ICELANDIC TEXTS
GENERAL EDITORS
Sigurður Nordal and G. Turville-Petre

ÞÓMSVÍKINGA SAGA

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THE SAGA OF THE ÞÓMSVÍKINGS
Jómsvíkinga Saga

Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd
London Edinburgh Paris Melbourne Johannesburg
Toronto and New York
The Saga of the Jomsvikings

Translated from the Icelandic
with Introduction, Notes and Appendices
by

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I should like to thank the Keeper of the Manuscripts at the Royal Library, Stockholm, for making Codex Holmiensis 740. available for me in Oxford. My thanks are also due to Professor G. Turville-Petre, Professor S. Nordal, Mr. A. Campbell, Mr. P. Foote and Mrs. U. Dronke, who have all at one time or another given me invaluable assistance and encouragement.

N.F.B.
INTRODUCTION

1 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 Jómsborg, the home of the famous band of vikings known as the Jomsvikings.

According to the Jómsvíkinga saga Jómsborg 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 Jómsborg 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 Jómsvíkinga saga has to tell us is pure fantasy. It is the end product of many years of literary accretion.

Jómsborg 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 Jómsborg elsewhere, the most popular theory being that Jómsborg was now a submerged

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 Jómsborg and the Jomsvikings.² But the majority of scholars, especially the older ones, pointed consistently to Wollin as the site of Jómsborg.

The dispute arose because the Jómsborg 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 Jummeta, 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 Jómsborg, 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 Aggeson we meet the name Hyumsburgh (MS Hynnisburgh) which corresponds to the Old Norse Jómsborg, 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 LI, 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.
⁵ Bk. I 2.
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(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 Hyumburgh, Julin and Jómsborg. The name Jómsborg is composed of two elements, the Old Norse borg, 'a citadel', and an unidentified jóm. 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 jóm corresponds to Adam's Jumne. 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 Jumne. 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

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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.

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The archaeological evidence shows that the northern affiliations of Jómsborg 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 Björkø. Jómsborg can never have been the home of an isolated viking community.

In order to assess the historical importance of Jómsborg 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, 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. 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. 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 Jómsborg, and must have been one of the first Baltic towns—the other major ones in the ninth and tenth century being Hedeby in Denmark, Björkø and Sigtuna in Sweden, Jómsborg 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 Scavia and looted it, and that they tried to subjugate the Kures after they had thrown off the Swedish yoke. 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. 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. 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 lodhe, '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 Pyri 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', although later Old Norse tradition knows nothing of this name. This runestone is important as it also tells us that Haraldr was married to

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1 Vita Ansgarii ch. 30.
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 Jómsborg 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 Æyri, 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 Hjörungavágr, but nevertheless it would have been only as one contingent in a larger army.

The date of the battle of Hjörungavágr 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 Hjörungavágr 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.\textsuperscript{3} A Danish fleet, which included Wends among

\textsuperscript{1} Ruotgeri vita Brunonis ch. 40.
\textsuperscript{2} Saxonis grammatici gesta Danorum, ed. A. Holder, 1886, 323, 325.
\textsuperscript{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 Slavi, 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 *Jómsvökinga saga* is extant in four Icelandic versions and the Latin translation of Arngrimr 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 *Krihn* 2.
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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 pátrr, but begins Maðr en 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.\(^5\)

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.\(^6\)

5. The Latin translation of Arngrímur Jónsson was made in 1592–3. The story in this version is shorter than that in 291, but longer than that in H.\(^7\)

The battle of Hjörungavágr is referred to in several contemporary scaldic verses, though there is no explicit mention of Hjörungavágr or the Jomsvikings.\(^8\) 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 Porkell Gislason. Both were written about 1200.\(^9\)

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, Knytingla 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.\(^10\)

\(^{1}\) 291 Introduction vi.  \(^{2}\) Krijn 2–6.  \(^{3}\) Krijn 19–26; 510 Introduction xviii ff.  \(^{4}\) 510 Introduction xxvi.  \(^{5}\) Krijn 6–9.  \(^{6}\) Benediktsson 117 ff.  \(^{7}\) Jónsson, F., op. cit.  \(^{8}\) 510 120 ff.; Litt. Hist. II 105.  \(^{9}\) Krijn 27 ff.
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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. But the majority of scholars are agreed in rejecting this view because the scribe of H appears to have shortened his original, and because what is common to Fgsk, which represents an older version of Jómsvikinga saga, and 291 is often missing in H. H and *x share certain omissions, notably the omission of the third stage when Sveinn comes aboard Sigvaldi’s ship, 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.

The two other redactions are thought to be descended independently from *Z. Both have interpolated from the Jómsvikinga 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. The original of 510 had the first þáttir and its absence cannot be used as an argument for the primacy of that redaction. There is nothing to show that the interpolations in 510 were not made by the redactor of 510 himself. Gjessing, the first editor of AF, held that this redaction represented the original most closely, but this theory has been convincingly rejected by Benediktsson, the latest editor. It comes, like

2 See particularly Krijn 27 ff. and Krijn, S., ‘Nogle Bemærkninger om Jómsvikingasaga’, 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 (2/24). But the vatni has been altered from nafní(i), which suggests that ok nafn gefa was to be found in H’s original. Cp. also 4/27 where the word undr, which is found in the other texts, has been deleted and bysin added for it. 3 Ádalbjarnarson 203.
4 Krijn 36–7.
5 Ádalbjarnarson 203; Krijn 27 ff.
6 Krijn 14–55; Ádalbjarnarson 214; Benediktsson 119 ff.
7 Krijn 56 ff.
8 Jómsvikinge-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 Jómsvíkinga 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 510 and Aŷ 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 Jómsvíkinga saga can be constructed.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\ast Z \\
\ast X \\
\ast X \\
291 \quad \text{Flat.} \\
291 \quad H \\
291 \quad Aŷ \\
291 \quad 510 \\
291 \quad OT
\end{array}
\]

It was realised at an early date that Fgsk and Hkr had both used a version of Jómsvíkinga 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 Jómsvíkingadrápa. *A was probably written about 1200. 291, the oldest extant version of Jómsvíkinga 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 scribbally related.\(^2\) Aðalbjarnarson rejected this conclusion and held that the two were not scribbally 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

\(^2\) Krijn 75 ff.
source, for 291 is a full text. He regarded the alternative, viz. to posit another lost Jömsvikinga 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 Hjörungavágr 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 Óláf 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 Jömsvikinga saga came into being. The first páttir was then added by the scribe of *Z.\(^4\)

\(b\) Codex Holmiæus 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 Jömsvikinga 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-

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\(^1\) Ádalbjarnarson 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 Ádalbjarnarson 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 patri; 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 22 1/2 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 Gautrekksonar, Jómsvíkinga saga, Ásmundar saga kappabana, Órvar-Odds saga and the beginning of Egils saga. It has been shown the MS AM.58oa and b and Codex Holmianus 7 were originally parts of the same manuscript.2 AM.58oa contains parts of Elis saga, Bærings saga and Flo vents saga; AM.58ob 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., Formmorsk-isländsk litteratur i Sverige I, 1897, 103-13.
2 Cederschöld Introduction v f.
INTRODUCTION

ography 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 nágask þangat þá leggja þeir menn í lægi skip sin* 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 grid ok frið ok raunn nú konunginum reiði við mág sinn* became *Gaf konungr honum upp reiði sina* (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 Fjölnir only takes up Pála-Tóki’s arrow after he and the rest of Haraldr’s retainers have agreed on what they should do (14/17), whereas in *29t* 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 Fjölnir the eldest, not the youngest, son of Pálnir (8/18), and the rearrangement of the laws (17/18ff.).

It is typical of the reductor 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 i 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 reductor 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 fírði en annan í útanverðum fírði ok gekk hvárr í móti qðrum ok varð sjórinm ókyrr mjök. En en þeir mættusk fell hvárr í kverk qðrum ok varð sjórinn allr í blóði einu. (5/8–11).

In the second account it appears as:

Þá sá vér boða ríssak í móti með gný 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 før nú sex skip af konungi. . . . (13/1–2).

Note also how Porkell’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 im-
portant 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 mean-
less. The interpretation of the vision in H is that some of the Danish
nobles would come to blows (6/2–5). The Sigmundr 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 hrókði tálnuskíði (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 barnlausi
and that of the meeting between Eiríkr Hákonarson and Porkell
miðlangr. More important shortenings are those of the Haraldr
gráfeldr and the Otto episodes. The first þáttir as a whole was consider-
ably shortened, but if one wanted to criticise it could be suggested that
the shortening 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 Æymi'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 þáttir which is not essential to the story. He has failed to fuse the two þettir; and the first part with its supernatural tone remains very different from the second, which is a record of action.

The second þáttir, 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 Jómsborg. 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 þáttir. 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 Úlftr 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.
EDITIONS OF JÓMSVÍKINGA SAGA

Jomsvikinga-Sagan, eller Historia om Kämparne från Jomsborg. På Isländska och Svenska, ed. L. Hammarsköld, Stockholm, 1815. (Text follows a paper manuscript, copied from 510 and collated with H.)

Jómsvíkinga saga útgefin ëptir gamalli kálfskinnsbók í hinu konúngliga bókasafni í Stockholmi, Copenhagen, 1824. (Contains second þátr of H after Rask’s transcription.)

Forðmanna sagur XI 1–162, Copenhagen, 1828. (Mainly based on 291.)


Jómsvíkinga saga efter skinnboken No 7, 4o, ed. G. Cederschöld, Lund, 1875.

Jómsvíkinga-saga i latinsk Oversættelse af Arngrim Jonsson, ed. A. Gjessing, Kristiansand, 1877.


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Scandinavia and the Baltic in the tenth century
ICELANDIC TEXT
AND
ENGLISH TRANSLATION
Gormr hét konungr er réð fyrir Danmörku, er kallaðr var hinn barnlausi. Hann var ríkr konungr ok vinsæll við sínna menn. Hann hafði þa lengi ráðið ríkinu er þetta er tíðenda. Þá var í Saxlandi Arnfinnr jarl er ríki helt af Karlamagnús konungi.¹ Þeir varu vinir góðir ok Gormr konungr ok hofðu verit í viking báðir saman. Jarl átti systur fríða, en hann lagði á hana meira hug en skyldi ok got við henni barn. En því var leynkt ok sendi jarl² á braut ok bað þá eigi við skiljask fjyr 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 konungur heim ok òll hirðin nema tveir bræðr, hét annarr Hallvarðr, annarr Hávarðr; þeir urðu eptirstaðs. 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 knút⁶ mikinn í limunum yfir uppi. Barnit var vaft í guðvæjar pelli ok knýtt silkidregli um hofðu barninu ok þar í örtugar gull.⁷ Þeir tóku upp barnit ok hofðu heim. Koma svá heim at konungur sat við drykkju, ok sogðu konungi hvat þeir hofðu 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

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.

⁶ knút’ (=knútinn?)
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, 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, telling the men not to part with it before they knew what had befallen it. They came to a forest in Denmark, where, as they discovered, King Gormr and his hirdmen 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 shore 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, 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. hird.
5 The two hirdmen had taken the coastal road home, cp. AJ: maritima via domum repedantes.
6 See Glossary, s.v. ortug.
ausa vatniok kalla Knút af því at gull var knytt um enni hans. Konungr fekk honum föstr 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 òllu er átt hafði Gormr konungr ok er vinsæll. Hann getr sér einn son er Gormr hét; sá var fyrst kallaðr Gormr hinn heimskr, en þá er hann var roskinn Gormr hinn gamli eða hinn ríki.

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

Nú er Gormr rosknâðisk ok hafði tekít við konungdómi, þá ferr hann ór landi með mikinn her ok ætlar at biðja döttur Haralds jarls. Ok ef hann vill eigi gefa honum konuna þá ætlar hann at herja á hann. En er Haraldr jarl ok döttir hans spyrja til fara Gorms konungs ok hans fyrirætlan, þá senda þau menn móti honum ok þjóða honum til ágætrar veizlu. Ok konungr þekkisk þat. Ok er hann hefir upp borit ørendi sin fyrir jarl, þá veitir jarl þau svör at hon skal sjálf ráða ‘því at hon er miklu vitrari en ek’. Konungr skorar þá þetta múl 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 kömr heim, láta gera hús þar sem eigi hafi fyrir verit,’ þat er þér sé skapligt at sofa í. En þar skaltu sofa í vetrarnótt hina fyrstu ok þrjár nætr í samt. Ok mun þú gloggt ef þik dreymir nokkut ok lát segja mér. Mun ek þá segja sendimönnum hvárt þú skalt vitja þessa ráðahags eða eigi; en eigi þarfut at vitja ef þik dreymir ekki.’

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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 Chnuze 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.\footnote{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 Æyri, 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 Æyri 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.\footnote{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.’

\footnote{1}{The dreams in the \textit{Jomsvikinga 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., \textit{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.}

3

En þat var haft at skemtan at veizlunni at Gormr konungr sagði drauma sínna en Þyri dróttning réð eptir. Konungr sagði at hann dreymdó hina fyrstu nótt at hann þóttisk úti staddr ok sjá yfir allt ríki sitt. Honum þótti sjó falla frá landi svá langt at hann mátta eigi auga yfir reka ok þurr váru òll eyjasund ok fírðir. Þá sá hann at öxn þríg gengu upp ór sjónum hvítir ok bitu af gris allt af jörðu ok gengu aprtr í sjóinn síðan. Sá var annarr draumr at honum þóttu enn þríg yxn ganga upp ór sjónum; þeir váru raðir allir ok hyrndir mjók. Þeir bitu enn gras af jörðu ok gengu aprtr síðan í sjóinn. Sá var draumr hinn þríði at konungr sá enn öxn þrjá ganga ór sjó; þeir váru allir svartir at lit ok miklu mestir ok mest hyrndir. Ok bitu enn gras af landi ok gengu aprtr 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 sjófargangnum er hann gekk at landinu. ‘En nú vil ek, dróttning, at þú ráðir draumana til skemtanað monnum.’ Hon kvað svá vera skyldu. ‘Þar er öxn 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

1 Neither CEDERSCHÖLD nor JÖLLEIK 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 hundred\(^1\) 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.

At the banquet they entertained themselves in the following way: King Gormr related his dreams and Queen Pyri 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 crash\(^3\) 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, heradsbrestr, hyðlabrestr, vábrestr. Both meanings of the word are applicable here.
aðrir þrír öxan rauðir þar munu koma aðrir þrír vetr snælitlið ok þó eigi göðir. Dá gengu upp hinir þrír öxan svartir, þar munu koma hinir þríðju vetr; þeir munu vera svá illir at engir munu muna þvílíka. Ok þat svarta hallæri mun koma at varla munu dæmi til finnask at slíkt hafi orðit. Ok þar er öxninir várú hyrndir mjók þar munu margir verða hornungar alls þess er eigu.1 Dá heyðir þú brest mikinn af sjófargang. Dat mun vera fyrir öfriði stórefismanna 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 öfriðrinn verða á þinum dógum ok þá hefða ek eigi gengit með þér. En við hallæri mun ek gót geta.’

Eptir þessa veizlú fóru þau Gormr konungr heim ok Þyri dröttning til Danmerkr ok létu hlada morg skip af korni ok annarri gösku ok flytja í Danmørk. Ok á hverjum misserum þaðan frá þar til er hallærit kom. En þá sakaði þau alls ekki ok enga þá, er í nándir þeim várú, því at þau móluðu mikil göði sinum landsmönnum. Ok hefð Þyri vitrust kona komit í Danmørk ok var kolluð Danmarkarbót.3

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

Gormr konungr sendir nú menn til Haraldr jarls at bjóða honum til jólakeizlu. Jarl tók því vel. Fóru nú aptr sendimenn konungs. Nú býsk jarl til ferðar þessar ok þeir fara þar er Limafjörðr verðir fyrir þeim. Þar sá þeir standa cík undarlíga; þar váru vaxin á epli smá ok grøn ok blómgud. Þeir undruðusk mjók ok segir jarl at honum þóttu þetta vera b býsn mikil at í þann tíma var þetta, því at þeir sá stað þeira eplar eru um sumarit höfdu vaxit; váru þau stór ok forn. ‘Ok munu vér hverfa aptr’—ok svá góra þeir. Sat jarl heima þau misseri.

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a I (-jarl?)

b after vera the scribe has deleted undr

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. hornungur.

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. 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. 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 Æyri 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 Æyri was the wisest woman who ever came to Denmark and she was known as The Glory of Denmark.

King Gormr and Queen Æyri 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.

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.

See Appendix I.
Konungi pótti kynlegt er jarl kom [eigi].

Annan vetri sendi konungr
menn ins sama ørendis ok jarl hét ferðinni. Jarl för með liði sínu til
Límjarðar; en þar varú hundar margir á skipi jarls. Pá heyrðu þeir
at hvelparnir gö í greyhundunum. Jarl kvað þetta vera býsn mikil ok
kvað þá skyldu aptr hverfa. Ok svá var.

Nú líðr vettrinn ok hinn þríðja vetri sendir konungr enn menn at
bjóða jarli til jólaveislu. Hann hét ferðinni. Ók nú farr jarl þar til
er hann komr til Límarföði. Pá sá þeir boða rísa í innanverðum fyrði
en annan í útanverðum fyrði ok gekk hvárr í móti þóðrum ok varð sjórinn
ókyrr mjök. En er þeir meyttusk fell hvárr í kverk þóðrum ok varð
sjórinn allr í blöði einu. Ók þá meðli jarl: ‘Þetta eru stór býsn ok skulu
vér aptr hverfa.’ Sat jarl heima þau jól.

Gormr konungr verð r nú reiðr mjök jarli er hann hafði eigi þekkzk
heimboð hans, ok ætlar hann nú at herja á jarl ok launa honum þessa
svívirðing. Ok er Þýr dröttning verð þessa vör, kvað hon þat eigi
sama at göra mein jarli ok kvazk mundu fá til betra ráð. Konungr
gorir nú sem dröttning vill. Eru nú sendir menn eptir jarli at vita
hverju sæti. Ok jarl för þegar. Konungr tekur nú at höfi við mági
sínum ok gengu þeir konungr ok jarl brátt á málstefnu. Ok spurði
konungr nú hverju gegndi er hann komi engu sinni ‘ok svívirðir svá
mik ok mín boð’. Jarl kvazk eigi til svívirðingar gört hafa, heldr aðra
hluti til bera. Sagði nú konungr undrinn þau er þeir hofðu sét. ‘Mun
ek nú skýra fyrir yðr hvat ek ætlta þessi fáknsl munu boða?’ Konungr
játir því.

Jarl mælti: ‘Þar mun ek þá fyrrst til taka er vér sám eik um hávetri
með grenum eplum, en forn ok stór lágu hjá niðri. Óat hygg ek vera
munu fyrir siðaskipti því er koma mun á þessi lónd. Mun sá siðrinn
vera með meira blóma ok jarstega hin fógru eplin, en hinn mun leggjask
niðr sem í fornú eplin ok verða að dusti einu. Óat var annat undr at
hvelpar gö í greyhundum. Óar munu ungir menn taka málir fyrir
munu ínnum ellrum mónnum ok gorask svá hvatvísir, ok meiri ván at
þeir hafi meira hlut ráða þó at hinir sé ráðgari. Ok hygg ek þó vera

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a supplied by Cederschöld
b ferðinni, MS ferði/inni
c eigi, MS eigg

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. 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 Æyri 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 komna\(^1\) í heimin\(\) því at hvelparnir várú eigi lagðir. Dá sá véð boða risask í móti með gný miklum ok blöði. Pat mun vera fyrir missætti nakkvarra stóreflsisanna hér innanlands, ok munu þar gerask af stórir bardagar ok mikil styrjöld, ok meiri ván at þessum firði verði afspringr nökkur.\(^2\) 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 máystefnu. Dvalðisk jarl þar nú slika hríð sem konungr vildi ok för heim síðan.

Litlu síðarr gaf Haraldr jarl ríki sitt allt Knúti, föstra sínum. En jarl för út í lón ok tók þar við kristni ok kom aldri síðan til ríkis. Gormr konungr ok Haraldr son hans urðu ósamþykkr þegar Haraldr gøðisk vaXinn. Fekk þá Haraldr skip nökkur ok lagðisk hann þá í viking hvert sumar en sat um vetrinn í Danmork.

Í þann tíma réð Aðalsteinn konungr Englandi.\(^3\) Hann var góðr konungr ok gamall. Á hans dagum ofarla kom Danaherr í England ok váru synir Gorms konungs høfðingjar fyrir, Knútr ok Haraldr. Þeir herjuðu víða um Norðrimbraland, ok logðu undir sik mikit ríki ok tölðu þat arftekinn hluta sinn er átt høfðu Loðbróksynir ok aðrir þeira forellrar.\(^4\) Aðalsteinn konungr hafði líðsafrnþ mikinn ok för í mot þeim bræðrum ok hitti þá fyrir norðan Kliflønd ok drap hann fjölda af Þonum. Nökkur síðarr gengu þeir upp Gormssynir um Skarðaborg ok bøðuðar þar ok høfðu Danir sigir. Þeir þat ætluðu þeir til Jörvíkr suðr ok gekk þá allt folk undir þá. Ugðu þeir þá ok ekki at sér. Einn dag er heitt skinn var á fóru menn á sund milli skipanna ok konungr bátir.\(^5\) Dá hljópu menn af landi ofan ok skutu á þá. Dá var Knútr lostinn ðru til bana ok tóku þeir líkit á skipit. En er þetta spurðu landsmenn þá drósk þegar saman herr óvigr. Ók því næst kom Aðal-

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\(^1\) *Kommen* is acc. pl. masc. agreeing with a *þá* understood in the acc. and infin. construction; cp. 23/25.


\(^3\) This introduces an interpolation in *H* from *OT*, see Introduction 3. Ædelstan was king of England from 925 to 939.

\(^4\) In ON the sons of Ragnar Loðbrók were traditionally Þórir beinlausi, Bjorn hvitserkr and Sigurðr ormr-Í-auga. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle mentions Ingvar, Healfdene and Ubba as the main Danish leaders of the ninth century.
young men are alive yet, 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. 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 foster son. 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. 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. 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 kings 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 Hróða-Knútr, the son of Sigurðr orm-r-i-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 snérisk þá til hans allt fólk þat er áðr hafði gengit undir þá Knúts, ok eptir þat fá Danir engar uppþongur fyrir líðsafnaði landsmanna. Ok eptir þat fóru Danir aprtr til Danmerkr.

Þá var Gormr konungr staddr á Jötlandi. Haraldr för þegar þangat ok sagði móður sinni tíðendi. En Gormr konungr hafði þess heit strengt at hann skyldi deyja ef hann spryrði fall Knúts, sonar síns, ok svá sá er honum segði. Þá létt dróttning tjaldá höllina grám vaðmálu.1 En er konungr kom til borðs þá þögðu allir þeir er inni váru. Þá mælti konungr: ‘Hví þegja allir menn; eru nøkkur tíðendi at sigja?’ Þá segir dróttning: ‘Herra, þér áttuð tvá hauka, annarr hvítr, en annarr grár. Hinn hvíti hafði flogit langt í eyðimork. Þar komu at honum krákur margar ok plokkudu2 hann svá at allar fjaðrar váru af honum reyttar. Ok nú er hinn hvíti folginn en hinn grái aprtr kominn, ok mun hann nú drepa fugla til borðhalsd yðr.’ Þá mælti Gormr konungr: ‘Svá drúpir Danmórk sem dauðr sé Knútr, son minn.’ Þá segir dróttning: ‘Sónn munu vera þessi tíðendi er þér segið, herra’3— ok sónnuðu þat þá allir er inni váru. Þann sama dag tók Gormr konungr sött ok andaðisk annan dag at jafnleggð. Þá hafði hann verit konungr tíu tigi vetra. Haugr mikill var orpinn eptir hann.4

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

6

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

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 kreniker, 1887–1913, 10–13, and other phrases of this nature are found in ON; cp. svá pótti drúpa (MSS drúpa) Ísland eptir fráfall Gizurar biskups ... Byskupa Sogur 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 wadmál.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.

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

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¹ 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.

² 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 Hjörungavágr. He died in 995. See Turville-Petre 125 ff.
par 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 øröf lausafjár. Hann för ok til hirdar¹ Haraldr konungs. Þenna vetr settu þeir Haraldr konunger Gormsson ok Hákon jarl vélræði um Harald, Nóregs konung, ok móður Haraldr, Gunnhildi. Ok um várit svíku þeir hann í Limafirði eptir því sem segir í Konungabók² at Gull-Haraldr feldi Harald. En Hákon jarl lét síðan festa Gull-Haraldr á gálga. En síðan tók Hákon jarl við einvaldi yfir Nóregi ok skylti gjalda skatta Danakonungi.³

Litlu síðarr kom Otta⁴ keisari af Saxlandi til Danmerkr með miklu liði ok þá kom Óláfr Tryggvason til líðs við hann.⁵ Þeir brutu Harald konung til kristni ok Hákon jarl. Var þá kristnuð òll Danmørk. En Hákon jarl gekk aprtil til heiðni⁶ þegar hann kom⁷ aprtil til Nóregs ok galt aldri skatta síðan.

7

Maðr er nefndr Tóki í Danmørk, í heraði því er á Fjóni heitir. Þórvör hét konu hans. Hann átti tvá sonu; Áki hét inn ellri, en annarr Pálnir. Hinn ellzti hét Fjólnir; hann var frílluson. Tóki var þá gamall ok þó hann sótt ok andadisk; litlu síðarr Þórvör, kona hans. Tóku þeir bræðr arf, Áki ok Pálnir. Þá spurði Fjólnir bræðr sínar hvat þeir ætlaði honum af fé. Þeir kváðusk mundu miðla honum þriðjung af lausafé, en ekki af lóndum; ok þóttusk þeir þó góra hans hluta göðan. En hann mælti til þriðjungs alls fjár sem hann væri arfengr,⁸ en þeir bræðr hans níttu því. Fjólnir lét sér illa líka ok ferr í brótt ok til Haralds konungs ok gøðisk hírdmaðr hans ok ráðunautr. Hann var vitr maðr ok ráðugr ok illgjarn. Hann tekur nú⁹ ok rægir Áka, bróður sinn, við

¹ the scribe first wrote skatta af nor(egi), he changed the nor’ to dana and added a k, but forgot to erase af
² the a was first written as an l and then changed to a, the top of the l being erased; Cederschøld and Joleik read Otti
³ MS hann henn kon, the h of the second hann altered in MS from or(egs) k
⁴ a altered in MS from nor(egs) k
⁵ altered in MS from nor(egs) k
⁶ altered in MS from nor(egs) k
⁷ the scribe first wrote skatta af nor(egi), he changed the nor’ to dana and added a k, but forgot to erase af
⁸ See Glossary, s.v. hirð
⁹ See Glossary, s.v. hirð
¹⁰ Konungabók and Konungsagögr (44/3) refer to Hkr or OT, both of which were known and used by the scribe of H.
¹¹ The expedition of the Holy Roman Emperor, Otto II, took place in 974. For Óláfr Tryggvason see Turville-Petre 130–9.
¹² A bastard could be given the full rights of inheritance by being led í att
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 Limsfjord, 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.

There was a man called Tóki who lived in the district of Denmark known as Fyn; and his wife was called Þórvör. He had two sons, the elder of whom was called Áki and the younger Pálnir. The eldest of them all was called Fjólnir, 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 Þórvör. The two brothers, Áki and Pálnir, divided the inheritance between themselves, so Fjólnir 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 Fjólnir demanded a third of all the property, as though he were a legal heir.⁴ His brothers rejected this demand. Fjólnir, 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. Ú. Sveinsson, Íslensk Fornrit V, 1934) 72 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 hernæði ok hafði nær ávalt sigr. Fjólnir sagði svá Harald konungi at hann m undi 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 för hann eitt sinn at heimboði ok hafði tvau skip ok hundrað manna, ok allir vel búnir at vápnum ok klæðum. Þar var hann nokkura hrið ok þá Áki gjaðar göðar at að skilnaði af jarli. Fór aprtr síðan. Þetta fregn Haraldr konungr at Áki var ór landi farinn. Hann lætr búa tíu skip ok fémm hundrað manna, ok bað þá fara ok sæta því er hann færi aprtr ok taka hann af lífí ok allt foruneyti hans. Konungsmenn féðu síðan ok heldu njósnum til um ferðir Áka. Var þat hægt því at þeir kunnu eigi at varask þetta. Þar komu konungsmenn at þeim með her þenna á óvat ok léttu bera á þá ván ok féldu á þá tjóld,1 en þeir varu ekki við búnir, ok drepa þá alla. Eptir þetta féða þeir konungi herfang þetta allt. Konungr lætr nú vel yfir ok kvazk nú mundu vera einn konungr fyrir Áka. Fjólnir pótti nú allvel ok póttisk goldit hafa nokkur er hann náði eigi arfinum.

Nú spyrjask þessi tíðendi á Fjón, ok er Pálnir heyroði 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.


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

Götländ was a place where Áki was always sure of a friendly reception and he was on very good terms with Öttarr, 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 them 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. Fjölnir 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.

The news reached Fyn and when Pálnir heard it, he took it so much to heart that he took to his bed. 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 Ingibjorg, the daughter of Earl Öttarr of Götländ. 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 döttur hans til handa Pálna; kvað hann eigi skorta fjárhlut á Fjóni ok kvað bana Pálna við liggja fyrir harma sakir. Þær verða málalyktir at jarl heitr döttur sinni ok skal færa heim konuna.1 Síðan ferr Sigurðr heim ok segir Pálna þessi tíðendi, ok léttisk honum mikít við þetta.

Búa þeir nú veizlu ágæta á Fjóni ok spara ekki til. Ok á nefndum degi kómr jarl ok mikít lið, ok var þar2 drukkt veglít brúðhlaup ok síðan leidd í eina rekkuð Pálnin ok Ingibjörg. Hon3 sofnar brátt ok dreymir hana ok er hon vaknar sagði hon Pálna draumin. ‘Pat dreymði mik,’ segir hon, ‘at ek þóttumk hér stócð á þessum bæ, en ek þóttumk uppi eiga einn vef. Hann var grár at lit. Mér þótti kljár dréfinn ok var ek at at slá vefinn. Þá fell af einn kléinn4 af miðjum vefnum á bak. Þá sá ek at kljárinn váru manna hofðuð ein.5 Ok ek tók upp þetta hofðuð ok kenda ek.’ Pálnir spurbí hvers hofðuð væri, en hon kvað vera hofðuð Haralds konungs Órðssonar. Pálnir kvað: ‘Betra en eigi dreymt.’ ‘Svá þykkir mér ok,’ segir hon. Eptir þessa veizlu ferr Óttarr jarl heim í Gautland með gjöfum virðuligum.

9

En með þeim tövusk upp ástir góðar, Pálna ok Ingibjörgu, ok brátt gátu þau son saman; sá var kallað Pálna-Tóki.3 Hann óx upp á Fjóni ok er snemendis bæði mikill ok vetr ok vinsæll. Ok er Pálna-Tóki er af inum mesta barnsaldri þá tekr faðir hans sött ok andask. Pálna-Tóki tekr nú fjárhlutí 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, fóðurbróður sinum.

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 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
3 kleinn, MS keinn

(a) par, MS þ(at)
(b) The Darráðarjöð also has that the weights were men’s heads:
   Sjá er orpinn vefr ýta þormum
   ok harðklaðr hofðum manna.
   (Bremnu-Njáls saga ed. E. O. Sveinsson, Íslensk Forntit 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.’ 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 Òttarr who had been given magnificent presents went home to Götland.

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.

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¹ 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 Stefni hét. Hann átti döttur eina er Álof hét; hon var vítr ok vinsæl. Pálna-Tóki kómr þar við land skipum sínun ok ætlaði at herja á ríki Stefnijar jarls. Ok er þetta spyrsk, þá tek þjóð Álof þat ráð ok þau Björn hinn brezki, hann var ráðgjafi hennar: þau bjóða Pálna-Tóka til veizlú ok mikillar vegsemðar, ok átti hann þar friðland ok herjaði eigi. Ok þetta þekkisk Pálna-Tóki ok sökir til veizlunnar með öllu líði sínu. Ok á þeirri veizlu þiðr Pálna-Tóki Álofar ok var þat mál aúðsótt. Ok þá þegar er brugðit til þrúðhlaups, ok þar með gefr Stefni jarl Pálna-Tóka jarlsnaðn ok hálft ríki sitt; en hann átti allt eptir hans dag. Pálna-Tóki var þar um sumaríð 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 mínun, ok hafa landráð fyrir mín hón.’ Eptir þat ferr Pálna-Tóki á braut með Álof, konu sina, ok heim á Fjón í Danmork.

Hann sitr nú heima at búm sínun um hrið ok þykkir nú hann annarr mestr maðr í Danmork ok rékastr ok bezt at viti búinn annarr en konungrinn.

Haraldr konungr ferr nú at veizlum um landit. Pálna-Tóki býr nú veizlu ok byðr til Haraldi konungi, ok konungr þekkisk þat. Hann var þar lengi á veizlu. En kona sú var fengin til þjónostu við konung, er Æsa hét ok kölluð Saum-Æsa. Hon var snauð kona ok þó vel kunnandi. Nú fór konungr af veizlu ok var reifðr morgum gjórum. Um sumaríð eptir var Saum-Æsa með barni. Ok Pálna-Tóki talaði ok spyrði hverr í hlut sætt 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 fæðir Æsa barni. Er nafn gefit ok hét Sveinn; ok kallaðr Saum-Æsusan.1 Hann vex upp á Fjóni ok gørir Pálna-Tóki vel til hans ok svá menn hans.

Ok er Sveinn var þrivetr tekir Haraldr konungr þar veizlu á Fjóni.² Nú er Pálna-Tóki í tilstilli með Saum-Æsu.³ Um daginn er konungr

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¹ Cedorröld and Joleik read Saum-Æsu Sveinn for the MS Saumæsus. This is the reading in 297, but Flat. and 510 have Saum-Æsusan. The story of the birth of Sveinn is paralleled by that of Hákon Sigurðarson, Hkr III 325–6.

² supplied by Cederschöld

³ Fjóni, MS flo.

⁴ at Saumæsa altered in MS to m(eð) Saumæsu
At that time Wales was ruled by an earl named Stefínir, who had a wise and popular daughter called Álof. Pálna-Tóki landed there with his ships and intended to ravage Earl Stefínir’s kingdom. When they heard of this, Álof and Bjørn 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 Stefínir created Pálna-Tóki an earl and gave him half of his kingdom, the rest of which was to fall to him on Stefínir’s death. Pálna-Tóki stayed there that summer and the following winter. But when the spring came he said to Bjørn the Welshman: ‘I intend to go home to Denmark now, but I want you to stay here with my father-in-law Stefínir 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.

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-Æsusan.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 kemr Æsa fyrir borði 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 mæltir: 'Firna djörf kona ertu ok heimsk, ok dirf þik eigi at mæla slíkt ef þú vilt vera ömeidd.' Pálna-Tóki mælti: 'Því mun hon þetta mæla, herra, at henni mun þetta þykja 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 þer fyrir þat.' Pálna-Tóki segir: 'Engu skal þat skipta. Skulu vér nú láta falla þessa rædu at sinni.' Eptir þat ferr konungr af veizlu með engum gjöfum ok er fátt um með þeim Pálna-Tóka.

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


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 f ð Sveinn á fund Haralds konungs ok f ð allt á sama leið. Sveinn fær nú sex skip af konungi, en Pálna-Tóki fær honum önnur sex. Sveinn herjar enn á ríki feðr sins ok er nú hálfu ákafari. Gengr nú aldri af þeim. Hann herjar bæði of Sjálvand a ok Halland. Þeir drepa nú margan mann. Þessi tíøendi spyrjask nú viða. Þeir fara á konungs fund ok segja honum til sinna vandræða, en konungr lætr enn líða hjá sér. Um haustit fôr Sveinn til Pálna-Tóka með öllu líði ok er þar um vetrinn.


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

a Sjald MS; Sjáland 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 Stefnr, 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 vágshotinnim um kveldit, en konungr leggr sínum skipum um þveran váginn ok verpa Svein þar inni.

Detta sama kveld kömr Pálna-Tóki þar við land; hann hefir fjogur skip ok tuttugu. Hann leggr ódrum megin undir nesit ok tjaldar þar. Eptir þat gengr Pálna-Tóki á land einn saman; hann hafði með sér boga sinn ok ǫvramæli. Denna sama aptan gengr Haraldr konungr á land upp við tólfa mann. Þeir fara í skóg ok góra sér bakeld. Þá var myrk af nót. Konungr afklæðisk ok bakask. Pálna-Tóki sér eldinn í skóginn; ferr hann þar í svig við; þekkir mennina; leggr nú ǫr á streng; ok skytr í gegnum Harald konung. Fell hann þegar dauðr niðr. Pálna-Tóki snýr þegar aprt til liðs síns, en förnautar Haralds konungs styrma yfir honum. Þeir mæltu með sér hversu með skyldi fara. Fjólnir mælti: ‘Þat er mitt ráð at vér hafim eina sogn allir at konungr hafi skotinn verit í bardaga, þvi at þat má sízt várri vangeyslun kenna.’ Ok nú binda þeir þetta fastmælum. Fjólnir tekr þrína ok varðveitar; var hon auðkend því at hon var gulli reyð.1


Um morguninn leggja þeir at konungsmonnum 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 bánir ok kveðja þings: var þá Sveinn til konungs tekinn yfir alla Danmørk.3

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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. Fjölnir 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. Fjölnir 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

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¹ 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 skyld at efta feðr sinn ok býðr Pálna-Tóka. En hann kvezk eigi mega fyrir þær vettraetr ‘því að mér er sagt at Stefnir, mágr minn, sé dauðr, en ek á þar ríki allt.’ Nú eyðisk erfi þat haust, en Pálna-Tóki for ór landi. En hann setr Áka, son sinn, eptir á Fjóni ok bað honum virkta af Sveini konungi. Konungr hét því ok svá gøði hann. Pálna-Tóki ferr nú til Bretlands ok tektr nú þar við ríki ok líðu 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 erfi þau misseri.¹

Ok nú er sumrar lætr Sveinn konungr efna til erfisgøðar. Sendir enn menn til Pálna-Tóka, biðr nú hann koma til erfisgøðar ok segir nú á reiði sína ef hann ferr nú eigi. Pálna-Tóki segir sendimønnnum at hann mun nú koma ok konungr látí búa veizluna. Konungr lætr nú búa erfiok býðr til fjóða manns. Ok þá er allt var til búit ok boðsmenn kommir liðr á daginn ok kómr eigi Pálna-Tóki. Ok ganga menn til drykkju. Konungr lét liggja rúm í øndvegi á inn óvætra 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 þjú skip ok hundrað manna, ok hálft hvárt Danir eða Bretar. Þeir koma þetta hit sama kveld fyrir konungs bœinna. Dá var veðr allgott. Þeir snúa skipum sínum ok bera upp skutfestar ok leggja árar í hæreðar. Þeir ganga nú til konungs bejar med ðillu líðinu. Pálna-Tóki gengr nú í hollina ok allir þeir ok fyrir konunginn ok heilsar konungi. Konungr tók vel máli hans ok visar honum til sætis ok öllum þeim. Taka nú at drekka. Fjólnir hneigðisk at konungi ok talaði við hann hljót um hrið. Konungr brá lit við ok göði 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 Jofleik) read konungr lét liggja rúm [Pálna-Tóka] í øndvegi á inn óvætra 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 óvætra bekk í øndvegi 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 Björn 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. Fjölnir 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.


\(^{a}\) *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 iðn

\(^1\) See Glossary, s.v. *kertisveinn*.
The king had a page\(^1\) called Arnoddr who stood in front of his table. Fjôlnir 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 Fjôlnir 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 Björn’s party, Pálna-Tóki said: ‘We couldn’t expect to get away scotfree, and let us hurry down to the ships.’ Björn 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. Björn 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.

The following summer Álof, Pálna-Tóki’s wife, took ill and died. Pálna-Tóki was no longer content to stay in Wales and put Björn 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 fjörða 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 hyggr illt til hernaðar hans, því at hann haföi nær ávalt sigr ok var hverjum manni frægr. Þat råð 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 bøði at hann vill gefa honum eitt fylkia af landi sínu, þat er heitir at Jómi, til þess at hann verði land hans ok ríki ok staðfestisk þar. Þetta piggr nú Pálna-Tóki ok staðfestisk nú þar ok allir hans menn, ok bráðliga lætr hann gora þar eina borg mikla ok rammgørva. Sumr hluti borgarinnar stöð á sjó út ok þar í lætr hann gora hofn svá mikla at liggja mátti við þrjú hundrað langskipa, svá at òll 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 járnurðir ok læstar innan ör hofninni. En á steinbogarum var gorr kastali mikill ok þar valslóngur í.2 Þessi borg er kölluð Jómsborg.

16

Eptir þetta setr Pálna-Tóki log í Jómsborg með vitra manna ráði til þess at þeira ágæti yrði sem viðfrægast ok afli þeira yrði sem mestr.3 Þat var upphaf laga þeira at þangat skyldi engi maðr ráðask sá er ellri væri en fímtugr, 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 logum. Engi maðr skyldi þar renna fyrir jafnvígilum ok jafnbúnum. Hvurr skyldi þar annars hefna sem bróður síns. Engi skyldi þar æðruðr mæla ne kvíða neinum hlut hvégi óvent sem um þætti. Allt þat er þeir fengi í herforum þá skyldi til stangar bera minna hlut ok meira, þat er fémætt væri; ok ef hann heföi þat eigi górt

a after fylki, at Jómi erased by scribe

1 The name Búrisleifr appears as Búrísľáfr in some ON sources. It comes from Slavic Boleslav. But it was Míesco, 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. 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.

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. 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

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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 Hálfskrekkja (ed. A. Le Roy Andrews, 1909) 92–3. Individual laws echo some of the customs of the hird as found in the Hirðskræ. 
pá skyldi hann í brottu verða. Engi skyldi þar róg kveikja. En ef tíðendi frengdisk þá skyldi engi svá hvatviss at þau skyldi í hávaða segja, því at Pálna-Tóki skyldi þar óll tíðendi segja. Engi maðr skyldi konu hafa í borgina; ok engi í brott vera þrim nótum lengr. Ok þó at við þeim manni væri tekit er vegit hefði foður eða bróður þess manns er þar væri áður eða nakkvarn náinn man, ok kömi 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 log sín. Þeir fara hvert sumar í hernað á ýmsi lönd ok fá sér ágæti. Þóttu vera inir mestu hermenn ok nálaga engir þeira jafningjar í þann tíma; ok váru kallaðir Jómsvíkingar.

17

Í þenna tíma réð fyrir Sjálvöndum 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 Ingibjörg hét kona hans. Sigvaldi hét son þeira, annarr Pórkell hávi.2 Dóttir þeira hét Tóva. Maðr hét Vései; hann réð fyrir Borgundarhlómi. Kona hans hét Hildigunn. Búi hét son þeira, annarr Sigurðr kápa.3 Dóttir þeira hét Þorgunn. Áki, son Pálna-Tóka, byr á Fjóni ok lætr Sveinn konungr alla hluti við hann sem bezt. Þessar konu biðr Sveinn konungr til handa Áka. Ok við Þorgunnu 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 vandráðamaðr í skapi en aðrir menn. Bardí hann allt ok beysti. Hann var þá ýmist heima eða í Borgundarhlómi með Véseta, móðurfoður sinum, því at hvárigir pykkjask mega um hann tóla. 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 vor han vænstr ok inn mesti atgösvismáðr um alla hluti, sterkr at afli. Búi, móðurbróðir hans, var hljóðlyndr ok skapmíkill, sterkr svá at menn vissu óglöggst afi 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 Hjörungavágr as the scaldic verses show. He may also have been at the battle of Svöldr later, see Hkr I cxxiif ff. It is doubtful whether Pórkell was at Hjörungavágr. 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.

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

\(^1\) The scaldic verses show that Búi was a historical character, but his brother Sigurðr is probably fictitious.
\(^2\) 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, eygör manna bezt, nefljótr,\(^1\) hár á vóxt, ok snøfrígr. Þorkell, bróðir hans, var manna hæstr ok sterkr ok forvitrí, ok hvártveggi þeira.

\[18\]

Þeir Sigvaldi spyrja fður sinn hversu ráðligt honum þykki at þeir leiti til Jómsborgar. Jarl segir at þat væri ráðligt ‘ok er yrkr allt mál at reyna yrkr’. Þeir spyrja ef hann vili fá þeim vápn eða vistir. Jarl kvæð annathvárt vera skyldu at fara hvergi eða fá sér sjálfir hvártvegja.\(^a\) Nú vilja þeir eigi fara at síðr. Búa nú tvau skip ok hundrað manna ok vonduðu 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 òllu ok báru á skip síðan.


\[19\]

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

\(^{a}\) hvártvegga, MS hvarteggja
\(^{b}\) fð, no abbreviation mark

\(^{1}\) A verse by StefÓr Þórgrísson (Skj. Digt. I. B 146), which is commonly thought to refer to Sigvaldi, also makes mention of his nose: níðrjúgt 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. But he was very tall and very nimble and had excellent eyesight. Órkell, his brother, was strong and exceedingly tall; and both of the brothers were wise.

18

Sigvaldi and Órkell 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 Strútt-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


20


a ekki, MS eckci

1 Íseyrr is probably situated on or near the modern Ísefjord in Sjælland; see Danmarks Stednavne 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 sökr nú þingit með miklu fjolmenni því at hann vill nú einn ráða milli þeira. Hann hefir fimm tigi skipa. Haraldr jarl átti skamti at fara ok hefir hann tuttugu skip. Véseti ferr ok til þings ok hefir fimm ein skip; en synir hans várnu eigi þar. En Haraldr jarl hafði sin tjöld upp stundu lengra frá sjó. Véseti setr tjöld sin við sjóinn hjá sundi því er þar gengr hjá þingstóðinni. Ok er á leið kveldi þá sá þeir fara frá heimili Haralds jarls tíu skip til þingsins. Þeir leggja í lægi ok sísan ganga þeir upp til þings; ok eru þar synir Véseta. Búi vor íþarliga klæði því at hann hafði tignarklæði Haralds jarls, er til kömu tuttugu merkr gulls. Hött jarls hafði Búi ok á hofði, þann er búinn var með tíu merkr gulls. Þeir hofðu ok tekit frá jarli kistur tvær ok var í hvárrí tíu hundrud marka gulls.¹ Þeir gengu fram á þingit alvápnaðir ok með fylktu liði.

Dá tekur Búi til orða: ‘Hitt er nú ráð, Haraldr jarl, ef þú þorir at berjask, enda sé nokkur dàð í þér, at þú takir vápn þín því at nú em ek búinn at berjask við þik.’ Sveinn konungr heyrði orð Búu ok þykkisk sjá at hann mun eigi halda tign sinni ef þetta ferr fram. Gengr konungr nú í milli þeira ok nú þeir eigi at berjask. Ok þar körn nú at hváritveggju hljóta at játa konungs umdœmi. 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.

Sísan lýkr Sveinn konungr upp sættargördinni ok ferr þáðan at ‘at þú, Búi, skalt laus láta tignarklæði jarls, en gullkistur skaltu hafa báðar. Þér skuluð ok gjalda aþr þau þrjú bú jarls er tekin váru fyrir honum með því móti at jarl skal gipta Tóvu, döttur sina, Sigurði kápu. Skal þetta vera hennar heimanfylgja² þessi þrjú bú.’ Þeir taka nú vel þessu hváritveggju. Leggr Véseti til við Sigurðr þriðjung alls fjár, ok þykkir Sigurði it vensta um kvánfang sitt. Fara þeir nú þegar af þinginu til brúðhlaupsins. Þangat buðu ok hváritveggju Sveini konungi. Er nú drukkit brúðhlaup þeira Sigurðar ok Tóvu með mikilli tign. Véseti ferr nú heim ok sezk um kyrt.

¹ For tíu hundrud the manuscript has x.c.; Joleik read nú tigir and LM Hollander 70 has ’ninety’. But cp. vi.c. (=sex hundrud) 26/17; and 291 has í hvárrí kistunni váru tíu hundrud 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.’¹ 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 villa ok fara þótt hann sé kvángaðr. Nú búaðsk þeir heiman breðr ok hafa tvau skip ok hundrað manna ok vilja gera sem líkast því sem gørðu synir Strút-Haralds. Þeir koma til Jómsborgar ok legga út lan at hafnardyrum. Nú ganga hófðingjar í kastala með miklu líði. Kennir Sigvaldi menn þessa. Nú segir Búi sitt òrendi; kvezk vildu ráðask þangat til liðs við Pálna-Tóka ef hann vildi við honum taka ok þeim báðum breðrum. Sigvaldi mælti þá: 'Hversu hafi þér Strút-Haraldr sett mállum yðrum áðr þér forúð or landi?' Búi sagði: 'Þat er lóng saga um vár viðskipti ok má ek nú ekki segja þat, en sáttir erum vör eptir konungs dómi.' Nú mælti Pálna-Tóki við sína menn: 'Vili þér til hættar hvart þessir menn segja satt eða eigi? En allfús væra ek til þeira því at fáir munu sliðir í váru líði.' Þeir segja: 'Vér viljum at þú takir þá í log með oss ef þér sýnisk; en ef nokkurir hlutar koma þeir upp síðan um hagi þeira, er vёр vitum eigi, þá sé þat sem annat á þínun dómi.' Eptir þat var lokit upp borginni ok leggja þeir Búi nú skipum sínum í hofñina; ok síðan reynt lið þeira ok þótti þar átta tigrir manna hlutgegnt, en fjórir tigrir fóru heim. Sitja nú enn í borginni með mikilli frægð; en eru hvert sumar í viking ok vinna nú enn morg snildarbrögð.

Nú er at segja frá Vagni Ákasyni at hann var ýmist með feðr sínum eða með Véseta, móðurféður sínum. Hann var máðr svá öeirinn at hann hafði dreipit þrjá menn þá er hann var núu vetra. Hann er nú þó heima þar til er hann bí er tólf vetra. Ok nú segir hann féður sínum at hann fái honum lið. Ok Áki fær honum hálft hundrað manna ok skip; en Véseti fær honum ok hálft hundrað manna ok annat langskip. Ok er engi så máðr er honum fylgir ellri en tuttugu, en engi yngri en átjánn vetra nema Vagn; hann var tólf vetra. Hann kvazk mundu sjálfr fá sér vista ok vápna. Nú heldr Vagní á braut liði sínu ok þarf nú brátt at

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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 Strúð-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 Strúð-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 fyrir fyrr en hann hefir bæði gnóg vápn ok herklæði áðr hann siglir ór Danmörk.


a MS kast'; kastala Cederschöld and Joleik
b supplied by Cederschöld

1 H has mixed two constructions here; cp. 291: hvárir undan skulu láta þórum 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 Jómsborg 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 byð ek honum þetta með minna kappi en Sigvaldi berisk við oss ef hann er óagr karlmaðr ok hefir hann heldr mannshug en berkykvendis.’ Pálna-Tóki mælti: ‘Hvárt heyrir þú, Sigvaldi, hvat Vagn segir ok ekki vandar hann bôð at þér? Ok þat ætla ek at þér komið í gilda raun. En við þat er svá mikit er um mælt þá kann ek eigi at letja at þér leggið at þeim ok gerið þeim þat íllt er þér megið. En eigi vil ek at þér drepið Vagn þó at hann þykki eigi alldæli.’

23

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 göra en hlífa sér, ok hofðu þó oerit at vinna. Þeir logðu síbyrt, ok þegar er grjót fættisk þá láta þeir eigi þurfa at bíða hoggvanna. En svá kømr því máli at Sigvaldi lætr siga undan inn til lands ok vill þá sér grjót, en þeir Vagn þegar eptir. Ok finnask nú á landi ok verðr Sigvaldi nú við at hrokka 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 háetta ‘því at yðr mun eigi endask at þreyta þetta. Er þat mitt råð at vêr takim við Vagni ok hans mönnum, þó at hann sé yngri en í logum 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: háetta nú bardaganum ok taka við Vagni ok hans félögum. Ok eru þeir nú logteknir. Þrír tigir manna hofðu fallit af Sigvalda en fár af Vagni; en margir váru sárir. Vagn fylgir þeim nú í hverja herfor ok stýrir skipi, b ok þykkir nú engi jafnmikill bardagamaðr sem hann. Þessu för nú fram þrjú sumur.

a kempa, MS kenpa
b för nú written twice

1 A steersman was an important person and nobles usually steered their own ships. When Sigvaldi fled from Hjörungavágir 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 Thegn’s 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.'

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.

Sigvaldi hefir skamma stund stýrt logum þeirra aðr nokkut breytisk ör því sem aðr var. Þá váru konur þar tveim nóttum saman eða þrim ok svá eru menn nú ör borginni lengrum en þá er Pálna-Tóki líði. Verða ok stundum áverkar eða einstaka víg.

Búrisleifrí konungr átti þrjár dætr. Hét in ellzta Æstriðr; ok var hon hin vænsta kona ok hin vitrasta. Önnur hét Gunnhildr, þríðja Geira; hennar fekk Óláfr Tryggvason. Sigvaldi ferr nú á konungs fund ok byðr konunum tvá kosti at hann muni eigi vera í borginni ella gesi hann honum Æstriði, döttur sína. ‘Þat hafða ek ætlat,’ segir konungr, ‘at hon mundi þeim manni vera gipt er tignari væri fyrrir nafns sakir en þú eft. En þó væri mér nauðsyn at þú værir í borginni; ok skulu véir ráða um öll saman.’ Konungr hittir nú Æstriði, döttur sína, ok spyr hversu henni væri at skapi sá ráðahagr at hon sé gipt Sigvalda. Æstriðr segir: ‘Þér satt at segja þá vilda ek Sigvalda aldri eiga. Ok þat skal hann til vinna at koma af öllum sköttum af landinu þeim er véir hofum
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.

King Búrisleifr had three daughters. The eldest was called Ástríðr, 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 Ástríðr, 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 Ástríðr, his daughter, and asked her what she thought about being married to Sigvaldi. Ástríðr 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

Ok lítlu síðar býr hann þrjú skip ok þrjú hundruð manna ór borginni ok ferr nú þar til er hann kömt við Sjálñand. Hann hittir menn at máli ok spyrr at Sveinn konungr tekr veizlu skamt þáðan. Dá leggr hann skip síð við eitt nes. Þar váru 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 örendi. 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 sina menn: ‘Dá er þrífir tigir 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 sökkvi. Ok get ek at konungr gangi í fyrra lagi. En þá er tuttugu menn eru komnir á miðskipit þá skulu þér þar kippa bryggju.’


*peir, MS þ(é)r*
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 Æstriðr. 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 Úømsborg.

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 Úømsborg where you will be made welcome. We shall show
velkominir. Ok vėr skulum veita yôr alla virðing.' Konungr segir: 'Þat munum vēr nū ok þekkjak.'


Er nū á kveðin brúðhlaupsstefna ok skulu vera bæði senn brúð-
haupin. Sækir Sveinn konungr nū til veizlunnar ok fylgja honum allir Jómsvíkingar. Ok er þar ríkulig veizla svá at menn mundu eigi vegliga boð í Vindlandi. Inn fyrsta aptan b hafa brúðinar síðfaldit.1 En um morguninn eptir eru þær kárar ok skupla þá ekki. Ok hyggr þá Sveinn konungr at yfirlitum þeira því at hann hafði hváriga fyrð 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 nū 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 nū heim með konu sína ok hafði þaðan þrýja tigi skipa ok mikit líð ok margar gorsimar. En Sigvaldi ferr til Jómsborgar með konu sína ok Jómsvíkingar með honum.

Litlu6 síðarr spyrjask þau tíðendi ör Danmork at Strùt-Haraldr jarl er andaðr, faðir þeira Sigvalda ok Þorkels. En Hemingr, bróðir þeira,

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6 manna, MS liði
b apta aptan MS
6 Litlu, MS Itlu
1 For the use of veils at marriages, cp. Dýrýskvída str. 19, 27.
you all the honour we can.' The king said: 'I shall have to accept that.'

They went to Jómsborg 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 Búrí's daughter, called Gunnhildr, on his behalf. 'She is the most beautiful one. And I am engaged to her sister Ástríðr. 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 Búrí's and they discussed the matter together. Sigvaldi claimed that he had now won Ástríðr. King Búrí 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 Búrí will not give you his daughter until you relinquish the tribute which Búrí 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, 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 Jómsborg with his wife, and the Jomsvikings accompanied him.

Not long after it was reported from Denmark that Earl Strúð-Haraldr, the father of Sigvaldi and Þorkell, had died. Hemingr, their brother,
var ungr.\textsuperscript{1} Nú sendir Sveinn konungr orð Sigvalda at þeir kæmi í Danmörk at erfa feðr sinn.\textsuperscript{2} Þeir sendu þau orð at konungr láti búi veizluna ok spari eigi fé þeirra, en þeir kvádisk mundu til koma um vetrnátta skicið. Þetta sýnisk flestum mýnum 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 hálft annat hundrað skipa. Fara þeir nú í Sjálvönd.

Sveinn konungr er þar fyrir ok búin ágæt veizla. Þar er ok allmikit fjölmenni. Sveinn konungr lætr nú þegar it fyrsta kvöld bera þeim Jómsvíkingum inn sterkasta drykk; en þeir drekka ok afarfast. Sveinn konungr fínnr nú at þeir gerask dauðdrukknir ok málgir mjók. Þá tekr Sveinn konungr til orða: ‘Hér er nú glaum mikill. Væri nú þat sæmiligt at vör tækim upp gleði nokkverja til skemtanar mýnum, þá er menn hafði at minnum eptir síðan.’ Sigvaldi segir: ‘Þat þykkr oss upphaflósig ok bæzt fyrir sét at þér hefði fyrst, því at vör eiguð allir til yðvar lúta.’ Konungr mælti: ‘Þat veit ek menn gøra at veizlum sliktum at hafa fram heistreningar til ágætis sér.\textsuperscript{3} Nú svá sem þér eruð ágætir um òll lønd svá mun þat ok af bera er þér mælið um. Nú mun ek fyrir gøra. Ek strengi þess heit at ek skal rekti hafa Áðalráð Englkonung af ríki sínu fyrir hinar þróiðu vetrnætr\textsuperscript{a} eða feldan hann elligok or nát svá ríki.\textsuperscript{4} Nú áttu, Sigvaldi, ok møeltu eigi minna um.’ Hann kvað svá vera skyldu. ‘Herra, þess strengi ek heit,’ segir hann, ‘at ek skal herja í Nóreg fyrir inar þróiðu vetrnætr með því liði er ek fæ til ok hafa eltan ór landi Hákon jarl eða drepít eða liggja þar eptir.’ Þá segir konungr: ‘Nú ferr vel at,’ segir hann, ‘ok er þessa vel heistrengt ok ver hálfu at heilli ek efn þetta vel.’ Nú áttu, Þorkell inn hávi, ok er einsaug at láta verða stórmannliga.’ Þorkell segir: ‘Hugat hefi ek mínna heistrenging at fylgja Sigvalda, bróður mínnum, ok flýja

\textsuperscript{a} the scribe first wrote jol which he changed to vetr, the \textit{l} being the first minum of the v; the \textit{j} were not deleted

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

\textsuperscript{2} It was customary for heirs to drink the \textit{erfol} of the deceased before they could take possession of the inheritance. One method of holding the feast is described in \textit{Hkr 1 66}. According to \textit{Fgsk 84} the feast should be held within a year of the deceased’s death.

\textsuperscript{3} The swearing of extravagant vows at feasts is referred to in many sagas. In \textit{Hænsa-Dóris saga} (ed. S. Nordal and G. Jónsson, \textit{Íslensk Forntiti 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.\textsuperscript{1} King Sveinn sent word to Sigvaldi that they should come to Denmark to take part in their father's funeral celebrations.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{3} Since you are famous throughout the world, the oaths 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.\textsuperscript{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, Æorkell the tall, and the only thing to do is to set about it nobly.' Æorkell 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, \textit{V.}, \textit{The Culture of the Teutons}, 1931, II 192 ff.

\textsuperscript{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.

Sigvaldi ferr í rekku b hjá konu sinni, Ástríði, ok sofnar hann brátt ok fast. Ok er hann vaknar spyrð Ástríð hvárt hann muni heistrenging 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 ráðagórðar.’ Sigvaldi mælti: ’Hvat skal nú til ráða taka? Þú ert vítr ok góðróð.’ ’Eigi veit ek þat,’ segir hon, ’en til skal nakkvat leggja, því at þú hefr lítinn styrk síðarr af Sveini konungr ef þú far nú eigi.’ Eptir þetta gora c þau ráð sín.

Kómur Sveinn konungr í sæti sitt ok allir Jómsvíkingar. Sigvaldi var kátr mjökt. Sveinn konungr spyrð þá hvárt Sigvaldi myndi heistrenging sína. Sigvaldi kvezk eigi muna. Konungr segir honum nú. Sigvaldi kvað òl annan mann ’eða hvat muntu til leggja at ek efna mínu heit-

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1 The manuscript has frendi 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 langfélgar eruð garpar miklir.

2 The adjective góðróðr 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.’ 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 Íngbjörg, his daughter, without the consent of her relatives.’ Bjørn the Welshman was there with Vagn. Then the king said: ‘What is your vow, Bjørn?’ He said: ‘I shall follow Vagn, my foster son, 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.’

‘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.

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?’

versions suggests that the scribe might have intended to write ok muntu leggja til göð rðð.
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 eiki er þetta konungilt.' Dá mælti Sveinn konungr ok varð nokkut
brúnolfi1: '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 óll komi aprtr.' Dá mælti konungr: 'Buín skulu óll skipin
þá er þú ezt búinn.' 'Þá er vel við orðit,' segir Sigvaldi, 'ok end þetta
vel, því at nú skal þegar fara er lokit er veizlunni.' Dá varð konungr
hjóðr ok mælti [þó]a ván bráðara: 'Efna skal þetta, en þó rézk þetta
skjótara en ek ætlaða.' Dá mælti Ástríðr, kona Sigvalda: 'Eigi er þess
ván at þér sigrisk á Hákonjar jarli ef hann fréttir fyrir, ef ér sigrisk þó
eigi6 at hann viti enga ván í.' Nú skipa þeir þegar til ferðarinnar þar
at veizlunni.

Tóva, döttir Haralds jarls, mælti við Sigurð, bónda sinn: 'Þess vil
ek þeida þik at þú fylgir sem bezt Búa, bróður þínum,' því at hann
hefðr mart vel til mín gört. En ek mun þat í litlu sýna. Hér eru menn
tveir, Búi, er ek vil gefa þér; annarr heitir Hávarðr høggvandi, en
annarr Æslák hlómskallí. Búi þiggr mennina ok biðr hana hafa þókk
fyrir. Búi gefr þegar Æslák Vagni, frænda sínun. Nú slitr boðit ok
búask Jómsvíkingar þegar af veizlunni. Ok eptir þat fara þeir ok hafa
hundrað stórskipa.

28

Þeim gaf vel byr ok taka Vik í Nóregi. Þeir kömu síð um aptan til
bœjarins í Túnsbergi á övart. Sá maðr hét Geirmundr hvíti lendr maðr
er bœinn varðveitti.2 Ok er herrinn kom í bœinn þá tóku þeir nálaga
allan bœinn upp, drápú mart manna ok ræntu orði fjár. Þeir voknudu
eigi við góðan draum. Geirmundr vaknar ok þeir er sváfú i herbergjum
næst honum. Þeir hlaupa upp í loft3 þat er þeir þöttusk lengst mega

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1 Brúnoft. This is the form found in H and 291, and Flat has brúnvelei; but 510 has reiðugligr instead. Cleasby/Vigfusson derive the word from brún 'eyebrow' and ðýfr '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. lita siga brynn á nef fyrir brðr, fyrir augun.

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

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a supplied by Cederschöld
b eigi, MS eig
c þínun, MS þins
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 frowned 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 Æstriðr, 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 hólmskallí.' 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.

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. 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, where they thought they would be able to put up the longest resistance. The

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

² See Glossary, s.v. lopt.
verjask. Þá drífu Jómsvíkingar at loftinu ok hoggva loptit í ákafa. Sér Geirmundr at þeir munu þar litla hrið fá varizk. Tekr hann þat ráð at hann hleypr ofan ór loftinu á strætit ok kemr standardi niðr. Vagn varð nær staddr ok høggr þegar til hans ok tók af höndina ok fylgði gullhringr. Geirmundr kemsk við þetta til skógar. Hann fór um merkr sex døegr. Síðan kóm hann til bygða ok leitar norðr á slíkt er hann má nótta ok dag.


Jarl ferr þegar af veizlunni ok stefnir ofan til Raumsdals. Hann gorir menn alla vega frá sér ok lætr herórvar4 upp skera. Hann sendi ok menn norðr í Drándheim til Sveins, sonar síns, at hann safni lidi um Drándheim. Eiríkr jarl ferr norðr til Naumudals ok svá hit ýtra norðan um Norðmeri ok um eyjar.5 Skyldi lidit 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. hergr.
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. 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. 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.'

The earl left the banquet immediately and made his way down to Rømsdal. He had messengers sent in all directions and had the war arrows sent out. 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. The fleet was to assemble off the island

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5 On the death of Óláfr Tryggvason at Svolvær Eiríkr Hákonarson became earl of Norway under Danish overlordship. In 1014 he went to England with Knútr inn riki 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.
Höð heitir. Erlingr, son jarls, fór um Rogaland; Hákon jarl sjálfr um Sunnmøri ok Raumdal. Þeir koma nú saman herinum ðllum undir eyna Höð ok á vág þann er Hjörungavágr heitir, ok hafa þeir aukin þrójú hundruð skipa. Nú ráða þeir ráðum sínum.


Nú gengur hann á skip með Vagni ok snúa þeir þegar til Hereyja ok sumt liðit. Búask þeir nú Jómsvíkingar sem til bardaga þött Úlfr tæki auðveldliga. Nú grunar Úlfr at þeim muni þykkja fleiri skipin. Fleygir sér nú útanborðs ok til sunds. En Vagn gripir snærisspjót<sup>1</sup> ok keyrir á honum miðjum ok lætr Úlfr þar lif sitt.

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<sup>a</sup> þeim, MS þ(eir)

<sup>b</sup> aðra, MS aðra

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1 A snærisspjót is a spear provided with a thong to increase the speed with which it could be thrown, see Falk 87.
Hǫð. 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 Hǫð in that creek which is called Hjarungavágr, 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 Hǫð, 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 Hjarungavágr 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 spear 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 Hjarungavágr 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 Sigvald ok Guðbrand af Dölum, Styrrkár af Gismum. Móti Þorkatli, bróður hans, Yrjar-Skeggi, annarr Sigurðr steiklingr af Hálogalandi, Þórir hjörtr; í móti Búa Þorkell miðlængri, Hallsteinn kerlingr, Þorkell leira; móti Sigurðr kápu þeir feðgar Arnmóðr ok Árni ok Fiðr; móti Vagni Eiríkr jarl Hákonarson, Erlingr af Skugga, Geirmund hvíti; móti Birni brezka Einarr litli, Hávarðr af Flyðrúnnesi. En Hákon jarl skal leika lauss ok styðja allar fylkingar.

Fjórir váru Íslenskrir 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:

Soekum jarl þanns auka
úlns verð þórir sverðum,
hlöðum borðrónn barða
baugskjoldum Sigvalda;
drepr eigi sá sveigir
sárlinns, er gram finnum,
rönd berum út á andra
Endils, við mér hendi.

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

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\[a\] hlöðum vör borð á barða \(H\), emended hlöðum borðröinn barða from Egil. 271

\[b\] svá \(H\), sá 291, Flat., 510, Egil.

\[c\] brendu sílfri 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: \(en\ prim monnum var skipat i móti Þorkatli háva, ok var þar Yrja-Skeggi einn, en annarr...\). Both jofleik and LM Holland 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 wends (or wields) a spear is a warrior.
middle of the creek and there is an island called Prímsignð to the north of it. Hjörund 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 Styrrkárr from Gimsar were to fight against Sigvaldi; Yrjar-Skegg, Sigurðr steiklingr from Hálógaland and Þórir hjörtr against Þorkell, his brother; Þorkell miðlangr, Hallstein kerling and Þorkell leira against Búi; Arnmóðr and his two sons, Árni and Fjör, against Sigurðr kápa; Earl Eiríkr Hákonarson, Erlingr from Skuggi and Geirmundr the white against Vagn; and Einarr the tiny and Hávarðr from Flyðrunes against Bjorn 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 Icelander was called Vígfüss

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¹ á andra Endils ‘to the sea-king’s ski’, i.e. Endill is a sea-king whose ski is a ship.
² This passage which explains the origin of the name Einarr skálaglamm is rather difficult. The old name, Skjaldmeyjar-Einarr, is found only in the Jómsvikinga 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 Egil Skalla-Grímsson. He composed his most famous poem, Vellekla, before the battle, and, according
Annarr hét Vígfúss, son Víga-Glúms. Þórðr hét inn þríði, er [kallaðr var]a ørvhorn; fjóðr Þorleifr skúma, son Þorkels ór Dýrafirði.1 Hann fekk sér kylfu í skógi eða hálfróteldi,² ok sviðr í eldi ok hefir í hendi. Hann för á skipi Eiríks jarls. Jarl mælti: ‘Hvat skal þér klumba sú in mikla?’ Þorleifr kvað:

    Hefi ek í hendi
til hofuðs gørva
beinbrot Búa,
ból Sigvalda,
vá víkinga,
vørn Hákonar;
sjá skal verða,
ef vér lifum,
eikikylfa
óþorf Dönum

Vígfúss var ok á skipi Eiríks jarls. Hann tók spjót sitt ok hvatti ok kvaðb:

    Oss er leikr, en lauka
liggr heima vinr feimu,³
þryngur at Viðris veðri
vandar,⁴ göðr⁵ fyrir høndum.
hlýs⁶ kveð ek hæla bósa,
hann vættir sér annars,
vífs und vormum boegi,
vér skreytum spjór, neyta.

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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.
Viga-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.

Vigfúss 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 leeks⁵ 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 hálfróteldi was probably some form of club or cudgel made from the root of a tree together with part of the trunk, cp. róttakylfu, róttaklumba. The element hálfr- usually means ‘half’, but occasionally it has the extended sense of ‘two or double’ as in hálfskiptr, hálflitr, ‘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.
⁵ 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 ákof orrosta ok var hvárgum sóknar at frýja. Er svá sagt þar sem þeir Sigvaldi eigask við ok Hákon jarl ok Sveinn jarl at þar standi við ok láti hvárgir undan síga sín skip. Jafnleikkit var ok með þeim Eiriki jarli ok Vagni. En þar sem Búi sökir fram ok þeir brœðr varð þeim Búi stórhöggur ok þykkir betra fír honum. Látar þeir síga undan skipin ok rér Búi á bug mikinn á fylking jarla. Var þar óp mikit ok ákafr lúðragangr. Nú sér þetta Eiríkr jarl. Leggr hann nú til þangat ok leggr at Búa. Varð þar hin grimmastr atlaga. Getr jarl rétta fylking sína ok ekki betr.

Heyra þeir óp mikit til þeira Vagns. Rær jarl þá þangat. Heﬁr Vagn þá górt mikit ﬂetroð; hafði gengit í gegnum fylking jarls ok leystan allan þann arminn. Ok er Eiríkr jarl sér þetta þá leggr hann Járnbardann síbyrt við skeiðna Vagns ok berjask nú af nýju. Ok er þat alsagt at eigi hafi ein sókn þöðkligri verit. Ok í því bili hlaupa þeir Vagn ok Áslákrr hölmsskali upp á barrann fram í ok gengr með sínu borði hvárr, ok ryðjask svá um at allt hroðkr fyrir. Áslákrr hafði beran skallann ok þó at þeir hóggvi í hans skalla þat eigi heldr en þeir hróðkí tálknaskiði. Þá var veðr gold ok heitt af skini ok fóru margir menn af klæðum. Þeir Vagn ok Áslákrr drepa nú margan mann. Nú [eggjar] Eiríkr jarl menn sína í ákafr. Þá tekr Vigfúss Víga-Glúmsson nefsteðja mikinn ok rekr í hofoð Áslákki ok nefit sökkur þegar á steðjanum ok fellr Áslákkr þegar ok lætr líf sitt. En Vagn gengr með líðu borði ok dreppr menn í ákafr. Þorleifr skúma hleypr móti honum ok lýstr til Vagns með eikikylfunni. Pat hógg 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 manoeuvring 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 Sketelig 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. 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. 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. 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. 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 Vigfúss 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

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3 The ship Járnbarðinn was also at Svǫldr according to Egil. 300 and *Ilugaga saga Tagldarbanana* (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 Þorleifí sverði. En stíklaði við þat út yfir borðit ok á skeið sína ok barðisk it snarpligsta.

32

Eiríkr jarl leggr þá frá barðann því at hann var mjók svá ruddr framan at siglu. Þá hafði ok Hákon jarl lagt at landi òllum herinum ok varð nú á hvíld nokkur á bardaganum. Ok hittask þeir fæðgar 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 sêð eptir með herinum á meðan ef þeir leggja at.’

Nú ferr jarl upp í eyna Prúmsignð ok gengr í skóg á brott ok leggsk niðr á kne ok bizk fyrir ok horfir í norðr.1 Þar kemr benarordum hans at hann skorar á fulltrúu sinn, Þorgerði Hólgabrúði.2 En hon vill eigi heyra þeir hans ok er hon reið. Hann þyðr henni mart í blótskap, en hon vill ekki þiggja; ok þykkir honum ovænt um. Þar kemr at hann þyðr henni mannbót, en hon vill eigi þiggja. Hann þyðr henni um stóðr son sinn er Erlingr hét sjau vetra gamall; ok hon þiggur henni. Fær jarl sveininn nú í hendr Skopta, þráli sínum, ok ferr hann ok veitir sveininnum skaða.

33

Eptir þat ferr jarl aptr til skipa sinna ok eggjar nú lið sitt af nýju, ‘ok veit ek nú vist at oss mun sigrs auðit. Ok gangið nú fram at betr því at ek heitit til sigrs oss á þær báðar systr, Þorgerði ok Irpu.’ Nú gengr jarl á skip sitt ok búað um af nýju. Ók síðan greiða þeir aðróðrinn ok tekst þar nú af nýju inn grimmasti bardagi. Ok því næst tekr veðrit at þykkná í norðr ok dregr yfir skjót. Liðr ok á daginn. Því næst flugu eldingar ok reiðar,3 ok því næst gorir á él mikit. Þeir Jóms-

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 Þorgerði Hólgabrúðr 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 Prímsignand and went away into a wood. He knelt down facing the north and prayed. 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 Þirpa 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-

vikingar áttu at Vega í geign veðrinu. Þetta él var með svá mikllum býsnum at menn máttu varla standask. En menn hofðu áðr farit af klaðunum fyrir hita sakir, en nú tók at kólna. Sækja þó bardagann frýjulauð. Ók þó at þeir Jómsvíkingar kastaði grjóti eða vápnun eða skyti spjótum, þá bar veðrit þat aprí þá allt ok þar með vánpagangr sína óvina.

Hávarðr høggvandi sá fyrstr Hólglabrúði í líði Hákonar jarls ok margir sá ófreskir\(^1\) menn. Ók þá er líttat línaði élinu sá þeir at or fló af hverjum fingri flagðinu ok varð maðr fyrir hverri; ok sogðu þeir Sigvalda. Ok hann mælti: ‘Eigi þykkji mér þá sem vör berimk við menn eina, en þó er nauðsyn at hverr dugi sem má.’ Þá er nokkut línaði élinu heitir Hákon jarl í annat sinn á Þorgerði ok kvezk nú hafa mikit til unnt. Ún teki í annat sinn at rökka at élinu ok er nú miklu meira ok harðara en fyrir. Ók þegar í ðöndverðu élinu þá sér Hávarðr høggvandi at tver 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 vör þess heit at berjask við trol. Er nú ok því verru en áðan at nú eru tvau fløgð.’ Ún leysir Sigvaldi skip sitt\(^a\) ok kallar á þá Búa ok Vagn at þeir skyli flýja. Vagn mælti at hann skyldi fára manna armarstr.

Ók 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 vorrina ok hókuna alla frá niðr í gegnum ok fjúka tennnar or hofðinu. Þá mælti Búi: ‘Versna mun nú hinni dønsku þykkja at kyssa oss í Borgundarhlómi.’ Búi høggr þá í móti til Þorkels. En hált var á skipinu ok fellr hann á skjaldriminu er hann vildi forða sér. Ok kom høggjat á Þorkel miðjan ok tók í sundr í tvá hluti við skipshelfinu. Ók 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:

\begin{quote}
Sigvaldi hefir setta
sjálfa oss und kylfu,
\end{quote}

\(^a\) 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 Holgabrúðr 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, Pörkell 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,

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¹ it is a variant of *ófróðsr*, built up from a substantival adjective ófrít, from ófríðr. That it was not written *ófróðsr* shows that its origin was forgotten. See Bugge, S., Arkiv II (1885) 242 f.
Sigvaldi hefði orðit kalt ok hleypr hann til ára ok rær, en annarr styrdi. Dá fleygir Vagn spjótinu at Sigvalda. En sá varð fyrir er styrdi ok nisti þann út við borðit. Þókell hávi sneri þegar í brott er Sigvaldi var farið, ok svá Sigurðr kápa þegar er Búi var fyrir borð genginn; ok þykkisk hvaðrtveggi efnt hafa sína heiststrenging. 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 úhlíð. Dá stakk Búi handarstúfunum í hringa á kistunum ok kallaði hátt: ‘Fyrir borð allir Búa líðar.’

Nú er at segja frá Vagni at hann tekur nú af nýju drengiliga vorn ok allir hans menn. Gengu þeir þá at allir a skeiðina er vagnfærir váru. En Eiríkr jarl ok margir aðrir hofdingjar laðgu þá at skeiðinni ok varð þar þá in snarpasta orrasta. Kom þá at því sem mælt er at ekki má við marginum. Fellu þá svá gersamliga mann Vagns at þeir urðu eiga eptir meirr en átta tígr manna. Vörðu þeir þá lyptingina á skeiðinni. Gorði þá svá myrk af nót at eigi var vigiljóst. Lætt Eiríkr jarl þá taka reiðann allan frá skipinu ok frá Úllum 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 i skálum hagklornin at reyndu ágæti þeira Þorgerðar ok Irpu ok vá eyri eitt kornt.

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 góra þeim nokkur illt ok forða oss síðan.’ Dá taka þeir siglutréit ok rána ok flyttjask þar á átta tígr manna í myrkrunu. Þeir

\[flæði H, flýði Flat., 510, fnauði 291\]

\[1\] 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. Porkell
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.’

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 deter-
mine Ærgerðr’s and Irpa’s greatness, and one stone weighed an ounce.

Vagn and Bjørn 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
kömsk i skerit ok váru þá raunmjök þrekaðir flestir af sårum ok kulða.
Var þá ok ekki fuðt lengra. Létusk þar tíu menn um nóttina.

35


Eiríkr jarl gekk þar hjá sem Þorleifr skúma stóð ok spurrði: ‘Hví ertu þann veg yfirlits sem þú sér at bana kominn?’ Hann segir: ‘Eigi munda ek vita nema blöðrefillinn hans Vagns kemi við mik líttat í gær, er ek laust hann kylfuhöggit.’ Jarl mælti: ‘Illa hefir þinn faðir þá haldit.’ Þetta heyruði Einarr skálaglamm ok kvaði visu:

Þat kvað jarl at æri
unnvigs1 fyrir haf sunnan,
þá er á seima særí2
sárellda spor3 várú:
‘ollungis hefir illa
eybaugs, ef skalt4 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 hondum. Róa nú til þeira ok vörðusk þeir þá ekki. Várú

1unnvigs ‘the man of the sea-horses’, i.e. sea-horses are ships, and the man of the ships is a warrior.
2seima særí ‘the wounnder of gold’, i.e. one who breaks gold up to distribute it, a generous man.
3sárellda spor ‘the marks of the wound-fire’, i.e. wound-fire is a sword, and the marks of a sword are wounds.
4eybaugs viggja valdr ‘the guider of the horses of the ring of the island’,

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

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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 fewer 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-fire were on the wounnder of gold, the earl said this to the man of the sea-horses south of the sea: ‘Guider of the horses of the ring of the island, your father has suffered a great loss, 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

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

6 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 Jomsvikingasaga’ Arkiv XXXIV (1918) 170, and Hollander, L. M., ‘Gjenmæle’ Arkiv XXXV (1919) 208.
þar þá fluttir til lands sjau tigir manna. Lét jarl þá alla setja í einn streng. Dá váru skip þeira flutt òll at landi ok skipt òllum fjárhlutum þeira. Síðan brjóta jarls\(^{a}\) menn upp vistir sinar ok snæða ok gambra allmikit. Ok er þeir eru mettir ganga þeir þangat sem bandingjarnir váru; ok var Þorkell leira ætlaðr til at høggva þá Jómsvíkinga.

Dá váru leiddir þr ír menn ór streningum; þeir váru sárir mjökk. En þrælar váru settir til at varðveita þá ok snúa vond í hárit. Þorkell leira gengr nú at høggva høfuð af þeim ok mælti síðan: ’Finni þér nokkut at mér hafi brugðit við þessa sýslu, því at þat mæla margir ef mæðr høggr þrjá menn?’\(^{1}\) Eiríkr jarl segir: ’Ekki sjám vér þér við þetta bregða, en þó sýnisk oss þér mjökk brugðit.’


Dá var til leiddr inn setti mæðr ok snúinn vondr í hárit. Þorkell segir med sama hætti honum. Kvezk gott þykkja at deyja við góðan orðstír, ’en þú, Þorkell, mun liða við skömman.’ Høggr hann þenna.

Dá er þangat leiddr inn sjauandi ok spurði Þorkell eptir vanda. ’Ek høgg allgott til at deyja. Þé þú høgg mik skjött: ek held á tygilkniﬁ,\(^{2}\) því at vér høfum átt opt um at ræða Jómsvíkingar hvárt mæðr vissi nokkut, ef hann væri allskjótt høggvinn, þá er høfuðit væri af. En þat mun til marks at ek mun visa fram knífnum ef ek veit nokkut ella mun hann niðr falla.’ Þorkell høggr þann ok fauk af høfuðit, en knífrinn fell niðr.

Dá var tekinn inn átti mæðr ok spurði Þorkell eptir vanda.

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\(^{a}\) jarls, \textit{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 \textit{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?' 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. 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 stóðvaði høggit ok spurði hví honum yrði þetta á munní. Hann segir: ‘Þó mun eigi ofskiðat til ánna þeira er þér nefnduð í gær jarlsmenn, þá er þér fenguð áverka.’ ‘Manna armastr,’ segir Þorkell, ok lætr skjalla honum høggit.

Þá var leystr inn niðundi maðr. Þorkell segir eptir vanda. Hann segir: ‘Gott hygg ek til bana mín sem allir várir félagar. En ek vil eigi láta mik høggva sem saud; heldr vil ek sitja fyrir. En þú høgg framan í andlit mér ok hygg at vandliga hvárt ek bløskra nokkut, því at vér høfum þar optr átt um at reða.’ Nú er svá gørt at hann sitir fyrir. En Þorkell gengr at framan ok høggr í andlit honum ok bløskrar hann eigi nema sigu saman augun þá er dauðinn fór á.


Pá var leiddr til maðr ungr; så hafði hár bæði mikit ok gult sem silki. Þorkell spurði eptir vanda. Hann segir: ‘Lífaf hefi ek nú it fegrsta. Deir hafa nú látit líf fyrir skømmu er mér þykkir ekki í veitt at lifa. En eigi vil ek at mik leiði þrælar til høggs, heldr sá maðr er eigi er verri drengr en þú; ok mun sá óvandfæginn. Ok haldi hárinu fram frá høfðinu ok høykkí høfðinu at hárit verði eigi blöðugt.’ Hirðmaðr einn gengr til ok tekir hárit ok vefr um hønd sér. En Þorkell høggr með sverðinu. Ok í því høykkir hann høfðinu ok hlytr sá høggit er helt ok tók af hendl báðar í olbogabónum. Hinn spettrr upp ok mælti: ‘Hørrr á hendl í hári mér?’ Hákon jarl mælti: ‘Stóðofarar gorask nú ok drepi þenna sem skjótast ok svá aðra þá sem eptir eru, því at miklu eru menn þessir verri viðfangs en vèr fáim við þeim sét.’ Eiríkr jarl segir: ‘Vita viljum vér nú áðr hverir þeir sér. 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.

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
ungí 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 lið yfir þenna þá em em átján vetrar.' Eiríkr jarl mælri: 'Nú skaltu yfir liða.' Tekr jarl hann þá til sín. Hákon jarl mælri þá: 'Eigi veit ek nú ef sjá skal undan ganga er oss hefir slika skömm gørt; en þó muntu ráða verða. Ok høggvi enn mennina.'

Pá var maðr leystr ër strenginum, ok brásk strengri inn á fótinn svá at hann var fastr. Sjá var mikill ok ungr ok inn fráligsti. Þorkell segir hvé gott hann h ygði til at deyja. 'Gott,' segir hann, 'ef ek geta eftir aðra heistrenging mina.' Eiríkr jarl mælri: 'Hvert er nafn þitt?' 'Eki heiti Vagn,' segir hann. Jarl spurði hvers son hann væri. Hann kvezk vera Ákason. Jarl mælri: 'Hvers strengði þú heit er þér þætti þá gott at deyja?' 'Þessa,' segir hann, 'at ek skylda koma í rekkgju Ingibjargar, döttur Þorkels leiru, án frænda ráði, en drepa sjálfsan hann ef ek koðna í Nóreg.' 'Ek skal því renna,' segir Þorkell. Ganir at honum ok høgg til hans tveim høndum. En Björn inn brezki sprynndi til Vagns fæti sinum svá at hann fell við. Þorkell høgg 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 banahøgg. Pá mælri Vagn: 'Nú hefi ek enda hálfa heistrenging mina ok uni ek nú við syni betr.' Hákon jarl mælri þá: 'Láti hann eigi lausan ok drepi hann sem tíðast.' Eiríkr jarl mælri: 'Eigi skal hann heldr drepa en mik.' Hákon jarl segir: 'Eigi þurfum vér nú til at hlutask er þú vill einn ráða.' Eiríkr jarl mælri: 'Gott er mannkaup í Vagni ok sýnisk mér vel keypt a hann sé í stað Þorkels leiru.' Tekr Eiríkr jarl nú við Vagni. Pá mælri Vagn: 'Því at eins þykki mér betra at lifa at þeim sé grið gefin ollum várnum félogum ella farim vér eina for allir.' Eiríkr jarl segir: 'Ek mun nú hafa orð við þá, ok fyrtök ek eigi at gora þetta.'

Pá gengr Eiríkr jarl at Birni inum brezka ok spurði hann at nafni. Hann sagði. Jarl mælri: 'Értu så Björn er bazt sottir manninn i holl Sveins konungs eða hvat áttir þú at oss sækja gamall maðr ok hvítr fyrir hæru? Er þat sannast at segja at þll strá vildu oss stanga. Eða viltu pigjja lif at oss?' Björn segir: 'Piggja 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.’ ‘Pat skal nú veita þér ef ek má ráða.’ Eiríkr jarl biðr nú fóður sinn at þeim sé nú grið gefin Jómsvikingum sem eptir eru. Hákon jarl bað hann ráða. Váru þeir nú leystir ok tryggðir veittar.

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Eptir þat ferr Vagn með ráði Eiríks jarls austr í Vik ok mælar at hann skyli þannig góra brúðkaup til Ingibjar ogar 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 Ingibjórgru; ok þótti hon kvenskrungur mikill.

En Björn för heim til Bretlands ok réð þar fyrir meðan hann lifdi ok þótti inn bezt karlmaðr.

En er Sigvaldi kom heim til Danmerkr, för hann á Sjálónd til eigna sinna ok var Ástríðr þar fyrir, kona hans. Ástríðr lætr góra honum kerlaug ok strauk honum sjálf ok mælti: ‘Verit get ek nokkurra þá hafa í Jómsvikinge bardaga1 er rauðottara belg muni þáðan haft hafa. Ok þyikki mér sjá bezt til fallinn at hírða í hveiti.’2 Hann segir: ‘Pat mætti enn verða minnar efi at þú ættir eigi þessu at hrósa ok lát þér þá líka.’3 Sigvaldi réð fyrir Sjálóndum ok þótti vitr maðr ok kömr hann við fleiri sogur.

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

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

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

1 The rather unusual phrase í Jómsvikingabardaga is also found in Qgmundar þatrt dyns (ed. J. Kristjánsson, Íslenskr Forntit IX, 1956, 109), whereas Flat. has í bardaganum í liði Jómsvikinga.

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 qwytter 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 slikum sigri at hrósa. Sigvaldi is mentioned in Hkr, Fgsk, OT, Knytingla, Kristni saga, Stefns þattr Borgilssonar, Egil. (verse) and Hallfreðar saga.
Bjørn 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.

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.

Bjørn 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. Æstriðr, 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.

Dorkell 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 Hjörungavágr. But it is also possible that some evil being has settled on the gold and appeared there since.⁴

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¹ 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.
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 Aggesen 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 kunuh rkarphyi hubl puslafy jurtu kunu sina tanmarkar but, ‘King Gormr set up this monument for Æri his wife Danmarkarbót.’² Up to 1927 the word Danmarkarbót was taken to apply to Æri. 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 Vedelsvang 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 runinskifter’ 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 hraltr 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

² DRI 41, where a full bibliography is to be found.
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 Æri, 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. He came to the conclusion that words ending in bóti 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 þorbjorg 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 Tûnsberg, 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 Hopp, 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 Jomsvikinga 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 Hopp no longer survives, but Hareidland is called Hadareid in Archbishop Aslak’s Fordebog, i.e. the eid, ‘small connecting tongue of land’, of Hopp. Other derivatives of the word are to be seen in Hadal or Haadal, Haabakke, Haahem 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 Hjøringness 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.\textsuperscript{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, Óvre-fluerne, but Storm reported that there were originally three. The island Prímsignd must be the modern Sula, although the name is not found in any other source. The description of Prímsignd does not harmonise with the topography of Sula, which has steep fells, a few small beaches and a few small farms. Storm thought that the fjord, which is about 1$\frac{1}{2}$ 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.

\textsuperscript{1} Strøm, H., \textit{Beskrivelse over Fogderiet Søndmøar} II, 1766, 409.
APPENDIX III

ÞORGERÐR HÓLGBRÚÐR AND IRPA

Þorgerðr's second name appears in the following forms:

Hólga-, Hólda-, Hórdá-, Horga-brúðr
Hólga-, Hólda-, Hórdá-, Horga-troll. ¹

Of these various forms it seems that Hólgabrúðr 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 Skadi 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 Jómsvötinga saga, where Þorgerðr does troll’s work. The name may have been invented by the scribe of Jómsvötinga 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 Sóva er sagt at konungr sá er Hólgí er nefndr, er Hålogaland er við kent, var faðir Þorgerðar Hólgabrúðar.⁴ Then the first element of the name Hólgabrúðr must be connected with this Hólgí, the eponymous founder of Hålogaland. The original name meant ‘the friend or bride of Hólgí’.

Þorgerðr Hólgabrúðr is closely connected with Earl Hákon and from the Jómsvötinga 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 Hólgí. 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 Thörgerd Hölgebrud’ Arkiv II (1885) 124 ff.
² De Vries, J., Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte, 1957, II 341.
there were various images, but notably one of Þorgerðr. 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. Hölgi, owned. Later on, no doubt largely through the influence of Christianity, the troll side of Þorgerðr’s nature began to predominate.

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.

Hergr 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, leidangr. Usually the arrow was made of wood, cp. skera upp hergr, 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.

Hird Cp. OE hird, hird. Although the hird 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 Hirdskrá 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.

Kerti sveinn The office of kerti sveinn is not one that belongs to the Viking Age proper, and it was introduced later from the South. Its occurrence in Jōmsvíkinga saga is anachronistic. The activities and duties of the kerti sveinar are described in the Hirdskrá. 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.

**Órtug** An *órtug* 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 *órtug*’ or more probably ‘a gold ring worth an *órtug*’; cp. *Af*: *annulus aureus*. See Brøgger, A. W., *Eriog og øre*, 1921.
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Printed in Great Britain by Robert Cunningham and Sons Ltd., Alva