so highly as the retainers.

Lopt A *skemma* was not often used in Iceland, but in Denmark, Norway and Sweden it was the rule for the family and the principal guests to sleep in a separate building. It consisted generally of two stories. The whole building was known as a *loptskemma* or *lopthús*, the upper story being the *skemmulopt* or just *lopt*, the lower the *undirskemma*. As the lower floor was often a cellar dug into the ground, there was in practice only one floor, and so the building as a whole was usually called a *lopt*. The upper floor was reached by an external staircase and there was usually a balcony going round the whole building. See *Guðmundsson* 249.

Ørtug An *ørtug* was a third of an *eyrir* in weight as well as in money value; and an *eyrir* was the equivalent of an ounce of silver or an eighth of a *mørk*. At 1/16 the meaning is 'gold to the value of an *ørtug*' or more probably 'a gold ring worth an *ørtug*'; cp. *Aǰ*: *annulus aureus*. See Brøgger, A. W., *Ertog og øre*, 1921.

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